The Life of Christopher

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Abstract

Christopher, a native of Baghdad who became patriarch of Antioch in about 349/960, was assassinated by Muslim rebels in 356/967 because of his loyalty to their Muslim ruler. When the Byzantines conquered Antioch two years later, his story was told in a variety of ways by those with different and competing interests. Christopher was mentioned in Byzantine histories and in Antiochian liturgies. However, by far the most extensive and detailed version of the story comes to us in the Life of Christopher, written by Ibrāhīm b. Yūhannā, a Byzantine bureaucrat and translator who grew up in Antioch and knew Christopher when he, Ibrāhīm, was a young boy. The hagiography was originally composed in Greek and translated by its author into Arabic, but only the Arabic survives. Here I provide, for the first time, both a critical edition of the two known Arabic manuscripts and a full English translation. This text is a valuable testimony to Christian life in Antioch under both the Ḥamdānids and the Byzantines, and to the difficulties of life along the constantly shifting frontier of medieval northern Syria.

Along with the history of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, with which it has a close and complex relationship, the Life of Christopher is one of our most important testimonies to Christian life in Ḥamdānīd Syria. The Chalcedonian patriarch Christopher (d. 356/967), whose birth name was ʿĪsā, was born and raised in Baghdad, the Life tells us. He then moved to Syria and entered the Ḥamdānīd bureaucracy, where he became a favorite of the emir Sayf al-Dawla (r. 333–56/944–67). In about 349/960, he became the patriarch of Antioch, the last to serve in that position before the Byzantine conquest of the city in 358/969. The Life was written by the Byzantine official Ibrāhīm b. Yūhannā. Ibrāhīm knew Christopher when the former was a young boy, but he did not write the Life until

1. Much of the information in this introduction, along with an earlier version of this translation, can also be found in my dissertation: Joshua Mugler, “A Martyr with Too Many Causes: Christopher of Antioch (d. 967) and Local Collective Memory” (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2019).

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his old age, around the late 410s/1020s. According to the heading of the text, he originally wrote it in Greek and then translated his own text into Arabic. Nevertheless, only the Arabic survives—and that only in two or possibly three manuscripts, one of which is currently unaccounted for.

The Ḥamdānids were one of many provincial dynasties that came to power as the central authority of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate found itself stretched thin. They were members of the Arab tribe of Taghlib and originated from northern Mesopotamia. Nominally subordinate to the government in Baghdad, different branches of the family ruled Mosul and Aleppo from the early fourth/tenth century to the early fifth/eleventh. It seems that they had Shi‘i sympathies, but they were not aggressively sectarian, and their allegiances sometimes shifted with the tides of political opportunism.

Most of Christopher’s adult life took place under the rule of the first Ḥamdānid emir of Aleppo, Sayf al-Dawla. Sayf al-Dawla made himself famous by patronizing some of the most prominent writers of the time, most notably the poets al-Mutanabbi (d. 354/965) and Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī (320–57/932–68), a cousin of the emir. Other scholars criticized Sayf al-Dawla’s harsh policies, but in the Life of Christopher we can see the protagonist receiving some of the same generous patronage that prompted so many celebrated poems.

Unfortunately for Sayf al-Dawla, his rise to power in northern Syria coincided with a great expansion in Byzantine power, and during the reigns of Sayf al-Dawla and his descendants, the Byzantine Empire began to regain territory in this region for the first time since the first-/seventh-century Muslim conquests. Most of the Life’s action takes place within this context, as Byzantine advances led to panic and rebellion in cities such as Antioch that grew ever nearer to the border. A major rebellion broke out in Antioch in 354/965, and this forms the pivot point of Christopher’s patriarchate in the Life. Although Sayf al-Dawla was able to suppress the uprising, he had already begun to suffer from hemiplegia and was largely confined to his bed until his death in Ṣafar 356/February 967, at which point the brief power vacuum prompted further chaos in Ḥamdānid territory.

As the Ḥamdānids struggled with both internal and external pressures, the armies of Emperor Nikephoros II (r. 352–59/963–69) conquered Antioch in Dhū al-Ḥijja 358/October 969. Although Nikephoros was soon assassinated, his successor, John I (r. 359–65/969–76), thrilled to have regained control of the city that was once the great metropolis of Syria, quickly sought to reintegrate Antioch into the empire. As Gilbert Dagron puts it, “without Antioch, the ‘reconquest’ would win no more for Byzantium than some lands and cities;

4. For selections from these poets and other authors that discuss Sayf al-Dawla and the events that took place under his rule, see Marius Canard, Sayf al Daula (Algiers: Editions Jules Carbonel, 1934).
5. Hugh Kennedy mentions the geographer Ibn Ḥawqal, who painted “a grim picture of overtaxation and exploitation”; see Kennedy, Prophet, 229.
6. Ibid., 241.
with Antioch, it created a second pole, the virtual capital of a Roman Orient.” John sent secular and ecclesiastical administrators from Constantinople and other parts of the empire to make Antioch Roman again. These administrators included the new patriarch, Theodore II, who is mentioned briefly in the Life. The empire undertook the translation of the liturgy of Constantinople into Syriac for use in the Church of Antioch, replacing local practices with those of the capital. The Life also mentions several stages of imperial commemoration of Christopher, showing the new administration’s determination to incorporate this local martyr into the new ecclesiastical order.

The Life was written after about fifty years of these imperial efforts and reflects some degree of local discontent with Roman control. The preceding rule of Sayf al-Dawla is presented in glowing terms, emphasizing the nuances and positive aspects of life with Muslims at a time when the empire viewed them primarily as foreign enemies. The text celebrates the autonomy and influence of the Antiochian Church under Muslim rule, in stark contrast to the situation of the church within the Byzantine Empire. Around the time that the Life was composed, in the late 410s/1020s, the empire’s fortunes in the region began to turn again, and after decades of stagnation and lost ground, Antioch fell to the Seljuk Turks in 477/1084.

We know fairly little about the life of Ibrāhīm b. Yūḥannā, author of the Life of Christopher, but we can make a general sketch. He was born in the early 340s/950s in Antioch to a prominent family with close connections to the church, and he was educated there under Patriarch Christopher. He spent his career within the Byzantine bureaucracy and attained the rank of prōtospatharios, along the way producing Arabic translations of some of the Greek works that had recently become available in Antioch thanks to the Byzantine reconquest of that city. These included works attributed to some of the greatest fourth-century CE Christian theologians, such as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Ibrāhīm’s older contemporary Symeon Metaphrastēs. It is very likely that he was also closely involved with the imperial project of translating the Constantinopolitan liturgy into Syriac. Late in life, Ibrāhīm finally found the time to compose a hagiography of Christopher in Greek and Arabic—likely in conjunction with the celebration of Christopher’s life under Patriarch Nicholas II in the 410s/1020s—as he had long intended to do. He must have died around 421/1030 or shortly thereafter. Although he is not as famous as some other translators from middle Byzantine Antioch, most notably ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl (d. ca. 444/1052), his life


8. Theodore is mentioned in §18 of the Life. For examples of Byzantines sent to administer the frontier cities, see Jean Darrouzès, ed., Épistoliers byzantins du X° siècle (Paris: Institut français d’études byzantines, 1960).


offers an important window into the transition from Ḥamdānid Muslim rule to Byzantine Christian rule in Antioch, which he describes in the *Life*.¹¹

Other testimonies to Christopher’s story are far more limited in detail. They include Byzantine histories in Greek and entries in Antiochian liturgical calendars, both Syriac and Arabic. The history of Leo the Deacon, for example, claims that Antioch’s “former Hagarene ruler killed the patriarch Christopher, an apostolic and divinely inspired man, by driving a javelin through his chest, bringing against the man the charge of reverence for Christ the Savior.”¹² This brief statement strips the story of any complexity and lends itself well to a polemic against the tyranny endured by Christians under Muslim rule. By contrast, the *Life* provides a much more nuanced picture of the situation.

The earliest and most reliable manuscript of the *Life* is Sinai Arabic 405 (S), which consists of the May–June volume of a full-year Menologion, a compilation of saints’ lives according to the ecclesiastical calendar.¹³ The manuscript was copied at Mount Sinai in Kānūn al-Awwal 6843 Anno mundi, or Rabīʿ al-Thānī 735/December 1334. It was microfilmed by the Library of Congress in 1950, and the microfilm has now been made digitally available on the library’s website. More recently, the manuscript has been digitized in color and made available through the website of UCLA’s Sinai Manuscripts Digital Library project.¹⁴

The second manuscript (Z) was copied by Būlus b. al-Zaʿīm (d. 1079/1669), also known as Paul of Aleppo, son of Patriarch Makarios III (d. 1083/1672). It is a compilation of stories and other texts relevant to the history of Antioch. This manuscript was published with a French translation by Habib Zayat in 1952, but Zayat did not have access to the Sinai manuscript. Zayat says that Būlus’s manuscript “is found in our possession” (*se trouve en notre possession*) but does not clarify this statement or explain where the manuscript is located.¹⁵ After his death in 1954, the matter became even more obscure, and there is now


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no way to determine where this copy can be found. Fortunately Zayat’s edition is available until Būlus’s manuscript is uncovered again.

Alexander Treiger has recently discovered an additional copy of the Antiochian Menologion, presumably including the Life of Christopher, located in St. Petersburg: National Library of Russia, Arab. N.S. 92. This eight-volume set was copied in Damascus in 1261/1845 by Ḥannā b. Jirjis Ṣarrūf al-Dimashqī. Treiger believes that it was copied from a manuscript in the collection of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate in Damascus and that the antigraph was subsequently destroyed in the sectarian conflicts of 1276/1860, while Arab. N.S. 92 was brought to Russia by Porfirīĭ Uspenskīĭ. It will hopefully be available for study soon, but I have not been able to consult it in the process of preparing this edition.

An edition of the text was published by Ignatius Dick in 1997, but even though it uses both the Sinai manuscript and Zayat’s text, it is not a critical edition. It lacks a thorough presentation of the variants between the manuscripts and instead presents a seamless text that leans heavily on the Sinai manuscript, bringing in occasional corrections from Zayat. Furthermore, it is extremely difficult to obtain a copy of this book outside the Middle East. Finally, Sofia Moiseeva published a Russian translation of Zayat’s text in 2013, incorporating only those Sinai variants that were found in a short excerpt published in a 1979 article by Joseph Nasrallah.

Zayat explains that his copy of the text was damaged and that Būlus himself was copying from a badly damaged copy. Būlus writes:

Be aware, my brother, that at the beginning of the patriarchate of my father, I found this marvelous and unique account at the end of a very old book, badly written, deprived of diacritical points, nearly illegible, and gnawed by mites; numerous passages had also disappeared. But in all the Arab countries with their monasteries and churches, I have not been able to find a second copy of it. I believed it necessary to reproduce it here, because it is so precious.

Thus Zayat’s text, although extremely valuable as a second witness alongside Sinai Ar. 405, has suffered greatly from the ravages of time.

The historical sections of the Life bear an obvious resemblance to those found in Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī’s history, known as the Dhayl. Scholars have typically explained the similarity by claiming that the Life is “the source” of these elements of the Dhayl. In most cases, these scholars worked only with Zayat’s published text, in which the verbatim

borrowing from one text to the other is extensive. However, when examining the S version of the *Life*, the relationship between the two works becomes far murkier: there is greater divergence between the two extant manuscripts in the historical sections than there is in other sections, and the most significant differences concern the summaries and verbatim equivalents of al-Anṭākī’s account, which are consistently found in Z but have no parallel—or are phrased very differently—in S.\(^\text{21}\)

The Z variants contain nothing that is not found in al-Anṭākī’s text, but S does contain information not found elsewhere. For example, when Christopher is assassinated, Z states that the murderers threw his head into a public bath furnace—as described in al-Anṭākī’s *Dhayl*—whereas S claims instead that his body was dragged around the city on a ladder, a detail found in no other source.\(^\text{22}\) This makes it highly unlikely that the recension contained in S was produced by editing an original text closer to Z. Instead, it seems likely that the redactor of Z’s version edited an earlier text while copying and summarizing material from the *Dhayl*. The fact that S is an earlier manuscript witness than Z is circumstantial evidence for this position. The editing may have been carried out by Būlus b. al-Zaʿīm or by one of his predecessors. Perhaps it was done to make the text more historically rich and—occasionally—more straightforwardly comprehensible, as the literary style of S is sometimes rather difficult to follow.\(^\text{23}\) Counterintuitively, therefore, much of the material shared between the two texts was actually added from al-Anṭākī’s text to Ibrāhīm’s by a later editor, not borrowed from Ibrāhīm’s work by al-Anṭākī himself.

Other, less substantial variants between S and Z involve the replacement of archaic or obscure words in S with their more current equivalents in Z or simply glossing obscure terms, as Z does with the term *bāqūlā*.\(^\text{24}\) With all this in mind, it seems nearly certain that S is closer to the original text of the *Life* than Z is, especially in the historical sections in which Z relies heavily on borrowing from al-Anṭākī’s work. As a result, my approach in the edition has been to prefer the reading of S in most cases. This approach yields a more

\[\text{21. The one exception to this rule occurs in §17 of the *Life*, where S recounts in detail that Peter the Stratopedarchēs was attacking Aleppo while the Syrian gang was trying to return the captive Ibn Mānik to him. Here S follows closely the description of events in al-Anṭākī’s *Dhayl*, whereas Z simply states that the Syrians “brought him [Ibn Mānik] to the stratopedarchēs” and ignores the attack on Aleppo altogether. Compare Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, “Histoire de Yahya-Ibn-Sa’ïd d’Antioche, continuateur de Sa’ïd-Ibn-Bitriq,” ed. and trans. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, *Patrologia orientalis* 18, no. 5 (1924): 699–833, at 823–24.}\]


\[\text{23. For example, S has a tendency to describe major characters and refer to them by epithets without revealing their names until the end of their part in the story, if at all. Z rearranges the text to introduce characters by name, generally when they are first mentioned. This difference helps explain some of the quirks noted by Moiseeva. For example, Moiseeva notes an instance in which an entire set of sentences is repeated; it now seems clear that the first occurrence of these sentences is borrowed from al-Anṭākī and placed earlier in Z, whereas the second occurrence, found later in both manuscripts, reflects Ibrāhīm’s original composition. The borrowing from al-Anṭākī thus explains the repetition. See Sofia A. Moiseeva, “The Early Melkite Arabic Hagiography (IXth–XIth Centuries): Evolution of the Literary Style,” *Parole de l’Orient* 39 (2014): 33–56, at 51; Ibrāhīm, *Life*, §17; al-Anṭākī, “Histoire,” 814.}\]

\[\text{24. Ibrāhīm, *Life*, §17.}\]
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accurate picture of the text composed by Ibrāhīm b. Yūḥannā in the fifth/eleventh century while still giving access to the redactor’s later work in the apparatus.

Beyond variants, S fills most of the gaps present in the damaged text of Z. More noteworthy than any of these variants and lacunae, however, is the presence in S of a two-page ethical preface that has been completely excised from Z. In this introductory section, Ibrāhīm lays out a vision of human nature and divine justice that should shape the way we read the text as a whole. He emphasizes the human capacity to improve and to turn away from a past life of sin—or even just a past life of ethical mediocrity—and argues that we, like God, “should view all those whom we see according to the way they look at the end of their days, whether they have been good and righteous or have returned to goodness and righteousness after straying far away.”25 This is the context in which Ibrāhīm introduces his protagonist, Christopher, whose early life in the luxurious context of government employment was suspect in ethical terms, but who turned from that life to one of asceticism and generosity when he became the patriarch of Antioch. The inclusion of this preface and the benefits to be gained from critically comparing the two manuscripts will greatly improve our understanding of this valuable text.

In this edition and translation, I have largely kept to the standard spelling of modern Arabic with respect to issues such as the presence or absence of dots on the letters ى and ي and the letters ٌ and ٤. However, I have preserved the forms of S that do not indicate the hamza, or glottal stop. I have also standardized proper names, which often differ slightly between the two manuscripts and from one occurrence to the next within a single manuscript, and I have not indicated their numerous small variants. Otherwise, all variants have been noted in the apparatus to the edition; in the translation, I have mentioned only those variants that seem especially noteworthy or entail significant changes in meaning. The notes to the translation also clarify historical and narrative details that are relevant for understanding the text. I use س (in the edition) and S (in the translation) to refer to Sinai Arabic 405, and ز and Z to refer to the lost manuscript edited by Zayat in 1952. Folio numbers in both edition and translation refer to the folios of S, from fol. 111v to fol. 131r.

قصة سيرة البطريرك على انطاكية الشهيد خريسطوفورس وشهادته بها
الفها ابراهيم بن يحنا الابروطباثار الملكي بها يونانيا ثم نقلها ايضا عربيا نفعنا الله بها امين

ان الطبوعة والجري على الصورة الإلهية فعل من افعال الله تبارك ذكرها. فاما الخطية والتعريج عن الرسوم الموجودة في الصورة فذلك فعل من افعال الشرير.

وافعلنا نحن فقلنا اولا انه من افعال الله لا اعارف الكالت هناه تعاليا اسمه من غير موجود خلق الموجودات وآكرم انسان بيدا ذال خلقه على صورته وذكرنا في الثاني من افعال الله ابنه حسب ابنه ادم على هذه الكرامة التي وصل اليها، فغزر وخدى بامل الشقا وصاريحو إلى الهبوط والسقوط من الفضائل الطبيعية ومناقب الصورة التي صور عليها. فمن هاهنا صار ثبات الطبيعية على اسها وفاعدها وترك الانحياز عن مركز الصورة ضيافة. وصارت الاحادة عن واجبات الطبيعية والميال عن قاعدتها الى اية جهة كان ذلك. وترك قصد الصورة نحو ما صورت عليه وتوجها الي ضد ذلك نقتضةً وذنلاً.

فمن هاهنا صار ما ذكره النبي اذ قال انا سأحكم عليك لما اجذك الى فنا اولا اولا. لعمري ان ذلك من افعال الله مشا عنك وناهي عنك. فان الله يعني عنك وما جبل على قصدك. وعليما عدلنا عنه عبد الله قصيرة في صورنا لتكون ذلك من تناقل وعلاقته معه وناحية في المحدث به. ثم ان الله يعني عنك وما جبل على قصدك. وعليما عدلنا عنه عبد الله قصيرة في صورنا لتكون ذلك من تناقل وعلاقته معه وناحية في المحدث به.

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والذي نعرف به هذه الصورة فهو خريسطوفورس البطريرك العظيم والشهيد الكريم فيما قدم له من عطاءه لما كان كاتبًا1، والشهد الجلد فيما تأخر له بعد ذلك من الجهاد والنسك الذي لم تقدم له عادة ولا سلغت رياضه له القوي الحرارة في الغيرة وعلى الصغار من الصالحين والزائد الحرارة فيما بعد في المجاهدة عن الحق.

وهذا فوطنه كان30 مدينة السلام بغداد التي اعتضاها ولد هاجر عن مدينة أكسيفون مدينة ملكتهم في الأول، وارض علمهم والنفي من الفاظهم. أما والدائه فلم يست أعرف صورتهما كيف كانت غير أنهما على كل حال كبيران جليلان. لأنهما لمثلهما31 والدها. أما مدة تروبيتهما فكانت بسيرته في مدينته بمدار ما احتاج إليه من التأدب باويل العلم حتى احكم ما امكن من بلاغة القول. وأحكم أكثر من ذلك صناعة الكتابة باليد. لأنه كان إذا ما كان يكتب لم يكن كيف يميز الأفضل من حال خطبه في الحسن أم في السرعة. فإن هاتين الحالتين لم تكونا بالمواظبة في إنسان واحد واحد متساويين. وأما فيه فلم تكونا متساويتين فقط. بل قد كان يظن من يراه.

فمن ها هنا ومن الفضيلة التي حصلت له مما ذكرناه بين من النضافة32 الأدبية التي عنيت بكريسا رأس السليحيين عندما لم يتسير له المعام في وطنه طويلًا بل لما تابعب بما امكن مما ذكرنا نشبت بالاب المختار الذي انتقل من تلك الدنيا. فانتقل وهو أيضا. لأنه كان كرهاً كرهاً هو أيضا للجماعة إما كبيرًا. فانتقل من بلد الكذانين إلى بلد السريانيين. ولست اعتني بعد33 السريانيين بلد الكذانين الذي هو في هذا الوقت بل فلكستان. فألعي البلد القريب منه وهو نازح قليلاً عن وهو بلد جليل. وكان الذي في ذلك كله من الله الذي يجعل مبادئه34 تقدملا طبيعية تنتهي35 فيما بعد إلى غاية محمودة. وفيما لجماعة من الناس فائدة. فهو عز وجل لا يزال يقدم من الصغار متقدمات لكبار لا ينهر بما يراه من الصغار مقدمات لكبار لا ينهر بما يراه

وذلك أن ابن محمد الملقب بسيف الدولة كان37 ذكره كبيراً وقد كانت حاله في ذلك الوقت في هذا الصقع كبيرة. وكانت أثاره جليلة. فكان يعني38 بكل من كانت له فضيلة من الناس لما كان فيه من الكرم وكبير الهمة فكان كالحجر المغنيطس يجذب الناس بالحسن39 والنضافة سارية الأفكار. فذلك قدصه الذي تشبه بالاب القديم في النقلة. وكان اسمه في الأول عيسى.40 وكان يعني ان يكون ما كان سميًا مما كان يعني ان يسمى وكان قد تقدم فضيلة. وكان يحسب ما ليس المسيح من المعودية كذلك كان مستنفاً ان يليمه ومن ذمه.
فسلمه على بن حمدان إلى مأمون كبير من أرما البادية يسمى خليفة بن جندي وكانت امارته في ناحية شيزر.

قصر عمي معه رأسيما كلمة مردودة من جهته الله. ولم يكن عند الأخلاقين في الأول معرفا ولا بالجملة مسموعاً أو موصوفاً ولكن غرب بعد ذلك مما نحن ذكرناه. وذلك أن اكسيفون الذي ذكرناها كانت كبيرة وعظمية الذكر. لأنها كانت تخداً وحداً وتزيراً لمملكة الفرس. وكان فيها جمعة من النصارى لا يسمى راعيهم مطراناً. لأن رتبة المطرنة لم تكن فيها كفارة لرعاية جمع مثل هذا كبير في سائر بلاد فارس ورد إمرهم إلى أساقفة وبحدهم فكان يكاد أيضاً أن يكونوا قليلين. بل قد كانت الحاجة داعية إلى أساقفة كثيرين واسعنة، هذه صورتهم في الكلمة. فما كان يمكن مطراناً واحداً أن يسيمه ويشرعنهم. فدعت الحاجة الضرورية إلى كون أساقفة كثيرين. ومع ذلك فكانت تلك الدية شاسعة بعيدة عن مدينةٍ بالمسمى باسم الله، وكان ذلك الموضع في مملكة الفرس يمنع عن المصير في أكثر الأوقات إلى الطائكة حتى يصلح لكل موضع مطراناً.

فقدم لهذه الحال من القضايا سياسة أخرى قد جرى مثلها في أسم مختلفة وأماكن بعيدة مثل بلد الجزرات والبلغر والإسبانيا والبلغر. إن باسماً يكون السلطان أكثر من سلطان المطران ويسمي كاثوليكا كما يسمى في تلك المواقع التي ذكرناها. فتبعنا هذا العادة وشرعن المقدمة على مدينة كاثوليكا على مدينة اكسيفون.

ولما بنى الهاجريون مدينة السلام التي هي بغداد ارادوا ان ينقلوا النصارى من البلد منها. فشقولهم إلى بلد بعيد من بلاد الفرس يدعى شيشان. ونقلوا اليه الكاثوليكا مع من نفوذ من أصحابه. وسميت تلك العширة المتقلة جماعة الروم. فوجب أن يكون اسم جمعهم هذا الآسم.

واقصر قام الكاثوليكا في شيشان مدة من الزمن ولم يكن أحد ينتظر عليه ذلك ولا يجازع فيه. فلما ابتدا جمع من السري الروم يجتمع ويستعجٍ ويستعجِ، منهم جماعة بدت حينية متزيلة مما بين الفرسين. فقال الجمع المجتمع في بغداد للنصارى أن الكاثوليكا لنا ونحن أولى به. لأن مقامه كان في اكسيفون واكتيسفون فهي صبننا في جوارنا

**References:**
- Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā 29 (2021)
والغريب منا. وقال من كان في شاش لنا نحن من أجل ذلك الموضوع والمتقللون من هناك إلى ها هنا كاثوليك المشترق généreux. وحسب ما أن الإنسان أكبر من كل ما في الأرض. فكذلنا. نحن أوجب أن يكون الكاثوليك لنا الذي احتل معنا ونا قد تمذى كأنه من الخلفية ناطقين. ووجب لنا ذلك أكثر من وجوهه لك. لانك تطلبون أن يكون لكم التقدم من الحارة والتراب.

وبينما كانت المشاجرة فيما بين الفريقين على هذه الحال اتفق أنه تعوي الكاثوليك الذي كان في ذلك الوقت واحتجت بعده إلى إنسان آخر ينتمي إلى مدينة أوشاكية من رومجرد ثلاثة رسل طالبين شروطية كاثوليك. وكان احدهم قد بقيا بالاستفادة، أما القليل والمصنف رأيتهم وانا صبي مقيمين بكنيستنا وقابلين أنهم لن يعودوا إلا بعد أن يسمع منهم ويوهلو لنا. الكاثوليك قد قدموا من أهمي الأرض طالبيه. فكان عيسى المقدم دنوه قد سمع بقدومهم ولم يحسن موقع ما وردوا فيه منه لأنه كان بدأوا وأخذ المعاونين في باب الكاثوليك والتقدم في ذلك. فجاء من زمان ما وردوا فيه مما تراخي. ولا مع ذلك ضعف في تكرا ما هو عليه من الخدمة وتشجع العنا إلى انطاكية لدفعهم عما وردوا فيه. ولم يبق يوم ذلك.

إنسان سامه ذلك. بل نهض إليه هو من ذات نفسه غيرا وحدها لوطنه.

وكان في ذلك الوقت المؤرخ سياسي بنجدتة المنسوب إلى الله ماتيبيوس بين الفعبرون المشتهر الذي كان يدير الطركية قبله. فجرت المناطرة والحوارنة المشابهة قادمة في نصب الكاثوليك. وكان عيسى المقدم ذكره شديد منازعة عن اهل بلده واحتاجهم وطالب الطفوف لهم. واجتذاب الكاثوليك إلى مدينتهم التي هي مدينة السلام، والعرض عن إكسيرفون. وكان الطريرك الحاكم قد اشتهى أن يكون غير مؤثر لما كان يطلبه عيسى. ولكن احتج لمرته في الوقت واحتسه وعلق الأمه. فاقتعت ذلك في الوقت عيسى والنصر. الا أنه باب للاطاكيين منه أنه رجل كبير جد وأن له غيره شديدة في أمور الكنيسة.

References:
58: من: ز، هم: س
59: أوجب: ز، واجب: س
60: الفريقين: س، الفائتين: ز
61: ينتمي: Z
62: احدهم: ز، احدهما أيضًا: س
63: لم: Z، س: Z
64: الكاثوليك، وأيهم: Z، والكاثوليك: س
65: لم: Z، وردوا فيه: Z، س
66: مع ذلك: س
67: إنسان: Z، وس: Z
68: غابيي: Z، غابيي: س
69: الفعرون: Z، الفعرون: س
70: شديد: Z، شديد: S
71: ومتحرج: Z، والمحتج: S
72: قد: Z، يكون: S، قد: Z
73: وعلق: Z، وطق: Z
74: إيان: Z، باب: Z
75:
لا يمكنني قراءة النص naturlally من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يهم بفضله لانه منذ تركنا ما نتناول من الاغذية في يوم من الايام الى وقت المساء. ولا كان له ايضاً اهتمام بفروق من الطعام بل كان لا فرق فيما يستهلكه. وكانت مايته كيف ما اتفق لا يحضرها في كثير من الاوقات لا يضيق على مسك ولا ينتق فيه. وكان شرابه لا يبلغ زيادة. بل كان يسير من الخمر مع كثير من الماء.

واما قيامه فكان في الايام الحولية من وقت كبير من الليل وقبل الفجر بكثير. واما في ايام الاحد فكان من مسا دخول ليلة الاحد الى الصباح. وكان يجدوا القوسوس تبريرهم* به في سهله من اجل محيطه الكبرى كانت الله وكبر نفسه. وااما قيامه فكان كثيرا لا يتلمس عنه طبيعي حيث رأيته انا عدة دفعات من شدة الوقوف يكاد ان يستقر الى الأرض. وذكرنا من هذا المعنى يسيرنا ندل* به على خشونة السيرة التي استعملها ولم يتقدم له بها تجربة. وقد يعرف صعوبة* ما هذه سبيله وتعتمد* على رجل قد تربى في ترفة من يخبر* 97 ذاك وعرفه.

ولعب هذا فسبي السلمان ان يقصد التخبير بما كان من فعله بعد شرطونيته. وذلك ان الحاجة دعت الى شرطونية لإسقاط الكراسي الفارغة. فاية* الكراسي التي اهتم بهم في الاول. لم يهتم بما ليس فيه منازعة ولا بكرسي اخر لم تقدم له فيه مساحة ولا محاباة ومجازبة. بل بالكرسيين الذين* كان يتأضال عن احدهما ويقام الاخر. وكان اهتماماً لم يلمس به من دفاع ما كان في الاول مابلا ومنعدا. بل لما عرف من نفسه انه قد تقدم له فيما قبل ما زاد او نقص فيه عن الواضح نسبيا *** علی خشونة السيرة الذي استعملها ولم يتقدم له بها تجربة. وقد يعرف صعوبة* ما هذه سبيله وتعتمد* على رجل قد تربى في ترفة من يخبر* 97 ذاك وعرفه.

وعلى أي معنى كان هذا من ميزان عمل الامور* الذي حكمه. فوزن السيرطونية بهذا الميزان وجعل* كاثوليكين احدهما على مدينة السلام التي هي وطنه كان من اهل حلب واسمها داود* والاخر من اهل انطاكية واسمه اتيكيوس على يومجرد الذي كان يقاومها. فمن هو* 102 يحتمد من الناس على هذه السياسة اللطيفة

91. أيضاً: س; ﺖ
92. قيامه: س; قيامه في الصلاة: ﺖ
93. السبر: ﺖ; السبر: س
94. بليل: ﺖ; بليل: س
95. ﻢب: ﺖ; ﻢب: س
96. وتعتمد: ﺖ; وتعتمد: س
97. يخيل: ﺖ; يخيل: س
98. ﻖ: ﺖ; ﻖ: س
99. ﻰ: ﺖ; ﻰ: س
100. ومنع: ﺖ; ومنع: س
101. المحايد: ﺖ; المحايد: س
102. ﻢب: ﺖ; ﻢب: س
103. يميز ان عمل الامر: ﺖ
104. ﻞ; ﻞ: ﺖ
105. ﻢم: ﺖ; ﻢم: س
106. ﲑ; ﲑ: ﺖ

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اتفاقي 107. والاتفاق لانه مظلوم وميظانه. وئله يحسن النظر لغيرها. ووهب للاثنين اتفاق 108. النقص والبعد من الخصائص والمنازعات.

109. ولهن عضل صنعت بعد هذا في امر الكراسي الأخرى. التي كانت فارغة أو لما النظر في بابها نظر لرشوة.

110. اتفاق لام لشفعاء لم يرضوا ربيهم نفس من مقدار عبوس. لا بل كان إذا ما راى وفد المدينة التي تطلب استفاها وقد ذكرها من المستحق للشرف وطه وهو مرضي لله. قد وضع به عليه للوقت وثمة ورضي لما رضوه. أو لم 111. يرضى بالتقاضى غيره ممن يرضى أوليك به أيضا. ووضع بده عليه براي السينودس التي تليه.

112. فلم يختر ذلك. لأن المطروحة الذين كانوا قبله 113. كانوا يرون حكمة عقله وقوة عزيمته وأنه لا يدخلهم مباحة.

114. ولا يرغب في عطل ولا رشوة. فكيف كان يمكنهم أن يخالفوه في شي مما يومي. 115. لاما قوة عزيمته وكبر قلبته وخبرته فيما يحمل البيعة ويصلح شانها فإنه كان يقام عي منذ ذلك ويدفع.

116. ولا يتحرك ولا يرتد. فلا يذكرنا هانه خيرا قد ذلتنا على ذلك جملة 117. وهو أنه كان قزمين يتطلب قد عرض له فضيلة من الهموف الصغر. فقعدمة الآب العطويا ومنه مدة من استعمال الكهوف. وكان ذلك القس يخفف من امرته. لم يمخذل عليه حصافه عقله وقوة عزمته ولا أمن مسند. فاستشفع به الى البطريرك في طلبه من الرضوان. فما تاخر ذلك عن الشفاعة تقدير منه بأنه لا يحرص أحد ولا من أكابر المسلمين على مخالفته. فكيف ببطريرك 118. وهو على كل حال نصراني 119. ذمي في الحضيض.

120. فهاجس الحاد رأس البطريرك بالبساطه قابلا. مما كان من خطأ جري من طبقي القسيس فهبت لي ابيا البطريرك ذنيبه فيه واصبح على جبهة قابلا. ليس يمكنني ذلك يا سيدي الأمير. فاعاد عليه ذلك قابلا له في الجواب. يا أاقلف امياءهاني بل تلمس ان تقول لي ما يمكنني ذلك. وماذا هو الذي لا يمكنه اذا امرته انا به.

121. فعاد عليه الفاتك قابلا في الجواب. كثيرا من 122. الآشيا لم يمكنني ابيا الامير اذا كانت مخصوحة بدنيي ومذهبي

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وتأمسي. لأننا 124 لا نحن في طوعكم وفي آشيا 126 أخرًا لا يمكننا أن نخالفكم. واما ما كان حظره الدين
فصح فيه مسعود للسجح وقواطع السفوف. فعاد عليه. ولكن عرفنا على كل حال ما هي هذه الجناية التي
قد تمس دينك. فقال لتميذ المسح. اما قبل هذا ابيه الأمير. فقد كانت الجناية صغيرة واستقلالتها متيسرة. فاما
الآن فانها كبيرة وصحيح عندها لا يرام. لأنه استغش بك 129 وانت مسلم ومخالف لنا في مذهبنا. والصدق في 130
هذا مما لا يستر 121. فاذ كان الامر يخص كليستا. فاجابه الهاجري قابلا. فكن من الان منججا بالسلاح وإعلم عنا يقيقنا
انه ستموت. وذلك اني اخذ راوس. ولو كان في حسن الامير الأكبر. 132.
فماذا الذي من بعد ذلك صنعه هذا الفاتك 133. هل جزع. هل لان. هل انتشي. هل توقف لمراسلة يرسل بها ابن
حمدان. لا اللينة. بل تصور ذلك كله بصورة اليدا المنتور. ولم يكن له عينه قدر. بل توجه للوقت الى انطاكية
ووقع في ذلك بالله الذي عنه كان يضاوض. وكان ذل ذلك يحبب 135. فما أخطا 136. بحمد الله عرضه. فهذى كانت صورته
في غيرته وحرصه على ماجمل 137. البيعة وزينها. 138. 
وأذا كان ذهب هذا الرجل الفاضل في هذا المعنى على ما شرحنا. فهل كذلك 139. كانت صورته في غير
هذا الباب صورته من لا ينتشي ولا يلين. 140. ولا الوداع المحبة إلى البشر الذي ينتشي عفوفه 142. ويميل اذنها 143. لمن يساله
ويحتاج 144. إلى رحمة وحنانه. ولكن في هذا الجزء 145. الآخر من كان يكون اشد تحتنا من خريستوفورس او اليين
عطفا للمتكوبين او اشد رحمة للمحتاجين. او اوفر عطا للعافين. على أنه لم يكن الؤفر عنه اوذ لوضع
ما كان بين الامام متصرا. وكان الارتفاع الذي يرفع الية ناقصا. ولكنه فيما كان يمكنا ما كان قط في الاحسان

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\[ \text{125} \]
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\[ \text{128} \]
\[ \text{129} \]
\[ \text{130} \]
\[ \text{131} \]
\[ \text{132} \]
\[ \text{133} \]
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\[ \text{137} \]
\[ \text{138} \]
\[ \text{139} \]
\[ \text{140} \]
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\[ \text{142} \]
\[ \text{143} \]
\[ \text{144} \]
\[ \text{145} \]
\[ \text{146} \]
مقصرا والارفادة والعناية والبذل ليس دفعة واحدة وغير دفعات ولا متفوات ولا منقوتات وغير متصل إذ كان يتسع الامكان ويساعد اليسير 147 ولا يقوم العشر 148
وكان يرفع اليه الرقاق ولا يضجع في قرامته والتوقيع بيده فيها قال يعطي بعض المسائلين 149 ورقا. ويعطي الآخر كسوة والآخر طعاما. والآخر شرابا. وغير هولاوي اشياء أخرى. وقد رأيت انا المصنف لهذا القول قسما قد رفع اليه فصالة. فدخله اليه وسالته وقال له. كم نكت من العتبات. فاجابه قابلا كذا وكذا. فقال. ليدفع اليه كذا وكذا. وكذا زيتا وكذا. وكذا خمرا بكسر ما يكفيه للسنة فاما ذلك القف الى الخروج قال له. عذ اليه هاهنا. ومن ابين لك يا بابس اجرة الطحن 151 أو شيء من الادم. ولكن ليدفع اليه ومن هذا أيضا ما يكفيه. فلم يتركه القديس يصرف حتى قام له جميع ما ينفعه لسته كلها. وكان ايضا إذا رفعت اليه 152 قصة من محبوب أو مطالب بظلم. إن كان يمكنه ان يخلصه بيسير 153 من عطائه. ما كان تأخير 154 العشا عنه ولا الخلاصه مما يطالب به. وإن كان هناك صعوبة شديده ما كان يضجع في الركوب والمرمر اليه ما يطالب به 155. وساله في السلم له كما يرام أن يغمره واما في حطيطته 156 ما امكن من الجملة. فهذه كانت مصورة نيقولاوس الجديد عندما 157 الحار والعناية بكل من كان في شدة وضرورة. وهذه جملة 158 مما ينفعه على ما كان يفعله بنفسه وبينار معروفه. ولما كان رايه اذروتهmelon بالتمسك والتمثيل 159. له المسيح الذي كان إيماؤه ابدا 160. يذكره اليه وكان حريصا على التشبه به لا يقتنع باشباع الوفا من خيرات 161. قلبة. بل استضافت الى ذلك مكافاة 162 أخرى. بديهي الظاهرتين ف설 إرجل تلاتهذيه فاجتهده وهذا الذي هو تلميذ هذا لا يكتفي بما شرحناه مما تقدم ذكره بل نضيف 163 الي...

147. البس: س؛ البش: ز
148. العشي: س؛ العصر: ز
149. المسابين: س؛ المساكين: ز
150. اشياء: ز؛ اشياء: س
151. الطحن: س؛ الطحين: ز
152. يترك: ز، يترك: س
153. أيضا: س؛ أيضا: ز
154. اليه: س؛ اليه: أيضا: ز
155. بيسير: س؛ بيسير: ز
156. يتاخر: ز، يتاخر: س
157. في: س؛ في: ز
158. [lacuna في حطيطته: س؛ [lacuna في حطيطته: ز
159. عندنا: س؛ عندنا: ز
160. وهده: س؛ وهده: ز
161. يبتكي: ز، يبتكي: س
162. بالتمسك والتمثيل: س؛ بالتمسك والتمثيل: ز
163. إيماؤه ابدا: س؛ إيماؤه ابدا: ز
164. خيرات: ز؛ خيرات: س
165. مكافاة: ز؛ مكافاة: س
166. نضيف: س؛ نضيف: ز
ذلك شيا اختر من الخدمة171، بديهي لأخوته المنسوبين إلى معلمه. وكان168 في ذلك الحين بنبطاوية مجاعة شديدة لم يكن يمكن إلا تمس كافحة الناس. فذلك جمع خريجاته فجمع منها الحجرين الذين نكاهما169 الجوع من شيوخ ومرضى. وفسوس وشماصسة وصبحان ونافاتا. كان قد جمعهم ورتهم في مكان وكان يجعلهم ويلهم على الموايد ويكون هو قايمًا لا يقطع بالمرأة بان يوفر عليهم الطعام بل كان رميا بقوم أحدا ويسقي الشراب واحدا واحدا بعد واحد.

وبدين ذلك عند المسح المينى ومتشبه به تشيها لا يمكن غيره من بسواه فيه.

[9] واذ كنت أنا هناما قد ذكرت صبيها170، وايتاما قد يلزمنا أن نذكر من كان هوه الفصيحان. وتدين لي لبيما السامع أنه لا كبر171 نفسه في محيته للهضيف فقط. بل وفضل علبه وطلب172 سياسته في ما يجمع به العام من المنفعه. وذلك أنه لما رأى ضيق الوقت وصعوبته. إنه لا173 يتأخر عن العلم لهذه الحال الفقرا ومن لا جنس له من العصر174 وقيده بل وقد171 تضجع في ذلك كبار176 من الناس ذو أوحاس177، فكانت كنيسة الله المقدسة178 مختلطة، وليس لأكثر الناس في التعليم179 فكر ولا همة.

ففكر هو في أمر كبير. بان فيه حسن181 سياسته. فاختار من أولى الاحوال182 الكبار أثنا عشر صبيا أذكيا نجبا. وأسلمهم183 في مذبح بصرفهم علمهم علوم184 الكنيسة التي تزيد على غيرها. ثم اقترنت من الفقراء قوما غيرهم وافرد ايتاما صبيها185 حلالهم وعددهم مادة وخمسون صبيا وسلمهم إلى ثلاثة186 معلمين لتعليموا كل واحد ما ينفع فيه. وتقدم بأن يطفي في كل يوم ثلاثة مراحل187 كبار فيها ملولا من الطعام. ويحمل كل مرجل188 منها إلى كل واحد.

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167. الخدمة: ز.
168. وكان: س؛ وذلك انه كان: ز.
169. نكاهما: ز؛ انكاهما: س.
171. لا كبر: ز.
172. وفضل علبه وطلب172 سياسته في ما يجمع به العام من المنفعه: ز.
173. إنه لا173 يتأخر عن العلم لهذه الحال الفقرا ومن لا جنس له من العصر174 وقيده بل وقد171 تضجع في ذلك كبار176 من الناس ذو أوحاس177، فكانت كنيسة الله المقدسة178 مختلطة: ز.
174. ولا: س.
175. وقد171 وفد: س.
176. الكبار: ز.
177. الفقه: ز.
178. والعلم: س.
179. الاحوال: ز.
180. والمعلم: ز.
181. أبو: س.
182. الغنم: ز.
183. والعلم: س.
184. العلوم: ز.
185. السنة: ز.
186. الثلاثة: ز.
187. المرجول: س.
188. المرجول: ز.
من المكانت ويعطي كل 189 واحد من الصبيان ما يكفيه معاً يحتاج إليه من الخبز.190 ويجب أن يعرف ما اجتمع هاذا من المفاف وهما 191 ثلاثة كبار. احدهما طعام 192 لا يلعب فيه من يأكله. والثانية تعليم لا يخدع الثواب والاجرة عليه. والثالثة خدمة للبيعة الشريفة.193 وهذه194 جملة من أفعال في هذا المعنى.

والاضاف إلى ذلك ما هو أكبر 195 منه في معونة القفراء وادعاء الدين. وذلك أن الهاجريين يستخرجون من النصارى في بلاهم جزية196 نسميها نحن جزية الرووس ويسعونها197 هي براءة. لأنها تبري الذي يودي بها من الذية والتتبع. وليس أحد من النصارى المقربين هناك مفيض198 من تاديتها. لأن من لا يوديها يقذف بعيد اختياره إلى دين الإسلام. وقد يصبر هناك أيضاً منظر بديع يرثى له من قد بلي به. بعض النصارى يودون199 ال쟀رة بنيبة صادقة إذا كان يمكنهم ويتصورون ذلك 200 برا ومعروفاً. لأنه شيء يودونه عن دينهم. وقوم آخر يضطهرون لأنهم معتبرون. الأقوى منهم في الدين ليس هو الذي يتأخر عن الادا عند امكانيه. بل والذي يجعل ويعين الضعيف 201 فيما يستادى منه.

فلم رأى خريستوفرس المشتمل في صدره على المسيح هذه الشدة من هذا الباب لم يكف202 عن العطية ولا كان يقتنع بزيادة يزيدها في تادية203 براة بل كان يضيف إلى ذلك تادية جملة البراءة من عهد عصمهما204 يمكنه.

فلمما كل ولي205 يتيسر له وفر يقوم به في هذا الباب بحسب اعتقاده. لأنه لم يكن206 له غزارة ارتفاع. مما يقرر 207 أن اتخذه في هذا المعنى بذلهه من ابتسامته بيوحنا الرحوم صاحب الأسكندرية المدينة. أبسط على سوال الأمر سيف الدولة في معاونته على حاجة المساكين. فلم يخالفه208 ذلك لأنه كان بالطبع كريمما وكان ميله الى البطريرك خاصة209 فيلا شديد جداً. ققدم إلى مستخرج الخراج210 فيا يصفحوا له منها211 كل سنة عن عشرة آلاف درهم يكون.
يكتتب بها الرقاق اليهيم، ومن يزيد في نسبها. يكتب لواحد بالصفح عن نصفهم ما يراد منه، فما تقدم أحد ممن التماري، على عهده إلى دين الإسلام.

هذا اليهيم أيضاً. إن هذا المعنوي موجود هو بالطبع في الناس إلا يكون المحسن اليه يعتقد موالاة المحسن. ونافذ، بز ويكون المحسن أيضاً زيد، في الأحسان اليه. فالمحسن اليه يحصل له بالموالاة استمداد الأحسان وقيماً بعد أيضاً والمحسن فيريد أن يربأ، الأحسان بالغالبة والمتابعة لا سيما إذا كان في طبعه الجود حتى لا يضع ما تقدم من أحسائه بالمساكم.

فمن ها هنا. لما تحرق على سيف الدولة خلف شديد وعصيان ثبت لمدة طويلة من الزمان. انفرد عنه البطريق وحده وله، ولا يدخل في جملة من عصى عليه من الانطاكين. ولا رضي أن يخطب فقط واحداً من المتمردين.

وكان السبب في هذا العصيان أن الملك يقترب المغبوط، لما ملك بند النفر أكثر منه عنوة وحرب وطرسوس وحدها باستثناء. لما الجوع كان قد هتك 218 أوهما وبلغ منهم اسمهم 219 مسماً ما ينقص عن الحرب. 220 وكان سيف الدولة في الحال ميافوقين قد أغلق. لما أهل طرسوس 221 قدموا إلى مدينة انطاكية بنسائهم. فأخطر من كان بالطباكية من الهجرة، على نفسها، وصاروا إلى ابن الزيات 222 المقدم كان عليهم يسألون ويثيرون يون في مقامه عندهم وتدبير أمورهم، إذا كانت إذ ذلك 225 قد تشغلت وضعفت. 226 لما رأى ابن الزيات 227 أنها على هذه الحال وكان جزءاً من نفور الملك يكره. 228 وامتنع من المقام بالكلية.
فزاد خوف الانطاكبيين من امتناعه وحدهم ذلك على قصد رشيق 230 ثاني ابن الزيات في الإمسارة. فسالفه ما كانوا قد التمسوه من ذلك. واجبهم إلا أنه اشار عليهم بالخضوع للفتوحات والنزول على حكمه. لانه ذكر لهم ما في ذلك من الخطأ 231 وأنه لا يتم لهم ما يريدونه من الهدوء والسكن الا بطاعته. فقبلوا مشورته ويعتبر رسله في الملك بينذل لحمل 232 الأموال وقد المواقعة براين. فلموضع ما كان في الملك من الركاب والاحترام اجابههم وما راسلوه فيه وقائلا. اما مال 233 فقد استقبله اذ كان ملك الروم غير محتاجه اليوه والمسلمون فبه 234. حبطوا اليوم ويعترفون 235 منه جدا. ولا قابل أيضا الرهائن لان لها مواعيز 236 من بعضهم واعترف فلا يفكون فيها. والذي 237. لاقتصاده هو واحد متى ما ارتدموه ووعرف ما كرم فيه من الوفا كان سهلا خفيفا. وهو اذ ابني في صخرة داخل مدينكم مفعلا يكون فيه سرددوس مع عدة يسيره تحفظكم 242. واكون اننا ببه مستظهرا.

فلاما امتنع الانطاكبيون من ذلك فكر رشيق في الخجل وأن يكون بصورة من لا مرة فيه. فرأى ان يكشف رأسه كما يقال في الحصبه في سيف الدولة. ولا فيما مما كان عليه من القول 244 والامتناع من الحركة. فكان هذا مما وسع في قلعة الأكترات. فلما رأى رشيق هذا الرياض 245 وجعله. وقاد مدينة جبل بالدمد. 246 فقسمها عشوة بغير تعب. واخذ في 248. تقل القلعة بها وكانت ليست فللدا هناك. اسمه دفعه يعرف يخرج منها الى رشيق في كل يوم. رجلا يأتلاته. فلهز من بعضهم طلعه في الحرب. 247. لم يظهر من كان كانت ميتته فيها وسقط ميتا وهرب من كان معه في البلاد. وفما حصل اصابه فيها تيفظوا لنفسهم. وقدموا منهم

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من جعلوا أميرا عليهم، وثبتوا على ما كانوا عليه من الخلف والعصي. وكان الذي يحرصهم على ذلك من انطاكية شديد الحركة والنفاق يسمى ابن الأهازي وهو كان مدير الأمور على عهد رشيق.

فما يصنع البطريرك في حين اضطراب الأموSig: يأرخ الدولة. وإنجازه كان من تدبير عقله الشاب على مواويلSig: مودية ضعفه بالكلية وانضطيط لهما عن النطق. ففي مدة قضاءSig: البطريرك، وانتُكشِف أمرهم على ذلك على العاصي. وانطلق في قصد Sig: البطريرك، واعتقال خواسته والتصديق عليهم. وحكم على ساير ما كان في القلاية، وكان يقول بصوت عال منه متي لم يتوا

وبطريرك ويتاقفا، ولا خرج معه إلا زيادة فيما يغمه.

فهلا خنعSig: البطريرك لذللك وهلع منه أو لأن له، ولكن ثبت على جملته. وراح Sig: مثل هذة بعض خواسته وهو تأولدSig: البطريرك صار بعد قتله أسففا على سلوبه. وبنى بانطاكية Sig: ثياب العالم، ويني بها نفاذSig: هيل من البطريرك، لأن Sig: فجر عليه قال له، هل في نتيب Sig: هكذا حتى أن يقولSig: بعد هذا في بيعتSig: الديلمي في إثره إلى حلب، ولقىه Sig: من جميع بحيث عليه، ولقيه Sig: عقبة وحاربواه، ودافعوا فرجع Sig: Animator: انطاكية، ورجع اللى Sig: القلاية، لما انكشف له من ميل البطريرك، ومن معه إلى سيف الدولة. وتقول: قزمة الأسماك.

وبعدها مدّة سبيرة لم يصبر Sig: عائد المفترسة. بل، بل انطلق Sig: هل صبر. صبر، وانتخرSig: خنف: س، ويتأتي: ز، ويتفاهم: س، ويتفاهم: ز، يقتطعها: س، وتطغياها: ز.}
الميقاتين إلى نواحي معركة مصريين. وانتشرت الحرب فيما بين الفتيين. وكان الظفر لسيف الدولة. وأسر روسا
عسكر الخوارج وحصاره. فصار البطريرك عند ذلك قلبه مسروراً كغالب قد ظفر في صراع لويعا. فقبله سيف الدولة احسن
قبول. وصار مائماً انساكاً كلياً. لجسما متقدماً شفعياً صاحباً. وانتقل من حال التابع الصغير إلى حال
الصديق الأكبر. لا يتحم ولا يستصرغ. لأنه قد قدم في وقت الشدة الامانة المحافظة. والصبر على المضض. فكوفي
على ما اتاد في وقت الضرا بالاختصاص والتقدم في وقت الстра.

وكان 270 يرى الذين كانوا عمرو بنظير عينيه. يعاقبون بالضرب والائمتهان وانواع من العذاب بعد الصبر
عليهم. فما كان يحسن موقع عند كما كان يحسن موقعه من غيره. ولا كان يتعظم لظفره بالوقت. بل كان يحزن
ويضيق صدره ويقلق رده ويمول. أرحم إياها السيد وخفف عن ظفَّره به من أجل
122r اعانك عليه. ولا
273 ترد في شفاعتك والعفو عند المقدرة. عم يا يجب لك.

وأما راي في جملة من كان يعاقب جارا له من المسلمين بمدينة انطاكية وقد اسرف عليه بضرب السياط لم
يصير على السلس لكنه قام قلبا ثم طرح نفسه إلى الأرض. وسال في 279 الذي يهب له جرمه. فلم يمنع مما طلبه.
ولكنها 280 لا يها من مصيبته وشر تجين. له من هناها يشرحه القول فيما بعد. وليس ذلك يعجب. وأن كان من
الواجب قد يبدو وهو غريب. وذلك ان على مثل هذا هي مطيرة طيبة الحسد في النفس الخبيرة. فإنه 281
من الاحتبا أكثر مما يطفأ 282 من الائمتهان. فلما أطلق ذلك الحسود 283 وسحق له بما 284 كان أوجبه عليه عاد الى
انطاكية بريا من التابعة. 285 وليت ذلك لم يكن 286.

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روسا روسا عسكر الخوارج وحاصلا. س؛ دير وابن الاهازي وجماعا كثيرة من عسكريما وجعلهم. ز
270.
والسلام. فصار. س؛ والسلام. وجعلهم إلى حلب وقتلهم. وولي على انطاكية تقي الدين غامه. وقصد خريسطوبيز. ز
271. ذلك. س؛ ذلك سيف الدولة. ز
272. لذلك: س؛ لعدها صادقها: ز
273. لويعا: صبحها. لويعا: س؛ [lacuna]
274. فرص مما انساكا كليا. س؛ انساكا كليا. ز
275. أمناء الانشية كلها: س؛ امناء الانشية كلها. ز
276. صاحبا: س؛ صاحبا: ز
277. المحافظة: س؛ المحافظة. ز
278. المحافظة: س؛ المحافظة. ز
279. المحافظة: س؛ المحافظة: ز
280. المحافظة: س؛ المحافظة. ز
281. السرا. وكان. س؛ السرا. لا نذكره على فعله من بعد عن المخالفين عليه. وقدمه وتخصص به. فكان: ز
282. السرا. وكان. س؛ السرا. لا نذكره على فعله من بعد عن المخالفين عليه. وقدمه وتخصص به. فكان: ز
283. السرا. وكان. س؛ السرا. لا نذكره على فعله من بعد عن المخالفين عليه. وقدمه وتخصص به. فكان: ز
284. السرا. كان. س؛ السرا. لا نذكره على فعله من بعد عن المخالفين عليه. وقدمه وتخصص به. فكان: ز
285. السرا. كان. س؛ السرا. لا نذكره على فعله من بعد عن المخالفين عليه. وقدمه وتخصص به. فكان: ز
286. السرا. كان. س؛ السرا. لا نذكره على فعله من بعد عن المخالفين عليه. وقدمه وتخصص به. فكان: ز
287. السرا. كان. س؛ السرا. لا نذكره على فعله من بعد عن المخالفين عليه. وقدمه وتخصص به. فكان: ز
288. السرا. كان. س؛ السرا. لا نذكره على فعله من بعد عن المخالفين عليه. وقدمه وتخصص به. فكان: ز
289. السرا. كان. س؛ السرا. لا نذكره على فعله من بعد عن المخالفين عليه. وقدمه وتخصص به. فكان: ز

فلمسا وصل إلى انطاكية وجد فيها أميرا غلاما لسيف الدولة. يعرف بثقي ووجد البطريق كليب هاهنا يقبض على أدوات الناس ولكن لا يمكن مادوما إلا أن يقبض في مساحات كبيرة. ولم يسمى سيف الدولة عن القبض على نعمهم موقفيهم. بل عمل في ذلك صرفه للفقه، لأنه رأى أن القبض على النعم يفسد الناس ويخرب البلاد ويمنع من الازدهار والازدهار. وما المصادر فتبيل من الإنسان مبغا يبقى له بعد ما يعينه على العمارة والقيام بتادية الخراج وما يجري مجراه. فلما رأى البطريق أحل انطاكية يكدون في هذه المطالبات. من منهم لم يفتد وخلصه من أكثر ما كان يطالب به ومن منهم لم يخفف عنه. ومن لم يخلصه بالعقل. إذ كان فيهم من وصل إلى خلاصةه جملة:

وكان بانطاكية رجل من تناهيا شديد الغنى والثروة لانه كان ذا عقار وارتفعاته كبيرة. ولكنه كان مضيفا عليه في نفسه. وكان من مهنيا لا يرفع رأسه من الأرض من تدلله وظلمه شفقة. لانه فقد كان الشقي لا يفرح ولا على نفسه بشيء من ماله. فأخذ أصحاب سيف الدولة وكانوا يعاقبونه ويطالبونه بثلاثة قطارات ونصف من الذهب. فرآسل البطريق القيقد وهو في وسط العقوبات وقال له: ارحم ابنا السيد مثلنا الشقي. وكان

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لعمري، البطريرك متمدما فيما هذه سبيله 310 تشيطا في مساعدة من 312 يستعين به. فركب لوقته وساعته ورفع عنه العذاب وتوسط أمره فيما كان يطالب به. وما اقترح عن المسألة في يبه إلى أن حط الجملة الكثيرة من خمسة وعشرين الف دينار إلى العกระท منوها وهو مقدار الفين وخمسون دينار. فقال المستخرجون أنه 311 لن يقوم ولا 314 بهذا المقدار بغير عقوبة وضرب. فقال لهم Filmez المعيس المشتبه به 315 في كل حال. أنا استلم الإجابة 316 تصرفوا عليه بعد هذا بعوضة. بل سلموه إلى أنا 317 وانا كونه القيم 318 لكم بالجملة. فسلمه البطريرك وكان المستخرجون يطالبون البطريرك بالجملة. ويلزم البطريرك 319 ان يكون مطالبًا له بها. فكانت المراسلة من البطريرك في هذا الباب في قليلة مثل الطعنات. لأن سهام الحسد كانت تعمل فيه. فصار فيما بعد مطابقًا على قول من ابنه:

واما قتل البطريرك بل 320 شهادته التي تمت برأي 321 هذا وغيره فكانت تتنمن في الخفية وتندمر قليلة 322. لأنه اجتمع عليه من ميل سيف الدولة عليه مادة في قلوب المسلمين من الحسد. ولكن لم يكن كلهم متطابقين على قلبه. بل الذين تطابقوا على ذلك اسقفو من 323 زاد في الأحسان اليهوم. وذلك أن والد 324 الحسد بين فيهم فعله، 325.

وكان ابنه ذلك من هذا المعنى. لأن سيف الدولة توفي وقدم من بلده خراسان غزاة متوجهين إلى انطاكية. فسرع بهم الجماهير. فخشى 326 ذلك المعلّمون الذي احسن 327 البطريرك اليه وكان نم الحسد يعمل فيه. وقد خطر له أن يدبر عليه 328 من تمكن البطريرك فيما بعد. إذا ما 329 وصل صاحب الخراسانية 330 إلا يتنين منه فيفوقه قتله.

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فقال المقدم في الراي والتدبير لاثنين الآخرين. 345 هذه الفتية سيستعينا ان نريدها للعامة فيهم يقولونه في الوقت من نفوسهم. ولم يكن هذا رأيه بالحقيقة. بل لأنه كان هو أيضا من الفرس وعارفا بلسان الخراسانية. فكان 348 في نفسه إلى أن يستطيع قومه ممن تسرح من عسكرهم إلى انتفاضة. ويرى الفتية لكي يقتحموا البطريرك ولا ينجحوا في ذلك. فكان هذا ما اقتعبهم وحدهم على ما اراده. فعرف ذلك جار البطريرك من وجوه المسلمين يعرف بابن أبي عمرو. فكان له صديقا صادقا 351 ناصحا. 349 فسرع إليه وقال له: ماذا تعمل. قم مسرعا وخذ لنفسك. والا فاعلم انك مقتول بعد قليل. فقال له. ولم.

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ولاي شيء ومن أجل ماذا. فقال له، لأنه قد 355 اجتمع عليك جميع خبيث وسيل الناموس. فأعطي القفيه 356 قفية ذكر 357 فيها وجبة القدر عليك. فاستعلم منه وقال له، فماذا يجب عليك أن تصنعه. فقال له، انك نست ف 358 هذا الوقت تحت 359 اعتزال. فخرج من باب المدينة آخر النهار ولا يصبح لك الصباح إلا وافتما 359 حلب. ولن يتكلهما أحد. وهذا الذي عندي 360. فقال له، أما أنت يا سيدي فانك بجاياك الحسنات. وأما أنا فسبيلي أن أفكر فيما اعمله.

فانصرف الرجل. واستدعى البطريرك ذلك الرجل الذي قال له فيما قبل. وهو في دير القديس مار سمعان. لما لا يجب 361 إلى المصير الاضطالم في وقت العصيان. فهل أنت أيها السيد ممن يفعل بعد هذا. أنا الراعي الصالح. فلما مثل هذا الرجل بين يديه قال له، أعطم أيها الإنسان 362 أن جارنا فلالنا صار إلي في هذه الساعة وباشر على بيتك، فانفذ ماذا 363 ترى. فقال له ذلك الرجل 364 وما أجود هذا يا 365. فاستخر الله وفعل. فقال له، إنما فعلت هذا كنت 366، أيها الواقح ممن يتهز بفيما بعد ويقول لي. هل 367، إنك عيده ان تقول لنا الراعي الصالح في غض، فجاب 368 الرجل قائلا، أيها السيد. ذلك كان 369 أخر. فقال له البطريرك، تعني ليس بالخافي عنني إن ذلك 370 كان شيا 371 أخر. بل لأنه كان كذلك ولم يكن 372 في ذلك الوقت مواقف 373 ما فعلته. وما لم افعله فقد علمت وانت 374 أنه لم يضمر بذلك أحد من النصارى. لأنه لم يكن قبل المطلوب ف ذلك 375، والمطلب هو قبل. وليس يطلب ذلك طلبا مطلقا. بل بحرص شديد واجتهاد بكفه. لأن الذين يطلبون شيء حسن وسم الحسد في أجسادهم 375 مكنون. ومنها ما أفلت من أزدهعم ولم يذهوا سهمهم في لم يبقوا بعد هذا 376 على.

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نشرانًا ولا على كنيسة. ولكن هذا الوقت الذي يجب لي أن أقول 379 يا هذا. ليس أنا الراعي الصالح فقط. بل ونقول في ذلك أن الراعي الصالح هو الذي يضع نفسه دون أغناه. وانت فسترى بعد وقته 382 هذه اللحية مخضوبة بدمي. ومد يده بهذا اليها ختم الكلام بهذا المقال لم يعد بعد ذلك كلمة أخرى لأنه كان يوشك انه قد تطور 384 من الفكر.

وكر فما بعد فاوجب 385 الراعي عنده أن يتجمع بذلك الشقر المتهي في جوهره للعمل عليه. وقد كان عالما علمًا يعيش أنه قد مزج له قهوة الموت. إلا أنه لم يكن يظن أنه يفعل به ذلك في منزله. لأن مثل هذا لا يستحسن اعتباره ولا أحد 390 من ذوي احساب المسليين أن يقدم إليها في جريمة. فراسله 388 مراسلة قليلة بعد قليل بغير حذر منه ولا خوف. أنى اريد أبدا السيد ان اجتمع بك. فتايني لي في ذلك إذا ما رأيت 391. وكتبت خليما لأصير اليها فاستكرس ذلك 392 هذا القول منه وتصوره غيمة. فقال 393. ليست في وقت هذا منفرغا لك ولكني انا من بعد هذا ارسلك. 394. ولم يزل طول نهاره في التدبير ولم يرسله بشيء لشغله بالحيلة عليه وتقوية ما يطبخه له 395.

فلما ادرك الليل و تصرر وقت كبير منه وتناول البطيرك ما جرب عادته 396 يتناوله من الطعام ارسل اليه 397 قئارلا. لإني الآن فارغ في هذا الوقت ابيا البطريرك. فان رأيت ان أحضُر فاحضر. فذهل خروف المسلي من هذه الرسالة في غيرو وقته عنها وفقال أصحابه. ماما سبيتانا يا قوم ان نصنع وقد جمعنا أمرا غير موافقين 398. لأن المضي في هذا الوقت من الليل لا يليق ولا يصح. 399. وذلك ان الطعام بعد في في. والقوة.

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لا نحن الذين خطينا

عند خطاب واننا على هذا الحال. والتأخير أيضا بسبب أربعة 401 لا نحن كنا الذين خطينا 402

ومع ذلك لا يمكننا في هذا الوقت. وإن كانت نكته نقيضنا على كل حال. فلما استنكه أهدهم ولم يكن هناك راحة. 405 سار على قدميه كملح جمل 406 واحتباره إلي الذبح.

فلذئب ذلك الملعون وسلم عليه سلام سودة والغش في قلبه مكنون. ولما جلسنا جميعا. كان ذلك ملحن غيطا منه وحذقا 407 عليه. فلم يصير للبطريرك أن يبتذله 408 بل قال له ما بالك يا بطريرك 409 وانت واحد من أهل هذا البلد ممساكن لنا ورايك راي صو في معمالتنا. 410 وانت عمل علينا. فقال له البطريرك. وكيف ذلك يا سيدي ومن أي مني. فقال له مجيبا. لا يكترب البطريرك 411 وكتشب غلام ابن حمدان. فقال 412. وما الدليل على ذلك يا سيدي وإن هو الذي وجد لي كتابة بهذه الصورة. فتحرك ذلك 413 كان يطلب كتابا ثم قام هما وتكلم بالفارسية واعددي لمن كان قد 414 للقتل من الخراسانية.

وهو من ذلك ملحن 415 ويرعد. وانه لم يكن جمانا فقط. بل وكانت صورته في الحال صورة الخلاف قلبنا وعينا. لأن قائمته كانت تكاد لا تزيد على الشارع 416 إلا بمقدار بسير. وان منظوره يشبه خشافة 417 في اللون واللحظة 418. قلنا حضر من استدعاه 419. ومن القوم المعدين قال لهم عند ذلك ببساطتهم وأسانهم ترجف. هذا هو المطلوب. هذا هو الذي يريد أن يسلم هذه المدينة. هذا هو العدو المسلم. فدونكن واياه بضعوه بغير اشفاق.

الموعد: ز.; الممر: س.;

الموعد: س.; الممر: ز.

الموعد: س.; الممر: ز.

الموعد: ز.; الممر: س.

الموعد: ز.; الممر: س.

الموعد: ز.; الممر: س.

الموعد: ز.; الممر: س.

الموعد: ز.; الممر: س.

 histórica: Z.; فتضعف: S.

الموعد: Z.; الممر: S.

الموعد: Z.; الممر: S.

الموعد: Z.; الممر: S.

الموعد: Z.; الممر: S.

الموعد: Z.; الممر: S.

الموعد: Z.; الممر: S.

الموعد: Z.; الممر: S.

الموعد: Z.; الممر: S.

ولم يستمر 433. من ذلك. بل سقط راعيهم ذهولا وانبطوا بما بدتهم. من ذلك وجزوا جزعا شديدا ونفرقا في بيوت قوم من المسلمين استروا فيها. على أنهم 435. تم طلبهم من أحد. ولكنه كان من الوافج أن يتم 437. مقال أبيهم الذي يدفن حالهم من أنهم إذا اشتروا من بقلي وذافوا السم الذي اكنوه 438. في قلوبهم على فن بطلوا سويا.

وأما ذلك الحيوان الضار 439. الصورة الهايك في الوحشية. فلم يزل منسكا في وقت من الليل لأنه لم يكن روعه ما كان بعد قد 440. رفع اليه. فلمما تمادي به الوقت إلى السحر عاد إلى ذاته. ووجه إشرافه قبل الصبح إلى البيعة 441. ولقاء البطريرك. وكانوا 444. جماعة ليتفتشوا الموضعين. 445. وأما قلابة البطريرك. فلم يجدوا فيها
احتفظ به لزينة الكنيسة وقوت الأخوة بالمسيح. واما شي اخر فكيف كان يوجد ولم يكن هناك ذهب مخزونا. وكيف كان يخزن والنتفقة كانت تسبي ما يدخل. ولا كان هناك أيضا مبوس. وكيف كان يكون 446. ومن كان لهسه الصوف من غير اسكييم رهابية كان عليه. بل كان هناك ثياب

السيرة نويسة 447. ظاهرا عانقا المحاول الخازن التي ان اظهرا لهم المستور كله. والاما لم يجدوا فيها شي اخر يحتفل به 448. وظاهرا عامقا الخازن إلى ان اظهر لهم المستور كله. وفهما بين ذلك قدم الفين الاملاك جموعا 449. فيسوا يسيرة نويسة. وكان ذلك الكافر الوعيب المختص بهم. لا من اجل ما حملبه بهم فقط. بل ولائه كان مشترك في قبيلتهم ونسائهم. واخذوا في الغارات على اطراف الروم 450. واحتاجها.

وكان ذاك ذاك نقول المعلم المغبوط من اكانت 451. انفاذ بطرس الإسطراطوبذرخ. فلا فا عاليا 452. فلم يكن وافقهم عليه. ومن ذلك ما تمسك به لملائمة من كان يتنظره من الفرس القداميين لقصد بلدان 453. وفهما بين ذلك قدم الفين وقبلهم الانطاكيون جميعا 454. وكان ذلك الكافر الوعيب المختص بهم. لا من اجل ما حملبه بهم فقط. بل ولائه كان مشترك في قبيلتهم ونسائهم. واخذوا في الغارات على اطراف الروم 455. واحتاجها.

وكان معهم جماعة من امثال الطروسيين المسلمين اشاروا عليهم 456. بلقوا النجوم ولا يصابون في الحرب. 457.

غير ماكول مثل قمح وتين وزيت وقد 446 احتفظ به لزينة الكنيسة وقوت الأخوة بالمسيح. واما شي اخر فكيف كان يوجد ولم يكن هناك ذهب مخزونا. وكيف كان يخزن والنتفقة كانت تسبي ما يدخل. ولا كان هناك أيضا مبوس. وكيف كان يكون 446. ومن كان لهسه الصوف من غير اسكييم رهابية كان عليه. بل كان هناك ثياب

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اذ قالوا: إن هذا الجيش الذي يقاتلكم عسكر ملكي وليست468 لكم بهم طاقة. فلم يقبل منهم القوس. بل صابروا الي
إن قتل صناديدهم469 وكثر رحيلهم ثم اسرور470 روسيهم.
وكان الكل471 من القضا الواجب عليهم من السما. إذ كان العدل هناك472 لم يصبر عن الانتصار لدم الشهيد.
فمن أهما شهيبا473 أن يطيل474 القول وإن كان مما يضعفا في تبين النظام العجيب النافذ على ترتيب غير انفصل.
إلى أن قبيل الإشارة على اعمالهم الرادية. والتعبير في ذلك فهيه شيء من الفعل
ما جا في النبوة في باب الهبوط والسقوط في يد الله الحي. وإن ذلك لمجزع شديد475 وإن المجازاة ربما476 اسرعت
أو أسرع477 بعضها فكان دليلا على كون المتراد فيما.
ولذلك أن روسي عسكر الهجريين478 المشاربين في479 تلك الحرب480 كان الواحد منهم سلال العسكر. فاتباعه481
الانطاكيون بالجمال وتبثب عدد وروسيون كانوا في حبس بانطاكية ممن أسره القوم. فلم اتلف قدم إلى انطاكية.
وتفاء جماعة اهلها واحتفلوا في تلقية482 كل الاحتفال. ولكن يحسب ما دخل في ذلك الوقت مكروما وكان تركيه
وتجميع يزيد على كل كرامه. كذلك كان خروجه أخفى بخور وأباد. لأن الانطاكيين ما صبروا على ما كان
بجري من483 رجالن الذين أشاروا484 من القتال485 لأنهم عادوا بهم عراأ86 وعاد هو أيضا مثلهم. وكانت الضرورة487
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488 خطف: س؛ خطف: ز
489 وكانت إبديهم... اموال الانطاكيين: س؛ فسلتو على الانطاكيين وصاروا يخططا اموالهم ورحالاتهم: ز
وكانوا الانطاكويون الذين تولى قيادتهم عصابتين. عمل رئيسي اجتهدوا على رئيس الأخر فقتله. ثم ورد من مصر بعض من الفرقة التي تقدر من عناصر الأطراف المتحدين وكان ذلك. ثم عاد ومعه نفر يدير ليوزهم إلى اطراف الروم. وكان رئيسي العبء الآخر 499 كردا من اهل بوفا يدعو اسمه علوش. وكان الوارد من مصر اسم بسم الله. كانت المدينة آت ذلك في يد علوش. فدخل الغزيل يسلم عليه. فلما اتى البطل بيا، كان من فتح مع ذلك معارضا على ركنيه. فاختبره الغزيل وضربه به فقتله. وجرس على امره كبيرين. ثم ورد من حجره والمبادرة 500 بغبر توقف إلى قتله. ففرق رجال المقاتلين. وكانوا كثيرين. وصار الأمر إلى القاتل وكان رجاله قليلين جدا.

ولكنه ما أقام ولا هذا بعد ذلك، ولا طال تغذية. بل قدم بطرس الاصطراطوبذرخ بعد مدينة يسيرة ومعه عسكري ضخم من عناصر نفور الملوك المدحود معه نزوله فتح في ليلته المدينة العظمى المذكورة 508 التي ما كانت ترموها. وذلك انه وجدها 509 ضعيفة مما تستنى من الغارات على عمالها. ووضع اهلها في حفظها وحراساتها. لأنهم ما كانوا قد عززوا خبر قصدها 511 في ذلك الوقت. فما تمكنوا في وقت واحد في 512 جمع رجال يسرين وقاموا في ذلك الوقت. بل قدم بطرس الاصطراطوبذرخ ومعه عسكر كبير من عسكر نفور الملوك المدحود ونزل على انطاكية. واجتمع الى يهود المقيم في هجدها المقيم في عين. وقاموا يحاصرون المدينة العظمى المذكورة. واحتمال في تلك المرة، كان كبيرين صاحبه. وكان من مصر اسود يسمى الرغيلي. وقف على رأس Tween، ودفع الجزيرة على امره كبيرين. وكان الوارد من مصر اسود يسمى الرغيلي. افصل رجلا من عناصر امره الكبيرين. وكان من مصر اسود يسمى الرغيلي. يقبل سيف رئيسي من حجره والمبادرة. فأخطر سيف الغزيل. وضحع اهلها في حفظها وحراستها. وكان من مصر اسود يسمى الرغيلي. يقبل سيف رئيسي من حجره والمبادرة. وضحع اهلها في حفظها وحراستها.

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Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā 29 (2021)
هاذنا حاضرنا 534 يأتموا بقلمه حتى يتندّس من هذا دمه 535 كما تقولون. أما ذلك فائسان قد قضى ما يجب عليه ومضى وحصل بحيث ينتظرون من الله المكافأة الجميلة. واما نحن فأن كنا نصارى فيجب لنا أن نتصف له من الظلم الجاري عليه.

ولما قال لهم مثل هذا القول أفتحوا نافذة المحكوم عليه إلى جسر باب البحر الذي كان هو طرح منه الجنة الكريمة إلى البحر. وقطع قطعة قطعة بالسيف ولم يطرح 536 القطع في النهر ولا أهل لذلك. بل رمي بكل واحدة منها إلى حيث ما 537 انْتتقى على الحضيض. وحصلت طهارة 538 للطوارع والكلاب. واما الأخوان 539 اللذان كانا شاركان في اهرام الدف فكانا قد 540 انفسا إلى حبس 541 طرسوس 542 لم يبطلا في ذلك الوقت ولا نفذ في بابهما حكم 543.

ثم انفقى أن 544 الملك من قبل معرفته بخبر أنطاكية على حقيقته قتل وحصل الملك لابن السمسيق. ووادر الى انفاذ ثاودورس الراهر من أهل قليوبية وجعله بطريركا على مدينة الله أنطاكية. وقدمه إلى هاها معمن أوصله فسال لوقته 545 عن خليل الشهيد وطلب بقية جسد الطاهر. وذاك ان جثته كانت 546 ظهرت بعد ثمانية أيام من شهادته في اليومن 547 الليل الثالث والعشرين من شهر أيار. وكان ظهورها في جزيرة من النهر قد تعلقت بطراش هناك. ولم يكن الأرامل الكرم معها. لأنه قبل أن ذلك الكافر كان أحرقه. فخرج قوم من نصارى أنطاكية سرا ودفنهما في الدير المقدس المعروف بشارياً. فلما عرف ذلك ثاودورس البطريرك لم يتصبر ولا تتائها عن النفوذ إلى ما 548 هناك. بل صار إلى الدير المقدس وحمل ليسبانات 549 القدس ومعه الأكليرس الطاهر وخلق من المؤمنين. وساروا قاموا إلى المدينة 550 بلتين ومحفل عظيم. وجعلوها في جزء من الرخام وحصل على مائدة 551 رخام في مغارب الكنيسة الكبرى.

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534. حاضرنا: ز; حاضرا: س.
535. يئنس من هذا دمه: س; نذئنس نحن بدمه: ز.
536. طرح: س; طرح: ز.
537. الى حيث ما: س; حسبما: ز.
538. طعبا: س; طعما: ز.
539. الأخران: س; ابن محمود وابن دعامة: ز.
540. فكان: س; الذي فانه كنا: ز.
541. حيس: ز; جسر: س.
542. طرسوس: س; طرسوس وبقيا فيه مدة طويلة: ز.
543. لا نفق فى بابهما حكم: س; ز.
544. ان: ان نفق: ز.
545. وقدمى الى ... فسال لوقته: س; وقدم الى هاها. ثم اوصله فملك لوقته وسال: ز.
546. كانت: س; الكريمة كانت قد: ز.
547. في: س; ز.
548. والشرعون: س; والعروون: ز.
549. أبوه: س; أبوه سنة ست وخمسين وللمِلكة للهجرة: ز.
551. ليسبانات: صحته; ليسانات: س; بجد: ز.
552. الى المدينة: س; ز.
553. وحصل على مائدة: س; ووضعه على مائدة: ز.

Al-Uṣūr al-Wustā 29 (2021)
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي بشكل طبيعي.

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لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي بشكل طبيعي.
بركات من أواء كبارين. والعروس الروحانية التي اخذها فلم يخل من نصب من اجلها. ولكنه ما نظر إلى ثواب حاضر. بل تحق ثواب مستأنف لا يبصر.
وعدة أداؤ عزرية ما حصل لهذا كلهما. لأنه قد كان في بيئة يسير من عجب الكتاب. وسبيلا الحق في ذلك ان الذي كان يمسه من ذلك شيء ما كان مكنه بعد ان يزيلها بكلية. وعسا قد كان في ذلك متجهدا وكان متسلكا بعض ذلك عادة لموضع الريادة وما يحتاج إليه في التأديب. وما سليمان فما كان مكنه أن يصل إلى حكمته. ولكن كان فيه عوضا عن ذلك تثبيت على الأعمة والعدم لغمض 578 إلى الامام والانحساب إلى الخني. وهذا فهو أشرف من حكمة الدنيا وثائر عند الله.
وأما الأبرودرومس ساكن البراري. فما كان شيء في هذا منه 579 لأنه لم يكن نبيا ولا سابقا ولا سكن بريدة. إلا أنه كان منذنا بالامانة ومبينا لحسن العبادة وكان بذلك معروفا وما عمدا لعمرية جماعة. ولكنه خلص كثيرين من اطراح المعومة والنزوع عنها وعوالمهم 576 في وقته وفرده على حفظه ووصل 577 بعد ذلك إلى المعومة الكبرى العليا التي لا تندم بشيء من الوضر والوسا��ة الثانية. 578 وحمل له من بطرس علنام الأعمة. ولكنه ابعد مع ذلك من عيسى والانحراف 580 وتشبه من بولص بالانتقال ولكنه لم يقل من حال اضطهاد الدين. بل من تخليط العالم وعقادات ذاته. وإن كان من اورشليم الى الورقوق لمال الجملة. وذلك أن بولص وحده وصل إلى ذلك وهو الذي اختطف الى الناما الثالثة وسما الكلام الذي لا شرح 581 ولكن لم ينصر أيضا ولا هذا فيما مكنه من قوم يستذههم ويدعمهم. وقوم يطرهم ويصرح به. وقوم ينهاهم ويزجرهم. في مواضع كثيرة من الشاديد الكبير يجريهم ويخلفهم.
ولكن يا هامة 582できて كل طهارة التي كانت عندى خاصة معروفة. وعند الكاففة عامة محتشمة. وبا من كان جماعة المذكورين متشابه. وللكثيرين منهم عاشقا. والى كل حسنة سابقا. أقبل مني هذا القول.

Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā 29 (2021)
فاما ان تصوره مديحا او تصوره مرثيا او تجبرة. وهذا بعينك النهي وان كان قولًا فقيرا. ولكنه بحسب الطاقة. واما ما لم تسكن في دميك من اجلي حتى سلمتني إلى ذلك المودب الآلهي الفاضل. برسال رجوت مني أن اصبر فاضلا. أو تقدمت فعرفت اني 593. اصبر كما صارت في العلوم نافعة. ولكنك 595. علما على كل حال علمه وروحانيه اني 596. أقدر في بعض الأوقات ان اكتب خيبر ليلا ينص في طول الزمان. فذلك. 597. تعطف على وفي الوقت هذا 598. وأصبح لي عن تأخيري واجب المقال فيه. 599. هذه الغابة. لا تحلمي عند وقفك. 600. الان في السماوات امام المنبر العظيم بحسب ما كنت مشتاقا او بحسب ما كنت حريصا مجتهدا ان تنظر الي. وتشبع في. وقد كان وألذي قد عول 601. على عائتك في خلالتكم في وفي اخوتي رضي الله عن الجميع. وتبالغ في السواد والتضرام في ان تغفر 602. خطاياي. وينجب سعيبي في بقية عمري واخلاص من الشدايد وانتقال اللى ما يرضي. الله ويزلف له. 603. اهله. فلك عدد من الباحث والمساعد الأولاد الذين اولتهم بالسماح وديثتهم الى الطريق الموحدة الى ما يرضي. 604. اهله. وقد كانوا انحطاطا مقدسة وزهرا روحانية ومقدمات من بلدنا النفيس 605. الآلهي مقبلة. فهمه انبنا جرجي الكبير. نصبتك وغرسك 606. الذي لقي الملك نفور القديس ورأس على بير مار سمعان. العمودي الجليل. 607. ومنهم انبنا يوجن العجيب الذي اهل 608. فللا كاتوليكنا على بلاد 609. المشرق. ومنهم انباء خاريطان الثاني المجتهد الأرمني ريس. 610. دير مار سمعان العجابي البحري الذي في جبل اللحام العجيب. 611. الرسول.

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Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā 29 (2021)
وبنوه أن النبي يعيش الحبيس الذي جاهد في انواع من عمد الحبس وصنع القوات العجيبة. ومنهم أنابا أفرام رجل الله الحبيس الذي صبر على ضيق المحابس الكثيرة. ولم ينقل عن طريق واحدة. وكان حبيسا بنا مخصوصا بالمسيح في دير القديس غريغوريوس الثاولوغس. ومنهم أنابا أرمنا رفقة العجيب رئيس دير السيدة والده الاله المعروف بالراحمة الذي انشاء هو في جبل اللكام المقدس. ومنهم الآب المغبوط أفتيكيوس ابن فرخوس. ونها أنابا غريغوريوس الكبير الفاضل رئيس دير السيدة والده الاله المعروف بدقنونا. وكفى باشتهاره في القضايل.


Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā 29 (2021)
Translation

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God.
The twenty-third day of May.

The story of the life of the patriarch of Antioch,
the martyr Christopher, and his martyrdom there.
Ibrāhīm b. Yūḥannā, the imperial\textsuperscript{625} prōtospatharios there, composed it in Greek,
then also translated it into Arabic. May God benefit us by it, amen.

Nature and actions in accordance with the divine image\textsuperscript{626} are among the deeds of God (blessed be every mention of him). As for sin and all things that diverge from the outlines of that image, they are among the deeds of the Evil One.

And as for our own deeds, we say first that they are among the deeds of God, because everything recognizes that he (exalted be his name) created all things that exist out of nothing and ennobled humans by his own hand when he created them in his image. But we mention secondly that they are among the deeds of Iblis, because he envied our father Adam for the nobility that he had attained, so he deceived and misled him with the hope of divinization, making him sink and fall away from the natural virtues and outstanding traits of the image upon which he was formed. Thus it has become a virtue to establish our nature upon its original foundation and basis and to put an end to our separation from the core of the image, and it has become a shortcoming and a vice to remove ourselves from the duties of our nature, to turn away from its original basis in any direction, to abandon the image’s journey toward that upon which it was formed, and to turn our faces toward its opposite.

Thus the prophet’s saying “I will judge you according to the state in which I find you at the end”\textsuperscript{627} became necessary. By my life, this is one of the most necessary and important things! For God (blessed be his name), who is the first good, made us and created us to do good, so that good might be our goal and intention. After we have deviated from it, we return to it, so that we might begin to ascend toward it after turning away, because the only thing that prevents us from doing so is not God (powerful and great), but our own will. How, then, could this saying not be necessary? From this it follows that he will judge us according to the state in which we are found at the end of our days. So we have come to this point: Whomever we see in a given form at the end, whether they have been good and


\textsuperscript{626}. The preface uses the roots ṣ-w-r and ṣ-y-r (“image,” “become,” etc.) as a running motif.

\textsuperscript{627}. Ezekiel 7:3?
righteous all of their days or have returned to goodness and righteousness after straying far away—they have returned, and we must praise and commend them, because we know that nothing prevented them and they have turned toward this form of power without anything to hinder them, unto the ultimate blessing and the furthest remembrance.

When we find someone who first made a mistake and then apologized for it in the end, it is no embarrassment to praise and exalt them on account of what they became afterward. So the “chosen vessel,”\textsuperscript{628} despite his previous acts of persecution, must be highly praised, since his struggle\textsuperscript{629} ended on the side of truth. The same applies to Matthew, because he became an evangelist after collecting taxes.\textsuperscript{630} So if anyone is like these two, who first went one way but afterward returned to virtue, they must be praised for what they began to do afterward. And if this is true of those who were in error before, what can we say about one who was not in error before, but was rather in the middle ranks of people, among those who were polluted voluntarily or involuntarily, between the highest and the lowest? The person who fits this description must certainly be considered virtuous and counted among those who should be greatly praised.

[1. The Early Years]

One person we know who fits this description is Christopher,\textsuperscript{631} the great patriarch and the noble martyr, because of the payments he received before, when he was a secretary,\textsuperscript{632} and because he endured his later struggle and devotion, though he did not have an earlier custom or precedent of religious exercise. He had a powerful passion and zeal for even the smallest good works and later had an even greater passion for struggling on behalf of the truth.

His homeland was the City of Peace, Baghdad, which the early children of Hagar substituted for the city of Ctesiphon as their capital city, the land of their sciences and their pure language. As for his parents, I do not know what they were like, but they must have been prominent and important to become the parents of someone like him. The period of his education in his own city was brief, consisting only of what he needed to become well educated in the elementary sciences, then to master rhetoric as well as he could, and beyond that to master the skill of handwriting. For when he wrote, no one could decide which was more perfect in his calligraphy: its beauty or its speed. For these two qualities had never been equally present in a single person. In him, not only were they equal, but everyone who saw him thought that they were competing with each other and striving for precedence.

\textsuperscript{628} Saul/Paul; Acts 9:15.
\textsuperscript{629} Jihād.
\textsuperscript{630} Cf. Matthew 9:9.
\textsuperscript{631} The text of Z begins here and reads “Christopher, the blessed, fortunate one.”
\textsuperscript{632} Z omits: “because of . . . a secretary.”
For this reason, and due to his aforementioned virtue—or rather, due to the concern of divine providence for the see of the Head of the Apostles\footnote{Ra’s al-salīḥiyīn, that is, Peter, whose first see was in Antioch.} that is here—it was not possible for him to dwell in his homeland for long. Once he had become as well educated as he could be, as we have mentioned, he imitated the chosen father\footnote{Abram/Abraham, whose two names mean “great (or high) father” and “father of a multitude,” respectively; cf. Genesis 11:31–12:9, 17:5.} who had migrated from those regions; he, too, migrated, because he, too, was going to become the great father of a multitude. He migrated from the land of the Chaldeans to the land of the Syrians. And by “the land of the Syrians,” I do not mean “the land of the Canaanites,” which is now the land of Palestine, but I mean the town near us, not far away, the town of Aleppo. The management of all of this was with God, who lays the foundations of things in advance, so that at last they come to a praiseworthy end beneficial to all. He (great and powerful) continuously makes small things the prologue to great things that do not even occur to the imagination beforehand.

In this case, Ibn Ḥamdān, whose surname was Sayf al-Dawla and whose renown was great, was important and had a powerful influence in this region. He showed concern for every virtuous person who had nobility and high ambition, so he was like a magnetic stone whose goodness attracted\footnote{Lacuna in Z omits: “like a . . . goodness attracted.”} people from all other countries. Therefore, the one who had imitated the ancient father in his migration headed in his direction. His name was originally ‘Īsā,\footnote{The typically Muslim name for Jesus (the typically Christian name is Yasūʿ). Z adds: “because he was going to become a patriarch like Abraham, though he did not know it. But he was later named Christopher.”} and he was going to become what he was going to be named—or rather, what he was going to be named came first, so he took that name.\footnote{This sentence is confusing, and quite different in the two manuscripts. It seems, however, that the idea is that Christopher was going to live up to his name by becoming a bearer of Christ. The second part of the sentence suggests a correction to the first: he was already a bearer of Christ, and that is why he chose the name Christopher when he became patriarch. This assumes the audience’s knowledge that the Greek name Christopher means “bearer of Christ,” which would have been obvious in the original Greek.} And just as he had put on Christ in baptism,\footnote{Cf. Galatians 3:27.} so he would also put him on in his blood.

ʿAlī b. Ḥamdān handed him over to one of the great emirs of the wilderness, named Khalīfa b. Jundī, whose emirate was in the area of Shayzar. So ʿĪsā was with him, and all of his affairs were handed over to him.

\[2. The Christians of Iraq and Central Asia\]

He was not known among the Antiochians at first; no one had heard of him or knew anything about him, but afterward he became known because of the coming story. Ctesiphon, which we have mentioned, was large and greatly renowned, because it was the limit, frontier, and boundary of the kingdom of the Persians. And there was a community
of Christians there whose pastor was not called a metropolitan, because the rank of metropolitan was not sufficient to shepherd such a large group throughout all the countries of Persia and to hand over their affairs to bishops alone. For they were also rather few, and the situation called for numerous bishops, so many that it was not possible for one metropolitan to name and ordain them all, so there was a need for numerous metropolitans. Moreover, those regions were distant, far from our city called by the name of God,639 and they were in the kingdom of the Persians, which often prevented travel to Antioch for the appointment of a metropolitan for every place.

There was already another policy among the ancients for this situation, the likes of which had been used for different nations and distant places, such as the Georgians,640 the Abkhaz, and the Bulgars: a person was ordained whose authority was greater than the authority of a metropolitan, and he was called a catholicos, as they were called in those places that we mentioned. Our predecessors followed this custom, and the leader of our city ordained a catholicos for the city of Ctesiphon.

When the Hagarenes641 built the City of Peace, which is Baghdad, they wanted to move the Christians away from its vicinity, so they moved them to a distant city in the Persian lands, called Shash,642 and sent the catholicos into exile there with his exiled companions. That relocated tribe was called “the community of the Romans,” and naturally their group was called by this name.643

So the residence of the catholicos was in Shash for some time, and no one challenged or disputed it. But when a group of Roman prisoners began to accumulate and some of them obtained their freedom, a dispute began between the two sides. The group of Christians gathered in Baghdad said, “The catholicos belongs to us, and we are more deserving of him, because his residence was in Ctesiphon, and Ctesiphon is near us.” And the people in Shash said, “We are the people of that place, who were moved from there to here with the catholicos of all the East, and as a person is nobler than any piece of land, it is necessary for us to have the catholicos, who moved here with us. We have precedence, as we are rational creatures, and it is more proper for us than for you. You ask that you should have precedence on account of nothing but stones and dust!”

While the quarrel between the two sides was ongoing, the current catholicos died, and there was need for another person after him to carry out the ministry of the priesthood there. Therefore, three emissaries came to Antioch from Romagird requesting the ordination

639. A reference to Antioch’s Greek title of Theou Polis, or “City of God.”
640. For “Georgians,” Z reads: al-Khazarān. There is no known catholicate among the Khazars, and Marius Canard suggests that Ibrāhīm intended Jurzān, the Georgians. This seems to be the reading in S, though it could also be read as Khurzān. See Marius Canard, “Une vie du patriarche melkite d’Antioche, Christophore († 967),” Byzantion 23 (1953): 561–69, at 562.
642. Now part of Tashkent, Uzbekistan.
643. Apparently a reference to Rōmagird (Persian)/Rhōmagyris (Greek), the name of this Christian colony in Central Asia. The etymology of the name is disputed and difficult to reconcile with Ibrāhīm’s jamāʿat al-Rūm; see Néophyte Edelby, “Note sur la catholicosat de Romagyr,” Proche-Orient chrétien 2 (1952): 39–46, at 40; Canard, “Vie,” 563.
of a catholicos. One was a priest and the other two were deacons. I, the speaker and writer, saw them—while I was still a boy—remaining in our church and saying that they would not return until they were given an audience and allowed to take the catholicos whom they had come from the end of the earth to request. And the aforementioned ʿĪsā heard they had come, and he was not pleased with their plan, because he was a Baghdadi and one of their opponents on the topic of the catholicos—in fact, the leader of that side. Working to put an end to their plan, 644 he did not delay or rest, but left his work behind and took up the pain of the journey to Antioch to drive them away. There was no one who appointed him to do this; he took up the cause of his own accord, simply out of zeal for his homeland.

At that time, the one entrusted with the administration of our town named for God was the late Agapios 645 b. Qaʿbarūn, who held the patriarchate before him. So the dispute, discussion, and quarrel over the installation of the catholicos took place in his presence, and the aforementioned ʿĪsā fiercely contended for the people of his country, presenting their arguments and seeking victory for them—to bring the catholicos to their city, which is the City of Peace and the replacement for Ctesiphon. 115r As the patriarch judged, he seemed not to be swayed by what ʿĪsā was requesting, but he recoiled from his skill and was ashamed to face him, so he left the matter hanging. 646 ʿĪsā was satisfied and departed, but he had shown the Antiochians that he was a man of great endurance and that he had a fierce zeal for the affairs of the church.

[3. His Election to the Patriarchate]

It was only a little later that the patriarch died, and it became the concern of the Antiochians to choose a patriarch and pastor to succeed him. For here, the choice did not belong to metropolitans and bishops—who care about nothing except what will improve their own situation, and do not care what will improve the situation of the masses—as is the custom in other places. Here, the choice was available to everyone affected; both commoners and elites cared about it and had a choice in it. Anyone who precisely considers the concept of choice will find that the system used here is unspoiled by personal desires, and therefore also pleasing to God.

When the Antiochians set about doing this, a group of them debated at length whether to choose one person or another. But they did not find anyone more agreeable to them or more suitable for their see than ʿĪsā. So when their community agreed to choose him, they brought their request to Sayf al-Dawla, because he was in command of the region. He was pleased with their position, because he was partial and favorable toward ʿĪsā. But he had no way to approve their choice, because he was wary of the impudence of the desert Arab whom he was serving, 115v a man of great ruggedness, boldness, and audacity. He had no doubt that the man would fight to keep ʿĪsā, his secretary.

644. S omits: “because he . . . their plan.”
646. For “he left the matter hanging,” Z reads: “he closed the matter.”
It was good fortune from God, who (blessed be his name) willed for such a man to become patriarch here, that that Qarmaṭī Bedouin went with Sayf al-Dawla on one of his raids. His horse slipped on Šārikha Bridge and he drowned in the Halys River. Then Sayf al-Dawla gave permission for the selection of ʿĪsā, and the chosen one was quickly elevated to the exalted and God-honored see of the Head of the Apostles. He received ordination from the metropolitans, as is required. The ordination was splendid and dignified, and he naturally took the name Christopher, for it was obvious from his actions that he bore all goodness within his breast—more precisely, we could say that he bore Christ within his heart.

[4. His Asceticism and Piety]

From this point on he led him away from the path of ease and luxury onto another path, rough and difficult. For although he had not become a monk, he exceeded all monks in his practices: after his ordination, he tasted nothing of meat. Because he had no previous custom of following the monastic lifestyle, he was not satisfied with the things that his monastic predecessors had done, whether in fasting or vigils or rising for prayer. Rather, he exceeded and surpassed them in everything. He fasted every day from nighttime to nighttime, from the beginning of the year to the end, for from the time when he became patriarch, there was not a single day when he ate a bite of food before evening. Nor was he concerned about different types of food; he made no distinctions among the things he ate, and his table was spread in whatever way, often without eggs or fish or any other fine thing. His drinking was not excessive, but it included a little wine and plenty of water.

On ordinary days he was awake for a large portion of the night, long before dawn. On Sundays, he was awake from the evening before Sunday until the morning. The priests took his vigils as a model because of the great love that he had for God and the greatness of his soul. And often he would not go back to bed for a long time, so that I even saw him nearly fall to the ground on numerous occasions because of the intensity of the practice.

647. *Badawī*. The Qarmaṭīs were an apocalyptic, revolutionary branch of Ismāʿīlī Shiʿī Islam (at some points also closely associated with Zoroastrianism) that gained numerous adherents in Syria, among other regions, in the early fourth/tenth century. The movement lost much of its appeal, however, after the infamous, bloody Qarmaṭī raid on Mecca during the *ḥajj* season of 317/930. At this point, numerous Qarmaṭīs entered the service of Sunni rulers, including the Ḥamdānids. See Canard, *Histoire*, 1:315–18, 602–6, 632–34.

648. *Ghazawāt*.

649. For “Ṣārikha,” Z reads: “Mārikha.”

650. For “Halys,” Z reads: “al-Sinn.” As Canard notes, this is a slightly garbled reference to the Halys (Arabic “Alis”), now the Kızılırmak in northern Turkey. Šārikha appears in Byzantine and Muslim sources as well, and Canard writes that this text allows us to place it precisely on the Halys, “without doubt upstream from Sivas.” Zayat, on the other hand, takes “al-Sinn” as the correct term and places it on the Tigris. The connection to Šārikha (as it appears in S, though it is misspelled in Z) makes Canard’s reading more likely. See Canard, “Vie,” 567; Zayat, “Vie,” 26.

651. That is, Christ.

652. *Fajr*.
We have mentioned a few things on this topic to show the difficulty of the life that he led, in which he had no prior experience. Anyone who has experienced this or has heard about it will surely know how difficult this path and practice were for a man who was raised in luxury.

[5. The Catholicos Issue]

It is now time to discuss what he did after his ordination. It was necessary to ordain bishops for the sees that were vacant. Which sees did he turn to first? He did not turn somewhere uncontested, nor to a see in which he had no history of opposition or favoritism or contention, but to the two sees that he had defended and opposed. His concern for them was not the same as it had been earlier, partial and headstrong. When he realized within himself that he had not acted in an appropriate way, as a result of his favoritism and opposition, he decided to confront the aspects of the situation that he had previously ignored and to reform both his own intention and the things that were now under his control, even reforming his own beliefs.

Thus he approached the situation with a just balance, but also with wisdom and kindness. So he weighed the ordination on this balance and created two catholicoi: one for the City of Peace, his homeland, who was a man of Aleppo named David, and the other for Romagird (which he had opposed), a man of Antioch named Eutychios. Who will not praise him for this kind and correct policy that led to peace and harmony? For he did not wrong his own city, but he also looked well upon the other, and he gave them harmony of souls and removed their discord and contention.

[6. Other Vacant Sees]

But did he then lie down on the issue of the other vacant sees? When he looked into the issue, did he consider bribes or intercessions, or a ruler’s pleasure, or the terror of a powerful person’s frown? No! On the contrary, when he saw that the delegation from a city requesting a bishop had mentioned someone worthy of ordination, and that person was pleasing to God and to him, he would lay his hands upon him immediately and confirm him, being pleased with what pleased them and yielding to their request. Or if he was not pleased with that person, he would choose someone else with whom they were also pleased, and would lay his hands upon him with the consent of the following synod. There was no delay, because the metropolitans who were before him could see that his mind was judicious, his determination was strong, no favoritism affected him, and he did not desire gifts or bribes. So how could they contradict him in anything he decided?

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653. For “David,” Z reads: “Mājid.” Tūmā Bīṭār suggests that Mājid (if this is the correct reading) might be the author of a fourth-/tenth-century Arabic commentary on the Nicene Creed, though the evidence is limited, and the variant reading of S makes the identification even less likely. See Tūmā Bīṭār, al-Qiddīsūn al-mansiyyūn fī al-turāth al-Anṭākī (Duma, Lebanon: ʿĀʾilat al-Thālūth al-Quddūs, 1995), 385–86.

654. Lacuna in Z omits: “following.”

655. S repeats: “his determination . . . he decided.”
He had a strong determination, a great heart, and a zeal to beautify and reform the church. He fought for it and defended it, never being moved or turned back. It should not be a problem for us to mention a story as proof. There was a priest, a physician, who committed a small fault, so the blessed father restrained him and suspended him from exercising the priesthood for some time. This priest was serving one of the Ḥamdānid emirs—a fierce tyrant obedient to no one, not even Ibn Ḥamdān. He asked him to intercede with the patriarch to secure his release and cancel his suspension. His intercession came without delay, because he believed that no one—not even one of the most powerful Muslims—would dare to disobey him. So how could the patriarch, a lowly Christian dhimmī? Therefore he addressed the patriarch gladly, saying, “Whatever sin was committed by my physician, the priest, transfer his offense to me, O patriarch, and forgive him.” He answered him, saying, “That is not possible for me, O my lord the emir.” He responded to him, saying, “O uncircumcised man, don’t you fear me? Yet you dare to tell me ‘That is not possible for me’? What could be impossible for you if I have commanded it?” The bold man responded to him, saying “Many things are impossible for me, O emir, if they relate to my religion, my doctrine, and my law. For we are in obedience to you, and in other things it is not possible for us to disobey you. But as for what religion has forbidden, when it comes to these things we are prepared to face prison and the blades of swords.” So he responded to him: “At least let me know what is this grave offense that has violated your religion.” The disciple of Christ said, “Before this, O emir, the crime was only a little one, and it would be easy to make satisfaction for it. But now it is great, and it is undesirable to forgive it, because he asked you to intercede—you, a Muslim, who disagrees with us in doctrine—and the truth of this case is no secret, since the matter concerns only our church.” The Hagarene answered him, saying, “From now on, be armed to the teeth, and know beyond a shadow of a doubt that you are going to die. I would take your head even if it were on the breast of the Great Emir.”

What did this bold man do after that? Was he anxious? Did he relent? Did he bend the knee? Did he stop to send a message about it to Ibn Ḥamdān? Absolutely not! Rather, he considered all of that to be nothing more than scattered dust of no importance. He set out at once for Antioch and entrusted it to God, his defender. At that time he was in Aleppo. Praise God, his aim was not off the mark. And this was his zeal and ambition for all that would beautify and adorn the church.

656. For “because he . . . Christian dhimmī,” Z reads: “trusting in his kindliness, especially as he was a dhimmī.”
657. Dīnī wa-madhhabī wa-nāmūsī.
658. For “are in obedience to,” S reads: “do not obey.”
659. Plural.
660. For “he asked you to intercede,” Z reads: “I find it horrible.”
661. Madhhab.
662. Z places “At that . . . in Aleppo” after the word “Antioch” in the previous sentence.
If the way of this virtuous man in these things was as we have described, did he behave the same way in other things—as one who does not bend over or yield, and not as the meek lover of humanity who lends his sympathy and inclines his ear to anyone who asks, anyone who needs his mercy and compassion? In other areas, who was stronger in compassion than Christopher, or more tender in sympathy for the afflicted, or stronger in mercy for those in need, or more generous in giving to the pure? His wealth was not abundant, because he was working among the Gentiles, so his revenues were diminished. Nevertheless, as far as it was possible for him, he never cut short his generosity, support, care, and giving—not only once, but many times, and not only occasionally, but continuously—if it was possible, conditions were easy, and he did not face difficult obstacles.

He received messages, and he never failed to read them and to record with his own hand that one of the petitioners should be given documents, another clothing, another food, another drink, and still others similar things. I myself, the composer of this text, saw a priest who had told him a story, so he brought him into his presence and asked him about it, saying, “How many dependents do you have?” He answered him, saying such and such, so he said, “Let him be paid this much wheat, this much oil, and this much wine,” enough to last him a year. When the priest was beginning to leave, he said to him, “Come back here. Where, O unfortunate one, will you get the price of milling or any seasoning? No; pay him this, too, whatever is enough for him.” The saint did not let him leave until he had given him enough to satisfy him for the whole year.

Furthermore, whenever the story of an imprisoned or unjustly extorted person came to him, if it was possible to redeem them with small gifts, he did not hesitate to give and to redeem them from whatever was demanded of them. But if there was an intense difficulty, he never failed to ride over to the one making the demands, asking them to forgive whatever they wanted the person to pay and to make any possible reduction to the sum. This was the image of a new Nicholas among us, passionate in concern for all who were in hardship and need. All of this is evidence of the things he would do of his own accord and of his generous kindness.

His head, his zenith, the prototype to which he adhered and whose likeness he bore—Christ, the imitation of whom was always in his thoughts and whom he desperately wished to emulate—was not content to fill the bellies of thousands with a few pieces of bread, but added another satisfying gift with his two pure hands: he washed the feet of his disciples.

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663. Z adds: “How would he then have shown by his actions that he was a worthy disciple of Christ?”
664. For “petitioners,” Z reads: “poor.”
666. For “milling,” Z reads: “flour.”
667. A fourth-century CE bishop of Myra, famed for his generous gifts; inspiration for the modern Santa Claus and his counterparts. Nicholas was extremely popular in this period. See Roberts, Reason, 68–72, 105–8, 111.
So this disciple of his also strove\(^{669}\) not to be satisfied with what we have described and added another service with his two hands for those who were his brothers in their connection to his teacher. In Antioch there was an intense famine that naturally affected all the people. Therefore, Christopher gathered a group of those most severely injured by hunger—the elderly, the sick, priests, deacons, young people, and orphans. He gathered them, organized them into schools, and had them sit at tables while he stood, not satisfied just because they had abundant food, but sometimes taking the task into his own hands and serving them drinks, one by one. It is thus clear that he was a faithful slave of Christ, imitating him in a way that no other could match.

\[9. \text{Educational Works}\]

Since I have now mentioned young people and orphans,\(^{670}\) I must explain who these young people were. It is clear, O listener, that he extended his soul not only in love for the weak but also in excellence of mind and in the benevolent administration of everything for the greater good. He saw how tight and difficult things were and that for this reason people were falling behind in their learning—and that not only the poor and powerless but even the notables, the people of esteem, were failing in it. The holy Church of God was lacking, and most of the people had no \(\text{\textsuperscript{119r}}\) thought or care for learning.

So he thought of a major program that would show his good administration: he chose from among the powerful\(^{671}\) twelve young people, intelligent and distinguished, and handed them over to an insightful teacher, who would teach them the ecclesiastical sciences that surpass all others. Then he cast lots to choose other people from among the poor, especially orphans in bad situations—150 young people—and handed them over to three teachers who would teach each one whatever they could do skillfully. He ordered that three large kettles full of food should be cooked every day, each one taken to one of the schools, and that every young person should be given whatever was enough for them, along with whatever bread they needed. We must recognize how many benefits he provided here—namely, three major ones: first, food that the eater did not have to labor for; second, education without price or payment; third, noble service to the church.\(^{672}\) These are all among his great deeds in this area.

\[10. \text{Defending the Faith}\]

He added to this an even greater help for the poor and support for the faith. The Hagarenes extract from all Christians in their countries a tax\(^{673}\) that we call the “head...
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tax”⁶⁷⁴ but they call the “acquittal,”⁶⁷⁵ because it acquits those who pay it of any damages or prosecution. None of the Christians who live there can escape from paying it, because whoever does not pay is led without a choice into the religion of Islam. An amazing and lamentable spectacle can be seen there among the afflicted. Some Christians pay the acquittal with righteous intentions, if they can, and consider it a charitable gift and a good deed, because it is something they pay on account of their religion. But other people are oppressed by it because they are impoverished. Thus the strongest in religion is not the one who hesitates to pay what they can, but rather the one who gives to assist the weaker person with whatever is demanded of them.

When Christopher, who held Christ within his breast, saw the harshness of these things, giving was not enough for him, and he was not satisfied with making additions to people’s acquittal payments; rather, he went beyond that and paid from his own wealth the entire acquittal for people who could not pay. However, his wealth was wearing out, and it was not easy for him to do these things in the way that he believed he should, because he did not have abundant revenues. So how do you think he approached this issue? In precise imitation of John the Merciful,⁶⁷⁶ master of Alexandria. He happily asked the emir, Sayf al-Dawla, to help him in his love for the poor, and he did not reject him, because he was generous in nature and intensely favorable to the patriarch. He ordered the tax collectors to forgive 10,000 dirhams for him every year, and he would write messages to them on behalf of whomever he wished to help. So he might write to forgive the entire acquittal for one person and write for another forgiving half of the amount. Thus not a single Christian went over to the religion of Islam during his time.

[11. Loyalty to Sayf al-Dawla]

So the patriarch received—along with rewards from God—a strong welcome from Sayf al-Dawla the emir, and favor from the same Sayf al-Dawla. For this is part of human nature: not only does the one for whom good is done trust in the patronage of their benefactor, but the benefactor also adds to the benefits given to them. The beneficiary derives benefits from the patronage, but then the benefactor wishes to give them still more benefits, going to great lengths in both quantity and duration—especially if they have goodness in their nature—so that their previous benefaction will not be made futile by their miserliness.

Thus when intense opposition and rebellion broke out against Sayf al-Dawla and persisted for a long time, the patriarch alone kept his distance from it and did not join the group of Antiochians who were rebelling against him. He did not even wish to speak to the insurgents.

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⁶⁷⁴. Jizyat al-ruūṣ.
⁶⁷⁵. Barāʾa.
⁶⁷⁷. S calls this tax kharāj; Z calls it barāʾa.
⁶⁷⁸. That is, Christopher.
Now, the reason for this rebellion was that the blessed Emperor Nikephoros\textsuperscript{679} was taking possession of the border country,\textsuperscript{680} most of it by violence and war. Tarsus alone\textsuperscript{681} he took by a treaty of safe conduct,\textsuperscript{682} for hunger had ravished its people, and they had reached a disastrous state, inadequate for war. At the time, Sayf al-Dawla was suffering from paralysis\textsuperscript{683} in Mayyafariqin.\textsuperscript{684} As for the people of Tarsus, they came to the city of Antioch with their wives\textsuperscript{685} and children. The Hagarenes of Antioch were also concerned for themselves, so they went to Ibn al-Zayyāt,\textsuperscript{686} their governor,\textsuperscript{687} asking and begging him to stay with them and manage their affairs, since things were falling apart and becoming fragile. When Ibn al-Zayyāt saw that things were in such a state, he began to worry about Emperor Nikephoros. He loathed the idea and absolutely refused to stay.

The fear of the Antiochians increased at his refusal, which drove them to seek out Rashīq,\textsuperscript{688} Ibn al-Zayyāt’s second-in-command. They asked him the same thing they had requested of the other, and he responded positively but indicated that they should submit to Emperor Nikephoros and yield to his rule. He reminded them\textsuperscript{120v} that this was the way of prosperity and that they would never attain the calm and tranquility that they desired if they did not obey him. They accepted his advice and sent messengers to the emperor, offering to bring money and to secure their agreement with pledges. Because the emperor was unyielding and was wary of them, he responded to the message they had sent, saying, “I do not accept money, because the emperor of the Romans has no need of it, and because the Muslims might give it today and refuse it tomorrow. Nor do I accept pledges, because while they have meaning for some people, most think nothing of them. I request only one thing, whenever you are ready and realize that it is an easy and insignificant thing for you to do: I wish to build on a rock formation within your city a fortress, in which I will have a stratēgos and a small number of others to defend you, and through them I will conquer.”

When the Antiochians refused that, Rashīq felt ashamed and thought that he had become completely useless, so he decided to “uncover his head”—as the saying goes—in rebellion.

\textsuperscript{679} Nikephoros II (r. 352–59/963–69).

\textsuperscript{680} Balad al-thaghr. Zayat translates this phrase as des villes du littoral (“the towns of the coast”), another potential (especially modern) meaning of \textit{thaghr}, but it seems more likely that this is a reference to the Islamic geographical concept of \textit{al-thughūr}, the border fortresses on the frontiers of Muslim-ruled territory, especially on the Byzantine border.

\textsuperscript{681} For “took Tarsus alone,” Z reads: “destroyed Tarsus and took it.”

\textsuperscript{682} \textit{Amān}.

\textsuperscript{683} Aflaja. The primary meaning of this word is “to be victorious,” but the context (along with other historical sources) makes it clear that Sayf al-Dawla was suffering from paralysis, or \textit{fālij}; see \textit{'izz al-Dīn} b. al-Athīr, \textit{al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh}, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Daqqqāq (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1987), 7:279.

\textsuperscript{684} Modern Silvan, Turkey.

\textsuperscript{685} For “wives,” S reads: “young people.”

\textsuperscript{686} For “Ibn al-Zayyāt,” Z reads: “Ibn al-Zamān.” This variant continues throughout the text.

\textsuperscript{687} That is, the newly arrived governor of Tarsus; see Canard, \textit{Histoire}, 648–49.

\textsuperscript{688} For “Rashīq,” Z reads: “Rashīq al-Nasīmī, who had come from Tarsus.” This is the first of the edits that have been made to Z in order to bring it in line with the \textit{Dhayl} of Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd al-Anṭākī; see al-Anṭākī, “\textit{Histoire},” 797.
against Sayf al-Dawla, especially because of his paralysis and inability to move, which made people think little of him. Once Rashīq had made this decision, he gathered his supporters together and headed for the city of Aleppo. He took it by force without much effort and began to lay siege to the citadel, but it would not budge. A servant of Sayf al-Dawla named Qarghuwayh was there, and he would send out men every day to fight Rashīq. One of them—it was not clear who—struck him with a spear thrust during the battle, so he died there, and when he fell dead, the others fled to Antioch. When they arrived, they were concerned for themselves, and they set a member of their group at their head as their emir. They remained firmly committed to their opposition and rebellion. The one who encouraged them in this was a person of Antioch named Ibn al-Ahwāzī, an intense and dynamic person who had been the manager of their affairs in the time of Rashīq.

What did the patriarch do during this time of chaos in Antioch, which was only growing more and more difficult? His well-managed mind encouraged him to remain firm in the patronage of Sayf al-Dawla, so he withdrew to the monastery of St. Symeon of Aleppo. For even if Sayf al-Dawla was paralyzed at the time, his mind had not completely faded, and his tongue had not lost the power of speech. So while the patriarch was staying in the monastery, his situation was revealed by night to those in Aleppo, and it was unbearable for the rebel. He began to investigate the patriarch’s connections and to arrest and harass his closest companions. He sealed up everything in the patriarchal cells and said aloud that if the patriarch did not come and take care of it, he would cause him even more grief.

Did the patriarch surrender to him, or get worried, or yield? No! He remained completely firm. One of his closest companions—Theodoulos, who became bishop of Seleucia after he

689. For “Once Rashīq . . . this decision,” Z reads: “Then a man of Antioch known as al-Ḥasan al-Ahwāzī attached himself to Rashīq and took over the management of his affairs with the help of the people of Antioch. He was intense and dynamic, and he gave them hope that Sayf al-Dawla would never return to Syria (al-Shām). Dizbar al-Daylamī and a group of Daylamites who were with Qarghuwayh, the servant of Sayf al-Dawla, sought the protection of Rashīq. Rashīq and Ibn al-Ahwāzī set out.” See al-Anṭākī, “Histoire,” 797–98.

690. Z adds: “Many battles took place between him and Qarghuwayh.” See ibid., 798.

691. The spelling of this name is very uncertain. Zayat transliterates it as Qarghoyah and Canard (Histoire, 649–51) as Qargawailh.

692. For “lay siege . . . fell dead,” Z reads: “lay siege to the citadel for three months and ten days. Afterward Rashīq was killed by a spear thrust that hit him.” Al-Anṭākī includes the “three months and ten days” detail but not the detail about the spear thrust, which is probably a summarized form of S; see al-Anṭākī, “Histoire,” 798.

693. For “they were . . . their emir,” Z reads: “they were concerned and afraid, and they made Dizbar al-Daylamī their emir and Ibn al-Ahwāzī his manager.” See ibid.

694. For “The one . . . of Rashīq,” Z reads: “Qarghuwayh headed for Antioch and a battle took place between them, but Qarghuwayh fled and returned to Aleppo. Dizbar al-Daylamī went to Aleppo after him, but the companions of Qarghuwayh met him, fought him, and repulsed him, so he returned to Antioch.” See ibid.

695. Z adds: “and those with him.”

696. Z omits: “his situation . . . in Aleppo.”

697. Z adds: “because of the inclination of the patriarch and those with him toward Sayf al-Dawla, which had been revealed to him.” See al-Anṭākī, “Histoire,” 798.

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was killed and who built two beautiful churches⁶⁹⁸ in Antioch, for the Arkhistratēgos⁶⁹⁹ and for Chrysostom—observed him acting in this way. He grew bold and said to him, “Sir, when this is all over, do you intend to tell your church, ‘I am the good shepherd’?⁷⁰⁰ Do not leave your sheep for the ravishing wolves to snatch up! Consider the matter, then go and extend a hand to help them, and do not think about what the rebel wants, but about what is best for you and your flock.” The patriarch said, “Hold your tongue and be silent,⁷⁰² because you do not know what you are saying.” So he had to hold his tongue.

After a little while, the servants of Sayf al-Dawla could no longer bear their shame quietly. They got him started on his journey and helped him get up, so he journeyed from Mayyafariqin to the area of Maʿarrat Miṣrīn, and war broke out between the two sides. The victory went to Sayf al-Dawla, and the chief officers of the rebels⁷⁰³ were taken prisoner. He put them in shackles and chains.⁷⁰⁴

Then the patriarch made his way to Aleppo, as happy as one who had triumphed in an agonizing⁷⁰⁵ struggle. Sayf al-Dawla gave him the warmest welcome and he became his close companion in all things, a helpful and beloved intercessor. He went from the status of an insignificant follower to that of an influential friend, not to be accused or belittled, because in the time of hardship he had been faithful, constant, and patient in spite of his affliction. What he had given in the time of distress was repaid in the time of happiness with special treatment and preference.⁷⁰⁶

He saw those who had grieved him punished before his very eyes with beatings, abuse, and other types of torment that are impossible to bear, but he was not pleased as others were. He did not grow arrogant on account of his victory; rather, he mourned, he felt a tightness in his chest, his thoughts were troubled, and he said, “Have mercy, sir, and go easy

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⁶⁹⁸. Haykalayn.
⁶⁹⁹. For “the Arkhistratēgos,” S reads: al-aksīrātīqūs; Z reads: al-azkisʿūṭus. I take this to be the Greek arkhistratēgos, “supreme commander” (a common epithet of Michael, the “supreme commander” of the heavenly forces), as suggested to me by Dmitry Morozov. Dick’s edition has al-iksābtirīghūs, Greek hexapterygos, meaning “six-winged” (seraph). This must be Dick’s guess at the original word, because it is not supported by either manuscript. The meaning is almost right, however, even if the word is not. See Dīk, Sīra, 15, 46.
⁷⁰⁰. Bīʿa.
⁷⁰². Lacuna in Z omits: “Consider the . . . be silent.”
⁷⁰³. For “the chief . . . the rebels,” Z reads: “Dizbar and Ibn al-Ahwāzī and a large group of their soldiers.” See al-Anṭākī, “Histoire,” 805. The term “rebels” translates khawārij (sg. khārijī), an allusion to the khārijī rebel group of the early Islamic period, but Ibrāhīm uses the term here in a general sense.
⁷⁰⁴. Z adds: “and brought them to Aleppo, and killed them, and he made his servant Taqī governor of Antioch.” See ibid.
⁷⁰⁵. This word is omitted in Z and not fully legible in S. Dick’s edition (Dīk, Sīra, 47) reads it as lūyā, but in S there seems to be at least one letter between the wāw and the yāʾ. I have read it here as lawʿiyyan, although the meaning of “agonizing” works for Dick’s reading as well. It could perhaps be emended to lūdiyyā and read as a reference (via Greek and/or Syriac) to the gladiator games, Latin ludi.
⁷⁰⁶. Z adds: “because he was grateful to him for his act of distancing himself from those who rebelled against him, and so he preferred him and gave him special treatment.” See al-Anṭākī, “Histoire,” 806.

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on those you have defeated, for the sake of the one who helped you stand against them! Do not refuse intercession and forgiveness as much as your duty allows.”

When he saw one of his neighbors, one of the Muslims of the city of Antioch, being punished and struck with far too many lashes, he did not sit patiently. He stood up, threw himself on the ground, and asked that the man’s crime be given to him, and his request was not rejected. But what misfortune and evil grew out of this for him, I will explain in what follows. And that should not be surprising, even if it is improbable and strange. For so the nature of envy is imprinted on malicious souls, that their fire is ignited by goodness more than it is extinguished by kindness. When that envious one was set free and released from everything that had been imposed on him, he returned to Antioch without any consequences. If only it had not been so!

[12. Return to Antioch]

After that, the patriarch stayed for a little while in Aleppo and then went to his city, bringing signed notes from Sayf al-Dawla to those whom he had dispatched to Antioch in an effort to get even with everyone who had helped the Antiochian rebels against him. He ordered them not only to absolve the patriarch and his companions of any responsibility but also to approve his requests—as often as possible—when he interceded on behalf of others, for the patriarch had taken up many such cases.

When he arrived in Antioch, he found a governor there, a servant of Sayf al-Dawla known as Taqi. He also found the patriarch Kulayb seizing the wealth of the people, though he had not been commanded to take so much, and confiscating all of their possessions. Sayf al-Dawla did not show them the kindness of restraining him from seizing their goods but acted out of pure self-interest, for he could see that these seizures were impoverishing the people, ruining the country, and eliminating any revenue. The fines had

707. It is not entirely clear, but it seems from the description in §13 that this may be Ibn Mānik, the future leader of the assassination plot (not actually named in S until §17).

708. Z adds: “Even so, there were many other elders of Antioch with whom Sayf al-Dawla was angry on account of their rebellion and whom he had arrested. The patriarch interceded with him for some of them and acted as his mediator with them, and he granted his request regarding them. So at that time, because they witnessed his powerful position with Sayf al-Dawla, their souls became set in envy and resentment of him.” See al-Anṭākī, “Histoire,” 806–7.

709. Khārijjiyyūn, another allusion to the early Islamic khawārij; see note 104 above.

710. Z omits: “a servant of Sayf al-Dawla.”


713. Z omits: “the wealth . . . to take.”

714. Z omits: “but acted . . . seizures were.”
brought people to such a state that they barely had enough to pay for housing, taxes, and other such things. When the patriarch saw the people of Antioch struggling under these demands, whom did he not deliver and redeem from the bulk of their fines? Whose burden did he not lighten? Whom did he not redeem entirely, if he could?

Now, there was a resident of Antioch who was very wealthy because he owned extensive real estate and had many sources of income but who thought of nothing but himself. He would hunch over as he walked, never raising his head from the ground, because he was such an arrogant miser. The wretch had never used a bit of his money to help anyone, not even himself. So the companions of Sayf al-Dawla seized him and began to punish him, demanding three and a half qintārs of gold. He sent to the holy patriarch in the midst of his punishment and said to him, “Have mercy, sir, on a wretch like me.” By my life, the patriarch got to work quickly, as usual, eager to help anyone who asked for his aid. He rode over at that very moment, relieved him of his torment, and mediated for him regarding the amount that was demanded. He did not stop making requests on his behalf until he had reduced the massive sum from 25,000 dinars to a tenth of that, that is, 2,500 dinars. The tax collectors said, “He will not pay even this amount without being punished and beaten.” So the disciple of Christ, who resembled him in every way, said, “I am asking you not to go overboard by punishing him any more, but to hand him over to me, and I will be responsible for the whole sum.” He was handed over to the patriarch, and the tax collectors would later demand from the patriarch the entire sum, and then the patriarch would have to demand it from him. Whenever the patriarch would write to him about this, it was like his heart was being pierced, as the arrows of envy worked within him. Thus he later consented to kill the one who had been his benefactor.

[13. The Assassination Plot]

Now the killing of the patriarch—or rather, his martyrdom—was carried out by the decision of this man and others. It was organized in secret and proceeded little by little. For because Sayf al-Dawla was inclined toward him, the raw material of envy had accumulated in the hearts of the Muslims. However, they were not all agreed on killing him. On the other hand, those who did agree were among those whom he had most generously benefited, for the father of envy was at work within them.

The proof was as follows: after Sayf al-Dawla died, people came from the land of Khorasan, warriors hurrying on their way to Antioch. That cursed one, whose benefactor

715. It is not entirely clear, but it seems from his description in §13 that this may be Ibn Maḥmūd.
716. From Latin centenarius/Greek kentēnarion, the qintār is a variable weight equivalent to 100 artāl and sometimes used to refer to an indeterminate (large) amount. Based on the typical Syrian qintār of 256 kg, the amount demanded from this miser was likely almost 900 kg (nearly one ton) of gold.
717. S omits: “the entire . . . have to.”
718. That is, Christopher.
719. 25 Ṣafar 356/9 February 967.
720. For “from the . . . to Antioch,” Z reads: “from the land of Khorasan, intending to raid the Romans, so they traveled to Antioch, and its people gave them the most beautiful welcome.” See al-Anṭākī, “Histoire,” 807.
the patriarch had been,\textsuperscript{721} in whom the venom of envy was at work, and who had thought to plot against the patriarch because of his empowerment, was afraid. If he did not communicate with the leader of the Khorasanis,\textsuperscript{722} he would miss the chance of killing him.

So he summoned\textsuperscript{723} Ibn Maḥmūd, for whom the patriarch had vouched,\textsuperscript{724} who had made known to him what he had against him in his soul; and he summoned another person, a neighbor of the patriarch called Ibn Diʿāma. He said to them, “What do you say? Do you think we should leave this infidel alive until a governor arrives, so that he will be sitting in court while we are punished, as we were in the time of Sayf al-Ḍawla?” They said, “That is not right.” So he said, “Then what do you think about requesting a written fatwā\textsuperscript{725} about him from the jurist?” They praised this idea and with one mind, they all wrote a note called a fatwā.\textsuperscript{726} They did not mention the patriarch by name but said, “What is your opinion, O jurist, on the just response to someone who plots against a Muslim fortress?” He answered that the person must be killed.

The leader of the plot said to the other two, “This fatwā is the way: if we show it to the masses, they will kill him immediately.” This was not actually his opinion; rather, because he was also a Persian and knew the language of the Khorasanis, he was secretly planning to call a group of the soldiers who had been sent to Antioch and show them the fatwā so that they would kill the patriarch without hesitation. This helped to convince them and to spur them toward what he wanted.

\[14. \text{The Patriarch’s Decision}\]

One of the patriarch’s neighbors, a prominent Muslim named Ibn Abī ʿAmr who was a true friend and adviser to him, found out about this. So he rushed over and said to him, “What are you doing? Get up quickly and look out for yourself! Otherwise, you should be aware that you are going to be killed soon.” He said, “Why? For what reason?” He said, “Because a malicious group gathered against you and consulted the law, and the jurist gave a fatwā that says you must be killed.” He asked for more information and said, “What do you think I should do?” He said, “At the moment you are not under arrest, so leave through the city gate at the end of the day, and when morning breaks, you will be

\textsuperscript{721.} For “whose benefactor . . . had been,” Z reads: “whom the patriarch had taken under his wing.” This is Ibn Mānik, likely the man whose punishment he alleviated at the end of §11 above.

\textsuperscript{722.} This leader is not named here, but al-Anṭākī (“Histoire,” 807) claims that his name was Muḥammad b. Ḥṣāī.

\textsuperscript{723.} Z adds: “three of the elders and model citizens of Antioch for whom the patriarch had mediated and interceded.” See ibid.

\textsuperscript{724.} Z omits: “for whom . . . had vouched.”

\textsuperscript{725.} Throughout this passage, both S and Z use a variety of spellings for this word, including fatwa (in Z), fita (in S), and futya (in both).

\textsuperscript{726.} Normally, fatwā would refer more specifically to the jurist’s response to their question, but Ibrāhīm apparently uses it to mean both the question and the answer.

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near Aleppo, and no one will follow you. That is what I think.” He said, “Sir, may God reward you with good things. As for me, I must think about what I will do.”

The man departed, and the patriarch summoned that man who had said to him when he was at the monastery of St. Symeon, “Why do you not go to Antioch in the time of rebellion? Are you, sir, the sort of person who can say after this, ‘I am the good shepherd’?” When he arrived, he said to him, “You should know, O man, that our neighbor so-and-so came to me this very hour and told me such-and-such. What do you think?” The man said to him, “What could be better than this, sir? Ask God’s blessing and do it!” He said, “If I do this, O insolent one, you will be among those who mock me afterward, saying, ‘Can you say tomorrow, ‘I am the good shepherd’?” The man answered, saying, “Sir, that was different.” So the patriarch said to him, “Yes, it is not hidden from me that it was different. That is why, because I did not agree with you then, I did not do it. And when I did not do it, even you knew that none of the Christians would be harmed as a result, because no one was demanding my murder at that time. But now, my murder is demanded, and not simply demanded, but demanded with intense desire and effort. For those who demand my murder are envious, and the venom of envy is concealed within their bodies. So if I slip out of their hands and they cannot inject their venom into me, they will not leave behind a single Christian or a single church. This is the time, O man, when I must say not only ‘I am the good shepherd’ but also ‘the good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep.’ Soon you will see this beard dyed with my blood.” With that, he moved his hand toward it. His speech ended with this saying, and after that he said not another word; he was almost ashamed at the thought.

[15. The Assassination]

Afterward, he gave it some thought and decided to meet with that evil man who was preparing to act against him. He knew beyond a shadow of a doubt that he had mixed for him the brew of death. However, he did not think that he would do this in his home, for no desert Arab, nor any esteemed person among the Muslims, would consider this a good way to commit a crime. So after a little while, he sent him a note, showing neither wariness nor fear: “Sir, I would like to meet with you. Please tell me what you think and I will be available to come to you.” He saw this message as an opportunity and as potential spoils,

727. See §11. The man’s name is Theodoulos.
728. Christopher.
729. S repeats: “So the . . . was different.”
731. Qahwa. This Arabic word became the word “coffee,” and it is the ultimate source of the beverage’s name in all languages, including English. However, coffee was (most likely) discovered several centuries after the composition of this text. At this time, according to Lisān al-ʿArab, qahwa referred to a type of wine. In any case, the metaphorical meaning of the phrase is clear.
732. Aʿrābī.
and he said, “I am not available at the moment, but later I will send for you.” Then he spent his entire day on the plot and did not send him anything because he was busy deceiving him and strengthening what he had cooking for him.

When much of the night had come and gone, and the patriarch had eaten his customary food, he sent to him, saying, “I am now available, O patriarch, so if you want to come, then come.” When the lamb of Christ heard this message, at such an unusual time, he was stunned and said to his companions, “What is the right thing to do, O people, when we are facing two irreconcilable options? Going at this time of night is neither proper nor appropriate, because the food is already in my mouth, and my strength—I am too weak to speak at this point. But postponing would also lead to trouble, because then we would be the ones who missed the appointment. But there is a way: can one of you check my breath? If you smell wine on me, we will use that as an excuse and say that it is not possible at this time. But if my breath is clean, we will go anyway.” When one of them checked his breath and there was no odor, he went on his own two feet, like a lamb going to the slaughter of its own free will.

That cursed one welcomed him and greeted him with affection, even as deceit was concealed within his heart. When they sat together, he was full of wrath and hatred against him, so he could not wait for the patriarch to begin speaking, but said to him, “What are you thinking, O patriarch? You are one of the people of this town, dwelling among us, yet you think badly of our interactions and act against us.” The patriarch said, “And how is that, sir? What do you mean?” He said in response, “Because you correspond with the emperor of the Romans, and you correspond with the servant of Ibn Ḥamdān.” So he said, “And what is the evidence for that, sir? Who has found such a letter from me?” He got up as if he were searching for a letter, then suddenly stood and spoke in Persian, summoning the Khorasanis whom he had prepared for the murder.

Still, he was worried and trembling. Not only was he a coward, but to both heart and eye, he looked like a bat. For he was hardly taller than a span, only by a little. He looked like a bat in color, facial expressions, and complexion. When those whom he had prepared and summoned arrived, he said to them in their language, his teeth chattering, “This is the one you are looking for! This is the man who wants to hand over this city! This is the enemy of the Muslims! Here you are, and here he is! Cut him to pieces without pity!”

If he were the enemy of the Muslims, you mouse’s eye, you complete rat, then why was he not your enemy in the time of difficulty? Rather, he was your friend, the friend who

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734. Ibn Mānik. Z calls him “that cursed one.”
735. S repeats: “and there was no odor.”
739. A span (Arabic shibr) is the distance from the end of the thumb to the end of the little finger, roughly 23 cm—obviously hyperbole in this case.
740. Lacuna in Z omits: “Here you . . . the Muslims.”
was helpful to you and delivered you from torment! But when this one whose soul was like that of a crocodile, requiting goodness with evil, gave the command regarding him, the sacrificial lamb of Christ stretched out his neck without any alarm, waiting for his head to be taken.

Those people had not swords, but long daggers. One of them made him stand up while the other struck him with a long dagger, and all of the iron passed through his belly. The sword of God\textsuperscript{741} was sharpened, but at that time it was held back, as God’s judgments often are, awaiting punishment at another time. When the martyr fell to the ground, his head was first cut off, then his pure body was dragged around on a ladder by the command of the one who had rejected both God and goodness. It was immediately thrown\textsuperscript{126r} into the river after the gate was opened for it at night.\textsuperscript{742}

But this could not be hidden from the Christian populace, and when their shepherd fell, they were stunned, struck by what had happened so suddenly, and intensely anxious. They scattered into the houses of some of the Muslims, where they hid. However, no one sought them out, for it was necessary that the earlier saying of their father should be fulfilled: “If they satisfy their thirst for revenge by killing me, and inject into me the venom concealed within their hearts, they will not pursue anyone but me.”

[16. Plundering the Church]

As for that animal with the ferocious appearance, ever increasing in beastliness, he kept quiet for most of the night, because he was on the edge of losing his mind for good. But when dawn had come, he returned to himself and directed his guards toward the church\textsuperscript{743} and the patriarchal cells. There was a group to search each of the two places.\textsuperscript{744} In the patriarchal cells, they found nothing but some foodstuffs, such as wheat, figs, and oil, preserved as provisions for the church and nourishment for the brothers in Christ. How could they find anything else when there was no gold\textsuperscript{745} hoarded there? How could he hoard when his expenses exceeded what he took in? Nor was there any clothing. How could any belong to someone whose clothing was only wool,\textsuperscript{746} without even a monastic habit?\textsuperscript{747} But there were a few priestly funeral garments there that belonged to his predecessors throughout time, and they took all of them.

And they opened the treasury of the church, and when they did not see anything there, they punished the treasurer until he showed them the hidden gold and silver utensils of the

\textsuperscript{741}. \textit{Sayf Allāh}. In S, the scribe mistakenly wrote \textit{Sayf al-Dawla} before crossing out \textit{al-Dawla} and writing \textit{Allāh}.

\textsuperscript{742}. For “then his . . . at night,” Z reads: “and thrown into the furnace of the bath in the neighborhood of Ibn Mānik’s house. Then his pure body was immediately brought out of the city gate by night and thrown into the river.” See al-Antākī, “Histoire,” 809.

\textsuperscript{743}. \textit{Bīʿa}. Z adds: “the Church of Cassian” (\textit{Kanisat Quṣyān}). See ibid., 809–10.

\textsuperscript{744}. Lacuna in Z omits: “to search . . . two places.”

\textsuperscript{745}. Z adds: “or silver.”

\textsuperscript{746}. Şuf.

\textsuperscript{747}. \textit{Askīm rahbāniyya}. \textit{Askīm} is from the Greek \textit{skhēma}.
church, [126v] along with the silk garments that were kept to decorate the church. They left nothing but a few copper things and manuscripts. Out of all this, the cursed one did not give those who had shed the pure and innocent blood everything that they had agreed. He kept back some of it in order to give it as a gift to the Persians whom he was expecting to come on their way to the land of the Romans. In the midst of all this, they arrived, and the Antiochians welcomed them magnificently. That cursed infidel was especially important for them, not only because of what he brought them, but also because he shared their tribe and language. And they began to raid the Roman border regions and to devastate them.

[17. Divine Retribution]

Now the blessed Emperor Nikephoros was busy with the Bulgars. When he returned, he sent Peter the Stratopedarkhēs, who had a battle with the Khorasanis near the city of Alexander known as Alexandria, and the Persians were put to flight after extensive fighting. With them was a group of Muslim assassins of Tarsus who had advised them not to fight, nor to keep making war, for they said, “The army that is fighting you is an imperial army, and you have no power against them.” The Persians did not accept this but persisted until their bravest men and most of the others were killed, and their chiefs were taken captive.

All of this was a necessary judgment from Heaven, for justice could not delay in avenging the blood of the martyr. Here it seems that we may go on for too long—even if it would be insufficient, coming from us—in clarifying the marvelous and efficient system, working according to an uninterrupted arrangement, by which the wicked received an evil repayment for their deeds. But telling the story contains some benefit, for from these facts everyone can verify what prophecy tells us about falling into the hands of the living God: both that it is terrifying, and that repayment might come quickly, or else only a part of it might come quickly, in which case it is evidence that the remainder will later come to pass.

748. Z adds: “And they also took the chair of St. Peter the Apostle, which was made of palm wood overlaid with silver. They kept it in the house of one of their elders, known as Ibn ʿĀmir, and it remained in his house until the Romans took possession of the city.” See al-Anṭākī, “Histoire,” 810.

749. Z adds: “those of his nation.”

750. S omits: “and language . . . border regions.”


752. This is Alexandretta, now known as İskenderun.

753. For “and the . . . extensive fighting,” Z reads: “which is between Mopsuestia and Antioch, as they were returning from their raids. He attacked them, killed their bravest men, and took the sālār of the army and others as captives.” See al-Anṭākī, “Histoire,” 814.

754. For “Tarsus,” Z reads: “Ṭarṭūs.”
One of the chiefs of the Hagarenes imprisoned in that war was the sālār of the army. The Antiochians purchased him for a massive amount of money, garments, and prisoners who were in Antioch and whom the people had taken captive. When it was done, he came to Antioch, and some of its people welcomed him and celebrated his arrival. However, as much as he entered in honor, and they honored and exalted him beyond any legitimate level, in the end he had the most shameful and disgraceful exit. For the Antiochians could not endure what they were undergoing at the hands of his men who had escaped the fighting. They had returned naked, and he like them. Thus necessity forced them to seize whatever would preserve them, and their hands stretched toward the wealth of the Antiochians. They did not endure that from them, but resisted them, war broke out between them, and the people of the city drove them out naked.

The Antiochians who fought them were in two bands, and the chief of one turned against the chief of the other and killed him. For someone had come from Egypt, one of the brigands who had fled. He returned with a small band to raid the Roman border region. The chief of the other band was a Kurd from Būqā called ʿAllūsh, and the one who came from Egypt was a Black man named al-Rughaylī. At that point the city was in the hand of ʿAllūsh. Al-Rughaylī entered and greeted him, and when he bent over to take his hand, his sword was sideways on his knees. So al-Rughaylī drew it, struck him with it, and killed him. Thus he dared to do two impressive things at one time and openly: drawing a chief’s sword from his lap, and quickly killing him without a pause. So the followers of the one who was killed were scattered, even though they were many, and command passed to the killer, even though his men were very few.

However, his rule did not endure and his time was not long, for Peter the Stratopedarkhēs came shortly with a huge contingent from the army of the praiseworthy Emperor

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756. A Persian word for a chieftain or leader.
758. Z omits: “whom the . . . taken captive.”
759. For “When it was done,” Z reads: “When the sālār was set free.” See al-Anṭākī, “Histoire,” 814.
760. For “and their . . . the Antiochians,” Z reads: “so they overpowered the Antiochians and began to seize their wealth and their goods.” See ibid.
761. For “For someone . . . from Egypt,” Z reads: “A Black man had come from Egypt to Antioch.” See ibid., 822.
762. “Brigands” translates ṣaʿālīk. My impression is that this man had escaped from Tarsus during the Byzantine conquest.
764. Z adds: “This was the chief of the first band.”
765. Often spelled Būqā, a fortress and village near Antioch, somewhat important in the early centuries of Islam but eventually lost.
766. Z omits: “and the . . . al-Rughaylī.” As with many of the names in this text, the correct spelling of the name “al-Rughaylī” is uncertain (in Arabic as well as in English).
767. For “in the hand of ‘Allūsh,” Z reads: “in his hand.”

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Nikephoros. When he came, he conquered the great city that very night, although he had not even been seeking it. He found it weak because of the previous raids on its territories, and he found its people neglecting to preserve and protect it, because they had not heard the news that someone was coming for it. They could not in one moment gather enough men to climb the mountain and defend the wall, so the Romans quickly climbed it. They found it empty, so they were able to climb it. They took possession of the city and took everyone in it captive, and no one escaped except that cursed one who was the foundation of the whole catastrophe.

Now see here, O listener, how the just judgment for earlier actions is delayed but comes to you more perfectly later on. For he had gone out of the city at night, seeking to find safety in some place within the lands of Islam, and at first the affair remained hidden. He was happy, not only because he alone was saved from captivity, but also because he was able—as he thought—to trick, deceive, and lie to God and the angels, so that they had carried him through the air and saved him. This had long been his habit, and he had achieved precision in the art of tricking, swindling, and lying to the Lord of the Worlds.

However, just judgment got ahead of him, and on the road, a bāqūlā of Syrians met him on Jabal al-Aqrāʿ. They did not know that the city had been conquered. They seized him and brought him there once they found out about the conquest from the people who were with him. At that time the stratopedarkhēs was in Aleppo, and its people were seeking...
a peace settlement with him. They agreed on a massive amount of money and brought it to him, and after he had checked the amount, he returned. So the people of the bāqūlā brought him that cursed one, whom they had taken captive; he was known as Ibn Mānik. They handed him over to someone who would guard him until he could determine what he needed to do with him.

The chiefs of the army gathered to deliberate on the issue, and some of the chiefs advised that he should be brought to the emperor. But others disagreed and said, “Who is this man that he is worthy to be brought into the imperial presence? The most appropriate thing is to kill him, in order to avenge the innocent blood that he shed.” But the others, who were advising that he be brought there, answered them and said, “It is not right to pollute that pure blood with this impure blood.” At last the patrikios Eustathios, stratēgos of Cappadocia, known as Maleinos, said, “Is the patriarch here ordering us to kill him, so that his blood can be ‘polluted,’ as you say? He completed what was necessary for him to do, then departed and arrived at a place where he awaits a beautiful reward from God. But as for us, if we are Christians, then we must avenge the injustice that was done to him.”

When he said something like this, it convinced them, and they sent the one who had been judged to the bridge at the Sea Gate, from which he himself had thrown the noble body into the river. He was cut apart with swords, piece by piece, but the pieces were not thrown into the river, for he was not worthy of that. Rather, each one was thrown at random onto the ground, and they became food for the birds and the dogs. As for the other two who had shared with him in spilling the blood, they were sent to the prison of Tarsus. They were not sought at that time, and no judgment was carried out in their cases.

[18. The Remains of the Saint]

Now as it happened, the emperor was killed before learning the news from Antioch, and the empire passed to the son of Tzimiskēs. He quickly sent Theodore, a monk from Koloniea, and made him patriarch of the City of God, Antioch. He arrived here with those who brought him and immediately began to inquire about the story of the martyr and to seek out the remains of his pure body. For his body had appeared eight days after his martyrdom, which was on the night of the twenty-third day of May. It appeared on an
island in the river, where it was caught on an oak tree. The noble head was not with it, and it was said that the infidel had burned it. Some Christians of Antioch went out secretly and buried it in the holy monastery known as Arshāyā. When Patriarch Theodore learned this, he did not delay in sending for what was there but went to the holy monastery and took up the relics of the saint with the pure clergy and a crowd of believers. They went before them to the city with a procession and a great assembly and put them in a fine marble sarcophagus, which they placed on a marble table in the western part of the Great Church.

After a few years, Abba Nicholas the patriarch again moved him with honor and put him inside the house of St. Peter the Head of the Apostles, with his staff, his chair, numerous balms, the relics of Patriarch Babylas and Patriarch Ignatius, and other things: the balms of St. John the Baptist, the honorable lance, the staff of Chrysostom, the belt of St. Symeon the Stylist of Aleppo, and so on. All of them are in the treasury of St. Peter to this day.

[19. More Divine Retribution]

However, the highest judgment of those who shared in the killing did not delay long after that. One of the two, Ibn Maḥmūd, was in the prison of Tarsus in total misery, distress, and pain of soul and body. He was punished for his deeds until he handed over his miserable soul, which had rejected goodness and repaid its benefactor with a vileness that cannot be surpassed. The other, Ibn Diʿāma, remained in prison until the just hand of the patrikios Bourtzēs came to Antioch. He sent people to take him, weigh him down with a stone, and throw him into the river. So the three—Ibn Mānik, Ibn Maḥmūd, and Ibn Diʿāma, who had taken upon themselves the murder of the saint—received the recompense for their actions, and in the afterlife they await eternal punishment.

787. Ṭarrāsh, from Syriac tarāshā.
789. For “relics,” Z reads: “body.” S has limsanā, which I take to be a garbled version of the Greek leipsana, “relics.”
790. Liṭīn. Zayat and Dick both interpret this word as a transliteration of the Greek litēn (Zayat simply writes it in his French translation as λιτή), meaning “procession.” I see no preferable alternative translation for this enigmatic word, though as Canard notes (“Vie,” 569), “one would like to find there a note and other examples.”
791. This seems to be the Church of Cassian mentioned earlier.
792. For “Abba,” Z reads: “Saint.”
794. Shabūqa, from the Syriac shabūqtā.
795. Ḫuyūl. As Canard notes (“Vie,” 568), this is a technical term for a “miraculous liquid that oozes from certain icons,” as described by Zayat in his history of Ṣaydnāyā; see Habib Zayat, Khabāyā al-zawāyā fī tārīkh Ṣaydnāyā (Harissa, Lebanon: Imprimerie de Saint Paul, 1932), 144–51.
[20. Comparison with Other Saints]

As for the saint, he has reached the dwellings of the priests in the highest heavens, mingling with the righteous, standing with the ascetic monks in the ranks of the earlier martyrs. For he closely followed and tightly adhered to one of the saints; another he contended with—neither far from the target nor far behind—and another he left behind and surpassed, as is obvious from his actions and the well-known evidence of his deeds.

For Abraham left his homeland by the command of God and became the father of the nations he was promised. Did this man not also set out of his own accord and give birth to many spiritual children? And Isaac became engaged to Rebekah by correspondence, but this man became engaged to the holy church directly. And Jacob inherited the blessing of his father, but by a trick—he inherited it as a son, but to be precise, he took the blessing itself by a trick. And as for his two wives, he took them only after labor and misery on their account, all the while looking toward an outward reward that he would receive. But this man, without fraud and in complete truthfulness, received blessings from the mouths of many, and while he was not lacking in labor for the sake of his spiritual bride, he was not looking toward a present reward but was ensuring that he would receive the unseen, anticipated reward.

As for the gentleness of David, by my life, he did not possess it completely, for a small remnant of the vanity of the secretaries remained within him. The right way to approach this topic is to say that even if a bit of that still touched him, and he was never able to eliminate it completely, perhaps he struggled with it and even held onto some of it intentionally because of his leadership position and the strictness that goes along with it. As for Solomon, he was not able to attain his wisdom, but as a substitute, he had a firm faith in God and submitted neither to passions nor to the temptation of obscene things. This is nobler than the wisdom of the world and preferable in the sight of God.

As for the Prodromos, who dwelled in deserts, this man was nothing like him, for he was neither a prophet nor a forerunner and he did not dwell in the desert. However, he did call to faith and display the beauty of worship, and he was well known for this. By my life, he did not baptize a multitude, but he saved many from casting aside and losing baptism, helping them to preserve it by his expenditures and gifts. And afterward, he arrived at the greater, higher baptism, which is not polluted by any dirt or subsequent filth.

From Peter he received a fervent sort of faith, but he nevertheless avoided his cowardice and his denial. And he resembled Paul in his transformation, though he did not turn from

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798. Z adds: “the ancient.”
802. I take this as a reference to the church, specifically the Church of Antioch, thus establishing (as elsewhere in the text) a parallel between Christopher and Christ; cf. Ephesians 5:22–33.
803. A Greek word meaning “forerunner,” a title of John the Baptist.
persecuting religion\textsuperscript{805} but from the confusion of the world and the bondage of the self. And even if he did not make it from Jerusalem to Illyricum to preach\textsuperscript{806}—for only Paul made it that far, and he is the one who was snatched up to the third heaven and heard the speech that cannot be expressed\textsuperscript{807}—he certainly did not fall short in what he was able to do. There were people whom he supported and strengthened, those he warned and informed, and those he restrained, rebuked, and often rescued and delivered from great difficulties.

[21. Address to the Patriarch]

But O divine crown, possessor of all purity, especially loved by me and generally venerated by the masses, O you who resembled all of those mentioned here, who loved so many of them and was first to every good deed, receive this discourse from me. \textsuperscript{130v} Imagine it as an encomium, or imagine it as an elegy or a consolation, and receive it in your blessed life, even if it is a poor speech, for it is done according to my ability. You did not disdain to run the race for my sake until you could hand me over to that learned divine educator—perhaps you hoped that I would become highly learned, or perhaps you knew beforehand that I, like you, would be lacking\textsuperscript{808} in the sciences. In any case you knew by spiritual knowledge that I was planning to write down your story at some time, so that it might not be forgotten in the course of time. Therefore have compassion on me even now, and pardon me for delaying so long the duty of speaking about you. Do not reject me, now that you are standing in the heavens before the great dais, since I longed—or since I eagerly strove—for you to look upon me and intercede for me. My father relied on you when he made me and my brothers—may God be pleased with all of them\textsuperscript{809}—your disciples. And you go to great lengths, asking and begging that my sins be forgiven, that my actions be noble for the remainder of my life, and that I be saved from difficulties and seek whatever will please God and bring me nearer to him.

[22. His Disciples]

You had numerous followers and helpers, the children whom you fathered in Christ and guided in the way that pleases God.\textsuperscript{810} They were holy branches, spiritual flowers, and pleasing first fruits from our precious, divine town.

Among them was Abba George the Elder, your plant and seedling, who met the holy Emperor Nikephoros and was head of the monastery of St. Symeon the Stylite of Aleppo, the one on the mountain.\textsuperscript{811}

\textsuperscript{805} Cf. Acts 9:1–19.
\textsuperscript{806} Cf. Romans 15:19.
\textsuperscript{807} Z omits: “for only . . . be expressed.” Cf. 2 Corinthians 12:1–4.
\textsuperscript{808} For “lacking,” Z reads: “excellent.”
\textsuperscript{809} \textit{Raḍiyya Allāh ‘an al-jamīʿ}.
\textsuperscript{810} Several of the disciples listed here, along with Ibrāhīm (the author of this text), became translators in Antioch after the Byzantine conquest; see Treiger, “Beginnings,” 314–32.
\textsuperscript{811} Z omits: “the one on the mountain.”
Abba John the Marvelous was worthy of becoming catholicos over the lands of the East.

Abba Chariton II was the diligent archimandrite of the monastery of St. Symeon the Marvelous, the one by the sea on the Marvelous Mountain of Lukkām.

Abba Yaʿīsh the Hermit struggled upon various pillars of seclusion and performed marvelous feats.

Abba Ephrem, the man of God, was a hermit who patiently bore the confinement of many cells and did not turn away from his solitary path. He was mainly confined with us—or rather, with Christ—in the monastery of St. Gregory the Theologian.

Abba Jeremiah, his marvelous companion, was head of the monastery of Our Lady the Mother of God al-Jarājima, which he himself founded on the holy mountain of Lukkām.

The blessed Father Eutykhios, son of Farkhos.

The virtuous Abba Gregory the Elder was head of the monastery of Our Lady the Mother of God Dafnūnā, and it suffices to mention how famous his virtues were.

I have devoted to each of them an individual account, as they deserve to be remembered, even though I have been far too brief. The simple fact that they were planted by you suffices as an eulogy and commemoration for them. May your intercession and the prayers of all of them save and preserve us, now and ever and until the utmost of all the ages. Amen. May all the people say amen.

812. Z writes that Chariton was the archimandrite of the monastery of St. Saba and lists Symeon the Marvelous as if he were another disciple of Christopher, but Symeon—also known as St. Symeon the Stylite the Younger or as St. Symeon of the Marvelous/Admirable Mountain—lived in the sixth century CE. Alexander Treiger suggests that the text originally listed two Charitons, one abbot of Arshāyā and the other abbot of St. Symeon’s monastery; see Treiger, “Beginnings,” 323–24.

813. That is, the Black Mountain (“Lukkām” is from the Syriac ūkāmā, meaning “black”), the ancient Amanos, just northwest of Antioch. This monastery is southwest of Antioch, where the southern end of the Lukkām range overlooks the Orontes near its mouth.


815. Z omits: “of seclusion . . . of God.” It therefore combines Yaʿīsh and Ephrem into one person.

816. Z adds “in Bityas.” Bityas, also within the Lukkām mountain range, is now called Batayaz and lies west of Antioch.

817. Jeremiah is mentioned alongside Yaʿīsh as a contemporary of St. Timon in several synaxarion entries for March 25; see Sauget, Recherches, 367–69.

818. The Jarājima, known to the Byzantines as Mardaites, were a Christian group living in the mountains near Antioch, often serving as mercenaries for the Byzantines or their enemies; see Nasrallah, “Auteurs,” 81–82.

819. Dafnūnā is a reference to Daphnē (modern Harbiye), a suburb south of Antioch with an important history as a pre-Christian religious center; see ibid., 83.

820. Z omits: “May all . . . say amen.”

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