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Syriac Historiographical Sources

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SYRIAC HISTORIOGRAPHY HAS ONLY THREE WORKS which provide historical, including prosopographical, information for the period in question. These are the chronicles (in chronological order) by Michael the Elder, Syr. Rabo (*Rabbā*, hereafter MR), an anonymous Edessene (*The Chronicle to the Year 1234*, hereafter *X1234*) and Gregory BarEbroyo (Bar'Ebhrāyā; hereafter BE).¹

Generally the Syriac chronicles can be regarded as less important than Greek sources for mainstream Byzantine history, and even less for Byzantine prosopography. This is due to the fact that for most of the period 1025–1204 the area inhabited by the Syrians, the members of the Syrian Orthodox (i.e. Jacobite) church to which all the three authors here examined belong, was not directly adjacent to the Byzantine empire. Thus Byzantium did not loom large within the geographical horizon of our historians, who were consequently less interested in its affairs. The prosopographical contribution of the chronicles for the period in question is not as rich as it is for the pre-Islamic period, during which the Syrians lived within the Roman/Byzantine empire so that historiographical narrative of their affairs was naturally also a narrative of Byzantine affairs. As a result, for the period 1025–1204 the Syriac chronicles—and there is hardly any other kind of Syriac source that contains relevant material—recede from the position of being primary sources. This does not mean, of course, that they can be ignored. One should be aware, however, that we do not learn much from them about the most important events of Byzantine history and the people involved in them, who often belonged to court circles or the army. An example is provided by the story of the 1204 Crusade and the conquest of Constantinople as told by the author

¹ In what follows the spelling of Syriac names with a so-called 'patronymic' ('so-called' because it does not always provide the name of the bearer's father) is normalised so that the 'patronymic' is combined with the preceding 'Bar' ('son of') but begins with a capital letter. 'Patronymics' and names with no corresponding counterparts in English are spelt according to a simplified post-classical Western Syriac pronunciation; at first occurrence they are accompanied by transcription according to classical Syriac rules in parentheses, as is the case here. Obsolete Latinised forms such as 'Bar Hebraeus' or 'Barhebraeus', are avoided.

of the *XI234*.² For this event of such tremendous importance no names of Greeks are given, making an interesting contrast to the mention of the sultan of Ikonion (with whom the crusaders reached an agreement concerning their passage to Syria), whose full name and patronymic are provided: Rukn al-Dīn, the son of Kilic Arslan.³ However, although the central events of Byzantine history are sporadically reported, at least the names of the emperors are provided, usually on the occasion of one succeeding the other.

The Syriac chroniclers were not only less interested in Byzantine affairs for this period but also less well-informed about details of the events of Byzantine history which they did in fact narrate. Unfortunately the missing details include the names of the people who took part in the events described. Moreover the dates provided are not always reliable.

These deficiencies are, however, balanced by much more abundant information, including prosopographical, concerning individuals who had contacts with the empire, be it Syrians, Armenians, Arabs, Turks, or crusaders. Generally the Syriac chronicles are more interested in events in the Byzantine eastern border provinces, close to the Syriac-speaking area. This is especially true for the early years of the period in question during which Byzantine governors controlled territories inhabited by Syrians (such as Melitene), before the Turkish conquests removed those areas from Byzantine political control. Thus for the subsequent period the Turkish rulers take the place once held in the chronicles by the Byzantine governors. As an example we might name the passage of the *XI234*, which provides names of Turkish emirs, who became governors of territories and cities captured from Byzantium.⁴

Historical facts are reported if they take place within the Syriac historians' geographical horizon, as for instance the information given by the author of the *XI234* about the expedition of emperor John (II Komnenos) to Cilicia and his death.⁵ Another example may be the account of Kassianos, a Byzantine governor in Anatolia, who went over to the Danishmendid emir Ghazi and in return was given a position in the service of the emir.⁶ However, there is hardly any mention of the affairs of the empire on its northern borders,⁷ let alone of the people involved in them.

² *XI234*, vol. 2, § 502, 214–15/tr. 160–1.

³ *XI234*, vol. 2, § 502, 214/tr. 161.

⁴ *XI234*, vol. 2, 50–1/tr. 36–7.

⁵ *XI234*, vol. 2, § 399, 107–9/tr. 81–6.

⁶ MR 610 central col./tr. vol. 3, 227; BE *Chronography* 289/tr. 255.

⁷ Occasionally pieces of information on events in that area can be found, such as an account of the Cumans in MR, which is an excerpt from the *Chronicle* of Basil BarShumno (BarŠumnā): MR 600–1, central col./tr. vol. 3, 207. The author of the *XI234*, who also knew Basil's work, does not however mention the Cumans.

Byzantine civil governors or ecclesiastical hierarchs are most often named if they had contacts with Syrians, or, respectively, with the Jacobite hierarchs, as was the case, for example, with Nikephoros, the Greek Orthodox metropolitan of Melitene, who opposed the Jacobite patriarch John (VIII) BarAbdun's (Bar'Abhdun) warm reception in Constantinople.⁸ In such cases the Syriac chronicles are definitely very valuable, since such persons would probably not be mentioned by non-Syriac sources.

In addition one must point to the fact that the Syriac sources have a bias: some measure of grudge, if not hostility, against the Greeks is present, especially in Michael the Elder's work. This is, however, hardly a circumstance that diminishes their source value. By studying the Syriac sources one sees Byzantine history from a different perspective.

MICHAEL THE ELDER, SYRIAC MIKAEL RABO (MĪKHĀ'ĒL RABBĀ, ABBREV. MR)

MR is known to western scholars under the name Michael the Syrian due to the fact that the first (and so far the only) editor of his *Chronicle*, Jean-Baptiste Chabot, gave him this name (Michel le Syrien), most probably following the title of the edition of the Armenian version by Édouard Dulaurier, published first (fragments only) in the *Journal asiatique* (1848–9) and later in 1869 in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*.⁹ Even if such a name makes sense when used in Armenian sources¹⁰ it has no justification in Syriac. In fact our chronicler is never so named in the Syriac sources. There he is referred to by the name *Mika'el Rabo*. *Rabo* means in Syriac both 'great' and 'elder'. Our historian was certainly one of the more important patriarchs of the Syrian Orthodox church (1166–99), but it seems that he is called *Rabo* in later sources (BarEbroyo)¹¹ to distinguish him from his namesake and nephew, Michel (II) Zeoro (Zə'ōrā), i.e. 'the Little', or 'the Younger, Junior'. The latter was the anti-patriarch (1199–1215), opposed to Patriarch Athanasius IX Slibo Qroho (Ṣlībā Qərāḥā; 1199–1207) and, after the latter's death, his successor.

MR was born in 1126/7 in Melitene, a son of Elias who was a priest and a physician. As a young man MR became a monk, and after some time, at the age of thirty, abbot of the BarSawmo (BarṢawmā) monastery (between

⁸ MR 562–3/tr. vol. 3, 140–1.

⁹ Dulaurier, *Extrait de la Chronique de Michel le Syrien*.

¹⁰ However, V. Langlois, another translator of the Armenian version of MR's work, did not call him by this name: Langlois, *Chronique de Michel le Grand*.

¹¹ Gregorii Barhebraei, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, vol. 1, cols. 535–6, 617–18.

Melitene and Samosata). He was offered the episcopacy of Amida in 1165, but did not accept it, whereas in the next year he was elected patriarch by a synod convened in the monastery of Peşqin (Pəşqīn), and was consecrated on 18 October 1166 in the monastery of BarSawmo.

As the patriarch elect, Michael announced that he would accept the pontificate if the bishops promised more strict observance of the canons (there had been cases of simony among the bishops, changes of diocese and other irregularities). Soon after his enthronement he passed twenty-nine disciplinary canons. These reform efforts, followed by the deposition of some corrupt bishops, caused dissension, which in 1175 even led to MR's temporary imprisonment by the emir of Mosul, Sayf al-Dīn.

A more serious problem was the schism in 1180, when his former pupil and godson Theodore BarWahbun (BarWahbūn) was elected—by some bishops opposed to MR—as an anti-patriarch. MR promptly deposed Theodore and shut him up in the monastery of BarSawmo, but some of the monks helped him to escape, whereupon he went first to Damascus and Jerusalem in order to bring his cause before the Muslim authorities (Şalāḥ al-Dīn, Saladin) and, when this did not succeed, he went to Cilicia where he was recognised as the patriarch of the Jacobites in the kingdom of Armenia. The schism lasted until Theodore's death in 1193,

Much of his pontificate MR spent travelling from place to place as required by the administration of the church. When not travelling he resided in Mardin or, most often, in his previous monastery, that of BarSawmo. His relations with the monks were however not good. Serious conflicts occurred in 1171 and 1176.

As the head of his church MR maintained good relations with the ecclesiastical and secular authorities of his time. In 1169 he was approached by emperor Manuel I Komnenos who invited him to Constantinople for talks concerning church unity. MR refused to go in person but did send delegates. Another meeting on the question of union took place in 1172, with the Greek Orthodox representative Theorianos.¹² Michael's delegate was then Theodore BarWahbun.¹³

MR had good relations with the crusaders. While still abbot of BarSawmo monastery he participated, together with Patriarch Athanasius VIII, in the consecration of a Latin church in Antioch; later, in 1168, when he had already become patriarch, he was received with honours by Amaury (Amalric) of Limoges, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem.¹⁴ In 1178/9 he paid

¹² The Greek acts of this meeting are extant, PG 133. 114ff.

¹³ MR tr. vol. 3. 334–6 (there is a lacuna in the Syriac text; Chabot's translation is provided on the basis of the text in BE's *Chron. eccl.* vol. I, cols. 549–60).

¹⁴ MR tr. vol. 3. 332 (BE's *Chron. eccl.* vol. I, col. 545).

a visit to the king of Jerusalem Baldwin IV in Akko (Acre). He was invited to participate in the Third Lateran Council (1187, against the Albigenses), but did not attend it. He did nonetheless write a treatise on the topic which was to be discussed at the council.

He supported the patriarch of the Coptic church against a schismatic by writing a polemical work. He maintained equally good relations with the Armenian ecclesiastics, *katholikos* Nerses IV Shnorhali (1166–73), and his successor Gregory IV Degha, after the affair of Theodore BarWahbun. In 1198 MR participated in the coronation of King Levon I.

In his contacts with the Muslim authorities he was, often due to his personal courage and deftness, able to avert dangers that threatened the church. In 1181 he visited the Seljuk sultan Kilic Arslan II.¹⁵ During the visit he held a religious discussion with a Muslim philosopher Kamāl al-Dīn.

MR died on 7 November 1199 in the monastery of BarSawmo, where he was also buried.¹⁶

MR spoke Syriac, Armenian and Arabic. He took an interest in manuscripts and libraries; he himself copied books, some of which are preserved.¹⁷ His intellectual/literary production¹⁸ can be divided into following groups:

Canon law: 29 *Canons*¹⁹ which he passed soon after his installation, a treatise²⁰ and decretals concerning church administration, e.g. that on the handing over of the diocese of Mardin to the authority of the *maphrian*.²¹

Liturgy: MR revised the Syrian Orthodox pontifical,²² and the rite of ordination (e.g. ms. Vaticanus Syr. 51); composed an *Anaphora*, the prayers of which are arranged to form an acrostich of the Syriac alphabet; he also wrote prayers called *sedrē*, which are inserted in the books of offices.

¹⁵ MR 725–6/tr. vol. 3. 390–1.

¹⁶ The monastery is today in ruins, Honigmann, *Le couvent de Barsauma*, 3–5.

¹⁷ F. Nau, 'Sur quelques autographes de Michel le Syrien patriarche d'Antioche de 1166 à 1199', *Revue de l'orient chrétien* 19 (1914), 378–97.

¹⁸ Tisserant, 'Michel le Syrien', 1714–17.

¹⁹ These are included by BarEbroyo in his *Nomocanon: Nomocanone di Bar-Hebreo*, Italian transl. by G. Ricciotti, Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali: Codificazione canonica orientale: Fonti 3: Disciplina antiochena (Siri) (Vatican, 1931).

²⁰ Text in A. Vööbus, ed., *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition*, vol. 2, CSCO vol. 375, SS 163 (Louvain, 1976), 167ff.; transl. in the *Versio* volume, CSCO vol. 376, SS 164, 179ff; see also A. Vööbus, 'Discovery of a treatise about the ecclesiastical administration ascribed to Michael the Syrian: a unique document in the literary genre of canon law', *Church History* 47 (1978), 23–6.

²¹ The title of the metropolitan of the eastern dioceses (on the territory of the former Sasanid kingdom) of the Syrian Orthodox church, second only to the patriarch. The decree is quoted in *XI234*, vol. 2, 331–3/tr. 247–8.

²² J.-M. Vosté, 'Les textes bibliques dans le pontifical de Michel le Grand (1166–1199)', *Biblica* 27 (1946), 107–12.

Hagiography and biography: he made a revision of the *Life of Mar Abhay* (*Abhḥay*), the legendary bishop of Nicaea at the end of the sixth century, in fact a composition of the iconoclast period defending the cult of relics;²³ wrote panegyric homilies on John of Mardin (unpublished)²⁴ and on Mar BarSawmo;²⁵ a poem celebrating a young Christian woman whom the Arabs of Mosul tried to force to accept Islam; a (lost) panegyric on his friend, the metropolitan of Amida, Dionysius BarSalibi (BarṢalībī; d. 1171).

Theology: a monophysite creed, the result of his contacts with ecclesiastics of other churches;²⁶ a dogmatic statement written in 1180 at the request of the Coptic patriarch Marqus III ibn Zur'a, directed against Marqus Ibn al-Qanbar, a Coptic priest and reformer with Messalian inclinations, being a refutation of his views except those on the necessity of confession before the communion, since this was the usage of the Syrian Orthodox church;²⁷ the *Treatise against the Albigenses* (a result of his being invited to the Third Lateran Council; written in 1178, now lost); instructions for Theodore BarWahbun (1172) for his talks in Constantinople on the union;²⁸ letters to the Armenian katholikos Nerses IV Shnorhali.

But MR's most highly valued work today is his comprehensive *Chronicle* (Syr. *Makhtābhānūth zabhnē*). It is a developed universal chronicle, i.e. beginning with the Creation (and ending with the year 1195/6), and containing historiographical material of a narrative character. The work is divided into twenty-one books, each containing several chapters. The material is laid out in three columns providing respectively a record of church history, secular history and *varia* (which often include copies of documents relevant to the events described in other columns, or longer quotations from other writers). With this arrangement in columns MR modified the pattern established by the *Chronicle* of Eusebios of Caesarea,²⁹ increasing the *spatium historicum* to three columns and reducing the *fila regnorum* to 'footnotes', i.e. placing them at the bottom of the manuscript page. This change had become necessary due to the abundance of historiographical material.

²³ P. Bedjan, ed., *Acta martyrum et sanctorum syriace*, vol. 6 (Paris, 1896; repr. Hildesheim, 1968), 557–615.

²⁴ A. Vööbus, 'Die Entdeckung des Panegyrikus des Patriarchen Mika'el über Jōhannān von Mardē', *Oriens Christianus* 55 (1971), 204–9.

²⁵ A. Vööbus, 'Discovery of a panegyric by Michael Syrus', in *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont: contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 20 (Geneva, 1988), 271–85 (text in facsimile, no transl.).

²⁶ The creed, addressed to the emperor Manuel Komnenos in 1169, is known only from translations into Greek and Arabic, Graf, 'Michael der Grosse', 266.

²⁷ Graf, 'Michael der Grosse', 266–7.

²⁸ The beginning is preserved in the *XI234*, vol. 2, 311–14/tr. 233–4.

²⁹ Cf. W. Witakowski, 'The *Chronicle* of Eusebios; its type and continuation in Syriac historiography', *Aram Periodical*, 11–12 (1999–2000), 419–37.

MR made use of several earlier historiographical works, which he frequently quoted verbatim. For earlier epochs his work is a conscientious compilation based partly on known and partly on unknown (i.e. not preserved) sources. These are,³⁰ up to Constantine, Eusebios of Caesarea (both the *Chronicle* and *Church History*), Annianos, Andronikos; for the years 325–431, the *Church Histories* of Socrates and Theodoret; for 431–565, the *Church History* of Zachariah the Rhetor; for 325–582, the *Church History* of John of Asia; from Justinian to Herakleios, the *Chronicle* of Guria (lost); for 565–82, that of Cyrus (Qūrā) of Batnae/Serug (lost); for 325–726 the *Chronicle* of Jacob of Edessa (partly lost); and for later periods historiographical works which are all lost, i.e. those of John the Stylite of Litarba to 726, Dionysios of Telmahre for the period 582–842, Ignatios of Melitene for 325–1118, Basil BarShumno (BarŠumnā)³¹ of Edessa for the period 1118–43, and finally John (Iwannīs) of Kaishoum (d. 1134) and Dionysios BarSalibi (d. 1171) for the period practically contemporary with MR. The last three books (19–21) are based on MR's own observations as patriarch.

He names all these sources, but it is not certain whether he used all of them directly. In addition to being mentioned in the main text, they were also enumerated in the preface, but since the first folio or perhaps two are lost, this list is also gone. It can be restored on the basis of the preface in the Armenian version (Chabot used this for his translation),³² and that of the Arabic version.³³ MR also had at his disposal numerous documents, letters, acts of councils, canons, etc., which he frequently quoted in long fragments or in full. His sources also include an Arabic work, now lost, for the years 1107–19, which was also known to Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1171). Book 14, which contains an account of the history and customs of the Turks, is most probably based on Muslim sources.

Michael added seven appendices to the *Chronicle*, containing (1) a list of the priestly succession starting from the Jewish high priests and continuing with the patriarchs of the four main sees (Rome, Alexandria, Ephesus/Constantinople and Antioch), (2) lists of secular rulers of various peoples from Adam through the Roman emperors to the caliphs and the crusader kings, (3) a sketch of the history of the Arameans, (4) an annotated list of the patriarchs of the Syrian Orthodox church from Severos of Antioch (512–18) up to MR himself, together with a list of the bishops consecrated by every

³⁰ According to J.-B. Chabot's analysis, *Chronique de Michel*, vol. 1, pp. XXIV–XXXVII. A more thorough analysis of Michael's sources is badly needed.

³¹ The name, known only from consonantal spelling, can also be pronounced BarShumono (BarŠummānā).

³² Chabot's transl., vol. 1, 1–2.

³³ Meissner, 'Eine syrische Liste'.

Syrian Orthodox patriarch, starting from Kyriakos (792) again up to MR (it contains about 950 names, mostly otherwise unknown), (5) a list of the same bishops, this time arranged by their dioceses, (6) a sketch of the history of Armenia. The last of the appendices contains (7) a list of the *katholikoi* of the Church of the East from Akakios (484) to John V (1000).

The *Chronicle* is regarded as the greatest achievement of Syriac historiography in general. It is an extremely valuable source—in its compilatory part for its preservation of fragments of other Syriac historiographical works which would otherwise have been totally lost, and in its original part for the history of the twelfth century, the epoch of the crusades, due to its being partly an eye-witness narrative, as Michael had often participated himself in the events he describes.

The *Chronicle* was used by Gregory BarEbroyo in the thirteenth century, for whose historiographical works it was the main source.

The Syriac original of the *Chronicle* was discovered in 1887 (the Armenian version was known earlier) by the Syrian Catholic patriarch Ignatius Ephrem Rahmani in a manuscript of 1598 in Edessa, which is the only one known, and of which Rahmani had a copy made in 1887. Another copy was made for J.-B. Chabot, in 1899, and it is this (imperfect) copy which was used by Chabot for the edition, which is in facsimile. He published it in several instalments from 1899 to 1910 (introduction and index in 1924), along with a French translation.

Besides the Syriac original there are two Armenian translations: a longer one from 1246 attributed to Vardan Arewelts'i (d. 1271) and his Syrian collaborator Ishoh (Išōḥ), and a shorter one from 1248 attributed to Vardan Arewelts'i alone. Both differ in many respects from the Syriac original, presenting partly an abbreviated text of MR, but also having additional passages of historical interest for Armenian readers.³⁴

In 1759 an Arabic translation, very close to the Syriac original, was made by the Syrian Orthodox metropolitan of Damascus, Ḥannā aṣ-Ṣadādī ibn 'Īsā. It must have been done on the basis of the Edessene manuscript as it has the same lacunae. The Arabic version is written in Karshuni, i.e. in the Arabic language but in Syriac characters.³⁵

In addition to the narration of the events in which Michael the Elder took part himself, the *Chronicle* is also characterised by making the succession of the Byzantine emperors the principle of chapter division in the earlier part of the period dealt with here.³⁶ To be sure, the Arab or Turkish rulers are

³⁴ Schmidt, 'Die zweifache armenische Rezension', 302, mentions that about forty manuscripts of the two are known, but this is an underestimate: see Tim Greenwood in this volume, p. 000.

³⁵ Graf, 'Michael der Grosse', 267.

³⁶ Up to book 15, chapter 7: emperor Alexios (I Komnenos, 1081–1118) (MR 583/tr. vol. 3, 178).

regularly mentioned here too, but the Byzantine emperors are usually named first. For the latter part, dealing with the author's lifetime and personal observations, he has much more material to hand than for the previous period and consequently keeping to the rule of starting a new chapter with a new reign would make the chapters too long.

Michael has a rather negative attitude towards the Byzantines. He often narrates events, which show their hostility towards the Syrians, such as the persecution of the anti-Chalcedonians, both Jacobites and Armenians, in 1061.³⁷ Frequently he uses derogatory speech when talking about the Greeks ('the cruel Greeks' *Yawnayē harmē*; 'evil' *Yawnayē bišē*; 'always intent on evil things' *ammīnay la-bhīšāthā*).³⁸

THE CHRONICLE TO THE YEAR 1234 (ABBREV. X1234)

This chronicle is anonymous. It is possible that the name of the author was provided in the colophon, but since the unique manuscript of the *Chronicle* is mutilated at the end nothing more can be said. As can be established from the text itself, the author may have been an ecclesiastic at Edessa. In any case he was a native of the region of northern Mesopotamia, and belonged to the Syrian Orthodox church. Only twice does he say anything about himself. He mentions that he was present in Jerusalem at the time when the city was captured by Šalāḥ al-Dīn in 1187.³⁹ In another place he says that in 1189 he accompanied *maphrian* Gregory I⁴⁰ on the latter's travel to Tagrit, Shingar and other eastern districts of the Syrian Orthodox church.⁴¹

One can surmise that he was born not long after 1150 and died not long after 1237. It is generally believed that the anonymous author was a native of Edessa, as the history of this city looms large in his work. J.-B. Chabot suggested,⁴² however, that this may be due to the fact that the material on Edessa most probably comes from one of his sources, the *Chronicle* of Basil BarShumno, the metropolitan of Edessa (not preserved). Therefore it is possible, in Chabot's view, that the anonymous chronicler wrote his work in the monastery of BarSawmo (the monastery from which MR hailed), where he could use the library (he quotes archival documents). He may have been a

³⁷ MR 576/tr. vol. 3, 166–7 (both columns).

³⁸ MR 606, outer col., 4 from the bottom, /tr. 222; 608 outer col. 1/tr. 225; 608 outer col., 6–5 from the bottom/tr. 226.

³⁹ *X1234*, vol. 2, 200/tr. 150.

⁴⁰ Michael the Elder's nephew Jacob, *maphrian* in the years 1189–1214. For the title *maphrian*, see above, n. 21.

⁴¹ *X1234*, vol. 2, 318/tr. 238.

⁴² In the preface to the edition of the second part of the *X1234*, p. I.

monk there.⁴³ But, as J.-M. Fiey observes,⁴⁴ the information on events in Edessa is continued beyond the year 1171 when Basil died, and seems to be the account of an eye-witness.⁴⁵ This does not exclude the possibility that the work was written, at least partly, in the BarSawmo monastery.

The *Chronicle* was not his only work. He mentions that he wrote at least one other work, a biography of Athanasios, the metropolitan of Edessa (1171–92), which has not survived. The anonymous chronicler says: ‘We wrote extensively in other books about the difficulties which accumulated against him, and made known those who had instigated them and were causes of all the wrong things.’⁴⁶

The *X1234* is, like Michael the Elder’s, a developed universal chronicle, which starts from the Creation and goes up to—as the conventional title shows—the year 1234. It does not necessarily mean that it was written or finished in that year. For example, the author writes about the governor of Sinjar Malik al-Ašraf ‘of blessed memory’,⁴⁷ but the latter died on 17 August 1237.

The *Chronicle* is preserved in a unique manuscript copied at the end of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century (the time from which we have information about it) the manuscript was in the private possession of one Boutros Fehim in Constantinople.⁴⁸ The manuscript is mutilated and several folios are missing. It was discovered and in part also published by Ignatius Ephrem Rahmani, the patriarch of the Syrian Catholic church, in 1904–11, fragments of this part subsequently being translated into French by François Nau (published in *Revue de l’orient chrétien* in the years 1907–8). The full text was published by Jean-Baptiste Chabot in the CSCO series in 1916 (the second part) and 1920 (the first part). Chabot also translated the first part into Latin (1937), whereas the translation of the second part (into French) was provided by Albert Abouna, and appeared in 1974. In 1933 A.S. Tritton published an English translation of the section relating to the First and Second Crusades.

The *Chronicle* contains two parts (not identical with the parts of the standard edition): the secular (the entire vol. 1 and vol. 2 up to p. 241/tr. 181) and the ecclesiastical (*Khtābhā dā-šarbē ‘edhtānāyē*,⁴⁹ vol. 2, pp. 242–350/transl. p. 182–end). The latter part is shorter and in the manuscript it begins,

⁴³ Chabot’s preface to the edition of the *X1234*, part 2, p. II.

⁴⁴ In the introduction to the translation of the second part, p. VIII.

⁴⁵ e.g. vol. 2, 171–2/tr. 128 (§ 452b, churches in Edessa), 192–3/tr. 144–5 (§. 475, trouble-makers at Edessa), 223/tr. 167 (§ 515, the Edessenes’ prayers for rain).

⁴⁶ *X1234*, vol. 2, 324/tr. 242.

⁴⁷ *X1234*, vol. 2, § 518, 229, 19–20 (*šāwē la-dukhrānā ṭābhā*)/tr. 172.

⁴⁸ Chabot, *Mes chroniques*, 12.

⁴⁹ *X1234*, vol. 2, 17, 19/tr. 12; 22/tr. 15.

after a lacuna, from the reign of the Emperor Justinian (527–65). We know however that the author started it much earlier, as he says that he treated ecclesiastical and civil history together only up to the emperor Constantine.⁵⁰ The ecclesiastical part is continued up to 1207, where again the manuscript breaks off. It was written before the secular part, as we know from the fact that it is quoted in the latter.⁵¹ However in the manuscript (and the edition) it is placed after the secular. The author may have planned to stop in 1203–4: this can be inferred from two notes to that effect.⁵² It seems however that a couple of decades later he changed his mind and continued his work to 1234 or perhaps beyond that date (the end of the secular part is also lost). It is, however, also possible that after those notes the *Chronicle* was continued by somebody else.⁵³

The anonymous chronicler names some of his sources in his introduction (the *Chronicles* of Eusebios, of Andronikos and of Jacob of Edessa), some he does not name (the Bible, the *Cave of Treasures*). For the earlier periods one can identify the *Church History* of Eusebios and those of Socrates Scholastikos, John of Asia (6th c.), Pseudo-Zachariah the Rhetor (6th c.), and Dionysios of Tel-Mahre (d. 845). The latter's work has not been preserved and in fact the *X1234* (along with the *Chronicle* of MR) is the best source by which Dionysius's work can be recovered.⁵⁴

It is rather surprising that our anonymous chronicler did not use MR's *Chronicle*, which he apparently did not know. On the other hand he did use many of the sources MR used, as well as some of documents written by him, such as for instance Michael's letter to Theodore BarWahbun,⁵⁵ or the patriarch's decree of 1195, bringing the diocese of Mardin under the sway of the *maphrian* instead of that of the patriarch.⁵⁶

For the late period, at least from 1144,⁵⁷ he used the (lost) *History of Edessa* by Basil BarShumno, the metropolitan of Edessa (d. 1171), but, on his own testimony, he abbreviated it.⁵⁸

Since in some cases he gives dates according to Hegira, it seems that he also used Muslim Arabic sources,⁵⁹ as well, probably, as an Armenian source

⁵⁰ *X1234*, vol. 1, 137/tr. 109.

⁵¹ e.g. vol. 1, 152/tr. 120; 313/tr. 244, etc. (Fiey, introd., IX, n. 23).

⁵² *X1234*, vol. 2, 213–14/tr. 160 (secular part), 340/tr. 253 (ecclesiastical).

⁵³ As L.I. Conrad believes, 'Syriac perspectives', 34–5.

⁵⁴ Cf. the quotations in part 2, 18/tr. 13 (§ 206), 20/tr. 14 (§ 208).

⁵⁵ *X1234*, vol. 2, 312–14/tr. 233–4.

⁵⁶ *X1234*, vol. 2, 331–3/tr. 247–8.

⁵⁷ *X1234*, vol. 2, 120/tr. 90.

⁵⁸ *X1234*, vol. 2, 309, 22–4: 'what we have written above about the Edessenes we have copied from the writing of the late metropolitan Basil, abbreviating in many cases.' (French tr., 231).

⁵⁹ Between the years AD 812 and 846 (= 197–232 Heg.); Fiey's introd., X.

(or sources?), since in one place he uses the Armenian form of the name of Jacob, namely Agōb (and not Ya'qōbh) Arslān.⁶⁰

Some scholars have considered our chronicler to be biased against the Franks.⁶¹ This opinion was dismissed by J.M. Fiey,⁶² who showed that the anonymous chronicler was rather objective, both in appreciating some Muslim rulers, and in pointing to the crusaders' excesses (e.g. the pillaging of the monastery of BarSawmo by Joscelin in 1148). His sympathies were nevertheless with the crusaders, as he twice calls them 'the blessed Franks'.⁶³

The source value of *X1234* is considerable since it preserves source material which is not known from elsewhere, as well as the author's own observations. However in places where his text can be compared with the other chronicles, it is shorter due to the fact that he abbreviated his sources more than the other historians. Such is the case, for instance, in the account of the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204,⁶⁴ which is shorter than that of BarEbroyo,⁶⁵ although both seem to have used the same source.

Of the three chronicles presented here this one has been studied least, and consequently there are many unsolved or only tentatively solved problems in it (the sources, the author's sympathies). It definitely deserves a more systematic study.

John Gregory BarEbroyo (Grēghoryōs Yōḥannān Bar'Ebhṛāyā, abbrev. BE); Arabic: Ibn al-'Ibrī, also called Abū'l Faraj (Arabic: 'Father of what is pleasant')

BE is the author of two historiographical works in Syriac and one in Arabic. He is also known for many other works covering practically all the scholarly knowledge of the period. He is regarded as the greatest Syriac polymath of his time or perhaps the greatest Syriac scholar *tout court*.

John BarEbroyo was born in Melitene in 1225/6, the son of a physician Aaron. His 'patronymic', mistakenly Latinised as *BarHebraeus*, misled generations of scholars into believing that he was of Jewish descent (*Bar'Ebhṛāyā*—Syr. 'the son of a Hebrew'). Only recently has it become clear that the name refers to his (or rather his family's) origins in the village of 'Ebro (class. Syr. 'Ebhṛā) near Melitene.⁶⁶ He received a thorough education,

⁶⁰ *X1234*, vol. 2, 159.8/tr. 120, Fiey's introd., XI.

⁶¹ Cf. René Grousset, *L'histoire des croisades et du royaume de Jérusalem*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1935), 866–7.

⁶² Fiey, 'Chrétiens syriaques entre croisés et mongols', 328–33.

⁶³ *Phrangāyē bārīkhē*, *X1234*, vol. 2, 113.7/tr. 85; 139.10/tr. 104.

⁶⁴ See above, n. 2.

⁶⁵ BE, secular part, 415–16/tr. Budge 357–9.

⁶⁶ Cf. Fathi-Chelhod, 'L'origine du nom Bar 'Ebroyo'.

which, in addition to languages (Syriac, Arabic and Greek), included theology, philosophy, and medicine, the latter under the direction of his father. In 1244 the family moved to Antioch, then in the hands of the crusaders, where BarEbroyo continued his studies. At the age of about seventeen he became a monk, but soon moved to Tripoli (also under the crusaders' domination) for further studies, in rhetoric and medicine, under an East Syrian ('Nestorian') teacher named Jacob. Soon however he was summoned by Patriarch Ignatius II and ordained bishop of Gubos (near Melitene), being then only twenty years old. It is believed that he assumed the name Gregory on that occasion, John being his baptismal name. Next year he was transferred to the nearby see of Laqabin and in 1253 to Aleppo; after a temporary recall by patriarch John BarMadani (BarMa'dānī), due to BE's supporting another candidate for the patriarchal throne, he was reconfirmed there in 1258.

He probably played an important part in the election of the next patriarch, Ignatius III (1264), whereupon he was raised by the latter to the position of *maphrian*. Due to political unrest he was consecrated at Sis in Armenia (Cilicia), and was not able to assume the maphrianate at Tagrit until 1266. He was well received by the Christians, both the Syrian Orthodox and those belonging to the Church of the East, as well as by the Muslims. His office demanded much travelling. He not only visited the dioceses within the maphrianate, but also Armenia (Cilicia) and Baghdad, where he maintained friendly relations with the East Syrian ecclesiastics. In 1282 he went to Tabriz in Persia to vow allegiance to the new Mongol ruler Ahmad, and was reconfirmed in his office. In the later period of his pontificate he often spent longer spells at Maragha (Persian Azerbaidjan), where the Mongol court was based, but where many Christians of various confessions also lived. He died there on 30 July 1286, and was buried in the Mar Mattay monastery near Mosul. His burial was attended by Christians of all denominations, showing their appreciation of BE's truly ecumenical outlook.⁶⁷

Most of the information about his life comes from his *Autobiography*,⁶⁸ which was posthumously continued by his brother BarSawmo. There is in addition a rhymed biography composed by his disciple Gabriel of Bartellē.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Compare what he wrote in the *Book of the Dove* (A. Wensick, tr., *Bar Hebraeus' Book of the Dove together with some Chapters from his Ethicon* (Leiden, 1919), 60, quoted by H.G.B. Teule, 'It is not right to call ourselves orthodox and the others heretics: ecumenical attitudes in the Jacobite church in the time of the Crusaders', in Krijnie Ciggaar and Herman Teule, eds., *East and West in the Crusader States: context—contacts—confrontations*, Acts of the Congress held at Hernen Castle in May 1997, vol. 2, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 92 (Leuven, 1999), 22: 'Thus I discovered that all Christian peoples, notwithstanding their differences, are in concord with each other.'

⁶⁸ In *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, vol. 3, cols. 431–86.

⁶⁹ Cf. Sauma, 'Commentary on the "Biography" of Bar Hebraeus'.

BE was a genuine intellectual and prolific author. He left over thirty works in such different areas as theology (e.g. *Lamp of the Sanctuary*,⁷⁰ a *summa theologiae* in twelve books), exegesis (*The Storehouse of Mysteries*, an extensive commentary on the Bible),⁷¹ canon law (*The Book of Directions*, i.e. the *Nomocanon*),⁷² ethics (*Ethikon*),⁷³ logic (*Book of the Pupils of the Eyes*, unpubl.), philosophy and physics (*The Wisdom of Wisdoms*, an unpublished encyclopaedic work covering the whole Aristotelian corpus; translations of the works of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) into Syriac), medicine (several books, including translations from Greek (*Dioscorides*)), grammar (*The Book of Rays*),⁷⁴ astronomy (*Ascent of the Mind*, unpublished),⁷⁵ and historiography. Nor was entertaining literature alien to him, as he collected a volume of *Laughable Stories*.⁷⁶

Most of his works were written in Syriac, some in Arabic. He may not have been an original thinker, but his erudition over the whole scientific gamut of the epoch is most impressive. He enriched the Syriac intellectual tradition by introducing into it material from Greek and Muslim scholarship. It is mainly due to his scholarly output that the whole period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is called the ‘Syriac Renaissance’.

In the field of historiography BE is known for his *Chronography* (*Makhtābūth zabhnē*), a universal chronicle. It is the last work of Syriac classical historiography, after which the Syrians did not venture to write universal history any more. As the last chronicle of this type it was often copied and consequently—contrary to the case with all other Syriac historiographical works—it is preserved in more than one manuscript.

⁷⁰ In *Patrologia Orientalis*, vols. 22, 24, 27, 30, 31, 35, 40, 41, 43 (1930–86).

⁷¹ J. Göttsberger, *Barhebraeus und seine Scholien zur Heiligen Schrift*, *Biblische Studien* 4–5 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1900); M. Sprengling and W.C. Graham, eds., *Barhebraeus’ Scholia on the Old Testament, part I: Genesis–II Samuel* (Chicago, 1931); Assad Sauma, *Gregory Barhebraeus’s Commentary on the Book of Kings from his Storehouse of Mysteries: a critical edn. with an English transl., introduction and notes* (Uppsala, 2003); W.E.W. Carr, tr. and ed., *Gregory Abu’l Faraj commonly called Bar-Hebraeus, Commentary on the Gospels from the Horreum Mysteriorum* (London and New York, 1925).

⁷² See above, n. 19.

⁷³ H.G.B. Teule, ed. and tr., *Gregory Barhebraeus’ Ethicon (Memra I)*, CSCO 534–5, *Scriptores Syri* 218–19 (Louvain, 1993).

⁷⁴ Axel Moberg, ed., *Le livre des splendeurs: la grande grammaire de Grégoire Barhebraeus*, (Lund, 1922); A. Moberg, tr., *Buch der Strahlen: die grössere Grammatik des Barhebräus* (Leipzig, 1913).

⁷⁵ These works are listed in *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, vol. 3, cols. 475–82. For further literature, see Fiey, ‘Esquisse d’une bibliographie de Bar Hébraeus (+ 1286)’.

⁷⁶ E.A.W. Budge, ed. and tr., *The Laughable Stories, collected by Mar Gregory Bar Hebraeus* (London, 1897).

As the material that BE collected for this work was quite bulky, he divided it into two parts, secular and ecclesiastical, but, abandoning the arrangement of the other two chronicles described above, he seems to have published the two parts separately. The two are certainly sometimes transmitted in separate manuscripts.⁷⁷

The secular part (known from its first edition of 1789 as *Chronicon syriacum*, or from the title of its English translation as *Chronography*) is a universal chronicle covering the period from the Creation until BE's own time. After his death it was continued by an anonymous writer (probably his brother BarSawmo) up to the year 1297. It is divided into eleven parts called 'successions' or 'dynasties' (*yubbālē*) by which BE encapsulates the idea of world empires originating from the prophecies of the *Book of Daniel*, but developed and brought up to date: he includes as the eleventh empire that of the Huns, i.e. the Mongols. Within the era of the Arabs he deals with the history of the early crusades, including the capture of Constantinople by the Franks.⁷⁸

The ecclesiastical part (*Chronicon ecclesiasticum*) is itself divided into two parts of which the first contains the succession of incumbents of the Jewish and Christian sacerdotal office as it was understood in Christian chronography. Consequently it begins with Aaron, the Old Testament high priest, and continues with the line of the Jewish high priests up to Caiaphas and Annas of the New Testament epoch; after them the *sacerdocium* was taken over by the church, of which Peter was the first 'high priest'. The hierarchs dealt with turn out, however, to be merely the patriarchs of Antioch, and from Severos of Antioch on, those of the Syrian Orthodox church, which is of course in accordance with the vision of church history as conceived by an ecclesiastic of that church. The second part is a chronicle of the ecclesiastical affairs of the east (i.e. of Christianity in Mesopotamia and Persia). It starts with the apostles Thomas, Addai and Mari, and continues with the *katholikoi* of the Church of the East, but from the sixth century onwards (from Aḥūdh'emneh) with the succession of the Syrian orthodox *maphrians* up to BE himself. What is important, however, is that material concerning the hierarchs of the Church of the East is included, a rare phenomenon in West Syriac (Jacobite) historiography, showing BE's irenic and ecumenical attitude.

This part was also continued after BE's death, first by his brother, BarSawmo, and later on up to the year 1496 by an anonymous hand.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ For a list of the manuscripts see Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 318, n. 6.

⁷⁸ The secular part, 415–16/tr. 357–9.

⁷⁹ There is also a further continuation up to 1582, which however remains unpublished: Brock, 'Syriac historical writing', 21.

In dividing his historiographical work into two parts (like the author of *X1234*) BE gave up the model of the Eusebian chronicle with its column construction, which had still been preserved by his predecessor, Michael the Elder.⁸⁰

The latter's *Chronicle* was BE's main source for the period up to the last years of the twelfth century, but MR's material is abbreviated and arranged in a different way. The secular chronicle also includes material based on other sources. The work is of course fully original for the period after MR's work came to an end. Although the account of many events in this section, for which he was an eye-witness, is BE's own contribution, he also used written sources—documents in Syriac, Arabic and Persian, to which he had access in the Ilkhans' library in Maragha.

For the ecclesiastical part of the *Chronicle*, the sources were—in addition to MR's work—documents of the Syrian Orthodox church, and, as far as the Church of the East is concerned, the *Book of the Tower* (*Liber turris*), a history of the East Syrian katholikoi, written in Arabic by Mari ibn Sulaiman.⁸¹

The secular part of the *Chronicle* was first edited and translated into Latin in 1789 by Paul Jakob Bruns and Georg Wilhelm Kirsch, but neither the edition nor the translation was satisfactory. In 1890 another and better edition of the Syriac text was published, anonymously, by Paul Bedjan. E.A.W. Budge's publication of 1932 provides a facsimile edition of a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, but his English translation is based on the text edited by Bedjan.⁸² The ecclesiastical part has been edited and translated (into Latin) only once, in 1872–7, by J.B. Abbeloos and Th.J. Lamy.

At the request of some Muslim friends, in 1285 BE wrote an 'abridgement' of his Syriac secular *Chronicle* in Arabic, entitled *An Abbreviated History of the Dynasties* (*Tārīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*). However this is not a simple abbreviation of his Syriac work, as the title may suggest, but has been adjusted to the needs of his Muslim readers, *inter alia* by replacing the material taken from MR with Arabic Muslim sources, e.g. the *Chronicle* of 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr of Mosul (d. 1233).⁸³ The *Abbreviated History* became known to western scholars before BE's Syriac historiographical works, as it was published, with a Latin translation, as early as 1663 in Oxford by Edward Pococke.

⁸⁰ See above, n. 29.

⁸¹ Maris, Amri et Slibae, *De patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria, ex codicibus Vaticanis edidit [ac latine reddidit] Henricus Gismondi, pars prior: Maris textus arabicus* (Rome, 1899) [Arabic]; *Maris versio latina* (Rome, 1899); *pars altera: Amri et Slibae textus* (Rome, 1896) [Arabic], *Amri et Slibae textus versio latina* (Rome, 1897).

⁸² The Bodleian Library manuscript is imperfect.

⁸³ As has been shown by Teule, 'The crusaders in Barhebraeus', 47.

Although BE's historiographical works have been known to scholars for quite a long time, and have often been used as sources for historical research into the history of the Near East, no systematic monograph on any of them has ever been produced. Such a study or studies remains an overdue desideratum.

As far as the extent of coverage of Byzantine history is concerned, the most comprehensive chronicles are those of MR and the secular chronicle of BE. The latter has of course also the advantage of covering the epoch after MR's work came to an end. BE's ecclesiastical part is the least informative for our purpose, as its focus is mainly on the internal affairs of the Syrian Orthodox church. The *XI234* occupies an intermediate position between the BE's ecclesiastical part on the one hand and his secular and MR's work on the other. The work of the Patriarch Michael is of course very valuable because of its author's direct involvement in the politics of his time, a privilege that the other two chroniclers did not possess. MR's account of his pontificate is abbreviated by BE (in his *Ecclesiastical Chronicle*), but much is lost, for example the name of the emperor Manuel, who corresponded with MR, does not even occur in BE. However these two, MR and BE, have each their own individual virtues, a fact which, incidentally, makes a study of their respective sources an urgent desideratum.

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 Abdulmesih BarAbraham, ‘Patriarch Michael the Great: beyond his world chronicle’, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 12.2 (1998), 33–45

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J.-M. Chabot, 'Échos des croisades', *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres: comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1938*, 448–61

Pages 455–61 deal with MR's evidence on the date of the death of Aimery, the Latin patriarch of Antioch.

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A short encyclopaedia article.

E. von Dobschütz, 'Die Chronik Michael des Syrer's (Nachtrag zu Nr. XV, S. 364–392)', *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 41 (1898), 456–9

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R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, 'Extracts in Arabic from a chronicle erroneously attributed to Jacob of Edessa', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 4 (1973), 177–96

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Siegmund Fraenkel, 'Zu Michael Syrus', in idem, 'Bemerkungen zu syrischen Texten, 1.', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 56 (1902), 98–9

A few emendations to the Syriac text of the *Chr.*

Stephen Gero, 'The relation of Michael the Syrian, Bar Hebraeus, and the Armenian epitome', in idem, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III*, CSCO Subsidia 41 (Louvain, 1973), 205–9

The relation between these sources in their accounts of the Emperor Leo and Caliph Yazid's iconoclasm.

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Georg Graf, 'Michael der Grosse', in idem, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, zweiter Band: Die Schriftsteller bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Studi e Testi 133 (Vatican City, 1947), 265–7

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R.A. Guseinov, "'Khronika" Mikhaïla Siriitsa', *Palestinskii Sbornik* 68 (= n.s. 5) (1960), 85–105

A general account of MR's *Chronicle*.

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The Armenian version is not a literary translation but rather a reworking of the Syriac original, some parts of the latter being removed, others abbreviated, whereas sections concerning Armenian church history are added.

- Wolfgang Hage, 'Michael der Syrer (1126/27–1199)', *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 22 (1992), 710–12
An encyclopaedia article.
- Ernst Honigmann, *Le couvent de Baršaumā et le Patriarcat Jacobite d'Antioche et de Syrie*, CSCO 146, Subsidia 7 (Louvain, 1954)
History of the monastery of MR, and of the geographical spread of the Syrian Orthodox church written largely on the basis of MR's *Chronicle*.
- P. Kawerau, 'Barbarossas Tod nach 'Imād ad-Dīn und Michael Syrus', *Oriens Christianus* 48 (1964), 135–42
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- Krikor H. Maksoudian, 'Michael the Syrian', *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 8 (1987), 305–6
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- Bruno Meissner, 'Eine syrische Liste antiochenischer Patriarchen', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 8 (1894), 295–317
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- Michael G. Morony, 'Michael the Syrian as a source for economic history', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 3.2 (July 2000), <http://syrcom.cua.edu/hugoye>
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- F. Nau, 'Notice sur un manuscrit de l'*Histoire de Michel le Grand*, patriarche d'Antioche 1126–1199', *Journal asiatique* 9.8 (1896), 523–7
A few remarks on the sources of the *Chr.* on the basis of a Karshuni manuscript.
- F. Nau, 'Lettre du R.P. Constantin Bacha sur un nouveau manuscrit carchouni de la Chronique de Michel le Syrien et sur Théodore Abou-Kurra', *Revue de l'orient chrétien* 11 (1906), 102–4
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- Ignace Ephrem Rahmani, 'Lettre de S.B. Mgr Rahmani au sujet de la publication de la Chronique de Michel', [éd. par] F.N.[au], *Revue de l'orient chrétien* 10 (1905), 435–8
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- Andrea B. Schmidt, 'Die zweifache armenische Rezension der syrischen Chronik Michaels des Großen', *Le Muséon* 109 (1996), 299–319
Analyses the two Armenian translations of MR's *Chr.*, and provides a concordance of the contents of the two by comparison with the Syriac text.
- Andrea B. Schmidt, 'Syrische Tradition in armenischer Adaption: die armenische Rezeption des Geschichtswerks von Michael Syrus und der antichalcedonische Judenbrief an Kaiser Markianos', in René Lavenant, ed., *Symposium Syriacum VII, Uppsala University, Department of Asian and African Languages 11–14 August 1996*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 256 (Rome, 1998), 359–71
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- H. Suermann, 'The Turks in Michael the Syrian', *The Harp* 5 (1992), 39–51
Deals with the origin, migration, religion and customs of the Turks, on the basis of the fourteenth book of the *Chr.*
- Erwand Ter-Minassiantz, *Die Armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den syrischen*

Kirchen bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts, nach den armenischen und syrischen Quellen, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 36.4, neue Folge 11.4 (Leipzig, 1904)

Includes a chapter on MR and his relations with the Armenian church, pp. 122–36.

E. Tisserant, 'Michel le Syrien', *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 10.2 (1929), 1711–19
An encyclopaedia article.

Jürgen Tubach, 'Michel Syrus', *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 5 (1993), 1467–71

An encyclopaedia article.

Dorothea Weltecke, 'The world chronicle by Patriarch Michael the Great (1126–1199): some reflections', *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 11.2 (1997), 6–29

A general account of MR's work, subsequently developed in her 2003 monograph.

Dorothea Weltecke, 'Originality and function of formal structures in the Chronicle of Michael the Great', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 3.2 (July 2000), <http://syrcom.cua.edu/hugoye>

Argues that the formal layout (in tables) of MR's *Chr.* is an essential part of the work; there are however doubts as to whether the arrangement of the material as known from Chabot's facsimile edition is the original one.

Dorothea Weltecke, *Die 'Beschreibung der Zeiten' von Mōr Michael dem Großen (1126–1199): eine Studie zu ihrem historischen und historiographiegeschichtlichen Kontext*, CSCO 594, Subsidia tomus 110 (Louvain, 2003)

A thorough monograph on MR and his work, dealing with research on MR so far, MR's epoch and his life, his historiographical methods, the *Chronicle's* tabular layout, and the author's vision of history.

Witold Witakowski, 'Michael I der Syrer', *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 7 (1998), 401

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A general account of MR's life and literary output.

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Editions

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The first and second instalment of the first edition of the *X1234*, planned to be complete but never actually completed.

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J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, vol. 1. *Praemissum est Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 819 pertinens, curante Aphram Barsaum*, CSCO 81, SS 3.14 [= 36] (Paris, 1920)

The standard edition of the *X1234*, part 1.

J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, vol. 2, CSCO 82, SS 3.15 [= 37] (Paris, 1916)

The standard edition of the *X1234*, part 2.

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 A French translation of extracts of the part published by I.E. Rahmani (from Creation to the death of the emperor Anastasius).
 J.-B. Chabot, tr., *Chronicon anonymum ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, vol. 1, CSCO 109, SS 3.14 [= 56] (Louvain, 1937)
 A Latin translation of the first part of Chabot's edition.
 Albert Abouna, tr., and J.-M. Fiey, introduction and notes, *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens*, CSCO 354, SS 154 (Louvain, 1974)
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 A.S. Tritton, tr., and H.A.R. Gibb, notes, 'The First and Second Crusades from an anonymous Syriac chronicle', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1933), 69–101, 273–305
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 J.-B. Chabot, 'Un épisode inédit de l'histoire des croisades (le siège de Birta, 1145)', *L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: comptes rendus des séances de l'année* 1917, 77–84
 The siege of Birta on the Euphrates by Zengui, after his conquest of Edessa, as recorded in the *XI234*.

- J.-B. Chabot, 'Édesse pendant la première croisade', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1918*, 431–42
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- Muriél Debié, 'Record keeping and chronicle writing in Antioch and Edessa', *Aram Periodical* 11–12 (1999–2000), 409–17
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- Jean-Maurice Fiey, 'Chrétiens syriaques entre croisés et mongols', in *Symposium Syriacum 1972, célébré dans les jours 26–31 octobre 1972 à l'Institut Pontifical Oriental de Rome: rapports et communications*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 197 (Rome, 1974), 327–41
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- R.A. Guseinov, 'Siriiskii anonim 1234 g. o Vizantii i ee sosediaxh', *Antichnaia drevnost' i sredniye veka* 10 (1973), 146–50
A general account of the *XI234* as a source for the history of Byzantium.
- N.V. Pigulevskaia, *Vizantiia i Iran na rubezhe VI i VII vekov*, *Trudy Instituta Vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR* 46 (Moscow, 1946)
Pages 252–89 have a Russian translation of an extract from *XI234*, concerning sixth-seventh century relations between Byzantium (from Maurice to Heraclius) and Persia, including the Arabic conquests.

THE CHRONICLES OF GREGORY BAREBROYO

THE SECULAR

Editions and Translations

- P.J. Bruns and G.W. Kirsch, eds., *Bar-Hebraei Chronicon Syriacum e codicibus Bodleianis descriptum* (Leipzig, 1789)
An early edition, not very reliable.
- P.J. Bruns and G.W. Kirsch, trs., *Gregorii Abulpharagii sive Bar-Hebraei Chronicon syriacum e codicibus Bodleianis* (Leipzig, 1789)
A Latin translation of the previous item.
- Paul Bedjan, ed., *Kəthābhā də-makhtəbhānūth zabhnē də-sīm lə-mār(y) Grīghoryos Bar 'Ebhṛāyā = Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Syriacum e codd. mss. emendatum ac punctis vocalibus adnotationibusque locupletatum* (Paris, 1890)
The best edition of the chronicle so far; the Syriac text is vocalised by the editor.
- E.A.W. Budge, ed. and tr., *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l-Faraj 1225–1286, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, known as Bar Hebraeus, being the first part of his Political History of the World*, vol. 1, English translation; vol. 2, facsimiles

of the Syriac texts in the Bodleian MS. Hunt No 62 (London, 1932; repr. Amsterdam, 1976)

The Syriac text is published in a facsimile edition of a manuscript in the Bodleian Library; the translation is based on Bedjan's edition.

Rev.: Ernst Honigmann, 'Zur Chronographie des Bar Hebraeus', *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 37 (1934), 273–83

Provides corrections (esp. of the toponyms) important for the understanding of BE's text.

The Arabic Version

Edward Pococke, ed. and tr., *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum auctore Gregorio Abul-Farajio Malatiensi medico, historiam complectens universalem a mundo condito, usque ad tempora auctoris res orientalium accuratissime describens*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1663)

An early edition and Latin translation of BE's Arabic *Abbreviated History*.

M. Georg Lorenz Bauer, tr., *Gregorius Abulfaradsch, Kurze Geschichte der Dynastien oder Auszug der allgemeinen Weltgeschichte besonders der Geschichte der Chalifen und Mongolen*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1783, 1785)

A German translation of Pococke's Arabic text, with notes.

Anṭūn Ṣālḥānī, ed., *Tārīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (Beirut, 1890, repr. 1958, 1983)

A good edition of BE's Arabic *Chronicle*.

Ishāq Armalet, tr., *Tārīkh al-zamān* (Beirut, 1986)

An Arabic translation of the secular part of BE, from E.A.W. Budge's English translation, starting with the Abbasid period.

Modern Translations

Şerafeddin Yaltkaya, *Ebülferec İbnülibri, Tarihi Muhtasarüddüvel, Türk Tarihi Kaynakları 1* (Istanbul, 1941)

A Turkish translation of some fragments of BE's *Tārīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal* concerning Turkish history, translated from A. Ṣālḥānī's text.

Ömer Rıza Doğrul, *Gregory Abū'l Farac (Bar Hebraeus), Abū'l Farac Tarihi, Cilt I, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından*, 2nd. ser. no. 11a (Ankara, 1945)

A Turkish translation of the secular part of BE's *Chr.* made from E.A.W. Budge's English translation.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL

J.B. Abbeloos and T.J. Lamy, ed. and tr., *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum quod e codice Musei Britannici descriptum conjuncta opera ediderunt, latinitate donarunt annotationibusque theologicis, historicis, geographicis et archaeologicis illustrarunt*, vol. 1 (Louvain, 1872), vol. 2 (Paris and Louvain, 1874), vol. 3 (Paris and Louvain, 1877)

Edition and Latin translation.

Julius Yeshu', ed., *Grigorios Bar'Ebhrāyā, Makhtabhzabhno d-Eqlesyastīqi* [*Ecclesiastical Chronicle*], (Glane, Holland, 1987)

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An encyclopaedia article.

Ludger Bernhard, 'Die Legitimität des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel in jakobitischer Sicht', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 16 (1967), 133–8

BE in his *Tārīkh* writes that in 1204 Constantinople was 're-captured' by the Franks, an expression which is explained by his belief that 'the Romans were Franks'.

Sebastian Brock, 'Gregor ibn al-'Ibrī', *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3 (4th edn., 1995), 1001–2

An encyclopaedia article.

Hayat El-Eid Bualwan, 'Syriac historical writing in the thirteenth century: the histories of Ibn al-'Ibrī (Bar Hebraeus Abū l-Farağ)', *Parole de l'orient* 26 (2001), 145–58

A general account of BE's Arabic *al-mukhtaṣar tā'rīkh*.

J.-B., Chabot, 'Échos des croisades', *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres: comptes rendus des séances de l'année* 1938, 448–61

BE's *Chr. eccl.* does not confirm some western data on Patriarch Ignatius II's conversion to Catholicism (pp. 448–55).

Lawrence I. Conrad, 'On the Arabic chronicle of Bar Hebraeus: his aims and audience', *Parole de l'orient* 19 (1994), 319–78

An important study of the *Tārīkh*; on the basis of a detailed comparison (pp. 341–78)

of the material of the first book of the Syriac Secular *Chronicle* and the Arabic *Tārīkh* the author argues that the latter was also written for a Christian audience and not for Muslims.

Jean Fathi-Chelhod, 'L'origine du nom Bar 'Ebroyo: une vieille histoire d'homonymes', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 4.1 (2001), <http://syrcom.cua.edu/hugoye>

Shows that the long western tradition of interpreting the name BarEbroyo (Bar'Ebhṛāyā) as 'the son of a Hebrew' is wrong; it points to the origins of BE's family from the village of 'Ebṛo ('Ebhrā).

Jean-Maurice Fiey, 'Esquisse d'une bibliographie de Bar Hébraeus (+ 1286)', *Parole de l'orient* 13 (1986), 279–312

An extensive bibliography of BE containing both the western and Arabic works; BE's historiographical works, pp. 299–304.

Stephen Gero, 'The relation of Michael the Syrian, Bar Hebraeus, and the Armenian epitome', in S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the reign of Leo III*, CSCO Subs. 41 (Louvain, 1973), 205–9

The relationship between these sources in their accounts of the Emperor Leo and Caliph Yazid's iconoclasm.

Wolfgang Hage, 'Gregor Barhebräus (1225/26–1286)', *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 14 (1985), 158–64

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A general account of BE's life and work.

Edouard R. Hambye, 'Bar 'Ebroyo and the Byzantine empire', in René Lavenant, ed., *V Symposium Syriacum 1988, Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 29–31 août 1988*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 236 (Rome, 1990), 403–8

A short account of BE's mentions of Byzantium on the basis of both the Syriac *Chronicle* and the Arabic *Tārīkh*, the latter being more informative than the former.

E. Herman, 'Barhébraeus', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 6 (1932), 792–4

An encyclopaedia article.

George Lane, 'An account of Gregory Bar Hebraeus Abu al-Faraj and his relations with the Mongols of Persia', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 2.2 (July 1999), <http://syrcom.cua.edu/hugoye>

Presents BE's biography with emphasis on his contacts with and attitude towards the Mongols.

F. Nau, 'Bar Hebraeus', *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 2.1 (1910), 401–5

An encyclopaedia article.

Theodor Nöldeke, 'Barhebraeus', in Theodor Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen* (Berlin, 1892), 251–73

A sketch of BE's life; a little information on his works as well.

Theodor Nöldeke, 'Barhebraeus', in Theodor Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, translated by John Sutherland Black (London, 1892), 236–56

An English translation of the previous item.

Linda Rose, 'Bar Hebraeus', *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 2 (1983), 108

An encyclopaedia article.

Assad Sauma, 'Commentary on the "Biography" of Bar Hebraeus', *Aram* (Stockholm) 7 (1998), 35–68

A summary of BE's biography by Gabriel of Bartelle (d. 1300).

J.B. Segal, 'Ibn al-'Ibrī', *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition* 3 (1971), 804–5

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N.I. Serikov, 'O putiakh proniknoveniia vizantiiskoi dukhovnoi kul'turi na musul'manskii Vostok: Grigorii Ioann Abu-l-Faradzh Ibn-al-'Ibrī (Bar Ebrei) i vizantiiskaia istoriograficheskaia traditsiia', *VV* 45 (1984), 230–41

In BE's *Tārīkh* connections with Byzantine historiography can be observed as well as a tendency to assimilate the Christian vision of history to that of Muslim readers.

Hidemi Takahashi, 'Simeon of Qal'a Rumaita, Patriarch Philoxenus Nemrod and Bar 'Ebroyo', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 4.1 (January 2001), <http://syrcom.cua.edu/hugoye>

BE's contacts with the priest-physician Simon BarYeshu', who was an important figure at the Ilkhanid court in the 1260s and to whom BE dedicated two of his works.

Herman G.B. Teule, 'The crusades in Barhebraeus' Syriac and Arabic secular chronicles: a different approach', in Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids, and Herman Teule, eds., *East and West in the Crusader States: context—contacts—confrontations: Acts of the Congress held at Hernen Castle in May 1993*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 75 (Louvain, 1996), 39–49

BE used different sources for his secular Syriac *Chronicle* (MR's *Chr.*) and for the *Tārīkh* for the period of the crusades (*Kāmil fi-l-tārīkh* by Ibn al-Athīr)

Herman G.B. Teule, 'Ebn al-'Ebrī', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 8, fasc. 1 (1997), 13–15

An encyclopaedia article.

Herman G.B. Teule, 'Gregory Barhebraeus and his time: the Syrian Renaissance', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 3 (2003), 21–43

Presents a general intellectual portrait of BE, partly in connection with his historiographical output; BE's knowledge of languages other than Syriac (these included Persian), Christian and Muslim sources and their use.

Susanne Regina Todt, 'Die syrische und die arabische Weltgeschichte des Bar Hebraeus: ein Vergleich', *Der Islam* 65 (1988), 60–80

Shows differences between BE's Syriac and Arabic historiographical works: he omits in the *Tārīkh* events that have a meaning only for Christian readers, uses different dating systems and mentions different physicians in each.

Witold Witakowski, 'L'horizon géographique de l'historiographie syriaque: aperçu préliminaire', in Arnaud Sérandour, ed., *Des Sumériens aux Romains d'Orient: la perception géographique du monde: espaces et territoires au Proche-Orient ancien: Actes de la table ronde du 16 novembre 1996 organisée par l'URA 1062 Études Sémitiques*, *Antiquités sémitiques* 11 (Paris, 1997), 199–209

BE's secular *Chronicle*, its material on the division of the world between the sons of Noah (*Diamerismos*), and its arrangement in eleven 'dynastic' periods: pp. 206–9.

ʿIwās Zakkā, 'Ibn al-'Ibrī (1226–1286)', *Journal of the Iraqi Academy, Syriac Corporation* 5 (1979–80), 5–43

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Joseph Zolinski, *Zur Chronographie des Gregorius Abulpharagius*, Inaugural-Dissertation, Heidelberg (Breslau, 1894)
Chronological (Eusebian) tables derived from BE's Bible commentary, *The Storehouse of Mysteries*.