Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History

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In view of the paucity of other sources for this century, so momentous in the history of the Near East, the Syriac materials take on a particular importance for both Byzantine and Islamic historians. While some of these sources, such as Michael’s *Chronicle*, are well known to all, others lie as yet unexploited and ignored. The purpose of the present article is to collect together in convenient form details of all the main Syriac sources available for the seventh century, listing standard editions, translations and the more important discussions. Fuller information on authors and secondary literature can readily be found by reference to the following works: A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922); J. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1965); C. Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum* (London, 1962); S. P. Brock, ‘Syriac Studies 1960–1970: a classified bibliography’, *Parole de l’Orient*, IV (1973), 393–465. For the topographical history of the area now covered by Iraq, J. M. Fiey’s *Assyrie chrétienne*, 3 vols. (Beirut, 1965–8), is an invaluable compendium.

I. CHRONICLES

The chronicles are arranged below in two sections: West Syrian (of Syrian Orthodox and Maronite provenance, nos. 1–12) and East Syrian (Nestorian, nos. 13–15), and within each section the entries are in chronological order.


West Syrian Chronicles

(1) Fragment on the Arab invasions
A very untidy hand has inserted a (contemporary?) account of the Arab invasion of Palestine on the fly-leaf of a sixth-century Gospel manuscript (BM. Add. 14661, fol. 1). The text is unfortunately totally illegible in places.


(2) ‘Maronite chronicle’
Preserved in BM Add. 17216, fols. 2–14, of the eighth or ninth century, this chronicle was composed in the mid 660s by a

Chalcedonian. The folios covering the first half of the seventh century have been lost, and the surviving narrative opens with the war between ‘Ali and Mu’awiyah.


(3) Jacob of Edessa, Chronicle
From the few fragments that remain it would appear that the plan of Jacob’s Chronicle followed that of Eusebius, which it was designed to continue, up to 692 (an unknown writer prolonged it to 710). Only a small portion of the work survives, in BM. Add. 14683, fols. 1–23, and little of this covers the seventh century.


(4) List of Arab kings
A short list of ‘Arab kings’, from Mohammed to Walid, giving the length of their reigns, is to be found in BM. Add. 17193, fol. 17 (dated 874).


(5) Anonymous chronicle, ad annum 724
Also referred to in older literature as the Liber Calipharum, this world chronicle is preserved in BM. Add. 14643, fols. 1–57, of the eighth century. Brief entries (not always in chronological order) are to be found for the following years (Seleucid era): 534, 914, 915, 920, 921, 922, 924, 925, 929, 930, 934, 938, 939, 940,
gives a good description
Syriaca, Zuqnine1lJu
Tur Abdin
eighth centuries, but for the sev enth the entries are very brief.

[Louvain, 1904]), pp. 139, 145–8, 155;
Translation: Latin in J. B. Chabot, Chronica Minora, II (CSCO Scr.
Syri 4 [Louvain, 1904]), pp. 108, 112–14, 119.3

(6) Anonymous chronicle, ad annum 775
As far as the seventh century is concerned this chronicle contains
little more than a list of Arab kings, with the lengths of their
reigns. It survives in BM. Add. 14683, fols. 93–102, of the tenth
century.

[Louvain, 1905]), p. 348.
Translation: Latin in Brooks, op. cit., III (CSCO Scr. Syri 6

(7) Ps. Dionysius of Tellmahre, Chronicle
The false attribution of this anonymous chronicle, compiled in
Tur Abdin c. 775, to the Patriarch Dionysius of Tellmahre (died
845) goes back to Assemani. The work is preserved as the upper
text of the palimpsest Vat. syr. 162 (+ BM. Add. 14665, fols.
1–7), of the late ninth century.4 Part IV covers the seventh and
eighth centuries, but for the seventh the entries are very brief.

Edition: J. B. Chabot, Incerti auctoris chronicon pseudo-Dionysiunan
148–54.
Translation: Chabot earlier provided an edition with French
translation of just the Fourth Part: Chronique de Denys de Tell-
Mahre, quatrième partie, (Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Hautes
Etudes, fasc. 112 [Paris 1895]), pp. 4–11.

3. This edition and translation supersedes that of J. P. N. Land, Anecdota
Syriaca, (Leiden, 1863), pp. 1–24, 103–22.
4. The underlying Greek text (LXX) was edited by E. Tisserant, Codex
Zugmaineris rescriptus Veteris Testamenti (Studia e Testi, 23 [Rome, 1911]). Tisserant
gives a good description of the manuscript on pp. v–xiii.

(8) Anonymous chronicle, ad annum 819
This contains short entries for the following years (Seleucid era):
A.C. 912, 913, 916, 926, 932, 938, 942, 945, 947, 954, 955, 960,
967, 971, 976, 990, 991, 994, 996, 999, 1006, 1008, 1009, 1010,
1011. The chronicle was written in Tur Abdin and survives in a
local manuscript of the ninth century.

Edition: A. Barsaum, Chronicon Anonymum ad annum 819 pertinens
Translation: Latin in J. B. Chabot, Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad
AC 1234 pertinens, I. Praemissum est Chronicon anonymum ad AD

(9) Anonymous chronicle, ad annum 846
This world chronicle, which is preserved in BM. Add. 14642,
fols. 1–36, of the tenth century, relies heavily on (8). The folios
covering the seventh century have mostly been lost, and the only
surviving entries are for the following years (Seleucid era): A.C.
912, 914, 921, 990, 991, 992, 994, 995, 996, 999, 1006, 1008,
1010.

Translation: Latin in J. B. Chabot, Chronica Minora, II (CSCO Scr.
Syri 4 [Louvain, 1904]), pp. 174–6; English (also with Syriac
text) in Brooks, ‘A Syriac chronicle of the year 846’, ZDMG, LI
(1897), 569–88.5

(10) Michael the Syrian (died 1199), Chronicle
This is much the fullest and the most important of the Syriac
chronicles. The seventh century is covered by Books
X.xxiv–XI.xxvii. For this period Michael gives as his main sources
Jacob of Edessa, John of Litabar, Dionysius of Tellmahre and
Ignatius of Melitene. A manuscript, dated 1598, of the Syriac
text of this massive work was only discovered in 1889 in Urfa
(Edessa). It is a transcript of this in facsimile that Chabot
published, along with a French translation and index of names.

(1905), 532–5.
There is also an Arabic translation of the Chronicle\textsuperscript{6} and an abbreviated version in Armenian, made in 1248.\textsuperscript{7}


(11) *Anonymous chronicle, ad annum 1234*

Next to Michael’s *Chronicle* this world chronicle (sometimes referred to as the ‘Anonymous of Edessa’) contains much of the most detailed account of events in the seventh century that is available in Syriac. It is largely independent of Michael’s work, and the lost chronicle of Dionysius of Tellmahre appears to be one of the compiler’s main sources for this period. The text is preserved in a unique manuscript (perhaps of the fourteenth century) that was in private hands in Constantinople at the beginning of the century.


**Translation:** Latin in Chabot, op. cit., I (CSCO Scr. Syri 56 [Louvain, 1937]), pp. 171–231. Extracts, covering the seventh century, in Russian translation will be found in N. Pigulevskaya, *Vizantija i Iran na rubeze VI i VII vekov* (Moscow, 1946), pp. 252–89.\textsuperscript{10}

(12) *Barhebraeus (died 1286), Chronicle*

This long-famous work is divided into two parts, usually known under the titles *Chronicon syriacum* (secular history) and *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* (church history). The first part, up to 1193, is largely a résumé of Michael’s *Chronicle*, although Barhebraeus does sometimes have independent value. The second part is unique among Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) chronicles in that it also covers the history of the Nestorian patriarchs (for this Barhebraeus draws on Nestorian sources, in particular the twelfth-century Mari ibn Sulaiman). Both parts survive in a number of manuscripts.

(a) *Chronicon syriacum*


Towards the end of his life Barhebraeus wrote an abridged version of his Chronicle in Arabic under the title ‘History of the Dynasties’. This was edited, with a Latin translation, by E. Pococke (Oxford, 1665), and again (without translation) by A. Salhani (Beirut, 1890).

(b) *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*


**East Syrian chronicles**

(13) *Anonymous chronicle on the end of the Sassanids*

This important chronicle covers the last half-century of Sassanid rule, and was composed between 670 and 680, perhaps in Khuzistan (whence it is sometimes referred to as the ‘Khuzistan Chronicle’). A Turkish translation of Budge’s English version was published in Ankara (1945/50).
chronicle'). The printed text is based on Borgia syr. 82, a modern copy (1891) of an old manuscript preserved in the Near East (probably Alqosh 169 of the fourteenth century).12


(14) John of Pheneke, Rish melle
The last book of John's summary of world history deals with the late seventh century, during the last decade of which the work was evidently written. The product of north Mesopotamia, it contains an account of events in the years following the death of Mu'awiya (680). At the end the work takes on an apocalyptic note.

Translations: French (of Book XV only) in Mingana, op. cit., pp. 172–97 (with index of names). A German translation of extracts from the end of Book XIV and from Book XV, concerning the author's reactions to the Arab invasions, will be found in R. Abramowski, Dionysius von Tellmahre (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXV. 2 [Leipzig 1940]), pp. 5–8.13

(15) Elias of Nisibis, Opus chronologicum
Bishop of Nisibis for nearly half a century from 1002, Elias is the only major Nestorian chronographer to survive in Syriac. The work, which is in two parts, runs to 1018; the first part contains short entries under each year (sometimes with the source indicated), while the second contains calendrical tables. The work is bilingual, in Arabic as well as in Syriac, and survives in an autograph dated 1019 (BM Add. 7197).


Lost works
Among the lost historical works in Syriac that covered the seventh century the following might be mentioned:

John of Litara
A younger contemporary of Jacob of Edessa, his chronicle was used as a source by Michael.

Dionysius of Tellmahre
Only one fragment14 of the genuine work of Dionysius15 survives independently, but large portions have been taken over and incorporated into their own works by Michael, the anonymous chronicler ad annum 1234 and Barhebraeus. See especially R. Abramowski, Dionysius von Tellmahre: Jakobitischer Patriarch von 818–845 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXV. 2 [Leipzig, 1940]).

Daniel bar Mariam (seventh century)
It has often been assumed, on not very good grounds, that Daniel's lost Ecclesiastical History was one of the main sources of

14. Published by Abramowski, Dionysius von Tellmahre, pp. 138–42 (with German translation) and by E. W. Brooks in CSCO Scr. Syri 39 [Louvain, 1925], pp. 219–24 (Latin translation in Scr. Syri 42 [Louvain, 1925]).
15. Originally covering A.D. 582–842.
II. MONASTIC HISTORIES

All entries in this section are of East Syrian (Nestorian) provenance.

(1) History of the monastery of Beth Qqā'

This local monastic history, composed at the monastery of Beth Qqā' in about 820, covers the seventh and eighth centuries, beginning with Sabrisho' (died 650), the founder of the monastery. The published text is based on two seventh-century manuscripts preserved in Iraq.


(2) Isho'dnah, Liber Castitatis

This ninth-century work contains 140 short biographical notices of monastic figures of N. Iraq, several of whom lived in the seventh century. Isho'dnah also wrote an Ecclesiastical History; this is usually considered to be lost, apart from a few citations in later writers, but according to P. Nautin it in fact survives in Arabic translation as the Chronicle of Seert. 19

Editions: J. B. Chabot, 'Livre de chasteté composé par


Translations: French in Chabot, op. cit., 225–91 (with index of names). There is also an Arabic translation by P. Cheikho (Mosul, 1939). 20

(3) Thomas of Marga, Liber Superiorum

Thomas, who flourished in the mid-ninth century, was a monk of the famous monastery of Beth 'Abe in N. Iraq, later becoming bishop of Marga, in Adiabene (he is not to be identified with Thomas, metropolitan of Beth Garmae, pace Asseneans). He is the author of two monastic histories, the History of the monastery of Rabban Cyprian (in Birta) and the Book of Superiors, concerned with his own monastery of Beth 'Abe. 21 Were it not for one or two passing references, the reader would be left totally unaware that Thomas was writing under Islamic rule.


Translations: English in Budge, op. cit., Vol. II (with index of names; Budge's topographical notes in this volume are unreliable); there is also an Arabic translation, with good notes and index, by A. Abuna, Kitāb al-rū'asā' (Mosul, 1966). 22

III. LIVES OF SAINTS

Nos. 1–3 are of Syrian Orthodox provenance, no. 4 is Maronite and nos. 5–10 are East Syrian (Nestorian). 23

22. In both printed editions the two works have been run together and placed in the wrong order: the earlier History of the monastery of R. Cyprian appears as Book VI, while the Book of Superiors features as Books I–V in the editions.
(1) **Athanasius the camel driver (died 631)**

Athanasius I was Patriarch of Antioch from 595–631. The acesphalous life is a product of the famous monastery of Qenneshre, and is preserved in Berlin (Sachau) MS. 315 of 1481. The surviving portion is mainly concerned with encounters with demons.


(2) **Marutha of Tagrit (died 649)**

The life of Marutha, metropolitan of Tagrit, was written by his successor to the episcopal throne, Denha, and is preserved in BM. Add. 14645 of 936. There are very few references to political events, and the main interest of the life lies in the information it gives about the expansion of the Syrian Orthodox church in north east Mesopotamia in the early seventh century.


(3) **Mar Gabriel of Qartmin (died 667)**

Gabriel was bishop of the famous monastery, still named after him, situated near Qartmin, some 20 kilometres east of Midyat in Tur Abdin. Only extracts of his life, preserved in BM. Add. 17265, have so far been published.


(4) **Maximus the Confessor**

This life, incomplete at the end, is preserved in BM. Add. 7192 of the late seventh or eighth century. The author is a monothelite bishop, George, originating from Reshaina, who is implicitly described as a 'Maronite' in the Syrian Orthodox chronicle *ad annum 1254*. The life contains much new information about the dyothelete/monothelite controversy.

(5) **The Emperor Maurice**

A brief history of the 'holy Maurice, emperor of the Romans' was published by Nau from a Nestorian manuscript, Paris syr. 309, of 1896. It is almost entirely concerned with the revolt of Phokas and Maurice's death.


(6) **Sabrisho' (died 604)**

The life of this Nestorian patriarch was written by a younger contemporary, Peter the Solitary. The work includes an account of the conversion of the Lakhmid Na'man to (Nestorian) Christianity.


(7) **Rabban bar 'Idta (died 612)**

A biography of this Nestorian monk, written by John the Persian some time after 661, survives only in a verse résumé of the eleventh century. Among other things it contains an interesting allusion to the battle between Heraclius and Chosroes near Nineveh in 627.


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25. So correctly (see *ROC*, XVI (1911), 281) Nau on p. 767 of his edition, but on p. 68 he describes the life as 'Jacobite'. On purely internal grounds it can hardly be a text of Jacobite provenance (see R. Paret in *REB*, XV (1957), 79), although it does happen to survive also in a Jacobite manuscript (unknown to Nau), Harvard syr. 59, written in Midyat in 1857.

Rabban Hormizd (sixth/seventh century)

There are three lives in Syriac available in print, all of which are full of legendary material:

(a) Prose life, attributed to the monk Shem'un, disciple of R. Yozadaq (seventh century).


(b) Verse, by Emmanuel of Beth Garmai (died 1080).


(c) Verse, by Sergius of Azerbaijan (sixteenth century?).

Edition: E. A. W. Budge, The Life of Rabban Hormizd and the Foundation of his Monastery at Al-Kosh (Semitistische Studien, II–III [Berlin 1894]).


(g) George (died 615)

The life of this martyr, another convert from Zoroastrianism, was written by the patriarch Ishawyab III, and is addressed to the monks of the monastery of Beth 'Abe. The work is almost exclusively concerned with his trial. The text, of which the end is lost, survives in Vat. syr. 161.


IV. SYNODS

(a) Synodicon orientale

The acts of two seventh-century Nestorian synods, held in 605 and 676, as well as a letter from the patriarch George to a chorepiscopus Menas, written in 680, are preserved in the late eighth-century collection of Nestorian synods known as the Synodicon orientale. There also survives an account of the assembly of Nestorian bishops that was summoned in 612 by Chosroes II (at the instigation of Gabriel of Sinjar) in order to hold a public dispute with the 'Theopaschites' (i.e. Syrian Orthodox).


(2) Maronite fragment on the Sixth Council

This short acephalous text, preserved in BM. Add. 7192 of the late seventh or eighth century, gives reasons why 'we' (probably the Maronites) cannot accept the Sixth Council.


**V. CANONICAL LITERATURE**

(1) **West Syrian**


(2) **East Syrian**

Twenty-five legal decisions of the patriarch Henanisho (died 699/70) are published (with German translation) by E. Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher, II* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 1–51. Twenty-two canons on inheritance by Simeon of Rev Ardashir also belong to the seventh century; these canons, which were originally written in Persian, will be found in Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher, III* (Berlin, 1914), pp. 203–53 (cf. pp. 345–62).

**VI. LETTERS**

(1) **Colloquium of the patriarch John with an Emir of the Hagarines**

This is preserved in a form of a letter from the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch John I, to be found in BM. Add. 17193 of 874. The colloquium took place on Sunday 9 May of an unspecified year; Nau took this to be 639, but according to Lammens the date should be 644 (*JA, 11* ser., XIII (1919), 97–110).


(2) **Isho'yahb III** (died 659)

106 letters by the energetic East Syrian patriarch Isho 'yahb III (659/60–670).

(3) **George I**

For a letter, dated 680, by the East Syrian patriarch George I, see *IV* (1).

(4) **Athanasius II**

There is a collection of canonical decisions by the Syrian Orthodox patriarch Athanasius II (684–6) which bears the (secondary) title 'Letter of the blessed patriarch Athanasius to the effect that Christians should not partake of the sacrifices that the Mhaggraye now have'.


**VII. APOCALYPtic TEXTS**

It has already been mentioned that John of Phenek (above, I (14)), writing in north-east Mesopotamia in the 690s, ended his work on an apocalyptic note. The end of the seventh century and the early eighth century was a period of tension that gave birth to survive, arranged chronologically in three parts. Though mostly concerned with ecclesiastical affairs, a number of passages throw interesting light on church-state relations under early Islam. The collection survives in Vat. syr. 157 of the late eighth century (and some more recent apographs); there is a lacuna at the head of Ep. I and at the end of Ep. XII.


*Translations: Latin in Duval, op. cit. (*CSCO Scr. Syri* 18 [Louvain, 1905]) (with index of names). The Syriac text and English translation of the first part, with letters written while Isho 'yahb was bishop of Mosul (i.e. before 628) will be found in P. Scott-Montcrieff, *The Book of Consolations, or Pastoral Epistles of Mar Isho 'yahb of Kuphlna in Adiabene*, 2 vols. (London, 1904).**

apocalyptic literature within the fold of all four major religions, Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Zoroastrianism. There are a number of Christian texts available in Syriac, of which the first is of particular interest.

(1) Apocalypse of Methodius of Olympus
This apocalypse, which enjoyed a great popularity in the medieval west, reached Latin (ed. Sackur) by way of a Greek version (ed. Istrin) that was itself originally translated from Syriac. The complete Syriac text, to be found in Vat. syr. 58 of 1564, has not yet been published, and only fragments from other Syriac sources are available in print. The title of the apocalypse as preserved in Vat. syr. 58 specifically mentions Sinjar as the region of its origin, and in the course of the text it is stated that Arab rule will come to an end before the 'tenth week' apocalypse as preserved in Vat. syr. 58 specifically mentions Sinjar as the region of its origin, and in the course of the text it is stated that Arab rule will come to an end before the 'tenth week' (i.e., 685–92), and one of his primary interests is in rumours of greatly increased taxation, when even the dead will have to pay poll-tax. It seems very likely that the author is writing shortly before Abdulmalik's census of 692, on the basis of which tax reforms were made in north Mesopotamia. The author looks for a restoration of Byzantine power, and foretells the recapture of Jerusalem by a Byzantine emperor.

Editions and translations: F. Nau, 'Révélations et légendes: Methodius-Clément-Andronicus', JA, 11 ser., IX (1917), 415–52 (cf. 455–61) (incomplete text taken from Paris Syr. 350 and Cambridge Add. 2054); extracts from Ps. Methodius are also to be found in Solomon of Bosra's Book of the Bee (Nestorian, thirteenth century; ed. E. A. W. Budge (Oxford 1886)), chaps. 53–5. All these are Nestorian, whereas the unpublished Vat. syr. 58 is West Syrian.

By this time the A.H. reckoning was in general use (e.g., BM. Add. 14666, fo. 56, of A.D. 682/3, dated A.G. 993 and A.H. 69), and P. J. Alexander is misled in his dates, basing them on the conquest of Iraq; see his 'Medieval apocalypses as historical sources', AHBR, LXIII (1958), 1061.

(2) Apocalypse of Esdras
Probably dependent on Ps. Methodius is an 'Apocalypse on the kingdom of the Ishmaelites'.

Editions and translations: F. Baethgen, in Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, VI (1866), 199–211 (German), and J. B. Chabot, 'L'apocalypse d'Esdras touchant le royaume des Arabes', Revue sémitique, II (1894), 242–50 (text), 333–47 (French translation).

(3) Poem on Alexander the Great
A poem of nearly 800 lines, on the subject of Alexander and the gates which he built against Gog and Magog, is wrongly attributed to Jacob of Serugh (died 521). According to Hunnius it must have been written between 628 and 637. It includes veiled references to the campaigns of Heraclius and Chosroes II.


(4) Ps. Ephraem, On the last judgment
Sections 3–5 of this work contain predictions concerning the Arabs and Gog and Magog.


(5) Apocalypse of John the Less


the seventh or early eighth century, this short apocalypse is
preserved in an eighth-century manuscript.39

Apostles together with the Apocalypses of each one of them

(6) Bahira legend
According to this legend, which in its present form can hardly be
earlier than the eleventh century, the prophet Mohammed
received instruction from a Christian monk, Bahira (or,
according to a tradition known to Mas'udi, Sergius). In its Syriac
form the work is in three parts: 1, the meeting of the supposed
author, Isho'yahb, with Bahira, together with an account of the
latter's vision on mount Sinai and his visit to Maurice and
Chosroes II; 2, the meeting between Bahira and Mohammed; 3,
an apocalypse. It is possible that the text may incorporate some
early material. The legend is also to be found in Arabic (ed.
Gottheil).

legend', Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, XIII (1898), 189-242, XIV
(1899), 202-52.

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Kaisersalbung.
The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual

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The anointing of emperors (Kaisersalbung) in the late Byzantine
coronation ritual formed part of the subject of an often cited
article by Professor George Ostrogorsky in 1955.1 The purpose
of these few words is to re-examine the evidence for this practice
and to suggest some different conclusions.

Ostrogorsky argued that anointing with oil was never a part
of the Byzantine coronation ceremony before the Fourth
Crusade in 1204 and that all references to unction in the
literature of the twelfth century should be interpreted in a
figurative or metaphorical sense and not literally. Much the
same arguments were advanced in greater detail by F. E.
Brightman in 1901. But, as Brightman observed, 'it still remains
difficult to say when the metaphorical use of χρίσεως passes into
the literal'.2 When Niketas Choniates writes of the Emperor

1. G. Ostrogorsky, 'Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung im
spätbyzantinischen Krönungseremoniell', Historia, IV (Festschrift für Wilhelm
Enslin, 1952), 246-56 (reprinted in G. Ostrogorsky, Zur Byzantinischen
2. Ostrogorsky, op. cit., 246f. F. E. Brightman, 'Byzantine Imperial
Christophilopoulou, ἐκλογή, ἀναγόμενως καὶ στέφεις τὸ βασιλείουνα
ἀνακράτεσις (Athens, 1957), pp. 169f. See also L.-P. Raybaud, Le gouvernement
e l'administration centrale de l'empire byzantin sous les premiers Paléologues
(1258-1334) (Paris, 1968), pp. 69-73, though the author seems to have been
unaware of Ostrogorsky's article. The essay by I. Gochow, 'Zur Frage der
Könungseremonien und die zeremonielle Gewandung der Byzantinischen