

= 823-824 A.D.<sup>1</sup> He sat for only four years, and was buried, like his predecessor, in the convent of Kēlīl-īshō' at Baghdād.

Thomas of Margā

In 217 A.H. = 832 A.D., the same year in which Sabhr-īshō' II succeeded to the patriarchate, a young man named Thomas, the son of one Jacob of Bēth Sherwānāyā, in the district of Salakh, entered the convent of Bēth 'Abhē, which seems at this time to have fallen off sadly in respect of the learning of its inmates.

Ishō' dādāh of Mar' or Merv.

Ishō' dādāh of Mar' or Merv, bishop of Hēdhattā' or al-Hādīthah, was a competitor with Theodosius for the patriarchate in 852. According to 'Abhd-īshō', his principal work was a commentary on the New Testament, of which there are MSS. in Berlin, Sachau 311, and in the collection of the S.P.C.K. It extended, however, to the Old Testament as well, for in Cod. Vat. cccclvii. we find the portions relating to Genesis and Exodus.

<sup>1</sup> Bar-Hebraeus (oc. cit.) says 205 A.H. = 820-821 A.D.; see above, p. 845. <sup>2</sup> Chron. Eccles., ii. 183-187. <sup>3</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 165-166. <sup>4</sup> Amr ibn Mattā' says that he wrote a commentary on Theologus, i.e. Gregory Nazianzen, B.O., iii. 1, 262, note 1. <sup>5</sup> See Badger, The Nestorians, ii. 19. <sup>6</sup> The pious Monophysites of St Mary Delpara cut up this volume for binding, &c., as they did some other Nestorian books of value in their library. <sup>7</sup> Cod. Vat. lxxxviii. 5 (Catal., ii. 483); cl. 9 (Catal., iii. 281); clxxxvii. 5 (Catal., iii. 408). Assemani supposes that the next article in clxxxvii. does not belong to Theodorus of Mopsuestia, but is taken from Ishō' bar Nōn's questions on Scripture. <sup>8</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 175. <sup>9</sup> Wright, Catal., p. 1176, col. 1. <sup>10</sup> B.O., iii. 435; iii. 1, 505 sq. <sup>11</sup> Ibid., iii. 1, 479; Hoffmann, Auszüge, pp. 244-245. <sup>12</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 483; comp. the ordinance of Sabhr-īshō', pp. 505-506. <sup>13</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 204 col. 1, 488 col. 2, 490 col. 2. <sup>14</sup> Ibid., iii. 1, 210, 510 col. 2. <sup>15</sup> Ibid., iii. 1, 210-212. <sup>16</sup> Mai, Script. Vett. Nova Coll., v. The name of the author is there given as Iescinaad, doubtless a misprint for dād. We are therefore surprised to find Martin writing, "Ichou had évéone d'Hadeth," Introd. à la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Test., p. 99. <sup>17</sup> The correct reading is dhē-hāmānāthā. <sup>18</sup> The Apology of El-Kindi, 1885. An English translation appeared in 1882, The Apology of Al-Kindy, &c., by Sir W. Muir.

al-Ma'mūn (813-833), and therefore synchronizes with the disputes of Theodore Abū Korrah, bishop of Harrān.<sup>19</sup> Being written in Arabic, it hardly belongs to this place, but is mentioned to avoid misapprehension.

Theodoros bar Khōni is stated to have been promoted by his uncle John IV. to the bishopric of Lāshōm in 893.<sup>20</sup> He was the author of scholia (on the Scriptures), an ecclesiastical history, and some minor works.

To about this period probably belongs another historian, the loss of whose work we have to regret. This is a writer named Ahrōn or Aaron, who is mentioned by Elias bar Shināyā under 273 A.H. = 886-887 A.D.<sup>21</sup>

In the 10th century the tale of Jacobite authors dwindles away to almost nothing. Most of the dignitaries of the church composed their synodical epistles and other official writings in Arabic, and the same may be said of the men of science, such as Abū 'Alī 'Isā ibn Ishāk ibn Zur'ah (943-1008) and Abū Zakariyā Yahyā ibn 'Adī, who died in 974 at the age of eighty-one. About the middle of the century we may venture to place the deacon Simeon, Simeon, whose Chronicle is cited by Elias bar Shināyā under 6 A.H. = 627, the deca. 628 A.D. and 310 = 922-923. The 11th century is somewhat more con-

prolific. A Persian Christian named Gisā,<sup>22</sup> leaving his native city of Ushnūkh or Ushnū in Adharbāigān, settled, after several removals, in the district of Gūbōs or Gūbās,<sup>24</sup> one of the seven dioceses of the province of Melitēne (Malatiah), and built there a humble church, in which he deposited sundry relics of St Sergius and St Bacchus, and cells for himself and his three companions. This happened in 958.<sup>25</sup> As the place grew in importance, other monks gradually resorted to it, and among them 'Mārī' Yōhānnān dē-John of Mārōn, or John (the son) of Mārōn,<sup>26</sup> a man of learning in both Mārōn. sacred and profane literature, who had studied under Mār Mēkīm at Edessa. Gisā, the founder of the convent, died at the end of twelve years, and was succeeded as abbot by his disciple Elias, who beautified the church. Meantime its fame increased as a seat of learning under the direction of John of Mārōn, and many scribes found employment there. The patriarch John VII., da-sérghā, "He of the Mat" (his only article of furniture),<sup>27</sup> was one of its visitors. Elias, on his retirement, nominated John of Mārōn as his successor, who, aided by the munificence of Emmanuel, a monk of Harrān and a disciple of the maphrian Syriacus,<sup>28</sup> rebuilt the church on a larger and finer scale, whilst a constant supply of fresh water was provided at the cost of a Taghrithan merchant named Mārithā. This was in 1001. About this time Elias bar Gāghā, a monk of Taghrith, founded a monastery near Melitēne, but died before it was finished. His work was taken up by one Eutychnos or Kulaib, who persuaded John of Mārōn to join him. Here again his teaching attracted numbers of pupils. At last, after the lapse of twelve years, when there were 120 priests in the convent, he suddenly withdrew by night from the scene of his labours and retired to the monastery of Mār Aaron near Edessa, where he died at the end of four years, about 1017. His commentary on the book of Wisdom is cited by Bar-Hebraeus in the Auszüge Rāzē.<sup>29</sup>

Mark bar Kikī was archdeacon of the Taghrithan church at Mosul, Mark and was raised to the dignity of maphrian by the name of Ignatius Kikī in 991.<sup>30</sup> After holding this office for twenty-five years, he became a Muḥammadan in 1016,<sup>31</sup> but recanted before his death, which took place at an advanced age<sup>32</sup> in great poverty. He composed a poem on his own fall, misery, and subsequent repentance, of which Bar-Hebraeus has preserved a few lines.<sup>33</sup>

According to Assemani, B.O., ii. 317 and cl., Bar-Hebraeus mentions in his Chronicle that a monk named Joseph wrote three discourses on the cruel murder of Peter the deacon by the Turks at Melitēne in 1058. The anecdote may be found in the edition of Bruns and Kirsch, p. 252 (transl. p. 258), but the discourses would seem rather to have dealt with the retribution that overtakes the retiring Turks at the hands of the Armenians and the wintry weather.

Yeshū' bar Shūshan (or Susanna), synellus of Theodore or John IX., was chosen patriarch by the eastern bishops, under the name of John X., in opposition to Hāyō or Athanasius VI., on whom the choice of their western brethren had fallen in 1058.<sup>34</sup> He soon abdicated, however, retired to a convent, and devoted himself to study.

<sup>19</sup> See Zotenberg, Catal., No. 204, 1 and 8, and No. 205. <sup>20</sup> B.O., ii. 440; iii. 1, 198. <sup>21</sup> See Baethgen, Fragmente, p. 3. <sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 2; Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., ii. 126, note 1. <sup>23</sup> Others write Gaiyāsā. <sup>24</sup> Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., i. 401 sq.; B.O., ii. 283, 850. <sup>25</sup> B.O., ii. 290. Gūbōs was on the right bank of the Euphrates, between the plain of Melitēne and Claudia. <sup>26</sup> Abbeloos, in a note on Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., i. 404, raises the question what connexion there may be between this historical personage and the somewhat shadowy "Joannes Maro," to whom Assemani has devoted a large space, B.O., i. 496-520. <sup>27</sup> B.O., ii. 182, 851. <sup>28</sup> Ibid., ii. 442. <sup>29</sup> B.O., ii. 288; see also p. cl. <sup>30</sup> Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., ii. 257; B.O., ii. 443. <sup>31</sup> See Baethgen, Fragmente, pp. 105, 153; B.O., iii. 289, note 1. <sup>32</sup> According to Cardāhi, Liber Thesauri, p. 140, in 1030 or 1040. <sup>33</sup> Chron. Eccles., ii. 289; B.O., ii. 443, and also p. cl. <sup>34</sup> Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., i. 437 sq.; B.O., ii. 141 (where there are errors see Add., p. 475), 854.

On the death of Athanasius he was reelected patriarch in 1064, and sat till 1073.<sup>1</sup> He carried on a controversy with the patriarch of Alexandria, Christodoulos, regarding the mixing of salt and oil with the Eucharistic bread according to the Syrian practice.<sup>2</sup> He compiled an anaphora, issued a collection of twenty-four canons,<sup>3</sup> and wrote many epistles,<sup>4</sup> chiefly controversial. Such are the letters in Arabic to Christodoulos on the oil and salt<sup>5</sup> and the letter to the catholicus of the Armenians.<sup>6</sup> The tract on the oil and salt is extant in Paris, Anc. fonds 54 (Zotenberg, Catal., p. 71), and there is an extract from it in Suppl. 32 (Zotenberg, Catal., p. 54). Bar-Shūshan also wrote four poems on the sack of Melitēne by the Turks in 1058,<sup>7</sup> and collected and arranged the works of Ephraim and Isaac of Antioch, which he had begun to write out with his own hand when he was interrupted by death.<sup>8</sup>

Sa'id bar Šabūni lived during the latter part of the 11th century. He was versed in Greek as well as Syriac, and well known as a literary man, especially as a writer of hymns.<sup>9</sup> The patriarch Athanasius VII. Abū 'l-Faraj bar Khammārē (1091-1129) raised him to the office of bishop of Mel tēne (Malatiah) in October 1094. His consecration took place at Kankērāth, near Amid, by the name of John, and he set out for Mālātiāh, which he entered on the very day that the gates were closed to keep out the Turks, who laid siege to it under Kilij Arslān (Da'ūd ibn Sulaimān), sultān of Iconium. He was murdered during the course of the siege, in July 1095, by the Greek commandant Gabrel.<sup>10</sup>

The Nestorian writers of these two centuries are both more numerous and more important than the Jacobite.

We may place at the head of our list the name of Hēnān-īshō' bar Sarōshwāi, who must have lived quite early in the 10th century, as he is cited by Elias of Anbār, who wrote about 922.<sup>11</sup> He was bishop of Hērtā' (al-Hirah), and published questions on the text of Scripture and a vocabulary with glosses or explanations,<sup>12</sup> which is constantly cited by his successor in this department of scholarship, Bar Bahlūl.<sup>13</sup>

With Bar Sarōshwāi we naturally connect Ishō' bar Bahlūl, in Arabic Abū 'l-Hasan 'Isā ibn al-Bahlūl, the fullest and most valuable of Syriac lexicographers. His date is fixed by that of the election of the catholicus 'Abhd-īshō' I., in which he bore a part, in 963.<sup>14</sup>

'Abhd-īshō' in his Catalogue, B.O., iii. 1, 261, mentions an author Abhzūdāh, a teacher in some school or college (skōlāyā), who composed a treatise containing demonstrations on various topics, alphabetically arranged and dedicated to his friend Kurtā.<sup>15</sup> In note 5 Assemani makes the very circumstantial statement, but without giving his authority, that Abhzūdāh was head of the college founded at Baghdād about 832 by Sabhr-īshō' II.,<sup>17</sup> under Sergius (860-872). But, if this writer be identical, as seems probable, with the Bazūdāh who was the author of a Book of Definitions described at some length by Hoffmann, De Hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristoteles, pp. 151-153, we must place him nearly a century later, because he cites the "scholia" of Theodore bar Khōni, who was appointed bishop of Lāshōm in 893.<sup>18</sup> The whole matter is, however, very obscure, and Hoffmann has subsequently (Opusc. Nestor., p. xxii.) sought to identify Bazūdāh, who was also called Michael (ibid., p. xxi.) with the Michael who is mentioned as a commentator on the Scriptures by 'Abhd-īshō', B.O., iii. 1, 147, and whom Assemani supposed to be the same as Michael bishop of al-Ahvāz (died in 852 or 854).<sup>19</sup> All then that appears to be certain is that the Persian Bazūdāh also bore the Christian name of Michael, and that, besides the alphabetically arranged demonstrations and the Book of Definitions, he composed a tract on man as the microcosm.<sup>20</sup>

Elias, bishop of Pēroz-Shābhōr or al-Anbār, flourished about 922, as appears from his disputes with the catholicus Abraham (905-937),<sup>21</sup> and his account of the miserable bishop Theodore of Bēth Garmāi, who, after his deposition by John bar Hēghirē (900-905) and subsequent absolution by Abraham, became a Muḥammadan.<sup>22</sup> He was

<sup>1</sup> Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., i. 445; B.O., ii. 143 (where there are again many errors, see Add., p. 475), 855. <sup>2</sup> B.O., ii. 144, 356. <sup>3</sup> Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., i. 446; B.O., ii. 355. <sup>4</sup> Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., i. 447; B.O., ii. 355. <sup>5</sup> B.O., ii. 508, col. 2. <sup>6</sup> Ibid., ii. 211, 383; Berlin, Sachau 60, 1. <sup>7</sup> Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Syr., p. 252 (transl., p. 258); B.O., ii. 317. <sup>8</sup> Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., i. 447; B.O., ii. 355. <sup>9</sup> Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., i. 449; B.O., ii. 211-212. <sup>10</sup> See one of these, an acrostic canon, used in the service of the assumption of the monastic garb, in Cod. Vat. li. (Catal., ii. 321, No. 31), Brit. Mus. 17232 (Wright, Catal., p. 372; No. 22), Paris, Suppl. 38 (Zotenberg, Catal., p. 74, No. 84), Bodl. Hunt. 44 (P. Smith, Catal., p. 243, No. 9). <sup>11</sup> Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Syr., pp. 278-279 (transl., pp. 284-285). <sup>12</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 260, col. 2, at foot. <sup>13</sup> Hashādāhā are ḫōpōreis and λέξεις; see Hoffmann, Opusc. Nestor., p. xxii. <sup>14</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 261; see Payne Smith, The. Syr., passim. <sup>15</sup> Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., iii. 251; B.O., ii. 442, iii. 1, 200 col. 2; Gesenius, De BA et BB, p. 26; see Payne Smith, The. Syr., passim. An edition of his Lexicon; by M. R. Duval, is now (1887) being printed in Paris at the expense of the French Government. <sup>16</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 261. <sup>17</sup> Ibid., ii. 435. <sup>18</sup> See above, p. 848. <sup>19</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 210, note 2, col. 2. Michael's Book of Questions is quoted by Solomon of al-Basrah in The Bee, ed. Budge, p. 135. <sup>20</sup> Hoffmann, op. cit., p. xxi. <sup>21</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 258, note 3; Baethgen, Fragmente, pp. 84, 141. <sup>22</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 234, col. 1, at foot.

the author of a collection of metrical discourses in three volumes,<sup>23</sup> an apology, epistles, and homilies.<sup>24</sup>

George, metropolitan of Mosul and Arbēl, was promoted to this George dignity by the catholicus Emmanuel about 945, and died after 987, of Mosul. He contested the patriarchate three times but in vain, viz.,—in 961, and when Isrā'el was elected,<sup>25</sup> in 963, when 'Abhd-īshō' I. was the Arbēl. successful candidate,<sup>26</sup> and in 987, when the choice of the synod fell on Mārī bar Tōbi.<sup>27</sup> His chief work was an exposition of the ecclesiastical offices for the whole year, in seven sections, of which Assemani has given a full analysis in B.O., iii. 1, 518-540.<sup>28</sup> Some specimens of his turgānē or hymns may be found in Codd. Vat. xc. and xci. (Catal., ii. 487, No. 27, and 490, No. 24), and Berlin, Sachau 167, 2.

The date of Emmanuel bar Shāhhārē<sup>29</sup> is fixed by his presence at the consecration of 'Abhd-īshō' I. in 963.<sup>30</sup> He was teacher in the school of Mār Gabriel in the convent called the Dairā 'Ellāitā at Mosul. Cardāhi places his death in 980.<sup>31</sup> Besides some minor expository treatises, he wrote a huge work on the Hexæmeron or six days of creation.<sup>32</sup> The Vatican MS.<sup>33</sup> contains twenty-eight discourses, of which the second is wanting, and a twenty-ninth is added On Baptism. It is dated 1707. The MS. in the Brit. Mus., Orient. 1300, dated 1635, also contains twenty-eight discourses, of which the second is wanting.<sup>34</sup> Some of them are in seven-syllable, others in twelve-syllable metre.<sup>35</sup> Cardāhi has published a specimen in his Liber Thesauri, pp. 68-71. Emmanuel's brother, 'Abhd-īshō' bar Shāhhārē, is mentioned by Assemani, B.O., iii. 540, and by Cardāhi. The latter has printed part of one of his poems, on Michael of Amid, a companion of Mār Eugenius, in Liber Thesauri, pp. 136-137. It is taken from Cod. Vat. cxxxiv. (Catal., iii. 395). But there the author is called Bar Shi'arah, ܐܒܝ ܫܝܪܐܗ, and is said to have been a monk of the convent of Michael (at Mosul).

Somewhere about the end of this century we may venture to Andreas place a writer named Andrew, to whom 'Abhd-īshō' has given a place in his Catalogue, and whom Assemani has chosen to identify Andrew, with the well known Andrew, bishop of Samosāta, the opponent of Cyril of Alexandria.<sup>36</sup> The words of 'Abhd-īshō', if we understand them rightly, mean that this Andrew wrote turgānē (or hymns of a particular kind) and a work on pulḫām sēyānē, the placing of the diacritical and vowel points and marks of interpunction.<sup>37</sup> He was therefore an inoffensive grammarian.

Elias, the first Nestorian catholicus of the name, was a native of Elias I., Karkhā dhē-Gheddān,<sup>38</sup> was trained in Baghdād and al-Madāin, Nestor- and became bishop of Tirhān, whence he was advanced to the ian cat- primacy in 1028, and sat till 1049.<sup>39</sup> According to 'Abhd-īshō', he olicus compiled canon and ecclesiastical decisions, and composed gram- matrical tracts.<sup>40</sup> According to Mārī ibn Sulaimān,<sup>41</sup> he was th author of a work on the principles of religion in twenty-two chapters, which may be identical with the second of the above, and of a form of consecration of the altar (quddās al-madkhāb). His Grammar was composed in his younger days, before he became bishop. It has been edited and translated from a MS. at Berlin<sup>42</sup> by Baethgen.<sup>43</sup> A tract of his on the diacritical points and marks of interpunction is cited and used by John bar Zō'bi.<sup>44</sup>

Abū Sa'id 'Abhd-īshō' bar Bahriz was abbot of the convent of 'Abhd- Elias or Sa'id at Mosul, and a candidate for the patriarchate when ishō' bar Elias I. was elected in 1028. He was subsequently promoted to Bahriz, be metropolitan of Athōr or Mosul.<sup>45</sup> He collected ecclesiastical canons and decisions,<sup>46</sup> wrote on the law of inheritance,<sup>47</sup> and an exposition of the offices of the church.

Assemani has assigned the same date to Daniel (the son) of Daniel of Tūbhānīthā, bishop of Tahal in Bēth Garmāi, but without any Tahāl. sufficient reason.<sup>48</sup> If he be really identical with the Daniel to

<sup>23</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 258-260; Cod. Vat. cxxxviii. (Catal., ii. 383); Berlin, Sachau 132; collection of the S.P.C.K.; Cardāhi, Liber Thesauri, pp. 72-76. <sup>24</sup> In Cod. Vat. xci. (Catal., ii. 491, No. 35) there is a homily ascribed to Elias of Anbār, but the Syriac text has Paul. <sup>25</sup> B.O., ii. 442. <sup>26</sup> See also Codd. Vat. cxviii., cxlix., and clxiii., in Catal., iii. 277 sq. In Cod. Vat. cl. (Catal., iii. 280) there are questions regarding various services, baptism, and communion at Easter. <sup>27</sup> See B.O., iii. 1, 540. In Arabic ash-Shāhhār or, according to another reading, ash-Shā'ār (see end of this paragraph). <sup>28</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 200, col. 2. <sup>29</sup> Liber Thesauri, p. 71. <sup>30</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 277. <sup>31</sup> No. clxxxii. (Catal., iii. 380). <sup>32</sup> There are two MSS. in Berlin, Sachau 160-170 and 309-310 (see Sachau, Reise, pp. 364-365), and one in the collection of the S.P.C.K. <sup>33</sup> In the MS. Brit. Mus. it is said that this is only the fourth volume of the Hexæmeron, ܬܘܒܝܗ ܕܠܗܘܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ. <sup>34</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 202. <sup>35</sup> See Hoffmann, Opusc. Nestor., pp. vii., viii. And so Abraham Ecehellensis rendered the words, librum de ratione punctandi. <sup>36</sup> In Arabic Karkh Juddān, in Bēth Garmāi; see Hoffmann, Auszüge, pp. 254, 275. <sup>37</sup> B.O., iii. 262-263; Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., ii. 285-287. <sup>38</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 265. <sup>39</sup> Alter Bestand 36, 15, in Kurzes Verzeichniss, &c., p. 31. <sup>40</sup> Syrische Grammatik des Mar Elias von Tirhan, 1880. <sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 263, col. 1. <sup>42</sup> See B.O., iii. 1, 265, note 7; Catal. Vat., iii. 411 (under No. ii.); Wright, Catal., p. 1176, col. 2. <sup>43</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 263-264. <sup>44</sup> B.O., iii. 1, 279. <sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 267, col. 2, lin. penult. <sup>46</sup> That he follows 'Abhd-īshō' bar Bahriz in the Catalogue of 'Abhd-īshō' is no evidence whatever as to his date; and the work mentioned in B.O., iii. 1, 174, notes 3 and 4, is not by Bar Bahriz, but by George of Mosul and Arbēl (see Cod. Vat. clxiii.).

