

Contents



<i>Maps</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
<i>PART I: Simple Belief</i>	
CHAPTER 1: Theological Speculation and Theological Literacy	11
CHAPTER 2: The Simple and the Learned	46
<i>PART II: Consequences of Chalcedon</i>	
CHAPTER 3: ‘Confusion in the Land’	85
CHAPTER 4: Contested Truths	111
CHAPTER 5: Power in Heaven and on Earth	134
CHAPTER 6: Competition, Schools, and Qenneshre	160
CHAPTER 7: Education and Community Formation	181
<i>INTERLUDE: The Question of Continuity</i>	
CHAPTER 8: Continuities—Personal and Institutional	201
<i>PART III: Christians and Muslims</i>	
CHAPTER 9: A House with Many Mansions	225
CHAPTER 10: A Religion with a Thousand Faces	260
CHAPTER 11: Joining (and Leaving) a Muslim Minority	310
CHAPTER 12: Conversion and the Simple—The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same	353
CHAPTER 13: Finding Their Way—The Mosque in the Shadow of the Church	400

<i>PART IV: The Making of the Medieval Middle East</i>	
CHAPTER 14: Rubbing Shoulders—A Shared World	431
CONCLUSION: Dark Matter and the History of the Middle East	491
<i>Appendix I: Approaching the Sources</i>	505
<i>Appendix II: The ‘Arab’ Conquests</i>	525
<i>Abbreviations</i>	537
<i>Works Cited</i>	541
<i>Manuscripts Cited</i>	541
<i>Primary Sources I: In Manuscript</i>	541
<i>Primary Sources II: Texts and Translations</i>	543
<i>Primary Sources III: Collections and Other</i>	569
<i>Secondary Sources</i>	572
<i>Permissions</i>	621
<i>Index</i>	623

Introduction



This book is about the world the Arabs encountered when they conquered the Middle East in the mid-seventh century and the world those conquests created. The importance of the Arab conquests for the history of the Middle East and, indeed, for the history of the subsequent fourteen hundred years, needs no emphasis. Apart from the rise and triumph of Christianity, no other event in the first millennium rivals them in significance. A majority of the population of the world today is affected in profound ways, daily, by these two events.

For all its importance, however, this period has been remarkably resistant to the writing of a compelling and persuasive unified account that does equal justice to the religious landscape of the region and to its changes under both Roman and Arab rule. On the Roman side, one easily gets lost in a thicket of ecclesiastical labels and rarefied Greek theological terms. The fact that these terms, when rendered into Syriac—a dialect of Aramaic that served as the literary language for much of the Middle East’s Christian population at this time—might mean different things to different Christian confessions does not help matters, nor does the fact that many of the labels used to refer to various groups can be regarded as offensive. It is a period rich in historical importance but also abounding in opportunities for perplexity.

The appearance of Muslims on the scene adds another layer of potential confusion. The emergence of Islam along with its controversies and civil wars brings with it befuddling Arabic names, competing precedence claims, and tribal genealogical assertions and relations that seem, to the uninitiated, as arcane as they are apparently consequential. The Islamic tradition has left us remarkably detailed—even at times awkwardly intimate—information about the Prophet Muḥammad, and yet accounts of early Islamic history have frequently been mired in interminable and intractable debates about how much, if anything, we can believe of the traditional Muslim account of Islamic origins. More significant than this or that report about the Prophet’s behavior or activities are the bigger questions that haunt the field: Did the Qur’ān actually originate in Muḥammad’s lifetime, in Western Arabia? Can we even speak of ‘Islam’ as a phenomenon before the late seventh century?

In the last several decades, it has become increasingly common for scholars to attempt to bring together the late antique and early Islamic worlds.¹ In this

¹ The literature is increasingly vast and rich. See, e.g., A. al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam in Late Antiquity: Allāh and His People* (New York, 2014) and R. G. Hoyland, ed., *The Late Antique World of Early*

book, I will try to do this as well, but I hope to offer a slightly different approach from a number of previous attempts. I will proceed from a basic assumption that if we want to understand how Arab conquerors related to the traditions of the populations they conquered and, more specifically, how Christians and Muslims interacted with one another, we must first understand Christian-Christian interactions, for the Middle East, in the several centuries before the birth of the Prophet, witnessed the irreparable fracturing of its Christian community and the development of rival and competing churches.

Looking at intra-Christian relations in the late Roman period will take us to a still more antecedent question: What did most of the population of the Middle East actually make of the disputes that had so divided the Christian communities of the region and which fill the pages of manuals of church history? What did it mean to be a Christian for most people, and what importance was accorded to intra-Christian religious differences? These questions will lead us to a whole host of further questions. Was there a layering of knowledge that could be found in the Christian community—that is, did some members know more than others? The answer to this last question is obvious, but it leads to a further question whose answer is not so immediately clear: What were the consequences of such a layering?

In order to understand the world that the Arab conquests created, I want to suggest, we need to first understand the world they found. And to understand that world, we need to attempt to understand the religious attitudes and

Islam: Muslims among Christians and Jews in the East Mediterranean (Princeton, 2015), the latter one volume of more than two dozen that have been published in the landmark series, edited by Lawrence Conrad and Jens Scheiner, *Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*. G. Fowden, *Before and after Muhammad: The First Millennium* (Princeton, 2014), represented an ambitious attempt at reperiodization. H. Kennedy, 'Islam,' in G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar, *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1999), pp. 219–37, is a classic statement of the continuities and discontinuities between the late antique and Islamic periods. Av. Cameron, 'Patristic Studies and the Emergence of Islam,' in B. Bitton-Ashkelony, T. de Bruyn, and C. Harrison, eds., *Patristic Studies in the Twenty-First Century* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 249–78, provided an overview of attempts at viewing Islam within late antiquity and advocated greater integration of patristic and early Islamic studies. A. Borrut and F. M. Donner, eds., *Christians and Others in the Umayyad State* (Chicago, 2016), can be taken as representative of an increasingly prominent tendency among scholars to focus on non-Muslims in medieval Muslim empires. Decades before this trend picked up steam, of course, Peter Brown's *World of Late Antiquity* (London, 1971) had already set the rise of Islam firmly in the context of the later Roman world. The tendency to set the origins of Islam in the late antique period has been especially notable in Qur'anic studies. Among an abundance of publications, see, e.g., A. Neuwirth's, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike: ein europäischer Zugang* (Berlin, 2010); Neuwirth, 'Locating the Qur'an' and Early Islam in the "Epistemic Space" of Late Antiquity,' in C. Bakhos and M. Cook, eds., *Islam and Its Past: Jahiliyya, Late Antiquity, and the Qur'an* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 165–85; G. S. Reynolds, ed., *The Qur'an in Its Historical Context* (London/New York, 2008); Reynolds, ed., *New Perspectives on the Qur'an: The Qur'an in Its Historical Context 2*; and N. Schmidt, N. K. Schmidt, and A. Neuwirth, eds., *Denkraum Spätantike: Reflexionen von Antiken im Umfeld des Koran* (Wiesbaden, 2016).

behaviors of most of its inhabitants and how those attitudes and behaviors affected the leaders of the Christian churches. It is these leaders who have left us the texts we study in order to try to understand this world.

A great deal of this book will be an effort to put flesh on the unseen contexts that swirl around such texts. These contexts were there when the texts were written, but they escape our notice easily; once supplied, however, they cast many things into new light. The great majority of Christians in the Middle East, I will suggest in Part I of this book, belonged to what church leaders referred to as ‘the simple.’ They were overwhelmingly agrarian, mostly illiterate, and likely had little understanding of the theological complexities that split apart the Christian community in the region. ‘Simple’ here does not connote ‘simple-minded,’ as it might in some varieties of English, nor should it be understood as a category restricted to the laity: there were monks, priests, and even bishops who were simple believers. The men who wrote the texts we study lived their lives among these simple believers: they fed them and ate with them, they prayed with them and for them, they taught and healed them, and they had the responsibility of pastoral care for them. A key to understanding the world that the Arabs found is the recognition that it was overwhelmingly one of simple, ordinary Christians; and that it was a world fracturing into rival groups on the basis of disagreements that most of those Christians could not fully understand.

I will attempt to show how this paradox can help explain the shape that Middle Eastern Christianity had in the centuries after the Council of Chalcedon took place in AD 451 and before the Arab conquests covered in Part II of this book. There was, during this period, fierce competition for the loyalties of simple, everyday Christians among leaders of the various Christian movements in the Middle East. This competition helped fuel debates, the composition of polemics, the translation of texts, the creation of educational institutions, and the development of a Syriac-language syllabus of study (among Miaphysites) in the seventh century. In this regard, it might be helpful to recall the competition between Catholic and Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth-century Middle East and the educational consequences it had for the region, especially Lebanon.²

Because the question of continuity/discontinuity between the periods of Roman and Arab rule in the Middle East has been a topic of such great interest to so many, I will pause for a brief “Interlude” between Parts II and III to look at it more closely, focusing especially on the question of continuity when

² On Catholic-Protestant competition in the Middle East, see, e.g., the brief overview in A. de Dreuzy, *The Holy See and the Emergence of the Modern Middle East: Benedict XV’s Diplomacy in Greater Syria (1914–1922)* (Washington, D.C., 2016), pp. 218–21.

seen through the prism of Syriac sources and the unique non-imperial, non-state-centered perspective that they offer.³ The intense competition among religious elites for the allegiances of simple Christians led to a series of remarkable intellectual continuities in the Syriac-speaking world across the sixth to ninth centuries, a time that has traditionally been seen as one of great cultural rupture.

In Part III, I will arrive at the question of how Arab conquerors and settlers fit into the landscape sketched out in the first two sections of the book. Here, I will emphasize that when thinking about the history of the Middle East in the early period of Muslim rule, one needs to constantly supply another context often invisible in the Arabic texts we read about the period: that of the non-Muslims who formed the overwhelming demographic majority of the region for centuries after the Arab conquests. The Christian communities of the Middle East are the ones with which I am most familiar, and it is for this reason (as well as for reasons of space) that I have focused primarily on them rather than on Jews, Zoroastrians, or others; the story of how Muslims related to these other non-Muslim groups is an important one that I will leave to scholars more learned than I. Discussions of Christian-Muslim interaction have customarily focused on actual interactions—there is a rich body of scholarship that has located, classified, and analyzed instances of Christian-Muslim encounter⁴—but in Part III, I will attempt to look first at what ‘Christian’ and ‘Muslim’ meant in the seventh and eighth centuries before asking questions about how Christians and Muslims related to one another. As in Parts I and II, my focus will be on the level of the ordinary, simple believers who were the great mass of both Christians and Muslims living in the Middle East in the early medieval period.

Crucially, in this early period of Muslim rule, we also need to recognize that most of the Prophet’s notional followers, including many of the leaders of the early Muslim state, were people who had converted late in his life for apparently this-worldly reasons, often en masse. These late converts, many of whom rebelled against the leadership of the Prophet’s community after his death and had to be forced back into the fold by means of military violence, likely had little deep understanding of Muḥammad’s message or the full im-

³ Cf. the remarks in M. Debié and D.G.K. Taylor, ‘Syriac and Syro-Arabic Historical Writing, c. 500–c. 1400,’ in S. Foot and C. F. Robinson, eds., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 2: 400–1400 (Oxford, 2012), p. 156: ‘Syriac historiography is a rare example of non-étatist, non-imperial, history writing.’

⁴ Most notable perhaps are R. G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton, 1997) and the monumental series edited by David Thomas and others, *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographic History*, vols. 1–11 (Leiden/Boston, 2009–) (hereafter *CMR*).

plications of what it meant to belong to the religious community he founded. Indeed, those implications and Islam itself were still being worked out in this period. One of the keys to thinking about the earliest Christian-Muslim interactions, I will therefore suggest, is to keep in mind that we are dealing with a setting in which simple Christians were meeting late mass converts and their descendants, even as Islam itself was being elaborated as a full-fledged way of living in the world.

Keeping our focus on simple believers, Christian and Muslim, will also give us what I hope is a different perspective on the question of the gradual conversion from Christianity to Islam of much of the Middle East's population over the course of the Middle Ages. Whatever the social and economic benefits and consequences—and these often will have been significant—when viewed from the standpoint of ordinary religious believers, a conversion from Christianity to Islam may not have been as momentous, in religious terms, as one might expect. We are dealing with a world, I will suggest, in which one could become a Muslim and still hold on to many Christian practices and even beliefs.

Here an obvious but basic point should be emphasized. We should resist the easy assumption that the beliefs and practices of the contemporary Muslim (or Christian) population of the Middle East in an era of printing, satellite television, the Internet, and attempted universal public education will have been substantially similar to those of most of the medieval Muslim (or Christian) population of the region. We need to think away the ability of the state and religious institutions to use modern mass communication and education to create a uniformity of religious belief and understanding. As a useful analogy, it might be helpful to recall that '[e]ven in a country such as France, which had centuries-long traditions of political frontiers and where norms of proper usage had been developing for centuries, probably not much more than 50 percent of French men and women spoke French as their native language in 1900.'⁵ The understanding and practice of Islam by most medieval Middle Eastern Muslims will have been quite different from that of the literate, television-watching, Internet and social-media using Muslim population in the cities of the Middle East today.⁶ It will also have been different from the beliefs found expressed in the medieval texts we study. As is the case also with Christian writings of the late antique and early medieval periods, when it comes to Islamic religious documents, we need to learn to see the

⁵ P. J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, 2002), p. 31.

⁶ J. Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints: Everyday Religion in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (New York, 2014) is a very suggestive study. Though based in the late Ottoman period, Grehan's arguments about the nature of religious understanding and practice for most inhabitants of the Middle East could be applied to earlier periods as well.

invisible context of simple, ordinary adherents swirling around the things we read.

The question of the motivations, meaning, and consequences of conversion will be a major focus of Part III of this book. At the end of Part III, I will take up the question of how Muslims related to the religious traditions of the people they now ruled. This was a world where, very literally, the mosque was in the shadow of the church. Following Albrecht Noth, I will suggest that the precarious demographic and cultural situation that conquering Muslims found themselves in led to attempts, reflected in a variety of *ḥadīth*, to limit contact with Christians and Jews and discourage imitation of their behavior and religious practices. Alongside such attempts at proscription, however, can be set other putatively Prophetic utterances, which seemed to grant approval to seeking information from Christians and Jews. What is more, it is possible to identify various figures who did just this. Furthermore, scholars have long noted a variety of wide-ranging continuities between late antique Christian practices and later Muslim practices and beliefs.

Part IV takes up the question of the process by which this great host of late antique ideas, habits, and at times even texts, entered into what Patricia Crone termed ‘the bloodstream of Islam.’ The field of medieval Middle Eastern history is commonly understood to be Islamic history, an unspoken and sectarian conflation that relegates the non-Muslim population to what is usually, at best, the shadows of whatever image of the period we are given. Social history provides a key approach for recovering the role that non-Muslims played in making the world that scholars of the region in this period study. Moreover, the question of how Muslims related to the traditions of the religious communities they now found themselves ruling provides a vehicle for making the story of the Middle East under Muslim rule less overtly elitist and confessional—that is, one that focuses on more than just its hegemonic Muslim minority and concerns itself with all of the region’s inhabitants.

In attempting to tell this story, I have made use of a large number of sources, in various languages, and belonging to a variety of genres. In order to keep the book from becoming any longer than it already is, I have tried to keep issues of *Quellenkritik* to a minimum and have instead chosen to offer some reflections on my approach to the sources in Appendix I.

* * *

Much of what follows will be an attempt to tell the religious history of the late antique and medieval Middle East from perspectives that are typically not privileged or which are often traditionally ignored or relegated to some sort

of inferior status. Chronologically, my main focus will be roughly the years 500–1000, that is, from the era of Anastasius and Justinian in the post-Chalcedonian Roman Empire up to the pre-Crusader Abbasid period, but I will use evidence from other periods as well; geographically, I will concentrate on the Fertile Crescent—Syria, Palestine, and Iraq—but other regions, most notably Egypt, will also appear. Before the Arab conquests, my main emphasis will be on the simple, uneducated Christian and how he or she related to the theological debates that occupied the leaders of their church. I will focus on the Aramaic-speaking Christian population of the Middle East, not just those authors who wrote in Greek. In the period of Muslim rule, I will be particularly interested in the Christian population of the Middle East, the population which must have been a large majority in much of the region but whose existence and importance often silently vanishes after the conquests.

The result of pushing these perspectives from the margins toward the center will be, I hope, a narrative that subverts deeply ingrained tendencies in the historiography of this period. This book has two fundamental goals: first, to argue against adopting a heavily theological understanding of the Christian communities in the post-Chalcedonian Middle East as well as against a strongly doctrinally focused understanding of Christian-Muslim interactions. And second, to de-center Islam within medieval Middle Eastern history and de-sectarianize the subject by undermining the common understanding that the history of the medieval Middle East is synonymous with the problems and questions of Islamic history. If modern European historians now commonly speak of ‘transnational histories,’ historians of the medieval Middle East should strive for ‘transconfessional histories’ that explicitly reject the unstated millet system which has traditionally governed how the field has operated, a system that gives Islam, a minority religion, pride of place in the region’s medieval history and dissertations focused on Islamic topics distinct preference in hiring decisions for academic positions. Apart from distorting contemporary understandings—both in the Middle East and in the West—of the role and importance of non-Muslims in the history of the medieval Middle East, this historiographic millet system distorts how we view medieval Islam itself. For properly understanding the Middle East’s politically dominant medieval Muslim population requires understanding that it is precisely that: a hegemonic minority whose members were descended from non-Muslim converts, one which elaborated and articulated its positions on a host of issues in conversation and competition with the non-Muslims whom they ruled over, lived alongside of, were frequently related to, and often explicitly defined themselves against ideologically. Another challenge should be kept in mind as well: the East Roman Empire, an overt and thoroughgoing Christian state, represented the chief

ideological, political, and military rival of the state governed by Muḥammad's successors in the centuries after his death. Both internally and externally, non-Muslims were competitors, and they were seen as such.

This book ultimately represents an attempt at writing a nonelitist, desecularized religious history of the late Roman and early medieval Middle East, one that takes seriously the existence of a layering or continuum of knowledge and engagement in religious communities and which is concerned with the lived religious experience of all the region's inhabitants, not just that of select members of politically hegemonic groups. Scholars have written many erudite books and articles about learned Christians, Jews, and Muslims in this period. But these were figures who would have constituted a fraction of their respective communities. What happens if we ask about everyone else?

Index



- Aaron of Gisra, 206n27
Aba Isaiah, 187
Abān b. ‘Uthmān, 291, 425
‘Abbās b. ‘Alī, 279
‘Abd Allāh, 273, 280, 327
‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās b. al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘, 470
‘Abd Allāh b. Abi Rabī‘a, 488
‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, 416, 475–76
‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Awn b. Arṭabān, 458
‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥayrīz, 457–58
‘Abd Allāh b. Salām, 415–16, 476
‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥanzāla, 281
‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, 275, 307–8, 351
‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya, 286
‘Abd al-‘Azīz, 12n4, 443n63
‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān, 381–82, 458
‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Anṣārī, 444n66
Abd al-Karīm b. Abī Mu‘āwiya, 384
‘Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl, 281
‘Abd al-Malik: confessional competition and, 163; minority status of Islam and, 401; Muslim believing and, 271n40, 293, 294, 303; Muslim/non-Muslim relations and, 443n63, 489; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, Muslim interest in, 369, 378, 383–84, 385
‘Abd al-Raḥmān, 439
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Hurayra, 277
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanm b. Sa‘d al-Ash‘arī, 274
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 279
‘Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Amālī fī āthār al-Ṣaḥāba*, 481n241
‘Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaḥ*: on apostasy from Islam, 332n90, 334n93, 334nn98–99, 335nn100–104, 339n121; on food of non-Muslims, 351n169; on intermarriage, 439nn44–45, 444n66, 447nn80–81, 448nn82–84; minority status of Islam and, 382, 407n34, 412n53, 413n57, 415nn66–67, 426n120; on Muslim believing, 225n1, 273nn44–46, 276n60, 277n64, 280n80, 283n99, 287n107; on Muslim/non-Muslim relations, 432n5, 457, 458n131, 461n141, 466n172, 488n277; Resurrection, on precedence of Muslims over Christians and Jews at, 403n17; as source, 520, 523
‘Abdā b. Ḥanīf, 369
‘Abdīsho‘ bar Brikha: *Mēmra on Ecclesiastical Books*, 115n22, 120n53, 179n98, 208; *Nomocanon*, 20, 238n50
Abgar of Edessa, 35n97, 370n58, 506, 507
Abhala al-‘Anṣī (al-Aswad al-‘Anṣī), 266
‘Abīda b. Qays, 298
Abraham the Hermit, 512n24
Abraham of Kashkar, 106n77, 146n39
Abraham bar Kaylī, 59–60
Abraham of Nathpar, 106n77
Abraham the Priest, *History of Rabban Bar ‘Ida*, 187n33
Abraham the Ṭayyāyā, 529
‘Abū ‘Abd Allāh, 321
Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Murābīṭ, 349n159
Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arri, 316–17, 318, 464
Abū ‘Alī b. Hārūn al-Rashīd, 470
Abū ‘Alī b. Zur‘a, 487
Abū Bakr, 268, 293
Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *Kitāb farḍ ṭalab al-‘ilm*, 160n1
Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 405n27, 426n120, 452n108, 461n143, 523
Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī: *Kitāb adab al-ghurabā’*, 466, 469n181; *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 267–68nn27–28, 267n25, 276n62, 280n85, 338–39, 450, 465
Abū al-Ḥārith, 253n83
Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Ubayd, 344
Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣā’ir wa-l-dhakhā’ir*, 489n287
Abū Ḥudhayfa, 408
Abū Hurayra, 300, 416, 461n143
Abū al-Jald al-Jawnī, 417, 418
Abū Lu‘lu‘a, 435n28
Abū al-Makārim, *Ta’rikh al-kanā’is wa-l-adyira*, 381n101, 491, 501n26
Abū Ma‘shar, 484
Abū Mu‘āwiya, 384
Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, 334
Abū Namla, 414

- Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā’ wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā’*, 424, 462–63nn146–147
- Abū Rā’iṭa al-Takrītī, Ḥabīb b. Khidma: *Fī ithbāt dīn al-Naṣrāniyya wa-ithbāt al-thālūth al-muqaddas*, 312–13; *Min qawl Abī Rā’iṭa al-Takrītī*, 54
- Abū Sufyān, 267–68, 269, 301–2, 303
- Abū Tammām, 345
- Abū Tha‘laba al-Khushanī, 351
- Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Kitāb faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*, 292n126
- Abū ‘Ubayda, 409
- Abū ‘Umar Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahīd al-Zahid al-Muṭarriz al-Warrāq al-Bāwārdī, *Fī faḍā’il Mu‘āwiya*, 304n174
- Abū Wā’il, 447
- Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, 326n67, 330, 434
- Abū Zubayd, 279, 467
- Addai (Apostle), sent by Jesus to heal Agbar of Edessa, 370n58; *Teaching of Addai (Doctrina Addai)*, 16–17, 35n97, 52n29, 181–82n2, 368n48, 412n52.
- Addai (priest and correspondent of Jacob of Edessa), 92n25, 512; Jacob of Edessa, *Further Questions which the Priest Addai Asked*, 96n39, 374n74, 460n138. *See also* Jacob of Edessa, *Questions Which Addai the Priest and Lover of Labors Asked Jacob, the Bishop of Edessa*
- ‘Adi b. Zayd, 226–27, 468
- Adomnan of Iona, *De locis sanctis*, 306
- Afrām Būlus, p. 172n64
- Agathon (Miaphysite patriarch of Alexandria), 480
- Aḥā (bishop of lower Peroz Shapur ‘and of the Arab people of the Namarayē’), 530
- Ahl al-Dhimma*, 427
- Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 321, 371, 445, 447, 448–49, 452
- Ahmed, Shahab, 289
- ‘Ā’isha, 290–91, 300–301
- Aitilaha of Nineveh, 193
- al-Akḥṭal (poet), 378, 433
- alcohol, Muslim consumption of, 278–87, 464–71
- ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 225, 263n9, 273, 279n75, 290, 302, 322, 307, 333–35, 378n86, 433, 439
- ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, 279
- ‘Alī al-Ṭabarī, *Response to the Christians*, 319
- Allison, D. C., Jr., 508n12, 509n14
- Ambrose of Milan, 69n91, 72; *On the Sacraments*, 70–71
- ‘Āmir b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Qays, 383, 418
- ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, 269, 270n39, 366n41
- ‘Amr b. Dinār, 299
- ‘Amr b. al-Ḍurays al-Asadī, 351
- ‘Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, 269n32
- ‘Amr b. Ma’dikarib, 267, 308
- ‘Amr b. Mattā, *Akhbār faḍārikat kursī al-mashriq*, 163n14, 163nn10–11, 168n38, 450n95
- Ananias of Shirak, 487
- Anastasius of Alexandria, 114n15
- Anastasius of Sinai: *Capita vi* and *xvi contra Monotheletas*, 114n18; on captives, 488; on Chalcedonian controversy, 62–63, 67; on conversion to Islam, 393; disputing doctrinal differences, 114, 118, 122; on Dome of the Rock, 383–84; Eucharist’s power to ward off demons and, 143–44; *Homilia de sacra synaxi*, 22n47; *Homily on Psalm 6*, 114–15n20; *Narrations Beneficial for the Soul*, 143–44nn27–32, 149n50, 155n76, 335–36, 360, 372, 384n116, 393n153, 488; orthodoxy and heresy, concepts of, 249; *Questions and Answers*, 46, 73n71, 105, 109n83, 122n66, 177n90, 371–72, 441n52, 482n242; on responding to heretics, 177; on reversions from Islam, 335–36; on sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, 149, 371–72
- Andrae, Tor, 225
- Anonymous Rules for the Monks*, 27n66
- St. Anthony (of Egypt), 35, 411n49
- Anthony of Rawḥ (Rawḥ al-Qurashī), 372–73
- Anthropomorphites, 51–52
- Anton of Tikrit, 189
- anxiety of influence, 405–11
- Aphrahat, *Demonstrations*, 245–46, 248
- Apocalypse of John the Little*, 478
- Apollinarians, 13n7, 124
- aporetic style of theological questioning, 358–59, 421
- apostasy from Islam, 332–37; after death of Muḥammad, 265–66, 267; Christian responses to, 335–37; code-switching, 455; conversion of Muslims to Christianity, 338–40; intermarriage, children of, 442; investigated by Muḥammad, 276; Muslim responses to, 332–35; Wars of Apostasy, 265, 267, 339
- Apostolic Church Order*, 32n84
- Apostolic Constitutions*, 32n84

- apotropaism. *See* magic and apotropaic practices
- Aqaq (East Syrian catholicos), 113
- al-Aqra', 416
- Arab conquests, 1–2, 60n60, 162–64, 173, 221, 228, 307–8, 525–31
- Arculf (Anglo-Saxon bishop), 305–6
- 'Arib b. Sa'd, *Ṣilat ta'rikh al-Ṭabarī*, 380
- Aristotle: *Categories*, 86, 189, 190, 208n33, 209n41; in educational curriculum, 188–89, 190–91; *On Interpretation*, 189, 191, 193; *Poetics*, 189, 190, 191, 212; *Prior Analytics*, 189, 191, 193; *Rhetoric*, 189, 190, 191, 212; *Sophistical Refutations*, 189, 191, 208n32, 212; *Topics*, 189, 191, 212, 527
- Arius and Arians, 29–31, 38, 60n62, 66, 116, 212, 370n58
- Armenians, disputing doctrinal differences, 122, 129–30
- Arnold, T. W., 266n21
- asceticism, Muslim and Christian, 423–24, 462–64, 473–74
- Asclepius of Edessa, 59, 65
- A'shā (poet), 465
- al-Ash'ath b. Qays, 448
- Assyrian Orthodox, 13n9
- astrology, Christian belief in/use of, 228–30, 232, 233–34
- al-Aswad al-'Anṣī (Abhala al-'Anṣī), 266
- 'Aṭā' b. Abi Rabāh, 466
- Aṭfar (Ghassanid ruler), 526
- Athanasius bar Gummaye, 34n96, 443n63
- Athanasius I Gamolo ('the Camel Driver'; Miaphysite patriarch): on Arabs, 530; confessional competition and, 171, 174, 175; continuity/discontinuity of culture and, 204–5, 216; disputing doctrinal differences, 114n15; on education, 184, 186; elite background in Samosata, 204; on simple versus learned believers, 47, 48
- Athanasius II of Balad (Miaphysite patriarch): Christian believing and doctrinal systems of, 226; confessional competition and, 171, 172n61, 174, 175; education and, 189, 191, 194; on intermarriage, 439–40, 441; intra-Christian reading of translations of, 208, 210, 211; *Letter on Eating the Sacrifices of the Hagarenes*, 103; orthodoxy and heresy, concepts of, 249; person-to-person chain of continuity through, 202–4; possible identity with Athanasius of Nisibis, 175n83
- Athanasius III (Miaphysite patriarch), 416
- Athanasius of Alexandria: on accommodation of Christianity to simple believers, 70–71; disputed authorship of *Ad Iouianum*, 13n7; education and, 188, 190; *Epistle to the Monks*, 50n22; intra-Christian reading of, 212; Jacob of Edessa on consulting, 188; *Life of Anthony*, 35n98, 411n49; *Orations against Arians*, 50n22; *Orations against the Arians*, 49n13
- Athanasius of Nisibis, 175; possible identity with Athanasius II of Balad, 175n83
- Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 49n12
- Augustine, 18–19, 21, 35, 69n91, 310; *On Catechizing the Uninstructed*, 20–21, 72n100; *Confessions*, 69n91
- Aws b. Khālid b. Yazid, 268, 307
- al-Awzā'i, 448, 456
- Ayyūb b. Shurahbil, 281, 467
- al-Azdī, *Ta'rikh futūh al-shām*, 275–76, 409
- Baalbek, pagan temple in, 401–2n8
- Babai of Gebilta, 168
- Babai the Great: as confessional champion, 118; *History of George the Priest*, 14n11, 107n81, 117, 125n70, 156, 178, 187, 229n14
- Bacchus the Younger (martyr), 453–55
- Badr al-Rashid, 471; *Alfāz al-kufr*, 409–10n44
- Bajāla b. 'Abada, 274
- al-Bakri, *Mu'jam mā istajama min asmā' al-bilād wa-al-mawādī'*, 462n145, 470
- al-Balādhuri: *Anṣāb al-ashraf*, 443n62; *Kitāb futūh al-buldān*, 264–65n13, 425n116, 433n15, 434, 443n63
- Balsamon, 376, 443–44
- baptism, 144–45, 146, 152, 156, 245–46, 375–76
- Bar Bahlūl, *Lexicon*, 208
- Bar Hebraeus, 27n66; *Book of the Dove*, 118n37; *Nomocanon*, 95n34, 103n63, 184, 185, 188–92, 195–96
- Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*: on Arabs, 529n34, 530n45; on confessional competition, 163n14, 166, 167n35, 168n38, 171n58, 172n59, 172n61; continuity/discontinuity of culture and, 202n3, 206nn24–26, 217n69; on disputing doctrinal differences, 116n27, 358–59; on education, 194n79; on intra-Christian relations, 85n3; on literacy and simple belief, 34n92, 58n51, 65n80; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, Muslim interest in, 271n40; on violence used to establish Islam, 271n40

- Bar Isho', 529n32
Bar Ṣalibī, 188
Bar Ta'lē, 234
barbarianism, Jacob of Edessa on, 87
Bardaisan, 38–39
Barhadshabba, 39, 128–29; *The Cause of the Foundation of the Schools*, 39n117; *Ecclesiastical History*, 39n118, 186n29
Barṣawmā, *vita* of, 59, 121n59, 122n62
Barṣawmā of Susa, 104
Barth, Karl, *Church Dogmatics*, 260
Bashshār b. Burd, 435
Basil of Caesarea, 50nn21–22, 70–71, 187, 188, 190, 192; *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*, 71n97, 188, 190, 192
Basra, as garrison city, 432
al-Baṭīn (poet), 397n164
Batinić, Jeléna, 518
Bawit graffito, 386
Baybars (caliph), 355; 495n10
Beck, Hans-Georg, 114n18
Benjamin I (Miaphysite patriarch), 366n41
Berg, Herbert, 519
Bishr b. Marwān, 384
Bishr b. Rabī'a, 307
Black Death, 340–41n123, 495n10
Book of the Tower, 420. *See also* 'Amr b. Mattā, *Akhbār faṭārikat kursī al-mashriq* and Ṣalibā, *Akhbār faṭārikat kursī al-mashriq*
Boughton, Humphrey, 517
Brock, Sebastian, 42n131, 120n57, 307
Brown, Peter, 32n86, 235n41, 298n147
Brunschvig, Robert, 487n275
al-Bukhārī, on Arabs, 523; *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*: on intermarriage, 438n48; *Kitāb al-ta'rikh al-kabīr*, 474n200; minority status of early Islam and, 400n1, 403n16, 404n21, 405n29, 406n32, 410n45, 413n58, 413n61, 416n76, 427n131; Muslim believing and, 267n23; on Muslim/non-Muslim relations, 458n131; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, Muslim interest in, 377n80
Bulliet, Richard, 320, 342–46, 353
Bultmann, Rudolf, 507n11
Burchard of Mt. Zion, *Description of the Holy Land*, 491–93
burials. *See* funeral rites
Burke, Peter, 97n42

Caesarius of Arles, 21n45
Caetani, Leone, 267n22
Calvin, John, 68n85

Cameron, Averil, 114
captives and Muslim/non-Muslim relations, 477–90
Carpenter, H. J., 24n53
Carter, H. J., 260
Cassian. *See* John Cassian
Cassin, Mathieu, 30
Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 491
Chalcedon, Council of (451), 12, 31, 32, 41, 60, 530
Chalcedonianian controversy: choosing sides in, 58–67; educational consequences of, 180; miraculous claims regarding, 65–67; simple versus learned believers and, 58–67, 75–81; 'trials by fire' in, 63–65. *See also* disputing doctrinal differences; intra-Christian relations; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, after Chalcedon
Chalcedonians: accommodating Christianity to simple believers, 73; awareness/obviousness of confessional differences, 106–7; confessional boundaries, maintaining, 158; confessional competition and, 165–66, 179; debates with other Christian churches, 12n4; Greco-Syriac bilingual centers for, 216–17n66; intra-Christian relations, 91–106; Miaphysite treatment of Eucharist of, 373–74n73; simple versus learned and allegiance to, 58–67; split between Monothelites and Dyothelites, 13; theological position of, 12
Chaldeans, 13n9, 117
Chapters Written by the Easterners, 107–8n82
Christian believing, 225–59; clerical manpower shortages and, 236–43; as commitment to and belief in power of shared symbols and rituals, 254–57; doctrinal position versus daily belief and practice, 234–36; heresy and orthodoxy, concepts of, 247–53, 256–57; minimum knowledge requirements for, 160; Muslim believing compared, 276; in rural areas, 241–44; simple versus learned believers, 253–59; spectrum of, 243–46; wide range of popular belief, 226–34
Christianity: anxiety of influence in, 4–5n26; apostasy from Islam after conversion, 332–37; captives and slaves spreading, 483; church attendance and behavior, 21, 22n47; covenants, Jacob of Edessa defining Christianity as series of, 87–88; falsification of scriptures and, 414; map of core regions of

- Syriac Christianity, *xii*; minority status of Islam and, 400–428 (*see also* minority religion, Islam as); pagan practices adapted by, 427; proper belief and proper action, Jacob of Edessa defining Christianity as, 90–91; simplicity in, 47–52; social interactions with non-Christians, concerns about, 411–12; sources for, 509–18; splintering into separate churches, 11–14; terminology for different groups, 13–14n9; texts, non-Christian, reading of, 412; theological speculation in, 11–15; transformation into minority religion, *xiii–xiv*, 5–6, 311, 339–48, 398. *See also* confessional competition; conversion; disputing doctrinal differences; education; intra-Christian relations; Muslim/non-Muslim relations; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects; simple versus learned believers; *specific churches*
- Chronicle of Seert*: on captives, 482–83; on Christian believing, 229n12, 230n21, 232; on confessional competition, 164n16, 164n22; on conversion, 310; on disputing doctrinal differences, 116n26, 116n28, 118n39, 120n51, 120n53, 122, 125–26nn73–75; on education, 169n41; on intra-Christian relations, 106n77; on literacy, 14n11; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, Muslim interest in, 369nn52–54, 370n58; on sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, after Chalcedon, 137n10, 146n39, 155–56n77, 373n73; on the simple and the learned, 48n9, 64n76
- Chronicle of Zuqnin*. *See* *Zuqnin Chronicle*
- Chronicle to 724*, 173, 485n257
- Chronicle to 816*, 47
- Chronicle to 819*, 118n40
- Chronicle to 846*, 39n116, 59n57, 385n128
- Chronicle to 1234*, 104n69, 324
- church councils and synods. *See specific councils and synods*, e.g. Ephesus, Second Council of
- Church of the East: clerical shortages, 237–38; confessional boundaries, maintaining, 158; confessional competition and, 179; debates with other Christian churches, 12n3; disputes within, 14; doctrinal requirements of, 78; Julianists converting to, 100–101, 123–24; theological position of, 13
- churches (as physical structures): garrison cities, destruction in, 432, 433; Muslim interest in, 380–86, 463; Muslim religious competition and, 402–3; turned into mosques/architectural influence on mosques, 424–26
- clappers (*nāqūs*), used by Christians, 145, 403, 406–7, 450
- Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 414n63
- Clementine Octateuch*, 88n15
- clergy: confessional boundaries, maintaining, 158; inappropriate activities of, 226, 229, 230–31, 232–33; intra-Christian sacraments and church rituals, participation in, 93–94, 101–5; literacy of, 22–23, 31–35; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, as gatekeepers of, 154–55; shortages of, 34, 102, 236–43. *See also* education
- code-switching, 97, 455
- Codex Justinianus*, 29n73, 97, 124n69, 481n237
- Codex Syriacus I, 65n78
- coinage, Muslim, 293–95, 304n173, 379, 401
- Communion. *See* Eucharist
- Companions to the Prophet, 267, 277, 279, 280n30, 298, 299, 300n153, 301n156, 305, 306, 351, 410, 415, 439n43, 443, 446, 520
- competition, confessional (intra-Christian). *See* confessional competition
- competition, religious (of Muslims with Christians and Jews), 400–405
- confessional competition (intra-Christian), 160–80; education, need for, 167–69, 176–80; emperor and empire in, 79, 162; existence of, 160–67; logic, study of, 176–77n87; Qenneshre, foundation of, 169–76; schools, establishment of, 167–69, 176; texts, fueling production of, 176–77
- confessional entrepreneurs, 225
- conjoined twins, 372
- Conon of Tarsus, 116
- Constans II (emperor), 104, 322n44; *Typos*, 162
- Constantine I (emperor), 271, 294, 310
- Constantine V (emperor), 485–86
- Constantine of Harran, 42
- Constantinople, First Council of (381), 31
- Constantinople, Third Council of (680–681), 11, 12
- continuity/discontinuity in medieval Middle East, 3–4, 201–21; Arab transmission of late Roman learning, 201, 202, 207; culture and, 219–21; institutional continuity through Qenneshre, 202, 205–9; intra-Christian and inter-faith reading and scholarship, 207–15; monasteries as *loci* of, 216–18; as person-to-person chain, 202–5;

- continuity/discontinuity in medieval Middle East (*cont.*)
radical discontinuity due to coming of Islam, questioning historical assumptions about, 491–97, 501–2, 503–4; of *Romanitas*, 215–18; state, role of, 201–2
- conversion: of Christians to Judaism, 97–98, 215; of Jews to Christianity, 67n84, 125, 310; of Muslims to Christianity, 338–40; of pagans to Christianity, 73, 205, 257–58, 310; of Zoroastrians to Christianity, 185, 186–87
- conversion, intra-Christian: competition, confessional, 160–67; by disputing doctrinal differences, 125–26; frequency of, 97–101; intellectually-motivated, 67n84; of Julianists to Church of the East, 100–101, 123–24; of Philoxenus of Mabbug, 67n84; reception of excommunicated heretics, 95; Timothy II Aelurus on, 76–77
- conversion to Islam, 6, 310–52; changing reasons over time, 318–20; Christian anxiety about, 360–61; code-switching, 455; conflict with leaders of one's own religious community, due to, 315n14; contemporary hostile explanations of, 312–18; doctrine versus practice in understanding religious landscape of, 389–94; economic incentives, 320–32; family concerns and, 347–48; forced, 355, 393, 443; hypocritical, insincere, or non-religiously motivated, 270–71, 313–18; individuals resisting, 392–93; intellectually-motivated, 311; late/mass conversions in first stages, 4–5, 263–72, 301–8; Muslim polemical literature aimed at Christians, 319–20; Muslim/non-Muslim relations and, 473–77; names as indication of, 343–46; political power, significance of, 348–50; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects for, 386–89; shallow roots of Christianity in rural Syria and, 241; for simple believers, 259, 352, 353–59, 386–89; transformation of Christianity into minority religion in Middle East, xiii–xiv, 5–6, 311, 339–48, 398. *See also* apostasy from Islam
- Cook, Michael, 266n20, 421–22
- Cosmas (teacher of John Damascene), 221, 486
- Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christian Topography*, 209n41
- councils and synods. *See specific councils and synods, e.g.* Ephesus, Second Council of
- courts, Islamic, non-Muslim use of, 461n141
- covenants, Christianity defined as series of, by Jacob of Edessa, 87–88
- Crone, Patricia, 6, 323n50, 350, 427, 435, 519, 521n64, 522
- Cross, Muslim treatment of, 376–80
- Crossan, John Dominic, 507–8n11
- Cyriacus (patriarch), 94, 103, 173n69, 231
- Cyriacus (periodeute), 183
- Cyriacus of Amid, 47, 55n41
- Cyriacus of Kalamon, 65–66, 162
- Cyril of Alexandria: Christian believing and, 239; Christian literacy and, 11, 12–13n7, 37n104, 38; *Contra Julianum*, 219; disputing doctrinal differences, 110, 132; education and, 188, 190, 192; on simple versus learned believers, 56n44, 56n47
- Cyril of Scythopolis: *Life of Euthymius*, 43n135, 96n38; *Life of Sabas*, 257n93
- Cyrrillona, *On the Scourges*, 137–38
- Cyrus (Chalcedonian bishop of Edessa), 34
- al-Dabte, Yousef, 170n44, 207n29
- Dadisho', Synod of (424), 48n5, 527
- al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, 332–33
- Damian of Alexandria, 47, 172n63
- Daniel of Salah, 113n13
- al-Dānī, 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd, *Kitāb al-muqni' fī rasm maṣāḥif al-amṣār ma'a kitāb al-nuqaṭ*, 291
- Dathan and Abiram, 28, 151
- David (East Syrian bishop of the Kurdish Tribes), 15n13
- David bar Paulos, 167–168, 209n40
- Dāwūd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 443n62
- Dāwūd b. Marwān (Muqammis), 67n84
- Defoe, Daniel, 109n84
- Denhā (Miaphysite writer), 85n3; *Life of Marutha*, 26, 167, 178, 179, 184n18, 433n9, 480
- Destruction of churches and monasteries, 166, 206, 306, 340, 384, 432–433, 450n93, 495n10
- Destruction of texts. *See* lost/destroyed writings
- al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, 416n71
- dhimmīs*: *Ahl al-Dhimma*, 427; dress rules for, 406, 409; *jizya* (poll tax) on, 321–31, 332, 434; Pact of 'Umar and, 338, 345, 347, 380–81, 404, 406, 409, 410, 452; Ṣābi'ūn, 295–96; state-sponsored violence against and persecution of, 340, 346, 355; wine taken into Muslim garrison cities by, 282,

- 287, 432; *zunnār* worn by, 409n44, 449, 471
- Dhū al-Tāj Laqīṭ b. Mālik, 266
- Diodore of Tarsus, 26n63, 38n111, 104n70, 107n81, 197n90, 239
- Dionysius of Alexandria, 412
- Dionysius of Athens (Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite), 188, 189, 192, 195, 210, 212
- Dionysius bar Salibi, *Against the Melkites*, 63n71, 179n99
- Dionysius of Tell Mahre, 171, 173n69, 195, 206, 217, 239, 365n36
- Dioscorus, 59n55; Ps.-Theopistus, *History of Dioscorus*, 96n38, 104n70, 132n94
- diptychs, 38, 47, 60
- discontinuity. *See* continuity/discontinuity in medieval Middle East
- Disputation between John and the Emir*, 117n33, 319n31
- Disputation of Sergius the Stylite against a Jew*, 251n78
- Dispute between a Muslim and a Monk of Bēt Hālē*, 74, 349n159
- disputing doctrinal differences, 111–33; aporetic style of theological questioning, 358–59; bilingual nature of, 113–15; confessional champions and, 117–20; culture of debate, 112; with Jews and pagans, 131; letters reflecting confessional discussions, 126–30; *majlis*-encounter literature, 235–36; Muslim leaders' involvement in intra-Christian debate, 12, 111, 161–62, 306; between Muslims and Christians, 235–36, 357–59; oral disputes, 115–17; spectrum of levels of engagement and understanding, 123–26, 131–32; success stories as weapons in, 120–23, 132–33; with violence, 111, 131; written disputes, 113–15. *See also* polemical literature
- divinatory practices: Christians using, 229–32; Muslims using, 273–74
- divine accommodation, doctrine of, 68, 69
- doctors, medical, 71n95, 97, 208, 218, 238, 274, 280n84, 317n23, 370, 381n99, 401, 432, 443n62, 482, 486–87, 507
- Doctrina Addai (Teaching of Addai)*, 16–17, 35n97, 52n29, 181–82n2, 368n48, 412n52
- Doctrina Jacobi Nuper Baptizati*, 293n129
- Doctrina Patrum*, 114n15
- doctrine: in Christian believing, 234–36; conversion to Islam, understanding religious landscape of, 389–94; inadequacy of doctrinal approach to Muslim/non-Muslim relations, 353–54, 357; simple believers, doctrinal requirements for, 75–79. *See also* disputing doctrinal differences
- Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, 293–95, 383–84, 402–3, 409, 424
- Donatists, 34, 451
- Donner, Fred, 272n41, 278n69, 308n185
- dress rules, 406, 409–10
- Drijvers, Hans, 88n15, 89–90n19
- '*d-surāde*,' 229–30
- Duncan-Jones, Richard P., 15–16n16
- Dyotheletes, 13, 111n1, 485, 497n15
- East Syrians, 13n9, 179
- Ecumenical councils, 11. *See also specific councils and synods*, e.g. Ephesus, Second Council of
- ecumenical or interfaith view of early Muslim attitudes to Christianity, 363, 394–97
- Edessa, as cultural center, 217–18
- education, Christian, 35–43, 181–98; confessional boundaries, establishing, 158–59; confessional competition and, 167–69, 176–80; confessional distinctions in, 187–92, 197; curriculum, 192–97; Gregory Nazianzen, on theological instruction, 28; in liturgy, 36–38; logic, study of, 176–77n87; Miaphysite Syriac-language syllabus of study, 3, 188–92, 195–97; music and hymnody, 38–39; as oral phenomenon, 35–36; path of study, in *Life of Simeon of the Olives*, 181–85; person-to-person chain of continuity in, 202–5; in rural areas, 39–41; subjects studied, 185–87. *See also* Qenneshre
- education, Muslim: catechetical deficits, countermeasures to, 274–77; Christians teaching Muslim children, 443–44, 452
- Elia, *Apologetic Letter* to Leo of Harran, 42n132, 115n20, 127n80
- Elia bar Gufna, 118
- Elias, *Life of John of Tella*, 58–59, 183n14
- Elias bar Shinaya, *Chronography*, 208, 377n84
- Elias of Heliopolis, 335n100, 336–37
- Elisha (East Syrian catholicos), 209n41
- el-Leithy, Tamer, 342
- emperor and empire: choosing sides in theological controversies and, 59–60; confessional competition and, 79, 162; continuity/discontinuity in medieval Middle East and, 201–2. *See also specific emperors*

- end times: confessional chaos and confusion in, 88–90; as final covenant, Jacob of Edessa on, 88; literacy in, 17, 35n97
- entrepreneurs, confessional, 225
- Ephesus, First Council of (431), 12, 205
- Ephesus, Second Council of (449), 12, 37n109, 531n51
- Ephrem of Antioch, 59–60, 64
- Ephrem of Elam, 497n15
- Ephrem the Syrian, 38, 188, 192–93; *Commentary on the Diatessaron*, 46; *Life of Ephrem*, 412
- Epiphanius: heresiological writing of, 248n75; *Treatise on Weight and Measures*, 175–76
- Erechthius of Antioch of Pisidia, 188, 190
- Eubulus of Lystra, *Against Athanasius, the Pseudo-Bishop of the Severans*, 114n15
- Eucharist: administration of, 153; apotropaic powers of, 140–44; childbirth and restriction of access to, 153, 251–52; clerical shortages and, 237; common Christian believing in, 254, 255; community formation, as power for, 134–35, 158; cutting people off from, 137, 156–59; for dead persons, 141; frequency of taking, 134n1; human needs and concerns addressed by, 137–40; importance of proper celebration of, 162; Miaphysite treatment of Chalcedonian Eucharist, 373–74n73; Muslim interest in, 371–74, 387; as paradigmatic rite, 144; relics of saints and, 141–42; rival Christian groups, taking communion with, 93–94, 102–5; treatment of vessels and other objects used to officiate it, 149–53; wine associated with, 466
- Eugene of Seleucia, 116
- Eulogius (monk), 513n27
- Euphrasius of Antioch, 60, 65
- Eusebius of Caesarea: *Apologia* for Origen, 213; *Chronicon*, 230n21; *History of the Martyrs of Palestine*, 343n134; *Preparatio Evangelica*, 49n11, 219
- Eusebius of Emesa, 234n38
- Eustathius the Great, 212
- Eustathius of the Saracens, 530
- Euthymius, 43n135, 96n38
- Eutyches and Eutychiens, 56n44, 66, 113, 119n45, 124
- Evagrius Ponticus, 187
- executors of wills, interfaith, 447–48
- al-Faḍl b. Marwān, 316
- al-Fārābī, 202, 207, 220
- al-Farazdaq, 450
- Farqad al-Sabakhī, 424, 473–74
- fasting, differentiation of, 408
- festivals and feast days, Christian, 467–73
- Fisher, Greg, 530n50
- florilegia*, 113
- food, Muslims and Christians sharing, 351, 366, 440n47, 458
- fortune-telling, Christian, 231–32
- Forty Martyrs of Sinai*, 87n12
- Foss, Clive, 379
- Francis Xavier, 517
- funeral rites: for Christian rival groups, 102, 237; intermarriage and, 445–47, 448; for Muslims, 410–11
- Gabriel (archangel), 288–89
- Gabriel (Julianist patriarch), 47–48
- Gabriel (periodeute), 183
- Gabriel b. Bukhtisho', 497n15
- Gabriel 'the Cow', 117
- Gabriel of Kirkuk, 166
- Gaianites. *See* Julianists
- Galen, 24n54, 217, 249n76; *De demonstratione*, 209n41; *De locis affectis*, 209n41
- Gamble, Harry Y., 16n17
- garrison cities, Muslim, 282, 287, 432–37
- Gascou, Jean, 322n47
- Gatier, Pierre-Louis, 44n138
- Gawargī of Anḥel, 166–67
- gender: Eucharist, childbirth and restriction of access to, 153, 251–52; literacy rates and, 17; sources and, 509–10. *See also* intermarriage; marriage; sexual relations
- Gennadius of Marseilles, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, 37n104, 113n9
- genneshyā*, 141
- George of the Arabs (George, bishop of the Arab tribes): on access to books, 25; on Aphrahat's *Demonstrations*, 245–46, 248; aporetic style of theological questioning, 358; on Christian believing, 226, 230, 233; *Commentary on the Liturgy*, 25; cultural continuity and, 219–20; disputing doctrinal differences, 124, 127–30, 131; education and, 172, 183–84, 186, 190–91, 192, 193, 197; on intra-Christian relations, 103; on Jacob of Edessa, 23n52; letters of, 127–29, 176n87; names for, 529; on pagan versus Christian terms, 405n26; person-to-person chain of continuity through, 202–4; *Romanitas*, continuity/discontinuity

- of, 216; on simplicity, 57; as source, 512
- George of Be'elatan, 103, 171, 440, 441
- George the Black, 336
- George of Martyropolis, *Solution to Julianist Questions*, 127n80
- George of the Nations, 530
- George the Priest, 14n11, 107n81, 117, 125n70, 156, 178, 187, 229n14
- George of Resh'ayna, *Life of Maximus Confessor*, 99n48, 104n69, 183n11, 487n270
- Ghaylān al-Dimashqī, 477
- Gibbon, Edward, 29
- Gil, Moshe, 341n125
- Gilliot, Claude, 253, 301n156
- Goitein, Shelomo D., 326–27, 463, 502
- Goldziher, Ignaz, 489, 519
- Greek Fire, 486
- Greek language: bilingualism with Syriac, 113–15, 503; Chalcedonians, Greco-Syriac bilingual centers for, 216–17n66; disputing doctrinal differences, bilingual nature of, 113–15; public theological discourse mainly in, 179–80; at Qenneshre, 170–75
- greetings: interfaith, 410, 411, 445, 456–58; *l-mehdā* (Syriac calque), use of, 174–76, 208–9; between Muslims, 410, 445
- Gregory bar Ruphina, 229
- Gregory the Elder, 22–23
- Gregory of Kashkar, 234n37
- Gregory Nazianzen: cultural continuity/discontinuity and, 219, 220; doctrinal disputes, quoted in, 359; on doctrinal requirements, 78–79; in educational curriculum, 184, 187, 188, 190, 192–95; *Homilies*, 188, 190, 193–94, 195, 204, 220; hymns and poems of, 195, 211n51, 217; intra-Christian reading of, 210–11, 214; *Orations*, 23n48, 23n51, 28n70, 31n31, 46, 50n22, 58n52, 79nn118–20; Syriac translations of, 171n–72n59, 174, 217; on theological instruction, 28; on theological literacy, 22–23, 31n31
- Gregory of Nyssa: on accommodation of Christianity to simple believers, 71; *Apologia in hexaemeron*, 71n97; Arian controversy, on public talk of, 29–31; *De professione christiana ad Harmonium*, 219–20; intra-Christian reading of, 212; Jacob of Edessa on consulting, 188; *Oration on the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit*, 29n75
- Grig, Lucy, 36n103
- Ḥabīb of Edessa, 87, 183
- Habibi, Emile, 343n135
- Hackenburt, Clint, 319n33
- hadīth* literature: ages of persons transmitting, 300–301; anxiety of influence in, 405; on apostasy, 339n121; chains of transmission for, 299; on Christian churches, 382; on contacts with Christians and Jews, 6; on greetings, 457; on intermarriage, 447; internal variances of, 288; Jesus in, 375; on Jewish and Christian texts and information, 413, 416, 418; Lord's Prayer in, 423; of Musaylima, 273n44; on names, 345; on precedence of Muslims over Christians and Jews, 404n21; tensions with impulse to differentiate in, 427n131
- Hadrian (emperor), 232n30
- Ḥafṣ b. al-Walid, 327–28
- hajj*, 280, 285, 296, 464
- al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, 293n127, 299, 303, 323, 330, 370, 433–34, 507
- al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣī, 303
- al-Ḥākim (caliph), 346, 355, 387, 442n57, 472
- Haldon, John, 516n43
- Hallaq, Wael, 284
- Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān, 424, 473–74
- Hamza (uncle of the Prophet), 269, 302, 303
- Hanson, R. P. C., 41n130
- al-Harīrī, *Maqāmāt*, 432
- al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh, 488
- al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabi'a, 446–47
- Ḥārith b. Jabala, 526
- al-Ḥārith b. Kalada, 486
- Ḥārith bar Sīsīn of Harran, 184n18
- Harmonius (alleged son of Bardaisan), 38, 39n115
- Harnack, Adolf, 515nn39–40
- Harris, William V., 15n16
- Hārūn b. Yaḥyā, 486
- Hārūn al-Rashīd, 206, 215, 421, 485n257, 486
- al-Ḥasan (b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī Ṭālib?), 378n86
- al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 432, 457n125
- al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb, 347
- al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, *Questions*, 421
- al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf, 343
- al-Ḥāshimī. *See* al-Kindī, *Apology*
- Hasluck, F. W., 361, 362, 377
- Ḥassān b. Thābit, 439
- Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ, 329
- healing of Muslims by Christian holy men, 364–71

- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 29
- Henana of Adiabene, 14, 107n81, 117, 156, 229
- Henanisho' (East Syrian catholicos), 163, 257, 271n40
- henotheist, Muḥammad as, 289
- Heraclius (emperor), 14, 34, 38n111, 60, 104, 111, 114n15, 162, 164, 498, 526
- heresy and orthodoxy, concepts of, 247–53, 256–57, 261
- Hezser, Caroline, 40n123
- Hiersemann 487*, 65n78
- Hiersemann 500*, 65n78, 115n20
- hijra*, conversions to Islam before and after, 263–64
- Himyarite martyrs, 526
- Hind bt. 'Utba b. Rabī'a, 269, 302
- Hinds, Martin, 522
- Hira, as garrison city, 433–34
- Hishām (caliph), 368n47, 416, 481
- Hishām b. Hubayra al-Ḍabbī, 284
- History of Karka d-Beth Slokh*, 370n58
- History of the Monastery of Sabrisho'*, 372
- History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, 323–24, 327–28, 366n41, 378n89, 382n104, 416n77, 480n234
- ḥnānā*, 154
- holy men, shared veneration of/healing by, 364–71
- Homer, 217
- Hopkins, Keith, 16n22
- Hormisdas (pope), 60
- Hoyland, Robert, 360
- Ḥudhayfa, 438
- Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, 207, 215; *Kayfiyyat idrāk ḥaqīqat al-diyāna*, 312–13; *Risāla*, 186n28, 209n41
- Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 302
- Ḥuṣayn b. Abī al-Ḥurr al-'Anbarī, 418
- al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, 462, 470
- al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, 380
- hymns. *See* music and hymnody
- Hypatius of Ephesus, *Miscellaneous Enquiries*, 68
- Ibāḍism, 451
- Ibn 'Abbās, 291, 301, 382, 405n28, 413, 416, 425–26, 434, 475–76
- Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-faḍlihi*, 413nn59–61, 414nn64–65, 416n78, 417nn79–80
- Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz*, 281nn88–89, 323n52, 467n174, 479n229, 488n279
- Ibn 'Abd Rabbīh, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, 279nn75–76, 489n283, 489n288, 501n25
- Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 95n34, 150n56, 291n121, 291n123, 292n126
- Ibn Abī Dunyā, 469n181
- Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taqdimat al-ma'rifa li-kitāb al-jarḥ wa-'l-ta'dīl*, 456n120
- Ibn Abī Laylā, 489
- Ibn Abī Sarḥ, 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd, 291–92
- Ibn Abi Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*: on conversion to Islam, 334n95, 334n97; on food of non-Muslims, 351nn169–70; on Muslim believing, 273n44, 280n81, 282n95, 291n122; on Muslim/non-Muslim relations, 457nn122–24, 458n126; as source, 520, 523
- Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 317n23, 487n274, 507n10
- Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḫ Madīnat Dimashq*, 384n124, 439n43, 477n214
- Ibn al-Athīr: *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-'l-athar*, 378nn85–86, 457n123; *Usd al-ghāba fī ma'rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, 475n203, 476n208
- Ibn Baṭṭāl, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 479nn226–27
- Ibn al-Durayhim, *Manhaj al-ṣawāb fī qubḥ istiktāb ahl al-kitāb*, 432n5
- Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, 464, 469
- Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, 226n5, 420n93
- Ibn al-Ḥaddād, 464
- Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī: *al-Iṣāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba*, 267n26, 280n80, 297n141, 475n203; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 420n92
- Ibn al-Ḥājī, *al-Madkhal*, 471–72, 501n24
- Ibn Ḥanbal, 447
- Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-'l-mamālik*, 218
- Ibn Ḥayyūs, 456
- Ibn Ḥazm: *al-Muḥallā*, 350; *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, 451n102
- Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb sīrat rasūl Allāh*, 264nn10–12, 269n36, 289, 302n161, 356–57nn10–12, 390n147, 438n40, 483
- Ibn Ḥumayd, 474
- Ibn Iṣḥāq, 264, 288, 289, 420
- Ibn al-Jawzī, *Sīrat wa-manāqib 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz*, 385n127
- Ibn Jurayj, 439, 476

- Ibn al-Kalbī, 464; *Mathālib al-‘Arab*, 444
- Ibn Kammūna, *Tanqīh al-abhāth lil-milal al-thalāth*, 312, 318, 354
- Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān wa-anbā’ abnā’ al-zamān*, 304n174, 450n96, 456n121
- Ibn Mājāh, *Sunan*, 407n33, 407n35, 425n119, 523
- Ibn Mārī, Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd, *al-Maqāmāt al-masīhiyya*, 432
- Ibn Mas‘ūd, 273
- Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, *Kitāb fuṣūl al-tamāthīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr*, 279n78, 280n84, 284, 285n105, 286, 287
- Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 95n34, 220, 381n99, 420, 450n97, 476n210
- Ibn al-Nawwāḥa, 273
- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, 338n116, 344, 345, 347n155, 402n10, 404n21, 432n4, 449
- Ibn al-Qifṭī: *Inbāh al-ruwāh ‘alā anbāh al-nuhāh*, 464n152; *Ta’riḥ al-ḥukamā’*, 432n7
- Ibn Qudāma, *al-Mughnī*, 336n108, 452nn107–8, 479n226, 479n228, 481n238
- Ibn Qutayba: *Kitāb al-ashriba wa-dhikr ikhtilāf al-nās fihā*, 279nn76–77, 283n99, 285n104, 286n106; *Ta’wil mushkil al-Qur’an*, 300n152
- Ibn al-Rāwandī, 451
- Ibn Rusta, *al-Mujallad al-sābi’ min Kitāb al-a‘lāq al-nafisa*, 444, 486n267
- Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*: on *Ahl al-Dhimma*, 427n132; on apostasy from Islam, 129, 334n96, 339; on captives, 479n231, 481n238; on Christian churches and monasteries, 383, 385nn125–26; on conversion to Islam, 320nn37–38, 329n78, 330n80, 330nn82–83, 333n91; on funeral rites in Islam, 410n46, 410n48, 445n71, 446; on intermarriage, 439n42, 443n62, 445n71, 446; on intoxicating drink, 279n78, 279nn73–74, 280nn82–84, 281n86, 281nn89–90, 282, 284n102; on Muslim believing, 253n83, 265n14, 269n34, 271n40, 272n42, 273–74nn47–51, 274n55, 279nn73–74, 298n142, 299n148, 300n153; on Muslim/non-Muslim relations, 458; on non-Muslim knowledge sources, 416n72, 416n74, 417, 418n85, 418n87, 420n90; as source, 523
- Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, 489
- Ibn Suwār, 208n32
- Ibn Taymiyya: *Iqtīdā’ al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm mukhālafat aṣḥāb al-jahīm*, 345n144, 409n43, 410n47, 452n104, 466n173, 471n192; *Majmū‘at al-fatāwā*, 402n11, 404n21
- Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Tafsīr al-mashriqī*, 208
- Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma‘ālim al-qurba fī aḥkām al-ḥisba*, 344, 401n5
- Ibn ‘Umar, 277, 290, 406
- Ibn Zabāla, 425
- Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, 280
- Ibrāhīm al-Hāqilānī, 498n17
- Ignatius of Antioch, 188
- Ignatius of Melitene, 58n51
- illiteracy. *See* literacy
- Ilustrayya (governor of Dara), 365–66
- ‘Imrān b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. ‘Ubayd, 410
- Incarnation: Church of the East on, 13n8; consequences of misinterpreting, 162; controversies over, 41n130, 52, 54, 78, 392n152; disputing doctrinal differences, 61, 133, 359; Miaphysites on, 47; for simple versus learned believers, 23, 58, 61, 77, 80, 221, 226, 227, 235, 249–50, 257, 353, 395; as symbol, 392n152
- Inglebert, Hervé, 217
- inheritances in interfaith families, 448
- interfaith or ecumenical view of early Muslim attitudes to Christianity, 363, 394–97
- intermarriage, 437–56; activities and behaviors of non-Muslim wives, forbidding or allowing, 448–49; children, effects on, 442–45, 452–55; Christian responses to, 439–41; converts to Islam with non-Muslim wives, 443; Eucharist and, 374, 442, 443; executors and inheritances, 447–48; frequency and demographic realities of, 437–40, 441–42; funeral rites and, 445–47, 448; intra-Christian relations, 99; of Muḥammad the Prophet, 438–39; Muslim females prohibited from marrying non-Muslim male, 404n21; religious belief/practice and, 444–45, 449–52
- intoxicating drinks, Muslim consumption of, 278–87, 464–71
- intra-Christian relations, 2–3, 85–110; in apocalyptic writings, 88–90; awareness/obviousness of confessional differences, 106–7; boundaries, boundary observance, and boundary-crossing, 108–10; church property and, 99–101, 105, 106; clerical shortages and, 237; communion in rival churches, taking, 93–94, 102–5; continuity of reading and scholarship, 207–15;

- intra-Christian relations (*cont.*)
conversions between confessions, frequency of, 97–101; enforcement of sacramental discipline, difficulties of, 106–8; within families, 96–97, 98, 99; funeral rites, 102; ‘heretical’ canons, obedience to, 95; in monasteries, 94; neglect of canonical observance, Jacob of Edessa on, 85–91, 98, 105–6; questions about confessional interrelationships, 91–106; sacraments and church rituals, sharing, 93–94, 101–5; scribal employment, 94–95, 101; shared Christian believing of, 255. *See also* conversions, intra-Christian; disputing doctrinal differences
- Irenaeus of Lyons, *Adversus Haereses*, 414n63
- ‘Īsā b. Mūsā, 489
- Isaac of Alexandria, 366n41, 382n105, 458
- Isaac of Antioch, 39, 54–55, 231–32; *On the Bird Who Would Cry Out...*, 42; *Second Mēmra on Beth Hur*, 55n41
- Isaac the Syrian, 184, 188
- Isho’ bar Nun, 27n66, 359
- Isho’dad of Merv, 208
- Isho’dnah of Basra, *Book of Chastity*, 125
- Isho’sabran, 185, 186–87n25, 405n26
- Isho’yahb I, Synod of (585), 48n5
- Isho’yahb II of Gdala (East Syrian catholicos), 38n111, 104, 167
- Isho’yahb III (East Syrian catholicos): on Arabs, 528; on Christian believing, 249; confessional competition and, 163, 164, 166, 167, 174; on conversion to Islam, 331; on intra-Christian relations, 99–100, 101; *Life of Isho’sabran*, 186–87n25, 405n26; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, Muslim interest in, 363, 381
- Islam: accommodating faith to simple believers in, 74; Arab conquests, 1–2, 60n60, 162–64, 173, 221, 228, 307–8, 525–31; Christian doctrinal wrangling, involvement in, 12, 111, 161–62, 306; discontinuity based on coming of, questioning historical assumptions about, 491–97, 501–2, 503–4; emergence of, 304; historical sources for early days of, 261–63; monotheist ecumenism, early Islam viewed as, 363, 394–97; non-Muslims living under (*see dhimmis*); sacraments, non-Christian access to healing powers of, 153–54; simplicity in, 52–53; sources, 518–24. *See also* apostasy from Islam; conversion to Islam; minority religion, Islam as; Muslim believing; Muslim/non-Muslim relations; Qur’an; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, Muslim interest in; simple versus learned believers
- Islamicization (transformation of Christianity into minority religion in Middle East), xiii–xiv, 5–6, 311, 339–48, 398
- Ismā’il b. Rāfi’, 385
- Isrā’īliyyāt, 413n58, 423, 475–76
- ‘Tyād b. Mūsā, *Shifā bi-ta’rif huqūq al-Muṣṭafā*, 349n159
- Jabala b. al-Azraq, 273
- Jabaliyya, 393–94
- Jabr the Christian, 483–84
- Jacob Baradaeus, 158, 182–83, 188
- Jacob of Beth ‘Ābe, 125–26n75, 164
- Jacob of Edessa: on access to books, 25; on accommodation of Christianity to simple believers, 69–71; on Arabs, 526, 529n38; biography and writings, 86; bishopric, resignation of, 85–86, 231; *Canons*, 69n92, 70n93, 71nn94–95, 102n58, 136nn4–5, 144n33, 152n60, 153nn63–64, 153nn68–69, 156nn79–81, 230, 237, 460–61; on captives, 481, 483; on Christian believing, 226, 227, 229–32, 234, 251–56; *Chronicle*, 208, 483, 526; *Chronicon*, 208; covenants, Christianity defined as series of, 87–88; cultural continuity/discontinuity and, 219; disputing doctrinal differences, in letters, 129; education and, 171, 183, 186, 188, 190, 192, 194, 197, 198; on end times as final covenant, 88; on Eucharist, 255; *Further Questions which the Priest Addai Asked*, 96n39, 374n74, 460n138; George of the Arabs on, 23n52; Hellenized Syriac greeting used by, 174; *Hexaemeron*, 183n10, 202n4, 208n36, 229, 405n26, 529n38; hymns copied/translated by, 147, 526; Ignatius of Melitene compared, 58n51; *Letter on Orthography*, 86–87, 127, 511; on literacy of clergy, 31–32; on Muslim/non-Muslim relations, 460–61; on neglect of canonical observance, 85–91, 98, 105–6; orthodoxy and heresy, concepts of, 248–49; person-to-person chain of continuity through, 202–4, 208; proper belief and proper action, defining Christianity as, 90–91; on Ps.-Jacob of Sarugh, 245, 246, 248; at Qenneshre, 171, 183; *Questions of All Kind, Which John the Stylite Asked the Venerable Jacob, the Teacher,*

- 95, 96n40, 100, 105, 154, 187–88, 192, 193, 371n64, 373n72, 481n237; *The Questions of Thomas the Hermit, Which He asked Jacob of Edessa*, 466n172, 512n24; on reversion from Islam, 335; *Romanitas*, continuity/discontinuity of, 216, 217; on sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, 135–37, 139–42, 144–53, 371, 373; Severus of Alexandria, revisions of, 190; on social interactions with non-Christians, 411; as source, 506–7, 511–14; *Testament of Our Lord* translated by, 157; travels of, 487; *Treatise against Those Who Transgressed Ecclesiastical Canons*, 87–91
- Jacob of Edessa, *Questions Which Addai the Priest and Lover of Labors Asked Jacob, the Bishop of Edessa*: on Christian believing, 226n4, 227nn7–9, 229, 230–31, 232, 233, 234n39; on intermarriage, 439–40, 445–46; on intra-Christian relations, 92–99, 101–3; on Muslim/non-Muslim relations, 459–60; on reversions from Islam, 337; on sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, 136nn6–7, 140–42, 144–53, 155n74, 371; on sharing food and meals with Muslims, 366, 458; on teaching children of Muslims, 443–44, 452
- Jacob of Sarugh, 36, 39, 49, 57, 188, 192, 530; *Homily on Faith*, 49n17; *Homily on Mar Ephrem*, 57–58n51
- Jacobites, 13n9, 73, 125, 497n15
- Ja'far b. Abi Ṭālib, 390
- al-Jāhīz: *al-Bayān wa-'l-tabyīn*, 287n107, 435n27; *Fī 'l-radd 'alā al-Naṣārā*, 344, 401n3, 436–437, 451–52; *Kitāb al-amṣār wa-'ajā'ib al-buldān*, 434; *Kitāb al-bukhalā'*, 401n5; *Kitāb dhamm akhlāq al-kuttāb*, 315–16; *al-'Uthmāniyya*, 54n39, 267n22, 436
- Januarius Candidatus, 195
- Jarīr, *Dīwān*, 349
- al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥakāmī, 329
- al-Jārūd, 265, 320
- Jeffrey, Arthur, 295–96
- Jenkins, P., 346n152
- Jerome, 412
- Jesus: Abgar of Edessa, correspondence with, 35n97, 370n58, 506, 507; Muḥammad's life narratives compared to, 422; Muslim view of, 374–75, 390, 394–95n158
- Jews and Judaism: anxiety of influence in, 4–5n26; Armenians accusing of keeping Jewish observances, 129; Christian disputations with, 236; Christian polemical literature aimed at, 131; conversion of Christians to, 97–98, 215; conversion of Jews to Christianity, 67n84, 125, 310; falsification of scriptures and, 414; Leo III's persecution of, 478–79; minimum knowledge requirements for, 160–61n1; minority status of Islam and, 400–428 (see also minority religion, Islam as). See also conversion to Islam; Muslim/non-Muslim relations
- jizya (poll tax) on non-Muslims, 321–31, 332, 434
- Job of Beth Man'am, *Life of Simeon of the Olives*, 101
- Job of Edessa, 218
- John III (Miaphysite patriarch), 441
- John bar 'Abdūn, 368n48
- John the Almsgiver: on Christian believing, 241; confessional competition and, 177; Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, 22n47, 36n100, 93n29, 119n43, 177n88, 241; liturgical changes made by, 36, 44, 158; as source, 516; on taking communion with rival Christian groups, 93–94
- John bar Aphtonia, 23n52, 170, 171n56, 172, 173
- John the Arab, 183n10. See also John the Ṭayyāyā
- John of Bostra, 143–44, 360
- John of Caesarea, 25, 72
- John Cassian, 51–52; *Conferences*, 51–52nn25–27
- John Chrysostom: accommodating Christianity to simple believers, 71; *Adversus Judaeos orationes*, 251; *Baptismal Instructions*, 40n124; on church attendance and behavior, 21–22; *De Baptismo Christi*, 22n47; in educational curriculum, 188, 190, 191; *Homilies on John*, 29n72, 30n79; *Homilies on Matthew*, 26n63; *Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles*, 18, 65n80; *Homilies on the Statues*, 40n124, 49n13; *In Illud*, 50n22; *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God*, 21n47; intra-Christian reading of, 213; Jacob of Edessa on consulting, 188; nocturnal hymn-chanting against Arians arranged by, 38; on rural attendees at homilies, 40; as source, 515; on theological literacy, 26, 28–29, 30
- John Dalyatha, 186
- John Damascene (John of Damascus), 114, 115n20, 221, 249, 277, 405, 450, 486; *On Heresies*, 247n69, 405n25

- John of Daylam, 64n76, 257–58, 369–70, 378, 384, 506, 507
- John of Ephesus: on Arabs, 525n4, 526, 527n20, 528; on Chalcedonian controversy, 61–62; conversion of pagans to Christianity by, 73; disputing doctrinal differences, 116, 119; *Ecclesiastical History*, 29n74, 37n110, 38n111, 43n135, 55n41, 116n30, 525n4, 527n20, 538n30; on education, 182; on John of Tella, 33; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 33n88, 34–35n96, 119n45, 170nn47–48, 171n56, 182n6, 183nn8–9, 184n17, 185n22, 241–44, 526, 527n20; simple versus learned believers and, 61–62, 73, 75; as source, 516
- John the Grammarian, 220
- John the Leper, 163
- John of Litarb: on Christian believing, 244–45; cultural continuity and, 203–4, 219–20; on education, 187–88, 192, 193; on intra-Christian relations, 95, 96, 100, 105; on reversion from Islam, 335; on sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, 154, 371; simple versus learned believers and, 69–70, 71n95; as source, 512
- John of Mardē, 375–76, 479n232
- John Moschus, 118, 516; *Spiritual Meadow*, 64–65, 66, 96–97, 106n75, 106n78, 122, 162, 411n49, 476
- John bar Penkaye, *Book of the Main Events*, 164–65, 231, 258, 363, 460n139, 478
- John Philoponus, 220
- John Psaltes, 526
- John Rufus, *Plerophories*, 63, 108n83, 111n2, 122, 179n96, 411n49
- John of the Saracens, 530
- John the Stylite of Litarb. *See* John of Litarb
- John the Ṭayyāyā, 527n21, 528, 529. *See also* John the Arab
- John of Tella: education and, 182, 183n14; Elias, *Life of John of Tella*, 58–59, 183n14; on greetings, 457n122; John of Ephesus on, 33; ordination of Miaphysite clergy by, 158
- Jortain, John, 29
- Joseph (Miaphysite patriarch), 34
- Joseph of the Taglibites, 529
- Joshua the Hermit, 129, 130, 245–46
- Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle*, 473n198, 526
- Judaeo-Christianity, 244, 247n70, 248, 251–52
- Judaism. *See* Jews and Judaism
- Julian I (Miaphysite patriarch of Antioch), 34, 85, 97, 170–71, 172, 256
- Julian II the Roman (Miaphysite patriarch of Antioch), 171, 365, 378
- Julian of Halicarnassus, 14, 47, 107n82, 127, 132n95
- Julianists (Gaiianites): Armenians and, 129; on Chalcedonian controversy, 63; Church of the East, joining, 100–101, 123–24; debates with other Christian Churches, 12n4; *florilegia* against, 113n13; intra-Christian relations and, 100–101, 103, 107–8n82, 255; liturgical disputes, 42n131; as Miaphisites, 14; unsuccessful reunion with Severans, 47–48
- Jurjis b. Jibril, 317n23, 507
- Justin (emperor), 115
- Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 252, 414n63
- Justinian (emperor): Chalcedonian controversy and, 60, 61–62; Christian moral teachings, selective regard for, 234–35n40; *Contra monophysitas*, 13n7; conversion of pagans to Christianity funded by, 73; Cyprus, efforts to move inhabitants of, 478; doctrinal wrangling, involvement in, 111, 115–16, 120n57, 123; *Novels*, 33n89; public acclamations before, 41
- Justinianic plague, 237n46
- Ju'thul b. 'Āhān, 277
- Ka'b al-Aḥbār, 53, 74, 383, 409, 416, 417–18, 476 *kalām* (Muslim dialectical theology), 285n104, 354n3, 421–22, 451
- Kathisma Church, Jerusalem, 383, 424
- Khā'il I (Coptic patriarch), 327
- Khālid al-Qasrī, 449–50
- Khālid b. Sa'id, 384
- Khālid b. al-Walid, 268, 276, 385
- al-Khallāl, *Ahl al-milal*, 321n40, 371n63, 445n70, 447, 448–49nn87–91, 448n85, 452n106
- Khoury, Elias, 343n135
- Khusro I (Sasanian ruler), 116, 120, 166, 370n58, 526
- Khusro II (Sasanian ruler), 12n3, 45, 116, 117, 381n99
- Khuzistan Chronicle*, 106n76, 116n31, 209n41, 229n13, 234n37
- al-Kindī: *Apology*, 253, 290n118, 303, 313–14, 349, 354n2, 379–80, 389n142, 419, 462; *Kitāb al-wulāh wa-kitāb al-quḍāh*, 281n88
- King, Daniel, 176–77n87
- Kiraz, George, 343n136

- knowledge from outside a faith. *See* texts, reading, and knowledge, sharing
- Kufa, as garrison city, 432–33
- kutub al-diyārāt* (books of monasteries), 469–70
- la Brocquiere, Bertrandon de, 444
- Lammens, Henri, 378, 435n26, 519
- Laylā b. Zabbān b. al-Aṣḥbagh al-Kalbi, 443n63
- Lazarus bar Sābtā, 401n3
- lectionaries and psalters, power associated with, 146–47
- Legend of Sergius Bahirā*, 52–53, 74, 290n118, 325, 328–29, 337, 356–57
- Leo III (emperor), 478–79
- Leo of Harran, Elia's *Apologetic Letter* to, 42n132, 115n20, 127n80
- Leo, *Tome* of, 62n69, 63, 76, 96n38
- Leontius of Byzantium, 23
- Leontius of Damascus, *Life of Stephen of Mar Sabas*, 183n13, 369n57
- Leontius of Jerusalem, *Testimonies of the Saints*, 60–61, 66, 72–73, 75, 77, 108
- Leontius of Neapolis: *Life of John the Almsgiver*, 22n47, 36n100, 93n29, 119n43, 177n88, 241; *Life of Simeon the Holy Fool*, 368n48
- Letter of Tansar*, 112n7
- Letter of the Venerable Orthodox Bishops to the Monks in the Congregation of Amid and All of Its Province*, 411n49
- Levtzion, Nehemia, 263
- Lewis, C. S., 68n85
- Libanius, *Orations*, 40n122
- libraries, Christian, 31n80
- Liebeschuetz, Wolfgang, 241n54
- Lim, Richard, 112n5
- literacy, 15–45; access to books, 24–29, 37n106; acquisition of, 35–43; Christianity, minimum knowledge requirements for, 160; of clergy, 22–23, 31–35; evidence for public involvement in the theological controversies, 29–31, 41–43; Islam, minimum knowledge requirements for, 160n1; Judaism, minimum knowledge requirements for, 160–61n1; libraries, Christian, 31n80; public controversy over, 41–42; relations between literate and unlearned peoples, 44–45; in Roman Mediterranean and Middle East generally, 15–22; rural versus urban literacy rates, 17–22, 30; theological, 22–24, 26–29, 123, 236; *Trisagion*, 36, 41–42, 44
- liturgy: awareness/obviousness of confessional differences, 106–7; clerical shortages and, 237; education through, 36–38; Jacob of Edessa on, 188; John the Almsgiver, liturgical changes made by, 36, 44, 158; Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed, recitation of, 37; *Trisagion*, 36, 41–42, 44, 107, 163
- Lives*. *See specific subject of Life*, and/or author of *Life*
- l-mehdā* (Syriac calque), use of, 174–76, 208–9
- logic, study of, 176–77n87
- Lombard, Peter, 55
- lost/destroyed writings, 65n78, 114n18, 115n20, 127n80, 129n88, 171n58, 179n98, 190n45, 219, 365n36, 414n63, 493, 495n10, 528n23
- The Lot of the Apostles*, 230
- Lucian, *The Fisher*, 219–20
- Lucifer of Calaris, 41n130; *De non conueniendo cum haereticis*, 411n49
- Ma'bad al-Juhani, 477
- MacMullen, Ramsay, 228
- Madelung, Wilferd, 451
- Magians and Magianism, 121, 122, 154, 232, 236, 274, 314, 351, 405n26, 440n47. *See also* Zoroastrians and Zoroastrianism
- magic and apotropaic practices: Christian use of, 140–50; Muslim use of, 273–74, 377
- Maḥbūb b. Quṣṭanṭīn, *Kitāb al-'Unwān*, 34n91, 338n118
- al-Mahdi (caliph), 74, 217, 319n32, 355, 443
- Mainyo-i-khard*, 112n7
- Makkika (East Syrian patriarch), 129
- Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaffa'*, 276n63, 277nn66–67, 280n80, 281n89, 317, 318, 323n53, 410n46, 420, 453, 457n122
- Mālik b. Dīnār, 462–63, 464
- al-Ma'mūn (caliph), 121, 239
- Manicheans and Manichaeism, 50, 115, 232, 236, 427n133, 450, 451, 495
- al-Mansūr (caliph), 318n27, 324, 507
- maqāmāt*, 432
- al-Maḥdīsī, *Kitāb aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm*, 402
- al-Maqrīzī, 268n31, 471; *Itti'āz al-ḥunafa' bi-akhbār al-a'immah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-khulafā'*, 472n195; *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭa' wa-l-āthār*, 403–4; *Nizā' wa-l-takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyā wa-Banī Hāshim*, 302n161, 303n170

- Mar Aba (East Syrian catholicos), 119–20, 122, 185, 244, 256, 440n47, 441, 525
- Mar Ahā (East Syrian metropolitan), 247
- Mar George, East Syrian Synod of (676), 321n43, 440–41, 466n172
- Mar Isaac, East Syrian Synod of (410), 32
- Mar Mari (abbot of Tell 'Ada), 128
- Mar Shabbay, 154
- Mar Yohannan, 372
- Mar Zadoy, *History of Mar Yawnan*, 121, 122
- Maran'ameh (East Syrian), 247–48
- Marcian (emperor), 96n38
- Marcionites, 161n3, 168–69, 232
- Maremeh (East Syrian catholicos), 163
- Maria, Vincenzo, 517
- Marian devotion/veneration, 245n66, 252, 255, 361
- Marion of Sura, 126–27
- Mark the Monk, 187
- Maronite Chronicle*, 116n32, 162n6, 379, 384
- Maronites, 12n4, 13, 107n79, 111n3
- marriage: conversion to Islam to escape, 317–18, 347n153; intra-Christian relations, 99; Muslim attendance at Christian weddings, 471; Muslim heterodox marital practices, 275–76; polygamy, Christians practicing, 227; pre-Islamic elements in Muslim marriage ceremonies, 362. *See also* intermarriage
- Marutha of Maipherqat, *Canons of Marutha*, 19–20, 27n67, 182
- Marutha of Mosul, 98n46
- Marutha of Tikrit, 26, 167, 178, 179, 184, 432–33, 480
- Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, 303
- Marwān II (caliph), 12n6, 163, 378
- Masihiyyāt*, 423n103. *See also* Isrā'īliyyāt
- Maslama b. Ḥabīb, 266
- Maslama b. Mukhallad, 403
- Masrūq, 'king of the Arabs', 526
- al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 275n56, 281n87, 435n28
- mawālī*, 489–90
- Maximus, *Eulogii Alexandrini capita vii*, 114n20
- Maximus the Confessor, 14, 255, 487; George of Resh'ayna, *Life of Maximus Confessor*, 99n48, 104n69, 183n11; *Scholia in Corpus Areopagiticum*, 195
- Maximus of Turin, 21n45
- Maxwell, Jaclyn L., 16n22
- McDowell, Andrea G., 16n22
- McGrath, Alister, 57n47
- McLynn, Neil, 30
- medieval Middle East, 1–8, 491–504; Arab conquests, 1–2; chronological and geographical boundaries, 7; continuity/discontinuity in, 3–4, 201–21 (*see also* continuity/discontinuity in medieval Middle East); historiography, subversion of, 7–8; importance of studying Christians of, 498–99; intra-Christian relations in, 2–3, 85–110 (*see also* Christian believing; Christianity; intra-Christian relations); literary survival, issues of, 494–95; map of core regions of Syriac Christianity, *xii*; map of Middle East, *xi*; minority religion, Islam as, 400–428 (*see also* minority religion, Islam as); minority religion, transformation of Christianity into, *xiii–xiv*, 5–6, 311, 339–48, 398; Muslim/non-Muslim relations in (*see also* Islam; Muslim believing; Muslim/non-Muslim relations); proverbs in Middle East, evidence of, 502–3; questioning assumptions about, 491–97, 501–4; simple/nonelite nature of most believers in, *xiii–xiv*, 3, 5–6, 498–501 (*see also* simple versus learned believers); sources, 505–24 (*see also* sources)
- Melkites. *See* Dyotheletes, Rūm Orthodox
- Melkite Church, 13n9
- Mena of Nikiou, *History of the Patriarch Isaac*, 382n105, 458n128
- Miaphysites: accommodating Christianity to simple believers, 73; alternative terms for, 13n9; awareness/obviousness of confessional differences, 106–7; canon of authorities for, 187–88; clerical shortages, 239; confessional boundaries, maintaining, 158; confessional competition and, 162, 164–66, 179–80; conversion anathemas, 42–43n134; debates with other Christian churches, 12nn3–4, 111n3, 125; different groups of, 14; doctrinal requirements of, 76–77; Eucharist, Chalcedonian, reported treatment of, 373–74n73; intra-Christian relations, 91–106; liturgical disputes, 42n131; origins of name, 12–13n7; Qenneshre, 169–76; reunion of Syrian and Egyptian Miaphysites, 47, 48, 114n15; schools established by, 167–68, 169–76; simple versus learned and allegiance to, 58–67; Syriac-language syllabus of study developed by, 3, 188–92, 195–97; theological position of, 12; unsuccessful reunion of Severans and Julianists, 47–48

- Michael the Great, *Chronicle*: on Arabs, 528n25, 528n29, 529n35, 529nn41–42, 530; on Athanasius I Gamolo, 204; on captives, 481n238, 485–86, 487n271; Chalcedonian controversy, on choosing sides in, 59n56, 60, 64n77, 65n79; on Christian believing, 239; on confessional competition, 163, 164nn18–19; on continuity/discontinuity, 215, 216n65, 218n71; on disputing doctrinal differences, 111n1, 114n15, 121–22, 125; on education, 183n14, 184n16, 195n81; on festivals and feast days, 468–69; on forced conversion of Christians, 355n5, 393, 443n60; on intra-Christian relations, 85–86, 98n46, 104n69, 106n74, 106n76, 109n83; on *jizya*, 321–22, 324, 328; on literacy, 34n93, 34n96, 41n127, 43n137; on Muslim believing, 274n52, 306; on Muslim interest in Christian churches and monasteries, 384n118; on Qenneshre, 171n58, 171nn51–55, 172n61, 172n63, 173n69, 174n76, 206n22; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, Muslim interest in, 365nn35–36, 368n48, 377n84; on the simple and the learned, 47n5, 49n16, 50n22, 73; on theological speculation, 12n6; on al-Walid, 403
- Michael the Syncellus, 195, 217
- minbar*, 150n56, 424, 474
- minority religion, Islam as, 400–428; anxiety of influence and differentiation strategies, 405–11; Christian sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, maintaining veneration for, 386–89; competition, religious, 400–405; counter-narratives, polemical, 355–57; disputing doctrinal differences, 355–57; doctrinal approach, inadequacy of, 353–54, 357; ignoring religious difference, 354–55; *kalām* (Muslim dialectical theology), origins of, 421–22; precedence of Muslims over Christians and Jews, asserting, 403–4; public affirmation of prophetic status of Muḥammad, 404; questioning assumptions about, 491–94; ramifications of, 340, 350–51, 399; religious difference, ways of dealing with, 353–59; social interactions with non-Muslims, concerns about, 411–15; texts and information, non-Muslim, 412–21; traditions of conquered communities, evidence for interaction with, 419–27
- minority religion, transformation of Christianity into, xiii–xiv, 5–6, 311, 339–48, 398
- Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 48n11
- Mir, Mustansir, 296–97n140
- al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*: on intermarriage, 446nn75–76, 447n78; minority status of Islam and, 415n69, 420n91, 424n109; on Muslim believing, 274n54, 277n65, 279n72, 279n75, 298n146, 300n154; on Muslim/non-Muslim relations, 457n124, 458n129, 461n143, 466n172, 476n209, 488n278
- monasteries: asceticism, Muslim and Christian, 424, 462–64, 473–74; confessional chaos and confusion in, 94; festivals at, 467–73; Muslim interest in, 380–86, 461–66; wine associated with, 464–71
- monotheist ecumenism, 363, 394–97
- Monotheletes: Arab conquest and, 162, 164; confessional differences, awareness/obviousness of, 107; split in Chalcedonian Church and, 13; *Trisagion* of, 41–42, 107. *See also* Maronites
- Montanists, 478–79
- Morgan, Teresa, 16–17n23, 57n47
- Morony, Michael, 347n154
- Moshe bar Kepha, 188; *Commentary on the Liturgy*, 32
- Mosque of the Prophet, Medina, 425
- Motzki, Harald, 278, 520, 523n74
- Muʾadh b. Jabal, 274, 334
- Muʾāwīya (caliph): confessional competition and, 162, 164, 269, 301–8, 369, 375, 379, 384, 385, 439; disputations between Christians, moderating, 111n3, 116, 162, 164; literacy and, 12n4; Muslim believing and, 269, 301–8; on Muslim/non-Muslim relations, 439; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, Muslim interest in, 369, 375, 379, 384, 385
- Muʾāwīya b. Abī al-ʿĀṣī, 303
- al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, 434
- Muḥammad the Prophet: accommodating faith to simple believers, 74, 267n23; apostasy and prophets arising after death of, 265–66, 267; apostasy investigated by, 276; Companions to, 267, 277, 279, 280n30, 298, 299, 300n153, 301n156, 305, 306, 351, 410, 415, 439n43, 443, 446, 520; converts, economic motivation of, 320–21; on the Cross, 377; as henotheist, 289; interactions with non-Muslims and their texts, 414, 415–17, 483–84; intermarriages, 438–39; intoxicating drink consumed by, 279–80, 285; life narratives compared to David and Jesus, 422; on magic and apotropaic practices,

- Muḥammad the Prophet (*cont.*)
273–74; on mosques, 425; polemical counter-narratives of, 355–56; public affirmation of prophetic status of, 404; Qurashis of Mecca, conquest of, 264; revelations, shock of, 289–90; ‘Satanic Verses’ and, 288–89; simplicity attributed to, 53, 74; on Syriac language, 415–16; Trinity and, 74; violence, Christian arguments based on use of, 271n40; written text of Qur’ān and, 291–92
- Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr, 439
- Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath, 445
- Muḥammad b. al-Walid b. ‘Abd Allāh, 385
- Mujāhid b. Jabr, 420
- al-Mundhir b. Nu’mān, 116
- Munhir III (Lakhmid ruler), 525
- Muqammis (Dāwūd b. Marwān), 67n84
- Muqātil b. Sulaymān, 420
- Musaylima (prophet), 266, 272–73
- mushrikūn* (associators), as term, 404–5
- music and hymnody: education through, 38–39; Gregory Nazianzen, hymns and poems of, 195, 211n51, 217; Jacob of Edessa, hymns copied/translated by, 147, 526; John Chrysostom, nocturnal hymn-chanting against Arians arranged by, 38; Severus of Antioch, *Hymns*, 39, 86, 92n25; *Trisagion*, disagreements over, 41–42
- Muslim, as term, 307n182
- Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj: *Kitāb al-tahāra*, 329n79; *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 301n158, 408n39
- Muslim b. ‘Uqba, 378
- Muslim believing, 225–26, 260–309; apostasy and prophets arising after death of Muḥammad, 265–66, 267; catechetical deficits and countermeasures, 272–77; Christian believing compared, 276; diversity of legitimate belief, 288–95; of earliest followers, 4–5, 261, 263–73; historical sources for early days of Islam, 261–63; hypocritical, insincere, or politically-motivated, 270–71; intoxicating drinks, consumption of, 278–87; late/mass conversions in first stages, 4–5, 263–72, 301–8; layering of knowledge in, 295–301, 308; minimum knowledge requirements for, 160n1, 267n23, 293n129; orthodoxy and heresy, concepts of, 261; pre-conversion practices, inertia of, 272–73, 287, 386–89; Qur’ān’s written text and, 290–96; simple versus learned believers and, 260–61; Umayyad initial hostility to Prophet and late conversion, 301–8. *See also* conversion to Islam; Islam; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, Muslim interest in
- Muslim/non-Muslim relations, xiv, 4–6, 431–90; captives and slaves, 477–90; churches and monasteries, Muslim interest in, 380–86; converts, role of, 473–77; counter-narratives, polemical, 355–57; courts, Islamic, non-Muslim use of, 461n141; disputing doctrinal differences, 235–36, 357–59; doctrinal approach, inadequacy of, 353–54, 357; ecumenical or interfaith view of, 363, 394–97; Eucharist, Muslim interest in, 371–74; in everyday life, 456–61; festivals and feast days, Christian, 467–73; food, sharing, 351, 366, 440n47, 458; in garrison cities, 282, 287, 432–37; holy men, shared veneration of/healing by, 364–71; ignoring religious difference, 354–55; Jesus, Muslim view of, 374–75, 390, 394–95n158; *majlis*-encounter literature, 235–36; milieux of contact and transmission, 437; monasteries and (*see* monasteries); multiple mechanisms of diffusion, 431; sexual relations, illicit, 439; between simple believers, 258–59, 266, 308–9; texts, reading, and knowledge obtained from non-Muslims, 207–15, 412–21, 414–17, 464. *See also* apostasy from Islam; conversion; *dhimmīs*; intermarriage; minority religion, Islam as
- al-Mustawrid al-‘Ijlī, 334–35
- Muṭarrif b. ‘Abd Allāh, 274
- Myron (oil of chrism), 144, 146, 152, 156
- nabīdh*, 279–80, 285
- Nā’ila b. al-Furāfiṣa, 439
- names as evidence of conversion to Islam, 343–46
- Nānā (Miaphysite Nonnus of Nisibis), 67n84
- nāqūs* (clappers), used by Christians, 145, 403, 406–7, 450
- Narsai (East Syrian catholicos), 39, 118, 186–87, 213–14
- al-Nasā’ī, 304n174; *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā*, 416n75
- Naṣr b. Rabī’a, 464
- Naṣr b. Shabath, 328
- ‘*Nāsūrdē*’, 230
- Naunus of Seleucia, 107n81
- al-Nazzām, 451
- Negev inscriptions mentioning Jesus, 375

- the Negus, 390
- Nestorian, as term, 13n9
- Nestorius, 11, 38n111, 110, 192; *Book/Bazaar of Heracleides*, 132n95, 197
- Nicaea, First Council of, 23, 31
- Nicaea, Second Council of (787), 31n31
- Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed, liturgical recitation of, 37
- Nisibis, School of, 14
- Nobatia, King of, 43n135
- Nonnus of Nisibis, 122, 313n10
- Nonnus 'of the nations,' 529
- Noth, Albrecht, 6, 406
- Nu'man I (Lakhmid ruler), 527–28n21
- Nu'mān III b. al-Mundhir (Lakhmid ruler), 116, 164, 226, 370n58, 468, 525–26
- Origen: *Contra Celsum*, 11, 48–49n11, 58n52, 75n109; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Apologia* for, 213; *Homilies on Ezekiel*, 161n3; Jewish texts, use of, 412; women used as scribes by, 17–18n27
- Origenism, 257n93
- orthodoxy and heresy, concepts of, 247–53, 256–57, 261
- Pachomius, 75n109, 132n94
- Pact of 'Umar, 338, 345, 347, 380–81, 404, 406, 409, 410, 452
- pagans and paganism: altar cloths with pagan images, 151–52; Christian adaptation of practices of, 427; conversion of pagans to Christianity, 73, 205, 257–58, 310; disputing doctrinal differences with, 131; festivals, pagan, Christians taking part in, 473n198; Muslim believing and remnants of, 272–73, 287; Quraysh, 264, 390, 446; sacraments, non-Christian access to healing powers of, 153–54; Umayyad initial hostility to Prophet and late conversion, 301–8; Zoroastrians and Zoroastrianism regarded as, 125b70
- Palladius, 65n78, 188, 190, 191; *Lausiaca History*, 75n109
- Palmer, Andrew, 387
- Panegyric of the the Three Holy Children of Babylon*, 477–78
- Pantoleon (abbot), 183
- Papa (Miaphysite priest), 359
- Papaconstantinou, Arietta, 321–22n44
- Paphnutius (abbot), 132n94
- parrot taught to recite *Trisagion*, 42
- Paul of Antioch, 108–9n83
- Paul of Beth Ukkamē, 116, 528
- Paul of Callinicum, 47, 113, 172n63, 173n70, 486n264
- Paul the Christian, 456
- Paul of Edessa, 92n25, 172, 174, 190, 194, 204, 211, 485n257, 526
- Paul the Persian, 115
- Paul of Samosata, 248, 249
- Paul of Tella, 175, 204; *Syro-Hexapla*, translation of, 175n80, 204, 210, 215
- Peeters, Paul, 503
- Pellat, Charles, 462n146
- People of the Book, non-Muslim, living under Islam. *See* Christianity; *dhimmi*s; Jews and Judaism
- Peponakis, Manolis, 361, 362
- Persians. *See* Sasanian empire
- Peter of Callinicum, 47, 172n63
- Peter of Capitolias, 338n115, 365n35
- Peter the Solitary, *Life of Sabrisho'*, 116n29, 154, 161, 164, 186n30, 370n58, 381n99, 525–26
- Pethion (East Syrian catholicos), 168, 189n42, 212
- Philostorgius, *Church History*, 38n112
- Philoxenus of Mabbug, 27, 56n44, 67n84, 188, 197, 412; *Discourses*, 27n67; *Mēmre against Ḥabīb*, 49–50n20, 113, 412
- Phocas bar Sergius of Edessa, 189, 210
- Photinus (Manichee), 115
- physicians, 71n95, 97, 208, 218, 238, 274, 280n84, 317n23, 370, 381n99, 401, 432, 443n62, 482, 486–87, 507
- Pines, Shlomo, 247n70, 357n14
- Pirenne, Henri, 491, 493, 495–96
- plagues: Black Death, 340–41n123, 495n10; Justinianic plague, 237n46
- Plato, *Timaeus*, 219
- polemical literature: captives in, 479–80; counter-narratives, 355–57; defined, 111n4; Jews and Judaism, Christian polemical literature aimed at, 131; Muslim polemical literature aimed at Christians, 319–20; Qur'ān, Christian polemics on, 290. *See also* disputing doctrinal differences
- poll tax, Sasanian, 323n54
- poll tax (*jizya*) on non-Muslims, 321–31, 332, 434
- polygamy, Christians practicing, 227
- Porphyry, 193, 219
- prayer, differentiation of, 406–8

- Procopius, 234–35n40; *Secret History*, 310
proverbs in Middle East, 502–3
psalters and lectionaries, power associated
with, 146–47
Ps.-Anastasius Apocrisarius, *Dialogue of Maximus with Theodore Bishop of Caesarea in Bithynia*, 255n87
Ps.-Aristotle, *On the World*, 209n41
Ps.-Athanasius, *Canons*, 513n27
Ps.-Clementine, *Homiles*, 390n148
Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite (Dionysius of Athens), 188, 189, 192, 195, 210, 212
Ps.-Hypatius, 75
Ps.-Jacob of Sarugh, 245, 246, 248
Ps.-Jāhiz, *Kitāb al-Tāj fi akhlāq al-mulūk*, 282n96
Ps.-John bar Aphthonia, *Life of Severus*, 39n119, 41n129, 68–69, 108n83, 359n20
Ps.-John Moschus, *Spiritual Meadow*, 354–55n4
Ps.-Joshua the Stylite, 473n198, 526
Ps.-Justin Martyr, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, 414n63
Ps.-Methodius, *Apocalypse*, 325, 332, 349, 360, 372
Ps.-Nonnus, 193, 194n77, 220
Ps.-Samuel of Qalamūn, *Apocalypse*, 26–27, 35n97, 344, 349
Ps.-Theophilus of Alexandria, *Homily on SS Peter, Paul, Repentance, and Anba Athanasius*, 48n9, 388
Ps.-Theopistus, *History of Dioscorus*, 96n38, 104n70, 132n94
Ps.-Zacharias Rhetor, *Chronicle*, 38n111, 169n41, 170nn44–45, 173n67, 197n90, 483, 525–26
public acclamations, 37, 41
Pusai (martyr), 444–45

Qabīša b. al-Hulb, 351
Qadarite controversy (over free will), 477
Qashish the Ṭayyāyā, 528–29
al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, 451
Qays b. al-Haytham, 332–33
Qays b. Shammās, 447
Qenneshre: archaeology and, 170n44, 207n29; capture of monks from, 485n257; destruction in ninth century, 206; educational system and, 183, 184, 192, 193, 195–97; foundation of, 169–76; institutional chain of continuity through, 202, 205–9; person-to-person chain of continuity through, 202–5; *Romanitas*, continuity of, 216, 217; unpublished Greek inscriptions and, 170n44
Qenneshre Fragment, 106n76, 206n23
al-Qirqisānī, *Kitāb al-anwār wa-'l-marāqib*, 67n84, 431n2
Qudāma b. Maẓ'ūn, 280n80
Quinisext Council (Council in Trullo), 28, 78n116, 99n47, 141, 183, 237
Qur'an: alternate codices buried between prophet's tomb and minbar in Medina, 150n56; on Christianity and Jesus, 252–53, 394–95n158; coinage and monumental building, use of text on, 293–95; on consumption of intoxicating drink, 279, 285, 286; conundrums, significance of, 295–301; distinctive terms for, 408; on hypocritical or insincere belief, 270; internal variances and diversity of belief, 288; legal status, in first Islamic century, 278, 285, 286, 296; names for God in, 426; on social interactions with non-Christians, 412; written text of, 290–96
Quraysh, 264, 390, 446
al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-Qur'an*, 299–300n141
quṣṣās, 275n57, 475

Rabban Bar 'Idta, 187, 197
Rabban Hormizd, 185
Rabban Khudhāwī, 369, 375
Rabban Qusra, 125, 126, 164
Rabban Sabroy, 167
Rabban Sābūr, 164
Rabbula of Edessa, *Rules and Admonitions for Priests and Ascetics*, 20, 178, 411, 460n138, 467–68
Rabī'a b. Umayya b. Khalaf, 280
Rahner, Karl, *Theological Investigations*, 260
Ranke, Leopold van, 524
Rawḥ al-Qurashī (Anthony of Rawḥ), 372–73
reading outside a faith. *See* texts, reading, and knowledge, sharing
religious competition (of Muslims with Christians and Jews), 400–405
Resurrection, precedence of Muslims over Christians and Jews at, 403n17
Robinson, Chase, 248, 256
Roe, Thomas, 517
Roman empire. *See* emperor and empire
Romanitas, continuity/discontinuity of, 215–18
Rufinus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 49n19

- Rules for the Monks in Persia*, 27n66
Rūm Orthodox, 13. *See also* Dyotheletes
rural versus urban: Christian believing in
rural areas, 241–44; clerical shortages, 237;
education, obtaining, 39–41; literacy rates,
17–22, 30; *Romanitas*, continuity/disconti-
nuity of, 216; shallow roots of Christianity
in rural Syria, 241; significance of, 43–44;
simple believers, demands of rural life for,
243; trade connections and movement be-
tween, 40, 44
Ruwayshid al-Thaqafi, 280
- Saadia Gaon, 54
Šabiḡh b. ‘Isl, 297
Šābi‘ūn, 295–96
Sabrišo‘ (metropolitan of Beth Garmai), 369
Sabrišo‘, Peter the Solitary’s *Life of*, 116n29,
154, 161, 164, 186n30, 370n58, 381n99,
525–26
Sabrišo‘ I (East Syrian catholicos), 116n29,
154, 161, 164, 169, 186, 525
Sabrišo‘ II (East Syrian catholicos), 238
sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, after
Chalcedon, 134–59; administration of, 153;
apotropaic use of, 140–50; baptism, 144–45,
146, 152, 156, 245–46, 375–76; clergy as
gatekeepers of, 154–55; community forma-
tion, as power for, 134–35, 158; confes-
sional boundaries and, 134–35, 156–59;
doctrine versus practice and, 389–94; edu-
cation of clergy and, 158–59; holy Myron
(oil of chrism), uses of, 144, 146; human
needs and concerns addressed by, 137–40;
Jabaliyya Muslims and, 393–94; Jacob of
Edessa’s canons on, 135–37, 139–42, 144–
53, 156–58; non-Christian access to healing
powers of, 153–54; psalters and lectionar-
ies, power associated with, 146–47; treat-
ment and disposal of, 149–52. *See also*
Eucharist
sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects,
Muslim interest in, 359–97; baptism of
Muslims, 375–76; churches and monaster-
ies, 380–86; for converts to Islam, 386–89;
the Cross, 376–80; Eucharist, 371–74, 387;
holy men, veneration of/healing by, 364–
71; interfaith or ecumenical view of, 363,
394–97; intermarriage and, 441–42; Jesus,
374–75, 390; persistence of pre-Islamic ele-
ments in converted communities, 359–64
Sa’d b. Abi Waqqās, 434
al-Saffāḡ (caliph), 327
Šafiyya (wife of Muḡammad), 447–48
Šafiyya bint Ḥuḡayy b. Akḡḡab, 438
Sahdona (Nestorian), 117
Sahner, Christian, 318
Sa’d b. Abi Waqqās, 267
Šā’id b. Aḡmad al-Andalusī, *Kitāb ṡabaqāt al-
umam*, 487n268, 487n273
Sa’id b. al-Musayyab, 298
Sa’id b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, 370
Sa’id b. Biṡriḡ, *Kitāb al-Ta’riḡh*, 381nn102–3
Sa’id b. Jubayr, 291
Sa’id b. Muḡammad b. Ibn Abi ‘Abd Allāḡ,
384
Sa’id b. Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-amānāt wa’l-
i’ṡiqādāt*, 54n39
saints, relics and shrines of: Eucharist and,
141–42; intra-Christian devotion to, 255;
roving monks carrying relics, 233
Sajāḡ (prophetess), 266
al-Sakhāwī, *al-Maqāšid al-ḡasana fī bayān
kathīr min al-aḡādīḡh al-musḡḡḡira ‘alā al-
alsina*, 382n110
Šalibā, *Akhbār faṡārikat kursī al-mashriḡ*,
421n94
Salima al-Jarmī, 272
Salmān al-Fārisī, 382, 484n253
al-Šalt b. al-‘Āšī b. Wābiša b. Khālid, 280–81
Samaritan Chronicle, 328
Samaritans charged with falsification of
scriptures, 414n63
al-Samḡūdi, *Wafā’ al-wafā bi-akhbār dār al-
muṡṡafā*, 425n116, 425n118
Samuel of Edessa, 113
Samuel the Stylite, 95n34
Samwāl b. Yaḡyā al-Maḡribī, 347n156
‘Saracens,’ 530–31
Abba Sarapion, 51–52
Sasanian empire: Arabs and, 525–26; Chris-
tian doctors at court of, 507; Christian doc-
trinal wrangling, involvement in, 12, 120;
Church of the East in, 179; deportation
practiced by, 482–83; intermarriage and
spread of Christianity in, 444–45; poll tax
in, 323n54; treatment of Zoroastrian apos-
tates, 112. *See also* Zoroastrians and Zoro-
astrianism; *specific Sasanian rulers*
‘Satanic Verses,’ 288–89
Sawsan (convert), 477
Saxer, Victor, 253n83
Sayf al-Dawla, 207
Schacht, Joseph, 278, 296, 519, 523n74

- Schoeler, Gregor, 262, 520
schools. *See* education
Sebeos (Armenian historian), 484
Sedro/Sedrē, 36n101
Seleucia-Ctesiphon, East Syrian Synod of (410), 19, 182
Sergius Baḥīrā, 52–53, 74, 290n118, 325, 328–29, 337, 356–57
Sergius bar Karya, 32n83, 171
Sergius of Cyrrhus, 126–27
Sergius of Elam, 178–79, 210–14, 237
Sergius the Grammarian, 113–14n14
Sergius I (patriarch), 485n257
Sergius bar Karya, 32n83, 171
Sergius of Resh'ayna, 209n41
Sergius the Ṭayyāyā, 528
Severus (confidence man claiming to be Moses), 98n46
Severus of Antioch: access to texts of, 14; accommodation of Christianity to simple believers by, 68–69, 72; *Ad Nephaliūm*, 24n55; Athanasius I Gamolo and, 204–5; *Cathedral Homilies*, 86; Chalcedonian controversy and, 66; disputing doctrinal differences, 126–27, 132n95; in educational curriculum, 188, 190, 192; family and background, 205; homilies, circulation and public reading of, 36, 37n104; *Hymns*, 39, 86, 92n25; intra-Christian reading of, 210; on intra-Christian relations, 103, 107n81; Jacob of Edessa on consulting his writings, 188; Leontius of Jerusalem compared, 66n82; *Letter to the Deacon of Anastasia*, 69; on literacy, 23n52, 28n68; Miaphysite followers of (Severan Myaphysites), 14, 42n131, 47–48, 63; on ordination treated as job, 27; *Philalithes*, 359n20; Ps.-John bar Aphthonia, *Life of Severus*, 39n119, 41n129, 68–69, 108n83, 359n20; public chanting for and against, 41; on simple and learned believers, 48n7, 50nn21–22, 69, 72nn102–3; on social interactions with non-Christians, 411–12; translation of works from Greek into Syriac, 113, 114; on union of hypostases, 24
Severus bar Mashqā, 163
Severus ibn al-Muqaffā', *Kitāb al-īdāh* (Book of Illumination), 390–91
Severus Sebokht, 172, 174, 191n58, 193, 194–95, 202–5, 216
sexual relations: festivals and feast days, Christian, 467–71; Ibn al-Ḥaddād's attraction to nun Nuwayra, 464; illicit Muslim/non-Muslim relations, 439; slaves, female, Muslim male sexual relations with, 441. *See also* intermarriage; marriage
al-Shābushtī, *Kitāb al-diyārāt*, 236n44, 434n17, 465nn157–62, 465nn164–66, 466n169, 469–71
shahāda, 404
shahārija, 247–48, 254, 256
al-Sha'bi, 299
Shapur II (Sasanian ruler), 370n58, 444–45
Sharik b. Khalifa, 416
Shem'on, *History of Rabban Hormizd*, 185n24
Shem'on of Samosata, *Life of Theodota of Amid*. *See* Theodota of Amid
Shenoudin (abbot), 132n94
Shila (East Syrian patriarch), 116
shipmasters, on Chalcedonian controversy, 61–62, 123
Shoemaker, Stephen, 56–57n47, 245n66
Shukorov, Rustam, 442
Shuraḥbil b. 'Amīr, 403
Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith, 283–84
Sijpesteijn, Petra, 322
Simeon of Beth Arsham, 526–27, 529
Simeon of Hira, 526
Simeon of Ḥirtā of the Ṭayyāyē, 527
Simeon the Mountaineer, 241–44, 266, 276, 516, 518
Simeon of the Olives, 101, 118, 121, 166, 168, 181–85, 186
Simeon the Persian Debater, 119, 122
Simeon of Revardashir, 331
Simeon Stylites, 72, 182, 468, 527–28n21
simple versus learned believers, 46–81; accommodating Christian message for simple believers, 67–74; Arab conquests and, 221; Chalcedonian controversy and, 58–67, 75–81; Christian believing, scope of, 253–59; concept of simplicity, 47–53, 57; confessional competition for, 160–67; conversion to Islam for, 259, 352, 353–59, 386–89; demands of rural life and, 243; disputing doctrinal differences, spectrum of levels of engagement and understanding for, 123–26, 131–32; doctrinal requirements for, 75–79; in Islam, 160n1; in Judaism, 160–61n1; layering of knowledge and, 57–58, 67, 75; Muslim believing, scope of, 260–61; Muslim/non-Muslim relations mainly between simple believers, 258–59, 266, 308–9; non-elite nature of most believers in Middle East, xiii–xiv, 3, 5–6, 498–501; Qur'an on

- Christianity and, 252–53; relationship between, 44–45, 55–56; terminology of, 53–56. *See also* education; literacy
- slaves: conversion to Islam by, 317–18; in garrison cities, 435; Muslim/non-Muslim relations and, 477–90; sexual relations of Muslims with female slaves, 441
- Smoller, Laura A., 57n47
- Socotra, 516–18
- Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, 38n114, 51
- Solutions to Manichaean Blasphemies written by one of the Followers of Julian, from the Village of Saqra*, 127n80
- Sophronius of Jerusalem, 114n15, 118, 354, 516; *Homilia in theophaniam*, 377; *Narratio miraculorum ss. Cyri et Iohannis*, 255n87
- Sosa, Antonio de, 435n28, 487–88n276
- sources, 505–24; Christian, 509–18; Islamic, 518–24; literary and theological influence, authenticity, and historical usefulness, 505–9. *See also specific sources, by author if known, by title if not*
- Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, 39n115, 64n74, 234n38
- St. Catherine's monastery, Sinai, 216n66, 393–94
- Statement of Faith of 612*, 45n140
- states: Christian believing and weakness of, 228–29; continuity/discontinuity in medieval Middle East and, 201–2. *See also* emperor and empire; Sasanian empire
- Stephen of Mar Sabas, 183, 369
- Stern, Samuel, 247n70
- al-Subkī, *Fatāwā al-Subkī*, 433n11, 433n14, 434n23
- Sufism, 423–24
- Sufyān al-Thawrī, 452n108
- Suhayl b. Abī Šāliḥ, 461
- Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, 386
- Sulaymān b. Hishām, 338
- '*Sūrādē*, 230
- al-Suyūṭī: *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'an*, 290n116, 300n152, 408n41; *Min ḥsun al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa-'l-Qāhira*, 277n65
- symbols. *See* sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects
- Synesius of Cyrene, 68
- synods and councils. *See specific councils and synods, e.g.* Ephesus, Second Council of
- Syriac language: bilingualism with Greek, 113–15, 503; Chalcedonians, Greco-Syriac bilingual centers for, 216–17n66; disputing doctrinal differences, bilingual nature of, 113–15; Hellenization of, 174–75; *l-mehdā* (Syriac calque), use of, 174–76, 208–9; Miaphysite syllabus of study in, 3, 188–92, 195–97; Muslims learning, 415–16; public theological discourse mainly in Greek, 179–80; at Qenneshre, 170, 172, 174–75
- Syriac Massora, 196n87
- Syrian Orthodox Church, 13n9, 36n101, 216
- Syro-Hexapla*, 175n80, 204, 205n18, 210, 215
- al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, 405n28
- al-Ṭabarī: *ḥadīth*, chains of transmission for, 299; *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*, 466n172, 482n243; *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'an*, 291nn119–20, 292nn124–25, 298nn143–245, 474, 484nn253–54; *Ta'rikh*, 182, 265, 279n72, 289n112, 303n166, 330n81, 333n92, 409n42, 425n116, 438nn38–39, 439n41, 464n153, 466, 475, 479, 484
- Ṭalḥa b. Khālid, 265–66
- Tamīm b. Aws, 474–75
- Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, 49n14
- Taylor, David G. K., 89–90n19
- ṭayyāyē*, 364–65n32, 387, 525–31
- teaching and instruction. *See* education
- Teaching of Addai (Doctrina Addai)*, 16–17, 35n97, 52n29, 181–82n2, 368n48, 412n52
- Teaching of the Apostles*, 28, 32n84, 99n47
- Testament of Our Lord*, 88–89, 157
- texts, reading, and knowledge, sharing:
Christians reading non-Christian texts, 412; intra-Christian reading and scholarship, 207–15; Muslims using non-Muslim sources, 207–15, 412–21, 414–17, 464
- Theodora (empress), 61
- Theodore (Miaphysite patriarch), 364–65
- Theodore Abū Qurrah, 121–22, 217–18, 451; *On the Confirmation of the Gospel*, 312–13; *Statements Against the Outsiders*, 471n189
- Theodore of Caesarea, 255
- Theodore of Canterbury, 487
- Theodore of Karkh Juddān, 209n41
- Theodore bar Koni, *Book of the Scholion*, 247n69, 528n21
- Theodore of Merv, 120
- Theodore of Mopsuestia, 39, 71, 179n98, 187
- Theodoret of Cyrillus, 101n54; *Historia religiosa*, 467
- Theodoric (brother of Heraclius), 162
- Theodosius I (emperor), 271

- Theodosius II (emperor), 205
Theodosius of Alexandria, 43n135, 172n65
Theodosius of Edessa, 171, 195, 217
Theodota of Amid: on captives, 480; Christian believing and, 232–33; clerical shortages and, 237; confessional competition and, 165; continuity/discontinuity of Christian culture and, 216; extreme Eucharistic devotion, 149; on feast days, 468; intra-Christian relations and, 85n3, 94, 97–98, 102, 103; on *jizya*, 321n43; Muslims and, 364–68, 378, 387–88; sacraments and, 138–39, 149; as source, 506, 511
Theodotus of Ancyra, 188, 190
theological [il]literacy, 22–24, 26–29, 123, 236
Theopaschism and Theopaschites, 14n11, 56n47, 117
Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*: on captives, 478nn222–23, 481, 485, 486; on conversion to Islam, 310, 324, 338n115; on intra-Christian relations, 98n46; on literacy, 44n139; minority status of Islam and, 403; Muslim/non-Muslim relations and, 436n33; sacraments, symbols, and sacred objects, Muslim interest in, 358n16, 368n47, 377n84; on simple versus learned believers, 60n61
Theophanes of Dara, 65–66, 162
Theophilus of Alexandria, 51, 68n86
Theophilus of Edessa, 217, 218
Theophylact bar Qanbara, 162–63
Thomas of Germanicia, 173
Thomas of Harkel, 58n51, 171, 175, 204
Thomas the Hermit, 466n172, 512n24
Thomas of Kafartāb, *Ten Chapters*, 107n79
Thomas of Marga, *Monastic History*, 117n36, 118, 167, 168, 247–48, 527, 528
Thomas the Syncellus, 175n81
Tiberius (emperor), 35n97
Tillich, Paul, 235n40
Tilly, Charles, 225–26n3
Timothy I (East Syrian catholicos): on Arabs, 527; on clerical shortages, 237–38; on confessional competition, 178–79; on disputing doctrinal differences, 123–24; on education, 189n42, 191nn54–55, 192; on heresy, 257; interactions with Muslim scholars, 419–21; on intra-Christian relations, 100–101; Miaphysite translations read by, 209–15; on simple versus learned believers, 25, 74, 78
Timothy II Aelurus, 43n134, 69n91, 76–77, 76n110, 76nn111–12, 77n113, 80, 239
Timothy II of Alexandria, 113, 114
Timothy of Kākhushṭā, 126, 233–34
Timothy, presbyter of Constantinople, 14n10, 78n116
al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 351nn167–68, 402n9, 405n28, 523
Titus of Hdatta, 125, 164
travels and traveling, 486–87
Tribunus (literary layman), 34n96
Trinity: controversies over, 41n130, 52, 54, 78, 392n152; intra-Christian requirement of belief in, 77; Mary understood as part of, 252; Muḥammad and, 74; al-Nazzām on, 451; Qurʾān on, 252; simple believers’ poor grasp of, 54n39, 221, 227, 250, 252, 353, 391–92; as symbol, 392n152
Trisagion, 36, 41–42, 44, 107, 163
Tritheists, 114n15, 116, 127n81, 172n63
Trokos, bishop of the Arab nations, 529
Trophies of Damascus, 63n71, 479–80
Troupeau, Gérard, 207n30
Trullo, Council in (Quinisext Council), 28, 78n116, 99n47, 141, 183, 237
Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid, 266
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, 339
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān, 380
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, 369
Ubayy b. Kaʿb, 308
ʿUdayy b. ʿUdayy, 461
ʿUmar I (ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb): acquiring knowledge from non-Muslims, 416–17; on *Ahl al-Dhimma*, 427; on apostates, 335; on captives, 479; on churches, 382; dress of, 409; on inheritance from non-Muslim relatives, 448; *jizya* and, 322; killed by Persian slave, 435n28; mosque on site of Temple of Solomon, desire to build, 377, 408–9; Muslim believing and, 267–68, 274–76, 277, 280, 283, 285, 297, 307; on Muslim/non-Muslim relations, 458; on social interactions with non-Muslims, 412; as source, 522–23
ʿUmar II (ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz): on captives, 479, 487–88; Christian churches and monasteries visited by, 385; on conversion and apostates, 332, 334; on funeral rites, 410–11; on garrison cities, 282, 287, 432; on intoxicating drinks, 467; *jizya* and, 323–24, 326, 329; Muslim believing and, 276–77, 280–83, 287n107; as source, 522–23
ʿUmar b. Muḥammad, 384
Umayyad initial hostility to Prophet and late conversion, 301–8

- Umm Ḥabiba, 339n120
‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir al-Juhānī, 410
urban versus rural. *See* rural versus urban
‘Urwa, 276–77, 290–91
‘Utba (governor of Beth Garmai), 369
‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, 150n56, 291, 293, 335, 439, 501n25
- Valens (emperor), 370n58
Valentinian III (emperor), 124
Valentinians (heretical sect), 161n3
Violence, 4–5, 14, 38, 44, 58–60, 111, 164, 206, 271n40, 316–318, 339, 340, 346, 348, 355, 397
vitae. *See* specific subject of *vita*, and/or author of *vita*
Vööbus, Arthur, 230n23
Vryonis, Speros, 361, 362
- Wahb b. Munabbih, 476
Waḥshi b. Ḥarb al-Ḥabashī, 279
Wainwright, Geoffrey, 56n47
Wakī’, *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, 283n100
Walid I (al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik, caliph), 274, 287n107, 303, 402–3, 425
Walid II (al-Walid b. Yazid, caliph), 285–86, 373, 479
al-Walid b. ‘Uqba, 279, 467
al-Walid b. ‘Utba, 279
Walmsley, Alan, 343
Wansbrough, John, 508n11, 519
Waraqā b. Nawfal, 356, 490
Wars of Apostasy, 265, 267, 339
Wāsiṭ, as garrison city, 434–35
Watt, William Montgomery, 263nn8–9
Wesley, John, 310
West Syrians, as term, 13n9
Whittow, Mark, 40n123
William Durand, 145n36
William of Ockham, 248
wills, interfaith executors of, 447–48
wine, Muslim consumption of, 278–87, 464–71
Wittgenstein, Ludwig, *Culture and Value*, 46
Woldemariam, Michael, 225n3
women. *See* gender; marriage
Wright, William, 528
- Yahbalaha I (catholicos), 370n58
Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī, 220; *Maqāla fī tabyīn*, 54
Yaḥyā b. Jarīr, 220
Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd, 282, 298, 387; *Kitāb al-dhayl*, 387nn136–37, 472
Yāqūt: *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 170n44, 350n165, 370, 373n71, 384nn119–23, 385–86nn130–133, 385n123, 397n164, 465–66n167–169, 465n156, 465n161, 465nn163–66, 473, 485n257; *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, 432n7
Yasār (slave informant of the Prophet), 483–84
Yasū’ Sakā (Isho‘zeka of ‘Ukbara), 431n2
Yazdgird I (Sasanian ruler), 370n58
Yazdpaneh, *vita* of, 112n8
Yazid I b. Mu‘āwiya (caliph), 281, 302, 332, 378, 384, 450
Yazid (governor of Syria), 269
Yazid b. Abi Sumayya, 458
Yazid b. Abi Yazid, 298
Yazid b. Abū Sufyān, 303
Year of the Deputations, 264
Yonan of Tella (Yonan the Periodeute), 191n58, 193, 195, 203n7
Yonan the Bishop, *Letter to Theodore the Periodeute on Monogamy*, 227n7
Yovhannēs Awjneç’i (Armenian catholicos), 130
Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh, 486
- Zahra, Tara, 85
al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, 484n253
Zamasp (Sasanian ruler), 228–29
al-Zarkashī, *al-Burhān*, 300n152
Zayd b. Thābit, 291, 308, 415
Zoroastrians and Zoroastrianism: apostasy from, 112; Christian believing and, 229, 254n85, 257n95; conversion to Christianity from, 185, 187; conversion to Islam from, 316, 323n54, 339n121; disputing doctrinal differences, 112, 119–20, 122, 124–25n70, 436; intermarriage with Muslims, 445; as ‘pagans,’ 125n70, 440n47. *See also* Magians and Magianism
al-Zubayr b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abi Khālid, 291
al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, 446n75
Zuckerman, Constantin, 322n44
zunnār, 409n44, 449, 471
Zuqnin Chronicle: on conversion to Islam, 322n45, 324–25nn61–62, 325–26, 347n156, 389; on intra-Christian relations, 98n46; on pagan temple in Baalbek, 401–2n8; on simple versus learned believers, 60nn58–59, 64n77