The Chronicle of Zuqnīn



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The Chronicle of Zuqn $\bar{\text{n}}$ n

Parts I and II. From the Creation to the Year 506/7 AD

Edited and Translated by Amir Harrak



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J.-B. Chabot

In Memoriam

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

For biblical abbreviations not listed below see J. Charlesworth, ed., The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.

SYRIAC SOURCES

Acts of Thomas

The Acts of Thomas (Klijn's edition of 1962)

Barheb. Chr. Syr.

Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Syriacum (Paris, 1890)

Assemani, Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana

Edessene Chronicle

So-called Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite (last

compiled source in the Chronicle of Zuqnin)

Elia Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni Opus chronologicum (I. CSCO T.

62*/Syr. 21, V. 63*/Syr 23)

Cave of Treasures Ri's La Caverne des trésors (CSCO 486–87)

Chr. Edes. Chronicon Edessenum (ed. and trans. Guidi in Chronica

Minora I, T. CSCO 1/Syr 1, V. CSCO 2/Syr. 2)

Chr. Zuq. Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum,

ed. I.-B. Chabot, CSCO I 91/43 and II 104/53

(Louvain 1927–1933).

Chr. 724 Chronicon miscellaneum ad ann. p. Chr. 724 pertinens (ed.

Brooks in Chronica minora CSCO 3/Syr. 3

Chr. 846 Chronicon anonymum ad ann. p. Chr. 846 pertinens, (ed.

Brooks in *Chronica minora* II, T. CSCO 3/Syr. 3)

Chr. 1234 Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annumChristi 1234

pertinens (ed. and trans. J. B. Chabot, CSCO 81/Syr

36, CSCO 109/Syr 56

Jacob of Edes. Chronicon Jacobi Edesseni, (in Chronica Minora III, T.

CSCO 5/Syr. 5, V. CSCO 6/Syr. 6)

Pleroph. Nau, "Les plérophories de Jean, évêque de Mayouma"

in ROC 3 (1898), p. 232-259

Ktōbō d-ṭaksō Ktōbō d-ṭaksō d-ʿīdē ʿi(d)tōnōyē vol. I (Mosul, 1969) Mich. Syr. The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael

> the Great (Gregorios Y. Ibrahim's edition of 2009; Chabot's trans. in *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* vol. I.

Jacob of Sarug Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias

Press, 2006), vol. VI, 324–30.

John of Ephesus, EH

Iohannis ephesini historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia, (ed. by

Brooks, CSCO 105/Syr. 54)

Resh Melle John of Phenek (Mingana's Catalogue of the Mingana

Collection of Manuscripts, vol. 1 and Microfilm fol. 148b

lines 4-7)

Ps. Zach. Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta (ed.

And trans. by Brooks CSCO 83/Syr. 83, CSCO

87/Syr. 41

ARMENIAN SOURCES

Arm. Karst's Die Chronik: aus dem Armenischen übersetzt

mit textkritischem Commentar

Moses Khorenats'i Thomson's Moses Khorenats'i History of the Armenians

GREEK SOURCES

Chr. Pas. Chronicon Paschale (ed. Dindorf; trans. Whitby)

Euseb. Chronici canones Armenian (Arm.,) version: Karst, Die Chronik (1911);

Latin (Hier.) version: Helm, Eusebius Caesariensis Werke

(1956)

Euseb. EH Eusebius. Ecclesiastical History (Trans. Lake; Loeb

Classical Library)

Evag. The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia (ed.

Bidez and Parmentier; trans. Whitby, Evagrius)

Joseph., Antiq Josephus, Jewish Antiquities (trans. Feldman, Loeb

Classical Library

Joseph. War Josephus, The Jewish War (trans. Page, Loeb Classical

Library

Mal. Malalas' Chronographia (ed. Dindorf; trans. Jeffreys and

Scott)

Procopius, History of the Wars (trans. Dewing, Loeb

Classical Library

Soc. Socrates, Exclesiastical History (ed. Hansen, and anon.

trans. in Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library)

Soz. HE Sozomen, Historia Ecclesiastica (ed. Bidez and Hansen)
Strabo The geography of Strabo (trans. Jones, Loeb Classical

Library)

Theod. HE Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Historia Ecclesiastica (ed.

Parmentier and Scheidweiler)

Theoph. HE Theophanes, Chronographia (ed. de Boor; trans. Mango

et als.)

LATIN SOURCES

Hier. Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius' Chronicle;

Helm's Eusebius Caesariensis Werke, Band 7: Die Chronik

des Hieronymus

SERIES AND PERIODICALS

AB Analecta Bollandiana (Brussels)

Aram Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies

(Oxford)

BJRL Bulletin of The John Rylands University Library of Manchester

El Encyclopedia Judaica

Harp: A Review of Syriac, Oriental and

Ecumenical Studies (Kottayam)

Hugoye Journal of Syriac Studies (*Beth Mardutho*, online)
Journal of the CSSS Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies

(Toronto)

JJS Journal of Jewish Studies (Oxford)

JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)
OCA Orientalia Christiana Analecta (Rome)
PO Patrologia Orientalis (Turnhout)

BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

(London)

ROC Revue de l'Orient chrétien (Paris)

OLP Orientalia lovaniensia Periodica (Leuven)

INTRODUCTION

MANUSCRIPT AND TITLE

The Chronicle of Zuqnīn is a universal chronicle which begins with the creation of the world and ends with the time of writing, A.D. 775–776.¹ The Chronicle is known from a single largely palimpsest manuscript of 179 folios, 173 of which are now housed in the Vatican Library (*Codex Zuqninensis*, Vat. Syr. 162), and an additional six are currently in the possession of the British Library (formerly British Museum), labelled Add. 14.665 folios 2 to 7.² The Vatican Library purchased the manuscript from the Syrian Monastery of Saint Mary in the Egyptian desert of Naṭrūn, whereas the other six folios were acquired by the British museum between 1839 and 1842. That both were part of one and the same manuscript was confirmed on the basis of the Septuagint texts by Cardinal Eugène Tisserant, who wrongly dated to the 9th century in light of the Syriac script.³

As is often the case, the first and last folios of the manuscript of Zuqnīn have been lost. The preface of the work, however, has survived, albeit in a very damaged condition. It was written in Sel. 1087 (A.D. 775–776) "in which (year) Mahdi son of 'Abd-Allāh is ruling over Syria, Egypt, Armenia, Azarbayjān, all of Persia, Sind, Kho[rasan], as well as over the Arabs, and over the Greeks Leo son of Constantine, and over the Romans Pepin." The addressees in the preface are the "spiritual fathers (of the writer), George, chorepiscopos of Āmid, the abbot Euthalius, Lazarus the Visitor, the honorable Anastasius, and the rest of the monastic

¹ Edition: Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum, ed. I.-B. Chabot, CSCO I 91/43 (hereafter C¹) and II 104/53 (hereafter C²) (Louvain 1927–1933). Complete translation: Parts I–II: Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum I, inter. I.-B. Chabot, CSCO 121 (Louvain 1949). Study: W. Witakowski, The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo Dionysius of Tel-Mahre: A Study in the History of Historiography (Uppsala 1987).

² W. Wright, *Catalogue* of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, vol. II (London, 1871), xiii–xiv.

³ Eugène Tisserant, *Codex Zuqninensis rescriptus Veteris Testamenti* (Roma: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1911), xxix, xxxi. On page v Tisserant oscillated between the 9th and 10th centuries.

⁴ C2 419:27-31.

community (of Zuqnīn)."5 Unfortunately, the Chronicler's name, and perhaps indications of his status and origin have not survived, a fact which led to false attributions and unusual titles. Assemani⁶ attributed it to the early 9th-century west Syriac patriarch, Dionysius I of Tell-Maḥrē, and he was followed by Tullberg⁷ and (at first) Chabot.⁸ After Chabot edited the manuscript in the 1940s, he realized the attribution error since Dionysius was contemporary of Al-Ma'mun (813-833) and Al-Mu'taşim (833-842) whereas the Chronicler of Zuqnīn was contemporary of al-Manşur (754-775), and as a consequence he gave it the title Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē. Abramowski, who published a study on the real Dionysius, wisely called the Syriac content of Codex Zugninensis, the Chronicle of Zugnīn, 10 since Zugnīn was apparently the place where its author had lived. In one passage the Chronicler in fact mentions that several monks "from our monastery of Zuqnīn," succumbed to a pestilence.¹¹ Furthermore, he dedicated his work to the officials and monks of the monastery in question, as is clear from the Chronicle's preface.¹² Moreover, Zuqnīn as a concrete location seems somehow a more appropriate anchor for the anonymous Chronicle than a phantom author dubbed Pseudo-Dionysius. The latter is not only an imaginary person, but his name fosters confusion with the real Dionysius of Tell-Maḥrē, who had no connection whatsoever with the Zuqnīn Chronicle. For these reasons, Abramowski's label has been used in the present translation.

IDENTITY OF THE CHRONICLER AND HIS POSITION

In discussing this subject, I have strongly defended that the author was none other than Joshua the Stylite, mentioned in a note appended to the source compiled in Part III of the Chronicle, and which deals with events relevant to the Jazīrah and Edessa (see below). This note of a script other than the one found in the entire codex, was written by the 9th century Elisha of Zuqnīn who repaired it. That the

⁵ C² 420:10–12.

⁶ G. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. II (Romæ: Typis Sacræ Congregationi de Propaganda Fide, 1721), p. 98ff.

⁷ O. F. Tullberg, *Dionysii Telmahhrensis Chronici Liber Primus e Codice Mss. Syriaco Biblithecae Vaticanae* (Uppsala, 1851), i ff.

⁸ J.-B. Chabot, Chronique de Denys de Tell Maḥré: Quatrième Partie (Paris 1895), 1ff.

⁹ Chabot had previously accepted Assemani's identification, as the title given above of his French translation of Part IV of the Chronicle shows.

¹⁰ R. Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre jakobitischer Patriach von 845–818. Zur Geschiche der Kirche unter dem Islam*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 25:2 (Leipzig, 1940), p. 11.

¹¹ Harrak, Zuqnīn, p. 188.

¹² C² 420:10–12. The Preface does not mention Zuqnīn as such, but the name of "George, chorepiscopus of Āmid," the district in which the monastery was located, hints at it. Most importantly, "Euthalius, the abbot," named in the Preface, is also mentioned elsewhere in the Chronicle as the abbot of Zuqnīn; see Harrak, *Zuqnīn*, p. 219 and note 3.

author of our Chronicle was almost certainly a resident in the monastery of Zuqnīn is suggested in Part IV as mentioned above. He was a priest and formerly a stylite, on the assumption that he is the Joshua of Elisha's note. In Part IV of his work, Joshua discusses with bitterness the violence that engulfed northern Syria during the governorship of Mūsā son of Muṣ'ab, including attacks against monks, recluses and stylites: "They attacked hermits, recluses, and stylites, bringing down many from their pillars ..." He may well have been among them. There is clearly no reason to disqualify a stylite from having been a literary author. John, the Stylite of Litarb, near Aleppo, corresponded with Jacob of Edessa, 13 and wrote a chronography at the beginning of the 8th century. 14 Similarly, Joshua too appears to have been both a stylite and an author.

Witakowski suggested that he was the Jacob "steward" of his monastery, because, according to Witakowski, 15 only monks in that position could travel and gather information about the events he discusses in his Chronicle. Nonetheless, the author mentions a monk named Dionysius, who held that position until 766–767, 16 although he became the bishop of Ḥarrān in 767–768, but he also mentions another monk of Zuqnīn, Lazarus, who served as "steward" in the year he finished his Chronicle, namely, S. 1087 (775–776). He also dedicated his work to this monk, as well as to the other fellow monks of his monastery. 17

DATE OF THE MANUSCRIPT AND TIME OF WRITING

I have previously given several reasons to believe that the Chronicle is an autographon: The script of the entire codex is different from that of Elisha, whom we know that he lived in the 9th century thanks to other dated manuscripts he copied in Egypt; the manuscript contains blank spaces found in Part IV of the Chronicle (folios 135v, 136r, 137r, 138r, and 144v), meant to be filled later on by the Chronicler, but then they were left blank; the Chronicler depicted heavenly portents (folios 121v, 136v, 146r, 150v, 154v, 155v) some of which bear captions of the same script of the entire codex; there are also notations made on two occasions in the margins of Part IV of the Chronicle (folio 137v, 138v) whose script is also identical to that of the main text – aides-memoire, since they consist of titles discussed later on by the author.¹⁸

In 1997, Andreas Luther published a translation of the Edessene Chronicle (the so-called Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite), and while he considered *Codex*

¹³ A. Harrak, "Jacob of Edessa as a Chronicler," in Gregorios Ibrahim & George Kiraz (eds.), *Studies on Jacob of Edessa*, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 25 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press: 2010), pp. 58–77.

¹⁴ Michael II 358, after Dionysius of Tell-Maḥrē.

¹⁵ Witakowski, *Study*, p. 92.

¹⁶ See below p. 219.

¹⁷ See C², p. 420:11

¹⁸ Harrak, *Zuqnīn*, pp. 9–17.

Zuqninensis as an autographon, he took Joshua the Stylite of Zuqnīn as the author of the Edessene Chronicle.¹⁹ By contrast, Frank Trombley and John Watt, in their translations of the same short chronicle, wrote that Joshua was not the author of this work "but probably also the author of the Chronicle of Zuqnīn."²⁰

We know reasonably well when the Chronicler begun writing his universal history and when he completed it. In his introductory letter the Chronicler mentions the year in which he completed his Chronicle which he dedicated to the leaders of his monastery: Sel. 1087 (=AD 775–76), corresponding to the first year of Caliph al-Mahdī's reign. Part IV of the Chronicle covers the entire reign of Caliph al-Manṣūr, the father of al-Mahdī, and while writing the former was still alive, a fact which explains why the Chronicler left a blank space meant to be filled with the total years of his reign. The author seems to have been very busy with his undertaking, since Caliph al-Manṣūr died in 775 and he failed to fill the gap with the necessary information about the sum of years he ruled. It is therefore not farfetched to believe that the Chronicler began his work in 773–774 and completed it in 775–776. Two years' time was necessary to compile a great number of sources which he copied, interview people, including soldiers who had returned from war zones, and gather his own ideas and memories to create the first universal chronicle in Syriac.

We can follow the progress of his writing through the events he discussed. The year 769-770, witnessed the martyrdom of Cyrus of Ḥarrān²¹ and the appointment of Mūsā son of Mus'ab as governor of the Jazīrah (Chabot 252). In fact, this administrator was appointed as such in Hijra 155 which corresponds to AD 771-772. The year AD 772-773 dates the "first year of affliction" at the hands of the new governor, atrocities described by the Chronicler in great detail (C1 290), and the second year of affliction is dated to 773-774 (C1 331). The author mentions four years of "afflictions" (C1 330), which means that they ended in the year he wrote his introductory letter, AD 775-776. Since codex zugninensis misses a number of folios at its end, one can speculate that what is missing may have contained a description of the last two years in question. Or he left out discussing them since the martyrdom of Cyrus of Harran, with which codex zugninensis ends, can be conserved as a fitting conclusion of the whole work. The first two years of "afflictions" included anti-Christian persecution at the hands of the early Abbasids, and presenting the example of Cyrus, the one who persevered at the cost of his own life, as an ideal of Christian bravery and victory.

¹⁹ Andreas Luther, *Die syrische Chronik des Josua Stylites* (Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 11–14. For the author, Joshua of Zuqnīn could have been in Edessa between 494 and 506 and at the monastery of Zuqnīn before and after this period.

²⁰ Frank R. Trombley and John W. Watt, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*, Translated Texts for Historians 32 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. xxv-xxvi.

²¹ On him see A. Harrak, "Piecing Together the Martyrdom of Cyrus of Harran," AB 121 (2003), pp. 297–328.

SOURCES OF PARTS I AND II

Occasionally the Chronicler of Zuqnīn spelled out his major sources in the right place, e.g. "Then from the Chronicle of Socrates" for the period from Constantine to Theodosius the Younger. Unfortunately this was not his practice in Parts I and II of his opus. By the time he began to write Part IV of his chronicle, the part that he himself authored, he decided to give his most important sources:

This account, that is this history, commences with the beginning of creation, and takes us to the birth of Abraham and the reign of Ninos, who built Nineveh and reigned here for fifty-two years – in Ninos' forty-second year, Abraham the patriarch was born – *Eusebius* testifies to this, and it is from him that we have taken the contents of his history, up to the year of Constantine the Believer. From here until Theodosius the Younger, the material is from *Socrates* of the sect of Novatian. From Theodosius to Justinian the Emperor, that is the year eight hundred and eighty-five (573–574), the contents are from the holy *John, Bishop of Asia...*²²

The major sources identified in Parts I and II of the Zuqnīn Chronicle had been discussed in great detail by Witakowski.²³ In the following, the major sources will be identified according to chronological periods beginning with the biblical account of the Creation to the year 506/507 AD, and thereafter the sources will be discussed in more or less details.

Periods	Events	Sources
Beginning – 1569 BC	Biblical Creation to the death of Moses in 1569 BC	 Pentateuch, "Books of Moses," according to the Septuagint version; Cave of Treasures Euseb. Chronici canones
1468 – 1035 BC	Israelite settlement to the year of the death of David	 Joshua, Judges, Samuel 1 and 2 Chronicles, 1 and 2 Kings (unspecified) Euseb. Chronici canones

²² Harrak, Zugnīn, p. 138.

²³ Witakowski, *Study*, p. 124–135; "The Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Maḥrē for the Second Part of his Chronicle," in J.O. Rosenqvist (ed.), ΔΕΙΜΩΝ Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday (Uppsala, 1996), pp. 181–210; "Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre for the Christian Epoch of the First Part of his Chronicle," in G.J. Reinink and A.C. Klugkist (eds.), After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J.W. Drijvers (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Department Oosterse Studies, 1999), pp. 329–366.

1031 – 432 BC	Building of the Temple under Solomon in 1031 BC to Nehemia's rebuilding of Jerusalem and its wall in 432 BC	 Unspecified sources Euseb. Chronici canones
334 – 323 BC	Alexander's expeditions in 334 BC and his death eleven years after	Story of Alexander
319 – 49 BC	Ptolemaic period beginning with Ptolemy I to the time of Cleopatra II	 Unspecified sources Euseb. Chronici canones
48 – 1 AD	Roman period beginning with Gaius Caesar Dynasty to the birth of Christ	 Revelation of the Magi Cave of Treasures Teaching of Addai (unspecified) Report Concerning the Passion and the Solemn Judgement of Our Lord Euseb Chronici canones
52 – 72 AD	Roman Period; early Church history including heresies; history of Edessa	 Eusebius's Ecclesiastic History A Chronicle of Edessa (unspecified)
78 – 250 AD	Roman Period, early Church history including heresies, history of Edessa	• Ditto
250 – 345/6 AD	Roman period from Decius to Constantine the Great	 Eusebius's Ecclesiastic History The Sleepers Ephesus' (Part I) From the Account on Constantine the Great
298/9 – 429/30 AD	Roman period to Theodosius; Church history including Arianism; Sassanian warfare; Edessan history; Nestorius's tenure	 Socrates' Ecclesiastic History A Chronicle of Edessa (unspecified) The Sleepers of Ephesus' (Part II) Plerophoria of John Rufus
432/3 – 445/6 AD	Council of Ephesus to the Second Council of Ephesus	 Plerophoria of John Rufus A Chronicle of Edessa (unspecified) Other unspecified sources
450/1 – 484/5 AD	Council of Chalcedon to the reign of Zeno	 Plerophoria A Chronicle of Edessa (unspecified) Anti-Chalcedonian sources from John of Ephesus (unspecified) Henoticon
297/8 – 506/7 AD	Northern Mesopotamia and Byzantine-Sassanian warfare	Short Edessene Chronicle (its entirety)

The Bible constitutes a major source from the beginning to the Seleucid period. The Pentateuch, "according to the Seventy tradition (the Septuagint)," was used "(from the Creation up to) this point (=death of Tuthmosis III); it tells the events of three thousand seven hundred and thirty years." The Books of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel "tell the events of four hundred and seventy years." The Chronicler used other biblical books, including 1 and 2 Chronicles, 1 and 2 Kings, Jonas, but without naming them. The Chronicler, not knowing Greek, used the Syriac Pešitta version of the Old Testament even when he refers to the 'Seventy' version. For the Creation he quotes Genesis fairly verbatim, but most probably from memory since some words are misspelled, e.g. مما for مما; إوصدا for إوصدا for إوصدا إلى etc. It is not farfetched to believe that he knew at least the first chapter of Genesis by heart, and in any case, the first word in this chapter, b-rēšīt, was in his mind when he linked it to John 1:1 to prove to the Muslims the eternal nature of Christ.²⁴ And lest his quotations appear mere copying, he interjects between verses; for example, after the first day of creation, he adds: "These were created on the first day, that is on Sunday." He commented on the first Friday as follows: "in it Adam was created and there was the cross on Golgotha through which the world was redeemed." For dynastic successions and some important events of the Israelites, he draws from the Old Testament names and basic information, sometimes out of no choice: "Because we did not find computations agreeing with one another, we list here the first fathers as they are found in the Scripture" (p. 26).

The *Cave of Treasures* narrates biblical history from the Creation to Pentecost, a period of 5500 years in total, using a variety of legends, including fictitious genealogies. It was wrongly attributed to Ephrem the Syrian and is now believed to date to the 6th century at least in its present shape.²⁵ The Christological expression "you are above all suffering and of the lineage of the One who does not suffer (p. 150) echoes 6th century Theopaschite controversies. The Chronicler uses the *Cave of Treasures* in two ways: he adds details from it to biblical accounts about Adam and the first generations, e.g. so-and-so "was buried in the Cave of Treasures in the mountain called Shir," and also borrows long excerpts "from the Books that were in the Cave of Treasures of the Hidden Mysteries" on Seth, Noah, and the Flood (p. 114).

Eusebius is mentioned by the Chronicler as his source, but does not specify whether it is his Ecclesiastical History or his Chronici canones, in a Syriac translation. The Chronicler relied heavily on the Canones for the period as early as the Creation (following the biblical account) and as late as the time of Constantine the Great, that is the entire history covered by the Canones. Eusebius' Chronici Canones is no longer extant but it survived in the Latin translation of Jerome (Hieronymus; abbreviated

²⁴ Harrak, Zugnīn, p. 327.

²⁵ See E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures: History of the Patriarchs and the Kings, Their Successors from the Creation to the Crucifiction of Christ* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1927), and A. S.-M. Ri, *La Caverne des trésors*, CSCO 486–87 (Louvain: Peeters, 1987).

hereafter as Hier.),26 in an Armenian translation (abbreviated hereafter as Arm.),27 and in Syriac translations, 28 including a version used by the Chronicler. In the footnotes of our translation some dates and sometimes pieces of information found in the Chronicle are compared with Hier. and Arm. and the discrepancies resulting from these comparisons tell how risky it is to rely on the dates of Eusebius in all these translations. In a symposium on Chronography organized in 2006 in Ottawa by the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies and the Department of Classics, University of Ottawa, Richard Burgess compared dates for every event given in these versions, using for the Syriac Chabot's Latin translation of the Chronicle of Zuqnīn. His statistics also highlight the unreliability of these versions in reconstructing the original Chronici canones: 14.3% exact match and 32.4% no agreement!²⁹ In fact in the Chronicle some dates were tampered with, as in the case of the original Abr. 1848, which happens to agrees with both Hier. and Arm., but which was changed to Abr. 1850. None of the editors of the Chronicle paid attention to the different ink used in this emendation and or to the failed erasure of some original digits, and thus the year was always taken for 1850, including in Chabot's Latin translation of the Chronicle. The fact that someone emended that date to agree with the one in the Latin and Armenian versions is quite interesting. Did he use a Syriac translation of the Chronici canones that is no longer extant, and was he at the monastery of Zuqnīn or at the monastery of the Syrians in Sketes when he changed it?

As for Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, it covers early church history in the Chronicle from the time of Herod (year 5 AD) to Constantine the Great, including calamities befalling the Jews after the Passion of Christ, material borrowed by Eusebius from Josephus. Eusebius' *EH* is extant in Syriac, but the version used by

²⁶ Rudolph Helm, *Eusebius Caesariensis Werke*, Band 7: *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte 47 (Berlin: Academy-Verlag, 1956; repr. De Gruyter, 2012).

²⁷ Josef Karst, *Die Chronik*: aus dem Armenischen übersetzt mit textkritischem Commentar, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte 20 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911).

²⁸ The translation of the *Canones* by Jacob of Edessa survived in a mutilated version; E. W. Brooks, *Chronicon Jacobi Edesseni*, (in) *Chronica Minora* III, T. CSCO 5/Syr. 5, pp. 261–330; V. CSCO 6/Syr. 6, pp. 197–258 (Paris, 1905–1907).

²⁹ Richard W. Burgess, "A Chronological Prolegomenon to Reconstructing Eusebius' Chronici canones: The Evidence of Ps-Dionysius (The Zuqnin Chronicle)," *Journal of the CSSS* 6 (2006), pp. 29–38. See also on the issue of disagreements Muriel Debié, *L'Écriture de l'histoire en syriaque: Transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam* (Peeters: Leuven, 2015), pp. 294; id., "L'Historiographie tardo-antique: une littérature en extrais," in S. Morlet (ed.), *Lire en extraits* (Paris, PUPS, 2015), pp. 411–12.

the Chronicler differs slightly from the one published by Wright and McLean,³⁰ and in any case he was selective in copying events from this largely quoted source.

An Edessan source covers the kingdom of Edessa (=Urhay), beginning with "the first king reigning over Urhay (whose name is) Urhay son of Hewia (Urhay son of the Sneak);" (p. 98). No source exists pertaining to the earliest history of Edessa with its "first" king. The Chronicler could have used an independent list of local rulers drawn on royal archives, or perhaps the so-called *Original Chronicle of Edessa*, 31 a non-extant source that must have given rise to the known *Chronicle of Edessa*.

The *Story of Alexander* (p. 82) is fully legendary, and the Chronicler's short version contains important variants compared with longer ones,³² suggesting the existence of a series of versions. The core of the story must have dealt with the exploits of Alexander but was eventually Christianized, adding a legendary character in it. The Qur'an refers to the legend in *surah al-Kahf* (18:83–102).³³

The *Story of the Magi* (p. 152), known only in the Chronicle, has Iranian and Jewish backgrounds, Iranian with the twelve magi and Jewish with the admonition of Adam to Seth. Thus the story draws on the Cave of Treasures. The *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* of the 5th or 6th century, an Arian commentary of the Gospel of Matthew, is the closest to the Story of the Magi, although it is much shorter.³⁴

The Letter on the Passion with its title 'qtwn betrays its Greek origin. This apocryphal source based at least in its beginning on Matthew 27:2, Mark 15:1, Luke 23:1, and John 18:28, is not complete due to a sizable gap in the manuscript. What remains from the document, including its title, has no parallel in Syriac or in any other literature.

³⁰ W. Wright and N. McLean (eds.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius in Syriac Edited* from the Manuscripts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1898).

³¹ See W. Witakowski, "The Chronicles of Edessa," *Orientalia Suecana* 33–35 (1984–86), pp. 487–498.

³² Ernest Wallis Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889).

³³ See lately K. van Bladel, "The Syriac Sources of the Early Arabic Narratives of Alexander', in *Memory as History: The Legacy of Alexander in Asia*, ed. H. Ray and D. T. Potts (2007), pp. 54–75, and *Qur'an in its Historical Context*, ed. G. S. Reynolds (2008), pp. 175–203.

³⁴ Landau, Brent, The Sages and the Star-Child: An Introduction to the Revelation of the Magi, an Ancient Christian Apocryphon (Harvard Divinity School, 2008). See also his dissertation: Revelation of the Magi: The Lost Tale of the Wise Men's Journey to Bethlehem (New York: Harper One, 2010); I thank Dr. Landau for sending me a PDF version of his dissertation and high-resolution photographs of the folios containing the story. G. Levi Della Vida, Le leggende orientali sui magi evengelici, Studi e Testi 163 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Orientalia, 1952); W. Witakowski, "The Magi in the Syriac Tradition," in G. Kiraz (ed.), Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2008), pp. 809–843.

The Sleepers of Ephesus, or the original title Account Concerning Ephesus and Concerning the Eight Children martyred in it, must have witnessed fame in late antiquity since even the Qur³an refers to it surah al-kahf (18:9–26]). It is conveniently divided in the Chronicle into two parts: the first covers the persecution under the Roman Emperor Decius (249–251), and the second covers the awakening of the Sleepers during the reign of Theodosius son of Arcadius (408–450). The Chronicler's version of the legend, where the sleepers are eight, was taken from the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus which is non-extant. Another version is found in the Ecclesiastical History of Ps. Zachariah of Mitylene, where the sleepers are seven, and Jacob of Sarug³5 wrote a mīmrō on it.

From an Account on Constantine the Great, which narrates the conversion of Constantine, is an abbreviated version of the Latin Acts of Sylvester, bishop of Rome (314–335). It is found in various forms, including the one in Ps.-Zachariah of Mytilene and Michael the Syrian;³⁶ The Chronicler, however, must have borrowed it from the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus, currently non-extant.

Socrates "of the sect of Novatian" (p. 250) is the source with which Part II begins. Socrates is mentioned by name at the forefront: "Then from the Chronicle of Socrates: Another account in chapters." The Chronicle relies heavily on the former's Ecclesiastical History, using a Syriac non-extant version of it, covering the period from Constantine to Theodosius the Younger, in which the 'Sleepers of Ephesus' (Part II) and brief accounts from an Edessan chronicle are inserted.

The *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus (or of Asia) (p. 324–366) is made of three parts, the first non-extant, the second extensively quoted in Parts II and III of the Chronicle (not cited as source), and the third survived independently.³⁷ The second part of the *Ecclesiastical History* quoted by the Chronicler goes from Constantine the Great to the 6th year of Justin II, information known from other sources.³⁸ The Chronicle's Part II used also anti-Chalcedonian sources: The

³⁵ Jacob of Sarug, *Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), vol. VI, 324–30. I. Guidi published this *mimrō* along with a later expanded version of it in *Testi orientali inediti sopra i sette dormienti di Efeso* (Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Anno CCLXXXII, 1884–85), p. 18–29.

³⁶ Ps. Zachariah (hereafter Ps. Zech.): E. W. Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, T. I, CSCO 83/Syr. 38 (Paris, 1919), I vii p.56:1–93:5 (Latin trans. E. W. Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, T. I, CSCO 87/Syr. 41 [Louvain: Peeters, 1950], pp. 39–65]; Michael the Syrian (hereafter Mich. Syr.): Gregorios Yuhanna Ibrahim (ed.), *The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great* (Piscataway, NJ.: Gorgias Press, 2009), 124c, 125a, 126c (trans. J.B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien patriarche jacobite d'Antioche* (1166–1199), vols. I (Paris, 1899), pp. 241–243].

³⁷ Iohannis ephesini historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia, ed. E.W. Brooks, T. CSCO 105/Syr. 54 (Paris, 1935); R. Payne Smith, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford, 1860).

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Plerophories of John Rufus,³⁹ (p. 320–334) a source made of tales of visions and prophecies of Palestinian monks; the apocryphal Letter of the "Hebrews" to the Emperor Marcian asserting that their forefathers crucified a man not God "as showed by the Holy Council of Chalcedon;" (p. 342), Zeno's *Henoticon*, a formula meant to bring together the Miaphysites of Egypt and Syria (p. 348). Most of these sources were excerpted by the Chronicler from John of Ephesus who himself used Pseudo-Zechariah's *Ecclesiastical History*;⁴⁰ this is based on the *Ecclesiastical History* of Zachariah of Mitylene, and the *Chronicle of John Malalas*.⁴¹

The so-called "Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite" is an Edessene chronicle composed by a monk of a monastery in Edessa at the request of its abbot named Sergius. The title "historical account of the times of affliction that took place in Edessa, Āmid, and all of Mesopotamia" highlights an epidemic plaguing Edessa between 494 and 502 and a devastating war between Persia and Byzantium within the years 502 and 506. The Chronicler included this source in its entirety verbatim. It also inspired him to write about similar themes that happened during his own time.⁴² The author of the short chronicle consulted old people, military personnel, and eye-witnesses to write his history and was well aware of events and trends occurring in his region of northern Syria and beyond. For example, he mentions the "heresy" of زوه ها والمعالية (zaraduštagnā) which "teaches that women belong in common and that everyone may have intercourse with whomever he wants." The author was not only the contemporary of this Sassanian unorthodox way of thinking but was also the first ever to report about it, since what we know about the heresy derives from centuries after it had taken place. Its name comes from Zaradusht son of Khurrakān (زرادشت بن خرکان) which gave the Syriac form Zaradushtaqna and later Arabic Zaradushtakan (زردشتگان). Incidentally, the practice of Zaradushtakan was known in Ba'albek at the time of Constantine the Great (p. 252): "they (people Ba^calbeck) have such a practice as their wives are shared, and because of this, there

Constantine the victorious had recently returned from the worship of idols..." به محب مهرب مهرب مهرب مهرب مهرب مهرب المعلم "after we had compiled and classified the ecclesiastical accounts up to the 6th year of the reign of the Justin II, the nephew of Justinian; *Iohannis ephesini* 4:11–14.

- ³⁹ F. Nau, Jean Rufus, Évêque de Maïouma, Plérophories: témoignages et révélations contre le concile de Chalcédoine, PO 8:1 (1911).
- ⁴⁰ See most recently *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor: Church and War in Late Antiquity*, [edited by] Geoffrey Greatrex; translated from Syriac and Arabic sources by Robert R. Phenix and Cornelia B. Horn, with introductory material by Sebastian Brock and Witold Witakowski (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011).
 - ⁴¹ English translation: E. Jeffreys et als., *The Chronicle of John Malalas* (Melbourne, 1986).
- ⁴² The Edessan chronicle is very well-known in Western scholarship: P. Martin, *Chronique de Josué le Stylite écrite vers l'an 515*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes VI/ 1 (Leipzig, 1876); W. Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* (Cambridge, 1882); F. R. Trombley and J. W. Watt, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000).

is a discord among them concerning the newborn: of whom is he the son?" The Chronicle mentions that Constantine abolished this practice.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REMARKS

The Chronicle of Zuqnīn begins with a letter, just as the Edessene Chronicle mentioned above does. From the quite mutilated letter we learn that it was addressed to the author's "spiritual Fathers, George the Chorepiscopos of Āmid, Euthalius the Abbot, Lazarus the Periodeute, the honourable Anastasius, and the entire monastic community," in "the year one thousand eighty-seven of Alexander of Macedonia," which corresponds to A.D. 775-776. A list of living rulers ensues, including Al-Mahdī, the son of al-Manṣūr who ruled from 775 to 785. This letter cannot be fictitious since two of the "spiritual fathers" mentioned in the letter are referred to in Part IV of his Chronicle: Dionysius who became the bishop of Harran and Euthalius the Abbot mentioned in the context of a visit paid by the Patriarch George to Āmid and the nearby monastery of Zuqnīn in AD 766-67;43 Also Lazarus, being the sō urō of Zuqnīn, cannot be imaginary. There is correlation between the content of the letter and what the Chronicler wrote in the latter part of his work, including the jeremiad permeating both sections of the Chronicle. The Chronicler witnessed the succession of empires and recalled what the Book of Daniel said about the same, a theme familiar to apocalyptic literature, but his work is not apocalyptic, save perhaps the end of the Chronicle in which the suffering under the early Abbasids discussed with an apocalyptic note. Otherwise, the Chronicle was written to prove that what happened in history, especially natural and manmade catastrophes, is but foretold in the Scriptures and the proof are the quotations from Isaiah, Zachariah, and Joel which occur in his letter and recur in Part IV of his Chronicle.

In the letter the Chronicler calls his work *scholion* "commentary," but this should not be taken literally, but rather in a general sense, in that he considers his work as a learned enterprise. The usual term for chronicle is *maktebōnūt* (zabnē) "Chronicle," from Greek χρονικόν, χρονικά, or χρονογραφία, and the Chronicler knew it when he compiled the *maktebōnūtō d-taš'cītō d-zabnē* "a historical account of the times" in the title of the short Edessene Chronicle from which he benefitted much in writing his own portion of the Chronicle. When he introduced the part that he authored (and elsewhere), he used two key terms referring to chronography: "this *bušbōnō* (computation), I mean this *maktebōnūtō* (chronicle)..."⁴⁴ In fact he gives a variety of names to his work, including *menyōnō* "computation, account", *šarbō* "story", *taš'cītō* "story, account," - *'uhdōnō* "memorandum, memory," etc., and thus

⁴³ Harrak, Zugnīn, p. 219.

⁴⁴ Chabot (ed.), *Chronicon* II, 145:17. See Witakowski, *Study*, pp. 148–152, for a comprehensive discussion of terms used by the Chronicler in reference to his work not including *scholion*.

one occurrence of the term *scholion* does not necessarily describe the entire work even if he mentioned it in his letter.

In compiling a great number of literary sources while undertaking his writing activity, the author learned from these sources how to write a universal chronicle: fabricando fit faber "by doing blacksmith work, one becomes blacksmith." This is certainly true with two major sources that he appreciated most: the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus and the Edessene Chronicle. From the first he learned how to lament, including the use of Jeremiad, but most importantly how to compose an account on such natural disasters as epidemics, and from the second how to report from time to time the fluctuation of prices of goods in the local markets.⁴⁵

WRITING PRACTICES

Even though the Chronicler merely compiled sources in Parts I and II of his Chronicle, his copying method sheds some light on his Syriac writing practices and on his way of expression. His work contains many phonetically-spelled words, a fact which explains why Chabot's edition (C¹) contains numerous footnotes correcting these unusual words and thereby offering their full spelling forms. The Chronicler's practice of copying includes the following cases:

- Elimination of glottal stops in the middle of words: المن "fatigue" instead of العالمية "which is in our land" instead of مملك "they enter" instead of مملك ومالك و "they enter" instead of ومالك و "they enter" instead of ومالك و المالك و "they enter" instead of ومالك و المالك و المالك و المالك و المالك و "for being diligent" instead of المالك و "floating" instead of ا
- Clipped suffixes, thus again terms phonetically written: "of my head" instead of "his feet" instead of "silves are shortened unlike the written forms.
- Sometimes *matres lectionis* is employed to indicate vowels: حمد (misread in C¹) instead of معدالم instead of جبدارا) where the first *olaf* stresses عهرة.
- In verbs, the plural marker wāw (masculine) and the feminine verbal marker yād, phonetically silent, sometimes disappear: معن "Get up and go (plural)" instead of من بعض "Get up and go (plural)" instead of من بعض "There is at least one case where a wāw is unnecessarily added: من من من "they were destroyed and him, they were taken captive (sic);" the subject in the first case is an army and in the second case a commander.
- Compound tenses sometimes phonetically written: نجم instead of مرحد instead of المعصد instead of المعصد This practice is also evident in texts

⁴⁵ A. Harrak, "The Making of a Syriac Chronicler: The Case of Joshua the Stylite of Zuqnīn," (forthcoming).

composed by the chronicler, in this case his introductory letter: محمة instead of المحدة.

- Metathesis: a few words erroneously switch letters: المالات "he grieved" for مالا "enemies" for مالا
- Syōmē not marked: العا for العا, or are superfluous: حجب "he made a trench (not trenches)."
- There are cases where a hook appears at the end of words, giving the impression that it is the suffix $y\bar{o}d$: (a) where the month's name is just (a). In "Khorasan," which must be (a), the final $y\bar{o}d$ is not a hook, but unnecessary addition attested elsewhere in the Chronicle.
- Dōlat is sometimes confused with tāw: سك for ببيب; رمصك instead of معميب "they eliminate"; in كاكمه the tāw is eliminated and thus the form is phonetic (instead of كالميا).

The countless phonetic forms found in the Chronicle suggest that someone dictated to the Chronicler the sources that he compiled, and thus, some words were phonetically written. There are of course wrong spellings in the Chronicle that Chabot, and before him Assemani, Tullberg, and Martin, had identified and that he included in his valuable edition.

PRESENT EDITION AND TRANSLATION

Codex Zuqninensis is largely palimpsest, especially Parts I and II, a fact which adds much value to its 1927 edition and publication by Chabot, since the manuscript deteriorated even after that year. Thus, the present edition of Parts I and II cannot and does not replace Chabot's edition, which is our only source for numerous folios that turned simply dark with no text visible or legible. Our edition is published alongside the translation so as to give the reader the ability to compare between both versions, and in case of questions about the Syriac text, one ought to verify with Chabot's edition.

Not all of Chabot's corrections of errors of the Syriac text are included in the present edition, which contains a number of Chabot's wrong readings and printing typos. Chabot's edition was collated against Codex Zuqninensis at the Vatican Library, and here I would like to thank the trustees of this Library for outing at my disposal this fragile and rare manuscript. The digital version which lately became available online: http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS Vat.sir.162, was also consulted to verify certain readings in the Chabot's edition. The correlation was not an easy undertaking given the bad condition of the manuscripts, and therefore, the corrections are not exhaustive.

The digital text published in this book was provided by Gorgias Press which ultimately obtained it from the Center for the Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts, housed at Brigham Young University. A variety of Syriac documents were typeset, thanks to the initiative and generosity of Dr. Kristian Heal of Brigham Young University. This much appreciated digital text required enormous time and effort to bring it in line with Chabot's Syriac text, and thus, it is hoped it now

reflects more or less Codex Zuqninensis. I thank Adam Lehto, Colin Clarke and Reagan Patrick for going through the translation, and Muriel Debié for her many insights on the contents of the Chronicle. I am also grateful to Shane Martland for working on the indices. All errors in this book are obviously mine. Last but not least, I thank my wife Sarah and our son Ryan for their moral support throughout my academic career.

The present volume is dedicated to the memory of J.-B. Chabot whose work on Syriac chronography is most appreciated and whose edition of Codex Zuqninensis is truly exceptional.

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EDITORIAL ABBREVIATIONS

Γ

Special and Frequent Abbreviations

1	ı
Abr.	Era of Abraham
Arab.	Arabic
AD	Anno Domini (Gregorian calendar)
BC	Before Christ
Akk.	Akkadian
Arm.	Armenian (especially the translation of Chronici canones)
ca.	circa
F	Folio
Hier.	Hieronymus (Jerome's Latin translation of Chronici canones)
Ms.	Manuscript (Codex Zuqninensis)
n.	Note
p.	Page
Sel.	Seleucid Era
s.a.	sub anno
S.V.	sub voce (see under)
Syr.	Syriac
<>	Enclosed portion is a correction made on the manuscript
(-)	Enclosed portion is Anno Mundi or Seleucid date converted
	into A.D.
()	Enclosed portion is a supplied word or words
[]	Small portion of uncertain length missing
[]	Long portion of uncertain length missing
	Enclosed portion is a reconstruction
[F000]	Folio number in Codex Zuqninensis
[000]	Page number in Chabot's edition (C1)
XXXXX	Illegible word or words in Codex Zuqninensis
////////	Effaced or darkened word or words in Codex Zuqninensis
!	Conjecture reading or translation (caution must be used)
$\sqrt{}$	Root of a verb

Enclosed portion discussed in a footnotes.

Syriac Editions of the Chronicle of Zuqnin

C¹ Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum (ed.

Chabot, CSCO I 91/43)

C¹ (trans.) Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum I (trans.

Chabot, CSCO 121)

C² Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum II (ed.

Chabot, CSCO 104/53

M Martin, Chronique de Josué le Stylite

T Tullberg, Dionysii Telmahharensis Chronici liber primus

W Wright, The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

THE CHRONICLE OF ZUQNIN (PART I)

(Introduction)1

[F1r] [418] [... ...] from the year [...] the kingdom of Hormizd fell [...] another one, a chronicle and the Gospel [...] nor among these teache[rs ...] for you O lovers of learning [...] the beginning of my own Chronicle from the kingdom of the Arabs I will start. [...] I/he went out of the way [...] for me in that half, and the testimonies [of the Holy Scripture] that spoke of to this point of time [...]. Now the holy Jeremiah said: Bring your neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon² [... ...] a word that is not [... ...] your word. For [afte]r (Amel)-Marduk and Belshazzar the Babylonian, the kingdom c[ame] to the Medes. [To this the Scripture] testifies: In the same night Belshazzar the Chaldean king was killed.3 Then (the scripture) says: Darius the Mede received the kingdom being about sixty-two years old.⁴ [...] saying and showing below with these four kingdoms. For there are these [kingdoms], that is that of the Macedonians, [that of the Rom]ans, another one of the Persians, another of the Medes, [and another of Tayy-Arabs?]; and lo it (=prophecy) is being fulfilled [...] and I do [...] of these, and they followed out of these kingdoms. [......] this story, then of the four kings [......] Alexander the Macedonian, Asia, Egypt, Philip, and the dynasty of Ptolemy. Then Romulus [founded the capital city] of the Romans.5 Then of the Persians by Bahram⁶ and Peroz⁷ [...] and then [...] writing down even if someth[ing ... and if we remained alive [... ...] [F1v] [419] [...] on account of this [...] and (he said) to him [... Nab]uchadnezzar [...], the people, their kings used to prov[oke (God), as it [is said] by the holy Jeremiah.8 And behold, they are still administering these kingdoms one [after another] neither the advent of the Deceiver⁹ (has arrived) yet nor the kingdom [of] the holy ones of the Most High.¹⁰

¹ Folios 1–2 of *Codex Zuqninensis* are darkened and the original Greek text overlaps the Syriac. Assemani quoted sections mostly from the relatively clear folio 2 in Assemani, *BO* II, pp. 98–99, but his reading is sometimes questionable.

² Jer 27:12.

³ Dan 5:30.

⁴ Dan 6:1.

⁵ See below the year 1267 of Abraham for the reconstruction.

⁶ Probably Bahram V, Sassanian king from 420 to 438 AD.

⁷ Sassanian king, from 459 to 484 AD.

⁸ Jer 32:32.

⁹ The Deceiver is the antichrist. Compare with the following statement by the 7th century John of Phenek in his Rēš Mellē XV ii: ﴿ كَيْمَا إِنْ مِيْرِا لِمِيْءَ اللهِ الله

¹⁰ Cf. Dan 7:18.

[... ...] xxx ممح عبد (... ...] xxx محد (... ...] يوحد[... ...] ومد (418] [F1r] وروح محدول موزمر بيد [... ...] اسزيا محمد رحيا واويحد واطل بي وحم محد[تل] xx تنى * xxxل حدى أه وسعب محديل xxx مدويل ومحمدها وسحب مع محصواً ولهتما صعوباً المراه xxx الرام حدة مع المؤسل xxx المال المام المراه المراع المراه المراع المراه الم حه[ه ف] كما : مصةوما [وصلط مبعا؟] محم وموم احد محما : مهم وxxx ولا 12 اهما اوهما واحك $_{1}$ وزده وحده وحدها وحده. الالا مما 12 اهما 12 و[حد] و صنووم وحمل حديد حديد حديد من من وا] و مناوم وحمد الله وها الما الما الما الما الما الما الما آحه حكما مهم حكين محك محباه 13 ماه امن بوزهم مبا مح محدا اب در قدم ماول منته [واحر]و موسما حمسم دمحم اود تعجماله واسم محم [صحفة ١١] آون وع 14 وصفروسل [المنه المراج ووصراً المنه المنه والمنه المنه وصبالا [داسنها ولهتما؟] ما صعدولا xxx له محربا xxx ودركم. دركم صعدكم وصع محكة المحمد مديد وما المحمد المحمد والوحد محكم مدمورة عبر ومددد مديد مع xxx xxx «حصبةوه مصنوما العمل ومرقع فيحمه وأحم هارميم والمناع وهده وحام مرسل محدوال] ووهوهما والمور وحوزهما حاربي حوزم وحور والمرابع المرابع [419] و] مورس مدين محمد عاد المراقع عدم عاد المراقع ا معقلاً فكدروم [صبح] لم ١٥٥٠ أب حل [واحدة] مع [مب] عل المؤمداة ١٥٥ عبص هبتري محقولا وحم [سبا حاز؟] سبا. ولا معامله 18 بمعلم عبدسك 19. اهلا محددال أومرتما ومربحان

^{....}وَبِل 418:8 ¹¹ C¹

¹² C¹ 418:23 [...].

¹³ C¹ 418:17 partially deciphered.

¹⁴ C¹ 418:20 [...].

اه معدلات 15 C1 418:31: همدلات

¹⁶ C¹ 419:1: 1...

معرحنى: 419:4 ¹⁷ C¹ 419:4.

¹⁸ C1 419:5: alaxa.

¹⁹ C¹ 419:5: **№**0[**▲**.

See, O lover of learning! Why did I write this to you? It is because when you encounter the testimonies that I wrote down concerning the bad time that came upon us,²¹ you may not ponder, for the prophet had already spoken concerning them. These [... above]. Isaiah said: The universe mourned and lamented, the earth shall be utterly spoiled, and because of these the earth shall be des[tro]yed.²² These happened then and now [... ...] the matter is spoken of in the middle! xxx. Zachariah said: This is the curse that goes out over the face of the whole land.²³ Joel said: Fire devours before him and behind him a flame burns. The land is like the Garden of Eden before him, and like a desolate wilderness behind him, and nothing escapes from him. His appearance is as the appearance of the horse and like horsemen so they run.²⁴ He also said: They attack the cities, they run upon the wall, they climb upon the houses and they enter through the windows like thieves.²⁵ Isaiah also said: The mighty Lord purposed to bring to an end the pride of every mighty one and to humiliate all the honoured of the earth.²⁶

What [.....] these testimonies that the prophets had previously told. What we will write about 'Abd-Allāh²⁷ and about the governorship that reached him is all the words of the prophets that were fulfilled on him. Now there are in the scripture numerous accounts that I did not explain in this *scholion*²⁸ since it was already of great length.

²¹ Reference to the advent of the Abbasids described by the Chronicler, using the same biblical quotations; Harrak, *Zuqnīn*, pp. 178ff.

²² Isa 24:3, 6.

²³ Zach 5:3.

²⁴ Joel 2:3-4.

²⁵ Joel 2:9.

²⁶ Isa 23:9.

²⁷ He is 'Abd-Allāh son of Muḥammad Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr who ruled between 754 and 775. It was the first year of al-Mahdī during which the Chronicler continued to work on his Chronicle.

²⁸ Strictly speaking *scholion* is a "commentary," but it is used here in a general sense, the Chronicle being a learned enterprise; see the Introduction, p. xxii.

سرد اه ونسر محودا. هم هنا حمد من المرابي هم الله والم والمورد والمن وراب الله والمرابع وهم والمن الله والمرابع والمراب

²⁹ Phonetically spelled of the original All as in the Pešiţtā.

[.]هـنهـل :16: 419 ³⁰ C

³¹ C¹ 419:22: Missing; unnecessary preposition.

³² Σχόλιον.

Included in the present book are all of the years from the creation of the world until the time in which these things are written, which is the year one thousand eighty-seven of Alexander of Macedonia;³³ in it Mahdī son of 'Abd-Allāh³⁴ reigns over Syria, Egypt, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the whole of Persia, Sind, and Khorasan, as well as over the Tayy-Arabs; Leo (IV) son of Constantine (V) reigns [over] the Greek [people]; and finally Pepin³⁵ reigns over the Romans. The sum of all the years included in the book: six thousand years.

All these things are included in this book summarily and briefly. [If] the Lord wishes me a long life I would then add for you the times to come. But please review these things and listen [....] that through the holy prayers of the Mother of God [.....] also the reader and the hearer and those who were [..... [F2r] [420] Gehenna which menaces the wicked ones, and may he forgive my shortcomings [... through] his great mercy; may he let them recline at his heavenly banquet [and let them enter] the chamber of the Bridegroom³⁶ that does not perish; may Christ the Saviour count them with the sheep – the members of his flock. With the Cherubim and Seraphim, may they praise and exult Christ's sublime divinity, for to him glory, honour, and worship are due from the heavenly and earthly ones, and to his Father, and the Holy Spirit, at all times, and forever and ever, amen.

The reply to the letter together with the *scholion* of the entire book that the writer has undertaken for his honourable spiritual Fathers, George the Chorepiscopos of Āmid, Euthalius the Abbot,³⁷ Lazarus the Overseer,³⁸ the honourable Anastasius, and the entire monastic community, have ended.

³³ AD 775–776. The Seleucid computation system begins on October 1, 312 BC, and is named after Seleucus I Nicator founded the Seleucid dynasty after the death of Alexander the Great.

³⁴ Al-Mahdī, the son of al-Mansūr, ruled from 775 to 785 AD.

 $^{^{35}}$ In 775–776, it was Charlemagne (768–814), son of Pepin (747–768), who was the ruler.

³⁶ A theologically-charged term referring to Heaven; Robert Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A study in Early Syriac Tradition* (revised edition; Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2004), p. 132.

³⁷ The Abbot is mentioned in the context of a visit paid by the Patriarch George to Āmid and the nearby monastery of Zuqnīn in AD 766–77; Harrak, Zuqnīn, pp. 217–19.

³⁸ Lazarus must have succeeded Dionysius in the overseer position after the latter became bishop of Ḥarrān sometime after AD 766–67; Harrak, *Zuqnīn*, p. 219.

معتاح ده حملا ما أب وحمالاً فينا مع دناه وحملاً وده حرالاً وحم المرافقة على المحد. والمنة على هو ماهيا هو والحصيبة وها محمولاً ودة على المحدد والمنة على هو ماهيا هو والحصيبة وها محمولاً ودة على المحارد على المحارد على المحارد على المحارد على المحارد والمحارك المحارد والمحمول المحارد والمحمول المحارد والمحمول المحارد والمحمول المحمول المحمو

³⁹ Ms more or less clear; Assemani, BO ii 99, ابر بحسال "as is possible" is not acceptable.

⁴⁰ Ms: sic.

ەمە[ھىــ]، 419:29: م

هومطل :419:32 ⁴² C¹ 419.32.

⁴³ C¹ 419:35 and n. 24: عومو.

⁴⁴ C1 420:2: hh. har.

⁴⁵ C1 420:2: المارة ومحالاً 45 C1 420:2.

⁴⁶ C¹ 420:3: [...]

[F2v] [2] We begin with [the initial] course of the creation of the world, placing it in this book, so that the mind of the reader and the hearing of the listener may not be confused.

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. The earth was without form and void, and darkness was over the surface of the deep. And the Spirit of God hovered upon the surface of the waters. And God said: "Let there be light;" and there was light. And God saw the light was good. And God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light day, and the darkness he called night. And there was evening and there was morning, a first day. These were created on the first day, that is on Sunday.

In the second day, God said: "Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, and let it separate water from water." And God made the expanse, and it separated the water which was below the expanse from the water which was above the expanse." And it was so. And he called the expanse sky. And there was evening and there was morning, a second day. [3] These were created on the second day. Now on the third day, God said: "Let the water below the sky be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear." And it was so. And God called the dry land earth, and the gathering of the waters he called seas. And God saw that this was good. And God said: 'Let the earth sprout tender grass yielding seeds according to its kind, and fruit trees producing fruits each according to its kind and planted upon the earth." And it was so. And the earth brought forth tender grass, yielding seeds according to its kind, and fruit trees producing fruits each according to its kind and planted upon the earth. And God saw that this was good. And there was evening and there was morning, a third day. Concerning the fourth day, God said: 'Let there be lights in the expanse of the sky to separate day from night; they shall be as signs and set times – the days and the years; and let them shine in the expanse of the sky to give light upon the earth." And it was so. Then, God created the two great lights, the greater light to dominate the day and the lesser light to dominate the night, and the stars. And God set them in the expanse of the sky to shine upon the earth, to dominate the day and the night, and to separate light from darkness. And God saw that this was good. And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day. And again concerning the fifth day, God said: "Let the waters bring forth swarms of living creatures, and birds that fly over the earth across the expanse of the sky." And God created great dragons, and the swarms of all the living creatures that the waters brought forth according to their kinds, and every winged bird according to its kind. And God saw that this was good. And God blessed them, saying: "Be fertile [4] and multiply, fill the waters in the seas, and let the birds increase on the earth." And there was evening and there was morning, a fifth day.

[F2v]] وإدونيا وجزيه وحصد المعنى أد معمد المحد المدا ولا ولا ومدا ومدا ولا المدا ولا ولا المدا ولا ولا المدا ولا ولا المدا ولا المدا ولا المدا ولا

حنصل حزا كلاه لم عصل مم أولاً. أولا مولاً مول المه محمد مسعول علا اقد الموصط وزمس والحوا صنعط ملا اقد تعمله والمجز كول ندوا بووزا: وموا بووزا. وسرا كاما كنوه والمحيز. وفيه كاما صلا يوه والكنوم كوه والكاما كنوه والمحكار. مكسعوط جزا كلا. وبوها وصعل وبوها رجزا عومل سر.. فكع الماجزة حدوما مرمعلاً الله وب حب حمدل .. حموها ولمؤم 49 أبعد كمل نموا أومندا 50 معتل منال ونموا فرم منك متا حمتا. محج هما زميدا. مجزم حيم متا وحميم مع ازميدا. محم متا وحد صح وصدل ١٥٥٥ وصل مجا للوصدل عصمل ١٥٥٥ وصماً ١٥٥٥ وجوا عصل ولمورد [3] وحم جزا حموم لمرضي أولى والمراجب والمراكم المجز كران المجام المرام والمراجع المراج المراجد سر. ما اسرا مصمكا. ١٥٥٥ ه صلا. معزا كلاها كمصمكا أؤكا. وكصما وهتا عزا مقعلا. مبرا كلاه وعصر: هاجع كله العصد أولم لمواا مصط وحروؤه رؤلم كيمصه: ماسكل وهلوًا. وخدم هلوًا كيسه. ونرجهه ده ملاؤما. وهوا وصل واقعم أوما لمواا مسط وحروزه رؤها كيمسه: وأسطا وخدم هاوًا كيمسه: وبرجمه ده علا أوها. وبرا كله ومعنز. دهوا وصعاً دهوا رهزا محط والممار. ملا محط وم واقدم اجز كدها: ندهور بمتزا طنوميط وعصل حمدونه حمل المعطل حكيلة. وندوه للاقارا وحرحيا. وحنقهما محقتها. ونوهور صورتي حزصها وعصه حصوره ملازها. وهوا وصا. ماوت جزا كوا لمزم يا وه والم يه المنا والم المعمل والمعمل والمعمل ويدوا المعمل والما والماد به د انه که طرومه و معمل حمده و ملا اولا محمل حامعه مدها. محمدهنم حمل بهمؤا حسمه حل مبرا كما ومعيز. مهما وصماً مهموا رهما مهما واؤحدا.. ملا ما ما ما من وسعماً العن كاما ويزسعون حتا وسعا سعمال وهندا لما العن ملا أزعل علا أقد أزميط وعصيا. وجزا كاها لمتنا زوزها وحكة يقعل سيالاً ورسعا كا واجز كون. فيه [4] وهيء. وجده حتا وتتعطر وفيها باهها حازيا. وووا وصعل ١٥٥٥ ، هذا موصل وسعما..

⁴⁷ T1:2 (sic) but not clear in ms.

هبعل Ms مبعل

⁴⁹ Ms المؤمى 48.

⁵⁰ Prosthetic *olaf*, but not consistent spelling (see the correct spellings in the same context).

⁵¹ C1 3:1: Changed to حمومكل وباؤم.

⁵² Sic ms, but C¹ 3:2 n.2 read it

⁵³ Ms → phonetic spelling.

⁵⁴ Sic ms – phonetic spelling.

Concerning the sixth day, which is Friday – in it Adam was created and there was the cross on Golgotha through which the world was redeemed – God said: 'Let the earth bring forth every kind of living creature according to its kind: cattle, creeping things, and beasts of the earth [F3r] of every kind." And it was so. And God made liv[ing creatures according to their kinds],⁵⁵ cattle of every kind, and all kinds of creeping things of the earth. And God saw that this was good. Now concerning the fashioning of man, God said: 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; they shall rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, the cattle, all the living creature of the earth, and all the creeping things that creep on earth.⁵⁶

Understand, O intelligent one, that the created world was created first and then, at the end, Adam, lest he dared to say: 'You have created everything and I am just like it.' It is written: By the word of the Lord the heavens were made, and by the breath of his mouth, all their hosts,⁵⁷ and then: He spoke and they existed, and he commanded and they were created, and he made them endure for ever and ever.⁵⁸ Now here it was not so: He <did> not command that they be but (rather said) Come let us make man in our image, after our likeness. Above it was the word but here it is the work of the divine hands. Nor was it a command to the angels and all the hosts of Heaven (or) that he spoke with the breath of his mouth and man was created. Here the Trinity altogether celebrated the fashioning of man. Heretics and pagans,⁵⁹ who assault the Son and the Spirit in claiming that the Son and the Spirit are not consubstantial with the Father, ought to be ashamed when they hear [5] the Father calling upon the Son and the Spirit, saying: "Come!" He did not say: "Come," in the singular sense, but: "Come," in the dual sense! And he commanded as the head of three, saying: "Come, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness!" Then, he spoke, making known that the Trinity was of one nature and that it was not three gods or three substances, saying: God created Adam in his image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them. God blessed them and God said to them: "Be fertile and multiply, fill the earth, and subdue it; and rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, the cattle, the living things, and all the creeping things that creep on the earth. And God said: "Behold, I have given you every plant bearing seed that is upon all the earth.60

 $^{^{55}}$ The few letters before the gap suggest that the Chronicler misquoted the biblical passage here.

⁵⁶ Apart from introductory words found here and there, the preceding account is from Gen 1:1–26.

⁵⁷ Ps 33:6.

⁵⁸ Ps 148:5.

⁵⁹ The term "pagan" must refer to Muslims, as is clear in the section which the Chronicler had authored; A. Harrak, "Ah! The Assyrian is the Rod of My Hand!: Syriac Views of History after the Advent of Islam," in J.J. van Ginkel et als., Redefining Christian Identity: Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 54–55.

⁶⁰ Gen 1:27-29.

سلا موصل وم وهما ووه مناهما: وحده المجند اوم: وحده دوا اصفا ميهمكا: وحده المجزم محمداً. ابعز كله: لموم ازما يعمل سيما كيسه ودمنا وزسما وسعما وازما [F3r] كيسة. وهوا وصل وحج بإوا كنفعا سنا كيسة. وحنيا كيسة. محمدة وسعا واؤخا كيمصده. مبرا كده وعصر على المصدة وم وجزيعا أجع كدها: وبعدم انعل درجع امر وعدلى ونعكهم حنةبل وبعيل ودعوسكا وععمال وحدينا وحديدة سما واولا. محصده وسعا ووسع ملا اولمانه العلمصلا فنهما. وحزسا لمصوم المحزيم ٥٠٠٠ حسنا ٥٥ أور. ووكعل بعن مباهن ومحموم حنك اه ايا احماده عكيب وحصكما وموزيا المحره معيا. دحوسا وقوهم محمار مادب بود الجز دوده. هجه هجم والمحندة واصم الم حمض مصعب هوط وبي لا هوا هصل حلا> أجمع وسوور. الل واه بعد انعل درجع الم ومعمل. حمل معكل هؤدا بخرا واتبال والحممال كه قوموبا. حقلاما وحمدون المحلم ومعبا. حزوسا وقوهده أجز والمدودة ووما الملاعا عدة مروسل ١٨ امميه وحزيما. بدهاه والم حمن حمة لهمه محسول حمدا هوا. وقد ومنعم حمد حدا دوميا داخني وحد در المما واط المدود درا دوميا. مر عصم [5] للحل صرحف حمل حزا هزهما هاصد. ولمه المحذ ولما أمير وحسر: الل ولم أمير وحما لمؤم. ٥١٥٥ وم وهجم أمير ومعا ولمحمال أجد حمر ولمه بحدم أنعا درجمع أمير ومعمارة ماهت أجن في معوره وسر فعل هذ الممكن الماه المما المما الله الما المما الماهدة المعند المعار هجزا که الروم حرجمه حرجم که دندهد وحز منصط جزا اندي محزر اندي که ه المعن المار عنه وهيه ومعيد ومعيد المرا وصوحه ومعيد معطو وحديد المار وحورسا وعصل محديد محديد محديد محديد وسعل وأسع علا أولا ماجع هما ما منحم حمور وحده معط وحروف ملا اقد وحدة أوما.

See again, it is not said, as some people claimed, as in the previous statement *Come, let us make...*, but God spoke showing that the Trinity is of one nature. Then (the Scripture) said: *The Lord God formed man from the dust of the earth, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living being.* ⁶¹ In this sixth day, Adam was created and in it he transgressed the command, and in it our Lord was crucified on the stake through which salvation took place for the whole world. ⁶² On Saturday, *God rested from all the works that he had done, and God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because on it he rested from all his works of creation.* ⁶³ In it also our Lord rested ⁶⁴ inside the grave, relieving himself from all the sufferings that he endured on Golgotha. And in it, the whole exiled (humanity), which he rescued from the hands of the captor, ⁶⁵ also rested.

The year two hundred and thirty after the Creation of the world and Adam:⁶⁶ Seth was born.

The year four hundred and thirty-five: [6] Seth begot Enosh.

The year six hundred and twenty-five: Enosh begot Kenan.

The year seven hundred and ninety-five: Kenan begot Mahalalel.

⁶¹ Gen 2:7.

⁶² The contrast between Fridays is a major theme in the *sedro* of Good Friday, and one wonders if the liturgy was not a source used by the Chronicler at least in this particular case; for the liturgical theme see *Ktôbō d-ṭaksō d-ʿūdē ʿi(d)tōnōyē* [Ritual Book of Ecclesiastical Feasts], vol. I (Mosul, 1969), pp. 48–9.

⁶³ Cf. Gen 2:2-3.

⁶⁴ LA: In this and the following passages, the Chronicler is playing on the same verbal form found in the account of the creation in Gen.

⁶⁵ Reference to Satan who caused Adam and Eve to be driven away from Paradise; the echo of this condition is found in the Hymns on Paradise by Ephrem: اهل المحلمة ال

⁶⁶ Gen 5:4. The Chronicler uses here Anno Mundi (AM), the computation based on the biblical account of the creation. In his preface (see above) he dates the year of his writing to Seleucid 1087 (AD 775/6) and adds that his work covers 6000 years beginning with the Creation. But if we add his sums from Adam to the Flood (2242), from the Flood to Abraham (942), from Abraham to Christ (2015), and from here to the time of writing, the total would be 5974/5, not 6000. This conflicting calculation makes it risky to convert AM to AD. For other miscalculations see Witakowski, *Study*, pp. 120–22.

برد ماه و الم الماهنا حما حنها واهنه: اب هن عبصه الم بعده الله اهنا هما و معدا و ب عدم الم المنه الم المنه الم المنه المنه و المنه و

وحدی همی ماحمی متبی حدیده وحصا مواوم المحر می وحدی اقدمط ماحمی متبعی و محدی المحر و ماحمی و متبعی و محدی المحدی و محدی المحدی و محدی و محدی

⁶⁷ Ms: Faded away *lōmad*; in C¹ 6:2: مىپ.

The year nine hundred and thirty: Adam left this world. His sons embalmed him and buried him [F3v] [in the Cave of Treasures...], on the mountain called Seir,⁶⁸ to the east [side], opposite the Great Ocean. Adam and his son Seth placed in the same Cave of Treasures gold, myrrh, and frankincense⁶⁹ in bags, and sealed them with his seal and the seal of his son Seth. He issued writings and ordered his sons that he who among them in whose time a fiery spear with a star of light⁷⁰ at its top will appear above the mouth of the Cave of Treasures, should take these offerings, go following the star wherever it goes, and offer them to the King who will be born in it. Now in this same cave in which Adam placed gold, myrrh, and frankincense in honour of Christ on account of his birth in the flesh, the former was buried. I wrote briefly about the reason why the cave was called the Cave of Treasures, so that you may know and understand that it was on account of the gold, myrrh, and frankincense that reached our Lord at his birth; because they were placed in it by Adam and Seth, it was called the Cave of Treasures.⁷¹

The year nine hundred and sixty: Mahalalel begot Jared.

In the fortieth year of Jared, the first millennium ended according to the computation of the Seventy's (version).⁷²

The year one thousand and eighty-two: Enoch was born.

The year one thousand one hundred and forty-two: Seth departed from this world.

The year one thousand two hundred and forty-seven: Enoch begot Methuselah.

The year one thousand three hundred and forty: Enoch departed from this world; his sons embalmed him and placed him in the Cave of Treasures.

The year one thousand four hundred [7] and fourteen: Methuselah begot Lamech.

The year one thousand five hundred [and ninety-six]:⁷³ Lamech begot Noah.

The year one thousand six hundred and ninety: Mahalalel departed from this world; his sons embalmed him and placed him in the Cave of Treasures along with his forefathers.

in the Cave of Treasures, שעיר in Gen 14:6.

⁶⁹ The offerings of the Magi to Jesus at his birth; Mt 2:11.

⁷⁰ Literally, this is a comet, but it refers to the star that guided the Magi to Bethlehem.

⁷¹ See the section *the Cave of Treasures* below.

⁷² The Greek Septuagint is meant.

⁷³ This date is written above the line but it conflicts with Noah's year at the end of the 2nd millennium (see below) and with the other date of Noah, 1602, given below.

وحمل القنطال والحكم. نجم أوم مع محمل وبال وسيلموون حتوون وهموون [F3v] [حعديد عرا] حلوزا بن والمعنز من والمن والمان المحمد المعموم وَحل حدة حدوا صديل على تول بوم ووحل محدول محدمال وه معم حده حتمال واف لجد اتب حرماه. وحرما علا حزه. وعلمت علقل واق فعر حصةهب واسل صدور وصلمريا حرصه ومعيل وبمؤا محزيمة حمصل وبمهوزا ملا همعة ومعنا يزا. بعب موقعل محم وبارك حكوره وموحط للحل وره وأزك وبمند أنور خصكما منه وهكم حنه. حن وبي حدوا صدياً. وبعم حن أوم واحدا محدول محدماً. أب والمعنا وصعيبا وصهر معمله وحصه: حن الماصم ومعظم محم محمل وصهر انبا عكما صممنا وول صدناله ون صدنا عزا واوس واحزوم وصلى ووط وصووا وحدوما المحمر واباه حصر محدد وحدة الماهم مع اوم معلم. المعنم محدد حزا. وحمد المعتمل معلى المحر معم الله حنون محمل الوحيع ومنو مجم هما عبها الم معمصا ومحمع المحمد المحمد المام ماقدم المام الما ماولم. بعم مح محمد ومل مد. وحمل هما وقدم واوصل وعدد. المحر مع سوم صلاممكس مدلا كلاما وازديع بهم الدم مع مكما ويا. وسلهور حتوروب ەھمەمەت حمدنا حال عدا هول ماؤدىمال [7] ماؤدىمال المكبره حمر مع صمه مصل معلم ها وسعمطا [ماقعيم معم] الملك بوس مع حصر. معلم ها معلمطال ملقمي بهم مدمكاليك مع مكعل وبال وسيلموون حيةوب وهموون حمدنا يتاسلا اقداه.

⁷⁴ C1 6:18: محدنا.

The year one thousand five hundred and thirty-five: Kenan left this world and was placed⁷⁵ in the Cave of Treasures.

The year one thousand six hundred and two: Noah was born.

The year one thousand nine hundred and two: Jared departed from this world in the month of $\bar{A}d\bar{a}r$ (March), the thirteenth in it, a Friday, at sunset, while weeping in distress and great sadness on account of the going down of the sons of Seth to the daughters of Cain. Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah embalmed him and buried him in the Cave of Treasures; they also made forty days of mourning over him.

The year one thousand four hundred and seven: Enoch was transfigured.⁷⁶

The year two thousand two hundred and sixteen: Methuselah departed from this world on the twenty-first of *Ilūl* (September), the fifth day of the week, twenty-six years before the Flood. He was laid in the Cave of Treasures.

In the year three hundred and fifty-eight of the life of Noah, the second millennium came to an end, according to the translation of the Seventy.⁷⁷ In the year one hundred and twenty-six of Lamech, the first millennium ended according to the Hebrew computation of the Jews, and in the year two hundred ninety-three of Noah, the first millennium ended, according to the Hebrew computation of the Samaritans.⁷⁸ Noah, fifty years old, took as wife Haikal, the daughter of Namus the son of Enoch [F4r] and the brother of Methuselah.⁷⁹ God revealed to him concerning the Flood that he was preparing to launch. He spoke to him, saying: "One hundred and thirty years from now I will launch the Flood, but *make* [8] for *yourself an ark* to save the members of your family. Build it below, inside the camp of the sons of Cain, and let its wood be cut down from this mountain. *This is how it shall be: Its length three hundred cubits – according to your forearm – its width fifty, its height thirty*, and let it be ridged on the top by one cubit.

⁷⁵ This is how Chabot read it but the original form, erroneous, was almost certainly with one $t\bar{a}w$.

⁷⁷ I.e. the Septuagint.

⁷⁸ These three calculations based on the three versions of the scripture are correct, but the dates of Noah given earlier are hardly accurate.

⁷⁹ Cave of Treasures xiv: 3. Noah's unnamed wife is referred to in Gen 6:18, 7:7, 13, 8:16, 18.

عدلم كلف وسعمطا والمكم وشعم. وهم مع مكما ولم صبي. والماهم حصدنا عبًا. مدلا هدا معلقلا ماولي. المحره نوس عدلا هدا ملعنظلا ماولي بوم مع معطلا الا منود حلوس أوز حمكمعها حدة حدوم عنوهما حدود معملاً8. عب خط حدمما محدورها وحمال ملا مسما وحت عم حما حتم على مسلمهم سور معممه محمير ونوسد وأفر عجم محاور اطل اؤجمع مقمعي ومحزوون حمدنا فيزال عدم كلفا ەازىدىدال مقدىد. اھىلىس سىمىر. ھىلى كلاقتى ياۋى مقىلىن مھىلىھنىزا. بىچە مىل يىلىل مىل صماءعك معتب وسر ملكه في روم سعما معمل موم لهوفيا معنى وعم عتبي. والماصيم حصدنا حتل عدم الحمطا وسعقع ماتعا لاستوور وبوب عجم هجا واقع. اله قام ومحمي المحمد معلا المصور المعلم ولحدد عيام الله عام الهو معملا الهو معملا حديدا ومةه وما محمد معمر ها معمر ماهم وسب مجمر ها مرحما اب مسلا حديما ومعتاماً. نوس مع تع مقتم نعوم حده انكلا كامتك منها نعوف. منه وسوير [F4r] اسوروب وهده محس. أميلا حد كادا ملا إمويل وبدر. وهدا الماد هاجع: حده ومعط حمدا ماحكم عتب عدم اللا لهدونا 18. اللا عدم [8] حرد مدما حدودا وحت صمر. محمم حدية حيه صعنها وحت على. معتصة مع لهوا الملا المعصمون واوم المواد أوزون المحكل أهم حلمكر وفكرة سعمر وومعن المكتر. مد سرا احدا اصدر مع ددا.

80 C1 7:10: محدا.

⁸¹ Ms: Clear passage but reconstructed in C¹ 7:24–27.

And make three stories in it: the bottom one for animals and cattle, the middle one for the birds, and the top one for the members of your house. And make in it reservoirs for water and storerooms for sustenance. And make for yourself a sounding-board of acacia wood that does not rot, three cubits long and one and a half cubits wide, and a mallet of the same (wood); with it you shall strike (the board) three times a day: once in the morning so that the workmen may gather for the work on the ark, once at midday for the latter's sustenance, and once in evening time so that they may rest. And when they shall hear the sound that you shall resonate, they will say to you: What is this that you are doing? Say to them: God is going to make a Flood of waters." Noah did according to all that God commanded him. And he begot three sons within the space of a hundred years, who took for themselves wives from among the daughters of Methuselah.⁸²

The year two thousand two hundred and thirty-eight: In the month of \$\bar{A}d\bar{a}r\$ (March), a Sunday, the seventeenth of the same month, Lamech departed from this world four years before the Flood, and was laid in the Cave of Treasures.

The year two thousand two hundred and forty-two: The Flood took place. ⁸³ Now when the time of the Flood upon the earth approached, Noah went into the Cave of Treasures and kissed the holy bodies of Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech his father. And Noah carried the body of Adam, and Shem the gold, and Ham the myrrh, and Japheth the frankincense, and went out of the Cave of Treasures, weeping in sorrow and great sadness. They put on grief, for they were to be deprived of that attractive habitation [9] of their fathers. Fixing their eyes toward Paradise, they all wept in sorrow, lamented, and said: "Remain in peace, O holy Paradise, ⁸⁴ the first dwelling of our father Adam. He went out from you in life, while stripped and naked. Lo! He is today deprived of your surroundings, and dead, he shall be cast out into external exile along with his children, in that land of curses where his children will be tormented by sicknesses, illnesses, labour, fatigue, and torment.

⁸² The passage is from the Cave of Treasures xiv: 8–15.

⁸³ While the title leaves the impression that the account would be close to the biblical one, there is actually a change of source, here the Cave of Treasures, not Genesis.

⁸⁴ Paradise was conceived as a mountain surrounded by a fence guarded by a sword-wielding cherub. After sinning, Adam was cast out of the holy mountain and subjected to the consequences of his sin; see S. Brock, *St. Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns on Paradise* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990), pp. 49–66. See also Sergey Minov, "Gazing at the Holy Mountain: Images of Paradise in Syriac Christian Tradition," in: A. Scafi (ed.), *The Cosmography of Paradise: The Other World from Ancient Mesopotamia to Medieval Europe*, Warburg Institute Colloquia 27 (London: The Warburg Institute, 2016), pp. 137–162.

معدم دة الحلا معربة الملامل حستها ودعيزال ومرجعل حديدهال ومحمل حديد صامر محمر حدة أوروًا حميتًا. وأوَّيا حكوزهما. وخدم حم يعمل من منها وأحدوها منها ولا فحكي. أوزوه اكم أقل وهله أمكا وفكه وأزوها مده. وووها قلم وه الحكم رقيع صويعا. سرا حرفزا والمصعور اقتعيا لحنجرة ومحمالة وحفكه وموجل خصدناهه، صبرا حدم وصعل وسكاسسه، وحد عصب علا ونصع اسم هاصن جود وصل هد دوا ونحرا: ابعد حددر: ولهدما وهتا نحر حددا. وحجر علا وفجره حددا. والمح كه اكما حتى. حعيبا وها متى وبعد كهه تعا مع حتمه وهمه محسد وحميم لمرض مقمع ملكم ملقبل حافس أبوز عمر سرحمط معملاهم حد حياسا: بعم حصر مع محصل مل اود عتب عبم لهومل مالماهم حصدنا عبدا محد الور هقب مقدم ماؤدي ماؤلي موا لهويا. وم بعد حملاً لهويل ملا أولما: با يوس حصدنا سرا معم حمك فيها مرتعا وعم مواسع مصبي معمكالك منو معدام عدس مرحب احدود. مؤسو بوس حصيره واوم: معمر والمحل مسم معول معال حدماً. وبعم مع معدد المراد مع حديد الماد والماد والمعم معدوداً. ملا وحديد وه مع صد معدا [9] ون وسيد واحتاده والمعدد والمعد كها فنوبها وحجه صعال وأبكه وأجهه هوم معكما فنوبها مربعا صل محمدا عرصباً وأوم احدى نقم صب حستاً مع محس معقوص مدا معليها مصل مع سروب. وصعموا حصماره للحصوبا حزما وه محرةوس حدد ازما وحقهما واصم مدمه حره و حدادًا وحوزول وحملا وحواله والموزول

⁸⁵ Final yōd spotted by T 9 n.2 (C¹ 8 n.4) is a patch in the palimpsest.

⁸⁶ Sic ms – phonetic spelling; C1 9:8 corrected it to Nol.

Remain in peace, O Cave of Treasures and O holy bodies! Remain in peace, O habitation and inheritance of our fathers! Remain in peace, O our forefathers and leaders of our fathers! Pray for us, O you who dwell in the dust, friends and beloved ones of God. Pray for the remainders from among all your progeny that are left behind. Beg in your prayers on our behalf, O you who have pleased our Lord. Remain in peace, O righteous Enoch, servant of God. Beg your Lord on our behalf. Remain in peace, O Holy Mountain, the meeting place and the harbour of the angels. You, O our Fathers, implore with pain on our behalf, for you shall be deprived of our company. As for us, we will lament with groaning for we will be cast out into a bare land, and our dwelling will be with the animals. Woe unto us, for we will no longer see the face of your inheritance!"

While coming down from the holy mountain, they kissed its stones and embraced its trees. They came down to the plain while weeping with great sorrow. Noah went in and laid down the body of our father Adam [F4v] [in the middle of the Ark] and placed these offerings above him.

On the tenth [of the month of *Iyyōr* (May)], on Wednesday, Noah⁸⁷ [entered] the Ark, and on Friday he lodged the cattle and the birds. On the seventeenth of the same month, the floodgates of the sky were opened and the abysses [10] of the earth riven. The Great Ocean which surrounds the entire earth overflowed and the reserves of the winds and the gates of the hurricanes were unlocked, while the Ocean, rising up, groaned. The sons of Seth rushed toward the Ark begging Noah to open the Ark for them for they were unable to go up the mountains of Paradise. But the Ark was shut and sealed, and the Angel of the Lord, made into shipmaster, stood over its head. As the torrents grew powerful, people began to drown in the vehement and terrible waves, finding themselves in severe distress. What the blessed David said was fulfilled upon them: "I said you are divine beings and you became known as the sons of the Most High;88 because you dared to love the fornication of the house of Cain, you shall be like them, dying like them; I consider you like Satan, one among the powerful that fell."

⁸⁷ On Noah see now Muriel Debié, "Noé dans la tradition syriaque: une mer de symboles," Revue de l'Histoire des Religions 232.4 (2015), pp. 585–622.

⁸⁸ Ps 82:6.

عمد حمضا مدنا ١١٥ وهي المبتعلة عمد حمضا حمد مدمنا والمار واحتىء ومع جعم ادمع ووسع ادمل، به محمر عصد معنا وسعوه وسحده والموا. رجه ملا هتبا والمعلمين مع محمع لاقطاعه. حده سحم مرحقاهم. متعسهما وحنى دوم حمضا سور عامل معممه واحوال حد سهم حمنوه دوم حمضا لهوزا عبيعاً. حمد روحا محمايا وطالقاً. ايكان القام يهده صعا سلام. وهلي يرمان عصدا مع رولي. وسع نمك حسيها وصعدوب للزما صهرها. وبدوا حم صعدت عم وستمال مد ح ولا مام مرس اقد مهامامه. مدم سلام 200 مع لهذا مرسما معمم ١٥٥٥ كماقه ومعمل ١٥٥٥ للتكهور وسلاه صعا مر حصر كه فصدال وجالا حدال معده. حمصنا حلمة منسل جال دوس محمدهال حدوم الزحم حمدال وحدوم من وحما اسلا حديزا هوزسلال وحمد للعصر حدة حيزسل يعقل ومعيل المولاس والمقعدة [10] واذيا الماذيه. معجم امصيص 8 وحل وه وسبو حديدة اذيا. والمحلمة اوروب ومسل ماويد حكتلا. ويوم اهميه وجهد. وزهله حت علا حما محمال ومعيهم وهو حم حيد. وبعكس محدث، ووبعمه مجهور فيوسط والمعدس ١٥٥٥ ومحمل سلمعل ولمحمل وصلاحه وحزماً فامر على وبعن وعجب موجوسها. وحو المرر عصور معمولا. عزم صمسمع حققط لمحتط ووستلا وموه طاهريا معمل معبعه محمور وف واجز لهوصا ومبر. والل العنا والحاقا الماهي محقوم وهنعل صعمقهم ومماهي معصل وهوا حدياه). وأسطمه رسماا وحمد على الصامه المهوم ، وأب معملهم المعمام. وسعمت الماه كب اب هلميل سب مع زهة ويدا ويعاد

⁸⁹ Defective spelling but see the full spelling one line after.

⁹⁰ C¹ 10 n. 4: سعصر.

The Ark was raised up from the earth by the mighty waters,91 and all the people, cattle, rcreeping animals, birds, and everything that was on the surface of the earth drowned in the waters. The waters went above all the summits of mountains fifteen cubits, according to the cubit of the wind, as is written. 92 The waters raised the Ark and the flood lifted it up to the lower sides of Paradise. When the Ark was blessed by Paradise, the flood bent its head down to kiss the feet of Paradise, then returned to destroy the whole earth. And the Ark flew on the wings of the wind upon the waters from the east and up to the west, and from the north and up to the south, marking the entire earth with the sign of the cross above the waters. Then the Ark rested on the mountains of Qardū⁹³ in the seventh month, on the seventeenth (day) in it, and the tops of the mountains appeared. [11] It happened that after forty days Noah opened the window of the Ark that he made. He sent a raven, and departing, it did not return. By the time the waters dried out on the earth, he sent a dove to see if waters had diminished on the surface of the earth, but not finding a place to rest the sole of its foot, the dove returned to the Ark – because there was water on the face of the entire earth. He extended his hand and seizing it, he took it into the Ark. He remained seven more days, and sent again the dove from the Ark, and it returned to him in evening time, but lo, holding an olive leaf in its beak. Noah realized that the waters had diminished on the surface of the earth. He remained seven more days, and sent again the dove, but the dove did not return to him again.

The year two thousand two hundred and three: Noah went out of the Ark. The days when Noah was in the Ark were three hundred and eighty-two, for he went in on the tenth of the second month, and on the seventeenth in it there was the flood, and on the twenty-seventh of the same second month, which is $Iyy\bar{\rho}r$ (May), he went out.

The year two thousand two hundred and four: Shem begot Arpachshad.94

From Adam up to the Flood: Two thousand two hundred and forty-two. In the six hundredth year of Noah and one hundredth year of Shem the Flood took place.

The year two thousand three hundred and thirty-seven: Shelah was born.

⁹¹ Cf. Gen 7:17.

⁹² Cf. Gen 7:20.

⁹³ On Qardū in Jewish, Syriac, and Muslim traditions see A. Harrak, "Tales about Sennacherib: The Contribution of the Syriac Sources," in P.M. Michele Daviau (eds.), *The World of the Arameans II: Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of P.-E. Dion* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), pp. 168–189.

⁹⁴ Gen 11:10; ms "Arpachshar" as in the Pešiṭṭā.

ه الماؤسم محمال حسلل ومنتار مع اؤخل ه المنسمة حمنتا عكمه حبيفا: محمدا مؤسعاً 95 وهندا وحضوم وهوا ملا اقد أولا. وهجمه طلا حملا مع حكور وسعد لهوا. معمدها الخل معموسالما وزوسيا. اب وماسد. واهمون طل حمداً. مع لهدي كن معمولاً جرمعاً حمدة حريساً وحر الماحرم مع فروسها فعا وبعد معمولاً ونعم حقص فزوسطا. ١٥٥٩ محمده حمده أزمل ١٥٤١٨ محمال حرف زوسل حمل مع صعولاً مع موسل معومل حصدودا. ومع عنصل معرمل حلامها. ووعمل إحمد ملا عدة ازيا حيد مع معمولا ١١ ١٥٥٠ الماسم محما حياسا محميا حمد معدد حد حنبا ١٨ لهوت عنوه: والمسرد وبعد لهوا. [11] وبووا مع حكو م تومع هلاس بوس عماً ومحماً وحجر. معرو حدوحاً. معهم معهم ملا محر حرما وحم معل مع أوحاً. معرو حمال مع حماره وسرا ال مح منتا مع اقد اذعار ملا المصلا حدة سل ممل حصم فريكة. ووقع كولم كمحولاً. معلاً ومثل الله ووه علا اقد عكة ازيل واومع البره وبعدة. والمكن كولم كمدولاً. وفي لاوت مقط تقطع استربي وهوب ومرزة حمال مع محمال والما حماه حبر ومعافي ورها لهزها ورسما استبا حدومة ومرس وم ومحة معتا مع إهد أوحاً. وهِم لموت مقدا مومتم أسؤبع.. ووهو موزة حمولا: ولا اهده اهج عمل حصوفه حماهه وصعد انع هفتم وهدم ماحل. بعم مد مع محماً. بقعما بع وهما بعب حمحماً. المحمقلا ماقيع ماني. معلا وحمعة حينا ولمزم جلا وحمد محصة حره موا لهوعيا. وحمصني ممقدل حره حمنها ولمزم وره امز بهم. محمل لمزم شقع مقدم مازحل المام ازوجمن وم مر مع اوم وم مرحل مهموليا لمقى مقلل واتوحيع والتاع والوحيع ماتاع ومعمل عملا حيم والمحيم ووالموصل وحمد لمرض هقع والالمعلا والمكت وقديد. الملم علم

⁹⁵ Word missed in C1 10:17.

⁹⁶ C1 11:9: فعمل .

⁹⁷ Spelling as in the Pešiṭṭā.

The year two thousand four hundred and sixty-seven: Shelah begot Abar. And in the year two thousand six hundred and one, Abar begot Pelag. During this time people foolishly sought to ascend to heaven. The entire earth had one language and one speech. (Some) marched to the East⁹⁸ and found a territory in the land of Shinear where they settled. They said to one another: Come, let us cast in the fire bricks to burn them. The bricks became for them [12] stones, and lime [F5r] plaster. They sasid: Come, let us build a village for us and a tower with its top in the sky, and let us make a name for ourselves, lest we shall be scattered upon the surface of the entire earth. The Lord came down to see the village and the tower that the people were building.] The Lord said: Look, they are one people with one language for all of them; and this is what they planned to do; and henceforth they will not fail to do all that they planned. Let us go down to confound the language there so that no man shall understand the speech of another. 99 See here, the one who calls, comes down, [and confuses (the language)] contrasts with the Son and the Spirit, but the Spirit who confounded the language inside Babel and inside the Upper Room¹⁰⁰ is the same. And then he said: Behold, Adam has become like one of us.¹⁰¹ On the testimony of two or three witnesses¹⁰² shall a matter be established:103 Come, let us make a man in our image, after our likeness;104 lo, Adam became like one of us;¹⁰⁵ come, let us go down to confound the language there.¹⁰⁶ These three testimonies testify concerning the Father, the Son, and the Spirit.

Now during this time, during the days of Peleg son of Abar, the languages became confused, and in it people scattered over the surface of the entire earth, while some remained to build the village, a reason for which it was called Babel – for the Lord confused there the languages of the entire earth.

During this time, as the word says, the righteous Job was known; he was the son of Jaqtan son of Abar, the brother of Peleg. On this matter Jacob testifies, and Moses who wrote about him did not conceal his understanding of it, when he counted the sons of Edom up to Jobab son of Zerah, ¹⁰⁷ saying: He is Job. ¹⁰⁸ Jobab was also known during the time of Moses as the Book of Genesis testifies.

⁹⁸ Lit. "departed from the East."

⁹⁹ Gen 11:1–9.

¹⁰⁰ Reference to Pentecost, when the disciples "began to speak in other languages;" Acts 2:1–4.

¹⁰¹ Gen 3:22.

¹⁰² Written vertically in the margin.

¹⁰³ Deut 19:15.

¹⁰⁴ Gen 1:26.

¹⁰⁵ Gen 3:22.

¹⁰⁶ Gen 11:7.

¹⁰⁷ Gen 36:33.

¹⁰⁸ In Gen 36:1: יבשם מסם אויספ. "Esau who is Edom;" is this the background of the above passage in ms: מבם מסף

وحمل لمزم هفتم واتوصطل وممتع ومقد عتم. المحر مدة مع محسة ودمل لمزم هقع معلمطال مسرا. امكم مدة هوكي.. دما وم رحبا هده دستعا حمص حمصا حب عسمال. ١٥٥٥ حكة أزخر حمل سر معصكلا سر. ١٥٥٥ ودر عمك مع مرسا اعمس قمدا حازم وهدن مهده المعر ماهن رحم حسدن والم بزها حديا مهم اتع حدة الد مدة ما حدى [12] حداد حدادا مصبرا فوا حدى [F5r] حدكها. وأمد إذه واه وبصل کے عندا: وصحیال وزیعہ جمعیا. وبعد کے معل و کعل بہدو کے اقد حکاہ اذركا. وسبك حديما حصرا عنكا وحرجها وخسع حسما.] وأجن حنما. واحمل سب وحمل سر حصصه ، مهوسل المسعده حصير، صحب لا ملاحرة صيه محصوم والمسعدة معدد، اه سها نفي امع معتل ولا تعصده رحة مع سدده مرد هوم مدلمه عم حزا هزه سل كفع عزا هفع نسل ه [نفكي] كنه سل وهفكها لحتا جهه محملا ه محمد المرا وسيا مه ماه العن وما أوم موا المه سي معين ملا هم المولم الم ماكما صةوب عامدم علا عاه بعد العل درجع المر ومعارة ما أوم بوها احسر صبه اه سما وروس امع حقله وحم الحلا هذوها هذور الم احا وحزا ووسا. آحمل بع رحبا المحكم حقيا حقم حقم عن محن 109. محم المحبور ملا اقد عكن ازداً. وقعه مع وحمصا منها. ومعهدهما الممنه حصلا. معهلا وامع حدد منها كفيل وصكة أولا. دويل وم رحيل لماهد معكمية أمير معل وامعنا معكما أماه روسما. والماهد حزه وممل مع معزد اسهد وهيه مد مدر العدد واهلا مدما هذه ورهه احماد عده معادها معمدها مع صوحه، دم شعد حديد اوهم عرما حدود دن رؤس وللحدز واهده المحد والا الاه محمد حقط معمل معلمه المراحد وهدور حمل وحزمال

¹⁰⁹ Written in red, not vanished as claimed in C¹ 12 n.5.

The year two thousand [13] five hundred and ninety-two: Noah left this world, while he was nine hundred and fifty years old.

The year two thousand seven hundred and thirty-one: Peleg begot Ar'u.

The year two thousand seven hundred and forty-four: Shem son of Noah left this world.

The year two thousand eight hundred and sixty-three: Ar'u begot Serug. In the ninety-fifth year of Serug, the third millennium ended.

During this time idols were introduced into the world. From this point, the children of Noah began to worship statues, perform evil, build cities, plunder each other, and fight.

In the thirty-first year of Serug, the second millennium, according to the Hebrew computation of the Samaritans, ended.

The year two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight: Nahor was born.

The year two thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven: Terah was born. And Terah begot Abraham when he was seventy years old.

During this time Ninos was reigning over Nineveh¹¹⁰ – he himself built Nineveh and named it Nineveh after his name. In the forty-third year of his reign, Abraham was born. The first who ruled over all of Asia except for India was the same Ninos son of Belus (and it was) for fifty-two years. The forty-third year of this one is the first year of Abraham.

Because we did not find computations agreeing with one another, we list here the first fathers as they are found in the Scripture:¹¹¹

Adam [begot Seth] when he was one hundred and thirty [F5v] [years] old.

[Seth] begot Enosh when he was one hundred and thirty-five [years] old.

Enosh begot Kenan when he was one hundred and ninety years old.

[14] Kenan begot Mahalalel when he was one hundred and seventy years old.

Mahalalel begot Jared when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old. In the fortieth year of Jared, the first millennium ended.

Jared begot Enoch when he was one hundred and twenty-two years old.

¹¹⁰ Change of source (not including the introduction of this section): *Hier*: same information. The information about Ninos and Abraham will be repeated slightly below.

¹¹¹ Not all the following calculations correspond to the Septuagint.

وهم والم المحسع المحصل و فحر سب حوا المحبود ها والم المحبود والم المحبود والمحبود والمحبود

Enoch begot Methuselah when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old.

Methuselah begot Lamech when he was one hundred and sixty-seven years old.

Lamech begot Noah when he was one hundred and eighty-eight years old.

Noah begot Shem when he was five hundred years old – in the three hundred and fifty-eighth year of Noah the second millennium ended.

Shem begot Arpachshad¹¹² when he was one hundred and two years old.

Arpachshad begot Shelah when he was one hundred and thirty-five years old.

Shelah begot Eber when he was one hundred and thirty years old.

Eber begot Peleg when he was one hundred and thirty-four years old.

Peleg begot Re'u when he was one hundred and thirty years old.

Re'u begot Serug when he was one hundred and thirty-two years old – in the ninety-fifth year of Serug the third millennium ended.

Serug begot Nahor when he was thirty-five years old.

Nahor begot Terah when he was seventy-nine years old.

Terah begot Abram when he was seventy years old.

Abram begot Isaac when he was one hundred [years] old.

Isaac begot Jacob when he was sixty years old.

Jacob begot Levi when he was eighty-six years old.

Levy begot Kohath when he was forty-six years old.

Kohath begot Amram when he was sixty years old.

Amram begot Moses when he was seventy years old – in the eightieth year of Moses, the sons of Israel went out of Egypt.

¹¹² Gen 11:10.

سهر دز ها ال مقلم وسعه عتم اه حر حده هده هده هده در ها الهمان و هقد عتم اه حر هده هده در ها الهمان و الهمان و

¹¹³ Pešiṭṭā Gen 11:22: مسل عنون المحمل عنون "when Serug had lived thirty years he begot Nahor;" T 17:2 and C¹ 14:17 unnecessarily emended the age to "[one hundred and] thirty-five years" (following the Septuagint).

Henceforth, Leaders

First, Moses: forty years; Joshua: twenty-seven years; the sons of Mesopotamia and Othniel: forty years; Moabites and Ehur:¹¹⁴ eighty years; Canaanites and Deborah and Barak: forty years; Midianites and Gideon: forty years; Abimelech: three years; Tola: twenty-[15] three years. Ja'ir: twenty-two [years]. In the nineteenth year of Ya'ir, the fourth millennium ended. The Ammonites and Jephthah: six years. Heshbon: seven years; Labdon: eight years; The Philistines and Samson: twenty years; Eli: forty years; Samuel and Saul: forty years.

Henceforth, kings from the tribe of Judaea

David: forty years; Solomon: forty years; Rehoboam: seventeen years; Abijah: three years; Jehoshaphat: twenty-two years; Jehoram: eight years; Ahaziah: one (year); Athaliah seven years; Jehosh forty years; Amaziah: twenty-nine years; Azariah: fifty-two years; Jotham: sixteen years; Ahaz: sixteen years; Hezekiah: twenty-nine years; Manasseh: fifty-five years; Amon: [two] years; Josiah: thirty-one years; Jehoahaz: three months; Jehoia[qim]: eleven years; Jehoiachin: three months; Zedekiah: eleven years.

Henceforth, the Persian kings

From the fourth year of Solomon to this point are five hundred and twelve years. [F6r] Cyrus: thirty-four years; 115 Xerx[es (I):]; Artaxerxes (I): forty-one years; Xer[xes (II):]; Darius (II): sixteen years; Artaxerxes (II): forty years; [Artaxerxes (III):] years; Arses: four years; Darius (III): six years.

Henceforth, the Macedonian kings

Alexander: six [years]; Ptolemy (II): forty years; Philadelphus: thirty-eight years; Euergetes (I): twenty-six years; Philopator: seventeen years; Epiphanes: twenty-four years — in his sixteenth year the fifth millennium ended; Philometor: thirty-five years; Euergetes (II): twenty-nine years; Soter: seventeen years; Alexander (II?): ten years; Ptolemy (XI): eight years; Dionysius: thirty years; Cleopatra (VII): twenty-four years. The Ptolemaic dynasty ended.

¹¹⁴ He is Ehud, but jool as in the Pešiţtā.

¹¹⁵ One would expect Cambyses (530–522) here.

عي هزوا هبوتها. عبوسا هو عبا اتوديع عتب عده هدي هقوه عتب حتب ديم الموت المراح الوديع عتب الوديع عتب الوديع عتب الوديع عتب وديم الوديع الوديع عتب المدين الوديع عتب الوديع عتب المدين ال

عي هواط قدها وهي مدلم ومه وال وه والوصع متب مهم متب الوصع والدهم المرا المرا الوصع المرا المرا

ص هنوط صحقا وهتصما. ص مدلا أنوب ومضعي محبط كهنوا متما سعمطال مانطلامها متبي هني المعمل من من متبي المعنوب [] أن المعمل من متبي المعنوب [] بهنوب المعنوب [] بهنوب المعنوب [] بهنوب المعنوب المعنوب المتبي المتبي

يفكيد :15:3 ¹¹⁶ C¹ 15:3

[16] Henceforth, the Roman kings

Augustus: forty years – all his years: fifty-six; Tiberius: twenty-three years; Gaius: four years; Claudius: fourteen years; Nero: thirteen years; Vespasian: ten years; Titus: two years; Domitian: fifteen years; Nerva: one (year); Trajan: sixteen years; Hadrian: twenty-one years; Antoninus: twenty-two years; Antoninus (II): sixteen years; Commodus: thirteen years; Pertinax: six months; Severus: eighteen years; Antoninus (III): seven (years); Macrinus: one (year); Antoninus (IV): four (years); Alexander son of Mammaea: thirteen (years) - he was Christian; Maximinus: three years; Gordianus: six (years); Philip: seven years – he was Christian; Decius: one (year); Gallus: two (years); Valerianus: fifteen years; Claudius: one (year); Aurelianus: six (years); Tacitus: six months; Probus: six (years); Carus: two (years); Diocletian: twenty (years); Constantine (I, the Great): thirty-three (years); Constantius his son: twenty-four (years); Julian: two (years); Jovian: one (year); Valens: fourteen years; Gratian: one (year); Theodosius the Great (I): sixteen years; Arcadius: twenty-nine (years); Theodosius the Younger (II): twenty-six years; Marcian: seven (years); Leo (I): sixteen years; Zeno: nineteen (years); Anastasius (I): twenty-seven (years) – in the 16th year of Anastasius, the sixth millennium ended; Justin (I): eight (years); Justinian (I): forty (years); Justin (II): eleven (years); Tiberius (II): eight (years); Maurice: twenty-two (years); Phocas: eight (years); Heraclius: thirty-one (years); Constantine (III): one (year); Constans (II): twenty-four years; Constantine (IV): sixteen years; Justinian (II): ten (years); Leontius: three (years); Tiberius (III): seven (years); Justinian (II, again): six (years); Philippicus: two (years); Anastasius (II): two (years); Theodosius (III): one (year); Leo (III): twenty-five (years); Constantine (V) his son: thirty-five years; Leo (IV) his son (

[17] From Adam to the Flood: two thousand [two hundred and forty-two]¹¹⁸ years; from the Flood to Abraham: nine hundred and forty-two years.

[F6v] Ninos son of Belus [was the first to reign over] all of Asia except for India for fifty-two years – (in his) forty-third year Abraham was born, and this is the first year of Abraham.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Blank in ms; in the year Leo IV began to reign (775), the Chronicler, his contemporary, began to write his chronicle.

¹¹⁸ For the reconstruction see Abr. 981, 2044, and 2346, and Sel. 646 below. The calculations in this section is by the Chronicler.

¹¹⁹ Return to Eusebius and repeated information (see above). This is also the beginning of Abraham's computation system (hereafter Abr.), although the Chronicler did not always specify it in the following lemmata. The last event dated to this system is the earthquake in the island of Kos (Abr. 2346), while Abr. 2015 coincides with the birth of Christ also dated to Sel. 309.

[16] ومحقل ورومعل مع مواجل المسلموس مر منته محمر متوه مده لهجوه . منته المص و منته محوده مر منته دور منته المحصده مر منته المحصده مته ، ما مان متن و ومدلمت ،مه متن « بنوسه سرا لمنسه ،مه متنه « بنده متنه » هوروسوها الله الموسوها الموسوها الموسوها الله الموسوها الله الموسوها الله الموسومة الموسومة المرابع الموسومة المرابع الموسومة المرابع عتب، فالهنده برسا .ه. هوزه .س. عتب، الهوسوه عدّ. موزعوه سرا. الموسوص اوده. کمصبوره در محم ی اورا درهما برداد محصمموه متب . . بروسوه .ه. فلموه ر. منتى « مهما فرهما به وها . وصوه سرا ركه ما المام. مكنيده ..ه. منته مكوده. سرا. اوزكيده ملا. لمعلمه سيا علا. فرده على عنوص الماع، ومعرفيسه معتبى معطوبهسه الملع ماكل معطوبهس حزه .حر. موليس .د. موسيوه سرا. وليه .ب. هينه المارووهيوه سرا. الووهيوه وط .مه. منتج» اوموسف .مي. ۱/٥وه همو وحول .مه. منتج» معزميوه ممد، للون .مه. عتبه ربي المعسرا. السهوم مستم مقديد. وحمد مد. والسهوم مجمر كا وعمار.. معطوه القيار معلمينا أوحين معلميا سبمعة الكونمع القيار موزموه. مد. قوما الخيا. وزملا الا موسهدهما سرا موسهدهما ردر متيه موسهدهما اله. confund con: olym 1/1. Jejoon sev. confund st. encenson .c. العلموه . د. باأه وهنوه سيال لله بعتب متحب مصحبك مه بالكلي مسعم متح. لاه حزه [

[17] هي أوم حرها حلهول عتب [ان هول مقلم وأوحب والزام.] وهي لهول لاحزوم عتم المحطا وأوحب والزام.

[F6v] المحم عبصا على حكة العمل حجة مع المره بسوه حة حكم عتما سطعي ماقلي. وحمد ازدعي ماحم المحم المحمد المحمد ماحم المحمد ماحم المحمد المحمد

The year six of Abraham (2009 BC): Ninos built Nineveh in the land of Assyria on the Tigris; he called it after his name, Ninwē.

The year seven of Abraham (2008 BC): The war between Ninos, king of Nineveh, and Zoroastros, the Magian king of the Bactrians, 120 took place.

The year ten of Abraham (2005 BC): Ninos, king of Nineveh, died, and Shamiram his wife reigned in his stead for forty-two years. Many stories are told concerning her: She captured Asia and repaired ruined cities on account of the Flood.

The year twenty-two (1993 BC): Shamiram built Babylon. 121

The year forty-five (1970 BC): Beginning of the forty-first Jubilee, according to the computation of the Hebrews. The Jubilee claimed by them is fifty years, in such a way that two thousand years had elapsed from Adam to this year, according to their statement. This is what I had said: They (=chronologists) do not agree with each other's calculations, but one shortens (the count of years) while another lengthens it.¹²²

The year fifty-two of Abraham (1963 BC): Shamiram, queen of Nineveh, died; Ninos her son reigned after her for thirty-eight years. 123

The year seventy-five of Abraham (1940 BC): The latter was found worthy of the vision of God and of his promise to him. This is also the first Year of the Promise. 124 rIn it, Abraham left the house of his father in Ḥarrān, 125 and crossed the Euphrates with his wife Sarah. 126

The year seventy-six (1939 BC): There was a great famine. Abraham went down to Egypt [18] with Sarah his wife. 127

The year eighty-six (1929 BC): Abraham begot Ishmael, the father of the Arabs, ¹²⁸ from Hagar.

¹²⁰ יסקטן, is defective spelling of בסאייל "Bactrians;" for the latter see Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus (Oxford, 1879–1901; repr. Olms 1981), p. 575.

¹²¹ No such entry in *Hier.*, where the statement "she restored many of the cities of Babylonia" is included in Abr. Year 11.

¹²² This Chronicler's complaint is repeated elsewhere; see Harrak, Zuqnīn, p. 139.

¹²³ Hier: "King Zameis also called Ninyas."

¹²⁴ Year of the Promise is another computation system occasionally used by the Chronicler along with that of Abr. (see FF7r line 1, F7v), while *Hier.* uses it systematically.

 $^{^{\}rm 125}$ Ancient caravan city located on the Bālikh River, on the Upper Euphrates, slightly southeast of Edessa.

¹²⁶ Addition by the Chronicler: Gen 12:4–5.

¹²⁷ Gen 12:10-11.

¹²⁸ Ṭayyōyē-Arabs: The term refers to one Arab tribe Ṭayy, which the Syriac sources associate with all the Arabs.

وحد هم الحزور وبا سوه حسوا: دازها والمان على وعدا وعده منه سوا. عدم عدم الحزور وما منط وسوه حكما وسوا ووروواههاي حيه عكما ومتها ومتها وعلى الحدم والحدم على الحزور وما المعتما ومتها العمامة والمحدد والمعلى والمعلى والمعلى والمعلى المعلى المعلى المعلى والمعلى والمعلى والمعلى والمعلى ومتها ومحلى والمعلى ومتها ومحلى وما والمعلى ومتها ومحلى والمعلى والمعلى ومتها ومحلى والمعلى المعلى والمعلى وا

¹²⁹ C¹ 17:11 إمتيكا.

The year ninety (1925 BC): Ninos king of Nineveh died. Arius reigned in his stead for thirty years.

The year one hundred of Abraham (1915 BC): Isaac was born.

The year one hundred and one of Abraham the head of the prophets (1914 BC): The Word of God was seen in a human form. It announced the call of the Gentiles, fulfilled in our time by the Word of Christ through the evangelical teaching addressed to all nations.

The year one hundred and twenty of Abraham (1895 BC): Arius, the king of Nineveh, died; rAralius reigned in his stead for forty years.

The year one hundred and forty of Abraham – the fortieth of Isaac (1875 BC): (Isaac) married Rebecca. 130

The year one hundred and sixty (1855 BC): Twin sons were born to Isaac from Rebecca; the first one is Esau who is Edom – the [Edu]means were called after him; the second one is Jacob from whom the Israelites – who are the [J]ews – came. During this time Melchizedek, the king of Salem, was known – he was the priest of the most-high God. 131

The year one hundred and sixty (1855 BC): [Aralius the king] of Assyria [died]; Xerxes reigned in his stead for thirty years. During this time, the Egyptians fashioned a statue for Io and worshipped it; they also called the river by her name, Io. Also during this time, Castor¹³² the Chronicler was known.

The year one hundred and seventy-five (1840 BC): [F7r] – the year one hundred of the Promise: [Abraham [left] this [world]; he was one hundred and seventy-five years old.

The year one hundred and seventy-six (1839 BC): Antioch was built on the bank of the Orontes River by [19] [Cassius] and Belus, the sons of Inachos. This is the first construction of the city.

The year one hundred and ninety (1825 BC): The king of Assyria died. Armamitres reigned in his stead for thirty-eight years. Also during this time, the Egyptians established a statue for Api and worshipped it; they called him the god Sarapis.

The year two hundred and twenty-eight (1787 BC): The king of Assyria died, and Belochus reigned in his stead for thirty-five years.

¹³⁰ Gen 24:66.

¹³¹ See Gen 14:18.

¹³² Castor of Rhodes (ca. 50 BC); about him see Witakowski, *Study*, p. 63. On the transmission of Hellenistic historians through Eusebius see Muriel Debié, *L'Écriture de l'histoire en Syrique: Transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam* (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), pp. 241–43.

عدك القدم معمل سوه معكوا وسوار والعجر سلاووه الوده عند المحمر. عدل مدا للحزهور الملح المصلف. على حدال منبول للحزهم وتعل ونصل محكال والحمل المبولة كالمصعد وجزيعال وحلا منكا ويتقعد حومك أبوا وجرح معكما ومعسا حمولها الممكر. حب صحناا ومحفيا وحما محمى مقعل منه حدا معسى للحنهم. حما انوه صد فحك وسوا. واصحر سهووه أواحمه عتب اتوحم عدم حدا واتوحم للحزوم. والتعييم عدم اوّحيع. يعجد خوها. وحمد مدا وممع. المحرو التعييم مع وهما: لمقى حتما لمقدا: عرصما عهد وده أودم. وهده أقصم المحاصده، دولمقى محدد، وهده المعة المكل ورويه مده وما وع رحيا معلم معدوم معدد ومعمر وألماهم حوصنا والاها صنعط عدا معمى [صم اوالامه عدد وا]دور واصح ملاهون اسعيزه عتما الحمي. دويا وم رحيا حجر رجعا المتعلما لله وهير حن وافحه كنه اله ويده ملا معدة.. ماهد معلميه دويا رحيا معهوة معملات وملا رحيا. ميم حلا معديع مشعب. [F7r] ووب المان عبد خلا وحدكميا يقم احزهم مع مكمل هيا. م به دن مقدم وها وسعم متم. مدم ها ومحدم ومم. المحب المسوصا 133 ملا رح أوزيها بوزا. مع [19] معوم وحمه حت السعوم ون حسا مرها وركة وصبعال عدم تخال ما قدير. صدم محجل والماهزة ماصحر سحوه وانطاعه واصلح عتما الحكم ماهيا. ماهد حميا رحيا اصبعه رجعا التعلميا للعبع معيره حمد ماحما صنوبي معده وها مدا مدا مدا مدا معدم محدا والماوؤه والمحرد ما وه کلاه کالحه فی متب ماکمی هنتمو.

¹³³ Sic ms; read المهموما.

During this time were famous: Phoroneus son of Inachos and Niobe, he who was the first to establish laws and courts. Plato, recalling these very old times, talked in the first discourse entitled *Timaeus* as follows: "and one time, thinking of drawing them on to discourses about ancient people who were the oldest in this *politeia*, ¹³⁴ he ventured to talk about Pharonos who was said to be the first (man), about Niobe, and about those who lived after the Flood." ¹³⁵

The year two hundred and thirty-one (1784 BC): The Thelcisians and the Cariatians made war with Pharoneus and the Parrhasians. 136

The year two hundred and thirty-six (1779 BC): The city of Athens and Eleusis were built by Ogygus.

The year two hundred and thirty-seven (1778 BC): Jacob went down to Mesopotamia and worked with Laban for fourteen years.¹³⁷

The year two hundred and forty-six (1769 BC): Reuben, the first-born of Jacob, was born.

The year two hundred and forty-seven (1768 BC): Jacob begot Simeon and Levi from [on] e womb.

The year two hundred and forty-eight (1767 BC): Jacob begot Judah after whose name the Jews are named.

The year two hundred and fifty-two (1763 BC): Jacob begot Joseph. [20] In the first year of Joseph, Jacob was ninety-two years and it was the year one hundred and seventy-eight of the Promise.

The year two hundred and fifty-six (1759 BC): Messene was built.

The year two hundred and fifty-eight (1757 BC): There was a flood in the days of Ogygus.

The year two hundred and sixty-two (1753 BC): The king of Assyria died, and Balaeus reigned in his stead for fifty-two years.

¹³⁴ Πολιτεία "state, administration..."

¹³⁵ Compare with "On one occasion, wishing to draw them out upon the subject of ancient times, he set about telling them the most venerable of our traditions – the story of Phoroneus, reputedly the first man, and Niobe. Then he proceeded to narrate the legend of how Deucalion and Pyrrha survived the Flood;" John Warrington (trans.), *Plato Timaeus* (Dutton, NY, 1965), p. 6.

¹³⁶ The Thelcisians, a group of craftsmen, and the Cariatians, inhabitants of Caryae in Archadia, made war with Pharoneus and the Parrhasians, inhabitants of Archadia.

¹³⁷ Gen 29:13–20. Hier: Year 238 "Laban worked for seven years."

The year two hundred and sixty-eight (1747 BC): Joseph was sold by his brothers and he went down to Egypt.

The year two hundred and seventy-six (1739 BC): Memphis was built in Egypt by Apis, the king of the Argives.

The year two hundred and seventy-nine (1736 BC): Apophis reigned over Egypt. This one saw dreams that Joseph interpreted, and he made Joseph to rule with him.

The year two hundred and eighty-two (1733 BC): Apophis, who was the pharaoh, saw dreams. The year Joseph ruled over Egypt was the first year of plenty.

The year two hundred and eighty-six (1729 BC): Isaac left this world while he was one hundred and eighty-five years old.¹³⁸

The year two hundred and eighty-nine (1726 BC): A great famine began in the entire land, and in it Joseph grew illustrious.

The year two hundred and ninety (1725 BC): Jacob went into Egypt in the year two hundred and sixteen of the Promise.¹³⁹

The year two hundred and ninety-three (1722 BC): Apophis king of Egypt and the one who made Joseph to rule died. Amosis reigned in his stead for twenty-five years.

The year two hundred and ninety-nine (1716 BC): Sparta was built by Spartus son of Phoroneus.

The year three hundred and five (1710 BC): [Jacob [F7v] left this w]orld while he was one hundred and forty-seven years old. He prophesied about Christ and about the call of the Gentiles by him.

The year three hundred and seventeen (1698 BC): The king of Egypt died, and Chebron ruled for [21] thirteen years with Joseph.

The year three hundred and thirty-one (1684 BC): Chebron died, and Amenophis reigned for twenty-one (years). During this time, Prometheus, of whom it is said in a story that he fashioned people, was famous. Because he was wise, he used to change people's ignorance to learning, and this is why he was called "fashioner of people."

¹³⁸ Hier: Year 280 "Isaac dies at 180 years of age."

¹³⁹ Hier: Year 290, which corresponds to the Year 216 of the Promise.

عدلم تعلم معلم ماتعباً. اروح معه مع استاه مسلم حصروب. عدلم تعلم معتمع مقلاً. المحسم معجمه على على العب معكم والرساء عدم معلى معديم ملقب. اصحر ملا المحلوم العموسي ولل برا سحقل وهم: مصد. وولم اصحده حموه معده. عدم محمر ماميع مارتاع. برا اهوهم سكما وروه هرموره وحدة حميدًا المدكم موهد ملا مرزم. ووله المدة ميدًا مرمددًا وهديا. مدد تدام ماهيم مقلم. بعم العسم مع محمل ويا. حر وه حز مدا ماهيم وسمع عتم. عدم المرس. عدم تعمم ملقدم. جلا محصود حصرفي. حمدما وتعمم معملمهما ومعمليدا. عدل مدلع ملعم ماكل. مدل اهدهم محدا ومرزع ون وامحده حدهد. وامحم الموصيف سلاوه مستح وشعف عتبي عدل قدلم ولمقدر ولمقدر المحدد هدنها مع صفي المحال متحب بعد المحال متحب بعد المحاد [F7v] مع مدامل مبا عب به من مخال ه او و من منا مناه مناه مناه و منه و مناه و منا عدلم الحلاقدال معمدهمة إلى صدر محمل ومرزع المحمد مدور [21] عبدا الحلامهم المرابع مهد. وحمل المحلال والكلع وسبأ. هم فحنون والعكم العنوفيم لمعتب وسبأ. حمل وبي رحبا صمير فنصممه. بن وصماهن حمصما ورجل النقل صهل رب وسصط هدوا. خصروما صعسك مده خده مع مومهماً. ممل هذا مرده ورخل لابقلاه The year three hundred and fifty-two (1663 BC): The king of Egypt died, and another one, Mephres, ruled with Joseph for twelve years.

The year three hundred and sixty-one of Abraham (1654 BC): Joseph left this world when he was aged one hundred and ten years, in eighty years of which he ruled. This is also the year two hundred and eighty-six of the Promise, by which the years of slavery of the children of Israel began.

The year three hundred and sixty-four (1651 BC): Mephres, the friend of Joseph, died. Mispharmuthosis, an enemy of the Jews, reigned over Egypt in his stead for twenty-six years.

The year three hundred and ninety (1625 BC): Mispharmuthosis¹⁴⁰ died and Tuthmosis reigned for nine years.

The year three hundred and ninety-six (1619 BC): Syrus, king of Syria and after whose name Syria was named, was famous.

The year four hundred (1615 BC): The king of Egypt died, and Amenophtes reigned in his stead for thirty-one years. During this time, the Kushites departed from the Indus River and settled near Egypt. In the same time too, after many kings ruled over Egypt, Palmanothis reigned in the region of Heliopolis and he was an enemy of the Jews. He had a daughter named Merry whom he gave to Chenephra king of Memphis. This was Ra^cūsā¹⁴¹ who took Moses among her sons. After Moses grew up, he built Hermopolis and fought the Kushites for ten years. [22] After the death of Merry who adopted Moses, Chenephra her husband grew deceitful toward Moses and wanted to kill him. Merry was buried in Egypt, and the city of Meroe was called after her. Now when Moses became aware of the deceit of Chenephra, he killed Chana^cnathos who threatened to kill him. And he fled to Arabia to Reu²el, whose daughter he took as a wife, as is written in Artamanus.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Lit. "this one."

¹⁴¹ The Syriac name is the result of misunderstanding the Greek original: (αὖτη δὲ ἡ Μερρὶ στεῖ)ρα οὖσα "but Merri was barren;" C¹ (trans.) 17 n.7. Barheb. identifies Ra'ūsā as follows: ձև نه المعالمة المعالمة

¹⁴² Artamanus is Artapanos, the Jewish historian known in Syriac sources through Eusebius; Witakowski, *Study*, pp. 127–28. On the stories of Moses in Syriac sources see S. Brock, "Some Syriac Legends Concerning Moses," *JJS* 33 (1982), pp. 237–255. On Artapanos and Jannes and Jambres see A. Pietersma, *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 3–72 (the introduction).

عدم الحمقلا وبع ماقاع. صم محكا وصرفي. واصحر اسزيا مع موهد صافعه عتما الماحسة اله معلم الحمقلا مقمع وسبا للحزهم. يجم عصف مع محمل ويا. عبر وه حز حلا محصة عتب. احجر وم حدوم التعب عتب ه واه دوا عدما المدة وحد حديا. وتعمر ماهيم مقله وهدة عن قيل وعدمجرا وحتد المعناس عدم الحلاها مقلم واودب. صدر مداوزها وسعده ومصد. وامدكر ملا مرزح سلامون مسعدزهماهمه مدرحط ومة دوما معتب معم عتب عدم الحمطا ما عمر صدم ولا واصحر لمواهده عتما المدهه مدالم المحلال والقدم ومال. فداري في فووف فحمل وهوزال وو وحلا معده صورما المحبيم * عدم التحديد مدم محمل ومرزع. وامدم سهورون المدوم عتما المحكم مسرا.. حدمل وع رحيل محمد عدمتا مع ديره بدوا دحما معروب معدد. حدمل وع اه رحبا عب ١٥٥٥ محقل سيتال ١٨٠٠ مرزم. المحر فحمد المازا ١٥٥٠ والمحمود ما المامال الما والمحمود المامال المام المام وم حيا المعدن المامال المامال حديدنا صححا وصعفيها المنه ولم الموا وحاصل الأله وعميكم خصوعا حجيا. مع حمة والمرحة مدمعاً. حبل الموزمدولاها. وامن مع مدمنا متبا معنه [22] ومدار ومع حكمة صمارة وحن ولا وللمركم حصمها صفنا حدكة لصلالك الموهد كممحل صملا وزجا ووا حممهده. المحديا وع ود حزد حل عهد. وحدة المولم حزوا حرسماه وه وع معمل عبر أفرحه حيطا وعيدنال مهلاه كعيدلماه وه وكسم وها كمعمهلاه. مجزع هوا حده وه الزحم حمل وعواس معمل حزاه المال: اب واحدت اولهمده

The year four hundred and twenty-four (1591 BC): Amram begot Moses while he was seventy years old. This is the year of severe servitude of the children of Israel.

The year four hundred and twenty-five (1590 BC): The city of Epidaurus¹⁴³ was built.

The year four hundred and thirty (1585 BC): The king of Egypt died. rOrus reigned in his stead for thirty-eight years.

The year four hundred and fifty (1565 BC): Xanthus of Triopa built the city of Lesbos. During this time Hercules the First and Cecrops were known.¹⁴⁴

The year four hundred and sixty-six (1649 BC): Moses left Egypt and moved to the place of Reu'el.

The year four hundred and sixty-eight (1547 BC): The king of Egypt died, and Achencheres, the daughter of Orus, reigned for twelve years.

The year four hundred and seventy-five (1540 BC): The Chaldeans marched up to do battle with the Phoenicians.

[F8r] The year four hundred and eighty (1535 BC): The queen of Eg[ypt] died. Her brother Athuris [reigned] for nine years.

The year four hundred and [eighty-one?] (1533 BC?): The city of Athens was built by rDuados.¹⁴⁵

The year four hundred and eighty-three (1532 BC): A flood took place in Thessaly in the days of Phaethontis.¹⁴⁶

The year four hundred and eighty-eight (1527 BC): [23] Numerous misfortunes took place in Ethiopia, as Plato wrote.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ The city was on the Saronic Gulf (the Aegean); Strabo VI, 175–76.

¹⁴⁴ Hier. Year 431 "Some write that (...) Prometheus (...) lived in these times and others that they lived in the age of Cecrops;" Hier: Year 453: "Hercules is said to have been the first to beat Antaeus in a wrestling match." These statements were awkwardly summed up above, leaving the question why Hercules was called the first.

¹⁴⁵ Corrupt passage; read perhaps "Athens, also called Diada, was built (by Cecrops);" Hier. Year 488; Arm. Year 481.

¹⁴⁶ Confused lemma; there was a flood in Thessaly at the time of Deucalion and conflegration at the time of Pheaton. For both events and dates: *Hier.* Year 491; *Arm.* Year 477.

¹⁴⁷ Arm. Year 477, where the misfortunes were great fire; Barheb., Chr. Syr., 14:6: عناهد "in the days of Paraton" (sic).

هدام ازده هدا محست مازده. امر حصوط حصوط در به وه در هدم هدار و المحلم المسلام و هو در المحلم المسلام و هو در المسلام و المسلام و المسلام و المسلم و المسلم و المسلم

148 C1 22 n.1: همزونوه).

¹⁴⁹ Same date in Arm., but in Chr. Zuq. it could be إِنَامِن ms مِنْ اللهِ (sic).

The year four hundred and ninety (1525 BC): The king of Egypt died and Chenchres reigned for sixteen years. It was this one who did a contest with Moses, with (the assistance of) Jannes and Ja(m)bres¹⁵⁰ the magicians. Moses said concerning this one: He (=the Lord) drowned Pharaoh and his army in the Red Sea.¹⁵¹

The year four hundred and ninety-six (1519 BC): The city of Corinth was built.

The year five hundred and one (1514 BC): God appeared to Moses on Mount Sinai. ¹⁵² He was sent to Egypt and he fought with Pharaoh for five years, in such a way that he performed two signs every year.

The year five hundred and two (1513 BC): The temple of Apollo which is in Delos was constructed by Erysichton.

The year five hundred and six (1509 BC): The (Israelite) people went out of Egypt. Moses, who was eighty years old, took control of the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt. He was with them in the desert, instituting the laws for them, for forty years. During this time, Hercules who was called Dionysus was known; the discovery of the vineyard was made by him.

The year five hundred and ten (1505 BC): The court of Areopagus was established (in Athens).¹⁵³

The year five hundred and eleven (1504 BC): Aaron received the High Priesthood – he was the first Priest.

The year five hundred and fourteen (1501 BC): Crete was built, and Apteras who built it reigned in it.

The year five hundred and twenty-six (1489 BC): The temple which is in Delos was constructed by Erysichton son of Cecrops.

The year five hundred and twenty-eight (1487 BC): Epaphus son of Io and Zeus built Memphis, while he reigned over Egypt twice.

The year five hundred and thirty (1485 BC): Lacedaemon was built by Lacedaemon son of Semele.

¹⁵⁰ Magicians mentioned in 2 Tim 3:8; about them and their mention in Greek and Syriac sources see Pietersma, *Jannes and Jambres*, esp. the Introduction.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Ex 15:4.

¹⁵² Hier: Year 502; Arm.: Year 505 (among major biblical events).

¹⁵³ Addition from Barheb., Chr. Syr., 15:17–18.

عبد الوصطا ما قدي. هده محكا بعربي ماهكر صديت عبياً به. هدا المهرون هما المورس هو بحب بال عراصة معدا عرب منه المدينة وحدا المدينة الم

The year five hundred and forty (1475 BC): Dardanus built Dardania; during this time Aegyptus reigned over Egypt, after whose name this land was called Egypt.¹⁵⁴

[24] The year five hundred and forty-five (1470 BC): Aaron, the high priest, left this world and was buried on Mount Hor. Eleazar his son received his high priesthood rank.

The year five hundred and forty-six (1569 BC): Moses died too, and he was buried on Mount [Hor]. Joshua son of Nun took his place. He died while he was one hundred and twenty years old, for forty years of which he led the people.

Up to here are the five books of Moses, which narrate the deeds of three thousand seven hundred and thirty years, according to the Seventy's version.

During this time, Danaus made war through his fifty daughters, killing the fifty sons of his brother Aegyptus, except for Lynceus¹⁵⁵ who reigned after him. There is no doubt about the multitude of sons among the barbarians, for they used to take a multitude of concubines.

The year five hundred and forty-seven (1468 BC): The children of Israel crossed the Jordan and began to destroy the people of that land.

The year five hundred and fifty-three (1462 BC): Joshua divided the land of Palestine among the children of Israel by lot.

The year five hundred and seventy-two (1443 BC): Joshua son of Nun died, while he was one hundred and ten years old. He was buried in Timnath-serah which is on Mount Ephraim.¹⁵⁶

The year five hundred and seventy-three (1442 BC): Israel was captured by the Gentiles and its citizens worked for them for eight years; then Othniel rose up and liberated them.

[F8v] [Up to here is the Boo]k of Joshua son of Nun, which narrates twenty-[seven years] of warfare and the division of the Promised Land among the [children] of Israel.

The year five hundred and seventy-eight (1437 BC): Eleazer the high priest died. Phineas his son received [25] his priestly rank.

¹⁵⁴ Hier. Year 533: the king's other name is Ramasses (Arm. Year 534).

¹⁵⁵ Spelling after the Greek form of the name Λυγκεύς.

¹⁵⁶ See Josh 24:29–30.

عدلم شعمعطا هاوديم. ووويه حبل حروبيل. دهيل وم رحبل الصحره ملا المحلهم السعموم وهده السعموم المصلم أولم أولم أولم الله المستعمل الموصي المستعمل المراجع المستعمل المراجع المستعمل المس بهم امزه, زمع دقيل مع محمد ميا. مالماهيم حده لهذا. معد ومد ومداه همز حزه. عدم سعق حلا هاوديع مقلم. حدم أق صوعانه والمصدم حلموزا و[١٥٥]. ومد وه مده معد مده وسي. صمل ول حز حال معصب علي هوجز عط مده اتوحي علي. حريط كاهزما سعما صفرهان وجومان وجملان صورتنا ومتما لمكما لاهب ممحتجاا ماكمي أمر صعصيما ومحتم. دوما وم رحباً. مجم عندا وماوه حم مصعتم حتمه. وكنتصعب حتوود والمحله اسوود علماً. كمن مع كوروده 157 وو واصل حلاوو. مكم قوكيا مل صهوما ديتا ولاما دودنا معلا صهوما وووها ونعصر عدم معمعطال واؤديم وتقديا عجز دتب العهزاما عووبي وتعزيم وسنزجل ودتب اؤخل وأنا لعبالم معقعلا ومعقب ملكة. فكن مدس للزمل وفكه لمميل لحتد العيزام حقرل مدلا معق مدال معدم ماولم، مدم معد حزه وسي. حز مدال معمة على. والماهم حمصه عنه وحمورا والعنص عدم سعمطا معمن ملكم. المحمد المعناس مع حصقل وفحه حمر منتا القيال ووب مر مالك وفيم الهرا [F87] [حبط كانوط فكد] المحمد في وقع وقي ومعكم ملا ملا معتب المعتب عتب]. ملا معميرا ومنطر وملا ومحل وازعل ومعدهما حراقت المستراس عمل معقعلا وعدتم والخبار مدلم كدوز وسع دةيا. ومدك دويهاره [25] فسيع دره.

¹⁵⁷ Greek Λυγκεύς.

The year five hundred and eighty-one (1434 BC): Othniel rose up and liberated the people, leading (them) for forty years, including the eight years during which the Gentiles subjugated them.¹⁵⁸

The year five hundred and ninety-two (1423 BC): The cities of Melos, Paphos, Thasos, and Callista were built.

The year five hundred and ninety-three (1422 BC): Bithynia was built by Phoenice.

The year six hundred and eleven (1404 BC): Cadmea and Side were built in Sicily.

The year six hundred and twelve (1403 BC): Othniel died. The Gentiles ruled over them (=the Israelites) for eighteen years which overlap the years of Ehud.

The year six hundred and seventeen (1398 BC): The city of Achaia was built by Achaeos.

The year six hundred and thirty (1385 BC): Ehud¹⁵⁹ son of Gera rose up and liberated the people. He was Judge for eighty years including the eighteen years during which the Gentiles ruled over them (=the Israelites).

The year six hundred and seventy (1345 BC): Perseus along with a great army marched in war against the Persians.

The year six hundred and eighty-two (1333 BC): The city of Cyrene was built in Libya.

The year six hundred and ninety (1325 BC): Dionysius marched in war against the Indians. He built the city of Nyssa on the bank of the Indus River.

The year six hundred and ninety-two (1323 BC): Ehud died. Gentiles ruled over the Hebrew people for twenty years which also overlap the years of Deborah and Barak.

The year seven hundred and eleven (1304 BC): The city of Ilium was built by Illus.

The year seven hundred and twenty (1295 BC): The temple which is in Eleucina was built. In the same year, the war which Deborah and Barak waged against Sisera, the military commander of Jabin the king of the people of Ammon, took place on Mount Tabor. The Lord defeated Sisera before Barak. Barak was Judge for forty years including the years of Jabin.

The year seven hundred and thirty-one (1284 BC): The city of Miletus [26] was built.

¹⁵⁸ See the Year 573 just above for the same information.

¹⁵⁹ Ms: Ehur.

عدلا سحقحال ماهيم وسبإل مع حكساس وقاعه خنعل وزدز عتبا اؤديم ععر وحم التعلل ومقعل والملاكه محمون عدل سعقعال ملقمع ماقاع المصلم معهم ووووه. والصوص وملكهم حبّيها. عدم سعقطا والقدم والكرد حاوسا المديم ص قويدها عدم علم علا وسرعهم عاوهما وهبرا المحتد معملا علم علمطا مازا دهم المسارد والممكل معقل مكنون منتا العبيسة الدو وكم صمستكلي مع وأمهور عدم عمصال معصصة إل أحلم حبدها المحدم مع احاده. عدم قلمطا ماكمي. مم الهور حز هزا. وقومه كنطا. وبي القيم عتب عم له كم المتنصرا وملكه ملمه محمدا عدل ها معدي فرهوه مع سلا هيما الرا ملا فتصل كفنط عدم عدها ماهيع مازاج. موزيا مديدا المصد حصداا. عدم علاها المقدير. ومنه سنه ملا المراقيل المراها ا صبه صدواً. عبد عدها ملقب ماقلي. صدد الموز 161. واعد كله ملا بعد وبحرال معتقل معتب عتب هاك محم لمات مكسكل مع ووحوزا محزم عدم محتملا وسيمعة الديم المحل مرسما مع المحمد عدم عدة مدا ومعتب ومطا وه 162 وحلكه هميل المحس. وحن حميكا ووا عنجل ووحوزا ووجزم خعر همهزا وحا مبلل ويحب محكما وحبة عمور حلموزا واحدوز ماحز مديا خصيصنا مرم حزم دور حزم اتوحيع عتب عمر وحلى وبحل 163]. عند مقتمطا والشام وسبال معلمه صبيدا [26] المحتمد معرفة

¹⁶⁰ Ms not clear at this spot; T 31 n. 15: حصكمعا; see also C¹ 25 n.2.

¹⁶¹ Sic ms ;ool but C1 25:13 and 21 uses this form even when ;ool occurs in ms; see years 612 and 692).

محب for بحب.

¹⁶³ Ditto.

The year seven hundred and thirty-two (1283 BC): Deborah and Barak died. Midianites overruled the people for seven years which overlap those of Gideon.

The year seven hundred and thirty-nine (1276 BC): Oreb, Zeeb, Zebah, and Zal[mu] nna marched in war against the Israelites. All these kings gathered and with all their armies pitched camp in the Valley of Jezreel. Gideon son of Joash rose up and destroyed all of them with the edge of the sword. He ruled as Judge of Israel for forty years, including the years of the Midianites.

The year seven hundred and forty-four (1271 BC): The city of Tyre was built, and in the same year the city of Cyzicus was also built.

The year seven hundred and seventy-two (1243 BC): Gideon died, and Abimelech his son reigned.

The year seven hundred and seventy-three (1242 BC): Abimelech killed his seventy brothers.¹⁶⁴

The year seven hundred and seventy-five (1240 BC): While Abimelech was fighting against Thebez, a woman threw on him a fragment of an upper millstone, crushing him to death.¹⁶⁵ Tola the son of Puah rose up after him and judged Israel for twenty-two years.

The year [F9r] seven hundred and ninety-seven (1218 BC): Tola died and [Jair] judged Isra[el for twenty]-two years.

The year eight hundred and two (1213 BC): Carthage [city was built by] Zorus and Carthago. During this time Minos established legislation.

The year eight hundred and eighteen (1197 BC): Jair died and Jephthah judged for seven years. ¹⁶⁶ During this year, Jephthah made war against the Ammonites and the Moabites, inflicting upon them a very great blow from Aro^cer up to the entrance of Machir – twenty cities –, and up to Abel-keramim; the Ammonites were defeated before the people of Israel.

The year eight hundred and twenty-[27] five (1190 BC): Jephthah died and Heshbon who is Ibzan judged after him for seven years. This one had thirty daughters and thirty sons. He gave (in marriage) thirty daughters outside (his clan) and brought in from outside thirty daughter-in laws.

¹⁶⁴ Judges 9:1–5.

¹⁶⁵ Judges 9:53.

 $^{^{166}}$ Hier. Year 819; Arm. Year 819 – in both Jephthah ruled for six years, but the account of the Chronicler fuller.

عدلم مختصاً والمشكم والرام. صملاً وحول وحزه. والملكه علا تعط هوستا. متما محد، وصمنتكي عمر ورجمي. مدلم مقتعلا ماكمي ما قب. ابا عمونت ورب ورجب ه إلى المعناس كمنها مالمصعم محمر محكم محكم معاه معنه معمما والمؤدلا معر علامه منتهامه من معر مربع من ماج مسند الم حصمه حصمل وهمكا. دور للمعناملا اتوصع عتبي. حور وحم عقد وحتومما. عمل عقمعال واتوصع وأوجد روز حبيها المحبيم. وحن حميها المحييم أق مورموه حبيها. منه محمداا معدتم ماولم. صم ربعي، والعكم اصعكم حزه. عدم عدتما معدّم ماكلم. مهر به اصعر حمص المقهد عدا مقدها معمتم مشعب و مدمده اصعر ملا اخر عبا الكال محمد احدا وزوحا وزسيا معلاكمه معدد. معم مع حكوبه ماهك مع دو هدال وبي المعين المعين ماتها عتب عدم محتمدا [F9r] ما قدم مقديد. صمة بامكيه مور اللعه:[الم ملمة بعصتم] ماقلم عتبي عمد باحتصال ماقلم. مازدره، [حبيكا المحسم مع] ارهز ممزدره مدا رحبا وبي مسوه شام وها بعقها. عدم العديطال والعديمة إ. فعدم مانون وور معلم عيم عقد ودة حمدما مجر معلم مزط عم حت عمور وعم حت مواد. ومسل انور مع جومعة وجومل حميطا ومحمة حصته مهوماً محبط للحما فترصم مسما وحما ولهد والمباحز فتد معمى مرم فتد المصوارين عدم المتعدل ومعتب [27] وشعب عدم يعام الماء. وور مع حماوه سعده عتماه عدى. ووه احرى. وما وقد هم الشمع حتى ماكمع حتما. ماكمع حتى اهم حدن ماتكم قلل الملامع حدند

امکار 167 Sic for معامد.

The year eight hundred and thirty-two (1183 BC): Ibzan died and was buried in Bethlehem. After him, Elon of Zebulun judged Israel for eight years.

During the days of this Elon, they were subdued by Alexander. 168

The year eight hundred and forty (1175 BC): Elon died and he was buried in Aijalon. After him, Abdon¹⁶⁹ judged for ten years. Eusebius did not include him in his computation, and while the Book of Judges counted him, the former left him out.¹⁷⁰ Now Abdon had forty sons and thirty daughters. After him, the Philistines ruled over the children of Israel for forty years, overlapping those of the Judges. Afterward, Samson rose up to judge Israel for forty years. During this time, Boaz and Ruth were known.

The year eight hundred and <forty>-five (1170 BC): The city of Alba was built by Ascanios son of Aineias.¹⁷¹

The year eight hundred and sixty (1155 BC): Samson died, and after him, Eli the Priest judged Israel for forty years.

The year eight hundred and seventy-three (1142 BC): The Amazons burned down the temple which is in Ephesus. During this time, the Israelites destroyed the Benjaminites.

The year nine hundred and nine (1106 BC): Samuel began to prophesy.

The year nine hundred (1115 BC): Eli the Priest died. In this year the Philistines destroyed the children of Israel and carried away with them the Ark of God. After Eli the Priest, Samuel and Saul judged for forty years. During this time Homer the Sage was known.¹⁷²

The year nine hundred and thirty (1085 BC): Saul destroyed the Amalekites.

The year nine hundred and thirty-three (1082 BC): [28] David was anointed.

The year nine hundred and thirty-seven (1078 BC): Samuel died.

¹⁶⁸ A clumsy statement, which seems to connect the entry on Elon with an account from Greek mythology placed under the "Athenians." In *Hier.* and *Arm.*, both Year 826, Alexander is Paris who abducted Helen of Troy, which launched the Tojan War.

¹⁶⁹ Hier., Year 832 and Arm., Year 832: Labdon.

 $^{^{170}}$ In fact, Eusebius followed the Septuagint which did not account for Elon; see Arm. Year 832.

¹⁷¹ The reconstruction follows *Arm.*; Alba is Albania in Mal. 168–169 [89].

¹⁷² Hier. Year 913 – short account on Homer; Arm. Year 910.

مد العتدال ما الحراج ما الها عدم المراج المحمور مع حازه والها المهاد المحالي المحالي وعلى وحل متبا العبار حقود من المحمد المحمد وعلى المحمد على المحمد المح

¹⁷³ Obviously it is for **\?** as spelled elsewhere.

عدبه, Sic for محبه.

The year nine hundred and forty (1075 BC): A war broke out between the Philistines and the children of Israel, and the children of Israel were defeated before the Philistines. Moreover, Saul and his sons were killed in this war that took place on Mount Gilboa. After Saul, the first king ruled over the children of Israel – David son of Jesse from the tribe of Judaea – for forty years. During this time, Abiathar the High Priest was known, and Gad, Nathan, and Asaph were prophesying.

The year nine hundred and sixty-two (1053 BC): The city of Magnesia in Asia was built.

The year nine hundred and sixty-five (1050 BC): Cumae, a city in Italy, was built.

The year nine hundred and sixty-seven (1048 BC): The city of Myrina was built.¹⁷⁵

The year nine hundred and sixty-eight (1047 BC): The city of Ephesus was built by Androclus.

The year nine hundred and seventy-one (1044 BC): The city of Carchedon was built by Didone daughter of Carchedon.

The year nine hundred and eighty (1035 BC): David the king died, and Solomon his son reigned after him for forty years.

The year nine hundred and eighty-one (1034 BC): The city of Samos was built.¹⁷⁶ [F9v] [Up to here] are the Books of Joshua son of Nun, Judges, and Samuel, [which narrate the de]eds of four hundred and seventy years.¹⁷⁷

From Adam to the Flood: Two thousand two hundred and forty-two years. From the Flood to Moses: One thousand four hundred and forty-seven. From Moses to the building of the Temple: Four hundred and eighty – according to the computation of the Jews. The total of all the years: Four thousand one hundred and seventy. 178

The year nine hundred and eighty-four (1031 BC): Solomon began to build the Temple in Jerusalem.

¹⁷⁵ Hier. Year 971. Myrina, in Asia Minor, and Smyrna, Ephesus (year Abr 968, below), and Cumae (year 965 Abr. above) are said to have been built by the Amazons and that they got their names from them; H.L. Jones (trans.), *The geography of Strabo* (Hereafter Strabo), Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1928), XI v 4, XII iii 21 subsequently.

¹⁷⁶ Hier. Year 1031 – along with expanded Zmyrna; Arm.: 981.

¹⁷⁷ Arm. under the Year 988 gives 480 years from Exodus to the 8th year of Solomon.

¹⁷⁸ Hier. Same calculation with the correct grand total (4169 years) under the Year 985.

هدا آر هاوردی. هما منط و حقاط حور حت استاسد مالاحز حت استاس میم و حقاط المرام الله هما محتوا و حقاط الله و الله

مع اوم حبط حلهدها عبدا التي هفته وهمه واتوجه واتهاب مع لهدها وحبط حصوماً عبدا هده واتوجها واتوجه وهمها وحبط حديدا ومحالا عدم التوجه التوجه الموالا والتعلق وا

محنسكا :12: ¹⁷⁹ C¹ 28:12: محنسكا.

The year nine hundred and ninety (1925 BC): [29] The building of the Temple was completed. During this time Zadok the Priest was known, and Zadok and Ahijah of Shiloh were prophesying.

The year one thousand and twenty (995 BC): Solomon died and Rehoboam reigned after him for seventeen years.

From this point, the children of Israel were divided into two kingdoms: Rehoboam reigned over the two tribes of Judaea and Benjamin, and henceforth all the children of Israel acquired the name Jews; Jeroboam reigned over ten tribes — this one erected a calf, sinning and causing Israel to sin. During this time, Ahijah and Shemaiah prophesied in Judaea.

The year one thousand and thirty (985 BC): The city of Samos was built, and Smyrna became inhabited.

The year one thousand and thirty-four (981 BC): The one who dwelled in Bethel was prophesying, and the one (who prophesied) against the altar. 180

The year one thousand and thirty-seven (978 BC): Rehoboam died and his son Abijah reigned after him for three years.

The year one thousand and forty (975 BC): Abijah died and Asa his son reigned after him for forty-one years.

The year one thousand and twenty-seven (988 BC): Sheshong, king of Egypt, marched up against Jerusalem. He took away all the treasure of the House of the Lord and all the royal treasure of David and Solomon, bringing them down to Egypt.

The year one thousand and forty-seven (968 BC): Zerah the Kushite marched up, bringing also with him Libyans, and pitched camp against Judaea. As the king went out against them, pursued them, and destroyed them with the edge of the sword in the Valley of Gedar. Those among them who escaped the sword drowned in the sea. During this time Joel son of 'Edo¹8¹ was prophesying.

The year one thousand and sixty-three (952 BC): A war broke out between Asa, king of Judaea, and Baasha, king of Israel; the former brought with him Bar-Hadad, king of Syria. During this time Jehu and Hanani prophesied.

The year one thousand and eighty-one (934 BC): [30] As a died and Jehoshaphat his son reigned after him for twenty-five years. During this time, Elijah, Obadiah, Jeho, Micah, and Oziel prophesied. The false prophets were Zedekiah, Eleazar, and the rest of the others – four hundreds.

¹⁸⁰ See subsequently 1 Kgs 13:11 and 1 Kgs 13:1-3.

¹⁸¹ The patronym is **№lo№** Pethuel.

عدل القدمال والقدم [29] المكرم حسل ووسطال دويا وم رصل مكور ووه وويا. صدي وبي روه داسيا عيدها. عدم هجا دور. صدم عددي ف داهير وسديم مانه متما محمدة المعلى من موط المعلى من المعناس معلى فيصم العمر العمر مركم اوم محكمت ومه ووصمعم ومع ووط الا معمده ومهووتا عبه وحمور حت المصالى عودم وم العكم على معمدًا معالمين المنا المنظ على المنا المنط للمهزاس. محديد وبي حميل رحيا. اسما معمله حمودو. عيد هما ماحدي. هموه حصلاً الماد ٥١٥٥ وسل موسل عدم اللها ماكم مقديا. مدم وسحم والمحم اصل حزاه حكون منتا لمحكم. معلم هجا هاؤوسي. صم اصل هاصر العل حزاه حكون عبتًا أوديع ميرا. عبد هجا محصوب مقديا. صحم عبعم محكم ومروع علا أموعكم. ونصف محد ما وصله وحناما ومحام وحدما وحدماه ووصر وومعمد. وأسلا حمروب. عدلم كلاف داوديم مقدم. صحف رؤس دوعيا: دارية الا كلامتا بعدد. معزه ما مهمور منعم محمه العل محجار مؤوف الله مساد الله حدمما وصعار دسلا ورجوز ه المكم وفيكه معنه مع سنجل المسم صعل حمل وم رحبال معلما مهاس من مره. عدل هدا معمر ماحل. هوا عندا حمد العد صحدا وسهورا. عم حدما صحدا والعيزال. والي الا حدة دور محكم وهوزلل معدد. دولل ولم رحيل محلام وده مره وسيس عدم هول ماهيم وسبل صم [30] العل والعكم مده عدد حكوره عبتل حصت متحب متحب حول وبي رحبا محالج كما محودما مدوه مصحل محورماس بحتا وسطا , وصل ه احمرو معنط واستبل او حمصال

اه 182 C¹ 29:13 and n. 1: read as محصه.

The year one thousand and ninety (925 BC): The drought of Elijah took place for three years and six months, and there was a severe famine all over the earth.

The year one thousand one hundred and six (909 BC): Jehoshaphat died and Jehoram his son reigned after him for eight years. During this time, Azriel, Eleazar, Elijah, and Elisha prophesied.

The year one thousand <one hundred>183 and thirteen (902 BC): Elijah was carried away as if to heaven.

The year one thousand <one hundred>184 and fifteen (900 BC): Jehoram died and Ahaziah his son reigned after him for one year.

[F10r] The year one thousand <one hundred>185 and sixteen (899 BC): Jeho killed Ahaziah, and Athaliah his mother reigned after him [in Judaea] for seven years. This one [ordered women to commit adultery] publicly and men to fornicate with the wives of each other, with no one to lodge complaint [against them, or against all the adultery] of Jezebel and the paganism of the house of Ahab. She undertook rthe killing of a<11> the males of the House of David in Jerusalem. rDuring this time Jehonadab the priest was known. 186

The year one thousand <one hundred> and twenty-two (893 BC): The Israelites deliberated among themselves whom they would make king for themselves. Jehoiada¹⁸⁷ the priest heard it and he gathered in the House of the Lord the commanders of thousands and the commanders of hundreds. Jehoiada the priest said to them: "Who ought to be a king and to sit on the throne of David if not a king son of a king from the progeny of David?" And when he showed them Joash, they experienced [31] a great joy, and they took Joash down to the House of the Lord and established him on the royal throne. Athaliah was killed. Joash ruled while he was seven years old, and he ruled for forty years. Jeho killed Jehoram and the seventy sons of Ahab and Jezebel.

The year one thousand one hundred and thirty (885 BC): Jehoiada the priest died while he was one hundred and thirty years old. Zechariah his son accepted his priestly rank after him. Elisha and Zechariah the priest were prophesying during this time. 188

¹⁸³ Correction based on *Hier.* and *Arm.* Year 1113.

¹⁸⁴ Correction based on Arm. Year 1115.

¹⁸⁵ Correction based on Arm. Year 1116.

¹⁸⁶ C¹ (trans.) 34, misses to translate this passage; see also Year 1116 in Hier. and Arm.

¹⁸⁷ Hier. Year 1121; Arm. Year 1125 – Jehoiada was known.

¹⁸⁸ Hier. and Arm. Year 1130 mention prophet Azariah but not the other two prophets.

عدلا كلام ملقص. وول روما وف والحبار عبدًا لمحتم. وحبل عدمًا. وووا دورا وحل وحا عدة أولا. عدم كعل مقدا معلم. عدم مدهمهم. واصحر مدووم حرد حدود عبدا $_{
m local}$ اهیا. محاری حویل رحیل. مرزیار $_{
m co}$ واکنیز واکنا واکنید. هیک هیل $_{
m co}$ ماكله المسلم المسرو المسلم المسرور والمسلم المسلم ه المحكم اسرا حزه حكوره عدا سبال [F10r] عدم كلا حوال معالمها المحادة علام موه للسرمار امعكم حمكما امعه حكوره [حمهوم] عبتا عده. هوا تحصها ويزبع تعا كلك. ويهوزور يحترا حتم سبوا. مر حمد وزما [محمون وحكة وسولا] والرد مسعورا وحد أسد. حدرا حاوزهم ممهم محمد حدد ومرا وحد وور. دورا رحيا صمير عميد مولا. عدم خوا حوقال>194 ومعتب وازاع. صميعت ووه حت المعزالي. وكعنه بحرم كهم محكل معمد عدرة فيم المن كحماه ومزماً. حرص كقل مكرت طاقال ماجع كمن عميد مماد كعنه روم وسما مكحل ملك ما حدوصه وومير. الل محكم حن محكم مع حدة مربور وحر معده حده حدم حداج. سيم [31] سيما وحلال واسلامه حصله وطنيل واولحه وكالم ومحمال معلاحا الممليكاء وحز عقد عتب العجرد والوحيع عتبي العجرة مروه علي حدوره محمدتني حنةهم واست ماموك. عدلم كلفل معلل ملكمي. عدلم عميه عمل عن عدا ماكم عنتي. وصد وودماه حكوره روزما حده. معكس وم حدما رحبا. كسعد ووه رحزمل حدولل

¹⁸⁹ Ms omitted; C¹ 30:1.

¹⁹⁰ Ditto.

¹⁹¹ Ditto.

¹⁹² C¹ 30:15: Empty space.

¹⁹³ C¹ 30:18: Empty space.

¹⁹⁴ Ms omitted; C¹ 30 n.1.

The year one thousand rone hundred¹⁹⁵ and forty-four (871 BC): Hazael king of Syria devastated Israel. And then in the year one thousand one hundred and fifty (865 BC), this Hazael gathered an army and tormented them (=the Israelites) in all the days of Jehoahaz the king of Israel.

The year one thousand one hundred and fifty-five (860 BC): Joash killed Zechariah son of Jehoiada.

The year one thousand one hundred and fifty-eight (857 BC): Elisha the prophet died.

The year one thousand one hundred and fifty-<nine> (856 BC): The Syrian army plundered Judaea and killed its leaders.

The year one thousand <one hundred> and sixty-two (853 BC): Joash was killed by his servants, and his son Amaziah reigned after him for twenty-nine years.

The year one thousand one hundred and sixty-three (852 BC): Amaziah devastated the Edomites and carried away their gods and worshipped them.

The year one thousand <one hundred> and sixty-five (850 BC): Hazael king of Syria died.

The year one thousand <one hundred> and seventy-one (844 BC): The children of Israel killed three hundred men of Judaea.

The year one thousand <one hundred> and eighty (835 BC): Jonah was sent to Nineveh and the Ninevites made penitence. Thonus Concolerus, who is called Sardanapalus in Greek, king of Nineveh, was known during this time. Hosea, Amos, who is Amoz father of Isaiah, Jonah, and Nahum were prophesying during this time.

The year one thousand one hundred and eighty-five (830 BC): A war broke out in Tarsus and Anchialus [32]
between Sardanapalus> king of Nineveh and Arbak king of Media;

196 Sardanapalus was defeated, his army was destroyed, and he was killed.

197

The year one thousand one hundred and ninety (825 BC): Amaziah was killed by Judaeans with a spear; Oziah his son reigned after him for fifty-two years.

The year one thousand two hundred and five (810 BC): Joziah king of Judaea uprooted in war the walls of Gath, Azotus, and Iamneia. He also fought against the Arabs who were dwelling in Petra. During this time, Jonah, Hosea, Amos, and Isaiah were prophesying. Hesiod was also known, as Porphyrius wrote.

¹⁹⁵ For the reading see T 39:12.

¹⁹⁶ The phrase "of Nineveh" is not necessary.

¹⁹⁷ In *Hier.* Year 1187, Sardanapalus built Tarsus and Anchialus, but burned himself to death in his war with king Arbak.

عدلا كالله المعالية والوصيح والوحد بين سراك محكما وهوزيا للمعارك، وماود مدلم كلول وصلا وبي فيم وه سراك سلل والجر إنور. وكوه وموهم وموصر محكما والعيزاس. عدم كلافا وصلا وسعمع وشعم. جهل عام كروزما وز عوب. عدم كول وهذا وسعمع ولقبل هند كني كني بصل هذا وهذا وسعمع وحلم > 199 . در سلل وهووسل کسورو وکیسه می هدا دوندال>²⁰⁰ وه والی. المملا مام مع محرة وسد واصحر العورما حزه حكوره عبتا معترب ولمقدد وحمد العل مصي. سند اصوريا كت أوم منصد التمامي معي كدم. منك العلا <ومطا>201 معلى ونتصع. معمل سرام محكل وهوزيا. عبد خوا <ومطا>202 وعدت وسباً. فِهُ حتد المعناس مع مهورا الشامطا رحتم. عدم الله <وها >دُوْد ماهيم. العمور مول كسوا. وحدم المدال سقيا. صمير وع اوده صماحروه १०८० ना कार्ष्यक व्यव राष्ट्र हामा दल दात्मा. व्यवस्त १००० १५ तल्पी त्या. १००० معصوصة ووه العول احدور والعمل ومولع وسوم. عدلا كلوا وعدوة ووا عندا حلى وهده محمد [32] حوهزونه هم المراد مراود موجول والمراد مواود موجول والمراد و صنوبعده والمسند سمده. ووه المهلاد عدم لاها وصر المملا الموريا مع موةولم حن مسل واصحر عورما حنه حكوره منتا سعمت ماقلع. مدلا هما مقلع وشعب متصب عب حورل صححا ومه وا حصورا حصورا معودة و عمد مواره له مع الوصل المناف والله عمر الوصل ومعنى معلى ماسم وع مادر وما رمار على والماء ومعلى والمعلى معلى الماء وصلوه أب وحلات فزقورس.

¹⁹⁸ Ditto.

¹⁹⁹ Ms محسد، Corrected in T 39:17; see also C¹ 34 n.2.

²⁰⁰ Ms omitted; C¹ 31 n.1.

²⁰¹ Ditto.

²⁰² Ditto.

²⁰³ Ditto.

²⁰⁴ Ms عمونکمو (sic).

 $^{^{205}}$ C 1 32 n.1: 905 "of Nineveh" was written but then deleted; actually it is not deleted in ms.

The year one thousand two hundred and eleven – of Abraham (804 BC): Joziah the king went into the Temple of God to put incense, but when he was prevented by Azariah the prophet and did not want to move away, he was suddenly struck with leprosy entirely. Isaiah was prevented from prophesying.

The year one thousand two hundred and twenty-four (791 BC): Pul, king of the Assyrians, marched up against Samaria, and when he received from Menahem, king of Israel, one thousand talents of silver, he moved away.

The year one thousand two hundred and forty – of Abraham (775 BC): The first Olympiad year began.

The year one thousand two hundred and forty-one (774 BC): Tiglathpeleser, king of Assyria, marched up against the land of Judaea and moved many Hebrews to Assyria.

The year one thousand two hundred and forty-three (772 BC): Joziah died and Jotham his son reigned after him for sixteen years.

The year one thousand two hundred and forty-six (769 BC): [F10v] [In Italy], the cities of [Pan] dosia and Metapontiod were built.²⁰⁶

The year one thousand two hundred and forty-nine (766 BC): The first warship was built in Athens. During this time Hosea, [33] Isaiah, Joel, Oded, and Micah were prophesying.

The year one thousand two hundred and fifty-nine (756 BC): Jotham died and Ahaz his son reigned after him for sixteen years.

The year one thousand two hundred and sixty (755 BC): The cities of Selinus and Zancle were built in Sicily. In the same year, a battle took place between Pekah and Ahaz, and Pekah killed one hundred and twenty thousand among the Judaeans.

The year one thousand two hundred and sixty-two (753 BC): Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, fought with Ahaz, taking into captivity many among the Judaeans.

The year one thousand two hundred and sixty-three (752 BC): The Edomites took the Judaeans into captivity.

²⁰⁶ Reconstruction based on *Arm.* Year 1242.

عدلا هذا وقدل وسيحتز الجزور به عورا معدا وسعر حقعا دورا والدور ومر المدد مع عرفه ومدا والدور ومر المدد مع عرفه والمدا المدد مع المدد مع المدد مع المدد مع المدد مع المدد مع المدد المدد معلى واقدم والمدار وا

 The year one thousand two hundred and sixty-five (750 BC): Ahaz wrote to Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, to come to his help. When he came, he killed <Rezin> and drove the Syrians into captivity. He also took from Ahaz much silver, and left.

The year one thousand two hundred and sixty-seven (748 BC): Rome was built by Romulus, after whose name all the Latin people were called Romans.²⁰⁷

The year one thousand <two hundred>208 and sixty-nine (746 BC): Shalmaneser (V), king of Assyria, marched up against Samaria, taking into captivity from Israel ten tribes, settling them in the lands of the Medes and of the Chaldeans. He dispatched Assyrians to guard the villages in the land of the Jews, and because they were killed by lions, the king of Assyria sent them Ur²⁰⁹ the priest to teach the laws (of the land) to those who are Samaritans – the name of the Samaritans means custodians and guardians.²¹⁰

The year one thousand two hundred and seventy-five (740 BC): Ahaz died and Hezekiah his son reigned after him for twenty-nine years. In the same year the city of Naxus was built in Sicily.

The year one thousand <two hundred> and seventy-seven (738 BC): Hezekiah celebrated the Passover.

The year one thousand <two hundred> and eighty-two (733 BC): [34] Sennacherib, king of Assyria, marched up against Jerusalem and against the cities of Judaea, devastating them. But the angel of God struck down one hundred and eighty-five thousand men in his camp. When Taharqa, the king of the Kushites, heard about it, he went out to fight against him. He left for Nineveh where his sons killed him. In the same year, the cities of Syracuse and Catana were built in Sicily. And in the same year, the Lacedaemonians captured Messene.

The year one thousand <two hundred> and eighty-five (730 BC): Leontinê, Megara, and Marathonia, cities in Sicily, were built.

 $^{^{207}}$ Arm.: Year 1262, "Rome was founded by Romans." Remus and Romulus were born in 1248 according to $A\rm{rm}$.

²⁰⁸ Here and in the following lemmata the years are not complete.

²⁰⁹ Mich. Syr. (as Barheb.) makes better sense (although the content is not historical): المحمد من من من من المحمد المحمد إلى المحمد "(Shalmaneser) sent to them a priest, one of those who were deported and whose name was Ezra; he taught them (=the Samaritans) the law of Moses... this same priest wrote the Pentateuch (which is found) with the Syrians;" Mich. Syr. 56a. Barhebraeus changed the language of the Pentateuch to Hebrew; Chr. Syr., 23:26–27.

²¹⁰ Hier. and Arm.: Year 1270, the king is Sennacherib; ms (No need to change this correct phrase as T 43 and C¹ 33 and n. 3 did. For the detailed biblical account in question see II Kgs 17:24–28. See also Arm. Year 1270, where the text is less confused than its Syriac counterpart.

عدلم لاها وخدم معمم وشعب عبر اس كما المسلمولين معلال والمان وبالما حدوزانه. وحر ابال مهجه حزري>211 وحصورسل حمصل وحزه. ونصف اف مع اسر مسفل صحال معس عدم هوا مقمع معمع مقديد المحسم مع ومعده ومصل وه وراء معده الأو حده معلم وحملهتما وهومعا الممعده. مداء ها \sim فظم 212 معلى ملقب. هيك عكيس، صحا والماه ملا عصني. مكسم عقلي مع المصناسة وجن حمصار وللزجل وتخبط ووقحيط عبا الدي. وكمهونوما وازحل وموةوط للاوتط حصورسا عبز. مد وحممهم وصممهم وهو من اوسمال عبز حمور صححا والماوز لاوز صوبا وبد ان بعقها وحدي أوالمنه والمعمور والمراه والمراه والمراه والمراء والمراه والمراع والمراه والمراه والمراع صمومه. عدم هول مقمع معديت متصعب. صدم المرة ماصحر مرصل حزه حمؤه عبيًا معتب ملقه ودة دعيم المادسة الموهوم حرسما معتمكا. عبد كلفا حوقهر > وهر حجر فسط سرمنا. من هلا حول حوقهر [34] سننت محط والماه و صف علا اه وعمور مد صبتها ومهمور ماح انتي طلط وم والمها منهد مع صمزيره مدال ماهيع مسعقا هدم. در وم عجد والا ياوهم محدا ودمعتا يجم كعلاملمه معرور مس كه كسوار معلكهم حقوم العيه مدة حملا المحسلا هزموها ومالحانا موبتكا حصمكاه ودة حميكا وجم كمومتا كمهانا. منك كعا <ه معمر > معمد اللهد معيدا معندا معبدا معمد المحتمر ال

²¹¹ Ms _N; correction after Mich. Syr. 49a.

²¹² Ms: Digit missing here and thereafter.

²¹³ Sic ms and T 43:5; C¹ 33:24 and n. 3: , oo. N.

The year one thousand <two hundred> and eighty-nine (726 BC): Hezekiah fell sick, and as he begged for a sign, the sun retreated fifteen degrees backward.

The year one thousand <two hundred> and ninety-three (722 BC): Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, sent presents to Hezekiah.

The year one thousand three hundred (715 BC): The city of Cherronesus in Sicily was built.

The year one thousand three hundred and four (711 BC): Hezekiah died and Manasseh his son reigned after him for fifty-five years. The city of Nicomedia was built and Sibylla was known.

The year one thousand three hundred and seven (708 BC): The cities of Croton, Parion, Sybaris, and Ecbatana were built.

[F11r] The year one thousand three hundred and ten – of Abraham (705 BC): Numa Po[mpi]lius built Capitolium from its foundation, the Partheniae [built] Taren[tum], and the Corinthians built Corcyra.²¹⁴

The year one thousand three hundred and six (709 BC): The commanders of the army of Assyria led Manasseh, king of Judaea, into captivity and took him down to Babylon. In the same year, Gela was built in Sicily and Phaselis in Pamphilia.

The year one thousand three hundred and thirty (685 BC): The city of Chalcedon was built.

The year one thousand three hundred and forty-two (673 BC): When Manasseh was in captivity, he returned to the God of his fathers. He went up and settled in [35] his place and over his kingdom. In the same year, the city of Cyzicus was rebuilt, and in Italy, the city of Locri.²¹⁵

The year one thousand three hundred and fifty-eight (657 BC): The city of Byzantium was built.

The year one thousand three hundred and fifty-nine (656 BC): Manasseh died and Amon his son reigned after him for twelve years according to the translation of the Seventy, and for two years according to the Hebraic (version). Manasseh, king of Judaea, threatened Isaiah and sent iniquitous men and they cut him asunder with a saw inside a tree, from his head down to his feet.²¹⁶ He was one hundred and twenty years old when he was sawn. He was the prophet of God for ninety years.

²¹⁴ Numa was the legendary successor of Romulus as king of Rome. The Partheniae "Children of the Virgins" colonized Tarentum according to Strabo VI iii 2. On this lemma see Mich. Syr. 55c [II 87].

 $^{^{215}}$ Cyzicus was a city on the modern sea of Marmara; on it see Strabo XII v 11, and on Locri see Strabo VI i 7.

²¹⁶ On the death of the prophet see EJ s.v.

عدلا كلوا حمقكم > محمل المادن سرصال مك وعلى المال الممحود عصعا مة وقراب حدازه. مدا هوا حمقهم> مري منهور حكم محط وحصا مرز معتوسا Angal. and Wel of Charll. compal cionopo oring! Hours. and Wel ماكم حلا هاؤديا. معمل سرميا. ه امحر معيما حزه حكوب عنتا سمعت مشمع. ويممه وبا صبيدا المحسمة مصحولا المبردة. عدم كلال معرد منالهم مطابع مصوطرته ه المحاليد موستها المحتمع. [F11r] منك هفا ملحكما المحسرة للحرور يوصل هـ[حعـ]حس حبا معهداحم، مع علاهده، وه حز>ابد [حد] له:[بها]. وموزيما حبه مزمهزا. عدم كعل معه. كعنعل محكم ومهمو وحب سملا والمامؤ وحز حمصاً. ه اسمه و محمد و محمد معلم الله المحمد و المحمد و المحمد و المحمد «فا مفلاً. ملحوره موسلا المحسلا. عبد «فا معمدً. منعا م الموروب معمدا الموس كما كما واقده وسيف مامع علا [35] ومعلم معلا محدماه. مدة حميدًا المحيية مورموه مرسداه وحامهما للمزه مرسدًا. منه كلفا وميس. حوربهما صبيدا المحسد. عدم هول معلى صدم صبعانه واصحر اصور حزه حدوه المر وومعا ومحمع منتا لمؤلمهناه وأمو بحتما منما لمؤلم. صعا صححا ومووو المكسر ملا المحماد معرة رحة حدد مولاً. وبعن وبعد حمد حمد على الما وبعد ومرحل لا ركوه. ه مدا محسر على موا مع بسنه ما من على موا بصل المحاد

The year one thousand three hundred and sixty (655 BC): The city of Istorus was built in Pontus.

The year one thousand three hundred and sixty-three (652 BC): The cities of Achantus, Stageira, Lampsacus, and Abdera were built.²¹⁷

The year one thousand three hundred and sixty-seven (648 BC): The city of Selinus was built in Sicily.

The year one thousand three hundred and seventy (645 BC): The city of Borysthenes was built in Pontus.

The year one thousand three hundred and seventy-one (644 BC): Amon died and Josiah his son reigned after him for thirty-one years. Hilkiah the high priest was known. Zephaniah was prophesying.

The year one thousand three hundred and eighty-four (631 BC): Jeremiah began to prophesy. In the same year, Battus built Cyrenê. ²¹⁸

The year one thousand three hundred and eighty-six (629 BC): The city of Sinope²¹⁹ was built.

The year one thousand three hundred and eighty-eight (627 BC): The city of Lipara was built.²²⁰

The year one thousand three hundred and eighty-nine (626 BC): Josiah celebrated the Passover. In the same year, the city Dyrrachion was built.²²¹ During this time, Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Huldah were prophesying.

The year one thousand four hundred and one (614 BC): Neco the pharaoh marched up and waged a battle against Josiah on the Euphrates and killed him. Jehoahaz his son reigned after him for three months and pharaoh led him to Egypt. Jehoiakim his brother reigned after him for twelve years.

The year one thousand four hundred and five (610 BC): Nebuchadnezzar marched up and captured Jerusalem. He carried away much booty, [36] bringing down with him even the ritual vessels. He imposed upon Jehoiakim a tribute and left. In the same captivity, Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael, the sons of Jehoiachin son of Jehoiakim son of Josiah, and Daniel son of Jehoiakim went down to Babylon.

²¹⁷ All the cities are in Greece.

²¹⁸ Same information is in Strabo XVII iii 21.

²¹⁹ Sinope is a city in Paphlagonia, in northern Anatolia; Strabo XII iii 11.

²²⁰ The toponym is an island in Sicily; Strabo VI ii 10.

²²¹ Formerly Epidamnos, modern Durres in Albania; on it see Strabo VII v 8.

عدلا هدا وهدا وود وود المحاوي عبد المادسة. عدلا هدا وهدا المنافق وهم المنافق وهم المنافق والمنافق وا

 $^{^{222}}$ Akk. *maddattu* > *madattu*—Syriac spelling not consistent, sometimes مرا other times عداها (see the following lines above).

The year one thousand four hundred and twelve (603 BC): Nebuchadnezzar marched up again and seized Judaea. He led into captivity many among the Judaeans, and took many of the sacred vessels. He imposed upon Jehoiakim a tribute and left.

The year one thousand four hundred and fourteen (601 BC): Jehoiakim died and Jehoiachin his son reigned. On the third month of the latter's reign, Nebuchadnezzar marched up again against him, and deported him along with many people, taking him down to Babylon. During this time Uriah, who killed Jehoiaqim, and Jeremiah were prophesying in Judaea, rand in Babylon Daniel, Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael. Zedekiah reigned instead of Jehoiachin his nephew for eleven years.

[F11v] [The year one thou] sand four hundred and sixteen – of Abraham (599 BC): The city of Camerina was built; the city of Perinthus was also built.²²³ Daniel and his companions were prophesying in Babylon,²²⁴ and in Judaea Jeremiah and Baruch.

The year one thousand four hundred and nineteen (596 BC): Ezekiel began to prophesy. The city of Massalia was built. The false prophet: Hananiah. Solon the lawmaker was known.

The year one thousand four hundred and twenty-six (589 BC): Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, marched up and captured the entire land of the West, from the Euphrates to the Sea (=Mediterranean).²²⁵ He invaded the islands, captured Tyre, uprooting it, and set it on fire, and killed Ḥirām the king of Tyre. Then he invaded Egypt going after the children of Israel who sought refuge with the Pharaoh, the Egyptian king. He devastated Egypt and captured the children of Israel. After he came from the Sea, he captured Jerusalem. God delivered Zedekiah into his hands: he killed his sons before him while he was watching them in Deblath²²⁶ [37] of Hama, gouged his eyes, and sent him to Babylon. Nebuzaradan, the military commander, uprooted the walls of Jerusalem, set the temple of the Lord on fire, and took with him to Babylon copper, iron, and vessels. And because Simeon the high priest took liberty before the captain of the guards, he asked him and he gave him all the books of the scriptures and did not set them on fire; and Simeon the high priest collected all of them and placed them in a well. And he filled a large burner of copper with fire and put it in the well. Thus Jerusalem was destroyed.

²²³ Perinthus was in Anatolia, in the region of Marmara.

²²⁴ This is a repetition of their mention in the previous year.

²²⁵ Hier. and Arm. 1426: Their accounts are not exactly the same as the one above.

²²⁶ Riblah in the Hebrew Bible: 2 Kgs 25:1–22, Jer 39:1–11, 52:4–23.

عدلا كلا ماسة. هيك ماهد مدهوبرق داسم كمده وال معينال مع مدة وما وجزه وصوراً مع مدات مورما بصحه. ومداوراً أومد علا ماميم ومد. مدا هذا وأبر. صبه مصمر. واصبح عصما حزه. وحباكما عبس وصحوابه. هجم ماه محمربن محاهب معصوب كه محيط صهمال هاسكاه كحصل صكاحم ١٥٥٥ دويا رحيا. اهزيا هذه ومهلا عنصيع داؤهما صدهود محجملا وبناملا مسيما مجوما مجمعاتك. روميا المحكم سك عاصل من المعاوب عنتا سيمعتزا. [F11v] [عدلا كاف وارتحمالا معمامهم الحزوم. معزيا حرسما المحسد مادد فرسماه المحسر مطرح ١٥٥٥ وبي حصير. وبيلي مسجودها محمود اوصيا محزور عدم بلاها ملكي. سرميلي عزب صحماله ومعمل مرسما المحسد. يصل وكل سيبل هم فلم يعقها معمري. عدلم كلافا ماده. هيك بحدورية معكم وحديد. معدة كدكة اؤما ومعزما. مع فيا معرها حيطا. مجلا كهزوا وبعوا. معجا معمزة كروؤ. مامعرة حدوا. معلاه كسنوم معكما وروف وجلا حموق حكاف حتب المسؤاملان وحلم والمبره رحمل حفزهم معكما ومرزع. وسنحة حمرزع. وعجل حت المعناس ودر يوم مع معل وحمة للوزمجر. [37] وسعك. موسك حوز حيقه معروه كحصاد وتحورون وت وسقل عهوه كعووة واه و محرد ماهم حدول حميده وهورل مسعل معولا معاتل بعد حده حدد معصد ود دوتا صهر وهوما حه حفاؤوهما حما ود وسقا اقتصه: منود خه عصور صعة وحدمة ولا أومر أنور حدول وفيم أنور معدور وحد دوتا. وأوجد أنور حجيزا. ومعلل فيزمعل وحل وسعل به وإ. ومهم حجيزا. وسرحم أه ومحمر.

This was Simeon the high priest whom the Holy Spirit adjured that he would not experience death before he saw Christ²²⁷ – some people claim so. Now the birth of Christ was five hundred and ninety-one years away from this point, and there is no doubt about this: Ḥirām, the king of Tyre, who is said to have been killed by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in this year, was the friend of David and his son Solomon.²²⁸ The time from David to this year is four hundred and eighty-six years. And if this one (=Ḥirām) thus lived, why is there doubt concerning the one who was adjured by the Holy Spirit?²²⁹

The year one thousand four hundred and forty – of Abraham (575 BC): Daniel and Ezekiel were prophesying in Babylon, and in Judaea Jeremiah and Baruch.²³⁰ False prophets: Achiab, Zedekiah, and Šemei.

The year one thousand four hundred and forty-nine (566 BC): Nebuchadnezzar died and Evil-Merodach reigned. In Egypt Jeremiah was prophesying. And Aesop the writer of fables was known.

The year one thousand four hundred and fifty-two (563 BC): Evil-Merodach brought Jehoiachin out of prison, holding him in honour. He took Gaiuth, daughter of Eliachim, as wife, and begot from her Shealtiel. Concerning this matter, the scripture says *Josiah* begot *Jechoniah and his brothers in the exile of Babylon*.²³¹ Shealtiel took for him [38] as wife Hatibath, daughter of Halqana, from whom he begot Zerubbabel who went up with the people from Babylon.

The year one thousand four hundred and fifty-four (561 BC): Evil-Merodach died and Belshazzar reigned after him.

The year one thousand four hundred and fifty-six (559 BC): Daniel interpreted the writing to him (= Belshazzar), and in the same night he was slain, and Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom for thirty years.²³² [F12r] Cyrus the Persian sent up the exiles – up to fi[fty thous]and men – from Babylon, set up the altar, and laid the foundations of the temple. Because the neighbouring [nations] stopped them, the matter remained incomplete (until the reign of) Darius the king.

²²⁷ Confusion of this Simeon with Simeon of Luke 2:21.

²²⁸ Confusing Ḥirām (980–947 BC), the contemporary of David and Solomon, with probably Eshbaal III whom the Babylonian king removed after 12 years of siege of Tyre.

²²⁹ Since the Chronicler often gives year calculations, the exegetical tone at the end of the account may have been given by him.

²³⁰ These mentions are repetitive in ms.

²³¹ Mt 1:11.

²³² See Dan 5:30, where the royal name is the unknown "Darius the Mede."

حصمسان الب بعد والعتب العنب وسيف وبي بعن المؤمل معه حروم وهمسيل عبت سعقعال ملقدم صباه محمد حصده على مواد معلى وسنم معدد وروز الم وامدنع مكه و والله ومها محمورة محكم وحما وول وه المهود وسعه وومير ه و معلاه من الم ولى مع رحيل ووهب مرجد حميما مول. منتا الوحيدا ماهيم مقل. ها، ولم وصل سبا ملا عدى الم قد كم صلا ون وصر وصل عبدها العبد وها. عدم كا وازدنعا واؤدنع للدوم بعديه وهو ددر وبياء وسامان ومرميان ودروه ازهما محزهر. يحتل قريل استاد هر وعيل معطف. عند هذا ماهكم. عند يحدر يدويروه هاهجر امك حدووب حكامل ملي ولهم المحمل المحموم معدل معالم محرب معلا لاها مأت. اهم امر مزور حموسا مع صلا اهمة ال محالمة المنعده. وبعد حمه الكال كيمول حبال كلمور وأوكر هدة كعالكمان علا ووا أجز عكمرا. وعملا اهكم كموسل والمنة ومد حيكما وحداد وملكما يعجد كره [38] المال كسلمحك حنا المكميا: ٥١٥٠م عين كروزودي الله وهيك عمر عمل مع حديا. عيد لاها مأب. صمة اهم مدوور. واصبر ملهمة مع مدور. وحملة لاها واله. فعم كه وساس مددا. دوه دلاما الممهد ومدل محدوله دوره فزهما. عبدا الممهد. [F12r] موزع فزهما الهم حمدها مع مدلاً عرصا حريما حراسهم هدام. وحمراتها اصمر 233. مقد العل ومحلا هم. وحمل وحمد الله [معقد] وسروده موسد محبدا ولا رحدونا مرحل حرورهم محدل

 $^{^{233}}$ Olaf, added later, is darker than the rest; T 49:15 noticed, and so did C^1 38:8 and n.1.

The entire period of the exile of the Jewish people totalled seventy years. According to the computation of some people, this was from the third year of Jehoiakim to the nineteenth year of Cyrus, and according to the computation of others, from the beginning of the prophecy of Jeremiah, which was in the thirteenth year of Josiah. From the fifth year of the prophecy of Jeremiah to the first year of Cyrus are seventy years. The seventy years of the destruction of the temple were completed during the days of Darius – (counting) from the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar.²³⁴

During this time, Daniel and Ezekiel were prophesying in Babylon, and in Judaea Habakkuk, Haggai, and Zechariah. Joshua son of Jozadach, the high priest, and Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel, the nation's leader, were known.

During this time Susanna was famous,²³⁵ and Pherecydes, the teacher of Pythagoras, was known.

The year one thousand four hundred and eighty-two (533 BC): The citizens of Samos built the city of Puteolos.²³⁶

The year one thousand four hundred and eighty-five (530 BC): The woman (and) queen Tomyris killed Cyrus, and Cambyses reigned for eight years. Concerning Cambyses, he is said among the Hebrews that he was nicknamed Nebuchadnezzar the Second. The account of Judith is said to have originated during his days.

The year one thousand <four hundred> and ninety-three (522 BC): Holophernes, the commander of Nebuchadnezzar, marched up against the whole of Syria [39] and laid waste to it, killing and destroying, but was killed by the Hebrew Judith. He who wants to read and learn about the atrocities that he committed may read in the account of Judith.

During the same year, Cambyses died, and Magian brothers seized the kingdom for seven months. After them Darius (I) seized it for thirty-six years. Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi were prophesying among the Hebrews.

The year one thousand <four hundred> and ninety-five (520 BC): The people who remained with Cyrus went up from Babylon.

²³⁴ Hier. Year 1469; Arm. Year 1457 – not exact calculations as above.

²³⁵ See the story of Susanna and the Elders in the apocryphal Dan 13.

²³⁶ Hier. Year 1486: The city is also called Dicaearchia.

صع وبي حكم رحيا وعصم وحمد ومحاوريا حستا عصتي. ٥٥٥ عبر مسل والعتي. مع عدم الكم ومدمصير. حريط كعدم العمصول وحدوعات أمر تعديد المن واستريال حعدومة وتحتماره واؤهما. واهما جعدها والمحمدها وتمعما. مع عدم منقعة وم وتحتماره واؤهما. عريط حميم مرضما وصوفها هي معتل محتى محتى وم وسوفه وصطل حقم وونه عد معلم عدم المعتمر المحتمر ويحدون معلم وم حدما رحبا وساملا مسرميلي حصلا: مصوور سجموم مسي وروزيان معمد كر موروم ود دوتل. ٥٠٥زددس در علامم ومع معل صميم ١٥٥٠ دويل رديا عدم صميها ١٥٥٠. فرمهره ودم وقيمه والمرابعة معمريد عدم الافا ماقد فالملك مرسمال فيد صعوص حبه. مدلا كلا مأقه. لماهوزيع الكال محكما فهلا حدومه وامحر معدوهه منتل لمقيل على معدوهه معامد حدل مدتبل وبدودبرق ولمرق معهمزان وصقحمه لمعدما ومهووم العنب وهوبا. عدم هما حما> ملقدم ماكم. هم كمعنا زد سلا وبحدورين. ملا عكة هدوما [39] معجا مملا هامنون. والمملا ى مەدوسى محزمال داعل ورجا ولعنا دلكه كاسل ومحر. لعنا حالمعما ومددوسة وحدة حمداً أورا صبح معدوهها وأب محدولًا الما محددًا مديرًا محدلًا ومع حكوره البير وهومية. عنتا المكلي معك. محاسب كما محتباً. سي مروعا مطالعة. عدلم اللها حوراً> والقدم وسعم. عبد معل مع حصا وف وقع مع عوزه.

The year one thousand five hundred (515 BC): The reconstruction of the temple was completed through the prophecy of Haggai and Zechariah.

The year one thousand five hundred and twenty-one (494 BC): rPythagoras²³⁷ the philosopher who lived for ninety-five years died.

The year one thousand five hundred and twenty-nine (486 BC): Darius (I) died and Xerxes (I) his son reigned after him for twenty years.

The year one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven (478 BC): A war broke out in Thermopylas, and a battle involving ships in Salamina. During this time, the disciples of Diagorus the philosopher and Pindarus were known.

The year one thousand five hundred and forty-nine (466 BC): Xerxes died and Artaban reigned for seven months and after him Artaxerxes (I) Longimanus for forty-one years. It is said that during the days of the latter Esther and Mordechai lived. Ezra the scribe and Eliashib the high priest were known among the Hebrews. The followers of Pythagoras grew numerous.

The year one thousand five hundred and sixty-five (450 BC): In Rome the One Century – one hundred years – War was conducted for the first time;²³⁸ Mōr Isaac wrote many *memrē*-discourses about it.²³⁹

The year one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine (446 BC): Nehemiah the cupbearer went up to restore the city and the wall of Jerusalem; Jehoiada was the high priest. During this time the woman Audias²⁴⁰ was prophesying.

[40] [F12v] The year one thousand five hundred and fifty (465 BC): A rock fell into the Aegean. [...]

The year one thousand five hundred and eighty-three (432 BC): The rebuilding work of the city and of the wall was completed through Nehemiah the cupbearer. Socrates and Democritus were known.

The year one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven (428 BC): A huge and terrible pestilence took place in Athens to such an extent that there were not enough people to bury the dead.

²³⁷ See also Hier. Year 1520 and Arm. Year 1517.

²³⁸ The passage refers to the Punic Wars that involved Rome and Carthage between 264 and 164. See *Arm.* Year 1563; *Arm.* 1565.

²³⁹ See *BO* i, 209–10.

²⁴⁰ For Noadiah as in Neh 6:14, and as T 52 n. 2, surmised; C² 32 n. 2. The name with its Greek suffix must originate in Eusebius, but it does not seem to occur in its extant translations.

عدلا هذا العلام دست والما المدهد العدل العدل والمنط المنا العدل المدهد المدهد المدهد العدل العدل المدهد ا

²⁴¹ Sic ms although elsewhere 250 is correct.

²⁴² Mich. Syr. 71a: Same spelling.

The year one thousand five hundred and ninety (425 BC): Artaxerxes died. Xerxes the Second reigned for two months and after him Sogdianus for seven months, and then Darius (II) for 19 years.

The year one thousand five hundred and ninety-one (424 BC): Strong and terrible tremors took place, and Atalanta, which is near Locri, quivered and became an island. Plato was born.

The year one thousand six hundred (415 BC): The Athenians suffered a great calamity.

The year one thousand six hundred and nine (406 BC): Darius (II) died and Artaxerxes (II) his son reigned for forty years. During the days of this one, the story of Esther (originated) as it seems to me.

The year one thousand six hundred and twenty-two (393 BC): A war took place between the Carthagians and Africans. Diogenes the Cynic was known.

The year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two (383 BC): A great tremor occurred and Elice and Bura, cities in the Peloponnesus, were swallowed up by the earth.

The year one thousand six hundred and forty-two (373 BC): Plato, Xenophon, and Isocrates the rhetor were known. And Alexander of Pharos lived in this time.

The year one thousand six hundred and sixty-two – of Abraham (353 BC): Alexander son of Philip the Macedonian was born.

The year one thousand six hundred and fifty (365 BC): Artaxerxes (II) died and Ochus (=Artaxerxes III) reigned for twenty-seven years.

The year one thousand six hundred and seventy-three (342 BC): Plato died.

[41] The year one thousand six hundred and seventy-six (339 BC): <Ochus> died and <Arses (=Artaxerxes III)> reigned for four years.²⁴³

The year one thousand six hundred and sixty-five (350 BC): Egypt was subjected by Ochus, the king of the Persians.

The year one thousand six hundred and sixty-nine (346 BC): Ochus uprooted Sidon. Iaddus (=Judaea) the Jewish high priest was known.

²⁴³ Ms: The names are in a reversed order.

 The year one thousand six hundred and eighty (335 BC): Manasseh, the brother of the high priest Iaddus, built a temple on Mount Gerizim. In this same year <Arses>244 died; Darius (III) reigned over the Persians for six years. In the same year, Philip, king of Macedonia, also died; after him, his son Alexander reigned over Macedonia for twelve years and six months.

The year one thousand six hundred and eighty-one (334 BC): Alexander went out in expedition into the land to capture nations and kingdoms.²⁴⁵

From the Story of Alexander²⁴⁶

When he (=Alexander) wanted to go out in expedition into the land, he stood up to make a vow saying: "If the Messiah son of God comes in my days, I and all my troops would bow down and worship him, and if he does not come in my days, the crown that is on my head and my royal throne will be for his honour whenever he comes. And these eighty litra-pounds of gold will be for his incense, light, and offerings when he comes." And he rose up to lead with him three hundred and twenty-[F13r] four thousand soldiers and went to Egypt. [He brought from there] skilled workers, crossed progressively twelve [...] days, and found a plain that surrounds [...] these [...] twelve miles. They were not able to go to the dead sea,²⁴⁷ for they realized that those who drew near [42] the dead sea were dying. He marched up, going through that plain until the setting of the sun, as is written in (his) story. They saw the sun setting in the sky and the likeness of fiery balls falling from it at that moment, and all the people of that region and the animals and the birds fled into caves. Then Alexander and all his army rose up to return, marching to the East. He crossed many territories up to the territory that was between the Roman and Persian kingdoms and up to the land of Gug.

²⁴⁴ Ms عصصه (sic).

²⁴⁵ Hier. Year 1682 and Arm. Year 1681 list here a series of dated campaigns by Alexander, and in Chr. Zuq. the same is true but after the insertion of the Story of Alexander.

²⁴⁶ On Alexander in Syriac see G. J. Reinink, *Das syrische Alexanderlied: die drei Rezensionen*, CSCO 454 SS 195 and 455 SS 196 (Louvain: Peeters, 1983), and *Das syrische Apkalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, CSCO 540 SS 220 and 541 SS 221 (Louvain: Peeters, 1993). Alexander in these apocalyptic stories prefigures the early 7th century Byzantine Heraclius 'the new Alexander' who would march to the east to combat Persia and secure the mastery over the world.

²⁴⁷ In the *mīmrō* on Alexander attributed to Jacob of Sarug, the name is معلاً معالمية "fetid sea;" Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, pp. 167–68, lines 71, 99–100.

هدم هدم هدم مهمدا ماهدي. هدم اسه والماوه ود ده تا دلمه والمورد ورد و ده و المرد و المرد و المرد و ده و ده و ده و ده و ده و ده و المرد و المرد

مع المعملا وسالمحصيوهم.

ص بع بط بعده مسلم حازها مع مبز بزا هاجن: بال بلاا صعبه حنه بالمها حقه المها حقه المها حقه المهاد مقهم المهاد المهاد المهاد المهاد المهاد وحلا الما المهاد وحلا المهاد بالما وحده وحلا المهاد بالمهاد المهاد المهاد المهاد بالمال المهاد بالمهاد بالمال المهاد بالمال المهاد بالمهاد بالمهاد بالمهاد بالمهاد بالمهاد بالمهاد المهاد بالمهاد المهاد والمال المهاد المهاد والمهاد والمه

²⁴⁸ Phonetic spelling of

²⁴⁹ C¹ 41:24: کمر في په but see C¹ 43:18 (below).

²⁵⁰ Ms unclear; correction after T 54:17; see C¹ 42 n. 1.

Alexander dispatched messengers to say: "The king of the Greeks is crossing over (your land) and he is not taking captives or destroying. (He says): 'Let everyone sit in peace, and let only the very old ones who are in this place come to me, for I need to ask them about a matter." When they came, he said to them: "Whose this place is?" They said to him: "Of Darius, king of Persia," He said to them: "And this great and mighty mountain, what do you call it?" They said to him: "This is a boundary which God placed between us and the nations on its other side, and it extends up to Inner India where the people on the other side are sorcerers. When they wanted to march out to war, they would bring a pregnant woman near fire until her fetus came out and on him they would practice sorcery: Wetting their weapons (in his blood), each one of them would look like two hundred cavalrymen, their shouts sounding like (those) of jackals." Alexander said to them: "Did they march out during your own time?" They said to him: "In this mountain there is an opening of about ten cubits, and from it they come out from time to time. And these Persian fortresses that you see, they destroyed them." He said to them: "What are the names of their kings?" They replied to him: [43] "Gug, Magug, Gig, Thamerath, and Thamarthan. Beyond them is Bēt-Amazerath, beyond it is Bēt-Kalbabarnosh, beyond the latter is Bēt-Mehanai, and beyond it are desolation, empty steppe, great mountains, dragons, and beasts. And beyond these is God's Paradise, which seems to be situated far away, on a high place between earth and heaven, and day and night light is seen there from afar." He said to them: "And these rivers - Euphrates, Tigris, Pishon and Gihon - how does the Scripture say that they spring from there?" They said to him: "The Lord sprang up the rivers from Paradise, and lest people sail on them and enter paradise, God ordered these rivers to go down, running inside the earth many parasangs over. When people go to check, they realize that the rivers seen outside in the territories are far from each other." When Alexander heard many things from them, he dismissed them to go. And he ordered all the skilled people whom he brought from Egypt to make a great gate of iron for the opening that was in the mountain. And they blocked it with iron strengthened by bars.²⁵¹

The old men who left Alexander went to Darius to tell him (about the matter), and he ordered to gather eighty-two kings and their armies to attack him. As Ale[xan]der²⁵² and all his army were sleeping [F13v] and resting [during no]on time, the S[on] of God drew near him and awoke him, saying: "Why are you sleeping?"

²⁵¹ The chronicler refers to this "gate of the land of the Turks which had been built by Alexander of Macedonia;" Harrak, *Zugnīn*, 159 and n. 1.

 $^{^{252}}$ T 57:5, and C¹ 43 n. 3, misread the name.

عبرة وم گفتسبره صد امرتها وبامعنون: وضحفا ومقاسل خدم ولل خدا. ولا تعسنو. فحلم حميل بهد. وحكمور هذا حميقا وأمم دو طاؤا ناباه ربيد. وخيا ايا الملا ايور صكلاً. وحبر الماه اجعة حده وروي وحده المؤل ومل الخبي حده ووؤده عد حجا وحبي احدة حده و. مومل كهؤا وَحل محميدًا. صدل عنى الكور كود الخني كود ومل المدوه الكوروب ووا وهجه کم حم کے محمد بعظ وکن رحد، دانا اوسا کم کمن محمل کمان معقد محم واسل مؤجل ستعا انه مع مه رحمه معا وضع ونعمه رحمادا. مصمعع الكا وحكيل كومد يوزال مرهل ويقم عوكة ومحبع مكووب ستعل ولهمي وللوور. ٥٥٥١ سر صده صلما اب قدم وتعم. معكنهم اب عنوال احد كهم « دهد العب العب المراج الم المراج ال احتى. ومعنف تعمي حرح رح. وولام مستل وهوقعيل وينوا الله ويور البنجم اين واحد كن ، وحدم الكن معطر وحكتن ، احدام كن [43] روار ، وحروا ، والمار . ماهنا ماهناره محمل هده، وحم اهرواه محمل هده، وحم محمديد. مكمل هيمهم وصم هيت. مكمل هيمهم كمم حزيف. الله هوجزا سزط مهووا ومؤط مانتیا دستماله محمل مدور فزوسه والحمال مع ودسما طاؤا وهرا. ابر صد اولا حمصا وبغدا وبعد ومعامرا وهم ورد وحلاما وحامعها مواوز معامرا مع المعوم المعارد المعا ٢٥٥١: ٥١٥ كم ١٥٠١ ومكم ٥٠عه م مسه. المحل ابعة حمد ونعصم مع لمعر. أحزب حه. أهِم حزماً بهوماً مع هزومها. وولا بارحم صبتما محمه ومدهم هدووسها. هم که، که که که به دوراً وسلم، وارک که از معدقال هر الله وح بارکم میصم مکسره کم حالمة ما وزسم سر مع سر محر مجد مدهم «دهروه صحالاً عنا أن وباركم. وهم موا حدموم أقصد فنه وأسك مع صرفي. محجم لمؤخل وحارلاً حن حدن لمؤخما وأسم حلموزا من معدده وعاللًا حدولًا. ەمحمەم حصقطلاً . معتل بر من من برمه من برمه من برمه من برمه من برمه منده مامده منه معرف دوسه لخس ماقع محكت وستكامور. والمه حكوده ومر ومس [F13v] [اهم] الم المراق مراك و المراك و المراكب ال والحمل ماميزه. ماجع لحمد صدى وصب الك.

²⁵³ Sic ms; probably for معلم as in C¹ 43:7.

²⁵⁴ Ms of under as in C1 43:20. It should be under.

²⁵⁵ Μοχλός.

²⁵⁶ C1 41:23: حبط حب اهم.

As for him, he grew much fearful, and replied to him: "What do you wish, my Lord." He said to him: "I am the Lord for whom you made a vow and you marched out under my name! Kings and their armies are now coming upon you now, but when they arrive, call upon me and I will come to your help." He got up and awoke [44] his nobles, saying: "The Lord appeared to me at this moment and said to me: Behold, kings with their armies are coming upon you but call me and I will come to your help, for I am the Lord for whom you made a vow and you marched out under my name! But let us go up to the summit of this mountain and see!" Some people among them went up and saw the whole land concealed by armies, and went down hurriedly, saying: "What shall we do? The whole land is concealed by armies that are coming upon us." Alexander rose up and ordered all his troops to offer incense to the Lord who appeared to him and to call upon him. And Alexander said: "Let the Lord come and find the whole camp whose smell is sweet!" And Alexander placed the crown and the royal apparel on the ground and said: "God: yours is the kingship and yours is the victory. Come to our help!" And while they were standing, armies surrounded them from all sides. Now Alexander and his troops cried out: "To the Lord belong the battle and the victory!" and they then shouted and said: "Lord come to our help!" And Alexander said: "Lord who appeared to me and said to me: 'Call me and I will come to your help,' come to our help at this hour!" Then they saw the Lord coming in a chariot of Cherubim and crowds of angels on his right and his left. And a great battle took place and the Lord came near Alexander and said to him: "Do not be afraid! Behold, I am with you." The voice of the Lord went away while thundering with the armies between the mountains. The troop of Alexander killed sixty-two kings and their armies, and the king of Persia who gathered them they seized alive. Alexander sought to kill him but he said to him: "What do you gain in killing me? Take away for yourself gold, silver, and all that is in my kingdom, and I subject Persia to you [45] for fifteen years!" Alexander rose up, and marching down, he captured the Persian land and descended toward India. Thereafter, Alexander, Darius, and Shapur agreed among themselves that each of them would establish six thousand guards at the gate that Alexander had made facing the land of Gug, and after fifteen years Assyria will be independent.²⁵⁷ And he returned going to his land in great victory. He went to pray in Jerusalem to fulfill his vows, thanking the Lord on whose name he marched out and who gave him all this victory. He then left that place and went to reside in Alexandria to reign.

 $^{^{257}}$ Lit. "Assyria would become her own mistress," a vague reference to the independence of Persia following Heraclius' reconquests in the East.

به وب وبس صهد. هاجمة حره. حدل زحل الله حديد. أحد حده. اما الل حديما ولبولم حد لبوأ. ونجم ملا عمد. ووعد محقد وستهاوه المع محمود الله مدا والمود عنيب والما ألما الما كموزنيد. بوه وب مع مامنة [44] انهم كزوزدنه ون مابعة كمهم. وبويل حيل المسود ك حزماً. وأحز حد. وها محقل وستهامه ألم حمر. الل عزمي وأما ألما أما كدوونور. وأما الل حنها وبوفا حد بول منهم علا محد. الله نعم خيم لهوا هنا هنمول معجم اتما صده، وسره ازير هند دين دم صدف دستهال وسيره معزهدايد واحزه: صير حديد. اذك حكة صنعما دستكما والمع حكم. مم وع كدهبوره وهم حدكهم ستحاره وبصبعه مصغل حصوبا والمسرد حره وبصوبيد المعن من كمصبوه فالما حزبا ونعصية خصفها علاة أب وحصيم وسنة. وهم الحصيروه اليا وحصما وصححماه ملا أوجا. ماجع: كلما وسكو من صححما موسكو من رحما الكووني. مدر بون منعي ستها سبزه انه مع مل رحتي بعد بعد بعد بعدالماه: ومعزل ١٥٥ منظ وردمال مامد عده واصنه صنباً ١١ حدوزي. واحتصبوه اجن. صنباً والمسرب ك داميخ كب. وعنوب دايا الما كدووندي. ال كدوون حميما دوا. دمي مردد در الما على معنودها وعنوداً. وصعل وملاقل مع معمده ومع همعه وووا منط وحل ومند صنال بيد كمصيرفه. وأحد كره لل الوسك. وا محد أيل وأدك ووا عكو وحدال عبر ومع حم سمحاً حمد لهووًا. مفهر هموه وحمد همصوره ممتح ماور صحفا مستهاده، محمحه به وهزه وبه وبه نعم الله السره مس مجل همسروه وتعليمه وقد ماجع لام وحدا على الله وعلى الله من والما وها والما والله حصحتمال صد حرد وصعدم اللر حرد حدوس [45] سعمسال علي ومع سلم واف عجم أولا وهنه. وسبك كاهره. وص حكوم عجم المحصوره وووزم ومحوو حسلههم، وحصر صدهم. علما هديم مهورًا صصم ملا لمؤمل هذه ومجر همصروص طعتهم وحمد روس مع حدة سعمه عني المدا المدة عنا وبعدة. ١٥٥٠ الما للزحم حرصاً وحماً والم رحم حمار علم والمحمر مفحر بروهم عن معور حمدالم من وبعم الله عمده: ومود که حکه هوا رحمال وبعم علمه معلی وارا محد حلاحصبوال ما محمد

The year one thousand six hundred and eighty-one (334 BC):²⁵⁸ Alexander captured Illyria and Thrace, and destroyed Thebes and ruined its people. He dominated the Persians, seized Sardis and won victory over the royal stratagems on the Granicos River.

The year one thousand six hundred and eighty-three (332 BC): Alexander captured Tyre and destroyed the cities of Judaea. When he was accepted by the Jews and sacrificed for God, he honoured Andromachus the priest and appointed him (governor) over the province. When [F14r] those living in Samaria killed this one, [Alexander came from] Egypt, seized the city and settled in it Macedonians.

[The year one thousand six hundred and eighty-six] (329 BC): Darius and Alexander waged a great battle [in Is]suspolis, [a city in Cilicia], and Darius the king of Persia was defeated. In this year, Alexander built Alexandria in the land of Egypt. During this time, Anaximenes, Epicurus, and Aristotle were known.

The year one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine²⁵⁹ (326 BC): Alexander captured Hyrcanos and Mardos. And when he went up to Ammonia, he built Paraetonium.

[46] The year one thousand six hundred and ninety (325 BC): Alexander captured the precipice of Aornim, and crossed over the Indus River.

The year one thousand six hundred and ninety-one (324 BC): Alexander and Pul (Porus), king of the Indians, waged a battle, and Pul was killed and all of India was subjugated.

The year one thousand six hundred and ninety-two – of Abraham (323 BC): Alexander died in Babylon while he was thirty-two years old. After him the kingdom was divided among many. The time of the Ptolemies and the computation of Alexander are also calculated from here, with the first year in which his brother Philip (III) reigned over the Macedonians: Philip reigned over the Macedonians for seven years, and Ptolemy over Egypt for forty years, Lysimachus reigned over Lydia and Hellespont,²⁶⁰ and Antigonus reigned over Asia and Syria.

The year one thousand six hundred and ninety-six (319 BC): Ptolemy, king of Egypt, crossed over by treachery and guile and seized Jerusalem and the cities of the Jews, taking many into captivity, settling them in Egypt. Onias (II) the high priest was known.

²⁵⁸ Hier. and Arm.: same date.

 $^{^{259}}$ Hier. and Arm. date the events to the year 1688.

²⁶⁰ Hier. and Arm. Year 1692, Philip is also called Arrhidaeus, and one might add that he was half-brother of Alexander.

هدم هدم هدم المقدم وسبا وجه هدهباؤه المدورا وحكواه حبن وسند حدود و ورسا المرد و ورسال و ورس

 $^{^{261}}$ Στρατηγός.

²⁶² Reconstruction after Mich. Syr. 74b: حميمهما وحميمهما إداعة عبيد المعاملة المعا

²⁶³ Omitted digit in ms, but added in C¹ 45:27 without note.

مىنا :3: ²⁶⁴ C¹ 46

The year one thousand seven hundred (315 BC): Antioch, on the bank of the Orontes River, was built by Antigonus, king of Syria.

The year one thousand seven hundred and one (314 BC): Seleucus (I) Nicator was the first to reign over Syria, Babylonia, and the upper territories, for thirty-two years.

The year one thousand seven hundred and five (310 BC): The Hebraic book of the Maccabees, among the divine scriptures that are established for them (=the Jews), reckons the years of the Greek kingdom from this year. The people of Edessa²⁶⁵ calculate the time from the year one thousand seven hundred and six (of Abraham).²⁶⁶

The year one thousand seven hundred and eight (307 BC): Lysimachia, a city in Thrace, was built. In the same year Cyprus was subjected by Ptolemy. Theodorus, who did not acknowledge any god, was known.

[47] The year one thousand seven hundred and twelve (303 BC): Seleucus built the following cities: Antioch, Laodicea, Seleucia, Apameia, Edessa, and Aleppo; he partially built Āmid and Pella.²⁶⁷

The year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen (299 BC): Seleucus captured Babylon.

The year one thousand seven hundred and twenty (295 BC): Demetrius, king of Asia, uprooted the city of Samaria and led its people into captivity. Onias (II), the high priest of the Jews, was known.

The year one thousand seven hundred and thirty (285 BC): Seleucus, king of Syria, captured Demetrius, king of Asia, in Sicily. He went there for an oracle, and he killed him and seized his kingdom.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ This sentence is not from Eusebius. Ms •o;o? = 'Edessa,' capital of the province of Osrhoene, which lost its independence in AD 214. In what follows, we will always render the Syriac toponym by this familiar Hellenistic name; on both names see Harrak, "The ancient Name of Edessa," *JNES* 52 (1992), pp. 209–214;

²⁶⁶ Abr. 2015 (year of the birth of Christ) minus Abr. 1706 (see above) equals 309; this in turn is the beginning of the Seleucid computation system in Edessa.

²⁶⁷ Hier. Year 1713; Arm. Year 1715 – Āmid is not included in both. Antioch, modern Antakya, is on the Orontes, some 25 km from the Mediterranean coast; Laodicea is Latakia on the Syrian coast, near the ruins of ancient Ugarit; Seleucia is located on the sea of Perrhe, "one hundred and thirty stades distant from Antioch;" Procopius, History of the Wars (hereafter, Procop.), vol. 1, H.B. Dewing (trans.), Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Press and Heinemann, 1979), II xi 1 – to be distinguished from the Hellenistic city of Seleucia on the Tigris; Aleppo, Ḥalab of Cuneiform sources, Classical Beroea, Arabic Ḥalab, is a major city located in northern Syria; Āmid, modern Diyar-Bekir, is a city in the Jazīrah, and Pella was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Macedonia.

²⁶⁸ Hier. Year 1729 – the location being Cilicia.

هد المحمد المح

²⁶⁹ Ms: Patches on the toponym but decipherable. T 60:15 and C¹ 46:19: المهمدا !

The year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two (283 BC): Ptolemy died, and Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned over Egypt in his stead for thirty-eight years.

The year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six (279 BC): Seleucus died, and Antiochus Soter reigned over Syria in his stead for nineteen years.

The year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven (278 BC): Scriptures were translated in the island of Pharo (=Alexandria) in seventy days. Because Ptolemy Philadelphus was a man who loved good deeds – philadelphus [F14v] means lover of good things –, when he heard about the scriptures of the Jews, [he sent] to all their leaders, asking them to translate them for him from the Judaean language to Greek. On account of this, he set free the Jewish captives who were in Egypt, and sent the royal vessels that used to be in Jerusalem with Eleazar the high priest and Sosthenes. He grew diligent that the scriptures of the Jews be translated from Hebrew to Greek. (He deposed them) them in the library that was built by him there in Alexandria.

The year one thousand [48] seven hundred and forty-five (270 BC): Silver coins were struck in Rome. Henceforth, a bad shoot sprang up in the world and from now on a spring brought forth bitter water, intoxicating creation with bad refuse – the love of money.

The year one thousand seven hundred and forty-six (269 BC): Polemon and Epicurus the philosophers died. Archelaos, Crates, Zeno, and Erasistratus the physician were known.

The year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five (260 BC): Nicomedes king of Bithynia built a city and named it Nicomedia after his name. In this year the king of Syria died, and Antiochus (III the Great) reigned for fifteen years. After Eleazar the high priest, Manasseh his uncle received the high priesthood.

The year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight (247 BC): The Parthians revolted against the Macedonians. The first king, Arsaces (I), reigned over them and this is why they are called Arsacids.

The year one thousand seven hundred and seventy (245 BC): Philadelphus died, and Ptolemy Euergetes reigned over Egypt. In this same year the king of Syria also died, and Seleucus Callinicum reigned for twenty years. During this time Joshua son of Asira (=Sirach) and Simon son of Onias were known as priests.

عدم الاها معددها ما حدم ماتياج. حدم فهم العدم على المحلف سهوره ولمحاوه وبركوه 270 منا المناب واقتبا عدم هوا ومحتما ماكم معدد. صدر صحصصه واصر ك صورال سهووب الهدم معالى عنا كل. عدل هول معديطا ماكلم معدي المعمه علقا حفاؤه برواا كعديم تقصير. فلمحادث فيدر كوه من الله والما الله الله الله الله الله [F14v] وم وسط عدستا معدهم وما سن در عجد علا مكتا ومدةوما [عبرة] حدده، ومعسه ها محمل معسه ويفعمه الم كه مع كعل مه ومل كما مطر الملا الملا حيدة وما محتا وحلي في من حتب سنة مجم. وحم هاتا وصحوما وحاه ومحمر للحرو ود حاه الله وهوه عبود وحمد والمحاول مع حمل حديث حبيقا والمحموم المنطي مححكلاها والماميم حده امع حلحصيونا [صم اس]. عدم هجا [48] معجما ه او در متحب المهجر المرا وهاها حزه وها عدم موط معمل حمد ملا محمد المراد من محمد المراد من محمد المراد من المراد من المراد المرا مع هوزما محمد رسما معتا معتنا. هازهمه حديما مع الهزا صعا ووسعم مصفا. عدم لافا ممحتمال هاتوسع معم. معم فالحمه واقد اقتصوره فتكهوفاه هالمبه أومكم ومناله ورس وأوصمها المحمد العمل هدا محمد المحمد وشعب حبل سموهرس محكم وحدة تما مرسدا وسموهرما ملا معده صدة هدة حمدا مدا محكل وهاوزما. وأمحك الهنده عنتا مصعمة ال حال الحمور ود دوتال مجال مبعا ووه وحما موساً. عدم كل معتصلا معمى ماهيا. منوه فتامما ملا مصرةبا. والمحكم محده و محدد عرضا ازمر وصلي ولا صلعني اقمصا عدد هدا والمعدد صلا فيكر كوسه والعكم ملا المحلوم ولمكم أوزيهم وحد مر حد مدم أو مكما وهوؤماً. هامعكم هكومه مكيموه عبيًا معتبي. دويا وبي رحباً معكمبرمي معوالا حز اصمراً. معصم من سوسا دةما.

²⁷⁰ See the correct in the following lines.

²⁷¹ In the margin and written vertically, the following appear out of context: محصد "seven hundred and 22 years."

The year one thousand seven hundred and ninety (225 BC): The Romans killed among the Galatians (=Gauls) up to forty thousand persons.

The year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three (222 BC): Strong earthquakes took place in Caria and Rhodes to such an extent that Colossus fell.²⁷² During this time Shamoni and her sons triumphed in martyrdom for the sake of the fear of God.²⁷³

The year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six (219 BC): Ptolemy Philopator reigned over Egypt for seventeen years.

The year one thousand eight hundred and eight (207 BC): A war broke out between Antiochus, [49] king of Syria, and Ptolemy, and Ptolemy was defeated.

The year one thousand eight hundred and fourteen (201 BC): Ptolemy Epiphanes reigned over Egypt for twenty-four years.

The year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four (191 BC): Antiochus made war against the Romans. Antiochus was defeated and he established a pact with them, which was that he would bring up for them one thousand talents (of silver) every year after his defeat in Thermopylas.

The year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six (189 BC): Ptolemy and Antiochus made peace between them. He (=Ptolemy) established a pact of friendship, giving him his daughter Cleopatra (I) in marriage. Antiochus paid in terms of dowry Phoenicia, Syria, along with Samaria and Judaea.

The year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine (186 BC): The fifth millennium ended according to the computation of the Seventy, in the first year of the Olympiad one hundred and forty-eight, and in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine of Abraham.

The year one thousand eight hundred [F15r] and thirty-seven (178 BC): The king of Egypt died and [Ptolemy] Philom[etor] reigned [after him] for thirty-five years. Aristobulus, the Jewish philosopher, was known.

 $^{^{\}rm 272}$ Colossus is the statue of Helios, the Greek god, among the Seven Wonders of the World.

²⁷³ Hier. Year 1797; Arm. 1796 – both on events in the Book of Maccabees.

 The year one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight²⁷⁴ (167 BC): Antiochus [abolish]ed the Jewish laws. Earlier he pressured the people to apostasize, and those who did not obey him he subjected to bitter tortures. Afterwards, he marched up to Jerusalem, seized God's temple and the vessels that were in it, and installed in it the statue of Zeus. He also built a temple for Zeus in Samaria, on Mount Gerizim, for this is what the Samaritans asked him for. During this time, Mathathias, among the priests, son of Shamoni of the village of Modin,²⁷⁵ stood up with his sons against the military commander of Antiochus for the sake of [50] the law of his fathers, in the Olympiad one hundred and fifty-three, and the things written in the book of Maccabees took place at this time.

The year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four (161 BC): Judas Maccabee, the *strategos*²⁷⁶ of Judaea (and) the son of Mathathias, expelled the military commander of Antiochus from his region. He purified the temple and renewed the religion of his fathers which was idle for three years.²⁷⁷

The year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine (156 BC): Judas Maccabee died and Jonathan his brother replaced him for nineteen years.

The year one thousand eight hundred and sixty (155 BC): Aristarchus was known.

The year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one (144 BC): Oppius seized Celtas, and Scipio destroyed Carthage – it was built six hundred and sixty-eight years ago, and according to what others say, seven hundred and forty-eight (years).

The year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two (143 BC): Ptolemy Euergetes reigned over Egypt for twenty-nine years.

The year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six (139 BC): Tryphon killed Jonathan the high priest, and Simon replaced him for eight years. Then, Tryphon killed Antiochus son of Alexander, king of Syria, but at the end he was himself destroyed.

²⁷⁴ Traces in ms indicate that this part of the date is original. Someone changed the first digit to nūn "fifty," but failed to eliminate the second digit, hēt "eight," if his intention was to change the date from (18)48 to (18)50. T 74:12 reads من "and fifty-eight," not paying attention to the round shape of the mūn, and Chabot changed the whole to من "(18)50," claiming that the text vanished in this spot. The date 1848 is given in several versions of Hier. As for Arm., it dates the abolition of the Law to 1850, and the following lemma dates the expulsion of Antiochus' commander from Judaea three years after the defilement of the Temple, which must then be 1848, but Arm. wrongly dates it to 1851.

²⁷⁵ معونمع (sic) but see 1 Macc 2:1.

²⁷⁶ General, commander.

 $^{^{277}}$ Hier. Year 1852. Arm. 1851 – this year is too early since the temple defilement is here dated to 1850; see the previous note. The date in Chr. Zuq. is too late.

عدلا كافتطا وصد 278 الهده كتقوها ودوورا حالها وكومرم كعلا وسنعور هن حب حمتوا موتوا للمحم ولا معمم مومل ١٥٥٠ وحمور للمؤمم هجم. محميطا واحما محقلال وحره سجى ماميع حده رجعد ورمعا محمدي حلموا ويزيع. امطا وروها ماهد حيا. وول اموا على صده عصوماً. وحده حرصاً. مع محمدا مع حدما حز عمدوس مع مدورمرم مزر الم كومد وحد سال والهيدوم عم حدورب سك [50] بعوها واحدة وما وملا وسعمت ماكله والمح وحماما ومقصا ماتح حمل رحل وقد. عدم كعل ماهتمال مسمعي ه. و مده وما معمد العلم ومده والد صما الم المحموم لهزو مع المؤهد محمطا وصد محبسكا واحدة منا والمحكم عنتا لحك. عدم هجا ماصعال وبي صم مدهوا صحد. وحدر ووحلاه مامتعدال معديت مسرا. اهدم حقيه اسر. ممازدرم المستحد مع صميعيه. الم حن وم مع والمحسب. عنتا عمقاا معمم ماهيا. وأمر واستيا اختم عحقطا واوحم ماهيا. عدلا كلام ما معدية ما والمر والمكول المراج عدد المراج عندا. ولم المراج المراج عندا. والمراج المراج ا مد هدا ماصعا معمت معم. لهنده حدم و دوتا علاد مه وا دوده معده منتا انتباه ماهد لهنده للالمحده در الاحسيروس معدا وهوزما مهالا. مكسنا الع وه المسحلا.

²⁷⁸ T 64:12: سو; C¹ 49: 20 وه.

The year one thousand eight hundred and eighty – of Abraham (135 BC): The first king reigning over Urhay (=Edessa) was Urhay son of Ḥewya,²⁷⁹ for five years; it was named after his name. (Kings) began in the Olympiad one hundred and sixtyone and came to an end in the Olympiad two hundred and forty-nine.²⁸⁰

The year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two (133 BC): Antiochus, king of Syria, attacked Jerusalem, waging battle against it after his pact with Simon. He was defeated and his army was shattered.

The year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four (131 BC): Simon the high priest was killed, and his son John received (his rank) [51] after him. Ptolemy was dethroned in Egypt and his mother reigned. In the same year, 'Abdū son of Maz'ūr reigned over Edessa for seven years. In this same year Arsaces the Parthian killed Antiochus. At this time, slaves in Sicily made commotion and war; but when they were captured and incarcerated, they suffered hunger in prison to such an extent that they sought to devour each other.

The year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four (121 BC): The king of Edessa died, and Phardasht son of Gebar^cū reigned for five years.

[F15v] The year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven (118 BC): Hyrcanus, the Jewish high priest, destroyed Samaria, the city of the Samaritans, and reduced it to the ground. For us the city is called Sebasta and when Herod rebuilt it later, he named it Sebaste.

The year one thousand nine hundred (115 BC): [Bakrū son of Phardasht] reigned over Edessa for three years; Bakrū son of Bakrū followed him for twenty years.

The year one thousand nine hundred and one (114 BC): Ptolemy Physicon reigned over Egypt for seventeen years and six months.

The year one thousand nine hundred and ten (105 BC): A vigorous earthquake took place in Rhodes, causing great devastations in it.

The year one thousand nine hundred and twelve (103 BC): John the high priest died, and his son Aristobulus accepted (his rank) for one year. After him rose Alexander for twenty-four years.

The year one thousand nine hundred and eighteen (97 BC): A slave rebellion took place again in Sicily.

²⁷⁹ Lit. "Urhay son of the Snake."

²⁸⁰ The digit "nine" is visible and without *syōmē*. Olympiad 161 = Abr. 1880, Olympiad 249 = Abr. 2232 (see below Abr. Year 2233); Chr. Edes. 3:16–17 [4]: "Kings began to rise in Edessa in (Sel.) 180."

عدلا ها ماهنما الماهني للحزه ور العكو على أهزاه معكما مرهما. أؤاه حز سما عنتا سعما وملا معدد ادوروب المصلال عند حلاوها وها وعلى وسرال وجهلاه طحمعها وقدر وارتب والقداعي عدم هوا والعنطال وقدر الهيدوه محدا وصوفيا ايا علا ادفعكم. وصبر عكنة عنظ صع حكمة صعده وعم عصده. داروت وسيلاه المستحد عدلم كلها ماهتما ماهيم ماؤديد الممكل عمده ود عمتا. ممدل عميم [51] حزه د کرزه ه مولمحاه سو مع معدلها واردهوه . ماصحه احده و ده حميلًا العكر علا أوزون عجره حز معرعوز منتا مدّن وحرة حر حدة حميلًا أورا. مهلا ازمم فياهما للالهمده دويا بع رحيا عجم مهدما ومنط جديًا حصمكاه ودب المارية والمسحمة. المالكي حسوم عمل مع وهيا 282 كرمل وهذه خطافك سر حسر. عدم لاها ماهتمال ماهم ماود. هم هما وادوره. واهم هناله المرادي منتا سقع. [F15v] عدلم خلاف ماهنعال ما هم مقديد. سنزت ١٠٥٠ ومانوه ود دةيا ١٥٥٠ برا حمدني صبيعا ومعتبا. وحرصا للوعا اسمان. وف وحمار صحصها صممنا وص حموص هزووها حين. وصحصها عمون عبد هد ماعتمال أصحر علا أوزوه أحجزه حز فنوهم 283 منتا الحمة وحمروه حدوه من حدوه منتا بعوبي. منه هما مامتعدال وسبار. المحرر ملا صرفع فلمحالف فقصمه عندًا محملة المناسطة المناسطة المناسطة من المالك رمحل وَحل حزه وجه. مسقطل وَه وَحل حجم حنه. معلم خلاف مربحًا. معلم عمل وحد عمثل. مفد انهم حدد مدما سرا. محموره مع شحصروف منتا قرر مدم هدا هربسا هوا معزوا ماهد وعجرا مصمكلا.

²⁸¹ Ms with a patch covering the $w\bar{a}w$: \sim 1.

[.] صعا 282 C1 51:7

²⁸³ Name added by another scribe.

The year one thousand nine hundred and nineteen (96 BC): Ptolemy, who is Alexander, reigned over Egypt for ten years.

The year one thousand nine hundred and twenty-four (91 BC): Seleucus son of Antiochus, [52] king of Syria, was burned alive.²⁸⁴

The year one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight (87 BC): Physcon reigned over Egypt for eight years and Ma^cnū (reigned) over Edessa for four months, and after the latter Abgar Pica (reigned over Edessa) for twenty-five years and nine months. Here too the kingdom of Syria and Asia was dissolved. They (=the kings) began in the Olympiad one hundred and seventeen and came to an end in the Olympiad one hundred and seventy-one; the sum of their years is two hundred and nineteen (years) and ten months. During this time Sylla ravaged the Athenians.

The year one thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven (78 BC): Ptolemy Dionysius reigned over Egypt for thirty years; Abgar killed Bakrū and reigned alone twenty-three years and five months.

The year one thousand nine hundred and forty (75 BC): Salina, wife of Alexander, reigned over the Jews, and from this point the affairs of the Jews grew troubled.

The year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four (71 BC): The Romans ravaged Antioch of Syria.

The year one thousand nine hundred and sixty (55 BC): The king of Edessa died and the Edessans remained without a lord²⁸⁵ for one year, on account of dissension regarding the love of leadership. Afterwards, Ma'nū, who was called god reigned over them for eighteen years and five months.

The year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-six (49 BC): Cleopatra (II) reigned over Egypt for twenty-two years. At this time, Gaius Julius Caesar destroyed the Germans.

The year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven (48 BC): The first king reigned over the Romans and he was Gaius Julius Caesar, for six years.²⁸⁶

The year one thousand nine hundred and seventy-two (43 BC): [53] Gaius was killed and Augustus the Second reigned in his stead for fifty-six years and six months.

²⁸⁴ Confused information: Read "Seleucus is burned alive by Antiochus the son of Cyzicenus": *Hier.* and *Arm.* Year 1923.

²⁸⁵ Ms: *mariā*, instead of *malkā* "king." The first title was used in Hatra and Parthian Aššur, and presumably Edessa as well, by the early rulers before they adopted the second title.

²⁸⁶ Julius ruled for 4 years and 7 months: *Hier.* and *Arm.* Year 1969.

عدلا كلام وركم. المحكوم على معرفي فللمحلف ورده كلاهدوب عند معدد عدلا كلاه ورج. حصمه من الهمده [52] صحط وهوزما اهموه وباس مدلا هد ورجس المحرب ملا المحله فقصمه. عنتا باهداه وملا اوزون محمه متسا اترحداه وحلاؤه احي ومما عنتا معتب ٥٠٥ وعيدا لمعتل هزما أو محمولا وهوزيا وواهيا اعماره. عنده وب حلاه وعدا ومحدهم الله والمكون حلاه وهدا ومحت وسوار معدا وب ومنتهه، بقطع ملمعهم منهل معمل معرا. حمل وع رحبا بعمه سند للانتا. مد هما ه.زكر.. اصحر ملا معرف فلمحلف وسقسه عند الشمع. وأحي مهلا لحدوه. ه العكم حكمه وه وستا عصب ماكم وسيا سقعا. عدم كلا ورقر العكم علا مهورتا صحيا الماه والحصيروس، ومع هوط رحقا ومهورتا المحكم. عبد كعا ه ومدر سنوه وه وصل للهيميل وهوفيا. عدم هد والمعطل وعمل صد محمل وادوره. ٥٥٥٥ أدة من ولا معنا عدا سرا. مع ملك سنيد ووسعد وبعده ال ممع حدود المجل محموه و معل والمامز المار المنا لمعلمة المناس المعلل المعلم المعل معلاً. العكم على معرفي مكافئها عبيل معتب ماؤلي. وده دردياً. سند كلمه क्रिक वक्कः 🔑 द्वाया. बार रिको वर्षकार व.कर् विर्म वर्षको व्र हा हिन्दिको الموس مولموس معيز. منتا قلا. وحميلا هدا والمتعدل ومحتب والواح. [53] الممهل المصد واصر وروكه واقع المصلوص عننا سعمت مقد متسا عدا.

The year one thousand nine hundred and eighty (35 BC): The king of Edessa died, and Pacorus reigned for five years. In the same year Pacorus and Bar-Zaphron the commander marched up against Syria and led Hyrcanus and Phasael, the brother of Herod, to captivity.²⁸⁷ The kingdom of the Jews ended here, and Herod the Palestinian reigned first over them for thirty-seven years.

The year one thousand nine hundred and eighty-five (30 BC): Pacorus died and Abgar reigned for three years followed by Abgar the Red for three years. Herod fought against [F16r] Jerusalem and took it, uprooting its two walls and killing al[I the people] inside it.

During the days of Herod,²⁸⁸ when the birth of Christ drew near, the great priesthood (transmitted) from the forefathers and the kingdom of the Jews was dissolved. For the prophecy of Moses saying: The leader and the ruler from his side will not depart from Judah, until he comes to whom (leadership) is assigned and who is the expectation of nations, 289 is fulfilled. Here too Christ is the leader of the nations, of whom it is said in the prophecy in Daniel that he reached the end. For the leaders were anointed until (the time of) Herod; they were high priests who stood up before the Jewish people beginning with the rebuilding of the temple in the days of Darius²⁹⁰ and in the Olympiad sixty-five, and ending in the time of Hyrcanus, in the Olympiad one hundred and eighty-six. The years between these events are four hundred and eighty-three, as the Book of Daniel prophesied, saying: You shall know and understand, that from the issuing [54] of the commandment to set up the matter and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the leader shall be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks.²⁹¹ Now these seven weeks and sixty-two weeks - they are thus sixty-nine weeks - make four hundred and eightythree years in time, corresponding to the years of the leadership of the anointed leaders. After Hyrcanus the Second was led to captivity by the Parthians, Herod, the son of Antipas, received the kingship of the Jews from Augustus and the Roman senate, though kingship was not due to him; he was followed by his sons until the second destruction of Jerusalem. They administered the priesthood for God though they were not of the lineage of the priestly class, and it was not for lifetime, following the Law of Moses, but on a yearly basis, while runknown people (held the office) at other times.²⁹² At times, some bought the priesthood from the Romans.

²⁸⁷ See Joseph., Wars, i.13 for more detailed accounts.

²⁸⁸ See the whole statement in *Arm.*, after the year 1983.

²⁸⁹ Gen 49:10.

²⁹⁰ Darius in both *Hier.* and *Arm.*

²⁹¹ Dan 9:25.

²⁹² Chr. 724, 106:9–10.

عدلم والمتحلل ماهيع. مدلم معكم واهزاه والمعكم وموزن عبدًا سقع. وده حملاً عبي به قعورت در رفزه ود سلا علا عدوماً. محمورت محملا اسه و ووووه حمصا وحزه ووط محمد محمال وموقوله والمحر حجمون عرهما هزوره فحمال منتا الشمع مقديا منا لافا مامتعال ماهنع متعمل مناها قموزد. والعجر احيء عنا الكلا. وحاوره العجر احيء هوهما عنا الكلا. ووزورها المحمد ما [F16r] ادومهم وبصدة. در من مكرتمون مدوّنة ودكرو معلماً والم حرون فلا مقصده وهزهوه در عزد مره وهمساً. وحما دهدا ومع احتمال ومعكدها ومحةوماً. المعكومة. في معمكما تصمال وكما معمما واحداد ولا يعب ومما مع ١٥٥٠ الموردنا مع حمد مهمده: مرها وللا الذه وهده صمعا. و١٥٥٠ صوصا ومقعدا. هزط294 وبي اه صعبا حردنا وحقعا: وه وحماها حدما المارك عولما بعيد. برجل عن كدؤه وهد. صعتبا دوه صرح الله في المدوى وبعد عدما ومنصع دوه مرم حصل ومدة وما ومنه مع مدولا واصطلا وحدة من ودومه والم علم منتهم المتعاد وما ومدورا وما والما وجهلات حتوص ووزمانوف. حلاوهها وهاا ولمقتب وهلا. منتا وبي وحصرها ووحي. وقع اوصعدا ماهيع ماكم. اصعا وصدا ووسلس محددا دم امدن واوس ماهمد مع معصنه [54] ومحكاً. حمدت فكي ما محمدنا لاه ومحرد مرما حميسا صرحزال محقط مقط ممحقط قلم ماؤره وحم وصلا قلم والمقل محقط. صححے رحبا ومنتا اور وحمدال ماضعے ماحج. اب معلم واسمن منتا ووسعندال وصفتندا صرحتال وصع والموجز حمصل ووومانوها اسزلم مع فتاويل ووووها من الهنفي الله عبالله ارما كه محصال مع المصله مصورهم وزاه معما يسد محصال ومنه ورا. محكوم حقوم ومرا حرها حمد حمدونة اسزما وادومكم. ولا وم مامد فيد وهم محلا و رسط وحة سأ. خدوب ٥٥٥ للكوا. ولا عكم رحبا وستسوم أمر بعوها وهوما. انقا وع لل عبد حرح استيل هذه بيرا سرا عدلال استيل وب حدادة عك وهوهما موسال رخس ۱۵۵۵.

²⁹³ Gap in ms, filled in T 69:5 and C¹ 53:13 and n.1. Chr. 724, 106:19: "many".

[.]هوط 193:19: ²⁹⁴ C¹ 23:19:

 $^{^{295}}$ Ms وهوزمه: $K \bar{o} f$ ligatured and slightly open, not looking like $y \bar{o} d$ to take it for بوموزمه

Daniel prophesied about these things, saying: After sixty-seven (weeks) and two weeks annointing will be abolished and it will be unlawful and a nation and a leader who will come will destroy the temple and the sanctuary. They will be shattered through the overwhelming war and then by the abominable destruction, and at the end of times destruction will lay upon desolation.²⁹⁶

The year one thousand nine hundred and eighty-eight (27 BC): Cleopatra plotted against the kingdom of the Jews and the Arabians, and grew powerful so as to take their regions away from Antoninus.

The year one thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine (26 BC): Cleopatra came to do peace with Augustus on the mountains of Lebanon. There she was delivered to murder along with her escorts, as Daniel prophesized before hand, saying: *The daughter of the king of the south* [55] *shall come to the king of the north to make peace between them, but she shall be given up with her attendants.*²⁹⁷ With the defeat of Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, her two sons, Helios (Sun) and Selene (Moon), also faced murder. In this same year Egypt was captured by the Romans and the kingdom of the dynasty of Ptolemy, which ruled for two hundred and ninety-five years, was abolished. And in this year the city of Nicopolis was built.

The year one thousand nine hundred and ninety (25 BC): Ma'nū, called Saphlul, reigned over Edessa for eighteen years and seven months.

The year [F16v] one thousand nine hundred and ninety-one (24 BC): A vehement and powerful earthquake took place [in Rhodes], ravaging [mo]st of the regions. Tralles also fell in the earthquake.

The year one thousand nine hundred and ninety-two (23 BC): The Romans captured Calabria and Galatia, subjecting them to tribute.

The year one thousand nine hundred and ninety-four (22 BC): The Romans also captured Cyzicus.

The year one thousand nine hundred and ninety-six (19 BC): A great and severe famine took place in Judaea and Syria, and people left the region and scattered.

The year one thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight (17 BC): Herod built much in Jerusalem. He rebuilt Samaria that was ruined for a time from its foundations, and to honour Augustus Sebastus, the emperor of the Romans, he named it Sebaste.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Dan 9:26-27.

²⁹⁷ Dan 11:6.

٥٠٥ م وبع وساس عدما عب أحد. وحدة عملة معدة ماوم عمدمي الماسم صعب ال موبيا لا يه وا حذ و حدمال و حمويما يبدي عط عمر صرحابا وألمال والمقصمور كنوفيل وعنط وحلوص لام مهنفها وسووط ومبط لاستال ورقيلا ربعه ولم المدود ملا سطل عدم الله والمتعلل والعبع والعبل محدولها المدحد ملا accoll pioopal optical oblanch place Historico, as hopeness. and les oblandell ماصب ماغب. الما محدولها والمحر عسا مع الهصله حلوق حدن. مامده الممحمم حملا بود وصدمسة. أب حدا وغرم المحد بحما مر احد. وحدا محجا والمعدا [55] الرا حما صحا ويناصا والمحر عبد حسلامه والعبر حمر بول معتمسة محن حميما المحمد مرزم مع وموصل والمكرند محمدا وحيد فلاحداه، والمحرب منتا فتمع ملقب متحم. وحدة حميما يتمعه حبيما المحيد. ميم هما ما معطا ما قدم. المجكم على امزون معنه والمامن معكم المعالم . [F16v] . مد هدا محمدا ملقدم مسبال موا رمط زط معيرا [حزوره معمي] الأوود برقصما سحاد وأف لهذالا حومل بعال عدم الله المعتمل والقدم والواع. عجم وووصل كملكدوما وكي حلهما ومرادا حدوه الله عدم لاها والمقتصل واقديد. حجم مادت و١٥٥٠ مما حمدرمها عدم هوا مامتما ماهم مقل مها وحل وحرارا حده، وحصورما. وانقا مع المزا المحروه وارك. عدم كلا ماعمدا والقدم والكلا. بهزورها حادزمكم هو ال خبار معطني وسنوحل بهما مع رحباً مع مماهنة حدة. ००४/ १५८२ किं। प्रिक्येक कटक्येक व्यक्त १९००वर्म कटक्ये बळा

 $^{^{298}}$ Sic ms, with no conjunction, although supposedly spotted by T 71:4, and followed by C¹ 55:2.

²⁹⁹ Ms worm-eaten; reading after T 71:11.

The year one thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine (16 BC): A great earthquake took place in Cyprus, destroying many places.

The year two thousand – of Abraham (15 BC): Marcus Lollius destroyed the Germans.

The year two thousand and one (14 BC): Herod destroyed the temple that was in Jerusalem, and built another larger one.

The year two thousand and two (13 BC): Tiberius [56] crushed the people of Vindelicus and subjected all those who were near Thrace.

The year two thousand and five (10 BC): Herod the king built the city of Caesarea – he named it after Caesar –, as well as Aggripina, Antipatris, and Herodia, and in Galilee Gaba.³⁰⁰

The year two thousand and nine (6 BC): Tiberius subjected Pannonia.

The year two thousand and ten (5 BC): The same Tiberius also subjected the Germans. He was called *autocrator*.

The year two thousand and eleven (4 BC): Herod and the Parthians waged a battle against each other. After he returned from the battle, he killed Hyrcanus, the Jewish high priest. He also put to death the latter's son who had received the priesthood of his father. Moreover, he killed the sister of this one (= Hyrcanus), who was his wife; and the two sons that he begot from her, he killed after they reached manhood. He even killed the mother of the victim, who was his mother-in-law.

The year two thousand and twelve (3 BC): Tiberius subjected the Armenians, Rhaetia, the people of Vindelicus, and the people of Pannonia. In the same year, much of Kos was ruined by the earthquake.³⁰¹

The year two thousand and fifteen of Abraham (AD 1), and three hundred and nine of Alexander the Macedonian (AD 1): The blessed fruit, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was born in Bethlehem of Judaea. In the same year, an order was issued by the senate to Quirnius, who was the governor over Judaea, and he took a census of property and the inhabitants.³⁰² The years from Abraham up to the birth of Christ are, in sum, two thousand and sixteen.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ On Gaba see Josephus, *The Jewish War* (hereafter, Joseph. *War*), trans. by T.E. Page at als., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press and Heinemann, 1959), ii 459 et passim; Chabot's emendation to Gabala is not necessary; C¹ 56 n. 2. Reading in T 71:10 is correct.

³⁰¹ Hier. Year 2013; Arm. Year 2012. Kos is a Greek island.

³⁰² Luke 2:1.

³⁰³ Hier. Year 2016 and Arm. Year 2015. Chr. Zuq. agrees with Arm. with regard to the date of the birth of Christ and is consistent in his calculations before and after this date, although at the end of this lemma his chronological calculation from Abraham to Christ

عدم كلا ماعتمال ماقدم ماقب مها رمل زما مصوره ووودتما صحالاً سجاد. عدل لمؤم كافتح للحزه ورايد معزموها للحدود كيومسال عدل لمؤم كافتح مسرال مزهوه حميطا وحاهزمهم هجزر هوزد ميه اسزيا حبار ميم لمزم هدي ماتاع. لمحنوه [56] محمد كوسترسل والمرام والمرام المرام المرام كولام المرام المر عدل كاوتا الم المعرف المعرب المعرب المعرب المراه المراه المراد المعرف ا واليزورا. والريدين وحوزوورا. وحيطا ماود كيادا. عدم .د. كوت ولمقر. لمحنده هديد وحدل قد هدي ويهد المحت والمعن المحتمد المحتمد المحتمد المتعمد المت عدم. هاه كومنكوز الموند. عدم .ق. هفتم مسيحة إ. صبل عنط هزه وه معتماما حمر سبّوا. مص حكر ومعر مع منط ملا ممال مدهنواسع ود دوتا ومدهوتا. ملا وع اه حديده وصل ومد وصما واحدد. معلى الا حسله وصل والمن مما الماه. مكرتم حتى و٥٥٥ كه صدة. مع حكمة والمرحة على الدي. على وم العالم ومهدها والمنة هما سعمه. عدم ق.ق. هفتي ه.ق. عدم لمجزوه للوهدا. وحوله وكة سبر محصل وكقلوسا. وحدة حميما مع مو. هو المسعلا مع ووما. معم .ق. كحتم وسعمتها للحزوم. وللحصيروف معموساً. عدم الحمطا واعد: الملح حدم كسم وسهود هاذا وحدودها سعه معسا حزه والمحال محدد معسلا العموة صوسه مع رجيل وهيمكهم ورحمولاً 305 مل محاور: اصحاحتها ومتبل ووحموزا بعود. فتم حبتا وص احدهم حوصل حمرهاه وصعيساً. عنتا لماقع هفت معملمهماً. XXX XXX 300

corresponds to that of *Hier*. Could "sixteen" here be lapsus calami? At the end of this section remains of three deleted lines are still visible.

³⁰⁴ Originally كقار, yōd darker than the rest, was added later.

³⁰⁵ Greek ἡγεμών, Syriac عبدنا.

³⁰⁶ After the gap, three lines were deleted.

[57] [F17r] Concerning the Vision of the Magi, their Coming to Jerusalem, [and the Offerings] that they Brought to Christ³⁰⁷

This is the narration of the revelations and visions, which the kings, [sons of kings] of the Great Orient who are called Magi³⁰⁸ in the language of that land, had told. For in total [quietness] they praised and prayed; silently and mindfully they praised and prayed the sublime and holy majesty of the Lord of life: The holy and glorified Father, hidden in the great radiance of his own person, and lofty and holy beyond all thoughts. The human tongue is unable to speak about him as he is, except as he wishes, when he wishes, and by means of whom he wishes. Neither his celestial nor his terrestrial worlds are able to talk about his majesty, unless the will of his majesty sees fit to reveal itself to the worlds in as much as they are allowed to receive from the gift of his Majesty – for it is immense and they are unable to describe it.

Now those wise men called Magi in the language of the region praised in total quietness the God of all, by whose word and his will all that exists has come into existence, and (so too) all that is now becoming and all that will (yet) come into being.

Nothing exists outside his will, and there is no one who stands against the will of the Father of all. Thus were called the names of the wise men and the kings: Zaharwandad son of Artaban, Hormizd son of Sanatruq, Auštazp son of Gudaphar, Aršāk son of Mahruq, Zarwand son of Wadud, Arihu son of Khusro, Artaxerxes son of Hawilat, Astanbozan son of Šišrawan, Mahruq son of Humam, [58] Aḥširaš son of Saḥban, Nasirdiḥ son of Baladan,³⁰⁹ and Marduk son of Bel. These were eastern kings, sons of kings, in the land of Seir. This was located outside the entire East – the inhabited world of people – (opposite) Ocean the great sea outside the world, to the east of the land of Nod, where the great Adam, the head of all the tribes of the world, used to live. The sons of kings received orders, laws, and writings from their forefathers, obtained from one another, generation after generation, beginning with Seth, the son of our father Adam, for³¹⁰ Adam made revelations to his son Seth when he had him.

³⁰⁷ The title is an insertion; see the Introduction on the editions and translations of, and studies on the apocryphal story.

³⁰⁸ By Magi the Zoroastrians are meant.

³⁰⁹ On the onomastica see J. Christelle Jullien and Ph. Gignoux, "Les mages christianisés. Reconstruction historique et onomastique des listes nominales syriaques," in M. A. Amir-Moezzi et als., *Pensée grecque et sagesse d'Orient. Hommage à Michel Tardieu*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 142 (Brepols, 2009), pp. 323–346.

³¹⁰ The Syriac preposition is repeated twice, the first time being garbled.

[57] مل رسل بعيقما. وحد مديماه إلان محر [57] ما بعد المن محديد [57] بالمن محديد المن محديد المن محديد المن محديد المن محديد المناسبة المن

معطل ويكتبا متروبا ومده محقا [حت محقا] وموسا وحال والموره محقما حكمته والمؤا هاه. [صهلا وحمكم] ولا علا صعصب ٥٥٥ همركم. وحمكما وحصيط صعصب ٥٥٥ معركم كنحما مصبعما وهنا ستا للحا عبعا مصعصبا. وصعا حربه ازحل وبعمه: محمل معرب مع ملا منتعم. ملا فعهم حمل وانعل وباحز عدامه المو والكاهوب الل المو ورجل واصلام ورجل حمو ض ورخل ولل فعصم محمدة ومد محتبل ولا اسكتا خصاصة ملا وحداه: الل أمر وماما خده خرجما ووحداده والهلا خدتها. أمر وصعدسي وبصده مع معهدها وزدماه. صلي وصهال هد ملا معدم معملاهاه المامه، ١٥٥٠ ١٥٥٨ ١٥١٥ ستنطر وهممنى ١٥٥٠ هيقما حميه والمؤار علي وحماها ولا علا بعمصت موه للحم عولاً. حون وحماله محرجين موا على والمومور وصل وافوا وفارم وصلا وحمير حصووا. وحمل معرم وافوا حدة مع رحسه. وحمل اود فع وبعوم كومد إحسه واحل وحاف معتقبه وسعتمل معكفيا. وصل معمن وده. المؤولية حذ المؤجه المماور حد معلمان المعمرات حد المعلى حد معدوده ion cierce is open is compose if fundad as now shall be some of and composed in the composed i محدوده من مومعم [58] اسعنم من رسم بروس من محرب مدوور من ملاه ب هكم المنهور محقا حتد محقا مترسيا حازما وعيز. والموهد خزلم وحكه موسل ومحمدا وملاحل وحشمال لله عنوص معل وحل وحدة مع محمدل مع معرسة واؤخل وبدور الأما وسلمت مواحدة أوم وحل مؤسعل وحلامي عندها ومحصله موسى محب حت معكفا مجه وه وقميل وبعقها. وأو مكتل مع احقمون. أو وزا مع وزا محل ووه من مع سر. مع عدد احد اور معلا و الله ما حدد حدد عدد من موا حدد من موا من موا حدد من موا حدد من موا من موا

³¹¹ Sic ms; T 73:10 and C¹ 57:1: رمهکه.

³¹² C¹ 57:24: **←**.

In order that Seth may not transgress the commandment, Adam pointed out to Seth his former greatness and his expulsion from Paradise, warning Seth his son not to disobey (God's) Justice – like Adam.

Seth accepted the order of his father with a pure heart and took care of the tradition and of the gift of the Most High, the Lord of majesty. Seth was allowed to write down and make known the wisdom in a book,313 so that every life-seeking soul reads it in the name of the Lord, the Lord (of all). It was first through him that the book, written down in the name of the Most High, became known in the world. Seth delivered the written book to his generation and it was carried up to Noah who was found righteous and was rescued too from the waters. [F17v] [At the time of the Flood Noah took] the book of the commandments with him [into the ark, and when he came out of the ark, he, Noah, commanded the generations after him to relate his great deeds, the hidden mysteries that were written in the book of Seth, the majestic Father, and all the mysteries. The book, the mysteries, [59] and the discourse were transmitted as a tradition even up to our fathers, who learned them, accepted them with joy, and handed them over to us. We too observe the mysteries of the book, the signs, and the words with love and fear. In silence, we pray, confess and praise the Lord of majesty that is hidden from the sight of every living creature, bowing down and raising our hands toward the high heaven. The book of the hidden mysteries was placed on the Mountain of Victories,³¹⁴ to the east of Seir our land, in a cave, the Cave of Treasures - the mysteries of the silent life. As our fathers inherited (it) from their own fathers, they ordered us, saying: "Wait for the light of the majestic Father that will appear to you from the subleme East, light that will appear on high, on the Mountain of Victories, in the likeness of a star. It will settle on a column of light inside the Cave of Treasures and hidden mysteries. You too order your children, and let your children (order) their children until the mystery of the star that will appear from the Most High is seen by your generation. The mystery of the star that will appear from the Most High is a light similar to a star. It will enlighten all the creation and darken the light of the sun, the moon, and the stars, and none of these will be able to stand before its brightness. For this is the great mystery of the Son of the most-high Majesty, who is the voice of the Father, the begotten one of his hidden thought, the glowing light of his glory, the will and image of his hidden being, the Verb that begets all his thoughts, source of life whose spring does not dry, the Verb that created everything according to the will of the one who sent him, an image that has no type or likeness among all that exist.

³¹³ The story is not consistent with regard to the "book" since sometimes it is in the plural. For consistency, we will always use the singular.

³¹⁴ I.e. Paradise; on Paradise as mountain see Brock, *Hymns on Paradise*, pp. 49–57.

محرم که اوم کمیم 315 مل زحمله عرصها در لا بعد: ملا وعمرال ممل معمله وصح دنوسطا. دردورد حمل حنه ولا بعد الا بده ود ملا علما العماد واومره ممدلا قومونه علم واحده وحمل وصل داروه و معطوما الا معده مده ومحل منزا وحمال والمناهد المن المعرف والمعموم حدما والمورس محمد المنا معمده وحزما حزا علا العما وحيدا ستار وهدو مرصابه المس مهما منكول وزهيم معموه ومكدا والمحمود مه كحماط وفعمر كروهون والمحلا عرصا كنوس فه واعماص الا بوه طالل والماهري الا به، مع معتل [F17v] [محم، لهدفل بعد انه، اقد نوس] كقلاط وقومبل عمده [حدولاً. وحب نقم] مع دولاً هم أه وه نوب حبزاً ومع حكوره. ووه و مخلع ووقطه هازرا معتل ومكمم مده مقلم وهم. ملا وماه واحل هازرا عده والما المدلا وع وبه مكتل هازرا هوه [59] معطل معملات الد مرجل للحقي هامه همد حسوماا العمر الله ع وسع. ملهم الله سع: حسم محبسكا عزارمه وسمه ومكتل هازرا وتعلل وحملها مركب ووي. ومعوب ومعصب ووب. عر فعم ووب حوزمي معنصم ٥٥٠ امرت حنهما وعصا حصنا فحمال هذه وصما مع متد حلا وسد مصبصم ١٥٥٥ أول و مكتل واقرا صعتا حلاوز برستار صحبسه وسكه وعمد الماقي صحددا صدرا حدا واترا وستا وعماماً أن وهمور احدت العربي المعلم ومحمد العرب مع احدده والمراد وا کے وقعدہ کموہؤا وؤس کدی. مع موسل محمال وودماہ واحل کموہؤا ومع واصل وس حرمعها موصل ملا لهوز برستا. معنا ملا معمورا وبدهوزاً. حجمه محديا جزا هاورا مستا. هموره اه المه حتيمه. محتمه حجمه وللمرا حبوم وللمرا حبومه وما وموحل وزيس مع وحداً محملاً. به مؤل اب حودداً ومعدو حديث درسال ومعمل حدهوره ومعمل ووصدوا دوحة مدرد من عدده لا محكسرا أه معمد ونعدم عبم ندوزه. أورا ده سن وحل وحزا ووصدا محمداً. واسموه علا واحل سجا وصعده مصداً. موهوا ورحمل والمحدسكان وجبيا متحميل وقصيمان فحكا نجا في وهيمحكان بخيا وبيتا ولل كار مع معمده: معكما وحنا عدد أمو رحما ومعصدة: معمل وحمل حده روزا هومعما حدد أمكم ومنعم.

 315 C¹ 58:11: A as also in T 35:5.

³¹⁶ C¹ 59:10: [adal].

Through the might and the word of this one all worlds are set in order and stand. He is the Son of complete mercy, the glowing light [60] of the glory of the Father, the indescribable majesty. Therefore, you ought to know that whenever this light appears to you from the Majesty that has no limit, and as it will be seen to you in the likeness of a star, so that you will be able to see it, diligently, and in joy, love, and full earnest, you shall take from his own pure offerings that your forefathers had placed in the Cave of Treasures of the hidden mysteries in the Mountain of Victories. Go wherever the light of the star leads you and you will see a great and admirable sign: God will be seen with the members of a human body, despised, poor, deficient, weak, and humble, and the sign of the cross will be visible on him. You shall go before him in love and joy, carrying with you your offerings. You shall bow down before the despised, humble, and battered child, and present to him your offerings. You shall receive from him the blessing of life, and you will be associated with him in the joy when he will come in his hidden glory, in his perfect divinity, in his full wealth [F18r] that does not elapse, in his new world, in his light <and> [his ralys, and in the perfect life which he imparts to all his faithful ones xxx. You also must be careful and command your children: if the coming of the light of the star does not come in your days, let your children tell their children (about it), until the mysteries and the revelations that are written down about his coming are fulfilled. We have received the laws and the commandments from our fathers; we too teach all the mysteries and warn our children: Perhaps the coming of the light of their star will occur in your days, according to what we had received and learned about from our fathers.' We used to go up the Mountain of Victories, and when we would gather altogether - every person coming out of his room at the foot of the mountain - we would remain in one place in purity, [61] on the twenty-fifth day of the month - each month. We would wash ourselves in one spring that was at the foot of the mountain.' This spring was called 'Purification' and seven trees rose upon it: Olive, vine, myrtle, cypress, orange, cedar, and juniper. The mountain as a whole was more beautiful and attractive than all the mountains of our region beyond any measure. A smell of all kinds of perfume emanated from it and the dew dropping on it was a pleasant fragrance. When the beginning of the month would come, we would climb up the mountain, reaching its summit, and stand before the gate of the Cave of Treasures of the hidden mysteries. Kneeling on our knees, we would raise our hands toward the sky, praying to and worshipping, quietly and without noise, the Father of the High Majesty which cannot be described and defined until eternity. On the third of the month, we would go into the cave for the precious treasures that were prepared as offerings for the star and for the worship of the light that we are waiting for. And what we would read and hear about the [revelation, as] we were joyfully returning and descending, we would tell and teach our children, our tribes, and whoever devotes himself to learn with love.

الا وحسيرة وحصره العرورة ومع عروه محقل حزا وه ووسعا معملاتا: وحمل وه ويدهوا [60] والمحصيفه واحل ووجما ولا صفحكلاه صحيك هومكه فرمع واصف وويس حمد وما مهروا مع وف وحمال وحمل حن صعرا. وملسرا حمد حومد امر <ومعدسه، المحالية ال ممكم اللهم موقصل ومتل مع ولكره. وهبعم حمدنا حرّا مع احتمدهم واترا مستل حلموز بهتا. وكه للحل وموجز كحم به وزا وكم وحودك. مامرون سعا ودا مامعه إلى كما حو صكسرا حةوصل وحز العاد دحر محملة ومعصص دحربة وسكف ومحبود واه سعه ورجمحا صمسرا محمد: الرحم حمرمده، صوط محسرها! ور خمح المم محمدم مەۋدىندەر. ماھىرەر موھەمە وىكوا مىلىل مەھدىدا مملىلا. مامندەر كە مەۋدىندەر. مامحكم معنه حوزمكا وستل ماعكماهم معده حسوماً ومعل والما حعوصه فصيل مطلاه معنزال محمولة [F18r] صعدلم ولا مذن محمله سبال محمورة ۱ *XXX 319 محمدة محمدة محمدة المحمدة محمدة المحمدة المه ارودوه دهمه. حستمه دار به ولا لليب محمله ولهوده وموصط متوصله. اه صنحه، حصنه، باحده، برجل وبعضه، اورا مركتنا ومدمع ملا حمده. ومحكم بعقها وقوميتا مع احدت. اق سع معهم موم حكور ازرا. وهروزم ووم حصتى: واحدة حقصموم المؤمل معممه ولمهوره وموحل المر ومحل معلى مع احتى. مضطمع مومع على بربتا. وحم المصعم حج: العد العد مع ادول حمدة عدد ولموزا. معموم مومع حرودها سرا: حرصواا [61] حموم> 320 سمقا ومعتر حيزسا د النسد وخضيع وومع حصل سيا والمانة وولا حعدة كووب ولهوزاد ووس حسا صلاعها والموسلال وصعب ١٥٥٥ محمة الحتل محتل والماد ويعمل والعل معوفيا الكا والهزول هازرا: وحزوراً. وكهذا وه طلا هلا وزير صح حلا كهذا وحكن 322 ولا صعوسكا. وضياً ووا هده وسل ودر حصصة ما وواهد وها حود وسل حصيصا. وها ووها وها وسع مزسل صحمي ١٥٥٦ وازكع كنع لهوال وصعب ١٥٥٦ عبرم الوحدة وبكدة وحديا حرا واورا حصنا. ەحزىي ھەلى كارىد. وقعلى ھەل التي كعطيا. وهركى ھەل وهرى حماما ولا محاً. للحا وودما حكماً. وم ولا محامحاً ولا معامحاً. حرما حكم. اكلا حيزسا معطي ١٥٥ كو كعديا على إلا بعتهما بعلمتم مقود كمورديا وسطه ومعدداً. وحصيها ويعموا من وصفعه موم حدد وصوم وفني موم وخصي موم ص [كنيا ها] وهوم هوم. نسكم صبوراً. اهزم هوم وهدهم حمية وحمة محتمر. محملا ومنه معم صمط حملاه.

317 Ms وهمصلاه, (sic).

³¹⁸ C¹ 60:18: , ത്യമാം; not in T.

³¹⁹ C¹ 60:19: [] **,** ∞∞**>** ; not in T.

[.]حمومت Ms

³²¹ Sic ms. It can be معاند or عمان Akk. *šurmīnu* or *šurmēnu*.

³²² Phonetic for ,cllip.

علام Phonetic for علام.

And if it happens that one of us departs, [we would appoint his son or a member of his tribe] in his place, just as we had taken the turn of our fathers, until the time of the coming of that star is fulfilled. Also, [the people of that region], those who give themselves to the love of the revelation that they learn about in joy, we would teach, while those who do not want to learn, would distance themselves from the assistance. (Those who learn) [realize our quietness] for we pray in silence, and with respect we tell them about [62] the mysteries.

Also from the Books that were in the Cave of Treasures of the Hidden Mysteries

Our father and great head of our race told his son Seth every matter, after the death of Abel whom Cain his brother had killed. His father Adam grieved him and explained to Seth concerning him [F18v] [...] the appearance of the light of the star and its glory, for he used to see it in the Garden of Eden, descending and settling on the Tree of Life, filling it entirely with light, before Adam transgressed the commandment of the Father of the most-high Majesty. When he transgressed the commandment that he set for him, he was deprived of the sight of the star. On account of his expulsion from Paradise, our father Adam bemoaned his foolishness, for he was brought down low from his greatness. Thus, he greatly warned Seth his son, teaching him to walk in righteousness so as to find mercy before the majestic Father. He said to him: "My son, let generations and peoples (emerge) from me and from my children, and let them relate one to another my foolishness, telling parables that fit me and say: Every kingdom divided against itself does not last. 324 This befits me since I divided myself against my kingdom in which I lived, and I lost it by myself. My son, the rib that was extracted from me became for me a splinter that blinded my eyes. I too anticipated the matter when I saw her and said: At last this is a bone and flesh from me. 1825 It was good that I thus called her at the time for she became a stumbling block for me. My son, beware of her with regard to the words of your mouth and do not reveal to her all the secrets of your heart. Now my merciful Master made her a helper for me in honour and glory, because he loved me as a dear son, but I made her [63] for me a trouble and the obstruction of my footsteps, to such an extent that she brought me out of my royal paradise. I did not realize my honour but I grew haughty in my heart by means of the perfidious council that she gave me – the cup of hearing bitter words by the treacherous snake.

³²⁴ Mt 12:25, Luke 11:17.

³²⁵ Gen 2:23.

هار سجمه مدهم سر صبى [دنه اه سر ص حت عندلم مصر] دره المر حل ومصل دره مدل المرك ومصل المرك المرك ومصل المرك المرك المرك ومصل المرك المرك المرك ومصل المرك المرك ومدل المرك المرك ومدل المرك ومدل المرك والمرك ومدرك ومدرك والمرك ومدرك ومد

اهج مع مكتل والم ٥٥٥ معددا حرا واورا معتلا

al elyal packer, led. हेन दिला ही प्र की प्रकार होती प्रवास की प्रकार है। صعاده والاحداد ومركده على المدون والمالحال 326 مكون اوم احدون وجرع كو اوم كعل حزر محدد [F18v] [...] وسه 327 ومه وا وموحداً. وملا المحدمة معلى ونوا [١٥٥] که کید مربی و نسک ۱۵۵ معزا ۱۸۵ استار معده کوکه مر لا بعد اوم ملا قوميل واحل وزحمال محملاً. وعبر مجز ملا قوميل وهم حود المركزا مده سهاه وحده وحوصل معهل معصله ومع هزوسها ومعلاد هما احدر اوم ملا صححاً والمحصر مع زحماه. وصي مراهز ووا مده حمل حزود ومعد ووا مده وبمكر حطابها وبالمحس وسعل عباص أحل ووجعال مأهم الأمان حود حزب 1000 هيس ووا محكظ مع حيد. وبدوه مخلي هدهاد. معمده حقدالا سر حير. در حد محقر. وبالعنور: ولا معدو والمفكي علا يعمة. لا لموم. ووا عد معلا والمفكيم ملا محصول ومام ذهم دن داما حلب اهجان ميس دنور كما والمعزمة هدد ولا وولم عصل وحوزاة حسد. أقد الله المنصم وذه عر شرطة 828 وأحدنا: وإما رحيل عن محصرا هدر معصر في المن ووق رحيا. معلى واما كم الممكل. حزب أروره معنة حقك قومير ولا الملاكة في أورب كحرد ودوك سن سبل للمنا مكلمحصلال عجبة ك صحبولا. صهر وفسط [40 كب] أب حزا سحمدا. وأبل مخبلة ك [63] معرفها ومحمء لمحبر برمل وأقملات مع فروسل ومحمولات وأثا لا المخسم حلمون الله الا حكم الماؤيظم حجكما وبعلا ومنحم ك، فعا وهجم وتعلا معزول صحكه وسمل

³²⁶ Ms **\\Llo** (sic.).

³²⁷ Word is garbled in ms; C1 62:6: [...]

³²⁸ Ms مراه (sic).

عناه :329 C1 62:24 مناه

In my early time, before I was made, I did not realize – though I did when I was made – the honour in which I was, my authority over the whole world, my love for the holy watchers and all the living creatures inside Paradise, and above all, the mercy and sweetness of my holy Master, who loved me and was compassionate toward me like a sweet father. When I transgressed his command through my insolence, he judged me, not as a lord who holds a grudge, but as a sweet father in whose chastisement mercy is mingled. For if he judged me according to my foolishness, he would have caused me to vanish like vapor and would have turned me into nonexistence, and who would oppose him, saying: what have you done?330 On the contrary, he punished me with mercy and judged me not according to my foolishness, for lo, you see, my son, the whole creation is (still) under my authority as in the past. But my deceiver, the Devil, wanted to humiliate me through his wile to triumph at the cost of my authority. More importantly, my sweet Master, in his mercy, put him under my feet to trample him. And while my Master placed in me fear so that I may no longer be subjected to the Devil's counsel again, as a just Judge, he shut his perfidious mouth, filling it with dust, broke his legs (to make him) unable to walk, and separated him from all the wild animals like him. My son, these are all the things that happened to me, and I was brought down from my greatness. The cause of all evils, your mother Eve, became for me a stumbling block. But you, my son, beware her counsel and do not listen to her like me. Rather, love and honour the Lord of life, my sweet Master, and he will give you life and have mercy on you, for there will be in my tribe [64] and among my children glorious and honourable people, speakers of the mysteries of the Majesty. They will find [F19r] much mercy, and will pray and obey [... the Father] of the Majesty. And concerning later times of the generation, there will be people who will revolt, not alarmed by my foolishness and the judgment that befell me. Rather, they will dare to utter blasphemy even against the most high Majesty. They will say many things, fashion idols and statues, worship even the sun and the moon, and utter blasphemous words. All of these things will happen to them by the treachery of the perfidious one - my deceiver. Through the love of his lies and his deceit full of bitterness, he will approach each generation that will come after me, showing them and attracting them to the vain glory of much riches, pride, attire, possessions, fornication, arrogance, wickedness, greed, and possessions of all sorts. He will appear to them like a loving one and a friend, to attract them, and through music, drunkenness, filthy and abominable feasts, which are illusions to his vain spectators, and lascivious things of all kinds, he will seize them by love of his perfidy which is not proper.

³³⁰ Cf. Dan 4:32.

ولا المخسم حصرصمات مر لا المد ١٥٥٨، ومر ١٥٥٨ حليل المنا المد ١٥٥٨، وجعود لهد وملا مولاه ملحل وصوص ولاها منزا منزمل وحدولا سند وحيه فزوسها. مكن مع محمرم وسعوه ومصعوله وودوك مربعاً. وهند ووا كب وصورسم مكب الب احل حصيصل وصر مخول حصورسها ملا فهمورية. لا الب صوار والنبر اصما ويد: الل أب أحل مصبطاً. وسكيهم وسعده و معنوهاه. هو يهم أب صعداء ولم وبيب أب بوطا معصف موه حب وأب ولا أها مؤملا خدم موه حد وموم كمودكاه وبالعنز كره معلل عجريا. الل فويس حتسميا. ولا المر معدهات ويس. وأوا شرع حزب عدة حزالما واسلم عدكها المانة: اب ومع مرسم. وبعد صعل حرافه رجا وبعدوب وبوط مع المنك عدكهان الكناالك وه وتسعدون ودوك وهبعل همده اسم قريب واوه عدده . در هم حد وسكما. ولا مادت اعمم حدد درو ونيا وحلمان. هدناه حصوره عمن المحمد عدنال مادز قرحه ولا سمح محتم. در فيعه مع مكن سما وحند اصاه. مدكم مكم عند وربعتد مالخدم مع وحداد. مجما وصحةم حتماً. اصر مدا ١٥٥٠ كم ماهمكما. الله الله حزب ارودو مع صدكورة ولا المكرمة الأوام الله وسم ومن المعبار وحدا معال وحديد وسيدار وسيد والكروسط محميد. والمودور من مع معزها [64] ومحبِّب القل محتسل وطمعتا وطعفات آورا ووصال معصم [F19r] وسعا ³³¹ هيتال مرجم محم معمدم، ه[... للحل] ووصال. مد رقع المناط وه وول محمد مداور المحمد مداور الما مرسم مع معدها ومح وسل ومن حدد الل بعديم وبعده روف موها مرحل خدما محماد وبالعدور عبيالا وبندور الا بنا ويحتفل والا حمدما وحصورا بعضور وبعلام ويدول مركم مكت وروقع مرور مع تقلوره ورهيا بعول وجرسما ورهم وبعده وجلا حنهاً. بفنت كما سر سر مع ووا وبده مع حكون وسوادد منها اله معمدسا هنما وحماؤا صحال ووزهما ووحدها ووميتا وورسما ووعدونها ووحماا وومكودها وومنتنا وينعف ينعف وأمير محمط ووسعا ماسرا محوي وبهزي أنور. مصرفنا مامد مصممال محتبط آزا مهتعل والمسمى مرسل وسقوم ستعل مصحفا لماه وربت ربت عميسا سه اله صوط وربعه المل ولا علما.

³³¹ C¹ 64:2: وسعل

³³² Ms worm-eaten.

³³³ Sic ms but • o in C1 64:12 and n.4.

This happened to me through Eve, by the (Devil's) perfidious claim that he was chaste and that he would be my helper: 'Behold, I am counseling you what fits you and suits you: When you eat from the tree about which you are ordered: 'Do not eat from it! You will be like your God - [my sweet Master].' I, the miserable one, did not realize my honour, that this (Devil's) perfidious counsel could not be for me, that clay cannot be like the one who fashions it, or a slave like his master. But I knew the great mercy of the majesty of my sweet Master [65] that was revealed to me at the end of days. At the end he saved me from corruption and he will make me rise from the dust, as he raised me when I did not exist. And my enemy rejoiced and cheered because I fell through his treachery, (but) my sweet saviour and my merciful Lord is bound to support me and pity me through his mercy. As I descend into the darkness, he will comfort me with his light and will enlighten my eyes as he did to me in the past when he blew into my face the breath and I became alive. But you, my son, and your progeny after you, satisfy my creator and my life-giver, so that you may find mercy before him, for he will not punish you because of my own sins on account of his sweetness. Now if he had punished me according to my offence, I would not have begotten offspring nor would (God) have accepted sacrifice from your brother Abel or avenged his blood (shed) by his brother who killed him. Through his great mercy he does not neglect he who loves him and walks in righteousness before him. And those who commit wrong before him, he gives them the opportunity for repentance and pities them if they repent and beg him, because his mercy for the world is immense."

Seth heard all that Adam his father ordered him – many more commands than these. He diligently wrote them down, and we found them in the book that was deposited in the Cave of Treasures of the hidden mysteries. Seth too ordered to add to the commands; he purified his heart so that he may not be subjected to the treacherous Evil, and glorified and called on the name of the Father of the most high Majesty. Seth also gave orders to his sons concerning these mysteries. We read them every month (when) we climbed the mountain and entered with love the Cave of Treasures of the hidden mysteries. Moreover, we were instructed and we instructed our sons and tribes. When the time came to fulfill what was written in the book concerning the appearance of the light of the hidden star, we too were worthy that in our own days [66] it came and we received it with joy, as we had been commanded by our fathers, and as we had been reading in the book; one by one, we saw such admirable and distinct visions [that we had never seen in the past, except that their mys]teries are in the books that we had been reading.

المصل واق ربيد حبر سهأ. حصاله وراها المر بعدها معمل لهديد بدها. ورها حمر مدرم ورؤم كم صامل فعكم اللكر. وحل واجكم مع المظل والمافعيل ولل احدى معنو. ووجل كم أب كامر [وحوك حصيما]. ولا المختلم الله ومل حلموند. ولا معمد ويوول كم محكما وركه. ولا صعصت ونهوا لهيد المو يحدكو. ولا حجرا المو صنه الا نبريد حتاسعه وم صحتال ووصال ووصل [65] حصيعل ومكركم مك صنال ويقعكل وكسنا فنم ك مع سطا. ومعصم ك مع وسيسا. أمو وأصمه مع لا أمام 100شا، وبيو كب وورة 256 كب حدرجم ونقكم حبوكه. حكم وه فرومه جعمعا وزدوك سياً. ويعمون وسيت حتسمه وه و د معدول وه حدوده هسك كب وهدوز ك حتب اب وحجر ك ص مرم. وسوس طافة زوسا وشعد الله الله حزب جدة حده كيدوك وكعسس الد وقب مع حكوب ولمعصد وسعل مومده للرحة معمل كو حشهم وسكور معهلا حصمعهاه. هم سن اب صعداء من موا حبد لا موا فازا معمر موميد اله لا مه وصل محمد ١٥٥ مع ١٥٥ مع المدر اهل احداد مخم ١٠٥ وومه مع المرد المدود ومهلاه. لا ربعة معاصل حتسمه وسيتال مع فع وؤشم له: ومعادل مرمعه وم حطولاً. أف للمحم ومعدم عرصه فعد مده المؤل محمداً. وسل مده ال ٨٥٥م المدر مدرد مدلي ووسعه من فيهام على ملعده المعجد عدم حدم وهجره أوم احده. فقميل وهي تاع مع دهي وحدد أن صعبهمال واعصب انه حصفة ا وصبعب ١٥٥٥ حصدنا عبرًا واترا عستال الا بده فعم دادهد عصده. ووصد حده علم. ولا تعلاهم حيدولا حيما. وهمدسه ووا وفؤا حميدا واحا وودورا محما. وقوم الا علم حقودت ماده مركم اوراد وغني دوم والمنا وهمي دوم مده مهوراد منكم موم حسوط كعديا حرا واورا مستال ونهم موم اله سع وفدهم موم كمنت محمر من مورا وم رصل معمد معر ومرم ومحمد مقلماً. معلا مرسل ومدوره وصوحا معما. أق سع عوب حه وحتوهم [66] بالما: وبمحمود حسوما أب والمحمر مع احقى. والم وفزع ١٥٥ اله سع حقدها. وسع سع مدع مري مرقبل المعتما وهومعا [ولا عرب ٢٥٥٥ كم مع معماص الل والمارهم، حقدها محم وغنى ١٥٥٨ المدهم، ٢٥٥٠.

³³⁴ Sic. The singular is needed.

And rwe came,³³⁵ each one out of his room, following our first custom so as to go up the Mountain of Victories [....] [F19v] in the purifying source to wash up, as we used to do, we saw [...] something like an indescribable column of light that came down and settled above the water. We grew fearful and were shaking when we saw it (=the column) and the star of light whose brightness we are unable to describe: its light was many times more luminous than the sun and the sun could not stand before the brightness of its rays. Just as the moon is seen in the month of Nison(April) during the day being absorbed by the light of the sun when it shines, so did the sun appear to us when the star shone on us. The light of the star appeared to us and to the sons of our mysteries more intense than the sun. It did not appear to any other person, because (all) were distant from its mysteries and its advent. We rejoiced, glorified, and blessed beyond limit the Father of the most high Majesty who appeared in our days and whom we were worthy to see. After we washed up in the purifying source with joy, and climbed the Mountain of Victories as we were accustomed to do, as we went up, we found that column of light before the cave. A great fear befell us, and kneeling down on our knees and stretching out our hands according to our former customs, 336 in silence we glorified the vision of his miracles. We also saw heaven opening like a huge gate and glorious men holding the star of light in their hands, and it came down and stood on the column of light, [67] filling the entire mountain with its light that the human mouth cannot describe. Something like a small human hand brought the column and the star near our eyes; we could not behold it, [but we took courage] and saw the star that went into the Cave of Treasures of the hidden mysteries. It lit that cave immoderately and we heard a gentle and sweet voice, calling and saying to us: "Go into the cave without hesitation and in love, and see a great and admirable vision!" We grew valiant and strong by the words of the voice but we went in fearful. We bowed down to our knees at the gate of the cave because of the intense light, and as we stood up at his order, we raised our eyes and saw that light which cannot be described by the human mouth. When it assembled itself, it appeared to us in the likeness of human body members, small and humble, and said to us: "Peace be with you, sons of my hidden mysteries!" He also stunned us in the vision, saying: "Do not doubt the vision that you see, for the indescribable light appearing to you is the voice of the hidden Father of the most high Majesty. He appears to you with his light concentrated in his countenance. He appears to you in the likeness of a small, humble, and tiny person, because the inhabitants of the world cannot see the glory of the Onlybegotten Son of the majestic Father, unless he is seen by them in the likeness of their own world.

³³⁵ Lit. "they came."

³³⁶ The Syriac noun is in the plural although without *syōmē*, but the singular is expected.

ه الم العد مع اهده. الم حمر موهما: ونعم حه حله و بهتا [F19v] [...] حميل والوصال ويصيل أمر ومعرب ٥٥٠م. ميرس [... ...] حرمه المحهوا ونه وأ ولا معامعك. ونسط محد صده ومعتار 337 عبال هوسع مرح عبر سرسمه. محمح ونمه والم حكه وب ولا صوفيع وباحد ملا يهوزه. وعلم وما يهوزه مع ومعمل حقاها صحيقال ولا المحس عصعل وبعوم عرم به والم والمتعدد، وأمر وحكما هدوا حدوم بيعي حلمعمل عرب وسا عصما محمد محمد مصاوره: المحمد وسكر. مكت اتزاج المسود ماهوره وموصط وصمار المام ومعمل الله المسود. صلا ووسيصم ١٥٥٥ مع أوره من مع معمله. وسبع وعصب وأووع ولا معملاً. للط ووصاً حكمًا: وحنقص المس مغم وسرعهم. مصر حصر حسل واوصما حسوماً. ه صحم حده حله والمبتل المر حل وحدم ١٥٥٠ : مصحم ماعصسه حصووا اذه وله والم عبصه وصدياً. وسكما ماه وحما عنا مكع. وجنع ملا حدوم وهعل انتي المر مبع 338 مرصا. محماما صعدس مومع كبروا ولموصياه. مبرع لمود والمولاس عصباً. المو الزيار ورحة والمعدوسال ور عصلي كله كدود وله والا المؤلدة والمراد المرادي وساله وصعه ملا معمورا وبموزا. [67] وصلا لمهزا حكم مع بموزه ولا معمملا حقوما والمعمار. همزد کے امیر امیا وابعا رحوزا بعدہ وحجووا ووجوحظ کتنب، ولا احصیب وسوؤ درہ. وسمح. وسوسوم حدود وجلا حدة حصدنا عبرًا وأورا فصيًّا: وبدونا ولا صعوساً هو صدياً. والمكمص لح علا صحيحا وحصيصاً وعنا واصد لح: مدك كدور كه ولا فكها صوط. وسره سره وط ماهسها. والمحص والمسلح معكله وطلا ومع عر وسمير. ودوع حدودم حمودة وصديال صهر صهماماه ومحه وبدهوال وحم مص حعكه ازمع ختب مسيسه كمهوزا هاه ولا محمعك حقوما وحشما. وحر صم علمه. والمسود ع حدة وحزيما وحدوا وصحيحا واصع عن عمر حدور حتد أورد حصنا. مادت احده کے حسوال واحد کے۔ لا المعرب حسوا وسرماه، والمس حدم بدورا مد ولا محكم حكر. وملا وأحل مصل وزحمال حككا. والمس حجم لمود وصع بموزه حرية وهوب. هالمرس حدور حرصها وانعل رحوزا معصمك محربنال معلا سن ولا معمص معموده ومحمدا وسره عديسه وجزا سبيا واحل وودمال: الله أن المسور حده جرمعما ومحمده و

337 C¹ 66:9: J; •

مبعدا does not have عبم although مبعدا does not have عبم.

Other signs will also be seen in him that are hidden but that will dishonour the most high Majesty, on account of the salvation of people's life, for my Father loved them so that they may not perish in the error in which they walk. And I too fulfill the love of the Father to the point of death by the cross. For their life, I will descend to bring them up in love and flawless harmony, if they believe in me without doubt. They will then thank and glorify through me the Father of the glorious majesty who sent me [68] for their salvation. I love them so that they may not perish in the error in which they walk. When I will be seen by them at the end of all times, they will not have an excuse for their offences, unless they repent and believe in me. And you too fulfill all that your fathers commanded you and all that you learned from the mysteries of the book that you read, so that it will be said to you: Behold the hidden mysteries of the light of the star that you were waiting to see! Lo! He revealed his own person to you, so that you will be able to listen and believe without doubt, for you see in me signs of different kinds. Take then with you the treasure which is placed in this cave [F20r] for your fathers and remain in joy." And they bowed down to [... ...] "who was born³³⁹ like a man. Worship me also there in honour xxx and even now I am talking to you but I am also [there], for I received [my tidings] from the angels. And there I am also with the majesty of my Father. I am in every place, for I am the rays of the light whose brightness appeared in this world; (it emanated) from the majesty of my Father who sent me to fulfill all that was said about me in the whole world and in every other place, through undescribable [mysteries], in order to fulfill the command of my glorious Father. He proclaimed me in the prophets for the rebellious house,340 just as was revealed to you concerning me in as much as your faith merits. I am going up with you, becoming for you a guide in the whole road that you will take. You will see glorious signs and great exploits in the whole earth and all the mysteries will be completed in Jerusalem [69] as you will see. All that was said to you will be confirmed, and you will see signs of gentleness as well as a humble and feeble form, in such a way that people will be insolent toward me and will want to execute what they would plot against me in deceit. But they will not find rest until all that they do resulting in their killing and decimation takes place. Then the will of the Father will be fulfilled for the salvation of the life of the whole world."

 $^{^{339}}$ The gap renders the plural verb unintelligible; it ought to be singular in reference to the Son made man.

³⁴⁰ Ezek 3:9.

ماهد الماقدا استسما ممتر وممتر حدد وصفت معطر حنصا مصماد معهد هدومنا وستسهم وصنعال صهر واست انور احب ولا بلحوم حلهمس وزوع هده حذ وابا لموج المكم سوده واحل محرها حصماا ورصفا: معلا ستسهم اسما واهم الم مد صمحا وحمضها ولا فكهال أي تصعبور حد ولا فكهال وتوور وتعصور طبير للط ووصا ه معصما بعضي [68] حدوزميده، داسم اين بلا يلمون مهمي وزوع ٥٥٥ حة. ومحمل وأما المنزم حور حموكم رقبا عكون. كم كون معهم حزمها ملا صدكتارهم الل المحم معمصه حد والا الكور مرم والمعصران مع احمتهم الا عصرم وسعمه مع اورا وحمظ وعنه مهمه حدم حجره عصرم والماهده حدم وها ازرا حصتا وبمهوره وحوصل: ومعصع موسكه ركه ولمرور ما وه منوه حرم حمور ووطقا العيمة الله وهد عادد معدون صبحا وصبحا وصدناً. [F20r] موا للدة مدي معمد حسبه ال وسيال [...] المكره الم دنعاد... معهده ك ماهد مع حلمنا الكند الا الماري الا الماري حب طاقل العد العر العد حما وحماه واحد المدد وحمروب الل المب معلا ورحمه الل وبماه وأ. ووبس بماه وه حميط مال مع وحمله واحند وعميس واعظم صحوم والمعملا محمد حديده محمداً. وحدم الماز [حازار] ولا معممهم. ووالفعلا هومونه واحد معمصرا واحزر محد صحتا حصما معمزمزيل الحل واقد حدم المر وزوم حمصهادم المرحد حدم حك. والل مصحور صحف الل وذوا الل حدور دويل حدكة اوزسل واركب المور حذ. حر نبرم الماه الماقدال محتسم إلى مرستا ومؤجل حديث اؤجل مموحدهم وحمه اورا حامؤمهم [69] مادت ماسره، وبعن حدور ولا معن المحكل معدون، والسرم مادت الماقلا ومحمده الله المصمعل حربزل وسكفل الحمل واقد حشما بعنسه عكم ويجور ويعجرون مرم والمسعد محد دروا. ولا تعديه ويهوا يسهه الله ولا وغدر حملههم مراها. الا ولا وغدر حملههم مكهمنهم بهما. ورحسه واحل معمطلا صهر هوزميل وسقوب وعده محملا.

³⁴¹ C¹ 68:11 حَلَاقًا, no preposition in ms.

seems to be right word in ms but see C¹ 68:14 and n.4.

^{....]} كامح [....] 343 C¹ 68:15

³⁴⁴ Ms (00m.

After he told us all these and many other things that we are not able to relate, given the immensity of their magnitude, we all went out of the cave exulting and rejoicing, for we were made worthy that all these mysteries of the indescribable Majesty were revealed and related to us. We took all that treasure that was deposited in the cave while the letters that were placed in it were sealed. We descended the mountain glorifying the mysteries of the revelation of the star's light that appeared to us. Each one of us related the revelations and the visions that appeared to him in the Cave of Treasures of the Hidden Mysteries. Our visions were unlike each other's and all the wonders that were seen took various shapes. One of us would say: I saw a light in which there were admirable forms. Another would say: I saw a baby that had indescribable likenesses. Another would say: I saw a boy who has no equal in this world. Another would say: I saw that he was humble, despised in appearance, and poor. Another would say: I saw a cross on which a man of light was hanging, carrying the sins of the whole world. Another would say: I saw that he went down to Sheol with might, and all the dead rose up and worshipped him. Another would say: I saw that he went up [70] in glory, and opened the graves and raised the dead who were shouting, saying: Holy is our King! Holy is his descent to us! He humbled himself on account of ours sins to redeem us! Another would say: I saw that he ascended to the upper heights, while the angels were opening for him the gates of heaven; he was carried on clouds of Seraphim [and angels], on the palms of their hands! As for the Spirit Paraclete, she was holding the tiara and the crown while victory glowed before him! All the powers were praising [and singing] in honour of his humbleness, which overcame the entire struggle of error and death!

While we were descending from the Mountain³⁴⁵ of Victories, we glorified and related to each other all these things, similar ones, and additional ones – everything that we saw and heard there. We were in great happiness [F20v] and immense joy, for we were made worthy to see all this gift of life. All the kings, righteous ones, prophets, and powerful ones prayed and hoped, seeking to see all this vision, but they could not see it because it was not the time of the advent of the star of light. It gives perfect life to those who believe in it. As we were glorifying these things, all of a sudden a voice reached our ears from the most-high Majesty with much light and indescribable sweetness, saying to us: "All that you saw, heard, talked about, and was said to you, and, behold, you are (now) marvelling, is just one drop of life out of the abode of the Majesty.

³⁴⁵ The plural in ms is not needed.

ەجە مەكلى مىجە بەكبى خىر ھىچىتالما ولا مەھىم سى وبامدة انتى: مەلىك مەلغا ووصلام صحیلاه تجمع کے حکے معے معدیلاً: حبر وذریع منبع وحمیع واصلے حکوم اورا ووصاً وقد ولا محمدكا مرحم محم ومحمد معرد وممح را وه وحد وهم موا مصحناً م سكتم وقد المحتما وهم ووا مود. وسكر مع لهوا مر معمس الزرا وركتيا ويدهوزه وحديدا والمسرب كي مسركس معلى ممال مدا ركتيا مدا مرة المراس من حصدنا عدد واقرا عصدًا. ولا وضع ١٥٥٥ مرة مع حمر ٥٥٠ اومتا ه أمر وأحز وينزه حدوا واهد حده وحقاً ولا محمدك ماه وأحز وينزه محمد وحمل كه وصما حمكها هال مال وأصر وأصر وأصر وشرك وصمير مصطر حسره ممس ه الم وأصن وشرك إجمع محزيعا ويدهوا والله حكهمن في عصب سلمة وحكم محكلة هاسم واحد. وشرسم وسلم معمد حمامه والمعمد وصيره مده ومحمر معتمال هاسم واحد: وشرع وهجه [70] حموصل وقعس محتل وامنع متعل مر معني واخذب مربع ه و محص. وعبعا و معمله وحمل مولا موت المحجر وهوع. وامل واهز. وشرح مر بفحم حزوما حكا. ومعلاقا مر فكسع مرموون لمؤجل وعصال وحتيا وهوفا وطالقا 347 و عملي حده علا وهنا وانتِده وروسا وزممها و عملا الما وحملا وصحوما وحما موصوف وصدها وصدها ومعرصها عدمه ستحا للموز وصحمان ووب وحده حدده المحل ولهديب ووصورال وجر محي حدم واحدامه ووصيتل مدم. صعصب موب معمل موب مر حبر در نسمت مع کون 348 برستا. ملا دهوم وبرن معمع علمي. محسبه ال [F20v] فحما محبيل وحل المم 100 . وعوس وسرا محورا حكة معهدها وستا. وحكوم محقل وروبقا وبحتا وستكلابا رجمه وهجره وهجمه وسرور وبا سرها قلا سره. صحير ولا ١٥٥ رحيا وصفحه وصفحا ونوهواً. نحم ستا صقحها كعن معداده وعبر محمد معديد من عمل ملا ماه دوه والعيمال عمر حصمعها ولا محمد كلا أبا الوبن. مع وهما محمل ووحماً في أمن ح. ومحموم وبومه معدده ومعدده مالماهم الماهم المحمد المحمد المحمد معدده والمحمد المحمد معدده والماهم المحمد ال حىڭ ۇجەلا.

وقد الا ³⁴⁶ Ms

it is expected. مطلقا This word is garbled in ms, but with

³⁴⁸ Sic ms, corrected to $\frac{1}{2}$ in C¹ 70:13.

³⁴⁹ Two upper lines are almost erased.

³⁵⁰ C¹ 70:23: Correction to معموم.

There is no one able to comprehend all the mysteries of the Singleness,³⁵¹ except for the one who emanates from the hidden thought of the Father. And no one knows the Father except for the voice that generates the living Verb - he reveals the profoundly concealed thought of the Father, in whom he is [71] for ever. With this voice and the Verb, the upper and lower worlds of the majestic Father, the Angels, the Powers, the Archangels, the Authorities, and the world in which you live - the height, the depth, the length, and the width - were instituted and laid. There is no other thing that is beyond the will of the majestic Father or that exists without the voice of life – my beloved Son, the apostle of perfect mercy. He reveals the hidden (mind) of the Father to his beloved ones, according to their merit and ability to receive from the Son's gifts. He discloses the new and perfect worlds to those who submit to him and believe in him. He is the interpreter of the hidden wisdom and treasures, he who is the picture and the likeness of the majestic Father who at all times heeds him. He is the only-begotten Son who fulfills the entire will of his Father. He is the one who is not pitied and honoured as he deserves, because that (material) world loves darkness and its pleasures more than him. He lowered himself and became a man for the salvation of people so that they may not perish; he willingly put on a body of a despicable shape so that he might kill death with it; he took the authority of death so that he might give eternal life to those who love him and believe in him. In his name signs and miracles occur at the hands of those who believe in him. He is the perfect Son who fulfils the will of his sender. He is the way and the gate of light for those who enter through it. He is in every thing, and more renowned and famous than all. He is the bread of life who descends from me to the faithful, for he is the planter of the living word. He is the truthful shepherd who gives himself as salvation for the sake of his flock. He is a High Priest who forgives with his blood the worlds. He is the drink from the living vine. The one whom you saw appearing to you in many forms, [72] neither he nor his glorious person will desert my beloved ones. No one stands against him nor can he say concerning his majesty: 'How is he?' except me. And he and I are one, for we are in an indescribable glory."

While all these and many other similar things concerning the vision that appeared to us were told to us, we were able to see the star in all (its) finest forms. But we spoke about him like foolish people for we were unable to express what we saw. And we prepared all our retinue, provisions, [F21r] and the pure and holy offerings which we brought out of the Cave of the Hidden Treasures where [they were placed] by our forefathers in the past. We left with great joy and with our hearts exulting for the journey to the place to which we were ordered to worship the vision of the star of infinite light.

³⁵¹ المبيعة: The term refers to the state of Jesus, the Only-begotten Son of God; see احتار أنادة in C¹ 71:14.

حمد رحمة العد وصعصد وبه اورا علاهم وسيبعدال الل أي فع وتعمص مع مسعدما وصعبوله واحل ولا أنع نبه للجل الا أن علا صوح محكا وستل كم عصبونا فصبونا وصنعتكه واحل وده وه الكهوف [71] عبط كنكور وده حملا وحصكا معه ه العكروه محقل محتل ماسكتا واحل ووصال: مطاقل مستها موسل معكتها. الا محمد الما وضعمه ودود ووصد وموسما واوزما وهوالل وحمد معرم اللني والمواود كمن مع رجيه واحل ووصمال: أه وهوا حكم مع ملا وستا. هد سي حن سحيط عكمية وسط مقلطيا: وه خلا معتما واحل حستحددن. أب وزوم ١٥٥٨ وهممسي 352 سيلا كعمدك مع معهدكه وحزا. هده وحرم علا محقل سبِّا معقلهدا. لامكم ومعاهمهم ومدور مدن مد مدر محرف وسحما وواورا حصتان من والمروب وولاه ومومن واحل ووصالًا. وحصرت صعمص عده هده حوا مسبول كفز عكم رحده واحدوده وده ولا معاوسم محميصة أمير معلم وغوار معهل ورةه محمل وسع مسعوما محتر مسلمه مامنة ص وحه. وه والمحصر وهوا دنعل حقوقمهم وصنيعاً. صهر ولا بادره. حجم مرجسه في المنا معافلاً. وحد بعلامه محملاً. وبعد معليه ومعالًا. وبعد حەد، ستا وحدور للحج ووسعى حە معدمعى دە. مد وحمعه مورى تتعا دالاتا طبرا ومدهميقه منه حزا يصمن خدم رجيل ومكسه منه ادوسا ماويل ويدووا للمحم ونكع حده ون وحد المروب مد ولا معممه ومعملا وسنا. وصع ربيد نسط خصومصتل. ووومه وزوعل وصحال وستل ووومه وعمل وهزول ونوه بعمو قوزميا سك عيوه 100 فويا وجل وميسا 253 ومنتقا جومه محقاه 100 معمليا و الماستا. وم وسركان وجمعة المعينالله الماسود والمسود ومناسب المعنى الماسود [72] وسعب لا صحيفوا: أهلا مع منه معل وعددسه. وأنع علمه لا علم. أهلا على فحمله وبالمعن والحيل الموهود. الل ايل وايل ووو. بير سع والمع حمقه ولل محمد لله وحر وحم صحمع ووصيتار صدوع المعدلة معم محدود ملا يالمرد كي وه موصل حد وحق صماق أمر والمصل وسرمه والم مامر حشما سحمًا احزر محهوب عبد لا صمصميع وبامع وبرم. والمهم حمدة معنه وحرة و [F21r] وحمور ومثل ومثل همينقل: ذهر واقع مع معنظ علم واقرا عصمًا [وهمم الده من مع مرم الده. منعم حسبه ما وحمال عبر زورج حقل حملا للاذا والمعمر عي وبعصه و حده حسوا وحوحظ ويوهؤا ولا معهمها.

³⁵² C1 71:9 معمدمي.

³⁵³ Deletion with lines.

³⁵⁴ C¹ 71:30 ILI...

³⁵⁵ Ms وسره (sic).

Then our guide, good messenger, perfect light, and glorious administrator – the star - appeared to us, coming before us, upholding our entire camp from all sides, and illuminating us with his hidden light. We needed not the light of the sun or the light of the moon whose brightness was deemed little by him. We walked day and night by his light, rejoicing and exulting without difficulty or fatigue. He prepared for us a blessed room in which we settled, rested and happy. Our provisions increased before our eyes and there was no want; on the contrary, they grew more and more day after day. He rested upon us with his light, relieving us from all our weariness, as if we had not trodden roads, for he leveled before us mountains, heights, and difficult lands. Even the rivers before us we crossed without fear thanks to his feet [73] because the light of our good guide that was with us accompanied our camp. And whenever we passed through places of beasts and vicious snakes, we trampled them with our own feet. He led us and guided us in every kind of place and our visions were seen by each one of us through his glory, he who filled our hearts with great joy. All the places in which we moved deemed small and little in our eyes, because our sign was more honourable and our light more dazzling than what any human mouth can describe. He led us with his pure might.

When we arrived at the region of Jerusalem in the month of flowers,³⁵⁶ our good messenger led us to go inside Jerusalem. Its noble men and chiefs grew perturbed and agitated and they asked us: "For what reason did you come here? Was it perhaps on account of the mysteries of your Magianism?" This is because they saw us looking at the sky, worshipping our sign and praying to our leader, for they were not aware of our mysteries and took us for Magians. We said to them: "We saw the sign of the most- high Majesty in our land, and we were instructed by our forefathers that the king, the Messiah, the life-giver, and the saviour who would give himself to death on behalf of the whole world, was born here. And we came because we saw all his signs and the images of his hidden divinity in the likeness of someone who put on a body. We came gladdened by our pure offerings, which our forefathers had placed in the Cave of Treasures of the hidden mysteries in the Mountain of Victories. He ordered us in a great vision to come to this place to worship him in fear, for he has worshippers in every place. He is for them a lifegiver, saviour, and sin-forgiver, and through him the Lord of all reconciles himself with his creation [74] and has mercy on his people." Herod, the local governor, sent to call upon the honourable [elders] of the city, asking them: "Where is it written that the king, the Messiah, the saviour, and the life-giver of the world would be born?"

³⁵⁶ Month of April.

هالمس عديد به مورج ماس المحل منه وربيدا: معبدنا محسل به معمدا. مع الما عبصم. ومعصم حدكة صعنكم مع حكوه رحتي ومدوة كي حدوروه حصياً. ولا صبحب دوم ملا يدوزه ومعمل اهلا ملا وصوراً. معلال ورمز كو يدوزون حديثون. محكما محامعها حدودوه مدمكم ومن وربع ومرح منبع. ولا عما مولا للماا. ووه صهد عبصم ادمل حندل وسنا دد. در هسم ددم دزدري. الا رةوم هيمام دده حسب، ولا سعن ١٥٥٠ الا ١٤٠١ه عمل مع سدره صهر ١٥٥٠ مر ١٥٥ هزا ١٥٥ مكم حدهوزه. مصلس موا ع مع محذه للمار. الم ولا موا حلوزسا ووع موم. مهوزا ووصا والمازه المعقل موسع معما المال الا الموامل وموسع مع والمازه المالية ا حده ولا وسكما صهر بدوره وروب لهدا ورص وه صحا وه المعندل. واصمه واهد حديم هوم طلةوما وسقا ووسقوما حتمار دركم وسعم هوم كهور وحدا أقلع وه صرحزب محموب حدى وحق مسرقيع صلميرا موا كيم سر حد حدوسور مطل موا حدقل سبها فحلا مهده حده حدهم الله وفوع مهم حسب رحون مده همكلي. صلى وسع وصل هدهق المتعل وود وه مع والا عصمل دينها وبمعلمهمون. بوه معرد: موها کے حسم وصلی دور معلی لاوزمم المزا حسنه وه قدرا. ودن المح الربى لحط كهاة وادوعه والمعمل مع دريده ووقديدة دوسعيدة معلام ومعلام البرا مجلا المابلان, حمل اه معلا الزار ومي معادي « معلا وشرع ١٥٥٥ كه وسمن ١٥٥٠ حمصياً. ويفي بي ١٥٥٠ كيم. وحركم ١٥٥٠ كعردي. مدلال ولا نرعم ١٥٥٥ كاور. وسعدون المر صهقعا. وإحدى حدور. وسعا وودورا محمدا سرم طافي. المر والمعمر مع احتى. وصحدا مصمسا مصسيا محبصا ومنه ومنه يعم حصما ملا اهت عده محما. المحب لمن مالم صهر وسرح عدم الماقله مروقاً والاهماه عصماً. حرصما والعا وكحمع فيزا. وإلم عر نبرح حموق وعمر وعمل وهوه للدة حمد على إلوارا معملا حلمة برستا. وفعر كي حسروا وحل وبلاا للاوا وبا وبعصور كو حرسكا. معلا وحد ملا حديكه و. [74] ومسعل علا معده وعبر من المعقل [مسترا] ومرسكل ووووست صرحزيا والمؤاد معلا انور وانجا علمت وصلاح ضحدا صعبيا دفوهما وصيبيا ومحقل

³⁵⁷ Phonetic spelling for 357.

All of them said to him with one mouth: "In Bethlehem the village, as it was said by the most-high Majesty to our father David, the first prophet who lived in early times." When we heard from them what they said, we rejoiced exceedingly, and as we rejoiced, we saw our guide and leader, and he increased our joy even much more. While we were talking about all the mysteries, visions, and glorious things, we went to Bethlehem with joy, according to what the blind scribes read. For these and also the blind and sightless governor Herod did not believe in what they read from their scriptures and in the lovely light who was born in their land - he was the light before the worlds existed, but they lived in darkness in the world since their time. Now [Hero] d told us [F21v] in deceit: "When you see the Life-Giver, come and tell me, so that I may go and pay him homage too." Because he was not worthy to pay homage to the light who was born - he was living in error - our leader, the light, told us not to go to him. He did not deserve to see the great light of the world, because he was entirely deaf and blind so as to worship him. And with joy we went into Bethlehem that was worthy to be called the village of the holy child, the great light that appeared in it, in order to smash and obliterate all error and to abolish death. We all went into the enclosure in which our guide was born, and realized that the cave had the likeness and the look of the Cave of Treasures of the hidden mysteries that was in our land. [75] We learned from it that the hidden mysteries which proclaimed him and which were placed³⁵⁸ in it by our first fathers were all fulfilled today and in our coming here. We saw the column of light that came down, as we saw it in the past, and it stood before the cave. And the star of light came down and stood above the column, while the angels were on its right and left sides. When we saw it, we rejoiced while we were fearful. Then the column, the star, and the angels went before us to the cave in which the mystery and light of life was born. A compassionate voice begged us: "Go inside!" And we went after it and took off our crowns and placed them below his feet, for the kingdom is his for ever. And we kneeled down and before him we bowed down to the ground, since to him every knee shall bend559 and worship in heaven and on earth. We opened our hidden treasures as they were sealed, and we took them and came to the treasure of life who was sealed by the most-high Majesty. We took out our treasures before the treasure of life so that we might receive them from him in the Kingdom many times as much, before his throne of life.

³⁵⁸ The passive participle is feminine plural but $r\bar{o}z\bar{e}$ is masculine.

³⁵⁹ Rom 14:11.

محكمه مع سب هوم العزه كره. وحمد كسم عنها. الب والماهز 360 مع وحمال مكما للحق ومم يحمل موهمل وهوا حرصل موهمله مص عصح معيمه موم وإمده: لامت سبع صهد ، دور زورس مرسود کورم وکمروزی ادد مازام ادهم ملا مرواله دور معدلان مهركتا مركتا محمور ماعمتكار ادرج مسرما لحملا كسع: اب ومزه صعبرا موسرا. ولا صمح حموم ومنه مع ملحتهم. اهلا هؤهوه مورديد موسا مصمدا: مع سوده ويهوزا والملح حلاؤهن. ومع مرم ملقد الماهد يهموال مهدي صعوما معنى حدكما مع مومتهون. الل أجع في [F21v] وفي الماء مدان ومع ومع ومع ومركوسوت ون والمرز والمرج وحدمه ومحمد الما والمحمد الماهد على معرضه وندور الله المرك كماه. صهر ولا [غوا] أفقا المناعدة عمر المناعدة على المناعدة المن موناً. مصعباً مع صهرياه. وارج ومع مون حسوماً حصم حسم: وعما ولماعزا عندا حيجا مرسعا محتوروزا زما ورس من ورسموه ورسم حصرة لهميد وسمها كعمال مك حك كبرنا والمكر حة موم. مبرم هدنا أمر وهما مسرما وهدنا ﴿ وَاوْرَا مستا والم طاق: [75] وهده مهر هوم ازرا مستا وهديري هوه مهون. وهبعم ³⁶⁶ ١٥٥٥ حة مع احقع مبعتل هاجلاهه علاهم معدا معدمه وحدا. مسرساه معمورا ونده وا وسك. أب وينوب ١٥٥٠ كه مع مرس موم مرهدة ومعدداً. وسك حويدا ونده وا هذه ومع حد ومعدوراه وطالقا مع معمده ومع معدد. وحر سرسوس اود سرب عم وسكس. وحلا أولا عموهم خصورا وعوجدا وطلقا خصمها المد والمحرجة أورا ويواوزا وستل ه اهم کے ملا وسعمال و مدک کے مح دعورہ معملے لم تے مصعبی اس اسداد قریده ورد ورده ورد مددها ولادم ودرج وصیرر مرمده دلا أولا. صهر وص حزوير عده معل وصيرا. وحمصا ووحاؤها. وهمي هتهم مستما. وصر سلمت عمل انتي والمع كما صبحا وستا وسلمعا حزدما عكما. واهم مرمده حتى وريرا وستل وبمدل انتى هده معلادها حنقا هيتلا مرم معل وساه

360 Ms: المحنوه (sic).

³⁶¹ C¹ 74:16 (after T 94:14) [مۇدەبىتە].

³⁶² C¹ 74:17 and T: (as in Mt 2:4) but the name is different in ms.

³⁶³ Addition by C¹ 74:21 and T 94:16.

⁽sic). وسرەھە 364 Ms

وط 74:17 ³⁶⁵ ₃₆₅.

⁽sic), وهمع ³⁶⁶ Ms

And the glorious infant and the first light who fulfills the will of the majestic Father opened his mouth and said to us in the love of his abundant and sweet mercy: "Peace be with you, sons of my hidden treasures, the sons of the sunrise of the most-high light, for you are found worthy to see the first eternal light - you and your fathers. And as you are found worthy - lo, you accepted him in perfect love without doubt - you will be worthy to see him in his great light, and in whose presence there will no longer be mysteries, for all of them will have their end in him. And from now on, he alone will rule over all, and everything will be subjected to him. I [76] revealed myself to you in your land, talking to you with mysteries, and I became for you a guide and a leader until you came to me in peace, and I will be with you until the end; I will not separate myself from you and from all those who believe in me in perfect love. You then be for me witnesses in the land of the East with my disciples whom I chose to preach my Gospel. And when the will of my Father will be fulfilled concerning all that he ordered me, I will ascend in glory for I was with him and in him. Even now while I am talking to you I am with him, and I have not been removed from the majestic Father. I shall give you now another sign which you shall admire, for at the time when you see the sun darkening during the day as if during the night, quaking will occur in the earth, and the voice of the dead will be heard from their graves glorifying; at that point, know that all times and hours will reach an end in my coming to you. Lift up your eyes to heaven and see them opened before me in splendour, for I will go up in the glory that befits me and will sit at the right side of the majestic Father who sent me to give life to the world." After the life-giver said these things to us, the whole cave [F22r] was illuminated, and seemed to us like another world that had no [... ...] light like it. [... ...] and they were talking many words of hope [... ...] that cannot be numbered, so be it, amen!

The First-born released the hidden mercy. The holy child fulfills the will of the most-high Majesty. He is the perfect 'yes', and everything exists through him. Indeed, with your light and your word all the worlds, visible and invisible, were completed and perfected. [77] All the angels and powers worship you, and yours is the living abode that you give to your chosen ones. Yours is the first light, because you are the beloved fruit of the Father's thought. You are the image and the will of the Omnipotent. You are the revealer of hidden things, because with the word that is spoken, what is in the thought becomes known. You are all and all is in you, and what is beyond your will does not exist.

معمس وه عصده عدم عدماً محسباً والمواد عرصا خدد رحسا واحل واحدال واحد ح صوحل ووسعورون معتمل وحستمل محم حدور حت أورب مستل حت موسل ويوروزا مصلاً. صهر وعدمه واسم عددوا عبصا وحمد المه الد احدتدي. داب ومعدماه، ها محكمانسور صوط محكل ولا فكهماله مادد المعود والموسود حدودوه وَحل هن وحمل لماد عرصه الورا صهر وحده معصع حده ده ده ده حصوره صحر مع معل ملا ولا: وولا من معمدم. الله وه [76] بهذا المكلم حدم حلاودم. محلورا صعد فهم معدم. والله اود وفه حدم حدا وولم وصبحاباً. حبط والمامي حملها كمان وأما لمود الموا معددي الله حبوما كسنال ولا عند الل صدور. ولا مع وحدور المحر ومدوس مدور مدور مدور مدور المرور المدور المرور امه م الله المارا وهوسل جور المعتبور المعر ورجع ك ولاورور هدواله. وحل وغلطكم رجيبه واحب علا حلا صرم وهموند. هاصف حموصل والكمد ذهم عصده حده. واقد معا ومعدلانا معدور معده ابا. ولا ذورهم رحم ابا مع ودوراه واحله الما حدور ادما الما المناسلا والماصده وده وحملا وسرماه معصما در شعب حامعها المر وحكما. ەنەدا دومل زحل حازمل. وصعماهد علل وصفال مع محتدده ومعصب ومربع ومع وعمد رقبا معتا علام حعمه وحماحه، وانعه ستحه حمياً. وسره حر همسي حموصا مرحند. وهذه الل حكم موسكا ابرا وحد روماً. وخلاد الل مع محسل واحل ووحمال وهده الملكسة حصيماه حمصاه مراها هم محمل المحمد محم مسيال بالمؤلم كنه عدة هدياً [F22r] من ما كن دستيم الله محمد السابل وحمد المارا وحمد المارا وحمد المارات مه وا احماه. وقلا هجتال وهدرا م معكم وا[] ولا صلاقته. أم وأصم. حوصا فيمس وسعل صعمة ال عجا مبعل يضن رجيلا وزحما عصمال وهوره أن صعميل وصل حلبه ووا. واهن حدور وصحكم المرحة والملحم [77] محقل عدور وصمس وولا صمس. وحر صحب طلقا وستهاا عدور. ووحر وه المؤا وستا ولما كرحتور دوركو 100 ماهوزا عبصدا معهل والم 100 هاذا وسيعدا وهسعد واحرا والم هوه عمل ورجيده واسم ولا. أوام هو 369 معرميل وصفياً. معلا وحمد الهوارية وصمصكا صميه في والم مصمعها والم موسعه من وفي وفي حد الموود وهيم حدز مع رجس لا المه

³⁶⁷ C1 76:5 معمعم.

³⁶⁸ Ms علمت (sic).

³⁶⁹ Not in C1 and T.

When we heard all these words of praise that were said, we grew fearful and troubled and we fell on the ground as if dead. But the infant - the child of light stretched out his right hand with might and placed it on us, giving us strength, and said to us: "Children of my mysteries, do not be afraid! All the things that you have seen, heard, and admired from the first day to this day and all those that you hear are not greater than I. To you they are powerful because you put on frail flesh, but to me, they are quite trivial. You are not able to see or hear about even one of the distinctions that I have with the Father who sent me on account of your feebleness. But just as you are worthy to see and hear these things at this time - and lo, you admire them as being great in your eyes - thus you will be made worthy through my eternal love for you, to see and hear these great things that cannot be described now. Nor are even the watchful angels or (the rest of) the angels able to describe them, for they are too great for them too. Therefore, get up and go in peace to your land that received the light, for you were worthy to receive the perfect light rof the Father of the most-high Majesty and to come with your offerings to worship him [78] in joy. Behold, you have fulfilled all that your forefathers commanded you (to do). You were also worthy to learn about and to know the first hidden mysteries that were written for you from early generations. Now that you are witnessing the fulfillment of your mysteries, and have completed all that you were commanded (to do) for my love and my testimony, you are also worthy to be for me witnesses in the East, along with my disciples whom I had chosen before the world existed. As soon as the will of my Father concerning all that he commanded me (to do) is fulfilled, and as soon as I ascend to him in glory, I will send to you and to your land some of my chosen ones who, along with you, will speak about and witness for the truth that will become unanimously your seal. Thus, arise and go in peace, and I will be with you in all the visions and signs. Just as I was with you from the first day, so am I here in (this) appearance and in all forms, and lo, you are amazed by all the visions and forms through which you have seen me! As I am of the will of the majestic Father from eternity, I will never leave you nor do I leave the Father, for I am the glimmer of his light, and I have been sent to you to give you light. Look! You are amazed like feeble people, but how much more (amazed) will you be when I will come to you with the majesty of my Father! Neither you, nor even the angels and the powers who are superior to you, will be able to stand before me!

وحب وحرب عقدما المعدد ومعدم وسح ورم. وبعد اوما المر عدا. وهمل محمده لمحل مجرا وبماهؤا سمحلمام وهمة محم. وسمح وأحد حيد تتروب لا الموسكة. وحمد من محمد وسرحه ومعدد مع معد مرحد مدرحد حمديا. ومعمومة على حدي. أقد أحجم ومعدم حدي. لا دوَّت ووقع عدد. اللا محمد متحمد بن صلا وحصنا سلما لحمي اللهم. لم رب المحق التي صهد سوا رب مع وهودلما والم حد حدا اط وعصب لا صعصب المهر والمره اه اعصده التي صلا سكمهاده. الل المحلل ومهدمه والمرور والمعدم وكم حديد وروا وحداد وروا حدودن المور المر وه والتي حسيده المد المعدوم حسود وحماده وحدد والمره ماعدده وحرم ووقد الله معمن محمده وعلى وعلى والمالي وا معلا واقد محمور ووقع التي لحدة معملا موم الا 370 معلما للاؤدور معمد يه وزار معلا وموبكه وامده به وزا معملا واحلاً وزحما محمل ماله ماهيره له حمدة حسوم [78] حسره الله ماها خصر من مرم والمفصراه مع احقمه، وأق عممه واوره واالحق ازرا فعتا مرهتا ومع ورا مرهتا فلمحم حدى: معل ما سركم عدكمل واورده. محكم والمفجران مغلمهمان معكمان عدد محصه ومامه ماه مدمه والهده كم صهرة حصوسا عم الحمتيد. ورجع كم عيم وبده المحمد ومد وغضم ويسه واحب ملا علا وهوب الفحم عماه حمدهان أهبؤ كدور مع رحت ورجع ك للماؤدوز. وبعده ويصدون معدور حززاً ويدوا شامعت حسرا محمداله موم وصر ولا حملال مر اللا اود المد معدور دولا مرةبع دالمةر: الحمل والمد معدور مع موها مرهما. الحمل من والمد صراا وحد وحق هزماد مدا حدوجني الكام حمل سرقلي ووحق وسزي الكام حبد العرحما الما وزدها ورجسه اسلام مع محور الله معمرها مسعور حمحور اطلامع حما احل معهد وركما الم ونمه وه والمفروز كمامه والموم، وها معرض المه الم اتعا سكفاد سر صعل مر المام حمامه رحماه واحد معهد ولا معمس ١٥٥٨م منصع مرهب اهلا ملاقل مستهار وحملا معمور اس.

 $^{^{370}}$ The two imperative forms are phonetic, although T adds the final $w\bar{a}w$. See the same a few lines after.

³⁷¹ Not in C¹ and T.

³⁷² C¹ 78:5 and n. 1: وعمد و.

When I come down on them, as they witness the miraculous scene, they stand in fear and trembling! I appear to them as it befits them, and I appear to you to the extent that you are able to see. In this world, the majestic Father has no image or resemblance, except I, for I am the revelation that arises from him and am his will, might, and wisdom, for I am [79] in my Father and my Father is in me.373 And as it fits God to be seen and to be known by the world – in as much as the children of the wisdom are able to receive (him) and to hear (him) [F22v] in love - the majestic Father sent me and now I have appeared to you in a human form to fulfill all that was written concerning me. Your descent to Sheol was on account of the offensive sins of Adam your first father. Death overpowered you and error deceitfully ruled over your generations, hoping that through her audacity she would become master over you and you might become her possession for ever. But I made known to you your freedom, your ancestors, and your early lineage, for you come from the lineage of light and it was not in vain that you were created in the world and that the sky, the earth, and all creatures existed because of you. On account of this love, the majestic Father sent me and I put on your likeness so that with it I may abolish and eliminate all your troubles and rdevastations.³⁷⁴ I will present you to the Father in his own presence as a pure and perfect offering with not one blemishing error in you. I will free you in love and truth with the pure water and the rebirth of the Holy Spirit,³⁷⁵ so that you become for me in love brothers and believers – like babies in whom there is no one tarnish of evil – now and for ever. Therefore, let joy, glory, and thanksgiving be elevated by you in the upper heaven through me (to the Father) whose will I am, along with the joy, salvation, and the fellowship of the Spirit. Eternal life will be given to you through me, so that everything will be in an indivisible accord, as in the past, under the protection of the Father, who sanctifies you and has pity on you (through) his power, wisdom, and glorious will, for ever and ever."

Then a voice was heard above, from all sides, and from inside the earth: "Answer [80] and say Amen! May life's perfect will, joy, and peace be to all worlds!" After we received from him the commandments of life, we went out of his presence with great joy, much exultation, and words of praise, while our hearts were filled with the hope that comes to our earth.

³⁷³ John 14:11.

³⁷⁴ Lit. "captivities"

³⁷⁵ Reference to Baptism, and notice the feminine Holy Spirit.

م نسط الل مصور وسره سرها حوارمة الم المال مصول معده الع مصور الم وفلا 100 200 المنزم. وحدور الم وصعصب الكام ولمس المنزم. وولما عن ووصولا حمد وما للحل وودما حمل حدد اللي إن اللي ووبسل اللي وهده: والحد رجمه وسمحه وسعطه وأسك الل [79] حلح وأحد حد. وأبا أب وروع للكوا وبكبرا وبرجمه محكما. داب وهموسي مادد دينا وسعهما وبمدهي ومعهدي [F22v] حسوط ودولم واط ومحسب ٥٠٠ ما المنزم حدم حرصما والمعمال والمحر دلا وحميد محد صهولا محما وصدها وسلمه واوم احدده عرصا وبهما صدهده حدد ماعمكم محدده صداا ٥٥٥٠٠٨ه كن مسل كنكون داهومكمور اللهادت سازدراه ادة احتقده وكودهده هذه مرحما. ومع لمورحل الكرم ولوروزا. ولا ووا صنصام المحتمر محمد ومحمل وازعل وصحوه محقد صهرحموه ووه وه احل ووصال صهرها سوحل عبوب وحفه وصماحه، وحة احكم والصع حصلهم صنصبحه معمتنده. واحدمه اللالط مرمدها مهزديا بوسا و معيزال در حمد ده 377 حدم سرا مع دقامه في المديد واستزوى صوط وحمنزا حصنا ومنبا. ومعمكرا وزوسا مرسمال واهووي حد صوط انتا وصوصتاً المر محةوا وحمل حون سرا مع فقاهمة وصعماً مع وعا وحمده معملا سبوما المعدوسا ماهوسال حصة معلم محتا يعم معدوم حلبا وسحب واسام وحده مسبولا وهوزميل ومعاهدا وزوسل وستل وحنجر حلت المنهدم حدور وصحوم حمضها ولا فكهاإ. أب وص مرسم اسلم صفةه واحا مهما. ور صميم معنسم محدور سيكاه وسعده ورجسه رصل وحملام محمية والمحمد اود ملا مع ووصل وص ولا ويتر وص في أوجا وجده [80] وأهناه أهيى إجلا وستا معملها وسوماا معمد حدمة محم مدم مدح مده فقمبل بسيا تعمي مرمده، حسرها ودها دوم إ صحال دده مدوسه إلى عب محكم حدة لم ودرا ودا حملاا للوحه

³⁷⁶ Ms الموسودا (sic).

³⁷⁷ Ms \sim not in C¹ 79:18. It seems that the copyist placed it in reference to but then changed his mind and replaced it by \sim .

And Joseph and Mary, honourable and blessed people, came out with us. They were worthy and trusted to be called upon to become, in name only, parents and educators for the child – the voice that the Virgin heard³⁷⁸ – and mentors for the perfect will of the perfect mercy. Mary was the gate for the light that moved to the world through grace so as to dissipate darkness, and she became the road of life for God, her own son, who was seen with human members, giving her a name, tribute, and blessing from generation to generation. They lifted up their eyes and saw the light who was born through mercy in their house to be with us and to accompany us. They said to us: "In your coming to us, we are not pleased that you took away the light and the great hope of the whole world, and you are going with him, depriving us of him!³⁷⁹ For through a great grace we became worthy of trust to be servants for the upbringing of his body that is seen in our house. And now look"! We see him going with you! We said to her: "Woman blessed among women, blessed Mary! You became worthy by mercy to receive conception from the Spirit through your pure hearing and to give birth to the child of life, the eternal Word; you were trusted and became worthy to be called his mother. And now behold! Your glorious child is inside you and he remains with you in the house, although he is not separated from us, just as he told us. For the great gift of life that was given to all the worlds through your birth-giving, and the mystery that was hidden in [81] the past by the Father of all, has been revealed to us through your birth-giving, and the treasure of life that was kept from all nations is (now) seen! This great grace [F23r] and the living light is not yours alone but is also for all the worlds, the heavenly and the [ear] thy ones. Lift up your eyes and see that he is in the whole universe and he is giving light to its entirety, and it is full of his glorious mysteries. Now that he is seen in body in the world, the forms that are with him are seen in every place, since he was sent by his majesty for the life and salvation of everyone."

Upon returning, Joseph and Mary went home, rejoicing over all the things that they had heard about the holy child. Mary went in and saw the child of light laughing and glorifying on account of all his great and admirable mysteries, he who was announced in the entire world since early times. As all the (prophecies) were fulfilled through his current appearance, he glorified and thanked his Father who sent him for the salvation of his worlds.

³⁷⁸ Syriac Christianity believes that Mary conceived from the ear, and this belief is attested in literature as in art.

³⁷⁹ The feminine pronominal suffix is not correct.

وتقمه خص مفقف وهنهم انقل صمة وكقصل وعده والموسدة وتكمنور ويدوه حفظ احة ا معتصل حمرا وهلا ومعمدها حمدها. معتصل حصا حصنا ووسعا معمديا. موما صنيط اذكر كنوهوا وحل وهس 380 كمكعل مهمما ونووف كسعوط وموما اووسل وستل للحما عج يعمني 381 والمس حمة معل وحزيما ويما المحما عمل مومويل مهمجا كرزوتي. دازمعه سنده وسرده سوده والمركم ديسعل حصلهم ومع وه وهدا كي. واحدة كي حصمهما و المعنى بحدي وجداوسوس موهورا ومحددا وحل وحمد محطرا. هاركمه محده مركماهم هدف. وحلمدها وحما عجم ولمهمع ودهما كه صعصعتا كافتها وكنا والمسددة حصل، والمعلم الم معدور الأو سرسود والمرد. العزب كنه. الكما حزمه حتما لهوسكا معزم بموسك 384 حرسط والمحكم حكيل وزوسل حصصده وصداد ماحي حرا وستاد صحدا وحدهد والمصعدة معومات والمناعن كه اهدا. وهما ها عرص 385 محسر حمد معدد وه. وها حصاما معموا حديد وم اهد مع ربع لا فزه. المصل والعز ع وه. معلا ومعهدها وه ودها وستأ. وصعرف المبوحلة حصصه محقدا هاورا وصفلها من [81] مبيع حاجل وصد صحبت المحمد ح. هالمبرغ صبحة ستا وبهنا موا حمدهم عددها. لا موا وحمد مد حصورة معهدها [F23r] هوا وحما معهوا وستل. الل وحفظ عمه محتا ما[سمتا]. هاوسم حبته صرب وحدكة حزالما الموهود وهدوز كمكة وصكل مع اوروه عجتمال وهما المس معلال معهد الع ووتاه عده معد المؤ صامتي. معلا وحستا وحدووما وصلع المكروة مع وحماهه دحم دوم حدد مصد دمونيم حم ودور ملا دملم حددم. ومعدم ١٥٥٥ ملا مجا عبيما. وارك كحملاه وراء معكم عنه والمحسلاه حمكما ويدهوا حر رست وصعص ملا حكوه اوروه ووزه ماهناه وحدك ملحا صحور مكهمور مع رقيا قرميا. 386 موا معملاهم مكون حسراه وبمعيا. ومعمد ومعورا للحووب وعكسو حدوميل وحجعة دو.

 $^{^{380}}$ T 101:14 and C¹ 80:10 erroneously read the verb \searrow .

³⁸¹ Traces in ms seem to support T 101:15 but C¹ 80 n. 2 misses it

عمله الله Phonetic spelling for حمله (T 101:18 and C¹ 80:15: حمله على .

³⁸³ Originally but later *olaf* was changed into *tāw*.

³⁸⁵ C¹ 80:25: محمد (sic).

رديا مرهيا :386 C1 81:14

Mary and Joseph paid him homage, and Mary said to him: "I rejoiced that I saw the treasure of life, my light, and the holy child (born) out of my hearing, he who opened my womb in his holy mercy, lord of my holy virginity. I rejoiced greatly that I found my treasure of life and my great eternal light to whom I gave birth in my house. With your love for the people of the East and on account of your own offerings that they presented to you, I thought, my darling, that they took you, for I saw your holy form going with them!" He answered with a sweet and meek voice, saying to Mary: "Peace be with you, my mother and my educator. Because you were worthy to become blessed among women – you became worthy of the fruit of the living voice whom you received and conceived in your mind with love and indivisible faith - you shall receive the reward of your service. You will [82] have a blessing and commemoration in all generations, and in the new world you will receive a good reward. On your account, there will be hope and life for Eve and her children, for with your own person you removed the lance of the fence that protected the Tree of Life.³⁸⁷ Lo! Through you there is tranquility and peace for all the worlds now and forever Amen! I, who appeared in your house, came to fulfill the will of the Father who sent me, and he who listens to me in faith will live. As for the service that befell you, you completed it so perfectly and flawlessly that you will receive on its account a good reward. Now I shall return to all my brothers who are in the whole world, to completely fulfill toward my believers all that my Father ordered me (to do), so that they may offer fruits of life for ever. I will then give my believers and him who believes in me all my Father's promises which will be perfected, given, and delivered by me."

When we arrived to the first mansion, the sign of light appeared before us again, and we rejoiced and exulted exceedingly. We kneeled down and worshipped him on the ground in his presence, glorifying the vision and saying to him in one single voice: "We worship and confess your sweetness and your light which has accompanied our camp in every place." He replied and said to us: "For I am everywhere and there is no place in which I am not. I am also where you left me. I am greater than the sun, of which no place in the world is deprived, and if it departs from the world all its inhabitants would sit in darkness; and yet the sun is one. How much greater am I, the Lord of the sun; my light and word are [much?] better [F23v] than the sun!"

 $^{^{387}}$ In Syriac literature, a Cherub guards the entrance of Paradise with a fiery sword eliminated by the cross, the only key to enter Paradise; see Sebastian Brock, "The Dispute between the Cherub and the Thief," $\it Hugoye~5/2~(2002)$:

http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol5No2[HV5N2Brock.html#S3.

مصيراً که معنم معصف هافخا که نبيد ونبرد کصمد ستاً. مکمهور محا مرسل وهمعدها واوند. وفاهس وسعب حرسعه ومسالالله عنها وحمادها مرسمال نبریم نفی واهدیمه کفیهم ودیما ددیم ونیرا. محده وا و در وکیم المهود. وفعدنا مومم كم محمد. وعملهم موستا حمود وط وكمامون. ملك مەقرىدا ومنده كر مع وسكر ملا وسرسك وفيام موسعكا معدده، مر اولاه دميا وه حملا حصيط محصول ماجع خد حصيص محم حديد احد محددسكيد. وعوسك والممي حند حتماً. معهل ومولا وعلا وملا وستاً. ومجلات محهد صوط حعربت محمصها الل فكهاا: المحكم إلى المعمدي، مسما [82] حص لهما وبمديد حدكه وروا وحدكما سباا بامدكم الهذا لمحلم وصحهدكموب بدوا هدزا وستا حسوا مكترية. وحصوصت المحزالة كروهما وهيها هما للملا وستل هما حصوصت عملا معملا كولاه و ملكا عصر وكركم اصعر الل يهذ والمنزلة وصفور وبده وه واحل وعصيب المأم والفحر. وحمله وعفد حد وصورهم 390 سال المعمد عن ووسحت <الك > 391 ها خكمات يحدناهم ولا موصل والمدكم دة قوزيد لمحل محدا فلا الما عند الما من الم والم وحده معلا ومعرم وهمرس احرا المعم معدم عند و الله والمحمر عادًا وستل وحده والما حمور الله الله عدور مقدوره واحب وحلت مكريمني معكمهم معمكمهم كقهميه مكدل فع ومدمع حدة محم الم حصد اصل عبصباً. ماهد سعل وندهؤا عبصم المس ح. مضهد سبع دوون. دحنص هري كه علا أفعل عبده ومدي كبره ال معيم حمح اصبرا. وأحدر كه: وصحبه محدوم حصمهام محددور وحدرور ود محدما حمدهار وما وه ه إصد عن الله حصره والمب محمد المؤا ولا المد حدد الله العد ومحمد المدد مكن مع معمم من امكان محمل ومحل ومحمل ومحمولاً ومحمل من به وه وه ما وه وصمريط مع محمداً. محمد حكون مصورة والله ومداه الله ومعداً. معمل معرف معمل معمل الما [F23v] مع وهمما

[.]دزسعووت مربعاً :388 C1 81:19

³⁸⁹ C1 81:21: محموم د.

³⁹⁰ Ms معمع (sic).

³⁹¹ C¹ 82:9: A.l. Ms A.l is inserted between lines, but the feminine is expected.

³⁹² The independent pronoun was added between lines.

³⁹³ The phrase was corrected in ms from something else.

We replied and said before him: "All these statements, [83] [O our light and sav]iour, we know and they are true as far as we are concerned; we believe that all the miracles [that we saw along with] all your believers are minor things for your Majesty. But for us, they are powerful and the mouth is unable to describe them or acknowledge every one of them." And when it was the time [of meal], we brought out our provisions to enjoy them, but we realized that our provisions were much more than what were brought out of our land with us when we came. Then we became also very [scared], while we were glorifying the Majesty who was with us, for he did not disdain our weakness. After we ate from the same provisions in our house, every one of us talked about the joy and the glory, like a source that gushes plentiful water. Every one of us talked about such diverse visions and miracles, glorifying our guide and leader, the light of our camp, and his many forms, his glorious apparel, his splendid images, and the perfect depictions that appeared to us. All our rooms were marked by his glorious signs until we arrived in our territories.

All our families, our children, and many among the people of our land came out to meet us. When they heard that we had arrived, they met us with great joy and welcomed us while rejoicing, exulting, and glorifying. They admired our appearance and the well-being of our entire camp. When we went into their places, they gathered and came to us, and we began to talk to them, telling them about the condition of our travel; the admirable visions that accompanied us; our entry to Jerusalem; all that was told to us; our going to Bethlehem; the glorious appearances and revelations of the most-high Majesty that appeared to us in the cave - [84] the great light and the marvelous appearance (shaped) in humble human members; the light of the star that was going before us like a magnificent guide; the indescribable glory that we saw before us as we entered, and (how) we fell down and paid homage to the divine child of the great light, when two angels were standing and the column of cloud was up; all the visions that we saw in the past on the Victorious Mountain in the Cave of Treasure of the hidden mysteries that exists in our country - how in this cave everything was fulfilled truthfully; the forms and the apparel of the glorious and divine child who appeared to us in the cave of Bethlehem, telling us and teaching us: "Lo! all the mysteries, parables, images, revelations, and all that was spoken about me in the whole world by the prophets, from the first day to this day, are fulfilled - from now on the will of the One who sent me will be fulfilled in me and I will complete all the things that he sent me for";

مدبع والعزب مرحوون، ولام وهور [83] [مان وحد]سب نرحي ومعتن التي كي. حضم وم وسط معمتر. ولا معمدا هومدا وبامعة التي. وبدوا على سوا سوا مدوم و ووا حبل [واسعصما]. اهم والمحصم مع رةوم. وسرم وسم وصلع رةوم ملمة مع وسم رةوا وبعمه مص مع الماق، عبر ألمام ١٥٥٠، مين ماهم ملائل [وسخ]. عبر معمدسه ملا وحداه وحصى. ولا سعير مع مستحار. دور اسعم حصم 395 مده مع مستهاا. سوما ملمحوسكا احد هما سر سر حير. الر حديد و يحمل حدّل حيدًا. وحيل سرةيل ماوحة ال ولا وضع ١٥٥٥ من كنير. افخاع ١٥٥٦. وهمدسم ١٥٥٦ ك٥: كاوم وكحردام وكلوادا ومعزمان وكرمقال صحالا وهدة عووب معقدمان وكروزاه فاتاما وكتوميووب صقحمل وحمل محمور أوت حتموه صقصا وزع هوم جوها والمع حمدة موص وقص متحكر محمي محتى. معمى المع حتد المن للمنه مور معده والمدر انده مسرما وحكا معده ك و سرح دوورح معمدسي. معكومن مده حسل مصمكعنا وعكة صعنهم، وحبر من من المصعد والماه حمل، وغنه ووم حصاصة حدور وحصمه كوه على معمل المصل بوها. وعلى سروبل المعتول ومعلى موه و الموه كل وعلى acch, ellojaca. och ch and ellace was och acch, ecan Lua. och مرة مرحتا عدتما وأحل وزدوا ححماً. والمسود ح حجدنا [84] به وزا وحل مسرة ا المعتدل. حدة وحزيما محمدا. وحلا بدوره وحوجل وأزلا ووا عبومي. أب ووبا عجما. وجر منج ماود وبيرم عوصل ولا معمملاً. وبعل وصهر مه معلم الاصل وندهوا وَدا. در منصب لمرق مطاعتي. ودر علم معموا وحسل أنه عكوه مروّنا وبراج مع مرسم مهمة برستا معددا حمد المراورا معتل واسلا ملاني: الا حدد معددا محدد معددا المكنصور العربي وقياه محقموه وسرا محسا مالحميا والمسوس م حصدنا وصلا حبير. وأحد به والحمي و والمعملات والما المراد والما المراد والما المراد المراد والمراد المراد والمعك على صحتا محمل مع عمل مرها عرما حميد محمل جسه وعصب المريعة حبار مدلا حلا وعبوب والفحور

.محممعب 1:33 ³⁹⁴ C¹ 83

³⁹⁵ Ms حصل، Possible reading; C1 83:10: رحمل (sic).

³⁹⁶ Ms ooo is added in the margin.

how we presented to him offerings from his own (possessions) that we had taken from the Cave of Treasures and that our forefathers deposited (there), how we worshiped the adored Lord; (how) he opened his splendid and glorious mouth and talked to us about life;³⁹⁷ since we were fully able to listen to him, he planted in us the seed of life, telling us about and revealing to us the place of life and the heavenly kingdom of the majestic Father, lord of all; that he had sent him for the restoration of the worlds to heal their sicknesses, because they were not able to get healed by any of the early prophets except by the will of the Son of perfect mercy; that he had freed us to go to our land in peace, and that when we came to the first mansion while rejoicing and exulting on our entire way, we found again our guide and our light with all his forms that we had witnessed in our own presence; (how) we grew very fearful and were shaking while [85] we worshipped and glorified his majesty that accompanied our camp; how our vessels were also full of provisions, overflowing with his blessings, and more plentiful than the sustenance that we took with us when we left to go. (We said to them:) "Lo! They are set down plentifully before your eyes and our vessels overflow from them! For the powerful blessings that he placed on us will make you resolve to believe all the visions and miracles that we saw, so that you too may be made worthy to become his believers and chosen ones. [F24r] He will also establish his great power and revelations with you because he is indeed here with us, following what he said to us and which we believe; his light is not far from our camp as it is also in the entire world. Now this light is sufficient for all and shines through his perfect love. Let he who wishes take and eat from the provisions that we have with us without hesitation but with a perfect heart and in true faith. May you too be worthy to join in the blessing that accompanies us; it is with us forever."

Some among the people partook from the provisions and ate while rejoicing with love. Happy and exulting, they began to sing praise and talk to each other about all that had appeared to them. One of them would say: 'I saw at the time of eating from these provisions a great light that has no rival in the world!' Another would say: 'I saw God begetting himself in the world as he wanted!' Another would say: 'I saw the star of light who darkened the sun with his light!' Another would say: 'I saw a man whose appearance was more terrifying than any man's, but who gives life and purifies the world with his blood and with his humble look.' Another would say: 'I saw something like a lamb hanging on the stake of life, and through him and his blood the salvation of all the creatures in the world took place.'

³⁹⁷ Lit. "in a sweet manner," but "life" is the focus of Jesus' speech.

مفنح که معترضا وهم عدم من من الله وهم الدة على والله وهم الله والله وهم الله وهم ال ومعصمه وب المحمد اور م معكما وستل ه أجع لا مرك المؤا وستل مد محصاه محمدًا وأحل وزحمال معزما وحلا. وعجبه للصمال ومحقل وبالعل عندهماهم. معكر ولا المحس والماهم حبر مع الحمّا مومتا: اللا حبر إحله وحزا ووسط معمكما وفرد. معنى وبالما للماني حمصل دور المال للوبل عرصما وبالمرا للماني ودورس محكم ادوسال لمد المحسينات كادوب وكنوادور عط حكوب روقاه وسرح صرحي ورح دوسط صهد و [85] صهرب المعصب المنصاره ومحام المعمام المعام الماني والمعالي والماني والمعالم مع حدة علمه مساعر الع مع ردة المعمل مدم مع مر يعم وياراً. دوا مرم متسوم صنعت م محنى المعمومي مالتي مدون، معلى سيلا وحاؤمه وجزي على اويعتى حدور ماه معدور وحمرم: سرقال ماوحتال وبربي. مولم علامه اله الممر ولمهم عده مومعتل مرحتا. [F24r] مبنا سلاه زما مركبة ما العرص الا معول والا مزما كمار 400 حمنوا المماه والمرود المروام عن والم والمرود من المرود من المرود من المرود من المرود من المرود الم اده حصله ملعد المادور به والم سن: ولحل هجم معدوز صوحه رحمنا. صحه ولا فكهما حكم مكما محمد مدميمها منها عبرا مر فع ورجا. واحده مع رةوا وحم والماه معن معده مالسكه الا الماه, محدودهم وصلحل في معص مد كدهوه معملة العلاماً مدهم ورسرح صوحل مع ذمر رةوا. وأدهد مفره شرح وورب و معصب وأحدي ١٥٥٥ سر كسر حدوري وكعرم وحكسرا ووا حوري الم ووا حدور وافعز وشرك حة حمد الم واحد مع رةوا وحمى به وزا وحم حم ومعما حمد والم والغن وشرسك كاها خير يعمه حمكها أب ورجا. هاسك وافخز وشرسك مومحا ويوهؤا وحيوهؤه اسعده حمصما. داسم والعز وشرسم حزيماً ومحال سرده مع ورحداً. ومعسا ومعرها حملا حرمده محسومه محصوله ماسم والخبز وشرسم المو المحبال واللا معد منعل وستبار محم فما قوزميل محرمه حصما ومحمله

³⁹⁸ Sic ms and as read by T 107:2; Lua in C¹ 84 n. 1 and Lua in C¹ 84:18 for no reason.

عمصيا :399 C¹ 83:25

⁴⁰⁰ This is not an addition by T as claimed in C¹ 85:10 and n. 2.

⁴⁰¹ Ms اسا for انقا.

[86] Another would say: 'I saw the column of light rwho dwelled in the netherworld, 402 and the dead rising to meet him, worshipping and glorifying him with great joy!' They told each other about much more than these (words). The minds of those who ate from those provisions overflowed with much praise day after day, and there was a great joy in the whole region of the East. The chiefs, the poor, the women, and the children used to gather together from the entire region in the love of our Lord in the homes of their nobles who were called Magi, to listen to their new and glorious teaching, the mysteries, revelations, and all that they were told from the first day they left their territory until they came back with joy. Day after day the revelations, visions, and all mighty appearances 403 increased for them and the faith in the love of the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ expanded, through the miracles that the child of light who appeared to them was doing through them, until he fulfilled in everything the will of the one who sent him. He then ascended to the most-high heaven, his former abode, in glory. The faith of life increased in the Eastern region thanks to what they had heard.

When Judas Thomas went there by the will of our Lord after he had sent him, faith increased even more thanks to the things that they had heard, and through the many miracles and signs that Judas Thomas, the Apostle of our Lord, used to perform. When the nobles heard that Judas went [87] there as they were told by the light that appeared to them, they gathered and went to him so as to join him in prayer and faith. They greeted Judas in perfect love, while rejoicing in our Lord, and Judaea too was very happy because of them. After they spent a few days with Judas, they told him how they were worthy to have accepted from the first day the gift of the light of the world, about their going up with him to Bethlehem and all what they were told, the revelations and the visions that they saw there in the cave, their coming down and how he was accompanying them with his light to their entire camp by means of many visions and revelations. When Judas the Apostle learned about the grace of our Lord that was showered on them, he too told them, while they were gathered together like brothers, about [F24v] our life-giver, the miracles, healings, and mighty signs that he had made before the eyes of his Apostles, and about the forms of his images, and his admirable pictures – we cannot say enough about them: (the light) used to appear to us all the time, and we were astounded by him, while being dazed and confused in mind to such an extent that no one whatsoever had experienced since the beginning of the world!

⁴⁰² Lit. "in the womb of the earth."

⁴⁰³ No better translation of the term وهقى, lit. "similarities, shapes, forms."

[86] ماسك واخذ وبنرسك حصووا وبعاهزا وخصة 404 حجه وسعين وازجا. مصحب صفكا للمؤجره. ەھىرىي ەھمدىسى كە دىبوما ودكال ەاستىكا ھىكتارا وھىتار مع مكى امدى مەن سر کسر. ذب واحده ۱۵۰ مع رةوا ذب ، محد ما فسيده المحدما محملا المحمد مع موم ه مهوم سرما معيمالا حصره المؤا ومرساً. موه معدم اصبرا صوحا ومدني ومصل معسمتا متعل مهكتا مع مده المؤادك. كمامهم ووهوصل والمعنه محقعا. والمراع ٥٥٥ معمد مده محدم مدوم محدم بريا معدما: ٥١٥١ مركتيا ٥٥٠ والمعلا معده مع عمل عبصا ون وبعمه مع المؤوه، عبصا والمه حسوماً. وعم مع عمر لمج يحتل وسوما هماه هم موه کوه، وی وحق ستکمن 406. وهیم مصولاً حسور وهورها وحنى معه محمسيا. حستلا وحذر ١٥٥ حلوبته ١٥٥ مكرا ونه والمامو ١٥٥٠. حوحلا وغجم رجيل وعجيس محجوز والصلاح ملعموسكا حجزوها محل أذه مرهيا ومعمده. وصحيحة مصعدما وستا حلاؤا وموسل حامكم ومعمم موه دو سرم اود مه ووا ما محل محمد عدر رجعل وحنى حل وعروه ماده ممنامة صحيمة مصدما الممكن ومعدم ٥٥٥. حبر ستلا عكتاا والماقا وخدر ١٥٥ فع ١٥٥٠ مهموا مامعل محسه وعني. وحر معديد ١٥٥٥ ووقيل وادر [87] محاول كلعن: أب وأجن كحال بالموا والمسود كالمراء المالي الما المصعه داركه كماه والمسكهم عصه حرجما محصدهاا. معلك حعصه ومددوا صوط محمداً. وم شرع حصنى، وسرب حدور الا مدورا بعيد وحر دوه حماه مقصداً. العلانيم رام حدودوا. الحدال عدوه ويعدهم مع مومل مومدل مدودها ووا ويدووا ومحمدا. مد مصملهم ولعله ولحمل ليج ودهوم والمعلا بعده و المكا مسرة بالم وسره. المع حصد الم مد مسلمان و المصلم المام المام المعلم المعل صعنهمه حسوما محيستا صيتال محرب سه محمول علسال وصورحما ومد وطن اعلاقه من اعلم الا وه من من [F24v] مسع: در دبسم وقه من التلا اصبراً. وملا ستلا والعقلا ورحتوما وبحب كستندور وبحد تسوور ومكا ومقال ويقصه وفد وحل وقياه العنه الدول معدم وسلم محمن وحدم محمر وه حرار والم الحل واحده ون ح ده وصعب ون ع حدودا. ودور وسل وسل ولا معماوم مع مقصد محمل المرب للنم وصل

⁴⁰⁴ C¹ 86:1 and n.1, suggests نعب "to penetrate," but the first form is also possible.

⁴⁰⁵ C1 86:9 John.

⁴⁰⁶ Sic ms.

 $^{^{407}}$ Ms غي misread امح in T 109:14 and C^1 86:25 – $t\bar{a}w$ is a stain not a letter.

هيم Ms معمله ⁴⁰⁸ Ms.

مبعب Ms و⁴⁰⁹.

When all the brothers heard what Judas had related to them, in one voice they glorified the Lord of the most-high Majesty, through his Son, the perfect will of life. They asked Judas, the Apostle of our Lord, to associate them with him in the signing⁴¹⁰ of our Lord, and Judas said: "My brothers, I am happy too because I was sent on account of this gift of life so that he who believes in the life and he who receives with love and truth the signing of my Lord Jesus [88] Christ, the devil will not control him." In the night, when Sunday was dawning, Judas led them and the brothers who asked him joyfully that they receive the signing of our Lord too, and went out to a source of water; he took oil and prayed over it, saying: "We glorify you mystery of life, given to us by oil for christening in grace; glory to you hidden mystery, [given to us by oil for christening for life in grace; glory to you] hidden mystery, given to us for life and for[giveness; it enlightens] us and dissipates darkness and error away from us; moreover, through his mystery the warriors win victory over their enemies. Glory to you the mystery of the mešhō-oil, for you are worthy to have association with the $m\bar{x}\bar{t}h\bar{v}$ -Christ, by whom [the victorious in the struggle] are crowned; he (=oil) weds the Spirit and flies too over the waters (of baptism) like his wife the Holy Spirit, 411 which unites the soul with the intellect and renews the body by the birth of life. Come consort of the First-born; come, you who renew people [with the birth of life] forever; settle on these believers, [the beloved ones of our Lord Jesus Christ]; purify them from all their bodily scars and sanctify them [so as to become abodes] for your dwelling, and rest [for the Son of the perfect mercy; you shall sanctify them] with the birth of life in a thorough way." And he (=Judas) baptized them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. When they all came out [of the water, a child, that of the most-high Light], appeared to them, coming down from heaven, and said to them: "[Peace be with you [89] the sons of all my mysteries! Behold, with your rebirth now, all the visions and revelations that you saw from the first day are fulfilled." But out of fear, they fell to the ground, and when they stood up, someone in the likeness of a young boy, glorious and divine, appeared to them, and after he took an entire loaf of bread, he praised and broke it and gave (some of it) first to Judas the Apostle and then to every one of them, 412 saying: "This is the completion and the signing of your rebirth to life, and from now on and for ever remain firm in my promises."

⁴¹⁰ I.e. Signing of Baptism; see S.P. Brock, "Baptismal Themes in the Writings of Jacob of Sarug," in *Syriac Symposium*, OCA 205 (Rome: 1978), pp. 325–47, id., "Some Important Baptismal Themes in the Syriac Tradition," *Harp* 4 (1991), pp. 189–214.

⁴¹¹ The Holy Spirit is feminine in early Syriac literature; see S. Brock: "Come, Compassionate Mother..., come Holy Spirit': a forgotten aspect of early Eastern Christian imagery," *Aram* 3/2 (1992), pp. 249–257.

⁴¹² Baptism is fulfilled by the Eucharist in the Acts of Thomas; see Albertus F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas: Introduction, Text, Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1962), §133.

ه وم عصمه عكمه المتبار وم العلم علم علمه وال عصم عكمه وصم علم المعمل وصال محملاً. حب حزه رجيل وستا معممتاً. وحده مع موهوا عمسه ومني. وبعداد انه معده حسلامه ومدنى وأمدز سهووا. است اه اللا شوا اللا. معلا ومحدة مه وموا معمدها المكروفا حبيتا. وحصص وعدمت حبيتا: مصوحا معمد سلامط وحزب معمد [88] للتلا اسكم وحده حدره حرب نبرم وبمحكم الا وسي سلمعل وحنى وبعم حده حدما محسلا وطتا. معمل صعما معمس محمد ماهن، صعمس حو ازرا وستا. وحصما الماءوت ح مهدورا لحصيدها لحب عوصبا أورا فصا وصعيد [المنود لح لحبيدا فهدورا حصمت الد حور موصراً اورا مصل وصعمل المنهم لا حسم المداد المارة المارة المرادة ع معدوم معي حسوما محهوميذ مطوره ماهد رصم المحتل والهمل حديد وحدوه. كر عوصل ذارا وصعبل وعوسك وعماهما عم صعبيل اوه اكن وحده صاملاني [ونتل طرحل]: محمر زمسا صداعة. مهاهد الله بده على منتا اله حذا رميده زمسا ومدوعا صزره تعمل مع مديد مصيلا في احمد حيا المعماده وحدداد لم مسيلا حتىما [حمدكبا وستل] 413 وكدكم: همزت على محكم محميطتا [وسختحمد ومن معملا صمسار]. ووصد الم ومرمد الم مع مدم مقامكا وهينده. [ونده مرمد لم المار حمد عند وسلم [حدا ووسط معمليا ماموعي الله حمورا] وستل حمد المه والمعمر الد وحدا ووسل مبعداً. ومع صحه [مع معتل عدوه). المس حدور لمحل سب ونده والمحلل: وسبط مع عصما وأمعة حمه. [عمما معدده [89] دت أورب عده ورد وروا حصورون وروسا استمرحه عده ورده ورحته وبرراه مع معلا مرهما. ووسطة وبعد منافعة عدم المرا من معد المارة المنافعة ه المحمل محمد مسط عمل عدم ممرا منود معموم معمورا عمل الد منو سر صده و واحد که وروا موحمل وسلمها وصوحور وستا. صر وما وحدي المكرزو حعة كعس

After he disappeared from their sight, they saw him again ascending to heaven in an endless glory. And Judas said: "We glorify your sweet majesty and your Onlybegotten One of multiple forms, your glorious images that you showed us, and the garments that you put on for our sake so that we may put on your powerful majesty. You are named with a variety of names but you do not fit any one of them, for you and your most-high Father alone know your great and majestic name, and no one else does.] All these [forms that you put on and with which you appeared are for our sake, so that we may know you, for you loved us through the great mercy which you have for us. And everything that the crucifers brought onto you, you endured] for our sake, while you are above all suffering and of the lineage of the One who does not suffer, [F25r] so that salvation might be for us alone [through your grace. You endured everything and put up with everything for our sake. You are then our Paraclete, guide, light, and life-giver. Because we believed in you, we have everything that is in you, given to us fully by you through your confident love for us, for you have suffered everything for our sake."

All the new disciples of the Living Word replied and said with great joy: 'We glorify, worship, and confess [90] your majesty that cannot be described by the human mouth for we are weak compared to it, but you made shine on our feebleness your great light, for you made us worthy through your mercy to be your associates in eternal life." As they were greatly taking delight in the confession, prayer, and the appearances of our Lord, a multitude of brothers joined the faith day after day. Judas said to them: "My brothers, we have to fulfill the command of our Lord who said to us: Go to the whole world and preach my Gospel! Therefore, my brothers, be too the preachers of the Word like us, for you too have received the grace of our Lord. Go out to every place and announce the gift of our light and saviour to everyone who is not jealous."414 And they went out from there to every place and preached with complete love about the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Lord of all. They also performed miracles and healings that cannot be described by the human mouth in the name of our Lord and through the Holy Spirit, poured out on them by the grace of our Lord. They preached the true faith and instructed everyone, saying: 'Flee darkness and come to the light that does not end! In this way, you will live and be covered under the protection of our Lord Jesus, our lifegiver and great refuge on the last day, from the horrible judgment by fire that will suddenly come to purify the whole earth from the error that deceitfully ruled over it. You will then be saved from the burning fire through the faith, will enter the resting-place prepared for all the chosen ones and for the faithful who believe in the Son of the perfect light, the eternal life, the kingdom of my Lord Jesus Christ the Son of the Lord of all, his most-high Majesty, his new world, his sublime and noble light that does not pass [91] for ever, and his glorious rest. Then you will rest for ever and ever, indeed, amen."

⁴¹⁴ Perhaps a reference to Prov 24:19: "Do not envy evil people, and do not be jealous of the wicked."

وصر المرح حده مع سراده، ادم سرده، در فعل حمصا حمد حدمد وحد ده صدا. هاود: مهمورا. صعدست المنصار مصملال مكسيمار صهال فتروفا. محقصب عجتما وسمكي محقعا وحجم معهمي وسع وحمام بحم سيحمنكا. وحفظ عقوا المحقول في حبر هيون لا المير. الله وه ين حضوب بالم عصب وحل مودماير مادمر وصل مان اسنع لا]. ممكع عكمه [الصفتعل وكجمة هالمبركم صليكم. وبرعو. صلي واسمكم وتسعير صيقال وهوه محي. محصوم واسك محمر الحقط هددا] ملا اهتى و معدد الله مع عدده الله وده ولا سلع. [F25r] ولح ورح 100 لح هوزميا. [حهدوبار. 416 معلام) على هيجنا موال عجلاً. أما 100 رمية فيملل مادور معامل وحد المعلى ولا صرم حب ٥٥ اسل کے. محمصلی موحد کے حدودکا وسوحی وکمانی ود صوم صبحها ملا افتى وحده محمور المحتبا ستاا ومحكما وستل وأمعره مسرماا وماد صعصب مصحبي محدوب [90] حزدمام ولا صلمحكلا دهوملا ومتبعا. معلا وهسكنع هدة. وكنووور وط وأوسه على هسكمار. والعوسم وسعير كعماهمار وستل وكمكورة دور صيء مدم حصم وده دمورها دورجها دوسرةما ومنى مديا واشا صلماه صعب ١٥٥٥ حصصها عمر مع عمره واحد ١٥٥٨ مه وإ. است محمل معجم قومونه وطنى واطن كي وقوم حدكه مكعل دادن سدناه. طعم است. وده اقد الماه، عنورا وحدا العمل. صهر ومدلمه الله الله، معمدها ومنه. هومه الا الكاهر كحلا الماؤ: دادوره صوره وله وروسي كولام ولا منهم ولا منهم مع المحم حد الماذ. وصحور 000 حدود علا ملا ملكه ومن بعدد صعيبا حرد ومونا وصلا و خدب ١٥٥٥ أك ونور ستلا واهقدا جعمه ومني. ولا محامدهم حدومل وستنمل حنوسل وصورها والمكاهيل محمول حصوصكه وصنى. وصحورت ووه ومصولا ومنول حر أحديم ١٥٥٥ محكم حصمه: وحزهمه مع سعمدا ماه حمدهؤا ولا خدر المصل والمده ماهماؤه, اسم صحقه وهنى معه هسب مصم يعص وط صمحل اسزيا. مع وبيا وسلل وبدؤا والمألم مع هذا ولموصة حدكة اؤخل مع لموجب والعجدية 100 حكة 417 حراهة. مالحرور الكاهر حصصولا مع عربل وبوزا. ماعكم كسلكا هذ ومعلما حدكه ورستا وهمعنا وهمنه ومحود ويده والمعنز وحديثا وحدور معجوداه وحزب سعه معسل حزه وحزا علا حزحماه محملاً. حملاه سرا محدهوه محمل مؤجل هولا ذد: [91] كنكير دسسمه صعصمال ماليس كنكم مكعب اصب هاصبه

 $^{^{415}}$ Phonetic spelling instead of کریّ سپند.

 $^{^{416}}$ From this point to F25v C^1 is based on T; beginning with the account on the massacre of the children of Bethlehem (see below), the folio is entirely effaced.

⁴¹⁷ C¹ 90:24 محكة (sic).

The Story of the Magi and their offerings ended.

The year two thousand and nineteen of Abraham (AD 5): Herod killed the children of Bethlehem on account of Christ.⁴¹⁸

The year two thousand and twenty (AD 6):419 After the same Herod massacred the children of Bethlehem - two years old and under - according to what the Magi told him while thinking that Christ would be killed with them, the judgment of God that fitted him and his deeds befell him. First, he had an acute fever whose burning was not visible outside even as its ache intensified inside him. Then, he did not want to get food because his bowels were not moving. He had an ulcer and acute pain in his intestines and fluid swelled his feet, while his privy parts rotted and bred worms. Shortness of breath seized him, torturing him on account of the foul and troubling smell. Obstinate illnesses struck him from all sides and he had no energy to bear them. God set apart for him different sicknesses, and while he was tortured by all them, he struggled to live. He looked for healing and physical recovery, going even to swim in the hot springs of Callirrohë, whose waters flowed out into the Asphaltites Lake (=Dead Sea). And when [92] he was there, the physicians wanted to bathe his body with oil, but when he sunk in a tub full of oil, he collapsed altogether and his eyes turned up, and a great fear fell upon his servants. Although he resisted his illness, he in fact despaired of his life.

From there he returned to Jericho, embittered and threatening to commit suicide [F25v], [but he increased] in deceit and in evil-doing. He gathered together all the notables and the strong from all [the Judaean] villages to one place called the Hippodrome and ordered that they be imprisoned. He summoned Salome, his sister, and her husband Alexas, and said to them: "I know that the day of my death will be a great day for the Jews, but I can cause others to mourn me and have my own funeral if you are willing to fulfill my command concerning the imprisoned people. At the time of my death, set up people over them to kill them, and they will weep over me even if they would not want." While he was tormented by a powerful cough convulsion, he thought to kill himself. He took an apple and asked for a knife, for he was accustomed to peel them and eat them. Thereafter, he stood up to see if there was anyone who might prevent him, and lifted up his right hand in order to kill himself. He killed a third one, a short time before he died, in addition to killing two of his sons. And thus he died in a bitter pain, expecting at the same time the torment that was awaiting him.

⁴¹⁸ Arm. 2018, Hier. 2018.

⁴¹⁹ Source: Euseb., *EH* I viii 6–9 quoting Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (hereafter, Joseph., *Antiq.*), Loeb Classical Library 11, trans. by L.H. Feldman (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1959), Book XVII 168–69. See also *Arm.* 2020, *Hier.* 2019.

مجعل المسلما وسل صحيقها مس مووسون، «420

عدل لمزم هفت ماعمه: اللحزوج على الدر دوووه حتكوا وحمل حيم صلى صمسال مد لماؤم هفتم محصوب به مؤموه در فهلا مهمكتا وصد مسر مع در افلم منتم الاسلاد حرمها واحده لاه صحة ما حر جدة وبعده معممها معساد محبع أوزده حرز وسل وأحمل هاه وخوا هما حم محتجةهما بع محموم هما حمد أحما وصماً ومع كم لا صما وهم عبدة. أب مدا ومع كه مكالم وهم المهمة وه لا ويفجى معدد ١٨ مع لمحل هوا. حب ولا مده كما ١٥٥١ عنصه. معدسا وعاجا سعسا حعدةهب. معوصيا فإسط حتريكهميا مسه المعصد هاؤسم لمقحدا. مؤمسا عندا صبحا الموا علامور الا معهول كه حرسا هوما والحرار وقاط سرتنا مع والا رحت معسم ٥٥٥ كه. مسلا وبعيد: حمد ١٥٥ ده. فكيه كما كقاما معتها. وه وم مر صمكنف ووا حدكون ولحقوب أق وباسا صكوكم ووا. وساؤ ووا للصورا وحقوزميا وفيزه. وإرال أف ونعيل صعيعكا وألم حمكنوا. ونقمع هنة لمعكا واصفحهم وصر [92] وه بامع. رجم العقال وبعينه فينه معميل وحر لجد معلل وطل صعمل المكروب عكم والمهوب منةها وزورجوا صحمالا هوم حدورة ول حمادا ولم سطعي. مل سنة ور ور اوس وول اوس المع المع وهم المؤسف وصلط ورا وصلاحهم مل معملاً [F25v] إماء عبد الله وهومزيل صعل. فيم يمن مع محرف موزيعة [وسهة وبا]. حصمه وربية وانقل ووفط حروما وصلامنا حمد وولا ووصال وهم والمسجعون وجزا حعموم سلاه وحدمان هجها واحد حدون وحدوةولم سزعيا وعلوا وه كان وجا عاصل ومعالم. الل معمسل والمحم عكم اطل حب المؤلم والمام عكم حقا. الده وارجه والمحرم هموس كمكع القا وسمعي مع صمال املحه مكمهم القا مفهرهم اس، واق عبر لا رجع بحص محد. وعبر معلفهم حطط سعسا ومعمالاً. المسعب وده كه يعله الله معمل سروزا معلى صحيدا. صدر دوا يهز ويدوا يرز وادك دويدا. وصع حدوص عمر وسرا لي الم العد وظلا هود واؤسم مصده المر وتعله لا تعدد واقد مع عبم عكم رحبا ومعابه. عمر اقع محم حقمه وعلم الله حدة والشام على. ٥٥ صلح منه منه منه منه منه منه منه منه والمنه منه والمنه منه منه والمنه منه والمنه منه والمنه منه والمنه المنه منه المنه منه المنه منه المنه منه المنه المنه

ان To the left side of the folio below this line a different hand wrote in Estrangelo عده والمان المان الما

These are the High Priests who were known at the time of Christ:⁴²¹ Hannan and after him Ishmael son of Phabi; after him Eleazar son of Hannan, and after him Caiaphas who is Josephus the writer⁴²² – this one was the high priest during the days of the Passion, and he lived until the destruction of Jerusalem.

[After Herod,] Archelaos [became king over Judaea] for [93] nine years.

During this time, Judas the Galilean was known; [it is said in the Book of Acts⁴²³ that he misled many people, bringing them out to the desert. As he sought to enter Jerusalem like] the expected Messiah [of the scriptures, he drew near the Mount Olives along with many armed people, and the Roman army attacked him and killed him, while all his armed people dispersed and perished.

The year two thousand and twenty-two (AD 8): A severe, awful, and powerful hunger took place in Rome⁴²⁴ and in all the Western lands to the point that wheat and barley vanished in that land; one *modius* of wheat in a *kaylā*-measure was sold for one thousand twenty-seven and a half (*dinarii*).

The year two thousand and twenty-four (AD 10): Abgar Ukkama, <who was banished>, ruled over Edessa for thirty-seven years and one month.⁴²⁵

The year two thousand and twenty-nine (AD 15): King Archelaos was exiled to Vienna, a city in <Gaul>.426 Herod the Tetrarch replaced him for twenty-four years.

In the same year Augustus, who reigned for fifty-six years and six months, died.⁴²⁷ Tiberius reigned in his stead for twenty-three years.

⁴²¹ Euseb., EH I x 4–6, quoting Joseph., Antiq., XVIII 33–35.

⁴²² Confusion of names, since Caiaphas is named Joseph according to Joseph., Antiq., XVIII 35, quoted by Euseb., EH I x 10. The association of names was rejected by later Syriac Chroniclers, among them Mich. Syr. 97c [I 154]: موه معلانا المنابل موه المنابل موه معلانا المنابل موه معلانا المنابل موه معلانا المنابل موه المنابل منابل موه المنابل موه المنابل منابل موه المنابل منابل من

⁴²³ Acts 5:37; see Euseb., *EH* I v 3–6 and II 21 1–2.

⁴²⁴ Arm. 2024, Hier. 2021.

⁴²⁵ The royal succession over the throne of Edessa is confused. Elia 73:7–10 [37], quoting the non-extant *Succession of the Kings of Edessa*, states: "The year 337 (S.): in it Abgar the Black reigned in Edessa for forty days; his uncle, Abgar the White, banished him and ruled for for six years." It is believed that his brother Ma^cnū VI followed him after banishment.

⁴²⁶ Arm. 2029, Hier. 2029.

 $^{^{427}}$ For the full length of Augustus' reign (56 years and 6 months), see *Arm. s.a.* 1973; *Hier.* gives the same length *s.a.* 1974.

⁴²⁸ Ms المحمد corrected in C1 93 n.4, but Assemani read it المحمد المحم

⁴²⁹ Sic ms.

⁴³⁰ Ms: Galatia" (sic.). Read probably

The year two thousand and thirty-four (AD 20): A great and strong tremor took place in the land of Asia, and it destroyed and overturned villages and cities, killing their inhabitants inside them, pressing them like grapes in one winepress of perdition. [94] It returned and thirteen cities [F26r] were ruined in it:] Ephesus, Magnesia, Sardis, Mosthene, Aegae, (Hiero)saesarea, Philadelphia, Tmolus, Tomus, Cumae, Myrina, Apollonia, and Hyrcania. All these were destroyed in this wrath on account on our sins, annihilating all statures and all measures.

And in this year, the theatre of Pompeii burned down.⁴³²

The year two thousand and forty (AD 26): Philip (II) built the city of Caesarea and he also built another city, Julias.⁴³³

The year two thousand and forty-three (AD 29): Pilate the procurator was sent to Judaea.⁴³⁴

The year two thousand and forty-four (AD 30): Herod built the city of Tiberius, and to honour Caesar he called it Tiberias; he also built the city of Liviada.⁴³⁵

In the same year,⁴³⁶ John son of Zechariah was preaching in the desert on the bank of the Jordan River, announcing to everyone that the Christ, the Son of God, was among them. Jesus too began the salvation through the Gospel from this place, showing with words and deeds the truth of the divine power to those who were witnessing.

Herod married Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip, while the latter was still alive. 437 He committed injustice to his first wife who was lawful – she was the daughter of Aretas king of the Petraeans. 438 Now he separated Herodias from her husband while he was alive, and on account of her a battle broke out between him and Aretas the king, for his daughter was held in contempt. In this battle the whole army of Herod was massacred. John the Baptist was also reprimanding him [95] so as to take his sister-in-law. When Herod heard the words of John, he grew fearful, because he saw that all the people were following him, and that he was attracting large crowds and talked authoritatively to people.

⁴³¹ Arm. 2033, Hier. 2034.

⁴³² Arm. 2037, Hier. 2037.

⁴³³ Built in honour of Caesar's daughter named Julia; Joseph., *Antiq.*, XVIII 2; *Arm.* Year 2039, *Hier.* 2041.

⁴³⁴ Arm. 2042, Hier. 2042; Elia S. 339 year 14 of Tiberius.

⁴³⁵ Both cities: Arm. 2043, Hier. 2044. Liviada is in Trans Jordan.

⁴³⁶ Arm. 2044, Hier. 2044; Elia S. 340 (15th year of Tiberius) quotes the Gospel of Luke.

⁴³⁷ Euseb., EH I xi 1–2, 5, quoting Joseph., Antiq., XVIII 5.

⁴³⁸ Metathesis in what ought to be اهماناً*.

عدم لمؤم هفتم ملكمم ماؤدي. بوما رمط وط معمل طوط والعمل مسجه موهد مهوَّمه معربتها مسحل معرف حجهم خمعهوَّمه حسرا معمرفاً وأحربا أمر وحتداً. [94] بوفر سن دادم صبتا [F26r] الكلاسنال المصمصة معيسلة وصاورهه وصله والماراة ومهاماة وفيح وماه والمدحومة والمدمومة وموصلة ومعوزسان والعمد وموزهاسان وحم علام المسعد من مها وما معلا سهوتي. هامحم ولا مقص محمد محمد محمد حمد الهام وهم وهم معمد عدم القرم کفتی هاؤدیم. حیا فحموم حمیها مرسلال محیا باهد اف حمحموم مرسلال اسنال عدم كلفت لمرض واروحي والمكر. العمرة فيكلوه افكنوها ملا موهو. عدم لمرح هجتم واوديم واودي حبل ووووه كهدنوه مرسمال ومعها وبعدم المزا لحمه لمحزمه معددة وحدا مادت همصارا معرسمال ددة ددوا مدمل موسع در ردزما حمردزا حدور موا ما ما بعد موزور موزا. در حصد خديم وسيامه (439 الموروب حسيل دوه والحمار واقد وه معمد مع موزما معما حقوزمنا والاستحمار. مع حقلا محندوا عنوا وسملا كما للكم ونبرج معمدا موال مؤووها بعدة كمؤوولا الكما فعكمه المماهب دم موه سد. وليحم للاسلام اوف عرصها واسمارة المر وصعوها. واسمارة حزاه واوالها صححا واحتمال مؤهوما وع عنعة مع رحنة عم بده ومحكمة مها حم منط عم أوالها صحطا حب والماعمهم حناه وده دوما عنط المجهلا عكه سمكه وهزووه وصهلا وهلامصه ادوا بادت مع نوسع محمول [95] ولا يقد اللكا اساده. دادت در عمد حصحتهم وموسع هوهوه وسلا عبرا وحكم عصل إلا حكوره: محتمل ومؤحل عجر: وحصا معطها وحوا حتيما

 $^{^{439}}$ C¹ 94:17 (sic) unlike the correct form in T 118:12.

He grew afraid that this matter might turn into rebellion, realizing that people used to do everything according to John's word and command. Herod considered it much better that he be killed in anticipation, before any move happened at his order, in which case he would regret John's insurrection. Due to this suspicion of Herod, John was sent shackled to the prison called Macherus where he was put to death. Thereafter, Herod and Herodias were banished, driven away in exile outside the borders of the city of Vienna.⁴⁴⁰ There he received the retribution that fitted his actions.

The total years from the second restoration of the temple of Jerusalem that took place in the second year of Darius, king of the Persians, to this current year, which is the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius: Five hundred and forty-eight years; from Solomon to the first building of the temple: One thousand and sixty-one years; from Moses and the exodus from Egypt: One thousand five hundred and forty-one years; from Abraham and the reign of Ninos and Shamiram (Samiramis): Two thousand and forty-four years; from the Deluge to Abraham: Nine hundred and forty-two years; and from Adam to the Deluge: Two thousand two hundred and forty-two years.⁴⁴¹

[F26v] The year two thousand and forty-six (AD 32): Abgar, the king of Edessa, sent a letter to Christ in the land of Jerusalem.⁴⁴²

[96] The year two thousand and forty-nine of Abraham the father of nations (AD 35), and the year three hundred and forty-two of Alexander son of Philip the Macedonian: Jesus Christ, following the prophecy concerning him, drew near the Passion, (in) the nineteenth year of the reign of Tiberius.⁴⁴³

During this time, [we found] these individual accounts written down in some Greek records: The sun darkened, Bithynia shook, and most of Nicea collapsed, a testimony to what had happened at the time of our Saviour. Phlegon, who wrote about the Olympiads, wrote down concerning them in the thirteenth [book], as follows: "In the fourth year of two hundred and [second] Olympiad, there was an eclipse of the sun (that lasted) [a much longer] time than all the preceding ones. It was night at the sixth hour of the day, just as the stars appeared in the sky too. And there was a great earthquake in Bithynia, and most of Nicea was overturned."444 The man whom we mentioned wrote these things.

⁴⁴⁰ This was the fate of Archelaus not of Herod; see Joseph., *Antiq.*, XVII 13, 2.

⁴⁴¹ Compare with Arm. and Hier. s. a. 2044.

⁴⁴² Euseb., *EH* I xiii; see also George Howard, *The Teaching of Addai*. SBLTT 16 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1981), pp. 7–8.

⁴⁴³ *Hier.* and *Arm.*: Year 2047. The same account, but without the dates given above, is in Chr. 724 110:27–111–22 [87–88].

⁴⁴⁴ Hier. and Arm.: Year 2047. Phlegon's work covers the time from the first Olympiad to the reign of Hadrian (AD 117–138) and is known in quotations only; see F. Jacoby, Die

صعم عندا مع مدوراً المندل والمنطا والمؤهجر. وإدوا حمد الزاع وودونع محجا وهترصياً. حريط كعناكم أدوا ومنعل: والكناة عناكم سعمنهم المحكمان ولمحزيمه. عنتا سعقعال ەاۋدىنى ماخىدا. ەمى مىكلەر بى ەدىندا مەمىدا بەدىكا مىتا كە ممكتى مىبار. مى صوعا وب وصحما وص صرفي. عند هد وسطقطا واوديم وسوا. مع احزوم ومحصوله وسيع ووعميزه. عبيل لموّم هجم واؤدم واؤدم واودم مرود مرمل للدوه المقدها وأؤدي والزام. ومع أوم مرجل حلهويا. عنتا القرير هفتم وقدم وأوديع و.د. [F26v] عدل لماقع هفتم هاقوسم مقلم. عبة الهذا الها محمل واهوره. حما معسل للزحل وإه ومحرر. [96] معلم كقل لماقع هاؤحكم مامع للحزه م احل ومقعماً. وللحصيرة وه دة فيكون معروبيا. عدم الشامطال والوديع والواجرة معود معيسا المر يحدوا ومصوب حسما الموده مد المعسور وصحواه و المعلم المحدد ومل وم رحل الا حەققىمىكىلى استىل وقىل [اھمى] ومكتى مكى سوا سوا. ھمعا سعو. حكەسا المارسة. مع نصل معولل بعرا. وهذه للمع ورجع حرصه وفروم. علم وم اه فكه وأفاد كقطفيها علمه ومكم ومكم المعلمة المالم والمحمد وفالم معالما وم وصما وقدم [ماولم] كمعصوصه وما المحصص وعمما حرما صهارا. [وصد عن المحم والما مرصة مرصة المحم عن والمعط والمراد الم ومقاح حمصا المسرور ، وهوا ومط وط حدم وسل وهورا وهور المراح روا و والموجور المراح ال

Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, 2. Teil: Zeitgeschichte B (Berlin 1926–1930), nos. 257/257a, namely 1165.

⁴⁴⁵ Sic ms.

⁴⁴⁶ Greek ὑπομνήματα.

This is the indication that the Passion of our Saviour was in this year, and according to the testimony of John, it took place in the fifteenth year of Tiberius. He (= John) witnessed the period of three successive years of the teaching of our Lord.⁴⁴⁷

During those years, Josephus also wrote that on the day of the Pentecost, a great confusion and commotion seized the priests, and thereafter a powerful noise was heard inside the inner temple, saying: We are moving away from here. 448 Josephus wrote another thing: Pilate, who was governor at this time, set up the statue of Caesar in the temple during the night, something he had no right to do, stirring up a great tumult and insurrection among the Jews. 449 The curtain of the temple was torn, and many dead people [97] came out of the graves and they appeared to many. 450

Report concerning the passion and the solemn judgment of our Lord⁴⁵¹

Avitus Leontium Licinius Speratus: Peace!

Just as you requested from me through my secretary,⁴⁵² in order to learn about the things that happened at the tribunal against Jesus Christ, I took care to write down and send (an account of) all the things that took place in the *praitorion*⁴⁵³ and at the court, but I too request that you reward me. My secretary told me: I called some of the disciples of Jesus, and they gave many things from their own which are (now) yours. Know now that the high priests and the scribes of the Jewish people were jealous of Jesus, especially of the people who were brought to life, and thus they seized Jesus whom they brought to my lord Pilate. Because as a man who blasphemes and one who dissolves the Law and who deserves death, [...] they were offering to him. They were saying many things against him. When Pilate knew that he was Galilean and under the authority of Herod, he sent him to Herod. He was in Jerusalem and it was the feast of unleavened bread. Because Herod heard the slandering of the priests and the Pharisees, he sent him to Pilate with a message: The things rthat are said against this man are many, and because those who slander him are citizens of Jerusalem and people under your authority]]. ⁴⁵⁴

[F27r] The year two thousand and sixty-six of Abraham (AD 52): There was a seve[re famine] in Rome, in which many perished.

⁴⁴⁷ Chr. 724, 111:12 [88] refers to Luke 3:2.

⁴⁴⁸ Euseb., EH III viii 6, quoting Joseph., Wars, VI v 3.

⁴⁴⁹ Euseb., *EH* II vi 4–5: Images on the standards of the legions brought to Jerusalem and there is no mention of the temple; see also Joseph., *Wars*, II ix 2, *Antiq*. XVIII iii 1.

⁴⁵⁰ Mt 27:53.

⁴⁵¹ Apocryphal source inserted by the Chronicler.

⁴⁵² Translation from the context; otherwise, عداده is obscure.

⁴⁵³ Governor office.

⁴⁵⁴ Folio 26v ends abruptly here and the following folio begins with a lemma about the famine in Rome.

الما بن بحدبا عدما سع هنوم و هدوره بوسل و بدوره حدم سعمس المراحد. وحدبا المعدد المحدد المحدد

[F27r] عدم اقع هوم معمق معم الحزور. ووا وقدا ماعد حزووها. وهي تاا أحر وو. عدم قد الحرور والمراور والم

 456 Emendation based on C^1 97 n.1. The word written in red does not include the letter $s\bar{\rho}d\bar{e}$, although the whole term cannot be deciphered.

⁴⁵⁵ Greek ακτον.

⁴⁵⁷ This term, occurring twice, seems to be garbled; could it be عنادها. Latin *protonotarius*? See also C² 74 n5.

⁴⁵⁸ Πραιτώριον.

خمل آبل Phonetic spelling instead of خمل آبلا.

عمداوا Sic ms, phonetic of احمداوا.

⁴⁶¹ C¹ 97:19: יפאלאפד, and T 122: יפאלאפד, traces in ms support the latter reading – the upper part of *tāw* is too close to *mīm*.

The year two thousand and sixty-seven (AD 53): Ma'nu son of Abgar, [98] king of Edessa, died, and his brother Ma'nu reigned for fourteen years. 462

The year two thousand and seventy (AD 56): Claudius, the Roman emperor, died, and Nero reigned in his stead for thirteen years and eight months. 463 Now this Nero gave himself over to many evil actions during his rule, arming himself against the worship of God, but it is not the time to narrate about his wickedness. Indeed, many have spoken about him accurately and he who wishes can learn from them about the madness of this man, who irrationally destroyed myriads of people. The abominable killing went as far as not sparing even the members of his house and his relatives, for he slaughtered his mother, brothers, wives, and many of his clan. He subjected them to all kinds of murder, as though they were enemies and foes. 464

The year two thousand and eighty-four (AD 70):⁴⁶⁵ The holy Paul suffered martyrdom in Rome; he was beheaded with a sword. In the same year, Peter, head of the Apostles, also suffered martyrdom, crucified with his head down. They lived after Christ for thirty-five years.⁴⁶⁶

The year two thousand and <seventy>-one (AD 57):467 In the time of Nero, when Felix was procurator over Judaea, Josephus also relates the conflicts and turbulences that happened to the priests with one another. He thus wrote in his account:468 "A conflict raged between the high priests, the priests, and the leaders of Jerusalem, and each one of them made for himself a band of insolent and troublesome people over whom he became leader. And when they were quarreling with each other, they used to say abusive words against each other and to throw stones, [99] and there was no one to rebuke them. The city looked as if it had no administrator. Moreover, at the same time, bandits of a certain type appeared in Jerusalem who murdered in the daylight and in the middle of the city whomever they met. In particular on feast days, they used to mingle with the crowds, hiding swords under [their] garments and with them they used to stab notable people.

⁴⁶² Elia 78:15–19 [18]: S. 379 (AD 68/9) following the list of the kings of Edessa.

⁴⁶³ Euseb., *EH* II xxv 1–2; *Hier.* 2070, *Arm.* 2071 (13 years and 7 months).

⁴⁶⁴ See also year 2082.

⁴⁶⁵ This original date was later changed to 20(71); see also C¹ 98 n4. The same event is dated to 2083 below. *Hier.* 2085; *Arm.* 2083. For the content see Euseb., *EH* II xxv 5.

⁴⁶⁶ The date of the death of Christ being Abr. 2049; see just above.

⁴⁶⁷ Ms: "Two thousand and one (sic)." *Hier.* Year 2085; *Arm.* Year 2084. See also Euseb., *EH* II xx, including the quotation from Joseph., *Antiq.*, XX viii 7.

⁴⁶⁸ Euseb., EH II xx 1–2 from Joseph., Antiq., XX viii 8; Euseb., EH II xx 4–6 from Joseph., Antiq., XX viii 5, Joseph. Wars, II xiii 3.

ووره و ما حب و مراور منتا المحمدة المنتاه من و و و و المرور المرور المرور و حمد کهده کمتم کا میکال المکور مدار هکومک وسک کما اروم مدار وسکوم وس والحل المين مول صعداو. كه رصل وه كي هيتال وم العمد مكاهد سمالمالم واسل وزجل معسون معل ولله ملا عسمانه ومل يحذال وولا مسمحما ادم وحمال وانقل معرها حمل صويحا ومهلا أيا وأهلا مع مهلا وحت حماه معتبحه المحمد المحدد المعده المعاد والمقوم وكتعوف وكهيتاا مع لهوهم أوجر وأحب وبكهتال وصحيه ملي اله عدم ق. هي ماهي واتده الهود مبعا ووحه حنه ومعل عبد معمل المعمد وعدد وحدة حمل العدد العدد والمنا ومحتسل عبد ارومه حكز زموه. مونه حكز صعبيل لمشكر وسعم عنتي. عدل ق. هدي معملين مسرا. حدة حدا ولمزور. ور الموروب فيحمد افلم زوفا ملا مودود بادم معملا معموم مل سترسل معيقعمل و١٥٥٠ كوةمل سب كولم سب: واحمد وصل حممعمه. الميورك حمر سنيل ووحد حدوثا حدا حدما محما وسعدا وادوعمر وحمير سر مدور حدر حدد حدورا وحتسل معيقعل ١٥٥٥ محموم وبعل محر موزع ١٥٥٥ سر مع سر. اخذع ١٥٥٥ تعلل حتما حلا سبزوا. معبع ٢٥٥ علقا. [99] موطأ ١٥٥ حده حمد موصل حصوصا وصوحال حمد حدة. ماه حدور رقيل المسر ووا حاوز عمر له وهم بحصهماً. وحامعها حصر بحدة وحبساً فلاحم وهده للحم وفرحم وده دور. عناما حظوا صنحهم وده دوتعا. معرفهم ٥٥٥ معتقل اسم حدم [ت٥٥]. مده، ورحم ٥٥٥ للقا برتدا.

(sic). وحصاتا ⁴⁶⁹ Ms

⁴⁷⁰ Original figures in ms changed into معصع هجرا, see also C¹ 98:15 and n.4.

As soon as the latter fell, the former would join the group that protested the murderers, and thus on account of their craftiness, they could not be identified. Jonathan the High-Priest was the first to be murdered but after him many were killed every day. The fear was worse than the perpetual suffering, and just as in war, everyone expected his death."

The year two thousand and seventy-two (AD 58): The Jews made [a re]bellion in Caesarea, and many of them perished.

The year two thousand and seventy-five (AD 61): Felix was released from (his post) in Judaea and Festus came to replace him as procurator.

The year two thousand and seventy-six (AD 62): Paul was sent prisoner to Rome for the first time.

The year two thousand and seventy-seven (AD 63):471 The holy James, the brother of our Lord and who was [F27v] the first bishop of the church of Jerusalem, suffered martyrdom. When Paul [appealed] to Caesar and he was sent to Rome by Festus, the Jews dropped the deceitful design that they were concocting against him, and turned against James, the brother of our Lord, who accepted the bishopric throne of Jerusalem from the Apostles. Their temerity against him was as follows: They brought him [100] into the midst and pressured him to deny the faith in Christ before the whole crowd. As for him, contrary to the wish and the expectation of all of them, he confessed with a loud voice openly and in the view of all the people that our Lord Jesus Christ was the Son of our God. Because they could no longer bear his testimony - everyone believed that he was just on account of his perfect and virtuous wisdom and the fear of God that was in him – they found an appropriate opportunity: Festus died in Judaea, and they had no administrator at that time, and the government of there had no head or leader. Now James the brother of our Lord, called by everyone 'Just' from the time of our Lord to this point, led the church of Jerusalem. Many were called James at that time time, but he was holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine or fermented drink, nor did he eat anything that had a breath of life. No razor went on his head. He did not anoint himself and he never used baths. He alone had the authority to enter into the Holy of Holies for he did not put on him wool but linen. He used to go into the temple alone and be found kneeling and begging for forgiveness on behalf of the people until his knees grew hard like those of camel - he was constantly kneeling and worshipping God, begging for forgiveness of behalf of his people.

⁴⁷¹ Hier. and Arm. 2077. Full account is in Euseb., EH II xxiii 1–2, 4–18.

oal ped ion poo le per a set plas partans el abill. oals الصحصـ[٥٥] لا صميم ٥٥٥. عبطم المعلا ١١عم ود دوتا. وص حدود حدكموم صلامهكم ١٥٥٠ صحياً صعل ١٥٥١ وم وسكا مده مع سعا وحكور. وأسر وحصاحا معصما موا عطم معمله. معمل قد رهمت ممحت ماتاب عدم موتوما مدا[وا] حمصهارا وصي تا مدهوم احر. عدم ق.ق. هفتم ومحتم وشعب اعمان فعلاهم مع موه الله والم المرابع قه که حب اهمه خره وصد رحد مرهد الله عدد .قد هدي و محدي و محد المه و مبعل محمود اسوروب وحنى وروه موا [F27v] اهمهمها وحباا واهزمهم موسله محقول وع [عبر عنار] قدمه حريقات ومبعد والمكروة لاناه مع فعلم بعد بعد من الأناء صنعتكا ونطا ومكنفص ١٥٥٠ مكاها الموق الماها وهنا الماها وهنا الماها وهنا الماها ومجلا هما مع مكتبل لمؤونه اهمهمهما والمؤملط منسماهم وع وملهم وصل هوبا. المحمود [100] خطربها. والحرب موه كه ويحفوز مصعوباً وهمسا كنع صعا عده. وه وم حدة مع رجيد مصوصا وعدهم حطا ومدا حدم عمد ادور حدورهما. وحزه به والاه معنى معمل معسل دور لا اعصه ويصحن صهوماه: معلا ولحلم صميع موا وروسل موه على يعينها وروحتا وسعمه ووسك هما وحدة المومد المحسود كان رسا ولان مال والان والما والمعالم والمعالم الما المحسود المحسود المالم المالم المالم المالم المالم ما كامر حده حرصاً. وولا ومعا ومعرجونا المانة موما معانصيداً والعرف محمود وع اسه وحنى الله واوسط مع حصم معمده الله ومن وبي محرمل حمداً. وه وحن حباً واهزم معرف معرف وصيتاً أما هما ومعمن همه مصور ده صوراء هما وب مع حزهة واحده عبيما دوا. وسعزا ومعزا 472 لا المكان وحرم واسك حده تعمل لا احد. ومعرصا علا ومعه لا تعكف. ومعمل لا معمد وحجما لا المسعد كويا حكوووون على موا كوركار ومعصب موه كره وجزير على حوزجوه. وعلى موا عوجميا سك حمل عبطا والماضعة حدوده والمعلل ويحلل معلا واصطاع حزر ١٥٥ مصني المحال معلا ١٥٥ موحصا ملا معل

⁴⁷² Jac = Akk. šikāru.

On account of his virtuous righteousness, he used to be called the Just and the Rampart and the righteousness of the people, as the prophets said about him. Some among the seven sects that existed among the Jews asked him: "What is the gate of Jesus?" and he [101] said that he was the Saviour. Some of them believed that Jesus was the Christ. The afore-mentioned sects did not believe either that he rose up from the dead or that he would come to reward each one according to his deeds, but those who believed did so because of James. Now since many among the leaders of the people believed, there was a tumult of the Jews, scribes, and Pharisees, saying that the whole people were constrained to look for Jesus as the Christ. So they assembled and said to James: "We ask you to retrain the people because they are erring after Jesus as though he were the Christ. We beg you to persuade concerning Jesus all [F28r] those who came for the day of Passover (not to err after him), for we all obey you. For we and all the people testify that you are righteous and do not favour anyone. Thus you shall persuade the whole crowd not to err on account of Jesus, for the whole people and we all obey you. Therefore, stand on the battlement of the temple that you may be visible on high, and that your words may be audible to all people, for because of the Passover all the tribes with the Gentiles came together." And the scribes and the Pharisees made him stand on the battlement of the temple, and they cried and said to him: "O just one whom we all ought to obey, because the people is erring after Jesus who was crucified, tell us what is the gate of Jesus?" He answered with a loud voice, saving: 'Why are you asking me about the Son of Man? He is sitting at the right hand of the great power, and he will come on the clouds of heaven." Many were convinced and glorified (God) concerning the testimony of James, saying: "Hosanna to the Son of David." Then [102] again the scribes and the Pharisees said to each other: We did wrong that we gave Jesus such a testimony, but let us go up and throw him down so that they may be afraid and not believe him.' And they cried saying: 'Oh, oh, the just one has erred!" This fulfilled what was written in <Isaiah: Let us take the just man>473 and throw him down, for he is not profitable to us. Therefore, they shall eat the fruit of their work. Thus they went up and threw down the just one; they said to each other: "Let us stone James the Just," and they began to stone him since when he fell he did not die, but he turned and knelt, saying: 'I beg you O Lord, God, forgive them for they know not what they do.'

⁴⁷³ Insertion lacks in ms but was added by Chabot on the basis of Eusebius; C¹ 102:6.

معلا معمرها وروسماه معمنا موا روسل معوزه وحط وروسماني أب وبحتا امدي علاون. انقل مع المكن مقد التوصيف والكاولات صافة وبأ. معلكم 1000 كان. والملا ولا لمؤمل وسعمه في و [101] وع أجد حمور: ومن فينمل محدور منصف وسعم مه صعبساً. وحم وع ووقعت ومعتوم اصبي لا مومصيع ووه واهلا وعم مع حمد معتماً. اق لا وألما ونعنوه حصم المر محرقه والمحروم والمحروم معلا محمود وه ومعده. در وب صهال مع ومعدود وحمل مدور مدين ١٥٥٥ لمؤول الم ١٥٥١ وروة وا ووهدوا وووالما. وأصنع ١٥٥٥ وحدارك حده معل وبصط معمد صعيبال والمصعد وع وأصنع مده منصود: حديم صبر فكوه محدال علي ولهذا صعود وهوره صعيدال خديم صبر اهس حدلاه، [F28r] المحم والماه كموهدا وهسوالاً ملا معهد لحد يمن مح حكه لا يس رعم الله عدوب حر وحده معلم وروسل المهرد وحلقل والعد لا نصد الله. الله وصلا اهس لاول ويعا ولا يهن معهلا بعدد الد يهز ولاه معل وسع ولح assens to and to real we are forth. elool asul as Low. ower صملحم مكتب كحك معل معلى بن قصما المه مكه مقل مع معقل. وامتعود على وروا ووروا معنا وعنها. وعده واحد حدد روما وحر فلا والمهجم حكر. معلا وحمل لهد كره حكر معمد ون والهكد. الخد كم واسا وه لمؤدل ومعمد. وحبا حملًا وَحِدًا هَامِدَ: حيلًا صعلكم اللهم لحد ملا حزه وانعل هذه تلف ملا محملًا وسملًا وَحل محكم وللا ملا علت عصل مص صحال المكوزه محمص مه ملا عموماه وسمود. وامدي ١٥٥٥ اومعد حداد وووبه مبع [102] مادد ودور هديا وديما اخذع ١٥٥٥ كما سرّوا: وصعام حجرب وموص كه كمعه وأمير هوا هموماا. الله يهم ەنزىدەدە. 475 وبرسكە ، دال بەسمىدەسەد. دەسە داھزد: اد اد روسال لىجا كە. دەسمىد موں من مورم وصف حطما ونوموں عورما^{>476} معلی ولا سعس کے معلی ما حدم انتمام بادهم. هکمه ادمال داوهداد داوهما. داهن ادمال ان المحمود حروسط محمود. معنه ويضع ٥٥٥ حد. معلى وم يول لا معمد ١٥٥. الا الموهد هم حوزطا وامعة حدا أما هيم معزيا كال محوم كوهر. لا يهة نبريم معلا خدير.

⁴⁷⁴ Greek πάσχα, always referring to the Jewish Passover, while Chrisian Easter is usually عربيا.

⁴⁷⁵ Ms منهمه (sic).

⁴⁷⁶ Addition by C¹ 102:5–6 on the basis of Eusebius.

While they were thus stoning him, one of the priests, the sons of Rechab, the son of Rechabim,⁴⁷⁷ among those about whom Jeremiah the prophet testified, cried out saying: 'Stop, what are you doing? The just one is indeed praying for you!' One of them who was among the dyers took the club with which he used to squash the clothes, and hit the just one on the head and in this way he suffered martyrdom. And they buried him on the spot near the temple.

After him, Simeon son of Clopas, the brother of Joseph the suitor of Mary and the father of James, became bishop in Jerusalem. This Simeon who was called Simon became the administrator of Jerusalem after James his first-cousin.⁴⁷⁸

The year two thousand and seventy-eight (AD 64): Mark the bishop of Alexandria died and Annianus replaced him.⁴⁷⁹

The year two thousand and eighty (AD 66): A Great and terrible earthquake took place in which three cities in the land of Asia collapsed: Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossae.

During this time, The Jewish people made a rebellion. Again [103] Josephus related the misfortunes that overcame the Jewish people in addition to many other things that he described with his own words. Many high-ranking ones among the Jews were tortured with blows in Jerusalem, crucified head down, at the hands of Florus who was the procurator of Judaea. When the beginning of war stirred up in the twelfth year of the leadership of Nero, hostile unrest overcame the people throughout Syria in the rebellion that the Jews had made, for everywhere, residents of cities were mercilessly massacred as though in war. One could see the cities filled with dead bodies, unburied and thrown altogether, children, old men, [F28v] and women, not even with clothes to cover their nakedness. All the *eparchia*⁴⁸¹ were filled with indescribable afflictions. Thus the threat of atrocities prevailed and impudence was practiced every day. Josephus narrated these things that happened to the Jews with his own words.

The year two thousand and eighty-one (AD 67): Ma^cnu the king of Edessa died and Abgar son of Ma^cnu seized the kingdom for twenty years. 482

The year two thousand and eighty-two (AD 68): Nero killed all the nobles of Rome following the testimony of Christ. He also killed his wife and his three daughters and with them his sons.⁴⁸³

⁴⁷⁷ The text is confused just as the Greek original.

⁴⁷⁸ Arm.: Year 2070, Hier. Year 2072. Cf. Euseb., EH III xi.

⁴⁷⁹ Euseb., EH II xxiv; Hier. Year 2078; Arm.: Year 2077.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. Euseb., *EH* II xxvi, quoting Joseph., *Wars*, II xviii 306–308 (crucifixions); Joseph., *Antiq.*, XX xi (massacres in Syria).

⁴⁸¹ Prefectures, provinces.

⁴⁸² Ms damaged at this spot.

وم ومل فرحم ووه حره مر مع مقام حت ومد من وصم من ومعمود عصمه اوصد بحداد عجا هاجد مهاد عده صد بحرب الكه و حريمه طرل محمد ووعاد ەسەك سې ھىدەن مى مرؤا مىھا دە وخرۇ دەرا دە ھاتا. دەسىدە كى ۋىمە كروسما. مهوسا الصهود معجوده علا ومحكمه علا يعد بمنطلة مما وم مع حكوره اهممعها حادزمكم معده من مكمول. الموهد ومعد محدية ومنهم واحوود ولحمود. ولل معده والماعزة عبعه ١٥٥ عبرجال وادومعر حلاق معدد حز ووه - دحمل ق. كحتم معدنتي ماتعيا. صم مرمعا مرمعا مرموس اقتصمها والحصيروبال ١٥٥٥ حروماه اسه صد .ق. هفت ماهسي. موا زطا زط ورسل بعد حد طزما واصما موسما اكلم كرميل ه إنوه كيم معدكما. حميل رحيل عجم معزوا عمل [103] ومحقول. لمحد موصوص باس حتماً وأوزير حنصل ومدةوماً. وصيدا معكة وم استرسما صحتالاًا. صهتاا حم مع اسم وصمن 000 حدةوما الماروء حصقا حادومهم واروعه حدة وسعده. مع المؤلف فكون في والمادول العلام والمادول والمادول من المالمة الدول معاول وعتدا. حميك الزاحسة وحرجزيداه وبلزون. محصكة صفوما حجزوا وحدم مفقوما. وكمسما معزمذا أوؤم كحتب معداً. وحدك ألما مع معدة اوموستما ولا وسعد أب وحدود معممهم ١٥٥٥. مسرا ١٥٥ الع حصريتما ومحتم فيهم معتما. ولا مصنى معرب اصبرا. لمحتما معتلا [F28v] ومقل إولا الصحيط وهوتوسيمون محصد وول. وحكون ووهتوسيم 484 محكم ووو اقطبا ولا صمايع. حمي موا وم حصما ومقيما الا مدسما وحموم معمدا موا. محل احد حصدته وصمعته وحدة ولم حبه حدم . ق. هم . ق. هم ماقيع صباً. صم حده حدد وادزهده داسم حدده 485 حددما احز در حده عبتا حصته. عدم .ق. گعم ماهیم ماقلم. مها لمزه حده کده زوتوسا وقوصها ما صهروما وصعيسان مهر وم أف للماه محتمه المم محصقه بعدم.

⁴⁸³ Hier. Year 2082 (killed nobles), and 2083 (killed wife and nobles); Arm.: Year 2079 and 2080. Cf. Euseb., EH II xxv 2. Chr. 724, 116:12–[92]. See also the year 2070.

⁴⁸⁴ ὑπαρχία.

⁴⁸⁵ Sic ms.

The year two thousand and eighty-three (AD 69): Paul and Peter suffered martyrdom in Rome.⁴⁸⁶

The year two thousand and eighty-four (AD 70): God's wrath began to come upon Nero. In the same year, the Jewish people rebelled and Vespasian, the Roman military commander, marched against them with numerous troops and besieged Jerusalem. While they were besieging it, bad news began to reach Nero from all sides and he killed himself [104] with his own hands.

The year two thousand and eighty-five (AD 71): Galba and Otho seized the empire but the Roman army that was besieging Jerusalem set Vespasian as emperor; he left his son Titus (in his place) and went to Rome to rule the empire.⁴⁸⁷

The year two thousand and eighty-six (AD 72): Galba and Otho were killed and Vespasian reigned. For Josephus the writer, who is Caiaphas – he remained alive until the destruction of Jerusalem – said: "After Nero managed the empire for thirteen and a half years, and one and a half year after Galba and Otho, as Vespasian won victory over the Jews, the Roman army in Judaea established him as king and *autocrator*. He immediately entrusted the war with the Jews to his son Titus, and left for Rome."

After the ascension of our Lord, along with the insolence of the Jews toward him, they devised many plots against the Apostles. First, they stoned Stephen to death, and then after him they beheaded James the son of Zebedee. Thereafter, they contrived many deadly plots against James the brother of our Lord, and the rest of the Apostles, driving them out of the land of Judaea. But they were sent by our Lord to the nations to announce the Good News in his name. Also the people in the church of Jerusalem were commanded before the war, as if by a revelation that occurred to the distinguished among them, to get out of the city and go to dwell in a nearby city called Pella. All those who believed in Christ who were in Jerusalem (migrated), emptying it of (holy) people, so that thereafter a punishing sentence [105] from God might befall the royal city of the Jews and the entire land of Judaea on account of its temerity against Christ and his Apostles; in such a way, it would wipe out from that region that wicked generation [F29r] in its entirety. How evils happened [to the entire nation in every] place! How the inhabitants of Judaea were especially tormented by blows!

⁴⁸⁶ *Hier.* Year 2084; *Arm.*: Year 2083. Chr. 724, 116:24 [91], but see here too the year Sel. 375, 148:15–16 [114].

⁴⁸⁷ Hier. and Arm.: Year 2084. Cf. Euseb., EH III v 1; Chr. 724, 117:8–10 [91].

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. Euseb., *EH* III v 1.

⁴⁸⁹ Euseb., EH III v 1; additions in the present translation are from Eusebius.

عدل . قد كلافيم ماكل. العمر فعكف معلى منهمطا. عدل . قد كافتم ماقسم د. و عند حصلاً على ماؤه ومحراه والحماد دحة حمدا المواطن بعد ومحقوماً. ه الما محمده الصحصيص ود سيلا ووه وصيا مع سيلا صحيلاً. وبصع ملا المؤهد ود سمعي محمنة. وعن حملاً حد حازه صحياً حتماً مع محرحتم مهر يعمد [104] وقاده وسلا وملا المؤهم العلاده للهوهسي معجم كهله حزاد دود ادالا كعسب 400 مكوم الله هجم الوم ماهيم مقلا المملا يكدا والمان واصحر الصعصيف. امد رهد مصحوص محمدال واده منظم مها وموس حستا برحا لمساوحا وادومه مع حدو ومع باور محمدا المحمسة من وهيرة. وحمو يحد والمان عدا موكية. والصعصيوص بي حصاحا وحم محقوباً. حة حموه اصحه سال ووهوهما واسل 100 ماصي. و100 معتدا دادكهمنهوز وصيرة المعلا مندا وعم مدةوما كهلهم حنه. دود الله حدد حنود مع حمة معده وهنامع. عم معنسدادد, ومدةولم وحداد يقلا صهتاا ملا مكتسا الهيده. ومرضاع مهلاه للصهوري حقاها. واود مع حكرزه قعم كزيمه وحز رحب ممود. مادد كممود اسورد ومني. مكمزط وبع ومحتسا هوزها صها المعنه حدى اب وحمدال دووه الم مع اولم ومدهور ولم وم والعموة مع معنى حصم مقمل حمدوره صحال حمده. أف معل وم وموال وحادة عجر. أب ومع كميا واددا ملا بهتا وحدد مرم منط المعمر ادد ومد والعمر صنة مع موسلال وباركم ويعدون حددا حموسلال وملامزيا فكلا دوكوه الكم واسد موا حاوزهم وصورهب مصميل أمر ويهمزور هدة أتعل موسي بالما عكمة وبدا [105] واحدكما مع كلما. علمة على مدينه معكما وبمقوبا: معلا حكة ازيا وبموو: ملا معيم وامدنس ملا معمسل معمسل معمسل ومدونة محدة عندا [F29r] وقعمل مع انه المؤل وأمكم وم حتمال رجم [حدكه معل حدي] المؤ. دوامصل معدوًا ومهوو حفية حتما مكنواهم المكلمه.

⁴⁹⁰ Phonetic for حصلم.

How many myriads fell altogether to sword, famine, various deadly torments, and pillaging, which happened to several cities of Judaea! How terrible tribulations were witnessed in Jerusalem by those who fled to seek refuge in it, as if to a fortified capital! He who wants to diligently learn about the patterns of the whole war and the many details of what had happened in it – how at the end the sign of the abominable desolation described by the prophet was set up in the famous temple which was of old that of God, and how it was completely destroyed by fire – can learn from the account of Josephus who wrote (them) down. This Josephus shows how about three million souls gathered from all of Judaea during the days of the feast of the Passover, and went to Jerusalem and were shut up in it as if in prison. We ought to acknowledge that it was right that in the same days they gathered to act impudently against the Saviour and the benefactor of all, Christ the Son of God, they should be shut up as if in a prison, and suffer the destruction as a consequence of the just sentence of God.

On the famine that gripped the Jews⁴⁹¹

I shall leave out the many details of what happened to the Jews by sword and by other ways, [106] and relate only the severe afflictions that overtook them through famine, so that those who will read this book will realize, even if partially, the punishment of God that quickly reached them, due to their insolence against Christ. Now take up the fifth book of Josephus and read about what had happened to them at this time. He thus says: 'For those who had (possession), remaining or perishing was the same. One would die because of his possession, by fabricating against him the charge of seeking to surrender the Romans. Along with the famine, the audacity of the troublemakers grew intense and both things blazed fiercely everyday. As for wheat, it could not be seen <overtly>492 anywhere for they burst into houses and searched them, and if they found any with people who would deny it, they would beat them up.If they found people hiding it out of hardship they would torture them. The physical look of the miserable ones gave evidence whether or not they had any (wheat). Those whose bodies were healthy hoped that some provisions would be supplied for them, but to kill those about to die out of hunger was thoughtless. Many secretly exchanged their property for a single kaylā-measure of wheat if they were rich, and of barley if they were poor. They used to hide themselves deep inside houses, some eating grain as they were, unground, out of extreme want, while others would cook them as necessity required.

⁴⁹¹ Cf. Euseb., EH III v–vi; additions in the translation are from this source.

⁴⁹² The phrase "in Galilee" is not in Eusebius.

ووصط وحداً احسرا حصيها وحدها وحلمووها صحياً ومعماً بعده. وعجما وهوا حمرتها صهتا ومده ود الحر متعما معتما مره من طاوعه الحر وعزمه ١٥٥٥ كعكريمهم حنه. اسب وكعبسكا سعسكار والمحتعدون وحكه منظر ودر ويبع حد حعته عته. مواسعا معم حسنا الما ولهدها وسهوط الب واهمة حبصا ملا هه صطل صعصه ا والماهور هما مع موسم والمحال والحيل المست معمله حدوال المل وزجا وللحد سلامات مع المعملا ومصدوم واحلات مول وللحد. والحيا وم معمدا وه ولل مصنعوه والمصم وهوه مع مكن موه مقصله وطوا وقعما. وأب وصد اهمة مكه ه المسحمة حاه زمكر اب الحمطا وحم يعقمال فلا حر ويدوس وه وه مه المن وحمية عة حدا ومر صمع ١٥٥٥ احزم ملا عزهما. ومحم لهذا وصلا معمل منه والماها. وحده بالمسجعة المر وحصل العبرا. وبعده احبل مع وبده حابل والماها. ماهم ملا عصل واسر موا الم حموة مرا. المحوم وع المحم وحصة عدة رجم الم حموة ولم حصيفا وحاصفتها استبار [106] واحد حصور ملا اقطها مدينا وأوزم الم حقفال وافع حصلا المكم وعنى حامل حلاجل الدوه برمع وهم حزيما وهندهاهم ولا معسل حيياً أوزير المار مع الأمال عدم لم محملاً وسقع ومصفوها معند ومعلا ربع که ور دما: در احد ودما. واسع کم واسله و الله و اسماد و دومه اه وبادم عدا دوا حدور. وحدال من وحزودم دوه لابعد وأب وحزوهما دما وبعجور أدم مان معلا مسه. ورمعه مع دفيا أو منسامه وميه قا مسا مها. وحلوم اقلمه وكم حتما ممرورك وقد سيًّا وم حصكا الله حوم مكس قود. عمن ١٥٥ مملكم معدب قمل مار به ومعدسم ١٥٥ هرم ملا العتم مدهن مسل ١٥٥٥ ك٥٥١. والا صعصب ٥٥٥ أب ولانقل وص اهريا لهده صعيص ١٥٥٥ ك٥٥١. المتهما وع وأر الم موا للنقل حوم أو لل. سرا وكتمون ووقيا المن مويا. والمن مدون ومصمعم ١٥٥٥ كيتمور. مصلحني ١٥٥٥ وصحبال مرم معناسا ١٥٥١ ك٥٥١، ومهلام وع للمحم وحدوره م منص ١٥٥٥ حصم ١٥٥١ ولا صمعما المدة ١٥٥١. هيمال وع عسده و حلامها مسلام هده حسر صلا وشهل ال ملاتا المده وهد وال محصص حصدتال مصطعب ١٥٥٠ بعمه وقدم كالم مده ومع وفي والمحملا المراد الم واسم سها احكم ٥٥٥ كمر. وبالا لهستم. اسم وم واهم ٥٥٥ اس والنما همرا ١٥٥١.

 $^{^{493}}$ Sic ms; C¹ 106:12 corrected to \searrow .

No table [107] was ever prepared anywhere, and while the food was not yet cooked, some snatched it from the fire to eat it. [F29v] This food was pitiful and this scene worthy of tears: the strong stole it from their friends and the weak wailed. The distressing hunger intensified all sufferings, and there is nothing like it in destroying shame. For things that were worthy of respect under other circumstances, in (the famine) they are despised. Women snatched food from the mouths of their husbands, children from their fathers, and what was most reprehensible of all, mothers from the mouth of their infants; while their beloved ones were withering away in their arms, they had no pity as they took away the last drops of their lives. And while they were eating in this manner, they were not able to hide anything, for the troublemakers appeared everywhere to capture the very thing that they had snatched. For whenever they saw a house shut up, it was an indication that those who were inside it were consuming some food, and immediately the troublemakers would break down the doors, rush in and press the food in their throats to bring it out. Old men were beaten up for withholding sustenance, and women who were hiding any were dragged by their hair. There was no pity for gray-headed people or for infants, but they picked up infants holding food and dashed them on the ground. They were exceptionally harsh toward those who, anticipating their entrance and before being seized by them, consumed their food, as if the former oppressed the latter. [108] And they devised evil means of torture for the discovery of food, blocking up the privy passages of the tortured victims with bitter herbs, and forcing sharp stakes into their buttocks. What a man endured to confess (the possession) of one loaf and concerning a handful of barley flour is terrible even to hear. But the torturers did not suffer hunger at all and the cruelty would have looked less in their eyes if they plundered out of necessity. They trained themselves in cruelty and secured food in anticipation for days to come. Some crept out to get out by night to the Roman post to gather wild herbs and grass, but just when they thought that they had escaped their enemies, they would confront them to plunder whatever they were carrying. They begged them many times over and abjured them in the awful name of God to give them a small portion of what they had endured <and been constrained> to bring, but they would not give them anything back. With their plundering they loved the fact that they did not perish at all!

معلمة [107] كهمة حبوب لا علم موا. معين مع يوزا سلهم موه واحكم كن حصدنا و لا حملا. وسعا وم اسمان موم من [F29v] محدكما. وحرمتا عدم موما بور سال والحم وسيكان مع سجيده مسلهم مده كذر والحم وجيدم عام مدهد حد سعم سعم أدكريه ودفيل وحوم وحدد ولا دولال ادوله حمل إجفال عن وحيط اسزيا عقع كلسطريا ده ربعة ومكه علامتها. نقا مع رحتهم. ولهكتا مع احدية والمعلل مع حدم المتقاده والمحقول مع فقصده المح المقاده المقادة ا كعده كلا. مدم وسعده حلتهم شعب مهده. لا سنعم مدة ويعدم فالهدا وستنمهم. وحب وصل احكم ووه. كعلمه لا معمدسم وهه. حدم ووبر معلمم وهه ونور محقما. معروص ١٥٥٠ كه كه عرم وسلهم ١٥٥٠ اعكم عن وسرم ١٥٥٠ حرمر الزمل واسب. الما موما موا والمك والم كه هده وهوم محدكما احكم موه. وهدون مكري موه كه مرب كالولاد معوفي موه مكل مع المناهم. سربي مه معهم كن حكيم ١٥٥٥ وع هذا ٧٠٠ وهسمهم ١٥٥٥ حن حصد ال معدلم ١٥٥ همزا وبقا وهلهم ١٥٥٠ حبرم ومحدد الله المار وسعد الله معتدا ملا محورا المتحور المن معلى ١٥٥٥ كوه، وحدة حصده كلا لمكم ووه كوه معمدم علا افعل المكم وم وعبط وسكم. عبصم ٥٥٥ ه احكم كن خصوه كلال على ولا أوزم انور أنه أنقل وهم لهجم الملهجمة صلاحزمن [108] ١٥٥٥. وصلاحزهم ٥٥٥ وبعصم وتنا حتما وعتبا حميا وهدماً. صمتا رحمة صحبح ٥٥٥ حسمهم وهمتما ممتلا ستعل صبح ٥٥٥ حمة احمور. وروحا دورا وبي الا خصصدها معرم وصحال وما المع حصورسما وسرا جزيرا وحالا مطا عدا محسل وهدة ال معممتنده العلا معدم عديم ١٥٥٥ حيزا ١٥٥٨ وم ١٥٩ معمالا حستسهم وحاسما سلهم ههه مهمونهم ههه حة حمدها مروة معرمه ههه صمميع كان كن وم حكومي اللك وم وفعص معميلا ووان والمعلم حظماً. وتحملهم عومل ووجها معصداً. أوجع ١٥٥٥ ك٥٥م. معل واها هجه وأهوه مع حكرحصةه ملهم مهده معده موه مرم وأمله وصطراحت محمدهم مده كههر. حر معوصع کهه روی معل وسلا واکه از والکه که که مدلا محلا محلا مح وه معرم والمازوه حوالمالكم والمحمد ومعرم عدد لا محم وهو كوه المحمد وما كوه وم هوا وهادم لا بادره بعر اسكورمهه.

⁴⁹⁴ Ms وكدا (sic).

After a short while he (=Josephus) adds saying: 'For the Jews, their exit (of the city) was cut off and so was at the same time their hope of life. When the famine grew severe in all houses and all families, and as it was eating up the people, house-tops became filled with women and children, loose and discarded, and the outer spaces with dead old men. Shaking, 495 children and young girls wandered like ghosts through the market-places, and collapsed [F30r] wherever agony overtook any of them. The sufferers were not able to bury even their loved ones and he [109] who had the strength hesitated on account of the multitude of the dead and the uncertainty of what would happen to him. For many collapsed dead over the ones that they were burying, while many died before they reached the graves. In these bitter calamities there was no lamentation or crying, for famine hardened all affections, and those tortured to death looked with dry eyes on the ones who preceded them to death. Deep silence and nights full of death encompassed the city. Bandits were worse than all of these, for they robbed the dead in their own houses, stripping the covers of their bodies and laughing, and went out. They tested the edge of their swords on the dead bodies, and even run them through those who were fallen but still alive. Those who begged them to stretch the right hand and the sword (to kill them) so as to be delivered of the famine they contemptuously disregarded. Every one of those who died fixed his eyes on the temple, for it left the troublemakers living. At first, it was ordered that these be buried out of the public treasury, for they could not bear the bad smell, but when they were not able to bury anymore, they threw them from the wall into the valleys. When Titus passed by those valleys and saw that they were filled with the dead and putrefaction was running from the corpses, he groaned, raised his hands upward, and called God as witness: 'This deed does not come from me.'

After Josephus spoke a little bit he added: 'I cannot prevent myself from stating the very thing that the emotion commanded me to tell. I think that if the Romans did not lately come against these insolent ones, the city would have been swallowed up by a chasm or she would have perished by a deluge, [110] or a sodomite fire would have been sent against her, for God tolerated this godless generation more than those who had suffered these things. By the insolence of these (bandits) the whole nation perished with them.'

The Greek reads 'swelled up' (perhaps out of famine) and this is how Chabot translated 'intumescebant.' But $\sqrt{10}$ 'to shake, tremble,' etc., makes better sense; see Sokoloff, *Lexicon*, p. 895.

محكة مكس معصف مامن. وكمتوبا كم بعده بم معصلهم المعسم مما هدنا وستسهور. وحر سعم هوا دهدا حدال حداث وحدال مترح وزيا هوا حده خيطا. المتا رب وحكم ١٥٥٥ بقا ولاحتا وهمن وهبر وحتدا هذا متمال لهنتا وم وحميهما صده، سعل وبصحنه، ١٥٥٥ وع كسخنصه، لا صعصب ١٥٥٥ أسكم وصعدم ١٥٥٥ ماسلا [109] وصبعهم ووا محم ووا معلم والمراه معمل مع المراه ومعلم المراه ومعلم المراه والمراه والمراع والمراه والمراه والمراه والمراع مول هيتال رعمة معده ولا معده ومور ومدي ومدي موه معملي. هيتال وع وحالا بعمهم حمحتا صمع ١٥٥٠ محمح القريا حتنا كما محصا حمد ١٥٠ معما رب حدوه وموس مقل مع ماد وحنته بهتما معتم حمولا دوس وموس مورد حصم سنزم ١٥٥٠ علما وم مصما سرن ١٥٥ كن حصرسا هلا وطلا صمال محم وكوم وكم كهلتا صعب وده. صبحب وده من كعتما حدماده. واحسما وهايمه معملس ١٥٥٥ دور رسم مع امع نعمم ١٥٥٥ دمم ١٥٥٥ حمودا وهتصمه حكية المتكاد هاف حمد وعبع مدوس سبع مددع مهه كهه. للمع وصدمته وه ولهمه مصل مصل ويهده مع دهد مدمع وده مده حموده زاد دهده وج وضمع مده عصب سب هده مسنده دهمطا طرو مدا ومحمد مدا کهه رحمیقعا در سنب هدر ور دموها مع در را ورها ورهمدور متما همور ١٥٥٥. صح الله معسمت ١٥٥٥ وسيل صعل. در وبي خممد لل معمي ١٥٥٥ من عدوا حتملا عبع ١٥٥٥ ك٥٥٥. كهوه وبع حبر ١٥٥ علا مثلا ١٥٥٩ وملاع متكار ەۋەللا وۋول مے قےتال المالس داؤنم التردون خدے دمنا ھدووا للکوا: ووبل کم ھوجنالالا ١٥٥ مع ولحد. ومع وامع: محمل مصموم اومود: لا حم محاطل الل حمامة وه موم وحلط قعم حد واحديمه في قد الل وم واحد وموصل المكامنة مه وبلاه ملا محمد حتسا. أه حموماً محمدها موماً. أه حجوفيا أحرا موما من [110] مرسماً. أه يوزا صروصها صعدوفه هوم محنن مهن مع وسه وسعه حدمي صدة كده لادوا عندلاً. والمانة ولا كله ال حديد معند الماد و محد المره معده والمادة والمادة ولا كله المره معده والمادة والمادة

⁴⁹⁶ Phonetic for امعل; √رلعه,

Also in the sixth book he wrote thus: 'Of the people who were ravaged by the famine in the city a multitude who could not be numbered fell and it was not possible for their sufferings to be described. For in every house where even the shadow of food appeared, there was fighting and loved ones came upon one another to snatch the miserable provision of life. Not even if they were dying were they believed to be destitute, since those bandits searched the ones on the verge of death lest one of them expired while there was something in his pocket. Others, with their mouths gaping out of want of food, were cast like dogs while rotting. Children went around wandering and on doors they reeled like drunken men, and out of the affliction that surrounded them [F30v] they would jump into the same houses twice or three times in the same hour. Necessity turned anything into food, and things that even the filthiest beasts would not eat, people would glean and eat. Nor did they abstain at the end from eating even leather belts and stirrups, and they stripped the hides covering their shields to chew. Wisps of old straw became food, while some people collected stubble, one by one, and sold tiny measures each for four assarion.497

But what requires us to speak [111] about the afflicted⁴⁹⁸ among the inanimate things by famine? I have to show a deed the likeness of which is not said to have occurred among the Greeks or the Barbarians, no matter how horrible it is to tell and incredible to hear. I would have gladly omitted and avoided the story, lest I be thought to have introduced to people a new sensation, had I not had countless witnesses. Surely I should offer to the members of my nation a little comfort if I omit in my account the thing that was perpetrated in deed. There was a woman among the residents of Trans-Jordan whose name was Mariam, daughter of Eleazar of the village named Bet-Hezor, which means the 'House of Hyssop.' She was famous on account of her family and wealth, and had fled with many to seek refuge in Jerusalem where she was shut up. Those tyrants seized the property of this one which she brought with her from Trans-Jordan to the city. What was left to her from utensils and food, and some other things that she might have had, armed men jumped in and snatched them away. She grumbled bitterly, and kept insulting them and cursing them to entice them to kill her – none killed her neither out of fury nor even out of real pity. Also, if she would really find whatever food, she would in fact toil for others, as it was desolate on all sides to find anything, and the famine – and more than famine [112], the anger that was raging - overwhelmed wombs and marrow.

 $^{^{497}}$ Roman currency; in Euseb., EH III vi, it is 'Attic drachmae,' about half a crown or sixty cents.

⁴⁹⁸ å•• Ethpalpal part. m. p.

ماهد حصوبا وعما محمل احمد. واسلم ومع دهما معمسمكم مده حصوبها موكم مده حصل صها إلا صبع. مسعته ورم وم الله المعمل من المحال المعمل الما وهما الما اهي لهضا وصدياً. عند موا موا. در سر على سر المع موه سحتط. وسلهم موه رقوا وقيل وبعمل لا وم صمهمسي ٥٥٥ حن حرفيدهال العلا عبر صمعي. الله الع كنه وصمي ١٥٥٥ صحرب ١٥٥٥ ك٥٥١ فنه كصهماً. وكعل عبد الله حدوده والعد هدوه طبور. أووده صوراله داستدا مع رؤسوم اده و عديه دوه ووصنده عبر الم وحدًا دهنه حمر. معدة العلامة من من من الأمر على الأمر المنا [F30v] معدة المحرب المنا ال ما كمان عن كان حداد معافي ما كان ما كلا معداد سبار ما كلا معداد سبار ما كلا معداد سبار ما كلا معداد سبار ما كلا معداد معداد سبار ما كلا معداد مع اللما وع محما مدما مده محده معرا والله ستما عبدا ادح محمل ٥٥٥ ه العلميد العلل المنظم من عنه والعن سرّا ووهم ولل المنا المعلم من محقط ومنصم الم صدرًا مهم موا معكسي. مدوكما موما الد وبعيزا علما. صحفهم ١٥٥٥ سن سب کلا. صرحب صفال الماؤا طروحل العابي. صلا وح محمد کے وباعد می [111] وحماسهم ۱۵۰۰ وحویل حامل وولا تعمل اس. اس حد رحمة واسما محبرا واصماءه لا مهما حمد مقدا. ملا حمد حددنا معممل والعمدند. وروسكا بوه وع ومكمدك مكممسكا مهلا خصكه مسه ولا وع الصكاحة ومع يعمد صد الل اومدولا سبال حسيما سباله بسياله بين مدوحله وفيه وبدو كن حاول المعملال ول واسم موا حد صورًا ولا صبح. الله اف لهدورا حربنا حديد عصد خدر مؤسم. والمصل مع محكما واذه معيم وحنفيا المكامعة. الكلا سيا مع اذبي وحصيه ٥٥٥ حديدا وعاؤوب. وعصدة 100 صنير. حناه وحرو. مع عنها وعصة حمد مرهو. وصماؤره حما وروها. وحلمه وحدوازا الكا وولا ببدكا. مزمل وبي مع صيتا لحمله وصو حادة عكور والمستعم لمحى. عيمية ولم وادوا واد والممم خطة مع خدود ولمؤول خصوبه إلى سلاقه ورب المنا معنط ورج وقع كن مع ماتل والمعملا وصحال وموم ال صعدمت موا كن عوزم موه مكم مسلهم كن فيه كحتم رسل بود وم حكومط ١٥٥١ حزيزاها ، ورحت صيما ، مرسل ١٥٥١ محمل ١٥٥١ وليزا اله ، ٥٥ محملات در وب لا حب هوزال ولا حزسه موسع مواسع مول سر مدور ومهل كن أه معصد أ معصل وه معن معرم معدناً. للمتها وه معلا وها. مع والم المتها وها الد كمعمصة معبرم. قفيل وم المكركي ووا حرسما وحمدسا. ومكن مع عقيل [112] ممكلا وصمحولا ١٥٥١.

 $^{^{499}}$ C¹ 111:1 and n.1 changed to יפא (wrongly reported as יפא (was changed to יפא (wrongly reported as יפא (איי

Now this woman took council from furor and necessity: she assailed nature and seized her son who was a suckling and said: 'Wretched infant, why am I keeping you in war, famine, and rebellion? Even though we are alive, it is slavery for the Romans. Even famine takes precedence over slavery and the thieves are worse than both. Come now and be food for me, a fury to troublemakers and to the whole world an example which is the only one lacking in the suffering of the Jews.' After she said these words she killed her son, cooked him, ate half, and covered up and kept the rest. Immediately, the troublemakers came to the smell of this abominable deed, [F31r] drew their swords and threatened to kill her if she would not show them whatever she prepared (as food). She told them right away: I have kept a good portion for you from what I had set aside from my son!' As soon as she uncovered (the remnant) to show them, they were seized by terror, turned frantic, and were transfixed at the sight. But she said: 'This was my beloved son and the deed is mine. Take and eat for I too have eaten. Now do not be weaker than a woman and more compassionate than a mother. But if you play just and turn away from my slaughtering, I have already eaten and what remains I will keep for myself.' Thereafter they went out of there trembling and fearful, but they barely left this food to the woman. Immediately the whole city was filled with this abominable news and every person, holding this pain before his eyes, dreaded it as if he himself had committed it. The tormented ones by famine longed for death, and a blessing [113] was given to all who died before hearing about and seeing such evil doings as these.'

Also concerning some of what Christ had predicted and prophesied⁵⁰⁰

Such was the reward that overtook the Jews on account of the iniquity and impiety that they had against Christ God. It is fitting to recall in comparison these prophetic words of our Saviour that did not go wrong: Woe unto the pregnant ones and those who give suck in those days, but pray that your flight be not in the winter and not on a Sabbath, for there shall be great affliction such as was not from the day the world began to exist until now, nor shall be.⁵⁰¹

Concerning the number of those who perished in the famine, pestilence, sword, and the captivity to which they were led.⁵⁰²

⁵⁰⁰ Euseb., EH III vii 1.

⁵⁰¹ Mt 24:19–21.

⁵⁰² Euseb., EH III vii 2.

هد وب هوا الما محمل مع ربعا مع اللما للمدم مدل مصل ملا مدان واسم موا مه وسم سحدا. سهومه واصبرا. مهوا وصل حصود وحدودا والا حميه عما حصه الهنب الى سنع ١٥٥٠ محرما ١٥٠ وو٥٥٠ الله كن حمدوما عرم كن دها. وصع الماموم صورت مركم مصلها الم موسل مود مد محدود ماد مود حمية عل حسداً محدده محمل صالل. وره محسوده سعنا رددا مع امكريده ومحقوماً. وحب وحب احديا عليه حديد. ولهده واحده فكيا ومعنط صعبه والهدا. وصيرة أوزير ميقما حزسا والا صوحولا [F31r] وصوحاً. معمل وبي صنعمون محمدسمي ٥٥٥ وسهدان. الله صدما ١٥٥ حده، ١٥٥ حدم ولهديد. بور وي مع سوا العنا كنه، واق عدلما لهدا نهنا كده، مع معنم واماؤلا مع حند. وكل مسملا المه. وصيرة اسبا المه ومحما وعسه. ومحمه مع سوال بول ومع المعنا . وول حزا وول ومحمد محمداً وصودنا وسك وه. هده احداد. أو الما احكاد لا محمال المهم وهم مع الماا اهلا حنسسه مع احداد ال وم الكاهل حاللا الكاهل ومع يحصكا ومحد معمالكم الكاهل اللَّه به معل احكم. محبرم وهع نهنا ك، مع حكمة به صعيد بعده مع امع حم فالمع ووسمكي. وكعسم أفي دوا صدياً عدم كن كور الكلا. وهسبن المعكم دكن صبيدا مع ولا معمل معسما. وحصه عبرم منقون هام ووا مره مول مادا. وأب وه وره هدنه ولا موا هده. سعمهامه وهدتم حدول موا مها لحمد ولا الله صمره وه اللك ومرم وصمه عبلا بعصور وسور وأب ولا مكم حتمال لاهد ملا صرم صرم ومرم احد والماحد صعيدا. وأنه ولا حوزيل أوزير ووا حدوة ولا علا عددور ەزەھدەن، وىدې دىدھىدا كەل. روم مەدا ولكىم كەكى بدىدادە وھزەمى. ولا الموكلة واحد: وه حملتما ملاحم وهتم حصم قعمال رحه وم ولا سما حاصمه حصمال ملا حمد ١٨. ١٥٥١ عن ١٥٨ با وحل ولا ١٥٥١ احداده مع عاصل و١٥٥١ محمدا. معرصا حمدا:

ملا مدعما واسلم واحر حدوما محمداما محصدها محمدما مامد الموجز.

This writer⁵⁰³ calculated the number of those who had perished in the famine and sword, saying that it was one hundred and ten myriads, that is one thousand thousand and one hundred thousand.⁵⁰⁴ The rest of the bandits and troublemakers, having been identified by one another, were killed after the destruction (of the city). But the youth, tall in stature and distinguished in look, were kept for the spectators. People seventeen years old and above were detained and sent to Egypt to labour. Many were allotted to territories to be destroyed in the theatres by the sword and by beasts. Those seventeen years of age and below were carried away and sold and they numbered ninety thousand.

These things took place in the second year of Vespasian, which was the year two thousand and eighty-seven of Abraham (AD 73), in accordance with the foreknowledge of our Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, who by the great power of his divinity saw beforehand and prophesied the things that were bound to happen just as they happened. He cried over the city [114] according to what is written in the Holy Gospel, saying – for this is what he said to Jerusalem herself: If you had known the day of your peace! But it is hidden from your eyes. The days shall come upon you when your enemies shall encircle you and afflict you [F31v] on all of your sides, and shall destroy you and your sons inside you. 505 Then he said concerning the people: There shall be great distress on the earth and fierce wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be taken away captive to all the Gentiles. And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles are ended. 506 And again he said: When you shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, then you know that its desolation has arrived. 507 When someone compares the words of our Saviour with this author (=Josephus) who spoke concerning the whole war, how can he fail to admire the immensely magnificent foreknowledge of our Saviour and confess that it is of God?⁵⁰⁸

Nothing requires us to add anything else to these accounts that happened to the whole Hebrew nation after the passion of our Saviour – the Jewish crowds cried out asking to keep in life the robber and the murderer, and begged that the Life-giver be taken away from them.⁵⁰⁹ But we ought to add to the accounts the manifestation of the compassion and diligence of his grace for forty full years after their impudence toward Christ, God gave up their destruction.

⁵⁰³ Josephus is not mentioned in the original Greek, but see his *Wars*, VI ix.

⁵⁰⁴ All in all: 1,100,000.

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Luke 19:42.

⁵⁰⁶ Luke 21:23–24.

⁵⁰⁷ Luke 16:20.

⁵⁰⁸ The feminine copula, subscript, was missed by C¹ 114:15 and n. 5.

⁵⁰⁹ Reference to the trial of Jesus; Mt 27:15–22.

بهه وب بها محمحل صعه حمل صبيل والحل واحره حدها محصيفا. واحد وموا ما محسة وحور. وه وع كوا والحفيد وها كهيه منط وع ووه لهمكنا ومحقما مع حلمة سەزدة المعلاه. در وقد صفع وه حسوراً المحرور ولا ولا وقعم حمقهمهمى، مصلافي هده حسرال المالين وبده كسرة بل عنط وبي وبعدل مع حز محسة منتي محديد. الماهنه هامموزه حصرفي حدملا. صحال بي المعلى للمؤما وللحرور حسرة لل محصتها محستهاا. والمحمور مع حز محمسة المنع وحكسم. الملاحدة واروحدة. ووفع ووه وحديد لمقدم هوتي. وحدم الملاحدة حميد الماع والصفصية والمان عدل .ق. هجم ماقيم معقد الجوهر واب معصبهما مبكه وهناهم معنى معمد محمسال وه وحسلا وط والموماه عبور سرا والماحد المكم ومكنتي وقد حصه العمل وهذا وحمد محمل محمد مرسما [114] الم ومحمد حاميهم ميسا واحد: واحد ووا حن الوزمخ وصل هد حم مرحم محمد ومحمد. الل المحمد حم مع مستصر بالمام حص مقمعال وسيزومص معطر مستصر مالم وبصر [F31v] مع ما صهرمت. وبصبحون ولحنته حهوف ولاهم علا يعد اعدز بهوا لام اوليا وط مل اذیا هزوریا سعید مل معل ها. هدی دوم و بیزدا. هماده ردی حصمتي. هاه و على معلى مع عصم عصم المعلى و المعلى الما والمعلى الماء المعنى الماء المعنى الماء المعنى وحل وسركاه الماومكم وسبه كن سلا صبح لمولك وصله كه سوودة و العا محد تعسم انع محقود وهزوم حويا معمديا. وامن علا علاه مندا. أبعيا لا علاوز ومحسل زوزدام معصومه مومه وهزوم. وبوا ومناه آوواهوا بوداده المدالة المحسل ووزمه المحسلة وع ورسم حصل ومحتما مع حكمة سعه وهناهم. وقل مدم وحده صعا ومدةوما. ومدى ٥٥٥ الا عالم كن يسعل معهدلا وسأل مكن مهمدا وستا معاصف ٥٥٥ وتعلم معده وروسه وم ملا محم المنتما موم لا معمد كي محم وم وو وم وبعد حمر. الحر ولمقدلا الل وهنسطله محلمها ولمتحداه. واقديم عتم اصبرا مع حكرة صنيدهام وحلا صعيدال المحد مع احيده.

⁵¹⁰ C1 114 n. 5: 300, but C1 114:15 reflects the content of the ms!

Throughout the years many among his disciples and apostles, and James the brother of our Lord who was the first bishop, were still alive and going around in Jerusalem itself, remaining in the region like a strong wall. The divine Providence remained patient up to this point: perhaps [115] the people would return, repenting over what they had done, and would obtain forgiveness and life.

Also, concerning the signs that took place before the war⁵¹¹

In addition to all this (divine) patience, the people were given astonishing signs of what would happen to them if they did not repent. These matters have also been thought worthy of mention in the accounts of the writer whom we mentioned earlier. Nothing prevents us from including them while we go through the book.

Take, then, and read what he related in the sixth book, speaking thus: 'During this time imposters bearing false witness against God were exhorting the miserable people to not consider or believe the famous signs which announced beforehand the destruction that was about to happen. Rather, just as people whose reason was taken away and had neither eyes nor soul, so did they neglect the proclamation of God.

First, a star looking like a lance stood upright over the city and lasted for a year. 512 And again before they rebelled and the war broke out against them, while the people were gathered on the day of unleavened bread on the eighth of Nāsōn (April), at the ninth hour of the night, a light shone on the altar and on the temple so brightly that one thought it was the bright day, and it lasted there for half an hour. To the stupid ones this was thought to be good but the ones who knew the Holy Scriptures already perceived the events that were about to happen. Also in this same feast, [F32r] someone offered a cow for the altar and it gave birth to a lamb in the midst of the temple. Further more, the eastern gate made of copper – it was so heavy that in the evening ten men could barely shut it for it was reinforced with iron bars while at the bottom [116] had sinking bars - was seen at the sixth hour at night to have opened of itself. A few days after the feast, on the twenty-first of *Iyyōr* (May), a phantom was seen and it would seem difficult to believe this had it not been told by many who saw it. The sufferings from these signs are worthy to be believed. For before the sun sets, there appeared above the clouds in the whole chora⁵¹³ chariots and armed troops leaping and surrounding the city.

⁵¹¹ Euseb., EH III viii; the first paragraph is actually the conclusion of III vii.

⁵¹² The drawing of a comet is found in the right margin; see folio 121v for another such drawing. The second letter of the word for "year" is darkened and so it is not known if it is "year" or معمال "hour."

^{513 &}quot;Territory outside the city, rural area,"

وده مهتا مع المعتبه ومع مدتسا. ومعمد اسه ومنى ووه وه الاسهمدا مبعدا معيدا. وبر مبعدا معمل وده وده المعمدا مبعدا وبرا ورده وده وده وده وده وده وده وده وده المعدا المبعد المبعد وده وده وده وده والمبعدا والمبعدات والمبعدا والمبعدات والمبعدا

مظافاً المحالة وهفت مع مرم مندا. مل هوا حدة معينا زمسا. أو المقال المعتما المدوح حده ومرم وحلم وحلم مدار وها وحده الله المدور الله المدور وحدم المدور وحلم ومرم الله المدور وحدار ومرمع المعنى محده ومدور وحدار ومرمع المعنى محده ومدار ومرمع المعنى محده ومدار وحدار ومرمع المعنى مدور واحدة حده وحدار وحد

ونه والماه والمحال و والمحال المحل و والمحال المحل و والمحال المحل و والمحال المحل و والمحال المحال المحال المحل و والمحال المحال المحال المحال و والمحال و والمحال

⁵¹⁴ The adverb is not in C1 115:2

⁵¹⁵ Sic ms, so that the second letter is neither ^cayn nor nūn!

⁵¹⁶ Χώρα.

And again on the day of the feast called Pentecost, the priests went into the temple at night, as was their custom, and said that they first heard the noise of quacking and knocking and thereafter a sudden cry was heard saying: "We are moving from here!"

And even more terrible than these things, four years before the war, when the city was peaceful and was particularly filled with everything, a certain villager among the simple people named Joshua came to the feast in which tents are made to God as was the custom, and suddenly began to cry out in the temple: "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and against the temple, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, a voice against all the people." Day and night he went through all the streets [shouting] this in such away that some of the notable among the people complained about the bad announcement, seized this man, and struck him with heavy blows. As for him, he did not react to those who were present for his own sake, nor did he utter a word in his own defense, but cried out the afore-mentioned words as usual. [117] Now the archons⁵¹⁷ thought that the man's behaviour was from the devil, and they brought him up to the Roman hyparch, and there they lacerated him with blows to his bones, but he neither made supplication to them nor really wept; rather, in his own condition, under the groans from all kinds of blows with which he was stricken, he mostly yielded to the cry: 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem!'

The same writer recorded other remarkable accounts, for a prophetic oracle was found in Jerusalem in which it was written: ⁵¹⁸ "At that time, someone from their *chora* will rise to rule over the whole world," and they thought that this was fulfilled by Vespasian. Yet this one did not rule over the whole world but only over the Romans, and therefore this ought to apply to Christ, to whom it was said by the Father: *Ask of me, and I will give you the nations* [F32v] *for your inheritance, and the ends of the earth for your possession.* ⁵¹⁹ And again: *May he rule from sea to sea and from the rivers to the end of the earth; may the islands how down before him and his enemies lick the dust,* ⁵²⁰ *his dominion is an everlasting dominion and his kingdom from generation to generation.* ⁵²¹ During this time, the Apostles' *preaching went out to all the earth and their words to the ends of the universe,* ⁵²² as is written, and their word was heard across the world. ⁵²³

^{517 &}quot;Ruler, leader."

⁵¹⁸ Euseb., EH III viii 8.

⁵¹⁹ Ps 2:8.

⁵²⁰ Ps 72:8.

⁵²¹ Dan 4:3.

⁵²² Rom 10:18.

⁵²³ Here ends Euseb., *EH* on the tribulations of the Jews, and the following are from Eusebius' *Chronici canones*.

ماهد صوحا وعلوا وحكمنا فيهمه صلال حلام مح فيا كمما كمعمعما اب واسد موا كون ميرا. ومرضام ملا رويل وبصما العن ومعدم موه. وهم حكاز علا مع مك المكمعة والعزد وحميع سع لح مع المؤصل وأف ووستلح مع المكن كالما يحوا سع معاوسا ومعده معد موسة لل عبر اتود عتب وعندا. در صعدا مدما حرسمال معدا مدما محصوم علمزاها. أيا حماوا وده حديم ١٥٥٥ فعلم المحال المحال الم والم حيال ١٥٥٥ محم عن معل ١٥٥ حصطان ملا مع معبسان ملا مع معنزط، ملا مع أوحد وصلا مال ١٨٨ اه وعلا معلا مال علا علا عمال مقلاعال علا علا حك عمال مهوا حدكه المعمل لماحل حسمار واسبودود محدمل رحزار وصدود مسقدا ووزدهار بوه وب الحلام الا الا الا الا الا المح اله وعرصا عصم ومصع ١٥٥٠ اهلا حبور مع نعمه احد الله وم قلا مبعتا أب مبرا عمل ١٥٥١. [117] صحره وب اتودولا ومع علوا وه وهده والالم يحزاد والعموم كامودون وترموسل مامع حصيقال هومم موه كم مرمل كيوموه، وه وم لا المحد حده. اهلا محمد حدا. الا أب وأحمده عنام حد حدد علا معن ودا حد حديثها حدور صيق وصبع ١٥٥٥ ٥٥ ماهن. ود ود اوزهم مادد استرسال احتواا صمكما دورا دول محكمان ومحكما وبحيوا المكتب خارومكم وحكمت دورا حدة دويرا. وحده حدده رحباً علم انع مع حدة معنده. ومعملكم حجك محكل ودن هجرع دده ورا المحصيف عضده. وما وبي مد ما وم مد مد العمام. الله ما ووووهما حكسور روم ووسلا وووا ملا صعيبا المعاهل وأو واصن كو صر احا وعالا صير ه/ المارك حرب حقعط [F32v] كمنهاه الورد هاة مباسب حديدة واؤخلاه ماهد وسوو مع معل كنعل مع نامة ما خريعل خصة فين وأوجل مرهوات بدرم يهزيال وحبكر محددا تحدد، مدكيده حم مدكي محمر. وصحوماه كرزوزيه وحده دويا رحيا حدكة أزما تعمل هدناهم ومكتبار محققصة واحملا مكتهم اب وملاد ماه حدوهما excel ladand assop.

⁵²⁴ Greek ἄρχων.

All this time, from the fifteenth year of Tiberius and the beginning of the preaching of our Saviour, to the second year of Vespasian and the latter destruction of Jerusalem: forty-two years; from the siege during the time of Antiochus (IV): two hundred and thirty-eight years; from the second year [118] of Darius in whose days the temple that is in Jerusalem was built for the second time: five hundred and ninety years; from the first building of the temple, which took place in the time of Solomon, to the other destruction that occurred during the time of Vespasian: one thousand one hundred and three years; from Alexander the Builder, the king of Macedonia: three hundred and eighty-one years; from Abraham: two thousand and eighty-seven (years).⁵²⁵

The year two thousand and ninety of Abraham (AD 76): Holy Linus received the episcopacy of Rome and administered (it) for twelve years.

The year two thousand and ninety-two (AD 78): A severe earthquake took place in the island of Cyprus and in it three cities collapsed.

The year two thousand and ninety-four (AD 80): Vespasian the Emperor died and his son Titus ruled after him for two years and two months.

The year two thousand and ninety-six (AD 82):⁵²⁶ Titus died and his brother Domitian ruled after him for fifteen years and four months. This one launched a persecution against the Christians after Nero, killing many notable persons. He also persecuted astrologers and philosophers, driving them out of Rome. Moreover, he ordered that no one should make Christians, which meant that one should not baptize.

The year two thousand one hundred (AD 86): Abilius received the episcopacy of Alexandria and administered (it) for twelve years.

The year two thousand one hundred and one (AD 87): Abgar son of 'Izzaṭ⁵²⁷ ruled over Edessa for six years and nine months.

The year two thousand one hundred and two (AD 88): The war of the Romans and Nasamones and Dacos took place and the Romans were victorious.

⁵²⁵ Actually Abr. 2087 corresponds to AD 73 and Sel. 382 corresponds to AD 70!

⁵²⁶ Hier. Year 2096 (Domitian ruled for 15 and 5 months); Arm.: s.a. 2096 (Domitian ruled for 16 years). On the persecution see Euseb., EH III xvii; see also Chr. 724, 119 [93]; Mich. Syr. 105c [170].

^{527 (}Izzat (spelled differently above) is a name of Arab origin.

صدومه به وه رحل حبط حمل انهام بهذه بالمحسوص مسونون اسنا باه نسمطر. مع ملك سعط المحتور المعلم به المحتور المحتور المحتور به المحتور بانها بالمحتور بانها بالمحتور المحتور الم

⁵²⁸ Title missed in C¹ 118:5.

⁵²⁹ C1 118:20 , Lo (sic).

The year two thousand one hundred and six (AD 92): Abgar, king of Edessa, died. On account of the love of leadership, they (=the Edessenes) did not submit to any leader, and thus [119] they remained in disputes for two years. Thereafter, Parnathaspat seized the kingship of [Edessa?]⁵³⁰ for three years and ten months.

In the same year, the holy Clement ruled over the Church of Rome.⁵³¹

During this time Domitian the emperor [F33r] ordered that all the vines of the vineyards in the city be uprooted and that no vines should be planted in the city.⁵³² The same Domitian launched a persecution against the Christians, killing many among the notable ones, hunting and pursuing many others. He banished John the Apostle to the island of Patmos where he received the revelation.

During this time several heresies surged:⁵³³ First, (there was) the heresy called the Ebionites which held Christ deficiently and poorly, for they considered him as an ordinary human who became righteous by the progress of his virtuous behavior, and who was born out of the intercourse of a man with Mary. They also said that the observance of the Law was necessary but they did not believe that they would be saved by faith. Others were called by the same name, 'Ebionites,' on account of their immense temerity. These did not deny that he was born of the Virgin and of the Holy Spirit, even though <they did not>⁵³⁴ confess like us that the Word and Wisdom of God was pre-existent. Following the wickedness of the former, they endeavored to observe the (biblical) traditions. They plainly denied the Letters of Paul whom they called an apostate from the Law. They used only the Gospel called Hebraic⁵³⁵ and rejected all the others. Like the former, they observed the Sabbath and the Judaic manners, but on Sunday they commemorated like us the resurrection of our Saviour. [120] Because of this belief that they had they acquired the name Ebionites, for Ebionite means 'poor' in the Hebrew language.

Then there is another heresy named after Cerinthus.⁵³⁶ This Cerinthus, through revelations, in the likeness of a great apostle, brought into the world a teaching made of foolish and false matters.⁵³⁷ He said that he learned from the angels that after the resurrection, the kingdom of Christ would be on earth, and that we would work in Jerusalem for the carnal pleasures of the body.

⁵³⁰ Only the *dōlat* is a bit clear and the rest is a conjecture.

⁵³¹ See on this and the following lemmata Euseb., EH III xv-xx.

⁵³² Chr. 724, 119:16–18 [93]. Hier. and Arm. Year 2108.

⁵³³ See Euseb., EH III xxvii, xxviii 4–5, xxix 1–3.

⁵³⁴ The whole paragraph is not clear unlike the Greek original on the basis of which the emendation is made.

⁵³⁵ This is probably a version of the Gospel of Matthew in Aramaic.

⁵³⁶ See Euseb., EH III xxviii 1–6

⁵³⁷ See Euseb., EH III xxix 1–3.

عدل .ق. كلفت محة: حدل الي محط وادؤون. ومع محل وسعد وبعددا لا عمر 538 XX حسب زمعاً. 190 من حسرتا المراح منتى. 19 538 فزنكه في عنتا لمحتم وعنها حصرًا. وحن حميكا ووا مع حدياً ووووها مبعا محميد. دويا رحيا هم ووهليدوه [F33r] محداً. وحدوم شكا وحزما بالمحتى مع صبتكا. ولا يرجور هكا حصبكا. وروه ووصلينوها اصم وووفيا علا حتهميلا محصيتاً مع حت بوسط مهره محصيتاً ووق مهزو. أهن وب أقد حمس محسل حفظ معه مرزال أنعل وأف رحمل مداد دونا وم رحبا وتوسع فيهال بدرد. كموم هوصه ابرا وهممنا واحتاسا للا وحبوالم معسوله اسبع ١٥٥٥ خصصيل دويعل من عسيط سعص ٢٥٥٥ خده. وارووه داروها ومدا وودوال والملك ص مداهدا ورحزا ووهنم واخزع وه وحدا هدسا وبعدها والا مدمعيم وه وسيع مع مصدها المود وم استال وده دم ده حمط محمون احتقابا معها حنساهه, صحاله. والمركب وم حم حماله وص والم الله الله والله والله والله والله والله والله والله والله والله وال صوب احمل. ومع ميم الماهد محكا واحما مستعمال مخمسهامه وفيه موساد حاف وحبرًا معلمه لمعلى حملها عليها وم وقده معلم دهني في من وقد منا क्किनुमी विकासी. टीव्यूटिक, व्य वंत व्यन्निसी स्टर्मी व्यन्तम्म ट्यावृत का दिव्य استاما لل محصي محما وم المو الكل مهني الواحد ومادوها المرحد وم الحمل حديم حرودنا ومنعمه وهزوم. [120] وصهر هوا الزماد والم حور، محك ولا معلا واحتقاماً. وويل يمن حدمن معصوبا حديدا احتوبياً اود الم وويا استها وصممنا ومنهمه. وما حم مازهمه ون وحب سرة الب عمسا وط الما حمدها حمداً. وقلل قصة ما ووسلا وأمن ومع قللما محم انتم حدد ومع معز منعما ملا أولم المحمل محصال ومعسل مادد لم مترسيكا وهيزا طاووعم فادم فلسير

⁵³⁸ T 148 محنو, C¹ 119: [.....] and n. 1: محنون. Neither is visible.

⁵³⁹ Not in ms, but needed.

And because he was the enemy of the Holy Scriptures, he wanted to deceive saying that the marriage feast will be for a thousand years. He saw in his dreams the things that he himself desired, and because he was very carnal, he loved lusts, I mean drinking, eating and marrying, and similar things that he hoped to find: feasts, sacrifices, and the slaughter of animals. Γ He said about himself that he was the Spirit Paraclet, and established for himself two prophetesses whom he filled with the spirit of falsehood, whose names are .540 He fought against John the Apostle and Evangelist. One day John went into the bathhouse to wash, and when he knew that Cerinthus was there, he leapt out of his place and fled toward the door for he could not bear to be under the same roof where Cerinthus was, and he said this: "Get out of the bathhouse lest it fall upon you because of Cerinthus, the enemy of [121] God."

There is another heresy named after Nicolas.⁵⁴¹ Now this Nicolas was one of seven who were selected for the service of the needy who were with Stephen. He had a beautiful looking wife, but after the ascension of our Lord, he was reproached by the apostles [F33v] because he was jealous of her. He led her into their midst and allowed her to be for anyone she wished. This was said with an innocent spirit, but the erring ones acted according to their own pleasure, saying on this matter 'it is fitting to give the body its pleasure.' They did the opposite of what was done through the love of Christ in that he (=Nicolas) could not serve two lords, serving Christ and his wife, and they imitated all that this heresy called for, fornicating without bashfulness. We learned about this Nicolas that from that day onward he fulfilled his life in purity, and his son and daughters too reached old age in chastity.

The year two thousand one hundred and ten (AD 96): Domitian ordered that all those of the tribe of David be killed, so that no one would remain an heir to the Jewish kingdom. All of them were seized, among them all the members of the family of Joseph the husband of Mary.⁵⁴²

The year two thousand one hundred and twelve (AD 98): Many great signs were seen in Rome and in the whole earth. In the same year, Domitian was killed in the palace, and Nerva reigned for one year and four months.

⁵⁴⁰ This statement about another heretic, Montanus, is misplaced. It seems that the Chronicler became aware of its irrelevance and thus he left the names of the prophetesses blank, for he gave them in the right context later on; C¹ 130:12–16. T 150 does not include this passage.

⁵⁴¹ See Euseb., EH III xxix 1–3.

⁵⁴² Hier. Year 2112; Arm. s. a. 2110. Euseb., EH III xix 1–5.

ومعهد وحدودها وما ومدخل والحوار زجله ووا وبهدا وبالمعزر والحفل وعبتا هذا علوا وصعماداً. والمركب وبده صدفها بدوا. بدر سوا بدوا صلحه. عدل وهي في الماد وسع الماد الماد وبي معمل معدد المادي وهذه والمحسد وصقعه مع محم. خاوا موحتها محصها وستمال اخذ مما العدم وهم وم المممد ومسل فاعملها. وعجم عده نقل الواح بحتمال وجلا اللي ومسل وعدها. وعمدها المامه المامه دسم المحكى المن المحكم عصم الم مور عنها في المحكم الم ص مقصع وبي ملا مسع حمل ونصمال وحر بير وماؤنكاه ماصف وه. عدة مع ووصلاه معزم حكوما. ولا صعب ونده المسلم صهاحلا والمددود مد ماولمده. دووا اجزر وقومور مع حطا ولا لمف محمور حمل مازماه مع حمل والما والحمال الم مما وع المؤهبي المنظر ومكمنها وملامنها وبتعليمها المالية المالية من مع محمد ومكم والمرحمة كمعمعما وصنتما وبعر اصهوره والم مواكه الما عصما مروا. مع حكة معهمكاه وعنى المسعم عم محتسا [F33v] مع ولم محاف ما ما حن وه وم المدة حصربها. واقع كة والهوا حصر وهو ورجلا. وصوم وحقمهما رجيل الماهن. وق لهند الم سسوم وجه واجه واجه واجه واجه اجه والم والم والم والم المرا من المرا من المرا ا تسهون وخزن كويل موم وهوا حسوط ومعسل ملا العمس كموكس كروح صرى. حمد حمد حمد والكلا. وقي الم وحمد حدد. ومرس ولا الممريا. وحمد المحم وحدمنه مع مورا مؤسس بجعم وم ملا ممالمه ومع عمد من مدا حرصها غيط ستهور والا حزه وحدمه اود حمادها هاد حمل قد هدم معلا معهن في ومعهده والممهم علاهم الحروم المع الله وومر الم ولا الع بعدا وبدوا محمدها ومحدوا وبدةول. وحدور المجمود الا حجور الا محدور حت عزداده ومصد يحزة ومنهم عد ق. هدت معلا الماري ەحدىكە افرىلە ەدە جعىدال المجهر وەھىمىمەھ دەكھىم ەاھىكى بلزەھ عىدا سال وعزمل اودحل

⁵⁴³ Sic ms

⁵⁴⁴ Phonetically spelled instead of 12.

⁵⁴⁵ C¹ 121:10: •••• (sic).

The year two thousand one hundred and thirteen (AD 99): Parnathaspat reigned over Edessa for ten months, and after him Ma^cnu son of 'Izzat for sixteen years⁵⁴⁶ and [122] eight months. Cerdon rose as the third bishop of Alexandria for eleven years.

After Nerva, Trajan ruled for nineteen years and six months.⁵⁴⁷

The year two thousand one hundred and fifteen (AD 101): John the Evangelist left this world and was buried in Ephesus.⁵⁴⁸ During this time were known: Papias (bishop) of Hierapolis, Polycarpus the peregrinating bishop, and Ignatius of Antioch, who were the disciples of John.⁵⁴⁹

The year two thousand <one hundred>550 and twenty-one (AD 107): A great earthquake took place and it overturned four cities of Asia: Elea, Myrina, Pitanê, and Cumae. In Hellas, it overturned Opuntion551 and Orition. The wrath pressed their inhabitants inside them like grapes.

In the Church of Alexandria, Primus rose as the fourth (bishop) for twelve years. During this time, Trajan launched a persecution against the Church⁵⁵² and in it Simon the son of Clopas, the bishop of Jerusalem, was martyred; Justus accepted (the bishopric) after him. Now this Simeon was the son of Clopas, the brother of Joseph, the husband of Mary. And when he was one hundred and twenty years old he suffered the trial of martyrdom; after many and various tortures that he endured, he was crucified on a stake. Also Ignatius of Antioch was martyred in Rome, and he was followed in Antioch by the bishop Heros.⁵⁵³

The year two thousand <one hundred> and twenty-four (AD 110): Trajan ordered that persecution be ceased against the Christians, and that their religion be restored. Alexander became the fifth bishop of Rome for ten years. The temple in Rome [123] called 'of all gods' (=Pantheon) was destroyed by lightning, and in an earthquake three cities in Galatia were destroyed.

⁵⁴⁶ Elia 85: Year Sel. 437.

⁵⁴⁷ Hier. and Arm.: Year 2113. Euseb., EH III xxi 1.

⁵⁴⁸ Euseb., EH III xxiii 4, xxxi 3, V xxiv 3; Arm.: Year 2114, Hier. Year 2116.

⁵⁴⁹ Hier.: Year 2116, Chr. 724, 120:24–25 [94]; Euseb., EH III xxxvi 1–2; Polycarpus was the bishop of Smyrna; see the year 2183 below.

 $^{^{550}}$ Missing in ms as in the following lemmata, but for this lemma see *Hier.* and *Arm.*: Year 2121.

⁵⁵¹ Written differently in Syriac.

⁵⁵² Hier.: Year 2123; Arm.: Year 2123. Euseb., EH III xxxii 2–3 (on Simeon), III xxxv (on his successor Justus).

⁵⁵³ Hier.: Year 2123; Arm.: Year 2123. Chr. 724, 121:2–75 [94]; Euseb., EH III xxxvi.

عدلا .قد هفتم وحال ما حكمها المحكم ملا أوزوب في المعفل علما معمراه وحكوره حديه حز الراج. عنتا علامه المنتار العديد العديد والمحمورا والمحمورا والمحمورا والمحمورا عزوه عنتا ما حكم المورك لهندوه عنتا على وعندا عمل قدا عدم .ق. هفت وهاا ه. وه مسع المركم مع محمد الله والماهم طعموم مدرم وع حمل رحيا. فاقده ومع المزهوم في المروم ومراهم افسموا والماحمال والمراهم والهمصل والمدهم المحتره ومس ومس قد هدة حوطاله والمدهم المستر وسرال هوا ومط وطر وحد مدوع حبتها مع اصما اوده حلكا محمونها محموما محموما محموما محصد مجر بع حصومهم ملاونهم، مجرة الم زمها حصورمع حصمع المر وكينداه مع وم حدياً والحصيوما وأوحل فرمعه منتا لمؤلمهما . دويا رحيا اميع ملا حباً وودفعاً لهزموهه واهدو حد معدم حز مدها اقتصمها واوزمهره وعجد مع حكرزه معطوعه به وه وع الله عصم الكوروب حزه ومحموط المورد ومعد رحزة ومنهر. دور دوا در مدا ومعتب منتي مع حليونا وهدووماً. دحمة منبًا مهتا وصعتنها وهجاد أوهد ملا منساه وأد الهميم والهميما أهدو حدووها. وووا مع حدوره حاملهما افسموه المؤور. عدم النع هفتم حومدا > ومعنع واتود. فم لهنده وبعلا ووصد وتسهيد ووصدوا وحوم المجدلة اصمعها وحباا وزه وصل مد وسعقل هجميرون منتا عمين المحلل وبي ودنه وصل [123] ومحمنا وصل كلمع محزما 555 المسحلة معم يكلما. الكه عبيتما مرمل المسحلا.

⁵⁵⁴ Not in ms as in the following lemmata.

حمزط 1 123 n. 1 محنوط 555 C¹ 123 n.

The year two thousand <one hundred> and twenty-eight (AD 114): Zacchaeus occupied the see of the Church that is in Jerusalem as the fourth (bishop), and after him Tobias the fifth (bishop), and after the latter Benjamin, and after him John, and after the latter Matthias, and after him Philip.⁵⁵⁶

[F34r] The year two thousand <one hundred> and twenty-eight (AD 114): A great earthquake took place in Antioch, overturning the city almost entirely.

The year two thousand <one hundred> and thirty (AD 116): Ma'nu son of Ma'nu reigned over Edessa for twenty-four years; he crossed over into the Roman territory.⁵⁵⁷ The Jews, who were in Libya, along with the pagans who lived with them, began to commit sedition and to fight, and the Greeks who were in Alexandria overpowered those who were in Aigyptos, Alexandria, Cyrene, and Thebes.⁵⁵⁸

The year two thousand <one hundred> and thirty-one (AD 117): When the Jews of Mesopotamia committed sedition, Trajan ordered Lucius Quietus to clean them out of the prefecture. Quietus armed himself and killed many myriads of them, in such a way that the streets and the houses of the city, roads and ways, and every place were filled with their corpses and there was no one to bury them.⁵⁵⁹ Also, the Jews rose up against Salamina which is in Cyprus, killing the pagans who were in it and uprooting the city.

The year two thousand one hundred and thirty-two (AD 118): Trajan died in Celinus by illness, and Hadrian reigned for twenty-one years. Hadrian restored Alexandria, which was troubled by the Jews. He subdued the Jews who rebelled against the Romans for the second time. He then ordered all the Jews to get out of Jerusalem and not to go into [124] it again.

During this time the heresy of Sabellius sprang up. Sabellius opposed the Church during this time, saying that <the Trinity>560 is made of one *qnūmō*-person, and for this reason, Mary is the Mother of the Trinity and the Cross is of the Trinity too. The Synod of the Forty-Three Bishops was convened against him in Ancyra in Galatia. It determined to excommunicate him and it ousted him from the Church, for he refused to return from the position in which he was found.

 $^{^{556}}$ Hier. Year 2127; Arm.: Year 2125. Euseb., EH IV v 3.

⁵⁵⁷ Elia 88: Sel. 477.

⁵⁵⁸ *Hier.* Year 2130; *Arm.* Year 2130. Euseb., *EH* IV ii.

⁵⁵⁹ Hier. Year 2131; Arm. Year 2131.

⁵⁶⁰ Ms. "the Mother of God"!

عدل .ق. كلفتح حمطا> محصني ماتعبا. محلا مدا وحبا وحادوعهم واوحما وص.. محكوره وسطقل لمحمل محكوره حسمي محكوره عملي محكوره محكات محكوره فكفوها. [F33r] عدم .ق. كفتح وطال⁵⁶¹ وحصيم والقبل وول وما زجا طالهما. مربع محلا محدة موا حميدال عدل ق. هفتم معلا ماكم. العجر علا اوزهب صعبه حز صعبه منتا عصت هاؤده. محجز حصل قره مصالح مهة وما وحضمه عرص متعا وبعديم كماده والعامسية والعامسية المعلمة المحامد والمحامد والمحامد مطلحصيروما محموزالا محمدليس المرحزه وم محموم مقللا وطلحصيروما عدم .ق. کوتے <هطاا> ماکلے مسرا و محره اهلهم مدةول وصله بدون فعم مکمده لهنسو كوهما موالهم وبوط انور مع موقوما واروع موالهم ووحما مهتلا مسور فهد الحل ومقمل وقدا وهوستما واوقسما ومحتلا ودر وروع مجووة محمله وولا. محمد ومدزه مامد ملا صحعما وحمدوه مع مدةوما. محمدقا وحروة مهمة. محصبسا معنى عدل قد هفت معلا ماحم مازاع. كنسم حدوزهم صبا حصكه) * هامكر هوزسوه .قلّ عنتي هوه هوزسوه للكوهبوزيا ومحكل هويا مع مه وما المعدة و معدم حمدة وما ومعزوه على والموصماً. ولمؤلم وحتم. وهم لمح ويعمل وصحكمه. صحكمه مع حمد حمد حبال حرصل مابل مامعز. وسر مه مهمد الم حمد المارة والمراد المراد المر الماهون والماصعة علاهات هونووه واؤدنع والمشكل افتهمها للموزل ويسطها ماسم واستحدد معرده مع حياله على ولا رجل وبدوور مع دن معرم ومام دوا حد.

⁵⁶¹ Digit inserted above the line.

⁵⁶² Στάσις.

⁵⁶³ Ms Jos Las.

⁵⁶⁴ The phrase [۱] تعمیره "Synod of Ancyra" was added in the left margin, not necessarily as an aide-mémoire but as an addition to the account which calls the ecclesiastical gathering "the synod of the forty-three bishops."

In his second year (AD 120), Hadrian cancelled debts, burnt the bills of the cities that were in debt, and exempted many from (paying) the tribute. And in his fourth year (AD 122), Xystus became the bishop of Rome for three years. In the same year, Justus rose (as bishop) in Alexandria for eleven years. In the same year, a severe tremor took place in which Nicomedia and most of Nicea collapsed. Hadrian sent gold to build them anew.

In Jerusalem, Seneca rose up as bishop after Philip, and after him Justus, then Levi, and after him Ephros, and then Iose, and after him Judas. All of these bishops rose up from among the Jews⁵⁶⁵ until the siege in the days of Hadrian.⁵⁶⁶

The year two thousand one hundred and forty-four (AD 130): Telesphorus became the bishop of Rome for twenty years, and Cornelius of the Church of Antioch.

During this time, Nicopolis and Caesarea collapsed in an earthquake.

Eumenes held office in the Church of Alexandria for thirteen years.⁵⁶⁷

[F34v] During this time, great and powerful torrents occurred in the Kephisos River and it flooded the city of Eleucina, drowning and destroying its inhabitants and carrying away all that was in it. At the same time, [125] Hadrian the emperor placed a bridge over the river.

The year two thousand one hundred and forty-five (AD 131): Eumenes was in the Church of Alexandria.⁵⁶⁸

The year two thousand one hundred and forty-nine (AD 135): Kokhba, the Jewish commander, made the Christians suffer numerous harms because they did not want to accompany him to fight against the Romans. The Romans and the Jews launched a battle near Palestine, and the Jews were destroyed and the Romans took them as captives, uprooting them from Jerusalem and annihilating them. From this time onward, they were completely prevented from going up to Jerusalem, first by the will of God and then by Roman order.

The first bishop of Jerusalem from among the Gentiles – after those among the Jews ended – was Marcus.

⁵⁶⁵ Lit. "the circumcised ones."

 $^{^{566}}$ Reference to the revolt of Bar-Kokhba against Hadrian between 132 and 136; Euseb., $EH\,\mathrm{IV}$ vi.

⁵⁶⁷ See below the year 2145.

⁵⁶⁸ Repeat; see the year 2144 above.

حميد لمؤلم وموزيده محمد محمد وسقدهال مصربتها المحم وستح ماقد امم وزه وحلَّ عنتا الحمه ودة حميما مع حجاً والحقسونيا عصروف عنتا ماً. ودة حميما مول. موا رويا معيا. وبعيها حد يتصعوبا. وهيءا مع يصا. وعبر موزيوه ومحل وجيا انتي مع ووسع. حادومهم مع اصسمعا حار فعده سهمسه وحاوه معهمه محكون كمده محكون العنمصة محكون عصل... محكون محموا. محم حكم معر اهتصمعا مع روزاا. برمل حسمها وحتومه ووزيوها. عدا ق. هم وها ومعراً. وه الاستعمادة وزهه معل لمحدودة عند حصري ودبا والهما هما موزيكمها وحده حرحبا بمقه كبعيد أق معهزا المرفعي حروما. ..وحبا والحصيرول مع اوهده منتا الالامسزال [F34v] دويا رجيا مافيسوس بوزا بودا دو مفتل زوزدا وممتا. والهدورة للحصيل مرسما وسمل وشبع حتمصة. وعمل أف حمل وحة. حد وع حرصا [125] ومل حدم حدوده وحده وسورا معنا دووسوه محدا. عدا .ق. همت ومعرة. ووا حدياً والحصيرونا اوهدوها حميا ق. هفتي ومعلى فوحل ود سال ومة دوما. صقدا صحتال الصح حميد وحتصلها صحار ولا رجه حصارا حمده حمنا كامحال والمعلم معجم والمعلم مناه من المعلم المالية الم واقعمت الله وهوصل وحجم واوحم الله مع اوزمعكم مع ولا رحيا الله ويصمه لاوزمعكم ص حده الموجه. حميم مرجعا والحمل محكوم حدميل ووهمعما. اصمعموا واهزممكم عبصا عم مع مقمل منهمه، عبد محمد فدر ومع روزال.

^{569 |} $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ = Akk. *šiţru* "document, inscription."

The year two <thousand> one hundred and fifty-two (AD 138): Hadrian died by dropsy, and Titus Antoninus, who was nicknamed Pius, ruled after him along with his sons, Aurelius and Lucius, for twenty-two years and three months. In his first year, Hyginus became the bishop of Rome for four years and after him Pius for fifteen years.

The year two thousand one hundred and fifty-four (AD 140): Wā'il (Vales) son of Sahru reigned over Edessa for two years. After him, Ma'nu son of 'Izzaṭ reigned for twelve years after he returned from the Roman land; the total years of his whole reign are thirty-six, not counting those in which he was in the Roman land.

During this time, Valentinus the leader of a heresy was known, and also Cerdon who was a follower of the belief of Marcion.

The year two thousand one hundred and fifty-seven (AD 143): Eros rose up as the fifth bishop of Antioch, and in Alexandria Marcus rose up to serve for ten years.⁵⁷⁰

The year two thousand one hundred and sixty-nine (AD 155): [126] Abgar son of Ma'nu reigned over Edessa for thirty-five years.⁵⁷¹ In the same year, Keladion became the bishop in Alexandria for fourteen years.

The year two thousand one hundred and seventy-two (AD 158): Anicetus became the bishop in Rome for eleven years. During his days, Polycarpus came to Rome and converted many of the heretics.

Again the bishops in Jerusalem: Marcion stood the 17th (in rank), Publius the 18th, Maximus the 19th, Julian the 20th, Gaianus the 21st, Symmacus the 22nd, Gaius the 23rd, Julian the 24th, and Capiton the 25th.

The year two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven (AD 163): Titus, the Roman Emperor, died, and his sons Lucius and Aurelius seized the rule after him for nineteen years and one month. In their fourth year (AD 166), Walgash (Vologeses), the Parthian king, took away from the Romans several villages into captivity. In their 6th year (AD 168), Lucius attacked the Parthians and subjected them. In the same year, Agrippinus became the bishop of Alexandria for twelve years.

⁵⁷⁰ Chr. 724, 123:16–17 [96].

⁵⁷¹ Elia 88: Sel. 489.

عدل قد حكوت ممتد مدل موزنده دويم متلاه مامحر مع حكوره لهوه الموسوف والمعند روسل مع حدة وب أووكموف وكوموف. عند معتب ولمؤلم. وعندلم الكمان محمد عبرا وسك موا موسلمه اهمهمها ووموها. منتا اوس. محكور موا قيمون. عنتا معمدهم: العدل قد المحتج معنيا العجم على ادورون دالا حز هدوره عنتا الماع وحكوره اصحر صديه حمد المراح وم وجم مع حمل وووصما عبدًا المالمهمال عدم وم وحكة 572 محصابه منتا الحكم معلا. ولا نهج وهوا حملا وموصال حمل رحبا مكلهنده وبعل والأوصيف صكري. إف عنون والمنصدل وحيد عنومي. عيد .ت. «فتي معلا مسعم مقديد. مع اقسمها وسعما حابهيميا اموسه مطحصبونا مع حزموها وعمد عنتا بعن عدم .د. هفتم ومعلى العجر ملا أوزود [126] الي حز محيه منتا الحدام وسقعه وده حميا ووا اقتصموها ملحصيرونا ملاويور منتا اتوجسنال ملك قد كلفتم ومحد هوا اقتسمها جنهوها التمهوم منتا سيجسنال وصعده فكمنهم في الما خرومعا هو الما مي وتهما افس اود افتهموفا واوزعكم: معر وغر. معزمسه ورسا فوقكها وولي محصمه مور وكرا محسمه ەرقا. كالمانەت. دوقد. مەملادەت. دوكى. كالمه. دوقور. ماكنوت. دوقور. معمله. عدل .ق. هفت وحلا معدي مقدم. صدل كهوه صحا ووهوهما. وأسر صحولا مع حكرزه كممنع دادوكمه حدة وبالم عبدال الم دريد من مديد اود وكده مجل مرحه محمل وهتماما معتربه صهالا مع وتره معدال محمد هم وحمه محمه كممنع كعتماما معمد المن. محة حملا موا الهوسوس حدياً والمحسبولا المحمول عبدا الالحصال

⁵⁷² C¹ 125:27 محکم.

[F35r] The year two thousand one hundred and eighty-three of Abraham (AD 169): A severe, powerful, and merciless persecution took place against the Christians and in it many people suffered martyrdom especially in the territories of Galatia.⁵⁷³ In it too were martyred Polycarpus bishop of Smyrna and Papias the peregrinating bishop,⁵⁷⁴ the disciples of John the Evangelist.

In the same year, a severe and powerful disease of abscesses broke out in the whole land and reached up to Rome. In Alexandria, Agrippinus became bishop and in the Church of Rome [127] Soter for eight years. In Antioch, Theophilus, whose diverse treatises are extant, became the sixth bishop.⁵⁷⁵

During this <time>, the bishops of the following Churches were famous:⁵⁷⁶ Soter of Rome, Agrippinus of Alexandria, Theophilus of Antioch, Dionysius of Corinth, Apollin[ar]ius of Hierapolis – he opposed and stopped the false prophesy of the Phrygians⁵⁷⁷ – and Meliton of Asia.

The year two thousand one hundred and eighty-eight (AD 174):⁵⁷⁸ Antoninus was always set against enemies to fight with them, either closely or through his war commanders whom he dispatched. When Pertinax and those with him in Quados were tormented by thirst, they got rain from the sky and lightning struck the Germans and the Sarmatians who stood against them, destroying many among them. It is said that the letters of Marcus the emperor are extant, and in them he testified that when his army was about to perish by thirst, they were rescued by the prayers of the Christians, when rain came down from the sky.

The year two thousand one hundred and ninety-two (AD 178): Eleutherus became the bishop of the Church of Rome for fifteen years, and Maximus was in the Church of Antioch.

The year two thousand one hundred and ninety-four (AD 180): There was an earthquake and Smyrna which is in Asia collapsed, and so that it might be rebuilt, it was relieved from taxes for ten years.

⁵⁷³ Galatia: Chr. 724, 123:28–124:1 [96].

⁵⁷⁴ Confused identification but Papias was the bishop of Hierapolis; see the year 2115. Gaul: *Hier.* and *Arm.* Year 2183. See also Mich. Syr. 112c chapt. 6 [I 182]; Chr. 724, 123:28–1241 [96].

⁵⁷⁵ Euseb., EH IV xix–xx. On Agrippinus, see the Year 2277. Soter: Hier.: Year 2274; Arm.: Year 2180. Theophilus: Hier. and Arm.: Year 2185. On the latter see Euseb., EH IV xxiv.

⁵⁷⁶ Euseb., EH IV xix–xxi.

⁵⁷⁷ On Apollinarius see Euseb., EH V xix 1–2.

 $^{^{578}}$ Hier.: Year 2189; Arm.: Year 2188. Euseb., $EH\,\mathrm{V}\,\mathrm{v}.$

[F35r] مدلا لمزم حرفت مخال ملخدم ملاحلا للحنهم. هوا فوهما معمل معمل وولا حتسط ملا متصلها. والصوره حده انقا صحال ممنامه طاتوما ورسهماه الا عبسا قه كمهنده ما العسمه في العربال والعربال والعرب والمراهد والمرا المعبرة والمراهد والمراعد والمراهد والم عكساً حده العدود. دحد حديدًا دوإ. دوا حوزويا عمل دعورا وعدي حديدة ازيا. وحدل اقد جوها حزه وهذا والمحسورة وعلى موا اقتصم المنافسة وحديا وزه وها [127] صولى عتما باضاله محالهمما وما افسهمه والمرا بعدلهما وه والا صاحب وما صعتما فيصب حويل وع حرصا> ووقع مدير العلمة والمحتمد معلى المحر المحرد ال المنافعة والحصيوناة العبمه والمنصاة وللمسته ومعودهمه اهد [ك]ولمه والزودكيم. ول حود يدول ويول ووروسا مع وفها مدير واصل مد ق. هدي مقدر الهوس حورج عمر ١٥٥ مود دريقط معدوهمه عصهه راه مند به ود وم معيز خيم متحل وم فالمعلوم والمحل وعمه وحصاؤه صدوما صماحرج مهذ علها مع معمل مدا حدم. محتصما محستهما وصعب ١٥٥٠ كومحكوه و حمل يولا مكمور. ولاهينا عيده بحرك. افذع وع واف الهماه ومعزموه معكما متمعن وحمع همور ومر مهد ما معكم كمعلم حروما. حريحة الم وجهلها الماهنمه. عبر أف صلها مع عصا موا. عدم .ق. هفتم ممرح. موا اهمهم وحولا ووهوه ها كماوه منتا مون وحدوا والهمما ووا محصمهم ملك .ق. المعتب مصر و. موا روحا. وروهزيل وحاصيا بعكه وصلا والماحيا الماسيم مع عقلا عبتا حصة.

⁵⁷⁹ Missing in ms.

The year two thousand one hundred and ninety-five (AD 181): Antoninus fell sick and died in Pannonia. Commodus ruled after him for thirteen years. In the Church of Alexandria Julianus rose and administered (it) for ten years. Irenaeus bishop of Lugduni was famous. Again, the bishops of Jerusalem who were known one after another: Maximus rose the 26th (in rank), Antoninus the 27th, Valens the 28th, [128] Dolicianus the 29th, Narcissus the 30th, Dius the 31st, Germanus the 32nd, Gordianus the 33rd and after him the former Narcissus. Like all of these, bishops successively were in Jerusalem but we do not have time to list each one of them, because the times of their administration was not recorded.

The year two thousand two hundred and three (AD 189): Lightning struck the Capitol, and a powerful fire destroyed the library and many (other) sections. Abgar Severus along with his son reigned over Edessa for one year and seven months. Ma'nu his son reigned after him for twenty-six years. Seraphion rose as the bishop of the Church of Antioch, and in the Church of Alexandria stood Demetrius for forty-three years. During this time, the Synod of Neocaesarea II was convened. Also during this time the bishops Demetrius of Alexandria, Serapion of Antioch, Narcissus of Jerusalem, Irenaeus of Lugduni, Dionysius of Corinth, Apollinarius of Hierapolis, Victor of Rome, and Alexander of Alexandria Minor were famous. [F35v] Theophilus of Caesarea, Polycrates and Bacchylides, the shepherds inside the church, were also famous. Serapion of Amous.

The year two thousand two hundred and eight (AD 194): Commodus launched a persecution against the Christians and many were martyred. He also quickly received punishment for he suddenly died strangled in the house of Vestilianus.⁵⁸² After him, Pertinax reigned for six months and after him Severus for eighteen years.

The year two thousand two hundred and thirteen (AD 199): A battle between the Jews and the Samaritans took place.

The year two thousand two hundred [129] and fifteen (AD 201): Zephyrios⁵⁸³ became the bishop of the Church of Rome. During this time, a severe persecution against the Church broke out and Leonides, the father of Origen, suffered martyrdom and Alexander was crowned as confessor.⁵⁸⁴ Also during this time, Narcissus bishop of Jerusalem, who was a powerful and miracle-making man, was famous.⁵⁸⁵

^{580 | &}quot;Abgar the fair:" Elia 91: Sel. 530.

⁵⁸¹ Euseb., EH V xix–xxiv.

⁵⁸² Arm., Hier. Year 2208; Ms 124:15 [97].

⁵⁸³ For همزينومي "Zephyrinus," as in Euseb., *EH* II xxv 8 *et passim*, and in *Hier.* Year 2217 and *Arm.* Year 2216.

⁵⁸⁴ On Alexander see Euseb., EH VI xi. The persecution was limited to Alexandria.

⁵⁸⁵ On Narcissus see Euseb., EH VI viii–ix.

ملك .ق. كلفت معربي الموسوف المعنه معلم حقله والعكر حكزه موهاره عبتا الكلامهة الله حديال وم والكمهروبال مع عكيمه ، ووفر عبتا معمرة الربوس العسموفل وكالمراه مكريد ادم العسمة فل وادومكر والكي المريد سر حكو سر رت. مِم محصمه على المرابع الموسوف المرابع الم مورك. يزمصعه موكل. ومعه موكد. بنطيقه موكي. بنوسف محكور الم ينمسه مبعدا. وأب وحم حدور اصسمة والماحدة حاوز عظر. ولا ذواح رحل وحلا سر سر مدور بكور دون ولا المؤجم رصل وهرجنهاده ورد مد قد هدت وهم ماكلا. ملا ماهله كمر وزما بولا مصربا سعسا لاصحطامه محروفتما هيتالا اهدم مد اهزوب اصر احرب احرب معاوم عور دره. عدا سرا وساسا عددا.. و وحدوه المكر مديد حزه معتب معم عتبي. اقتصمها وحباا والهيميا مع صوفيه وحدباا والحصيبولم مِم ومحهنمه عتى اترحم ملكه. حما رحيا صويدوه ويادمهنا د المصمد ماهد ده دهد رسل مديريم اقتصمها ومهنمه والحصيروله هناهم والهنصلاة بامصص واهزمكرة أؤسه وكريبوههة وسوسه وموزكمه العدكسين والمنعد والمعلام المعلم المعلم المعلم المعارض والمحصيرة المعارض المعارض والمعلم المعارض والمعارض والم العدم مع معناه وحمون المع وحلصم ولا العلام معابله وحموله ١٥٥٥. مدكم . ح. هجتم وتحكم والخيار موصاره أميم وووفيا ملا وتبعيلها وهي تا الصهور. وأف وه مطالع مد معمر حنعا. أحر مدم مع عد 850. والمسم حدما وحصهالوهه واصحر حكوره فيهامه بيدا عمل وحكوره هووه منتا احتمها ملك .قد كلفتم وهكم والمكمهزال بووا عنط وموةوما وومعتماله ملك .قد كلفتم وضكم [129] وسعمعهم إلى موا اهمهمها وحبال وزهومها وهوزهها حويل وعراجيا ودوره زوه عمل معمل معمل معرف المانس المناف المان المنافع المنافع والمحتصرة والمحتودة المالية الم المحكد . ماهد ده حرصل بنمسه اقتسمها واهزمهم صحير اله وم وما بنمسه رحزا المهور سلاما وهدز ستلا

[.]ەكىعە 127:30 مىلادە.

⁵⁸⁷ The digit ightharpoonup written in the margin.

⁵⁸⁸ C¹ 128:20: [/L.....] although the reading above is not secure.

[.] م معمل :4: and in n.5 م معم عمد معمل :589 C1

During the time of the Pascha feast, oil failed the deacons, thereby creating a great anxiety in the congregation, and this blessed one, realizing the anxiety that seized the congregation, ordered the deacons to bring water near him; when it was brought near him and he had prayed over it, he ordered them to pour it down into the lamps with real faith in our Lord. When they did this, the water was transformed into the nature of oil through divine power and the prayer of this blessed one. Because he was zealous for all virtuous things and a preventer of all evildoings, three evil-doing persons, fearing lest they fall into his hands, concocted a charge against him, denouncing him and slandering him before the people. One of them said: 'If this is not (true), may I be burned by fire!' Another said: 'If it is not true, may I be struck by an incurable disease!' A third one said: 'If this is not certain to me, let my eyes be blinded!' Though the impudent ones spoke, no one among the faithful believed them, but just as they called for curses upon themselves with whatever disease they opted for, quickly and promptly the punishment befell them. While Narcissus was unable to perform ministry on account of his very old age, Alexander, the bishop of Caesarea, saw in a vision that he should go and visit the holy lands. 590 When [130] he arrived at Jerusalem, the whole congregation there (was told) in a vision too: 'Get out and welcome the bishop chosen by God for you!' When they went out, they met Alexander while he was coming; he was held by the bishops, brothers, and the entire congregation of that region who did not allow him to return to his land. He performed ministry with Narcissus while he was alive.

Also during this time, there existed the heresy of Montanus.⁵⁹¹ There is a village in Mysia named Ardabav and a man named Montanus who recently converted belonged to it. Satan filled the heart of this one, who talked about and prophesied strange matters contrary to the tradition of the Church. This Montanus boasted, saying about himself that he was the Spirit Paraclete; moreover, he set up two women of his entourage whom he filled with a deceptive spirit and called prophetesses, one named Prisca and another Maximilla. [F36r] Against these the holy Apol[lin]arius, bishop of Hierapolis of Asia, fought.

The year two thousand two hundred and twenty-six (AD 212): Severus died while he was fighting with the Barbarians, and Antoninus reigned after him for seven years.

⁵⁹⁰ Lit. 'the places of the (Divine) Dispensations.'

⁵⁹¹ Euseb., EH V xiv and esp. V xvi, where a full account on Montanus is found.

اول وم حرصاً وحلوا وقعصاً. منعية ادوا حاده معمل خعفهمياً. وأسبا عماما هيمالاً حصما معهده والم وع لهوسا حبرا حصال وهما حصما وهم حمد حمد معقمما وبعنده که معتل دحر وب عند که وزک مکمور قصر کمور ویزمور اس حستی محر مصعداً سندها ومنى. محر حجر موا. اعمسه مدى متل حصل ومعسل حر سلا هما مرجماا ولهصاه معلى ولها المهمد وعصتاا معملال وحمي حتمله القل الحما صحب حتمما: صهر ووسم ولا يعمى حلبوه وحد محهم مكلاً ممكن عدد من عمر معلى مع المعنى من المعنى ولى لا المان موا صورا المعرب اسزيل وم اجعز. وأي لل مؤينا حصورها لل صماهيل افي اسزيل والكما عامد اجعز. ول لا سوما حد دورا محمدة حتده دور اجمة حدسا العد مع مدومعتا لا ومع الدي الا امر حل وهن قصمه محموم وحاسل وه عاجل وهن حمور رحود حميل ومطالع أوؤم ان معمم حزيما. وصهر ووه يزمصه لا معمد وها وبعمم حبر عنها وصحمال. المرب للحصيروس اهتصمها ومصابل حيره إلى وبللا بيرا ومحتكا ومرجوها ومر [130] صب لاهزمكم المام لامر كمكة حبال واص. وهومور ممحك للامسمها: الما ومع كما حدم المرحد. دور نعمه افي للحصيرون مر الماله وموسل الموحد مع اهتصمها ه أنتل وحكة حياً ولمعجر. ولا عوجه حمد وللركا لموت لللوه. الا معم عم ينصصص. في وه مدة حول وم رحيا الا ووهيه ومولهوها الم ووا. عنما سرا الم حصها. وعمة أزوده. وحدة حدا سب اسل موا ومنص موا سباله. وعمده موا صوبهده. وما مطل कर्रम ८००. वन विं व्ययन्ति व्यप्ति प्रवासी ८०३ व्यवस्थानी वृद्धा. व्यवस्थान १००। بوه معمليه مامن ماهن ماه ملا يعين ومن المامه وسل فيمكل ماد اميم بقل مع ومكن افاع. ومطل انتي ومسل وهوهزا. وجها انتي بحتمال وكسوا همدة ووا فيمهما. ه إسزالما محصيطان محمد محم [F36r] اعند عبا العه [حد]بنده العسمه فا والنوه كيم واهيا. عدم .د. هفتم وهمم وحصن وعم. صم صوووه در محمد ١٥٥١ مع حة حزماله واصحر حدوره الموسوف منتا مدد.

The year two thousand two hundred and twenty-seven (AD 213): Asclepiades became the 8th bishop <in Antioch>,592 and Alexander was in Jerusalem.

The year two thousand two hundred and thirty-two (AD 218): A flood of water took place in Edessa, from the river that entered it from the west side of the city.⁵⁹³ Powerful water torrents happened in this river called Daiṣān during the night, and while everyone was asleep quietly and restfully inside his house, the river moved in, inundating quarter after quarter. Its source by the east wall was blocked by the powerful rubbish carried from the mountains and from the streets. The overflow turned [131] backward, and while everyone was asleep in his bed, the waters invaded the people from the doors and windows, and they drowned on their mattresses. The houses built with mud bricks collapsed from being drenched and crushed their owners inside them, turning suddenly into graves for their residents. The prophesy was fulfilled: Their graves in their houses for ever. 594 More <than> two thousand people and a multitude of animals drowned in this flood. And when the flood grew forceful against the wall, it suddenly broke off and fell and was carried away before the waters. The flooded waters also carried away the city and brought out all that they captured: corpses of people and animals, wood, large furniture, beautiful vessels, and everything that was in its markets and stores. Likewise, the waters carried away all sorts of things that they encountered on the plains of Edessa and Ḥarrān: gardens, houses, villages, and possessions. One could see furnished beds going inside the waters, and it happened, along with their owners inside them!

The year two thousand two hundred and thirty-three (AD 219): A brutal and mighty battle broke out, saturating the ground between Edessa and Ḥarrān with the blood of people. In this battle, Antoninus, the Roman emperor, was killed. His son Macrinus reigned after him for one year. He too was killed in Archelaide, and his son Antoninus <Elagabalus>595 reigned after him. At this point, the kingdom of the people of Edessa came to an end too. They exercised the rule of their kingdom for three hundred and fifty-two years, but they were subjected under Roman rule from this point onward.

The year two thousand two hundred and thirty-four (AD 220): [132] Philetus became the bishop of the Church of Antioch, and in the Roman Church Callistus.

 $^{^{592}}$ Not in ms. The addition is made on the basis of *Hier*. Year 2227 and *Arm*. Year 2228.

⁵⁹³ A full account in Chr. Edes. 1:1–3:16, but its date is Sel. 513 (AD 202). Witakowski suggests that the account above might not be the same as the one in the Chr. Edes. given the differences between the two in dates and literary styles; "Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius," p. 349.

⁵⁹⁴ Ps 49:11.

⁵⁹⁵ Ms. "who is of Eligala" (sic).

عدل . ق. هفتي وزور ووا افسهووا واهنتا حدالهنما> 596 اهمكوروه. وحاوزهم هوا كمصبؤوها عدم .ق. كفتم وهمم والكمع والواع، ووا لهوما ومتا حاوزوب صے باوزا وہ وحلا کہ صعے رحل صحنها وحله وصوعال دو دوبا باوزا وصلاعنا وسی: وه ده معتل معتل ومتا دهيا. ومر محمه ومير وعلل وسي حيه مله. مل وه به وا مر مطل صفا حصفا. واصلاحة معمنه وحدول مرسيل مع سيلا وموصل ولهدي ووا مع لموزا ومع مقمل ووجه [131] معمولا ون حصاروه وعب ملا منهود على منا علمه مع اقعا مع مقا مالسمه على المقاعمه ، مقعا المع وحب مهدا محكمتا ازه معده. محمد حصره محدهم محد مده محمد معمد معمد معمد معمد المفراد ومديده مدتمره ملامه وعدد مان حص> المعمد بوت هوت وصنعا وصولا وصناله عبر وم المعمد وه محمولا ملا عهزا. حالمان > 598 مع عد موه. والمراج مرم متل وعد العرب الماده وحمور ووجم وه معمل ومتا. هجرا ودسما وودمنال ومتعمل ورجة ال ووود الوقع وهالما معترياً. وصحموم واسلا حمة ما وحتوما وحدة مجا وبي العربية وتما وموقع ومسل عده ومبعوده. واسم حقمها واوزود ووسني. واسم حصيرا حتهما الم صعقع دارك حروه. دريعا دكستندم حرودم. عدلا .د. لاهم وهدم داركم ملكم. هوا عنط عمل الا حريرا. وزما أزعل هذا مع وحل وحسم اوزهد كسني. محم حصنا الممكر الكوسوم محمل وقده معلم مامحكم مع حكوره معمنيوه عدلا سباه والممكر أق وه حازمالموهه واصحر حكوره الموسوه وص حربهاطا>601. هزط الا محدولًا واوزوما حهد، واسر عدكها ومحدولهم عبتا الحمقلا وشمعم مازياج. والمحمد لمسلم البا وزووهما مع وما وكولا عدل .ق. لافتح وهام ماكمتي وازديد. [132] أووا افيهموها وما والمحمل فيكوه. حدياً وم ووووها ००। वद्यव्यक्ष

⁵⁹⁶ Not in ms.

⁵⁹⁷ Missing in ms.

⁵⁹⁸ Ms: ∞, L?.

is the correction of original إِنْكُما (furnitures) of houses"; see too C¹ 131:12 and n.4.

⁶⁰⁰ C¹ 131:16: المحمدة.

⁶⁰¹ Ms: ; see also C¹ 131n.6.

⁶⁰² Traces in ms support the Syriac words.

The year two thousand <two hundred> and thirty-six (AD 222): Nicopolis in Palestine was rebuilt; it used to be called in <the past> Emmaus.

The year two thousand two hundred and thirty-eight (AD 224): Antoninus was killed in the market of Rome. His son Alexander the son of Mammaea ruled the empire for thirteen years. This one was considered as the first Christian among the Roman emperors. Also it is said about Mammaea, the mother of Alexander, that there was no one among the women of the world who feared God more than her, in such away that there are many stories about her on account of her virtuous conduct.

The year two thousand two hundred and forty (AD 226): Urbanus became the bishop of the Church of Rome for nine years, and in the Church of Antioch Zebennus rose up. Origen was known in Alexandria.

The year two thousand two hundred and forty-six (AD 232): Heraclas [F36v] became the bishop of the Church of Alexandria for nineteen years. Also during this time, there was a great tumult in Alexandria, and Origen moved from there and took residence in Caesarea of Palestine. In the same year, Pontianus became the bishop of the Church of Rome for five years.⁶⁰³

The year two thousand two hundred and fifty-one (AD 237): Alexander was killed in Mogontiacus, and Maximinus reigned for three years.⁶⁰⁴ This one stirred a severe persecution against the leaders of the Church whom he removed from their sees and expelled. Many were martyred in this persecution. Upon him too God sent quick wrath, taking him from this life when he was killed in Aquileia. [133] His son Gordianus reigned after him for six years.⁶⁰⁵

The year two thousand two hundred and [fi]fty-five (AD 241): Anteros was (the bishop) in the Church of Rome for one month, and after him, the holy Fabian for twelve years. Let us talk a little about the appointment of this holy Fabian. 606 After the holy bishop Anteros died, everyone rushed for the leadership rank. Bishops, priests, and monks from everywhere gathered in Rome so as to set a bishop for her. Present there too were notable and laudable persons who were in the thoughts of many for this purpose. And while one wanted this one and another praised another one, Fabian came into the mind of nobody.

⁶⁰³ On Alexandria see Euseb., EH VI xix 16.

⁶⁰⁴ Mogontiacus was in Gaul on the Rhine, and is modern Mainz.

⁶⁰⁵ Aquileia was at the head of the Adriatic.

 $^{^{606}}$ On Anteros and Fabian (bishop for 13 years not 12 as above) see *Hier.* Year 2255 and *Arm.* Year 2256. The story of Fabian derives from Euseb., $EH\,VI\,xxix\,2$ –4.

حملاً .ق. هفتم <هملم>500 ماشكم مميًا. دفيهما سمعه موسلاً المحسلا. وفي وحريم > 800 يعلوه صلمنا وولا عدلا .قد هفت وزكس المملا الهوسيوم حدوما وزهوه والمرابع محدولا مع حكوره كحصروه حزة ومامدال منتا الشاء منا الماس وزمعهما مرهما معكفا ووهمال واق مامدا اهده وماه والحصيبوده أضزع حكمة ولا موما مع نقل وحكما أنكال ووسلا موما مع كلما ملمن معنة. المصلم واقد المعتما صحيالا الم محمة طهلا ووحيدة معميرا. مدم .د. هفتم وهمم ه التحميد والمناه المنهم وحبال وزوه منا القدة وحبال والهنصا مع رحده من اوز المناس الم اقسمه قل وجراا والحصيونا ووامله عنا يكي أق حد حرصا وبا ودا عيدهما وط حة حلاحصرونا. وعس مع لامع اوزيه وحصوبا وقلهما مومده مجر. وحة حمد الاستعماد وحراا ووهوه فالهمالوه منتا مقعد مدلا .د. هفت وهم مسعم[_], مسرا. المهلا المصروف مصيروف معروب مدهمسوف. عنتا المشكمة وما ارس وودهما معمل ملا صبحتها وحبال دارس دلهزو داهم اس مع حة وصوله مي المعالي المعام و و و و و و و و و و و و و و الما و و الما و و الما و و الما ەسەھە مى سىل مىلى. دې المملاط كاھەكىلە (133) ماھىكى كاۋبى چەۋرىلىدى ھىتل قلا. عدلا .ق. هفتم مقلم مسعمت مشعب هذا حدياً ووهمعا الهووه عنسا سوه وحكوره هوا عبيما فاحمانه منتا الالمعتزالة هيا وب عبيما فاحمانه بامد عكس ملا هذاره. وريمة صد عبيعا الهوزه افسهم" محلم وفي كرويا ها وزمعهاا: ه المادسة اهتصمها مع دلا هتم: مصتعل موسيا كن خرمما المرامع وللحرم كن اهمهمها: وأف انقل بإتدا ومحتسل الله ووا لمعن: والله ووا محمور معهدنواا کھے تا محکم رجما موا: مامل کومل حظ مامل کومل محملی ، فاصلوه وہے کو ملا اؤحما وحزيما لا هجه.

607 Missing in ms.

⁶⁰⁸ Addition on the basis of Hier. and Arm. Year 2237.

He happened to come from a village outside the city, to see from close by, with others with him, what would happen – just like anyone else. When he arrived, all of a sudden something in the likeness of a dove flew down from above and rested on his head,⁶⁰⁹ and immediately the entire crowd cried out as if with one mouth: *Axios!* (=he is worthy!). Thus, they took him and placed him on the episcopal throne.

The year two thousand two hundred and sixty (AD 246): Gordianus was killed in Parthia, 610 and Philip reigned after him for seven years. During the reign of Philip, one thousand years were completed (since the foundation of Rome) and a contest was celebrated for the millennium; (many) animals were killed and spectacles took place in the field of Mars for three days and three nights. 611 A report was made concerning him (=Philip)612 that he was a Christian, and that on the last day of Pascha, he wanted to mingle with the crowd for the prayer. Fabian the bishop did not allow him to do so unless he confessed and numbered himself among those who were standing in penitence on account of their sins. He said to him he would not admit him unless [134] he would do this, on account of the many charges he had concerning him. It is said that he obeyed with his entire mind, indicating in action that he had a true disposition toward the fear of God. Thus, he was admitted into the church.

The year two thousand two hundred and sixty-four (AD 250): Dionysius became the bishop of Alexandria for seventeen years.

The year two thousand two hundred and sixty-seven (AD 253): The believing emperor Philip was killed along with his sons, and Decius reigned for one year [F37r] and three months. 613 This Decius killed the believing and God-fearing Philip and his sons, on account of enmity that he had [toward Philip], because the holy one used to disdain and reject the cult of idols. Because of his enmity toward him, his wrath also raged against us, raising a persecution against the holy shepherds of the Church and against all the people in it. He uprooted and ravaged churches and temples and the blood of the members of the Church was shed in abundance.

⁶⁰⁹ Euseb. adds: "in clear simulation of the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove upon the Saviour."

⁶¹⁰ Ms اعتداه Perplexing form. It can possibly be the Euphrates (although the preposition should be د in support of the Roman sources, or Parthia in support of the Sassanian sources; see Michael L. Meckler, "De Imperatoribus Romanis":

http://www.roman-emperors.org/gordo3.htm.

⁶¹¹ Additions are based on Mich. Syr. 118b (top) [I 192], whose source was Andronicus.

⁶¹² Euseb., EH VI xxxiv.

 $^{^{613}}$ On the persecution see *Hier.* Year 2268 and *Arm.* Year 2269; see also Euseb., *EH*, VI xxxix–xl 1.

ربع الما مع المحافظ مع وحجم مع وهيمال معم المنظ وعمده المجند ادوا وسرا حاف والما المر محمد وم وب عند مجل فنهم مرحما وصعط ومل مع عد مسما مع زومطا. وملا وسعه عصل. ومع على جدا معل معل عكم أمير ومع من هوها وهوا وه ەھەمىل ھەمھەمە ماماخەھەم كى باۋەسى واھىسەھەمال ھىلا .د. كىھتى مقىلى مقىلىن. المملا كاهزولمان حدياه. واصحر حدوه فلاقه منتا مدد. معددهاه وصدووه كو منت تعجد والموالله ومتع كو الملاهد وستواا الممالاد مالهنه, 615 حصمها وانبع الشها مقصم ماكها كتك موا. موا وع معاصنا موا عده و محلا والموه و وهميد وحومل المزياق وهربيل إجاره وا والمسكم وجمال عمر حصل محم موا لا عمد حم اصمعموها هاحمانهما عرصا ونموا مسعود نعمم عمر منه وصلا صححاهم منصع حكم حماد و الغز هوا ولا معمد حود الا [134] عدم هوا. صهر وعتدا صحيتاا واسم وها حده محدود والمهدي مع وحدة الوسمود الم وصماحة محاور وسور حندا وسل عنها والم ووا من حبسك هوا ووصل محدود وملا حباً. مد مد . هفت وظلع وملع وازديد ووا وسوسوه افسوها والحصروبا. عبيًا محمدةًا. عدم .د. هفتي وهمي وعمي وقديد المواهد معمل موسط فعده مع حدة من ماهج ومدف عدم سرا [F37r] مناسل الاتكار الما وب ومده م حمد معيل ه أوس للحمل فيحوه و 617 محمد مهر معهد مرد والم موما حد [حدا فعصوص] 1818. حدر وروه مرسل صحور موا أو صعدد موا حسيرا فهمت حد معردها وحماه المردد ومره العديد واصم ووقعا علا وتعال مبتعا وحبال مد عده منتعا وده. وحمة أق صد ودو حبال وحوتطا. وخمي وصل وصنة *

⁶¹⁴ Greek ἀγών.

⁶¹⁵ Θέατρον.

⁶¹⁶ C1 133:26: استاماً.

⁶¹⁷ Text mostly faded away but still decipherable.

⁶¹⁸ Reconstruction is made on the basis of Euseb. VI xxxix; see also C¹ 134 n.2.

In this persecution were martyred the holy Fabian bishop of Rome, Alexander the bishop of Jerusalem, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Origen – he endured much. Priests, ascetics, and the faithful laymen beyond any number were also martyred in this year. Decius also came out of his place with the flame of the diabolical wrath that he had, going across all the regions to persecute all the believers. He also arrived at the city of Ephesus, in which he committed more evil than in any other place. Here I would like to break off my account to relate some of the many evils that were perpetrated in this city of Ephesus.

[135] An account concerning Ephesus and concerning the eight children martyred in it⁶¹⁹

When the wicked Decius reigned, he came down to Byzantium and to the city of Ephesus from the city of Carthage. Then the churches of the region were seized, the congregations of the faithful were scattered, and the priests and the brothers fled from before him out of fear. When this Decius went to Ephesus, his heart grew haughty, and he began to build altars in the midst of the fortress. And as he was mightily moved by paganism, at his order the leaders of the city offered sacrifices with him for the idols, defiling their bodies with the slaughtered animals. Every day, dense crowds from every place would gather in the middle of the fortress of Ephesus, while the smoke of the holocausts covered the city and the dark fume of the burning sacrifices came up from the middle of the fortress, covering its wall all around. In that gloomy pagan festival, which assembled there, a great sorrow befell the believers; they lowered their heads while covered and kept quiet, and covered their faces with cloaks out of fear of the persecution. All of a sudden, on the third day, the emperor ordered to detain the Christians; pagans and Jews accompanied soldiers who pulled out the believers from hiding places and secret spots, [136] and dragging them with great harassment, they brought them near where the crowds were gathered with the emperor for the sacrifices. Those who feared the tortures and the specters of death moved away from the Faith, fell from the truth and the victorious life in heaven, and strayed away as they quickly sacrificed before everyone. When the believers heard about these things, they grieved the perdition of the souls of the cowards. As for those who stood resolved before the temporal suffering for the sake of Christ, they did so bravely on the unshakable rock of the truth.

⁶¹⁹ Ps. Zach. II.i [74–84]. In Ps. Zach. as in other sources the number of sleepers is seven, unlike the above story in which they are eight.

[135] اعدا وحد افسوم مد مد المنا لهنا والعام حدة.

حب بعد بفل المحكر موا وسلم موا حدوركما 620 والعصوص مبسلا مع الماليا أ⁶²¹ معرسكا. هرب حبّاً وألماؤا المالسون. محتمعكا ومعمنظيا المحروه. محتمل ماشل وسكه معينه مع موموه وب وب جلا وه ومنوه المقصد الماؤمر لحده. معزب وبجيا حكة ال صرحة حنوا. محم حسوما عمر مها. حتوزصا وعنوا هم مها معرحس مهه حصه حدمادة الد معليد موا في محمد وحتلا محتمل محمر مع محمور مسعم ٥٥٥ صرحم حزط اهمهمه. ولمنا وهقال ووصبا حصوسكا صمعا ١٥٥. ومعكما وعهزا ومعبدا وهقدا مع مدرحه عناها هك موار ومسعل موار حموقة عبر سبوار حو محمل حوة سيل مصنا وامع وسعماا صنع مهما. اطل مها وط خصمصتا. مؤسسهم المؤديه. مر صنعي محكماسي ٥٥٥. محليفيكا افتده صنعي ٥٥٥ مع وسكما وزوه فيل مم عك حمعل واكما هم محمل وماسره، متعلميا. سقل وبي مدةوما حمي ١٥٥٥ العلمة لم يتكا وصتا محمي وهوم موه مره المائة محدماها وحل معموص ١٥٥٥ كمور للمعل وحتما عسم ١٥٥٥ مع معكما كرحسار المكم وم وص عتبا وص لحكتكه وهدا وسكم 1000. ص عنوا وص ووصا برسا وستا حصومصدما عزمي ٥٥٥ والعربي ومع لمحل ١٥٥٠ ومكلام مرحسي مرم وحمد ودر عمل ١٥٥٥ المحم معميعتا معكريسم الموه صمطا ويعقما ووسقكمال المحم وم ومعرب المحم ەصىھىم صوم سقل وردىل مەلى مەسىل دى ھەمل وھزوا ولا مەلمارى صىھىم 1000

⁶²⁰ Sic ms for کحوریکیا.

⁶²¹ C1 135 n.3 Line.

 $^{622 \ \}Sigma$ τρατιώτης.

The flaming darts of the evil one⁶²³ pierced their bodies as if inside a shield; they endured tortures and afflictions; their physical beauty was devastated, being cast on the ground like trash; their body limbs were severed and hanged on towers and on the city wall on high, while the heads were fixed on wooden pillars at the city gates all around; ravens, birds, vultures, and crows, flew over the fortress, [F37v] carrying [the cadav] ers and the bodies of the holy ones to devour. A great lament covered the members of the faithful, and a bitter pain settled inside the mind of the zealous ones, everyone being seized by terror and fear. This was the miraculous contest, the struggle filled with terror for the onlookers, the admirable battle that stunned the heavenly and the earthly ones. The foundations of the buildings wept over the atrocities that were perpetrated inside them; the roofs of the buildings also lamented while forcing themselves to humble themseles on account of the painful cry that grew vigorous under them; the city streets were sorrowful because of the dragging to which Christians were subjected on them; tears gushed in people's eyes [137] over the cadavers of their beloved ones, seeing that all kinds of birds settled on them; the city walls feared their collapse while the bodies of the holy ones were piled up on them. What pain is harsher than this one? The believers sought shelter in each other so as to flee from merciless people. Fathers renounced their sons, and sons did not acknowledge their fathers; friends avoided friends because of the calamity that surrounded them. Now the Christian faith is built with hardship, and the victorious ones are proven by the truth and the trial of their endurance.

Maximilian, Yamlicha, Martolus, Dionysius, Yohannes, Serapion, Exsustadianus and Antoninus were made firm in the faith of the Son of God, and bore in their bodies the suffering of his cross. They used to witness all these things every day while their persons lamented over and were saddened by the pain, and the countenance of their faces darkened, turning disfigured. They used to stand at the gate in vigils, fast, prayer, and murmured petition, because they were soldiers, members of the imperial palace, leaders, and nobles of the fortress. At the time of the sacrifices administered by the emperor and the crowds, the believing ones would avoid the appointment by going into the library; they would lower their bodies⁶²⁴ face on the ground, sighing prayers to God with tears and throwing dust on their heads.⁶²⁵ Their colleagues waited sometime for them [138] and during the time of the sacrifices in the temple of idols where everyone was seen, they went in and found the blessed ones alone in the library, their bodies lowered on the dust, their faces placed on the ground, their bodies buried in the dust with tears of their eyes and weeping.

⁶²³ Eph 6:16.

⁶²⁴ Lit. 'their bellies.'

⁶²⁵ Sign of lamentation and sorrow.

مرازه وسعا وصعا حكيمه وحدا معموب ١٠٥٥ معتبا هاة كريا معمدن ١٥٥٥. وصكرمد ١٥٥ عدهزا وكيترون. وأب رطا ١٨ أقد أذيا صعكرا ١٥٥١. وأوجا و يقمصموم معمصم ١٥٥٠ مس محبّل محتما بموزا معملم ١٥٥٠ وزما مادد علا معقول وصعل حكومل وهوسكا عم سوؤا معكمحمم ١٥٥٥. معوَّجل وم وهوسكا مع حةوزا ومتحا ملا عنوم لهنزم وهوه. [F37v] [عب معتوه]وا وهيتا ومبتعا لهنس وهوه ه أفكح. ه أطار وحارك ه ووحل ومع معتل هومه همال مسعل معزيزا حجه وحميل ولهتيا محمد هوا. هوزوا موسكما حصف اسعرا هول. هل هوا وزا ولموهوزلا. هل هوا الحمل وطلا هوزوا حسرًا. وما وه المحمد العدم وحكم ماسكم الماهده حدد القل وحسل هتي وقد سل روسا وكرو معمر معمد موا. الهكتلا مامت ومتما معملام مون. م صمحب ١٥٥٥ وبصحور بعمده مع علا وسعا واسمامه ماهد ١٥٥٠ سعسعم ١٥٥٠ عقصة وحبيه أ. ص حزرا وعنصلهما وحمل صده، صملهزي ٥٥٥، وهذا حسّا لمق [137] هذه ملا عليًا وستتصمع وشرع ١٥٥٠ وهيسكا وصحيع ملمهم عمية هذا وع وصبعاً رمع ١٥٥٥ ولكم، وركل صده وحيدًا وعبتما عبع ١٥٥٠ أعل وه سعا ومع الله معل المار عب محميطتا حسبوا لهجميم المحالي المحالي الما ولا وسطر المحال حصته وفن مه و مستل حادهمة لل معوب مه وسعل مع وسعمه محاوسم ١٥٥٥. مع ١٥٥ بل و٥٥٥ سبع ١٥٥ مصلاه وع وصعله حامكها محمدها ١٥٥ مرستا حمزوا محمدما وهصمدناهم مدمدين مده محصمكما وع ممحمدا معزلهم وومسموها مماسه مصوصي واحسمه والموسوها وحزا والمادا. معصتك سعا ورصعه معينهم. در مكع محكم خرج مهم معلىاسم مصمنع حسما فتروفيهمي. ورما وافتهم حجم هما واهماس وحمدوا وروها وركماا حناها وحدما على انظ المده وهده معلى وفحتنا وحدة فلهم وضحا المده ١٥٥٥ وتعل مبتدر ومكه وحزمان محدول ووحتل وهي فحكم محتمل هماهمي ١٥٥٥ ومن صميعتا رسم ١٥٥٥ عبا معلى ١٥٥٥ حمل اوحاد معلا اهتمام علا اوعا دوهمام صحب ١٥٥٥ وحترهما وركة ال عبر كاها صماسي ١٥٥٥ ورجة درسهاه ووه بهزوب رحيا حتب [138] الصحيط ومحدور وحديل ووحتل وحكم حمد هموا محمرا هدا. ميد العص الدر كهدما حصا حصوبهدر در محمد ملا مدرا فعمددر وهتمع حازما اهتمور وحدهزا لهميزم كقمميمون وحرمدا ومتمون

The enemies of the truth drew near and slandered them before the impious emperor, saying: "Augustus, the eternal emperor! You make far away people offer sacrifices to the gods in the peace of your empire, but behold, those who are near hold your rule in contempt and despise your commands! They ignore your cult and serve the religion of the Christians in a secret place inside your imperial palace. Their leader is Maximilian along with the class of hyparchs, his seven colleagues leaders and nobles of this fortress!" At this point the emperor grew mightily moved and sent to kidnap them. They were brought into his presence with tears in their eves and dust in the hair of their heads which had been buried in the dusty ground on which they were lying in prayer before God. The emperor said to them: "How could it be that you did not stay with us for the perfect sacrifices of the gods of the whole universe which were offered, and did associate yourself with the leaders and the mass [F38r] of the residents of your fortress? Hence, come near and deliver sacrifices with joy as [everyone ought to do] for the gods!" Then Maximilian, along with his blessed colleagues, replied and said: 'We [have] a strong God with whom the heaven and earth are filled, to whom we offer hidden and pure offerings of our thanksgiving, and to his hidden existence we present with our agreeable minds fragrant words of praise from our mouths, so that we may perpetually be seen before him with our whispered begging. We, [139] therefore, do not offer before the idols the smell of the filthy smoke and cannot defile our souls and pure bodies with the impure holocaust before the devils." Then, the emperor asked a series of questions to all of them, and the confession of their religion proved to be the same. The emperor ordered that the belts of the eight be cut, saying to them: "Since you doubt the rule of our gods, behold, you are dismissed from the dignified military service of our empire. Until I have the opportunity to try you concerning the questions of your speeches in a wise manner, behold, I give you now the opportunity to take counsel among yourselves while you yet live." At his order, the iron chains on their shoulders were removed and he dismissed them from his presence. Decius went out to the other fortresses to visit them and moved to return to Ephesus with the same intention. Therefore, Maximilian and his colleagues had time to fulfill a righteous deed through their faith. They took gold and silver from their paternal houses, giving alms to the poor openly and secretly. They took counsel among themselves, saying: "Let us get out of the residence of this fortress and go to the great cave in the Ankilos Mountain, and there we will prove to be constantly before God in petition without the trouble of the world and the fear instigated by people. By the time the emperor returns and we appear before him, let us not be idle from glorifying God, and whatever he will, he will do to us.' The beautiful group of believers, who were eight in number, entirely agreed with this counsel.

وحدد وموسما منحه احمه متربهور مبع محمل مفلا واخنب الهصهوم محملا وكمحص حسل ومحصابر الله حرسما محمرت الله كرجتنا والحادال ماما مرسط معمون W مدكريد معملي قدمونتو. معلامي مقدماي دكرسكا ومتصلما معمم حصلال فسل حهم حكم ومحماني. والموهب ونعوه محصمكيا واذكرا وووقاط عدما سدة ١٥٠٠. ومعل مبرقل وحزها هداله هرب صحف المرمر معرف سله اس ماس اس مرحمه، در وحدًا دستسهم، مصدرا وزمعهم، ولمحمد حدها واؤما ومحمة صحيحم هدة. حدولًا عبم كول. وأجمع كوه محداً: أحده لا مكناه كول حرحتنا محقل والحدة وصلة المحرم ولا وحديد من الله الما الما الما الما وحد والما وحد والما وحد والما [F38r] وتحدي. محمل عنوده مفخر وصل صبوماً. أب [عجب ومحماسك] للحقا. وتبع محصمكما عم لهقصا سحره مدراه ما]معز. [الماه مع المحمد المرا وعصم هاؤما صحح حده. وحه وحتل صعتا ووعتا واووعي صعنصي معلى والمعدما وحميتي. كسرها والماه معنصه معكمه المولي والماء ومعال مرمعه العسلم صمريع. سع [139] وم الاصلام على الله المنظم على المناسب لمحالما وعوم غاوا ومسكم موصماا وهيتم لا صربعه صبع ضحما صمطا وعةالا حم عده مدلاد ماهوسا وهورسماهم هوا اسلمه هما محمر ضحما مالعصم رقس ولمعتبًا عدده. وبالعن كده. وعصل وعل علمه كلّ عليم الله. وا صديع الكاهر مع ودما وفكما ومحمل بعد مناكب المؤا معمومله مدسن الماه، عبط حعة الا وصحتوه. وا صحم عند اللا حدم المؤا ولماسعده والمدور والمور. وهجم موا داؤسر علوا وهزال مع ملقطهم واهم موا الله مع مرمدهم ووه ومسع بهم حدود استال ويسعوز انور. ويوقوم بالما للقسوس حنجيل ويل وجرح حمدسيمكيل مكسحة ووسد ووالكون المؤا وحويصهاون خذا وروسها العكمون وووحا وصفا يعجه مع حمد احتماده. وروقدا كمسعتا ناوحه وه حصما وحيما. وسر حسر المعمد ofæig. तकव द क यती व्यंत हमी हमी हिन्दी विकास कही. हमें المامرا العسامة عبرم كلاها حصماً ولا وهوا ومحصل هولا ومعل وصع الترب العتق. عم وهو ضحط هالما وصوصوب عمرا. ولا يوه حهتلا ص المحوسما واحدا. وهذ والم حده وسلم تصمة حمل، معضم حصحما ما حده محلا هالم ومدمعتا. ومنه مده معسل المنتا محنوي.

They dropped silver money in a bag which they took with them, and went up [140] to the cave of the Ankilos Mountain, where they remained several days, lying down on their faces before God in prayer and petition for the deliverance of their lives. They made their colleague Yamlicha, who was a wise and quick young man, their guardian. He would change his cloths with those of a beggar, take money with him, go down to the city, and learn about things happening in the imperial palace; from the money with him, he would give alms to the poor, buy sustaining food and go up the mountain to inform his colleagues concerning things happening in the city. The day arrived when Decius the emperor came to the fortress of Ephesus, and this time he ordered his magistrates to slaughter sacrifices with the group of Maximilian and his colleagues, for whom he was looking and of whom he was thinking. Fear befell all the Christians of the city and they began to flee from before him. Yamlicha also grew terrified and left the fortress, taking with him some sustenance, and went up the mountain to the cave to his colleagues. Terrified and bewildered out of distress, he informed his colleagues about the coming of the oppressive emperor into the fortress, and the fact that they were ordered and sought to go into (the temple) to slaughter sacrifices with the public magistrates before him. Upon hearing this, they trembled and were terrified, and made a petition before God, while their faces were placed on the dusty ground; they entrusted their lives to God with great supplication and bitter pain. Yamlicha stood up and placed before them the little food he bought, and he made them sit to take sustenance to have force and be ready for the war with the tyrant. [141] They lifted up their faces and sat down altogether in the middle of the cave, and with tears in their eyes and pain in their hearts, took food. It was sunset time, and while they were seated, sorrowful and talking to each other, they fell asleep for their eyes were tired on account of the sadness of their hearts. [F38v] But merciful [God], who is always careful toward the workers in his vineyard, decreed for them a calm and quiet death in view of the miracle that was about to be revealed. While not feeling their death and the departure of their souls, they lied down together on the ground as if for a restful sleep. Then they surrendered their souls while uttering thanksgiving; their money was placed beside them, cast and spread over the ground.

In the morning of the same day, the emperor gave order to seek them among the public magistrates and in the entire fortress and in every place, but they could not be found. The emperor said: "I am very distressed by the departure of these children, the sons of nobles, who thought that our majesty was angry against them on account of their rash transgression in the past. Our compassionate majesty does not retain the folly of transgressors who return to the merciful gods."

ه أزميه حصها حوزها وصفار وسع معده معده [140] محدنا وحابطاه لهوزا. مامع ١٥٥٥ مقصما صهاا. و زمع ١ احتده مرم كده درها محدماً. سك قوزميا وستسوه. كمعكموا وم سعزهم والموهد محمعا سميعا معكلاً. محروه کهه و معدول در منتهه و مسلاه و ما در معمل وسره وال و معدل معده و منته و وا حصيدا. وند ووا مل المع ومعملت وقد دولهم ومحدا. ونود ووا روما كعسقيا مع مسعا وحدود. ورخ ووا صدياً وحسر وهكم ووا حوا سعروود. وصوري هوا حمور ملا المعم وصعمته هذه حصرسمال ومده عطر وابا وصعع ضحط حدوما واقسوها وحود حديا هم وها حفكهمية ويرحبه بعر وحباء محسمكيا مسحة والمحمد المكم ومعصد ووالم حور وورا والمحمد وسكما كحكور معمستا حصيسكال معنه ١٥٥ محزم مع ميصهم. أف معكما المؤهد موا كره وبهم موا كره مع حزما. مع محمل صدر عمل موا معده. وهجم حلهوزا حمدنا حما سدره وس محم واصد معره و عدما اهو الله حسدته مد مدكمه وضحما لهوما حدورا. ووالماهم والمحمد مع فيكهمه وسك وبرحم مرحمه ومن معدد رجم والمؤمحة هازمده حدما عبم كما. در اهتمه مقتص ملا معنا وازما. محمسكا وحما محسما صنيزا. ستسوه للحوا صهرم وهد ومع معجموا وام هم مرهدوه ود صدياً مكس ورخ ١٥٥١. ١٥٥مات اله ويعدمون والمسكم والمهدم كمزط ولهزوال [141] ملكه اقتده ومدده اصبا طرحم طدنال دوم وطنتهه حستهم وسعل حكدهم. عمد صحياً المنا ديا ولع ومعتزجه عمعا مدال دور نهجم مده داحم ومعملي ١٥٥٥ سر حصر سر نسطى ١٥٥٥. صلى وختسه ور مستى ادة مع وزعال ولحدور. ادف [F38v] أوم كاها626 منسميل: هنه وحلما كه حدكم على قلس حدامه. هم محمده معملاً سيما محصيطاً. أب وحمومه ولما والمهلاً. محم لا فرحم حدوريه م وحمد وما وومسكره محده اصبرا ١٨ اولم المو مرمد ومسكرا. وومسكره المحمد عب صورسال حقوصه و و معده و مدر مدر مدر مدر مدر مدر مدر مدر ازداد عرفه وع وعمل قمر الم محكم محمل الم حسل فسلمهمه 627 محصوط عدم محمل فلتم ملا العصد الدورة ماجع: فخطا: صهد الماختصة حقوبيه ومحتمد الدورة وتدرية ووقدا. حر صحره که وصحول فرسا علمه صحها وصلحونداه وصلح مرسر معنسسها ومحمل لا مدهوا صدها للمع ومديم مامع كما كذا متسميا.

 $^{^{626}}$ Mostly visible and not an addition by T as claimed in C^1 141:6 and n.4.

⁶²⁷ Πολιτευόμενοι; Margolioth, Compendious Syriac Dictionary, p. 448.

The nobles of the fortress replied and said before the emperor: "Let your majesty not be sad over the rebellious youths, for they still are insolent wherever they are, as far as we have heard. They had the opportunity to fulfill their evil will during the days in which your majesty gave them room to repent. They spent their silver and gold in the city markets and hid themselves, and since then they have not been anymore. If [142] your majesty wishes that they stand before you, let their fathers be detained and pressed, and behold, we are in control of them!' Upon hearing these things, the emperor grew angry and sent to capture their fathers and they stood before him. The emperor asked them, saying: "Where are the rebels who revolted against the service of our majesty? They disdained our fearsome orders, held in contempt our imperial service, and what is more, they disdained the fear of the esteemed gods! Therefore, I order that you be put to death in their stead on account of their audacity!" Their fathers replied and said: "We beg your power, lord! We did not disdain your majesty's orders and did not leave the fear of the honourable gods! Why are we condemned to death in lieu of rebels who had robbed and spent our gold and silver? Behold, they are hidden in the cave in the Ankilos Mountain, a place not too close to here! We are in danger whether we live or we die in this whole era, the like of which we have never experienced." Then the emperor released their fathers and they got out of his presence.

The emperor was thinking what to do to the confessors and notwithstanding his will, God put in his mind to shut the opening of the cave with stones, so as to bury the chaste and holy bodies. He was not allowed to disturb the bodies of the deceased ones who were protected by God in his foreknowledge, so that through their raising to life, they would become the preachers of the resurrection for the doubtful ones at the time of their reappearance. And the emperor said: "This is what I order concerning those rebels: Because they disdained my compassionate and soft commands and rebelled against the cult of the gods, let them be strangers to my glorious majesty and not be seen again before the gods, for that cave in which they sought refuge, its mouth will be shut [143] with hewn stones. Let them be tormented alive and die miserably in an eternal jail." [F39r] The emperor and the entire fortress thought that [the confessors] were alive in their jail! Athenadorus and Arbus, [the imperial eunu] chs who were faithful Christians but hiding themselves out of fear of the emperor, consulted each other and said: "Let us write the confession of those confessors on tablets of lead which will be placed inside a box of bronze; we will seal it with a seal and the (tablets) will be placed secretly at the mouth of the cave from the inside with the blocking stones. Perhaps at God's command and before his coming, the cave would be opened in some way and the pure bodies of the holy ones which are confined inside it would be honoured, thanks to the inscribed testimony placed at the mouth of the cave." Just as the two faithful ones thought, thus they both executed. Indeed, the two men sealed the inscription and placed it in their own. All things were completely done and sealed through God's instigation.

حيه ووقصل وحوط والعن عبم محكل على حكتمل معوول حنما الله الهوا كمحكوماين صلا وحبصل حصنهما انه المحا والمنهم المر ومصعب مالمؤا هما حمم ويعمنه رجسهم صعباً. حمكم فه عدما والمنهد كهم مع معدمابر المؤا كلمحمال مصعدهم ووهده وكيه ومن حقق وهيدال وهوم المهدد ومع صبع لا المسور وال [142] رجا محصار وبعدمه مرهب بداره احقده وبالحرق وها وبه مصمع ح محمده محم عجد فحك الماسعة. الله الله الدونادي. المعدد الله الدونادي. المسعد الله عبصه وسد وعلا الم فحك واجز: احد الم حدود المن وحدوه ملا وجدها وحجما. معله جومونت وستلا. واصعة ملا وحصولا وصحول. وعله أف حرسكا واحتا صمة ال محمل فعر الل والكام سهمه المعمان. مهل منسماهم وهدوره مده وع احتمده والعني خدي مع وسمعام معنود وسع هدمور محمدام لل على ووسكم كة العممة الله عدم. معملاً معل سحم سك منهوا. وصف وومح مره وكهمه. ٥٠٥ كميم حصدنا وحاسمه كهوا. ومدا وهنما ص حودا لا وحود محمسون المكي ار سبت اه صدم حومل حمد حزوسه ووق إلا سرح كر وسرح فحمل عنا الدن الحقدهور الم ەنقمە مع موھەلەت. بەر وى منكفا مالمسعد بەرا ومدا بندر كەرى كمقوسا. وولا مرجسه أوس كما حكومكه ويعدوو هوهة وهدرا حقاها. أب وحمدوراهم وكها سعتا معتبعاً. ولا الماءود حده وبرس الدر حديثا ومعتداً: فدر والمهنب وده للحدا حعموهما برحمه. ويدهم حدمسعده و وروا حصعماً حرح المدعدة موحد المحكمة ه أجمع محكم الله على معرورا في وسعد والعلم وتمرس وسعد وحصتما محزوه ملا وسكما واحتقل بدهه مهتا حمصا ومحصات ملا ممره امت عبم كة المحمل مدياً من وجزم كن بعكود [143] قومن حقاقاً. محملاً. ەسمەمەر ستىرەن ونعولمان جرەوبا جىدەسىل [F39r] وكىكى كى ھىدە ھەرا ھىكىل محزها علاه وسنع [أنور صقوبيل] حسفهمون الهموزوه وم وازحوه صده[معتل وصحاراً. واسمنه وصفيل محتصلها معلمه يعمه مع وسكما وضحوا. المسعده وع سر حص سر هامدنی: محمود معدودهم ومعقوسا فور حكفسا واحزا ماهامه معر صحصمطافه وسعا وسماهم حلحظ وحلهما عم اسلم وهناهم قلعل حقوم معناا الماستم مع كه واحدة بعمور كمال ومع مرم مدلمه حب مع هوزهم المعلم صدياً وهيءًا معتل وعبتعا والمسعد حن ملمن مع صورسمانه ومدا ومد وعمر صحنا صبط والمسعدة وصل عصفه صوبيعيا وحب لمؤيون وسلم حلاحا وهم حمنوا حلوا ولمؤسهم. وحر وحم وحم حصحرسا واحما العبدة والمحمد والمسلمر.

⁶²⁸ Κίνδυνος.

 $^{^{629}}$ Χρόνος.

⁶³⁰ Γλωσσόκομον – familiar loan word in Syriac in the sense of "reliquary."

Decius the emperor and his whole generation died, and many emperors ruled in imperial succession until the time of the house of Theodosius son of Arcadius, the believing emperor. Sagacious one: If you want to enjoy the story of those blessed ones, go ahead to the time of Theodosius son of Arcadius, and you will find it there, that is in the tenth year of Theodosius – in that year their rising from the dead and the manifestation of their resurrection took place.

As for Decius the emperor, God shortened the span of his life, [144] and delivered him into the hands of those who sought his life. He was killed in Abrittus⁶³¹ and suffered torment kept for the Slanderer and his servants. Gallus and Volusianus ruled for two years and four months.

The year two thousand <two hundred> and sixty-nine (AD 255): The holy Cornelius became the bishop of Rome for two years, and after him was the holy Lucius for eight months, and after the latter was Stephanus for three years. During this time the river that passed through Greater Alexandria turned into blood and shortly after, it dried out and its bottom desiccated. When it remained in this condition for many days and people began to be constrained and distressed because of want of water, then the merciful God made it flow as its former custom.

The year two thousand two hundred and seventy (AD 256): Novatus divided the Church and established the Novatian heresy. 632 This Novatus said that he who participated in whichever way in the worshipping of or in the sacrificing for the idols during the persecution that <Decius> had launched would not be admitted by the Church; he called upon the word of the Apostle, who said: If someone sins after he has received baptism, the sin is deadly and there no longer remains a sacrifice that can be offered for his sin. 633 Concerning him, the Synod of Sixty Bishops was convened in Rome and they excommunicated him and banished him from the Church, for he refused to turn away from what he professed.

Also during this time, a deadly pestilence took place in the whole land, especially in Alexandria and Aegyptos.⁶³⁴ It was so powerful and severe that people barely could come close to each other. It prevailed mainly over the pagans out of all nations, for if any one of them fell sick, his relatives would leave him and run away. They would die and there was no [F39v] one to bring out and bury any one of them. [145] Thus, houses, streets, roads, and porticoes were full of the dead, rotting and putrefying and there was no one to bury them.

 $^{^{631}}$ In present-day Bulgaria; on Decius's death and on his two successors see *Hier.* Year 2268 and *Arm.* Year 2269.

 $^{^{632}}$ See $\it{Hier}.$ Year 2269 and $\it{Arm}.$ Year 2270, and more details in Euseb., \it{EH} VI xliii 1–2.

⁶³³ Cf. Heb 10:26.

⁶³⁴ See Arm. Year 2269 and a short account in Euseb., EH VII xxii 1, 6–10.

وصم وصوه فحكم وحكم وزا وزور والمحر محكم هيتال حوطل ومحدولا جرمل حبحم البوهموس من ازميس معلا مدهمانه الم إجا الم اه عنهما. والمصم معمما ادوا ومحده ولهقصال والا محومه حما وصل والوهم من المومه. وصعديد كن احج. آوالمنة 635 عدم بعيد كاروهيس. وحن حمداً ان ادوا سسمهاده، وصمر مسلم ومسعده وم مده وع مرمه مداد و رحبا وسته و در كاه [144] والمكلاه حابيد المكم وضع بعمه. والمملا حدولها. ومدل المسط هذه وبهدز للحلا عنزل مكفيصهدة ماصحر يكمه ممالهدمه عتبا لمؤلم مترسا الوحل عدلا .ت. كلفتى <ەصكى > معكتى ماقلار. دەل مېلغا مەزىلكەت اھىسمەقل وۋەەمكا عبتًا لمؤلم. وحكوره ووا مرمعًا حصوص سيسًا لمعتبَّرة وحكوره ووا الصهويب عبتًا اتكه. دويا رحيا الماهوب بدؤا وبحن حالحمسبونا وحلال دودا وحل محلا مجم مهجم أوحه. وحب وصل عصما صهتاا ووا وهنه حسما مداكري وووع حاوكريا مع سعمنها متبار صبح هما منسعدا أنوسه أب ميهه مرمعال عدم .ت. هفتم مقلم معملتي. باه الموه هوم مراا ه ووهمه وباه الموه اميم. وبا وبي باه الموه اجز: وولا مع ومعمادات حسر مع فوزهم معيها فلاحتا أه كرحتنا حزوقما هاه ومحر <ومناه الم الم الم من الم الم من مناه الم مناه المناه الم حدة ومجل معصورها. سهوا حم وضماأ لا محمل الم وحسما والمعند سك سهوه. مك ما المصم موسوره حرومها والمكن اقتصمها والمراق مرمود معرصود معرصود معرصود حباً على ولا إجل وبمعوم مع هذه معل وعام هذا حدد حدما وم رحل المجد هذا معملا وعسلال حدكة أوعل مكنواسك حلاحصبونا محل على مهوسا مرما مما معل المحل وكعسم معرب ٢٥٥ دينها وبمدره سزوا. لمق وب حمدالم>638 دينها عمر مع و معمل وم محلوزه هوا سر معده مدم مهده مده من معدمه والم مصمع ٥٥٠ ملا [F39v] الله والما إمال الما وهوم ممح حبر [145] مده المحلم وقال معقما دادوسا داههقا هده مجم دهنه دميره حمد وفدند

⁶³⁵ C1 143:24: فعالمة والمادة 635 C1.

⁶³⁶ Ms <u>man</u>, but not <u>man</u>, as in C¹ 144 n.2.

⁶³⁷ C1 144:21: الاقتعاد).

⁶³⁸ Ms 1212 (sic).

The Christians brought out and buried some of the dead, as many as they could, driven by the compassion of the zealous among them. They buried many as they could, and gave money to dig large pits in which they piled up the dead. This greatly elevated the Christians in the eyes of the pagans, because thes pagans, following their law, would not come close to the dead.

During this time a synod was convened in the city of Laodicea⁶³⁹ – the third synod.

In the same year, the holy Demetrius received the seat of Antioch.

The year two thousand two hundred and seventy-one (AD 257): Gallus and Volusianus were killed in Via Flaminia, and Valerian and Gallienus ruled for fifteen years.

The year two thousand two hundred and seventy-two (AD 258): Valerian launched a persecution against the Church. During this year, Shapur (I), the Persian emperor, marched up against Syria, taking captives and pillaging;⁶⁴⁰ Valerian marched down against him in war with a large army, and when they faced each other and fought a battle, Valerian was defeated; his whole army was destroyed and he was taken captive and was brought to Persia where he was enslaved until his death. The Persians destroyed Cappadocia from its foundation and it was never reconstructed. They also laid waste the West and the Jazīrah and destroyed Cilicia and Antioch. After Valerian was taken captive, Gallienus gave rest to the Christians.

The year two thousand two hundred and seventy-three (AD 259):⁶⁴¹ The holy Cyril became the bishop of Antioch; Eutychianus was (bishop) of Rome for eight months and after him Gaianus for fifteen years. The holy Theonas rose up in Alexandria for nineteen years.

During this time, the destructive perversities of the Manichean people [146] invaded the world. Hair Mani, an Arab and Barbarian in race, went into the land of Egypt and devastated it and corrupted it with his devilish heresy by means of vile speech. He went out of his mind and grew crazy, giving himself to those who resembled him. He wanted to take up the likeness of our Lord, preaching about himself that he was the Spirit Paraclete, exalting himself foolishly, and making for himself twelve disciples like Christ.

⁶³⁹ In Phrygia Pacatiana, not in Syria; on the synod and its canons, see Henri R. Percival, *The Seven ecumenical councils of the undivided church: their canons and dogmatic decrees, together with the canons of all the local synods which have received ecumenical acceptance* (New York, Oxford: Scribners, Parker, 1900), pp. 123–60.

⁶⁴⁰ See *Hier.* Year 2275; Elia: Sel. 570; Mich. Syr. 118c [1, 193]. Since the plural marker of $\sqrt{2}$ is anyway silent, it was written so absentmindedly.

⁶⁴¹ On Cyril see *Arm.* Year 2297 and Chr. 724, 127:4 [99]. Information repeated in Year 2298 below.

 $^{^{642}}$ On this topic see Hier. Year 2296 and Arm. Year 2298. See also Euseb., EH VIII xxxi.

عتصلهما وع عصا ومرح ١٥٥٥ معصم معدهم مصحب. حب منسمدها والعل لهما وحدهم. عط وحرب ١٥٥٥ محزم مدوه، در موحم واوحل وسعن معتا ووقد ومعم كوه وهور. ٥٥٠وا صهب أوسعم أن كحت لهما حنيب ستفاه معلا ورونه أب يعوهده لا هماهنجي حصتمال حميل رحيل الماهيم هويهوه حجميل هرسمال آهيره ولحمال ودة حمد مورا. مد ازون والهيما مربعا وطهروه مد .د. هفت وظلم معديم مسرا. المهلات كه صد ووالعسوم حموما وفالحسوم. والعلم وكالمسوم م المساه عتب سعمنه: عدم .د. هدت وقدم وعدم واتاب اصع وووفعا الما ديال مكنيوس. مدة حميدا هك معوز مدكا وقوتهما علا هوزيا ممط حود.>644 وسلم وكزينوه عكورون كهزدا حسلا هيبال ودر أؤخور حسروا حوصه > 645 منط اروص و حزيه ها و مسكو و حالمن و 646 وه الماله المراه المراع المراه المراع المراه المر واودكاه حورها مرحد محمد مدوما برحل حمداه ومورومه استرده ووتوصل محمزه في مادد لا عجم. وأف خصد مكرينا عجه ومعصل والهيما استحده وص مر المردة وكزيده معمل است كمتهما كالمنده. عدم . مد الكتن وهام معدية ماكلا. وه العسموا والهيميا مبعا موزكه ووزوه وا اهلهميه عبدا اصتاه دد كورد كالموص عبيا مصعمه الا حالا مصر مربعا الدي عبيا العمدول. حويل رحيل وهومتل هنتكل وحبتها هيتيها [146] جلا حمكها. وبل وب هيد الماوه كيسه لمنا دوزوزما. دهاؤها ومرزع بلا دهنس دمسملا ودووهس عاوسها ومكن حمد المحمد موم موره وعمل ورود بعم المحم ورضع حدد ورجل وبعد ملا تعمد وصماه وصنى مصحن مما ملا تعمد وبده المدادب ومسل فاعلل مصلافهم حسماه. مرجا مده المحترا حرمدا ومعسار

⁶⁴³ Written in the right margin; see C¹ 145 n.1.

⁶⁴⁴ Ms مصوه (sic).

⁶⁴⁵ Ms , oawo (sic).

⁶⁴⁶ Ms عند (sic).

⁶⁴⁷ Ms منه (sic).

The year two thousand two hundred and <seventy>-six (AD 262): Paul of Samosata became the bishop of Antioch.

The year two thousand two hundred and eighty (AD 266): Maximus became the bishop of Alexandria for nine years; the holy Dionysius was in the Church of Rome and Hymenaeus in Jerusalem.

The year two thousand two hundred and <seventy>-two (AD 258): A synod was convened in Carthage of Africa during the days of the reverend and holy Cyprian of Carthage, Mor Stephen of Rome, Demetrius of Antioch, and Dionysius of Alexandria.

The year two thousand two hundred and eighty-four (AD 270): Paul of Samosata wronged the true teaching, bringing back the heresy of Artemon. A synod was convened against him in Antioch and it excommunicated him and banished him, because he refused to return from what he professed. He was replaced by Domnus as bishop of Antioch.⁶⁴⁸

In this year, New Antioch was built [F40r] by the *stratagem* Saturnius, who later became king and was killed in Apameia.

The year two thousand two hundred and eighty (AD 266): Gallienus was killed in Mediolanum, and Claudius ruled after him for one year and ten months.

During this time the following shepherds were known in the Church:⁶⁴⁹ The holy Cyprian of Carthage, Stephen of Rome, [147] Firmilianus of Caesarea, the brothers Gregory and Athenadorus bishops of Pontus, Helenus of Tarsus, Nicoman of Iconium, Hymenaneus of Jerusalem, Maximus of Alexandria, Theotecnus of Palestine, Maximus of Bostra, and Eusebius of Laodicea – and Anatolius of Laodicea too, known as illustrious in philosophical knowledge.

The year two thousand two hundred and eighty-seven (AD 273): Claudius died and Aurelian ruled for five years and six months. In this year, the holy Timothy became the bishop of the Church of Antioch.⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴⁸ On the Synod see Chr. 724 150:18–25 [116]: Sel. 530.

 $^{^{649}}$ On the bishops and their seats see Euseb., EH VII iii, xiv, xxviii, and xxxii; on Eusebius of Laodicea see also Hier. Year 2290 and Arm. Year 2292.

⁶⁵⁰ Timaeus in *Hier*. Year 2288, and Timothy in Chr. 724, 126:25 [99].

عدلا .ت. كلات وتدكي حمدي حمدي الماء وملا عصمها الاستعمار الهدا. عدلا . ح. هوتم وهلام والخدم والاسمود والاحساروا محسموم عبدا القده محدياً وزهم ها موا مرسعاً وسوهم ما حادومه موا موسله. عدم .د. همت مقلم حمدت محدد المصلح هورووه معنوره وافريمب حقط سعيل ومبعد موفزيده ومناكيد وهند الصلافيل ووووهان ووهلنه والهمصل والمصلف والحصيبوما. عدم . ح. هجتم وتعمي والتعديم والوحد، قول مصمهما لمولحما عنها كبخر. وحدوزهم وأوليمه ببها. والمصم عدود هدوره لالهمور. واستعده ومهاده. صهر ولا رجا به ومر مع معا وعام وها حدد وهوا معدود ومدوه العمم طرفهما. [F40r] دوبل رحل المحمد الهيما سبال مع صهوروسي اصفيل. وه وحسنا او محمل موا. والمعلى حلوميا. عدم .ت. هفتم وهمم ماهيم. المسوم المملا معلومهم واصحر مع حلاوه محويه عدا سبا وسرسا معيا. مدير وع حديد رحيد وحديد حبيد مرسم مدونيس ومناكيد والمرهد فودومره [147] فيزطلوه ومعزيله ورزيزوه والكروؤه انتا اقتعم وفيهوه ومكوه ولجزهمه والمصرر والمدره ووصده واوزمره محسمه والحصبولة والمحمده وقلمهاه ومحصمه وحولهاه اوهممه وكرمتاه اف الهلموه اود وكرمتار عصس صورها وفته وهام ملام، حمل أن اللقتم وهلم والقيم وعديا مملا محورمصه واصحر اوزكيوه عن سعم وعيدا قدا. وده دميدا ووا ووا العيهما وحدا والهيصا عبيعا لهيعداهه.

⁶⁵¹ Correction made on the basis of Hier. Year 2277 and Arm. Year 2278.

o (sic): معصب (sic): محمد (sic) معصب (sic) معصب (sic) معصب (sic) معصب (sic).

The year two thousand two hundred and ninety-one (AD 277): When Aurelian became ready to launch a persecution against us, a bolt of lightning from the sky prevented him, and he was also killed by the New Guard. Tacitus ruled for six months and was killed in Pontus. Florianus ruled for three months and was killed in Tarsus. Probus ruled for six years and four months.

The year two thousand two hundred and ninety-two (AD 278): Felix became the bishop of the Church of Rome for five years.

The year two thousand two hundred and ninety-eight (AD 284):⁶⁵⁴ The holy Cyril became the bishop of Antioch. In the Church of Rome rose Eutychianus for eight months and after him Gaius for fifteen years. The holy Theonas rose (as the bishop) of the Church of Alexandria for nineteen years.

The year two thousand two hundred and ninety-nine (AD 285): Probus was killed in Sirmium⁶⁵⁵ and Carus ruled with his sons Carinus and Numerian for two years. Carus died in Mesopotamia, Numerian was killed rby him⁶⁵⁶ in Thracia, and [Ca]rinus was likewise killed in battle with Cornacum. Diocletian ruled after the three of them for twenty years. In the third year of his reign, he associated in his reign Maximinus [148] Herculius.⁶⁵⁷

The year two thousand three hundred and ten (AD 296): Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, ruled in the land of Britannia⁶⁵⁸ for twelve years.

The year two thousand three hundred and thirteen (AD 299): Marcellinus became the bishop of the Church of Rome.

⁶⁵³ The emperor was killed by the Praetorian Guard. The New Guard refers to the unit that replaced the Praetorian Guard after Constantine the emperor dissolved it. On Aurelian's death see *Arm.*: 2294 and *Hier.* 2292.

⁶⁵⁴ Same information in the year 2273; see above. The name Gaius is for Gaianus

⁶⁵⁵ Hier. Year 2299 and Chr. 724, 127:7 [99]; Sirmium is in Serbia.

⁶⁵⁶ Unnecessary phrase since the Chronicle gives the simple fact that Carus, Carinus, and Numerian all died or were killed. Moreover, *Arm.* Year 2302 and *Hier.* Year 2301 do not mention this killing. Chr. 724, 127:11–13 [99] repeates the same questionable information. Mich. Syr. 121b [I 197]: "Carus died in Syrian *Bēt-nahrīn*" (in reference to northern Syria), Barheb. 58:6–8 [57] adds "and his son Numerian was killed in the country of Africa;" Mich. Syr. continues, "where he was appointed as consul." Both sources say, "Carinus... died accidently in the war with the Germans." Cornacus (Kornak) is an Armenian general in the service of the Persian king Chosroes; Robert W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i History of the Armenians* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 227. This explains why the present chronicle has the preposition "with" not "at."

⁶⁵⁷ On the co-regency see see *Hier*. Year 2303 and Chr. 724, 127:14–16 [99].

⁶⁵⁸ Written Aranția!

عدل قد رهن وقلم واقدم وسبال اوزدسه و الماء وسمر محم وووفيا دوما ومعما وحدود و المهلا و المهل

⁶⁵⁹ Sic ms.

In the same year, the land of Egypt rebelled and a large Roman army came and subdued the city (of Alexandria), afflicting it with famine.⁶⁶⁰ One portion (of the city) was assisting the Roman army and with them was Eusebius (bishop of Laodicea) who was not confined in the city and who had acquired the confidence of the Roman general and a famed name. When Anatolius, the bishop of the city, saw that the people were perishing of hunger, he informed Eusebius about it. Eusebius asked the Roman general to let those who deserted to him live, and having his request approved, he informed [F40v] [Anatolius of the matter]. When Anatolius asked the city people [to come to a reconciliation with the Romans] ⁶⁶¹ and they did not agree, he then said to them: "Perhaps you would not deny me this: let the old men and women, the children, and the sick get out of the city so that bread may be available to those who remain." Thus people were (secretly) clothed with women's garments went out during the night, and in this manner he rescued everyone who wanted to run away from death. At the end the Alexandrines were defeated by the Romans, while those who were behind the rebellion were killed.

The year two thousand three hundred and sixteen (AD 302):⁶⁶² Zabda became the bishop of Jerusalem for three years, and was followed by Hermon. Tyrannus was in the Church of Antioch, and in Alexandria, Peter, who was later martyred in glory in the ninth year of the persecution.

The year two thousand [149] three hundred and seventeen (AD 303): The commander Veturius briefly persecuted the Christians who were in the army, but thereafter the persecution grew powerful against all the believers.

The year two thousand three hundred and nineteen (AD 305):⁶⁶³ A vigorous earthquake took place in which much of Tyre and Sidon collapsed and many people perished.

The year two thousand three hundred and twenty (AD 306): Destruction of churches took place.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶⁰ Euseb., EH VII xxxiii 7–11, and on the punishment of the rebels see *Hier*. Years 2314 and *Arm*.: Year 2312.

⁶⁶¹ A dark patch covers this part of the text; the reconstruction is based on Eusebius.

⁶⁶² Extant Arm. ends at this point.

⁶⁶³ See Hier. Year 2320 and Chr. 724, 128:4-5 [100].

⁶⁶⁴ Hier. Year 2320 and Chr. 724, 128:4-6 [100].

محة حميمًا موا معزول أولم ومعرفي. وأبال سملًا وحل وومومهم مسوفة لمعرسمًا. وأكرف حدهال دور رحمة سرا صدا محروا دول حسلا وودومها وحمدور المودود المصحيف ولا المسجود حصوبها وحمل ود سعلا ووووصها فيوصها معطا صعدوا ضا ووا. ودم الهدكوها افتهمها وحن ومرسلال سرا حمل ومرسلال واخرج مع دهيا ادوره لاهسمت على دول بوه وم اهصمت على مع ود سلل وقده صل دول كونه وكماه تعقب وجر المحتصر حور أوور [F40v] [ووا للهوجوه] وجر الهوجوه حيط وطرسما معمد ذه الا المرد أمد المدرد أمد المدرد وحدوا العدم لا عرب الكام حبد وهذا مصقدًا ولاحتل معمنيا بعدمه معهم مع مبيدًا. وبدوا عديد حبيد المحم وقيمين ١٥٥ محدما ويقل محجمي ١٥٥٥ حدثيما ونقمي حكيا. في حربا عورد حديم ورجا حصدوه مع معدال محسولا اورصم همسوريا مع ووهما والممهم المحم وهوه ملك مدهوماً. عدم . ح. هفت معمد فوا رجا اقتصمها واهزعم عبدًا الشهه وحكروه ووا وزهوم وحدياً والهدما ووا لهوالهدة وحلاحصبوما ووادوه في وصدرا ومحساره حكمة وحرب الصور حميد المع وزودها عيد . قد [149] هفت والمحلا معدسة! ولهونمص زد سلا حديه لميل بداهم الما والمعلى ورد محسد ومر مربع وروصا ربره سه ال بعد حد. معط سيسال اجر حد. عدلا .د. لافتر معر. دوا معوزلا

⁶⁶⁵ C1 148:27: Jas.

⁶⁶⁶ Στρατιά.

In the 19th year of (his) rule, in the month of $\bar{A}d\bar{a}r$ (March) and in the feast of the Unleavened Bread,667 Diocletian the emperor issued an edict which was promulgated in all the cities and in it he ordered that all the churches be razed to the ground, that all the Scriptures be set on fire, that those in high positions be degraded and those in the service who were set free be deprived of their freedom, if they persisted in not renouncing their faith, and that the leaders who presided over the churches in every place be delivered to shackles, and thereafter be compelled to sacrifice. Some of the shepherds gave in out of fear; others were individually subjected to torture, some by scourging, or with racks, or with gridiron, while others were thrown to wild animals. Some were cast into the deep sea, and others were crowned under frigidity and severe cold. In Nicomedia, Dorotheus, Peter, and Gorgonius, along with many others from the imperial family, were martyred, and countless others were killed by sword in the markets and everywhere. Martyred were⁶⁶⁸ Anthimus bishop of Nicomedia, and Lucianus, Tyrannion bishop of Tyre, Silvanus bishop of Emesa, Zenobius bishop of Sidon, and Silvanius bishop of Gaza⁶⁶⁹ – along with thirty-nine others who were beheaded and were burnt in fire, ⁶⁷⁰ Pamphylus bishop [150] of Caesarea, Peter bishop of Alexandria, with others: Faustus, Dius, Ammonius, Phileas, Hesychius, and Theodore, bishops of the churches in Egypt, along with famous people.

Now on the Lake of Sebaste, forty men were crowned altogether.⁶⁷¹ They were notable leaders and the nobility of the region who were exposed (naked) upon the frozen lake for a whole night, and after they succumbed, they were set on fire. As for the holy Sergius and Bacchus,⁶⁷² the *Dux* made them run on (soles with) sharp iron nails, and after he tortured them with all kinds of blows, he beheaded them in Reṣafa.

⁶⁶⁷ I.e. Easter; for the account see Euseb., EH VIII ii 4 to iii 1.

⁶⁶⁸ Euseb., EH VIII vi 2–6, xiii 1–7.

⁶⁶⁹ The 'ayn in Aramaic and Syriac renders Semitic ġayn, and the toponym in this case reflects Ġazzā as in Arabic. C¹ 149 n.4 took it for J_K!

⁶⁷⁰ Burning bodies of martyrs was probably to deprive Christians of relics.

⁶⁷¹ On the martyrs of Sebaste, see their account in Paul Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum Syriace* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1890–1897; repr. Olms, 1968), vol. 3, pp. 355–75, and in *Acta* VI, pp. 662–674, see the *mimrō* of Jacob of Sarug on the same martyrs. Reṣafa in the present account is in Syria, on the Middle Euphrates not far from al-Raqqa; in Byzantine time it was called Sergiopolis, the city of Sergius.

⁶⁷² On them see a *mīmrō* by Jacob of Sarug in Bedjan, *Acta* VI, pp. 650–1, and another one by Severus of Antioch in R. Duval, "Les homiliae cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche," *PO* 4:1 (1907), pp. 84–94.

حميد المحصة ا ودورا محصمال حيزس أوز حداوا وصلهة حدم وهمكهميوه محمدا محدار هااهنه حصص مربتي. وهم حره وحبّا حرما للزما يسماق وقلما حدوا يامره. ه المحمد وطلعنا المعمور بر لهدور والمعمور و والمعمور و والمعنون الم محموم والم فعنى مع سهزوسهم بكركم، وتبعيل أمكم وضمع حزمعل وحبّال حدم المزد للمعموّل معملات المالكي وبرحمه على المراقع والمعمل المن المن معلى المعمل ٧٠ وكبر سر هدهه مبرًا حجز. أما دهه وحصقال استلا حقوما. استلا حاقيلا. استبل حستما المكومه استبل حدوهما وبعد عبده الدرم استبل حيحبا وحمدوا الموهد. حصصحبا وبي الصدوه وهؤالم معطروه مي من استنا هي المامه مع حداً وخدها. واستال صحياً وبخنع حصيدا الممهدة حصداً. حدةما وحدمور. الصهو وع الكيموم افيصموفل ويتمموول: وكوميوها. لهناييه افيمم وروؤ. مكونه اهمهمها وسعن اوسهم اهمهم وربوري وهمهمه اهمهمها ومرادوه مع التكام ملقط استنع والمعهم وسموه والموه حدوراه وموسه افسمعا [150] ومستار ولمناهم افسموها والحصيوناه مع استيا. فوصلهم ووصف والموسم وفالهم ٥٠٠هممه. ١١١٥وه اقتصمه وحبال وحصوبي. حمر انقل مرمدة صحما وع وهمهما اتوصيع رحة اصبا المعدد ومحم ومعا مبيعًا الا ووقعه والمؤا وه المده وهدد مركب وسعدا العدوم للما عده. وحدة وهده اوم اله صورا. مربقا صنيسه محصص. اذه لا أنه ومص ١٨٠ هقا ستحما وهزال مم حمل عبت العمام حممي مبع قعم وسمور حروا.

⁶⁷³ C¹ 149 n. 4 takes it for Inc.

[F41r] The year two thousand three hundred and twenty-one (AD 307):⁶⁷⁴ Diocletian and also Maximinus resigned from the empire, and Maximian and Severus became emperors in their places. There is a custom among Roman emperors, that if one of them resigns the leadership for any reason, whether out of fear of enemies or whatever other reason, he shaves his head and goes home, while not interfering whatsoever in the imperial leadership from that time on; and according to the law, no one is able to harm him in anything, if he guards himself. These acted likewise when they gave up the imperial crown.⁶⁷⁵

The year two thousand three hundred and twenty-two (AD 308): Constantius left this world with great honour, and Constantine his son ruled after him for thirty-one years and ten months. Here I⁶⁷⁶ want to leave off my statement for a short while to show what admirable things God did through his believers, and also what evil things Satan showed through his servants. This Constantius the Elder with his wife Helena were believers and God-fearing, for during the entire period of their rule they did not persecute anyone; on the contrary, [151] they were considered gentle and sweet by everyone. In this way Constantius ended his honourable life, leaving this world while everyone acknowledged his gentleness. His son Constantine⁶⁷⁷ did not imitate the faith of his father, but proved to be always the persecutor of the Christian Faith. Not even when his body suffered some kind of affliction would he keep quite from his evil persecution. In his zeal for the worship of idols he resembled Saul the persecutor. When he was thus occupied with threat and murder toward all the Christians, jailing, killing, and even crucifying and stoning them, that affliction much prevailed over him. His body was entirely stricken with leprosy and just as the putrefying smell of a grave full of cadavers spreads out to all sides, this one too, a rotten smell was emanating from him to all sides. Despite this, he was full of deadly threat against everyone who did not worship the gods, because he claimed that they would give healing to his body. When he realized that his body was decaying and withering through the leprosy that he had, he sent to gather all the sorcerers, enchanters, astrologers, and wise men of his dominion and outside his dominion.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁴ See Hier. Year 2321 and Chr. 724, 128:6–9 [100].

⁶⁷⁵ Same statement in C² 157:10–15; Harrak, Zugnīn, p. 150.

⁶⁷⁶ The Chronicler's intervention.

⁶⁷⁷ On Constantine see now Maria Conterno, "Culto e memoria di Costantino nelle tradizioni sire. Agiografia costantiniana nella liturgia e nella storiografia," in Alberto Melloni et als. (eds.), Costantino I. Enciclopedia costantiniana sulla figura e l'immagine dell'imperatore del cosiddetto editto di Milano 313–2013 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2013), pp. 425–439.

⁶⁷⁸ Compare the wording above with Dan 2:2.

المالات مع محدداً. ورجم محقل سلامه م حمدهممسوه العرص معموره مرم اسم حصحقا ووه وصبار واصمه وصع جمال انبا ووهد: ال مع وسمال وصحوقا: ١٥ بحما امرا وروب معمال مع معدون مع معرونها وهنوه والمرا حصمان مرالا صممند صد مع معا محمل حبودنا وصحوال واهلا الم بصوصا لي بهز يعمد الم العد وحده فر حدود المحم المحمد المحمد المحمد المحمد المحمد ما المحمد الم ماكلمعال معصب ماقلع. موسهدها مدا زحل نجم محمداً والعكم مع حكوره موصل المنا الكلم وسبأ ومتسا معناه وزما زجلا679 مكس الوس ملا صكار. وأسوا وأسكم المتناها هدة كاوا حمر مدوستة ود. أق وأسكم حتماً مسوا هلها حب فحمة وسد ومعلم وم موسي معلى معر ومن المارة مدومة ووسكة كوا المنهور ١٥٥٠ مر حصره رصل ومحماهم لا فروف للنعد الله [151] تتسل محصتها محمس ١٥٥٥ كما حكم ، ١٥٥٥ منه من مدمة موسهد منهم مع محمل ول عب حكم معودا كحصمعه اله وع موصل مله وعلى مدو لا الموهد كم معددا واحدد الا حصرح زودها ومصماا وصعيدا صميرا مداد الا مر صدما حبم حمدا الم مدم حصينه اهل هصل صدوصل خصص مع حمما وزوهمه. دم صدوها دلمسه وحما صحبها فكمته حماده وروفا ومر وصل حلا ووا حدسما ومهلا حما عدور متصهميا. حر سحم مميل ماه رمد مؤريم. هسما ان وحره معده سان نعل عده در رياط حلا هما عده فينه. مؤسل هنما حرمها محنا وطلا قكرا وكما يحتم فسه. محل الا مال وسيما الرام موا صده حدل بحتى محم موا طل موا حسط ومكلا ملا علا ولا فعيم للحة الحدة ومدعم حده العبدا حديده. وما عم منوا وكموم كوينه وطاهها وطاسد حبر بناط وه ودود عبر وديع كاه كدكوه ستعل ه المقافل محربتا مستعل وحمد كيده مولا حمد كيده.

وَط آبل Phonetic spelling instead of the full الم

From an Account on Constantine the Great⁶⁸⁰

Because Constantine was entirely stricken with leprosy, his wise men whom he gathered counseled him to bring and slaughter three hundred infants and to swim in their blood, and following their evil word, he quickly sent and gathered many infants. And he stood up to go to where they were being slaughtered so as to swim in their blood, and with him his attendants inside the city. When he went, he heard the sound of loud wailing [mothers and cries?] [F41v] of laments so that the whole city was shaking. Upon hearing it, the emperor [152] said: "Whose is this sound?" They said to him: "The mothers of these children who are lamenting their beloved sons!" Startled and tearful, the emperor stood up to return to his imperial palace, reproaching the evil and merciless counselors, and saying: "The lives of these innocent and pure ones is dearer to me than the cure of my body; nor is it true to me that if I swim in their blood I would be healed from my leprosy!" The emperor ordered that their mothers be given money and that they go to their regions with honour. When the good and compassionate God of the Christians saw that he did this, he brought him to him. When he was asleep on his bed during the night, he sent to him two of his disciples, that is Peter and Paul, and they appeared to him in his dream, saying to him: "Because God saw your compassion which pitied the children, he had mercy on you too. He sent us to show you a source of water in which, when you will swim, you will be healed from your leprosy. But send to bring Sylvester the bishop, who, terrified of you, had fled to the mountain, hiding himself in a cave. He will come to show you the source of water, and when you will go down in it, you will be healed from your leprosy." When the emperor woke up, he sent people to the place indicated by the Apostles, and they brought Sylvester. The emperor went out to his encounter, welcoming him with great honour, and asked him saying: "You have two gods named Peter and Paul." Sylvester said: "Peter and Paul are not gods, but the servants of God." The emperor said: "You have their icons; bring them that I may see them." When they were brought to him he said: "There is nothing more accurate than these icons! They appeared to me in this likeness and spoke to me that I may send [153] to bring you to show me the source of water." Sylvester said to him: "They talked to you about the water of baptism. If you believe in our God and descend to this water in his name, you would get rid of the leprosy of your body as well as the leprosy of your sins."

⁶⁸⁰ Abbreviated version of the *Acts of Sylvester*, bishop of Rome (314–335). There are other Syriac versions in Ps.-Zach. I.vii [39–65] and Mich. Syr. 124c, 125a, 126c [I 241–243]. Jacob of Sarug is said to have composed a *mīmrō* on Constantine's baptism; S.P. Brock & P. Bedjan, *Homilies of Mor Jacob of Sarug*, vol. VI (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), pp. 297–23.

مع المعما وملا موسهالها ودا.

معهلا رمة وريزه معلا موها عكور محكومه معتمده وبر وعبعد وبالما لهكتا عنوما المسلم من من وسل حرمه وربع عبر مطالع موسل المرب عبر مطالع موسل المناسب محكمهم صمكل. وصع لحستا صحياً ومعر وبارك البط ومحمدهم ووو. ويصبل ي الله الله المحمل الم ابعن: وهده علا ملا. الغني حو. اعتمامهم ولهكتا محم والحم كحسم سحتما. مميع اهه فعكم ممر مع موهد عمل محكم الله من محمد معكة والا وسعل هامعن: وسحمت به حد سمتهم والمعتمل وحم ووقتل ملمن مع موحمه وكنور. ون وج واقلل عنهذا وم كند ولى فيما اللا حرصون صدوط اللاصع حنصد وهجر فعكما والمسموم رقوا للعدة المن مدارك 683 حلمنا وحاً للازمامي. كما وم لمحل معنسها ومتعطيدان مرسوس وحجر دورا اهسه حمله. ومر وصب ملاما ملا المعاملة مرة كماه لمزَّع مع المعتبره وقد وع كفلهاده وكدوله والمراء كه صلحا والعنب ۵٥٠ على وبيرا كله ا معزسميه ابر وسعيد على لهكتا وسع اه عليه. هعرو ح وسه ا كر صحيل وحدًا. وعبر الصيل حرة اوعل صع حزحور. الله عبرة الما حو حصاحتهاه ص اهمصمه قل في وسكمر عنه كهوزا ولهما حصدنال بوه ألما وصمه لا صميل وحمل وحمال وصر المدا كن الماوط مع جنوب وصر الماحمة معكول عبرة انقا للبط واهده كن مكتسا. والمناوب كصحصهاوها ومع صحا للوزده ومحكم حلمها وحال معلكم واجه كه. الم كدر كذا وحدمنه وانوس وودكوس محصران امن وانوس وودكوس كة لا المنهور. الا محرةهم الهر والحواد محمل العن الله لحمور مقمسهور. المه كب اسرا انهى ، وجم المله حره اجد: ولا الم حرم وسلام حم قعل وحمل حموا من وحما المرب حب معدل عصد. والعرز [153] المهر وعدما وعتا لمنها حد. صحصر فالمرب اجن. ١٨ صمة وصعودها اجن حد. وال به والهم حلام ماسما حصم المحي

⁶⁸¹ Τάξις.

⁶⁸² A dark patch covers this part of the text.

[.] مازه ها 152 n.1: "Ms. مازهی" but the form is actually مازها

⁶⁸⁴ C¹ 153:4: J

The emperor said: "If I did not believe I would not have sent after you!" Sylvester said to him: "Fast during this week and beg God to forgive what you have done to his servants. Command that churches be opened and that temples of dumb and blind idols be seized. Order that the Christians whom you jailed be freed and command that they be given to them from the demosion⁶⁸⁵ of which they are deprived, and give alms to the poor." The emperor did all the things that he was commanded to do, and when the time of holy Sunday came, Sylvester led the emperor forward to baptism, saying to him: "This water, O Emperor, absolves sins and give heavenly grace to he who has faith from the bottom of his whole heart, preparing for him the eternal life." When Sylvester brought him down to the pool, on account of the immense faith of the emperor, it turned entirely into a flame like a burning torch, and its noise was heard like a frying-pan seething up (with oil), and all the leprosy of the emperor disappeared in him. He was seen floating on the water like scales of fish, and became entirely like a weaned child. Realizing the change that happened [F42r] to his body, he became assured and believed in the remission of sins and [in the life] of the new world. After the [eternal] baptism [the emperor] began to say: "This is the true God! If he were not the God who created me, he would not be able to renew me. He must be worshiped alone and let error that still prevails today come to an end!' After [154] he made many statements about the fear of God, the worship of one God, and about the abolition of the worship of false gods, all his officials and the entire city praised him. And he ordered that a great and spacious church be built in Constantinople. These happened in the eighth year of the emperor Constantine the son of Constantius.

The year two thousand three hundred and twenty-four (AD 310): Maximianus, the Roman emperor, died and Maxentius his son ruled for six years.

The year two thousand three hundred and twenty-five (AD 311):⁶⁸⁶ Severus died and Constantine ruled his empire. In this year Constantine captured Maximinus, the emperor of the West, and seized his empire. He made Licinius, his brother-in-law – the husband of his sister Constantina – co-emperor. Maximinus, the emperor of Syria, persecuted the Christians harshly and mercilessly. In this way, the Christians were afflicted by him without pity: he killed and exiled shepherds; he threw priests and the entire people in prisons; he demolished, tore down, and razed to the ground churches, altars, and temples, pillaging their possessions.

⁶⁸⁵ Public treasury.

 $^{^{686}}$ Hier. Years 2323, 2325; the rest of the account probably derives from Euseb., $E\!H$ and Soc.

محكم أبعز. كه لا ومنعدم ملا حكوم معوز منه. محكمهان ما أبعد كن وم حدوا عدلاً. وأقبع للكوا وبعدوم جب معرم وبجول حدوةون. وهدو وللعلاس عبال. الماسرة مد المحدد المتعلم المعدد المحمد والمعمل المحم والمعمد المحمد المحمد المعمد الم ومعصم المكم وكم كام معمد ومعمد كما مراقم المحستال محرر المواوم فحكم عكم محم عجم الحما والمعمم كه. عم وم الما معلم فن مرسما وسرحمحا. عدده ١٥٥ صحصهن معددل بر معمودها. در اخذ حره. وحتا محم اه صحدا سهةا محصم ولهمحال معسلال محصن حن دفه وهم حكم حده معميع وستل وكملام معلهم حه.. در وع اسلاه صحصهاده محصورها: دمولا معلا ومعدماه ومحد المادعم كن عدد اب حمصها وبدوا: داب لهيما وحملها العمم عدد. وحدد منده ومعدد فرم مده. والمرب في لهدو والمرب معتل الم معقل وبقيل وهوا فعده المر حدوها سعيلاً. وأب عوسكا [F42r] وسرا حيوعده أعز ووبعي. ملا عوجع سلمة ه [١٤ ستا] و محمل سباله صبح حدة صعدوما وحمد عن الله المحمد المجار المحمد المحم وصل المماهد الا المحمد الما وعنوا. هم لا يعن الاحمد الله المحمد الما ولمات سباس. ٥١٥٠ حصور٥١٥٠ يعمر ، ولهما ان وعبط حمصيا الفد مدحما. ٥٠٠ [154] وبع معلا المحالم الله والمعالم الله المحال الله المحال الله المحال حه كما وصحيها كنة محسوا محسوف ووقعوف وحكة موسلال وهم ومكاله المعلم حباً وَحِمًا ووصيمًا حمدهم به به الله وحد وم الله علم القيل وحد وحدد موسهاهاسوس دز موسهاهاس عدا د کلاتی معدد مدار مدسمسوس محط وزه وصله واصحر محصيهم حزه منتا ما. ميلات كعتم ومده. ميلا صورها. واسم محصاره موسهدهاسه. وحدة حمد الم المحسم معدم ومدول ومدول والمرار والمرا محصاه وه معصهههاسه محمل مدر حه وب عداها حمدها حمس سلانه حدكة وسلاه موصهدلهمال محصمعموه وع محكم وهوزيا معماسة دولا حرسطا ووف حدوه عده وحدا ولا دوسط محارج ٥٥٥ مده وهما: ٥وما٥٥، مها وأهب المصوريان وحدة لل وحمل على أوهب عبد الصنوان حزيا وهباحتنا وتطار عجون صبه محمد معما حرصا حقداها: مجره حندرهمر:

687 Phonetic spelling for علا.

⁶⁸⁸ Verb clearly visible not added by T, but see C¹ 153 n.6.

⁶⁸⁹ C¹ 154:2: L, (sic).

While he was tormenting the children of the Church in this manner, God inflicted upon him miserable suffering that crept into his own soul; all of a sudden, he had an abscess in the midst of his private parts, then a deep ailment, which was an anal ulcer, and a spreading abscess in his intestines which could not be cured. From him a multitude of worms incessantly crept, and as he was thus ruined, his look turned into an indescribable horror for those who came close to him, and at this point, the physicians who could not bear his stinky smell [155] were put to death without mercy. As he was stricken with all these afflictions, he realized that God made him endure them because of what he had done to his servants. Thus he ordered those around him to cease the persecution against the Christians without delay, and by imperial decree to quickly build their churches from the imperial treasury, to return whatever was taken away from any of them, and for the bishops and priests to return to them, and thus action quickly followed the decree. 690 The (churches) were more gloriously ornamented and beautified than before, in such a way that when Jews and pagans and all other people saw their glory, all of them converted, becoming Christians, and confessed that there was no God other than this one. As for Maximinus, he died while thanking God before everyone and Constantine seized his empire. When the third⁶⁹¹ battle between Maximinus and Constantine was waged on account of the persecution against the Christians, and as the armies stood up facing⁶⁹² [F43r] each other, that is the army of the tyrant and that of Constantine, he, the tyrant, hid himself in a house. He received from God the punishment that he deserved. All of a sudden, all his body was torturing him, and he was tormented by a powerful pain, then collapsed and died of hunger. All his body was consumed by an invisible fire; his appearance was wasted away and only his brain was alive;693 his eyes projected, falling from their places, and remained blind. He expired while confessing that these happened to him on account of what he had done to the servants of God.

⁶⁹⁰ See Euseb., EH VIII xvi.

 $^{^{691}}$ This passage is clusmsy in that the word "the third" follows Maximinus and not the battle. For the account see Euseb., EH IX x 2, 14–15, where Licinius launched the battle not Constantine.

ه المجادة (99 At the beginning of what is supposed to be Folio 42v the following is written: المجادة المجادة

⁶⁹³ This is a literal translation, although معنيا ought to be الاحتىن; compare with Euseb. EH IX x 14–15: "…and as the heat consumed him still more fiercely in the very depths of his marrow, his eyes projected…"

وصر وصل معمر ووا صحبته وجرال المد كوا علوه اوحريا والمسما والمكه حرصا حدومه. در مع محد رحمة حقيل وسعد ورحه مواحه محمل معر حدودر ماط عصما. والماهو عنها. وهوا حد يوها والمواهوة وهوسا والماهد مصدة ودر وهده ووج وقد اة كما هوكا ولا على. ١٠٥٠م و المسحر وسكا ولا معممكا للمح ومعموص كه المان مول سرله. مربع العقال المحم ولا معصب موه حصصدن وسه هزيا [155] صلمهم وال حرسطان وم وم حمل علاهم الأكريا وها ووا الرب وهله المحم وهدز حدوة والاها ولحم هدلا وقم لمتحدوب ولعلا وووقعا ولا ويصلهما ويهاد ومع وومنا ومحمل مياهم محتب مع ريا ومحمدا محلام. وص حبم والمنسف مع سوا معنوع المقتل المقتى واقتصموها وموسوم المام المورد. ٥١٥ عذوا حكمة معكما واهل ١٥٥١ مالمهووم حرجها محموصل علمة مع موهما. المعلم ومر سره محقوما وستعل وحلا مصحتم لعددسوس. وجده ولاهوم ووهده وتصليمال در معوب وحملا کرور اسزم کمن مع ویل وه وم محصصیوه در صووا للکوا عرم عکم صد المارس محصوله موسهدها معهد وبوه المارس والما حب المارس هما عنط حدم که مکموسهدهده معهل زودها ویک متصهدا: دم صحب ۱۹۵۰ ستها كومد [F43r] سبول: ون وي سلا وبك ولمنون وسلا اود ومعها المن المناسف. بوه وبع لمزويا حصما صملها موا. محل مع كلوا معهم حزيما اب وغوا. ومع عك وكه ويه مكاير موا. ومكرود مر ماما سعيدا. وهيد موا وامر حدوره. ه صلا فينه حدول ولا معلمها معلمه وها. ومعمله وم المسحك. معتل وم شد وها حصور. متنوه وبي معوز ونعم مع ووعتماهي والممحم عب صعدا. وعبر معورا ومها المحم وهدوه وحقره والحم المحم رسيع لمن محصله العمه.

 $^{^{694}}$ Noμή; for meaning "pasture land, territory," see below.

While Inner Armenia did not endure his persecution, [156] it rebelled against him. 695 He dispatched a great army against it and it perished there altogether. The army that survived gave a pledge of conciliation to Constantine without battle. As for those who followed the tyrant, God took vengeance against them as they deserved. Since during the days of these (military) tyrants there was no famine, pestilence, or war, all of these happened all of a sudden: famine, pestilence, and many battles. The whole army perished in Armenia: Those who were in villages succumbed to famine and those who possessed sustenance died of pestilence. Famine grew so severe that a *modius* of wheat was sold for two thousand five hundred $\gamma \bar{u} \gamma^{.696}$

The evildoing of Maxentius, who lingered after all the wicked ones who ruled from Rome, surpassed all those who acted (wickedly) before him. 697 When Constantine heard about him, he pitied those who were oppressed in Rome. He called upon God for help and quickly proceeded to wage war with him. Thus when he drew near, he attacked the first, second, and third of the tyrant's camps with the help of God. When he arrived at Rome, he feared lest on account of the tyrant he would be compelled to wage war with the Romans. But God as if with iron chains dragged him (=Maxentius) outside the city, and after he fought and was defeated he fled. He and those with him began to cross over a bridge (of boats) that was fastened together on the river, and when they advanced and the bridge was loaded, the ties of the bridge loosened, and the boats sank down to a great depth while filled with men, and thus the wicked one sank like lead in the mighty waters. 698 Maxentius being dead, the citizens of Rome welcomed Constantine with great honour. Constantine gave freedom to all the Christians in his 8th year (AD 316).699 [157] In this time Helena the empress went down to Jerusalem to rebuild it and to inquire about finding the cross of Christ, for this matter was revealed to her in a dream. 700 When she went down to Jerusalem she found old Jerusalem in a state of ruin, as is said by the prophet. There, in the tomb of Christ from which he rose up after he was buried, she made her search with diligence, and although it was difficult, she made her discovery through the grace of God. [F43v] I701 shall briefly talk about the reason behind the difficulty.

⁶⁹⁵ Euseb., *EH* IX viii 2–4.

⁶⁹⁶ Attic drachmas in Euseb., EH IX viii 4.

⁶⁹⁷ Euseb., *EH* IX ix 2–5, 7, 9.

⁶⁹⁸ Ex 15:10.

⁶⁹⁹ Hier. Year 2330 and Chr. 724, 128:14 [100].

⁷⁰⁰ Soc. I xvii.

⁷⁰¹ Socrates speaks.

أزمس يهما مر لا صديا ووقع [156] منوا محمود معرو محمة سلا صها هالمنزد لمح حكه. سيلا وبي حكه وه وهم عود معملاً ومحمداً كمه همها والا عندا. الحكم وم وتصفي ٥٥٥ كه كهن مرا حجم عدده المحمد المر وعفي.. وصلا وحقصهه ولهوما وحم لا ووا دوما ولا مدرا العلا مندا وصع عد دهم موّد: قعل معما حب المحمد معتدا معتدا المسلامة ما وعد المره والمره والمرك والمره والم والمره والمره والمره والمره والمره والمره والمره والمره والمره و حمدة عد احره حدولًا. وأسكم وأسل موا كور صدياً احره حمدالًا. وموسل المعمد دولًا وصورما وشها حلاق هدت مسعقطا رةرع طروح مدار محصلهم وع ماه والعلمية مع المكع ومعدل ومعكو الما حدودها عدد صعده لحكمه أوله والمال عرمه مرسود वन्यक्षिक्षण्य हुन यू बस्य ४८००म ज्या ४४ जिस्तु हुव्यवस्तान यहाराज्यी. ववरी पिर्वा حدورونا. وزوا مطالع ⁷⁰³ وبعد عده عندا. وهوما در المنهد حبرا وحمولي والحم ص صعتهاه ولهزه بالدوريل والما وحمد التي وحم صله لاه مرهوها المالم وولا مع محم لمنامل ماحل حمصنده مصده، وقده معلا الله هده المر وطعمة الموقد وهنالله اهمه كمن معرسكال دور امن داروص مود سرال دهن ود دامكم ومعده كمددن ملا سعنا هذه ودبع هذا ملا مدواله. ودبع مدم والمعدد العدود العنود ويسعنا ولحقه صفتها حموهما صهاا وم محتم رحماد وهوما احم ومدا ومعدا الم احدا حعتا هيتال وم حدم ولم محكور حت زووها كموهلهليوه حلمزا زدا. وبود بوه موصلي سازه الا محده من عنصل منا المحمد عنه المحمد من وبي حرصا وبا سلالم محتال محصلا للمؤهم واحسن مولمص ملا مصلاه ورصفا ومعسال موسلا ادوا حبر سكعل كن المسود وب وب حبر سكما للدوهكم داهمسكان حبر المكنف سنحكما وب ادومكم مرصد الي حل واحد صحداد احج ١٥٠ وحدد وحدداً وه وحده مر المحد مع. حممكها معمدا موما. وأفي مهالية. الله مهمدورا وأكوا معمدسا. [F43v] أبرا وب [اهم]ة محما ومهماة حب رحوتما الل اهن.

⁷⁰² See the word just below.

محلاللا C¹ 156:17 misspelled محلاللا.

⁷⁰⁴ C¹ 156:25 misspelled J₀ω.

⁷⁰⁵ First *olaf* is darker than the rest but misread **Lo...** in C¹ 156 n.3.

All those who believe in Christ honour this place after the Passion. The hostile ones obliterated the place and even built there a naos for Aphrodite in an antagonistic manner, and set up her statue on the grave, destroying the memory of the place out of error. This was done in the past and remained so. This became known to the mother of the emperor, and she brought down the abominable statue and dug and cleared the holy place. After she cleansed it and opened the grave, she found in it three crosses, one of our Lord and two of the two thieves. She also found the plate which declared in different languages 'Christ King of the Jews.' Now the mother of the emperor was in great distress because she did not know which one was the honourable cross. A woman in the chora was stricken with a disease for a long time, and at that very time, she was about to die. Macarius, the bishop of the city, ordered that the crosses be taken and placed on her one by one. After the crosses of the thieves were brought near her, she did not feel better, but was tormented to the point of surrendering her soul as before. The third one of Christ was brought near, and immediately [158] that woman returned from death to life and was healed. This was the reason behind the identification of the redemptive cross, and thereafter the mother of the emperor built a great church on the grave and built New Jerusalem opposite the Old city. As for the redemptive cross, she divided it and honoured a portion of it, leaving it in a golden reliquary for those who would want to see it later on there. She took the other portion and sent it to the emperor. The emperor also took the nails which pierced Christ's hands; the empress found them too in the grave and sent them to him, who made out of them a crown for his head and a bridle for his horse, both used by him in times of war. The emperor sent much gold to Macarius for the churches which were being built by his mother, urging him to progress in their construction. She built New Jerusalem, erected in Bethlehem a church on the place of the Nativity, and another one on the mountain where the Ascension took place. She was of humble spirit in that she used to fulfill her prayers with the other women, in association with the crowd. Also, she used to invite the virgins who were registered in the orders of the church to delightful banquets, serving them with her own hands and placing on the table before them the food. She used to endow the churches and the poor with many things from her own money. After leading a life full of the fear of God, she left this world at the end of her eightieth year. Her body was brought up to the imperial city (New) Rome, where she was buried in the imperial cemetery.

عدهم المكم وطاه معنى مه وصفيها: مع حدة سعا معنفي مه حودها ماد. مكم وع ووحموطا لمعمورة حروصا وأف حله العدم لمها للعزوومها الم ووحموطا. واصم حرجمة محاهد ومدار مع صمع على معاديد وهويل وبحة ووهمار وهوا حمر مع موسم الصلاعا مصمل للعده وبي وصحفا صبع المبيك. واسلاه حرجما وه لمعال وسعالا مرحمة كروما أف مرسمال ومر وصله وقلسله لحمال المصل مده الكما رخدا سر وحدر مات ومحم عات حتها المحسد وم العد حرفا 706 من وحمسك ماتدا المعمل محمل وماةوما معدر المال المده وم ومحمل حب ولا مرحم حرجما صمنا والمبور حمما وحما هوبا. الما وبي سرا مع حدول الماسيا حدورها رحل بهمزا. ومع مره كممه مزحل وولا معونه افسعوه ولكن ومرسمال فمر وسلمه ركتما والماصموم محمة حلبا حلبال وحمة والماعند حة ركتما وحم لتي وحصهتا محوم لا مكافيا. الله أمه وصع عوسم ولمعكم تقعم تعملهما 100. وعند 100 ولمكل والماهد وصعيداً. وصيرة [158] الما الذي مع معال كينا المعيد. وسلمعما وولا. حراب هوا محما رحمط فنهميا المبره. صبح احمه وحمل مطا وط مع مدا حبم. صده كه وهم وهامل منها. معدم وبده المكم ومع حكوم رض وسروسوس اصم، صدا وم اسزال عصكم. وحصحا عبونا. وأف حصقا وحم والمحم حلبوه عما محدا. وأف حمر حمدنا اعدم محدما وعبرنا اللي حدد وحدم معدم عدونا خنعه معروبا محموسه. محرصل وعنجا. حصع صلمسه مداله بده وب معكما ومحل صرحال صعبرة دوا خصصنف. حتيا وص احده صدحتم دوس وصدفي دوا حو ودوجو حستهم. أوزهم سيال محيا. وحصم حسم حيال حروما ومعمكرا محيا. وأف حهوزا انط وهوما معهمال وصل مستعل ووما كن يعمد. انصل واقد عم مزمل ونقل مسكوما صعل رجمال المعطل وصل وحماة حمال أمكم وحماق حمر عمل وجهال وم حرصه ووما كامع كحوصعا وطاقكمإ. وم حلبته صعصعا وما كامع. وحقعاا على فكاوزا عرصوب صبط ١٥٥٨. صحالًا وم مع ومكن أق صعدل ١٥٥ كنياً وكمستبار مع دعرة وم وحدكة وسكم كلها ستنة هكم وحنها. حعدكعا وعنتا لمقيم مع مكعا هالم عبها. مرحجة وع المحدد حصوم محددا وفعا 107 مامد وحدم مدورًا ومحقل معددد.

⁷⁰⁶ Akk. *дарри*.

⁷⁰⁷ C¹ 158 n. 4 adds 14, "New (Rome)," following Soc. I xvii.

The narration which we took from Eusebius, along with various accounts which we gathered from several places as material for the course which we are taking, has ended. [159] Now we take (material) from Socrates the author.⁷⁰⁸

[F42v] The⁷⁰⁹ year six hundred and fourteen of Alexander (AD 303/4): Waters devastated Edessa, and its east wall cracked and collapsed.⁷¹⁰ The flood ravaged the city and carried out all that was in it, creating immense damage to people and cattle in the entire lowland of Edessa and Harrān.

During this time Constantine rebuilt the city of Drepanum and named it Helenopolis, after his mother.⁷¹¹ He rebuilt Constantina and named it after his sister Constantina.⁷¹² He also built Byzantium and called it after himself Constantinopolis, turning it into his imperial capital.⁷¹³

The year two thousand <three hundred> and thirty-five (AD 321): Licinius persecuted the Christians of the palace. In the same year an earthquake took place, causing damage in many regions.⁷¹⁴

The year two thousand three hundred and forty-two (AD 328): Licinius was killed and Constantine seized the rule alone.⁷¹⁵

The year two thousand three hundred and forty-six (AD 332): An earthquake took place in which several places in Cois⁷¹⁶ collapsed.

The years added together from Abraham to the twenty-eighth year of Constantine are two thousand three hundred and fifty; from the Flood to Abraham nine hundred and forty-two years; from Adam to the Flood two thousand two hundred and forty-two. All the years in sum: five thousand five hundred and twenty-six.⁷¹⁷

This year is six hundred and fifty-seven according to Alexander (AD 345/6).

 $^{^{708}}$ With the end of the material borrowed from Eusebius, the era of Abraham ends too. With the EH of Socrates, the Seleucid computation system is introduced by the Chronicler, a system not used by Socrates.

⁷⁰⁹ The content of folio 42v resumes here.

⁷¹⁰ Chr. Edes. 3:28-4:2.

⁷¹¹ Soc. I xvii, xviii.

⁷¹² Soc. I xviii names it Constantia after Constantine's sister and locates it in Palestine. Mal. 232:14–19 calls it Constantina and locates it in Osrhoene. It was previously named Maximianoupolis and suffered destruction in a Persian attack and in an earthquake.

⁷¹³ Soc. I xvi.

⁷¹⁴ Euseb., EH X viii10; see also Abr. 2325.

⁷¹⁵ On Licinius see Euseb., EH X viii–ix, and on the entry see especially ix 9.

⁷¹⁶ Greek island in the Aegean.

⁷¹⁷ The total should be five thousand five hundred and thirty-four!

مجم محکددها و بسجع مع اهسمسد عم مج مخ وفسع مع رقا سهتال المر وكمكا [159] واهولم وزول ده اهد مع هده المدال المحل ا

ومع بي وحمي عبد مع احزهم محرها حصني ماهدا بمهمله عبد ان هي هم ماحمه المحمد الم

⁷¹⁸ Ms ما المحادة.

[F44r] [160] Then from the Chronicle⁷¹⁹ of Socrates

Another account in chapters

The year six hundred and ten of Alexander of Macedon, the Greek king (AD 298/9): Arius divided the Church, saying⁷²⁰ that God was not always the Father, but there was a time when God was not the Father. The Word of God was not eternal but was made out of nothing; for he who was God made him who did not exist, out of his being non-existent, and therefore there was a time when he did not exist; for the Son is a creature and a work. He is not like the Father in substance, nor is he the Father's true Word and his nature, nor his Wisdom as Solomon said,⁷²¹ but rather one of the things created and made. He was made the Word and Wisdom (only) by assumption. God made him true Word and the divine wisdom which is in him, and all (other) things. Therefore, he is by his nature changeable and mutable just as other rational beings are. The Word is [alien], distant, and stranger with regard to the substance of the Father, and the Father is hidden to the Son; for <neither> does the Word perfectly and truly know the Father, nor can he distinctly see him, nor does the Son know the substance of his own person as it is. He was made for our sake, so that by him God may create us, as by an instrument. Nor would he have existed had not God [161] wished to create us. Someone asked them (=the Arians) whether the Son of God could change just as the devil changed; and they were not afraid to say that he could, for he is of mutable nature since he was made. Then they added saying: If the Father begot the Son, the existence of the one who was begotten would have a beginning. From this is known that there was a time the Son did not exist; therefore, it follows necessarily that the one coming into being from nothing has actual existence.

These then are the upholders of this heresy: Arius, Achillas, Aithales, Carpones, another Arius, and many others, including Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicea. The holy Peter, bishop of Alexandria, was the first to fight against it, and after him Achillas of the same Alexandria, and then Alexander in whose days the Council of Nicea was convened.

The year six hundred and fifteen (AD 303/4): The emperor ordered that the pagan temples be uprooted and the statues be destroyed.⁷²²

⁷¹⁹ Sic in ms.

⁷²⁰ Soc. I vi.

⁷²¹ Solomon was thought to be the author of the Book of Proverbs. Prov 3:19 has "The Lord by wisdom founded the earth," and in John 1:1, the Word (=the Son) is the agent in creation. It is possible that Soc. (or his source) had in mind these two verses to say that Arius disagreed with Solomon.

⁷²² Soc. I v.

[F44r] من مع محكمت بوهومنهس منظ اسنال المو وحمقهم. على علم علاما محسمة للحصيروه محموسل محجل وبونتل أؤمه هيم حيال .. م أمن ولا حم الماهود كله العد العلم الحرار الله الم العمد ولا الماهود كله الحل الله المعلم [الماهد] صحما كال مع لا معرم موال من يه والماهد كام كان ولا الماهد. ص حبرم ولا الموهود حجر. صهرهوا الا الم هوا اصلاد ولا الموهود. حبال المنا الماهوب ولحضرا حزار اللوبي اهلا ووصل حلمولا للحل الماهوب ولا صحكا لعزيزا وصيما واحل ولا محصده أب وأجز عضه. الل مع خدا الموهود وهوما. علماله وع صحما مستعما المحبر العرب و محمد سمال محمد والموا ون وحد محمرم الع Lo Les Mol. och le caluel no ocal mul como. In ple choo, صحتلا. [صدنا] وع محدوا مودنا الموهد صحال مع المعاه واحل ورسوا احا حدزا. اه <لا $>^{723}$ سن معكويل محموم معمور كن مركا للحل ولا وسروروس سلامانه جرا. اهل یم الماما وموجه نبه حزا اب واسانه. صلامی یم محبر. المصل ولح مده المورج وحبر ادور المراجع المراجي المراج والمراج والمراجع والم موا كلوا [161] وبدرا. على الله الله الله وم ومرا مدكا كلوا ولعالمده: الم والا صهدا الماسكة. ولا رده خطاطة وحرا وه. صماسكما وه صدة علا وحدرا الماهود.. ماهت اهصه هاجن. ولي احل بح حجزاً. حدولًا وهذمًا الله حدد حدد والمحر. وص دوا مرسط. وأسم موا اصمه ولا اسموه موا حزا. وصحم سعا مع اسما. ومع لا معرم سوا الم كاه مسوها الم الم الم مستحسن وبي والموا الموسع المراهم الم والمكموه وعزفونيه. وأنبزل أؤنها وانبزل هيتال عم أوهميه ويتصعووبا. ما كيموه وبصار امن وبي محمودة مومر مرسعا فلهنوس افسمها والمحسبونيا. وحكروه اصحف وحذة والحصيرول. ولاود كحصيروه وه وحقعه المبعلا صورور وسل ملك ملك ملاها وسعمسة إلى قصم محكم والكلمة والمحادر والماحزور سحتعل

⁷²³ Not in ms but needed.

⁷²⁴ "Οργανον.

The year six hundred and sixteen (AD 304/5): The people of Himyar came to the faith of the Christians through a captive woman.⁷²⁵

The year six hundred and seventeen (AD 305/6):⁷²⁶ Constantine the emperor acted so that famous churches be built, one of which is in the place called the Oak of Mamre, under which Abraham received the angels. The emperor learned that a pagan altar was placed in that place, and that pagan sacrifices were offered (there). He ordered that another one should be built in Ba'albeck, for this same reason. The identity of the man who established the law for the inhabitants of the latter city since the beginning I am not able to say [...] they have such a practice as [162] their wives are shared, and because of this, there is a discord among them concerning the newborn: of whom is he the son? The dispute about fathers and sons is not the only one. They used to give their virgin daughters to alien wayfarers to commit adultery with them. The emperor was eager to abolish this practice which had been held by them since the beginning. [F44v] He established a beautiful law that removes them and their daughters from licentiousness, so that they may recognize their families. And having built a church there, he ordered that a bishop and clerical priests be appointed. With an action like this, he caused the evils of Ba'albeck to totter.

At the same time, when the temple of Aphrodite in Aphaca of Lebanon was demolished, he hacked impure tables of food that were there, those called 'of jubilees.'727

The year six hundred and eighteen (AD 306/7): The Indian people were instructed in the Faith.⁷²⁸

We must now mention how, in the time of the emperor, Christianity increased in every region. In these times, the nations of the Inner Indians and of the Iberians came truly to Christianity. But I shall talk briefly concerning why I added in my statement 'the Inner.'

⁷²⁵ Soc. I xx; Jacob of Edes., 289 (centre); Mich. Syr. 135b [I 289f]; Chr. 1234, I 147:25, 29 [117f]. All these sources confirm that it was the Iberians who were converted by a woman not the Himyarites. The *mīm* is often confused with the *bēt*, and the *yōd* with the *bēt*, so that could well have been confused with

⁷²⁶ Soc. I xviii.

⁷²⁸ Soc. I xix. The Ethiopians are meant in the account. In early Byzantine and Syriac sources, Ethiopians, South Arabians (Himyarites), Indians proper, and sometimes all of these people in maritime continuity with the Indian Ocean, were included under the term "Indians."

عدم شامطا وعامهم المعار بمعار وسعمتها حب الكلا عصال الموسورا وحتصلها المال عدم هم محدهم المحدمة المراجع محدا موسهدهم والمحتب حيدا معمدة الله وسرا مدوي المانة حرودها وصمعنا حدلها وصعنال بذه والمعادية احزيهم حطالقا محلا الحد وم مُحكل وعكما وستعادي حرومها وأن هبعل وولا ووحتل وسقل محموع وووو الساحال وع حددهم عمر والمحيل عليه محمل والمو موا. حدة هذا هوم عبد من عبد وع هذا اسط محدد وسعتده و رحوا ددة معلا موا فليحا اسل مدما صديده ملا وه وهمم وحز هده الموهد. واحدًا عن وصبًا اهلا مع حوسل الموهد هوا. حصمه رحة حلة حلال العصية حديد أوزسل نموح وهوه وبرس حقع. وما وم حموا <و>حد ۵٥٥ ، محتکه ٥٥ مع ، رحمه الله وسعروم منه محمد محبر الله ، محمد حل مبال معمد حويها صمر> 131 امع اصمعها ممكنهم وحقيل حقويها واب ميا. حصما وحدد مامزام وبرين مجرد ده وع حرصا مال عب هماز به نقل وحدومه وحمل الم ما عُلَاهِ الله ماهيمهم الله ما المحمد المحمد المراعد المحمد وم معامولا مخرس موالحدا حرصة ما وساه وفعدا. و: صهدما حمل فت صهدا ١٥٥١. ده، هذ وحدا همي العدمة صبقل يقل موالحتمل منهالم حصوصها الماه. صهر صل من ويقيل حصلات اهفعه. حبر رحوقها اخذ اللا

تعيا C¹ 161:24 misread تعيا.

⁷³⁰ C¹ 161:26 - 199.

بعكم ⁷³¹ Ms وبعكم

When the apostles took their road by lot to the nations, Thomas received the apostleship of the Parthians, Matthew was sent to the land of Kush, and Bartholomew was allotted India, which is adjacent to Kush. Now before the time of Constantine, Inner India, with the regions adjacent to it in which barbarians <using>732 different languages lived, [163] was not enlightened at all by the Christian message. I shall also talk about the cause of their coming to know Christianity. Meropius, a philosopher whose origin was from Tyre, was determined to visit this In[dia] and to talk about it, being motivated by the philosopher Metrodorus, who had done it before him. He took with him two youths from his own race, who were eloquent in the Greek language, and with them he departed to India. After he went around the whole of it and visited it all as he wished, out of need for provisions, he directed his ship to one place which had a harbor. It so happened that a little time before the treaty between the Romans and the Indians was broken, the Indians seized that philosopher and the ones who sailed with him in ship, killing all of them except for the two youths. Pitying the look of the youths, they seized them and offered them as a gift to the king of India. The king, happy to see the youths and becoming aware of their knowledge, made one of them, whose name was Edesius, a cup-bearer at his table; the other one, named Frumentius, he appointed as chartulary in the kingdom. After a short while, the king was near [F45r] dying, and he entrusted the [royal aff]aires to to his wife amnd small son. Now the queen asked the youths to take care of the son that shie had, who was young, until he reached manhood, and the youths, persuaded, immediately accepted upon themselves the management of the royal affairs. [164] All of this Frumentius was managing, and moreover, he took care of investigating concerning merchants heading to that chora, and if any Christian was found, (his officers) would go to meet him. They (the young boys) found a few (merchants) from whom they learned about their activities, 733 in that they asked to be allowed to find quiet places in which to live and to hold their Christian prayers. After a little while, they (the young boys) built a house of prayer [and instructed som]e of the Indians in the Christian faith, allowing them to participate with them in the worship. When the young son of the king reached manhood, Frumentius and his colleague surrendered to him the (state's) affairs which they eminently managed, and asked him if they could now return to their own country.

seems to be Ethpalpal but مداهست is the usual form used in Syriac.

⁷³³ With the later addition of masculine plural markers to verbs originally in the singular, it is not easy to identify the subjects in this whole sentence.

عر مكتسا حبر فعل كحمل معقل مدومهه، محره. ماهما مكسما وكما فتاهما محلا ١٥٥١. وصلام للزمل وصع العلموز ١٥٥١. كمن المحمد صهده ١٩٠٥، ١٥٠ وكاه کوه وصول هره هوی که ووصع که معنی ده معنی در معنی و کوی معنی و کوی و وحمی و کوی معنی و کوی و کو وجنصلمنا حب مع قوقهم لا الدولا. انبا وم المدة محماً. وم واقد حده ومعا حد: صهيداً المرك. افغ الله الا كذ عن معن وسع الع فيضعط المراود. حيسه مع روز: مص لهيد الما الما حده وسرده الماروه الماروه الماروه الماروة المار حصلهنده ومحصول وه وص مرصوص، ووا حجم وول ووجه حدم لمرق مع لهكتا حت ربسه المحم واقد ون محملها وقابل ووب وه محمد محموم حوب الد ومع حلمة والمحتر حصرة ١٥٥٥ سولم وصرة. أمر رحسه. صلى هسمها وهمدنها. اسمة مروه كره مرا واسط حدة كعليا. ربع رب ومكس رصل بعلموا صعط وعيدا واسط موا حدة وموصد حوباقال واسر الم وباقد حصده ود والمح وحده ووع ووه طلاقاً. وهلى محم لمؤم لمحتم علاهم مهلك. حدهم وم حلالما اسره الم دوس وسعه ملا سراهم. معنده الم المعنا حصحها ومرده وم وع صحما مر سرد مساهم ولمحتل داوره حبر مداده وعده الما المحمد عصا وحدوره محراد مدده اسزيل وعصه فاصولهم مكه كذا 735 وصد محصداً اصعه. مدة وب محمر مر ماد وه محمل حميد. ملا حزا من المعال المعمد الله ومحمد الله ومحمد الله ومحمد الله المحمد الله ومحمد الله المحمد المحمد الله المحمد المحمد المحمد الله المحمد وم الكلا ومحكم على حزه وه وعوز مومكا والعلاجة عدم معوه وبرق وعرف حرمط وبلاا حصومها ورحزان دوم الماهمه كن دون لحكيا. مع وره هوزيها وصوحتوه وحدا مد [164] محمور الموهد ولم ومحوم معوس هوا فزمده للمعد عمل لهدا وج الله موا حمور وبمحدم العدل المن وحدوا من زمص. وهم بعصم العد واسلامه وزهلها بعصم حدد مر وم اعصم منهم مدمه ملا المحم وهاده العمدود. معدما معصم دوه وحرة ومما وعمل معمده حصصن الحل ودول رجما ودوصها للمحمد على حكم ولى وصل عمر الله وللا وحمل بجمال حده. [ملحمره للعاتم مع صرفياً. محم الدي وحمده وبحدا الدهوي व्यवस्थान १००५ वर्ष हिन्दी २०० व्यव १०० १००० वर्ष व्यवस्थान ।।। व्यवहिम्ब وسحزه المحر كه معتملًا: محرم ومعنز مده المعتبر معاحب مده وبعد معالم حره للاؤهور.

734 C¹ 162 n.4 معالم معالم ...

⁷³⁵ Χαρτουλάριος.

The king and his mother begged them to stay, but because they did not agree, they set them free, and thereafter they departed, driven by the love of their country. Edesius, anxious to see his parents and people, took the direction of Tyre. As for Frumentius, he went into Alexandria and reported to the local bishop all that had happened to them, telling him about their departure to India and that the Indians were ready to accept Christianity. He asked him to send there a bishop and clergy and not to neglect people who had the will and the ability to live. Pondering what would be of help for him, he asked Frumentius to accept the bishopric of that place, saying: Because they cannot [165] find one better than you," and it was done (accordingly). After Frumentius was made worthy of the episcopal rank, he returned to the land of India and became there a preacher of Christianity. He built several churches, and the divine grace made him worthy of even performing numerous miracles, healing the souls and the bodies of many.

During this time Anthony the monk and Paul the first eremite were known. The known patriarchs: Alexander patriarch of Alexandria; in Rome Julius the patriarch was known; in Antioch Eustathius the patriarch; in Constantinople [F45v] Astrophilus⁷³⁶ the patriarch; in Jerusalem Maximus. Also known were Hosius the bishop of Corduba, a city in Italy (sic), and Paphnutius bishop of one of the cities of Thebaid.

The year six hundred and nineteen (AD 307/8): The holy Astrophilus, the patriarch of Consta[ntin]ople, died and the holy Patrophilus came after him.

The year six hundred and twenty-one (AD 309/10): A powerful earthquake took place causing great damages in many regions.

The year six hundred and twenty-four (AD 312/3): A battle took place between Licinius and the partisans of Constantine. Licinius who was co-reigning with him, adhering to pagan beliefs, hated the Christians.⁷³⁷ But he was afraid to instigate an open persecution against them out of fear of Constantine the emperor, although in secret he was preparing himself against many. After a short while, he grew bold enough to inflict harm even publicly, and then to prepare for war in some places. The emperor Constantine never forgot [166] these and other things that he committed cruelly, and this was the reason of the great adversity and enmity that were stirred up against the emperor Constantine.

⁷³⁶ The name is not secure and its following occurrence is no better since it is barely visible.

 $^{^{737}}$ More details in Soc. I iii; the second part of the account comes from I iv.

وصححا واحده وتعمل محمل موه حمل من وع حوالا معلمهم وهود محمد الله द्राका, व्यव्य द्राय्य भिर्वा व रेक व्याप १००० रिकाक व्याप दर्भ व विश्व وسرا للحةهم مريعهم كروز معزوسه حدر. فزمعهم وم المحك للحصيرول ملاقسمه وامع اموس ملا علم والعمد عامه والعدد مداهم الا عبد مده ملا صرحمهم وحميره: مواسم حمه صعصا حميرة ما وبصحه وعصلهماا. محظ مما صيه وبعبة اهمهمه معزمه علمع. ولا يوصل مع انقل ورجع وموبع حصل وه وع اهمصمه والمسعد حلافهم والمراف وحروا لاه كونها لمحمد محر والمدلا علاوه اهمصمهما والمحر. در اضر ولا صعدمت [165] حده، وسلم صب الصلام الهوا. وه وم فزمده ليس مر المكاهد حرفها واقتصمهما اللوا وهره قيل محزورا ومره لمحلمها المح هوا. وحبا هوا أه مقلا هيتال وأعلمو كهدوا كومال أبصا وأه الماما هيتالا سحم ورصيتاا عم سعقما اله فيها معلمه موا. حدما رحلا معمر موا الهوسوس حسيماً. وقولًا وعزماً موهماً. محكوم فكزنزما كمفسوروه فكزيزما والحصوريا.. حنه وها مديد مديد والمنا المعلم والمنا حموسكيليدوه كيس [F45v] اسكيمكوس فكنهزدا. حاوزمكم صكب محسمس. مكريع وب الا موسوس العسمول وموزومين مرسكا وطهكا. وقومه العسمول وسرا مع مرستما والصمص عدم عمقلا ماعمسة إلى مدم مرسعا المهزمده علىناط وموهل [الم] سلوه كسيد وهوا سكوه مرسعا فله وفي هدلا هد ومعتب وسرار ١٥٥١ روحل وحل وحلاوما صحياً مقطل ووقط حجر. وحميد مدهدا ومعوي واوحجا. ١٥٥١ مزط حمد حصيوه كرحمة موهلهايها حصوه ولم وأه وحمده معكم ووا. دم حكومكا وستعل اسب مول هما مول كوتهلسل ووسن وم محموم ووقعل كمل معلا وسلاما ومعلام مصهدلها مور مواد مصالم وم ملا مهتاا معمر مواد حدة وب رحل محل الع رحلم وبعد المن معدن مماد مع عبد منحل حرقع ومعت صدر وول وصلى وحيد لا لهما وول حد [166] حصدا موصلهالموس ووس محم ماستسما لهزملم هجز موا. معم موا وم محما حصما هيمارا محمدم ومحمور وصحا موسكي المرم المراسة.

⁷³⁸ Read المارك as in the following few lines.

From then on, they were at war every day, while the pretended friendship that was assumed was broken between (them). Not long afterwards they moved to launch battles against each other, and after several encounters by sea and by land took place between them, at the end, the tyrant Licinius was defeated near Chrysopolis in Bithynia, one of the ports of Chalcedon, and surrendered himself. After Constantine captured him alive, he pitied him and never killed him but ordered him to live in tranquility in Thessalonica. In the year six hundred and twenty-two (AD 310/11),⁷³⁹ the same tyrant gathered barbarian people, scheming to turn his defeat into victory. When the emperor learned about his endeavor to overthrow him, he gave order concerning him and he was slain.

During this time, the heretic Mani was known,⁷⁴⁰ and we will talk about his origin. Now in the middle of the good wheat, tares are accustomed to appear, for jealousy loves to lay in wait against the virtues. Shortly before the time of Constantine, pagan-type Christianity sprang up from true Christianity, just as in the case of prophets, there are other false prophets, and just as the apostles are followed by false apostles. For at that time, the doctrine of Empedocles, who was known among the Greeks as the philosopher, presented itself as Christianity [F46r] through Mani, according to Eusebius in Book Seven of his History, xxx [...] which we have [mentioned]. But his account is not complete, and for this reason, it seems [167] necessary to me to fill in whatever is missing above. It is known who Mani was and what his place of origin was.⁷⁴¹ An Arab man named Scythianus had a wife, a captive from the Upper Thebaid. On her account he lived in Egypt, and being instructed in the learning of the Egyptians, he introduced the doctrine of Empedocles (and) Pythagoras into Christianity. He spoke about two natures, good and evil, just as in the teaching of Empedocles, evil is called Discord⁷⁴² and good Friendship. Thus, Scythianus had a disciple, Buddha, who was called in the past Terebinthus. He wrote books which he delivered to those whom he deceived through them. They taught doctrines said to be of Christianity in name only, but which were pagan in belief. Mani taught the worship of several gods, because he was himself godless. He taught to worship to the sun, introduced the belief in Fate, and spoke about the transmutation of bodies, clearly following the doctrine of Empedocles, Pythagoras, and the rest of the Egyptians.

⁷³⁹ Sic. The date, not in Soc., is obviously not correct.

⁷⁴⁰ Soc. I xxii.

⁷⁴¹ Information about Mani in Syriac chronography is heavily influenced by Greek claims; see F. Ruani, "Les controverses avec les manichéens et le développement de l'hérésiologie syriaque," in *Les controverses religieuses en syriaque* (Paris: Geuthner, 2016).

⁷⁴² lit. "victory," confusing νῖκος = νίκη "victory" with νεῖκος "quarrel, strife..."

معصل حمة مل المدهم وهوه وكمور وبالمعهم مع مريكا سومل وه والمصمل ومعدلات مما دعة رحبا محملاً. وبعس عنط عمر سبرة المارسة. مدر احدة ما صحال صعد مصحما مدهم مهده حسنا حما منهمه وحماسا برمع حماتا اسامة وحصوما: اروم ماهم بعده حميه لهزمنا. در وم اسره دستا سعد حمده. ومعملاً لا مهلاه. وبعد حمصلها وم أب وحملاً هم حمد مدد الله ومعلى الله ومعلى الله ومعلى الله ومعلى الله ماؤاج. وه وع لهزويا. فيع حه أنقل حزجتيا. ومعلافزه وها ومووصيه حردما يعيا. وم ره محمد مل ورا ويزهدون عمل لهدا ووا حرور وهم محاور والممهلار حويل وبي رحيل صمير مال ووصهما. ووصم ابعد الموود العزيد. الل حييم شهل لمقما صدب الا ريزلل كعدك. سعط من كومدل عديدًا وسم كعدم. بديلًا من مع مرم مك كرحدة وموهلها عن ويصلها عندال ويعلموا المراب معل وحيدتا بحتا أستاما وتبلا محمدتما محتما ومردوا نمعي ١٥٥٥. مربع رحمة وسكا وفرعه كيع وه وهم هوه وها حمد به الله ويكهوا. وأسارة فرهم بها الما نعمة صده [1] [F46r] مدا. حب جرات [اب اهمنعوه محط عظم بعدا المساه حدوا العصـ[...] مماا[...] به ح. حب حه صعصما المن المعمد مهرد حهر دوا صمرا [167] حد والحل وه صوم وصع حدم الماحرة العلا. صميم من وهيه ٥٥ حالب. ووص الحل. لهما العا وعده صمواليه. الكال الله هه[1] ك[6] وعجما مع الصعد محمداً. وحم معهمه وورا. حصرف مجد وحدوها ومرقا المؤود: وسكما وفرمه كيم فكاه من من في في في المراد والمن المراد والمن المن المنا والفر المنا والفراد والمراد المنا والفراد المنا والمنا والفراد المنا والفراد المنا والفراد المنا والفراد المنا والفراد المنا والفراد المنا والمنا حدد وفردد معدم حمع ردوا معده كان كهما وبا وسعدا. كان همة المنبع المصبرا ووا حوره وه وهي مرسم لهندموه معمنا ووا. ومعدد المحم مدوه المصبح المصبح معلم ما دون معمل من وسلم المعبح المعبد المعبح المعبد المعب وجنههدها محصر. [د]وسكما وم المنهور وسعماً. للكة صحياً حنا حلا Layur. con ol soon ool oo ol soo ou saad ale ours. ould all. مدد في الغز و محلم حمة وسكما وفاعد لمع ووقع موقع ووعام وموالم [nd.

⁷⁴³ C¹ 166:26 [... ...].

⁷⁴⁴ For معمر 744.

He did not admit that Christ existed in the flesh, saying that his appearance was a phantasm, and rejected the law and the prophets, calling himself the Paraclete. He presented all these strange things to the orth[odox Church,] daring even [to call himself an apostle]. But [he received] the judgment [due to this] falsehood and wickedness as he deserved, [for the following reason]: The son of the Persian king [fell sick ...] and his father left no [stone unturned] so to speak, so that his son might be healed from his illness. [168] [He learned about] Mani and as he truly believed the things that he gibbered about himself, he sent [to bring him] like an apostle, hoping that his son would be healed at his hands. As for Mani, he went putting on a false appearance that he held, and immediately the emperor's [son] was entrusted to him. When the emperor realized that the child had died [in his hands], he incarcerated him, waiting [to inflict] upon him a punishment. Now Mani fled the place by whatever way (he could), seeking refuge in [Meso]potamia, but despite this, the Persian [king [F46v] searched for him and brought him by force] from Mesopotamia. [He flaved him] and stuffed his sk[in] with straw, and [su]spended it in front [of the city] gate to be seen by [wayfarers as an example] and a bad hour: [Where] a man [works,] there he receives his wage.

The year six hundred and thirty-six (AD 324/5): The Council of Nicea was convened. The officers of [this Council] were: Hosius bishop of [Corduba], Alexander patriarch of Alexandria, Julius [of Rome through his delegates], Vito and Vicentius the presbyters, [Paphnutius of Th]ebes, and Spiridion of Cyprus. Athanasius the deacon of Alexandria [became known as the staun]chest of all there. [It decided to ex]pel from the Church Arius [169] and all those who adhered to his (way of) thinking: Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicea, [Mari of Chalce]dony, and many others with them.

The year six hundred and [thirty-]seven (AD 325/6):⁷⁴⁶ The holy Alexander bishop [of Alexandria] died, and Athanasius the local deacon replaced him.

[The year six hundred] and thirty-nine (AD 327/8):⁷⁴⁷ Patrophilus the bishop of Constantinople died, and the holy Alexander replaced him.

During this time were known: Eustathius [of Antioch and Max]imus, the bishop of Jerusalem.

⁷⁴⁵ Compare with Chr. 846, 192:20 to 193:3 [148].

⁷⁴⁶ Soc. I xv.

⁷⁴⁷ See Chr. 846, 193:28 to 193:2 [149].

محمسل وهما دهيز لا محمد الا افغز حه ودفيهما المسهد محمدها محمدتا لخر. وحدومه فاعملها معمده. وحم ولافتاع عدوم حدياً الإوقعة معملاً]. أقد [عكسا وبعده] تقعه ا[حزس. الل وبكن وهوا] حرحماً دوه عدم وسل أمر وعما [عجلا. حب محكما ووابب] هوا. حزه ومحكم وقتهما حدوزهما [نفس هوا ...] واحدهب الب وكعلمة [ص علقت عرب ١٥٥] وحزه مع عوزها [168] ٥٥ كاسكم ٥[بك سا حال دور هذه دوا وهزوا الكنادل المكل وحلا لعمد صحمه دوا. صعبر والم وحملالما [الهد كاه] مع همة وطبرواهد صلاسكم حاه. وه وم ادلا معدله المصعل ٥٥ رسط وميل مها. معسرة المرك [كه حزه] ومعكما. دوم سرا معكما ومع حره حزه صمة [حلبتهه با سحمه معلمت مها ومعمر دنيما [نفره] كه. ماس وم عزم مع لمع حليل ووه قوزهل [وحمل] بوقع المكورد. الله اقد وصل مرحمد محروط [F46v] والمعادد حسلاً على من حمد من وربي [وسطون] ومحدد كروره المحل [و] المحدد من المربية افِط [وحبسم]] حسماً وحدووًا حما [سوسما؟] وحمدما حسماً. مع [الحل وهلسا العد مع المع عمل الهذه. عدم عمقال ما حمة مقل المصعل صوروص وبصل محتصدة وع [ورهوا هودهوه] ما المده محيد موسيع اصمعهما وموزوسه والحصورف فلهناط والحصيبونيا. محموها [ووه معلاً حب بهتم وهما]ه: حمله محموله معتما. [وقعه المارس سلم] المن معمد ومعارض ومعاده ومان مع المراد المارس سلم] المع المسموم معممل والحصبول. [وقعمل معاولًا مع مبا الربع [169] ولحدون المحم ومحمي حكومكه: للمصصف وبعوصهال محكام ينعف ويصل [محمديد وحصراً وملا والمنزل صحال معدون عدم علاقلا [والمكتر] وعدد صدم مربعا « دهربزه ص اهمه معمول [والحصيرنا]. وهوا ملاهوه المسوم معمول واحر. [عدا علاقال] ماكم ملقب صل فلنودكس اقس وموهلهاددكس وهوا سلامه مرسعا للمسروه. وما رصل مديد الا امسهده [والهدما. وه_]دهمه افيهموفل واوزعمر.

⁷⁴⁸ C¹ 168:10 [... ...].

The year [six hundred and for]ty (AD 328/9):⁷⁴⁹ A synod was convened in Antioch and it expelled Eustathius of Antioch. A [severe] tremor took place in the same city in such a way that almost the entire city was about to [overturn] and be utterly destroyed. On account of a quarrel between the bishops, the [seat] of Antioch was without a bishop for eight years. Then, one among those who adhered to the thinking of Arius, Euphronius, [was established].

The year six hundred and forty-one (AD 329/30): A tremor [... ...] which destroyed numerous [places].

The year six hundred and forty-[three] (AD 331/2):⁷⁵⁰ Īthallāhā [became] bishop in Edessa; he built a cemet[ery] and the east side of the church.

The year six hundred and forty-[two] (330/1):⁷⁵¹ Constantine established his sons caesars. [Constantine] appointed his first-born son over the eastern regions, [built Tellā-d-maw]zlat in Mesopotamia and named it Constantinople after his name; he also built Āmid, a city in [Mes]opotamia. He made his second son rule over the western regions – his name was [170] Constantius. (He appointed) his third son Constans over Rome.

[F47r] The year six hundred and for[ty-...] (AD 33–/–):⁷⁵² it is said in prejudice [....] by him [...]⁷⁵³ and because it is not right [that we remain] in silence [...] quick and with fast pace I will talk a bit about him. [...] this one [...] Satan [who always] makes for him [a vessel ...] for [their] perdition, these [to fulfill] through them his will and actions. During this time Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia and Theognis bishop of Nicea rose up in the Church. They do not deserve to be called bishops but slanderers, I mean the Anti-Christ himself, on account of the divisions, quarrels, confusions, and [numerous] evils that they committed in the holy Church and in the people of God. Because those ones fell [in the belief] of Arius, [they assailed] the holy Athanasius of Alexandria and Paul of Constantinople, for they did not accept the wicked Arius.

⁷⁴⁹ Soc. I xiv.

⁷⁵⁰ Chr. Edes. 4:5–7 [5]; the building of the cemetery is dated to Sel. 635 (AD 323/4).

⁷⁵¹ Soc. I xxxviii. Ms I 99:1–4, 11–2, 22–23 [48]; the three sons were made caesars at different times and not in one year as claimed above. On their nominations see also Soz. I xxxiv. On the cities see Chr. Edes. 4:17–21 [32], Jacob of Edes. 293 years 21, 25 [218].

⁷⁵² Soc. I xxvii–xxix. Witakowski suggests that the source may be John of Ephesus' EH Part II, on the basis of its wording; "The Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius ... Second Part," p. 190.

⁷⁵³ The Syriac words are all what one sees in this damaged spot.

[عدل علاقدا دارة] حمي. المصفل صوره وصدر حلهمال دميه المصهده والهمال. ٥٥٥ حة حجبه الإ إنطار إنطار إنطار ورب مكس عكة حبسه منط ١٥٥ [والمهور] مااحر. ومع سنبط واهمقعا ووا [حوزهم والهمما ولا اهممها لمقبل علي وورب [الماصم] مع محم وعصم حمومهم وافعهد المحومه عدم عمقال الوحم مسرا. هوا وَعلل و [... ووصلا] صحيالا أوجر وحميد مدها وأوجع [والخبر ووا] المحوا العسموا حادوره. دوه حدا [موهـ]لهزم ويحا مرسما وجهاا. دحمد ملاتدا د.م. [مازاع]. حجر موسهدهس حديده مستهد بر [موسهدها] حزا حودره حدر د المؤولا موسيل ووه حل كرالا ومعه المكرم حمد موتع محده المحدد ملا مدترسال وعدد [170] موسهدهاسه حدد وع والحما وعدد مسهيد. حنه ١٥٥٥ [...] عمل عمل الله المؤدد [ب ...] حمله هم الله المراد [...] عب المراد [...] عب المراد المر وصور ولا زوم وأب حماما [...] وجز [صر] المحكما العن الله حماما حمه [...] ماه ههد [وحصرح ملل] مجم مح و[...] للحب له همه المراد الماء المحاد [...] حده رجيه مصدة د[دامه]. حده وع حرصا الله حد حدد حددا المعصم القيمة ويتصعفونا. والرييس افتسمعل وبصال وحم ولا اقتسمعا أوم حممنا الدي الا اعجمنا اهدا [٥٥] الهدوهلوه: صهر هيما وسيما وعيقما وحتما [صيمال] وبحر حديدًا مبعدًا محمعه والحما.. [مكم صلي وحلومهم] وأومع بعمل مده. حتما صهالما [الصحمه،] حصبها المسعم والحصيروبا وحمال ومعهدهما ومدهدهما ولا محكه ما للؤموه وهملا.

[They act]ed treacherously toward him, drew near the emperor (and said:) "What the emperor gives for the rhospices⁷⁵⁵ of the poor of Alexandria, Athanasius steals." They again acted perfidiously toward him, when they approached the emperor to say: "He does not want to give [...] wheat that is given by the citizens of Alexandria to the *demosion*." Thereafter they said once again: [171] "He wants to commit treachery against the empire;" and furthermore: "They brought the hand of a dead one, and it was said that he held it to [practice div]ination with it."⁷⁵⁶

The year six hundred and forty-five (AD 333/4): (The emperor ordered) to convene a synod of bishops in <Tyre>.⁷⁵⁷ He also ordered that after that place, [they should convene] in New Jerusalem, where they should hold the celebration of the dedication and sanctification of the church that he had built there, and that they should investigate in a fair way the issue of Athanasius. The holy Athanasius was found innocent in all those (accusations), because the appearance of Arsenius (in the synod) showed and testified that both of his hands were not severed from his [body] – (the Arians) claimed that the (severed) hand was his.⁷⁵⁸ God drove Arsenius to the synod [against his wish] because he wished that he see with his own eyes the concocted deceit.

The year six hundred and forty-four (AD 332/3):⁷⁵⁹ New Jerusalem was built by Helena the empress, the wife of Constantius and the mother of the Great Constantine.

The year six hundred and forty-six (AD 334/5):⁷⁶⁰ The holy Athanasius was sent to exile, not on account of the Faith but through the deceit that the bishops did against him because he did not [accept] Arius.

The sum of all the years from the fifteenth year of Tiberius and the manif[estation] of our Saviour to the twenty-eighth year of Constantine the emperor: six hundred and forty-six years.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁵⁵ Translation above is after Chabot.

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. Soc. I xxiii.

⁷⁵⁷ Soc. I xxviii.

⁷⁵⁸ It was concocted against Athanasius that he killed Arsenius and that he severed his hand to practice divination with it; see just above; see also Soc. I xxix.

⁷⁵⁹ Soc. I, xvii.

⁷⁶⁰ Soc. I xxxv.

The special s

[هم حجر] بعلا حقه ومن حقوا: وهرم وسه هذا الهروح 162 وتعقيما والمحسونيا. وه بله حه ماه حجر حقه بعلا هند المحلا والغني. ولا زط ولا [...] سلا وهم من هم المحتود المحسور. وحلا المحبود المحلا [...] سلا وهم من هم المحتود على المحتود الم

وتع دلاهم عنتا مع عدم مه ولحريه ورداسه والعرام وراما حدم معتم ماهدا وموسهد ملال عنا عمدا ورد وقد المالا

⁷⁶² Obscure term that cannot be verified in ms.

[&]quot;in Tarsus" (sic); correction on the basis of Soc. I xxviii.

⁷⁶⁴ Sic C¹ 171:9 (ms in unclear) but see the correct spelling in a few following line.

[.]لاحصوريا 171:17 ⁷⁶⁵ C¹

From the second year of Darius in which the Temple which is in Jerusalem was rebuilt: [172] eight hundred and fifty-five years; from Solomon and the [first] construction [F47v] [of the temple which is in Jerusalem: one thousand three hundred] and sixty-seven years; [from Mose]s and the first king of Athens Cecrope: one thousand eight hundred and forty-five years; from Abraham and the reign of Ninos and Shamiram: two thousand three hundred and fifty <years>. From the Flood to Abraham: nine hundred and forty-two years; from Adam to the Flood: two thousand two hundred and forty-two <years>. The whole span of these years taken together: five thousand and thirty-four (years). ⁷⁶⁶

The year six hundred and forty-six (AD 334/5):⁷⁶⁷ Arius was accepted in the Church. The emperor ordered Alexander of Constantinople to accept him in communion. The impious Eusebius of Caesarea too threatened him that if he would not receive Arius, he would work for his deposition. [As for] the holy one, he rushed to the holy altar, prostrating himself to his face beneath the holy table, saying thus in his prayer that if the belief of Arius were bound to be delared true, may he not reach the day appointed for (its) discussion nor even see it. Arius quickly gave the verdict on his impiousness, the cause of the whole misfortune, on whether the faith to which he adhered was true!

Arius wanted to mislead the Church as well as the emperor.⁷⁶⁸ He wrote on a paper which he carried under his armpit as one who believed [173] and made an oath to the emperor saying: "I truly think just as is written," but handed over to the emperor a faith [recorded] on another paper. It was Saturday and the emperor ordered that he be accepted in communion. [F48r] When he left [to go to Alexander (bishop of Constantinople, accompanied by the partisans...)] of Eusebius, in pomp [...] he was paraded [through the midst] of the city. When Arius approached the street called Constantine's Forum, where there was the column called 'Porphyry', suddenly some kind of fear emanating from his conscience seized him, and along with the fear a loosening and relaxation of the bowels. After he inquired about a restroom and learned where it was found, he immediately [went] behind the Forum for his bowel need.

⁷⁶⁶ Conflicting calculations: Adam to Flood 2242 + Flood to Abraham 942 + Abraham to Constantine's 28th year 2350 = 5534. Adam to Flood 2242 + Flood to Moses 1447 + Moses to Temple building 480 + Temple to Constantine's 28th year = 5024. Other calculations in the above statement do not lead to better results.

⁷⁶⁷ Soc. I xxxvii.

⁷⁶⁸ Soc. I xxxviii.

عدل علقا الأوحي مقبل المحلا انه حدياً وهب صحا الحصيبة وهمها المهل المحدد ومعها المهل الم

⁷⁶⁹ C¹ 171: 16: مهزيميع but this is awkward; ms seems to have it as given above.

At that point, a severe shortness of breath overtook him and an acute hemorrhage accompanied his excrements; thereafter the smaller intestines fell out of their course, and with them there was the release of his spleen and his liver, and thus he died right away. Now the restroom still exists in Constantinople, in the colonnade called Maqalre, and all those who arrive there point the finger at it, moved by the remembrance of the death of that (man). Behold, the prayer of Alexander had done things like [these th]ings!

The year six hundred and forty-nine (AD 337/8):⁷⁷⁰ Constantine the Great died and his sons received his rule. He lived for sixty-five years and reigned for thirty-three [174] years.

During this year the holy Mor Jacob, bishop of Nisibis, left this world.⁷⁷¹

The year six hundred and fifty (AD 338/9):⁷⁷² Eusebius of Nicomedia caused perturbation in the Church on account of the faith of Arius.

In the same year, the holy Athanasius returned to [Alexandria].⁷⁷³

The year six hundred and fifty-one (AD 339/40):⁷⁷⁴ Eusebius of Caesarea died and Acacius came in his place.

The year six hundred and fifty-two (AD 340/1):⁷⁷⁵ The holy Alexander of Constantinople died, and those who followed the thinking of Arius established Macedonius in his place. [Those] who adhered to the doctrine of consubstantiality (established) Paul.

The year six hundred and fifty-three (AD 341/2):⁷⁷⁶ Paul was expelled from Constantinople and the emperor brought Eusebius of Nicomedia there.

The year six hundred and fifty-four (AD 342/3):⁷⁷⁷ Eusebius of Nicomedia convened a synod in Antioch and se[t up a creed] different from that of Nicea. He expelled Athanasius from Alexandria and established Gregory in his stead, whom he helped through Roman authority.

 $^{^{770}}$ Soc. I xxxix–xxxx – Constantine ruled for 31 years, but 32 for Jacob of Edes. 288 [215].

⁷⁷¹ Chr. Edes. 4:13–15 [32].

⁷⁷² Soc. II ii.

⁷⁷³ Soc. II iii.

⁷⁷⁴ Soc. II iv.

⁷⁷⁵ Soc. II vi; Jacob of Edes. 290:1–13 [216]. Conflicting information is found in these and the sources of Chr. Zuq. with regard to this and the following lemma; see the discussion in Witakowski, "Second Parts;" p. 193.

⁷⁷⁶ Soc. II vii; Jacob of Edes. 290:16 [216].

⁷⁷⁷ Soc. II ix, x, xi.

ومن عدامه منه ووسل عيسلال عمدان ومعده واحده اله وهل عيسال بعمد ومع حدة دوا تعمل الا معزوسا وموله معتمال ومعر دهم الا منظ ولهده ووحده ودوما صبره صدر وه وي حدم المنا حرها حمما المورود ووا حصومها المدود المهاد وصلمنا وصمة المحمد وصلي كه ومعي عده وجدا در صوب كهم عدهوالم وصوله وهن واب ها ه [حم] صجعاً رحماه واحتصبونه. عدم عمقاً فاوحم ماقد. صدر موصل بهرس وحل ممدل حدة وب محدور منا وبي عدي وسقع عتب العجر وبي صده الكمت ماكم [174] عنت. ددة دعدما دوا نجم محمد دنا الا مربعا مدنا محمود اهتهمها وبرجع. عدم علاقلا وسقعي أوجد الأصحيف ويمحوول عهوعنا حديلًا صلا مصعدله وأوسى. ودة حملًا هوا هجر مرسل المسعوف اللحصروما]. و779 عدل علاقدال وسقعم وسرار صدل الاصحيف ومصهار وهوا سلاوه المصف عدلا علاقلا وسعمت ماقلع. صل عباما كمصياف وموصلهالمسعوليس ومحر سكووه هدم ونصفع كلفيدله وأفيعد كعمونسف [داهم] ونصفع كعكلا وجز الماما وبمعموريا كمعى. عدم عمقلا وسعفتي واؤدي. وبم أوصف وبمعموريا صوبووف طالهما. وهـ[م ومعده ا] كمة مع وف وسماله ولهزو للمانعموه مع كمعدونا. ومجر سهده كيزينده مكوما طيرا ووهوهما حرو.

 $^{^{778}}$ Misreading of τοῦ ἐν τῇ στοᾳ μακὲλλου "of the shambles in the colonnade;" see C^1 (trans.) 129 n.1.

[.]للحصيبوط 174:6 للاحصيبوط.

The year six hundred and fifty-five (AD 343/4):⁷⁸⁰ The same Eusebius died and the whole people established Paul on the throne, [but the Arians] established Macedonius.

The year six hundred and fifty-seven (AD 345/6):⁷⁸¹ Abraham became the bishop in Edessa, and built the church of the Confessors.

[F48v] [The year six hundred] and sixty (AD 348/9):⁷⁸² The cities of Āmid and Tellā were rebuilt [during the days of] Constantine the Younger.

The year six hundred and sixty-one (AD 349/50):⁷⁸³ A battle took place between Constantine the Younger and [his brother Constantius (II); Constantine was killed and Constantius (II)] and Constants [inherited his empire].

The year six hundred [175] and sixty-two (AD 350/1): Her[mogenes] was sent [by the empero]r to bring out [of the church Paul] but the citizens of Constantinople killed him.⁷⁸⁴

The year six hundred and sixty-three (AD 350/1):⁷⁸⁵ The Ar[ians] expelled [Grego]ry from Alexandria [and established George in his stead].

The year six hundred and sixty-four (AD 351/2):⁷⁸⁶ Paul left Constantinople and the emperor brought in [Macedo]nius in his place. And when [he was brought in], he was killed by the people of the city – three thousand one hundred and fifty men.

The year six hundred and sixty-seven (AD 355/6):⁷⁸⁷ A synod was held in Serdica⁷⁸⁸ and it restored Paul and Athanasius to their seats.

The year six hundred and sixty-eight (AD 356/7):⁷⁸⁹ Athanasius went down to Alexandria, and when he went, Maximus of Jerusalem convened [a synod, and they made a union] with each other. During this time, Ephrem the Doctor was known.

⁷⁸⁰ Soc. II xii.

⁷⁸¹ Chr. Edes. 4:15–17 [32]; the church is that of the Martyrs Šmona, Guria, and Ḥabib.

 $^{^{782}}$ Compare with the Year 642 above, and the information in the following sources: Chr. Edes. 4:17–21 [5], Jacob of Edes. 293 right side 1–3 [218]; see also Ms I 101:5–7 [49]. Mich. Syr. 140b [I 267], middle column: "(The emperor) expanded and adorned Āmid, naming it Augusta, and named Tellā – called in the past Antipolis – Constant(ia)."

⁷⁸³ Soc. II v.

⁷⁸⁴ Hermogenes was a general; for the full account see Soc. II xiii.

⁷⁸⁵ Soc. II xiv.

⁷⁸⁶ Soc. II xvi.

⁷⁸⁷ Soc. II xx.

⁷⁸⁸ Now Sophia, capital of Bulgaria.

⁷⁸⁹ Soc. II xxiv. On Ephrem, see Jacob of Edes. 293a, 9–10 [218].

عدا عاقدا وسععتي وتنعب عدا وه اوصصف وحما حده حوال ملا وورضا اوران اوران اوران الماد حصوب عدا عالها وسععتي وقدي ووا ادران المحمول ومعلال المحمول والمحمول ومعلال المحمول والمحمول وال

The year six hundred and seventy (AD 368/9):⁷⁹⁰ Vetranius and Magnentius rebelled [in Rome and killed Constans the emperor].

And in the same year, Paul and Athana[sius left their sea]ts:⁷⁹¹ When Paul was taken away by his escorts, they strangled him during the night in the city of Cucuso. Athanasius [fled and was sa]ved. Also Lucius of Adrianopolis died in prison, shackled under heavy fetters.

When Macedonius seized the church,⁷⁹² he committed great evildoings toward and killings of those who confessed consubstantiality such that not even idolworshipping tyrants [committed them. As for Geor]ge of Alexandria,⁷⁹³ his evil was more grievous than that of Macedonius. Seven days after Easter, the nuns were led to prison, [176] the bishops were brought in chains by the Romans, houses of orphans and widows were pillaged, and many murders occurred in every place.

During this time, Photinus the bishop rose up and divided the Church,⁷⁹⁴ restoring the heresy of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata. On account of this, [the emperor ordered] that a synod be convened in Sirmium, and (the participants) gave expression [F49r] to a different profession of faith in which they did not even agree with each other. Hence, th[e emperor] ordered that all the bishops of the West gather in Ariminum. As for the Easterners, they gathered in Nicomedia, which collapsed when a great tremor took place, burying its inhabitants. Because of this, they gathered in Seleucia of Isauria, and these too did not agree with each other.⁷⁹⁵

The year six hundred and seventy-one (AD 369/10):⁷⁹⁶ There was a battle near Mursa between the tyrant Magnentius and Constantius the emperor, and Magnetius was defeated and his army was destroyed; as for him, he fled.

The year six hundred and seventy-two (AD 370/1):⁷⁹⁷ Aetius the heretic rose up and perturbed the Church. At the order of the emperor, a synod was convened in Mediolani, and more than three hundred bishops gathered there. When Paul the bishop of Tiberias which is in Galilee,⁷⁹⁸ Eusebius of Vercellæ, and Dionysius of Alba felt that (the other bishops) wanted to depose Athanasius, they rose up powerfully and prevented the gathering from doing it.

⁷⁹⁰ Soc. II xxv.

⁷⁹¹ Soc. II xxvi.

⁷⁹² Soc. II xxvii.

⁷⁹³ Soc. II xxvi

⁷⁹⁴ Soc. II xxix.

⁷⁹⁵ A more detailed account is found in Soc. II xxxix.

⁷⁹⁶ Soc. II xxxii. Mursa was a fortress in Gaul.

⁷⁹⁷ For the account see Soc. II xxxv–xxxvi.

⁷⁹⁸ Sic. Read "Treves in Gaul" as in Soc.

وحمل ملظا ومحتى حزو حلوس وصهدها ودووها وملاوه كموهلها محكل]. وحدة حميكا ووا. يقم قولا والمنسلوني مع موقعها إوهر. قولا وع مومحكم كن وس ووجه وه كن سمه حكما حموموه موسكا.. المسعوم العهم ارحام والعلم ارد اه کهمیه وارونده کیمی در اهد دهزال مدرا دیم اهدرا مدر محروسی وج در اسب حباً حتماً وهوصاً حدب مقال [هيتاا] دمكم وحدوم حدة الممال [العمل] واهلا لمتومل صهرة فلاحترا [لا حدره. رسنيم] عد والاحسرول معدم صعله ملان مع ومعمره سعد. مع حكز وور معتل عمل وعلم المقال المقال المادة الم العسرًا صادرته وود. العسقول مع وووصل حلهورًا معالم ووود قام وم وماهد وواتوهكما صلحورم ١٥٥٥. مقيلًا هيتا حجوم ١٥٥٨ مهم دوما وم رحبا مع فيسعد اصمعها مصبع حبال مصعيما من وصححه موقول مصمها سبا. معهموا [قمر محد] الماديم صورون مصنمين والمحدور المنا المنا المنا المنا المادي والمحرور محمر المحرور محمر المادي حسبواه معهدهوا هم محمل وطلعمه علمهم محمه اهمهمقا ومعزطان موستا وع المصع مصعوباه ١٥٥٥ من وعلا وحا منفحة ملاهمة المصعوبان وهما معالم ووا المصع حصمه والمعموما واهل محم عمر حسبول عدم عمقدا معمت مسرال موا منظ رب معة وصد مرسليم له وما و معمد المام مرداه وارود مرسليم. وسيده المسنج دود منه. وحمد علاقلا وعدت ولمقلع: عمر االهيع وفرايما وعيم عبارا. وهم محكم والماجيمة صوروف معيره حمياً والمحيمة كلمع ملن مع المكتما اقتصمواه ددر انهم فوكسوس اقسموفل ولحدده وحكلا واوصده وازمكور ەومەنەھ والحجا. ورجع وبحدون مكوهبه والمسهدة مع سيكليلك محدود حصما مح هول

[.]حمر 175:26 ⁷⁹⁹ C¹ 175:26

During this same year, Abraham bishop of Edessa died, and Barsai came from Harrān to Edessa at the order of the emperor.⁸⁰⁰

The year six hundred and seventy-three (AD 371/2):801 Macedonius (patriarch of Constantinople) was deposed and the holy Meletius came in his place – [177] after a while he accepted the seat of [Antioch].

During this year, Constantius the emperor died and Julian replaced him. He lived for forty-five years and ruled for thirty-eight years.⁸⁰²

Also during this time, Apollinarius rose up and perturbed the Church by defending his heresy. 803 First he said that God the Word did not assume a soul in the economy of incarnation. Afterwards, like those who correct themselves after a change of mind, he added that God the Word assumed a soul indeed but that it was without a mind. Rather, God the Word himself was (in the place of a mind) 804 in the human body that he assumed. Those who are called by this name (=Apollinarians) say that this is the only point of distinction from us (the Catholics), for they say that the Trinity is consubstantial.

Then, even Macedonius divided the Church, daring to say in a divine discourse concerning the Trinity that he did not want to consider⁸⁰⁵ the Holy Spirit, and Eustathius of Sebaste too said: "I too dare not [name] the Holy Spirit God." For this reason, those who confess the consubstantiality of the Word call those (heretics) 'Pneumatomachoi.'

The year six hundred and seventy-four (AD 362/3): A severe persecution befell the Church at the hands of Julian the Imposter. Numerous people were martyred and because the persecution was [inten]se, many perished in it. [F49v] Eusebius, bishop of Rome,⁸⁰⁷ and all its nobility, rose up [178] in the struggle mightily; he endured all kinds of torture at the hand of the tyrant but did not die.

⁸⁰⁰ Chr. Edes. 4:22-27 [32].

⁸⁰¹ Compare with Soc. II xlii, xlix, where Eudoxius, former patriarch of Antioch, became bishop of Constantinople, and Meletius who did not replace Macedonius in the capital, replaced the former in the seat of Antioch.

⁸⁰² Soc. II xlvii.

⁸⁰³ Soc. II xlvi.

⁸⁰⁴ As in ibid.

⁸⁰⁵ Martin reads "to think."

⁸⁰⁶ Lit. 'those who fight against the Holy Spirit;" Soc. II xlv.

⁸⁰⁷ Eusebius is a central figure in the second part of the *Romance of Julian* but is otherwise unknown among the bishops of Rome at this time; Bedjan, *Acta* VI, 218–297; Julian & Hermann Gollancz, *Julian the Apostate* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), pp. 50–65.

ەحە جعبكا مول. معنك اجزموم اهبعه" وامؤمه، مابال جزها مع بنني للمؤمه حقمميلا وصحفار عناء عامقال معمنتي ماكل. أعالوب معمونيسه 1000 حروصاء عربعا محكمه وه وحكة [177] محك صوفها [والهيم] محك محة حميم[أ] موإ. معلم موصل ملك من المحمد عديده من المحمد عني المحروب صده الكلم ماهدا عتم. اهد بع حدد حدما رحباً. اهدكناه مم دهوم حبال. وهوزهس وساه سود. وعرهله وبي اخذ هوا ولا عمل كاها محكما بعما حجردنها والعمالة محكوص الب المحم وحموا حب محكامتما محكور امصف ماجع وللعمل حم عملا حكما كاها: عبدا وبي كم موا كنه. الله وه حكما كوا المورد ووا (سك صبط) حديدها والمكملا على دوا وبي العنى حكدو وفيمي صبي المكم وحدول ولل معمنيه معملا بي بودز العمال العين العني المد بي العصوس ميم حباً. وأحن وأجن وحنوسا عبيعا معكما هوسكا وعلا المحكما الما الما الله المراكب المحدد. صهر المرا محمد معم عصر ووسل عبيما. عنه حمور المان وحدوم حصحما وحن الممال على علاقل معدنتي ماؤده: وما على حيال زوموسل معمل مع البود عالمناها ومعمل هام معمل معمل معمل وفروه وعمل موما [محمد] لا مهما احره حمد [F49v] اهمصمه وع اقتصمها وزهوها. وحدور ووتعل وبدة مع [178] سيكاملك عليقال. معتبًا صحال محمل الله لا معمه »

 $^{^{808}}$ Sic ms, but M reads بعصا, see C^1 177 n.5.

Maximus, the son of the *hyparch* of Constantinople, Theodore the Confessor, and Elpidius the commander were martyred.⁸⁰⁹

In the land of Samaria, a great crowd of monks were martyred while going to prayer, for Samaritans and Jews fell upon them and killed all of them with sticks. Now Julian the emperor compelled the Jews to sacrifice and they sacrificed. They begged the emperor that their temple which is in Jerusalem be rebuilt,810 and he ordered them to build it, the expenses to be paid by the public treasury. Thus, they quickly prepared everything: stones, wood, burnt bricks, lime instead of clay, and other things needed for the construction. When the holy Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, saw this, he prophesied saying: 'It is time for our Saviour's word to be fulfilled: There will be not left here one stone upon another.811 The holy Cyril said these words in advance. Now during the night there was such a mighty earthquake that the ancient foundation stones of the temple flew up, and all of them scattered by the intensity of the earthquake. Also the houses that were near the place were uprooted, and the news of the ruin spread out in the whole land. Then in another day, fire fell down from the sky, destroying all the work of the architects, masons, and all kinds of instruments of work. One could see the hammers, tongs, axes, and hatchets, and in short all the work that had been prepared by them for the building was burning in the fiery blaze; the fire burnt the instruments thoughout the entire day. A great fear befell the Jews, and unwillingly, they confessed that Christ was God. But they did not obey his will, nor did the triple miracle [179] that happened to them bring them to the Faith. In another night, luminous impressions of a cross appeared imprinted on their garments, and when the day came and they saw this sign, they sought to wash them and wipe them out with every means but they failed.812

Now Julian, the maternal uncle of the tyrant emperor, when he went to Jerusalem and entered the holy church and seized the holy vessels of the Church there, the Lord struck him: he bred worms and died.⁸¹³

⁸⁰⁹ On the martyrs: Romance of Julian see Bedjan, *Acta* VI, 380–404; on Theodore see Soc. III xix.

⁸¹⁰ Soc. III xx.

⁸¹¹ Mt 24:2.

⁸¹² Soc. III xxi.

⁸¹³ See Soz. *HS*, V viii, Theod., *HE*, III viii–ix. See also the full account of Mich. Syr. 147a [I 285]. Witakowski suggests that this detail about Julian may have derived from Theodore Anagnostes, who wrote a Church history also called *Historia Tripartita*, and who was one of Mich. Syr.'s sources in the Armenian version of his Chronicle. Since there is no evidence that this *Historia* was translated into Syriac, Jacob of Edes. and or John of Ephesus who used it in its original language may well be the sources of Chr. Zuq. and Mich. Syr.; Witakowski, "Third Part;" pp. 194–5. With regard to Cyril and Jerusalem see Sebastian Brock, "A Letter Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem on the Rebuilding of the Temple," *BSOAS* 40:2 (1977), pp. 267–286.

محصيمه وب حذ ١٥٥٩عل وموصكيكهيوه كيم والوؤه معوييا ٥١٥هويه وح سيلا العدور مده عمدتما وم معل هيمال ووستما واركم ٢٥٥٥ كركما العدود معلا ولا محدور معتمل منة وبرا: معلى اس حدده ورسلة الله محسف ور معدد الاراس كسهة وبرحس، وحسر محم مع مع معلم والمحلل ومعلل وبعهم وحاه ومعرد وهم عهم والمحلل ومع ومعصور المنتقص حاور العقمال ومعلاه اووا علا معرم محلله لهد ١٠٥٥. طقل معتقل محتل وعين محمل سك لهيا. واستبيا المح وسعت حديدا.. عبعا بع معوزها اصمعما والموعجر وم محم بدا المالت مامد ورصا به ومحم فامع العد مدخعا. وحاف ١٨ عداد لا المداحم وزعان درج وب عوم احدز عوسما مەزىھەس 814 مىل بى مەل رەخل زجار. المعلل بىسمى حاقل بقىداھەمى خىتىما بەلمال. محكم بروم حب معسما وبكه ورمط. وأف قالم المكم ومتبحم ١٥٥٥ كن حرمها المحمزه. وأولا لمحل ووقوما والمعالين من حميد المنابل سيما لمنابل سيما مع المحروب والمرابع المرابع المر عصماً. وسحكم عكو حذوا واتومطا ووصتا ووقعات اصتما استسلال الم ووا وصلا حصرا ومب مع محمصما وبدوا اورهما محتما معكما ماحقهاد ماي وحمامة عده حذا ومعلمت ما حمر حسيا. وحده عمل عمرا مما حمر بوزا حمالاه مقدول وب حبسكا وحكا ١٥٥٥ هو لل رحم صووح ١٥٥٥ وصعيسا الماهور كال وح حجرح ١٥٥٥ رجسه. اهلا لموصورا [179] المحملا والما دمن الملا الله لاما مسطوراً. ولاما وبي اسزيل سلاها ورجيحا حلهها ورحمقا ملا مانتهه المسريه ولمحمد وحر هوا المعمل وسره ألما دوا حده وبعيره وبعدموسة. حدا فوقعي ولا اعدسه مديده وبي سلاه وصحال لمزه بارك الموزعكور مجل كمنطا مبيعاً. وأق صف حقايا متبعا وحباا ولمعي. هستول هذها وزوه حدة كعل وهده.

⁸¹⁴ C¹ 178:17 موزيكت . The spelling of the name is not consistent in this passage.

⁸¹⁵ C¹ 178: موهما (sic).

During this time were known the (following) shepherds of the Church: Gregory the Elder of Nazianzus and his disciples; Basil of Caesarea; Maris of Chalcedon – this one addressed [F50r] the tyrant with many insults but because he was blind he said to him: "The Galilean will <not> cure you;" Athanasius of Alexandria. Were also known: Eusebi[us of Rome], Cyril of Jerusalem, <Melitius> of Constantinople, Flavianus of Antioch, and Lucifer the bishop of the city of Carali. Hilarius the bishop of Pictavorum vas also known – like a powerful pillar for all the regions of the West, he defended and confirmed the doctrine of Consubstantiality. Were also known: Walgash of Nisibis, Eusebius bishop of Samosata, another Athanasius of Ancyra, and Uranius of Qinnašrīn. The holy Julian Saba was also known during this time.

The year six hundred and seventy-four (AD 362/3):⁸¹⁹ Julian the emperor marched down to the Persian territories and ruined the whole land from Nisibis and up to Ctesiphon of Bēt-[180] Ārāmāyē. He deported from there many people and settled them on the mountain of Sunsu.⁸²⁰ In the same year, he died in the Persian land by an arrow flying in the air. Jovian, his commander, ruled in his place and made peace between the empires. He gave Nisibis to the Persians, and also stopped the persecution in the Persian land through the peace that he made, and all the churches were reopened. All the people of Nisibis moved to Āmid of Mesopotamia, and for them he built walls to the west of the city.

The year six hundred and seventy-five (AD 363/4):821 A synod was convened in Antioch and confirmed the creed of Nicea. And in the same year it assembled in Gangra and deposed Macedonius and Eustathius of Sebaste.

In the same year the emperor Jovian died and Valentinian (I) ruled in his stead in Rome [and Va]lens his brother in Constantinople. Now in faith Valentinian [was a follower of the doctrine of Consubstantiality] while Valens was Arian; [the latter also launched a persecution against the Church and marched down to Antioch, persecuting severely all] who confessed the doctrine of Consubstantiality.⁸²²

In this same year, Procopius rebelled in Constantinople; in it too a severe earthquake took place and destroyed numerous cities.⁸²³

⁸¹⁶ In Sardinia.

⁸¹⁷ Poitiers in Gaul. Soc. III x.

⁸¹⁸ Sic. Read "of Apameia" as in Soc. III xxv.

⁸¹⁹ Soc. III xxi, with unspecified additional sources; see also Mich. Syr. 145 a [I 281–2].

⁸²⁰ In the region of Melitene; Smith, Thesaurus, p. 2677.

⁸²¹ Soc. III xxv, on Antioch.

⁸²² Soc. IV i-iii.

⁸²³ Soc. IV iii.

حمل وبي رحل محكموني وحمال حديال: منهنوه محل وبرسوه خور حدة ومد حصيكمه ومصهار معهم وحصوما ومل جزا زوزط مند [F50r] حجزوما ومحم وصحما وواد اجد كره. حلا حلها كر كمكا]>824 المسهم والحصورال مكرم ول المصحد[ه وزوه معل] اله موزيه والمؤسم الموسي المسلم وووكيدا والطبحياة وكوموز افتصموا وفيوكم والمحتالة محياس وم الدامم اقتصمها وقومهمور وبل حبعها معدوا سيكليا حمده المؤدا ومعناها ومعنا المما مصم ما معمزو ممير وم الا مكيم وبرجع مامسمس العسما ومصمحين والمنصوص النزيل وانصوؤاه واونسف وصعنع 827. صمير وبي حويل رجيل لموج مرسل به كبيل بعدا. عند عد هنا معدية واؤديا. سد به حديث بعدا حديد فرهيا. المناجة كملكة المرا ومع برجع المربعل كمالمنصفي وحما [180] الوصيال المركب مع المع معل صهال دادمات انور حلووا وهيهوه ددة حميدا معمد حمد فتهمل حهاوا وفرس طاؤه هاهكو حروصه محسوه ود معكه. وحدم عمل حمل معكدة ال ومود كرجم كوتصيا. وأق وووفيا وصد فتصيا حلا حميلا وبحر. ولاتا فكام المعلمية. ولمعا عده وبرجم محدود العب وحدم الموتع. وحلا حدور عدوا مع معدود كن حمورا. عدم علاقلا معدي مشعب المصعم صوروره حلهميا. وصعد حاصدوا وبصل محن حميداً المصمل حيها مميه معمره بعد المصلحة ومحصلها مدن حمد المراد مده محسوس محداد وامحم سهووه وحدالمان [و]وجيس اسه و حموه كريكيد و محمل و محمد و محمد المراد المراد المراد المرد المردد المردد المردد المردد المردد محس ازبيا. وأو [اصع زووفيا ١ حياا. وسلا للهيميا ومعياسة زود حمدور] وندر ومدورم حمدكما وحز الكاملال وحدة حميكا هوا معزو حمدهم ليهيده كيمه فامدفيها محة مامد مهما ومعل فط محتملا معيمالا سحاد.

⁸²⁴ Ms [معاصل حب محمدا] (sic). Correction after Mich. Syr. 146c—middle of the column.

⁸²⁵ Ms ميلاه.

⁸²⁶ Impossible to verify; Greek Καράλων.

⁸²⁷ Sic ms.

⁸²⁸ M likely decipherment (not consulted); see C1 180:2.

The year six hundred and seventy-six (AD 364/5):829 The sea went beyond its border, causing such a flooding that ships sailed upon regions which were in the past dry and trodden by people. In other regions, this whole rush receded so that the dry land could be seen.

The year six hundred and seventy-seven (AD 365/6):⁸³⁰ Procopius [F50v] the tyrant was killed. [The emperor issued an order] to demolish the wall [181] of Chalcedon because it acknowledged the tyrant and insulted the emperor.

The year six hundred and seventy-eight (AD 366/7):831 Valens sent to exile all the bishops who confessed the doctrine of Consubstantiality, except for Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus.

During this year, Valens supplied Constantinople with water, 832 and made persecution against those who confessed Consubstantiality.

The year six hundred and seventy-nine (AD 367/8):833 A severe earthquake took place in Bithynia and the city of Nicea was overturned on the eleventh of First *Tišnī* (October). At the same time, another tremor took place in Hellespont, and in it many (other) cities collapsed.

During this year, the holy Julian Saba died.⁸³⁴ And in the same year, the holy Eusebius, the bishop and martyr of Rome, died; Liberius came in his place. Evagrius bishop of Constantinople, Meletius and Eustathius of Antioch, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Athanasius of Alexandria were also known.

During this time, Eunomius divided the Church. He said: "God knows no more than us about his own substance, and this is not more known to him and less known to us; rather, he knows whatever we know about him, and whatever he has,⁸³⁵ the same is found in us without any difference." Eunomius spoke of this and of many other things.

During this time the persecution by the Arians⁸³⁶ of those who confessed Consubstantiality became grievous, for they used to insult them, harass them, beat them, throw them in prison, and inflict loss on them through extortions.

⁸²⁹ Soc. IV iii.

⁸³⁰ Soc. IV viii.

⁸³¹ Soc. IV xi.

 $^{^{832}}$ On building aqueducts in Constantinople see Soc. IV viii, and on the persecution see IV ix.

⁸³³ Soc. IV xi.

⁸³⁴ Chr. Edes. 5:3-4 [5].

⁸³⁵ Read: "whatever he has in terms of knowledge" to fit the context as in Soc. IV vii.

⁸³⁶ Place the digit (3) after Now in C1 181:24.

عدل علاقلا وعديت وقلم. حدز معل حلمنوهده: وأوبل عدم حزوهما حجر أمعل والمؤوما وم عبر حتمار 133 المامه مهم محم القل صلابعي: كلقل ننه مهم المراه الماره معمار عبر المراه الماره معمار عبر المراه المراع المراه المراع المراه المراع المراه المراه المراه المراه المراه المراه المراه المراه المراع المراه ا استام والحده ومل حكه أوسم. أحدا وبحدها لماسوا. عدم علاقدا وعدت وعدب المملا لمن وزموف 838. [F50v] [محكم وبي ومع محمور [181] وحصوما: ملا ومدكم كهزويل وربزا حعجدا. عدم عمقدال وعديت واقتبال اعبد وحيع حددوور اصممقا ومدوب حمدها وحد المما الحصوبا: هم م حصله وريهامه وبرسود حول رحبا الما محمد معل حموهها المساودي ومحبودة وروفيا ما ومورم وعورم حا المادال عدم عمقلا معدي ملقير. ووا روط معما حدموسا والموقدة حده يصا مرسلال حسيمهم حلمه وسرير وحد حرصا وما وملا اسزيا حالمسعوبي. ومتسلال صهتالاً نعلا حد. ددة حميلاً هوإ. صبك مربعاً مكيوها بعدا.. دادد دة حميلاً هوا صده مرسعا اصحمه اقتصمها مصموا وزهمها. مهما سهمه مديمه مديمها مداره le logion lemanel paragrifuler com occident olomphia physical. ەمەۋىكەت واەۋىمكىر. ەالمانسىدەت واكتىسبۇلل دەنل وبى رحل اندىكىت سېم كېلا كې ايدن والحما ١٨ صده معمر علمم معن معلى لل نبه. ملا بربعا لحه مع علمنا لح وب حبنا: الله هه صرم وسے نہمیے محمد بوہ میں مصرم واسلا کہ مادت کوہ بوہ صفحت ہے والا عوسكا. وحم وصل واستهما صهتلا اجز الوصيص. دو بع رصا المعد زووصا ملا الله على المعالم مع المعالم على المعالم المعال وزهب حدا اهنة وهسعن ١٥٥٠ حصة وليدور.

 $^{^{837}}$ C¹ 180 n. 7: محقا (sic); in ms the *yōd* is barely visible.

[.]ح**م** 8³⁹ C¹ 180:6

When they became unable to endure these (punishments), they came to the emperor seeking safety through him, hoping to have relief from oppression, even if for a short while. While [182] [they planned well,] they lost hope for they thought to find righteousness in a wicked man.⁸⁴⁰

Certain virtuous [men] among the priests of the church were selected – eighty in number – wh[ose leaders] were Urbanus, Theodore, and Menedemus. They came to Nicomedia, and presented [to the emperor a petition, informing] him about the oppression and the evils that they were enduring. [But the emperor] grew angry against them and secretly ordered [Modestus the *hyp*] arch to kill the men. When this one received the order, he put them in a ship and set it on a blazing fire. In this way [F51r] he burned them in the blazing fire.⁸⁴¹

During the same time, a severe [famine took place in all the land] of Phrygia and as a result of the calamity, the whole land was deserted (by many people), who went into Constantinople.

The year six hundred and ei[ghty (AD 378/9): The holy] Athanasius of Alexandria [died and the holy Peter] replaced him. Athanasius administered the Church for forty-six years amid great danger.⁸⁴²

The year six hundred and eighty-one (AD 379/80):⁸⁴³ Peter of Alexandria was persecuted and with him all the monasteries of the deserts, and all the ascetics there, at the hands of the Arians Euzoïus of Antioch and Lucius of Alexandria.

During this time the monks Anthony, Ammonius, Pior, Isidore, Pambo, Peter, Macarius of Aigyptos, and Macarius of Alexandria were known. The last two were exiled to an island on which there were many [barb]arian people, [but through] divine grace they brought all the inhabitants of the island to God.⁸⁴⁴

During this time the baptistery of Edessa was built.845

After Liberius [183] of Rome, Damasus acceded (to the episcopal) throne and John rose up after Cyril of Jerusalem.

The year six hundred and eighty-three (AD 371/2):846 Valentinian (I) the Roman emperor died, and [...] his son [......] Valentinian (II) ruled.

⁸⁴⁰ Soc. IV xv, xvi.

⁸⁴¹ For the full account see Soc. IV xvi

⁸⁴² Soc. IV xx.

⁸⁴³ Soc. IV xxi-xxii.

⁸⁴⁴ Soc. IV xxiii–xxiv.

⁸⁴⁵ Chr. Edes. 5:4-6 [5].

⁸⁴⁶ Soc. IV xxxi.

ه وج وحم لا صدة المه حما محمل وبحم مده محمدا. محمد الع محما الل عبر اللا عبر [182] [موا المسعد عبر اللا عبر اللا عبر الله عبر وكما رحنا حملا علما معمسين المرخمة ووصل رحة ا يحقل مع حقل ومباا حصيبا لمقيع و[قيمسه الكم] من مهده مكبي اهزموه ماأوهزه معيمه ماله حمصوباً.847 من و ودما حصدا حصد و محصر من مهنا وصدح [600. محدا] وع المسعد محمور وهم [حمورها وووز]ما معهدام وبمهار اله كدة الد ولم وم عد مد وه وعميل هم الم ملك واوم دو لوزا ومعيل 848. وه مل [F51r] أوم الله حدوزا وهوا XXX وحد حرصل وبال [ووا معيل] وحل المحدود المةومال] وهن رسل ومع المحريل هيسال الصافوه المراحد وحذه ومجلا المصافعات المالة المالية والمالية المالية المال على علاقلا والخلس. [معلى عربعل] المانعيوه والحصورال 1000 سكوه [عربعل فهناه المسوف بع فنه حبا اتوصع مقل متى حصيف الله وطال الما علا المقال ماهيع مسإل المؤوف أفيه والمحسبونا 852. معده عمد بعدا وحدردا. وعمره مستومل واحج. مع ادومل والهمصل وكصمه والحصورومل اؤمده محكمومي وم حاصل وصلا ويتا الموسوصة العسوصة فيوزة العروضة فعدوة فكروصة معونه مرزماة ومعصوبه كحصرومان وكع وع لمؤمون المكون كهوا سوار وأمك دة حستما صحيما ود[ودزما. دامر وص] لهدما كمما كعده بعد برزا هذ كما كما العده. دده حدوا عدلم المحدد عدم معمودها وادورده حدو حديده [183] ووددها مد لمناصب والعصوصة وحكمة موزعص واوزعه مع ماسعة علم علاماً والحسب والحكم. مدر مكيسوه محمل وزه وهدا. أو مستحرير المحمد وكيليوها.

[.] حممہ اللہ 847 C1 182:5.

⁸⁴⁸ Word inserted at the bottom of the page.

⁸⁴⁹ C¹ 182:11: *****.......

⁸⁵⁰ Abbreviated in C¹ 181:13.

B51 The term is illegible in ms, but if this form is there, then the $n\bar{u}n$ of the full form στιμα (Greek κίνδυνος) must have assimilated with the $d\bar{o}lat$: qindinos > qiddinos.

 $^{^{852}}$ Ms: معنا can be surmised and عبان is placed at the bottom of the folio for insersion; the passage is reconstructed in C^1 182:18.

⁸⁵³ These signs placed in red over an old text meant to delete it.

The year six hundred and eighty-four (AD 372/3):854 The holy Mor Ephrem the Doctor died on the nineteenth of *Ḥzṭrōn* (June).

The year six hundred and eighty-six (AD 374/5):855 The Goths devastated <the land> of the Romans.

The year six hundred and eighty-seven (AD 375/6): A battle took place between the Tayy-Arabs and the Romans. During this time, Mavia⁸⁵⁶ was ruling over the Tayy-Arabs. This Mavia said that if Moses, who was, with respect to race, of *Tayy*-Arab origin, was not constituted bishop for her there would be no room to terminate the war. Now this Moses was eminent in his faith and asceticism and famous for his virtuous life and miracles, for he grew up in the desert of the hermits. Mavia asked that this person should be the bishop over her nation, and this would be the con<dit>ion to end the war. When the Roman commanders heard this, he agreed to establish peace on this condition, and ordered that this be fulfilled quickly. Moses was thus seized and brought to Alexandria so that he might be ordained by Lucius.857 Moses [F51v] [refused to be ordained by him], saying: ["I am not worthy] of the priesthood, but if this helps public affairs, let not Lucius ordain me because [184] his right hand is filled with blood." Lucius [said that it was not appropriate] to hurl insults, but first to learn from him the dogma of his religion. Moses replied to him: "There is no need for discussion: your [actions against the faithful] show that your religion is not [that of the Christians]. The Christian does not hit, revile, [or fight], for the servant [of God ought not] to fight, but your acts cry out against you through those [who are s]ent into exile, cast [to the wild beasts], and who suffer all kinds of death. The things that are seen by the eyes are far more grave than the ones that are heard by the ears." Once Moses had made these and other similar statements about Lucius, his friends took him to the mountain to be ordained by (bishops) who lived in exile. Thus, through the episcopacy of the holy Moses the war between the Tayy-Arabs and the Romans ceased, and peace reigned over the kingdoms.

The year six hundred and eighty-eight (AD 376/7):858 Lucius was expelled from Alexandria. Peter returned from the exile and sat on his throne, and after a short time he died; the holy Timothy replaced him.

⁸⁵⁴ Chr. Edes. 5:6-8 [5].

⁸⁵⁵ Chr. Edes. Year 53.

⁸⁵⁶ Greek Μαυία of Arabic Māwiya or Māwiya; see A. Harrak, "Jacob of Edessa as a Chronicler," in Gregorios Ibrahim & George Kiraz (eds.), *Studies on Jacob of Edessa*, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 25 Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press: 2010), pp. 43–64, esp. 57; for the account see Soc. IV xxxvi. Some of the gaps in the Syriac text are filled thanks to its Greek counterpart.

⁸⁵⁷ The Arian bishop of Alexandria who led the orthodox to exile; Soz. VI xxxviii.

⁸⁵⁸ Soc. IV xxxvii.

عدلم علاقلا ماقدم ماؤدي. صدل عربعا هزر افزيع مدهدا. حلملمهز حيريزي عدلا هم قدا الماهيم وقيم. المنود معاتا حالوط > ووووهما. عبد عمقا واقتب وقدم. هوا عندا حمل لهمتا حته معمل ملا لهمتا وع معمدا موما دما رصا معمله موا وع صوما اجزراً ولى لا صمرود كن صوما اقتصوفا والمودد ووا ينصد مع ينصا ولمنا: وبعلا عنظ هوزها لا أسكة وبل وب معمل معمده اسكووت ووا مصمعها ومامتكال وحسّا بعقا وحلاقا مرجس ووا. معلا وحمرها واستبار المؤدد. حول عالم موما وبعوه العنصمها حتد تعده. وحورا الدحوك و 860 محله وصر سال وب ووووهما عب دوا عطب محل ومل دوا لمات محرم عمل دهم ودوا حكي لمددا. معمل وح ص الماسر المحمود للحصيرولم واص بعد هم الماسر المحمود معمل [... F51v] حميد أبا: صهر [184] ومحمل تعييه وما صهمال حميد وبي أمد: [ولا ذلا] حصر بدزور اللا حموم حصده صده ومريعا ووسكله والمحدما محكاً. الل [صوحتيم] محصى حر وجديا حمومعتا: ووسكام كو [ود:ههما] الماله. حنصهما عن لا صما ولا صبار [ولا صمومه]. حديه [عن والاه الا ووع لاه. والمحلف حجوب من والحر مع حب المحم [والعم]ون المصوفا الماوحة [حسقال]. ومد مقا معسكقا. وزحا وب المدما والحم وحتما محمون عمر مع الحم وحاولا معلمهم وحد وحد مح مع معلم السيسما المعن مده عدم محمد المردد مع اهمهمدهاه وعبعا مدعا حلا عندا حدم لهنا ختههما والعكر عما حملا صححة ال عدم عمقدا ماهدم ماهدا: اللهزو حميم حر همورزا. ١٥٥٠ مرمعا فهزوه مع العموزيل ميلد مل حوزهياه. وحكم مملا مده والموود مرسل لمحلامه.

⁸⁵⁹ Missed in ms.

[.]لاه Ms علا

⁸⁶¹ C¹ 183:22: 从[عدم] (sic).

⁸⁶² Legible and needs not be reconstructed, but see C¹ 183:23.

The year six hundred and eighty-nine (AD 377/8):⁸⁶³ The barbarians [devastated] the land of [Thracia] and reached up to Constantinople. [Valens] came out against them and while he was battling wi[th them he was killed] by them. Gratian assumed [the latter's rule] and associated [Theodosius (I)] the Elder with him in the rule.

In the same year, all the bishops returned from exile and took hold of their churches. The orthodox took the church in Edessa and obtained a bishop, Eulogius. [185] He built the church of Mōr Daniel, [which was called] the church of Mōr Dometius.⁸⁶⁴

The year six hundred and ninety (AD 378/9):865 The barbarians866 besieged Constantinople, and the empress Dominica gave the Romans gold and weaponry from the imperial treasury. They came out against them during the night and defeated them and chased them away. [Mavia gave] the Romans many *Tayy*-Arab soldiers to assist them and these joined them.

The year six hundred and ninety-two (AD 380/1): A war took place between the Romans and the barbarians who were destroyed before Theodosius the emperor.

The year six hundred and ninety-three – of Alexander (AD 381/2):867 The synod of the One Hundred and Fifty was convened in Constantinople, and its leaders were: Timothy of Alexandria, Melitius of Antioch, Damasus of Rome, Victor of Constantinople, and John of Jerusalem. The following bishops were famous in it: [F52r] Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, [Eulogius of Edessa], Helladius of Caesarea, Pelagius of Laodicea, Diodorus [of Tarsus, Otreius] of Melitene, and Amphilochius of Iconium. They signed x x x x and confirmed the creed of Nicea. They divided the provinces and the pat[riarchates, allotting to] Damasus of Rome the leadership over Ita[lia] and all the western and upper territories of Gallia and Hispania, which must submit [186] to him. After him, they allotted to Victor of Constantinople all the Greek territories of Asia and the East, which must submit to him. After this one, it allotted to Timothy of Alexandria, Miṣrīn, Aegyptos, and all the inner territories, which must submit to him. After him [they allotted] to Melitius of Antioch, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and all the eastern and lower territories of Persia, which must submit to him.

⁸⁶³ Soc. IV xxxviii, V ii.

⁸⁶⁴ Soc. IV xxxvii; Chr. Edes. 5:10-17 [5-6].

⁸⁶⁵ Soc. IV xxxviii, V i.

⁸⁶⁶ I.e. Goths; Soc. V i.

⁸⁶⁷ Soc. V viii; read Nectarius instead of Victor of Constantinople.

مملك مكتخلا ماتعب ملقب. [أسنحه]ن حتدنا للزعل [وباؤها محبحل كنه] كموسهالهالمومك معله. ورقم يكدون [وكيم ورب معود مراهون المهالا] صده، واسر [محصاه] في إلى موها المام معدد الم [كانووهموه] وحل محن حميكم موجو حكوم اقتصمقا مع احصورا: واسم عبّاموم، معمل افاره وصعه حبا حادة ومده وهوا حوم اهمهمها اوحم مدهد [185] وحبا حما عن وسلم [والمنور] حمد عن وبعمل. عمد علاقلا والقدم: بمعه حنوتها ملا विक्रियाकिट्या व्यव्या १०व्याची ग्लंटरे व्य व्रिया, दालव्या १०८ वारी. विक्र محمده و والله و الله و ووقع الله و وسلا عصما الم ولهنا [موحد معمل] الم ومعملا وبدوه المن مك كماهه. عند عمقلا ملقنع ماقلي. مما نامت عنظ حمد وممصل وكدزدتيا. والمسنحه عبر الوصوص صحدا. عدم عمقلا ولقدع ولكم للحصيروب. المجدمة حموه كالمراهد حمد معددوه وقدا مسمعته وسعدة وب المدور وحب لمتعلماه والحصيرفيان محمله والهيميان ومعموه ووهومان ممله وموسل المعدود على والموسطون معلى ولي والموسود المعدود المراحمة والمراه المراجمة والمراجمة والمراجم فلكس وكرميلة وبرؤوه [وليهوه * الهنوه] ومحكليلة المعدهوس والمسورة هازوس البيل xxx معزو كن كميسها إيصال وصلى ووقوس وفي وولينوه[ال ورادي حبطه وزه وط وسعدا والهجما وصحور المؤوما صحة حما [متحد] المركما وواهدما: سلمعده, [186] حه. حكوره مود كنمهوز وموسهم المستعددي وحكور المؤولا والصلا محرسا ويقسا بعلامده حدد حلم الما مدد حلمعالماله والحصوروبال محروب المحموم وحده المؤولا يقبل عن معمده المؤولا وم [مود] معملهم والهيصا معكمها مرينا محكوم المؤما مترسيا ماسكتا وصد فتصار كه ىملامدەر.

The year six hundred and ninety-four (AD 382/3):868 The holy Melitius died in Constantinople, and his body was taken down to Antioch. He was followed by Paulinus. In the same year, the emperor brought into Constantinople the bones of Paul the Apostle.

The year six hundred and ninety-five (AD 383/4):869 Theodosius (I) the emperor built Rēš-caynā of Mesopotamia.

The year six hundred and ninety-six (AD 384/5):870 Arcadius son of Theodosius (I) ruled with his father.

The year six hundred and ninety-seven (AD 385/6):871 The holy Timothy of Alexandria died, and Theophilus took his place.

In this same year, Maximus the tyrant rebelled and killed Gratian the emperor. 872

The year six hundred and ninety-eight (AD 386/7):873 Theodosius (I) the emperor fought with Maximus the tyrant, killed him, and destroyed his army.

In the same year, the holy Eulogius, bishop of Edessa, died, and Cyrus took his place. The latter brought the bone relic of Thomas the Apostle to Edessa.⁸⁷⁴

The year six hundred and ninety-nine (AD 387/8):875 All the idolatrous temples were demolished in Alexandria at the order of the emperor and through the diligence of Theophilus, the local patriarch.

In this same year, Evagrius became patriarch in Antioch along with Flavianus.⁸⁷⁶

The year seven hundred (AD 388/9):⁸⁷⁷ The church of the Novatians united with the Orthodox. A priest who was set [187] over the office of the penitentiary stood up in the middle to let every one receive the divine mysteries according to his own conscience.

The year seven hundred and one (AD 389/90):878 Turmoil took place in the Church on account of Easter.

⁸⁶⁸ Soc. V ix.

⁸⁶⁹ Chr. Edes. 5:17–18 [6].

⁸⁷⁰ Soc. V xii.

⁸⁷¹ Soc. V xii.

⁸⁷² Soc. V xi, xiv.

⁸⁷³ Soc. V xiv.

⁸⁷⁴ Chr. Edes. 5:23-26 [6]: Years 698 and 705.

⁸⁷⁵ A fuller account in Soc. V xvi.

⁸⁷⁶ Soc. V xv.

⁸⁷⁷ Soc. V xix.

⁸⁷⁸ Soc. V xxi-xxii.

عدل علاقا المقدم الأورب عدل عبيعا عدلهم وعده وعده اللهم حميه اللهمداء المواد وعدم عبيم اللهمداء اللهمداء المراد المراد عدم الموده وعدم عدم عدما اللهمداء المرد الموده وعدما اللهمداء المداد الموده عدم المنهم عدما الموده المعلم الموده المعلم الموده المعلم الموده المعلم الموده المعلم الموده المودة الموده الموده الموده المودة المودة

⁸⁷⁹ The toponym is thus divided in ms.

The year seven hundred and two (AD 390/1): Honorius reigned. 880

The year seven hundred and three (AD 391/2): Eugenius⁸⁸¹ the tyrant rebelled.

The year seven hundred and four (AD 392/3): Eugenius killed Valentinian⁸⁸² (II) the emperor on his own bed.

The year seven hundred and five (AD 393/4):⁸⁸³ [F52v] [Theodosius (I) pursued] Eugenius in Gaul. [In the battle], the emperor [called upon God] for his help. Now God does not disregard the prayer of those who fear him and here too did not neglect the prayer of the righteous emperor. When the battle drew up in line, a violent wind blew and returned the arrows cast by the soldiers of Eugenius upon themselves, and it drove [against them] too those cast by Theodosius' forces [with great force]. As for the tyrant, he was killed and all his army perished in the battle.

The year seven hundred and six (AD 394/5):884 Theodosius (I) the emperor died and his sons seized his rule.

In this same year, the Huns invaded the Roman land, devastating all the Syrian territories below the Ṣahiā (Arid) Mountain, that is Arzen, Maipharqat, Āmid, Enzite, and Samosata. After they crossed the Euphrates, the bridge was cut off behind them and Roman forces gathered from (all) sides against them and destroyed them, and not one of them was spared.

During this time the people were imprisoned in the fortress of Enzite. When this horrible wrath of the Huns reached to the land of Āmid, the whole people fled the region and entered the fortresses [188] near the Tigris River and near the Debbā (River), 885 called the Great Fortress of Ziāt, the Small Fortress of Ziāt, and the Fortress of Egal 886 which belonged to Sennacherib, the king of Assyria. The Great Fortress of Ziāt was between the Tigris and the Debbā. The Debbā passes to the west of the wall and the Tigris to the east, and they mingle together to the south of the wall. It (=fortress) is hard to access and cannot be captured, because it stands very high and it has only one gate.

⁸⁸⁰ Soc. V xxv.

⁸⁸¹ Soc. V xxv.

⁸⁸² Soc. V xxv.

⁸⁸³ Soc. V xxv.

⁸⁸⁴ Soc. V xxvi, VI i.

⁸⁸⁵ The spelling is not consistent in ms (either 🖂, or 🔄), but the name is Debbā, the 'Bear' River, also given to the Zāb in the east of Mesopotamia.

⁸⁸⁶ Sumerian É.GAL, Akk. *Ekkal*, for "palace" (lit. "the great house").

الموسكة. عدم محتقدا وسقع. [F52v] الموسكة حيكمان معكما وم [حصوط للحوا عن] اللحود كوا وع وه ولا صوحا مع رجواا ووسكوود. اهلا وزما اوصد مع رجماره وصحدا روسار اللا عبر صبرة منظر ومسل معملا بعدل مهمأ مهازا وصلا امريس عضهه معهوط مها. وأو حمل ماه وصلا ماروهيم إصلاط وحا عضهم] معلما وها المركان مسكو وحود احر حماداً. عدم محتقال مقم. صدم الروهيم محكول والبره حتوول عوكهدو وحذ حميكا وول 890 مكي وويا للزمل وحيم وموصل واستحد المؤولا عكوم وهدونا وحمدة كما إوباه وب أور وصدوعه واحد ووريع وعصيعيل. 198 وجد حدد عبار على معا عصور. والمصعد سيحة ال وقوده معل مع (حلا) رحتم محمور وسنحه الهري والعد لا المحاورد معموري حول رحلا المسحمة حصل حسصنا وربي م معند وب وهيا اصل للوحل واحد وسملا واده منظر محمد وكه والمزار مجال كسعتا [188] وحال وهذا بمواد وهذا: وهدم والما والم وَحل مسعدل ورسي صعمل والمن منعدل والمن وعسونت محمدل والمادور ومل وم سعدل وحل ورسل مده ومكه كبط اسكاده ودار وط مدة مع معدة مومكه مع معبسار وسحص علا سبرةا لمعدل حموزا. وصيء عصما ولا محمدمد الموروب. دونه وحزومدا صحار مازما سر اس که ده

⁸⁸⁷ C1 187:5 augol.

⁸⁸⁸ C1 187:6 want of.

⁸⁸⁹ C1 187:6 aurilians.

⁸⁹⁰ C¹ 187:18: **J**jos.

⁸⁹¹ It seems that the first *yōd* was inserted between the *mīm* and the *šīn*.

⁸⁹² C1 188:11 اسورا 188:

Now the Huns seized the entrance of the wall and the water ducts that descended toward the Tigris and the Debbā. They stood up against them and laid hold of them until the people were consumed inside the fortress by thirst, and those who resisted till the end surrendered it.

Because the Huns were merciless, they massacred most of the people with the edge of the sword, and took captive the remainder. They set the fortress on fire and it became no longer habitable in its entirety. Now Rufinus, the imperial *hyparch*, was killed by the Romans while he was sitting at the feet of the emperor, for they said that he was the cause of the attack of the Huns through his cruelty.⁸⁹³

The year seven hundred and seven (AD 395/6):⁸⁹⁴ Nectarius bishop of Constantinople died, and the holy [F53r] John replaced him. This Jo[hn was by origin from Antioch] of Syria, the son of Se[cundus and Anthusa,] of the noble [family] among the citizens. He was the disciple of Libanius the sophist. He was educated with great industry by the holy Evagrius and Basil of Caesarea.

The year seven hundred and eight (AD 396/7):⁸⁹⁵ Theodore became the bishop of Mopsuestia, and [Maximus (bishop) in] Sel[eucia.

During this time,] 'Absamyā [189] the Doctor, the nephew of Mōr Ephrem [the doctor²] was known. He composed *madrōśē*-hymns on the advent of the Huns.⁸⁹⁶

The year seven hundred and nine (AD 397/8):897 The people of Alexandria were perturbed by those who were in charge of the priest[hood], who never desisted from stirring up disturbance against each other; priests rose against each other, applying malice. The source of the evil originated in Egypt, for such a reason as this: whether God has a body which has the form of man, or whether he is incorporeal, free of any kind of human form. On account of this, many people stirred up much conflict and turmoil; for some agreed with the latter opinion, while others, especially monks, stood up against it.

The year seven hundred and ten (AD 398/9):898 Severianus of Gabala and Antio[chus] of Acco were known.

⁸⁹³ Soc. VI i.

⁸⁹⁴ Soc. VI ii–iii; he is the famous John Chrysostom.

⁸⁹⁵ Soc. VI iii.

⁸⁹⁶ Chr. Edes. 6:13–16 [6]: Year 715 (AD 403/4).

⁸⁹⁷ Soc. VI vi-vii.

⁸⁹⁸ Soc. VI xi.

موستا وبي اسم حكوما ومعول والع حرصورة وسكم حرمك محرما معه محموم واسره انه. برحل وهدم صناعا حرمه مع روما. مدحم وهم حسنا المحمده حسسانه مومتا وب صحر وولا وسطر ابقى: سنحوره حسل محمد محومد وصداً. ووهنا محمد المن ەاەمبەھە حدول. ولا مادد المحد سعيل ده دى دكە.. ۋەقسەھ بى مەھزدل بعكما حبر كما قريكه ومدكل كلمت مهكه و وهمال ملا كم وحب ليزه وه وه وها محما حمدها ووويتا. عدم عصعدا مقديد. صده بمحوز الاسهموا ومعهد الما وعام الما الما الما الما الما وعام صبعه مع الهدوما] وهدوماً وهدامه وهـ[مديه مالمه مالمه الماه معالي وحل الم صبيكا. وأسكون الحصيرة وحسوص صوفهها. حنظلا وب ووؤها المؤود مع مرسعا الهجاري وحصيمت ومصوال عدم محمقل ماهيا. موا الووزه اقسمها ومعهسها [ومحصمه د]همه[میل دویل بی ردیل] محکور دویل ۱۸۹۱ محصیل از ۱۸۹۱ محکورا د سکاه وحزب العزم [محصلاً] محمر معرقما حلا محكما وهونتا. عبد عمدتمال ماقير. العمرص معل والحصيونا. مع ومه ومدهمين [دونه] الد در لا خم وده من وسنزه, عيدهما ونهر محموم ومتا ملا سروًا صعب وده محمقها صهروهم [وده]. وزها وبع وصعدا مع معرف موا موا. معلا محلا وأب موا. وأر في: الم لاه للاها مطهوما المامه ما وحزيما. أه ولا فيزا بهن مصنز مع أسل وبه المومل وحزيما. وص ووا مكا ستسل معيدهما صيسال صكورم ص صيسال الم يمن صدور ولادوا صكا عصم ١٥٥٥ استال وم صكا وكموطا ضميم ١٥٥٥ ومكناه مع وستال عدم محمقال معهز هوزيا ورحلا محاريا والرابعه وحده

⁸⁹⁹ Toponym abbreviated in C1 188:19.

⁹⁰⁰ Addition based on Soc. VI iii.

The year seven hundred and eleven (AD 399/400): Epi[phanius] of Cyprus⁹⁰¹ and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Interpreter of the scriptures,⁹⁰² were known.

The year seven hundred and seventeen (AD 405/6):903 John of Constantinople left his seat, but it was not on account of the Faith, but because of (his) public rebuke of [the empress. Also] the empress died four days after John's exile. Everyone said that <this happened> on account of the iniquity that she committed in the depo[sition of John].

In the same year, there was hail⁹⁰⁴ of such enormity as was [never] seen [before]. Cyrinus, the bishop of Chalcedon, [called] John 'impious.' While the synod was convened, Mā[rūthā] involuntarily stepped on the foot of Cyrinus, causing such a deterioration that out of intensity [190] the foot had to be amputated repeatedly. Even the other foot had to be amputated, because the disease permeated his whole body. Therefore, many people said that Cyrinus was punished, (for) [hail] fell and the empress died.

Also [a schism] took place in the Church not because of the Faith but on account of the injustice that was done against [John]. He was replaced by Arsacius, the brother of Nectarius, the predecessor of John.⁹⁰⁵

The year seven hundred and eighteen (AD 406/7):906 Arsacius [the bishop of Constantinople died].

[F53v] The year seven hundred and twenty (AD 408/9):⁹⁰⁷ [Arcadius] the emperor [died], and his son Theodosius (II) the Younger replaced him. Arcadius ruled with his father Theodosius (I) for thirteen years and after his father for fourteen years. The span [of his life was thir]ty-one years.

The year seven hundred and twenty-one (AD 409/10):908 The holy Theophilus patriarch of [Alexandria] died, and his nephew Cyril replaced him.

The year seven hundred and twenty-two (AD 410/11):909 Diogenius became the bishop in Edessa; he built the Church of Barlāhā.

⁹⁰¹ Soc. VI xii.

⁹⁰² Chr. Edes. 6:11–13 [6]: Year 714 (AD 402/3).

⁹⁰³ Soc. VI xviii, xix.

⁹⁰⁴ Soc. VI xix.

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁶ Soc. VI xx.

⁹⁰⁷ Soc. VI xxiii.

⁹⁰⁸ Soc. VII vii; Chr. Edes. 6:20-21 [7].

⁹⁰⁹ Chr. Edes. 6:16-18 [6]: Year 720 (AD 408/9).

عدل محتقلا مسيعهم المحالي المحالفين المحالية ومعادها والمناوي ومعجمه المحالية معمما ومكمة مكتب. وحمل محتقال محتفال بهم نمين وموهل مع موزهنه. حزم كه علا افت محدماً. الا معهلا محصوماً يحدماً وكما [محدماً. وأف] وم معكما مع حكمة اقحط عممتم واحصوفا وعميع معكأه محكم اجن وحلا محلا وعجبأ حمل [وهمه ومملع] حرف مول. > والا مامد حف حمل من حزوا وحل ولا المس [محمام] المعمادة ومعني العصموط ومحموسل [فنا هوا] حمس وعبط ومبط صوره وجه مد (وولا) ملا ورحه وموزيد ولا مع رجيه ومع موا لا [معما] مديد أمصل ومع أمكريا هوا [190] رحبت صهيلاً [المابعة]. وأف وما وكل استار المابعة صهر وزجل علط حص فينه. ومل هوا فيسل انعنى هده الماح عدوس. [محزوا] سلا. وصحدا صلال. وأف حباله وواحة [هيما.] مع صلا وصعوال الله ١١٠ افت لمحمد والمحمد المسعى الما وم سلامات المحموم الموات ولعلمول الأور مرم مسع. عدم محدقدا ماصيحه: إ. مد [٨] هن انسموه [F53v] العسمول وموصل بليده حسن عدم عديقل ويسته: [مدم أومرس] محداً. وهوا سهوه المرهده وحاول دورد المحكر وم اومرس حم المرهدي الحادث المحمدة عني وحالم احدهب اودعهم المنع وحده المنقد الكالم وسرا مدا مد مدخلا وعمر وسبال صمة مبعل العمص فلهنزط [والحصيرة]مان ١٥٥٥ حرومه مبعل موزمه حز اسهما عدم محمقال محسب ماقاع. من ولم يس اصحمها طاورها وحبا حما

⁹¹⁰ Not in ms.

In the same year, Macedonius⁹¹¹ united with the Church, accepting [the doct]rine of Consubstantiality. Theodosius was expelled from his seat and Agapetus replaced him.

The year seven hundred and twenty-three (AD 411/2):⁹¹² Diogenius died and the holy Rabbūlā replaced him; he built the Church of Mōr Stephen, which was a Jewish synagogue.⁹¹³

The year seven hundred and twenty-four (AD 412/3):⁹¹⁴ In the month of Nīsōn (April), torrents, huge and powerful, occurred during night time [191] in Dayṣān, which passed through the middle of Edessa. The ways out of the river were blocked and the waters accumulated, inundating all the streets. All the houses of brick, [wood²], and clay became soaked (with water) and collapsed on their owners, who drowned inside them. Other than houses firm with stones and mortar, nothing survived: (all) was destroyed by the flood. A few houses which were at the bottom of the mountain (survived), but many drowned inside the houses below them, even though they were made of mortar. When the wall was breached as a result of the powerful flood, this carried with it houses, beams, [people, property] and all the things needed for human life. Even more than it did to the city were the devastations that it created in the entire plain of Edessa and Ḥarrān, all the way down until it merged [with the Euphrates].

During this time, many pagan people [came to the Faith and] were baptized for such a reason as this. There was a certain Jew [son of a paralytic] who was cast on his bed for many years. [All] the medical skill was applied on him and all the Jewish pray[ers] were recited for him, but when none of them helped him, he took refuge in the holy baptism of the Christians, believing [F54r] that by it alone he would be healed. When Atticus the patriarch learned this, he instructed him in the Faith and preached to him concerning the baptism in Christ, and ordered that he be brought carried in his bed to the baptistery. The paralytic Jew received baptism with true faith, and when he went out of the water, he found himself <free>915 [192] from all his illnesses, rejoicing with all the healthy ones. This is the sign that was seen in this time, because of which many pagans believed and were baptized.

⁹¹¹ Homonym hard to read in ms, but it must be gentilic "Macedonians"; Soc. VII iii.

⁹¹² Chr. Edes. 6:21-25 [7].

⁹¹³ The place is obviously Edessa.

⁹¹⁴ Concise account in Chr. Edes. 6:25–28 [7].

⁹¹⁵ احکسناز lit. "conflicting" for محکسناز.

⁹¹⁶ Soc. VII iv.

محن حمد ما موإ. المسب صعروس حمراً معد [مصد]ما وحز المماا. والملاوس ابره صبع مع مع معرف ومده النواد وحدد ... ومعتب واكم. مدد وه والمسعد. ومدل وول ووحمه مرسعل وحوال وحل حدم من العلمونيس. والموود حدم صمها ومحووباً. عمل محمقال محصوب ماؤديا طبيب سعى محما ومؤدا [191] ومعتل حرس المل وطرحم اوزوف حدز حديل وكلال والعلامة طعمته ولاه وبووال وسحه صتا. ومعد ملا عدوه مقمل وحدوه قلم وحديد [...] ولهما لمؤور وبعلا ملا صيدهم. وسم الم محمدهم. والل أل قيما المحم وهمنون حماها وحمياً. لا هم حبم ولا المسحد حب معمولا: الل أي محمد وحمده كل ولهوا المسهور. عب الد حمور حقما وصحفا صهال المسع حده و مسلمه من عبر وم المؤس عدوا مع معداه وصحدال عدد حصه قلما ومنها [ومسلم وصنتها] ورحقا ولامع وسعسلما [وستسوق وصنتها]. عبر الا مان مع رحمتنا وبحر حصوبه إلى بحر حقمها عكة وادؤوه دوسن دوعه مسلاه حرها وسحر [دها]. دورا وم رحياً. معل هيما وسقا [الماهم والمعر مع مكما والم هوال مهدومل رحمة [حة صعةمل] أمل هدا وزهل حدوها مع عنتا صحيتالاً. [محكة] أهدما واصما المسم حدد وأوقع علام [إلجة] المقدومال وعبر معنوب لا المحرور المحمد معمدورها مبعدا ومتصلميل. ووسع وحدوا وه [F54r] محمو معماها. وم اهوا وع للهمص فلهنزط المبرخة. المعراه مصفره ملا معصورها وصعيبال وقم وجم لمسي هم حدوها. محك سه محمل معمودها. وروه ولم محاورها وه محمودها والمحمد معددا حصعت المزيزال مح معمور المراد مور مع معمل معلم مدا [192] المرد مع عكوه المراجع والمعلم معم المحمد المراجع المراعع المراجع المراجع المراجع المراجع المراجع المراجع المراجع المراع ومهلاه سقا صحتاا ومعم ومعب

⁹¹⁷ C1 191:25: Ljoon.

⁹¹⁸ Sic ms.

During this time too, the priest Sabbatius⁹¹⁹ of Constantinople caused many turbulences in the Church on account of Easter.⁹²⁰ When Marcian the bishop realized the many disturbances that he caused, he said: 'Oh that I might place my hands on thorns and not on Sabbatius!'

The year seven hundred and twenty-five (AD 413/4):²²¹ The holy Mārūthā bishop of Maipharqat was known. This one was sent by Theodosius the emperor to Yazdger<d>, the Persian emperor, and he made peace between them.

During this time, the Persian synod was convened and it confirmed the Creed of Nicea. Their leaders <were> Mārūthā of Maipharqat and Yaballāhā the Catholicos of Ctesiphon. 922 It was held in Ctesiphon.

After Paulina⁹²³ of Antioch, Porphorius accepted (the bishopric), and after the latter Alexander. In Rome, after Damasus, Siricius became the patriarch, and after him Anastasius, and after this one, Innocentius, and after him Zosimus and then Bonifatius; after the latter the holy Celestinus accepted (the bishopric).⁹²⁴

During this time, Rabbūlā of Edessa, Acasius bishop of Āmid, and the other Acasius of Samosata were known.

The year seven hundred and twenty-eight (AD 416/7):⁹²⁵ Alaricus the barbarian destroyed Rome, and took its inhabitants into captivity.

The year seven hundred and twenty-[193] nine (AD 417/8): Theodosius killed Alaricus the barbarian, whose army was annihilated in the war.

During this time, Mōr Isaac the Doctor of Āmid, the city of Mesopotamia, was known; he wrote *mīmrē*-discourses on the destruction of Great Rome.⁹²⁶

⁹¹⁹ The gemination in the Latin name resulted in the Syriac counterpart in nunation, *Sanbaṭis, and then mimation, Sambaṭis.

⁹²⁰ Soc. VII v.

⁹²¹ Soc. VII viii; Mārūthā is called here 'of Mesopotamia.'

⁹²² The synod of Mōr Isaac, the first of its kind in Mesopotamia, took place in AD 410; J.B. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale ou recueil des synodes nestoriens* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale: 1902), pp. 17–36 [253–275].

⁹²³ Sic. Read Flavianus.

⁹²⁴ Soc. VII ix, xi (on some bishops).

⁹²⁵ Soc. VII x.

 $^{^{926}}$ On him see Assemani, BO i, 208. His $\it m\bar{i}mr\bar{o}$ on the destruction of Rome is not extant.

⁹²⁷ Toponym abbreviated in C¹ 192:4.

⁹²⁸ Sic ms for \triangle .

⁹²⁹ Not in ms.

The year seven hundred and thirty (AD 418/9):⁹³⁰ The Jews ambushed [the Christians] in Alexandria, killing many people among them. The emperor issued an order and many of the Jews were killed and the rest were expelled from the city.

The year seven hundred and thirty-one (AD 419/20):931 Eutyches [the heretic rose up and divided the Church].

The year seven hundred and thirty-two (AD 420/1):⁹³² A severe, powerful, and merciless persecution was launched against the Christians in the Persian lands.

The year seven hundred and thirty-four (AD 422/3):933 The holy Jacob [F54v] the Dis[membered], of Bēt-Laphat, the city of the Huzians, was martyred.

The year seven hundred and thirty-five (AD 423/4):⁹³⁴ Arzen was captured by the Romans. In this year, numerous Roman soldiers marched down and captured Persian Arzen, which belonged to Āmid. The holy Acacius, the bishop of Āmid, took money from the church of Āmid, came out, and delivered from captivity ten thousand families. He also ransomed the rest of the nobility and sent them to their regions with plentiful provisions.

In the same year, Ardaburius, the Roman commander, waged a battle with Narsai, the Persian (general). Narsai and his army were defeated and fled.⁹³⁵

The year seven hundred and thirty-six (AD 424/5):⁹³⁶ The Roman army marched down again and besieged Nisibis, locking up the city to press upon it.⁹³⁷ They constructed against it movable wooden towers and brought them near the wall, killing great numbers of those who fought on the top of the wall. [194] Also, Narsai prepared a great number of Persian soldiers to fight against the Romans. Narsai sent a message to Ardaburius that they should agree on making the war, fixing the place and the day for the battle. The Roman commander said to the envoys: 'This is what (the commander) says to Narsai: The Roman emperors do not wage battle whenever you seek it!' While these statements were made, the Roman emperor sent a great number of soldiers, while wanting them to spare the Persians; he also surrendered the whole (matter of) the war into God's hands, and through his trust, he grew confident about it. And because the emperor believed in God, he quickly received help from him.

⁹³⁰ Soc. VII xiii.

⁹³¹ Chr. Edes. 6:29–30 [7]: Year 732 (AD 420/1).

⁹³² Soc. VII xviii.

⁹³³ Chr. Edes. 6:28–29 [7]: Year 732 (AD 420/1); Chr. 856 280:1 [160]: Year 733 (AD 421/2). Huzians derives from Bēt-Huzāyē, i.e. Khuzistan in Iran.

⁹³⁴ Soc. VII xviii, xxi.

⁹³⁵ Soc. VII xviii.

⁹³⁶ Ibid.

⁹³⁷ The pronominal suffix is unusually masculine.

وحمل محتقال والخلاج. حدم ماهورما وتعالما [حدوههما] حالحهمبرال وحما هيمالا ادحم مدده، وهم محمور محمل والمستحد وحدور معنول لهزر الدر مدند عدم محديثاً والكلام وسبرا. مع أولهما [مزلهما وهبم حبال]. مدلا محديثاً والكلت مازاع: جع زوه عمل معمل معمل مورا وال حرسطا 938. حازما وحرهما ملا وتصلمال عمل محديقال ما كمت هاوري. اهمور ميما معمد [F54v] مع دم حم حكم صربدا ووةوما. عدم عصعقال ماحمت مشعب اعدمه أورور مع ووووهما دوول سن عدا سد سطا صهاا وقره وصدة للزرج وعتصا والمنة للحبه ونعم مربعا اصمع اقتصمها واحب معمل ومط مع حياً وبحة واحب مقيم مصلاً معتا معتل قدل. وأف زورصل فنم وهنطه وحرةوا هعنة عبر اله للمازهون. وحدة حميما مسل مزحله وه اورحوو حود حود الله وروه وهما حم ينهل وهوهما وسحو ينها وسيكو وحوم. عدا مختصال ماكام مقل بيام ماهد سيلا ووهوهما ويعم ملا برجع وسحمون مع عهزا. والتعاصينا صروب ومعنص وهو مدر المورد عملات بنها وم ماو الا به سيلا صها وقتصا حصوره عمر قهه صدا معمد بنها للزودوز. وحادم بعدور عندا. والاسعور ووحما وموهد محموما في وروه وما العربيزا. والاصال احد حدها. وحد احده والله خط الله حديم عنط مخط ووه وصله وم وحم صمامت هون عبو صحط وقده صما سملا صهال مر زجل ۱۹۵ وسعم حدة صلال اد المحصه حمنها عده حاود كها. ماصلاله المحمد ملا موا. معلي ومنع معدما طحمل محلله العصب معنه عمووناه

.وسعدا: 193:11: ⁹³⁸ C¹

⁹³⁹ Not in ms.

⁹⁴⁰ and \$10 (sic) not and \$1, in \$C^1\$ 193 n.6.

⁹⁴¹ C1 193:26 مرد.

While the citizens of Constantinople were in distress and fear concerning what would happen in the war x x x x, angels of God appeared near Bithynia to people who were travelling to Constantinople on their own affairs. They ordered them to tell the emperor and the people to be courageous, and to pray and believe in God that the Romans would be victorious, for they said that they were sent by God to give victory to the Romans in war. When Vararanes (=Vahram), the Persian emperor, realized that his army was destroyed, the region of Arzun was captured, Nisibis was subjected to the calamity of siege, and moreover, war was on them from all sides, he became ready to march to war in person. Dreading the Roman [power], he hired Mundhir, the Arab king, and his army to come and assist him. When Mundhir came with many myriads of Arabs, he encouraged the Persian emperor, promising him [F55r] that he would soon subject the Romans [and deliver Antioch] of Syria [to him]. But [195] his promises were not fulfilled, for God [instilled] fear in the Arabs who thought that the Roman army was falling upon them; as they were confused and there was no other way of escape, they threw themselves, while armed, into the Euphrates River, and nearly ten myriads of men among them were drowned, along with their beasts of burden. Moreover, Ardaburius killed seven Arab commanders through deceit. As for those who survived, they were quickly destroyed through the help of God.

Section from the story concerning the eight young men of Ephesus⁹⁴²

They are Maximilian, Yamlicha, Martolus, Dionysius, Yohannes, Serapion, Exsustadianus, and Antoninus, martyrs and sons of the nobles of Ephesus.

During this time, erroneous and confusing heresies produced folly and agitated and disturbed the Church, seeking to obscure the promise of life after death. They aimed at abolishing the promise of the resurrection of those who lie in the dust, which our Lord has given to his Church. Troubling rumors used to strike the ears of the believing emperor; idolatrous men who lived in his palace used to produce before him openly fraudulent books, and impiety-loving bishops – they were kown and used to be honoured during this time – used to create much scandal in the Church; chief among them in the disturbance was Theodore, bishop of the city of Gā'is, [196] along with others whose names are not worthy of mention in this story of the confessors – they troubled the Church of God and tarnished the purity of the Faith through the perverting inquisition of their speeches. Therefore, the mind of Theodosius (II) the emperor became disturbed by his daily weeping, falling prey to many uncertainties, seeing that the Faith of the Church was dragged here and there.

⁹⁴² Continuation from p. 214 above.

عبر حرور وه وه وحموه لم وحموه على وحمال الله و المرور الله والله والله

قوصما مع المدا وس محم المدا لهمتا واقسوس.

وق بي بعدهمدنا وبعددا وبعده وبيوهم وبيوهم وموويم وهنويه والهوسية وبير وربيد وربيد والهوسية والهوسية والمربط المربط والمربط المربط والمربط المربط والمربط المربط والمربط والمربط

 $^{^{943}~{\}rm Ms}$ סבייסס and there is no need of syōmē since בביוס is collective.

For the heretics used to say that there was no resurrection for the dead, and others claimed that the body which disintegrates, decays, and disperses, could not return to life, but only the soul receives the promise of life. The speakers of lies erred, not comprehending that the fetus can in no way be born of the womb without a body, and that the body does not come out of the belly without a soul – the breath of life. Their understanding grew dumb and did not listen carefully to the promise spoken by our Lord: *The dead who are in graves will hear the voice of the Son of God and will live*;⁹⁴⁴ and then it is said that *the dwellers in the dust will awake and will praise*;⁹⁴⁵ and it is also said: *Behold, I will open your graves and will bring you out of your graves*.⁹⁴⁶ Now the heretics, deprived of life, turned the sweetness of life into bitterness for themselves, [F55v] but they also disturbed and confused the clear minds of the faithful. And the mind of Theodosius the emperor grew weak, stiff, and sick, and he lied down on sackcloth and ashes in his bedroom.

Then, merciful God, who does not want anyone to stray from the path of truth, wanted the sick minds to gain health and the promise of life in the resurrection of the dead – they are kept in his knowledge – to be manifested; (he wanted) to remove and discard the sickening poison from [197] the serene Church and solidify its building against the troubling waves and tares that obstructed her, that light and understanding might shine on Theodosius the emperor, so as to be confirmed with the crown of victory with his forefathers.

All of a sudden, God indicated in the mind of Adolis, the lord of the pasture of the cave in which the confessors were lying down, to diligently build there an enclosure for his cattle. Servants and workers laboured there for two days, rolling away stones from the openings of other graves and bringing stones from the mouth of the cave in question for the construction. In the night of the second day, when the mouth of the cave was breached, the command of the life-giving God instilled life in the bodies in which they were lying down. The one who gives the breath of life to the fetus locked up in the belly of his mother, the will that restructures and gives life to dry bones scattered in the valley, 947 and the power who called upon buried Lazarus, bringing him out of the grave <alive>>, he, with the utterance of his mouth, gave the breath of life to the confessors who were lying down in the cave. They sat up in joy and with the splendor of their faces, greeted each other as (was done) daily in the morning, while no trace of death was visible in them.

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. John 5:25, 28.

⁹⁴⁵ Isa 26:19.

⁹⁴⁶ Ezek 37:12.

⁹⁴⁷ Cf. Ezek 37:1, John 11:44.

مع دوّمهمه رحم اخزم ٢٥٥٠ وحمد بوسعا حميماً. واسزيا لماه اخزم ١٥٥٩. وكهذا وحجه والمسد والمحبوز لا محسر الاحم تقعله وو حجمة مفطر معوجونا وستا. ولهمة حده، محملت راها. ولا العدم ولا معدم المحر مولا مع عنها حجم في أ. ولا بد همعط مع معزوما وحدم مع نصما معملا وستا. والمسزم معرمه ولا ريا حمد كوما وإحد حدى: وحدما المحم وحمحة المن بعصم محم وحده والحما مسم.. ماهم احدة والمالميزه والمحسور لمحتمد لمعناه والماله في الله محتمده والموالم الله محتمده والمحدود الله حده, مع مدیده، ه ویهیمه وی هدیمه مع سیار هدده ۵۰۰ حسکما وسیا حمدوا وبعمون: [F55v] محتصل فع معتبط وهقمعيا وحيم معتمه.. ماست موا وحييه وصلحا لمبرهموه والمامع والماحزه. ونفل منك هما وملهما حميلهما وصعدده ومبرح به هما مدنسميا. وه ولا زجل والع باحر. مع اوزسا وهنوا: رجل وبعيل موحميل حزميل عتده أ. وبكيلا معمكما وستا حصمكا ومحقا. وكرصا وذه بهيزي ووه حاربكوه. ەوپچىك ىعبا ھىما محدزەنا مح [197] مەمەلا وجرال دونھمەر جىيىن مح رتىكلا مركة ال ورباتل ولهذه حدة. ووبرك يه ووا وحويل ⁹⁴⁸ مل الموسوم منكل. وهم احتقوه ण्येयसी टक्ट्यी ११८०२। १६०५ वर्ष ११०० 🗷 वर्ष ८२०५ ११८०७ ११६८७ व्यांक १७०८। وصعنا أذن وحدة معدوسا عصم ١٥٥٥ ولهذا كمسه بعدا لمع مسعمهما الدمجرا وهما عمل ماؤم المع كأم 2000 وقاها مع عدم مديا استال مديهم 2000 واله مع عدم صدياً هن حلقا حسيا ضمع ٥٥٥. وحكما وموصل ولمقى در هوم صدياً المعكم، ومرب قومولل والحمل صبيل وهم ستل لاعصقل ودن عصص ١٥٥٥ وكولا سمعا ناهد تعظما وستل حدوهة وأهده: ٥١٥٥ وجيل ودهمكا يترهل رؤيما محتقا وحد مسم. ٥١٥٥ سلل وهرو محيزا منال هاومه مع مدزا حسينا>:950 بوه ديامعا وقوموه. وميا وسيلا عود أف خصورتنا ونور وصعيرا عدده وهود والمنه وعلمده حسوما ودوويما وفيزه فيمون. وأمير وحرفها وصلا موم معمل من وسر ملكم ١٥٥٥ مر الما ومعملا لا صميما موما حدور.

⁹⁴⁸ C197:2: حميل (sic).

⁹⁴⁹ Νομή.

⁹⁵⁰ Not visible in ms.

The clothes that they wore when they slept were the same on their bodies, and their fleshy bodies were entirely the same. They thought that they only slept from the morning till the evening⁹⁵¹ and then woke up; they felt the trouble and the anxiety of the evening, imagining that Decius was still wondering about them. And while [198] they were sad and grieving, their eyes shedding tears, they looked at Yamlicha their attendant and asked him in inquiry about the things discussed in the city in the evening, but he said to them: "As I told you, they sought us in the evening to slaughter for the idols." Maximilian replied and said to them: "My brothers, we will stand before the terrible throne of Christ but let us not be afraid before people's judgment-seat and let us not renounce the life that we have in having faith in the Son of God." And he said to Yamlicha: "Because the time of provision has come, take money, reach the city, learn [F56r] about the things that Decius [the emperor is ordering, and come back – I mean, add to the provision that you brought for us in the evening, and come, for food is little and [lo,] we are hungry!' They thought that [they had] just one night sleep! Yamlicha got up in the morning as usual in every day and took some [money] from the bag - sixty-[two] coins [and forty-four (small coins) of that era,] minted [in the days of the emperor, slightly before] the time of the [confessors], that is [three hundred and seventy-two] years⁹⁵² before the day [in which the confessors woke up. In the morning, when the day broke, Yamlicha came out of the cave, and when he saw the stones placed there, he became astonished but did not care about their placement. He came down the mountain and walked toward the city, taking not the (main) road, because [he was] afraid lest someone would recognize him and bring him before Decius the emperor. He did not know that [the bones of the impious one] were destroyed, cast inside [hell! And when Yamlicha [199] drew near the city's [gate], he lifted his eyes and saw the sign [of the cross on] the city gate, fixed on the top. [As he looked] he was surprised. He stole [a look to stare at it] here and there calmly; he went [and came pondering and admiring in his milnd. He went around [the other gate, and seeing the same thing], he was stunned; he walked to [all the gates around the city, and saw that] the sign of the cross [was fixed on all] the gates. The city also looked different in his eyes (with) various buildings [never seen by] him. He walked around with admiration like someone seized with [giddiness]. He came and stood beside a gate near which he had rested [in the past].

⁹⁵¹ One would expect "from the evening to the morning."

⁹⁵² The date ought to be "one hundred and seventy-two," from the time of Decius (249–51) to that of Theodosius II (401–50); see below p. 316 n. 976.

سكتهم رمة وم كصعم ١٥٥٠ وم وحود المحال المامهم المهم الم المعصمةم. وهيزا محصنا ومسمدة مه ما حكه ماير وص رفيا خنصما وهده مه حكمه والماحن هدب ١٥٥٥. دامر ١٥٥ ورجما معنسال ووصعال ١٥٥ منط ١٥٥ حددي دامر ١٥٥ ووصع حدد ولا هما معكسمت همه. محر [198] معمني ماصحي متسمه ومتي قميد سنه كما معكمك صعوزهم وصفلكم هنه كه. ومكم عده ملا أمكم وطلقكم هذف حصومكا حزهفا. إحدة ١١٥٥). أمر حدوم وأخدا حده وحدهما الماحم وبرخس حدم مادال عبا وب محصمكما داجة كده، اشب مكوب هده وموم حاصل وسمكما ومعسل معمود اللاصح مرم حام <وسل>953 وحستما لا <بسب> 954 ملا يعقون حستا واسلا > وحره والحمار وأحد لمحمدا صحم عبد وصديا لمحده مواد الله عد عسفا معلم حديد]. وحد [F56r] ملا أملي ومع ومنعد [محدا محدومي. وال. وه وي أوهد فحن ١٥٥٥. وعدمًا ٥٥ وهمًا حصور ومحدل ٥٥٥]. مجم معمم حجار أب مبا ود مور مسود مع [حصول] وحصها معم مدملها وعلمت [مارتاع معم وارودم المهجدلا. وأسلمة [عبط المحلقال معدنتي ماؤلم] عنتي: مبطل لحمط هذه [وحد المالمنة معة والمراجعة والمراجعة المراجعة المرا لمص الموصة. الله لا اسك علا حكم وصله 2000. وسبط مع لهمؤا. وفوا 100 وبلاا خصوسكا لا حادوسا: صهر [وصيح ١٥٥] ووكعد أنم بمكاهوجين وينكمون عبط فحجد ومنعد ولا خرب مورا [وجرعوم، ولهول] سترحم موه معبع حيه [عدماً. وم معلما [199] حكوند] ا وحبيد ما من ما ما الواح حيقه من مرا حيما [ورجم ما الما وحبيد]. وصع حدلا محمد موا. [معر سوا] ماهده. معرب [موا سنزه مسأؤ حده] حمل محمل حملالم. وأزاد ووا [وألمال وألم وولا والمروح حساقعدوو والمورد [حموط المزل مه صل برا] ما صده. 957 مالم من حديث صب [سلا ملا حاكمه م اقط: مبرا و ملا مده م لمؤمنة بنعل ورجيط [محمد 100]. وأعمرينك حة أف صربيكا حميةه. حبيتا أسؤيل [ولا سبع] 200 كم. محمد ما ما ما ما الم الم الما واسبع كم [روولا]. وإلا مم م ازد ا ده وصعب وه محدد [مع مرم].

⁹⁵³ Ms حلم ووسا.

⁹⁵⁴ Ms **≫**...****.

⁹⁵⁵ Latin monēta "a mint."

⁹⁵⁶ C¹ 198:22 محمد هـ، وحرف

⁹⁵⁷ C1 199:6 محمه.

Marveling, he said to himself: "What is now this sign of the cross which was placed in inner chambers in the evening [and, lo, in the morning,] it is placed on the gates all around the city!" He concentrated [his mind] and felt his bo[dy, saying]: "Perhaps this is a dream!" There[after, he emboldened himself], and with his head covered with his cloak, went into [the fortress; as he entered the market, he heard many people] talking to each other, taking oaths by the name of Christ. [He grew especially fearful], and his mind became distracted. [He stood still, saying to himself]: "I do really not know what this matter is! In the evening there was no one who could mention publicly [the name of Christ] and now [in the morning, the mouth] of everyone keeps uttering it." He pondered: "Perhaps this is not [the city of Ephesus], for, lo, its buildings are different and its language is distinct. But [I do not know and I have never seen] any other city close to [us]." He stood up [amazed], and encountering a young boy, [he asked him, saying]: [200] 'Tell me young boy, what is the name of this city?' The young boy answered: 'Its name is Ephesus.' While Yamlicha was stunned, he said to himself: [F56v] "[Perhaps] something happened to me and I lost my mind! I should quickly get out of this [city], lest I get lost and perish, for lo, dizziness has seized me!" - Yamlicha told rus958 all these things after he went up to the cave to his friends when their resurrection became evident and was recorded in books.

Then Yamlicha, rushing to get out of the city disguised as a beggar, drew near bread venders, took out money from his bag and gave to the bread venders. These looked at the money, and when they realized the large size of the coinage, they were stunned. They passed it among themselves while murmuring and staring at the man and saying: "This one found a treasure and it is from before generations and epochs!" Yamlicha looked at them murmuring about him and staring at him, and he trembled. His body shook out of fear and he thought that they really recognized him and they were seeking to take him to Decius the emperor. Others drew near his face and were staring at him. Standing full of fear, he said to them: "I beg you, I have given you money but I do not want to buy bread." But they jumped at him and seized him, saying: "Where are you from? You have found a treasure of ancient kings! Show us and we will become your associates and keep silent about you! Otherwise, you will be delivered to death by judgment." Bewildered, he said to himself: "Lo! Even the thing that I was not afraid of [201] is (now) an added object of terror for me!" Those men told him: "The treasure cannot be hidden as you think young man!' Yamlicha did not know what to say to them about it, but they saw him, silent and mute, and took his cloak and put it around his neck.

⁹⁵⁸ Probably for 🏎 as in the Greek version; C¹ 200 n.2.

ه الموصد. وحمد حمد وحدومه الغن وول: وهيد وب والم وسعد ورحمد وبد ونهد موارد صمر ١٥٥]. [١٥٥ حرف: ال عمر ١٤٥٥ وموسلا عبرا المحصد [١٥٥ ١٥٥١] المحمد هما کے [زهر کم اخم:] کے سکھا ہوں وکا آزمی کمت نکھہ]، وکم تحصی وسعہ 959 حديسه. ١٨ ١١٨ [حديدا وم علا حدوما فعد ١٥٥ مع فيهد] ١١ مر معدله سر حور سر. ومعنع جععل وصعب والمنزال فيلا] موا. والعكريب حدة عجوده. [هالمحك هوه كلهم العن] مها: وهيل وب [حد موا لا نب الم]. وما حزهما كم مها الع ورسلم محمل [حمده ومعسل]: ٥١٥ ما [حرفة الحمل] وعلم ١٥ ١٥ من ده. [هامع: ١٥٥ كلهمه] محمة كه ١٥٩ ١٥٠ [العصف حبدها]. و١٥ حديثة معدد معكمة صعبيل حمية. وصبيما أسنا [لا نبي أمل] وعند أجد [لح. ولا سمل] حد، ومع [200] امع: ك محمطا. من عمده حصيسا الموا. المعن حم محمط الماره. عمدة العسوس. محب وبي [F56v] فد موجود معجمول المجند معمد [حد] حد رجم عبرم ملهم حدوس. اهدم حد معيد مع [معرمد] الم دورد وحمد المحد دامر. ودا روود اسميع حدة دم عدم [به م]محمط الملح مع عبر هجف حما محره معدياً. [م] المرحمة سعداده، والمحمد حمداله ومرح معدد ورود وهوم حو مرسمال مند كما مرحنة كسعا خاصفعا وسرهؤا. ه أهم مع صفه فقفا. منه كمرخب كسعا. بونه وبي سنره حصصفيا. وحسرا ومعاسها وصعا زوزها مامده. وسر علا سر مسملي وه كنه. ومحصم وسمزي حيدزا. وأخزي وما صمحا المدس. والمله مع مرم ووا ومنتله معكم وبي شاذ ما دهم وهكسعي مهه مكهم مسيزي ده. مالمارس. وهي وسكما دلاه فينه والم موها. وهذه ومعلموره العلمورهوس. وصلومي ولحما وصع ضحل به حکومیون استریل ولی حلفقه من منزل ۱۹۵۸ مستولی ۱۹۵۸ میر ایدن حمور: خدا الما معندور. وا معها موسد حد حدور وحسما لا خدا الما واهده وقور وح أوصم حدوم أبتِيا وأسرووه. وأخزج حده مع أبعِما أبد. وهبعما ومحقا مرمتا صعص حور سهر صدة وعقاها بده حور محصي محمور مالل حرسا وهدا صعدهم اللا. وه وم المحدة حدهم وأحد: وا مع ون ولا ونس وده معنو. الا وما [201] الماه صحمة حد محصوروا. احدى حده انقل وندن لا معمل صمحا محملهما اه محملا. المر معل وفقد المه بهه وم معكميا. لل نبيه مما معل بامع كمه مله مواه بوس وم مره ومكنف قال معطل. والمفلا فينهم واوهبه فرووه.

⁹⁵⁹ C1 198:17 oas,

As they were standing in the middle of the large market pressuring him, a word spread out in the whole city, saying: 'Someone indeed found a treasure!' Crowds of people poured forth and gathered around him, staring at him and saying: "This young man is a stranger whom we have never seen!' Yamlicha wanted to talk to them to convince them that he had not found a treasure, but because everyone was saying 'I do not know him,' he became speechless and refrained from talking. Now inside himself he was confident and hopeful that he had parents in the city and many familiar people in the fortress of Ephesus. He was firmly aware that in the evening he knew everyone but in the morning not even one recognized him. He was staring like a foolish man to see any of his bothers and acquaintances but no one was there. While he was seized with giddiness, standing in the middle of the crowds, the whole city became agitated and the news flew to the church, and the holy Maris, the bishop of the fortress, heard it. At that time, Augustus the Anthypatos 960 happened to be with the bishop – God's will made them meet each other so that the treasure of the resurrection of the dead be revealed to all nations by them. [F57r] Both of them ordered that the young man be brought with carefulness with his money in his hand. Then Yamlicha was led and brought to the church, while thinking that he was being brought to Decius the emperor. He was looking here and there [202] while the crowds were laughing at him, as if at a mad man, and thus he was brought to the church vehemently dragged. The Anthypatos and Maris took the money from his hand, and admired it. The Anthypatos said to Yamlicha: "Where is the treasure that you found? For, behold, you are holding money from it!" Yamlicha said: "I have never found a treasure! You say so about me, but I do know that this is from my parents' money. And the money in my hand is of the currency of this fortress. But I do not understand these (things) that have befallen me." The Anthypatos said: "Where are you from?" Yamlicha answered: "I think I am from this city." He said to him: "Whose son are you? And who knows you to come to testify about you?" He told them the names of his parents but the Anthypatos did not know anyone, and no one could inform him about either Yamlicha or his parents. The Anthypatos said: "You are a liar and there is no truth in you." But Yamlicha stood up with the head bent down, calm and reflective. Some said perhaps he was a madman but others said: "No! Rather, he plays the fool to see how he might flee from this distress."

⁹⁶⁰ Greek for "proconsul."

ەم مىسى مرحم مەما زما داكرى كە زەلىل محكما ممكن موسكال داجن وسر صعص صتحما اعمادس وسه فتعل وصع حماه وسنه هده حده واختب وهل محمط به وربا براح معملهم ورافع زجا ووا معمد وبعد وبعد ويعمل المر ولا صعمت حده صمحماً. مع وف وحمد الفن ودا ولا نبد الله حدد المده ودا وفعد مع صحكه به و من احد موا حدمه. وفد: واحدًا الله عده حميد ما وحا مريط الله كاه حدود الاسعاد منيه وها معزيزا كاور وحزهما كالمعا نيه وهارا. وحرجها اطلاب العلاويده. وأب عيما سأو ووا وسرا العاص المقود وبرقدود وحملا. وهم اسبع كه روزيا وفام ووا صد عتما. وربع وجد صبداً وووله صحال كدياً. والملاحدة حصيما مديس اصمعما وحده وحدماه اه الممسلم الممصلم المحافظ حديلا هنو. كما اقتصمها العلممد رجس من والاها مدر الله اصبرا. وهنعما وسلم صما طبقه المال المحمد مصعة. وهم [F57r] القدور وطوعنها الموا مصعا مالاً كماهم، و معده حليه، 962 ميروسود وصلا كمعكم ومحصود كبياً. ٥٩٥ شحة ١٥٥ وكما ومنع منحما مودكم كه. وحما وحما سأز [202] ١٥٥ مرد مر منقا رسم ۱۰۵۰ محدود. امر ومل عمل ۱۰۵۰ مومل صافل زمل ۱۰۵۵۱ مربال الموقع وصنع موا حصوا مع المره والموصد ده. وأجد الموصل مسلما: العلامة صبعكا والعجيد. وها الا مصفا مدن اسب الله حليوه معكما ابعز: صبعكا معكمم لل المخسك. أب واخذب الماهي حكد. الله أبل في البل. وهي عصفل واحتب. وهي حدوهما وعزها صل الموصد مصطا والم طبيد. صل التي سن محم ومول لا نبيد الله الموهم وع اجد: مع المعمل الله معكممل اجد: المر وفعد الله مع معرسما موا المده اجد هو. حد ص اللا. وفع مريد كو للا يعدو عكمو. واجع كدور عمر احدة وود: ولا بريد الدر العد. اهلا الم حامله [وحد]>. وفي الا لاحقه الماهم المرافعة المر كم كماره بوه وي فام موا معنى وسعه. در علا حوروب، ١٩٥٠ واختى موه دد عمل ٥٥٠ استال وم اضنه لل. الله وه صعبل نصعب واستبل عدفكم مع اسما مواه

⁹⁶¹ Greek ἀνθύπατος.

⁹⁶² Clear in ms but in C1 201:26 مربه (معمول).

⁹⁶³ Expression partially patched in ms, although the first part [...] نعبه is still visible; C¹ 202:15 عبه در corrected in n.1 into مهرده کا به باده که کا به باده که کا به باده که کا به باده که کا باده کا باده که کا باده که کا باده که کا باده که کا باده کا باده که کا باده کا باده که کا باده کا باده کا باده که کا باده کا

⁹⁶⁴ Ms **909 10**; correction after C¹ 202 n. 2.

The Anthypatos, staring at him with anger, said: "Should we consider you a madman, or believe you (when you say) that this money is of your parents' purse! Behold, judging by the inscription on the seal, (this money) was made two hundred and seventy years ago, 965 slightly before Decius the emperor. It has not been mixed with another currency and it does not look like the money with which the world's trade is conducted. Perhaps your parents precede us by generations and many epochs! Behold, you are a young man and you want to mislead the elders and the wise men of the city of Ephesus! [203] Therefore, I order that you be delivered to shackles and torture until you confess where you have found the treasure." When Yamlicha heard these words, he fell on his face before him and said to the assembly: "I beg you my lords! I ask you one only thing! Tell me, and I will reveal to you all that is in my heart: Where is Decius the emperor who was in this city?" Then Maris said to him: "My son, there is now no emperor on earth named Decius, except for one who died many generations ago!" Then Yamlicha answered and said, while his face placed on the ground before them: "Because I am now seized with dizziness and no one believes my word, come with me and I will show you my friends who are in the cave of Ankilos, and from them you will know, and I know too that from before Decius the emperor we went there a few days ago. Behold! In the evening I saw Decius the emperor entering the city of Ephesus. Whether or not this is Ephesus I do not know.' At this point Maris the bishop was stunned by this, and said: "This is some kind of revelation that God has shown through this boy. Let us go and see it!" Maris, and with him the Anthypatos, stood up [and sat] on beasts of burden, accompanied by the nobles, the dignitaries of the fortress, and crowds from the city, and went up the mountain. When they arrived to the cave, Yamlicha went in before them to the confessors and after him Maris the bishop entered. While the latter was going through the cave's gate, [F57v] he found at the corner of the gate to the right side a bronze box bearing two silver seals which he took. He stood up outside the gate and called the nobles and the dignitaries of the fortress, and before the Anthypatos he lifted up the two seals. He opened the box and found two panels made of lead; he read them and this was written [204] in them: "Maximilian, Yamlicha, Martolus, Dionysius, Yohannes, Serapion, Exsustadianus, and Antoninus the confessors fled from before Decius the emperor. At the order of the emperor, this cave was blocked with stones on these ones, and their confession is inscribed below.' When they read these inscriptions, they were stunned, and they praised God over the miracles and wonders that he manifested to people.

 $^{^{965}}$ To agree with the earlier date, this should be "three hundred and seventy." In both cases one would expect "one hundred and seventy," see above p. 306 n. 952.

الماهوله شاذ الاها حد حسطا والعزر العيا سعم عيد أد الم صويعير وصعا مع صعل وادوته وه. وها لحمل واصوبها مع مهمتها وده. مديزا هد حقمه معملت عنتي. ومحمل مربع حرميع فحدا. ولا المسكلة حامدوسها 600 استال ولا ومعما لامدوسها موا واسم حة معمد معملا ومحمد وحمد مرمع احقب حروا محمية صحالي وما اسم محمعا الم: وزجا الم والهما حصقا وصمتعا واقعوه موسما. [203] معمل قف الم والعدة المحتجر الممحر مرها وادوا المعلم وسعما والمجسم وسرع معجما وا عجد محب بعد مل احقمه عرصهمب ماجع حمم خط الل صدم حتب سرا وصعد الما 607 حدم. احده كند وحلا وحدم خلا الما حدم. ومنع فعدما والم ووا حجبها هوا المحود مربع مديس المجزد حدم حزب معكم مصل حافظ وعمده ومنساد الل أي سر وصم مع ووا صحال مربع مبا معمدا دامن مرسم اهده داوم مرمده. ه العن المحمد المعنب حديد المعند المحمد الم المحمد الم المعند الم المعند المام وصنعت فخلال امع اسلم اوا فالمحمال والما حزمه وسلا وصنعت فخلال لمعرسما اقصوص أل اقصوص ولا مرسكا ووا لا نبي الله وبع منه اقتصوفا الا المؤددة حدوا واحد. حرم ده ركب دراً. وسوء كده حر محمد اديا. الا بارك سرداده. ومع بوه مديس هالمه في معرو حمده > وهو المحمدة ومرا منازا وزور وروا ومتعا وصبعا مصمى عهوال مدم عليه معدنال بالا معدد مرمده مدا مقوسل مج حكوره معنه اصمهم المحمول ومن على حكوم ومديا [F57v] المحس حره ١٨ وازدا مع معمل محصم مع وسعا. وزمع حدود لحدًّا لمرَّب وصامع ، معمده. ومع حكومًا مع حدد ومنا حمارًا وحزور وحزوا ومرع الكوفي اولع ملمعًا محم. وهلمس والعصد حقسل لمؤم واحزار ومنزل ومصل علمت موا [204] حمع. مع مرم ومنوه محكل دوم والمرافق محصمكما ومعكما ومعال ومنالكم والموهوم والموسي معزفين واصعمهميمه والهوسوه مقوسال وحي وحقومال ومحمل العكزفك حاهتهه، صدياً هوا حقاها. وحكمه صورسهاهه، صح حكمسكه وحر عنه التي حملمتكا مكم لمعه. معصم للكم ملا لموستال معتملاً وصما كمستعلاً.

⁹⁶⁶ Also spelled معميح, Latin monēta (see above).

⁹⁶⁷ Phonetic form for اومعاني see C1 203:4.

⁹⁶⁸ Fully spelled unlike in C¹ 203:16.

⁹⁶⁹ The word is effaced in ms; reconstructed in C¹ 203:19.

⁹⁷⁰ Fully spelled unlike in C¹ 203:22.

⁹⁷¹ C¹ 204:2 مرم.

⁹⁷² C¹ 204:2 هم يحمل معربية.

They all cried out a hymn of glorification and entered and found the confessors sitting with splendour, their faces looking like fresh <roses>. Maris, along with the Anthypatos, the nobles and the entire crowd fell on the ground and paid homage to them, glorifying Christ their Lord for being worthy of seeing the admirable scene. They testified that they talked to them and that they told Maris, the Anthypatos, and the nobles of the fortress about all the things that happened during the days of Decius the emperor. Immediately, mounted messengers were sent to Theodosius the emperor with letters saying: "Let your imperial majesty come quickly to see the miracles that God has shown to the world during the days of your rule, for the light of the promise of the life from the dust has been shown to us: the resurrection from the grave of the dead who appeared with magnificent bodies that were renewed.' When the emperor Theodosius heard this, he immediately discarded his humiliating sackcloth which he wore and the ashes. The soul of the Victorious becoming invigorated, he glowed, and stretching out his hands toward God he said: I thank you, the Son, Christ, king of heaven and earth, for light has been shown to us from the righteous Sun, who did not extinguish the torch of my confession among the torches of my fathers, and who did not darken and shatter the gem of my faith in the crown of the victorious emperor Constantine [205] the believer.' The bishops and the dignitaries of the emperor who were with him heard about it, and quickly they (all) came to the city of Ephesus from Constantinople on horses, two-horse chariots, and vehicles. The whole city, along with the bishop and the grandees of the fortress, came out to meet the emperor, and they went up to the confessors who were in the cave on the mountain of Ankilos. The confessors met the emperor with eagerness and at his sight the skin of their faces shone. He embraced them and cried over their necks. He sat before them on the dusty ground, beholding them and praising God, while his heart was lauding with thanksgiving, and said: "I behold your sight like that of Christ the King, calling upon Lazarus and he came out of the grave, and as if I already hear [F58r] his voice in his coming and in his glory, [while the dead come out of the graves] to meet him without delay!"

Maximilian said to the emperor: "Henceforth, remain in peace in your sound faith. May Jesus Christ the Son of God protect your kingdom from the harms [of the Evil One. You are assured] that our Lord awoke us before the great day of the resurrection because of you. But just as the fetus — as long as it remains in the womb of its mother — is not [aware of glory or insult or pride] or humility, and when it is alive, [it is not conscious of death and life], so are we [calm and tranquil] — like sleepers, [without concern]." After [they said] these words, while the emperor, [the nobles, and the bishops] were beholding them, [they lay down] and slept, posing their heads on the dust, surrendering [their souls at the order of God]. [206].

موضع في وصده حكووا> 273 من موك منه مع المحكمية مصر كهم علا أوجا. ون ووووسل محتمل علامه. في معمس للعمسل معنهم. وعده وسوم سراا هوا المحمدال واف فعموم ومعك عصمور وحكم المكم وحقمه ومنعه معكما ادوره كعنيه والدووليه وكزوزها وحزها وحراء مدلاه ودها المكس كوا المهده معكما حقدمد مامع من وحميه الما معكومات والمرا اومعتاا وحتومه معكومات سه دوا ومعدا. مه وا من ومعدد المنام معدا رصد عن المسام ومتبام محة ا وسلم حكية المامة والمسيلة حر وع معد فلاها لمبهمه حد معله مم مع هما ومهمل وحمود محصر ووا. والمسيحة ووسو ورصا واروود. وفيه البرةود حما كان داجن: حدول أمل حب حزا صعب صحار وعصما دواؤجا. ومع عصعا وروسها مدوزا وبس کے. ملا وجب منی وصووسمان. مع صد حصصبا واحقد. ملا معم وبدؤ لمحمل ومنصداب مع الله رصل وموسهد مناسب مناسب المناسب وووزدس المنسور المنسور وووزدس معكل حمده. ومكلام حرصا وحمروط ومرحكاً. الم مع موسههها العسوس مرسلال وتقولم فكن مرسلال للوزمة ومحدل مع اقتهمها وزورديل وفردل وهمه كما معموتنا وحمدنا وحابصالع لهوزا. معمنه معمونيا للمؤجم ومعكما. محسرات اروم صعدا واقته وره والم محمد الم وجدا على وقيه وراه والمد مرسمه وراه والمراد والمر مناز دوا حدور. وصعص دوا للكوا. في زخم دوا كده حلاوبكإ. وأجع: صراحه أب هذه وحضحا معسل خلز الله عبر الكرو وبعم مع محزا. وابع ومع حره [F58r] محم عض الل مصمكم و ووق محمود و مع مدة انعمى ا متكا لاه وم ولا ماهما وامد محصمكما كفكحا. محملا قوم حمكما ومحدوا ومحدوان ومعمل مود حزا والحما يالي كعلادمار مع ومحتوره [وصعال المام]مع لم وم وملاكم وه المني صنى عبر [محل وحل وصمحا. سالع من أمير حولا وصحا وجنا حدوهة وأحده لا [وسعا] لا طالعناً الا مرحازا ولا حصلها المعطل ومرسب لا فرسع المعدا وصمال وصلا الله والم اه سع [عجم ٢٥٥م وس]بع: أمو وهقا [ولا وساً]. وحد ١٥هم [اهنه] حد هكم داساوًا وافقوه و] سنب حدور [بعد] ورحده وحل المعدد وسنب والمحر وه[سلامه, حه]هميل والكوار [206]

⁹⁷³ Ms **J,∘;**∠.

⁹⁷⁴ Chabot spotted the following words in the folio although they are no longer visible: محمد مبع قصمت "the king went in and fell on his face before their feet."

⁹⁷⁵ Phonetic spelling.

The emperor [stood up] above them and, while weeping, [spread out his imperial appar]el over their bodies and rushed to prepare eight [golden cof]fins for their bodies. In the same night, they appeared to the emperor in dream, saying thus: "Our bodies were raised to life from the dust [and not] from gold and silver. Leave us now too on the dust in our own place in the cave!" Immediately the emperor placed gol[den caskets] underneath them, keeping them in their places [to this day]. And in a large gathering of bishops, a great feast took place in comme[moration of the confessors], and the emperor made [an impressive (display of) charity for all] the poor of the region [and freed the bishops] who were held in exile. And in the joy of his faith [he returned] to Constantinople along with the bishops who were with him, glorifying God, the Lord of the dead and the living. And with them we too glorify and praise the glorious Trinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now, all the time, and for ever and ever amen.

We return to the course of our history. At this point the section from the story of the young men of the city of Ephesus ended. The years during which these young men of Ephesus slept and then woke up were three hundred and nine; it was during the time of Theodosius the Younger.⁹⁷⁶

The year seven hundred and thirty-seven (AD 425/6):977 Helion went down to Mesopotamia to make peace with the Persians. When Helion reached Mesopotamia and went down below Dārā,978 he stayed in the trench which the Romans had shortly before made for their protection. [He sent an ambassador concerning [207] peace], Maximus, a wise man. When this one [went promptly] to the [Persian] king, the latter accepted to receive the embassy, because a great part of his army had perished by hunger. But those who were called Immortals in Persia, about ten thousand [powerful men, said]: "We will not accept peace until [we go] and unexpectedly [fall] upon them while they are unprepared." The king imprisoned the ambassador and set over him a guard, and sent the Immortals in battle to fall upon Helion and those with him. When they arrived, they divided themselves into two groups, confining one portion of the Roman army in the middle. [F58v] [The Romans saw] only one group of Persians coming upon them – the other division of the Persians was lying in ambush behind them, not being visible to them – for they quickly fell upon them.

⁹⁷⁶ The text, written in the margin, seems somehow to be the handwriting of the original scribe. Theodosius II the Younger (401–50) was the son and successor of Arcadius.

⁹⁷⁷ Soc. VII xx.

⁹⁷⁸ Dārā was located between Nisibis and Mardīn, near the Persian-Byzantine border.

همم] منحط کس مده، و خطر ه [حقم مح]صابه [فنص کس] مده، س روقصهون وهنهود فعكم واطنتا رحقه [معلم ووهد] الدوه كي معمون وده حكم المسرم كفكما مسكعا. ووقع المعزو كون ومع معنا المسم في[وي. ولا ووا] مع والمحل العامل العامل مع حدد مراحك معدد عدد الله مراع معدد من والمعامل العامل من معدد الله المام معلم من والم مدكمه فعب. [مقفعلاً وو] مما لمع المالمه معجم مع حبة عدمه مع المرحد كمعد] (. وحدومه زحل وأفسقه إلى ووا حاوا زحل ووو [عزيل كعة وبيل]. وحجر منكما ر[وملا وحلا كد]كون معقبل والمؤال [معن المفقمفل] واهمتم وهون حامعووما. وحسرواً ووسعده و وب والم عده او العقول كموسهد المدود حسر [٥٥٥] للحما معزا ومتكا ووستلا. وأف سع معمون بعدس أف بمحم كمكمكما صعصدا واحل ووجزا ووصل عباما. وعل وحصرح وحده مصعبي اصعب به يووور ح حصروا والمعملي. وعل عكم قوصما والمعمل ولهكتا واقتصوص مدرسما... عبدا وومو وحم لحمل واقعمه ووبع الماحنة وو[م] الحمط واحد عما حمص الوهم وحوزا ادت عدم محتمدال ماكمي مقديد. سم محمي حصم بدوي. وبعدم عبد مع فتصار. محم الما المحمد محمد معترب مسلم حمسه مع وزاد عنا حسنها المد وحدره المع وموصعا عبرم عمل صهر علي الهنامي [معبو المراب حمدهممه رحا سمعا. ولم ور [الم] عما معما [وقتهما معلمالم] رجا ووا وبمدكة للريره ال معهلا وهيد [يعن] مع منكه حدها. الل لا محموره وبعد هوا. وس وهلمن حمد فتصبل لا متمال وهوه المر معنا كفتر [حدا ستكميا عبد اخذ]ب ولا نصد عبد جومل [واركب ونفحيه] محدون مع عدد در لا معلمت. وسحمه للبريرا بنه ونلئ موا حد وعبؤ لا صقال وبعكم ملا محمد ووبعده حصاحا. محبر بي الماه العرب محرفان معنقن. وسحم حصر بدا روره ومعدا [F58v] [ومعدا وع سراه وهدما سبا وهتصبا صدروح وه محمور محمل استا وهتصا حصلال ندخل ادورا مع حصدوره ول مدسرا ادورا حدور مدير ومع محد أوهده ىكىدەر.

⁹⁷⁹ Greek κύβος.

⁹⁸⁰ Reconstruction based on Socrates; see also C¹ 207 n. 5.

Just as the battle was about to begin, and while the Romans were confined in the middle about to be quickly annihilated, suddenly, through Divine Providence, a division of Roman army – about twenty thousand strong, subjects of Proco[pius] – emerged from a certain hill, perceiving what was ahead of them. He (=Procopius), realizing that his Roman [comrades] were about to perish, came from behind the Persians, thus confining them in the middle, and killed all of them in a short time. He also returned to the other division that was lying in ambush and destroyed all of them. [208] In this way, those who were called Immortals in Persia were shown to be mortal. Christ exacted vengeance from the Persians because they killed many of his servants, the Christians. When the Persian king learned about the disgrace that had happened to him, he pretended to be ignorant of what had taken place, and admitted the ambassador (to his court once again), saying to him: "I will make preace not on account of the Romans but to gratify you." In this way the war with Persia on account of the local Christians was [prevented], and the persecution of the Persians against the Christians of their land abated.

The year seven hundred and thirty-nine (AD 427/8):981 Atticus, the Bishop of Constantinople, died, and Sisinnius replaced him.

The year seven hundred and forty-one (AD 429/30):982 Sisinnius died and Nestorius came in his place.

The year seven hundred and forty-three (AD 431/432):983 Nestorius divided the Church and the true faith, saying that it was not right that Mary be called Mother of God. He also said: "As for me, the one who was one or two months old, I do not call God."

On how Nestorius [stumbled], falling through such a disease⁹⁸⁴

Concerning the miserable Nestorius, let no one think that before this affair, he associated himself in this scandal; otherwise, he would not be promoted to the patriarchate of Constantinople. But what the Scripture says happened to him: *there is a shame that brings on sins*. ⁹⁸⁵ Because he wanted to honour his friend, he became despised, and when he sought to rescue (him) from the gulf, he sank in a perilous abyss. Because he was a man not instructed in the reading of the divine scriptures, a stumbling block like this one faced him.

⁹⁸¹ Soc. VII xxvi

⁹⁸² Soc. VII xxix.

⁹⁸³ See Soc. VII xxxiv.

⁹⁸⁴ Soc. VII xxxii.

⁹⁸⁵ Sirah 4:22.

معب حكب هما وبمها عندا. والمسعم وهومعل حصرحكا. وأف عنص <كعادوه>686 عكلامة أوم مع عك سعلا ووه ومعا مع ومدا سوا. أمو معتب الاعتبار حر ورعم حاف ومرحده ورب وحب مرجنها كمما وقد معدري وه [بع كوز]موهد وما وع حبر برا ومزحم حصحره وهوهما [سحره الما صح حصدوره وهرهما الماسحمة محمل فتصل حمريكال محمده حربل رحوزا مهلان مموده أو ملا من مبكا أسناا ولمخل وما حصمياً. وحمدهم سنحه. [208] ووصل وحم وحممن حم فتعمل لا صقال صنادا المسره. صعب حجم احدام مع فتصار ١٠٠٠ ومهم ١٥٥٥ مصيتا حدرة ود و وم مرد فحمل وهتصل دولال ووا ووول حود حجر حدومه المر لل عب صدا هذا. ومحمه هوا للرسبار وأجع حد وحه صهر وهوصبار عذم إدا حسار ه وووفيل وفتصل وي فتصلها وأويده على عديدا ماحكم ملقرد صد Busse Bussel cooxfues Lie. 000l weson arouse. ocard sacrell ه ازدىن دسرا. مدا به مسسوس. دودا درده سهروزه مادد دما مقدما ه اوديع ما حجر. هيم يعلمونه عديا محميدها عنيناا. ه أجن ولا أوم حم وحنيم محبا كلاه الماعنان ماهد اجدز والباكه وهما حز منسا ماؤم. كله الا صعصه اللا ملا ه وأسعل ١٥٥ هم [الممكل] مسهوري وسعد حدوده وأسر ولا الله يهدن ملا بعدلموني معنما ومع مرم محما موا الم مما حده معاهدا حدهمهما موا. والا ولا حولى الله وموهل المعدود معامن والا معدود والمعنا و وأسلا بعدما وخزلل سهة ال مصر رجل وسعة حنسمه من المعمل من معر حجل وبرك[1] مع رجنال لجب به صوما واحربال علي ورحنا موا لا فوما حم عنما وحلمقا كاقمال ربع وب موماً که معدا واب موا..

⁹⁸⁶ Ms حماد, corrected in C¹ 207:22.

⁹⁸⁷ Phonetic spelling; for the full form see just above.

⁹⁸⁸ This title is in black, unlike other titles usually written in red; but see C1 208 n.3.

[.]هامزدل C1 208:23 محامزدل

[209] There was with him a priest from Antioch whose name [F59r] was Anastasius, whom he held in high esteem and [con]sulted in affairs. One day this Anastasius said while preaching in the church: "Let no one call Mary Mother of God, for Mary was but a woman, and it is impossible that God should be born of a woman." When this was heard, it troub[led] both [the clergy] and the whole people, for from the beginning they acknowledged that Christ was God, and consented not to separate humanity from divinity through the economy of incarnation. After a trouble such as this happened in the church, Nestorius became eager to rescue his friend from this kind of scandal through various types of discourses, and did not want, by way of his friendship toward him, to rebuke him as a blasphemous. Therefore, seeking to confirm the declaration of Anastasius, he made in the church a discourse on this subject, in which he moved to support the declaration of Anastasius, rejecting throughout it the term 'Mother of God,' and on this account many divisions took place in the Church.

Concerning the discourse that Nestorius made in the church of Constantinople, (according to what) the holy Peter the Iberian, who was a witness in this affair, said and witnessed before us.⁹⁹⁰

This Peter the Iberian was the son of the Iberian king whom Theodosius (I), the Roman emperor, had taken as a security, lest the king act deceitfully toward him. Theodosius the emperor and Pulcheria, the emperor's sister, raised him like a son, and when he grew up, he loved the virtuous ways of monasticism and left the imperial palace, and at the end he became the bishop of Apameia. [210] He testified and said: "When I was still in Constantinople, before I gave up the world, Nestorius was still alive and ordained to the episcopate. As the commemoration of the Forty Holy Martyrs was being performed in the church called of the Mother of God, he stood up, near me, to preach before the whole congregation; he was of excellent⁹⁹¹ voice and magnificent expression.⁹⁹² He began to blaspheme, saying in the middle of his sermon: 'You shall not be glorified, Mary, as if you had given birth to God, for, O virtuous one, you did not give birth⁹⁹³ to God but to man, an instrument of God!'

⁹⁹⁰ F. Nau, Jean Rufus, Évêque de Maïouma, Plérophories, PO 8:1 (1911), 1–208. Pleroph. #1, pp. 11:7–12:11.

⁹⁹¹ Most of the line is not clear in ms. Mich. Syr. 206c, has w, while in exemplar A of the *Pleroph.* the form is www; *Pleroph.* #1, p. 12:3 and n. 6

⁹⁹² Soc. VII xxix has εὔφωνος δὲ ἄλλως καὶ εὔλαλος "(There was someone Nestorius by name, Germanician by race) but sweet of voice and furthermore eloquent."

 $^{^{993}}$ The second feminine verb in the perfect without the $y\bar{u}d$ is probably a phonetic rendering.

و20] معتمل ب الموهد ووا مع المحمل بوهب ومعد [F59r] ووا المعموم لكوي معتمل المحموم المحموم المحمل المحموم ا حر بهه العلموه معلقهم حدياً. اجز. وحميم حياً كها. العد لا نعزا. منهم سن حزل اتعل ومد والاها ص حزل القل وللمحر لا صربال وحد ووا الملاحدة [حدةل] وكعمل وكه وكسد[١] ف مع حزمه مم من محل ومعسل كله وف. دولا نفزمه مع مرحزها للتعدا مع كالمحال مدالة مريعة وكاسما واب ويا حديدًا موا المنظي وه يعلمونيه. بعدرت صبر على على وقلل كزسعه مع معلل وأسر هيل لل سن زجل ١٥٥١ صبر وسعداه وربره و بعصمه ابر مهروبا. ومعلا هوا زجا هما بعزو حمده والعمله عدم حديدًا مل دورا مادفي حدا. وهزي ونضم دد حصله وانتصله ومد ودمل ودر حصلا ورجرا لاها معهم موا. ومع ملاها موا هيما موستال موه حدياً. ملا اوزيعا مه وحجر بصهوزعه حدياا وموصهد لهميك اخذ مرسعا فهذا احزيا وهو هوا سرما وحده وصوحونا بهدا. أب بعد وجوه و مرمعي. بهذا وبي في المراد منه المادود به وفحما واحتما. منصده وبي المرسموه ضحوا ووهمها هيه مصنواً وقل المندلا محمد، مات حزا وحده البرهده فحكاً. وقده ونال سلاه وفحكا. ومع وحا اسعه حرومة الدقا وولزهال. معجم حصل محصاله محسنا موا اقتصمها واقطال [210] منا وع صمو مامن وع المه هذم مردس حموسهم المهام مع مرم واحدو حدما وراجه من مردس يعكونف. وأسلم وواحه اصعمومالاً وور معلمال ووا وودنا واودي هووا مبتل. حديدًا وحدمنا وسريا كاها. حو مع وساقهم عبط عهد حصل حصيدها وسد. الماده اموا وبي نعب 199 علا مرب علا. هذه ويجو مناهد للحد مرحماه ونامؤرمه لا المكدوني حديم أب وه وللكوا عجاد. لا من عجادت الاحتاد الله والكوا. الا دنما اهور والمحاد

⁹⁹⁴ The final kāf is still visible in ms so the participle cannot be مدالحميا as in M; C¹ 209

⁹⁹⁵ ὄμηρος.

⁹⁹⁶ C1 210:3 | League 2 (sic).

⁹⁹⁷ Impossible to verify in ms.

⁹⁹⁸ Ms L

As soon as he said this, he turned into a devil on the pulpit itself, in such a way that his face and also his right hand turned backward. And as he grew weary and was about to collapse, attendants and deacons grabbed him, carried him and brought him into the diaconicon. Thereafter, most of the people, especially those who were in the palace, disassociated themselves from him, as I also did before all of them, although he loved me very much.

This is how this one slipped and fell from heaven like the morning star. He did not retract from his own evil will, because Satan went into him.

The year seven hundred and forty-four (AD 432/3): The First Council was convened [F59v] in Ephesus and it anathematized and banished the impious [211] Nestorius, because he did not want to return from what he stood for. These were the leaders of this Council: The holy Cyril patriarch of Alexandria, Memnon of Ephesus, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and John of Antioch. 999 Were known too Rabbūlā of Edessa, Acacius of Āmid, and the other Acacius of Samosata.

The year seven hundred and forty-six (AD 434/5):1000 The holy Mor Rabbūlā of Edessa died and Ibas came in his stead. This one built a new church which is called today the Church of the Apostles.

During this time were known the holy Mor Bar-Ṣawmō of the land of Samosata, and the holy Simeon the Stylite.

During this <time> too, a great terror and a bitter destruction befell the Jewish people on account of the(ir) error and because of which many of them became Christian. An affair like this happened to them: A certain Jewish impostor appeared in Crete and took himself for Moses, saying to them that he was sent by Heaven to bring out of the island the Jews who inhabited it and to take them across the sea, for he said that he was one who in the past took the Israelites across the Red Sea. During a whole year he went around the villages and cities of the island, asking the Jewish residents to accept his words. He advised them to forsake their possessions, promising to take them across the sea just like on dry land to the Promised Land. Believing in these hopeful words, they let themselves to be led, and believing (them) with all their force, they despised what they possessed, and allowed anyone to take [212] it at will.

⁹⁹⁹ Soc. VII xxxix.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Chr. Edes. 7:7–10 [7].

¹⁰⁰¹ Soc. VII xxxviii.

¹⁰⁰² Another story of a misleading Moses is found in Part III of Chr. Zuq.; this one is a native of the Jazīrah and makes the same claim to the local Jews whom he has just dispossessed; C² 173:21–174:15; Harrak, *Zuqnīn*, p. 163.

محسبه واجع هوال هوا حه وموا عطمة وحاصل وهميل عمر قعه اقد اميه ومحسل المهجم كمصارة. ودر معول وعار ووا كمور مهوون مركتا ومعمعتال ولهدون مامكه مر موسوره معرب معوله ومعل عدد مع عماهمان مداله مكن وحدكهم. وأف الل مع مرم عكور. وعر لحد وسيم وذي مده ولم وعدل وعلا عدد منفراً. المر موجد نوره مع معمل الله وقد مع رجسه صعل والمدلاله ده صهيا. عدم محتملا واوحدم واوحب المجمعة [F59v] صوروق مرهدها حلوهوه. والمنزهلة وعبا حنصل [211] يصهونيه. صهر ولا إجا ويوقوب مع وه ومام ومام ومام حه.. وتعين وع وهوده الماهم محيه عبيعا عدوله فهندها والحصيوناه صصده واهده محمده وادومكره مس والهمملة صكبرم وم اه وحملا وادورون اصمع واحره داصمت اسزيل ومصمع في مدل محتجال داؤدين دميد. صيد عبما مدن وحملا واهواها مهوا سهوها منطله ها حبال مبال ها وعمل حما مكتسا صاعنا. دويا رحيا صاعبه عبيها عن حزوها وحيا مصفها. وعبيما عصم والعلموده. مامد حمل حرصل المناس وعلى وأحبل حزيزا موا حمل ومدةول. ص ملك لمسايا. أميا وصهلاة حتصهما صهقال دوه هده مراد الميا وأمير هوال محموما وبي سر صهمتا المس هوا حصر بهاد مخصر هما تعمد صمعال ماضر هوا حمد والمكروة مع معمل ونعم حمدةوما وخصوب حجرولا وند. وبدد الله صعل المغز وها رحمة وذهب ده والمحز كحت المعزال مع مرسم صعل وهدده معلما سرا محمدير دوا حمدةما محصوبتكا ويرولا مند. معصم مده حمدةوما وخصوب وبمحكم محقوب ەخكى دەل كەن وىقدمەر كىسەن، ئەكمەوس كەن ولىر وخىدما خدد كەن جىجا للزمل وصدكميلة وبدر وم الموجزة حكرة بعجزا وقلله وكمر وصومصيم ووه صحما مع عده معدهم محمد مده وبي الفر حميم ومنبي. في خمص للبل ووه ونهم [212] المو رجسه.

¹⁰⁰³ Not in ms.

When the day fixed for them by this Jewish deceiver came, he went at the front, and all followed with their wives and children of all statures. He brought them to a height of a mountain overlooking the sea, and ordered them to throw themselves into it. When those who came first to the peak did so, they immediately died, some buffeted by and some drowned in the waters, and as one would say, they would all have perished had not through the Providence of God some Christians, fishermen and merchants who happened to be there, did not reach and rescue those who were drowning. At that point, [F60r] they realized their madness, having fallen into evildoings. [The others who came] to throw themselves into the sea were stopped by the men who happened to be there, telling them about the destruction of those who first threw themselves. When they (=the Jews) became aware of the error, they blamed their own frightening faith, and sought to kill the pseudo-Moses but they were not able to seize him, for he disappeared from them. Now many acquired the belief concerning him that he was a devil who assumed a human <form>, for he appeared for the destruction of their nation. On account of this sign, many of the Jews gave up and left Judaism, seeking refuge in Christianity.

The year seven hundred and forty-seven (AD 435/6): Maximus, bishop of Constantinople, died, and the holy Proclus received his throne. Proclus brought the bones of the holy Mōr Johannis¹⁰⁰⁴ from exile to Constantinople, and brought to unity [213] those who were divided because of him.¹⁰⁰⁵

During this time, John¹⁰⁰⁶ wanted to destroy the land of great Rome, with numerous barbarians. When they gathered wanting to destroy Rome along with the western Roman provinces of Italy, the emperor heard about it.¹⁰⁰⁷ As his habit was, he submitted the whole matter to God, committing to him the management of this affair. While he was engaged in intense prayer, he did not wait long to obtain what he begged for, for lightning came down from the sky and struck their chief, burning him down along with many among the barbarians who were with him. As for the rest, they were destroyed by a severe and exhausting plague, and finally fire came down from the sky and consumed many of those who survived. This put the barbarians in great fear, for they realized that the Romans were assisted by God, while they were themselves destroyed without battle; then they moved from the Roman land.

¹⁰⁰⁴ That is John Chrysostom.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Soc. VII xlv.

¹⁰⁰⁶ John usurped the Roman throne when Honorius died in 423. Theodosius II opposed the usurper who was defeated in Ravenna in 424/5, the year the young Valentinan III (425–455) occupied the Roman throne.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Soc. VII xliii.

وهم صحها موهد وه وه ماسع حوري مودول ون صهداد وه فع ازد ووا حزماد ازحم اده وع حكوره حكوره بعر نعتره وحدوه وحده مدة عسى والمد الدو كموهدا سوا وحلمه والمرا معدل وهم الموا حده وسعور صعل العقد وهم وصل عدم الدي وارحه مرحتا کور عدا 1008 حدره صدر و مدل و مدل و مدل و مدل و مدرد وكعلمة: حكوه مكسحكم ٥٥٥٠ كه الغل عنصهميل أمر ومع معبديدا والكول يتبا مكرة والعلامدة المع لا أوزده معرب للكر وحلسم مده مدر [F60r] عملا صني مدل ومسماهم، حب وصع حصماً. ولل [سترل وألم على وموم وعبوم بعمهم حمط عد الم فالم والعلامدة. وم الغزم حده ملا احبال وهال مرمتا وعمره بعده وم وم العلمورده ما كه دست صلحبك وه وه وصعواده ورص ورحم وه والمكم الا خصوعا وويكمال ولا اعدس ويحدوسون لا يهز صميرا ووا خوور وول وع معدد بدا حصي تا حدود وودا ووا ومرح ومدا حاهد بدا المرد المرد الم وكسوطا ومعده ور معهدها سعا صهتاا مع مدة ولم افعده محمد مده ومداا. والمراه حدوه كيسوال وحميلا مختصلا واؤديع وقديا معيلا محصيموها افيصموها ومعطيطيده حصد موس المؤوس وسره مبعا فالممصدة موه فالممصل كنوموه ومبعا من موسه مع المعونا كموها الماهدكية الماء حدم وصحيح ١٠٥٥ معهده. حدما وع رحبا مسع رجا وسنود اولا وودوما وحمار. حم حزدتما هرستال وحم محمي وزجع وسنحور خنده مع المؤولا عدهور معتصا والمهكيان عص فعكم حدوراً بوه وبي أمير عميره على كلما عبرا حكم إهماه. وحمه المد محمد موانعل وحم وهومزيل مر معمع 1013 مرحمال سعماله. ولا العمومية ونعد المكم وخط مواه بعال من حنما مع عصا معسوب كزيعوه واوموره. محصيتال مع حددنما ومعده. ٥٠٥ وهنا المسحدة حدهما معمل ويعتصل وصنال لمود سلالم نوزا مع معمل وسنجل محصولا مع وس والملسنود والوا حبسكا وحلا محبا كحة حزماً. وسره وصع كلاها صلاحون واهوهما. واونه ولا عندا أحرب. وعسه صع أولاهم.

منا 1008 C¹ 212:7 misread منال

¹⁰⁰⁹ One would expect the plural.

معلمون C¹ 212:7 misread معلمون .

¹⁰¹¹ Not in ms.

¹⁰¹² C1 212:28 massagas and a suppression.

¹⁰¹³ Probably phonetic seplling (metemen for metemen: حدامر).

The year seven hundred and fifty-five (AD 443/4): The holy Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, died.

The year seven hundred and fifty-six (AD 444/5):1014 Dioscorus became the patriarch of Alexandria.

The year seven hundred and fifty-seven (AD 445/6):1015 The Second Council was convened in Ephesus. The leaders of this Council were the following: The holy Dioscorus patriarch of Alexandria, Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, Julius bishop of Kos, who took the place of Leo of Rome – Leo did not yet turn away of the true faith of Nicea –, and Stephen bishop of Hierapolis. They anathematized in this Council Flavian patriarch of Constantinople, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, Domnus the patriarch of Antioch, [F60v] [Theodoret [214] of Cyrr]hus, Ibas of Edessa, Daniel of Ḥarrān, [and S]ophronius of Tellā.

During this year, Pelagius, the priest of Edessa who was expelled by Ibas because he rebuked him on account of his evil faith, prophesied. Abba Peter the Iberian related to us1016 about the blessed Pelagius of Edessa who had virtuous manners and was a priest and a prophet, saying: When he heard the blasphemy of Ibas, the bishop of Edessa, he admonished him publically but he greatly suffered at his hand. When he persecuted him, he came to the territories of Palestine and settled in solitude, 1017 while Juvenal was still alive, before the Council and the transgression of faith. The grace inhabited him in such a way that he was filled with the prophetic spirit and was having visions frequently. He used to go all the times to Abba Peter who used¹⁰¹⁸ to live then in solitude at the Laura of Maiuma¹⁰¹⁹ of Gaza, because they had much love toward each other. One day, while walking about in the same powerful place of the Laura, 1020 probing divine thoughts and virtues with the Abba, the latter said that ecstasy seized him and saw, seven years before the Council of Chalcedon, the transgression that was bound to happen at Chalcedon by the bishops. He foretold the name of the wicked Marcian, in whose time and whose hands this was to happen, and such other matters one after another. He also said to Peter: "O Abba, [215] the time will reach us, you and me, when we will be persecuted along with all the holy ones – those who would not submit to approve the transgression of the faith and we will be perfected by the persecution." This indeed happened at the end, according to his word.

¹⁰¹⁴ Chr. Edes. 7:17–18 [7].

¹⁰¹⁵ See Chr. Edes. 7:18-23 [7].

¹⁰¹⁶ *Pleroph.* #2, p.13:1–14:5; see also Mich. Syr. 207a [II 69–88].

¹⁰¹⁷ Ms is very unclear at this spot; reading after C¹ 214:10 and n. 5.

¹⁰¹⁸ This word borrowed from *Pleroph*. is garbled in ms.

¹⁰¹⁹ Laura is a type of monastery for hermits. Maiuma was a harbour in Gaza.

¹⁰²⁰ The Syriac spelling is close to its Greek original: *Lawbrā*, instead of the previous *Labrā*. Chabot sought consistency and so he changed it to الحنا; C¹ 214:19.

عدا محتمدال وسعمتم وشعب عدام عربما عوزناه فالإنزما والاحسروبال وحمدا محتمدال وسعمتي وهلك وول ومعموه فلهنزمل ومكن والحمسبومل وحمل مخمعال مسمعت مقديد. المجلعلة صورووه ولمؤلم حلاصوصه وسمن وع وادوا صورووها المنهور وكع مرسعا وبصعوه فكهنزما والحصيرولان ومحسله اقعس واوزمكم معكموها افتصمها وموه مطل ومحمه ولاه ووهمما مدل ولا حرص أرايك وما که لاه کمن مع محمدها منظا وسماه هاصها اهم اصمحمالاً وانده کسه المنزم وبي ده حصوره من حوم كسف فلين 1022 وموهل لمسوم كسف والمصحبف محمط واهورهم خرسلس وسنى [محص]مونه عدم الله حموراً 1024 مدم الماحم مما طارعه مسما اوزوما. وه وهي وحا المهزود ملا وهده ووا حو ملا حسولا مصدوله. واحد 1025 وصفيط موا لم وو اط فلها احبط معلى لوديما فللهوه ادوروسا واسم ودد وددرا وصدرومال دامهور ودرا ورسا ودرا ودر عجد حم رورقل والمحال المسمع والموروب. اصعم رحله مضي بع مده. ومر المؤوف مده. ايا حصية ال وقد المار وعد معمل مر مروس من المار بود علي مرم عداروه ومعمدنوا ووبعدوال ووصل عصنا حد لمحدوال أب والمطل ووسل وبحدوا وهجيها سرا سرة بل من بعد حد رح الما من العلم العلم والمامود حماك 1026 مرب حمل طاحزا وصموهرا 1027 و برا. معلا موحل موسلا واحد ووا محور رب ستوا. حب مع مقصر: م صهر وصحب عصه واحل: صهر مقعدا وصدةوما وحلاها وحرمها سعكسما وكة وكودزا. 1028 أفض هما وهوا حلاهما مبرا مع مرم هوسووه وحكومبا عبد عدب. صمحدنا وحميا هوما واهوا حصصوما مع اهتصمها مراه عمه وزهما مزملا اجن: بن وحقصمه محلبوه محمول مما ولمهما والمهال مهم وعنط حلوا حلواه مر اجن اه حده حدلها وحد مجب احل الله حده [215] حرصا بدن وبرؤي بدن وم محكروفي حمر عكوه مرمقار وكم ولا صكوصم وتعكم كنحوما وجومعتولال ووقيل حو جزوهما معمطلاً. وأو وولا معملالاً أب معمد حسناً.

¹⁰²¹ Abbreviated title in C¹ 213:25.

¹⁰²² Abbreviated title in ms but full in C¹ 213:27.

¹⁰²³ Ditto.

¹⁰²⁴ C1 214:2 المحافظ الله محمور 1024 C1 214:2 أحداً الله محمور الكام ا

¹⁰²⁵ This verb ought to be placed after معلل عصد المؤدما.

¹⁰²⁶ Ms misses loo.

¹⁰²⁷ Read J from Greek λαῦρα.

¹⁰²⁸ The wāw, darker, was added later.

Then he prophesied concerning Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius and the godmother of Abba Peter the Iberian, and concerning her fights with the holy ones <and her marriage> to Marcian.

Abba Pelagius the prophet, ¹⁰²⁹ as Abba Peter related to us – he was with the Elder along with other holy ones – also spoke before the Council in another vision, saying while crying: 'Woe unto you Pulcheria! Woe unto you Pulcheria! Woe unto you Pulcheria!' When we begged him much to reveal to us what he was uttering, he said: 'That Pulcheria who vowed her chastity to God, who rejected Nestorius, she who was addressed in writing by all the holy ones everywhere as a holy one and virgin, and the one who defended Orthodoxy, will transgress the faith and virginity. She will marry a man named Marcian, and she will crush the holy ones.' This also happened, confirming his word. She transgressed the pledge of her virginity that she made to Christ, and married Marcian, [becoming the heir] of his kingdom, iniquity, and the anguishes that awaited her. And he said: 'After six years, <they will both die> without leaving an heir.'

Also concerning [F61r] Juvenal of Jerusalem, the same Pela[gius the priest spoke, according to] what was related to us by Pamphilius, the deacon of the church of Jerusalem, who was [216] his friend. He once went with him to pray in the holy place of Golgotha, while it was still night, as it was his custom to do, and while he was standing and praying, he was caught up in a vision, and when he was seized by weeping and tears, he began to say: 'Juvenal, Juvenal!' Later, when he stopped crying and (seeing) the vision, Pamphilius the deacon asked him, while falling before him alone, about <these>1031 things in the vision concerning Juvenal, and why he kept shouting Juvenal while crying. He answered: 'Just as you now see Juvenal carried about with pomp by monks and the clergy, you will also see him, if you remain in this earthly life, carried away by the Romans and the devils.'

Also Elladius of Kellia¹⁰³² prophesied, speaking about the persecution before it happened, and concerning Marcian the emperor; he also related about Dioscorus of Alexandria who did not submit to the former but was persecuted by him:¹⁰³³ "John, the priest of Alexandria who was called 'of Bēt-Tatianus', a famous and virtuous man, related to us: 'When I was a child, I had the desire of renouncing the world. As I had the habit of going foreward to Abba Elladius, the prophet of Kellia, I rushed to him to reveal my desire, to learn from him if the Lord approved my diligent desire, and to ask him to pray for me.

¹⁰²⁹ *Pleroph.* #3, p. 14: 6–15:3.

¹⁰³⁰ Pleroph. #4, p. 15:4–16:2.

¹⁰³¹ Demonstrative in *Pleroph*.

 $^{^{1032}}$ Or Cellia, lit. 'of the Cells,' a monastic community located in Lower Egypt, between Nitria and Scetis, some 10 km south of Nitria.

¹⁰³³ *Pleroph.* #7, pp. 18:6–20:6.

ادم الماس ملا ولامونا سلاه والبرهيم ومورس [م] اله واحل في الدنيا. وملا عزدة وحم مبيقا حمدهاهاه > 1034 وحم معزميان وه مر وه احا طالعه سمال الب وصعماعا موا ح احا فهزاد وم الموهد موا عم مبقا المزيل حوامه وهمانه ماهد حسوا اسزيا اخذ ادوا مع مرم صوروفه وعند وبامد مر خما. ود فكمونا. ود فكموناه ود فكونها. وفي صحيلاً المفتحل كو فيهما صن: وبجلا في معلا وف وهمامعنا معودة اجز وحدونا وله والمدورة للحوا حددها والمربة حسلهوزيي حول وحدور مبقل وحده كروس فلاخع ١٥٥٥ الم وكمبعدا محله كلا. هذه ومنعل ١٥٥٠ حلفت اتداوصهه مميا ولمحدز ملا ومعنولا وملا حموهمال ولموه محزميا. والمسوم حصيقا. وأد وأد وولا معطيم معكله ومجال ملا مقوورة ووصواة والمكاهوسة خصيبال واروصة خصرصيل [٥٥٥١ مزوللا] وصححواه وووممدو وومقيصا وبهمن حده افغز محكن عبتا هم حسمام> المحمد عبداله المحمد عبداله المحمد الفخص عبداله المحمد ما [F61r] محسلام وادومهم احد ود ود ود الما معمل المرا والما والم فعفيمه معمعيل وجرال واوزهم والماهود والماه والمال والمال والمال والمال والمال والمال والمال المال والمال المال الم حرودها مرسعها و مرده در مردس هما مواد مل سن مرا امه موا هم مورد ومر فلم وضرال المسلاف حسرها. ومع الماسع مع حصل ومع ومعتل عن حمامة: عصلاها. محسلاهه وحسنا مع وعلا حصا وسروا. اعمالا مده وعمعا فصفيحي مع حسوامه يور مرصوره: وهيا المردم حدم المرادم المردم حصل صرحص ١٥٥ وموصللاها ١٩٥ وم افعز: وأمير زبل و١٥ عل منزا ابك ١٥٥ حموصلاف ومع ويتما ومحنهمه حروس، وصلى لى حستا ووزما الميد. الم حد ولمردود وص وووصل ووقال صمانما. أو هبيمه ومضمار 1037 الماحب وأجه ملا فووصيا وملا محلا منزميياً. مرم وبه مار العدي من ويصمنون والمحسير في المنظمة الله منظمة وفي المناورة سه المكس كي مسي معتما والحصيونيا. وف وصلاحة وما وصلا للهيا. رحما برسل وصعصا: وقي الله حم لمحل وما حد وسعوا واقفو محكل مور الله ووا حديا احد حما اط هيره بصد ومكتما: وأفهم حماه وإيلا حه وسعما وبحد ماحد مده اده وهدم معزل في ما ويحد مسعمهماا. هاهيمه وبرال محدة

¹⁰³⁴ Ms alaska.

سکاه**,** 1035 Ms

¹⁰³⁶ Needed and as in the *Pleroph*.

¹⁰³⁷ No *syōmē* in ms but see C¹ 216:13.

He said: Wait a little while for I am not feeling <calm>, but go and keep quiet while taking care of progressing in virtuous practices. For in a known time, persecution will reach the Church, and at that point, when you flee, [217] come here, and you will become a monk.' I said to Abba Elladius: 'What persecution? Is paganism about to rule?' He said to me: 'No. Rather, a wicked emperor whose name is Marcian will rise and will make the bishops say in writing that the one who was crucified was not God. While all of them will agree with him obeying him, and submittig to him, the bishop of Alexandria alone, I mean Dioscorus, will not submit to him. Because of this, he will be delivered and banished in exile in which he will die.' I said to him: Will the people of Alexandria allow him to go to exile?' He replied: 'He will be compelled, and another one, an apostate, will replace him.' And as I was troubled by the things that were said, he said: 'God will eventually establish in those days a priest who will fulfill his will.' He meant the blessed Timothy who would be oppressively killed by his predecessor, in reference to the impious Proterius. The former, a believer, after remaining bishop for a few days, would be banished in exile. After the Elder said these things [F61v] [and finished, I experienced great distress] and said: 'My lord, Abba, the bishop will stay [in exile], but the city and whole of Egypt will perish and wickedness will rule!' He kept silent but as I kept asking him, he said to me: 'If time ever comes back, and while there is some time, die in the Orthodox faith.' After he said this he fell silent. I fell before him wanting to learn from him about things to come, but he said to me: 'It is enough for you up to this point, because after this time the Antichrist will arrive!"

Also Abba Zenon spoke [218] about the Council and the persecution of the holy ones. 1038 Then, Abba Zenon, the beggar and the prophet from Kephar-Se^certa, a village which is in Palestine, spoke to Abba Stephen, the deacon of Jerusalem, prophesying before the Council of Chalcedon. For Stephen wanted to go into eremitic exile for the sake of God and to be worthy of the honour of the eremites, and because of this, he went to Abba Zenon to investigate with him on whether the Lord approved his diligence. He said to him: 'Go now, for the rise of and the persecution by the heretics are about to befall the Church on account of the Orthodox faith, and at this point <you will leave>1039 for exile against your own will — rif you remain in Orthodoxy and die in it, on account of the Council that will take place at Chalcedon.'1040

¹⁰³⁸ See *Pleroph.* #8, pp. 20:7–21:5.

¹⁰³⁹ The compound or its equivalent is from *Pleroph*.

بوه وب اجد: وصف حلم حلاصه ١١٥٤٠ لل من خوا الله معا حدم ما ١١٨٥٠ الله الم عمد عب مرد الله وعدعها وودخا وصلاوماً عن حلاق بهذ رصا سميل علم وودهم وبرؤير حبياً. ومبع عب خنص الله [217] أيا الله حموناً. وذوا الله ومناه والل الخنا حدد للط كبوه وأبيا فوه فيا. أوا سعه المرا واحدود امن حب لا. الا فيم محمل فعيما وعمده معزميل مخدم للفتهمها وحدما بالعزمز. ولا أعمده هوا كده وار لحد. محم محمد محمد معمد حده معمد معمد المسمع والمحسورا الفن الل ومعصنه: لا صملحت حدد صهر دوا صملحم الا صدؤوك للصعورا. دده ميه دم الل انخبا كه: وحدم كه حمد والاصعبوبا وللره للحقوبان اجن ك. محمر إلى والمنالل نه ما محدود وووزاه ودر الله المخمط دوحم والماهدود اجد وود الله المحدد للحوا وبصم كه حقه ون من وخد رجسه در معود كل لمحكاهما المعكاهما معلمه حمر اده ومبعدات ولمزماله ادوا: حم وخر ملا فالموزده ومملل اده وم صومعيا. وم محكر مقطا محك حلاقهمهما المصورا معكراه ووم وحم امن وو سط [F61v] [معلل حدما زحما] منه ماهنا صند احل صحمر به العسر [حاصصه وسا]. ه أخبا صبيعا مصحة صروب. ه أسب ومعمله به وب خلا مه ال مرا. مدر معولا م صعمت الله حه: اجع حب ال به والم رحل فحر. وعب صحار محمد رحبا. عب حصصها الزمراا. وحر وحم اجز عد. ونفحه مرصوف. حر زجا وفع هده المكم وحكوص، وه وم اجز كبر فعص كر مرحل كموطرة محصل كم حكو المكم رصل والكيمة علموه معرور. أف أحل رسم أجم [218] ك معددوها وووقعل وعرمقا. وما وع داحا رسم وده محدوسا ورحيا. مع دعة صدياً. منها وأملاه وهميله ولا المن للط صهوما معمما واهزم والماحم مرم صوره وحصوماً. ورسم سهوما زجا رسه وصحصت حدد. وأي وه وصلام صنال سعمهماه وه وم اجز حدد ورا معال علمم به من وروفعل مقوط وه فهمه وبونور حدياً. صهر مصفال الموريال مهور حديل إجل الم حنف الم الم 1043 طحصيمال ألى به وازارصه احمز. ودن الممطل مه هورهوه 1044 وهومل حصفهولا.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ms 🛥 ζ, Greek τέως; see also C¹ 216 n.6.

¹⁰⁴² Ms المحمد; corrected in C¹ 216 n.7.

¹⁰⁴³ Not in ms but drawn on *Pleroph*.

 $^{^{1044}}$ C^1 218:13 **ച**്ചുവയു.

Concerning a certain holy man who used to live in a valley and concerning Satan's fight with him – Satan revealed to him about the Council that it was convened by him:¹⁰⁴⁵ Abba Innocentius of Pamphilia, a virtuous man and head of the Brothers, related to us, saying: "There is in Pamphilia a great and deep valley in which one of the holy men and ascetics lived. Before the Council, he saw the Slanderer coming and saying to him: "While prostrated, worship me!" As for the holy man, he blew at him and rebuked him. The abominable Devil [moved away] while saying to him: "Why did you refuse to worship me? Behold, I shall convene a council for all the bishops at Chalcedon.¹⁰⁴⁶ I shall make a council and there all the bishops will worship me!"

Also, Abba Paul of Thebes said:¹⁰⁴⁷ "After [219] twenty years, the transgression will happen at the hand of the bishops. It is the separation from God spoken in the past by the Apostle,¹⁰⁴⁸ which would happen through an impious man, who would be an emperor named Marcian. This emperor would die after more or less six years, and after him someone would come for a short time, <an agitator who would make> partial peace in the Church and would cease. In this way, the affairs would accelerate until the advent of the Antichrist."

Also Abba Andreas: 1049 In a vision that he had, he saw a large crowd of bishops heating an oven in a fie[ry way], 1050 and they threw in it a beautiful baby who looked like light, and covered up the oven from all sides in such a way that neither smoke could be seen from it nor air could enter it. After three days, he saw the same baby coming out of the oven healthy. [F62r] He knew that he was the Lord. As he [was accustomed to talk with him], he said: "Lord, who are they who did this to you, throwing you in the oven?" Now he said to him: "The bishops crucified me again, and they thought that they could take away my glory." He said it well, for the Nestorians are sick from the disease of the Jews. They call the one who was crucified a simple man, and not God who became flesh. Also, in the vision, the old Abba saw from a distance an old man standing, who did not greet these bishops or associate himself with them, even when they heated the oven, threw in the infant, and sealed it. The old Abba said [220] to the child: "Who is this old man?" He replied: "He is Dioscorus the archbishop of Alexandria, the only one who did not share their thoughts." As one who felt free, the old man took courage and said to the Lord: "What is the origin of the fact that, lo!, all the bishops of Alexandria are fighting to death on behalf of the truth!"

¹⁰⁴⁵ See *Pleroph.* #9, p. 21:12–22:5.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Unnecessary footnote is found in C¹ 218 n.5.

¹⁰⁴⁷ See *Pleroph.* #12, p.28:3–9.

¹⁰⁴⁸ See 2 Thess 2:3.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Pleroph.* #14, p. 30:2–31:9.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Pleroph.* #14, p. 30:4.

علا الع عبما ويضن وه حمداً. 1051 معلا عنده وهلها وبعده. ووليا حه عدلا صوره ورصد حمر محمد معدد معدد معدد المعدد ومع ومع ومع ومدود كبار. حدا بعدا مؤسعا وانتبار في الغزز واسلا مقعمه محمل سر زما معصما ومه العاصح مرسقا محتقط حضره. برا مع مرم هوره وه للحضر إرابا حماه هامد حد، ومر يف الله صهور كد. وه وم عبد لعد ده مرحد. [معد] عاوا وه لهدا. دم افد كماه: كعيا المالك والعيدور ك. وا مديم ايا صورووه حدده افتصمها حدموريا. مخضر الل صوره ومامع محمه اهتصمعا حد يعصره المد احل فعلل الحسا اخذ: وصع [219] حكمة مستب متب محدولًا المكرة ولدوا مع اهتصففاً. وأو والموود ووا صكرنسميه ال وصع كله أله ومرم الغن عكسال ١٥٥٠ حير العا وعبد واده محدال وعده صنوميل وه وج صححا حدة عد عنتي ومدر عمير خبر وص حدوه وه الع رحد رحوزا حولل مخص المحادث عبيد صدارة حديدا مغلا. ووصد صدر المحتركم صقديد حوصد واقتصمها. وعين الموزا [محالم:1053 محمها. عصرا ووفع حمورا. دو وفع كه على معمد ٥٥٥ كه مع وال رحت كه كلادوا. المولا واهلا الله الكما معده. اهلا اأذ بده حد مع حدة الحدا يقعب سروه حد حدده ويفور وب عند مع المنوال [F62r] وبير وحدما المحمد، وأمير حج الم من المن منها وبحد حمو]. اجد حن حنا فع الم المحم ولحم ولحم الموا ماؤهمور حمله والله وم 1054 العد كمان الم اصعقعا ماه رجحوس ملمحوسك المسعو ويعجون ولمحاس اجزز وعوزويا وموقول حندهم بعمله وتبار حنعل عسيط اخنم حده حدة والهجد محد كده والمحصة مادد عب سن بعدا. سرا بعدا سب مع زوسما عب فاجر. وحوجه المستقف استرا لا خجر ووأ. ولا صماهاد دورا معدور. ولا در منيزر حده حلادوا العلا در ازهدود حلاما ومدود. ٥٥٥ صط اجز [220] كماه ولهكيا. وما صحا حدة الماهدة ٥٥ وم اجز. ولعصوه المهمون. ولعد اهتم والحصيبولل. وبوه حكموره لل المماه حصيقهم. هوه هجا الموض وعمل فنزهما. المسلا واجز خصرما: واورا مع المدا المان. واوا علمون افتصمقا والحصيروبا حرمل لحمدا محادهم ساه مزواه

¹⁰⁵⁴ The adverb is not in ms but see C¹ 219 n.7.

¹⁰⁵¹ C¹ 218:14 **حمدا**

¹⁰⁵² Ms منحب هما as also in Mich. Syr. 208c line 14, but منحب هما is in *Pleroph.* #13, p. 28:8.

معمنالک انتخاب but C¹ 219:10: معمنالک Ms: the first part is not legible but the end seems to be المعالم and the whole may well be the adveb of the *Pleroph*.

He replied: "The origin is when Simon of Cyrene carried my Cross, and Cyrene is part of Egypt. From that time, it was anticipated through prophecy that Egypt, whose share was Cyrene which is located in Libya, would carry my cross and follow me to the end; she will show zeal for my sake until death."

In Constantinople, Anatolius became patriarch in the place of Flavianus, in Antioch Maximus instead of Domnus, and in Edessa Nona instead of Hībā (Ibas). 1055

The second Council of Ephesus confirmed the entire faith of Nicea, and affirmed the first Council of Ephesus, without any omission.

The year seven hundred and fifty-eight (AD 446/7):1056 Much dust and small stones of all kinds came down from the sky over Jerusalem and all the villages around it. When the unlawful Council was about to take place, suddenly, the sky turned into obscurity and darkness and fog, and small stones rained over the Holy City and over all the villages around it. Many other cities in Palestine were in the same condition in every way. The stones looked like those that people work with, but had various ugly marks. Many people picked some of them, and when they used them, unknowingly, they became blind. [221] It is said that Hesychius, the orator of Jerusalem, gathered many of them and showed them to Eudocia the empress. He also sent some to Constantinople as a demonstration of the sign revealing the blinding that would grip the world through the blasphemy of the bishops. Below the small stones much dust was found as a testimony that they came down from the sky.

The year seven hundred and fifty-nine (AD 447/8):1057 The magnificent cross which used to shine and flash in the holy church of the Ascension for many years was suddenly burned by fire and turned into dust. It was large and was placed by Helena the empress in the temple of Jerusalem. When this took place, it moved the heart of all those who feared God in such a way that the God-fearing empress Eudocia, for the consolation and at the request of the people, made one of bronze in replacement that is now visible and is shining – it contains six thousand *litrā*-pound of bronze.

The year seven hundred and sixty-two (AD 450/1): The blessed Theodosius the Younger died. On the day of his death, a voice from heaven came, saying: "Behold! The virtuous one has perished from the land and no one pays attention!" This voice was heard by all those who were in the imperial capital. [F62v] [Now Theodosius the emperor] lived for fifty years, in forty-two of which he ruled, [because] he became emperor when he was eight years old. Anthemius the *Hyparch* was his educator.

¹⁰⁵⁵ On Nona see Chr. Edes. 23:23–27 [7].

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Pleroph.* #10, pp. 22:11–23:9.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Pleroph.* #11, p. 27:3–9.

به وم اجز: مع مع معمدم معاوساً لهم ركسما وسك معال ومدوم المنة: وصع ومبع عرصه المبدع صحما وحميا طرفع: وقد وهدما وحدة المنة مەزىيا. نەن وحدد ھىمدا: وجومدا خەممدا رچىدا وسك يالىج مك يامد. مالىدا وسكى اسه حبط حمداً. مها وم حمدهم بهاسوه حسه فلهزيرا. سك فه حديد الهم حمده. طالهما ساه وهدوم محصمه. حادوه ساه محل بولاه صوره وع ولماع واقعمت سلمجلًا حديث صعيماً وبصال معزول أقد حدث عرضها واقعمت. ولا حوزوا وحبره. عدلم محتملا مسعمت ماتعبا. سم ملا اهزمكم مملا عكم عدوما وسروءة حدة صها مع عمد معد وحد ومدور وبدور من حميا موما ولموه موسوه لا تعوصها. مع عد موا عصا معول مع سعوط ومنطا. وعيدها المعرف حميها مبعدًا وحددوع موزما وسرورة. وحرومتما صحيتالا وقحصهما. عوب حروقها حصرم. وزهع ٥٥٥ كوكع وهع حشعا هكاميع. وأملا كوه لمحتا هقسها معمية ال والمحل هي المحلم الما المعلم المعلم المعلم المحلم المحلم المعلم [221] واضنع موه وموصده من حاصورا> المحال على عب ضع مده مهد العرصما ادوميا. معبؤ العرصه على المساما والما الألا والما ومعدوما والما وصعمال والنبا حمصل حب محاول واهتصمحل محمول وم أقد محزا صهال حمسك صدهم ومتدها حميدها ومع معما سلا. مدلا محتمدا وسعمت ولمقدر إجمدا صمة رسمة وه وهدوة وه وهدوه حمل صورها عبدها مع منتا مرستاراً. عبر مع مد المسنو ص به وال محدود الماهور المهمور حدد وهيم مه الما محدما حميلا واه و محرد عبر وج هوا هما. وعرمم حط وعدهم وسخد هما. المصل ومحمل وسحم هما ادوميا اب وحديثا محيهما وبعيا سحوه وسعا لمحرد هذه والا هعا صميرا معدود. وأسلاحه كملهمة القلما لاهما سعار عمل عجتمال مقلم ماولم. معمل لهوصا لمبرهموه رحدوله محمصل وصعاه مدما علا مع معمل واحد: وما احد معمل مع اوجا. محمل وصما ما وع ملا حدمه ومن وحميد محمد [F62v] [سعل وعلى المعاهد المحد المراجع والمراجع والمراجع المعادية المع المرهموه محكماً سعمت علتي واصحر مدول اتوجيع ولمالي. [محلوم] وحز لمقتل علتي اصحب بر المعمم موقوط مواحم موصله

امحوزها Ms الاعتوام.

Concerning the reign of Marcian and the darkness that settled on the day he put on the crown, announcing the confusion that would pass over the Church and the world¹⁰⁵⁹

Marcian rose up in the empire after [222] him (=Theodosius). On the same day the impious Marcian was elevated to kingship and was crowned, darkness suddenly gripped the whole land, along with obscurity and dust that came down. The darkness was like the one that gripped Egypt; it darkened the air so much that the inhabitants of the imperial capital were in great fear and much bewilderment, greatly lamenting and mourning, as their fulfillment was quickly coming. This prophecy of darkness was about to come over the whole land at the hand of this tyrant, but also that of blindness and obscurity on account of the fear of God. Also, as one would say, the whole creation was in mourning in an indescribable way, announcing in anticipation the blasphemy toward God that would take place, and the estrangement from the Orthodox faith at the hands of the impious emperor and the great assembly of the bishops of the whole universe. This darkness remained until the evening. As for the emperor, realizing the turmoil and the grief of the soldiers and of the whole city, and that everyone was filled with foreboding concerning his reign which was about to become the instigator of great evils for the whole world, he grew fearful and was in great confusion. He first wrote down public declarations, acting cunningly before God's anger and thinking that he could mislead the people. For he said the opposite, just as his declaration informs the one who happens upon it: "The whole people in my empire ought to expect abundance of great riches, for the darkness derived from the emperor before me is dissipated while the light of my magnificent leadership has succeeded him!" This was the first and foremost of his commands. This declaration was posted in the entire [223] universe for those who had ears [to hear], eyes to see, and hearts to understand that this declaration was a true admonition and an evidence of endurance; (it (=declaration) came about at once and without hindrance through the diligence of the tyrant and the transgression and the separation from God that took place at the hands of the bishops at Chalcedon.

Marcian married Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius the Younger, fifty years after she kept her virginity. She also dismissed Nestorius, and transgressed her promises to Christ as well as to the faith in him. And so that she might not leave the palace she became the wife of Marcian, and the prophecy which the priest Pelagius of Edessa prophesied long before was fulfilled over her: "Pulcheria will transgress her promises of virginity and the faith; she will marry Marcian and the faith will be harmed by their own hands," as is written above. 1061

¹⁰⁵⁹ *Pleroph.* #10, pp. 25:3–27:2.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Mt 13:43.

¹⁰⁶¹ Repetition of the prophecy of Pelagius; see *Pleroph.* #3 above.

سلا معلمها ومعزمسا مدلا سعوط وملهز حماما وهم حدم لم ل عبر معمور ملا حەزملا وحدز حديال محمدها. جم وب حصحهال مع [222] حازه مدزمسه. مده سن صمحا والمحك خصحها مملى لمل هنمسا ومبدا: مع محل سعمما اسر حمدة اولما حصر مصهيد مسلا وسند محال مسعوط محا وأسر من وأسم حصرفي: محدد المصهم للأو. أسعيد وحكوه معدونة وحبسه محكوما حبسلا وط محمومها مهسال مهوه. مزهوداسه صدهم ٥٥٥ وصد محكم 1062. المر اذه وعد لحمل حيه مدوور المالة ادوا المدا وسعدا وحكموا ١٥٥١ وامادا ملا حكة أوجا. حلبتراه وحكه ولهزويا. ووصعيدا ووسعودوا وصع وسكم كاها. اصعل وحكة حزما أب أنه بأهز. لا معمدكلم احلله ١٥٥ موملا صعورها محدوما وحلكما من من مال دوسمورا ومنصورا الزمريا عددسال صده وصحفا وعبدا وصع صومها صهاا واقتصمها وممعدنها. وه وع سمما وصل ممز عرصا خرصماه بوه وب کنوبل در برا میهمیا داطا واهمتهمها دودکه صبیما. دودکم حسم ددا صهر محصابه. اب فع وعلمها مهما والهما حصم محصا مرعسما 1063 وحتما وه و ماند وسا محمومه وط مه الله مهاد معرم هم محمده الم ومعمل و محمده مراسم وصع كلاها. وصعدة صعمه وصلهما كتقعل افغة هوا يهنة هذه وكموطا. المصل ووب علمحلاً معكل لامكم وفيلم حده. وزوم ومعناسماً ولهضاً ودوّحاً بعدا علام للمعل مع محمداً وسحد بسعدا منع ومحمل وموس معلهزو. مع محمد حده مدورا ومعينها ومعتماً ومحدة والموروب ولا معول وعرصا وفقعيلا ومحود ووا عممها عر حمحة [223] حااصيك المجتمعة عدم والم عدم ابتا [وبعدم] متنا وسوم محط emaca, acompal ward oliveral formal careal liario. Ou forme of laci أوزجلً حبر محملهاه ولهزه بالمحدودا وصلاؤسه الأوص كلهاً. وهوما مع اهتهمها حمد مناه من مناه وب نسم حمد منا سلام والبرهيم محمل الماول من حلاة سعمتم منتم ولهذا حكاه كاف ماه كسهونه ولا موسك المحالم المالي مودونات ولا صعيباً. وأو مل وبعدواه. وصهل ولا باقوم مع قدلهم وولا حمزميا حتماً. معملاً خمان بحمال والمنصد محمن مع موم رصل معها علمه فللهم اوزوما: واسلا كن خصصونها والمحزمل عقاوية وحلامكمال المصلال المعلماك خصاصها مطتبيهم معدما للسداد اصعل ومع ملا ممدد

¹⁰⁶² Ms sic; possibly phonetic spelling for حدادكي; see C1 222 n.3.

¹⁰⁶³ The adjective in ms looks like مرميكا but it should be المحميك; *Pleroph.* #10: محمدال

¹⁰⁶⁴ Ms کنال.

On how and from where the evildoings began to surge in the Church and in the faith in this year

It should not be a subject that is rejected by the ears of the intelligent ones when they hear in this chapter that we set down (in writing) the evildoings that surged in the Church, (describing) where they started and who planted and watered this bitter shoot that produced branches and fruits, encompassing the entire universe. Theodoret whom Dioscorus banished on account of his corrupt faith, along with Ibas of Edessa, Daniel of Harrān, Flavian of Constantinople, and their colleagues who were expelled, found a suitable time for their error; they collected much gold [224] and went up to Leo, the patriarch of Rome, informing him about everything, and through the bribe which blinds the spiritual eyes, they subjected him to their error. He transgressed his faith and made for them according to their own will a book called the Tome, as if against the teaching of Eutyches. Thus Leo wrote it and dispatched them hurriedly to Marcian the emperor and his wife Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius. This is what gold had done to Leo the patriarch and to the faith. [F63r] Pulcheria accepted [the Tome] because Leo used to honour her brother Theodosius, but she also subjected Marcian to Leo's [will]. Leo was Orthodox during the days of Theodosius, but he and his faith became corrupted by the excessive gold that Theodoret, Flavian, and Hībā (Ibas) offered him, and through his intermediary he corrupted the entire Church.

The year seven hundred and sixty-four (AD 452/3): Marcian the emperor ordered and the Council of Chalcedon was convened. Bishops, five hundred and sixty-seven in number, assembled there, and as they gathered, the Tome of Leo was read. They rose up altogether and swore thirty-six times not to accept the Tome and not to agree with it. When Marcian the emperor came, he ordered those who did not accept the Tome to get up of their chairs and sit on the floor. But because they loved their chairs and their leadership, they transgressed their own oath and the faith as well. They sat quietly on their chairs, and none rose up other than Dioscorus of Alexandria alone. He was exiled in Gangra, and Proterius was appointed syncellus 1066 in his place.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Modern Çankiri, to the north of Ankara.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Dignitary title referring to a prelate; for more details, see F. L. Cross (ed.) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (revised by E. A. Livingstone, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 1579.

مر وأبعد والمعلم وصع المعلم عنه عنه عنه عدم عدما ودور عدما عدم المراد لا معهما لاونت فتوممل في بمعدور فصروا وبل ووصل لح ملا فتمكل وموس حديدا ومع المجل متربه. وضع رؤس وأف ضع العصد حدمنا ومل صنارا. وحجم صقاصل وهاوا وصد حدمة دنالا. البونيها ون وص وبصعين المكوب صهل صعدا وبصدال حر وحل واوزون ووساس وسنى. وقد موه وموهل المسوود من معرف المراق ا المحسد كامن رحيا وحمر كالمساده ورود الدور المحمد ال فلهزيزها وزهوها. وعلا علام اورعوف. وحقوبها وه وهدوز حيية ويعمل محجودون کهنداده منجز ملا مصداه منجر کده مکا اب جسمه فه وهکمنا له معسل المر وحمد مدهه واهلهما عبد وبي وه المر والمهر المر حمد صنمسل وللاعام فكونها سلاه والبرهيف وحب ووحا طاه فلانها محمصها الله [F63r] فك وزيا معلى ومعمد المام مل البرهيم المدة. مجكة [کلموهده]. وأف خصرمنا عندياه [خينه] ولاوره اللاحزم حقمت لموهيم لمؤس عمدسا الموروب المورد وصحيما وروط والمورد حم مع المرومها وهدما وروط المسد صعمه مدميعيماه. مسحكة حدكة ميلا حب حديدماه>. 1068 عدم مقتعلا معمت هاوديد. قمر معزميل محكوا. والمصمل معدووهم وحمدويل والمصعد اهتصمعا كمص حصيبا سعقطا معمة مقدد. دور الموسع فالمن لموسط والدرة مم وحددر عماري. هاسنعه ملا يعمه الكلم مقل ردتم: ولا يمده كهمعما. ولا يعمه حه. وحر ابا محكم منزميا. هم وص من ولا يمد كهومها: يموم من دوزهما مد ملا ازدا: معلی وزسم حوزهمامه وزمعده من مجز ملا متزهمه والا ملا صعيماً. وبلات على ملا حوزهماهم. والل أن حكمو وبعموه والحصيروبا لا معر. والعادة كهزال وبحر سهوره والمانيوس هيمكو والمانان

¹⁰⁶⁷ Traces of full spelling are still visible in ms but the toponym is abbreviated in C¹ 223:24.

مر مداه Ms ماره 1068.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Σύγκελλος.

The leaders of this Council were the following: Anatolius of Constantinople, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Theodoret [225] who was banished by Dioscorus, and the deputies of Leo of Rome.

Concerning the scene that appeared in Chalcedon¹⁰⁷⁰

Nor could the following be omitted from placement in this chapter. A few days before Marcian the emperor ordered that the Council of Chalcedon be convened, a young man looking like an Indian¹⁰⁷¹ was seen, very ugly in appearance, and x x x and appearance. He used to play and dance in all the streets of Chalcedon in the middle of the day, and was thus seen by all its citizens, and no one could grab him. When this happened to the citizens, it grieved them, and they said: "Satan will cause dissent in the world on account of the separation from God," a thing that happened in reality.

Among the Orthodox during this time were known Dioscorus of Alexandria, Peter the Iberian, Romanus the Abbot, Basil whom the citizens of Jerusalem had established instead of Juvenal, Marcian the monk, Bar-Ṣawmō of Samosata the monk, and Simeon the Stylite. Also known were Simeon the monk of Ḥalḥ and his seventy disciples, Paul of Ṣorta, 1072 and Jacob of Kephar-Reḥīmā. Up to this time, all those who loved heights ended their lives on trees. Beginning with Simeon, stylit[es] began to appear in the world.

After what had been done at the Council of Chalcedon, ¹⁰⁷³ disputes surged and scandal increased; disagreements were stirred up in the whole Church everywhere, and divisions took place in every place. The faithful people fell upon each other, and shepherds assailed one another with mortal envy, [226] annihilating hatred, ignominy, abuses, many evildoings, and malicious threats. In this way, as is written, ¹⁰⁷⁴ the whole Christian assembly *became a taunt to their neighbors, mockery and derisions to those around them.* Such ignorant and unwise people as the crucifiers, ¹⁰⁷⁵ while mocking and deriding [F63v] [the Christians, went as far as daring] to write a document [which they posted at the gate] of the public building in the capital as follows.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Pleroph. #?

¹⁰⁷¹ The association of the black colour with devil is as early as the Acts of Thomas; see Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, §44.

¹⁰⁷² A region on the upper Tigris; J. P. N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. II (Brill: Lugduni Batavorum, 1866), p. 61:11.

¹⁰⁷³ For this section see Mich. Syr. 221a [II 91–92].

¹⁰⁷⁴ Ps 79:4

¹⁰⁷⁵ Reference to the Jews. The Syriac polemic term occurs in Ephrem's writings at the earliest; Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, p. 41.

وَسَعَنَ وَعَ وَهُوا هُونُ مُونُونُ هُ لَكُنُونُ مُكِي: الكور وموهكيكمناهوكيه محتلاها والمؤهم المبوليل [225] من والمعبد مع ومصموص مع المؤدل والم والمام والم المرا به والمرب حدة حصصومال العلل موا معصكم مع ويصبعه حصورا به مرم عقعها رحوقا وهم محجا ولماصع وت هونووه حجكمونا المنزب حرمها رحنا ويرمل رحوزا. وضي معدد حسراه و xxx وحسره. در معملا ومدوم حدده مقمل وبدة وحصوميا. دفكيه وعمدا. ووصل المس خصص حت صبيعا وفد ولا الم المصد حصيره. أبعيل ومر هوا هما حماهم حت صربها حاطل محراً. مر اضن وصرما الم كه كسهيا ويزها معكول. مع معمدميها ومع كها. ون واف يبعد مدوا. व्यवस्य १५ ८०मे १८मे महन् बाटमाः १ व्यवस्य १ विकासमार्गे व्याख्य विद्या ەۋەھىيەھ ۋىمېنالە ەھسىكىم تەن ۋىدې دتى اەۋمكى سەك مەدىيلاھە ھەزمىيا ۋىزىلە حزوصا عصمها ومزمان عصم واهلهده صلمرمع وبي عصم ومزما وسك معملت المحمية المحمدة والمحمد وروزال محمود ومعنا وسيعل موحل لاصل رحبال محمور المحم ووسعم ١٥٥٥ موها. حلكتا صفحكم ١٥٥٥ ستموه. مع معده من حمدها الصلاقد[وا] حملها مع حلمؤ سن المحم والصلامة حصوره وحصوما بحمور ستمار وصهره مقلل والمدن مهقمل حدكة مبال وحدد المؤر وههقال و[ة]، حدمور. محقعل معاقعيا حبيرا بعاد وزعما حبيرا حاحما مهمكم [226] وحسما الم حموم الم الم محمد من من و منزوان منها من ومن و محتمل محتمال و محتملا محتملا و محتملا اقداراً المحلل والمور معل وحديد الما وحرف المحل وحرفه المعال المعال المحددة والمراب المحددة والمراب المحدود ال محورسا للمحم وحسرومه من المرية المعلم ومر حصل همل مل مول موسطر ورجة حل مع معمم مهه معدرسي [F63v] مهه [حدتهلميا: حصنها] وأب موا بالمه الم ويحمد محدا. [ومجه حكوده] ووهدهم حصومك محكده الدواب الالد

¹⁰⁷⁶ Visible traces of this toponym in ms.

موجيماً 1077 Ms

The letter which the Jews wrote to Marcian the emperor at the close of the Council of Chalcedon:¹⁰⁷⁸ 'To the merciful emperor Marcian, from the Hebrew people: For all this time, we were pondering how our forefathers could crucify God and not a man. When this Holy Synod was convened in Chalcedon, it showed that they crucified a man and it was not God. Therefore, we beg that this error be pardoned for us and that our synagogues be returned to us.' The people who [forgot] God¹⁰⁷⁹ who created them and who reviled the mighty one who saved them was able to commit all this temerity!

The year seven hundred and sixty-six (AD 454):¹⁰⁸⁰ A great and terrible tremor took place in which many cities and places collapsed; the whole of Tripoli of Phoenicia was overturned.

The year seven hundred and sixty-eight (AD 456):1081 Marcian died and Leo ruled after him, while the Church remained troubled.

The year seven hundred and sixty-nine (AD 457/8):¹⁰⁸² Nona, bishop of Edessa, built the church of John the Baptist and <the hospital>¹⁰⁸³ [of the poor] outside the Gate of Bēt-Šamaš. <In the hospital> he built the martyrium of Mōr Cosmas and Mōr [227] Damian.

The year seven hundred and seventy (AD 458/9):¹⁰⁸⁴ A severe tremor took place and Antioch of Syria collapsed in it – its fourth destruction – [at the dawn] of Sunday, on the 13th of *Ilūl* (September). Leo the emperor sent much gold to rebuild its destroyed buildings.

The year seven hundred and seventy-one (AD 459/60): The holy Mōr Simeon the Stylite died, ¹⁰⁸⁵ when Ardabur was the *Stratelates* of the East. All the people of Antioch gathered, screaming and shouting at him to dispatch an army to seize the body of the blessed one for them and bring it to their city. Ardabur dispatched many troops of Goths and after a great fight they were able to snatch the body of the blessed one which they brought to Antioch.

¹⁰⁷⁸ On it see Lucas van Rompay, "A Letter of the Jews to the Emperor Marcian concerning the Council of Chalcedon," *OLP* 12 (1981), pp. 215–224.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Ps 106:21.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Mal. F367, 14:29 [201].

¹⁰⁸¹ Mal. F369, 14:35 [202].

¹⁰⁸² Chr. Edes. 8:4-7 [7].

¹⁰⁸³ For Δρίως, Greek ἀγρός, here and in the following line. This word begins with a ptōḥō, 'agursō, but this vowel can also be χgōfō or even 'ṣōṣō; see Gabriel Qardāḥī, Al-lubālr: Qāmūs Suryānī-'Arabī (Ḥalab, Dār Mārdīn, 1994), p. 7. The first wāw in Lωςως is possibly to stress the χgōfō: 'ōgursō.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Mal. F369, 14:36 [202].

¹⁰⁸⁵ Chr. Edes. 8:8–11 [8]; Mal. F369, 14:37 [202].

المحنال وبحر ماةومل كها حنوميل حكول حلن مناه وهويهوه وحكمونال لحنسعيل محكما معزميلا: حمل وحديداً. وما عكه رحيا معهدونه وهم أب وه والكول إلحده أحقه: ملا 100 كدويعاً. مع وم والمحتملة صوره موا مرسما وحدهومياً. مناملة وكدويعا رمد. ولا ووا للحوا. صهروا صعبصب وصدها ووا المدحم كي. وصقعم بالمعتب حه حدورا عدة معندما المعتب حملاا معلم [ولهدا] للحدا ومحرو درب حلاصفا وفزمه. مدلا مقديدا مقلاع مقلا موا رميا زجا موسيلا. منهجي حده مترسلا مرةصما صحيالاً. الحيا ولينهجم عدة الموعدة: ود وقوصل وحميد مختصا وعدر والخيا. صمة صنصياً. واصحر مع حدوه الدي، وحياً مع وحسل هملًا. مدم محتصاً وقدم ملقب. حبل بوبل اهتصمها واهزون حمل بوسع محموبل حواره وزهل اومصقيل حدة مع لمؤمل وصل عصف حبل وبي حده حمل موهل المالية علم هذوا حصور مدرسل محمد [227] ومعمل عد مقدما معدتي: موا روح معمل وبعكم جم الهما وهوزما: محدمنا واؤدما [كنف صحيف] سرحمط حمكممسة علمه الله معيو الدي معكما ومط صهال وحيا مستعلان ميل مقيطا ومدين وسرا ميل مربعا من معدور واصهوره. در ازوده اصهانها العلم المالية ومرسل مالمده دهم الهنه در من ەخنجى مەدە وسىرۇ سىلا وسىھە مەدەر دىلادە ولەدىا. دىلامەدى مەدەر دىدىلەدەر. بوه وبي أووجه عبو سلا صها ويقاما. محصول وط أعصم حصله حصرات ولموصيا وسلاوسوس للتهميل

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ms منافعاً; C1 226 n.7.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Ditto.

¹⁰⁸⁸ στρατηλάτης.

It was received by the Antiochenes in great pomp, and he immediately built a martyrium for it was placed inside a chest.¹⁰⁸⁹

The year seven hundred and seventy-six (AD 464/5):¹⁰⁹⁰ Leo, the emperor, issued an order that no one dare work on Sunday, and no one dare use a lyre or flute or drum or any other musical instrument on the holy day of Sunday; rather, everything should stand still, and everyone should attend the church and everybody should rest.

The year seven hundred and seventy-seven (AD 465/6):1091 Leo the emperor built Callinicum of Mesopotamia.

The year seven hundred and eighty-two (AD 470/1):1092 Nona, the bishop of Edessa, died and Qūrā (Cyrus) replaced him.

The year seven hundred and eighty-three (AD 471/2):1093 Leo the emperor launched a severe persecution against the Arians in all the territories of his dominion. He expelled them, eliminated them, and seized their churches, and ordered that in no way they should congregate.

The year seven hundred and eighty-four (AD 472/3):1094 [228] Ashes came down from the sky like rain, accumulating to one span on the ground and on the roof tiles. The whole city and the entire *politeia*-province were in great terror, and fear and much anxiety seized all the people, who kept themselves assiduous in prayer, grief, and tears day and night. Everyone used to say this: "This ash coming from the sky is fire which God [dropped] over the earth in anger. But God pitied the world through his mercy and extinguished it and it turned into ashes, so as not to burn and dest[roy] the entire human race. Let us now turn away from our evildoings lest we get annihilated altogether through our sins."

The year seven hundred and eighty-five (AD 473/4):1095 A great conflagration took place in the capital, so terrible that none like it had ever happened. [The fire strongly] overpowered (the city), burning from sea to sea, and no [...] in such a way that it was endless [...]. Realizing this, Leo the emperor went up, fleeing to rthe cross point of 1096 the church of Mōr Mama, and [out of his distress,] he settled there for six months. Now he built there a great harbour which is called rNew Portico. 1097

¹⁰⁸⁹ Mich. Syr. 252c middle of folio; Chr. Pas. 593–594 [85–86].

¹⁰⁹⁰ Mal. F369, 14:39 [202].

¹⁰⁹¹ Chr. Edes. 8:11–14 [8], which adds that Leo named the city Leontopolis, after his name, and turned it into a bishopric seat.

¹⁰⁹² Chr. Edes. 8:14–16 [8].

¹⁰⁹³ Mal. F372, 14:41 [205]; Mich. Syr. 252a [142]; Chr. Pas.597 [89].

¹⁰⁹⁴ Mal. F372, 14:42 [205–206]; Mich. Syr. 252a; Chr. Pas.598 [90–91].

¹⁰⁹⁵ Mal. F372, 14:43[206]; Mich. Syr. 251b-252b; Chr. Pas.398 [91].

¹⁰⁹⁶ Sic, but it should be "to the far side," (to Mor Mama) as in the Greek sources.

¹⁰⁹⁷ As in Chr. Pas.: νέον ἔμβολον.

المصل وم حروسا وحل الممد مع المهتصبال معسره عجم حده صدوا وحل والمصمر ده حيكه صمحا. مدلا محتملا ومحتم وقلا. أهم هومبل لاور محكما ولا أنع بعني وبعده مسرحمط. ولا عدمؤا أه أحوط أه فكها أه سر مع معانت ومنزا بعن أنعا والمسعس حاويط عبيعل وسيحفظ الل فكعيرم تحلي وحدياً فكع المعلم وقطع الكياسية عدل عمدتها معملت مقمرة. حيا لاه معكما لاعكيمه وحدا بدوني. عدا مقدمال ماهيم ماولي. صبك يويل اقتصمها وأوؤوب وووا سكووو موزا. عبد مقدمال ماهيم ماكلي. اصم لاه محجا ووقعا معمل علا اوميه. حجمه المؤما واسريه. حر لهزو موسم حده، معمل عبّاهه، معمر الله معمد ولا عده. عمد محمدا المعلم سرا. وروبا وحدة صربها ووحد حومها المال وحد ووسكما ورومها صهالا ٥٥٨ ١٥ حكوه ويتعل مر اصبع حدودا وصعل ووهدًا حكم وحلمعطا مر علم اموا الغنز اماد وامل علم وسبط مع عصما نموا الممامد اما وحزمها [صحل] والمام علا ازماد وحتسموه والحواسل بيع علا محمد ووحون وهوا مهمدا. ولا المعبده ما [هد] قده مد حدك رسط ودسما ، مهما ماه د مع متمل ولا حيمة بادم حشههم. مدلا مقدما الماهدم المسعم. الموال موبل وط حصوبه محصال ولا معملهم هوا حمد احداه وهرا. المكركم [حة دوا اصطلم] دادمها مع معل حمعل ما هد[...] المصل وحمل حه صعل [...] عب سرا معجل لاه المحمد معزم حه حددا وصل مدن حامل وصع [حمده] ندم حده محم متسل قدار دبل وم ماصع حمدالل وحل وحدامه ولاه أمحكم).

[.]وحها Ms محمها

[F64r] The year seven hundred and eighty-six (AD 474/5):1099 Leo the Elder associated the son of his daughter and Zeno [Leo (II)] in his rule in the empire.

The year seven hundred and eighty-eight (AD 476/7): Leo the Elder died and Leo the Younger seized the imperial rule at the age of seven years.¹¹⁰⁰

The year seven hundred and eighty-nine (AD 477/8):¹¹⁰¹ The mother of Leo the Younger misled him, being a young boy, and said to him: "When your father (Zeno) and the nobles will pay homage to you, take the crown on your head and place it [229] [on his head]." Leo the Younger, being seven years old, did likewise: He took the imperial crown on his head and placed it on the head of his father, and thus Zeno appeared thereafter as the ruler of the empire – he was <Isaurian> in origin. He made his son *hypatos*. ¹¹⁰²

The year seven hundred and ninety (AD 479/80):1103 Basiliscus, the brother of Verina, the wife of Leo the Eld[er], rebelled against Zeno so as to sei[ze] the imperial power. Zeno fled to Isauria where he settled.

The year seven hundred and ninety-one (AD 479/80):¹¹⁰⁴ A severe tremor took place in which Gabala, a Syrian city, collapsed. Basiliscus sent [fifty] *litrai* [of gold and rebuilt it].

The year seven hundred and ninety-two (AD 480/1):1105 Zeno returned to Constantinople with a large army, and was received [by all] the senate. Basiliscus fled to the [Great] Church and [went into] the baptistery. Zeno sent (men) and they removed the imperial vestment from him, his wife, and his sons.1106 [After giving] them (his) word that they would not be put to death [by the sw]ord, he sent them to [the *kastron*1107 of Limnae] of Cappado[cia, and were jailed in one of the tow]ers in it. He shut the door on their faces and they died there – they were buried alive.

The year seven hundred and ninety-four (AD 482/83):¹¹⁰⁸ Ze[no cast Peter, the patriarch of Antioch], into exile, [not on account of the Faith but because he betrayed him and sided] with Basiliscus. [He replaced him with] Stephen, [who soon after was found to be] Nestorian.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Mal. F375, 14:46 [208]; Mich. Syr. 252b.

¹¹⁰⁰ Mich. Syr. 252b.

¹¹⁰¹ Mal. F376, 14:47 [208]; Mich. Syr. 253b; Chr. Pas. 599 [91–92].

^{1102 &}quot;Consul"

¹¹⁰³ Mal. F377, 15:3 [209]; Mich. Syr. 252b; Chr. Pas.600 [92–93].

¹¹⁰⁴ Mal. F378, 15:4 [209].

¹¹⁰⁵ Mal. F378–380, 15:5 [210–211]: Indiction 14, AD 476; Chr. Pas.600–602 [94–95]: Indiction 15: AD 477; Theoph. 121–122; 124–125 (Basiliscus ruled AD 475–476).

¹¹⁰⁶ The Greek source mentions one son.

¹¹⁰⁷ Fortress, cassle.

¹¹⁰⁸ Mal. F380, 15:6 [211]; Evag., HE, III x-xi; Mich. Syr. 256a [II, 149].

[F64r] عدل مقدما الماهيم مقل الفرد الفرد الله عدا [الله من مناه ماهيم مقل الفرد الف حصحتهاا. مدي محتصلا ماهدم ماهدا. صبي لله صحل هاسم صحتها الله رحهزا. در وه دز عدة عنتي. عدم عقدمال ماهيم ماهم. الهدمه امده الدي رحدول. اب وحددها واجنه كود: وحد وصير حر احور حم وسعيا. صد على وحبس وصم [229] [حبسه]. بوه وب لاه، رحوزا واحموهم هوا حجوها رحوزا در مقد منتي. حجر هوميا. ومورك محملا وجنعه ومحمداه. مجم حنعل واحده، مصبح المس والم محمل اسب محمال. والماهور ووا حيسه حالسوولما> 1109 من عنه مجبه ووفيه الله عنه محتملات هنب ١٨٠ رانه حصكمه اسه وصنعا الله الله واحا وساه صحه [١١]. رانه وع المعلى للبعدوبيا. وبهد لمعر. عدم عقدما الماهم وسبإ. ووا ومد معما. وبعدا دو حالا صبعاً وهوزماً. وهبؤ معكموه [معمتم] حبهزا [ووداً. ودبن]. عبد محتمداً ماتيى مازاع. وقد ران كموسل بهدوكس دسلا سيمال والممد [مع وكة] صمكها الله وحصكمه عن حبال [وحلا وحلا] المعمود الله وعلم والمر وعمل هده اهدها ومحدها!. ومع اسلماه ومع حدة وبد و[معلا وهم] حدور محكا ولا معامل مدره صند]. عبز ابي العالم المال أوج معان الالله ومداره ومداره معان الالله ومداره هالسمعة حسر مع هوود]ها وده. معد حمولا طهتهه ومدلا لمعرد ودر سبع [11]محزه. عدم محتمدا المقدم الأوديد. عبا الوال الله المناط والهدما للتصوريا. [حه علا اقد ومعايقالاً الله صهر والمدلا علمون المعاود علامان عمر حصممصه ه [حم سهوه،] للصهورا. [مل عب مملا حمد الملاحس] والماهه [ىھىچەۋمىل

1109 Ms لعموزل

¹¹¹⁰ Greek ὕπατος.

¹¹¹¹ Greek Σύγκλητος.

¹¹¹² C¹ 229:18 سيعيد.

¹¹¹³ Κάστρων, Latin castrum.

¹¹¹⁴ The Greek interferes with the Syriac text, and thus the *syōmē* that are not needed cannot be verified.

[When he went outside] the city to perform the commemoration of the Forty Martyrs, [his clergy] gathered [230] [and sharpened] reeds with which they stab[bed him and he died. They threw his corpse in the Orontes River. When] Zeno [heard about this, he prosecuted the perpe]trators, [and appointed after him Kalandion. This one too was fou[nd to be Nestorian and was ca]st into exile. There[after], the people of Antioch made a persistent request [to bring back] Peter who [had been dismissed]. The emperor [ordered] that he be returned and he [occupied his throne] all [the days of his life; he died] in Antioch.

The year seven hundred and ninety-six (AD 484/5): Zeno the emperor wrote the book called *Henoticon* and united the Church during his days.

[When Zeno assumed] kingship, [he found the holy Church everywhere agitated and disturbed, in addition to divisions resulting from novelties — strange to the ecclesiastical ru]le — which took place [in the Council] convened in the city [of Chalcedon], and [the rest of its turbulences]. Contemplating various ways [to appease the commotions that existed every]where, he thought [to write a small book for un]ity — this Heno[ticon that I mentioned]. Up to this point, [many nations were divided among themselves], just as was the case of [those who were among the genuine heretics]. The enemy party positioned itself against the book [...], but as is wri[tten: they created a pla]n but they did not prevail. 1115 Now the holy Church accepted the articulation (of the Faith) that the book offered, and henceforward she walked toward unity. Calm and quiet reigned among all parties and strong evils and controversies ceased everywhere. I considered it (appropriate) to include (the content) of this book in this chapter as well, since it is praised in every place.

A copy of the Book of the *Henoticon* which Zeno the emperor produced for the unity of the Church as follows:¹¹¹⁶

Zeno, Autocrator, Caesar, [231] believer, triumphant, crowned with victory, the great and perpetually honourable Augustus, to the bishops and the people who are in Miṣrīn, Alexandria, Libya, and Pentapolis. We know that the steadfastness, stability, might, and invincible weapon of our empire is the only authentic and truthful Faith, which through divine inspiration the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers gathered at Nicea established, [F64v] and the one hundred and fifty [holy] Fathers who [in like manner] assembled at Constantinople confirmed.

¹¹¹⁵ Ps 21:11

¹¹¹⁶ Greek text: Evag., *HE*, III xiv; Syriac text: Ps.-Zach. V.viii [121–123]; Mich. Syr. 256a, 257a, 258b [II149–152].

ەم بھم] وبحم وەمزىل واۋمىم ھەۋول كم معرسكال المصعه [230] [مكترهمهم مكلمه] صبير مور [عداد معرد عمر عمر عمر المراد معرا والمر المواد معرا والمر المواد ومع وحم محم) احدمال [ومحم حكوه] علامهم. ومل واه المراحس بعلهوسا. وهاروه المحموناة وروح وما مع المهمتا عدا صحالا [معلا وعملا عده] وقلهاه وه والعلاق وقصوا فحكم وللعبار وكالجب الوسع وعله علاهم ماقمت ستهور وهبه امع] حن حامهما عدم محتمدا والقدم وقل حجر وانور محكما مدط ومل ومعممنا والهمور. وشب حبال صقعمه. [عبر سن معر] ووا رايور حصحها]. [همصنة حبها مبعما وحص المؤ وحسا معهما. معتما لمد مع محم مةوال وحدة مع لحد العلم حباسل ٥٥٥ [حصوره وحدهم ما المراصم معاجل وحكمها وحه. ٥]م معيتلا الم[هزه وبعلا عهدمتا وحدما المؤ: المسعد دمجو [علاط رحمة وساميا مدا مدالهم مرا والمر والخدا]: وحبط حميع العليم مده حقعط صهتا مع سبوا مر اه مصل مولع ومع مولهما سمتما المدهم مهود رحل وهـ[مه حكم] ال هبؤ كه محكم وحلاحل كـ[...] الل أمو وقد المحد والمسعد ٥٥٥ لمؤمـ] ملا ملا المعرب سملا. عبدا وب عبعما عب معهم حنوسا وعجم حدم محكم. مع صبع كما موسرا المار وبوسل وعمل حسم يقل ووار وحتمما صحتهما وستمل وحد المؤ المحكاد. المسوس حد وم واله حده حصلاط صل حم لهد حدموم عصب. حصول صل اصمحود، والمود وديا.

رسسا وصدر المهمور وجم والمن معكما. معلى سميرا وحياا: واسك المصاد

اههمناها وهن العقمها والله عدول والمائية والمائ

We day and [night] apply constant prayers, diligence, and laws so that the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church - the incorruptible and immortal [mother] of our imperial scepter - [may be increased] in every place, and that the believing people, while remaining in peace and harmony with God, along with the reverend bishops, the God-fearing clergy, abbots, [and monks] may offer acceptable prayers on behalf of our empire. For while our life-giver and great God Jesus Christ, who was made flesh from and was born of the Virgin and Mother of God Mary, approves and agreeably accepts the confession and the service offered out of concord, the enemy nations will be destroyed and annihilated, [232] and all men will bend their necks to our power after that of God, while peace and its blessings, pleasant temperature of the air, abundance of produce, and rwhatever is beneficial to people will be granted in profusion.¹¹¹⁷ Therefore, since the unblemished Faith preseves both us and Roman affairs, petitions have been made to us by God-loving abbots, leaders, 1118 and other ascetics, imploring us with tears that there be unity of the holy Churches and that limbs be joined together with limbs, which those who hate beautiful things have of old rushed to sever, while knowing that when they wage war with the whole body of the Church they will be defeated. For it has happened, as a result of this, that (among) countless previous generations, which in the course of so many years have departed from life, [some] have gone deprived of the bathing of the new birth, 1119 others have been carried off to their indisputable human fate without having partaken of the divine communion, and myriads of murders have been perpetrated, and with the massive amount [of blood] not only the earth but also the air has been defiled. Who would <not pray> that we transform these things to good things? For this reason, we take care to inform you that we, and the orthodox Churches in all our imperial dominion, and the God-loving priests who administer them, neither have received nor shall receive – nor would anyone whom we know – any other symbol and definition of Faith than that of the three hundred and eighteen [233] holy fathers mentioned above – the definition that was confirmed by the aforementioned one hundred and fifty and then by the two hundred and twenty holy fathers. If any person holds a definition other than that of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers who assembled by the Holy Spirit, we consider him a stranger. Now we are confident that (only this symbol), as we mentioned, will protect our empire, and <all> the people who are made worthy of the life-giving Baptism receive this (symbol) when they are baptized.

[&]quot;whatever ordained for people agreeably." One wonders with this and other variants in the *Henotikon* if the chronicler did not use a version not known to other Syriac chronicles.

¹¹¹⁸ Or better "hermits/desert dwellers."

¹¹¹⁹ Reference to Baptism.

ور درا] وحلمها ورحوا العسلم حورووا الماك والمراد والمراد طر]ون مراا عرمه ال وحول المن علم محمد معمد الله والمرن [العلم] لا صمسحصما صم ملا صممؤسما ومحلل وصحول. در حمسا محامما وحما كما حقعل مدة معيل محكوبي رجة ال محقد عمل وسف محدمل ١٥٥٥ معن حمر سعتا اهسقها ووشك للكوا مكترمه وتبعد وبتاا [ووبتها]. مريعة كاوا وط وصبيع معه صعيداً. وق وص حاه حما محما محمل المعم المعم مالم الموسل وهم معمد المراكم المعمد علامه ال معدس وهليما م مفدل يتها بن ودرودا بنهم وهديلي [232] حده، وب حسما روزهه، عصم لامسرب وحمة كها. در مسل مهدما ومع مدا معدركا عصنا وااذ وصورها وهاوا وحموم المحم حوصم حسيما عصمامك المالا صمامه. وصل وصلا عب ومصولاً ولا صور. ح وحصقدنا ووووصا صعورها: حقال المعند كي مع وسعد للحما وبعد وبترا معرجة الماء ماسول استبار مر حومد محموهم وسرما وحبّاً عبّعما المواد والمنصور ووصل كووصل المكم وضيع مصمياً مع رحياً محماً وبي کمدند اصلاوه در مزمع ودر محصادم مع رحمط معمل وميا مرودع. رجم رحمة مع موا ووقا ولا معسل المحلم ومنه رصل حمحم عكم متما وستا المحة. [معده، منع] حبر رسمت مع معصما وسرا ومع ووسع ماركي، معددي وع حب لا المماده دده حمداهدا كم كول محصل فه ومع المتكا وكم كمعماك مده لمرجوب. مختصاً وقطا بمعمس. وحصى الورها] المهد حد حصور ود ازماد الله الد مع عبه اأذ عده. وحم مع وه حولا ومرالا>1123 وحما لمقال جس معسك اتب. معلا ووا محمر واوحه رجمع واهسع محتال واقاوه وحدكه مدكها وصحدا وقسم كما فقيل المكم ومرحزم كمرد: وسر صبعل مسر الممعل والمعتما محكم. المل ومع حد الماصده: والشمط ماصلمه [233] احتمال عبدان بن والمعد المعم والمدوه حلا مسعمت احتمال ماهد تعمم معصب. لا بوها کے ملا نوه کے ملا والمهور لابع نبرسي. اينوه وصل العد حجز هده واصل الموصل واحتمال مبعقل المشامط الماصد لمحصر المحمد وحزمال عبعا المصعه: بعديل سعمي حمد وب المر واحزب اصحب وحدله حصدهان وحرك معمل المحم وهماه حصده المحمد عصده والما عسلال الما م ممحكم معرب

موه Ms المعار 1120 Ms

¹¹²¹ Ms المالية بالمالية بالمالية Ms المالية المالية بالمالية بالمالية المالية المالي

Ms is not clear here but one wonders if the term is not معبدتها to fit the context between المستها and أسستها.

¹¹²³ Ms محمل (sic); correction based on Mich. Syr. 257a line 34.

¹¹²⁴ Ms misses the marker of the direct object.

All the holy fathers – two hundred and twenty – assembled at Ephesus also adhered to it (=the symbol), and anathematized the wicked Nestorius and those who subsequently were of his opinion. We too anathematize this Nestorius together with Eutyches, and any people whose opinion is contrary to what was said. We also accept the Twelve Chapters that were expressed by the God-loving Cyril, worthy of memory, who was the Archbishop of Alexandria. We confess that the only-begotten Son of God our Lord Jesus Christ, who truly was made man, who is <consubstantial with the Father>1125 in divinity and himself consubstantial with ourselves in humanity, came down and was made flesh by the Holy Spirit and from Mary the Virgin and Mother of God; that he is one Son not two; for we declare that both the miracles and the sufferings which he willingly endured in the flesh are those of the only-begotten Son of God. We do not accept in any way those who separate or confuse (the natures) or introduce a phantasm. For the true and sinless incarnation from the Mother of God did not make an additional Son. The Trinity remained a Trinity even though one of the Trinity, God the Word, was made flesh. You know then that neither [234] the holy orthodox < Churches> everywhere, < nor the> God-loving priests who lead them, <nor our own empire>, has accepted or will accept any symbol or definition of the Faith other than the ones expressed by the holy Fathers. Be united in a divine peace with no doubting. Now we have written these things not to introduce novelty in the faith, but to reassure you. We anathematize anyone who has believed or does believe anything different either now or at any time, whether at Chalcedon or in any other synod, especially what the Nestorians and the Eutycheans and those who agree with them say. Follow therefore the only spiritual mother, the holy and apostolic Church, and in her enjoy the divine communion with us, in accordance with the only definition of the Faith of the holy fathers which was stated above. Our most holy mother the Church longs for you to embrace you as beloved children and to hear your delightful voice. Hasten, therefore, for by so doing, you will attract to yourself the kindness of [our life-giving Christ] God and you will be praised by our empire."

Pray for us, God-chosen ones. All these (words) are enough for your divine love. Pray for us. It is ended.

 $^{^{1125}}$ Ms. "equal in his divinity" is awkward whereas the correction جز مبل $_{1125}$ parallels جز مبل وبح

هذه ولاه الموسه علاهم احتمال عبيقا وحافظه ماعيمه تقلب معهني. الملم واقد محم علاوصيعة ويعطونها وعبط. ووالمحم والمحم ولمحم علاومم حلاوح. وحم حامل بعلمة ونعاد الع سع ماله كه ما والمؤمنة والمحمد والماحد مستحسر والماحد مستحسر والماحد الماحد ا صمحكم أو حكة معن مقال والماصر مع ما حده وبا وسم كاما مدودهم. وه وهوا ونعل واقتصقها والخصصوريان معومي استنبا حزه والحمل هاه وعزيزاته الماجريف محنى معهد معسل وه والموهد حدة وسل واحل>1126 طلاه ومن وسل ولح وه وم وه طلعهاا. وه وسيد والمرعم مع وصل وهوما ومع معنم حدمكما مكيا كها: وسي المماه حزا ملا هما لمؤمد وسر رحمة المسبط حزه والحماد اهزع والمماه لموهدا متعا المحم ورجساله صدة حدهاا. المحم وم ومعددهم ومحدده فيهما معدم كريعة لا معمد سع. معلى ومعمر معمده المعندال دولا سلما: ومع منبا كده اهدها ودزا لا حجراً. حكولًا الممهال الممهال الا حر المهم سر مع الممهال. كاما محكا. وم نوعم ومر وال [234] حياا>1127 مبقمًا وحولا ووم واتراوها: ولا <الحرج المحمد بعرض حمر وسعد كوا حقيل: <ولا محمداً وحرج عمر المنظ المنظ أه المسوسل اسزيل وصعيدا لحدة مع اسل والماهدة مع احتمال عبقاد لا محك أه محمدع. الماهو 1300 مسل كميا. در لا صلاحهام، محم به حلام. لا موا در صبيات صعدماً. الله و حدم محمد د الله و وهوم اسن المؤمد ال محاوط الاعداد العداد ووه: الا حدكمول الا حليا وولا معلاد على المناه الكر حوالمامنه> التام بعلمة على معلمة وملى المحمد والمحمد والمحمد والمحمد والمحمد المام المحمد هوس كسيا احدا ومسلما حياا عيسما معكسمال مع محموصهم مع حن حماهماا كما أب المنصل ومنصفال فن والممه سر حكمور فن وصر كلا الماهن واحتمال مبقل امع مبعد حد حبال الم ولحنتا سحتما معمدما لحده والمعمده. مكمعهد مكوم معدسال هنهده وصلا [تعمد]م. در يه ورا مدركم، محصمهاه [وهسع معسل] هما حماده بفصمه. مع محدما, معلاحسلهم...

ركه عكم رحماد الاكام بعدم معمل معمل المكار التعرب عكم كلم علم المكار المكار علم المكار ع

¹¹²⁶ Ms orloom la 200 Ms.

¹¹²⁷ Ms الم

[.]هوللحم 1128 Ms

¹¹²⁹ Ms **Landar**o.

¹¹³⁰ Ms ool!: Phonetic rendering of ooll.

والمعناه Ms والمعناه.

THE CHRONICLE OF ZUQNIN (PART II)

[F65r] [235] Then a historical account of the times of affliction that took place in Edessa, Āmid and all of Mesopotamia¹¹³²

I have received the written messages of your God-loving reverence, O most virtuous of men, the priest and abbot Sergius, in which you ordered me to write for you as a record, when locusts came, when the sun was eclipsed, and when there was earthquake, famine, pestilence, and war between the Romans and the Persians. Alongside these (requests), they contained great words of praise for me which put me to great shame between myself and my soul, because not one of them fitted me in reality. Now I wanted to write about the (virtues) that are in you, but the eye of my mind was unable to examine and see, as it ought to, the admirable apparel which your energetic will has woven for you and with which it clothed you; for it is clearly manifest that you burn with a law-fulfilling love, since you take care of not only the brothers who are currently under your authority, but also all the lovers of learning who will enter your blessed monastery. And through your diligence, you want to keep in writing the memory of the chastisements that were [236] done in our times because of our sins, so that when (people) read and see the things that had happened to us, they may be on their guard against our sins and be delivered from our punishments. One would admire the fullness of your love bestowed lavishly upon every human being, not ceasing or diminishing, but I cannot describe it as it is because I did not experience it, nor do I know how to describe it from one single meeting which I had (with you).

Like Jonathan, the true friend, you became attached to me by love, although not worthily; for the soul of Jonathan followed the soul of David¹¹³³ after he realized that the giant was slain by the latter's hands and the (Israelite) camp was rescued – he loved him on account of his good deeds – but while you have not seen anything good in me, you loved me more than yourself. Nor is the fact that Jonathan delivered David from death at the hands of Saul worthy of admiration, in view of this (action) of yours, because Jonathan rewarded David his due – David first delivered Jonathan from death, and saved him and all his father's house from death at the hands of the Philistine. ¹¹³⁴ And while I have not done anything like this to you, lo!, you pray to God for me all the time that I may be delivered from Satan and that he may not kill me through sins. But this ought to be said, that you love me as David loved Saul. And you are so passionate in your immense affection that, out of your fervent love, you do not know what my limit is, but you think things about me that are greater than me.

¹¹³² See the most recent English translation with a thorough bibliography in Trombley-Watt, *Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*.

¹¹³³ 1 Sam 18:1.

¹¹³⁴ Cf. 1 Sam 17 and 19-20.

[F65r] محمد معمد المحمد المحم

مذكم مكتما وسعمار وسعم للكما اه معمول ورحدًا معمما مؤس وبنا منيس الله وحامع فجوبا كن واحكامت كو المو وكلماهولا: والعكام الما معول: والعكام عطعا سعمود واصلام ووا روحا وحويا وصوايا: وعنظ ووووصيا ووفتها. حم وحل وم الا مقحصا زوزط وحمد محسب ووه حوب ونور وحوسرا زط امتعوس حمد من محتوميد. حب واهلا بير بعينه م محيب حمار حنخرا. رجم وبي ايا واعلاه المحر وجود ولا هجملاً حسل والمخصف المحصد المحسور المر والمان العملل والمعالل ورجم حر والمحمر رجس معيزال كملم كمن المسركم وصوحا معكسه وبعمها فلس المل وكه حكمه واشا واسعد البر المدهور حرصا صل بهديد. الله وحدده وسعد عدهما وحمير كعدا كه كدوموزر حزيدا. وحبر مكندكم زجا الله صعملهار كعمده مقرورسوس وحتروماً: الحم [236] وحرصتي العملان على المناني وعبر بعن الحم وحرب ربعد دورهزه مع سطرةم ملاهره مع بيريد كمعلمه وم حصلها وسوحهد وه ود محمد معمده. لا معمل أه شعر ، ووالمامن من المو والمامه لا معريا. حولا عندم كنخرب اهلا والملكظ محمود خرسا 1136 مع مسلا وسرا رح موا كمان محرمه لما ممكن صديل عزيزا المانعيزا المانعيزا المانعيز المانيز المانيز المانيز المانعيز ا بصفة خدمه وووب. في سرا وحلبوه ورسدا المولا معمنها المعزمة. معلا ورا اقد عصباً وسعه. الله وم مع معرم وعصم ما سريك. ملمن مع يعمل اسماس. اهلا ون وهربه موسل حرمه مع معدا وطنب عادى غدما وحرومناً. حدما ووا ومحد. مدلاً ويروس مرم وسيد حموا> 1138 كده وزيده. موس سن وريد مرهما مع معداً. منود که ستا محصه حمل احدون ولا بعدام حلبتوه وهمال مور والم محل صب حرالا العدد: وا حدكر معم الله للحوا سكف. والحراص عهدا ولا بمهلا صهة الله هوا ذكيا خطاصة وجرهما ومي خمام اسحاس هوصا وها الم حصيماهان ووسعمر. حريط وصع ولمن وسمحر. اهلا وأنوا به صعميمه لموه. الل لماؤها حكب أمكم وؤهة ح معسا

سوم 235:3 ¹¹³⁵ C¹ 235:3 سوم.

¹¹³⁶ Phonetic rendering of L?

¹¹³⁷ Ditto for Limb!.

¹¹³⁸ C¹ 236 n.6: In margin. Something like Lxxx is visible!

Before this time, you responded to my needs by the instruction found in your letters, and in this way you took care of me, just as parents, who, while not benefiting anything from [237] their children, care for everything that they need. Today, however, you have humbled yourself in your own judgment, asking me to write for you things that are beyond my ability. In this you are especially gracious, for although you know these things more than I do, yet you want to learn them from me! I do not begrudge you, nor do I decline the thing you have ordered.

Nonetheless, know that, I too, when I saw the signs that were done and the chastisements that came after them, thought that they were worthy of being written down and kept in record, and that they should not be reduced to oblivion. But when I considered the weakness of my mind and my own ignorance, I declined to do this. Now that you have ordered me to do this very thing, I have the same fear as a man who unskilled in swimming is ordered to go down into deep waters. Counting on your acceptable prayers, which you constantly address to God on my behalf, I believe that I will be safely rescued from drowning in the sea [F65v] into which you have cast me. I shall swim as much as I can in its shallows, because its depths cannot be explored. For who is able to rightly relate the things which God has performed in his wisdom in order to stop sins and chastise wrongdoings? For the exact economy of God is hidden even from the angels! You can understand this from the parable of the tares in the Gospel: When the servants of the master of the house said to him: Do you want us to go and weed out the tares? The one who knew the things as they were said unto them: No, lest while you weed out the tares you uproot also [238] the wheat. 1139 But we say this according to our knowledge: Because of the multitude of our sins our chastisements were many, and if it were not for the protection of God that binds the whole world lest it breaks up, the lives of peoples would perhaps perish altogether. For when did afflictions like these happen so frequently, if not (the time) in which we live? And because the cause (of the afflictions) did not end, neither did they cease. Along with the things that we saw with our own eyes and heard with our own ears - in which we are still found news from far and near terrified us: calamities happening in various places, terrible earthquakes, overturning of cities, famines and pestilences, wars and tumults, captivity and deportations from territories, and uprooting and burning of churches. You wrote to me so that I may put into writing these things with words of sadness and grief, which would impress both readers and hearers, these things that stunned you too by their multitude. I know you have said this driven by your zeal toward good things, so that remorse may befall those who hear them, and that they may come close to repentance.

¹¹³⁹ Mt 13:28–29.

حرصا رحمة ومرم وبا: معكونها ومقاممه هيمول معظا ١٥٥٨. ١٥٥٠ مريد ١٥٥٨ مرد وسكر. حرمعها احتفاد وحرم معرم مع [237] حتمه لا المهدف مرجع وحكم المكع ومدمحت حده، محمل وم حدومهمار بعمر مجمد: وحد اجدم احدود حر المحم وصع مسك معتى وحدة حدول مكمنزامك لماؤد. وحم مكمن هد ومك مزمك خدي. هد رجل اللم كعلاك اللي. اهلا الل منفص الل حود وصعدال الل مع معرم وهجرا. حزم ولي وب. واه الل حب خوا موسم للاقدا محم ومعملت محصة وما والمع حكومه. ولا موسم وعقع التي والمقلاح مالالهم حصاوباً. ولا تعترج كهمس محبسة المالم حصسهاه وفرسد: محمومه الم والمعبد صعدالا مدم مع موال معل وم وصب المحصر حد ود موا حمصدن وصل حرسكا المبر الم ومر صموا عصم لل مزيد محموم كو حمسم حدوهما وهنا. وحمي واحد الله على رحقام حباحستما: وحب حما كا حمارق سكف اصلام. صحيط وصهرها وصم لهدما الم صلام [F65v] واوصلات ده. دم اب سيك دومهه هنا ابل هها ولا هماهيم الم معمد سن الم فعه حمد المر مدا وفلا ملا المع ومع كده مصدرة. حدولا وسهة المحدوما وصدحة ال حسومكان سكاما المن وهوجزيمان والحمل اقد مع مطاقل معما الما حدية ومد حصور مداً. وزجا الله بالله بهدا الله المجدة حده وفر وفر وفريد والما الله حصومتها المه والمنهون، ولا. ووحمل عمر صحيح المان المرتباً. المحنى الحد [238] شها. دوا وم الم مرحك افغزيم. وحها هيماما وشهدم صحيصاله متومل دةد. ه المعلج بعداء والحما سرها لاه كدلها ولا معلم إلى عدد وبي اهده ستا وحمه حسّعاً. حامل سن وحمّ حموم ربع المحربًا وأمر محم. اللا حمل ومع ومع ما ممعم حده، معلى وعكده لا حلال. أه ون برصل حلا>1142 حله. عمر وما موم سربع حتبع. معجع حاوبتي. محم صحبع. هزوم الا لمخل وزوسما موموزها. مرقسا واصلاحه حومط ووصل رقط وستلا ومقصل وصبتمال معتا مع مقابل متحل معجقعمال محمل مرحمل والمؤومال مصوفها الا معبل وحبّال محم والا الم حب الممؤوم حصيهمامن عميم من احدود انني حظل وحزما ووسيها وهدوي محتوما ومعمقما. ونوما وموا حليب ذه وسلا عصباً العنالة. ولما العد حامل وخصي حدى ومحمدور

ما المامية (1140 C1 237:19 ما علامية, but a second tāw, darker, was added.

¹¹⁴¹ Phonetic rendering of Al was.

¹¹⁴² Not in ms.

But know that it is one thing for a man to write with groans and another thing to do it truthfully; for any man with a natural eloquence can, if he wishes, write distressful and sad stories, but I am inadequate in speech.¹¹⁴³ I will mention in this book things that all people in our region can testify to be true; it is up to those who read and hear (these accounts), after examining them if they so wish, to come to repentance. Perhaps, one says: What is the benefit of these (stories) for those who read them, if admonition does not blend with the account? [239] As for me, I cannot do this, but say that these chastisements that befell us are sufficient to admonish us and those who come after us, to teach us that through their record and the reading of them they were sent upon us on account of our sins. If they do not teach us this, they would be useless to us. If it cannot be said that punishment can take the place of teaching and that they were sent because of our sins, all the believers under heaven would testify, agreeing with the word of the blessed Paul, who says: When we are judged by our Lord, we are indeed disciplined so that we may not be condemned along with the world. 1144 For the whole issue is that people are disciplined in this world that they may be restrained from their sins, and that the judgment of the world to come may be more tolerable for them. As for the blameless who are chastised on account of the sinners, a twofold reward will be added for them. Now mercy exists at all times, even for those who are unworthy, because of the sweetness, grace, and patience of God, who wants this world to subsist until the time appointed by his infallible knowledge. That these things are so is evident [F66r] from the demonstrations of the Holy Scriptures and from the things that had been done to us, which we are set to write down.

For behold, blows of hunger and of pestilence in the time of the locusts pressed upon us so that we were almost reduced to annihilation. But God had mercy on us, while we were unworthy, giving us a little respite from the blows that pressed hard on us — this was because of his grace [240] as I have said. But he changed our torments after we were revived, hitting us by the hands of the Assyrian who is called *the rod of anger*.¹¹⁴⁵ I am not keen about the freedom of the Persians when I say that God smote us by their hands, nor do I blame God for their audacity, but while I thought that because of our sins he did not punish them, I wrote that he smote us by their hands.

^{1143 1} Cor 11:6.

¹¹⁴⁴ 1 Cor 11:32.

¹¹⁴⁵ Isa 20:5. This analogy involving the Assyrian was particularly favoured by the Chronicler of Zuqnīn; see A. Harrak, "Ah! The Assyrian is the Rod of My Hand!: Syriac Views of History after the Advent of Islam," in J.J. van Ginkel et als., Redefining Christian Identity: Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 45–65.

الل وبد. واستما الم والع سيهام بعده ماستما الم وعندام. أو يمن برجا العا ص فع والمهمد معصما مسمار فعمد به المستما مستهما. الم وع موزا الل حصكميد. مكمكم بوه صحمور الل حصاحل ميا. للمكم وحكمه حسما والم حلاق فعدوب محمد وهنته. دومحده ولا والمع وغنى أن خصمن وحم مخصب حدم أل إخن. المعنده كلمحمال محن وم الغن العب وهما عماولاً مع المكم وغني أر وه وحناسها الله الهما سكها حمي حقلاً. الله [239] وم أمو فع وموا لل صل الله والحدز. افذ الله وهقم انتي محم معتروماً والماء ححني. وبعوب عن ملاحم ومع حماق، هاه بحقع حده وسمع محصنسم. وصلي سلمة المكوة على الله وع موا لا معلى ما على الد ولا عاني المنتم مت حمل. الا معل موا حمد حصاصد. ووصم صحورا صححت ح رمة معترومال: ووصل سلمة معملوق محمر محمد عده معتل ولمسلم عصل فعدوس. م فحمي حمدكمه ولهوما فه واخز: وم معومين مع من معروم معروب ولا عم معمل كاست و محاول وسكور و و معمل و المعمل والمعمل والمعمل والمعمل مع سهقمه و مدا عس حمر ف وسل وحصل وحلب والمح وحديد مصدحتا صدوري حر وب لا سلمو. الهذا مصعل صماهمه حددي. منسعها وي وهوما حصرح العد ملا المحم ولا نعوب معلا مصمعه ولمحداه ويستوما ووسه والحمأ. وزجا والمصم محمد الال مرحد حرصا الاله وسيم صبحه الله إلى إلى المار دولاحي الاصال الماده. يكل ود [F66r] موا مع المقلما وحكمة عبيقا: ومع المع وحمار الصلايد. و کمے >1146 صبحل کے وبعدہ مل سے صحوب محم اقلی اور وبعدایا حرصل هذه ومصرا: حريط ومنصع هدم خصونه للحري. والمؤسم علم هذا حر لل عذب مدود ے محمد تصمع مع اقلام واقعی واقعی میں کے محمد اللہ واقعیا معلا (240) کمحمارہ۔ عسد ح وم الله سيرًا مع حكمة والمنجعين. ومس طبيد الماوزما ومعمل محل ووصها. لل 148 وبي كماؤه ماهي 1147 وقوقهما صفي اما واضر ابل واكوا صبع حملته المرادي الله والكوا صبع اهلا حكمة كام حركما وهنسماهم، ضما الله يه محفوط الله ومعلى سلمة لل مجم صده م احداد فعد من وه صبع طبوره م

The original feminine verb was changed to masculine by adding $w\bar{a}w$, and instead of to fit the original verb, 000, is written.

¹¹⁴⁷ C¹ 240 n.2 ممالونات. Ms راونات and the suffix was squeezed after the nūn: معالونات.

احلت but ms حلت الماء الماء

Now the resolve of the evil nation is shown especially through the fact that it did not show mercy on those who were delivered up into its hand, for it was accustomed to show its mind which takes delight in the suffering of people. The Prophet too scorned them in this regard, saying, while prophesying concerning the destruction of Babylon as it were by the mouth of the Lord: I grew angry with my people for they profaned my inheritance; I gave them into your hands, and you showed them no mercy. 1149 They likewise did evil to us mercilessly and according to their will as it was their habit. For though their striking rod did not reach our bodies, and they were unable to conquer our city - nor could the promise cease which Christ made to the believing king Abgar, saying: "Your city shall be blessed, and no enemy shall overcome her for ever¹¹⁵⁰ – the faithful in the cities which were conquered were pillaged, taken captive, massacred, and destroyed, becoming like mud in the streets. All those who learned to suffer with those who suffer tested the pain quite a bit. And those who were far from this (situation) [241] were tormented with fear for themselves because of their lack of faith, for they thought that the enemy would conquer Edessa just as they conquered other cities. We are about to write about these things for you.

According to the words of the wise Solomon: *War is done by provocation*,¹¹⁵¹ and you want to learn about this very thing: What are the reasons that provoked (the war)? I want to tell you concisely where these reasons arose, although [F66v] I realize I am talking about past events. And then, after a short while, I will let you know the time these causes became momentous. For although this war was stirred up against us because of our sins, it was caused by obvious events that I want to relate to you, so that you may be clear on this matter, lest you join some fools who blame the ruler, the believing King Anastasius. For he was not the initiator of the war, but this was provoked long ago as you will be able to discern from the things that I shall write for you.¹¹⁵²

¹¹⁴⁹ Isa 47:6.

This is a reference to the letter supposedly sent by Jesus to Abgar who must be Abgar V (4 B.C.–A.D. 7 and then A.D. 13–50) found in Eusebius, the Teaching of Addai, and the Acts of Mōr Mārī; see subsequently Eusebius *EH* I xiii; Howard, *The Teaching of Addai*, p. 9; Amir Harrak, *The Acts of Mār Mārī the Apostle*, Writings from the Greco-Roman world, 11 (Atlanta and Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, and Brill, 2005), pp. 5–7.

¹¹⁵¹ Prov 24:6.

 $^{^{1152}\,\}mathrm{The}$ following two notes end the repaired folio that the repairer Elisha of Zuqnīn had inserted to commemorate his deed.

رجيده رحنة وحصل حمدالم محكسوا حدورا ووسط للحدوه ملا المحل والمعصوة عرصه و مدر ما الله الله عندا الله الله الله الله والا صبعم که ده دهوا دافت: در محمد مها ملا سهزده وددلا. اب ومع هومه ومنال. فريزا ملا معد ولهومه مناهاد. والمخطم انه طبيب فلا مجيا محموم وسعا. اله ح وصل وصل <اطعه>1154 مرجسه ولا وسطاً. أب وصوب. أفي من هم كه محمي لا المعلمة سولها وصداده. مد عبدكم لا اعديد خصمكه. عمل واطلا معديدا موما والمحكم عدوما وصفيها وأو والمكاور للحجة فتكف عدونكيا. في العز: وفرقه به ما حزيز المحكم من الله عند الله عند المحمد المح والمولكة والمستحدد معبيتها استسكا والمصعدد وووه الم صيل وعقماً. ولمحدود حسل ولا صحة علاهم المحم وبعده وسعد عصر المحم وشعبي. والمحم لمحد وصع ووا وسلمم ٥٥٥. حصلها وس [241] تعمده المله على المصنواده والمرب ١٥٥٥ والعالم ادوره معملال معتبر المر وملا مويتما استسمال محم ومميل معمد حو ملامع وم والمو معلاه وسصعل عمصه. حيول معمدم عندا: والله وما اهوا زجا الله خعلف مع المع مقلما المهني، زجا الله وأهوجه المه وحفقتهما ومع امط متا 1155 متكلاً. اهي [F66v] معمله إلى إجفار المرابعة المتا المتابعة ال ٥٥٠٠ حكة عكس العوم 1157 اله ومكم تتكلا مع العلم المنسل الهراب معلى سهةم المامن محم عنط هبا. الل معلى صوحتال يحتا عمل مجلال هحم وحده زجا الل والفكم حور الموض وبالمناسط المدا معص الم حدد حميط الها. ولا المؤوط حر انقل صقلا حصري السب عدكها صحا صديعنا العملوه. كد رحم بده الممادي عدوره وعندا. الل مع رصل صهال الم لاه ومدمين. الم مل ومعمد الم حمد من محم وفعد اللك

¹¹⁵³ C¹ 240:11 مانيا. But ms امنيار (for امنيار) – the waw too close to the olaf confused Chabot; M مانيار (C¹ 240 n.4) does not fit the context.

¹¹⁵⁴ Ms בעל ו (sic).

The $q\bar{o}f$ is a bit elongated misleading M to read the word ; C¹ 241 n.2.

¹¹⁵⁶ Ms بحت رقبه (sic); correction by M; C1 241 n.3.

اه ديم 1157 C¹ 241:11 موجيد المائة but the *šīn* is very clear in ms.

Pray for the wretched Elisha, of the monastery of Zuqnīn who copied this leaf, that he may find mercy, like the thief on the right hand, Amen and Amen.

May the mercy of the great God and our saviour Jesus Christ be upon the priest Mōr Yēšū^c (Joshua) the Stylite, of the monastery of Zuqnīn, who wrote this book of records dealing with evil times that are past, and of the calamities and troubles which that tyrant had caused among men.

[F67r] [242] xxxx xxxx fitting xxxx or from xxxxx In the year six hundred and nine (AD 297–298), the Romans rebuilt¹¹⁵⁸ the city of Nisibis, and it remained under their hegemony for sixty-five years. After the death of Julian in Persia, which took place in the year six hundred and seventy-four (AD 362–363), Jovian, who reigned over the Romans after him, valued peace more than anything else, and for this reason, he allowed the Persians to rule over Nisibis for one hundred and twenty years, after which they were to return it to its masters. These (years) came to an end at the time of the Roman emperor Zeno, but the Persians did not want to return the city, and this matter stirred up a conflict.

Then, there was a treaty between the Romans and the Persians, that if they needed each other whenever they would be in war with one of the nations, they should help one another by providing three hundred mighty men, with their weapons and horses, or three hundred *staters*¹¹⁵⁹ in lieu of each man, that is according to the wish of the party that would be in need. Now the Romans, by the help of God the Lord of all, did not need assistance from the Persians, for believing emperors rose up in the kingdom from that time until the present whose rule grew powerful by the help from Heaven. But the kings of the Persians used to send ambassadors to get money for their needs, but they did not get it in the sense of a tribute, as many had thought.

Now in our own days, Peroz, the king of the Persians, because of the wars that he had with the Kionites¹¹⁶⁰ who are the Huns, took money from the Romans many [times] over, not as a tribute levying. But they (=the Persians) believed [243] that he (=Peroz) was waging war on behalf of the Romans, (saying:): "Lest (the enemies) invade your territory!"

¹¹⁵⁸ This seems to be the right verb on account of the ligature of the *nūn* with the *wāw*.

¹¹⁵⁹ Sassanian currency; on its etymology, occurrences, and value see Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, p. 80.

¹¹⁶⁰ The gentilic, clear in ms, probably refers to the Hephthalites; Luther, *Chronik*, p. 110; see also Tombley-Watt, *Pseudo-Joshua*, p. 9 n. 37.

موهور وسجده والمحا وط معنه معد معد معد المعلم المعدد معد المعلم المعلم والمدار معدد المعلم والمعدد وا

[F67r] المراكب المراك حرحه مدمدا حده المرادة من المرادة من من المرادة من مدن ما المرادة من المرادة ومكنوه وحفوها وه وهوا حملا حقاهاكاله ممحت واؤحرا محسوها وو واصطر حكوه ملا وهوصيار كعسا مكن مع صحوم من وملا اهته هوا مهد حقوصا وممكهم ملا برجن. رحل وحلا معصني عتبي محكومي بعيونة كعترية. عجم محملا المحم حرصه ورسم محكم وقال معمل وقومه ونقيم موسكا لا رجه. والأو رجما المنابا هولمال لماهد وبع عنها الم ادوا حمد وادوهما خدووهما. وار ود ويعمله ملا سبوا اصمه وهذا حمه مزدا حصر سر مع مقعمان بدوه سروال در مذدع الحم تعلل انقلا ستكلاما حط رسهم ووصعهم. أه الكلاها العلق سلا على رحد هده وم أسر عوم हुंदी रूदी हक्क्याक. ह्र ह्वा हिन्दी हिन्दी हिन्दी क्षी वर्ष यी व्वहांपी हक् ब्या व्य لا العلامه. محقل عن صوتعيا مع معجودا مع وه رحيا. وحبط حوما. وحدوونا وصع عصما عه كهده المسكد محكم وم وقتصما صعبوب ١٥٥٥ انتهاد مفعكم وهما صهر صيمهاده. ولا موا صومح صرالا مفكم موه. أب مدا وفدن موه صيال. حقطم رسم وسخ وعن محط وفتصل معلا متط واده مد مع صقالاً واده وةسا: [رحتما] صحيالا عمر ووحل مع وووصل ولا ووا حمدها ومرايل اللا عب ضم بوها حمور أب [243] وسهدور بخر موا حمور حمقه معمود. ولا حم بعدور للازا

¹¹⁶¹ Mostly effaced line not included in C¹ 242.

 $^{^{1162}}$ C¹ 242:2 is correct given the legatur of the zayn, with the wāw; it is neither عن as in M nor من of Nöldeke; C¹ 242 n.1.

written on the margin by the original scribe.

¹¹⁶⁴ Ms عتمال; C1 243:3.

 $^{^{1165}}$ Correct reading in C^1 242: 25. The fat tip of the second $n\bar{u}n$ misled Nöldeke to read the gentilic وقعيل or رقعيل C^1 242 n. 5.

The claim grew to be believed, since the Huns caused destruction and captivity in the Roman land in the year seven hundred and seven (AD 395–396), in the days of the emperors Honorius and Arcadius, sons of Theodosius the Great – all of Syria was surrendered into their hands by the treachery of Rufinus the *Hyparch* and the negligence of the *Stratelates*¹¹⁶⁶ [Addai].¹¹⁶⁷

Thanks to the money that he received from the Romans, Peroz subjected the Huns, captured many of their regions and annexed them to his kingdom, but he was later captured by them. Upon hearing this, Zeno, the Roman emperor, sending from his own gold, freed him, and reconciled Peroz with the Huns. Peroz made a treaty with the Huns never again to cross their borders in war. But he turned back from his treaty, breaking it like Zedekiah, and waged war, and like the latter, he was delivered into the hands of his enemies, and all his army was destroyed and scattered, while he was captured alive. He promised in his arrogance to pay thirty mules <carrying>money to redeem his life. He sent messengers to the country of his rule but he could hardly gather twenty loads, for he spent the entire treasury of his royal predecessor on past wars. Instead of the other ten loads, he placed for them [F67v] a ple[dge] and a hostage, his son Kawad, until he would send them. He also made a treaty with them for the second time that he would not wage war again.

When he (=Peroz) returned to his kingdom, he imposed a poll-tax on his whole country, and sent the ten loads of money, and freed his son. Once again he gathered an army and went to fight; and the word of the Prophet who said: I have seen the wicked elevating himself like the trees of the forest, but when I passed by [244] he was no more, and I sought him and did not find him, 1168 was fulfilled on him in deed there. For when the battle was waged and the two camps mingled together in confusion, his whole army was destroyed, and he was sought but was not found. Until this day it is not known what happened to him, whether he was buried under the bodies of the killed ones, or he threw himself into the sea, or he laid in wait <in a hole> in the ground and perished in hunger, or hid himself in the forest and was devoured by the animals.

During the days of Peroz, the Roman empire too was in trouble, for the officials of the palace harbored hate toward Zeno the emperor because he was Isaurian of extraction. Basiliscus rebelled against him and reigned in his stead, but thereafter Zeno grew powerful and was re-established over his kingdom.

¹¹⁶⁶ Leader of the Army, commander.

¹¹⁶⁷ On the war see above the year Sel. 706 (AD 394/5).

¹¹⁶⁸ Ps 36:35–36.

خدرا 100 م وم حصلال حصله معنور مزدل معدل وحدره 100 مل و00 مل و00 ملك ومعال حملك عجيمال معدنا. حدومه الدونوس داومرس محكل حدومه وااودهموه وحل واعمكمهم هوم حلوبتهون عكة هوزياً. حير يعيكما وزوهما ووفوراً. وحزهما [واوسا] صهنهد مر حوزنا ووصل وفحل وما مع وهوصيا. عدم انه عنور حوور حوونيا هرودتها صحالاً مع المؤدور عصل واوهد ملا محصاه حسال بع اعمد مدور. وجر عجد رسم محكم وودومميا. عبر واصل مع والحرد وهنامه مغله معدون. والمنظ حده عنه منعل حدة ساء بلا ماه سدز محده الموهل والمؤده حددا. دهوب ه و المنعدة حرمه المناس المناس المنعدة المنعدة المنعدة المنطقة المنطقة المنطقة المنطقة المناسبة المنطقة المنطق معكم سمكم المسند مالمحبوز موه الملسر عرسد ماهكموس حمصونهام. ولكلا سك هوزميل وستوهب الكلم حوزيم حر لهنتي رةرا. معرز للاؤا وامسريه محصم فيع حصري لهمتر. وحده رسن ريا ومحمل ومرموه و معومه وه ومتحل مرمتا. سده وحرب وب حصرا لهديم استرب هم حمامه ر F67v] [معداصه مدور حزب حد معرف حده. ه امسم معده منعل ولمرقلم رحتم. ولا لماه بعند. وقد فعل معمدهام اوهد فعد وسعا ما محرة افعه. معرف معنا لهتب رقول معناه ماهم حديه. ماهم فبع حمه سعال هاوا حمده و محدده و و الله و [244] حده ٥٥ وحنده. ولا العصده. امع حدثها العدم حدد ورسية ١٥٥ عندا والعكريم صعةب المناجد المساحد محك مسكور ووه المحس وال العكوس ومرجل حمصلا لا الماسرة صدا هوا صده. لا أي اسمه عجرا ومهتلا المهجزة: قلا أي صحل عبرا تحمو. قلا أي حددا وافعل بعع مالمد مع دويا. ملا أل حدد لهما مالاده مع سمة ال حقصورت وب وسكه وهزور الا صحولا ووروصل المكريمة. صلا بهذا الم موما كمور

حقصه وب وحده وهزه و محمد العميمة على الم الم الم مها المحمد المحمد المام ال

And because he experienced the hatred of many towards him, he built for himself an impregnable fort[ress] in his own territory, so that if anything [bad] would happen to him, it would serve him as a refuge. He had a con[fidant] in this matter: the *Stratelates* of Antioch whose name was Illus, who was himself Isaurian. Now Illus gave high and commanding ranks to members of his own people, on account of which he was particularly hated by the Romans.

When the fortress was fully prepared, and an incalculable sum of gold placed in it by Illus, the latter came to the capital to inform Zeno that his wish was fulfilled. But Zeno, knowing Illus was treacherous and coveted the reign, ordered a soldier to kill him. After unsuccessfully seeking opportunity over many days to secretly execute [245] his task, the soldier met Illus inside the palace, and drew his sword, raising it to strike him. Straightway, one of Illus' escorts struck the soldier with a knife on the arm, and as the sword fell from his hand, it severed Illus' ear. In order that his treachery towards Illus may not be divulged, Zeno immediately ordered the soldier's head be severed without inquiry, and this especially made Illus think that Zeno gave the man his orders. He rose up to depart from there and went down to Antioch, setting his mind to seek revenge when the opportunity arose.

As Zeno feared Illus, for he knew his evilness, he sent distinguished people to him at Antioch, writing Illus to visit him as he wished to apologize [F68r] to him. He wrote that the treachery was not committed by him, and that he did not want to kill him. But he was unable to soften the hard mind of Illus, for the latter scorned him by not heeding his order to go to him. At the end, Zeno sent to him another *Stratelates* whose name was Leontius, with troops under his command, with the order to bring him up by force, and if he resisted, to kill him. When this one came to Antioch, the gold of Illus corrupted him and he revealed to Illus the assassination order that was given to him. When Illus realized that he (=Leontius) did not hide anything from him, he too showed him much gold, gold that he had through which Zeno wanted to kill him. He asked Leontius to agree to rebel with him, indicating to him also the hatred that the Romans harbored towards Zeno. After he agreed, Illus managed to reveal his will that he alone could not [246] rebel nor could he rule in person, because the Romans hated him too on account of his origin and of his obstinate mind.

Leontius then became emperor in Antioch in name, while Illus was the administrator of affairs. As some people say, the latter even schemed to kill Leontius, if Zeno would be defeated. Now a man, sorcerer and deceitful, whose name was Pamprepius, was escorting them, and he confused and upset all their affairs through his perfidy.

محملاً وبعد حصلنا وهي تا وحماه. [سعم] ما سب حذبه المام حده حلاؤه. اس وار بهه وبيره كه [وصع عرص مدور مده كه كحمة معدول الم مده كه وم حز [وارا] حدوا الصلافيكي والهيميا. وعمده لاهمد. والماهد هما بهم العموليا. حمدهم رسم حت حصه عود وقيل والعنزا [ووهـ]مكها. وصهمكان وهوا علمة العلاس مع والموصل عر وم المام معدا حدد مرم وصلحا ووا حدد والماهيم حدد مع كده ووحا مهماا ولا مدمعي. أبا حصيم محصداً. أب وبدومده حرمد والمحمد رحمد ومن وح ab ونبa وها كه وبعلا وه وكمكوما مكافي a. في كب م فكتا وبمهده وعب قعدا هيتا خط ووا وه والمعمر كه [245] موسل حصوديوه حصل ال العجس في ده طلاه حيه فكله: العمل صده الزبعة لمعسده. وصيرة سر مع فكتا ويصفع للحوم مسود فقصيا حروده. ونفي هندا مع أمره: وقعمة لاوره والحمص رسم أسرض ولا بهوزها بعده ولاما كمص و عداه عمره س وحمل هذه واعمم عنمهم ولا عدالا. ود وم موا عمد محياه للحص وبسحة ورسه عميده. معط سرم مع المحمر مسلم للاطهور. مع صحر مدسود. واصلام وسوا محه المؤا مكمن كووزمولاً. ومع وم صلي ووسل ووا مع المدهد علا ونبد ووا صعمانه. عبز حماره انقل مرمظ للالهمصل معك حم وبعم حماره امر زجل وبعم [F68r] كه زمسا: وكه كم مع كهاه العمدة بطلا هذه. وه وع لا كمعمله زجله هذا. مكندسه معمل والحص ويزوي لا الموسد وهن من كمهمد ملا إجا وبعلام كعومياه ماراد حماد. حسناا وبي عبر محاده اسم الصهاليكي اسزيا وعصد دوا الدهيم. مع سلل واسم ابرةه و وقوره وحملها تعمله ماه د وال محمله الا بمهلمه ورب ابا وه ولم للهيما المسحة حروط مع كوه وكلا كه علا فقويلا وعكلا والمناهب كنه. كلف وبي في سرا ولا فقية بعين تعيير. سويا أف وه وهما تفييما واسد حلمة وما وما وما وساء معلامه والما والمام المام ا ونعزو خصره. وم حينها موما حمد أف صيالًا ووموصل وحمل رسم. ومر ما الماهيم. الممس كەھ وسەل جىنە. حكىمورەن چىز لا معمدسەن (246) ونغزو. ناھلا ونعكر نەن منوصه. معلى والا كره هنام ١٥٥٥ و١٥٥٠ معلى لمهمده ومعلى وسيد معلى المعكم وم النابه حلامهما حمعال في كوه وه الماهور موجول ورجة ال الم وانعزم سرسرتال اه وبمركمه للرابع مكسعت موا ال بوه وبرمه كرسه. بعث موا كمه وبر رحا سر سنعل وراهيا. وعصه هدود. وه وحصم رحقاهم حصا واهوم حصاره حب ر(حه. So that the empire may be become secure for them, they sent messengers to Persia, with much gold, to establish a treaty of friendship with them, or in case they would require (a Persian) army to assist them, they would send to them. When Zeno heard about what had happened in Antioch, he sent there one of the *stratelatai*, whose name was John, with a large army. When the party of Illus and Leontius heard of the great army that was coming against them, their hearts trembled. The people of Antioch were also afraid that they may not be able to resist the siege, and they rioted to get them out of the city, and if they could, to confront the battle. This especially troubled the party of Illus, and thought of going out of Antioch and to cross the Euphrates toward the east. They sent one of their own, whose name was Matronianus, with five hundred cavalrymen, to establish for them a kingdom in Edessa. But the people of Edessa rose up against him and closed the gates of the city, protecting the wall according to the rule of war, and preventing him from entering.

When [247] the party of Illus heard this, they refused to meet John in battle, and not matching his might, John fell upon them mightily and destroyed much of the army that was with them; as for the remainders, they dispersed everyone toward his city. Unable to bear his onslaught, they (=party of Illus) led those who were left with them and took refuge in the fortress about which I said above that it was impenetrable and with all kinds of provision. John pursued them and did not reach them, but pitched camp [F68v] below, around the fortress, keeping an eye on them. As for them, counting on the impregnable fortress, they freed the troops that were with them to go down, leaving with them only choice and valiant men. John appeased his anger toward those who came down from the fortress, but was unable to harm the party of Illus in any way, for the terrain of the fortress was naturally very difficult and it was made amazingly impregnable by work of hands. It had one only road leading up to it, which barely two persons together could take as it was narrow. After much time, when John exhausted all his designs, the party of Illus succumbed to the treachery of those who were with them, and they were captured in their sleep. By order of Zeno, both (Illus and Leontius), along with those who betrayed them, were killed, and the hands of all those who were with them were severed. Such was the strife in the Roman empire during the time of Peroz.

After he (=Peroz) was sought and was not found as I mentioned above, his brother Valash reigned over the Persians in his place. This was a humble and peace-loving man. He found nothing in the Persian treasury, [248] and his land was desolate as a consequence of its depopulation by the Huns. Your wisdom in not unaware of the extent of loss and cost incurred by kings in wars, even if they indeed win, but let alone if they are defeated!

صهر والمكزز حده, محدولًا عبزه التربا حصل قدوهما. حمر وهما مهما وتصعده حصور منصل وفسطمال أه أي وه وصلحط حون سلل حدوونا بعبون حون. وبين وبي ور عجد ملا المحمر وروع حادلهمومال حسر مع صلة لمحله وعمده موسع عبرة حلممه حور سعلا صحيعال. وحري وجد الاصف وحديها والما حصوب. رب حدودي وأف الهتما لموت وسف ولا معمس ووه حمصده سومعال ەازىچە محمور، ويعمور حور مع موسلال دايود ومعمس يازمور معندا. دوا المناه اوسل كرحم همه. والمسعد ويعمور كدور مع الهيما: ويعدور بدوا فيا حصرسا. معبؤ للع مع ومحده وما معهزوسل مع معقطا عزمي وملم حدهم حمد محكوماً حاوزوه. أوزوما وب مِم كموحكه. وأسبه لمؤمل وهبسكا. وبلهز حوزا ويعوها ومزول مل محمود حمد الموالي المرا معد وما الموالي موالي المرا الموالي المرا الموالي المرا الموالي المرا الموالي المرا ا <المربه وبازعه> 170 حصاحا حصير. ولا العجب حسل هوا. معلي ويعلا عصور عمل پدناما. وسند صوريه وسلا وعصوري واستال المحرو علم حصوساءه. ووقع حبلا صعصب ٥٥٥ كمصيده ساهيه. وجه للمحم والعمية كما٥٥، والعمورد كسعيل هذه واضنا مع حدل محمد وصنب مدا. داد اصع حصصرم. عسم وع وود حاوده ملا أوزير أنور معزا هم [F68v] كلسكا 1171 سبرت سعيا ونالي وما كوهر. وبع صهر واصلح وه مد معزوماه وسعيا. عن كسلا وبعده مصلا. دم اوصه كماده و معرجتا وكسكترا حكمه و مسع وم است سعكه حامكم وسكه مع سعيا. كرجيم كوه ولم ونصره خصرم لا أحديد. محكات مصمماه ولم وصده ووهما وسعيا. اقد حدث البيتا العدمامة معضزوا موما. والل أي سرا اوزسا حمة موها وفعها حمد من واقع احسرا وبعصه حن لا طرح ١٥٥٥ صلا على على مع على وم رحل عصما عبد ادف ربته ومسع. بعل مواسل وصد هوه مع المحم ومعمور: والمحجم و ومعمر. وحدومين ورس المعلال لمؤسور معر المحم والمحمر الله والمحم البيتا وحلا المحم وخصوص. والم ومل ولم تعلما الم ووا حمل ووووهما حلوها هزور مع حمل ولم والمحمد ولا العلاصب الي ومع حدل الخذيا. حجم المدون المحرب علا فدووهما سلادون. وبال الماهوس يحزا صحيحا وزسم عبدال وصبم حدا بها وهوزهما لا اعجب [248] واؤده منزط مع مصا وهوستا.. لل من لهما حسمهم وصعا موسوما وبعقما وقع حمدقا حمة حل. أق عم معرط برحم، محمم أصلاب وأف سنحب.

but the infinitive is Pe^cal; C¹ 246 n.7.

¹¹⁷⁰ Ms مناحب بالمذائخ إلمانية the second verb is the phonetic rendering of مناحب المرائد).

¹¹⁷¹ C¹ 247:9 (sic).

He did not get the help that his brother did from the Romans, for he dispatched messengers to Zeno to send him gold, but because Zeno was busy with the war against the party of Illus and Leontius, and because he remembered the gold that was sent by them at the beginning of their rebellion, which remained there in Persia, he declined to send him anything. Nonetheless, he wrote to him: "The taxes of Nisibis that you are levying are enough for you, for behold, they are due to the Romans for many years!"

Valash then, with no gold with him to support his troops, was undermined in their eyes, and the magians also hated him, because he was abolishing their laws, and wanted to build baths in the cities for bathing. 1172 When they realized that he was not appreciated in the eyes of his troops, they seized him and gouged his eyes. And they set up in his place Kawad, the son of his brother Peroz, whose name we mentioned above and who was living as a pledge in the land of the Huns. It was him who waged a battle with the Romans, because he was not given gold, for he sent messengers and a huge elephant in honour of the emperor, so that he may send him gold. But before the messengers reached Antioch of Syria, Zeno died and Anastasius reigned after him. When the Persian messenger informed his lord Kawad of the succession that took place in the Roman empire, he wrote to him to go up quickly to ask for gold as usual, or to tell the emperor that he would face [F69r] war.

Instead of [speaking] words of harmony and peace, as he ought, and of rejoicing with him on the beginning [249] of his governance that was recently given to him by God, he embittered the mind of the believing emperor Anastasius with menacing words. When the latter heard his boasting statements and learned about his evil ways, and that he restored the wicked heresy of magianism called Zaradushtakan¹¹⁷³ – it teaches that women belong in common and that anyone may have intercourse with whomever he wants – and that he badly treated the Armenians who were under his authority, because they did not worship fire, he despised him and did not sent him gold. Rather, he wrote to him: "Just as Zeno, who reigned before me, did not send (gold), I too am not sending it until you return Nisibis to me. My wars with the barbarians who are called Germans, those who are called the Blemmyes, ¹¹⁷⁴ and many others are not few, and I am not leaving the Roman troops to support yours!"

 $^{^{1172}}$ The Zoroastrians worshipped the four elements, and thus bathing would pollute the water.

¹¹⁷³ In Persian, Zaradushtakan would mean literally something like "the little Zoroaster." On the term see C. A. Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac*, Beiträge zur Iranistik 28 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2008), p. 177. Syriac Christianity condemns both Magianism and Mazdaism, as is clear from the statement above.

¹¹⁷⁴ Pagan Ethiopians; on them see Trombley-Watt, *Pseudo-Joshua*, p. 18f n. 88.

وصح حدا والالموافع ومعام لا الله الما حدد المرابعة المراب وسعبة كاه والمحاد المعلم وحرفها وعناها وحدلم كالمع ماليهم المادون المعلم وحاوو ما المحد كبه حل من والعكوز ما صدور حدور المراد من المراد والعرب المراد والعرب حدد في ما المراد والعرب المراد والع والعرب المراد خزر ١٥٥١. لل رجل ونعرة حاه محرم. الله عجب حره. وتقعم حرب عقلا ويرجع ونعم الك. والمنتا صيتالا جرومي المرادومي المرادومي والمرادوم والمردوم والمرادوم والمرادوم والمرادوم والمرادوم والمرادوم والمرادوم والمرادوم والمرادوم والمرا والمؤهل كستكاب المعمل حستنده ورسيقما وم نامت فيس ١٥٥٥ كده ومحلا هما بعقصمهم. مزجله هما وبصل حضف حصوبتها خصصمهاا. مصر عره ولا سعيب حجيب ستهاره اسره و منوز متوهد واميم سهوه بحمو حده وهزور اسه وبد وه والموجزي source of Line, govern not and round, grow out given and so growed out ولا المنهود كه وهود. عبر بعن الريا هولما سر ودا للمنه ومحكم المن وتعبر كه وهدا. مع جهل الريا للهدم وهوزيا حبل رسي. واصح حدوه العلموه. وم أووده الريا وقدوهما حمدو معزود ملا مدسكا وادوا معكما ووددهما: على حرب وصفيهما يعم وتعالا ووجل ون وحيال أو خطعن خصيرا ومد [F69r] عندا. وسك وذلا ووا حو وقلا وعيل ووعكما [بعك]. وسيا حمده حنهما [249] وهبدناه الله حبيبالم>1177 مع كالم الماله والمعلم من الماله المراسلة المراسل وصحا صومعنا العلموها. وه وم حم عجه صحقوب عجمة بدا وبك علا رتقوب حتما: ووسيا حاوزهم برسيال وصهوعال وصلمنها ورووه علما الماء ورود ووا محلا وردة والما وردة والما وردة والما والماء الماء ا ورحاد محمد عم اسكم وزجل معماد حدواطم > 177 للتوسيل واسم مدكهين ملا ولا تفريح ١٥٥٥ كنه وال عليه مال عبو كه والله عك كرد. وأب ولا رسه الأه ومعكم ١٥٥ موهد عوق ولا أنا معفوق أنا حومل والفيا كد يرجع. لا يهم وحوق موجا وأسلا كم حر حزدنا وهلمن يتعسمه معر أسل وهلمن حكفة. معر سيتا استريا. ولا عدم ايا ستهدا ووووهما: وصهوها ايا وسم.

[&]quot;of their education"! C1 248 n.1.

¹¹⁷⁶ Ms. بومي; this is a participle feminine plural but the subject is masculine (اهقلا); C¹ 248 n.2.

¹¹⁷⁷ Ms. Alla, phonetic spelling for Alla. See C¹ 249 n.1.

¹¹⁷⁸ C¹ 249: اوَوَهَا اللهُ Ms shows space between *dōlat* and *šīn* with traces of presumably wāw.

¹¹⁷⁹ Ms. مواحد, probably phonetic rendering; see C1 249 n.4.

When the Armenians who were under the rule of Kawad heard that a peace message was not returned to him from the Romans, they grew valiant and powerful. They uprooted the fire-temples that were built by the Persians in their land, and killed the magians who were among them. Kawad sent against them a *marzhan*-governor with an army to set over them and to return them to the worship of fire, but they fought with him and destroyed him and his army. They sent messengers to the emperor, offering to submit to him, but he declined, lest it be thought that he was provoking a war with the Persians. Now let those who blame him for not giving gold blame the one who asked for what was not his by force. If he asked (gold) peaceably and in request, it would have been sent to him. Rather, he hardened his mind like Pharaoh and insisted on war. We count on the justice of God [250] to bring on him a greater punishment than that on the other (=Pharaoh), because of his abominable laws, for he wanted to corrupt the law of nature and to stop the way of the fear of God. 1180

Then even all the Qadišāyē¹¹⁸¹ who were under his authority rebelled against Kawad, seeking to invade Nisibis and to set up a king of their own over it, and they fought for it for quite a long time. The Tamurāyē too, who dwelled in the land of the Persians, when they realized that they got nothing from him, rebelled against him, relying on the high mountains in which they lived. They would come down to pillage and plunder the villages around them, the merchants, foreigners, and local people, and then go up. Even the nobility of his kingdom hated him, because he allowed their wives to fornicate. When the Tayy-Arabs who were under his authority realized the confusion of his kingdom, they too acted like robbers throughout the whole Persian territory as much as they could.

During this time, trouble appeared in the Roman land too. After the death of Zeno, the Isaurians rebelled against the emperor Anastasius, wanting to establish an emperor of their desire. When Kawad heard this, he thought it opportune to send messengers [F69v] to the Roman lands, thinking that out of fear they would send him gold, for the Isaurians rebelled against him. The emperor Anastasius sent him reply, saying: "If you ask (gold) in usury, I will send it to you; but if it is the usual story, I will not let the Roman armies toil in the Isaurian War while I support the Persians!" Thus by these words Kawad was humiliated because his thinking did not prevail. The Isaurians were defeated, destroyed, and massacred, and all their cities were uprooted and burned. The Persian nobility [251] conspired secretly to kill Kawad on account of his filthy behaviour and wicked laws. When he knew this, he abandoned his kingdom and fled to the land of the Huns, to the king with whom he grew up when he was a pledge.

¹¹⁸⁰ Syriac term for the Christian religion.

¹¹⁸¹ These and the Tamurāyē mentioned thereafter are unknown tribes settled in the north of Mesopotamia; on them see Trombley-Watt, *Pseudo-Joshua*, p. 19f n. 96.

حر هجه وم اقطيما واسم امره وهوو ولا المحيد كه كعكما مع قده مالكحم ه المسكف. محصة قدا وبعوا وصب مده حصوتهما طاؤهم. معلى حصية ما وصد المدهم. معبة عصور مود حصورات سر عمر سلا ويصم درسه وردوم الله ويسيره عموا. ه امن معده مستحده مد محسده معروم الرسير لما معدد المروحه معدمرم: ملا رجا بمحل المن ولا يعدم ومزما ومع هوزهما معنى المحم وصل وخركم حده عالاً ولا عود والأحار بذركم للما وحجا ولا وسلاه: أب وحمهمنا. الليمة خدا 100 معملا محصل صعدوة ما حمد الل فعد وحده حرصها فيمه مرام ملا عندا. اصحب وب س حلماء والماه إلى [250] معمدنعا ولمن مع وهذه معلما لمهده معلما تعوسة وما ليقل وريا سح تعوسه وصيا. وتحلا أوزييا ووسكم كاها. لمود وم الا عبقل عكوه ولمسكم أيره معزوه مكاهد وخمع ووه وملك كرجع ويعكف حة معكم مع ومكون، ورصل ولا حرجوز المحلم مكنة، وأق لهجوتنا لموت وخفزع حازما وهاق مر مره ولا مدمور مره و مره مرا مراه و مره و لهووًا وَحَدَ وِنَصِيْعِ ٥٥٥ حهور. وسَمْعِ وَخَرِعِ وسَلْمِعِي خَمُومًا وِسَرَقِيهُور. وَحَمْرَهُمُ واصعبتا وحدت المؤا وهكمي. أف ساؤا ومحدوله هلي ووه كو: محلا وافعا كنقسه، وكهة. الله لهتما ماه والسما المؤهد مع مره محملا ومحصاره. مخمص ١٥٥٥ الا ون الم سيكه معدد المؤا وقوقعيا مع وع حرصا وما عسما المؤلا الا حمد وهوهما.. اهدوما رب مع حدة مداه ورسم. معنو ملا محدد العدله من ورب ١٥٥٥ و١٥١٥ بعيمه حمده المل وهفز حده ود مجد مدو ود ادوا: هدز ورصل المدس حن. معبر التركير [F69v] حديم وهوصيا مع فعد ووسع معمرون حده وهما. معلا هند وصنيع ٥٥٥ محمه العدوما. الد صحدا العلموه عمد حدد وار وه وخدم حردها صعبرة اللا حرد أر وب صحير عندل وعنبال لل خدم اللا ستكما ووه وصل والمعبي حصنط والعدوما: ٥١٥١ أما صحبوما حدوهما حديد وحمد المحدد وحمد وعدو. صها ومسعد لل هجمل خنعا اروصه العوقيل والمسند والممكم والمحن ومعرب عدوب مريتههم. ووقيد وم [251] وهترهما المنعمة مده مدهما وبمهلاسور كمور. معلا واحدودها لهتدا والمعقودة والمعتمل ومر المريكة حدة مورا. عجم معجوداه ومنوم لحملا هونسا. كما صحاره والمؤجد كماه مر الموهد هوا معمديها ال

His brother Zamasp reigned over the Persians in his stead. As for Kawad, in the Hunnish land he took for wife his sister's daughter. His sister was taken away captive there in the war in which her father was slain, and because she was the king's daughter, she became the wife of the king of the Huns, and he had a daughter by her. When Kawad fled there, she gave this daughter to him as wife. As he took liberty with the king being his son-in-law, he used to cry¹¹⁸² before him every day, asking him for an army to march to kill the nobles and re-establish himself over his kingdom. His father-in-law gave him the large army he requested. When he arrived at the Persian border, his brother heard of it and departed from before him, and he fulfilled his will and killed the nobles. He also threatened the Tamuraye, stating that if they did not willingly subject themselves to him they would be defeated in war. But, if they joined his army, together they would invade the Roman land and from the spoils he would allot them all that they had lost unjustly. Fearing the army of the Huns, they submitted to him. Now the Qadišāyē who were besieging Nisibis, when they heard the matter, also submitted themselves. When the Tayy-Arabs learned that he (=Kawad) was about to wage war with the Romans, they submitted to him with great eagerness. As for the Armenians, fearing he would take revenge [252] on them for the fire-temples that they uprooted in the past, they did not want to be subjected to him. But he gathered an army and waged war against them, but when he overpowered them, he did not destroy them, but promised that he would not even pressure them to worship fire, if they became allies in the war with the Romans. Out of fear and unwillingly, they agreed. The things that Kawad did after entering the Roman borders, I will show you in their own time, but [F70r] as you also ordered me to write about the signs and chas[tisements] in their own time, and about the locusts, pestilence, and want - these happened quite a while - I will direct my talk to them. Not to confuse the account, I will write the years individually, one by one, and concerning each one of them, I will write about what happened therein. May God be my aid through the help of the prayers of your reverence.

The year eight hundred and six of Alexander (AD 494–495): Now on the war's cause and how it came about, I think I have sufficiently informed you, O our father – I wrote briefly about them to avoid lengthy speech. I found some narratives in old books, others from meeting with people who served as ambassadors to both kings, and yet others from those who participated in the events. For the moment, I want to inform you about things that happened to us, [253] because from this year the strong chastisements and the signs began – taking place in our own days.

¹¹⁸² The Chronicler did not like Kawad, and by describing him crying, he probably wanted to highlight the king's weak personality.

اصحر سلامون ملا فوقها رهم اسون بوه وم مور بعد هه مقد الما والمنة حنا سمه. هود سمه الممصلة كمع حفيظ هذه وحده المعلم احدود. وصهر وحنا صحا المنه وورا. حتما حصحا ووقيل وولا ووويا حو صية حنال وحر عزم حمي مور موحمة حه حتمال وه وب عبر هوما حه فيصل والمسم, حصحول حمدهم مرحمه مدحم مال 1183 مر خلا مده ولك ممال حمورنا: اب وللا بعلموا منهم ملا محصوله والمامود مع معدود ممل لا وحوز الم وملا. دوم حب وبلا للزحل وقتصيل عجد المدون دغي عرصودي دوه رحد که درجسه و مکتب اس و و و و دور از و و دوره که و سملا محل محده لازما وة وه وصل و ما ولم ف من كوه و والم الم و و و و و و و و و منا و و و و و و و الما ما الما و و و و و و الما و و و وه والمعلقة عن مرقب وم وهن علام برجع ومن وحمي العرب العرب العلم المعلمة. لهنتا وب حد بحد وعنظ علمم خصعص عص قهه وصلا. حسوسها وحلا المصعد حماه. اتوصیل و مدلا ورشع ۱۹۵۹ و محلا مدم ورکعل محمد (252) مدره محلا فرن قا و بدوا وحصنه ٥٥٥ مع مرسور لل رجه وتعامضه حده. وه وبي فيع سال مامند عصده ، دم ۵٠ صحبة ما حصنط وحم قه وه وهما. دون مع وسكله دور لا وحب ١٥٥٥ الم هما المحمد المحمد وب جدة الموا عدو حرم وجر حكمية معل وقده وعمل: [F70r] حرجيد علم الل واسوس. المعل وب صلي واف على الماقيا [معترو]ما وروق صحدوب معرا معرا معالم وموموناً 1184 فجها ك افهود. ووية موسع حرصاً. حمده الله الله كن حصلات وولا الهوا حكلا المسكل وا فقع اللا حوم حستا حلوا حاروا مو صفتم. مد حكموا معده عدة محة فهما معوم والعهد حة. مع كلما بعدا كم معسما حدووبا ورحقال ويحممانور

¹¹⁸³ MS compound is correct although one would expect סבם . C1 251 n.5 emended it to to where it is in fact סבב . C2 251 n.5 emended it to W 19:9 where it is in fact סבב .

يەمىرا: typo. ¹¹⁸⁴ C¹ 252:11:

المحتوي Ms. محتوي but the subjects are المحتوي المحتوي المحتوي المحتوي المحتوي المحتوي المحتوي المحتوي المحتوي

معتبها معتبه المعتبل معتبه in reference to معتبه but technically the subject is masculine: معنبا

During this time health prevailed in all our territory, although the sicknesses and the diseases of our souls were many. Now God, who delights in sinners when they repent from their sins and live, made our bodies like a mirror; he engulfed our bodies with sores, so that by our exteriors he may show what our interiors look like, and that through the scars of our bodies we may learn how hateful the scars of our souls are. Just as all sinned, so did all suffer this blow for there were tumors and abscesses in all the people of our city, and the faces of many swelled and were full of pus, turning into a horrible look. There were some others whose whole bodies were full of ulcers or pustules up to the palms of their hands and the soles of their feet; others had large holes in every one of their limbs. But by the grace of God which commiserates them, sickness did not long persist in any one, nor did any mark or defect exist in the body. Although the scars of the sicknesses were recogniz[able] after healing, the limbs were kept protected to fulfill their necessary functions in the body. At this time in Edessa, thirty *modus*-measure of wheat were sold for a denarius and barley for fifty.

The year eight hundred and seven (AD 495–496): On the seventeenth of *Iyyōr* (May) of this year, blessings were sent down abundantly from heaven to all people: the crops [254] were abundant thanks to blessing, rain was coming down, and the fruits of the earth were growing in their due time. Most of the citizens cut off the hope of their life by acting wickedly in public, and while immersed in pleasures, they neglected offering thanksgiving for God's graces; rather, they ignored [the gra] titude, [F70v] being corrupted by the diseases of sin. And while these hidden and visible sins with which they were busy were not enough for them, they came in a fixed day, which was Friday, when Saturday was dawning, in which a dancer dances – it is called *Trimerius*. ¹¹⁸⁷ They lit countless candles in honour of this festival, a custom that did not exist in the city in the past. These were set in order on the ground along the river from the Gate of the Theatre and as far as the Gate of the Arches. They placed lit candles on its banks and hung some in the colonnades, the open market-space, the high streets, ¹¹⁸⁸ and many (other) places. On account of this wickedness, a miraculous sign came from God as a warning:

[&]quot;it is called" or تحميل "it lasted," the feminine is puzzling as long as المنطقع remains obscure. Trombley-Watt, *Pseudo-Joshua*, p. 24 and nn.19–20, suggested a Greek origin, meaning "a period of three days," and if this were feminine, then the feminine participle fits well.

¹¹⁸⁸ The Syriac is not clear, especially with the addition. W18 suggests حقاماً عدتاً and we tentatively follow him.

عدل احتصا محد. حدوم عدلمه حليه ابن بعدا هرا: حر لهذا حر عصا كده ورسيا محدا هدل همران ورسيا محدا همران هود ورسيا الله ورسيا هود ورسيا هود ورسيا الله ورسيا و

There is no need to emend it to , as in M; the original term's context is is general; C¹ 253 n.2.

according to C¹ 253 n.3, but the folio is wholly not clear.

¹¹⁹¹ Ms. کے نظار C1 253 n.3; phonetic spelling.

¹¹⁹² C¹ 254:7 [المحكمة]; the first three letters are still visible in ms.

The letter after the $q\bar{o}f$ has two dots one above and one below, and thus it can well be محميل

¹¹⁹⁴ ἀντίφορος

¹¹⁹⁵ The final $y\bar{o}d$ has a round tale and it looks like a $w\bar{a}w$, in any case it is an addition along with the $sy\bar{o}m\bar{e}$ seemingly.

the cross held in the hand of the blessed emperor Constantine's bronze statue retreated about one cubit from the statue's hand, and remained thus on Friday and Saturday until the evening.

Now on Sunday, the cross moved on its own accord, drawing close to its place, [255] and the statue seized it with its hand as it was held in the past. Through this sign the intelligent understood that the festival that was performed was far from the will of God.

The year eight hundred and eight (AD 496–497): The sign above was not enough to prevent us from wickedness, but we grew especially bold to readily draw near sins. Children slandered their friends, and adults were full of hypocrisy. Jealousy and perfidy overpowered all of us, and adultery and fornication abounded. The sickness of abscesses worsened in people and the eyes of many were damaged in the same city and in villages. Mor Cyrus the bishop showed wonderful zeal, exhorting the citizens to make a silver litter in honour of the Eucharistic vessels. These could then be deposited in the litter when they perform the service to commemorate one of the martyrs. Every one gave as much as he could, but Eutychianus, the husband of Aurelia, was the first to show good will giving a hundred *denarii* out of his own money.

Anastasius the governor was discharged, and Alexander came in his place at the end of this year. He cleared the city streets of garbage, destroyed booths which were built for the artisans in the porticoes and streets, placed a box in front of his *praetorion*, piercing its cover with a hole and writing above it: Anyone who wants to inform on things not easily done by him publically, [F71r] may write it down and drop it inside the box without fear. For this reason, he learned many things that many wrote down [256] and dropped in. He used to sit consistently every Friday in the church of Mōr John the Baptist and Mōr Addai the Apostle to settle lawsuits free of charge. (Oppressed ones) overcame their aggressors and the plundered their plunderers, presenting to him their grievances and he passed judgment on them. Lawsuits older than fifty years that were not pursued were brought before him and were settled. He built a walkway near the Gate of the Arches, and then began to build the *demosion*, 1196 which was planned many years before, near the Granary. He ordered that on the eve of Sunday artisans hang over their shops crosses in which five lamps were kindled.

The year eight hundred and nine (AD 497–498): When these events were done, the time of the feast in which pagan legends were sung came. The citizens took more care about it than usual. Seven days earlier, in the evening, they jointly went up from the theatre, clad in linen, wearing turbans, and with loose loins.

^{1196 &}quot;Public building," but also "public bathhouse."

سعا حن وركسط هذه وكسر حلبه البوسها 197 ولهمسل مه وهما المسه محكما المسه محكما المسهد ولي والبوسها المركبة ولي والبوسها المركبة المركبة ولي والبوسها المركبة المركبة والمركبة والمركبة

عدم المتعدال ماصدا. لا وبي صعمل كي الما هوا وصع حديد وحدة محلا صع ومعدا. الا المناه هم ١٥٥ ومعمن معلمن عمل شهره وكالمد وومرقل منزل وسنزسون افسكم ١٥٥٥. وزورُد معدد حلقا مجمع ١٥٥٥. وسعما وبداً حدك المحكي. ورحوا ورسواا صحيلًا. المحم وب عاصل هذه ويقمل حصيتما وحتيل العرض حنه حجوسها محمدةما. وما وم لهيدا حصن معوزا العسمول منجي حدث موسلا وبحدور حملهمي 198 وهاما المما ومات والل وهوه ملاهمين حدة مدا واركع حمدهم حدي. حرەحزىل وسر مع معةول. محكم موت معرم وهده مدا حربةهمد. ادلهمدل وب حدكة واهوسل بوه شور موسل رجسل معيزار منبوت مع ومكه وسنزا مطال المكون وبي العظموه المرجعة المراكبة المراكبة المراكبة المراكبة والمراكبة والمراكبة المراكبة ال رطاً. وحمة مع لمقام العلم ووقع القمعا طقلها وحققاً. وهم محولاً مرم فرهني وعده منوب نمط معصمة. معلمت حيل معنة وعلا من وحظ وتمولا مبرور ملا فعيم حه رحماره [F71r] معماد معرا حيمة ولا وسحما. ومع موا محما. رجمال هيتالما به وضاحم ١٥٥٥ [256] صحال مغبر حن مناه العمام علام مقعما وعناه على حصم هذورا ومعزب عوسع معموبا وومعزب أوب محسل مغزا وتبا ولا موهزيا. والمسكو (کرتعدل کی کرفهده وریزا کی دورده ده و میتوه ده ویتوه ورده ادم. ویا وع واحدمه مدن مع سمعت عتب. ولا الماحدة المعنجه مرمده والعدود. حبا وب فنوكي الم المراجعة والمراجعة والمراجعة والمراجعة والمراجعة المراجعة المراجع مرم رحيا ومنتا: حعم حيث صبح ما معمل 1203 وبحدة وهوم أحم المعتار ما سعما عنها وتعالى المتحاد المتعادي المتعادي المعادي الم

مد المتعدا مامه. *** هم هم هم مصلحتى هفيد بعلما اهم وعلى المه والمعتدا وسعدا مروحتى حد هفي ده والمعدد من الهام حديد الهام وحديد والمعدد من الهام حديد الهام حديد الهام حديد الهام حديد الهام المعدد المعتبد ا

¹¹⁹⁷ ἀνδριάς(-άντος).

¹¹⁹⁸ Λεκτίκιον.

مع لهذا For المعلم 1199.

¹²⁰⁰ Περίπατος.

¹²⁰¹ Δημόσιον.

¹²⁰² The verb in the perfect is repeated twice in ms.

¹²⁰³ Σιτικόν.

¹²⁰⁴ Greek Φανός (Arab. فانوس).

Candles were lit before them, and they burned perfume. They passed the whole night awake, going around the city praising the dancer until the morning with singing, screaming, and debauchery.

For these reasons, they neglected even to go to prayer, and no one remembered his duty, but in pride they derided the integrity of their fathers, saying: They did not know how to do these things as we do. They would say: The inhabitants of the city in the old days were simple and stupid! [257] Thus they grew bold in wickedness, and there was no one to reproach them, reprove them, or admonish them. Although Xenaias, the bishop of Mabbug, 1205 happened to be in Edessa, he was supposed to take up the task of instruction more than anyone else, but he did not talk to them on this matter for more than one day. But God in his mercy clearly indicated to them his care, so that they may be restrained from their iniquity. For the two basilikai1206 and the bathroom¹²⁰⁷ of the summer demosion collapsed, but by the grace of God no one was hurt, although too many people were in them, working inside and outside. Only two men among them died, because they were trapped at the door of the bathhouse when they fled from the sound of the fall. As they clung to both sides of the door to turn it around, they tarried arguing who would be first to go out, and stones fell on them, and they died. All intelligent people thanked God who spared the city from mourning the deaths of many people, for that demosion was due to allow bathing in the forthcoming days. It collapsed in such a way that the foundation stones built inside the ground were uprooted from their [F71r] places.

In this same year, an order of the emperor Anastasius came exempting craftsmen from the tribute paid by them in gold every four years. 1208 This order did not come to Edessa alone, but to all the cities of the Roman empire. [258] The Edessans used to pay one hundred and forty *litrā*-pounds of gold every four years. The whole city rejoiced and they all, young and old, put on white garments, carried kindled wax-candles, burned incense in censers, and went out with psalms and hymns, thanking God and praising the emperor, to the church of Mōr Sergius and Mōr Simeon, and there they offered the Sanctification. They went into the city and made a joyous and pleasant feast during the whole week, and decided to celebrate the same feast every year. All the craftsmen took rest in delight, [bathed], and sat in the courtyard of the church and in all the porticoes of the city.

¹²⁰⁵ Bishop Philoxenus of Mabbug (ca. 440s?–523), Miaphysite theologian and major writer; about him see André De Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbug: Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie* (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1963).

¹²⁰⁶ Colonnades.

ان المجانة الكورية ال

¹²⁰⁸ Chr. Edes. 8:19–21, short mention which specifies the month of the tax (the *chrysargyrion*) remission: the month of May of the same year.

ەسەق مەھسەم، متبالما محملهام معمون علام كلما محماعندم حصوسلال ومفضي الزميعها برحا حرفزا وحمدا وحاهم الما والما ومحم مقال اوم ٥٥٥ ك٥٥ الد مع وكعارا حرجهاإ. ولا أنع ضما ١٥٥ علا حده ذكما. الا صطروما مدة كم مده صحوما واحقده ولا كم نربع مده كمعمر مكع احدار. واصنع ١٥٥٥. وحودًا أه هوية لل المهور ١٥٥٥ [257] معمونة وهبيكا. وحرفتا مرهمًا. ەھىل تفدىم ھەدە حزىمىدا. دىكى ھەدا اس وھىفەر دال وتخصى دال وتغزيال دىم لىت حادورد الصلامد المحال العسما العسمال ومدين الله ولمن مع المؤلل مصلان ومعطل ملاهد وللا حصاهدها الل فعلا معده ملا ما من مع مع مع مع ما ما اللا كلها حعنسعتمان شور محدم محمل الله على محمده والم مع محمور والمحمور والمحمور مع عهده و المركمة من المركب المرك وحب لمحماه والحوا العد لا احد عاص. وم لهد القل صهتال الم 1000 دة. وفلسم كه مكتز. ولا هبكه هدهه. الله أي لماقي العتي والمؤجرة في خزمن مع علا ومعهكما حكوما وصد معتل دور معدالم وده مع لمق رحقاده لحمل محمل لمعدودهاره الماده ودملا سزيل وابيا هيهور بعوم مرهيا. وبعالا معرف ملقا وهبه. فدوح ١٥٥٥ وم المحاه عده ورمعاً: وسعدة حميدها مع اطا وصيتاا. مميا ١٥٥ سن وسعم والفسا حقهما متبطر وصل ولم بعكم حرهل وقافية التماما ولا قوهة واؤلم حتى وةند. المحمدة مع [F71r] وقصمه من حق وم حدوا عدما الما قومبدا والسهوم محداً. وتعلاجم واقتل وأنقص المن المنظم المنافع المن المنافع ا للمؤوف حكمه إلى ما ما هم ولا همريا. الله حكمت صبقا وأمسيل [258] ووموصل نمحت ١٥٥٥ وم اهروما سرا للرود عنتي. حملها ووود تقال وارودمي. وببوغ عكم مدرسما. محمد سة وا عدهم، مع وحا محرها عرمة الدار مهده مترسا عب سة و معتمل عب ضدلتها وبعمه حمرمورًا وحلمحتماً ومرحوم الكوا ومفحصم حمحوا حصلا صةوا وحزب صنيعي هوجن معدي، معنده الحدم مدوساً. محك حصرسكا محمر حاوا وسبوءا ووحقعا عكة عدلال واصعه ويدوه خفرع كه كداوا ويا علا حميل. مربع ٥٥٥ وخصصع عدهم اقصيل وهد النبي والفصصع حبولا وحبال وحدده القلموا وحرسلال

¹²⁰⁹ Greek στρῆνος.

¹²¹⁰ Βασιλική.

¹²¹¹ Sic ms.

¹²¹² Ms. ممهاما; C^1 257:3; not clear. The *olaf* is placed under the influence of the $zg\bar{o}f\bar{o}$: $qayt\bar{o}yt\bar{o}$.

معلوبار Ms. الاعتاد 1213 Ms.

In this same year, on the fifth of the month of *Ḥz̄nōn* (June), Mōr Cyrus the bishop left this life and Peter succeeded him. ¹²¹⁴ He added to the ferial days of the year the feast of Palm Sunday. He also set the tradition of consecrating the water in the night preceding the feast of Epiphany, and concerning the oil of unction, (to consecrate it) on Thursday of the Passion Week ¹²¹⁵ in the presence of the whole people, along with other feasts. Alexander the governor was dismissed, and Demosthenes replaced him. At his order all the porticoes of our city were whitewashed. Now people experienced in such things were greatly annoyed by this, for they said that that sign foretold imminent things to happen in the country.

[259] The year eight hundred and ten (AD 498–499): 1216 Evidence of God's justice was revealed to us at this time so that we may stop our bad ways. In the month of $Iyy\bar{\rho}r$ (May) of this year, when the day arrived for the celebration of that evil festival of paganism, swarms of locusts came out to our country from the south. They did not devastate or harm anything in this year, but merely deposited eggs in our country in no small quantity. After the deposition of their eggs in the ground was done, terrible earthquakes took place in the land. This is clear: they happened to alert humanity not to sink in sin lest it be chastised by famine and pestilence.

In the month of Ob (August) of this year, an order came from the emperor Anastasius, (abolishing) wild animal combat in all cities of the Roman empire. In the month of $Il\bar{u}l$ (September), a powerful earthquake took place, and a great sound was heard from the sky over the land in such a way that the earth shook from its foundations at that sound, and all the villages and cities felt the sound and the tremor. Alarming rumours and unpleasant news reached us from all sides, and as some said, an admirable sign was seen in the Euphrates River and at the hot-spring of Abarne in that the gushing of their sources stopped in this same day. [F72r] I do not believe that this is false, because many times over the earth was rent by tremors, and it happened that the flow of running waters in the places that broke asunder was also blocked, and sometimes they were diverted to another side. The blessed David, in the eighteenth psalm on God's punishments [260] by means of earthquakes, rending of mountains, and things like these befalling his enemies, tells and informs us that this indeed happened.

¹²¹⁴ Ibid., 8:21–23.

 $^{^{1215}}$ The term \mathbb{N} ; is missed in C^1 258:18. Although today the blessing of the oil takes place at the beginning of Lent, in the past, as in the Church of the East now, it used to take place on Holy Thursday.

¹²¹⁶ Chr. Edes. 8:23–9:5 briefly mentions the events, but also Chr. Zuq. III, which refers to the passage above; Harrak, *Zuqnīn*, p. 38–9.

حة وم حدوا عدلا حاوس سرمن. حدوم سعما. يقم مع محمد ادبا مدن مدوا اهمهمها. وهوا سهوه ولهزار وأوهد على عارية وعدلا عاوا والمعتل فهم عنوا وبالموعور متلا حكما صحة علوا وحم وسال على صعبا وصعبها حتصعا حمد وواوا الم الم عكم عكم حصل حصر من حالة السول المكاف المحاف المحاف المحمول المحاف والمحمل. وحدومين المنوه حدوم اهلمةا وطبيكي. الحلي ولي وطنعي وود حوم رحما المالمه ٥٥٥ صعصا حدوا. اضنع ٥٥٥ سن والمراف وصورط 1218 مل متحما وحصما ودهم. [259] عدم احتجال محصة المسما وب وطاها والمحما المرحمة محم حرصا الما حمد على وهدي حتما. محاوس انه ومدلما مواد وصلها معمل وسلمدم حده علوا منه حمما وسعماً. نجم مصل صحال للاق مع المعيل وموم حة حميمًا حمل لا هون ولا أحب الا حصور وبرج ده دلماني ولا درجون هد برجما ورؤحه داؤها بربط ١٥٥٨. رقعا وستلاحك ازدا 1219 من 1000 مورا كما ود. وهلا حريدناونن >1219 للعمار مع لموسل بسلما هن ٥٥٥، ولا غازوا حقعا محمدالاً. حازس احد العدم وملا موا. الجا همول مع معكما العملوه: (والمحلا) موسى 1221 حصرتها وحدة وهومعما. حاوس الموادد الموادد ومما حمييا وعلا وحاص مصما علا أوما المهمور. الحيا واؤما من متهمة المارسة ده حملا هذه: وصحوع مدوما وحبتها أفرحه حد حملا هذه وحومل وحقيما لمحتجا ولمخا ولا عفني. مع دلا ويتم المه حي هامو معلم والغني ستسويل الما المصما المبوعة حدوا هنا مصمعها واحزيا. ويم وويا ويحتنه وي حده حده ما الله [F72r] ملا معهد الله مورا ووسلا. صهر وصعا رحت مع لهزما وم أزما حرة ما. ورجه وأف معتا وزوع حوم حرة صما وقع بمحمر مع معزومهمى. وأمم امداء وأف كهما اسزيا مع لهمي المعلا وأف لهميا ومر بر صمكما حكممدسكا واصبحة ان ملا صحح حتماد [260] وأراه مع كله ملا حمد حدة دن حبر روحل واؤخل ماه حسل ولهووال واستسكال واب وحم محموف والا ادوا العلامال

¹²¹⁷ This word was misread in a variety of ways, including in C¹ 258:18. For the details see C¹ 258 n.5.

 $^{^{1218}}$ C¹ 258:24 الله in M بومحصا, C¹ 258 n.8. The reading above from the ms is plausible.

¹²¹⁹ Ms. ويعياوسن C1 259:1. The folio is so darkened that this cannot be verified.

This part of the folio is faded away and the reliance is on C^1 259. C^2 contains several words with unvocalized endings which tend to end with unnecessary $y\bar{o}d$; (for a) is a case in point.

¹²²¹ Κυνήγιον.

For he says: The sources of the waters were laid bare and the foundations of the universe were seen, at your rebuke, O Lord. 1222 A letter also came in this month that was read before the entire congregation of the church: at midnight, the city of Nicopolis suddenly collapsed and buried all its inhabitants. The foreigners who were there and brothers from our schools who were travelling there – those who were inside it – were also buried there; their colleagues who returned told us. The whole wall which surrounds the city and everything that was inside it were overturned in that night. None among the people survived except for the bishop of the city and two other men, who were sleeping behind the apse of the church's altar. When the roof of that church, in which they were sleeping, fell, one end of its beams rested on the wall of the altar and did not bury them. A truth-loving brother thus told me: "In evening time, on the night when (the city) collapsed, my friend and I were lying down inside it. He was distressed and said to me: 'Get up! Let us go and spend the night outside the city in the pit as we used to, for I cannot spend the night here, because the air is heavy for me and sleep does not come to me.' We got up, he and I, and went out of the city, passing the night in the pit, as was our custom. When dawn drew near, I awakened the brother who was with me, and said to him: 'Get up, for it is dawn, and let us go into the city to conduct our business.' We got up, he and I, and came to the city, and found [261] all its buildings overturned, and people, cattle, oxen, and camels buried there, the sound of their groaning coming from under the ground. Those who gathered there brought the bishop out from under the beams of [the church] by which he was protected. He asked for bread and wine with which to offer the Mystery, but because the whole city collapsed, there was nothing left standing. Then a passer-by, a blessed man, happened to come, and gave him small pieces of bread and some wine, and he offered the Sacrifice and prayed, associating those who were there in the Living Mystery." As I think, he resembled at that moment the righteous Lot when he fled from Sodom. At this point, these details are enough.

Then, in the north there was a martyrium called of Arsamosata, which was firmly built and marvellously ornamented. On a specific day every year, the martyr(s) buried in it were commemorated, and many gathered together there from all regions either for prayer or for trade, for there were many supplies for the people within the crowd that gathered there. While many people were there: [F72v] men, women, children, and all statures and measures, terrible lightning, powerful thunderbolts, and quaking noises occurred, and all the people fled to the martyrium to seek refuge with the bones of the blessed ones.

¹²²² Ps 18:15; see also 2 Sam 22:16.

اجن رمن والمرجمة محدة على وحتال والماس على العدة والحدل مع علير معنال الما وم اق المهذا حد صنط 1223 مل والمنط مرم عدد صعل وجرال وبعظ بمدهد لمع حبيداً المالة على عبر عليه وهيا. وسعدا حدة عده معدودة. أو احستا واسد موا لمح واشد مع العدة لا وبرعم وموه محمد المح والعدد حدوة لمح المهمين، ومستندون والم العممين كي حكم من عدوا ومدينها مع منه: ومحمدهم واسم كه معين المهوب دلامل منه. ولا فع العا معين حستا: الل ال العصمعا ولكن وصبعاً. ماتع العتم المتربع ووضعه ٥٥٥ حصار منعل وصبحما وحباً. وعب لهجمال وصلاً هن ، ورضع هن ده: العلام سر رحل ومتعدد على العلا وعده ومرحسل ملا لهجم اله. والاصلام المكم من الله من وسع مهزاد وحديد ووصما والأله هما وحده للهكل. حدة مع معبدها: حسفها بنه وأسم في منبا. معهد ولا معمص أما خصم به وصل والو علمة عطب ملا المامل حد جدلاً. ومعج الل وهود وبعمل حدة مع معبدلاً. وجمع حدودًا هذه المو حنبي. ده عند حبل ولله ولله المعناه للمل هذه والم هذا حصد داخيا حد. موم لب معلا ويجمل كذ. وروي كمبيكا ويصدو صوري. ومع الل وود. والم حصيدها والمحسنة عبر [261] محمص علامه منسنة. ولهمن المع أنقا وحمدزا. واورًا و يقلل وادل موا ملا ونوريون مع ره افيل والمصف حلم والمصف لاقتصمه في است متعل محم و[4] وهماز موا حمور. وخط موا حم حسط وسعنا وحده, معصصه للزراد صهر وحذة صبيدا محمد مهاد محمد مدا حذ صبع وفاهر. وصع العلممد عذم أوزسا العم لهوصا: ومود عده قلما وعوزها ومحس سعنها: مضنت معنوصل من حديد معملات العلم والم ما المح النورا وستل موضل مما حديد منه المر وضحة الله كله ووسعا عم معرهم المفكل مدهم مرحل كدوها معقى لاده وع حة حيزصا الم 100 حمد حدةوا سر وحماعذا والمعطع. الما وحمدوالم حبا 100 معلمك مرجك موا. محموها بريك من وجه منوا موا ومعرب وعربها: وهبعب حد ص عدا حمدا: الموسعة صحيمًا حمص مع مل فيتي. الم وطرحما والم وحمره ولما. قهزنها رحمة هيما هذا هذا للعما حصما هذه وهمافيم هذا حره دور محمل هيماا [F72v] المم الما ما حرة ورحدًا دوليقا دولمحتا: دولا مقص دولا معقمي، دود حدما وستلا معمدًا حميدًا. مقلا ورمحاً. مجزمة حكة العمار حمية صقوا منه: حملي [262] روها دروسه ولاقصار

المحبوسل 1223 C1 260:5.

عديد 1224 C¹ 260:7 مديد ا

And while they were in great fear, holding prayer and service in the middle of the night, the martyrium collapsed and crushed beneath it most of the people who were in it. This happened on the day Nicopolis fell.

The year eight hundred and eleven (AD 499-500): No one of us curbed his evildoing in all these earthquakes and calamities. Because our country and our city had no more excuse, in that later on we were reserved for chastisement having not been alarmed by far-away news, we suffered an incurable blow. Let us acknowledge therefore the justice of God and say: Righteous is the Lord and very right are his judgments, 1226 for lo, in his patience he still wants to deter us from our evils by signs and wonders. In the month of the First Tešrīn (October) of this year, on the twentythird, a Saturday, at the rising of the sun, its light was taken away, and its radiant disk looked like silver. It did not have visible rays and our eyes could easily and without hindrance stare at it, for it had no brilliance, brightness, or rays to prevent those who would gaze at it. Just as it is easy for us to look at the moon, so was it when we looked at it. It remained likewise until toward the eighth hour. The ground over which the little light available shone looked like as if ashes or sulphur was spread over it. On the same day another terrible and dreadful sign occurred on the wall of the city (Edessa) – on account of its king's faith 1227 [263] and the righteousness of its inhabitants in older times, she was worthy of receiving a blessing from our Lord and was near swallowing up its present inhabitants, because of the multitude of their sins. For there was a breach in the wall from the south to the Great Gate, and some of the stones of that place were scattered quite far away from it. At the order of our father the bishop Mor Peter, petitions took place and every one begged mercy from God. He led all his clergy and the entire Covenant¹²²⁸ of men and women, and all the members of the holy Church, rich and poor, men, women, and children, and carrying crosses, they went around all the streets of the city, with psalms and odes, dressed in black garments of affliction. Also all the convents in our territory kept up services with great diligence. Through the prayers of all the holy ones, the light of the sun was restored in its place, and we had a little encouragement.

¹²²⁶ Ps 119:137.

¹²²⁷ Reference to Abgar the Black.

¹²²⁸ "Sons and Daughters of the Covenant," an early ascetic movement; See S. H. Griffith, "Monks, "Singles," and the "Sons of the Covenant," Reflections on Syriac Ascetic Terminology," in *Eulogema: Studies in Honor of R. Taft S.J.*, ed. E. Carr et al. (Studia Anselmiana 110; 1993), pp. 141–60.

موم حسلال وحدا اسلامه و موه محروه المحمد المعمد المعمد المحمد وهم وهما وهم المحمد والمحمد وال

عدلم المنتحل مسيمهموال حمكم موسل عدكمه وقدل مرةسل العد معم مع صقله لا المجلد. وولا معهم حنوسل هع المني ومعرسم، حدن واستما خعدودا المالهني. وولا وسم عمدتل وزهسما: حجع صدما وحمل كن اصداً. بروم وصد حديداه والحوا وبالعزز وروس وه معزماً وله ماؤم ومنقوس والا صحيرا ووسم حرصه حرصه حب المقال ماوهما إخا كعدامص مع حتمل. حافس المناع موسم ومدا هواد حنصته ماكما حد مدم محداد. حر معصف معمل بدوره معده المسلاف ورسيلا وبدوره خصاصا وضا 1001. وركتما وحكسرت حبك مواحو. وحتب محمصت مؤت حو وحللك ولا حووطا. لا رحمة الكاموا حه رجستا اه ركيا اه ركتما وافعى حقى مع وسوق ده. الا اب وقعم ح حمد حصهؤا: هصل اه حه سنزم هوم. هصه هصل حرمل للقد لمعتل عمتي. أولم وم ووسس وه المحنة محمد حودوا وأمل وه أ فعصده وها. أب وه ومهمد أه حديدا حرب وها عكمة. هوما وم صفحا ها الما المنزال ووسكما مورهما حقول وهوسكا. هموا صهر ومعنواه ومحدة: [263] مطنواً وحمدونة وحرجتاً مومتاً. عوا حمده حودها مع حنى عندا وولا لحصول معونة وحرصا وبال معهد هو ال وشهورون لمؤمما سن دوما حموزا مع المعيا حموط وحاد ومع ماهنده ووومما المحروه حزوسما معين لا رحوز دهومبدا [وب] واحم، حزد فلهذا اهمهموفيا حقياً مؤد معلم وسعا مع كما خدا ۱۰۰ وجز رحم حدوم محزوم وحده محدده منعل ورحزا ووبقال وحدده ورحة وحباً عبعما: حمة حم معقبا. رحة حم نقا هلكتا: وحب لهدم إكتما دهمون عةمنه وموسلال محادوم ١٥٥٩. حمومه والمحمل المحكة على الأفصل ومعافظات الا ومتاا علامي وطلق. حسعمهما وحما والمعمما متص ووقد وحرجة ال وعلاه ومبقا. نه وورد و معمل علا وهد المعدد محمد موا حرد

In Latter *Tešrī* (November), we saw three signs in the sky in midday time. One of them, in the middle of the sky to the south, looked in appearance [F73r] like a rainbow that occurs in the clouds; it was bent upward, that is its curvature was downwards and its ends upwards. There was also another one in the east, and again another one on the west. Moreover, we saw in Latter *Kōnūn* (January) another sign in the southwestern quarter which in appearance looked like a spear. ¹²²⁹ Some people said about it that it was the broom of destruction, while others said that it was the spear of war.

Up to this point, we were chastised by news and signs, but from now [264] on who is able to describe the affliction that surrounded our land on all sides? In the month of $Od\bar{o}r$ (March) of this year locusts invaded us out of the ground, in such a way that, on account of their number, we thought that not only the eggs in the ground had hatched against us, but that the air was releasing them against us, as if they were coming down from the sky upon us. When they were crawling, they consumed and destroyed the entire 'Arab¹²³⁰ and the entire territories of Rēš-'aynā, Tellā, and Edessa. But when they began to fly, its range extended from the border of Assyria¹²³¹ up to the West Sea, ¹²³² and northwards they went as far as the border of the Urtians, 1233 devouring and devastating these territories; they consumed everything that was in them, so that, even before the war broke off, we saw with our own eyes what was said concerning the Babylonian: Before him the land is like the garden of Eden, but after him a desolate wilderness. 1234 If the command of the Lord did not prevent them, they would have devoured people and cattle, just as we heard that they did in one of the villages where someone put down a little child in a field while doing work. Before going from one end of the field to another, (locusts) attacked him and deprived him of life.

¹²²⁹ Chr. Zuq. III 39 (brief account); Chr. Edes. 8:29–9:1 with the same month but the year is Sel. 810.

¹²³⁰ From the context, the term seems to refer to the Khābūr region.

¹²³¹ In Middle Persian sources, Āsōristān referred to Bēt-Ārāmāyē, which corresponds to Babylonia; G. Widengren, "Āsōristān Name of the Sasanian Province of Babylonia;" http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/asosristan. In Arabic sources, Atūr is associated with Mosul; see Shahab al-Dīn Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Anonymous editor, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1986), p. 92. During the 6th century, Atūr probably referred to Erbil and its region.

¹²³² The Mediterranean.

¹²³³ Probably the descendants of the ancient Urartians attested in Syriac sources as living alongside the Armenians and who lived in the region extending from Lake Van to the Euphrates; The 6th century writer John of Ephesus was educated in the monastery of "John the Urtian" located near Āmid; A. Harrak, "The Survival of the Urartian People," *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 25 (1993) p. 43–49.

¹²³⁴ Joel 2:3.

حمقن وبي اسن بوب الماقدال المحم حقصال من فيهم ومعداد سوا صدوب حصرهماه ومعمل حجدًا لمعتمل ووفعاً حجوبة [F73r] خمعمًا وهوماً حنتياً. ودفقة سأز حد 1235 الله وم معرف 1236 حميد موسل من ميرا مع موسل واستال المحد مع معدزداه ماهد دونه اسزب سرب الما اسزال مع معدزدا ما معيل ده صهاراً ورفعا ٥٥٨ كسردا: معدده، وحشما اخزع ٥٥٥ مكن ومحملا هب واحبارا. معدده ماهد الخنب ١٥٥٥ وسرط ١٥٥ وسنحل ٤ حبط كموصل حلمقا محلوب ١٥٥١ محمد [264] وع محملا: حده فعص حصاصة علا أمكريا وسبؤه للافي مع عكمع فيتكا. حافس أبؤ ومعدا هوإ. نجم محل معرل مع أوجاً. أمصل ومعلى مهماهاه هصا المعدب، وحه حكمه و يرحما وأسم موا حن حافظ يعمِمُ على: الله أسر وهن اأفر يتفل موا حد عكم. ه المر وه مادت ومع عمد محمد محمد المد و المرود وما المرود والمرود والم محكم حمد وتعديدا محمد المتبار محمد المؤمل مع وهزيد ذما موا معلما ومعرفها ص المنه والماه و مرحل حمعل وهدودا. كي املاً مرحل كالمنه وحدا اهتها. هاجر مسند 1238 الم للمؤولم المحمر ويضر ولا من مدور المحمد والم الما والا مع مرم وبعدها عنجار سرعة حتب حدة واهمنا علا حجكما والم فنوسط ومن أولا مرهدها ه حكوره معبد المناجل والحمد لل وموره ومعنا بحكمه بدر المحدد المال ومجعب وحجم ١٥٥ حسرا مع مدوماً. وهم العل محدول رحدول صملا عم مخرع مخراً. ٥٨٠ اركع مع وبعدة كربعة وسطل عدس علاده مركزه مع ستا.

¹²³⁵ Illustrative drawings appear in the left margin.

¹²³⁶ Ms ക്ഷം: Misread ക്ഷം in C¹ 263:21 and n.4.

¹²³⁷ Does this phrase refer to the drawing of the comet in the folio's upper left "corner"? The account does not mention the word "corner" earlier to stress the phrase.

¹²³⁸ W 33:9 emends to المنتف, but the verbal form is phonetically written.

Already in the month of Nisān (April) there was a shortage of corn and of everything else, and four modii of wheat were sold for a denarius. In the months of Hzīrōn (June) and Tammūz (July), the inhabitants of these territories had to use their guile to live. They sowed millet so as to be of use to them, but it was not enough for them because it did not flourish. By the end of the year, misery surrounded the people because of hunger, and they sold [265] their possessions: cattle, oxen, sheep and pigs, for half their price. Because locusts consumed the entire crop, not leaving pasture or food for people or animals, many left their territories and moved to other regions of the north and west. As for the frail people who were in the villages: old men, children, women, babies, and those tormented by hunger, not being able to walk and go to distant regions, they went into the cities so as to beg and live. Many villages and hamlets were emptied of people. Now they did not escape punishment, not even those who went to distant regions; rather, as it is written concerning the people of Israel: Whenever they went out, the hand of the Lord was against them for evil, 1239 thus happened to them. Pestilence came unexpectedly upon them in the regions to which they went, and pestilence reached even those who went into Edessa. This is what I shall relate in a short while as best as I can, for there is no one who is able to describe it as it happened, I believe.

Now I am writing to you about the scarcity as you requested. I did not want to write anything about this, but I am forcing myself (to do so) [F73v] lest you believe that I undermined your request. Grain¹²⁴⁰ was sold at this time: wheat four *modii* – barley six - for a denarius; one kab-measure of chickpeas for five hundred nummi-coin one kab-measure of beans for four hundred nummi; one kab-measure of lentils for three hundred and sixty nummi. Now meat was not yet expensive, but as time went, scarcity increased and hunger's affliction [266] weighed heavily on the people. The price of anything not edible: clothes, utensils, and house furniture was reduced, for these items were sold for half or a third of their values, and they were not able to sustain their owners, because of the great want of bread. During this time our father Mor Peter departed to the emperor to beg him to forfeit the synteleia-poll-tax but the governor seized the village land owners and exerted a great pressure on them and demanded that they pay it. While the bishop was still begging the emperor, gold was sent to the capital by the governor. When the emperor saw that the money was brought up, he did not want to remit it, but so as not to send our father away empty-handed, he remitted two folles-coins to the villagers and the prices that they were paying;1241 he also freed the citizens from the task of drawing water for the Roman (soldiers).

¹²³⁹ Judges 2:15.

¹²⁴⁰ Lit. "wheat."

¹²⁴¹ Ms is not clear at this point and the passage does not make full sense.

ەھىيەن خازس بىھى ھن خصەرەا مەعنىل وحدوزا دوكمورم دەدودىن دەدە اودىل موت سكًّا حبينا.. وحانس سرين ماصور صلافهم وهوه محدودهم والمؤملا وحم حصيل ورود فنها وبدوا حور حسمال وال صعم حور مها المعناد مدر معملها عدلمإ. وأوبل سبؤ أنور لحستنما مع دهيا. وزديه [265] مسيوه دهلهما لهتموه. دميزا ماه وا معلم مسترا. صهر واجه معرا حدكة مكما. ولا عجم وعبا أه لموضا. لا حسيما ولا حصيرا. وأوقعه صحيا المؤوماهمي. وغيم للمؤوما استما وصنحا. والمحم صبتلا والم ووا حمورًا وهذا ولمحتل وبقا ولحقول والممامو مع دهيا. ولا صعصب ٥٥٥ حصن حد محصل للازما وسيما. حمد ٥٥٥ حدم حصرتها وسيزه والمنه. ورود موقع صحيداً وأروقها مع حسماً لا وم أمدو مع معهم حامل أهلا الحم واركه للازولا وسنما الا المصل وحلمت ملا معالما وحدز وتقمع هوه البه وحزما ذوما دوما محمور حصمال وصا العدور ربعا رفيد حدور ربع معمالا طاؤها وارحه حمور. وأف المحم وحمة للوزوب لمح معالل أوزير المور. وأه وحمة محملا صمكند حدود أب حد وهفم الل أب حرم ودوا وع فدة الل وحمد الع وهدم وللعندهون معا وم علا مومنل وحجم هد اعمود حود للرحمة زخل وومم وعلا ووا صبرم افعهم. خل الله وم تحمد [F73v] ولا العمدة جيد والم ولا وعصرت اخصم. مروحي ووق سنها حويا رحيا. اوحيا موبي سنها حربينا. وهيوا عما. شعرا محا صمقعلاً 1243 تقمع 1244. ومحل و تقمل حاة ومعلا القمع. ومحل ولمحقيل حمكم تعلا مقلم يقصب حصرا وم حرصك لا عمز. الا فعل ورصل فنوف ووا كمرهوون عمزيل ضها موا: وأوكيا [266] ودفيا. نع موا ملا ديتها. وعوما ودلا صورم ولا صادلا هوما هوبا. وحدة على ووقال وورجة ال وقدا: عبر حفيهما لهتعموم أو حسرا مع المناه مروحي هذه رجة إلى ملا معقم هذه حمروهم معتمن مهر ميماما عميل وحسما. حمل رحل سرم احم عن في في الما محمل وبعسمه لمعمدم معملها 1245. حمر وب ونيا حصت مدوما داخ إن أدح با وحا داجه أنور دم هو اصعمها صحيع هدا كه خصكما. والمحاصر ونيا خصوبه محكما المهرود المرام الله محكما وصحم حال وه حل لل إجل كعمده. ولا وبي بعرونه وب الحدي هدما مجم .د. قحم 1246 كمه وسا ه في مناو حديد من المناو المناولا بعد منا المناولا بعد المناولا بعد المناولات المناولا

¹²⁴² C¹ 264:26 misread (معند).

¹²⁴³ Phonetic spelling of ...

¹²⁴⁴ Sing. בים = νοῦμμος (Latin *numus*).

¹²⁴⁵ Συντέλεια.

¹²⁴⁶ In ms digit and currency are connected. Φόλλις = a small coin (modern $\dot{\theta}$).

The same governor departed to the emperor, girt with his sword, and left Eusebius to fill his position and govern the city. This Eusebius realized that the bakers were unable to make enough bread for the market on account of the multitude of villagers filling the city. For the sake of the poor who had no bread in their houses, he ordered that whosoever wished could make bread and sell it in the market. Jewish women came, and to them he gave wheat from the public granary, and they made bread for the market. Even so the poor were afflicted because they lacked money to buy bread. They wandered in streets, porticoes, and courtyards begging crumbs of [267] bread; in no man's house was bread superfluous. If one got an *oboli*coin from begging and [could not] buy bread, he would buy a turnip or a cabbage or a mallow and eat it raw. As a result, there was scarcity of vegetables and lack of everything in the city and the villages. People dared going into holy places and out of hunger eat the host as if ordinary bread. Others cut off bits of dead carcasses that could not be eaten, cooked them and ate them. Let your candour be a witness to these matters.

The year eight hundred and twelve (AD 500–501): In this year, wine was sold six *kaylā*-measures for a *denarius* after the vintage, and one *kab*-measure of raisins for three hundred *nummi*. The famine weighed heavy in the villages and in the city: those who remained in the villages ate vetches and others fried and ate fallen grapes, but they lacked enough of these to satisfy them. As for the people of the city, ¹²⁴⁷ they roamed around the streets, picking up roots and leaves of vegetables filled with dirt and ate them. They slept in porticoes and streets, crying day and night from the severity of hunger. Being gravely affected, their bodies turned thin like corpses on account of their emaciation. [F74r] The whole city was full of them, and they began to succumb in the porticoes and streets.

When Demosthenes the governor went up to the emperor, he informed him about this distress, and the emperor gave him quite a sizable amount of money to divide among the poor. When he returned [268] to Edessa, he stamped many of the (starving) people on the neck with lead seals and gave them a *litrā*-pound of bread every day. Nonetheless, they were not able to live, because they were tormented by severe hunger, which consumed them. Mortality increased at this point, that is the month of Latter *Tešrī* (November) and then the month of First *Kōnūn* (December), when the frost and ice came.

¹²⁴⁷ That is the people who came into Edessa from the villages.

عد العتعدا مازاحستا ده وا وب عدا حاز مهوا هزوج ها سعنا عدا متح حبداً. ومعا واقعدا حدكمقدا به معنى وعدا حصوتها وحدبها. الحريمة والعلمة حموتها وقعدا وقعدا الحريمة والعدوم الم ها حموتها وقعدا وقعدا الخريمة ومن الم ها حموتها وقعدا والحريمة والمحرد والمحرد والحرد والمعتاد فوج هاه وسلم عقوا وهرد حمتا والتوا ووتها وبوتها وبوتها وحدم حرطا واحرج ووجب هاه حلها وحدم وطا واحرد والمحرد والعملة وحدم والمحرد والمحرد

¹²⁴⁸ Άπόθετον

which fits the context. C¹ معتبراً وبراً Ms currently shows بختبر, partially written [ابراً which fits the context. C¹ عمتراً (ابراً and W 37 n.1 (ابراً , both of which are not convincing.

Because they were passing the nights in porticoes and streets, the sleep of death overtook them in their sleep. Now children and infants were crying in every street, some because their mothers died, others because they abandoned them and fled when they asked for something to chew on – for they had nothing to give them. Dead bodies were lying in every street exposed and the city people were not able to bury them, for while they took out the first ones who had died, they found others soon after they returned. Through the care of Mōr Nonnus the *xenodochos*, ¹²⁵⁰ the brothers went around thereafter bringing together the corpses, and the whole city would gather at the door of the *xenodocheion*¹²⁵¹ to go out and bury them, morning after morning. The stewards of the church, Mōr Tewathel the priest and Mōr Stratonikos, who sometime later was deemed worthy of the episcopal rank in the city of Ḥarrān, established a hospital¹²⁵² in the building of the Church of Edessa. Those who were tormented would go in and lie down there. Many corpses were found in the hospital and were buried with those at the *xenodocheion*-hospital.

The governor blocked the gates of the porticoes at the winter demosion, and laid down in it straw and mats. People slept there but it was not enough [269] for them. When the notables of the city realized this, they too set up hospitals, and many went in and sought shelter in them. Even Roman (soldiers) established places in which the sick slept, taking care (of them) at their own expenses. The starving died miserable and lamentable deaths, and while many of them were buried every day, (the sick) increased enormously, for a rumor spread out in the *chora* of the city¹²⁵³ that the people of Edessa took care of those in need, a reason for which a countless multitude came into the city. Moreover, the bath that was below the Church of the Apostles, near the Great Gate, was full of sick people and numerous bodies were taken out of it every day. The whole city was diligent to collectively bury those who were taken out of the xenodocheion, with psalms, odes, hymns, and songs full of the hope of the resurrection, and women (were present) weeping bitterly and crying loudly. At their head went the diligent shepherd Mor Peter, and with them too were the governor and all the free-born. When these (bodies) were buried, then everyone returned to do the funeral of those in his own neighbourhood.

¹²⁵⁰ Guest Master who works in the hospital.

¹²⁵¹ Hospital.

¹²⁵² Here and slightly after, the word means lit. "(building) of mud bricks," but it must be (c); C¹ 268 and n.3. In the first case, the syōmē (not found in C¹ 268:22) are not needed.

¹²⁵³ That is the region of the city.

صهر وحاصها وحدة ما خمع ١٥٥٥. ملا مبلاه معما خوزما ١٥٥٠ كهم. فعيم ٥٥٥ وم عدة محقول حدى عقمع: وأما وهتم العقاده، وأما وعحق مقد كهدى، وحتم حل وحنع كعبيه، علي وكمل ودا كمع ولكركم كمده، وعبت وده قدا حد مومت و معتصر ولا ضعرب ٥٥٥ دت مرسلا لمعنف انور مها وبر خدمت ١٥٥٥ مرمتا وهدي. هدرة وبهده ١٥٥٩. هددست ١٥٥٥ استار. حدم لهيل وب وهور به معدد المادي معدد من الما مع معدد معدد معدد الما مع معدد الماديد الم وكم. وصعل موما حكة حبيدا كازما وصعبوص المومن موه وفحن كوه مع رجزا كرفنا. وأف وصد قلما وحبال هذه المالس معتقل العلى العلى المالي وف وحل رصل المكاهب كرزيل واقتصمهما صنى صربهال الممه الموزوا 1257 سر حصيل ومراا وأەۋەد. مخكى مەدە أمكى وىغمىمى مىنى مىلىكى مىمكى مات مكتا ھىتالا وبعصم هم مماً. وأزمد حن احدا وهنها ورفعه وه امع والم فعما ووا حده، وحب سره ووقعل وهومدال أه وس المه الهارية المخل وده هيتال وهدهاني حده. الا وموسل المصه وقصمال ووضعي مده حدم عندا وعرفع مده ولعقدهم. ضمع ١٥٥٠ حصولًا لمصحل مسيها. وحب محموم صهتا مسور معمدي ١٥٥٠ لود صعبيا عرب ١٥٥٥. نجم معدا حدوزا وحبسادا: وأما ١٥٥٨ الاوزاما بربعها المحم وصمصع. وصحي هوا محما: بحلم حصومه صفي ال والعما ولا صبع. مادت وع حكل 1258 وأسم حكمسم مع حسم محتسل حما لمؤمل وحل متده محكل محال مقدا صحيالًا بعق وقد منه وحدم. معلم وما وم وحدة مرسمًا حصفه وسعلم: كاهكم ومع معدوم نعمم ١٥٥٥ معرموة المحمدتال المحبوما. وحقل ومحم مدا وبوسطا. وبقا مادت حجما سيها وحقال وتدويل. في فينعدون أزار ووا وتما سفيها مديد فهزا: محصور بادت الله ووا ونيا. وحصور حت ساؤا. وها والمحج ووه وحيي وبرب هفر هما صحيه. معدها هما حمحم وحمدهاه.

¹²⁵⁴ Ξενοδόχος.

¹²⁵⁵ Xenodocheion.

¹²⁵⁶ Misspelled معما in C¹ 268 n. 2.

¹²⁵⁷ No *syōmē* in C¹ 286:22.

¹²⁵⁸ βαλανεῖον.

And when the cemeteries of the *xenodocheion* and of the Church became full, the governor opened [F74v] old graves near the church of Mōr Qona, which were built by the ancients with care, and they filled them. Later, they opened others and they were not enough for them. At the end, they opened any old grave that existed and filled it. Every day, from the beginning of Latter $Tešr\bar{\imath}$ (November) to the end [270] of $Od\bar{\imath}$ (March), more than a hundred bodies were taken out of the *xenodocheion*, and on many days a hundred and twenty to a hundred and thirty. By that time, nothing could be heard in all the streets of the city except for weeping over the dead or the plaintive sound of the tormented ones. Many died in the Church courtyards, and in the open squares of the city and in the inns. People used to die even on the roads while coming to the city. In addition, in the month of $\tilde{S}eh\bar{a}t$ (February), the shortage grew hard and the pestilence worsened. Wheat was sold thirteen kab-measures – barley eighteen kab – for a *denarius*. A $litr\bar{a}$ -pound of meat cost a hundred *nummi*, a $litr\bar{a}$ -pound of chicken three hundred *nummi*, and an egg forty *nummi*. In short, everything edible was scarce.

Petition prayers took place in the month of $Od\bar{o}r$ (March) on account of the pestilence, that it may spare the foreigners. The people of the city (=Edessa), while begging for the former's sake, resembled the blessed David when he said to the Angel who destroyed his people: If I have sinned and have done perversely, what sins have these innocent sheep committed? Let your hand be against me and against my father's house. 1259 In the month of $N\bar{s}\bar{o}n$ (April) the pestilence started with the people of the city, and many biers were taken out each day, but there was no one set up to count them. This sword of the pestilence was not only in Edessa but from Antioch to Nisibis people were destroyed likewise, tormented by famine and pestilence. In this year many among the rich, who were not hungry, died, and many among the nobles also succumbed. In the months of $H\bar{z}\bar{r}\bar{o}n$ (June) and $Tamm\bar{u}z$ (July), after the harvest, we hoped that we would be delivered from the famine, but we did not meet our expectations as we hoped; rather, the wheat of the new harvest was sold for up to five $modii^{1260}$ a denarius.

The year eight hundred and thirteen (AD 501–502): After these afflictions of locusts, famine, and pestilence, about which I wrote to you, [271] we had a little relief through God's mercy, so that we may be able to endure the future ones, as we learned from the events themselves. There was a plentiful vintage, and wine was sold from the press twenty-five *kaylā*-measures a *denarius*.

^{1259 2} Sam 24:17.

¹²⁶⁰ Corn measure.

وم مده مدرا ومعسوم ووجراً. بعم ورحماً. وهم مدرا مدمقا: واسلال برحم حزر موبل: وجبع ١٥٥٥ كمرحمًا حممكهما. وحجه انور. واود فيهم استرا وال صومة ۵۰۰ر. مكسنا على الما وهو مدا علما والم فلاسع [F74v] مختبي كه. علم المنا مع قدا محبّ بقم هذه حجم مع مسبوحيد مقمدا محتا قدا محسب. معرما حقال ماحتمى. مع وبعده والعند اسند معرصا حدمهم [270] واوو. محمد موا كعمص صحاره من مع محمور مقمل وهوسكا: الله أو محمل وسلا منتباً. أو مكت يحما وصعتما. ضمع ٥٥٥ أو حبولًا وحبال صهتال وحبوبًا وصبعاً وحقامًا. أو حاوة سما ضمع ١٥٥٥ حم ألمع ومحدم حصومها المحال محل مادد معم مامنا المسيا معالاً. ومروحت وقد شهر الملمسة قط حرسزال وصدرا المسلمسة محتى ولالمها وحسرا حصاا تقصير محملهذا والوسي ملا ممتكم هلا تقصير مصما طرومي تقصير ومصل ومحسرم وهمانك صومزيل. ههة حيقا طؤس أوز. معها معمايا وبمعلا مع المعتبا. ووضع ١٥٥٥ حت حبسما دم معلفعهم معهدهم عهدهم عهدما ومر دم اخذ ١٥٥١ حملاصا وسند حمده: وأر الل شهم والفحك. وحم علم المعتمل هما سهت. الهوا حاله أحبر حما محصد احد.. حازس سعى وبي هند صمايا حجية صويد الد منعقى من عنصدا صيتالا حمصل سب: وال انع مأم موا حال صيده على حديد ولي حادزه والما المناحل الم وصماباً. الله مع الهيميا معرمل كربمي وصل صلمينهم وهه مستعمل وصعلامي حدوسا وحمدالل. وهبه هيتا مع مهمةا. ولا معيم وهدر أو مع ووقدا ومرسما هيتا صبه حمد ما دواه وحلن والمن ما مرحم و مرود مرود مرود مرود مرود مرود وهم وهم صهميع مع مامزيا. لا وبي فحك هدوم أسر مدا وهدني ١٥٥م. الا مومدا حسمقا متِع 1262 حبيزا مروحت هذه منها ومكلما سبال.

عدم المتعدا ما حمده الله عدم و مرا به مرح الأحرا ومعل وومعدا مدم حر [271] محمور العدم مده مول موا حمد المعمود والحوال وعدم المعمود والما وعدم المعمود المعمود

اهمات :1261 Typo in C¹ 270:24 مطلب

¹²⁶² Sing. محوط = μόδιος, Latin modius.

The poor were provided from the vineyards by the harvest of raisins, for the farmers and cultivators said that the harvest of raisins was more plentiful than that of wheat, because hot wind blew when the grapes began to ripen, and most of it dried up. The discerning ones said that this was done by the providence of God, the Lord of all, and that this was an issue of mingling mercy with chastisement, so that the villagers may be sustained by these raisins and not be consumed by hunger as in the past year, since even at this time wheat was sold four modii - barley six modii for one denarius only. During the period of the two Tešrī (October and November) a similar sign of mercy occurred. The whole winter of this year was especially rainy, and the seed that was sown sprang up higher than man's stature in some places, while Nisōn (April) still did not arrive. Even barren lands¹²⁶³ bore little less than those that were sown. Likewise, the roofs of houses produced much grass, which some people cut and sold like the hay¹²⁶⁴ of the fields – because it had spikes [F75r] and was full in height, its buyers did not distinguish it. [272] In this year, we hoped and expected the price of corn would also be greatly reduced as in the years of old, but this expectation was not fulfilled, for in the month of *Iyyōr* (May) a hot wind blew for three days, and all the corn of our land dried up, except in a few places.

In this month, when the day in which the evil feast of the Greek legends is celebrated arrived – we informed about it above 1265 – an order came from the emperor Anastasius that the dancers must no longer dance in any of the cities of his imperial dominion. He who considers the outcome of events will not blame us over what we have said above that on account of the wickedness committed by the people of the city in this feast, punishments of hunger and pestilence came upon us one after another. For, behold, barely thirty days after the festival's abolition, wheat, which used to be sold at four *modii* a *denarius*, sold at twelve; and barley, which used to be sold at six (*modii* a *denarius*), sold at twenty-two. It was clearly made known to everyone that God's will can bless even a small crop, providing plenty to those who repent their sins. For nearly all the corn was dried up as I said, and from the limited remnant that was left, came this whole respite within thirty days. Now perhaps, one would say that I did not reason well in that this repentance on account of which there was mercy was not done out choice, for the emperor who ordered that dancers must not dance at all cost, abolished the feast out of force.

¹²⁶³ If the word is عتا it would then be "tilled (lands); on عتا see 'Ūjēn Mannā, *Dalīl al-rāģibīn fī luġat al-ārāmiyyīn*. Mosul: Dayr al-'ābā' al-dūmanikiyyīn, 1900), p. 350.

¹²⁶⁴ See Trombley-Watt, *Pseudo-Joshua*, p. 47 n. 226.

¹²⁶⁵ See p. 376, 378, 382.

المونيسه مسقيا مع وتها حب مدها وافقها. المنا المنابي المنابي المنابي المنابي المنابي المنابي المنابي المنابي المنابي والمعال المنابي والمال والمال والمال المنابي المنابي المنابي والمال والمال المنابي المنابع المن

[272] عضم وور بور اه حدورا عدا المخصص وعدا زحا وحدورا الما الم عتما وعر مبحر دورا وسعدا لا صحم حزيد دانس ان سن بعد بعد وسل وعدا بقعما الحمل معد حده حدورا والماني على على وقدما المدورال حده وي حياها المان مع وقدما المدورال حده وي حياها المان مع بعط الحمل المدور المان مع بعد المحلم وحدا المعلم والمدا والمدا والمدا وحدا المعلم والمدا المان وحدول على المان وحدا المعلم والمدا المان وحدا المان وحدا المان وحدا المان وحدا المان وحدا المان وحدا وحدا والمدا وحدا وحدا ووحدا والمدا المدا وحدا والمدا والمدا والمدا والمدا والمدا والمدا وحدا المدا المدا وحدا وحدا والمدا وحدا المدا وحدا المدا وحدا وحدا والمدا وحدا المدا وحدا المدا والمدا وحدا المدا والمدا وحدا المدا والمدا والمدا والمدا والمدا وحدا المدا والمدا والمدا وحدا المدا والمدا والمدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا المدا المدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المدا المدا المدا وحدا المدا المد

¹²⁶⁶ C¹ 271:9 محمد : The wāw seems to be final lōmad ending with a hook.

¹²⁶⁷ Word entirely visible in ms; delete C¹ 271 n. 7.

as in C¹ 271:21. متحنهٔ as in C¹ 271:21.

¹²⁶⁹ Greek ἄγρωστις.

¹²⁷⁰ ὀρχηστής.

Nonetheless, we say that God, because of his immense grace, sought this matter to have mercy even on the unworthy. [273] We have an example in that He (=God) had mercy on Ahab when he was put to shame by the reprimand of Elijah, but He did not bring in Ahab's lifetime the evil which had been formerly decreed against his house. 1271 Now, I do not say by this that only one sin was perpetrated in our city, for many sins were committed privately and publically. But because the rulers also participated in them, I do not want to disclose these sins – I do not give pretext to those who love to criticize to say against us that I am speaking against the rulers. But in order not to keep the story completely hidden, for I promised above to let you know how the war was stirred up against us, 1272 and so that I may not say anything against the insolent ones, I shall put down the word of the prophet from which you shall understand (the matter). When he saw the members of his people doing things which looked like those that are being done today in our city, and especially where you are, and throughout the whole chora, he said to them as it were from the mouth of the Lord: Woe unto the one who says to a father, What are you begetting, and to the woman, What are you bearing? 1273 Concerning the other things, it is better to be silent, for it is fitting to listen to the word of the Scripture which says: He who is prudent will keep quiet at that time, for it is an evil time. 1274 But if our Lord grants me to see you in health, we will talk to you about these things as far as we are able.

Now listen to the atrocities that were perpetrated in this year and to [F75v] the sign that was seen on the day when they occurred, because you required us (concerning it) too. On the twenty-second of the moth of Ob (August) of this year, on the night preceding Friday, a great fire was seen [274] burning in the northern quarter (of the sky) during the whole night, 1275 such that we thought that the conflagration of fire was about wiping out the entire 1276 earth in that night. The mercy of our Lord protected us unscathed, but a letter was sent to us by some people of our acquaintances, who were travelling to Jerusalem, and the following was in it: In the same night in which that great burning fire appeared, the city of Ptolemais, which is Acre, was overturned, and nothing inside it remained standing; then after a few days, people from Tyre and Sidon came to us and told us that in the day the fire appeared and Ptolemais was overturned, in the same day half of their cities, that is part of Tyre and part of Sidon, collapsed.

¹²⁷¹ 1 Kgs 21:17-29.

¹²⁷² See p. 360.

¹²⁷³ Is 45:10.

¹²⁷⁴ Amos 5:13.

¹²⁷⁵ Chr. Edes. 9:5–7; same date.

¹²⁷⁶ The direct object marker *lõmad* is unnecessarily added to محذه. Otherwise, the verb ought to be علامه as suggested by Martin: "the entire earth was about to be wiped out in that conflagration of fire." See C¹ 274 n.1.

سع وم اخذعم والاها صهرا ولهدهاه ملاه مد حذا هذا ودنسم العدد الملاء ولل خوب. وأما [273] كي الموسال مع وف والمؤسم على المجد مع المفسر مع محصوله واكما: قلا أبك حققهون صعكا هذ ومربعا منهما هذا ملا حكه. لا هذا وب هميا اخذ الما: ووق ملهما حصور الله وها وصفرهم حصيمر. صحاب الدر يهذ ملهما ومسلمت وحسما وحملا ومهلا والا مردول المحمدة ومسلم العرادة والمراجعة والمراجع واعزه اله كتهما: ولا الما محما للمح ووسعى ومعرحة. ملعنه وحمد وحمد ومعلا محملاتا. ولا وم علا عمد عمد المحصنة عرجها عم منتصا: صلا والا مع حلا المكاهومة والمعاومة صع المحل المالمة محم عندا: دولا مادت الخن عوم ملا حتما: حصودتال ووضع كالمكن ومعلل معكمن حصوبهم المكنامة كوامور المحددة موزار اجمع حماده، المب وصع هوهوه وحماء؛ وهذ كراخة للحاصل صد مدكم الله، وللكما عمل خهما المد. ملا عنط واستدلال حصيمه قصد. صلي وزوم ٥٥ حصص حصله ومدار واضراد وضع ومعمد حرصا هذه معلام حدد معلام ورصا بده وصعمال أروح سلام مدن وسوس مسم كميا. أب معل ومربع معملات معمر ملا وحرب وعل وع عجد ملا يقسل والعمدوه حسما موإ. [F75v] مملا الله في والمسرسم حموها الله وحده الصلاعة. صلى والا أموا 100 لجدم حلب، حموم معتب ماقع حلب المواودة وعدما هوا حصيه من مدهدا. موزا صحمالا المسند [274] كي در مدمد علا دوسدا وريادما وحمد كلال مموسل فعدر موم وحمدهال وبمؤا حميرا موما وادهز حديدة اؤخل دكما هذه. وسعود ولي وحنى حليه ولا العالم والمرود المنظم والمرابط المنظم المنظ ومنرصم موه للمؤمم والم مواحة محمل وحدة كل وحده المبرسة بعؤا من صهالا وصم عوالا. الموقعة فهمس صبيعا ووب عدد. ولا المكسة ده صبع وملعه ولماد وب حكمة مقصكاً. ألماه كمل العل ووقل وربيسا وأجنه كي وحدة محمل والمبرس حد بدؤا والموصلة فهمايا. ده صفعله فه نفل فلهما ومبتلهم، منه وج فله وره و معلى وربوه.

¹²⁷⁷ Ms حمه اهم; for the corrected reading above see W 43 n.1; see also C¹ 273 n.1.

¹²⁷⁸ C¹ 237:13 corrected it from محمسمب after W 43 n. 4. Other occurrences of عدمسمب. C¹ 111:1 and C¹ 119:25.

¹²⁷⁹ Unnecessary final yōd; see also C¹ 282:13.

¹²⁸⁰ Direct object marker is in different colour, indicationg that the phrase is emended.

¹²⁸¹ Ms سونك not بونك of W 44:4 and as C1 274: n.2 confirms.

Moreover, in Beirut only the synagogue of the Jews fell on the day when Acre collapsed. Now the people of Nicomedia were delivered to Satan to be disciplined; most of them were tormented by demons until they remembered the words of our Lord and persevered in fasting and prayer, and (then) received healing.

The same day in which that fire was seen, Kawad, the son of Peroz, King of the Persians, gathered the whole Persian army, and marching northward, entered the Roman border with the Hunnish army that he had with him. He pitched camp against Theodosiopolis of Armenia, and subdued it in a few days. Constantine, governor of that place, rebelled against the Romans and surrendered it, because of some enmity that he had toward the emperor. Thus, Kawad pillaged the city, destroyed it, and set it on fire. [275] He destroyed all the villages in the northern region, and led the survivors into captivity. He made Constantine a military commander and left a garrison in Theodosiopolis, and then departed.

The year eight hundred and fourteen (AD 502-503): In this year too, great difficulties pressed hard on the region of Mesopotamia in which we live, in such a way that what Christ our Lord decreed in his Gospel against Jerusalem and was fulfilled indeed, and what he spoke about the end of this world, matched what had happened to us at this time. For after earthquakes had occurred in one place and another as I have written to you, and after famines, pestilences, terrors, and horrors had taken place, and great signs had appeared in the sky, nation rose against nation and kingdom against kingdom, and we fell by the edge of the sword and were taken away captive to every place, while our land was crushed by foreign nations. Thus, if it were not for the words of our Lord, who said: When [F76r] you hear of wars and tumults, do not be afraid, for these things must first happen, but the end has not yet come, 1282 we would have dared to say that the end of the world had come - indeed many thought and spoke likewise. But we noticed that this war did not occur in the whole world, and along with this, we recalled the words of the blessed Paul, with which he warned the Thessalonians with regard to the coming of our Lord, saying that they should not be alarmed either by word or spirit or misleading epistle as though it were from him [276] to the effect that the day of the Lord had arrived; 1283 he indicated that it was not possible that the end could come until the false Christ had been revealed.¹²⁸⁴ Thus, from these words of our Lord and of his apostle we understood that these events did not happen to us on account of the later time, but they took place for our punishment, for our sins grew grievous.

¹²⁸² Luke 21:9.

^{1283 2} Thess 2:2.

^{1284 2} Thess 2:3.

عدم المنتحما هاود معنال الا ملا المؤا بع بحمد بدوما بحد خصرا ودود مناع عقما وووحما صجب حمدال المول المحل والمكم ولا المؤملال كالم معمل معمل المعلى المعلم المعمل ا حندبال واسطى ماهد وعلا معالمه وعلاما وما المخطار بدة عنه المنطى الا المحلم وح رته صحمار مع حدة من وهوه رقط حروط ومعا أب معا وضاحم حود ومع حدة و وه و محتال و و محتال و و محتال و و محتال و و محتال المترب مر محل محتال المترب مر محل محالا معل معدده ملا محده. منفح حدومل وسندل والمجمع حدلا المؤ. والموسعة المؤرمع حميقًا به دورياً. الحمل والحمال معكوره ومن واجز: وما [F76r] وخمي المام موحل معيقعما لا لموسكه: حكمت ابع رب يحمة كموم وكع خصووا: الا لا حوصل جلها سنال صعنسه ٥٥٠ حمامة وجها ٥٥ مدحمه ومحمل مهر والا صهال مصا المؤمدة داموره. سع وب صدحمي ودب وحد حدم محمد الددا منا ومع الدور المدور الع حصرته والموسد والمعدد الله وحقع المؤ الما المعرفي معالمه المعرفة المراه المعرفة ا وحنى عبر اخذ: ولا ١٤١٥٥٥ لا مع مدكما ملا مع ومسل ملا مع الهنا حصيسكا إ>. 1287 واب وص [276] كماه هد. وها حم ضهد محمد وحناء مدد ولا صربا وبدوا موحمل موها وصفيا صميدا ويلا. مع وحم وصل تخلا ومن وومكيده الصدوح. ولا موا صهر ورصل مو اسنيا روع حديد الا حصنوما وسح موت صهر وحمي أأكفه محم

¹²⁸⁵ Sic ms.

ادمور 1286 Typo in C¹ 274:19: عباراً.

¹²⁸⁷ W 46:5 and n. 1 and C1 275:26 and n.6: [; it is now effaced.

¹²⁸⁸ Sic ms, but W 46:9 وحبى; delete note 1 in C¹ 276:6.

On the fifth of the First Tešrī (October), a Saturday, Kawad, King of the Persians, came from the north, and he and his whole army pitched camp against the city of Āmid, 1289 which is with us in Mesopotamia. When Anastasius, the Roman emperor, heard that Kawad had gathered his forces, he did not want to meet him in battle, so that blood may not be shed on either side. Instead, he sent him gold through Rufinus, whom he ordered that if Kawad was on the border and had not yet crossed over into the Roman territory, he should give him the gold and send him away. Now when Rufinus reached Caesarea of Cappadocia, he heard that Kawad had destroyed Agel, Suph, Armenia, and the 'Arab. Leaving the gold in Caesarea, he went to him and told him to leave the border and take the gold. Kawad did not agree but seized Rufinus and ordered that he be detained. He and his whole army fought against Āmid with every tactic of war day and night. They built a mound¹²⁹⁰ against it but the people of Āmid built up the wall and increased its height. When the mound went high, the Persians brought up a battering-ram, and when they battered the wall violently, the newly built part loosened, and because it did not settle down, it collapsed. But the Āmideans made a breach in the wall below the mound and secretly pulled the amassed earth into the city, while supporting [277] the work with beams, and the hollowed mound fell.

As Kawad was not able to overpower the city, he sent Nu^cmān, King of the Tayy-Arabs, and all his army to go south of the land of Ḥarrān. ¹²⁹¹ Also, some of the Persian army marched before them to the city of Constantina, which is Tellā, ¹²⁹² pillaging, plundering, and destroying the whole region. On the nineteenth of the month of Latter *Tešrī* (November), Olympius, *Dux* of Tellā, and Eugenius, *Dux* of Melitene, ¹²⁹³ who had come down at that time, marched out with their troops and killed any Persians that they found in the villages around Tellā. After they turned back to return to the city, someone informed them that five hundred people were in a valley not very far [F76v] from them. They prepared to fight them, but the Roman soldiers who were with them had dispersed to strip the dead. Because it was night, Olympius ordered that light be kindled on a hilltop and horns be sounded to gather the dispersed.

¹²⁸⁹ Short account with the same date is found in Chr. Edes. 9:7-11.

 $^{^{1290}}$ Although Akk. $k\bar{u}danu$ means "mule," in this context it refers to a heap of dirt or a mound.

¹²⁹¹ City slightly southwest of Edessa, on the Bālikh branch of the Euphrates.

¹²⁹² Also known in Syriac as Tellā-d-Mawzlat, modern Viranšehir in south east Turkey.

¹²⁹³ Ancient city known in Hittite and Assyrian sources at the earliest. Modern Malatya on the bank of the upper Euphrates south of the confluence of Murat-Su (Arsanias) with the Euphrates, opposite Arsamosata.

المال بهذ عدو مختل وهدوهما مع بإصار: حدم سقعا حامزس لمعزب عبيم: حدم محكار. وجنا ١٨ احد حديد المان حمل حمل دورها المره وحده معدد العلموه وع محکم وقره و معلى وغيم وغيم مور سيحه . لا رجل ويزجموه و 1294 حمودا. معلم ولا حرامر> 1295 وحل وازمه مي كل الله عبو كه والمحل حبر ولا المواد والم الله والمراد والمرا الموصل المورود معرف لل محمد خصلة والموصل: الملا علم والمحل الموادد عر وع معلما ومصاما ومعروميا. عجم واسند انتج مدود للهما محروف وللوصية مكنجاً. 1296 محمره كروحا حمصها وارا كولود والإدم ورقوم مع المومد ونقد والمحار الله وب لا إجار الله السوال حزاهما والمركان والماهم ملا المعران والمركان والمركان الله المالية المراكات الله المالية المراكات الله المالية المراكات سنكه حفالا الصفيع ومنجار خانععا محكيار محبا عكمة فورنكا 1297. محبه العربيا واوسه ملا ووصور وعوزا. ومر الماؤسم مورسمار. فنحد وبعد ومنا هووسمار ومر بمجه حمة المصطلم المؤهد صبل هذه سيال صهر ولا حرص الملمد هذا منها. اهتما وم فحمه فمحمل حمدول اسم فدورهإ مرزه محرول وصعل مدا حدة كه مرسما صماله: مر الخبي [277] ٥٥٥ كه حدوا حمتعمال ١٥١٥هما حورها مجلف ٥٠١ لا صمحرا ١٥٥ مه وسيكة وصبيكا. عبر كيمع ضكفا ولهتما مع عكه سيكه. وباركه ملا بالمعلل كحمل سترسال وأق مع سمال وقدةهما عنجه كموهمون مرمعا كموهمهمهما صبيد الله وجه الله وخرج ١٥٥٥ وشهوع وضيزهم كعكم المؤلد حموم المكمعة وع حده حناسل والعزب الاستاك. 1298 بعد الموسعة ومحمة والله والمرابعة ومحمة ومحملها وسلم 100 حده حرصيا. 100 مسكوه والمكع هوتهما والمحس حموتها وسرق الله. سند اله. ومع المحسم حصيه حصيه المراد والمعتمال العتم الم حسلا سر. وحمد فرس حزسم > [F76v] معده موس المهده حطرات محمه ما وقوه وصل وقوه وصل المهدة المراك المرا وبعده وزير المحدود مده حده حده كفعمه مهاد معلى وها موا حمد همحم ونبرهمه بدوا ملا وسم وحدال وبصور حمة المر مع وبالمصمم الملهم الملع والمعكووه.

وللخصوص Phonetic of وللخصوص.

¹²⁹⁵ Ms LL: Phonetic form?

[?]ەكىنە For

¹²⁹⁷ Akk. kūdinu.

اوسمي Ms وسمي.

When the Persian *marzbans*¹³⁰⁰ who pitched camp in the village of Tell-Bešmai¹³⁰¹ saw the light of the fire and heard the sound of the horns, they armed all their forces and marched against them. When the Roman cavalry realized that the Persians outnumbered them, they returned; the infantry, unable to flee, was compelled to fight. They assembled and positioned themselves for battle, forming what is called *chelone* or tortoise.¹³⁰² They fought for a long time, but because the Persian army outnumbered them, and even more, the Huns and the Tayy-Arabs were added to them, [278] the ranks of the infantry were broken. Mixed in confusion and mingled with the cavalry, they were trampled and crushed under the hooves of the horses of the Tayy-Arabs. Many of the Romans were killed, and the rest were taken captives.

On the twenty-sixth of this month, Nu^cmān too came from the south and invaded the territory of the Harranians, destroying, pillaging, and taking captive the people, cattle, and possessions of the whole territory of Ḥarrān. He also marched as far as Edessa and destroyed, plundered and took captive all the villages; the number of people whom he led to captivity was eighteen thousand five hundred, excluding the killed ones, and not counting the cattle, property, and spoil of all kinds. The reason behind such a great number of people found in the villages was that it was the time of vintage, for not only did villagers go out to the vintage, but also many of the Ḥarrānians and the Edessans did, and thus they were taken captive. On account of this, Edessa was sealed and guarded: trenches were dug, the wall was made firm, and the city gates were blocked with hewn stone, for the gates were deteriorated. They sought to renew them and to make bolts for the sluices of the river lest someone enter by them, but iron sufficient for this enterprise could not be found. An order was issued that every house in Edessa should give ten litrā-pounds of iron, and when this was done, the work was completed. When Eugenius realized he was unable to face all the Persians, he took the remainder of his troops and marched against their post in Theodosiopolis, destroying those who were in it and taking back the city.

Kawad was still waging battle against Āmid, endeavoring and working hard to put back the mound which had collapsed. He ordered the Persians to fill it with stones and wood, [279] and to bring material made of hair, wool, and linen to make something like fodder bags or sacks, filling them with soil and building them up on the mound which they had made, so as to be quickly raised against the wall.

¹³⁰⁰ Mid. Pers. military title, lit. "guardian of borders," and then "governor."

 $^{^{1301}}$ Known also in Arabic sources as Tall-basmā, the town was located to the northwest of Mārdīn.

 $^{^{1302}}$ Lit. "turtle," as translated in Syriac \mathbb{M}_{∞} but is a military tactic protecting front line soldiers from missiles with shields placed over their heads.

صروبا وبي وهورهما محم ومني ٥٥٥ حمحمم منها. بر سره رهوا وبدوا ممجد علا ومتراد زيد حصده سيكه ماراه مكسه و سره فيما وزهه مدا وهوسا وهيتاج انه صده، وجر حده، ورحمل بع لا احره خصموره. الا ابلح و حده حمده. والماصع والعكروة كمنها ومحم كان وحكمنا حكام 1303 وود كالا وامنحه حولا صرحال وحر صرحا حده محمده (سطا) 1304 ودوزهما: والماهدة أود محمده وويتا ولمتما [278] والماؤده كوحروح صبرتسون والمكرمة حسبرا والملكمة حسم فيما. وحلاقة ووقعا ولهتما الماوس والمعبه والمناجه هيما مع ووومعما وعزما الملحد.. وصوم معين مقلا حو حينا ولا: الجا أف يعم مع لمعيل وجلا محمل سؤياد وسنود هجر. معجل العمل محميز مصمل وصف حمل ستمل مايا الا حرمل للمؤمد. في ضمنو وخبر 1306 مخل حددة م موزيا. هييل ودينها ووجز حمدها. اهتاء بعن المعتب وسعقطاً. صلى صلى الحر والمملك وصلى صلى حديدا وصدا وصلا وصلى رحق. محلا وم وحكم حصل صل معلمس حمدومين موا رجيل ومهدا. وحد حجمور حتب مدوما نقمع مده كمهوا. الله صحيقال سترسل دادةوما يعمد داعمد. وصهر وحب الماسيا ادوروب وصميها دورا. والمسعود فقل والمام عوزا. واهمؤوه لؤمل وصبيما حقصهاا. صهر وحكم ١٥٥٥. وحبه وسيام أنهز ومحرم صقطا كمهتمها وندواد ووكعا أنع ندم صده، ولا المكوس فزرلا وهوم كه كندرا. والموصم فهموبا. والملا علا والم حادوره معهز حملته فيرالا. دور دوا العمدياً المرحد مخرا. المرسع ور مرا ولا واسم موما حمور ممارسه هم مبزد للمع واسم موا دة ويصدة حميهما. مور وب حرصا علا احد خدود وول وحدميز ووا وخد وينصده حدود او وهكلاً. وهم حديهما وحقاها [279] وحمتها بعدونة وونداه وهذا ووحدا ووحداد وبدرور الم حرمها محتما اه هما وبعده الم مرزا وبدور حمل مع موردا وف وحجر أب ولماؤم حمده عدوا محلام.

 1303 Χελώνη.

¹³⁰⁴ Missing in ms.

 $^{^{1305}}$ C¹ 278 n.3 نحمت "in the dust." The 'ayn, unusually long, may be the top part of $t\bar{e}t$ whose bottom part perhaps faded away.

¹³⁰⁶ Phonetic of .

المرومة 1307 Phonetic of المرومة 1307.

Then the Āmideans devised an apparatus which the Persians named the 'crusher,' 1308 because it obstructed their work and devastated them. For with this apparatus the Āmideans hurled huge stones, each weighing more than three hundred *litrā*-pounds. [F77r] Thus, the cotton covering under which the Persians hid themselves was burst, crushing those who stood beneath it. The battering ram was also smashed by the stones, which were cast continuously and without interruption. The Āmideans could not devastate the Persians by any other means than the huge stones because the Persians soaked with water the cotton covering which was fixed many times over (the mound): it could not be damaged by arrows because of its thickness or by fire because it was damp. As for the huge stones cast by the 'crusher,' they destroyed the covering, the men, and the military equipment. Thus the Persians were defeated and gave up the use of the mound. They took counsel to return to their country, for during the three months that they besieged the city, fifty thousand strong among them were killed in battles that were waged continuously, day and night.

Now, the Āmideans, having grown confident of their victory, became negligent and did not diligently guard the wall as (they used to) in the past. On the tenth of the month of Latter Kōnūn (January), the guards on the wall drank much wine [280] as it was cold. When night came, some fell into a very deep sleep, while others left their posts and sought shelter in their houses as it was raining. Whether this was by negligence, as we think, or by a treacherous plot, as people used to say, or as a punishment from God, the Persians took control of the wall of Āmid with ladders, while no gates were opened or walls breached. They devastated the city, pillaging its possessions, trampling the consecrated (bread), disdaining its service, stripping its churches, and driving into captivity its inhabitants, except for the old, the disabled, and those who hid themselves. They left there a garrison of three thousand men; all (the rest) went down to the mountains of Shigar. 1309 In order that the remaining Persians may not be irritated by the stench of the Āmidean dead, they brought them out of the north gate and piled them in two heaps. More than eighty thousand came out by the north gate, not counting those brought out alive whom they stoned outside the city, those whom they stabbed on the top of the mound that they had made, those who were thrown into the Tigris, and those who suffered all other indescribable deaths.

¹³⁰⁸ W 42 connects the Syriac term with Pers. tapah "ruin, destruction, injury..."

 $^{^{1309}}$ Cuneiform Singāra and Arabic Sinjār, a city located at the foot of Mt. Sinjār in northern Iraq.

وربع احبتا وحد حللاً. وه ووقع فوقعما لهوصا صفوب حلى ون وحده معدوه خور. وكوه بندل. غبر وه وه رحمة العبِّل حجالا هن. قلعا زوودها واعلا وما سرا صدوع على حج الخلاطال حملته. [F771] موصل المالحم المصمال وعصر موصل وصعهاؤم ١٥٥٠ حدوصا المعالمة. والمهجمة المحم والمعالمة فمعم ١٥٥٠ والماحة الا ومع وحزا. صهر اصمولم وقلها وولا عولا صعدوب موت. لا يهز عرب ٢٥٥٥ احربنا وحصوم اسزيل بضيعه اله كعتصياد اب وحب قاها وه وحلا معهد واحسيما هذ وبعد عوجا حروز بعل>1310 مم س (حورسال) رحت سهتل، ومعفي ١٥٥٥ محذة هوتوسيا متا. ولا صميصا وما مع راوًا معلا مصماني ولا مع بهذا معلا في محل محلف قلعا وم محم وه وصل ومع لهوصل معموم هذه. حموصها مرحة محقاس وسل شعر. مهوسا اروحه قوقعما والمصد مع وحصده حدودها مند والمحدد وسودد للزمور معهد وحككما ترسع ونهده محنة سععتم هده المساحه حماحل وحمهم معمدب ٥٥٥ حكم محامعها. احبتا وم الماحك ملا رحماهم، وبعث حصوصيها الل بهزه عوزا حسف المرا الم ومع موسر. وحدوم معيدًا حاف مده حاكست سعدًا محما المعرف [280] بهترب عدوا صهر محما ومدوعا. در دوا هما وصده والمهدد حباما مصناا. ه صد حزف ما المر المر ولا وسع فعد من حدولا ومعمدها المر والعتي اجز. هار حمسم حنما ومع كاهل فوقها الملكه حموزا وامع حد مقدكال في لل الزعا فكسب ولا عوزا لمؤسد وسنحون خعيسكا: وجره صيدة وبع عوبعال وريخ لمعهدة. معك مدكتة. وردز معدالما كمعدونة. هان مع هذا وهيتها والكي والمالهدة. معدمه لمع صلهذا لمشكم لاهتم رحتم. وسبكه علاهم كهوزا وعين. صليلا وح ولا ١١١١حي ووتصل وهم مع زسل ومجروي واصبتا: اهمه دمه حاله ١١١١ لولع صعتع حدة مع الزعل باحسال وادفا ادوا موسل وأسكم وتجمه حده حكافط باحسار مكمة مع المتب كعتم: على مع المعم واهم حب سبع. وزيعره المور كم مع معبداً. معلى من اسك ووسع كس مع مودها من وسدر. معلى من اسك واعدوم حرمك. ووهبه حص عقسهم ولا فعصم حعدمه ملا مقاءهم.

 1310 Ms $_{1310}$ as also in C1 279:16 "patched together." The reading above is suggested in W 50 n.2.

¹³¹¹ Ms عا; correction after W 51:7.

Hesitantly, but correctly, reported in W 51 n.6: The traces of the upper part of $t\bar{a}w$ are unmistakable. C¹ 280:20 reads it $\sqrt{a_{s}}$.

Then Kawad freed Rufinus so that he could relate to the emperor the things that had happened. The latter spoke of the destruction in every place, and as a result of these reports the cities to the east of the Euphrates were terrified and grew ready to flee to the west. The honorable Jacob the *periodeutes*¹³¹³ [281] who composed many *memrē* on sections of the Scriptures and authored *sugyōtō*-poems and canticles on the time of the locusts, did not neglect his befitting duties at this time too, but wrote letters of exhortations to all the cities, urging them to trust in the divine salvation and encouraging them not to flee.

Upon hearing this, the emperor Anastasius sent a large Roman army to spend the winter in the cities and to protect them. As for Kawad, all the booty that he pillaged and the captives that he took away were not enough for him, nor was he satiated with much bloodshed, but dispatched ambassadors to the emperor, saying: Send me gold or [F77v] accept war! This was in the month of Nāsān (April). The emperor did not send gold, but grew ready to retaliate and avenge those who had perished. In the month of Iyyōr (May), he sent three commanders against Kawad: Areobindus, Patricius, and Hypatius, and many commanders with them. Areobindus marched down and pitched camp on the border near Dārā and 'Ammudin, facing the city of Nisibis; he had with him twelve thousand men. Patricius and Hypatius, and with them forty thousand strong, besieged Amid to oust the Persian garrison. The hyparch Appion also marched down, settling in Edessa to manage supplies for the Roman troops. Since the bakers were unable to make enough bread, he ordered that wheat be given to all the houses in Edessa that they make boukellaton¹³¹⁴ at their own expense. On the first round the Edessans produced six hundred and thirty thousand modii.

When Kawad realized [282] that the troops of Areobindus were few, he sent against them twenty thousand Persians who were with him in Shigar. Areobindus repeatedly drove them away until they were pushed back battered to the gate of Nisibis. Many of those fleeing suffocated at the gate when they rushed to get in. In the month of Tammūz (July), the Huns and Tayy-Arabs gathered with the Persians to come against him (=Areobindus), with Constantine as their leader. When he (=Areobindus) learned this from spies, he sent Calliopius of Aleppo to Patricius and Hypatius, saying: Come here and help me, because a large army is about to attack us. They paid no heed but remained in their spots near Āmid.

¹³¹³ Lit. "Visitor," a position given to ecclesiastics who were sent to visit distant villages on behalf of their bishops. Jacob is none other than the 5th–6th centuries Jacob of Sarug, the greatest Syriac poet after Ephrem; see most recently and with an extensive bibliography S.P. Brock, "Ya'qub of Serugh," in P. Brock et als., *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2011), pp. 444–445.

¹³¹⁴ Soldiers' bread.

صبح عنده عود كنه وبارك وللما كعكما المكع والعلمة، وو وع حمرور ملا مقطا وحم معلمًا ووا. ومع وحم لحظ المؤود مرسما وحمرس فيا. والملهد حمدوه حصدنا صمنا وم محمود فيموركي وه [281] وهامتا صحيا صبعم حمد ملا فعةما ومكتا معة عما ورصياً عصر لاه علا رصا هذه ومعراً. لا أهجه أهلا حرصا ول مع أبرا وهلما وهما هود الله عبدت المهتدا ومناسما حدمه مرسمال عرضه حده على ووزميا واحدا. ومحدد حده ولا بدومه الا محدا السهوم در مجد عبرة سملا صحالاً ووده معمل ونصمه حقي حصيتما مدلاه راسي. حمور وبي لا صحملاً حمد حداً بحن وجر معديدا وعجا. ولا عدم مع وحد عصما واعبه. الله عبو انترا حمل محكم وغور ك وهما. أه [F77v] <فد > 1315 منها. هكم حاوس سعى. محكم وب وه حل الل عبود الله المهمت حصم نصعه محصم حسنا والمحم واجره محلن المن عبو مهد الكما وسع ستهال أوصيرا وفهوه وهوفه وهرجها هيتاا معدور وسيم اوصبرا مجزا ١٨ اسم حدا ووا محصة وم العدم بحب مدرسكا. واما موما حصره اوحصة المعتم رحتم. وفي من وهووله عن ملا احد. المحمد مع امع معهذا وفتها. والم ووا معدور اوصع هفتي. سم ولم الا دو الله الدو الله العدور الله والمرابع المرابع ال حادة و حصل في المناع والمال والمناع وا كعندم كسعا. هم ولمتهم شلما كحكم وقلا والم طاووه وبندور حامكي حتقما وحمور واهمه أووما صحما مرسما متمعلا والشمع هفتم حرقال موو وب عبرا [282] ورحدوب الم المحمد وحمل الوحسيل. عبر عصمه سلا وابد الما المام حمس بعدي كعت قوتهما. وزوق انق ازحمرا رصاما ماتهاي حبط حوالموسم>الالله حما لمؤجل وبرجع. وم معمنوج ومعيتال مع حتومل حمؤجل المسمو. وم شرب حمداً: طؤس لمعدر وبي المصعد حور هدة هيا. أه مدنيا مهتما حصلاً حصاص معصيها حزمهده وم بده دورا مع رحقمان مرز حصده سحما حدا فلهزم دوومل مر اخذ. واه حمام ٥١٥٥٥ حد حدوقا. عدلي وسعلا صهال محمر حجلاا محم. ومن وم لا الملجده. الليلا وقصلهم فعد لما احر.

¹³¹⁵ Ms ∞ − superfluous quotation mark.

¹³¹⁶ Beginning of the following homonym but is superfluous.

¹³¹⁷ Βουκελλάτον, Latin buccellatum.

¹³¹⁸ Ms مدلك، W 53:2 and n. 1; C¹ 282 n. 1.

When the Persians attacked the party of Areobindus, these could not fight them but left their camp, fleeing to Tellā and Edessa; all their possessions were plundered and carried away.

Now the troops of Patricius and Hypatius were constructing three wooden towers with which to ascend the walls of Āmid. After the construction of the towers was completed at great expense – they were made firm with iron so as not to be damaged by anything – they learned about what had happened on the border. They set the towers on fire and departed from there, going after the Persians whom they did not reach. One of the officers, whose name was Pharazman, and another named Theodore, cunningly sent cattle to pass by near Āmid, while they and their troops lied in ambush. When the Persians inside Āmid saw the cattle, some four hundred choice men among them came out to seize them, but the Romans who were lying in ambush stood up and destroyed them, capturing their leader alive. [283] He promised to surrender Āmid, and on account of this Patricius and Hypatius returned there. But when that marzhan was unable to fulfill his promise – those inside the city did not agree with him – the stratelates ordered him to be crucified.

The Tayy-Arabs of Persia marched to Hābūrā¹³¹⁹ [F78r] and Timostratus, Dux of Callinicum, went out against them [and destroyed them]. The Tayy-Arabs of the Roman land called Thaʻlabites¹³²⁰ also went toward Hirtā-d-Nuʻmān¹³²¹ and came across a caravan that was going up to him and camels that were carrying up to him xxxx.¹³²² They fell upon them, destroyed them, and carried away the camels, but they did not attack Hirtā because its inhabitants moved into the inner desert. Then, in the month of Ob (August), the entire army of the Persians, Huns, Qadishāyē, and Armenians gathered and marched as far as Opadna.¹³²³ Patricius and his troops heard of it and rose up to march against them, but while the Romans were still on the road and not yet standing in battle formation, the Persians met the vanguard and struck them.

¹³¹⁹ City on the Khabur River; see A. Harrak, "The Location of the West Syriac City of Habura," in R. Lavenant, ed., *VI Symposium Syriacum 1992*, OCA 247 (Rome, 1994), pp. 449–456

¹³²⁰ One of the Arab tribes of the Syrian desert, whose position in the middle between the Byzantine and the Sassanian empires made them important allies wanted by the two superpowers.

¹³²¹ Syriac name of the capital of the Lakhmids, Arabic al-Ḥīrā. It was located on the west bank of the Euphrates, in southern Mesopotamia, and was also an East Syriac bishopric see; J. M. Fiey, "Pour un Oriens Christianus Novus: répertoire des diocèses syriaques orientaux et occidentaux, Beiruter Texte und Studien 49 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1993), p. 90.

¹³²² Ms not clear; for the various reading guesses see Trombley-Watt, *Pseudo-Joshua*, p. 69 n. 328.

¹³²³ South west of Mardīn and west of Dārā.

حب وب المه قدة هما ملا محم وحمة اوحسوا. لا المحس خصة عمده معده من الله محمد صعتهاهه، والموكم حملا والوهوري وحكم بخبره المحرر والمجدد وحم فلهنم وع ٥٥٥٥٨ معنوص ٥٥٥ اسما مهركتم ومنها معهم دهم معوزا وامعر. دور الملاحد باهميده وحيرال صقما صيتالا: والمرم حدولا ولا للاحد حرم: صبع المحزم كده وربع حكسه داهم الله كعيبال معص مع لمع. ه اور معده دور در الم المراجعة اأوهؤا: عبة حربكا عبل ولمحز كها احر. هونه مسكهم كرد حصيل: هم سرهه 1324 قوة هما كيا مع ره أمعه: يقمه مينهم أمر أودمطا رحة الرحتا وسهفوية. ممع والموصدا والمحمد مده معدال مسزد الله وكالمحمد الله عبد المحمود حده. وتعلصه حده العبر وتعليه وا وقد حده حلم فلهاه ووقع ود المحس حزرصا بنه وبمطا مهدوره صهر ولا الماهيم كه محر وصه حرسما: قصر محاهب اصلى إلى وارمد. لهنا بع وهوتهما المه مسحورا: [F78r] ماهم محمه لمعصله في ومصموه. [مسند الله]. أقد لهمتا وصلا ومحمد ومحمن وحد المحجاد اوحه حما ساؤلا وبعص هامي منزلا وضحما حماه. مريخلا وضعمع حه ومجله ١٥٥٨ كن خصرها روما. ١٥٥ وم المصعد حليد احد العدد مملا وقدوهما. وهونيا ومبعتا والوصيا. والم حبط للوهبيا. وعصو وصل فلهنم. ومع حمارا مكمون. وجم مرجمال حاوزمل المممون ووه وووصل: ولاحتزال هرزو ووود ازي هوزهما حمرمتا هصبه اس.

¹³²⁴ Phonetic of worlps.

¹³²⁵ The $y\bar{o}d$ is superfluous.

¹³²⁶ Unnecessary final *yōd*; see also C¹ 273:27.

When the stricken ones retreated, the rest of the Roman army realized that the vanguard had been struck, and terror seized them. They did not persist to fight, but Patricius was the first to retreat and all his army followed him, and crossed the Euphrates seeking refuge in the city of Samosata. In this battle Nu^cmān, King of the Tayy-Arabs of Persia, was wounded. Now one of the Roman officers, whose name was Peter, fled to the castle of Ashparin, and when the Persians surrounded the castle, the inhabitants surrendered him to them out of fear, and the Persians carried him captive but killed the Romans who were with him [284]. As for the inhabitants of the castle, they did not harm them whatsoever.

Kawad, King of the Persians, considered marching against Areobindus in Edessa, enticed by Nu^cmān, King of the Tayy-Arabs, on account of what had happened to his caravan. A tribal man from Ḥirtā of Nu^cmān, who was a Christian, answered and said: Your majesty should not trouble yourself to go to war against Edessa: the irrevocable word of Christ, whom they worship, states that no enemy shall ever overcome her! Upon hearing this, Nu^cmān threatened to perpetrate in Edessa worse evils than those done in Āmid and uttered blasphemous words. But Christ showed a clear sign in him: At the very time he blasphemed, the wound that he suffered on his head swelled and his whole head became inflamed. He then stood up and went to his tent, and after he remained in this distress for two days he died. As for Kawad, not even this sign restrained his evil will, but established a king in the place of Nu^cmān, and rose up to march to war.

When he reached Tellā, he besieged it. The Jews who were there considered surrendering the city to him, and they dug a tunnel under the tower of their synagogue, which fell upon them to guard, and informed the Persians about it so that they may dig into it (from their side) and go in by it. This was revealed to comes Peter who was in captivity. He asked those who were guarding him to bring him near the wall, saying that he had some clothes and belongings which he left in the city, and wanted to ask the people of Tellā to give him. The guards agreed and brought him nearby. He told the soldiers who were standing on [285] the wall to call comes Leontius, who at that time was guarding the city. They called the latter along with his officers, and Peter spoke in Greek, revealing to them the treachery of the Jews. And so that nothing would be known to the Persians, he asked them to give him two pieces of clothes.

¹³²⁷ See above, p. 412.

¹³²⁸ See pp. 360, 386, 418.

ه وجد مجد حصدة ومن المن وحده: مره عنده وسلل ووه وصل حمومتا والمحسد. وبعكذ الله وعن وسكال ولا عدد كعدم عمد الله وعن في مرحم وحدة ما حكوره. ورجم بدورا فيها والمكورده لمعطم معيسكال حك وبي حصور وبا الا يعطم محكما ولهمتا وقتصمال سروع مع معرجتال وودهمما وعمده فلهزا عزم حسسا واعدين. وحر سرزورون فتهمل حسفيا. وسك مدرون حتد سعيل والمكتورون كرون ووجورون قة وسل في العبر: وحروه ومل والم ووا عده [284] مهرد. حدّ سعل ولي حموم لا اصه. مهو وبي محكم وفترهيا محكسمت مها وبالما ملا اؤسيرا للمؤمد. مرين مها حم اله سع صحط ولهميا صهر موم ورجه حسناه. سر وع وسه ممال مع سمنا وسعع. والماهات فيصلمنيا. عيا دامعن: ولا الممس محصوله مرادل علا ادوه عندا. صهر وصلاما لا صعدوسها وصعب أنه وضيب لاه الم ملانة وصلوحا لا معلاكم دن كدهر بعص وبي عبر دوا معجد جرم ووحتم عبي امكم وحاهم العلامة بعدم حادزون ، وظل و رووها فعلا اله معسل بهذا الم المحلا مول ده . ده بهذا حديلا ورود: المنصلة صدما المن وحله وما حزيمه. والماهم وما علم عزمهمه. ومع ارا حصمصه. وفي من حامريا وما لمؤم مقصم وصيم. حصنهماه وم وهود اهلا الما دوا احصم مع رجسه صعار الل اصم معكما سك سعع ممم وللا حصندار مدم بعلما حما الل. عنه محتنى متن ولم ولم والم الما المعلم المعلم المسعود والمعلم المالي المستعدد ا وصحيالا وصلا معلم معمم وها والمناه المارة المناه المناه المنالدة المناه فهزا ده والمدهد حمصما: وأفيع للمع ولهزم دهو كه وبعندوسود كما معوزا عم افذ: وحدة على مقالل الم حه وهوم صوم وهمعم حه حصومها. محول ونصمه حمحتا صهدكمهم وللكور كد. والمهجم كد بهوزا وعندوود. وو وع اجز كوكتا ومنصع ١٥٥٩ 🛷 [285] معوزاً. وبعنور هو خصص للهذا وأه ونهز ووا هو حرصا وأ حصرسال معنه من المناهم محمود الله مند المناهم ملا ومدةوما. وصهر ولا للمب رجما المحدوهما. على صدور والمكور كاو وصل سر وتعابل

¹³²⁹ Superfluous *dōlat*.

¹³³⁰ Superfluous final yōd.

¹³³¹ MS ₀∠.

¹³³² Phonetic of مانون المانونية.

¹³³³ Unnecessary *syōme*.

¹³³⁴ Phonetic of wowasay.

¹³³⁵ Κόμης.

¹³³⁶ Phonetic of woolies.

They first showed themselves as if annoyed, [F78v] but then threw down from the wall two pieces of clothing, for in[dee]d he needed some clothes. Thereafter, they went down from the wall, and as if unaware of the Jews' treachery, and not knowing which place it was, they went round the whole wall and examined its foundations, as though they wanted to see whether it needed any repair. They did this for the sake of Peter, lest the Persians learn that he disclosed the matter and then make him suffer more hardship. Finally, they came to the place the Jews guarded and found it dug. The latter made a great tunnel inside the tower as was told to them (by Peter). When the Romans realized this, they went out in great fury against them. Going around the whole city, they killed all the Jews that they found: men and women, old and young. They did this for days and only reluctantly desisted from massacring at the order of comes Leontius and the appeal of the blessed Bar-Hadad the bishop. They guarded the city vigilantly day and night, while the holy Bar-Hadad went around, visiting them, praying for them, and blessing them. He praised their diligence, encouraged them, and sprinkled baptismal water on them and on the wall of the city. He also carried [286] the Eucharistic bread while going around, to let them take communion at their posts, lest anyone of them leave his post and come down from the wall for this purpose. He also went out confidently to the Persian King and spoke with him and placated him. When Kawad realized the man's dignity and noticed too the vigilance of the Romans, it seemed to him improper to remain idle before Tella with all his army. For one thing, the army could not find provisions in a place that was devastated, and for another, he was concerned lest the Roman commanders attack him altogether. Therefore, he quickly went toward Edessa, pitching camp for about twenty days on the Gallab River, called 'of the Medes.' But the impudent among his army went around the region devastating it.

On the sixth of *Ilūl* (September), the Edessans uprooted all the monasteries and inns which were located near the wall, and set fire on the village of Kephar-Şlem, which is Negbath. They destroyed all the hedges surrounding the gardens and parks and cut down the trees which were in them. They brought in the bones of all the martyrs (from churches) around the city. They brought up weapons on the wall and fastened haircloth coverings on top of the battlements. On the ninth day of this month, Kawad sent a message to Areobindus, that he should either receive into the city his *marzban* or go out to him on the plain, saying that he wanted to make a peace treaty with him.

من مح موانع المرابع العلم مع موجوعية من مرابع المان من محمد من المانع من من مرابع المانع من من من من من من من م عهزا رميا سر وتعليا. صهر واقد [حماززا هيم مهما على تعليا وبحم. ١٥٥٠ بيم مع عه والد مامو ها و والم المعمل المعمل والمعال والمعالم المعالم والما والمعالم المعالم ا ١٥٥٥ محمدصع حقمالصوره وحده موزا. المر رجع وسرور ووحمل حمر حذا مامسا. موا وع حدم معلا فهذا. ووحمل برمه فوقعل ووه فنصدة حرجمال وسيحه محمد اقطيا. كسنا الماه كرودكا ون ونهزي وهوه ده موةولما: واحمد وسعد وصهده كوه ويه صحيال سعنا معسل أمه والماهن حده. وحب سره وده صل واسل دوا لمص وهمه محده صعما وحمار والماوروه حصرة صبيمار وسند حص والعص مع موةولم. كهدتا مكتقل مكهكا ممرك فدني مدورا فدني مده مقعدال مكعسع عديه مع مدحدهم حدميل ومعمد للهد محدسل ولمحدل حزدود اهسمدا. محميدا ومنالم نهزي ٥٥٥ حكما محلمعدا. وم معمور موا به مرسا حزمور مفدز كه م مغرلا عكمه مفدر كه ورايع معقص كريم و المنافع لا الماني الما ومعصور علا في ما وع [286] معدور عصد أقد عدوما. معمد افع حاورا علا وقصمهم، ووكعل صهر موا مكما: معدم سر صده م صهاره مسما مع معوال دهم وع حلاصكا الد كما معكما وقتصا معك معده مؤسده. عدو وع مرا معنوماه ورحزاد داوره الا حسنها ووده صداد لا المسرلة حده وهمل وبحرا حما الاحدده ١٠٥٠ سيلا وأسد ١٥٥١ حصه. سبرا صهر ولا عصيل ١٥٥١ هم الموسلال حلالما وسند ١٩٥١. ه استار وفيع هوا وو حمل بع صعور وحد ستلا ووه وصل سر حما سر وبالم محمود اصبوا. وصهر وحم محلام الممر للحد اوزود. وهذا على يدوا ويحد وصممنا وحبير الم حصتی مقصی، عتسل وی اسلی واسل موا حستهام، مداوری [۲۰۰۰] طاؤا مضاحی ٥٥٠ حموم علا حازس كماد موره ادورها علام ومنا وعند وده رب عوزا. ٥١٥م حدد ١١٥٦ رخم منها وهب بحد مرحه حده، ستيا ويتا محتوسها وسيناج ١٥٥٥ وهم اتكا وحدهم، واحد يتمل وحدهم هذوا واحد هوا سبوت صبيدا: هاصم ريدا حدوزا. همل، فتصل وصدرا حدد مع محتدا. حدوم المخل حد حيزسا وسل عجب حده موو للزمسرا: وأن بمدل حصوبها حصورها ومحرو. أن يعوم حماه حقمدهاً. المر زجا هم ويصم عصه منصا وهما.

^{...} دوم 1337 C¹ 286:27 typo

Now he secretly ordered that if Areobindus allowed [F79r] them entrance into the city, his troops should seize the wall and gates, until he arrived to go in after them. And if Areobindus went out to them, they should lie in ambush [287] for him, kidnap him, and bring him to him (=Kawad). Now Areobindus, because he was afraid to allow them to come into the city, he went to them outside, not going far from the city, but as far as the church of Mor Sergius. Baway, who was an astabid, 1338 which means magistros of the Persians, came and said to Areobindus: If you want us to make peace, give us ten thousand *litrā*-pounds of gold, and set up a treaty with us that we may collect the customary money every year. Areobindus promised to give up to seven thousand litra-pounds, but they did not want to accept the offer and bickered with him from the morning until nine o'clock. Finding no opportunity (to apply) their deceit, on account of the Romans who were guarding him, and because they were afraid to wage war against Edessa again, because of what had happened to Nu^cmān, they left Areobindus in Edessa, and went to fight against Ḥarrān, while sending all the Tayy-Arabs to Sarug. Rifaya, who was in Harran, went out of the city secretly and fell upon them, killing sixty men among them and capturing the chief of the Huns. As this man was famous and held in great honour by the Persian King, the latter promised the Harrānians that if they would give him back alive he would not fight against them. Fearing the war, they handed over the Hun, sending with him, in his honour, one thousand five hundred rams and other things.

The Tayy-Arabs of Persia, who had been dispatched to Sarug, went as far as the Euphrates, destroying, taking captive, and plundering all that they could. Patriciolus, one of the Roman officers, and Vitalianus his son, [288] came at this time¹³³⁹ from the west to march down to the war. He was fearlessly brave, because he was far from what had happened earlier. When he crossed the river, he encountered one of the Persian officers with whom he fought, destroying all the Persians who were with him. Then he set to go to Edessa, but hearing from fugitives that Kawad had surrounded the city, he recrossed the river and remained at Samosata.

On the seventeenth of this month, a Wednesday, we saw the words of Christ and his promises to Abgar being fulfilled in deed. For Kawad had gathered his whole army, and leaving the River Euphrates, he pitched camp against Edessa. His camp extended from the *martyrium* of Mōr Cosmas and Mōr Damianus – occupying all the gardens, and the church of Mōr Sergius, and the village of Bekin – to the Church of the Confessors, and its breadth went as far as the descent of Şerrin.

¹³³⁸ Commander of the army; M. L. Chaumont, "Astabed":

http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/astabed.

 $^{^{1339}}$ Ms جمع "still, yet" besides معل معل does not make sense; changing its place to fit other contexts is emending the ms. The translation above disregards it.

حصا بع حبيكه: وأن نام [F79r] حمن انصار بعب المحمد بعد المحمد المحمد المدينة المحمد المدينة المحمد ا يعده (287) كور مسهوسوس حستال موحكوسوس كماه ازحبرا ولي معهل وفيل ما ولم المراد من ولكم معرسمار بعم معلمه مدر مرالا اوسم معرس مع موسمار الل مرحل حصد حن عني عنيسه. وأبال كماه حاه، وأساه والماهد ووالم العلمصير 1342: وحدافعه صحمه ومدر مسلم والمراد والمراد والمراد والمراد والمراد والمراد مسلم ومدر مسلم وحد كالمراد والمراد والم روت ميرا وواصل ماصم ح منعط وخمك ملا واحد اده وخيرا. العدادو وم اوصبرا حصما حوصل حمدتا هدتم حملهاد ملا رجه حصمده. هموه در صمسن حده: مع رفيز معرمل حدم عني. معلى ولا اعدم مدمل حدمهامه، معلى قهده ونهزم ١٥٥٠ كن ووفعهم ١٥٥٠ مادب كعمن مع ادوره معهل معرم ورجيم كنعص. محمود للزدير داوزوب وارك كغمزده عم سني. وكهنتا وحووي مرز کھنور. وتعلل 1344 وب والم موا حسن، نقم مصالم مع مرسما ونقل مكمور. معلا هده، علمتي رحزم. محمر حستا خزمعهم، ومةسا. معلا ورحزا مما برسط. وصي عمية وه مل ملا ملاور وعدوهما العلاور المناهد ولي الملاسود المن حستا لا ضعنت حصوم، ويور وي وسك مع منظ مبوحوه مده من موز حص المر والمصنره هد مسحقعال ودوا وحبار حص حقال استسكار كهنتا وبي وهوتهما ذمن والمكروة حصنه ادر مرحل حدوزا فنا. ب صنحت مفص مخرج در وصعصب فلم المتعاملة ولى سر مع مرحول ووده مما وحلمته من [288] مرحم حول رحل آباً ١٥٥١ مع معدزها وسما كمزها. وحكمتها ولا منها أعمده ١٥٥٠ حدث ولا مزعد ١٥٥ للمحم والعلام: حصوهمال وم حجز بدول اؤلا حسر مع معرجونا وهووهما. والعرد 1345 حصه. محمدهم وهوهما وحصه سند. مصم احقه والما الموزهد. معمد مع متهما وسرؤاه مدو خصيسهال ١٥٥٥م حجز ١٥٠١ احمصمه صفر حدوم محمدهم حديدا الابرا طرودرا حمداً. سربع حصدة وسمسا وحموة وموه وحما أحرز. مر حندرا صلى بعنى. فيم يه عدو حدده سيكه: معمل مع بدورا هنا. دايا جزا مل ادوره. صمسا ١٥٥ وج معنده مع مع الماء معند معامل ومند مواصل وومند ومصداد در منع ملا يتا مكة مملا مم هزر هزيه ما يعه مملا مصرما كمم هورتا. ه حمد حسونا وروب

1340 C¹ 286:27 wrongly written اهجما; delete note 5 since the text is clear in ms.

o; delete note 6 in C¹ 286.

¹³⁴² Mid. Pers. Spāhbad.

¹³⁴³ Μάγιστρος.

¹³⁴⁴ Syōmē not needed.

امح: 1345 Typo in C¹ 288:5 محناً.

¹³⁴⁶ One preposition is unnecessary.

Innumerable forces surrounded Edessa in a day, not counting the guard posts established on mountains and heights which filled the whole region. The city gates were all open, but the Persians could not enter the city because of the blessing of Christ. What is more, fear fell upon them and they remained in their position while no one fought with them from morning until about the ninth hour. Then, some men came out of the city [F79v] to fight with them, killing many Persians while only one of them fell. Women carrying water went outside the wall for the fighters to drink, and young boys threw (stones) with slings. Thus, the few people who went out of the city chased (the enemy) away, [289] driving them away from the wall, for they were within bowshot. They withdrew to pitch camp beside the village of Kubbe.

Next day, Areobindus went outside the Great Gate, and while he was standing opposite the Persian army, he sent a message to Kawad: "Behold, you realize from experience that the city is neither yours nor Anastasius', but is the city of Christ, who blessed it and rose against your forces so that they may not overpower it!" Kawad sent word to him: "Give me security-hostages so that you will not attack me when I set to leave, and send me the men whom you captured yesterday and the gold which you promised, and I will leave the city." Areobindus gave him comes Basilus and the fourteen men whom he had captured, and made an agreement with him to give him two thousand litra-pounds of gold at <the end> of twelve days. Kawad departed and went to pitch camp at Dahbana, 1347 but he did not wait for the fixed day; rather, he sent on the following day one of his men whose name was Hormizd, ordering him to bring three hundred litra-pounds of gold. Areobindus gathered the nobles of the city to debate how this money could be levied, but when they realized that Hormizd had come prematurely, they grew powerful through their trust in Christ and boldly said to Areobindus: "We do not send gold to a deceitful man, for just as he contradicted his own word and has not waited until the fixed day which you set for him arrive, so he will go back and lie when he gets the gold. As for us, we believe that if he fights with us, he will be put to shame because Christ will defend this city." Then Areobindus too grew strong [290] and sent to Kawad: "Now we know that you are not a king, for no king gives his word and then deceitfully goes back on it. And if he lies, he is not a king. Since you have shown falsehood, send comes Basilus back to me, and do whatever you want!"

¹³⁴⁷ Also known as Davana, modern 'Ayn-al-'Arūs, some 50 km south of Edessa.

الله على منظل ولا تعييل سرؤة للوؤون حدودا. هجز مع معجزاً وهبع الاقد هو حجوزًا ٥٥١هما. محل ١٥٥ وب حكة فعدما مده، وفيمسم ٥٥٥ حكه، اوسة ومرسما. ولا المصدة فدوصا وبدك رخة صهر دووكاه وصميلاً. الله بوحلاً محده وسكال. ەفەمە مى بەحتىلەرى. حبر المع لا ضعند معدور مع رفنا محبط لافتالما معتى. مبع بعم سببتا مع [F79v] مرسلا مامنحه مصمون محسستا عنها مها وصدور لا بعر الا المالاً سر رحز. نقل وم لمنت وقد صناً. ومعقى حدد مع عدوا وبعده، المحم وتخصرون ولمحتل عدة حقكل غبر ١٥٥٥ لهزوه الله وصلا النقل وحوا وبعم مع مديسكا. [289] هاوسم أن مع كما معول معلى وكم معهد فيمن ٥٥٥ صيب الل أب صعيرا حصداً. وأرك عنه ملا يب عقط عنها. حداؤه وب وعصراً. بعم مادت اؤدميرا حدة مع ماؤها وحار دور فام حدده سمال وهووهما عجب حده حصور والم مرسم صعبرا. وحرسما لا ١٥٥ وسير. ولا والعمهم الا حرسما وحسسا اله وه وحزده. ومِع حومد ستهاير. ولا تعلاجه محدة. وعد حده مود وود حد وصدة العلام الله المام حكوم حلام ومفكم والرف معرو حد القل وحم وحدمه المعجب دورده ون والعدود في د وضورت الله حد مع معرسمال درود حدد اوسرا حصم حصنى. والنقل والمحدد عده. و١٥٥٠ اودمعه يحتب واصع ععده عنعل ولما حمه لمزم هجت حملهما والمراجعة والمراجعة من المراجعة حبه صلا كونارهما وم لا عمرو الله عبر كموها وحموره للع مع ومكه وعمده مهوصرون وقعره وسلا الشلاطا حمله وهدا. اوصبرا وع فيع حماه حزووها وهرسلاا والمسعدة والمعلم معلى حل والمحل المان محمد المان المان معلى المان معلى المان معلى المان معلى المان الم المسملا علا لماه ومعسل والمحدو واجع حده للوصيرا. وسع حيدا ويلل لا صفروس واحد معهد واحد واحد واحد واحد واحد والعدم حدد المعدم المرابع والمعدم والمعدم المرابع والمعدم المرابع والمعدم المرابع والمعدم المرابع والمعدم المرابع والمعدم والمعدم المرابع والمعدم والمعدم المرابع والمعدم المرابع والمعدم وال نه فعر الله ومعرفي والمحرد منع معاهد معرب وال معمد مع مادد معمدان. حملاً وحمساً علم حلقة حبيه. صبح المسلاء [290] اوصباً. معيد الم حصور: واصعل مزمعي وحه معجد الله. حمل يهم معجدا وافعة معجما هاهو معريك. ه وب حريا له معلا ٥٥. معدا ومدير المبرلة ويكدال عبر لا لمعمد حسلا معرم وهوما حلته لعبد ندر.

¹³⁴⁸ C¹ 288:26 misread it.

¹³⁴⁹ Greek δμηρος.

¹³⁵⁰ Missing word suggested in W 61:7 and n.2. See also C¹ 289:19 n.5.

¹³⁵¹ Phonetic of 2007.

Kawad grew furious and prepared the elephants which were with him, and returned with his entire army again to battle Edessa on the twenty-fourth in the month of *Ilūl* (September), a Wednesday. He surrounded the city more completely than the previous time. While all its gates were open, Areobindus ordered the Romans not to fight with him, so as to show no wrong doing from his part, but some of the villagers who were in the city went out against Kawad's troops with slings, knocking many of his mailed men while none among them fell. Now his legions strived to invade the city, but once they came near its gates in the likeness of a high mound of earth, 1352 [F80r] they were humiliated, became weary, and retreated. Due to the speed of their rushing cavalry, the slingers mingled among them. Although the Persians shot arrows, the Huns branded thongs, 1353 and the Tayy-Arabs pointed spears toward them, they were unable to harm anyone of them. Rather, like the Philistines who went up against Samson, although they too were many and armed, they were unable to kill him, while he, deprived of weapon, killed a thousand of them with the jaw-bone of an ass. 1354 Likewise, [291] the Persians, Huns, and Tayy-Arabs, while they were falling with their horses from the stones which the slingers cast, they were unable to kill anyone of them. When they realized that they were unable either to take the city or to harm the unarmed people mingled among them, they set on fire the Church of Mor Sergius, the Church of the Confessors, all the monasteries that survived, and the Church of Negbath - the citizens had abandoned the latter.

When Areobindus the *stratelates* saw the diligence of the villagers, and that they were not put to shame, but (the divine) assistance accompanied them, he gathered on the following day all the villagers who were in Edessa to the church, and gave them three hundred *denarii* as presents. Kawad left Edessa and went to pitch camp on the River Euphrates, and from there he sent ambassadors to the emperor to inform him of his coming. Now the *Tayy*-Arabs who were with him crossed the river to the west, pillaging, taking captives, destroying and burning everything that they found. Some of the Persian cavalry went to Batnan, and because its wall was breached, the citizens could not resist them. Rather, they received them without fight and surrendered the city to them.

¹³⁵² The analogy is not clear, and the translation above slightly follows W53 note, while Trombley-Watt, *Pseudo-Joshua*, p. 81 n. 386 question the meaning.

¹³⁵³ For the meaning see R. Payne Smith, edited by Mrs. Margoliouth, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), p. 458.

¹³⁵⁴ Cf. Judges 15:9-16.

صبع المحزحة معود وزع حصتلا واسم وما يعده معملا وو محدة صعنده والما لمحد كعمن حدم اهزاه و حدم عصب ماتوحل حلوس الله الأدرا حدم اتوحل حدد مسرؤة كعبيكا مع مكوه رحته. مله مع ومعملاً. مع مكوه الإسه مده. أوحبرا وب هجر هوا خزه وصرا. ولا نعزده رحده. أب ض ولا الماسرا و رحما عده وحده. مكس وب مع مه وسل واسلا ١٥٥ حصوب الما يعمه المحمدة حملتا. والمصيمة المراجعة وبعده أوهده. معده العلا سر بعلا. معرف مة وم كهقده معدد معدد معرساً. معل وهنده كها لمؤسنة: حرمها خلا رصفا ومع ببلاً. [F80r] محكمدهم معكمهم ٥٥٥ منهصى صهر بى سندوله ومحصل ووصوره: عكم وبي حسلهه بعد وهدر محر كاوًا خرج موه فورهما: معرف من مدهم موه موسل معدم الزرج ٥٥٥ لمنتا: حصصه سب حدوه لا صمحرب ٥٥٥. الا الم فحملتا ونور وهجه ملا عصمه): وحم لحت صحيام ٥٥٥ ٥٠٠موميم: حصمهم لا المحسد ٥٥ وم حم حركم مع رسل حقط وسعزا للحف صيمه، مهلا. وصل اقد [291] فتوهما مهةبما ولهمتا: في ويقي ووحده و العلم من قلط وعرب ١٥٥ مكتا: اهلا كسر مده م المحس المحملات. وصع وسره ولا خصوسها صعصب خصص ولا للنقا حتى الله وسكهم حسمهم خصووه. انوصه به وا حمد حن سنرسه وحمد مدونيا. وحصلهم وستدا والمدينة وصحما ويحمد. وموزعاً وولا <اسعنه> 1357 محمورنا وخوا وه المحمد. فيم الله حكوره ومعاً. حكوره ومعاً. حكوره ومعاً والله وما حاوزه حدول معادة المحمد الم مور وب عمل مع اوزوب وارا عنا مل سوزا هنا. ومع مامع عبر الريزا حما محمل وبدو مدسود ملا صطماء. لهنتا وع وامل موا معده مدره بدوا لمعدود دجره داسرده ومحده واومر والمحدد. مكس وودد وم عن عنما وعنصا اولا حديد ومعلا ولمؤس وول عدورة: لا المحسد وبعدهم المحمدة الله ولا عنط فحال الدي وصويد ال Sala Loop.

¹³⁵⁵ The $r\bar{s}$ with its $sy\bar{o}m\bar{e}$ is unmistakable although the $n\bar{u}n$ is slightly elongated. For the reading and other emendations see C¹ 290:19 n. 7.

is expected. Delete C1 291 n.2 which is not correct.

¹³⁵⁷ Ms معنوي; for the correction see W 63 n. 4 and C¹ 291 n. 3.

¹³⁵⁸ The decipherment is secure but the expression is repeated and then deleted.

¹³⁵⁹ Sic ms and no need of additional words found in Assemani, BO i 284.

The year eight hundred and fifteen (AD 503–504): When the Roman emperor learned what had happened, he sent Celer his *magistros* with a large army. When Kawad heard this, he moved along the River Euphrates so as to go and stay in his region called Bēt-Arāmāyē. When he came near Callinicum, he sent there a *marzhan* [292] to wage battle against them. The *dux* Timostratus came out against him and destroyed the *marzhan's* whole army and seized him alive. When Kawad reached the city, he set up his whole army against it, adamant to uproot it and drive out all its inhabitants to slaughter or in captivity, if they did not hand over the *marzhan* to him. Terrified by the enormous Persian army, the *dux* gave him up.

When the *magistros* Celerius reached Mabbug, which is on the River Euphrates, he realized that Kawad had moved away before him. Since the winter season arrived and he could not pursue him, he called upon the Roman generals and rebuked¹³⁶⁰ them for not listening to each other. He then allotted to them the cities in which they would spend the winter, until the war season arrived.

On the twenty-fifth of First Kānōn (December), an order came from the emperor that the synteleia-tax was remitted for the whole of Mesopotamia. [F80v] When the Persians who were in Āmid saw that the Roman army departed, they opened the gates of the city, and went in and out wherever they wanted, selling to merchants brass, tin, and iron, strips of cloths, and whatever was found in it, and even set up in it a warehouse. When Patricius heard about this, he moved from Melitene, where he was spending the winter, and came and pitched camp against Āmid. He killed all the merchants whom he found bringing down grain and oil, and also those who were buying things from there. He also found out that the Persians whom Kawad dispatched were bringing weapons, grain, and cattle there, and he killed them and took all what was with them. When Kawad learned about this, he sent a marzban against him to exact vengeance. When they came near each other to fight, the Romans, [293] terrified by their former defeat, 1361 advised Patricius to flee, and he consented. In their haste and not knowing where they were going, they came upon a river named Kallath, 1362 and because it was winter and the river was flooded, they could not cross it, and he among them who rushed to cross the river drowned along with his horse.

¹³⁶⁰ Lit. "he dismissed (them);" since a number of words show metatheses, the verb may be 1.50 as translated above; this is suggested in W 64 n.2; see also C¹ 292:2.

¹³⁶¹ See p. 414.

¹³⁶² Modern Batman-Su, a perennial of the Euphrates to the east of Āmid.

عدلم المختصال مستقدهال محكما وع ووه ومعلم عبر بلك علا المحم وهذب كصلاغ صح بعلمين وسرو جرو حر سال صحال وجر معد وو وب ووال حجر معقده حصه وبموزا هزيا. أمر وبارك مدت حلاؤا ومحه وصلامزا وحمد اتوصيا. مدم معلم للفت مكتموه. مِن كامع منزصا ب [292] بنمزد معمى، وبقم مكاور ليعهل لل وه حجه. ميزد كبيكه فكه. مكه ابير حبيثاً. مفر مني مهو كموينكل. هرو كموكه عده سعده عب خرم وبعديدة ونعم حمده معدودة حساط وحمصار لي هو ولا المكوسون كاه. وبيلا وم وهو مع معيماه ال وسال وهناها ومنوحه معيمهاه وم ملاعب در مد حمده وسل موزا فيا: وبرا والممكه مدو مع مرمده، ووهد كه لمادت حريده وبعكاها: ولا تعمصت خطارات حكوره: عنا أندر خرَّجت ستلا وورده فعلا. وجزا انه معلا أن ولا المكمون حسروا. وفي حده صبتكا وبصكه حدم حر وذا عملا ومنحا. وحستم وسقعا حصور مربع. آيا هومونا مع محكم والملاحف صوبهما حكمه حمد بهزومال. [F80v] هوزهما ولى وامد هما حاهد: عبر مره واحدد هم ممال وزهه صل مع كماهه، في الخط وهوسكا اهو. ونقصع هذه وخكم كم وزحم. وهوخس هده كمية سعا هابط معزالا. معلت اهومكا محكوم ومعلمت مماحة. مصبعب مهم حة أو أولمكي. ولهنم وع حم مجد هوا ممر مع معكميل وامع معهما همال مايا عنا ملا العب محمده مرية والعصد وضماع ١٥٥٥ محمد محدوا معمدا: مالم ادت ورضع ١٥٥٥ رحة ال صر عمل الدر المحس وم الد حدوة وسل والمعاورة مع عدو ونسكاه بالمحم وسل محصول مستقال مبيزت الله المعمل على واسلا عصمه وعبار بريد مه ميز حصه حصروبل ب وللمنصم هنه. وقع من حمل سيّوا خصله في وهوهما حيا الله المحمد مرحداً عبد المحدد ال حموا. وحصوره حدول نرعي موه للحل أزكي. أولا في حدول سر وحلم عنا عكم. وصهر وصدوا وول وصحل وحل الم وول حود لا المجس وبحدونيون الله على المل معيوور والصكورود كعدد حدوزا المسمو عم هوهده.

¹³⁶³ Read with W 64 n. 2 Lo; see also C1 292 n.2.

When Patricius saw this, he bolstered the Romans, saying: "O Roman men, let us not disgrace our race and our military profession by fleeing from our enemies; rather, let us go back against them and perhaps we will vanquish them. If they overpower us, we ought to rather die by the edge of the sword with the good reputation of valour than to drown in the waters like cowards! Then the Romans agreed with his advice, pressured by the river, and turned against the Persians with vehemence, destroying them and seizing their leaders alive. Thereafter they returned and laid siege against Āmid. Patricius sent to gather artisans from other cities and many villagers, and ordered them to tunnel underneath the wall, so that it may loosen and fall.

In the month of $Od\bar{o}r$ (March), while the rest of the Romans gathered to marched down with the *magistros*, God gave a sign to encourage them to be confident of victory. We learned this from a letter from the members of the church of Zeugma, ¹³⁶⁴ but so that it may not sound that I am inventing things or that I was made to believe a false report, I am writing down the words of the letter that came to us as follows:

"Listen now to a miracle (causing) splendid joy that has no rival, because it concerns us, [294] you, and all the Romans. It is such an admirable deed that it is difficult for the mind of fleshy creatures to believe it, but we saw it with our own eyes, touched it (with our own hands), and read it with our own lips, 1365 and you ought to believe it without any doubt. On the nineteenth of $Od\bar{o}r$ (March), a Friday, the day in which our Saviour was killed, in the village of 'Agar (or: Agad) which is in the *chora* of Zeugma, a goose laid an egg and on it beautiful and legible Greek characters were inscribed following the shape of the egg. [F81r] They looked and felt embossed like the characters that monks inscribe on the xxx of the (Eucharistic) blessing, and their form was felt even by the blind. They were as follows: A cross was imprinted on the side of the egg and from this point encircling the egg until it reached the cross again is written 'the Romans'. And again another cross was imprinted and from it again (going round the egg) was written 'will conquer'. The crosses were imprinted one above the other and the words were written one above the other.

 $^{^{1364}}$ Modern Balkis on the west bank of the Euphrates, to the west of Edessa and north of Birtā.

¹³⁶⁵ See 1 John 1:1.

وحر برا فلهنم حدد انور حته وصدا. در اخذ. او رحمة وهوصدا. لا ندول لهومع وقلمهازد وبدوم مع منكرمتي اللا بهويل مكهوري مدة بهجرا سيكوور وأروع ويور المحمدة رحم: قصد خفيهم حقوما وسنحا جمعا لمحل وسكروناً. ولا خعاجر أمر عقلا حسومنا ومتا. ومرح المهدي ووومنا حجدوه. معلا النصا وبوؤا. ووجه ملا قوق مل صحما وبزده اله. وكتعيبوه البره حستا. وحماوص وجر وعزه مل اهر. معرز فلهزم فيم كماه امعتل مع مرسما استسمار معورسا مهتال معمر كمه وسعزه, حازيل وبحدور سكلا السمة حوزال وبهزها وبعده حامزس أوز در محاديم ١٥٥٥ عنط وزاده صما حصم مع صهدن الله موم مع كادا المبوحل كدهر والمحمدة والمادكم ملا وصال حدمد وم المبرعة لح مع حت عبدا والمحمد ولا وم العدادة وصع وسك الغز الل معرم. أن وحمعدا وسلا الملفيهم وأحز: حاصر حقلا وسكان والمحنال ون والملاح فعم أبل والمدوع وصل عجد وصد الوحوزلا وسوما الماه وحمد بلا موما احداه. صلى وموا وسط [294] من موسحه، موصحه، وموصل. صديل هذ رحمة المحمدة ومعدما وحدد حصرا وبعنونسود سع وب حميت ببرج محديده وحصفقل جني ولا معلا وصرم رؤم حدم ولفنون حكمكمس حاوز حدم حن حداد والموروب عوم عليه وهن مع بخبأ وريا حدما حدية عنها وحدوا وروسما. معمد ده محمداً معداً وعمير معموني. والمرمي الم معمدا ولحة وصدا وتع حموم بريا مركم المقام المركب ومدي ومايك والمركب و همرة الانتخار والمراد إجمع حصدة وصدها. وهده عرها والما جمها هه عبر بنوة وفزير حصدها. عمد حرة والما المام ال ركتط سر كس مع سر ومبعي ، مععدة سر كس مع سر علمص.

¹³⁶⁶ Secure reading not الماء as in W 66 n. 2.

¹³⁶⁷ One of the two *tāw* letters is not needed.

¹³⁶⁸ Unclear in ms. The third letter, although the dot seems to be above it, is most probably *dōlat*. See C¹ 294:10 and n.7 for the conflicting decipherments of this term.

¹³⁶⁹ Ms نوموسك; correction in W 66 n. 9 followed by C1 294 n. 10.

There was no Christian or Jew who saw this miracle whose mouth ceased from saying Glory (to God)! We dare not imitate the characters that the right hand of God traced inside the womb (of the goose), for they were extremely beautiful. Therefore, let the one who hears of it believe it without doubt." These are the words of the letter of the people of Zeugma. The egg itself was given to Areobindus by those in whose village it was laid [295].

The Romans assembled as a large army, and marched down and pitched camp by the city of Rēsh-'aynā. 1370 Also, about ten thousand strong were dispatched by Kawad to march against Patricius. They went into Nisibis and settled therein for rest, and sent their cattle to pasture on Mount Shigar. When the *magistros* heard of it, he sent Timostratus, *Dux* of Callinicum, with six thousand cavalrymen, and they went and fell upon those who were tending the horses and destroyed them. They took horses, flocks, and much booty and went back to the Roman army at Rēsh-'aynā. Then they moved collectively and pitched camp against the city of Āmid with Patricius.

In the month of *Iyyōr* (May), Calliopius of Aleppo became *hyparch*. He came to reside in Edessa and gave the Edessans wheat to make *boukellaton* at their own expense, and they baked eight hundred and fifty thousand *modii* of wheat. Now Appion went to Alexandria to make *boukellaton* there too and send the bread.

When Patricius went under the wall of Āmid through the tunnel that he dug, he supported it with wood and <set> these on fire. Thus, the outer side of the wall became weak and collapsed, but (its) inner side persisted. He considered digging the tunnel further to go into the city. When he had dug the tunnel and the Romans began to ascend, a woman of Āmid saw them and out of joy screamed suddenly: "Lo the Romans are coming into the city!" The Persians heard her and rushed to the first who came up and stabbed him. A Goth whose name was Ald went up after him — he had been made *tribounos*¹³⁷¹ at Ḥarrān — and stabbed three Persians, but no other Romans went up because [296] the Persians noticed them. Realizing that no one was coming up, Ald grew fearful and turned back, but he considered bringing with him the body of the fallen Roman so that the Persians may not abuse it. While he was pulling the body and entering the tunnel, the Persians struck and wounded him. And they directed water from a large nearby spring toward the tunnel, and four armed soldiers among the Romans who were preparing to go up were drowned, and the rest of them came out fleeing.

¹³⁷⁰ Modern Ra's-al-'Ayn, "The Source of the Water," on the upper Khābūr.

¹³⁷¹ Tribune, military commander.

محمد حنسهمل أن مهوول وسوا اوهوولا هوا: وبعلا هوهه مع المحوسمال حدمتهما وع وصلحلًا معمده والحما حيده معزدما: ويرمل دهت لا معفوسه وهي عصري. د ص موسل وغمد لمعز مده ولا قه كل محم انتى قلل والهذا وال والمقطها. جذه وم حصدها عمدوه الحرج والمبحراً حصيكهم [295] للوصيرا. والموصل وم المصعم سلل صهاا دسیده جزه کما وسعدا حرسها. او مع مدو وس المهرود الم معتا هدم وللاه ملا فلهنم. ومجه جزه صرحم والكانسة لمح. وعبرة حديده وازم حلهزا ومسيء. دور مجد مرسمهان موز كالمحصل الم ودوس ومكسمين. مع مما اللهم فتعمر. دارك سولا علا الملم ووفع ١٥٥٥ ك٥٥١ كترما وسند الده. دوجه مع امع وصما محيا محيال مهوب حما سمال ووهم حنميد مبر موس عمر حمور صنعابة. وأولا عن ملا أهم مدينها كما فهنم. طنيب أنه ووا عكوف سكما مودورا. والما عرد حاوزود. وحود سمّا لاوزوما وبحرور حومكم صعفهون. وأجه حرصا وما شها معرة المعتمدال وسعقع هفتي. أهم وم أولا للحصيروما. وأف امع بندر دومكلي ونعرز كسعار فكنه ولي در معلم وسكلا وه وبيعة ووا لمسك عوزا واصر. صعده حمتها هازصه مازصه دور دورا. هازف افقه حرا وعوا هود. مرة ١٨ فتع هذه والمؤمد وحد حسكا سعوز وبدولا كي معبداً. وم علمه حسورا معند وهوصما حصص عبراً ان الما سرا احبدا. وص سرمان مدل مع عجب وها وده صدر خطر معديدة عدوهما دوره و عرصا وهجم دورهما والمعدد محكوره تعيف سمالم ومعده كر. محمد ما لهزيده الم المال معرف محكما مع فتهما فندر ورحد. داسزيا مع قاده معلا لا معلمه حكوره. معلا وأورحه ادده [296] حدد فتصل دور سرا کے وکم الع وصف وسی دودی کمهرود دارند وحمره ووده صدر ده وبعيد: حصه نسكمه ولا نخرس حه فتصدل مم كلو حه حميرا مسك حدومه وسعوا مسوور فيصل العدم ورجودور وبافر حممه متا مع حدا وحما وعندا ١٥٥٨ كن مسمه لمع اوديا مع كمتعل ووه ومل ومهدم ١٥٥٠ كمعهم. معندهم عنمه محم مع امع.

 $^{^{1372}}$ Ms نازه 1372 Ms بنه $^{$

¹³⁷³ Τριβοῦνος, Latin tribunus.

The Persians gathered stones from inside the city and blocked up the tunnel and piled up much dirt above it, [F81v] vigilantly guarding it all around, lest it be breached from a different spot. They dug trenches all around the wall from the inside and filled them with water, so that if the Romans dig another tunnel the water would run into it and the affair become known. When Patricius learned this from a deserter who came to him, he gave up on the tunnels.

One day, when the whole Roman army was quiet and relaxed, fighting broke out in this manner. A boy was tending camels and asses, but one ass went to the wall while grazing. The boy was afraid to bring it back, and upon seeing it, one of the Persians came down the wall by rope wanting to cut it up for food for them, for there was absolutely no meat inside the city. But one of the Roman soldiers, a Galilean by origin, drawing his sword and holding his shield in his left hand, ran toward the Persian to kill him. As he reached him near the wall, those who were standing on the wall threw a large stone and crushed the Galilean. [297] The Persian began to climb up the wall by rope, and when he reached the middle of the wall, one of the Roman officers advanced shooting an arrow from between two shield-bearers who went before him, he hit the Persian and brought him down beside the Galilean. Both sides screamed and due to this they grew agitated and rose up for battle. All the Roman forces surrounded the city tightly together, and forty men among them fell while one hundred and fifty were wounded. Of the Persians who were upon the wall, it seems only nine were killed and a few were wounded. Fighting them was difficult, as long as they were on top of the wall, for they built for themselves small huts all along the wall, standing in them and fighting without being seen from the outside.

Now the *magistros* and the military commanders decided that they ought not fight the Persians, because the Romans could not achieve victory by killing them. For they warred against all the Persians, but if Kawad were defeated the Persians (in Āmid) would surrender or die in their confinements. Therefore, they gave orders that no one must fight with the (Persians in Āmid), lest the large army disband as a consequence of the killed and injured among the Romans.

In the month of Hzīrōn (June), Constantine, who had gone with the Persians, realizing that their plan was not succeeding, fled from them along with two noble women of Āmid, who had been given to him by the Persian king. He marched day and night for fourteen days in a deserted steppe with some people with him, and when he reached a settled land [298] he introduced himself to Roman Tayy-Arabs, who escorted him to the kastron called Shura, wherefrom they sent him to Edessa. When the emperor heard of his coming, he sent after him.

ەقەۋھىل دېغ داقل مى 📞 مەبىلا ەھدەەە، 1374 كىدۇل. ەكى مىدە دېغە مەبۇل صحال [F81v] منهنم موه رامية الم حكوم سبق مود. ووكما استما المعكم المجه ولا وها مع حمد معر عدد الله والم والله والم والم والم والم والم والم وخدرج وهوهما سكلا اسزيل يوده متل حيهه والمبريد. ودر بحد فلهزم اورا مع ضعمعل وسلم حماه. أهمه مع سكلاً. حسر مع مقمع وم عبرا عمار وومعمل محمد يوزيا موا حمزط مصل لمحل سر وخل موا يطل مسعة ال مفحر سعنا عر وَخُرُ مَمِلًا لَهُ كُمُ مُعَوَّاً وَهُمُلًا وِبِيلًا وِينَعَالًا يَعْمُ وَيُعْمَلُ مِ مِرْمَافِ يَبِكُ حنطا مع حوزا. وزجا هوا وتعسموه وتسميه ويودا حوم حمده حمال لا رحمة الم الما حصرا حيم مرسدا كهدن سر ور مع فكتا ووه معما والماه ما ماهمه Just soy and one on sol condo of by we exact pasteron. oall وضي هذا حده حدل عدول: عبره هجم وضمعم حدل مع عدوا حلفا سبا وحما مجدهما كركمكما ٥٥٠ [297] هوووهما عن ويعم كره حنطا. هم فعل حوكه وعوزا. فند سر مع موردل ووه ومدا در ازكم ١٥٥٥ مومده ما وم معتك هدرا. وجوا كاوا مع صدره وم ومرسور هوزهما وه و موره ها مرسل وه و و اوره ومرا مع اوره و ريقا هوبا. معملاً هوا المارس معمد كغمةه. محكمه ستها ووهمعما كعرسكا سربزج ٥٥٥ وسعام مصصعام. وبعلا منون اؤدنع رحتم وقلا وسعقم المعسو. وصع فترهما وحلا عمورا المعل محمور المبرية وصبه. ووكتلا 1000 معستا. معجم 100 رسم خضمنده معده ورد وحد وحده ومعوز المده وه ود عمل واقد قدا وردوا حبه كوه ردل وكره مه وال وحروه و فيصع وه و و و و و لا و الا و الله و و و الا و الله صهر من وحد سلا وم المسعد ولا زوم ١٥٥٠ وبمندم معده. معلى ولا وها حمير ما رحما حره ومدا حرف ومنط ومن عدوم عدوم عدوسا مع حده. وار وه وموه مروط. ون معمل معمل فعده اه فعم صحمه ومدل ومرا في ولا العا ىمن بعده ، وولحمل مدلك أمل وهمام أه معاهم والمحسب مع والمام والمام 1375 وسملا الماهلاه و حاميد سرمن وبي عصصها و وادر ١٥٥ مع عصر عصر در برا ولا اركسك رجماده): عنص مع حماده). ده ماقلع بعتم مبتكا ومع احد: ومع محكما وقتصل المبعد مقد حه. مقصما اودهمعة وواحمد المعم حصردا وحمد ده الب حص وكتلا وحصه. وقع صب حول عبيل [298] عوول يقعه كهنتا ووهوصيا. ووجزوه والمندوب لحصهها وصمعنا لعوزال وصلا لمرح لعبرودوب الوؤوب وحب لعجد محلحا لحلا صمامه. عبو حموده.

1374 Typo in C¹ 296:9 ചേരും.

¹³⁷⁵ Phonetic of aloles.

And when Constantine arrived to go up to the emperor's place, the latter ordered a bishop to ordain Constantine as a priest, and that he must reside in the city of Nicea: not to be seen before him (again) and not to involve himself in (public) affairs.

Now Kawad, when he captured Amid, went into its demosion and experienced the benefit [F82r] of bathing, and as soon as he marched down to his land, he gave orders that baths be built in all the towns of the Persian land. The Tayy-Arab 'Adīd (or: 'Azīz?), who was under the Persian rule, surrendered to the Romans along with all his army, submitting himself to them. During the month of Tammūz (July), the Romans again fought with the Persians who were in Āmid. Gainas, Dux of Arabia, struck many of them with arrows, but when the day became hot, his armour became warm and he slightly loosened his armour-belt. He was then hit and killed by arrows shot from the ballistae1376 in Āmid. When the magistros realized that he incurred loss from besieging Āmid, he marched his army down to the Persian territory, leaving Patricius at Āmid. Areobindus too led his army and entered Persian Armenia, destroying ten thousand Armenians and Persians, taking captive thirty thousand women and children, and plundering and burning many villages. When they moved to return to Āmid, they drove away one hundred and twenty thousand sheep, oxen, and cattle. And while they were passing by the city of Nisibis, the Romans laid a trap. Few who accompanied the booty crossed over it. When a marzban saw that they were a few, he armed his army and went out [299] to snatch the (booty) from them. They acted as if they were fleeing, and the Persians, emboldened, pursued them, but when they went far from their position, the Romans came out of the ambush and destroyed them. Not one escaped, although they were about seven thousand men. Also, Mushleq the Armenian who was under Persian rule surrendered to the Romans along with his whole army, submitting himself to them.

The year eight hundred and sixteen (AD 504–505): The survivors and those who escaped the sword among the inhabitants who remained in Āmid were in great distress and torment on account of famine. The Persians feared them lest they surrender the city to the Romans, and so they tied up all the men and cast them into the amphitheatre, and thus they succumbed to hunger and to everlasting shackles. But to the women they gave some of their provision, because they fornicated with them, and also because they required them to grind and bake for them.

¹³⁷⁶ Catapult.

وحم فدس وبسع حابه. فم حسر مع اهتسمها وبسم محدود امرا ومعمولاً. ولارا نكات حيصاً معرسه ومرمعه لل الكسرا والطلا المصاحبا المفرد. مور وم معلا ومر محمة للعب: جلا أف كرمعهم ولكة. ونعم كنووزيل [F82r] ونع معمولًا. فم هوا مسرة وسبط للماؤرة. والمحتج حكته حجمه مسقرا وصلا فقوهما. عرب 1377 وم لهما واسم ابرا وقتصرا. اعظم هو محكو سمكه. ماهم حبر حتهم مامد وب حليس امدور امنحه وه وصمل مع هوزهما وحامد ورساه ووصف وأوصل خصيما معدور ضب حیازا. دور سم محل زاسه محدد رسد. دجزا سما وجزیده محمد. دجره معره مع امعر ازا وحصله الالمام الالمام و المام و المام و المام المام المام المام معلى المام المام معلى المام معلى المام معلى المام معلى المام معلى المام معلى المام الما اهوا وسلمت ملا العب: وجز سمله مسلم لحمله فتصل محصل محصل لعبر. ه او المحمد المح لاقع رحتم. مجده نقل مهكتا الكلم لاقتي. ممهرًا صحيالا طه مامم. مدم هجمه وبلاه رحما العبر عبل ماهؤا محمدا وجد قدا معسي همتر همين مدر نحنى ملا وروح موسلم المحمد و١٥٥ و١٥٥ و١٥٥ وحمل محمد مدور مدور ماده والما والمعمل محمد ماده والماد والمحمد المحمد الم محم برا حدرصا سر واسل موا لمح ورحون المن في سمحه ونهم [299] وبدرة صدون. ەبەنەر سەمە ناھىمەر الىر خاھىع. دەھەۋھىل المالاحدە دۆرھىم مەدە كەدەر. دەر انسى مع كماده، محمد ودومها مع مطلبا وسنحه الهرار والعد لا المعكم معده، وفي ووه المر عدمًا المحتم رحتم. أو مدمه وم أومسا: واسلم أما وحتصا: أعهر ده ووهده سكه هاعمد كرههما

مد المنتعد المعدال معدالمهذا عنها بي ووحتها سنط بطعر المدان مع معدونات ولم والمدور وورسط المدور ووربا المدور وورسط المدور ووربا المدور ووربا المدور والمدور والمدو

Both *dôlat* look like *zayn*. Is the name $\Delta = Az\overline{z}$? It cannot be as Assemani suggested, since the *ayn* is unmistakable.

¹³⁷⁸ Βαλλιστής, Latin ballista.

¹³⁷⁹ Phonetic of معماره ..

¹³⁸⁰ Κυνήγιον.

Now when the supply decreased, the soldiers abandoned the women and left them without sustenance. During this year none of them received more than one handful of barley daily, while they had absolutely no meat, wine, or any other kind of food. Fearing the Romans greatly, they never moved from their posts but made for themselves small ovens upon the wall and brought up hand-mills. They ground the handful of barley on the spot and baked and ate it. They also brought up large kneading-troughs which they placed between the battlements, filled them with dirt and planted vegetables in them and ate whatever sprouted therein.

In relating what the women of that place were doing will perhaps not be believed by those who come after us! But today [300] among those who are diligent to learn about affairs, there is no one who did not hear all that had happened, no matter how far away he may be from us. Many women gathered together and conspired among themselves to secretly go to the city market in the evening or morning and whomever they met and could overpower, whether a woman, a child, [F82v] or an old man, they would snatch into a house, kill and eat, either boiled or roasted. When this was revealed from the smell of the roasting and the matter was made known to the marzban who was there, he tortured and killed many of them and warned the rest not do this again nor to kill anyone. But he allowed them to eat those who were dead, and this they did publically. They ate the flesh of dead people, but others gathered from the streets and courtyards shoes, old soles, and other hideous things to eat. As for the Roman troops, nothing was in want; on the contrary, everything was given to them at the right time, brought down to them with great care by imperial order. There were more things in their camps for sale than could be found in the cities, whether food, drink, shoes, or clothing. Bakers of all the cities were baking boukellaton and sending it to them. More so in Edessa, for the citizens baked in houses during this year six hundred and thirty thousand modii at the order of Calliopius the *hyparch*, not counting what was baked by the villagers and bakers, both foreign and local, throughout the whole chora.

In this year too, [301] Mor Peter the bishop went once again to beg the emperor to remit the *synteleia*. The emperor responded to him abruptly, blaming him for neglecting the care of the poor at a time like this by going up to him. But he said that God himself, not someone else's persuasion, would have put in his heart the will to do a good deed to the 'blessed city,' if that were right. While the bishop was still there, the emperor sent the remittance for all of Mesopotamia through someone else, without (Peter) knowing. He also remitted one third of the *synteleia* to the land of Mabbug.

وعب سعبنا كن كرور باوهما احصته حقع معجمه انتع ولا همدناا. لا يهم عف ووا سر صده، حدوا عدلا: الل 1, مطل سدوره صدرا حدمدا. حصرا وبي مسمورا اه معرم اسزب ومعدد كماً. ولا عدد حمل موا حون. ومعلا وهي وشعب مده مع ومومعيا. مع صهرتاهم لا صفيع ١٥٥٥ كيمة. الله عجم ١٥٥٠ بالمؤا ربعة الله عمرة الماهم ١٥٥٨ من وسمار والبيتال مد ومصلمهم فيسع مهه حن حدث سوصل وهدرا ماضع ماضحي العم وع اه عناط ووقد المحمل وهم التي صلا معتلا ومعجه التي معبوال وروعه حقع عنمومال ومعرم ونط ووا حقى أحكى ووود حجمل معرم وهمت وقد بقا ولمعيد عجز لا معموسها للمحم ومع حدق. موصل حمد أنع [300] مع أمحم وسفعهم حصوب رحقال ولا معتدم كن وكاهم الكم والعلمة. اهر به والمرابع المرابع المراب صحيالاً وملى: اورا صدمهم ورفق هذه محيدام حدمة وموسما. وزمعا أه وفرا. محمع ومعمت هذه الما مار لمحا (ماه [F82v] لمحا ومرت هذه معمد ملق هذف حده كه حمل مملح ماقح حد. حملال أه حلهما. مدم الماهنص مع وسلا ولموما: والمبرعة , وما كعزوصا وه والم وها لمعى الممر صهالا صوح ومها انع. والمكتم للمكم وقع ولماه لا تعدي هوا وتمليخ للعد اقعد كوم وم كعلم للمح ومتمع. ١٥٥٠ هذر من كلم. ١٥٥٥ حصرا مبكا وصيتما أممرهم البَّرِ بِعَم لَمُعَم مِنْ الْمِينَ الْمُعَلِينَ مِنْ الْمُعَلِينَ مِنْ الْمُعَلِينِ مِنْ الْمُعَلِينِ الْمُعِينِ الْمُعَلِينِ الْمُعَلِينِ الْمُعَلِينِ الْمُعَلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعَلِينِ الْمُعَلِينِ الْمُعَلِينِ الْمُعَلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعَلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعْلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعِلِينِ الْمُعِلِي الْمُعِلِينِ وأحج. حستها وع ووووصد حرم لا سعمة ووا حود. الا محمر صماده ووا حود حديده. ومع قومولل ومعكما سنم هوا صريقه ال صحيلال وملمة مع وحصوبتما عمتس هذه رحقاً وحزوت حصمتهمي، وحلطا ووصمال ووصول ووحدما. حمي وع صوبتها اهتم هذه حومكل حلب سكوها. وهعبق كوهري عكناها اوزوما. اهو عن حت صبعا حبوداً: أو حدوا عدا مع قدمين ومحدد ددونا. عتاها داكم هفتم صرة ال. صلى مع معرم واهد مدوسا حددكه حدول: وستلاوها احستما وحت المؤال هجم اده وب حدوا عدلاً. [301] مدن في أفيه كما محجل وبعيده محدد صوبهما. ومسود صحا معدامه. والمدرك دو مل وعجم مربعولا وملا صحفيا: حرصا واحد مالًا. مصحف حماه. اجد موا حدد وه حما وصل مما حدد. ال مو وفلا ولا قنصل وانع خصصم عصنا حما حرسما دردها. در وم مردس لمع المادون دوا اصمعمعاً. عبر صحعا عددميا حصم يدوما طترب اسزيا. عبر دو لا فرسعا الد حدم محستا. عجم سرا مع احم وصور لملا.

¹³⁸¹ The *syōmē* of the first word ought to be on the second word.

The Roman officers who were besieging Āmid were going down into the Persian territory in forays, pillaging, taking captives, and destroying. The Persians withdrew before them, and crossing the Tigris River, they found there Persian cavalry, who were gathering to march against the Romans. They grew valiant against them and remained on the other side of the Tigris, but the Romans crossed over after them and destroyed all the Persian cavalry, who were about ten thousand men. They pillaged the property of all those who fled, burned many villages, killed in them every male twelve years old or above, and took captive the women and children. For the magistros thus ordered all the officers that if anyone among the Romans were discovered rescuing a twelve-year-old male or above, he should be put to death in his stead, and whatever village they would enter, they should not keep in it a single house standing. For this reason he selected strong men among the Romans and many villagers who accompanied them while marching down, and after they burned the roofs and the fire got extinguished, they brought down the walls too. They also cut down [302] and destroyed vineyards, olives, and all other trees. The Roman Tayy-Arabs crossed the Tigris before them, pillaging, taking captives, and destroying all that they found in the Persian territory. While I know that you will examine everything with diligence, let your holiness realize this matter too: This war was the cause of great wealth for the Tayy-Arabs of both sides, fulfilling their delight in both empires.

When Kawad realized [F83r] that the Romans were devastating the region and that there was no one to oppose them, [he wanted] to come to meet them. For this reason he sent an *astabid* to the *magistrus* to [talk] about peace, while he had with him an army of about two thousand strong. Now he sent all the prominent men whom he had taken away as captives from Āmid, as well as Peter whom he had taken from Ashparin, and Basil who was among the hostages he had taken from Edessa. He also sent the corpse of *Dux* Olympius who had gone down on an embassy to him but died there. He sent him in a sealed coffin to show that he did not die by any other than a natural death, and his servants and those who went down with him were witnesses. The *magistrus* received them and sent them to Edessa, except for the governor of Āmid and the *comes* Peter. Angry and furious, he wanted to kill them. He said that due to their negligence, the places which they were guarding had been surrendered, and concerning this matter the Persians themselves testified that the wall of Āmid was impregnable.

The *astabid* asked begging (the *magistros*) to give him the Persians who were detained in Āmid in return of those he had brought to him, for though they were holding out in fear, they were nevertheless in great distress from hunger. But the *magistros* said: "Do not mention to me the story of these men, because [303] they are detained in our city and are our slaves."

صبحتال وع ووه وهما هنه وجنع ١٥٥٥ علا العبد نسلم ١٥٥٥ حستها حازها وعتصا ەخرى ەغدى ەھىندىن. وركمه فزهما مع مرمده، وحدة بدورا ومكل والعدم لمع فتما وفتصل: وصلاصعم ٢٥٥ حصلا عصور ووهوهما. والمحدد عصور. وقمه حدد ومكل محجز حكومه ومحميل محصصه فتعل وفتصل سزحه ومم مهه المرحصا العتم رحزي. مصل وحدكة ركما حره. مامعم معتزل هريتالاً. معلا علا وحزا وحقع. مع حز المؤاحسة المتم مكس ومقل وله مجه محمد المحتم المعن عمر موا صبي عمله على معرد الله وأل الله وصعد الم على والالمعار وصعورت وحدا مع حد المالمعة المتم محمل هو معملا سلامه مده مده ونكم كن لا معمور حن الا سب حماً وغام. وصهرهوا هنم القل ستكمال مع وهوصيا. وعووسا هي تاا والمحمد حده وب سلمع. معم حدة ونصب وده المحتلا ووحدا ودما بدواً. حمير وده اه كوت القل فعمر وهو وج [302] ومسحكم اه فتحل ورتكا وحكور الكتال اه لهنتا وبي ووده محنا مجز وصلا مع موصده ورده ومعده واسند علا والمحس حما فتصل فر نبط هو وع وحدهم رجة ال حمص لحيل محس الله الماص مرمعهام الد حدول وكهتما واقده ريدا علام عماولا وحا عنط ما مدار هيعن رجيده حكواره محقولًا. مور وع مر برا [F83r] وهندكم لاه والماول: محمل العد وفامر المحمد المرا الما الموده ومعمله المرا المرابع المرا ميها المرابع الم ور[مدك] مل عمل در الم 100 معده سلا المر معتب كلاتي عبر ور حدده ور بيتا بعجا هما صر اصر. محملها هن ورجه مع العديد. محصل هن بعم هما مع ادوروب محصية الد حمره مادم والمحمومين ومصر وسيم مددا مار كماه مصبك لمعج. عبؤة ١٥٥ حيكه صمعل در لمحمل وينها ولا ١٥٥ كدة مع معملا هذه وصلا معبلا. ەھەۋىي كىرەنەن داركى وسىد كىدە. دەھى الدى كىلىسىدادەك. دەھىۋ الدى لادۋەن ھىدى صع وندل واحد مصعف في الله ويد يه والمسطد. وزجل موا ونصم المن اجد موا يمة وجزهدمانه الممحم وقصما ونهنه مهد مد موا خدوع هوتهما ولا محمدما المدهد عدوا واحر. العلمحم وب خط مدا حده معمده كرد. ولم لا حده سلامه ومكم وأسكب كعتصل وحاهم سصعم ٥٥٥. صهلا وأقع مع وسكلهم مسمعهم ١٥٥٠. الل حامكيا هيسال المنده وه وه حويل في معلموه وم اجز وعنده ومكم لا المادن المناسبة وحميد المناسبة المناسبة

المابوط: Probably phonetic of

The astabid said to him: "Then, let me send them provisions, for it does not reflect well on you that your slaves die of hunger. It is easy for you to kill them whenever you want." He said to him: "Send!" The astabid said to him: "Swear to me, you and all the officers and commanders who are with you, that no one shall kill the ones I shall send." They all swore to him except for the Dux Nonnosus who was not with them by ruse, a reason for which the magistros left him behind so that he would not be bound if any oath were taken. The astabid therefore sent three hundred camels loaded with sacks of bread inside which arrows were placed. Nonnosus attacked them, taking (the sacks) from (the camels), and killed those who were with them. When the astabid complained about this (killing) and asked the magistros to punish its perpetrator, the magistros said to him: "I cannot identify the one who did this due to the great size of my army, but if you know who the person is and you are able to take vengeance on him, I will not stop you." Now the astabid was afraid of this and asked for peace.

Many days after (the astabia) asked (for peace) had passed, a great cold came with much snow and ice. The Romans left their camps one by one and went, with everyone carrying whatever booty allotted to him to his region. Those who remained and did not go to their regions went into Tella, Resh-'ayna, and Edessa to take shelter from the cold. When the astabid saw that the Romans grew weak, not being resilient to withstand [304] the cold, he sent a message to the magistros: "Either make peace and allow the Persians passage from Āmid or face war." The magistros ordered the comes Justin to gather the army, but he could not. When he saw that most of the Romans were dispersed from him, he made peace and allowed the Persians passage from Āmid on this condition: If [both] kings approve [F83v] and conclude what they did; otherwise, the war would continue. When the Roman emperor learned about these events, he ordered that a store be set up in all the cities, particularly Āmid, to dismiss enmity and strengthen peace. He also sent gifts and presents to Kawad with a man named Leon, including vessels entirely of gold for his dining table. Now how much the Edessans who brought down grain to Āmid had suffered is known only to those who were in charge of this operation – most of them died on the road along with their beasts of burden.

اخذ که اهلمحبر. حبح محمد اغرز که صدياً. لا يه قل کر. وسعوم عقبت حدوماً. احداد سن وبارجا قعم ٥٥ كر خصمه الله. اخذ كره عبز. اخذ العلمصير. عدم ك اللم وحلاون حبرتها وقد سلل واللم كماير ولا الع طفلا كون للمحم وصعبرة ابل والمحمد حاه حجودي هجه مع بوسعل ووقع وحمل ووا معدوي حلفنصيا. معهلاهوا رسن محصه ماه مرسمهنيم. وأر ناما معاصما معيم لا سماسيا حنه. عبة هصل العلمصر الكلمطا يقلع لهسب علتها ولسعاد مصهده صعب ١٥٥٥ کروا. محم محمور بوسط منسو انور معنون. ملاحم واحم موا معمور فرك در وح صفى مدا العلمصب ملا موا. مغلا مدا مع معسمها وسمع درمعه ومده مع وهجزان. احدة حده صيمهم على ولا صعم الله اوله حدو الموا هجز عمل هيماملاه وسلل وأملا محمد أي وبي خوجه معنو. وأملا حب سلل خعمانصعه معنه لا فلا أما حو. العلمصر وب مع الموا وسلاد مدل عمل معصم الماد المر مقطل معيما مدد مع ومعيه. معنوعا وحا موا. ماكيا مركب عرسال معجم وموصل معتبكمون سرسر. مصلع لهج معرم ومعلمات مع صال داري وبدرك للاؤده: دامل وجعه دلا ارجه للازمانهم. عبد حملا محنه مسل ملاوزه ويسماؤه صورها الصهحب وع حب برا والمؤهدة وهوهما. ولا سعست حمصم عرم [304] مزما. عجب حميهم الله واه جدم عبدا: معدوم نقصع فوزهما مع العر: اه فد مزدا. مرسمهان وع فمر كمعه عصلميدا: ونصعه كسلما ولا المحرب. وحب سرا والمحكود كهور صوراهور ووووهما مع كمابه. عجم عمل معجم الم كعوزهما خصوم مع امع حموا لماه وال مه وعدة [F83v] [حكة _]٥٥م محقل مصلمع على موم وحبر والله الما فعم [حه ه]، عندا. محكم وع وقده معل عبد محم ومقب ومالمسم العمل حدمه مديداً. مكناك خلعب أمر فع وم وبعناه كحدكم حصال مسميهم كعمل المعتال وم موهتا عبرة كان كمور. حب العد وعمده لان، وتعالن والعممال وصادؤه علان وواتحا. ومعل وب المالكي أوزومل المكع وتعسكم ووه محدول للعبر: كمك أنعه ونبيد. الل المكع وحده حصديل منعب ٥٥٥. صور٥٥ رسة حادؤسا عبده ونه وحديهه.

The virtuous John, bishop of Āmid, had died before the Persians besieged it, and its clergy members went to the holy, God-loving, adorned with all divine virtues, valiant, and glorious Mor Flavian, patriarch of Antioch, 1383 so that he may appoint a bishop for them. He held them with honour all the days they were there. Thereafter, [when] the virtuous Nuna, priest and steward of the church of Āmid, escaped from captivity, the clergy persuaded the patriarch and he made him [305] their bishop. After the virtuous Nuna received the bishopric, he sent his chorepiskopos Thomas to Constantinople to administer the Āmideans who were there, and to request some donation from the emperor. The Amideans there made an agreement with Thomas and convinced the emperor that Thomas himself should be their bishop. The emperor accepted their request and wrote to the patriarch so that he may not oppose them. The emperor also gave them the governor they wanted. The emperor and the patriarch gave gifts to the church of Āmid, and much money to distribute among the poor. On this account, all those who were wandering in other regions gathered there. Every day they would bring out of Amid the bodies of the dead, and then receive (the sum) allotted for them.

Also, Urbicius, the imperial eunuch, who made significant charitable donations in the land of Jerusalem and in other places, went down there and distributed a *denarius* (to each citizen). From there he came to Edessa and gave to each woman who wished it a *trimesion*¹³⁸⁴ and a zūzo¹³⁸⁵ to every child. Nearly all the women took it whether they needed it or not.

During this year, after the war subsided, wild animals, having acquired a taste for human flesh as a result of the great number of battle dead, attacked us. But when the bodies of the slain decayed and disappeared, animals would go into villages snatching children to devour. They would also attack solitary men on the roads and ravage them. People grew so terrified that during the threshing season no one in the entire *chora* would spend the night on the threshing-floor without [306] shelter, out of fear of the wild animals. Now through the assistance of our Lord, who is always diligent toward us and who saves us from all temptations through his mercy, some of them fell into the hands of the villagers who shot them and sent their dead bodies to Edessa, while hunters trapped some [F84r] which they bound and brought alive (here).

¹³⁸³ Flavian was deposed from his patriarchal rank in 512 and was replaced by the Miaphysite Severus.

¹³⁸⁴ Coinage.

 $^{^{1385}}$ Syriac generic word for "money" but here a modest money unit, probably equal to a *drachma*.

صدرا بي مسع اهمهمها واحب الماسس موا حده مع مرم وسنور حكنة فوقها. وهجم وهو حتب محزوه وبحرة حولا موسط وزسع كالأر ووطرحم حولا حوفتا كاهتأ. سكيل مبيسا هزر فمكسف فلهزوط والهدماء ويصمع كمه اهسمعاء مكدوه الم طمنا مكوه مقطما ووه على وحكوم (م) 1386 المعكمة مع مصا. صكوا بولا معتما وزحما وبها وبكة واصر: اقتصورت مكنموه كفهزيزط وبحره كوور [305] اقتصمها. ووه صدروا يوبل مر مدل وبعول موسدال عبو حموها موزافيهمها وبده ठ००० के के प्राप्त होने होने होने हो अला रे व्याप्त विकास विकार विकास वितास विकास व والعلامة معده المكع والله دوا لمعر. واقتصه معمداً ودو لموط بدوا محدور اهتصمه فال ومد فلاها حدماهون. وعيد لاه لاهاناها ولا يدر الدن. واق معلام مود لمون ونيا أبيا وعباه مود وم صححا وهلمزمزها صقودها حدياً وأصر: ووودا صحماً حويفكي > 1387 كتعصصا. وصهر الماصب كمص. وحوه المن وحمة والا 1388 استالم فمع ١٥٥٥ وخصع ١٥٥٥ عكم وحتما وحموم مع العبد ١٥٥٠ عمر ١٥٥٥ مرم وحلاهم كههري أه أهزمه وع معمصا وخلال فه وروقلا وهوما كه محتى هقد طوعا واهومهم مطاؤماً استبار سبك حكم منه مسمد المع وسنا وسنار مابا مع مامع للمؤمد ومنود كولا الما إرده ولمجد لهزمهم والمقلد مكولا إورا سر. عمل درية محملا علاهتم بقا. وهتم هولا هنتم. حدة وم حدوا عبداً. مع حدة وعلا مزجا. سنة ال حتما المين ع. محم وحدد هو المعتدا وبعد مقد حصاط فعي الهدم مقد حصادا هيءًا وصنعا. وم وحس وأوقع عندا ومهتلا نتج وقد ستوا حيد موولا منهق دة لكتا دافك. ونعض دة ده و المعتبرا حادةسا ومعقب حده، محمل وبي وشحي ١٥٥٥: وحرحمل وأوفل حمل ذه أنعا حدجة حدولًا. وبحمل حلووه ولا [306] حزوللاً وقد و وسكا وسعا جيل حصدونهاه وم وهني: ٥٥ وحصرت حلما كه ملع: ومع والا بصنة مع والمعدد معفل عن بعلا مدور مدور مدور مدورها التي. معبر و منته و منكي الانها الموره الدور المناه المناه المناه العربي المناه و المناه

¹³⁸⁶ Needed for the context; W 78 n.4; C¹ 304:24.

 $^{^{1387}}$ Ms وهم , probably lapsus calami. Its replacement is due to W 78 n.7; see also C^1 305 n. 3.

وحلاة Phonetic of الماقة الما

¹³⁸⁹ Τριμήσιον, Latin tremissis.

عرزال: 390 This Syriac term is also known to Arab: عرزال, and perhapse too to Akk., *arzallu*, but modern dictionasries of Akkadian list it for a kind of plant, not vine, and not in the sense of a hut.

¹³⁹¹ For معمل, since the subject (استها) is fem. plural; W 79 n. 3; C¹ 306 n. 2.

¹³⁹² One would expect إلى ه بين; W 79 n. 4; C¹ 306 n. 3.

Everyone saw (them here) and praised God who said: *I will put the fear and dread of you upon all the animals of the earth*. ¹³⁹³ For although destruction, famine, plague, captivity, wild animals, and other recorded or not recorded punishments were sent against us on account of our sins, he nonetheless saved us from all of them through his grace. And on account of his mercy, and through your prayer, he also gave me strength, I the frail one, so that I may write, as much as I can, about some of the events that had happened in memory of those who had endured them, and for the instruction of those coming after us, who, if they wish, may be able to instruct themselves by the little that I have written.

Now the things that I have omitted outnumber those that I have written down. As I said at the beginning, I am not able to (include) everything. For if the sufferings endured by each person were to be recorded, they would form a great many accounts and a large book would not be enough for them. You must know from what others are writing that those who came to our help supposedly as saviours, marching down and marching up, looted us almost as enemies. They brought many poor people out of their beds and slept in them - their owners lied down on the ground at a time of cold weather. They drove others out of their own houses, and dwelt in them. They drove away the cattle of some people by force and as spoil [307]. They stripped the clothing off some, and took it away. They inflicted others with painful blows for whatever thing (they coveted). In the streets they denounced and insulted others for any trivial reason. They plundered overtly everyone's meager food and the supplies that a few had in villages and cities. They attacked many on the road, and because there were not enough shelters and inns in the city for them, they settled with the craftsmen in their shops. Before the eyes of everyone, they took hold of women in the streets and houses. From old women, widows, and poor ones, they took oil, wood, salt, and other things for their own need and stopped them from their work to serve them. In short, they oppressed every one, big and small, and no one was left who was not affected by their evil. Even the local leaders who were established to keep order and to assign them their billets, stretched out their hands for bribes, and as they took them from everyone, they spared no one; on the contrary, those to whom they previously sent (soldiers), after a few days they sent additional ones. They even billeted (them) with priests and deacons, although they had an imperial letter that they should not billet (soldiers) with them. But why do I trouble myself about recounting too many things, that perhaps even those who are greater than I are unable to (deal) with?

¹³⁹³ Gen 9:2.

مبرا علم معصد للحمأ. ون واجز ووسكمت وروحمت الملاحل علا عكم مسما وأوجا. افع سن معلى سلمة معلم المعلم من سنط ودوياً ومعالم ومعدا. وسقا حتما وصروماً استسما وصمت وولا عمته. الله علمتماه مع عموم فيم. وأف حد مينا شما معلال وسعده حبر رجماير والم سما احلاه مع المح والعلام: حده ولا وه كم وهجك اللي مكمك كل والمكم وهم حكف فهم. وأر زجم حدكم عكس وضلاحك ىعصى خصامنصه. صهمتار اللي رهمة المحلي وغصلة. مع المحلي وضاحات الدريمة مع عه وَما اخذبا. وحد حصم عفد الل اهرتال عن وسر سر العد حصوره وهد الله المجمحة المعتما ووقدما فوم وقد وحمط وط لا هجم ووا حقع والم حر ولموبد ص محم واستال تحدمه. الا من وحمط وقدهما خدوون اباه. م نسمم مده مم فعصع. دبغ محمل المو محرمقل فرم ١٥٥٥ كي. هيتال سن معقصا اساء مع متصلاهم ووجعه حمن وصتره ملا أولا ضرعهم ١٥٥٥ حدوما ومزما والستال لهزوه ه اقعه مع حداته مرا مرا من محمد المات معلم المات معلم المات وحمد المات واستال معلم المات وحمد المات واستال معلم المات وحمد المات والمات المات والمات وخنى ١٥٥٥. ماصصدا واستدا مع هيتهم، معملي ١٥٥٥ مغصلي. عمر استدا حصيةاا معتدا صدسعس ١٥٥٥ صول رحما ابرا ورهب محم استال حققما 1395 صدمها معدد وضيعه بي المراد مولا مراد ومحدد حريدا وحلم واصد والم ووالم والم حسبستا حمدوتا وحصبتهإ. رحام خرم ١٥٥٥. وحم اورسما مل صربتا لفحم ١٥٥٥. وصهر وم ولا صعص وقد حده وقا وقاما وصوره الم المعتبر حستهاده منه ١٥٥٥. وكنع حكم حتما صفكهم ١٥٥٥ حمة ما وحدما ١٥٥٥ وهكما وهسوتكإ. صعبا ومتسا ومحلا ورجةا استبالا حلقهوم خمح ١٥٥٥. محممهمهم مع همسم معم مخطعه مدد معدا حدمه الكرب موه حزوردا مكرم قار 1397. ولا المكجم العد ولا جدلها مع حبعه وي المؤاد المكارد المكرد والمارد والمارد المكرد المارد المكرد ال وصمعم ٥٥٥ معلمه محمده الله: المؤلمة العمار المعتلي الماد المراط على المراطعة الماد الماد المراطعة الماد ا غمكم ١٥٥٩. اللع لا منفصع ١٥٥٥. اللا كمكم ومرسله مكموم بعصم ١٥٥٩. مع حهز تقصكا للمتال صفيف ١٥٥٠ والا ملا معتمل معتمل منه ١٥٥٠ م لهم ١٥٥١ مام ١٥٥١ حده و عصرا و محدا ولا معزه محده و معلا حلا أما صحياً المحصور وحد اهلا أمحم وزەۋھى مىساللا ھەھمى كەم.

سبحا :1394 Typo in C¹ 306:9: سبحا.

but the assumed final $b\bar{e}t$ is partial $q\bar{o}f$.

Read معملين من معملين as suggested with some hesitation by W 80 n. 8.

¹³⁹⁷ This term which also occurs on p. 379, is Neo-Aram. *daqdāqā*, colloquial Arab. دقدق.

After he crossed over the Euphrates River to the west, the magistros went to the emperor, Areobindus to Antioch, Patricius to Melitene, Pharazman to Apameia, Theodore to Damascus, and Calliopius to Mabbug. There was a little respite [308] in Edessa, and the small number of people that remained in it were pleased. Eulogius the governor was diligent in rebuilding the town; the emp[eror gave him] [F84v] two hundred litrā-pounds for the rebuilding expenses. He built and renovated the entire outer wall that surrounded the city, and also renovated and fixed the two aqueducts that came into it from the village of Tell-Zema and from Maudad. He also built and completed the demosion that had collapsed, renovated his own praitorion, and constructed much in the city. The emperor also gave to the bishop twenty litrapounds for the expenses of renovating the wall, and Urbicius the eunuch (gave him) ten *liṭrā*-pounds to rebuild a martyrium to the blessed Mary. Now the governor took away the oil which used to be given to the martyria and monasteries from the oilstore – it was six thousand and eighty xestai¹³⁹⁸ – and ordered that it be used to light the city's porticoes. The church keepers begged him much concerning it, but he was unpersuaded, and so that he may not be thought of disdaining temples built for God, he gave from his own money two hundred xestai to each martyrium. Up to this year four modii of wheat were sold for a denarius, just as six of barley and two kaylameasures of wine; after the new harvest, six modii of wheat or ten modii of barley were sold for a denarius.

The Persian *Tayy*-Arabs did not keep quiet or settle down, but crossed over to the Roman land without the Persians, and took two villages into captivity. When the Persian *marzhan* in Nisibis learned about it, he seized their chiefs and killed them. The Roman *Tayy*-Arabs of the Roman land also crossed over into the Persian territory without order and took a hamlet into captivity. When this was made known to the *magistros* – he went down at the end of this [309] year to Apameia – he sent a letter to Timostratus, *Dux* of Callinicum, and the *Dux* seized five of their chiefs, two of whom he killed with the sword and three he hanged on stakes. Pharazman left Apameia after the *magistros* went down there and came and settled in Edessa, for he received an imperial mandate to become a military commander in place of Hypatius. The wall of Batnan, the *kastron* which is in Serug, which was dilapidated and entirely breached, was rebuilt and renovated through the diligence of Eulogius, the governor of Edessa. The Reverend priest Aedesius plated the doors of the men's aisle with brass in the Church of Edessa.

^{&#}x27;portion, quantity, measure.' أقسط 'portion, quantity, measure.'

مع حلمة وب وبحة بموا هنا خمعندا، ومعهمها ملا حما معكما، وأوصيرا الكهدف وفيهام معكهدا وفررص العمل ماأوه البروسوم ومكوف معدور موا يعيما [308] مملا حاوزهب وحصماً خن رحوزها انقا وقع حن واوحم مرحمول نود موا حصصهان. [F84v] [مرحاط هد] مراح مرتب حموما وحسل وحباً وسرا حصله 1399 حز عوزا وحزر حمرسمال وسرا ماود والمع القالم القالم القالم وخلع مع المرمدا منها مص مدورو. محمل الله ومعسم منه وبعيلة. شبا وم الد قره في وحدد مد مديا حدد مرسدا. او العسمه في مديد مديد مستع كهتب كنعقدا مكسورا ومعوزا. ماموصم معميعيا معه كمهتب وبحيا صد هذوا كهدسكا مدنير. معسا وم ومكنود ووا حصد عدةوولا وكريتا مع قولما ومعسار. وهذا وها عدا هجتم ماحتمدا مقل عمده حدور وو مرحول وهم وسوز حلقها وحبسال مضي حبه صده فرحون المحملة ولا المهمي وولا بعدد وحوتا وحتب للحما على: عود مع وحم حمل صقوا متمع مقها 1401. عبط وب حموا عدلماً. اود مجب شهل حبدنا صروحت هذه. وصحوا عمل مصدا لمؤلم فتكما عم حمة وم مكما سباً. اروضع هما حبت شها حبسنا وصدرا مصناه لهستا وم وهورهما لا عمد اه مجله: الليد خدم وهوصيل حكم مع هووهماً. ومحه لمؤلم مووماً. ومر مجه هوا حزرصا وقرهما وأمل هوا صرحي: حصر خربعسون وفها المن الله لهمتا وصلا وه وصبل عجز ولا قومولا حصم فترهما. وعده الموفهل سر. وقر الممعجم رجولا هوا خصيمهم إوهد سبك موا حد يمن حموه وموا [309] مدكا للعصاد مجس كهنعه في ومص ومكنمه في محب شعما مع وبعينه ماوي مينه مها حصول ماكما رمو مل متها. فزرم وم ممل مع العمال مع حمز وسم حمم صهريه والما عنه حاوره فحلا وم مع معكما موكميا. ونهوا ود سملا سك مود عمور ولى وحلم مصلها وحصري. ونعم موا وحلوس مدد: المحس والمسبط حمص لمحل واهريس مرحول واهواه صدارا وب موق معتمل جزم حسما لمؤلم وصلم يحترا وسياا واهوره

 1399 This has been deciphered in various ways but the ms is damaged at this spot; see W 81 n. 7 and C 1 308 n. 3.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Παραμονάριος.

¹⁴⁰¹ Ξέστης, Latin sextarius.

The year eight hundred and seventeen (AD 505–506): The officers of the Roman army [informed] the emperor that much harm was being done to the troops from the fact that they had no city located on the border. For whenever the Romans went out of Tellā or Āmid, patrolling through the 'Arab, they were seized by fear of treacherous enemies wherever they stayed. And in case they found troops outnumbering them and decided to turn back, they would suffer great fatigue, because no city was near them in which to seek refuge. On account of this, the emperor ordered that a wall be built for the village of Dārā which is situated on the border. Stonecutters, selected from all of Syria, went down to build it, but the Persians used to come out of Nisibis to stop [310] them. On account of this, Pharazman left Edessa and went to reside in Āmid, and would go out to those who were building to assist them. [F85r] He would conduct extensive hunts, especially wild boars which propagated there after the region was devastated. He would hunt more than forty boars in a single day; and as evidence of his hunting skills he sent some of them, alive or dead, to Edessa.

The virtuous Sergius, bishop of the *kastron* of Birtā, located near us by the Euphrates River, began likewise to build a wall for his city – the emperor gave him no little money toward his expenses. The *magistros* also gave orders that a wall should be built for Europus, which is situated to the west of the river in the *eparchia* of Mabbug; and the local people toiled with as much as they could.

After Pharazman went down to Āmid, *Dux* Romanus replaced him; he resided in Edessa with his army and made many donations to the poor. During this year too, the emperor added to all (his) good deeds and sent order cancelling the *synteleia*-tax for the whole of Mesopotamia. All the village landowners rejoiced and praised the emperor, but the mass of the people complained, shouting and saying: "It is not right that the Goths be billeted upon us, but rather upon the village landowners because it is they who are assisted by this cancellation." The *hyparch* ordered that their request be fulfilled and when this began [311] to be done, all the notables of the city gathered at the place of *Dux* Romanus and begged him, saying: "Let your greatness order what each of the Goths ought to receive per month, lest they loot the houses of the wealthy when they go into them just as they used to loot the populace." He accepted their request and ordered that the (Goths) should receive an *espada*¹⁴⁰² of oil per month, two hundred *litrā*-pounds of wood, and a bed and bedding for every two men among them.

^{1402 &}quot;Wine-can;" Smith, Thesaurus, p. 311.

عدل المنتعلل ومحمصة لل وجودتال به وسملا وزوه وصلا مدوره من محمداً. 1403 وصورها وط ١٥٥ كستكما مع دوا وكم كده موسما وشاط ملا اسمعا. ولا العمد يمنا ونعمع ١٥٥٥ و١٥٥٥ مع الله أه مع العبر. والمحنوم حدود معلا التعمل التعمل حميلا المفع ١٥٥٥. ص الحل وهنه ١٥٥٥. مع بطل وصحيحظل ١٥٥ بهم وستحال وهيمال صدور معصب ١٥٥٥ وهكشعص ١٥٥٥ كعدوهم كحكروهم عطلا وط صعيدي ١٥٥٥ حدث ولا عند ودما حدد مرسما وبعماؤه حدد وصحمورا صحط وبمصل عدوا حروا منها وشاط ملا الموهد فمن مالي حده فعقل مع مدة عدوناً. وسِم معم وحنب موه کره. فتصل ول تفصی موه مع برجم ومخد الله الله موه کمور. ولا مرا عمر فزرم مع اوزود. وسلم بلاد حامد. ونعم ووا حما المعم وخسى وصعم ووا مره العداد (F85r) سعنا زما مسقال خدر مول ومهاد مهنام مسته منا وهيم امع مع وسند المؤا. رأو ١٥٥ هده محمد مع اتوصع صفط سب كلمسه الم وسعمالماه اله الماه مرة مده ومدي ومهدي معمرة وب معني العمول وحبا معلما وسلمط كمل ملا به وال فنها. عند وبصل أق مه عهوا كعبسلمه. مدود كه معكما ومط لا رحمة حقمكه. أف للمؤهوموس وشاحل معتزص بمؤل مموزمل ومحمر. قمر صيمه الما كن معنول ملان مده حد حت المزا الم سمكه من حكم وب وسبط فارض للعب: أبال سكوه و ومعنوه ووقعا ميك حادوه وو مسكم وروها صحالاً حقسوما خدم موا. محدا وم علا محمر معتزاً. اوسه أقد دورا مدار. ومرة عَوْدَمِيا وَهُولَمِكُمُا 1404 كُوكُو حَمْ يَوْوَمَالُ. وَمَانِيهُ وَكُونُ مِنْ مُوتِماً وَكُمْكُمْ مُعْكُمُا ١٥٥٥. عمل وب وحصل فهنب ١٥٥٥. مضع ماضوع والا زوم وبعوم محم يقامل الله ملا حت مدوماً. المد مع ووق المحروه حمودمنا وقال مدهوما وع ومع ولموها ماكلاهم. ومع مزند دورا [311] والعديد. المصم حدود وروسا ومرسدا حما ودهده ودهيد. واقتصوره واخذع حده: اهمو وحوام هدا فلا وبسد محمر مع رقاعا حدورا. وحمد مدا وحمد حتما وانقا صعة إسا بحره: احيا واقد حمه إبا خرج ١٥٥٠ همو مد قيصهم وهم حوه ويعده اهدرا ومعسا حيزسال وتقلع حلهتم متعل وحزها والمعوسا حصل لمقع مسهم،

¹⁴⁰³ The words 🛶 🛶 are on the margin while 😝 was marked to be deleted.

¹⁴⁰⁴ The word in ms is in the plural.

Upon hearing this order, the Goths rushed to the house of the Barsai family to kill him (=Dux Romanus), and as they were going up the ladder of his residence, he heard the noise of their uproar and commotion and realized what they wanted to do. He quickly put on his armor, and holding his weapons and brandishing his sword, he stood at the upper door near which they were staying. He did not kill any of the Goths but brandished his sword to prevent the first ones from going up to attack him. But those who were down angrily urged those who were up to attack <him>. Now a great crowd seized the ladder of the house, as your reverence knows well. As the first ones who went up were unable to go in, fearing the sword, and as the others were pressuring <them>, a great crowd occupied the ladder, and because of the weight, it broke and fell upon them. Some were killed and many had broken [312] limbs and were so disabled that they never recovered. This collapse gave Romanus the opportunity to flee through the roof-tops from one house to another and escape. He did not say anything to them. As a result of this affair, they remained where they were billeted, living as they pleased. There was no one to rebuke, restrain, or edify them.

Our bishop Mōr Peter had a grave and tough illness all this year. In the month of $N\bar{s}\bar{a}n$ (April), anguish in our city was grievous, for the *magistros* gathered the whole army and marched down to the Persian territory to re-establish [F85v] a peace treaty with them. When he went into Edessa, Persian ambassadors came to him and informed him that the *astabid* who came to meet him to establish a treaty had died. They begged him saying that if he had come down for peace, he ought not to proceed beyond Edessa until another *astabid* was sent by the Persian king. He accepted their request and stayed in Edessa for five months. Because the city was not enough for the Goths who were with him, they also settled in the villages and in all the monasteries around the city, large and small. Thus, not even those living the life of Singleness were allowed to dwell in the silence they loved, because troops were billeted with them in their own dwellings.

They (Goths) indulged in eating and drinking – their consumption was not at their own expense from the first day they came – in such a way that some of them, enjoying themselves in the upper rooms of houses, went out [313] during the night dazed with too much wine, and stepped over an empty space, fell to the bottom, and were crushed – a bad end of life. Others, after sitting and drinking, sank into sleep and fell from housetops and died on the spot. Yet others were tormented on their beds from too much eating. Some poured boiling water into the ears of those who served them for trivial errors.

ەۋىدى چەلىل دېر موجدە ھەمپىل بەنل ۋەكەد چىڭ ۋەھىيەھە ۋەدىجە كېۋىلل وجىڭ جۇھل وبمهلاهاده وحر فعلم مستدرا وحمد طعنود عجد ملا ودده ومعمداه ور والعداد العداد ميل إجم معدد وعماله والله معمر علقول وهدوه عمري. ومر مل ازما مصلاً وحده عزم ١٩٥٥ عن من من مقاماً لا مهلا. الا صده صده هوا: وظل هوا حصوتا وهم مع وحمد حمده المناه والمناه والمناه والماها عن الماها ال موه صعمهه المر وكس معوه معمد المدار الماركة مع هدكما وع ووؤال أوب حمل صهال السوه الم ومعها سعنها و وصلا مومتا وهجه لا معدسه ۵۰ معمل وسكا وسندا: داستها حكودر> 1408 ندرج ۲۰۵۰ رستا صهتاا أسبه هدتكماً. ومع مومزا الماحة وبعيلا ملمون. ومعمله وكتلا معنون. وههتاا العكونية [312] موطنون مونوه هيندا. مادت لا الماهية. ومعنه حر مولا كم افكا حب محدد ١١ مورا. ملا المنا عن مع وفا المستناة والعلام مادد معرم لا اجن ۵٥٥). وص موا مكل هده كره الحل وهنام مهون مع مكونام مرجبت العدوي. والعا وأفع حده حدد العلا وظل أه وضها مده اصعموها وبح منه فها حدوزها معمل محصما المحمد موا حكة موا عدما. طؤس سعى وبي. ماهد مميزام معي اه كربار مل موسمى في مع معيص اده معلاد معم وسما محمد فتصار وبصيع وسيد [F85v] معدور منعد وعيد. وم جلا للوزود اباه حماه الرسير وهوسا: هاه ومورده والعلاصة وأبا الموزده: وبصع حصه عنصا حبه. محصص ١٥٥٥ حمد ه افخنے: وزوص که ای وه وحمل بین ولا بحد مع اهوره، حرمل واصلحب اسزیل معكرون مح كما محكم وعتصل ومن حدماهم مجد وحاوزه بكد عبد سقما. وصلى إلا صفعل ١٥٥ مرسما كيقالم والم ووا معرو. أق حمورًا عني ١٤١٥ ووه. محكمي وستدا ومؤهكا مرحمة على وسرود معرسكال محدا اهلا المكي وحسيبها خطني ١٥٥٥. الملاحمة وبريزه رحمل وضمح حدد معلا والا محمده بعنه ١٥٥٠ حربتهاده وصل سن المكت معلطا المعملال من وك مع ولكاه المكت والمادة المكت والمادة المكت المكت المكت المكتب المصل وهده وب حدما حكتا المحصمة بعمه [313] حكما در محمدون مع سعنا صحال ووقوه ملا المؤا صفيما وحموهما اصليفه وجموكها صما مع ستا مسه استدا وب در ملخم مفلم الملحده حجدا منهده مع متدا محتل مصله ملا ووصدهون استما وم ملا متصدون المصموم صحورها فيسلمان استما وم مستما وواسم وضع ١٥٥٥ حاوتا وأمكم وصعصعم ١٥٥٥. صهر صووسا وحووا.

¹⁴⁰⁵ This is the reading of the ms but see W 84:16

¹⁴⁰⁶ Corrected in ms from the plural (see also below), probably originally referring to the *dux* and some of his aids; see W 85 n.7, C¹ 311 n.5.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Ms (000).

¹⁴⁰⁸ Ms , See 2.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Ms حمكرو; correction in M 77 xcvii and C¹ 312:17.

¹⁴¹⁰ Active participle in ms.

Others went into a garden to pick vegetables, and when the gardener stood up to prevent them from picking, they offered him death by an arrow and his blood was not avenged. Still others, while their evildoing turned gruesome and there was no one to restrain it, were overcame by their rage and killed each other – those on whom they were billeted handled them with great sympathy and did everything according to their wishes, so as not to give them an excuse to harm them. You are not unaware that there were some among them who lived in an orderly manner, for it is not possible that in a large army like that such people are not found. The evilness of the bad ones grew powerful to harm in such a way that some of the bold ones among the Edessans ventured to do what they must not have done. They jotted a complaint against the *magistros* on sheets and secretly posted them in public places of the city. When he learned about it he was not angered as he could have been. And because of his kindness, he neither pursued the person who did this or thought about <doing> harm to the city, but took much care of getting out of Edessa as soon as possible and swiftly.

[314] The year eight hundred and eighteen (AD 506-507):1411 The magistros led his whole army and marched down to the border. The Persian ambassador met him in the town of Dārā, and with him hostages sent by the astabid. They persuaded him that if he wished to make peace, he too ought to send hostages in exchange of those whom he had received. Afterwards both sides would come together in friendship, meet face to face with five hundred unarmed cavalrymen each, and then sit down to negotiate what they ought [F86r] to do. He accepted their request, sent hostages, and went unarmed to meet the astabid on the day that they set. Now because he was afraid lest there be a plot against him by the Persians, he positioned the whole Roman army under arms opposite them, and gave them a signal, ordering them that if they saw the signal they should come <to him> quickly. The astabid also came to meet him, and the Romans and all the officers who were with them sat for the debate. One of the Roman soldiers paid good attention and saw that all those who came with the astabid wore arms underneath, and informed Pharazman the commander and Dux Timostratus about the matter. These signaled the troops, and immediately they shouted and came to them, taking prisoner the astabid and those who were with him in the midst. When the troops in the Persian camp realized that the astabid and those with him were taken prisoners, they fled out fear and went into Nisibis.

¹⁴¹¹ The marginal note: "In this year the holy Mor Šīlā died in the village of [....]."

استيا وبي وحجه كيماً وبعده منها. ومع كيما وبطا أنور ولا يعده: معداً حبر كاذا امعلى حده موحده لا الماحد. استال وب عب صفرصل صعفهم، وحدم العد وافعد حدة. هامكم وجنع ١٥٥٥ مكموم صبيكا صهودني ٥٥٥ معمون، وصحور الم رجسه م فعن هدود حال منحم هده حده المؤا حصفاحه حده اروصه مع سعدهم وَكُمْتِواً فَكُلُا وَاللَّهُ وَوَا حَوْنِ وَلِي أَفَ أَمْتِنَا وَهُكُوتِهَامِكُ مِثَانِ لَا فَصِمَا فَعَ مُرْجُكُونَ لَا سن صعصا وحسال صيال وأب ده: ولا أق دما أق دما ألا معدمه مده وسلامه وحتما مصل حميد حصحلمه. حرصا واه المحم وصنعت ٢٥٥٥ حادة ١٩٠٨. المسه وحرم والا فلا يصدون. ولها يمن وملا صيعهاوه حديها وعمود وحرة صما برتدا وهوسما عصمامه محده. وه وع حم مجدد لا المنصم المحمل وصرا ووا. ولا خمد ملا وه فع وووا جدز. اقلا خصوسها صوم وصع المنعد خصصده صها حصيصاه. الل عما لميلا صحال ١٥٥ وحدد ومخلاء مع ١٥٥٥ منا. [314] عبد المتعلل والمتنعين أواء وجز موسل مرسمهان مصده مسكه دسيل حكسوما. دايا حماه الربرا وعتصا كرزا وهملا زجل وبعدو: زوم عده وبعوز الله وهمية ملك وحمر وفده وحمارهم بالمعندور صوط لمؤسون رحظ ومصحف اقل وشبوا صقعطا سقعطا فتعم عبر لا هزسن. ووسبح محمر حلفنها وأحكم وفلا [F86r] تهجزور. وفجد فيصوور. ووصيرا هرز. ولاوزجو واصلحب صمحل والماهن كه اولا ولا رسل على وب وفيع مما: ووحمل بطا موم بهما محدد مع فترهما: امنع محدد سلا وودوهما مع محدد فرمين. والما مود مدور وفعي الدر والده والما هذ محمرا حده محلام بعيد حماد 1414. مر الما وم اه العلاجم المؤخرة. ممرك حلفها وبعل ومما محكم مرحول بعده، عم حكم الع مع فكتل ووه معيا. وبدا ورسا كمعم مع كه فكوه الكم والم مع العلمديد. ٥٠٠٠ دوا ادويد كدوره وس سيلا مكهده فيها ومدهد دويد الما دن كستها سده. وصيرة بجده وجلهه كماهور. والعلمدم وأمكم ولمعدة معربكا سجعه. سلل وبي وحصمنا وفتصل فربيه والمسحم العلمصر وأسكم ومعده مزمه مع وسكلهمى ومكه كبرجع.

¹⁴¹² Sic ms.

¹⁴¹³ A marginal note, no longer now decipherable, says: حدوا هما هما صبحا هما المعالم عمال عمال عمال المعالم المعالم

¹⁴¹⁴ Typo in C¹ 314:16 olo.

The Romans wanted to capture the *astabid* and to kill the ones with him, [315] but the *magistrus* asked them not to be the cause of war and not <to reject> peace, but they barely agreed. Eventually they obeyed him and allowed the *astabid* and those with him to leave without harming anyone – the Roman officers are peaceable even in their victories. When the *astabid* moved to his camp and saw that the Persians entered Nisibis, he became afraid to stay alone and went in to them. He forced them to leave the city with him, but, terrified, they did not want to leave. So that their fear may not be revealed to the Romans, the *astabid* sent to bring his daughter to Nisibis, and according to Persian custom he married her. When the *magistrus* sent him a message with oaths: "No one will harm you, even if you come out alone," he responded: "It is not out of fear that I do not leave but so that the days of the wedding feast may be completed." Although the *magistrus* was well aware of the whole matter, he ignored it as if he was unaware.

A few days later, when the *astabid* went out to him, the latter set aside all the conditions that he demanded from the Persians, out of love of peace. He set a treaty with them and made peace. They produced written stipulations between them and established a fixed time when they should not wage war against each other. All the armies were glad, rejoicing in the peace which had been established.

While they were still on the borders, Celer the *magistros* and Calliopius received letters from the emperor Anastasius, full of care and compassion for the whole region of Mesopotamia. [316] He wrote to them that if they judged that the *synteleia*-tax should be eliminated, they had the power to eliminate it without delay. They thought that the whole *synteleia*-tax should be cancelled for the region of Āmid, and half of it for the territory of Edessa, [F86v] and they made this known in Edessa. Shortly afterward, they also sent letters announcing the peace that was established.¹⁴¹⁵

On the twenty-eighth in the month of the Latter *Tešri* (November), the *magistros* marched his whole army up from the border, but when he reached Edessa, he decided not to enter, because of (its people's) complaint against him. The blessed Bar-Hadad, bishop of Tellā, persuaded him not to let fury dominate him and not keep behind him resentment and anxiety toward any person. He readily accepted his request; and also all the Edessans, young and old, came to encounter him joyfully, carrying wax candles, and all the clergy, Sons of the Covenant and monks came out with them, and he entered the city with great joy.

 $^{^{1415}}$ The marginal note: "The year seven hundred and eight (AD 397–398) there was a great earthquake."

و الماري إجم العالم الع محميس الراحده. دونه وم المحمد الم معدمه المعالم المحمد المعالم والمحمد ومعده مع حسلهه، و معرم لا اصم اس. الا سن صحالهم معتبل الملمه، موجولا وة ٥٥٠ ميا. العلاجم وم حم فعد حمد على ١٠٠٥ وبرا وجه ١٥٥٠ عنهما حرجم: وسه ٥٥٠ ونعوا حصوره ود وجر العد مو حمامه و مخرا موا حمه محمد مع مرسلال وصع وسكمون لا زحم وه كعجم. وصلا وم ولا المهلا وسكمون خروه عبو العلاجب المال حناله حرجع. وأبر بعدها وقتهما جملة حتما. در وم على حره ميسهنه صحقمها ولا أنع ضعل حرد اهلا لى حكموب اهوم. في هو هم عداد ولا 100 مع وسكما لا نقم أما. الا أمر مع وبعده مقصما ومعمماً. وحو لهد محدة رجما معه موا ميسهنوس: اب ون ولا نب فوصل موا. حاز قعما وب در بعم أصلحم حماه حدد حدد محما بعتم هذه حده بدد الم 1418 حددما فلا حزسه عبدا. ومنعل اصم ععده ور وعبد عجر. وقلم حدمه و علمه ورصا برسل لمنطق حده. وعنظ علا ستوا لا يربعي. وعلاهم ستكما شبع ١٥٥٥ وزورج حمسا وهوا. وصر مرصل امع المدور ووه حمدها: فحل وه ملازه مرسطناه ومحموصين المجتاا ومحمل العملومي ومرجوما ومخسمها وملا المؤاحدة وحمل بدوما [316] مكت مود موصل حكرت المن وأل مو ونبيع وقال والمحدم صولهمال سوا الما كاه معكميا وولا عاصم بعجمه والمعجم والملحم كحما احتما حكة معور المراد الم محكمة عكم الله المستها استها عبزور ولا علم وهوا معوق هون محمور معتب ماصيما حامزس المعزب السزب: وجز حصاه سملا مصاحف مع المقصل مدر مدر الموزهب المؤمد ما مرسمهان ولا سه كن مها فيده ولامه و محدد ولهود السمول والل اهيصة. ولا نمال المؤل كيمكما والممكل مده. ولا تعدوم مع حكوره عملا أه مزسكا للعد وهو مهدله كعيمه فجلا وأو اوزوما عكور صوسوا زحكا يعمه كمودكة مر لهسم متحل مع زط معرها عرمة إلى داه محده محتمه وحت منعا وورتها حصور بهمه. وجمه 1421 حصرما وحمال

¹⁴¹⁶ Phonetic spelling of حمداسب.

¹⁴¹⁷ Ms مصمه does not make sense; M 89 n.4. suggested the form given above.

¹⁴¹⁸ For ساً.

عمارة الله 1420 Typo in C¹ 316:5 عمارة الله 1420.

¹⁴²¹ Delete the unnecessary note 2.

The same day he let the whole army continue to march but he stayed for three days and gave the governor two hundred *denarii* to distribute as presents. Rejoicing in the peace that was established, happy in the current deliverance from the distress in which they had lived, exulting in the hope of good things expected to come, and thanking God, who in His grace and mercy bestowed His peace on both empires, the people of the city escorted the *magistros* when he departed with songs fitting for him and for the one who had sent him.

(If this emperor appeared differently at the end of his life, let no one object to his praises, [317] but let him recall what was done by Solomon at the end time of his life.)

I have written these few things out of many for your love as much as I could, both unwillingly and willingly. I was unwilling because I did not want to trouble the wise sage who is more knowledgeable in these issues than I. But I was willing for the sake of obeying your command. I therefore ask you that you too fulfill the promise that is in your letter to constantly offer a prayer to God for my sinful self. I will be diligent, now that I know your wish, to record whatever happens in the times to come that is worthy of mention and send it to your Fatherhood, as long as I live. Let us pray, we who are here, your Fatherhood there, and all people everywhere, that the content of the narrative will be about a great change which will take place in the world. Just as we were unable to relate the events of the bad times as they really happened because of the magnitude of the hardship, so too may we be unable to relate those that are coming, because of the magnitude of their blessings. May our speech be inadequate to talk about the good conduct of the people of our city, the tranquility and peace that shall reign in the world, the great prosperity that shall be, and the great abundance in the yield of the blessings of God, who said The former troubles shall be forgotten and shall be hidden from before me. To Him be glory, forever and ever, Amen.

محسلا عده عنده در عملا حصبوه. وهو عهد قصدا الكلا وعود هو حدم هدا قدم وستى وسط عدم وستى وسلا وهوا وروز وسلام وسلام وسلام وسلام ومن عن المحريل وضعى حده: وأورى حصدنا وهدينا وهدينا وهدوي حملان وهدوي للاما وحلمده وحتسده والمحدود المحد المعد المالية وعدم وحدة المحدد والمحدد والمحدد

محم محم مع سهر المه والمغربة علامه حسور. عبد لل زيد الما معبر زيد الما. عبد لا زيد الما في. معلى ولا أحلا أنه مع حبوبا المعمد والمن معد معتمد عمل والمنافعة ولم المعدد والمن المعدد والمنافعة ولم المعدد والمعدد وال

¹⁴²² This whole passage seems to be an insertion perhaps by the Chronicler of Zuqnīn since the handwriting and the ink are the same as in the whole manuscript.

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LIST OF SELECTED TERMS

Akkadian

Arabic

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درل عرزال عرزال "shelter" خبرلا عرزال فلس "folles-coin" قحمه "folles-coin" عقما قدم ξέστης = sextarius "portion, quantity (volume measure)"
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Greek

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ἀγών La "contest"
άγρός 🛁 "hospital"
ἄγρωστις Τέρως "grass"
äκτον رمهه "report"
ἀνδριάς(-άντος) المؤسلا "bronze statue"
ἀνθύπατος ΔΑΘολι' "proconsul"
ἀντίφορος Φοίσων) "market-space"
«Ruler, leader" (وصل αρχων ازدها
ἀπόθετον Κων "public granary"
βαλανεῖον حکل "bathhouse"
βαλλιστής = ballista Δαλως "catapult"
βασιλική σοσσσσσ "portico"
βουκελλάτον = buccellatum ζωοω "soldiers' bread"
γλωσσόκομον "reliquary"
πρublic building; public bathhouse" ومعصب
θέατρον ι. ¿Ιλ "theatre"
κάστρων = castrum | "fortress"
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κίνδυνος Φυοριώ "danger"
κόμης σαναο "comes" (companion)
χύβος Lasa "casket"
κυνήγιον amphitheatre"
λεκτίκιον مهم "litter, bier"
\lambda \alpha \tilde{v} \rho \alpha \not \mapsto  (type of monastery for hermits)
μάγιστρος Φοίλων "magistros; commander of the army = MP astabid"
μόδιος = modius ωος (corn measure)
"bars" محقطا μοχλός محقطا
νομή בסבל "pasture land, territory"
νοῦμμος = numus ωω (coinage)
νέον ἔμβολον رکے (مل "New Portico"
εενοδόχος ) صيب "Guest Master working in hospital"
ξέστης = sextarius مفيل "portion, quantity (volume measure)"
"hostage" هحمنإ ٥μηρος
ὄργανον 🛶 👀 "instrument"
ὀρχηστής Καισος" "dancers"
περίπατος ఉంప "walkway"
σιτικόν کمکمه "granary"
στρατηγός [ "stratagem, army commander"
στρατιά Ι. (κω) "army"
στρατιώτης Κωζικωί "soldiers"
στρατηλάτης συβυβίκων "stratelates=army commander, general"
σύγκελλος هیملا (Dignitary title referring to a prelate)
σύγκλητος σέδοισ "senate"
συντέλεια Αναρίας (poll-tax)
στάσις σκαλωί "insurrection"
στρήνος Liter "debauchery"
σχόλιον , œccae "scholion-unique term in historiography; scholarly work.
τάξις σκας "attendants"
τέως τίttle bit, only, at least"
τριβοῦνος = tribunus بحصا "tribune, military commander"
Τριμήσιον = tremissis (coinage)
ύπαρχία 🗪 "Provinces"
ὑπομνήματα Κραισοος "records"
<u> స</u>πατος అన్లి అంత "consul"
"lamps" هتها فانوس .φανός = Arab
"a small coin فحمه فلس = φόλλις
Χαρτουλάριος Ι: "chartulary"
Χελώνη באם "chelone or tortoise (military tactic)"
Χώρα 🖦 "Territory outside the city, rural area,"
ٽ "time, era" دونعت Xρόνος عنونت
πάσχα בשבל (Jewish) Pesach"
"church keepers" هندور παραμονάριος («church keepers
πολιτευόμενοι عصمه "public magistrates"
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Hebrew

שבי שֵׂעִיר Gen 14:6

Latin

ballista = Βαλλιστής שאשם buccellatum = Βουκελλάτον אבסם Castrum = Κάστρων Ι; אשם Modius = μόδιος = אפם "a mint." Numus = νοῦμμος אםם Protonotarius שס[-•] אים! sextarius = Ξέστης אשם "portion, quantity (volume measure)" tremissis = Τριμήσιον אים "coinage) tribunus = τριβοῦνος = אים און

Middle Persian

Spāhbad (عيامت) Commander of the army Tapah "ruin, destruction, injury..."
Zaraduštakan ارزوعاما (it. "the little Zoroaster")

Neo-Aramaic

دُقُدْق Daqdāqā

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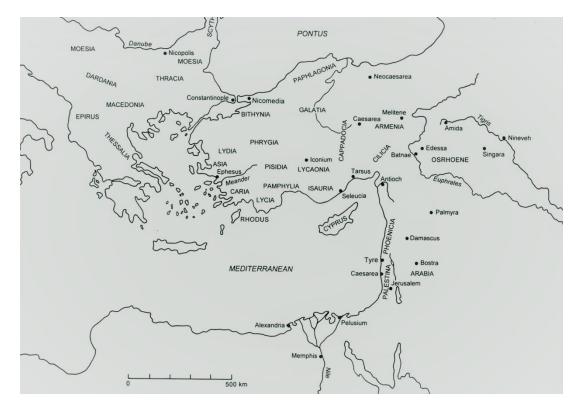
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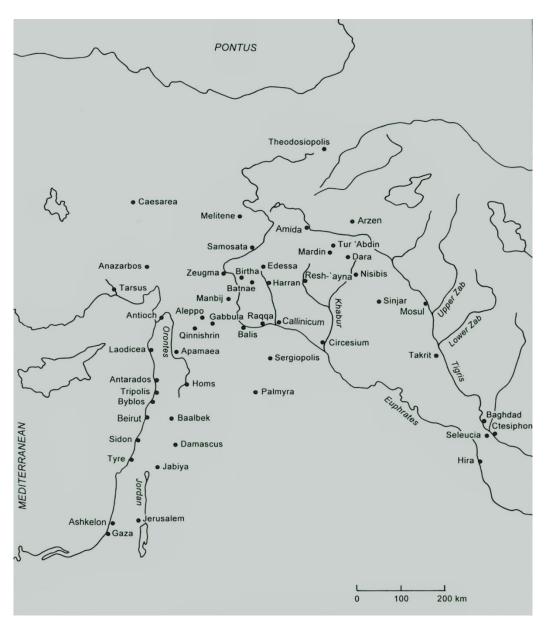
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Map 1. Syria and the West



Map 2. Syria and Mesopotamia