BOOK REVIEWS

Li Tang. *East Syriac Christianity in Mongol-Yuan China*. Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 18. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011. xvi + 169 pp; €58.00.

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The study of Christianity in pre-modern China is a challenging field which is experiencing a surge of interest. Li Tang has been in the thick of this research, from her earlier volume primarily on Christianity in the Tang period,[1] to participating in all three conferences organized at Universität Salzburg on the theme, "Research on the Church of the East in China and Central Asia" (2003, 2006, 2009). Prof. Tang co-edited with Dietmar Winkler the volume of papers from the second conference,[2] while the volume presently under review extensively used the proceedings of the first conference.[3] As she remarks in the preface to the current volume, more studies have focused on Christianity in Tang China than under Mongol rule (xv), which makes the current volume all the more necessary and remarkable.

The importance of the present volume lies primarily in its presentation for the first time of portions of several Chinese-language sources in English translation. Historians of pre-modern China have traditionally been relatively stingy about translating into European languages. The presumption has been that if you wish to understand the history of the Middle Kingdom, you must engage with them on their terms. This is most keenly to be regretted for China under the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368), when in fact the Chinese plains were only one part of a vast system of rule that extended to include Russia and Iraq, and parts of modern Turkey. No single scholar can hope to master the many languages (Chinese,

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[1] Li Tang, *A Study of the History of Nestorian Christianity in China and Its Literature in Chinese* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002, 2nd ed., 2004).

[2] Dietmar Winkler and Li Tang, eds., *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (Vienna: Lit, 2009).

[3] Roman Malek and Peter Hofrichter, eds., *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia* (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2006).

Mongolian, Persian, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Russian, and Arabic, at least) in which the primary sources for the study of the Mongol Empire are found, to say nothing of additional scholarly languages. By providing her own translations of portions of Chinese literature which mention *Yelikewen* (the term for Christians used in the Yuan period), Li Tang has provided an invaluable service to the scholarly community interested in the study of Christianity in Mongol-ruled China.

The work is divided into four parts, with an analytic table of contents at the beginning. The rich contents of this book, however, have resulted in the chapter and section headings representing only a small portion of what is contained in each section, as additional sources and insights peek out in unexpected places. Unfortunately the index, containing only 91 entries, does not provide much help for finding all of the locations where this book discusses a given topic. Fortunately the volume is slim at 148 pages, so reading or at least skimming the entirety is recommended for gleaning the full benefit from the author's research on any of a number of topics. The first part, a sixteen page introduction bearing the overly narrow title "A Brief Political History of Inner Asia Up to the Mongol Conquest," orients the reader with a vast background account of relations between the Chinese and their northern nomadic neighbors since the early first millennium B.C., with additional sections presenting themes of Mongol rule in China, an introduction to Western European travelers to medieval China, and a summary history of Christian expansion into central Asia and the far East into the Mongol period. Unfortunately the book's evident lack of proof-reading has affected many of the dates, such as the dates for the "Pax Mongolica" given as 1127-1260; the later date is correctly the Mongol Civil War, while the earlier date is evidently an error for the death of Chinggis Khan in 1227. The result is that this part introduces useful themes, but precise details must be checked before citing this volume. For the pre-Mongol history of Central Asia, one might consult Peter Golden's new undergraduate text, *Central Asia in World History*,[4] while for themes of the Mongol Empire itself nothing yet surpasses David Morgan's classic *The Mongols*.[5] In addition, although the author alludes to the recent

[4] Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

[5] 2nd ed.; Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007.

debates concerning the authenticity of Marco Polo's travelogue, the length of time this book was in production apparently prevented her from citing the most definitive defense of Polo's work to date, Stephen G. Haw's excellent *Marco Polo's China*.[6]

The second part focuses on the Christian tribes on the steppes in the period leading up to Mongol rule, although of course overlapping into the Mongol period, to present a complete picture. The part begins with the European images of Prester John, the great Christian priest-king "of India" who (so crusaders hoped) would ally with the Latin Christians to crush Islam. Tang takes the sane approach of not identifying a "historical" Prester John but identifying the myth as European wishful thinking, which is necessarily dealt with in interpreting the evidence of the European travelers. The bulk of this part, however, deals with the Kerait, Naiman, Uighur, Öngüt, and Merkit tribes, assembling the evidence for conversions to Christianity in each group. Much of this evidence is familiar to students of Central Asian Christianity, but for that very reason this part can usefully serve as a place of first reference for the sources pertaining to any one of these tribes. The most contentious portion of the part will likely be where the author reviews the debate as to whether the two East Syrian monks from China, later known as Mar Yahballaha III and Rabban Sauma, were Uighur or Öngüt. She favors the Uighur interpretation, although she presents the dissenting view of no less a scholar than Paul Pelliot. The Öngüt thesis still finds support, however, for example in Pier Giorgio Borbone's recent study of the text and Italian translation, *Storia di Mar Yabballaha e di Rabban Sauma*, which is in the bibliography but not apparently cited in the text.[7] For the reader who does not know Chinese, it may be helpful to know that the Chinese travelogue cited on pp. 34 and 36 is one of the rare Chinese texts to have obtained an English translation.[8]

The third part surveys the evidence, both archaeological and literary, for Christianity in Yuan China. A lengthy discussion of the terminology for Christians in the period is followed by a summary account of the discovery of the East Syrian gravestones. The real

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[6] London: Routledge, 2006.

[7] Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2000.

[8] Arthur Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist: the journey of the Taoist, Ch'ang-Ch'un, from China to the Hindukush at the summons of Chingiz Khan* (London: Routledge, 1931).

treat of this part is a full transcription and translation of the Chinese, Syriac, Syro-Turkic, and Phags-pa texts on eight Christian tombstones representing a wide range of styles, all from Quanzhou (medieval Zaiton on the coast). Included is the famous tombstone of Mar Shleimun (dated 1313), East Syrian bishop and supervisor of the Manicheans and Christians of Jiangnan for the Mongol government, in Chinese and Syro-Turkic. Other gravestones included here are that of General Wang Fudao (dated 1349, in Chinese and Syro-Turkic); of the monastic priest Elisa Qitay (1312, Syro-Turkic); of a chief servant named Ke Cuncheng (undated, Chinese); of Abbot Anduonisi Wu (1306, Chinese); of Guo and Chen, two mothers of the Dai family (date problematic, but apparently 1277 or 1286, in Chinese); of Yi Liu (1324, in Chinese and Phags-pa script); and of perhaps a "Madam Yang, wife of Mr. Ye" (1314, in Chinese and Phags-pa). When using the inscriptions in Syriac script, it is unfortunately necessary to use the transliterations into Latin script rather than the Syriac transcription provided, since the typesetter seems to have been unfamiliar with Syriac, resulting in numerous visual errors (*k* for *b*, *ḥ* for *ny*, *q* for *m* or *w*, *'e* for *k*). For example, the beginning of the Syriac Trinitarian invocation at the head of two of the inscriptions (pp. 65, 68) becomes ܒܫܡ‍ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ (for ܒܫܡ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ). On the other hand, the transliterations into Latin script seem to be almost entirely without typographical error, and therefore should be preferred over the Syriac script. References to alternate readings of the inscriptions would have been useful, however, for example in the cases of Mar Shleimun's and Elisa Qitay's epitaphs.[9] The many inscriptions from Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang are dealt with in very summary fashion, unfortunately often without citations of non-Chinese works from which one could find out more. Indeed, a work surveying the numerous publications of Christian grave stones from Central Asia and China remains a desideratum, although the bibliographies of two recent works on Central Asian

[9] Very different readings of key portions of these inscriptions are given in Lance Eccles, Majella Franzmann, and Samuel Lieu, "Observations on Select Christian Inscriptions in the Syriac Script from Zayton," in Iain Gardner, Samuel Lieu, and Ken Parry, eds., *From Palmyra to Zayton: Epigraphy and Iconography* (Silk Road Studies X; Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 264-267.

gravestones include many works between them.[10] In addition to the inscriptions which are the focus of the majority of this part, at the end the author briefly introduces the literary sources in Chinese and other languages.

The fourth and largest part then attempts to synthesize the literary and archaeological sources with the aim, as the introduction expressed it, "to reconstruct a history of East Syrian Christianity in Mongol-Yuan China within its political, social, economic, cultural and religious environments" (xv). This part explores Christian influence on the Mongol rulers, both through members of the royal family and through prominent officials whose biographies are given, as well as the geographical distribution of the Christian population, the Mongol policies of religious toleration, relations with Christian centers outside of China, and the causes of the decline of Christianity. Of these sections, the most developed is the geographical section, which includes genealogical charts of prominent Christian families based on literature and inscriptions. Unfortunately, these charts do not come with citations indicating precisely where this information came from, and they occasionally contradict the main text: for two examples, the text identifies Shide as the uncle of Ma Zuchang, but the accompanying chart presents him as Ma Zuchang's third cousin once removed (103), while the text names Anzhu'er as Zhao Shiyan's grandfather, while the chart shows him as the younger man's uncle (105). The text also identifies younger generations of some of these families (such as Yelü on 104, Zhao Shiyan on 105) as literary figures in Chinese; more information on their place in Chinese literature would have been helpful for readers (such as the current reviewer) who are not familiar with that history. The section on Mongol religious toleration also curiously refers to the *Yasa* of Chinggis Khan as if it were a unified code which once existed as a text, despite citing the critical scholarship which rejects precisely that proposition (126-127). Therefore this treatment of religious toleration is very old-

[10] Mark Dickens, "Syriac Gravestones in the Tashkent History Museum," in Winkler and Tang, eds., *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters*, 42-49; Tjalling Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains of Inner Mongolia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 337-51.

fashioned, and does not take into account recent scholarship that was available.[11]

But the most important and useful portions of this fourth part are the numerous translations into English of passages from Chinese literature which mention Christians. Several of these passages were translated by A. C. Moule in his landmark *Christians in China Before the Year 1550*,[12] but most are not found there, and even where overlap occurs, the rendering is often so different that both should be consulted. Unfortunately, this volume does not render Moule's work obsolete, since many more passages are translated in Moule that are omitted here. A volume bringing together translations of all of the relevant passages of Chinese literature would be most helpful (there remain passages which Moule lists in his footnotes but which have not been translated into English), but this volume translates passages of the *Yuanshi* (the Yuan dynastic history) on pp. 87-88, 93, 95, 121, 122, 128-130, as well as assorted other Chinese primary sources on pp. 53, 99, 118, and 134-138.

The many beautiful pictures make this book engaging and evocative, and the useful maps help orient the reader, although a few more maps (such as one of sites within Inner Mongolia) would have been helpful. There were certain other curious omissions in this volume. Among them, there was no substantive discussion of the Christian interactions with the Manichaeans, on which there is much scholarship. Citations were tantalizingly lacking for the repeatedly mentioned Temple of the Cross in Fangshan, in which (according to this author, but on what basis is unknown) Rabban Sauma lived as a monk (38-39, 108, 140).[13] The volume under review also did not address the question where and when there were ecclesiastical officials such as bishops and metropolitans.

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[11] For important recent contributions on the question of religious toleration and the *Yasa* of Chinggis Khan, respectively, see Peter Jackson, "The Mongols and the Faith of the Conquered," 245-90, and David O. Morgan, "The 'Great *Yasa* of Chinggis Khan' Revisited," 291-308, both in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran, eds., *Mongols, Turks, and Others* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[12] London: SPCK, 1930.

[13] On this site, see the more cautious conclusion of Pierre Marsone, "When was the Temple of the Cross at Fangshan a 'Christian Temple'?" in Winkler and Tang, *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters*, 215-223.

Finally, although the third part discusses the etymology of the term *Yelikewen*, the volume never addresses the scope of the term: did it refer to all Christians, only East Syrian Christians, or only clergy? Here we may be hampered more than helped by William of Rubruck's charge, which may be baseless, that the Nestorians ordain every male of any age as priest (cited on p. 90). Did its meaning adapt over the course of the dynasty? If it referred only to East Syrian Christians, what terms were used for other Christians? In any event, how does one know that the tombstones cited here are certainly from the Church of the East? It is to be hoped that the publisher will print a second edition, in which the numerous typographical and other minor errors, which were too numerous to list in this review, may be corrected, and some of these additional questions filled in. Nevertheless this volume will be indispensible to anyone interested in Christianity under Mongol rule or Christianity in China. It is hoped that it will be an inspiration to further studies, syntheses, and translations of the difficult and varied source material, so that this furthest corner of the history of pre-modern Syriac Christianity may be fully integrated into larger studies of the Mongol Empire and the history of Christianity.

David Thomas and Barbara Roggema (eds.), with Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, Johannes Pahlitzsch, Mark Swanson, Herman Teule, and John Tolan, *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographic History. Volume 1 (600-900)* (History of Christian-Muslim Relations 11; Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009). Hardback. 944 pp; $310.00.

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The volume under review is the first part of a general survey of written sources on Christian-Muslim relations from 600 to the present day. This first volume deals with the period of 600-900, and subsequent volumes will follow treating 900-1050 (vol. 2), 1050-1200 (vol. 3), 1200-1350 (vol. 4), etc. In addition to appearing in print form, all of the volumes are available in an online edition, which will continue to be updated with corrections and new bibliography.[14] If this first volume is any indication of what is to come, this multi-volume work is destined to be an indispensible reference tool for all scholars working on Christian-Muslim relations.

The bulk of the volume under review consists of more than two hundred entries dedicated to works on Christian-Muslim relations from 600 to 900. The criteria for inclusion of a work are defined as follows: "inclusion was decided according to whether a work is written substantially about or against the other faith, or contains significant information or judgments that cast light on attitudes of one faith towards the other" (p. viii). The entries aim to cover exhaustively all of the relevant recorded works, whether extant or not. The majority of the entries deal with works written in Arabic, Greek, and Syriac though there are also entries for works in Armenian, Coptic, Georgian, Latin, and Old Church Slavonic.

All of the entries strictly follow the same template. Each begins with a section on the author, which provides the author's name, date of birth, place of birth, date of death, place of death, a biography, and bibliography (divided into primary sources and secondary sources). This section on the author is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather it "contains sufficient information for a reader to pursue further details about the author and his general activities" (p. ix). The author sections, then, serve as a useful

[14] <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/christian-muslim-relations> (accessed 5.29.2012).

encyclopedia-type resource with ample references, especially for the primary sources. In fact, on more than one occasion, this reviewer has consulted the volume only to read one of these biographies. Thus, the volume functions as a useful reference work even when one is not at that moment working on Christian-Muslim relations.

Following the section on the author, lemmata are given for each work by the author that deals directly with Christian-Muslim relations. Each lemma provides the title of the work, date, original language, description, significance, manuscripts, editions and translations, and bibliography. This section of each entry is intended to be exhaustive in having a lemma for every recorded work, whether surviving or lost. When pushed to its logical conclusion, this exhaustive approach is at times trying for the reader: the *al-Radd ʿalā l-thalāth firaq min al-Naṣārā* 'The refutation of the three Christian sects' by Abū ʿĪsā l-Warrāq (pp. 698-700), for instance, receives three different lemmata based solely on Ibn al-Nadīm's mention of three versions/recensions (long, medium, and short). In general, however, the exhaustiveness of the lemmata is a strength of the volume. Many of the lemmata go well beyond the typical summary of scholarship that one finds in a reference work of this type and present the results of fresh research. This is nowhere more obvious than in the fact that a number of unedited texts receive lemmata. Among the many positive attributes of the lemmata, the inclusion of the relevant manuscripts and the exhaustive bibliography are especially appreciated. The thoroughness of the lemmata can be exemplified by Lamoreaux's treatment of Theodore Abū Qurra, which extends more than fifty pages (pp. 439-491), includes more than six pages of bibliography on the author, and provides details on numerous unedited works, in Greek and Arabic, that are not otherwise available.

The entries in the bibliographic survey are organized chronologically. This has its advantages and disadvantages. On the positive side, the organization of the volume allows for an insightful diachronic picture of Christian-Muslim relations that highlights new developments and changes across time. This picture is especially sharp if one reads through the entire volume sequentially. On the negative side, however, the organization is a significant hindrance to locating entries since so many of the authors and texts can only be approximately dated. In fact, this

reviewer finds it impossible to locate any entry without referring to the index.

In addition to the entries dedicated to individual works, the volume begins with six introductory essays that are intended to cover works that do not fit easily within the format of the bibliographic survey: Jaakko Hämmeen-Anttila, "Christians and Christianity in the Qurʾān" (21-30), Claude Gilliot, "Christians and Christianity in Islamic exegesis" (31-56), Suleiman A. Mourad, "Christians and Christianity in the *Sīra* of Muḥammad" (57-71), David Cook, "Christians and Christianity in *ḥadīth* works before 900" (73-82), David M. Freidenreich, "Muslims in canon law, 650-1000" (83-98), and David M. Freidenreich, "Christians in early and classical Sunnī law" (99-114). Each of these essays provides a good summary of the *status quaestionis* of scholarship on its particular topic.

The editors have taken great care to make the volume accessible to as wide a readership as possible. For this, they are certainly to be thanked. Thus, almost all foreign titles and words in the volume are translated. An (unnecessary) exception is, however, made for several quotations in Latin: *in partibus Spaniensis provinciæ* (p. 340), *gens nefandissima paganorum* (p. 643), *Sarracenis perfidis Deoque contrariis* (p. 643), *Satane filii* (p. 643; presumably for *Satan[a]e filii*), *gens illa pestifer* (p. 643), *s[a]eva gens* (p. 643). In addition, all texts in non-Latin script are given in transliteration only. The transliteration systems are not explained, but they are mostly self-evident. Setting aside Syriac for the moment, the transliteration is generally accurate, though a few minor slips were spotted, e.g., Arabic *taʿrīkh* > *taʾrīkh* (p. 306) and Arabic *waḥdaniyyat* > *waḥdāniyyat* (p. 793).

The transliteration of Syriac presents more serious difficulties. In general, the East-Syriac vowel system is used, though occasionally West-Syriac vowels appear without explanation, e.g., *malpōnō* (p. 567 [*bis*]), Tell-Maḥroyo (p. 622), Suryōyē (p. 623). More problematic is the representation of the vowels themselves, in particular the use of a macron with *i*, *u*, and *o*. Throughout the volume, there does not seem to be any rationale for the use of *i* vs. *ī*, *u* vs. *ū*, and *o* vs. *ō*; compare, e.g., *i* vs. *ī* in *amirā* (p. 782) vs. *ʾamīrā* (p. 522); *awkit* (p. 134) vs. *awkīt* (p. 186); *dilēh* vs. *dīleh* (p. 522, one word apart!); *qaddishā/ē* (pp. 152, 315; 689 [*bis*]) vs. *qaddīshā/ē* (pp. 186, 222, 892); *tashʿitā* (p. 600) vs. *tashʿītā* (pp. 186, 892); *u* vs. *ū* in *malkutā* (p. 239), *maktbānut* (p. 231), *mdabbrānuteh* (p. 242) vs.

haymānūtā (p. 522); and *o* vs. *ō* in Tell-Maḥroyo (p. 622) vs. Suryōyē. Given that length is not phonemic with vowels in Syriac, it would have been far preferable to use *i*, *u*, and *o* without macron in all cases. In addition, there are a number of other inconsistencies in the transliteration of Syriac. The reduced vowel schwa is not normally indicated, but seems to be represented in *mahpekin* > *mahpkin* (p. 744). Consonantal (including diphthongs) *waw* and *yod* are usually represented as *w* and *y*, respectively, but occasionally also as *u* and *i*, e.g., *Yaunāyē* (p. 164), *mār(i)* (p. 186), *gelyānau(hy)* (p. 222), *Kristiānē* (p. 745). Word initial *ʾālep* is not usually marked, but is in *ʾamīrā* (p. 522). Consonantal gemination is usually marked, but at times it is not, e.g., *medem* > *meddem* (p. 130); *meṭul* > *meṭṭul* (p. 158); *malpānā* > *mallpānā* (pp. 160, 343, 344 [*bis*]); *mdī(n)tā* > *mdī(n)ttā*, or better *mdi(n)ttā* (p. 186); *kūlāh* > *kūllāh*, or better *kullāh* (p. 188); *ʿameh* > *ʿammeh* (p. 239); *ʿeltā* > *ʿelltā* (pp. 401; 595); *shūʾālā* > *shūʾʾālā*, or better *shuʾʾālā* (p. 522; compare *shaʾʾel* on p. 744); *pūnāy* > *pūnnāy*, or better *punnāy* (p. 522); *apayhun* > *appayhun* (p. 744). Fricativization (*rukkākā* and *qushshāyā*) is not usually marked, but occasionally it is, e.g., *sulughismē* (p. 504). Finally, there are a number of errors: *ʿālmanyātā* > *ʿālmānāyātā* (p. 130); *min* > *men* (pp. 158, 744); *qāddishā* > *qaddishā* (p. 160); *lūttā* > *lawṭtā* (p. 403); *mhaym(n)ē* > *mhaymnē* (p. 506); *mammlā* > *mamllā* (p. 744); *sagyay* > *saggiʾay* (p. 744); *ḥadtē* > *ḥa(d)ttē* (p. 745); *hanpē* > *ḥanpē* (p. 745). The large number of problems with the transliteration of Syriac mars an otherwise most welcome inclusion of Syriac sources in the volume.

While the entire volume will be of interest to scholars in the field of Syriac Studies, it should be pointed out that there are a large number of entries dedicated specifically to authors and texts belonging to the Syriac tradition. As a future reference, it may be worth concluding with a list of these:

ʿAbdīshūʿ ibn Bahrīz (Church of the East; Swanson, 550-552)

Abū l-ʿAbbās ʿĪsā ibn Zayd (Church of the East; Swanson, 857-858)

Abū l-Faḍl ʿAlī ibn Rabban al-Naṣrānī (Church of the East; Swanson, 652-653)

Abū l-Faraj Saʿīd ibn ʿAlī l-Anbārī (Church of the East; Swanson, 859-860)

Abū l-Khayr ʿĪsā ibn Hibat Allāh (Church of the East; Swanson, 861-862)

Abū Nūḥ al-Anbārī (Church of the East; Swanson, 397-400)

Abū Rāʾiṭa l-Takrītī (Syriac Orthodox; Toenies Keating, 567-581)
Affair of the death of Muḥammad (Roggema, 401-402)
Affair of the Qurʾān (Roggema, 595-596)
al-Jāmiʿ wujūh al-īmān (Melkite; Swanson, 791-798)
ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī (Church of the East; Beaumont, 604-610)
Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ephrem (Suermann, 160-162)
Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra (Debié, 239-241)
Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius (Greisiger, 163-171)
Athanasius of Balad (Syriac Orthodox; Teule, 157-159)
Christological discussion (Toenies Keating, 553-555)
Chronicle of Khuzistan (Teule, 130-132)
Confession which Kaʿb al-Aḥbār handed down to the Ishmaelites (Roggema, 403-405)
Debate between Israel of Kashkar and al-Sarakhsī (Roggema, 840-843)
Debate of Theodore Abū Qurra (Bertaina, 556-564)
Dionysius of Tell-Maḥrē (Syriac Orthodox; Teule, 622-626)
Disputation between a monk of Bēt Ḥālē and an Arab Notable (Roggema, 268-273)
Disputation of John and the Emir (Roggema, 782-785)
Disputation of the monk Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarānī (Melkite; Swanson, 876-881)
Edessene Apocalypse (Greisiger, 172-175)
Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid (Melkite; Swanson, 330-333)
Giwarghis I (Church of the East; Teule, 151-153)
Gospel of the Twelve Apostles (Greisiger, 222-225)
Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (Church of the East; Roggema, 768-779)
Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene (Church of the East; Teule, 133-136)
Israel of Kashkar (Church of the East; Holmberg, 757-761)
Jacob of Edessa (Syriac Orthodox; Teule, 226-233)
Job of Edessa (Roggema, 502-509)
John bar Penkāyē (Syriac Orthodox; Greisiger, 176-181)
John of Damascus (Melkite; Glei, 295-301)
John the Stylite of Mār Zʿura at Sarug (Suermann, 314-316)
Joshua the Stylite of Zuqnin (= Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Maḥrē) (Syriac Orthodox; Harrak, 322-326)
Legend of Sergius Baḥirā (Roggema, 600-603)
Leontius of Damascus (Melkite; Lamoreaux, 406-410)

Life of Gabriel of Qartmin (Syriac Orthodox; Palmer, 892-897)
Life of John of Edessa (Melkite; Lamoreaux, 898-901)
Maronite Chronicle (Teule, 145-147)
Martyrdom of Anthony (Rawḥ al-Qurashī) (Melkite; Vila, 498-501)
Martyrdom of Michael of Mār Saba (Roggema, 911-915)
Masāʾil wa-ajwiba ʿaqliyya wa-ilāhiyya (Melkite; Salah and Swanson, 661-663)
Martyrdom of ʿAbd al-Masīḥ (Melkite; Vila, 684-687)
Michael the Synkellos (Melkite; Kolia-Dermitzaki, 627-632)
Nonnus of Nisibis (Syriac Orthodox; Teule, 743-745)
Peter of Bayt Raʾs (Swanson, 902-906)
Sixty martyrs of Jerusalem (Efthymiadis, 327-329)
Stephen Manṣūr (Melkite; Vila, 388-389, 393-396; Nanobashvili, 390-393)
Symeon of Samosata (Syriac Orthodox; Palmer, 186-189)
Testimonies of the prophets about the dispensation of Christ (Debié, 242-244)
Theodore Abū Qurra (Melkite; Lamoreaux, 439-491)
Theodore bar Koni (Church of the East; Teule, 343-346)
Theophilus of Edessa (Teule, 305-308)
Thomas of Margā (Church of the East; Teule, 688-690)
Timothy I (Church of the East; Heimgartner, 515-519, 522-526; Roggema, 519-522, 527-531)
Usṭāth al-Rāhib (Salah and Swanson, 907-910)
Yūḥannā ibn al-Ṣalt (Church of the East; Roggema, 849-851)

Romualdo Fernández Ferreira, Símbolos Cristianos en la Antigua Siria – *rumūz masīḥiyya fī sūriyya al-qadīma*, Patrimoine Syriaque 4, Kaslik, Lebanon: Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik, 2004, 368 + viii pp.

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In this bilingual Castilian and Arabic monograph are collected and classified in a new way all the symbolic figures published by F. in ten earlier books (including the four 'inventories' co-authored by Pasquale Castellana and Ignacio Peña). The region from which the material is collected is the limestone massif west of Aleppo, between 'Afrin and Apamea. After an introduction and a reflective excursus (Chapter I: 'Decoracion and simbologia', pp. 19-58), more than a hundred pages are devoted to the symbol of the cross (Chapter II, pp. 59-162), thirteen to symbolic inscriptions (Chapter III, pp. 163-76), thirty-five to symbols found at places where paganism and Christianity lived cheek by jowl (Chapter IV, pp. 177-212), eighteen to the human figure (Chapter V, pp. 213-20), nine to animals and birds (Chapter VI, pp. 221-30), nine to trees and plants (Chapter VII, pp. 231-40), fifty-four to architectural elements (Chapter VIII, pp. 241-92), eleven to sepulchres and reliquaries (Chapter IX, pp. 295-306), forty-one to stylites and recluses (Chapter X, pp. 307-348) and four to incomprehensible symbols (Chapter XI, pp. 349-52). The conclusion is less than two pages long (pp. 349-352). The rear is brought up by abbreviations, a bibliography, indexes of toponyms and eight maps.

As a work of reference this is an extremely valuable publication. There are 224 photographs, more than 200 pages with sketches of symbols, often with as many as twelve symbols per page – probably more than 2,000 symbols, all classified and ordered. The text, on the other hand, is limited by its relatively narrow field of bibliographical reference (only one of the fifty-four titles, composed of primary sources and secondary literature mixed, is in German and that is spelled wrong, which does not inspire confidence) and by a tendency to vague generalization, of which the following is an example: "The primitive Syriac Church was that which inherited the most from the traditions of the Mother Church of Jerusalem, as is confirmed – amongst many other proofs – by the Syriac Eucharistic Prayer, known as that of St James of Jerusalem." (Reviewer's translation.)

F. is one of the greatest living connoisseurs of the remains of late antique Christian buildings in north-west Syria. As a disciple of Bellarmino Bagatti his attention was above all directed, during field-trips which must have required more than a quarter of a century, towards the symbols inscribed or painted on the stones in his beloved Syria. We are fortunate that he has now had the opportunity to classify this work and present it, in a new thematic arrangement, to the scholarly public. It seems certain that it will afford, simply by enabling many readers to compare symbols from various places, new insights into the "mentality and the religiosity of the people who lived in the period to which it refers"(p. [5]), even if F.'s expectation that "the science of symbols should one day enable all the material encountered by archaeologists to be interpreted" seems unwarranted (p. 41). A good corrective to this optimism is the final chapter, on "Incomprehensible figures."

Adam M. Schor, *Theodoret's People: Social Networks and Religious Conflict in Late Roman Syria*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. xv + 342 pp. $49.95 cloth.

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Using social network theory, Adam Schor argues in this book that the Christological dispute of the first half of the fifth century (culminating in the condemnation of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus in 431 CE, and of Eutyches at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE) "was not just a mismatch of doctrines. Nor was it just a contest for authority. It was a crucial episode in the formation of partisan religious community" (15). Schor offers an in-depth analysis of the influential fifth-century bishop Theodoret and the clerical community of early fifth-century Syria. His careful use of church leaders' letters as well as records from church councils provides him with information that has rarely been so thoroughly interwoven into the historical narrative about the events surrounding these significant Christological controversies.

Schor explains that he applies social network theory because it "offers a framework for combining social concepts (such as patronage) with cultural concepts (such as performance)" (9). He summarizes, "Theodoret's coalition can be seen as a socio-doctrinal network, a shifting cluster of mostly clerics bound by friendship and theological agreement. Theodoret's broader social relations can be seen as a patronage network, which included many doctrinal allies and linked them to clients, protectors, and friends. Each of these networks fostered certain attitudes and cultural practices. Together, I argue, they created a resonance between theology and social interaction, which encouraged religious certainty and conflict" (3). Schor concludes that fifth-century Antioch represents a "modular scale-free network," and that such "usually survive the random loss of members" but can be "dismantled if a majority of hubs are removed" (11), which is how he explains the eventual collapse of the network around Theodoret (130). Schor acknowledges some of the limitations of applying social network theory to historical research, recognizing that such models produce hypotheses that ideally will then "be confirmed in other ways" (11). While the vocabulary of "nodes," "hubs," and "density of links" is at times cumbersome, and the numerous network charts do not always seem to enhance the written narrative sufficiently, the

analysis nevertheless offers scholars a productive and interesting new way of understanding these otherwise familiar events.

Schor breaks the book into two parts. Part I focuses on the network around the metropolis of Antioch and "looks at how Theodoret related to fellow clerics and other active disputants" (13). The book begins by arguing that "certain clerics exchanged a key set of phrases and gestures that we can treat as idioms of an Antiochene network" (20). Although necessarily a lengthy investigation of vocabulary choices, this material is innovative, and provides important nuances to academic analyses of this Christological controversy, and awareness of the subtle connotations that this vocabulary carried when heard by its ideal audience. Some of the conclusions in this chapter are tenuous (for example, the study of primarily Syrian texts leads to the conclusion that the social cues expressed are distinctively Syrian). Nevertheless, the payoff for having laid the groundwork for the Antiochene network becomes more immediate when Schor turns after the first three chapters "to follow the network through its 'Nestorian' crisis and resulting transformation" (80). The Nestorian controversy, Schor argues, for the first time "forced the Antiochenes to see their divergence from the rest of the Nicene clergy" (86), which in turn transformed the network and opened the door for Theodoret to take a leadership position as a mediator. Although the subsequent collapse of this network in the "Eutychean" controversy that followed is well known to scholars, Schor's social network analysis usefully nuances the familiar narrative, giving voice to the interconnectedness of social and political alliances and doctrinal allegiances.

Part II of Schor's book "examines the way Theodoret and his clerical associates participated in the patronage networks of late Roman society" (134). Schor focuses on "the mediating role that Theodoret and his colleagues sought vis-à-vis other elites" (134), particularly Theodoret's "efforts to find openings, tap networks, and join the exchange of favors and loyalties" (155). Through written correspondence, Schor argues, Theodoret "performed the commonality that he was seeking" (163). Ultimately, "Theodoret's performance of patronage was inseparable from his performances of Antiochene leadership" and his influence "rose or fell based on his ability to trade favors" (179). One of the more intriguing benefits of Schor's use of social network theory, however, comes in

the influence that Schor argues Theodoret's social relationships may have had on his Christological vocabulary and doctrine. Connecting "his understanding of Christ to human behavioral ideals" (181), Theodoret presented "Christ's existence as a mediator between humanity and divinity" (187). Schor posits (188-9) that Theodoret's own experience as a mediator with different identities for different relationships influenced his understanding of the Son as "one subject, a mediator with two identities," and the requirement of "two unconfounded natures" in order for the Son to "mediate effectively" (187). Schor suggests, however, that the regional locatedness of Theodoret's theological vocabulary did not necessarily resonate with other Christian leaders who did not share his network's common cultural cues, and Theodoret soon found himself on the defensive against charges of unorthodox teachings. The social networks that Schor traces "made doctrine part of a larger socio-cultural dynamic" (205).

While readers might occasionally wish for a more forceful thesis to provide momentum, Schor pulls together an impressive amount of material in order to provide a thorough narrative of these critical fifth-century controversies. Theodoret is a rich topic for new scholarship, and this book makes wise use of the fifth-century bishop's impressive epistolary corpus. Schor's book is also a welcome and nuanced project on Roman Syria that works with (instead of being daunted by) the region's complex linguistic diversity. It is a pleasure to read a serious engagement with these controversies that treats them neither as entirely theologically nor as purely politically driven. Schor's book proposes "another explanation for wider doctrinal partisanship: the interconnections between doctrine and social relations" (199), treating "theology as a key factor in social relations" (9). This book is a valuable contribution to scholarship that will be widely read across all disciplines that study the late Roman world and the development of early Christianity.

Kees den Biesen, *Annotated Bibliography of Ephrem the Syrian* (library edition[15]). Lulu, 2011. 454 pp. $65.60.

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Ten years after the completion of the first edition of this bibliography, Kees den Biesen has provided the world of Syriac scholarship with a new, improved and larger edition. His own reckoning is that this includes around 850 new entries. (The second edition is about 70 pages longer than the first. The page size of this edition matches that of the first.)

This expansion has been accompanied by a fuller treatment of the Syriac texts of Ephrem, now including notations on the manuscripts and on the authenticity (or inauthenticity) of the texts included. This last change ought to be particularly welcome for those who are working from photographic reproductions of manuscripts and those who are searching through known Syriac manuscripts for works that may have been overlooked or misattributed in the past. Individual works that have been connected with Ephrem but are not part of the traditionally established collections are listed individually with listings including their *incipit*, except for the listings of the individual *madrāshē*.

A review of the general organization of the volume will be useful for those who have never used a copy. The main body of the work is divided into eight parts: the first part is called "General Bibliography," the second "Ephrem's Life: Sources, both Historical and Legendary," the third "The Editions of Ephrem's Works in Syriac," the fourth "The Ancient Translations," the fifth "The Single Works: Text Editions, Translations and Studies," the seventh "Translations of Ephrem's Works," and the eighth "The Titles," which is divided into four parts: "Editions," "Titles Exclusively Dealing with Ephrem," "Titles Partly Dealing with Ephrem" and "Titles Incidentally Dealing with Ephrem." (Instructors should note that this arrangement will allow a student to examine a list of all translations of Ephrem into English or to look at a list of his works with the English translations noted under

[15] Available from lulu.com in a "student edition" in paperback (8 ½ x 11 inches) and as a pdf. file e-book. This review was written based on an examination of the "library edition."

the name of the individual collection or piece. Thus, a student who discovers a mention of a work of Ephrem can see whether it exists in English form or a student interested in Ephrem or Syriac Christianity can discover what works are available. As the number of readers who approach Ephrem only in translation grows, this capability grows ever more useful. I have directed students toward Ephrem using this method with real success.)

Information about the works of Ephrem is contained in the third through seventh parts. The reader may refer to one of the sections in order to examine, for example, the works of Ephrem as present in the Georgian tradition. This subsection, found on page 18, begins with a brief paragraph discussing the two major collections of Ephrem in Georgian and is followed by a listing of references to the various texts and a separate listing of the studies related to these works. One half page of the volume, therefore, would allow the student who reads Georgian to search out the different works of Ephrem available and would allow the student who must come at Georgian works through translation to search among the studies for translations of these into other languages or for modern studies treating of them in other languages. (This is a useful example since the reviewer is completely innocent of Georgian.) However, a few minutes with this volume directed me to a number of places to read discussions of the works of Ephrem surviving in Georgian and even discussions of the manuscripts and their history, not to mention a discussion of the early development of the Georgian homiletic tradition. The usefulness of this volume is demonstrated by the fact that 10 or 15 minutes spent in its company can provide enough raw material for an interested reader to pursue a number of promising alleyways that would have been closed to him without its help. In my experience, this is exactly the purpose for which a resource like this is most often used.

The eighth section of the work, "The Titles," forms the bulk of the material. This part, consisting of four sections arranged alphabetically by author's name, allows the user of the volume to flip through a listing of the secondary material looking for authors of interest. Since much of the searching out of scholarship that I have done has begun in footnotes of articles or books that I have been reading, this section seems particularly useful because it allows the interested reader a quick look at other studies produced by a particular author who has been mentioned in a note. The

scattering of scholarly work in Syriac studies over a broad array of scholarly venues, setting aside the difficulties inherent in the fact that many works are published in hard to reach places by small and sometimes defunct publishers, has meant that many works of great interest and usefulness have not been as widely noticed and mined as they have deserved. If this volume is made widely available, the under-utilization of Syriac scholarship may be lessened in the future.

The six appendices with which the volume closes are also likely to prove useful for Syriac scholars working beyond the bounds of the study of Ephrem. The editions of Vossius (Rome 1589-1598), Thwaites (Oxford 1709), Assemani (Rome 1732-1746), Overbeck (Oxford 1865), Lamy (Mecheln 1882-1902) and the Venice edition (1836) of the works of Ephrem in Armenian are all of interest to a broader range of students of early Syriac-speaking Christianity since they reflect the ideas of different periods about what works ought to be connected to the name of St. Ephrem. There are, thus, modern printed editions of a number of works that are no longer considered to be from the pen of Ephrem. Since these appendices list the individual works contained in these earlier editions by volume and page number, they make it much easier for modern scholars to identify particular printed texts before they search for electronic copies or request interlibrary loans. Since most of these large printed editions are not allowed (quite properly) out of the careful hands of librarians, it has often been necessary to travel physically to libraries that contain them before one can examine the individual works they contain. This practical difficulty may be much reduced by a judicious use of the appendices of this volume.

Another point arises out of the foregoing paragraph. In the central listing of the titles, den Biesen has made note of Internet locations for such works as he has been able to find in electronic form. This is the category of information that is likely to grow most quickly as more things become available online and as den Biesen, with the help of his readers, is able to discover more of these electronic offerings. Since I reside 3000 miles from the library of the institution at which I teach and since I find it difficult to tear myself away from the daily business of life to visit the libraries of institutions in the vicinity, I, myself, will find these notations of electronic offerings particularly time-saving and helpful. I do not think that I am alone in this.

Since the first edition of *An Annotated Bibliography of Ephrem the Syrian* appeared, Syriac scholars have been gladdened by the production by Hidemi Takahashi of *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography* (Gorgias Press 2005), and Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day* (Brill 2008), which includes Dirk Kruisheer's "A Bibliographical Clavis to the Works of Jacob of Edessa (Revised and Expanded)". David Michelson's "A Bibliographic Clavis to the Works of Philoxenos of Mabbug" appeared in *Hugoye* 13.2 (2010). Perhaps the ongoing publication by Gorgias Press of the modern printed texts of the works of Jacob of Serugh, with facing English translation, will encourage some scholar to undertake a parallel work dealing with that giant in Syriac culture. After that, we might hope for something similar on Isaac of Nineveh, or others. The broader interest in these writers, among others, that seems to be growing would be nurtured by easier access to materials of all kinds to aid inquirers. The usefulness and flexibility of this work, now happily appearing in a new and improved edition, only makes the lack of similar materials for other major authors more painful. All readers and lovers of Ephrem the Syrian must feel gratitude to Kees den Biesen for his continuing help to them.