

# WEST-SYRIAC SYNODAL DECREES OF CALLINICOS 818: THE SYRIAC FRAGMENT OF OIM SYR. A12001

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Among the Syriac manuscript collection that is found in the Oriental Institute-Chicago University, there are six leaves of Syriac parchments from the mid-ninth century, registration number: A12001-A12006.<sup>1</sup> These leaves belonged to the same manuscript known as “the Canonical Collection of Basibrīnā” that was described but reported missing by Afrām Barṣawm<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Laura D'Alessandro, Head, Conservation Laboratory, OI Museum; Susan Allison, Associate Registrar, OI Museum; Kiersten Neumann, Ph.D., Curator, OI Museum; Helen McDonald, Registrar, OI Museum, for their immense help during my research in the Oriental Institute Museum-Chicago.

<sup>2</sup> Afrām Barṣawm was born in 1887, in Mosul, Iraq. In 1905 he joined the monastery of al-Za‘farān in Mardin, southeast Turkey. He was ordained a priest in 1908, and in 1911 he became responsible for managing the monastery press. In the same year, he visited the monasteries and churches in southeast Turkey. In 1913 he traveled to Europe where he examined Syriac manuscripts in some libraries of Europe. In 1918, Afrām Barṣawm was consecrated by Patriarch Elias III as metropolitan of Syria and Lebanon. In 1919, he represented the national rights of the Syrian community in the

during World War I.<sup>3</sup> A short description of these fragments is included in *A Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* by J. T. Clemons.<sup>4</sup> Among these leaves is a fragment containing West-Syriac Synodal Decrees of Callinicos 818. This rediscovered document reveals the dynamics of ecclesial events and positions during the synod and the development of these affairs after the synod. Therefore, this article aims to present the Syriac text with an English translation of the synodal decrees of Callinicos 818, followed by observation and commentary. It sheds some light on the missing manuscript of “the Canonical Collection of Basibrīnā” and the recent rediscovery of a few leaves from this manuscript.

### LOST EXTENSIVE CANONICAL JURISPRUDENTIAL MANUSCRIPT KNOWN AS “CANONS OF BASIBRĪNĀ”

The story of the rediscovery that we are about to present to the reader dates to the year 1911, when the Syriac Orthodox monk Afrām Barṣawm (1887–1957), who later became the patriarch of his church, visited the region of Ṭūr‘abdn in southeast Turkey and examined the manuscripts kept in its churches and monasteries. Barṣawm found a ninth-century century manuscript in the Village of Basibrīnā.<sup>5</sup> This manuscript contained an extensive collection of canons and some historical tracts

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peace settlement in Paris. After the death of Patriarch Elias III in 1932, the synod of bishops elected Afrām Barṣawm a Patriarch. Barṣawm died on June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1957, and was buried in Homs.

<sup>3</sup> BARṢAWM 2008a, pp. 218–244.

<sup>4</sup> CLEMONS 1966, pp. 478–480.

<sup>5</sup> A village in Ṭūr‘abdn located 20 km east of Midyat. Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Beth Sbirino — ܒܝܬܝܬܝܢܐ” last modified December 9, 2016, <http://syriaca.org/place/49>.

composed between the third and ninth centuries. In his catalog, *The Manuscripts of Ṭūr'abdīn*,<sup>6</sup> Baršawm described the manuscript as a large Syriac manuscript dated mid-ninth century written on parchment, two columns per page, in Syriac Estrangelo script:

كتاب جليل نفيس جدا فريد في مواضعه وفوائده، على رق  
اسطرنجيلي القلم بخط دقيق غاية في الحسن أشبه بخطنا اليوم ضم  
متوسط الحجم في كل صفحة عمودان كتبه ساويرا المانعمي بين  
سنة 855-885 م وهو من مخطوطات خزانة دير قرتمين. وقع في  
تجليده تبليل.

“A very remarkable and exceptional book, unique in its subjects and benefits, (written) on parchment in a very beautiful Estrangelo script, similarly to our handwriting nowadays. It (the manuscript) is quite large, with two columns per page. It was written by Severus of Beṭ Man'ēm between the years 855 and 885 A.D. It (the manuscript) belonged to the manuscripts found in the library of the Monastery of Qartmin. Its binding is untidy”.<sup>7</sup>

Baršawm gave a detailed description of the contents of the manuscript in his catalog of *the Syriac manuscripts in Ṭūr'abdīn*:

يشتمل على دسقالية الرسل وكتاب قليميس ورسالة برنابا وقوانين  
المجامع القديمة والآباء ومناشير وقوانين مجامع كفرنبو وييت باتين  
ودير مار شيلا والرقعة وتواقيع آباء هذا المجمع - ورسائل  
سينوديكية لبطاركة انطاكية والاسكندرية من سنة 512 حتى

<sup>6</sup> BARŠAWM 2008a, p. 218.

<sup>7</sup> BARŠAWM 2008a, pp. 218–219.

848 - ومنشور اثناسيوس الثاني وقوانين رابولا ورسائل شتي لمار يعقوب الرهاوي ومار فيلكسينس ومار سويريوس ويوحنا التلي وتوما اسقف جرمانقي وسرجيوس امغياطور وساويرا الاسقف وجرجس اسقف العرب واوتاليوس الاسقف وشمعون رئيس دير العرب واجوبة لثاودوسيوس الرهاوي وقوانين الملوك، ونبذة من تاريخ سقراط وتاريخ ديني مدني مختصر من سنة 309 حتى 1130 م وهو الذي نشرناه في باريس سنة 1914 م ونبذ من رسائل القديس اغناطيوس النوراني ورسائل لمار يعقوب السروجي ورسالة من لاون الروماني الي مرقيان الملك. وبيان عدد الكراسي الاسقفية في البطيركية الانطاكية وأسماء البطاركة من مار سويريوس حتى ديونيسيوس وغير ذلك. وضياع هذا الكنز في الحرب العالمية قبل ان نتمكن من الحصول على نسخة منه خسارة علمية كبرى، واليك ثبت مواضعه التي نقلناها منه سنة 1911م

"It (the manuscript) contains the Didascalia Apostolorum, the Book of Clement, the Letter of Barnabas, the canons of the ancient Synods and church fathers, the proclamations and canons of the synods of Kfar Nabu,<sup>8</sup> Beth Botin, Monastery of Mor Šilō, Callinicos, and the signatures of the fathers of this synod. The synodical letters exchanged between the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria between 512 and 848. The proclamation of (Patriarch) Athanasius II, the canons of Rabbula. Several letters by Jacob of Edessa, Saint Philoxenos (of Mabbugh), Saint Severus, John of Tella, Thomas Bishop of Germanicia, Sergius Amghyātūr, Bishop Severus, George, bishop of the Arabs, Bishop Euthalius, Simon the abbot of the

<sup>8</sup> "A village near Serugh." Thomas A. Carlson, "Kfar Nabu — كفر نبح" last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/1511>.

Monastery of Arabs, the answers of Theodosius of Edessa, the canons of the kings, an extract from the history of Socrates, a short ecclesiastical and secular history from the year 309 to 1130 A.G., which is the same as what we published in Paris in 1914, extracts from the letters of Saint Ignatius the Illuminator, and letters by Jacob of Serugh. A letter from Pope Leo the Roman to Emperor Marcian. The record of the episcopal sees of the patriarchate of Antioch, the names of the patriarchs from Mor Severus to Dionysius, and others (documents). Losing this treasure during World War (I) before we could get a copy of it was a great scientific loss. Here are the topics that we recorded in 1911".<sup>9</sup>

Because of its extensive content of canonical jurisprudential texts, Barṣawm referred to this manuscript as: "The Canons of Basibrīnā",<sup>10</sup> "Book of Canons in Basibrīnā",<sup>11</sup> or "the Collection of Canons of Basibrīnā."<sup>12</sup> Barṣawm mentioned that two people were involved in the production of this manuscript. It was copied by Monk Severus from the village of Beth Man'em,<sup>13</sup> nephew of Bishop David of Ḥarran, who had requested that it be copied. Then, Bishop David of Ḥarran gave the manuscript to

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<sup>9</sup> BARṢAWM 2008a, pp. 218–219.

<sup>10</sup> BARSOUM 2003, p. 213a.

<sup>11</sup> BARSOUM 2003, p. 118a, 199b, 204b.

<sup>12</sup> BARSOUM 2003, p. 125b, 126b.

<sup>13</sup> A village located in Ṭūr'abdin, east of Midyat and near the Monastery of Mor Gabriel. Thomas A. Carlson et al., "Beth Man'em — ܒܝܬ ܡܢܥܡ" last modified December 9, 2016, <http://syriaca.org/place/243>.

the Monastery of Qartmin,<sup>14</sup> “where it was kept most of the time until its loss during World War I”:

“Dawud ascended the See of Harran after Gewargi (Jirjis) II. He was well known as Dawud of Manim‘im, after the name of his native village in Tur ‘Abdin. He was a relative of Simeon of the Olives. He became a monk at the Monastery of Qartmin and was ordained a bishop by Patriarch Yuhanna IV, being the 26th bishop the patriarch had ordained. Bishop Dawud, one of the best Fathers, lived between 855 and 880. In the Calendar (of Saliba ibn Khayrun), his commemoration is mentioned on February 4. He bequeathed his books and other precious items to his monastery (of Qartmin). They included a collection of canons copied on vellum by his nephew (son of his sister) Sawera (Severus) of Manim‘im. Later, Bishop David of Haran bequeathed the manuscript to the monastery of Qartmin where it remained for a long time until it was lost a few years after 1911 during the First War World”.<sup>15</sup>

Unfortunately, the manuscript was lost during the First World War. Baršawm described its loss by saying: “the loss of this treasure in the World War before obtaining a copy of it is a great scientific loss”.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The Monastery of Qartmin or Mor Gabriel in Tūr‘abdin is the oldest surviving Syriac monastery in the world. It is near Midyat. Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Mor Gabriel — ܡܘܪ ܓܒܪܝܐܠ” last modified February 6, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/226>.

<sup>15</sup> Bishop David of Harran (855-880). BARŠAWM 2009a, p. 37.

<sup>16</sup> BARŠAWM 2008a, pp. 218–219.

## REDISCOVERY OF SIX FRAGMENTS FROM THE “COLLECTION OF CANONS OF BASIBRĪNĀ”

During my cataloging work of the Syriac manuscripts collection found in the Oriental Institute Museum-Chicago, I came across six old leaves of Syriac parchment with registration numbers: A12001 to A12006. The acquisition of these leaves, together with two other Syriac manuscripts: OIM A11997, and OIM A11999, occurred on July 1st, 1928, by Martin Sprengling, Professor of Semitic Languages at the University of Chicago.<sup>17</sup> Sprengling purchased them from Afrām Barṣawm, who then became the Syriac Orthodox archbishop of Syria and Lebanon. From the chronology of his life, we know that after his journey to Geneva and Lausanne as an apostolic delegate to the World Conference on Faith and Order (August 3–21, 1927), Afrām Barṣawm came as an emissary of the Patriarch to the United States, where he investigated the condition of the Syriac Orthodox Church, consecrated three new churches, and ordained new priests. In the USA, Afrām Barṣawm gave lectures on the Syriac language and literature at Providence University and the University of Chicago and served at the Oriental Institute of the latter institution until his return in 1929. The purchase of the Syriac manuscripts occurred most probably while he was visiting Chicago.

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<sup>17</sup> Nabia Abbott, “Martin Sprengling, 1877-1959,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (1960).

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|---------------|---|----------------|--------------|
| Accession No. | 740C  | Reference Nos. | A11997-12006 |
| Date          | July 1, 1928  |                |              |
| Description:  | 3 Syriac manuscripts and seven parchment leaves written in Syriac           |                |              |
| Shipper:      | Mar Severius Efrem Barsaum, Monophysite archbishop of Syria and the Lebanon |                |              |
| Per           | Dr. Martin Sprengling   |                |              |
| Credit        | Oriental Institute  |                |              |
| Terms:        | Purchase  | Cost:          |              |
| Notes:        |   |                |              |

Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

The fragments on parchment: OIM A12001, A12002, A12003, A12004, A12005, and A12006, written in Syriac Estrangelo, dated to the mid-ninth century, belonged to the same manuscript. This claim is based on the size of the leaves, the type of parchment, and the matching physical marks that appear on the leaves, such as wear, tears, cuts, wrinkling, discoloring, and holes. Also, the contents of this collection of fragments run through more than one leaf. So, part of the text continues from one leaf to another. In addition, the unity of these fragments is based on the same handwriting, ink, Syriac script, and approximate date.

A short description of these fragments was included in *A Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, by J. T. Clemons:<sup>18</sup>

A 12000. Evangeliary. Vellum; c. 8x12 in; I f; 2 cols; at least 21 l; brown and red ink; very large letters.

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<sup>18</sup> CLEMONS 1966, pp. 478–480.



A 12001. Evangeliary. Minor Chronicle and List of Bishoprics; Vellum; c. 8x12 in; I f; 2 cols; 42-43; brown and red ink marginalia; p. i.

A 12002. Evangeliary. Minor Chronicle and List of Bishoprics. Vellum; c. 8x12 in; I f; 2 cols; 40 1; brown ink with red markings; one side badly stained; p.i.

A 12003. Evangeliary. Minor Chronicle and List of Bishoprics. Vellum; c. 8x12 in; I f; 2 cols; 44 45 1; brown ink with red markings; one has written in a different hand near the bottom in black ink; p.i.

A 12004. Evangeliary. Minor Chronicle and List of Bishoprics. Vellum; c. 8x12 in; I f; 2 cols; 46 1; brown ink with red markings; a larger hand was used in writing the bottom portions; p.i.

A 12005. Evangeliary. Minor Chronicle and List of Bishoprics. Vellum; c. 8x11 ½ in; I f; 2 cols; 45 1; brown ink with red markings; p.i.

A 12006. Evangeliary. Minor Chronicle and List of Bishoprics. Vellum; c. 8x11 ½ in; I f; 2 cols; 45 1; red and brown ink; p.i.

Unfortunately, Clemons's very brief description is vague and incorrect. The Syriac fragments A12001 to A12006 comprise the following subjects:

1. OIM A12001 Recto and Verso:

- a) A remaining part of the agreement issued at the Synod of Callinicos 818 (fol. 1r).
- b) A list of forty-eight bishops who signed the Synodal decision of Callinicos 818 (fol. 1r – fol. 1v).

c) A remaining part of the letter issued by the Syr. Orth. Patriarch Dionysius (818–845)<sup>19</sup> and the bishops that preceded the canons of Synod Callinicos 818 (fol. 1v).

2. OIM A12002 recto: Canons of not yet identified Syriac Orthodox Synod issued probably during the eighth century.<sup>20</sup>

3. OIM A12002 recto and verso: A record of episcopal sees of the patriarchate of Antioch known as *Notitia Antiochena*.<sup>21</sup>

4. OIM A12003 – A 12006: A short, annotated chronological table of events and notable persons from the birth of Christ to 819.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Dionysius was born in Tel Maḥrē, near the city of Callinicos. He became a monk at the Monastery of Qennešrē, where he studied theology. He also lived in the Monastery of Mor Jacob at Kayšūm. In 818, Dionysius was elected Patriarch of Antioch. He served the church for 27 years and died in 845. Witold Witakowski, “Dionysios of Tel Maḥrē,” in *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, edited by Sebastian P. Brock, Aaron M. Butts, George A. Kiraz and Lucas van Rompay, <https://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/Dionysios-of-Tel-Mahre>.

<sup>20</sup> BCHEIRY 2019, pp. 1–16.

<sup>21</sup> BCHEIRY 2020, pp. 1–27.

<sup>22</sup> This *Chronicle* presents historical events in short pieces of information, called lemmata. These begin with the year date and state what happened that year. Afrām Barṣawm edited this Chronicle in BARṢAWM 1920, pp. 3–22. Then it was translated into Latin by Jean-Baptiste Chabot in CHABOT 1937, pp. 1–16. After rediscovering the original text, it is now possible to compare the manuscript and the transcription of Barṣawm. This comparison shows that there are numerous faint words in the script and other details, such as dates, that Barṣawm was not able to read because they were invisible to the naked eye. However, thanks to certain sophisticated tools, it is possible now to decipher these faint parts of the text which will be included in an upcoming new edition of the Syriac text accompanied by an English translation.

The contents of the six leaves are unique and were mentioned by Barṣawm as found only in the manuscript of the “Canons of Basibrīnā.” Also, these six leaves were purchased by the Oriental Institute, and two other manuscripts were originally from Basibrīnā. The scribal and marginal notes found in the margins of the texts are the same mentioned by Barṣawm. The incomplete fragmentary texts transcribed by Barṣawm from the manuscript of “Canons of Basibrīnā” exactly match the remaining parts of the same texts found in the Syriac parchment leaves of the Oriental Institute Museum-Chicago.

#### Remaining Parts of West-Syriac Synodal Decrees of Callinicos 818: the Syriac Fragment OIM A12001

As already mentioned, among the contents of these leaves, there is a fragment that contains the remaining parts of the acts of the West-Syriac Synod of Callinicos 818. This section of my article will present the Syriac text with the English translation of these surviving parts. However, I would first like to start with a brief historical background that will help clarify the circumstances behind the issuance of these documents.

#### Historical Background

During the end of the eighth and early ninth centuries, a liturgical controversy arose within the Syrian Orthodox Church, leading to a near schism. The Eucharistic formula of the fraction that has been used in the Syriac liturgy: “We break *the heavenly bread*, and we sign the holy chalice of salvation, in the name of the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit,” became a subject of a debate among the Syriac Orthodox Church. Some of the Syriac bishops and clergy insisted that the formula “heavenly bread” would suggest a Nestorian “heresy.” According to them, breaking the “heavenly bread”, already consecrat-

ed, and thus becoming the Body of Christ, would imply that the person of Christ is divided into two persons. So, this would mean that “the heavenly Bread” is recognized as another son, distinct from the Second Person of the Holy Trinity.<sup>23</sup>

The Syriac Orthodox Patriarch Cyriacus of Tikrit (793–817) forbade the priests he ordained from using this phrase. In a synod at Beṭ Botīn near Harran in 794, it was decided that the clergy may use the phrase. However, in the Synod of Beṭ Gabrīn in 808, the use of the phrase “the heavenly bread” was condemned, and the monks of the Monastery of Gūbō Baroyō (The Outer Pit Monastery) near Mabbugh were excommunicated for their refusal to obey the patriarch. Opponents of the patriarch elected a rival patriarch named Abīram from the Monastery of Qartmin who consecrated several bishops and supported the use of the phrase “the heavenly bread”.<sup>24</sup>

After the death of Patriarch Cyriacus in 817, bishops of both parties gathered in Callinicos<sup>25</sup> in 818 to discuss issues and controversies. In the end, the bishops agreed and stated that the expression of “the heavenly bread” is indeed the body of the Son of God.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> VARGHESE 2008, p. 260.

<sup>24</sup> KITCHEN 2017, pp. 9–10.

<sup>25</sup> Kallinkos is “a city on the [Euphrates](#) where the [Daisan](#) enters it.” Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Kallinikos — [ܟܠܝܢܝܟܝܐ](#)” last modified December 9, 2016, <http://syriaca.org/place/109>. For the role that this city played in the history of the Syriac Orthodox church during that period, see WOOD 2021.

<sup>26</sup> The prayer of fraction: “a heavenly bread we are breaking”, was neglected later from the Order of the Holy Mass, and other prayers were used until Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī, Metropolitan of Amid (died 1171), composed another prayer which is being used until today in the Syriac orthodox church.

The bishops also decided to elect a new patriarch during the synod. The bishop of Kaysum suggested the name of a monk who lived in the Monastery of Mor Ya'qub near Kaysum as a candidate. The monk Dionysius was called and brought to the synod, where the bishops were gathered, and he was ordained a patriarch by forty-eight bishops. After his ordination, a synodical declaration was issued regarding the liturgical controversy. This declaration was signed by the newly elected patriarch, the maphrian, and the bishops. Also, Patriarch Dionysius issued a statement regarding the state of his church followed by twelve canons.<sup>27</sup>

The circumstances around the Synod of Callinicos in 818, including the synodical letter, are mentioned in the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*<sup>28</sup> and the *Ecclesiastical Chronicle* of Bar Hebraeus.<sup>29</sup> The canons of this Synod, including the letter of Patriarch Dionysius Tel-Maḥroyō, are preserved in the West-Syriac synods published by Arthur Vööbus in his: *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition* (1976).<sup>30</sup> The list of the names and signatures of the bishops who were present at the Synod of Callinicos 818, as well as the patriarch's signature, was transcribed by Afrām Barṣawm, *Maḥtūtāt Ṭūr'abdin* (2008).<sup>31</sup> Barṣawm later translated this list into Arabic, *Manārat Anṭākyah al-Suryāniyyah*, (1992).<sup>32</sup> However, there are some discrepancies between the transcription of the Syriac and the

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<sup>27</sup> KITCHEN 2017, pp. 9–10.

<sup>28</sup> MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol. 4), pp. 498–505, translation (vol. 3), pp. 35–45.

<sup>29</sup> BAR HEBRAEUS 1872, pp. 343–353.

<sup>30</sup> VÖÖBUS 1976, Syriac text pp. 25–34; and translation pp. 27–36.

<sup>31</sup> BARṢAWM 2008a, pp. 222–226.

<sup>32</sup> BARṢAWM 1992, pp. 77–83.

translation into Arabic. After rediscovering the original manuscript, it is possible to compare the manuscript and the transcription of Barṣawm. This comparison shows some details that Barṣawm erroneously read, transcribed, or omitted.

### Manuscript Description and Content

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| Library:          | Oriental Institute Museum-Chicago   |
| Registration no.: | A 12001 recto and verso   |
| Material:         | Parchment   |
| Script:           | Syriac Estrangelo   |
| Date:             | Ninth century   |
| Location:         | Ṭūr‘abdin in what is now southeast Turkey   |
| Measurement:      | 8x2 inches  |
| Text Features:    | The text is written in brown ink and contains a title in red ink. Two columns on both sides of the leaf. The right-hand column on the recto side contains 43 lines, and the left column contains 42 lines. The right-hand column on the verso side contains 42 lines, while the left contains 41 lines. Two sentences in Syriac are found between the two columns on the recto side and in a vertical direction. The text on the lower part of the first column is generally better preserved than the text on the upper part, where it was rubbed or washed off. A sentence in Syriac is found on the upper left margin. |



لَا تَقْرَأُ فِيهِمْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا وَلَا رِجْسًا يَكْتُمُونَ

<sup>33</sup> In the margin.









the heavenly bread that we obtain from the holy altars, according to the teaching of the great saint, Patriarch Mor Severus. As confirmation of this, all of us fixed our signatures on this act.<sup>36</sup>

[Signatures of the bishops at the Synod of Callinicos 818]

[1] I, Dionysios by the mercies of God, Patriarch of the Apostolic See of Antioch in Syria, have signed and confirmed what is mentioned above.

[2] I, Basil<sup>37</sup> metropolitan of Tagrit<sup>38</sup> and the head of the See of the East, have consented and signed.

[3] I, Barḥadbšabā, bishop of Marga,<sup>39</sup> have consented to and signed the above-mentioned (decisions).

[4] I, Yoḥannan, bishop of Germanicia,<sup>40</sup> authorized Šlaymūn,<sup>41</sup> (bishop) of Cyrus<sup>42</sup> to follow the decision of this Holy Synod.

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<sup>36</sup> ܐܬܬܚܬܡܬܐ is translated in English as a ‘decree’, ‘act’, or ‘vote’, see SMITH 1903, p. 452.

<sup>37</sup> Basil, metropolitan of Tagrit, from the Monastery of Mor Sergius, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>38</sup> An ancient city west of the Tigris, between Baghdad and Mosul. In the golden age of the Syrians, it was the seat of the Maphrian of the East from 628 until the end of the twelfth century. A. Harrak, “Tagrit” in Sebastian P. Brock et al. 2011, p. 395-396. Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Tagrit — ܬܓܪܝܬ” last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/193>.

<sup>39</sup> “Place northeast of Mosul, formerly a big province.” BARŠAWM 2003, p. 556. Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Marga — ܡܪܓܐ” last modified January 14, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/457>.

<sup>40</sup> Germanicia is today Maraş in Turkey. Daniel L. Schwartz, “Germanicea — ܓܪܡܢܝܨܝܐ” last modified August 8, 2018, <http://syriaca.org/place/2670>.

<sup>41</sup> Šlaymūn (Solomon), metropolitan of Cyrrhus, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

- [5] I, Gewargī, bishop of Qenneshrin,<sup>43</sup> authorized Ḥānanyā my representative to the Holy Synod.
- [6] I, Ahrūn, bishop of Melitene,<sup>44</sup> have consented to the above-mentioned (decisions) and signed by my own hand.
- [7] I, Zakariyā, bishop of Edessa,<sup>45</sup> from the Monastery of Qartmīn consented to the above-mentioned (decisions) and signed.
- [8] I, Constantine,<sup>46</sup> bishop of Dulik,<sup>47</sup> consented and signed.
- [9] I, Theodosius, bishop of Seleucia,<sup>48</sup> approved those above-mentioned (decisions) and signed.

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<sup>42</sup> "An ancient and medieval city 70 km north of Aleppo." Thomas A. Carlson et al., "Cyrrhus — ܥܝܪܗܐ", last modified June 30, 2014. <http://syriaca.org/place/65>.

<sup>43</sup> For the important Syrian monastery of Qenneshrin, see J. Tannous, "Qenneshre, Monastery of." in Sebastian P. Brock et al. (eds.) 2011, p. 345-346. See also Thomas A. Carlson et al., "Qenneshre — ܩܝܢܝܫܪܝܢ", last modified June 30, 2014. <http://syriaca.org/place/230>.

<sup>44</sup> See A. Carlson et al., "Melitene — ܡܠܝܬܝܢܐ", last modified June 30, 2014. <http://syriaca.org/place/136>.

<sup>45</sup> "A city of Mesopotamia, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Osroene, modern Urfa." Thomas A. Carlson et al., "Edessa — ܐܕܝܣܐ", last modified June 30, 2014. <http://syriaca.org/place/78>.

<sup>46</sup> "Constantine was ordained a bishop of Dulik (Doliche), in the village of Ta'adā", MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

<sup>47</sup> "A town west of the Euphrates, north of Aleppo, and northeast of Cyrrhus." Thomas A. Carlson et al., "Doliche — ܕܘܠܝܚܐ" last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/75>.

<sup>48</sup> Seleucia Pieria is "a port city west of Antioch." Thomas A. Carlson, "Seleucia Pieria" last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/183>.

[10] I, Tūmā,<sup>49</sup> bishop of Anāṣṭasiyā which is Darā,<sup>50</sup> have approved and signed the above-mentioned together with my brethren the bishops.

[11] I, Theodosius,<sup>51</sup> metropolitan of Qalīnīqūs have approved and signed.

[12] (I,) Damian,<sup>52</sup> the bishop of Serugh,<sup>53</sup> approved and signed (those decisions mentioned above).

[13] (I,) Šam‘ūn<sup>54</sup> bishop of Tādmūr<sup>55</sup> accepted and signed.

[14] I, Timothy,<sup>56</sup> metropolitan of Jerusalem, authorized our Father Theodosius, bishop of Seleucia, and the Synod in this matter.

[15] (I,) Ḥabīb,<sup>57</sup> by the mercies of God metropolitan of Awfīmā (*Apamea*),<sup>58</sup> approved the content of this document.

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<sup>49</sup> Tūmā, bishop of Dara, from the Monastery of Qūbā, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

<sup>50</sup> Dara is a “Roman city between Mardin and Nisibis.” Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Dara — ܕܪܐ” last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/67>.

<sup>51</sup> Theodosius, bishop of Callinicos, was ordained in the city of Harran, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

<sup>52</sup> Damian, bishop of Serugh, was ordained in the village of Mashrā in the same district (of Sarūg), MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

<sup>53</sup> Serugh is the modern town Suruç in the province of Sanliurfa. Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Serugh — ܣܪܘܥ” last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/48>.

<sup>54</sup> Šam‘ūn (Simon), bishop of the city of Tadmūr from the Monastery of Mor Jacob, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

<sup>55</sup> Tadmūr is Palmyra, between Emesa and Dura-Europos. Thomas A. Carlson, “Palmyra” last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/153>.

<sup>56</sup> Timothy, metropolitan of Jerusalem, was ordained in the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Cyrrhus, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

[16] (I.) Philoxenus,<sup>59</sup> bishop of Nisibis,<sup>60</sup> accepted and signed the above-mentioned (decisions).

[17] (I.) Ḥabīb, by the mercy of God, bishop of Baghdad, accepted and signed.

[18] I, Ignatius,<sup>61</sup> metropolitan of Anzārbā,<sup>62</sup> consented and signed.

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<sup>57</sup> Ḥabīb, metropolitan of Euphemia, was ordained in Damascus, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

<sup>58</sup> Apamea was 90 km south of Antioch on the Orontes river. L. Van Rompay, "Apamea" in Sebastian P. Brock et al. (eds.), 2011, p. 23-24. Thomas A. Carlson et al., "Apamea — ܐܦܡܝܥܐ" last modified December 9, 2016, <http://syriaca.org/place/11>.

<sup>59</sup> The Chronicle of Michael the Syrian mentions the following regarding Philoxenus, bishop of Nisibis: "In the same year (828 A.D.) a synod of forty bishops together with Patriarch Dionysius, assembled in (the Monastery of) Euspholis near Rīš'aynā, concerning Philoxenus (bishop) of Nisibis, who was removed from his see. His accusers were Nūnā (Nunnus), archdeacon of Nisibis, and Abū Rayṭā of Tikrit, who were both sages, and philosophers. However, when he was called to attend the synod and did not come and went to Nisibis without permission, the synod excommunicated him together with Abiram, but then these two expelled men came into agreement with each other". MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol. 4), p. 507; translation (vol.3), p. 50.

<sup>60</sup> City in Mesopotamia and an important center of early Syriac Christianity. H. Takahashi, "Nisibis" in Sebastian P. Brock et al. (eds.) 2011, p: 310-311. Thomas A. Carlson et al., "Nisibis — ܢܝܨܝܒܝܫ" last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/142>.

<sup>61</sup> Ignatius, bishop of Anzārbā, from the Natfō (Qatrā) Monastery, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

<sup>62</sup> See 'Ayn Zarba, "A city in Cilicia, a provincial capital of the Roman Empire and for a time the capital of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia." Thomas A. Carlson et al., "'Ayn Zarba — ܥܝܢ ܙܪܒܐ" last modified December 9, 2016, <http://syriaca.org/place/9>.

[19] I, Theodosius,<sup>63</sup> metropolitan of Edessa, accepted and signed the above-mentioned (decisions).

[20] I, Arabi,<sup>64</sup> bishop of Rišʿaynā,<sup>65</sup> consented and signed.

[21] (I) Solomon,<sup>66</sup> bishop of Cyrrhus, I accepted the above-mentioned (decisions).

[22] (I,) Nqīm,<sup>67</sup> bishop of Circesium,<sup>68</sup> accepted and signed.

[23] I, Elijah, by the mercies of God bishop of Ḥadaṭ, consented and signed.

[24] (I,) Sargīs, bishop of Beth Nuhadra,<sup>69</sup> consented and signed.

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<sup>63</sup> Theodosius, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Qinnišrīn, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>64</sup> Arabi, bishop of Theodosiopolis (Rišʿaynā), from the Senā Monastery, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

<sup>65</sup> “City on the Khabur, located in the eastern part of ancient Osrhoene.” H. Takahashi and L. Van Rompay, “Reshʿayna” in Sebastian P. Brock et al. (eds.) 2011, p: 351. Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Reshʿayna — ܪܝܫ ܥܝܢܐ” last modified December 9, 2016, <http://syriaca.org/place/172>.

<sup>66</sup> Šlaymūn (Solomon), metropolitan of Cyrrhus, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

<sup>67</sup> Nqīm or Mqīm, bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Telia, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

<sup>68</sup> “A city at the confluence of the Euphrates and the Khabur rivers.” Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Circesium — ܥܝܪܥܝܣܝܐ” last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/62>.

<sup>69</sup> “An E.-Syr. bishopric seat the heartland of which was the region extending from the small Khabur river to the Tigris, including the area of modern Zakho and part of Dehok.” A. Harrak, “Beth Nuhadra” in Sebastian P. Brock et al. (eds.), p. 72. Thomas A. Carlson, “Beth Nuhadra” last modified January 14, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/36>.



[25] (I,) Abraham, bishop of the Taghlabites, consented and signed.

[26] (I,) Ḥabīb, bishop of Narsībad,<sup>70</sup> consented and signed.

[27] I, Theodore Resafa,<sup>71</sup> bishop of Kayšūm,<sup>72</sup> consented and signed.

[28] I, La‘azar,<sup>73</sup> bishop of Gešrō, consented and signed.

[29] I, Šam‘ūn,<sup>74</sup> metropolitan of Resafa,<sup>75</sup> consented and signed.

[30] I, Daniel,<sup>76</sup> bishop of Aleppo confirmed these and signed.

[31] I, Ya‘qūb,<sup>77</sup> bishop of Urīm, consented and signed.

[32] I, Gewargī,<sup>78</sup> bishop of (A 12001 verso) Samosata,<sup>79</sup> consented to and signed the above-mentioned (decisions).

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<sup>70</sup> Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Narsaybād — ܢܪܨܝܒܐܕ” last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/465>.

<sup>71</sup> Theodore, bishop of Kayšūm, from the monastery of Mor Jacob in Kayšūm, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>72</sup> The Fortress of Kayšūm is located near the village of Cakirhuyuk, in the Adıyaman province in southeastern Turkey.

<sup>73</sup> La‘azar, bishop of Gešrō, from the Monastery of Mor Abḥay, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>74</sup> Šam‘ūn (Simon), bishop of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Abīn, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>75</sup> Sergiopolis or Resafa was a “town southwest of Kallinkos.” Thomas A. Carlson, “Sergiopolis” last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/165>.

<sup>76</sup> Daniel, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of the Ṭayoyē (Arabs), MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>77</sup> Ya‘qūb, bishop of Urīm, from the Monastery of Mor Yawsef, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

[33] I, Ḥabīb, metropolitan of Arasyā, signed with my own hand.

[34] I, Evagrius,<sup>80</sup> bishop of Adraʿat, consented and signed.

[35] I, Yūḥanun,<sup>81</sup> bishop of Constantina which is Tellā,<sup>82</sup> consented, approved, and signed.

[36] I, Methodius, bishop of Ašfarīn, consented to the above-mentioned (decisions).

[37] (I,) Gāwargī, bishop of Maypherqaṭ,<sup>83</sup> approved these (decisions) and signed them.

[38] (I,) Yūḥanun, bishop of Qardū,<sup>84</sup> approved the above-mentioned (decisions) and signed them.

[39] (I,) Aday,<sup>85</sup> bishop of Karmē,<sup>86</sup> I accepted the above-mentioned (decisions) and signed.

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<sup>78</sup> Gewargī, bishop of Samosata, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>79</sup> “A town on the Euphrates northwest of Edessa.” Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Samosata — ܣܡܫܬܐ” last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/178>.

<sup>80</sup> Evagrius Akhsnayā, bishop of Ardaʿt in Bithynia, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>81</sup> Yūḥanun, bishop of the city of Telia, from the Qarqafta (the Skull) Monastery, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>82</sup> “A town east of Edessa and west of Mardin.” Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Tella — ܬܠܐ” last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/200>.

<sup>83</sup> Maypherqaṭ is “north of the Tigris and east of Amida.” Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Maypherqaṭ — ܡܝܦܗܪܩܬܐ” last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/134>.

<sup>84</sup> This Qardū is also known as Gazarta, a city on the Tigris River between Amida and Mosul. Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Gazarta — ܓܙܪܬܐ” last modified December 9, 2016, <http://syriaca.org/place/88>.

- [40] (I.) Elijah,<sup>87</sup> bishop of Šigar, consented and signed.
- [41] (I.) Ezekiel,<sup>88</sup> bishop of Țūr'abdin,<sup>89</sup> consented and signed with my own hand.
- [42] (I.) Gabriel, bishop of the Armenians, accepted the above-mentioned (decisions) and signed.
- [43] (I.) Ignatius,<sup>90</sup> bishop of Mardin,<sup>91</sup> consented and signed.
- [44] (I.) Gāwargī, bishop of Ḥaran,<sup>92</sup> consented and signed.
- [45] (I.) Tāwmā, bishop of Riš Kifā, accepted and signed the above-mentioned (decisions).

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<sup>85</sup> Aday, bishop of Karme, from the Monastery of Mor Z'urā in Serugh, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>86</sup> Thomas A. Carlson, "Karme" last modified January 14, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/1367>.

<sup>87</sup> Eliyyā (Elijah), bishop of the city of Ḥadath, was ordained in the Pillar Monastery in Callinicos (al-Raqqā), MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 753.

<sup>88</sup> Ezekiel, bishop of Țūr'abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>89</sup> Țūr'abdin is a mountain connected with the mountain of Izlā, which overlooks the ancient city of Nisibis in southeast Turkey. See BARŞAWM 2008b and PALMER 1990.

<sup>90</sup> Ignatius, bishop of Mardin and Kafartūtā, from the monastery of Mor Ḥānanyā (Za'farān Monastery), MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>91</sup> Mardin is a city in southeastern Turkey and is an important center for the Syrian Orthodox Church. H. Takahashi, "Mardin" in Sebastian P. Brock et al. (eds.) 2011, p. 267-268. Thomas A. Carlson et al., "Mardin — مardin" last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/130>.

<sup>92</sup> "Syr./Hebrew Ḥārān; Latin Carrhae; Arabic Ḥarran. Ancient city in Mesopotamia, approximately 45 km south-southeast of Edessa." H. Takahashi, "Ḥarran" in Sebastian P. Brock et al. (eds.) 2011, p. 191-192. Thomas A. Carlson et al., "Ḥarran — حارثان" last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/216>.

[46] (I) Yuwānīs,<sup>93</sup> bishop of castrum Beṭ Bališ,<sup>94</sup> consented and signed.

[47] (I) Dāwīd, bishop of Jarabulus,<sup>95</sup> accepted and signed.

[48] (I) Theophilus,<sup>96</sup> bishop of Sozopetra,<sup>97</sup> consented to these (decisions) and signed.

[49] (I) Ḥabīb, a bishop from the Monastery of Gūbō Baroyō,<sup>98</sup> consented to these (decisions) and signed.

I, Yūḥanun, an ecumenical presbyter from the same monastery, accept the above-mentioned (decisions).

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<sup>93</sup> Yuwānīs, bishop of Baīsh, from Raṣafā and the Monastery of Mor Ḥānanyā in the same district, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>94</sup> This is “a town in Syria between Aleppo and al-Raqqā, known in antiquity as Perpalisos, it is now called Maskana.” Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Bālis — ܒܠܝܫ” last modified June 30, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/299>.

<sup>95</sup> “A city on the Euphrates north of Mabbug and south of Birtha.” Thomas A. Carlson et al., “Europos — ܐܘܪܦܘܫ” last modified January 14, 2014, <http://syriaca.org/place/83>.

<sup>96</sup> Theophile, bishop of Zūbaṭrā, from the Monastery of Mor Elisha, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, p. 754.

<sup>97</sup> “Σωζόπετρα/*Sōzōpetra*, also Ζιζόατρα/*Zizóatra*, Ζάπετρα/*Zápetra*; in Arabic sources *Zibaṭra* or *Zubaṭra*. City in Cappadocia in the strategía of Lauiansene, which borders on Syria, modern Doğanşehir ... 56 km to the southwest of Melitene.” Strobel, Karl (Klagenfurt), “Sozopetra”, in *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and, Helmuth Schneider, English Edition by Christine F. Salazar, Classical Tradition volumes edited by: Manfred Landfester, English Edition by Francis G. Gentry. Consulted online on 07 February 2023 [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347\\_bnp\\_em18370](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_em18370).

<sup>98</sup> “Located in the Euphrates desert between Aleppo and Mabug, was built at the end of the fifth and the start of the sixth century. Nothing is known about it after the middle of the ninth century. It produced four patriarchs and three bishops,” BARŞAWM 2003, p. 564.

We, Gāwargī, Antīmā, and Yawsef, deacons from the same monastery, together with the rest of the sons of the monastery of Gūbō Baroyō whom we represent, truly accept and sign on what this holy Synod confirmed.

[The letter of Patriarch Dionysius of Tel-Maḥroyō after the synod]

Also, the composition of the letter and the canons that were set by the blessed Mor Dionysius and with him, the holy synod in the City of Qāllīnīqūs.

To the children of the Heavenly Father and brothers and heirs of Christ, companions of the Holy Spirit through whom you have been called to eternal life and to the incorruptible inheritance, where you have gladly laid the neck of your mind under the yoke of the evangelical commandments; to the illustrious and purifying orders of the glorious company of priests, deacons, and the rest of the holy clergy and the faithful people who in every city and every country are fulfilling their temporary abode,—Dionysius who is, by divine grace, the patriarch of the apostolic see of Antioch, the City of God, and this holy and peaceful synod in the victorious and God-loving city of the people of Qāllīnīqūs through Christ who is our peace, who are gathered all of one and the same mind and so made that we can say we desire the same thing, not only the dignity of sitting together (but the company) of His wonderful Father and the Holy Spirit. May peace ever abound in your souls with the good hope of redemption.

Therefore, my beloved ones, we were gathered to examine the transgression and the rise of destruction in the Holy Church, to spread and provide harmony to its believing masses and to join and strengthen the members who have been detached from its honorable body whose head is Christ, which by Him is

framed and linked together conveniently and suitably, fastening, and joining and setting firmly everyone in good order in the proper places. (In all this) we have worked with all the necessary patience and endurance to practice and fulfill these (canons) by acts.

However, it is known that our weakness is supported by the divine grace so that it is not we but rather the divine grace which directs the actions through our hands because it is not always in the hands but the work which acts as well as the peace and the sustenance of the holy churches. For this reason, we are confident even though we believe that we are useless and poor men and in this time without order—so confused, even more than of all times, as we adjudge it. The rebellion and disobedience increased. In it, the love of many grew cold according to the evangelical word<sup>99</sup> (... ..).

#### OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTARY

The following section of this article draws attention to a collection of orthographical mismatches and misreading errors of geographical and personal names that occurred in Barṣawm's transcript of the original text.<sup>100</sup> It also analyzes the text in comparison with the sequence of events presented in the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian:

Orthographical mismatches of geographical names: Anāṣṭasiyā; Bagādad; Tellā, were transcribed by Barṣawm as Anastasiyā; Bagdad; Tālā.

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<sup>99</sup> Matt 24:12

<sup>100</sup> BARṢAWM 2008a, pp. 223–225.

Orthographical mismatches of Personal names: Dīnūsiyūs; Ḥānanyā; Tāwudusiyūs; Iygnāṭiyūs; Ḥazqāyel have been transcribed by Barṣawm as Diyūnūsiyūs; Ḥānanyā; Tāwudūsiyūs; Iygnāṭiyūs; Ḥazqiyāil.

The misreading of geographical name in the case of Kayšūm has been misread by Barṣawm as Karūm.<sup>101</sup>

In the original manuscript, we find “Gabrāyel, bishop of the *Armenians*”, however, in Barṣawm it was read as “Gabrāyel, bishop of *Armenia*”.<sup>102</sup>

Barṣawm also misread the name of Šlaymūn, bishop of Qūrūs, as Šam‘ūn.<sup>103</sup>

In the original manuscript, we find “Ḥabīb, a bishop from the Monastery of Gūbō Baroyō, consented to these (decisions) and signed”, however, in the Arabic translation of Barṣawm he renders the text as “Ḥabīb, a bishop from the Monastery of Gūbō Baroyō, *obeyed* these (decisions) and signed”.<sup>104</sup>

In the original manuscript, we find “I Yūḥanun, an ecumenical presbyter from the same monastery, accept the above-mentioned (decisions); however, in the Arabic translation of Barṣawm, he renders the text as “I, Yūḥannā, an ecumenical presbyter from the same monastery, I *obeyed* the above-mentioned (decisions)”.<sup>105</sup>

In the original manuscript, we find: “We, Gāwargī, Anṭīmā, and Yawsef, deacons from the same monastery, together with the rest of the sons of the monastery of Gūbō Baroyō whom we represent, truly accept and sign on what this

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<sup>101</sup> BARṢAWM 2008a, p. 224.

<sup>102</sup> BARṢAWM 2008a, p. 225.

<sup>103</sup> BARṢAWM 2008a, p. 223.

<sup>104</sup> BARṢAWM 1992, p. 83.

<sup>105</sup> BARṢAWM 1992, p. 83.

holy Synod confirmed”, however, in the Arabic translation of Barṣawm he renders the text as “I, Gāwargī, Antīmā and Yūsef, deacons from the same monastery, together with the rest of the sons of the monastery of Gūbō Baroyō whom we represent, *obey and submit totally* and truly and sign on what this holy Synod confirmed”.<sup>106</sup>

The fragment OIM Syr. A 12001 gives us the names of the representatives of the Monastery of Gūbō Baroyō, who approved the synodal decisions of Callinicos 818, on behalf of “the rest of the sons of the monastery of Gūbō Baroyō”. These are Bishop Ḥabīb, Presbyter Yūḥanun, Deacons Gāwargī, Antīmā, and Yawsef. Based on the historical information that Michael the Syrian gives us in his *Chronicle*, we can assume that these representatives are the ones who broke away from Abīram of Gūbō Baroyō, who led the opposition against Patriarch Cyriacus of Tikrit and later against Patriarch Dionysius I Tel-Maḥroyō and refused the decision of Synod Callinicos 818.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> BARṢAWM 1992, p. 83.

<sup>107</sup> “When Abīram and the monks of the Gūbō Baroyō learned that the synod had elected a head and reached an agreement concerning the expression of “heavenly bread”, he became enraged. Therefore, when the damned one saw that he had not reached the hope, he had been waiting for, he gathered his partisans and said (to them): Look what the bishops have done. They chose a head from the monastery and the city that has rejected the expression “(we break) the heavenly bread.” I adjure you by the word of God that after my death, you shall not deposit my body in the grave until you have made a head to replace me, nor shall you be reconciled with these (bishops).” *The monks said to him*, “This is not what you promised, but you did say, ‘I would give up leadership if the elected patriarch uttered this expression even once.’ Then all of us will become subject to him. You should wait until the head is ordained and see his point



The surviving last part of the synodal letter of Callinicos 818 differs relatively from the same letter that was reported by Michael the Syrian in his *Chronicle*. In our fragment, there is no mention of a decision made at the Synod to *burn all the writings that discussed the expression “we break the heavenly bread”*. Also, there is no use of the Christological statement of *“the qnumo (hypostasis) of the Word of God (Christ) that he took from Mary and became a sacrifice on the cross”*. Also, absent is the following: *“We further condemn he who says that it (the body) is broken not just to satisfy the partaking of many, but it is certainly a Messianic sacrifice”*.

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| OIM A 12001  | Chronicle of Michael the Syrian  |
| “(… …) We all know that the church of God has operated since ancient times with concord and without conflict. So that if some of them said something, some others have kept silent, they never quarreled, or hold each other with contempt regarding these | “We all know that the church of God has operated since ancient times with concord and without conflict. So that if some of them said something, some others have kept silent, they never quarreled, or hold each other with contempt regarding |

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of view.” *The wicked, however, excommunicated those monks* and left with the stranger (monks) loyal to him. He went to the people of Cyrrhus to have some of the wicked among them partake in their hypocrisy. *As to the Gubbites who did not submit to him (Abīram), they came to the Synod (the assembled bishops) and asked forgiveness*”. MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol.4), pp. 502–503; translation (vol.3), p. 42.

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| <p>matters until these days. This is what we decided with no way of doubt in any form, that the heavenly bread is truly and actually the holy body of the Son of God that we receive at the holy altars. We all confess this, with the threat of ex-communication against whoever does not confess with us that He (the Son of God) is the heavenly bread that we obtain from the holy altars, according to the teaching of the great saint, Patriarch Mor Severus. As confirmation of this, the bishops, all of us unanimously fixed our signatures”.</p> | <p>these matters until this time. <u>We have resolved that everything that has been written about this expression “heavenly bread” should be burned by fire, whether it concurred with it or opposed it, and that no one shall have the authority to write anything about it. We did not find anything indicating that the ancients (fathers) had provoked this subject.</u> This is what we decided with no way of doubt in any form, that the heavenly bread is truly and actually the holy body of the Son of God that we receive at the holy and priestly altars. We all confess this, with the threat of ex-communication against whoever does not confess with us that He (the Son of God) is the heavenly bread that we obtain from the holy altars, according to the teaching of the holy Patriarch Severus (of Antioch, d. 538). <u>We also condemn anyone who says that it is not the body of the qnumo (hypostasis) of the Word of God (Christ) that he</u></p> |
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|  | <p><u>took from Mary and became a sacrifice on the cross. We further condemn he who says that it (the body) is broken not just to satisfy the partaking of many, but it is certainly a Messianic sacrifice.</u> We, the bishops, have unanimously fixed our signatures”.<sup>108</sup></p> |
|--|--|

The analysis of the Syriac text found in fragment OIM Syr. A 12001 permits us to believe that this fragment contains the *final acts* of the Synod at Callinicos, which were issued during or a little bit after August 818. These *final acts* involve specific updates made on the *draft agreement* that was agreed upon in June 818 at Callinicos which was mentioned by Michael the Syrian in his *Chronicle*. These updates are the following: (1) adding the name and signature of Patriarch Dionysius who was elevated to the patriarchal throne on August 1<sup>st</sup>, 818. The names and the signatures of the *Gūbites* (from the Monastery of Gūbō Baroyō) who broke away from Abīram of Gūbō Baroyō, the leader of the opposition after he had refused the *draft agreement* at Callinicos in June 818, and the election of Monk Dionysius as a patriarch. (2) The final acts include Patriarch Dionysius's letter with the Synod of bishops at Callinicos introducing twelve canon decisions in August 818.

To follow the chronological development of events and the documentation of the Synodal decisions at Callinicos, it is

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<sup>108</sup> MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol.4), pp. 501–502.; translation (vol.3), pp. 41–42.

useful to present the following table of events based on the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian:

|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| Circa 800       | The liturgical controversy occurred in the Syriac Orthodox Church during the patriarchate of Cyriacus of Tikrit. <sup>109</sup>  |
| Circa 808       | Patriarch Cyriacus of Tikrit excommunicated a group of self-appointed bishops and the monks of the Monastery of Gūbō Baroyō who refused his decision in banning the use of the liturgical phrase “We break the heavenly bread”. <sup>110</sup> |
| Circa 810       | Monk Abīram was appointed a rebel patriarch by the expelled bishops who were supported by the inhabitants of the region of Cyrrhus and the Monastery of Gūbō Baroyō. <sup>111</sup>  |
| June/August 817 | The death of Patriarch Cyriacus. <sup>112</sup>  |

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<sup>109</sup> MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol.4), p. 492; translation (vol.3), p. 24.

<sup>110</sup> MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol.4), p. 492; translation (vol.3), p. 24.

<sup>111</sup> MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol.4), p. 492; translation (vol.3), p. 25.

<sup>112</sup> MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol.4), p. 498; translation (vol.3), p. 35.

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| June 818      | Forty-eight bishops met at Callinicos to resolve the liturgical dispute. Abīram with a group of monks from the Monastery of Gūbō Baroyō were also present there. <sup>113</sup>  |
| June 818      | <i>An agreement</i> was reached between the bishops to resolve the liturgical dispute. This agreement was confirmed by all bishops and representatives including Abīram and his group. <i>An agreement</i> was drawn up between the different parties who signed their names. <sup>114</sup> |
| June/July 818 | The agreement about the liturgical matter was followed by a discussion on ecclesiastic administrative matters which lasted for more than forty days. <sup>115</sup>  |
| July 818      | Then, Monk Dionysius was chosen by the bishops at Callinicos to succeed Patriarch Cyriacus on the patriarchal throne. <i>A document of agreement</i> on the election of Monk Dionysius   |

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<sup>113</sup> MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol.4), p. 500; translation (vol.3), p. 39.

<sup>114</sup> MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol.4), p. 501; translation (vol.3), p. 41.

<sup>115</sup> MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol.4), p. 502; translation (vol.3), pp. 41–42.

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
|                       | was drawn up with the signatures of the prelates. <sup>116</sup>  |
| July 818              | Abīram and his followers rejected the nomination of the Monk Dionysius to the patriarchal throne and backed out of their approval of the (liturgical) <i>agreement</i> , but a group of his followers abandoned him and obeyed the decisions of the Synod. <sup>117</sup> |
| Sunday, August 1, 818 | Dionysius was elevated to the rank of a patriarch at Callinicos.  |
| August 818            | The Synod was concluded, and <i>the final acts</i> of the Synod were issued. <sup>118</sup>   |

## CONCLUSION

There is more than one reason to re-publish and edit this document. First, it is a rediscovery of a historical document that was thought of as lost. It is important to return to the original manuscript to examine the transcript of Afrām Barṣawm which contained several inaccuracies. Moreover, the importance of this document lies in the fact that it reveals (when intersected with the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian) the dy-

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<sup>116</sup> MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol.4), p. 502; translation (vol.3), pp. 41–42.

<sup>117</sup> MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol.4), p. 503; translation (vol.3), p. 42.

<sup>118</sup> MICHAEL THE SYRIAN 1963, Syriac text (vol.4), pp. 504–505; translation (vol.3), pp. 43–44.

namics of ecclesial events and positions that occurred during the convening of the Synod of Callinicos 818 and the development of these positions such as of the monks and bishops from the Monastery of Gūbō Baroyō. Furthermore, the synodal letter is not identical to the one found in the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian, and this opens a general question of how far the documentation of synodal acts and letters are actually representing the actual documents issued by the synod.

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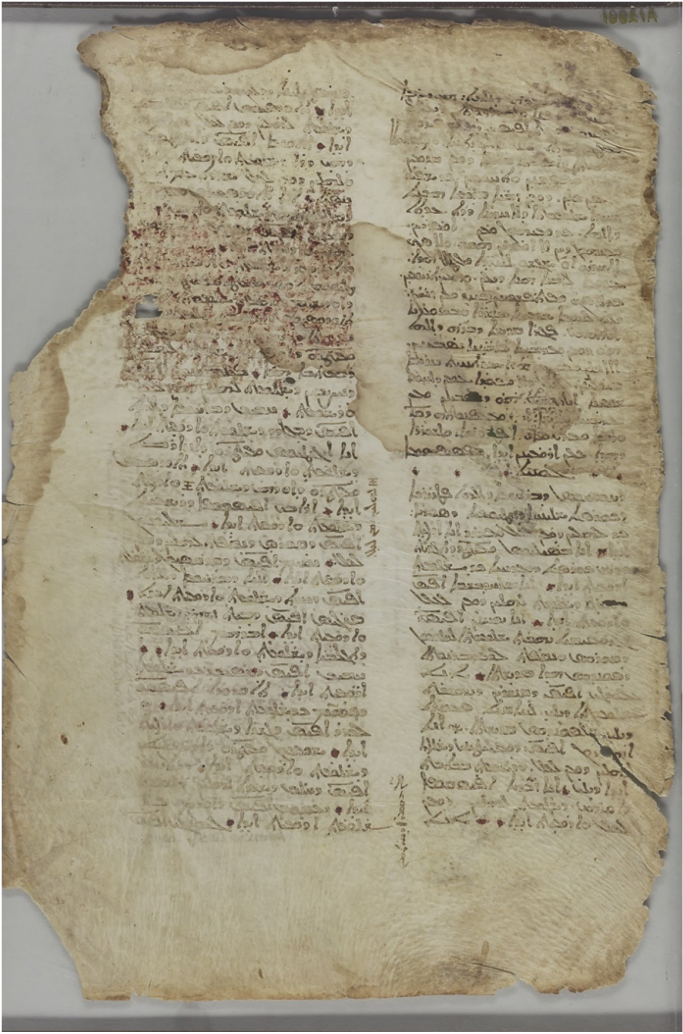
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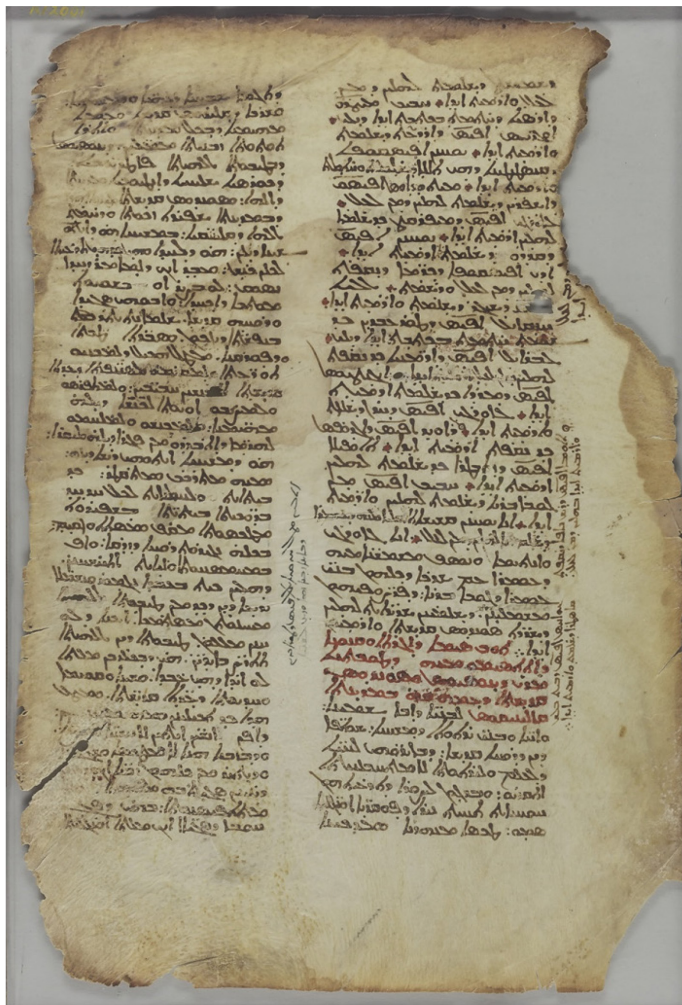
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APPENDIX



Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago,  
Ms. OIM Syr. A12001r.



Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago,  
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