

life to the advocacy of Monophysite doctrine. Twice he visited Constantinople in the service of his party, and suffered much (as was to be expected) at the hands of its enemies, for thus he writes in later years to the monks of the convent of Sēnūn near Edessa: "What I endured from Flavian and Macedonian, who were archbishops of Antioch and of the capital, and previously from Calcedon, is known and spoken of everywhere. I keep silence both as to what was plotted against me in the time of the Persian war among the nobles by the care of the aforesaid Flavian the heretic, and also as to what befell me in Edessa, and in the district of the Apameans, and in that of the Antiochians, when I was in the convent of the blessed Mār Bassus, and again in Antioch itself; and when I went up on two occasions to the capital, like things were done to me by the Nestorian heretics."

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1 *Ibid.*, ii. 15; comp. the mention of him at Edessa by Joshua the Stylite in 408, *Chronicle*, ed. Wright, chap. xxx. 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18. 3 He was living there when he wrote to the monks of Sēnūn in 522; *B.O.*, ii. 20. 4 "Scelissimus hereticus" (*B.O.*, ii. 11); "flagitiosissimus homo" (p. 12); "ecclesiam Dei tanquam ferus aper devastaverit" (p. 13). 5 *B.O.*, ii. 23 sq.; Wright, *Catal.*, Index, p. 1315. 6 Renaudot, ii. 310; *B.O.*, ii. 24. 7 *B.O.*, ii. 24. 8 Add. 17126, dated 511, and Add. 14534, probably of equal age. 9 The Vatican MS. (Assemani, *Catal.*, iii. p. 217, No. cxxxvii.) is dated 564; see *B.O.*, ii. 25 sq. 10 *B.O.*, ii. 27 sq. The Vatican MS. is dated 581; that in the British Museum Add. 12164 is at least as old. 11 See *B.O.*, ii. 45, Nos. 15-17, and Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1315. 12 *B.O.*, ii. 30-46. Others may be found in Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1315. 13 See Martin, *Grammatica Chrestomathia et Glossarium Linguae Syriacae*, p. 71. 14 Ign. Guidi, *La Lettera di Filosseno ai Monaci di Tell'Addā (Teleda)*, Reale Accademia dei Lincei, anno cclxxxii., 1884-85, Rome, 1886. In the Ethiopic literature there is extant a book entitled *Ḥilēkēyās*, i.e., Philoxenus, from the name of its author, "Philoxenus the Syrian, bishop of Marbag" (see, for example, Wright, *Catal.*, p. 177). It is a series of questions and answers on the *Paradise* of Palladius, like the Syriac work described in Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1078. 15 See *B.O.*, ii. 30; Frothingham, *Stephen bar Sudaili*, p. 28 sq. 16 So in a MS. of the 7th century (Brit. Mus. Add. 17163; see Wright, *Catal.*, p. 524). The MSS. of Bar-Hebraeus (*Chron. Eccles.*, i. 221), have *ܨܘܕܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ* or *ܨܘܕܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ*. Assemani writes *ܨܘܕܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ* (*Sudaili*). "Hunt the deer" ban of course be only a nickname of the father. See Frothingham, *op. cit.*, p. 56 sq. 17 *B.O.*, i. 203, ii. 32; comp. Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, i. 221. 18 *B.O.*, ii. 120, 230, 302; Frothingham, *op. cit.*, p. 63 sq. The existence of any good Greek text seems to be very doubtful, see Frothingham, p. 78. 19 *B.O.*, iii. 1, 15; Frothingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 and 81. 20 See MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 7189 (apparently the very copy used by Bar-Hebraeus); Rosen, *Catal.*, p. 74 sq.; Frothingham, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

and illustrated with a commentary chiefly derived from that of Theodosius.<sup>21</sup>

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21 Brit. Mus. Or. 1017 (Wright, *Catal.*, pp. 893-895); *Bibl. Natijon.*, Anc. fonds 138 (Zotenberg, *Catal.*, pp. 175-176); Frothingham, *op. cit.*, p. 87. 22 Ed. Wright, p. ix. 23 *Ibid.*, chap. liv. 24 *Ibid.*, chap. xxx. 25 See, for example, the use that has been made of it in De Saint-Martin's notes to Lebeau's *Hist. du Bas-empire*, vol. vii. 26 *Chronique de Jousū le Stylite*, 1876, in vol. vi. of the *Abhandlungen für d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*. Another edition was published by Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, 1882. 27 *ܨܘܕܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ* or *ܨܘܕܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ*. 28 See the narrative by Jacob of Edessa in Wright, *Catal.*, p. 602; and comp. *B.O.*, i. 121, ii. 322; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, i. 191. 29 Wright, *Catal.*, p. 363. 30 A village near Seleucia and Ctesiphon; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. 85. 31 Assemani has tried to whitewash him, but with little success; *B.O.*, i. 342 sq. If he had had before him the account of Simeon by John of Ephesus (*Land, Anecd. Syr.*, ii. 76-88), he would probably have abandoned the attempt in disgust. See Guidi, *La Lettera di Simeone Vescovo di Bēth-Arshām sopra i Martiri Omeriti*, 1881, pp. 47. 32 See Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. 85, i. 189; comp. *B.O.*, i. 341, ii. 409, iii. 1, 403. 33 *Land, Anecd. Syr.*, ii. 82, l. 12. 34 *Ibid.*, ii. 87, last line. 35 *B.O.*, iii. 1, 427. 36 *Ibid.*, i. 345. 37 *Ibid.*, i. 346. 38 First printed in *B.O.*, i. 346 sq., from the Vatican MS. cxxxv. (*Catal.*, ii. 214). 39 Al-Jabūh. Or is it Jabbul, on the east bank of the Tigris, between An-Nu'māniyah and Wasit? 40 First printed in *B.O.*, i. 364 sq., according to the text offered by John of Ephesus in his *History*. There is, however, a longer and better text in a MS.

To the same age and sect as Simeon belonged John bar Cursus (Kōppros),<sup>1</sup> bishop of Tellā or Constantina. He was a native of Callinicus (ar-Rakkah), of good family, and was carefully educated by his widowed mother, who put him into the army at the age of twenty. He would not, however, be hindered from quitting the service after a few years and becoming a monk. Subsequently, in 519, he was raised to the dignity of bishop of Tellā, whence he was expelled by Justin in 521. In 533 he visited Constantinople, and on his return to the East was seized by his enemies in the mountains of Sinjār, and dragged to Nisibis, Rās'ain, and Antioch, where he died in 538, at the age of fifty-five, having been for a year and six days a close prisoner in the convent of the Comes Manassē by order of the cruel persecutor Ephraim, patriarch of Antioch (529-544). His life was written by his disciple Elias (of Dārā?).<sup>2</sup> The Jacobite Church commemorates him on the 6th of February. Canons by John of Tellā are extant in several MSS. in the British Museum and elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> The questions put to him by Sergius with his replies have been published by Lamy.<sup>4</sup> His creed or confession of faith, addressed to the convents in and around Tellā, is found in Brit. Mus. Add. 14549 (*Catal.*, p. 431), and an exposition of the Trisagion in Cod. Vat. clix. (*Catal.*, iii. 314) and Bodl. Marsh. 101 (Payne Smith, *Catal.*, p. 463, No. 20).

Another of the unfortunate Monophysite bishops whom Justin expelled from their sees (in 519) was Mārā of Amid, the third bishop of the name. He was banished, with his synecell and with Isidore, bishop of Ken-neshrīn (Kinnessin), in the first instance to Petra, but was afterwards allowed to go to Alexandria,<sup>5</sup> where he died in about 169 years.<sup>6</sup> According to Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 52; comp. p. 187), Mārā wrote a commentary on the Gospels. It would seem, however, from a passage of Zacharias Rhetor,<sup>7</sup> that Mārā merely prefixed a short prologue in Greek to a copy of the Gospels which he had procured at Alexandria,<sup>8</sup> and that this MS. contained (as might be expected) the pericope on the woman taken in adultery (John viii. 2-11). That the Syriac translations of the prologue and pericope were made by himself is nowhere stated.

Yet another sufferer at the hands of Justin was John bar Aphtōnyā (Aphthonia, his mother's name).<sup>9</sup> He was abbot of the convent of St Thomas at Seleucia (apparently in Pieria, on the Orontes), which was famous as a school for the study of Greek literature. Being expelled thence, he removed with his whole brotherhood to Ken-neshrē (the Eagles' Nest) on the Euphrates, opposite Europus (Jerābis), where he founded a new convent and school that more than rivalled the parent establishment, for here Thomas of Hēraclea, Jacob of Edessa, and others received their training in Greek letters.<sup>10</sup> His *Life*, written by a disciple, is extant in Brit. Mus. Add. 12174.<sup>11</sup> According to Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē, as quoted by Assemani (*loc. cit.*), he died in 538. He wrote a commentary on the Song of Songs, some extracts from which are preserved in a *Catena Patrum* in the British Museum (Add. 12168, f. 138a), a considerable number of hymns,<sup>12</sup> and a biography of Severus of Antioch,<sup>13</sup> which must have been his last work, as he survived Severus only about nine months.

We now come to the man who was the real founder of the Jacobite Church in Asia, and from whom the Jacobites took their name, Jacob bar Theophilus, surnamed "Burdē'ānā"<sup>14</sup> because his dress consisted of a *bardā'ūthā* or coarse horse-cloth, which he never changed till it became quite ragged.<sup>15</sup> What Assemani could learn regarding him he has put together in the *Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 62-69<sup>16</sup>; since then our sources of information have been largely increased, especially by the publication of the *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus by Cureton and of the same writer's *Lives in Land's Anecd. Syr.*, ii.<sup>17</sup> On a careful study of these is based Kleyn's excellent book *Jacobus Baradaeus, de Stichter der Syrische Monophysitische Kerk*, 1882. Jacob was the son of Theophilus bar Mānū, a priest of Tellā or Constantina, and the child of his old age. After receiving a good education, he was entered at the monastery of Pēsilā (or the Quarry),<sup>18</sup> close by the village of Gum-mēthā in Mount Izālā (or Izā),<sup>19</sup> not far from Tellā. About 527, in the Moun Borgiano and in Brit. Mus. Add. 14650, from which it has been reedited (with an excellent introduction, translation, and notes) by Guidi, *La Lettera di Simeone, &c.*, Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1881. To this work the reader is referred for all the documents bearing on the subject. 1 The name of the father is also given as Cursus and Cyriacus. Assemani's *Baras* (*B.O.*, ii. 54) is a misreading. 2 There are two copies in the British Museum, edited by Kleyn, *Het Leven van Johannes van Tellā door Elias*, 1882; see also the *Life* by John of Asia in *Land, Anecd. Syr.*, ii. 129. 3 *B.O.*, i. 54. 4 *Dissert. de Syrorum Fide et Disciplina in Re Eucharistica*, 1859, pp. 62-97. 5 See *Land, Anecd. Syr.*, ii. 105. 6 *Ibid.*, p. 108. 7 *Ibid.*, iii. 250 sq. 8 Compare what is said of his fine library and of its ultimate deposition at Amid, *Ibid.*, p. 245. 9 See Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, i. 267, 280, and comp. pp. 258, 295, 321; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 163, note 1260. 10 Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1124, No. 5. 11 See for example, Brit. Mus. Add. 17134 (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 330). 12 Cited in Brit. Mus. Add. 14731 (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 855). 13 Usually corrupted into Baradaeus; the form Burdē'ānā seems to be incorrect; see Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. 87. 14 Comp. also ii. 326, 331. 15 The life at p. 249 is of course by John of Asia; that at p. 364 can hardly be called his in its present form, though he may have collected most of the materials; see Kleyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 105 sq. 16 *Ibid.*, p. 372, l. 2. 17 *Land, op. cit.*, p. 365, ll. 6, 7.

523 he and another monk of Tellā, named Sergius, were sent to Constantinople in defence of their faith, and, being favourably received by the empress Theodora, they remained there fifteen years. Meantime the persecutions of the Monophysites, more especially that of 536-537 by Ephraim of Antioch, seemed to have crushed their party, despite all the efforts of the devoted John of Tellā and John of Hēphastus.<sup>20</sup> This state of matters excited the religious zeal of al-Hārīth ibn Jabalah, the Arab king of Ghassān, who came to Constantinople in 542-543, and urged Theodora to send two or three bishops to Syria. Accordingly two were consecrated by Theodosius, the exiled patriarch of Alexandria, namely, Theodore as bishop of Bostra, with jurisdiction over the provinces of Palestine and Arabia, and Jacob as bishop of Edessa, with jurisdiction over all Syria and Asia. From this time forward Jacob's life was one of ceaseless toil and hardship. He visited in person and on foot almost every part of his vast diocese, consecrating deacons and priests, strengthening the weak, and bringing back those who had erred from the true faith. But to restore the Monophysite Church bishops were necessary, and the consecration of a bishop required the presence of at least three others. Selecting a priest named Conon from Cilicia and another named Eugenius from Isauria, he travelled with them to Constantinople and thence to Alexandria with letters of recommendation from the patriarch Theodosius. At Alexandria Conon was ordained bishop of Tarsūs in Cilicia and Eugenius bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, whilst Antoninus and Antonius were consecrated for dioceses in Syria. On his return to Syria other bishops were appointed to sees there and in Asia, among the latter the historian John of Ephesus; and so the work progressed, till at last Jacob's efforts were crowned by the enthroning of his old friend Sergius as patriarch of Antioch (in 544). Sergius died in 547, and the see remained vacant for three years, after which, by the advice of Theodosius, Jacob and his bishops chose Paul, an abbot of Alexandria, to be their patriarch. Of the subsequent internal strifes among the Monophysites themselves we cannot here speak. The aged Jacob set out once more in the year 578 to visit Damian, patriarch of Alexandria, but died on the Egyptian frontier in the convent of Mār Romanus or of Casion. Here his remains rested in peace till 622, when they were stolen by the emissaries of Zacharias, bishop of Tellā, and buried with much pomp in the monastery of Pēsilā.<sup>21</sup> His commemoration takes place on 28th November, 21st March, and 31st July. Jacob's life was too active and busy to admit of his writing much. We may mention an anaphora,<sup>22</sup> sundry letters,<sup>23</sup> a creed or confession of faith, preserved in Arabic and a secondary Ethiopic translation,<sup>24</sup> and a homily for the feast of the annunciation, also extant only in an Arabic translation.<sup>25</sup>

Conspicuous among the scholars of this age for his knowledge of Greek, and more especially of the Aristotelian philosophy, was of Sergius, priest and archiater of Rās'ain. He was, however, if Rās'ain. Zacharias Rhetor may be trusted, a man of loose morals and avaricious. He journeyed in 535 from Rās'ain to Antioch to lodge a complaint before the patriarch Ephraim against his bishop Asylus.<sup>26</sup> Just at this time the exiled Severus of Antioch and Theodosius of Alexandria, as well as the Stylite monk Zē'ora, were living with Antimus of Constantinople under the protection of the empress Theodora. This alarmed Ephraim, who seems to have found a willing tool in Sergius. At any rate he sent him to Rome with letters to Agapetus, who travelled with him to Constantinople in the spring of 536, and procured the deposition and banishment of the Monophysites. Sergius died at Constantinople almost immediately afterwards, and Agapetus followed him in a few days, wherein John of Ephesus and Zacharias Rhetor clearly see the judgment of Heaven.<sup>27</sup> As a man of letters Sergius was to the Monophysites what Probus was to the Nestorians: he was the first<sup>28</sup> to make them acquainted with the works of Aristotle by means of translations and commentaries. "Abba-ishō," it is true, gives Sergius a place in his catalogue of Nestorian writers,<sup>29</sup> and states that he composed "expositions of logic" or "dialectics"; but he merely does so in the same way and on the same grounds that he registers the name of Jacob of Edessa as the author of "annals and a chronicle."<sup>30</sup> The books were too valuable for him to insist on the heresy of the writers. In the case of Sergius there was an additional reason. The man was well known in the East,<sup>31</sup> many of his works being dedicated to his friend and

20 *Ibid.*, p. 176. 21 See the account of this "translation" by Cyriacus, bishop of Mardē (Māridin), in Brit. Mus. Add. 12174 (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1131). 22 Translated by Renaudot, ii. 335. 23 Translated from the Greek originals in Brit. Mus. Add. 14602; see Wright, *Catal.*, p. 701; Kleyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-194. 24 See the Arabic text in Kleyn, *op. cit.*, p. 121 sq.; the Ethiopic version has been edited by Cornill in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxx. 447 sq. 25 Bodl. Hunt. 199 (Payne Smith, *Catal.*, p. 448, No. 5). 26 See *Land, Anecd. Syr.*, iii. 289, ll. 13-15; comp. Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, i. 207. 27 Bar-Hebraeus (*Chron. Eccles.*, i. 205) has Ascolius (see also *B.O.*, ii. 323), but Asylus is correct; see *Anecd. Syr.*, iii. 289, l. 6, and Kleyn, *Johannes van Tellā*, p. 59, l. penult. 28 Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, 62 (trans. p. 69); see also the *Hist. Dynast.*, 150 (trans. p. 94) and 264 (trans. p. 172). 29 *B.O.*, iii. 1, 87. 30 *Ibid.*, 229. 31 He may even be identical with the Sergius mentioned by Agathias as



pupil Theodore, afterwards Nestorian bishop of Marû or Merv (see p. 837 *infra*).<sup>1</sup> What remains of Sergius's labours is mostly contained in a single MS. of the 7th century (Brit. Mus. Add. 14658).<sup>2</sup> Of translations from the Greek we find in this volume the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, followed by the so-called *Tabula Porphyrii*,<sup>3</sup> the *Categoris* of Aristotle,<sup>4</sup> the *Περὶ κλάσιν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον*,<sup>5</sup> and a treatise on the soul,—not the well-known *Περὶ ψυχῆς*, but a wholly different tractate in five short sections. It also contains Sergius's own treatise on logic, addressed to Theodore, which is unfortunately imperfect; a tract on negation and affirmation; a treatise, likewise addressed to Theodore, *On the Causes of the Universe, according to the views of Aristotle, showing how it is a circle*; a tract *On Genus, Species, and Individuality*; and a third tract addressed to Theodore, *On the Action and Influence of the Moon*, explanatory and illustrative of Galen's *Περὶ κινήσεων ζώων*, bk. iii.,<sup>6</sup> with a short appendix "On the Motion of the Sun." Here too we find part (sections 11, 12) of his version of the *Arts Grammatica* of Dionysius Thrax, a larger portion (sections 11-20) being contained in Brit. Mus. Add. 14620 (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 892). There is a scholion of Sergius on the term *σχῆμα* in Brit. Mus. Add. 14660 (see Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1162). In his capacity of physician, Sergius translated part of the works of Galen. Brit. Mus. Add. 14661 contains books vi-viii. of the treatise *De Simplicium Medicamentorum Temperamentis ac Facultatibus* (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1187),<sup>7</sup> addressed to Theodore; and in Brit. Mus. Add. 17156 there are three leaves, two of which contain fragments of the *Arts Medica*, and one of the treatise *De Alimentorum Facultatibus* (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1188).<sup>8</sup> As one of the clergy, he wasted his time in making a translation of the works which passed under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite.<sup>9</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. 12151<sup>10</sup> contains this version with the introduction and notes of Phocas-bar Sergius of Edessa, a writer of the 8th century, as appears from his citing Athanasius II. and Jacob of Edessa. In Brit. Mus. Add. 22370<sup>11</sup> we find Sergius's own introduction and the commentary of a later writer, Theodore bar Zardai.<sup>12</sup>

Paul of Callinicus.

If Sergius was the Probus of the Monophysites, their Ma'nâ was Paul, bishop of Callinicus (ar-Rakkah),<sup>13</sup> who, being expelled from his see in 519, betook himself to Edessa and there devoted himself to the task of translating the works of Severus into Syriac. We know for certain<sup>14</sup> that he edited versions of the correspondence of Severus and Julian of Halicarnassus on the corruptibility or incorruptibility of the body of Christ, with a discourse of Severus against Julian;<sup>15</sup> of the treatise against the *Additions or Appendices of Julian*,<sup>16</sup> and against the last apology of Julian;<sup>17</sup> of that against

residing at the Persian court, where he translated into Greek a history of the kings of Persia; see B.O., iii. 1, 87, note 3; Renan, *De Philoſophia Peripatetica apud Syros*, 1855, pp. 24-25. <sup>1</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 147; Renan, *op. cit.*, p. 29. <sup>2</sup> Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1154 *sq.*; comp. Renan, *op. cit.*, p. 25 *sq.*; *Journ. Asiat.*, 1852, 4th series, vol. xix. p. 319 *sq.* <sup>3</sup> There is a fragment of the *Isagoge* also in Brit. Mus. Add. 1618 (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 753). <sup>4</sup> In the Vatican MS. clviii. (*Catal.*, iii. 306, No. vi.) this translation is wrongly ascribed to Jacob of Edessa, who could hardly have been more than a boy at the time when the MS. in the British Museum was transcribed. Besides, the version is not in his style. The Paris MS. Ancien fonds 161 naturally repeats this mistake (Zotenberg, *Catal.*, p. 302). In *Catal. Bibl. Palot. Metric.*, cod. cxvii., it is likewise erroneously attributed to Housin ibn Ishak (comp. Renan, *De Philoſ. Peripat. ap. Syros*, p. 34, note 3). The Berlin MS. Ak. Best. 36 contains as No. 7 a treatise of Sergius on the *Categoris* addressed to Philotheus. <sup>5</sup> Edited by Lagarde, *Anal. Syr.*, p. 134 *sq.*; see V. Ryssel, *Ueber den textkritischen Werth d. Syr. Uebersetzungen griechischer Klassiker*, part I, 1880, part II, 1881. In part I, p. 4 Professor Ryssel speaks of this version as "ein Meisterwerk der Uebersetzungskunst"; and in part II, p. 10 he says: "Die Uebersetzung der Schrift *περὶ κλάσιν* schliesst sich aufs engste an den Text des griechischen Originalen an. Dass wir deshalb diese Uebersetzung als eine im besten Sinne wortgetreue bezeichnen können, zieht schon eine Vergleichung mit der lateinischen Bearbeitung des Apulejus von Madura." This opinion serves to rectify the judgement of Ibn Abi Osaibah (i. 294) that Sergius was only a mediocre translator, and that his work needed revision by the later Housin ibn Ishak. <sup>6</sup> See Sachau, *Inedita Syr.*, pp. 101-126. <sup>7</sup> This identification is due to Merx; see *Dionysii Thraxi Ars Grammatica*, ed. Uhlig, p. xlv. *sq.* Merx has treated of an old, but independent, Armenian version in the same book, p. lvii. <sup>8</sup> See Merx's article in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxix. (1885), p. 237 *sq.* <sup>9</sup> See Sachau, *Inedita Syr.*, pp. 88-94. <sup>10</sup> See Frothingham, *Stephen bar Sudani*, p. 3. <sup>11</sup> See Wright, *Catal.*, p. 493. <sup>12</sup> B.O., i. 468. Assemani erroneously places him before Jacob of Edessa. <sup>13</sup> See Wright, *Catal.*, p. 500. <sup>14</sup> There are also old MSS. of Sergius's version in the Vatican; *Catal.*, iii. Nos. cvii. (p. 50), cclv. (p. 542). Bar-Hebraeus states (*Hist. Dynast.*, p. 158; transl., p. 99) that Sergius translated into Syriac the *Syntagma* of the Alexandrian priest and physician Aaron, and added to it two books; but Steinschneider (*U. Faraſi*, p. 166, note 2) says that this is a mistake, and that the real author of the two additional books was the Arabic translator Mâsarjawâhi or Mâsarjis. The translator of the *Geoponica*, *Al-Faldah ar-Rûmîyah* (Leyden, cod. 414 Warn.; *Catal.*, iii. 211) and joint translator of the *Μεγάλη σύνταξις* of Ptolemy (Leyden, cod. 689 Warn.; *Catal.*, iii. 50), by name Serjis or Serjûn (Sergius or Sergôn) ibn ar-Rîmi, seems to be a quite different person of later date. <sup>15</sup> B.O., ii. 46. He is to be distinguished from his namesake and contemporary, Paul, bishop of Edessa, who was banished to Euchaita in 622 (B.O., i. 469-411), restored to his see in 526 (*ibid.*, p. 413), and died in the following year; whereas Paul of Callinicus was working at Edessa in 623 (see p. 838 *infra*). <sup>16</sup> Thanks in part to a note at the end of Cod. Vat. cxi. (*Catal.*, iii. 223; comp. B.O., *loc. cit.*). <sup>17</sup> Completed in 598; Cod. Vat. cxi.; Brit. Mus. Add. 17200 (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 555). <sup>18</sup> Cod. Vat. cxi.; Brit. Mus. Add. 12158 (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 556), dated 588. <sup>19</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. 12158.

the Manichees; and of the *Philalethes*.<sup>20</sup> Probably by him are the older translation of the *Homilia Cathedralis*<sup>21</sup> and that of the correspondence of Sergius Grammaticus and Severus regarding the doctrine of the two natures in Christ,<sup>22</sup> possibly, too, the translation of the treatise against John Grammaticus of Caesarea<sup>23</sup> and of some other works which are known to us only by a few scattered citations.<sup>24</sup> Hence he is called by the Jacobites *Μεφασσὴξάνῃα ἀνακλιθῆνῃ*, "the Translator of Books."<sup>25</sup>

This seems the proper place to make mention of a most important though anonymous work, the translation of the so-called *Civil Laws of the Emperors Constantine, Theodosius, and Leo*, which lies at the root of all subsequent Christian Oriental legislation in ecclesiastical, judicial, and private matters.<sup>26</sup> The Syriac version, made from a Greek original, exists in two manuscripts,<sup>27</sup> the older of which undeniably belongs to the earlier part of the 6th century. The work itself appears, according to the researches of Bruns (*op. cit.*, pp. 318-319), to date from the time of the emperor Basiliscus (Brit. Mus. Add. 475-477), who was a favourite of the Monophysites; the Syriac translation is ascribed to a Monophysite monk of Mabbogh or Hierapolis (*ibid.*, p. 155). The Paris MS. probably represents a Nestorian revision of the 9th or 10th century at (Baghdad) Baghdâd (*ibid.*, p. 166). The oldest MS. of the secondary Arabi version is dated 1352 (*ibid.*, p. 164), but it has been traced back to the time of the Nestorian lawyer Abu 'l-Faraj 'Abdallah ibn at-Taiyib (who died 1043), whether made by him or not (*ibid.*, p. 177). It belongs to the same class as the London Syriac, but is based on a better text, such as that of the fragment in Brit. Mus. Add. 18295 (*ibid.*, p. 172).<sup>28</sup> Of the secondary Armenian translation the same is to be said as of the Arabic. The oldest MS. of it dates from 1328, but it probably goes as far back as the end of the 12th century (*ibid.*, p. 164). The Georgian version, of which there is a MS. at St Petersburg, is most likely an offshoot of the Armenian.

Another scholar, besides Sergius, whom 'Abhd-ishô' wrongly claims as a Nestorian is Ahû-dh'emâmeh, metropolitan of Taghrith (Tekrit). He appears, on the contrary, to have been the head of the Monophysites in the Persian territory. According to Bar-Hebraeus,<sup>29</sup> he was appointed by Christopher, catholicus of the Armenians, to be bishop of Bêth 'Arbâyê,<sup>30</sup> but was promoted by Jacob Burd'ânâ in 559 to the see of Taghrith, where he ordained many priests and founded two monasteries. Among his numerous converts from heathenism was a youthful member of the royal family of Persia, whom he baptized by the name of George. This excited the anger of Khosrau I. Anôsharwân, who ordered the bishop to be beheaded (2d August 575). As a writer Ahû-dh'emâmeh seems to have been more of a philosopher than a theologian.<sup>31</sup> He wrote against the Persian priesthood and against the Greek philosophers, a book of definitions, a treatise on logic, on freewill in two discourses, on the soul and on man as the microcosm, and a treatise on the composition of man as consisting of soul and body.<sup>32</sup> He is also mentioned by later authors as a writer on grammar.<sup>33</sup>

Somewhat before this time a monk of Edessa, whose name is unknown to us, tried his hand at the composition of a tripartite historical romance,<sup>34</sup>—a history of Constantine and his three sons; an account of Eusebius, bishop of Rome, and his sufferings at the hands of Julian the Apostate; and a history of Jovian or, as the Orientals usually call him, Jovinian, under Julian and during his own reign. The whole purports to be written by one Aplôris or Aplôriâs (Apolinarius?), an official at the court of Jovian, at the request of 'Abhdal, abbot of Sndrûn (?) Mâhözâ, with a view to the conversion of the heathens. All three parts contain but a very small quantity of historical facts or dates, and deal in the grossest exaggerations and inventions. Yet the Syriac style is pure, and we gain from the book a good idea of the way in which the author's countrymen thought and spoke and acted. This romance has been published by Hoffmann,<sup>35</sup> and Nöldeke has given a full account of it, with an abridged translation, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxviii. p. 263 *sq.* He places the time of composition between 502 and 532. It is curious to find that this romance must have been known in an Arabic translation to the

<sup>20</sup> There is a long extract from this work in Cod. Vat. cxi. (*Catal.*, iii. 232). <sup>21</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. 14599, dated 669; Cod. Vat. cxlii., dated 676; cxliii., dated 683; cclvi. <sup>22</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. 17154. <sup>23</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. 17210-11, 12157. <sup>24</sup> Compare, for example, Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1323. The translation of the *Octoëchos* is the work, not of Paul of Callinicus, but of an abbot Paul, who executed it in the island of Cyprus (see p. 838 *infra*). <sup>25</sup> The passage quoted by Assemani (B.O., i. 409, note 2) seems, however, to confound him with his namesake of Edessa. <sup>26</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 267, note 6, 278, 338-339, 351 col. 2; comp. Bruns and Sachau, *Syrisch-Römisches Rechtsbuch*, 1890, pp. 175-180. <sup>27</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. 14528 (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 177), and Paris, Suppl. 38 (Zotenberg, *Catal.*, p. 75, col. 1, No. 40). The text of the former was first published by Land (*Anecd. Syr.*, i. 50-64), with a Latin translation. Both have been edited and translated, along with the Arabic and Armenian versions, with translations and a learned apparatus, by Bruns and Sachau, *op. cit.* <sup>28</sup> Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1184. <sup>29</sup> *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. 99; comp. B.O., ii. 414, iii. 1, 192, note 3. <sup>30</sup> Bê'arbâyê, the district between Nisibis and the Tigris. <sup>31</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 192. <sup>32</sup> Of this last part is extant in Brit. Mus. Add. 14620 (Wright, *Catal.*, p. 892). <sup>33</sup> See B.O., iii. 1, 256, note 2. <sup>34</sup> Contained in Brit. Mus. Add. 14641, ff. 1-131, a MS. of the 6th century. <sup>35</sup> *Julianos der Ahrimantige*, 1880.

historian at-Tabari, who treats it as a genuine historical document.<sup>1</sup> From him it has passed to the *Kâmil* of Ibn al-Athîr, i. 283 *sq.*, and the *Akhbâr al-Bashar* of Abu 'l-Fidâ (*Hist. Antisemitica*, ed. Fleischer, p. 84). Ibn Wâhîh al-Yakûbi seems in his *Annals*<sup>2</sup> to have drawn from the same source, though independently of at-Tabari, and so also al-Mas'ûdi, *Murûj adh-Dhahab*, ii. 323. Bar-Hebraeus has also made some use of it in his *Chronicon*, ed. Bruns and Kirsch, pp. 68-69. No doubt, too, it is the work attributed by 'Abhd-ishô' to the grave ecclesiastical historian Socrates, who, as he says,<sup>3</sup> wrote "a history of the emperors Constantine and Jovianian."

Another, but much inferior, romance, of which Julian is the hero, is contained in Brit. Mus. Add. 7192, a manuscript of the 7th century. It has been edited by Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-259, and translated by Nöldeke, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxviii. 660-674. We shall not be far wrong in assigning it likewise to the 6th century, though it is probably rather later than that just noticed.

Of real historical value, on the contrary, is the anonymous *Chronicon Edessenum*, fortunately preserved to us in the Vatican MS. cxliii.,<sup>4</sup> and edited by Assemani in B.O., i. 388-417. There is an English translation of it in the *Journ. of Sacred Lit.*, 1864, vol. v. (new ser.), p. 28 *sq.* It begins with A. Gr. 180, but the entries are very sparse till we reach A. Gr. 513 (202 A. D.). The last of them refers to the year 540, about which time the little book must have been compiled. The author made use of the archives of Edessa and other documents now lost to us, as well as of the *Chronicle* of Joshua the Stylite (see above, p. 832). In religious matters he is not a violent partisan, nor given to the use of harsh words, a thing to be noted in the age in which he lived.

John of Asia or Ephesus.

Another writer of first-rate importance as a historian is John, bishop of Asia or Ephesus, "the teacher of the heathen," "the overseer of the heathen," and "the idol-breaker," as he loves to style himself.<sup>5</sup> He was a native of Amid,<sup>6</sup> and must have been born early in the 6th century, according to Land about 505. He was ordained deacon in the convent of St John in 529, when he must have been at least twenty years of age.<sup>7</sup> In 534 the terrible pestilence of the reign of Justinian broke out, and at that time John was in Palestine,<sup>8</sup> having, doubtless, fled from Amid to avoid the persecution of the Monophysites by Abraham bar Kili (i) of Tellâ, bishop of Amid (from about 520 to 546), and Ephraïm bar Appian of Amid, patriarch of Antioch (527-544), "a much worse persecutor than Paul or Euphrasius."<sup>9</sup> In 535 we find him at Constantinople, where in the following year, according to Bar-Hebraeus,<sup>10</sup> he became bishop of the Monophysites in succession to the deposed Anthimus. Be this as it may, he was certainly received with great favour by Justinian, whose friendship and confidence he enjoyed for thirty years, and "had the administration of the entire revenues of all the congregations of the believers (i.e., the Monophysites) in Constantinople and everywhere else."<sup>11</sup> Wishing to root out heathenism in Asia Minor, obviously for political as well as religious reasons, the emperor appointed John to be his missionary bishop.<sup>12</sup> In this task he had great success, to which his faithful friend and fellow-labourer for thirty-five years, Deuterius, largely contributed.<sup>13</sup> He interested himself, too, in the missionary efforts of Julian, Theodore, and Longinus among the Nubians and Alodei.<sup>14</sup> In 546 the emperor employed him in searching out and putting down the secret practice of idolatry in Constantinople and its neighbourhood.<sup>15</sup> After the death of his patron the fortunes of John soon underwent a change. Bk. i. of the third part of his *History* commences with the persecution under Justin in 571, in which he suffered imprisonment.<sup>16</sup> His friend Deuterius, whom he had made bishop of Caria, was also persecuted, and died at Constantinople.<sup>17</sup> From this time forward John's story is that of his party, and the evidently confused and disordered state of his *History* is fully explained and excused by his own words in bk. ii. 50, where he tells us<sup>18</sup> "that most of these histories were written at the very time when the persecution was going on, and under the difficulties caused by its pressure; and it was even necessary that friends should remove the leaves on which these chapters were inscribed, and every other particle of writing, and conceal them in various places, where they sometimes remained for two or three

years. When therefore matters occurred which the writer wished to record, it was possible that he might have partly spoken of them before, but he had no papers or notes by which to read and know whether they had been described or not. If therefore he did not remember that he had recorded them, at some subsequent time he probably again proceeded to their detail; and therefore occasionally the same subject is recorded in more chapters than one; nor afterwards did he ever find a fitting time for plainly and clearly arranging them in an orderly narrative." Some of the chapters are actually dated at various times from A. Gr. 886 (575 A. D.) to 896 (585). The time and place of his death are unknown, but he cannot have lived long after 585, being then about eighty years of age.<sup>19</sup> His greatest literary work is his *Ecclesiastical History* in three parts, the first two of which, as he himself tells us,<sup>20</sup> embraced, in six books each, the period from Julius Cæsar to the seventh year of Justin II., whilst the third, also in six books, carried on the tale to the end of the author's life. The first part is entirely lost. Of the second we have copious excerpts in the *Chronicle* of Dionysius of Tell-Mahrâ,<sup>21</sup> and in two MSS. in the British Museum.<sup>22</sup> The third has fortunately come down to us, though with considerable lacuna, in Brit. Mus. Add. 14640 (of the 7th century).<sup>23</sup> This book is worthy of all praise for the fulness and accuracy of its information and the evident striving of the author after impartiality. The Syriac style, however, is very awkward and involved, and abounds in Greek words and phrases. Of scarcely less value for the history of his own time is another work entitled *Biographies of Eastern Saints*, men and women, contained in Brit. Mus. Add. 14647, ff. 1-135.<sup>24</sup> These lives were gathered into one corpus about 569, as appears from the account of the combination of the monasteries of Amid during the persecution of 521, which was put on paper in 567,<sup>25</sup> and from the history of the convent of St John, extending from its foundation in 389 to 568.<sup>26</sup> To these lives Land has added three more, which are ascribed in MSS. to John, but do not seem to have been included in this collection.<sup>27</sup>

The name of Zacharias Rhetor or Scholasticus, bishop of Mitylênê in Lesbos,<sup>28</sup> must next be mentioned, for, though a Greek author, his work has entered into the Syriac literature as part of a compilation by a Syrian monk. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Zacharias seems to have terminated about the year 518, whereas his Syriac translator was writing as late as 569,<sup>29</sup> and even later.<sup>30</sup> The MS. in the British Museum, Add. 17202,<sup>31</sup> cannot be younger than the beginning of the 7th century, and is clearly the compilation of a Monophysite, who used Zacharias as his chief authority in books iii.-vi.; whereas books i., ii., and vii.-xii. were gathered from different sources, such as Moses of Aggêl (about 550-570), Simeon of Bêth Arshâm (see above, p. 832), Mârâ of Amid (see above, p. 833), the correspondence of Julian of Halicarnassus and Severus of Antioch (see above, p. 834), the history of John of Ephesus,<sup>32</sup> &c. In a Syriac MS. in the Vatican (No. cxlv.)<sup>33</sup> we find a series of extracts from this Syriac work (f. 78 *sq.*) as a continuation of copious excerpts from the Greek histories of Socrates and Theodoret. The last of these, on the public buildings, statues, and other decorations of the city of Rome, has been carefully re-edited and annotated by Guidi.<sup>34</sup>

We turn from the historians to the ascetic writers of this century, who seem to have been more prized by their countrymen, though far less valuable to us. And first we mention the author who is commonly called John Sabhâ<sup>35</sup> or "the Aged," placing him here on John the authority of Assemani (B.O., i. 433), for 'Abhd-ishô' claims him Sabhâ as a Nestorian (B.O., iii. 1, 103). His *flourish* is given as about

<sup>1</sup> See Land, *Joannes Bischof von Ephesos, der erste Syrische Kirchenhistoriker*, 1856. A very useful book. <sup>2</sup> E.H., ed. Cureton, bk. i. ch. 3. <sup>3</sup> B.O., ii. 100; comp. pp. 85-90. <sup>4</sup> Add. 14647 (dated 688), ff. 136-139; Add. 14650 (dated 875), ff. 189-206. Edited by Land, *Anecd. Syr.*, ii. 389-329 and 385-391. See also a small fragment, *ibid.*, 363, from Add. 12154, f. 201b. <sup>5</sup> Edited by Cureton, 1853. There is an English translation by R. Payne Smith, 1860, and a German one by Schönfelder, 1862. <sup>6</sup> Edited by Land, *Anecd. Syr.*, ii. 1-288. <sup>7</sup> *Anecd. Syr.*, ii. 212, l. 17; see also p. 191, last two lines. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 288, ll. 2, 3. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 343-362. That of Jacob Burd'ânâ (*ibid.*, p. 364) is not his, at least in its present shape (see above, p. 833). There is a slightly different redaction of it in the Bibl. Nation. at Paris, Anc. fonds 144 (Zotenberg, *Catal.*, p. 137). <sup>10</sup> See Land, *Joannes Bischof von Ephesos*, p. 35 *sq.*, and *Anecd. Syr.*, iii., Preface. <sup>11</sup> Land, *Anecd. Syr.*, iii. pp. xi., xii., and p. 5, l. 21 *sq.* <sup>12</sup> See Wright, *Catal.*, p. 1046 *sq.* <sup>13</sup> Not a few chapters in books vii.-x. seem to be derived, in part at any rate, from the second part of the *Ecclesiastical History*. <sup>14</sup> *Catal.*, iii. 253; B.O., ii. 54 *sq.*; *Mal. Scripturum Veterum Nova Collectio*, x. pp. xi.-xiv., 382-388. The MS., which Assemani calls "pervetustus, Syriacis literis stronglyis exaratus" (p. 253), is not likely to be earlier than the middle of the 8th century, as it contains a work of the patriarch Elias, who sat from 728 to 728. <sup>15</sup> *Il Testo Siriano della Descrizione di Roma*, &c., from the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica di Roma*, fasc. iv. anno 1884 (Rome, 1885). It is also extant in a shorter form in Brit. Mus. Add. 12164, f. 158a (see Wright, *Catal.*, p. 284; Guidi, p. 226 *sq.*). <sup>16</sup> There is some uncertainty about his name. In B.O., i. 434, Assemani gives *ܝܘܗܢܢ ܫܒܗܐ*, John of Dillâh, which he says (p. 433), is a convent at Nineveh, on the opposite bank of the Tigris from Mosul. In vol. iii. 1, 108 he prints *ܝܘܗܢܢ ܫܒܗܐ*, which he renders Joannes