

The Chronicle of Zuqnān



Gorgias Chronicles of Late Antiquity

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Gorgias Chronicles of Late Antiquity aims to publish Syriac and Christian Arabic chronicles dating between the 6th and the 14th centuries in their original languages and with facing English translations. The translations will make these unique chronographic sources accessible to as wide an audience as possible, offering the specialist the opportunity to read them in the original languages and to compare them with the translations.

The Chronicle of Zuqnān

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	<i>The Acts of Thomas</i> (Klijn's edition of 1962)
Barheb. <i>Chr. Syr.</i>	<i>Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Syriacum</i> (Paris, 1890)
BO	Assemani, <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana</i>
Edessene Chronicle	So-called Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite (last compiled source in the Chronicle of Zuqnin)
Elia	<i>Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni Opus chronologicum</i> (I. CSCO T. 62*/Syr. 21, V. 63*/Syr 23)
Cave of Treasures	Ri's <i>La Caverne des trésors</i> (CSCO 486–87)
Chr. Edes.	<i>Chronicon Edessenum</i> (ed. and trans. Guidi in <i>Chronica Minora</i> I, T. CSCO 1/Syr 1, V. CSCO 2/Syr. 2)
Chr. Zuq.	<i>Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum</i> , ed. I.-B. Chabot, CSCO I 91/43 and II 104/53 (Louvain 1927–1933).
Chr. 724	<i>Chronicon miscellaneum ad ann. p. Chr. 724 pertinens</i> (ed. Brooks in <i>Chronica minora</i> CSCO 3/Syr. 3)
Chr. 846	<i>Chronicon anonymum ad ann. p. Chr. 846 pertinens</i> , (ed. Brooks in <i>Chronica minora</i> II, T. CSCO 3/Syr. 3)
Chr. 1234	Anonymi auctoris <i>Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens</i> (ed. and trans. J. B. Chabot, CSCO 81/Syr 36, CSCO 109/Syr 56)
Jacob of Edes.	<i>Chronicon Jacobi Edesseni</i> , (in <i>Chronica Minora</i> III, T. CSCO 5/Syr. 5, V. CSCO 6/Syr. 6)
<i>Pleroph.</i>	Nau, “Les plérphories de Jean, évêque de Mayouma” in ROC 3 (1898), p. 232–259
<i>Ktōbō d-ṭaksō</i>	<i>Ktōbō d-ṭaksō d-ṣīde ʿi(d)tonōyē</i> vol. I (Mosul, 1969)
Mich. Syr.	<i>The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great</i> (Gregorios Y. Ibrahim's edition of 2009; Chabot's trans. in <i>Chronique de Michel le Syrien</i> vol. I. <i>Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug</i> (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), vol. VI, 324–30.
Jacob of Sarug	

- 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 Kommentar
- 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)
- Procop. Procopius, *History of the Wars* (trans. Dewing, Loeb Classical Library)
- Soc. Socrates, *Ecclesiastical 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 Cyrillus, *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	Aram Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies (Oxford)
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of The John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
EJ	Encyclopedia Judaica
Harp	The Harp: A Review of Syriac, Oriental and Ecumenical Studies (Kottayam)
Hugoye	Journal of Syriac Studies (<i>Beth Mardutho</i> , 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	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (London)
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i> (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.”⁴ 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-Mahrē, 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-Maʾmun (813–833) and Al-Muʿtaṣim (833–842) whereas the Chronicler of ZuqnĪn was contemporary of al-Manṣur (754–775), and as a consequence he gave it the title Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē.⁹ Abramowski, who published a study on the real Dionysius, wisely called the Syriac content of *Codex Zuqninensis*, the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*,¹⁰ since ZuqnĪn 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-Mahrē, 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 (Romae: Typis Sacrae Congregationi de Propaganda Fide, 1721), p. 98ff.

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

⁸ J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Denys de Tell Mahrē: 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 Tellmabre jakobitischer Patriarch von 845–818. Zur Geschichte der Kirche unter dem Islam*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 25:2 (Leipzig, 1940), p. 11.

¹¹ Harrak, *Zuqnin*, 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, *Zuqnin*, p. 219 and note 3.

author of our Chronicle was almost certainly a resident in the monastery of Zuqnān 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 **مستودع** "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 Zuqnān, 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 autograph: 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-Mahrē.

¹⁵ Witakowski, *Study*, p. 92.

¹⁶ See below p. 219.

¹⁷ See C², p. 420:11

¹⁸ Harrak, *Zuqnān*, 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 Muṣ‘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 zuqninensis* 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 Ḥarrān, with which *codex zuqninensis* 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Pentateuch</i>, “Books of Moses,” according to the Septuagint version; • <i>Cave of Treasures</i> • <i>Euseb. Chronici canones</i>
1468 – 1035 BC	Israelite settlement to the year of the death of David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Joshua, Judges, Samuel</i> • 1 and 2 Chronicles, 1 and 2 Kings (unspecified) • <i>Euseb. Chronici canones</i>

²² Harrak, *Zuqnin*, p. 138.

²³ Witakowski, *Study*, p. 124–135; “The Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē for the Second Part of his Chronicle,” in J.O. Rosenqvist (ed.), *AEIMΩN 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unspecified sources • <i>Euseb. Chronici canones</i>
334 – 323 BC	Alexander's expeditions in 334 BC and his death eleven years after	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Story of Alexander</i>
319 – 49 BC	Ptolemaic period beginning with Ptolemy I to the time of Cleopatra II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unspecified sources • <i>Euseb. Chronici canones</i>
48 – 1 AD	Roman period beginning with Gaius Caesar Dynasty to the birth of Christ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Revelation of the Magi</i> • <i>Cave of Treasures</i> • <i>Teaching of Addai</i> (unspecified) • <i>Report Concerning the Passion and the Solemn Judgement of Our Lord</i> • <i>Euseb Chronici canones</i>
52 – 72 AD	Roman Period; early Church history including heresies; history of Edessa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eusebius's <i>Ecclesiastic History</i> • A Chronicle of Edessa (unspecified)
78 – 250 AD	Roman Period, early Church history including heresies, history of Edessa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ditto
250 – 345/6 AD	Roman period from Decius to Constantine the Great	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eusebius's <i>Ecclesiastic History</i> • <i>The Sleepers of Ephesus</i> (Part I) • <i>From the Account on Constantine the Great</i>
298/9 – 429/30 AD	Roman period to Theodosius; Church history including Arianism; Sassanian warfare; Edessan history; Nestorius's tenure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socrates' <i>Ecclesiastic History</i> • A Chronicle of Edessa (unspecified) • <i>The Sleepers of Ephesus</i> (Part II) • <i>Plerophoria</i> of John Rufus
432/3 – 445/6 AD	Council of Ephesus to the Second Council of Ephesus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Plerophoria</i> of John Rufus • A Chronicle of Edessa (unspecified) • Other unspecified sources
450/1 – 484/5 AD	Council of Chalcedon to the reign of Zeno	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Plerophoria</i> • A Chronicle of Edessa (unspecified) • Anti-Chalcedonian sources from John of Ephesus (unspecified) • <i>Henoticon</i>
297/8 – 506/7 AD	Northern Mesopotamia and Byzantine-Sassanian warfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Short Edessene Chronicle</i> (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. ܫܠ for ܫܠܬ; ܡܨܠ for ܡܨܠܬ, 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, *Zuqnin*, 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 Crucifixion 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 agree 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 extraits," 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 ʔqtwn 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 evangelici*, 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.

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 زرادشتگان (*zaraduštāqnā*) 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 Khurrahkān (زرادشت بن خوران) which gave the Syriac form Zaradushtaqna and later Arabic Zaradushtakan (زردشتگان). Incidentally, the practice of Zaradushtakan was known in Baʿalbek at the time of Constantine the Great (p. 252): “they (people Baʿalbeck) 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...” و بعد از آنکه
 صمصام بن ابراهیم در این کتابها را جمع کرده و تصنیف کرده است تا سال ششم
 و پنجاهم از سلطنت یوستینوس دوم، “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, Plérôphories: 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 Chorepiscopus 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'ūrō* 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-tas'itō 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 *ḥuṣbonō* (computation), I mean this *maktebōnūtō* (chronicle)..."⁴⁴ In fact he gives a variety of names to his work, including *menyōnō* "computation, account", *šarbō* "story", *tas'itō* "story, account," *-ḥbdōnō* "memorandum, memory," etc., and thus

⁴³ Harrak, *Zuqnin*, 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: ܡܠܐ “fatigue” instead of ܡܠܐܠ; ܡܠܐܢܐ “which is in our land” instead of ܡܠܐܢܐܢܐ; ܡܠܐܢܐ “they enter” instead of ܡܠܐܢܐܢܐ; whether or not ܡܠܐܢܐ is the phonetic rendering of ܡܠܐܢܐܢܐ, or it is just a mistake is not sure. In the active participle, the glottal stop is also eliminated: ܡܠܐ “for being diligent” instead of ܡܠܐܢܐ; ܡܠܐ “floating” instead of ܡܠܐܢܐ.

— Clipped suffixes, thus again terms phonetically written: ܡܠܐ “of my head” instead of ܡܠܐܢܐ; ܡܠܐ “his feet” instead of ܡܠܐܢܐ. In reading Syriac, suffixes are shortened unlike the written forms.

— Sometimes *matres lectionis* is employed to indicate vowels: ܡܠܐܢܐ (misread in C¹) instead of ܡܠܐܢܐܢܐ; ܡܠܐܢܐ instead of ܡܠܐܢܐܢܐ; ܡܠܐܢܐ where the first *olaf* stresses *qāfō*.

— In verbs, the plural marker *nāw* (masculine) and the feminine verbal marker *yōd*, phonetically silent, sometimes disappear: ܡܠܐ “Get up and go (plural)” instead of ܡܠܐܢܐ; ܡܠܐ “for you (Mary) became worthy of ...” instead of ܡܠܐܢܐ. There is at least one case where a *nāw* is unnecessarily added: ܡܠܐܢܐܢܐ “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: ܡܠܐܢܐ instead of ܡܠܐܢܐܢܐ; ܡܠܐܢܐ instead of ܡܠܐܢܐܢܐ. 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: **ܡܚܡܝܢ** instead of **ܡܚܡܝܢ**.

— Metathesis: a few words erroneously switch letters: **ܡܚܡܝܢ** “he grieved” for **ܡܚܡܝܢ**; **ܡܚܡܝܢ** “enemies” for **ܡܚܡܝܢ**.

— *Syōmē* not marked: **ܡܚܡܝܢ** for **ܡܚܡܝܢ**, or are superfluous: **ܡܚܡܝܢ** “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 *yōd*: **ܡܚܡܝܢ** (ܡܚܡܝܢ) where the month’s name is just **ܡܚܡܝܢ**. In **ܡܚܡܝܢ** “Khorasan,” which must be **ܡܚܡܝܢ**, the final *yōd* is not a hook, but unnecessary addition attested elsewhere in the Chronicle.

— *Dōlat* is sometimes confused with *tām*: **ܡܚܡܝܢ** for **ܡܚܡܝܢ**; instead of **ܡܚܡܝܢ** “they eliminate”; in **ܡܚܡܝܢ** the *tām* is eliminated and thus the form is phonetic (instead of **ܡܚܡܝܢ**).

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

Special and Frequent Abbreviations

Abr.	Era of Abraham
Arab.	Arabic
AD	Anno Domini (Gregorian calendar)
BC	Before Christ
Akk.	Akkadian
Arm.	Armenian (especially the translation of <i>Chronici canones</i>)
ca.	circa
F	Folio
Hier.	Hieronymus (Jerome's Latin translation of <i>Chronici canones</i>)
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 (C ¹)
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)
√	Root of a verb
⌈	Enclosed portion discussed in a footnotes.

Syriac Editions of the Chronicle of Zuqnin

C ¹	<i>Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum</i> (ed. Chabot, CSCO I 91/43)
C ¹ (trans.)	<i>Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum</i> I (trans. Chabot, CSCO 121)
C ²	<i>Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum</i> II (ed. Chabot, CSCO 104/53)
M	Martin, <i>Chronique de Josué le Stylite</i>
T	Tullberg, <i>Dionysii Telmabharensis Chronici liber primus</i>
W	Wright, <i>The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite</i>

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

THE CHRONICLE OF ZUQNĪN (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 Babylon*² [...] 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 *Reš Melle* XV ii: ܫܠܐ ܡܥܬܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܡܥܬܐܐܢܐ. ܚܕܐ ܫܐ ܡܥܬܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܡܥܬܐܐܢܐ. ܚܕܐ ܫܐ ܡܥܬܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܡܥܬܐܐܢܐ. ܚܕܐ ܫܐ ܡܥܬܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܡܥܬܐܐܢܐ “Behold famines, earthquakes, and pestilences; only one thing is missing for us – the advent of the Deceiver;” A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Heffer and Sons, 1933), #179 (Microfilm fol. 148b lines 4–7).

¹⁰ Cf. Dan 7:18.

[illegible]

¹¹ C¹ 418:8 𐤊𐤍...

¹² C¹ 418:23 [...].

¹³ C¹ 418:17 partially deciphered.

¹⁴ C¹ 418:20 [...].

¹⁵ C¹ 418:31: مصلح.

¹⁶ C¹ 419:1: }...

¹⁷ C¹ 419:4: مَبْذُورٌ.

¹⁸ C¹ 419:5: **مصحف**.

¹⁹ C¹ 419:5: .

²⁰ C¹ 419:6: *...حدها، ...*

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 middle¹ 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, *Zuqnin*, 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.

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 Ṭayy-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-Manṣūr, 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.

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.

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, “*Ab! The Assyrian is the Rod of My Hand! Syriac Views of History after the Advent of Islam*,” in J.J. van Ginkel et al., *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.

[illegible]

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 rested⁶⁴ 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 *Ktōbō d-taksō d-ʿidē ʿi(d)tōnōyē* [Ritual Book of Ecclesiastical Feasts], vol. I (Mosul, 1969), pp. 48–9.

⁶³ Cf. Gen 2:2–3.

⁶⁴ **אֵלֶּלֶל**: 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: **ܐܦܝܥ ܠܡܨܬܐܡ ܐܢܝ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܕܢܐ ܕܥܕܢܐ ܕܥܕܢܐ ܕܥܕܢܐ** “May your grace bring me back, me too who am captive, for my forefathers were taken away from the Garden of Eden as captives to this land of thorns through Satan’s ill-counsel;” Edmund Beck, *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Paradiso und contra Julianum*, CSCO 174 SS 78 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1957), XIV:15.

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.

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.

⁶⁸ Written **הַכְּנֵס** in the Cave of Treasures, **שֵׁעִיר** 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.

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 *Adār* (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 *tan*.

⁷⁶ ܐܢܚܐ ܨܝܕܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ: This word echoes Gen 5:24: ܐܢܚܐ ܨܝܕܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܚܐ ܨܝܕܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. “Enoch pleased God, and then he was no more, for God took him.” It is taken from Heb. 11:5: ܐܢܚܐ ܨܝܕܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܚܐ ܨܝܕܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. “Enoch was transfigured and did not test death.” For the translation of the verb, see Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon* (Eisenbrauns & Gorgias Press: Winona Lake, Indiana & Piscataway, New Jersey, 2009), p. 1579.

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.

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 *Ādār* (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.

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 *Iyyār* (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.

*The Ark was raised up from the earth by the mighty waters,*⁹¹ and all the people, cattle, creeping 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 *Iyyōr* (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 Pešittā.

[illegible]

⁹⁵ Word missed in C¹ 10:17.

⁹⁶ C¹ 11:9: **وَمَعَا**.

⁹⁷ Spelling as in the Peṣiṭtā.

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 sa[id]: 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: סֹסֶה אֶדוֹם. “Esau who is Edom,” is this the background of the above passage in ms: אֶדוֹם אֶסָו?

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 Arʿu.

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: Arʿu 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.

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.

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¹¹³ Pešittā Gen 11:22: “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 ܝܗܘܕ as in the Pešiṭtā.

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

[illegible]

¹¹⁶ C¹ 15:3: **س**.

[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 ().¹¹⁷

[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.

[illegible]

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 In it, Abraham left the house of his father in Harrān,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 **ܡܚܬܝܠܐ** is defective spelling of **ܡܚܬܝܠܐ*** "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, *Zuqnin*, 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.

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.

[illegible]

¹²⁹ C¹ 17:11 **معتصلا**.

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; ṛAralius 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 Syrie: Transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam* (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), pp. 241–43.

¹³³ Sic ms; read *انهم*.

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 *Timaieus* 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 Pharonous 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 Pharonous 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 world 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.

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. ꝀOrus 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 Reuʿel.

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[gypt] died. Her brother Athuris [reigned] for nine years.

The year four hundred and [eighty-one?] (1533 BC?): The city of Athens was built by ꝀDuados.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 conflagration 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; Barheeb., *Chr. Syr.*, 14:6: ܠܗܝܬ ܕܝܠܝܢ “in the days of Paraṭon” (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.

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 Book 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 Λυγχεύς.

¹⁵⁶ See Josh 24:29–30.

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.

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'ur 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.

¹⁶⁷ Sic for *me*.

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 Trojan 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.

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 deeds 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.

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. Asa 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] Asa 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  Pethuel.

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¹⁸² C¹ 29:13 and n. 1: read as **لص**.

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 the killing of a<ll> the males of the House of David in Jerusalem. During 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.

¹⁹⁴ Ms omitted; C¹ 30 n.1.

The year one thousand one 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.

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.

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 Naxos 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 *Arm.*

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):
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 “(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 ܡܝܚܝܢ; 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.

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.

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.

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, and 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 Hīrām 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.

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: Hīrām, 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 (=Hīrām) 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 Hīrām (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 Chronicle 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.”

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.

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 146. 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.

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 ܐܪܫܬܐ (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 Apokalypse 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 *mirrō* on Alexander attributed to Jacob of Sarug, the name is ܒܠܐ ܡܝܬܐ “fetid sea,” Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, pp. 167–68, lines 71, 99–100.

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 cavalymen, 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 Thamathan. 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, *Zuqnin*, 159 and n. 1.

²⁵² T 57:5, and C¹ 43 n. 3, misread the name.

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.

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 Arrhidaceus, and one might add that he was half-brother of Alexander.

The year one thousand seven hundred (315 BC): Antioch, on the bank of the Orontes River, was built by Antigonos, 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 ܐܕܝܫܐ = ‘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.

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 Judaeian 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 deposited 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.

“seven hundred and 22 years.” هـ صد و قس

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.

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 *mim* "fifty," but failed to eliminate the second digit, *het* "eight," if his intention was to change the date from (18)48 to (18)50. T 74:12 reads *והיה* "and fifty-eight," not paying attention to the round shape of the *mim*, and Chabot changed the whole to *ה* "(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 *מטת* (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.

²⁷⁸ T 64:12: 𐎲𐎠𐏀; C¹ 49: 20 𐎲.

The year one thousand eight hundred and eighty – of Abraham (135 BC): The first king reigning over Urhay (=Edessa) was Urhay son of Hewya,²⁷⁹ for five years; it was named after his name. (Kings) began in the Olympiad one hundred and sixty-one 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‘ū 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 Physcon 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 *yome*. 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.”

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 Maʿnū (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, Maʿnū, 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: *marīā*, instead of *malkeā* "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.

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 all [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 eighty-three 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 unknown 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.

Daniel prophesied about these things, saying: *After sixty-seven (weeks) and two weeks anointing 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): Maʿnū, 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.

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

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.

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 Ḥawilat, 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.

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 sublime 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.

316 C¹ 59:10: [𐤌𐤍,].

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 ra]ys, 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.

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*.³²⁵ 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.

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 wife 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.

³³³ Sic ms but **وَسَوَّ** 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.

And ʔwe 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 Only-begotten 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 *syomē*, but the singular is expected.

337 C¹ 66:9: 

³³⁸ C¹ 66:25: **حَبِي** although **مَحَبَلَا** does not have *syōmē*.

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.

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.

[illegible]

346 Ms ١٢٥٠

³⁴⁷ This word is garbled in ms, but with **ملاقا** it is expected.

³⁴⁸ Sic ms, corrected to in C¹ 70:13.

³⁴⁹ Two upper lines are almost erased.

350 C¹ 70:23: Correction to المصنف.

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 fulfills 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 **سبعه**: The term refers to the state of Jesus, the Only-begotten Son of God; see **سبعه** in C¹ 71:14.

³⁵⁵ Ms **وهموم** (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 life-giver, 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.

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 bend*³⁵⁹ 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 *roẓe* is masculine.

³⁵⁹ Rom 14:11.

³⁶⁶ Ms **مصم**, (sic),

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.

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 of 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!

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 devastations.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.

³⁷⁷ Ms ٥٥ not in C¹ 79:18. It seems that the copyist placed it in reference to **حبا**; **٥٥** but then changed his mind and replaced it by **٥٥٥**.

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.

386 C¹ 81:14: رحل رحل.

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,” *Hugoye* 5/2 (2002): <http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol5No2/HV5N2Brock.html#S3>.

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”;

394 C¹ 83:1 **مَدَامُ**.

³⁹⁵ Ms حصة: Possible reading; C¹ 83:10: حصا (sic).

³⁹⁶ Ms ~~000~~ 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.

⁴⁰¹ Ms **لما** for **لما**.

[86] Another would say: 'I saw the column of light who 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 appearances⁴⁰³ 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 **مِثَاق**, lit. "similarities, shapes, forms."

409 Ms. **طبعی.**

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 *mšihō*-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.

[illegible]

⁴¹³ T 111:14: [صعدا، متا] but [صعدا، حستا] is quoted earlier.

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 Only-begotten 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 life-giver 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."

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.⁴³¹ All these were destroyed in this wrath on account on our sins, annihilating all statutes 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 **لصدة**.*

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., *EHI* 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*

[illegible]

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 that 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, ܐܘܬܝܬܝܢ is obscure.

⁴⁵³ Governor office.

⁴⁵⁴ Folio 26v ends abruptly here and the following folio begins with a lemma about the famine in Rome.

⁴⁵⁵ املهم، ⁴⁵⁶ لا سمعه <هـ من هـ> وبيه وحن.

⁴⁶¹ C¹ 97:19: مَدَامَتِ, and T 122: مَدَامَتِ; 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.

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, 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 on behalf of his people.

⁴⁷¹ *Hier.* and *Arm.* 2077. Full account is in Euseb., *EH* II xxiii 1–2, 4–18.

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, saying: '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.

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.⁴⁸⁰ 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'nu the king of Edessa died and Abgar son of Ma'nu 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.

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.”⁴⁸⁸

After the ascension of our Lord, along with the insolence of the Jews toward him, they devised many plots against the Apostles.⁴⁸⁹ 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.

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.

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!

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.'

⁴⁹⁵ The Greek reads 'swelled up' (perhaps out of famine) and this is how Chabot translated *سبح* 'intumescabant.' But *√سبح* 'to shake, tremble,' etc., makes better sense; see Sokoloff, *Lexicon*, p. 895.

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 Bēt-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  *Ethpalpal* part. m. p.

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.

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.

[illegible]

⁵¹⁰ C¹ 114 n. 5: ٥٥٧, 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 *Nīson* (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 *chorā*⁵¹³ 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  "hour."

⁵¹³ "Territory outside the city, rural area,"

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 *archons*,⁵¹⁷ 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 bow 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 "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*.

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 ʿIzzat⁵²⁷ 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 Nasamonies 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 ʿIzzat (spelled differently above) is a name of Arab origin.

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 *dolat* 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.

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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. ⁂ 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.

[illegible]

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⁵⁴⁴ Phonetically spelled instead of \mathbb{K} .

⁵⁴⁵ C¹ 121:10: 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 (sic).

The year two thousand one hundred and thirteen (AD 99): Parnathaspaṭ reigned over Edessa for ten months, and after him Maʿnu son of ʿIzzaṭ 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.

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"!

⁵⁶⁴ The phrase [الْمَجْلِسِ الْاَرْبَعَةِ وَالثَّلَاثِينَ] “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* IV vi.

⁵⁶⁷ See below the year 2145.

⁵⁶⁸ Repeat; see the year 2144 above.

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.

[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, 123:28–124:1 [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* V v.

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.⁵⁸⁰ 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.⁵⁸¹

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 اَبْغَارُ الْفَارِجِ, "Abgar the fair," Elia 91: Sel. 530.

⁵⁸¹ Euseb., *EH* V xix–xxiv.

⁵⁸² *Arm.*, *Hier.* Year 2208; Ms 124:15 [97].

⁵⁸³ For زَفَرِيُوس, "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.

[illegible]

586 C¹ 127:30 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎧.

⁵⁸⁷ The digit ๑ written in the margin.

⁵⁸⁸ C¹ 128:20: [𐎧.....] although the reading above is not secure.

⁵⁸⁹ C¹ 128:24: 𐤀𐤌𐤁𐤁 𐤌𐤏𐤕𐤕 𐤏𐤕𐤕 and in n.5: 𐤀𐤌𐤁𐤁.

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.

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 prophecy 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).

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.

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 ܐܠܦܝܢ: Perplexing form. It can possibly be the Euphrates (although the preposition should be ܐܠܦܝܢ) 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.

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 it*⁶¹⁹

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.

The *flaming darts of the evil one*⁶²³ 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 themselves 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.

[illegible]

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 eyes 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.

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."

⁶²⁷ Πολιτευόμενοι; Margoloth, *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.

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 *Hier.* Year 2269 and *Arm.* Year 2270, and more details in Euseb., *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.

[illegible]

635 C¹ 143:24: 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎧.

⁶³⁶ Ms , but not , as in C¹ 144 n.2.

637 C¹ 144:21: افتت.

⁶³⁸ Ms 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 (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 the 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.⁶⁴² This 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 ܡܝܬܝܢ 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.

⁶⁴⁷ Ms 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭 (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, Mōr 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].

⁶⁵² Ms مومحيم (sic); corrected in C¹ 146 n.3. T 181:15: مومحيم (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.⁶⁵³ 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] Herculus.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] repeats the same questionable information. Mich. Syr. 121b [I 197]: “Carus died in Syrian *Bet-nahrin*” (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 accidentally in the war with the Germans.” Cornacus (Kofnak) 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 Arantja!

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].

[illegible]

665 C¹ 148:27: .

666 Στρατιά.

In the 19th year of (his) rule, in the month of *Ādār* (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 Silvanus 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 *ʿayn* in Aramaic and Syriac renders Semitic *ḡayn*, and the toponym in this case reflects Ḡazzā as in Arabic. C¹ 149 n.4 took it for ܝܥܙܐ!

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-Raqqā; in Byzantine time it was called Sergiopolis, the city of Sergius.

⁶⁷² On them see a *mimrō* 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.

[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, enchanterers, 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, *Zuqnin*, 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.


⁶⁷⁹ Phonetic spelling instead of the full **جَا آما**.

*From an Account on Constantine the Great*⁶⁸⁰

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 *mimrō* 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.

[illegible]

684 C¹ 153:4: .


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 *demosion*⁶⁸⁵ 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., *EH* and Soc.

⁶⁸⁹ C¹ 154:2:  (sic).

⁶⁹⁴ *Νομή*; 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 *zūz*.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.

⁷⁰⁵ First *olaf* is darker than the rest but misread ٱلْمَلِك 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.

[illegible]

706 Akk. *dappu*.

⁷⁰⁷ C¹ 158 n. 4 adds 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 “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!

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718 Ms 𐌢𐌰𐌶𐌳𐌹.

[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 Nicaea. 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 Nicaea 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.

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 *mim* is often confused with the *bet*, and the *yod* with the *bet*, so that ܡܡܝܡ could well have been confused with ܡܝܡܝܡ.

⁷²⁶ Soc. I xviii.

⁷²⁷ ܡܝܡܝܡܝܡ: See *Thesaurus* col. 1011 for the meaning, s.v ܡܝܡܝܡܝܡ.

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."

731 Ms ۱۲۸۰.

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 sh[e 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.

⁷³² Ms ܡܬܝܢܝܬܝܬܝܬ seems to be *Ethpalpal* but ܡܬܝܢܝܬܝܬ 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.

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.

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⁷³⁸ Read ω, \lll 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 ῥDiscord⁷⁴² 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 ܕܥܠܐ, lit. "victory," confusing *vīxos* = *vīxē* "victory" with *veīxos* "quarrel, strife..."

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 flayed 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.⁷⁴⁵ 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].

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 Nicaea 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.

[על מלכא דא] חב. אצטע שטענדיג דאליינ. עפא לאהעלדיג ואליינ. ...
 וסוה דע שטיינא; חלא [דא]. אינא דריי מלכא דע שטיינא וסוה [וואסו] ...
 ואל. סע שטיינא ואלעקל וסוה [דעוועט] ואליינא ואל אפעקל אקלי עטע וסוה
 [אלאסער] סע ואלע ואלעקל דא; וסוה. אפזעט. על מלכא דא; וסוה. ...
 וסוה; חלא [דעוועט] ואל. סע מלכא דא; וסוה. ואל. סע מלכא דא; וסוה. ...
 אפעקל דא; וסוה. סע מל [דעוועט] ואלע שטיינא ואל. סע מלכא דא; וסוה. ...
 [וואסו]. חב מלכאליינא דעוועט. ס [מלכאליינא] דא דעוועט חב מל
 אלווא שטיינא. סע מל דא [אלא וסוה] ואלע סע. סע מל
 מלכאליינא [דע] חב מלכא; סע מל ואלע שטיינא ואל [דעוועט] .. סעווע וואס
 אפעקל מלכא. וסוה [170] מלכאליינא; דעוועט וסוה ואל. וסוה מלכא.
 דעוועט. [F47r] על מלכא דא; וסוה. [דעוועט] חב [דעוועט] חב [דעוועט] ...
 סע מל ואלע וסוה [דעוועט] ואל. [דעוועט] ואלע מלכאליינא; סע מל
 דעוועט [דעוועט] מלכא [דעוועט] חב דעוועט ואל [דעוועט] ואל. [דעוועט] ...
 דעוועט דעוועט וסוה [דעוועט]. דע וסוה דעוועט ואל דעוועט ואלע
 וסוה. ואלע מלכאליינא. וסוה ואל אפעקל דעוועט וסוה. ואל אפעקל
 וסוה [דעוועט] ואלע מלכאליינא; סע מל וסוה מלכאליינא [דעוועט] ואל
 דעוועט מלכאליינא וסוה. [דעוועט] מלכאליינא וסוה מלכאליינא [דעוועט] ואל
 ואל מלכאליינא [דעוועט] ואלע מלכאליינא וסוה. ואל מלכאליינא [דעוועט] ואל
 ואל מלכאליינא [דעוועט] ואלע מלכאליינא וסוה. ואל מלכאליינא [דעוועט] ואל

⁷⁵⁴ Damage passage; C¹ 170:3: דע

[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.

⁷⁶¹ Impossible date especially with the middle figure, *mm* “40,” which is visible in ms. C¹ 171 n. 7 expected 𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤌𐤕𐤌𐤕, “three hundred and six,” a necessary emendation. According to our chronicler, Abr. 2350 corresponds to the 28th year of Constantine, while the first year of Tiberius is Abr. 2029 (his 15th year = Abr. 2044), and thus the time span between the two periods of reigns is 36 years.

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 declared true, may he not reach the day appointed for (its) discussion nor even see it. Arius quickly gave the verdict on his impiety, 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.

וְעַל אֲזָרָהּ וְעַל אֲזָרָהּ וְעַל אֲזָרָהּ [172] עַתָּה אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִשְׁמַעַת
 מִתְּחַבֵּר. מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר [F47v] וְעַתָּה וְעַתָּה עַתָּה אֲמַתְּלָהּ
 מִתְּחַבֵּר. מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. עַתָּה אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִשְׁמַעַת
 מִתְּחַבֵּר. מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. <עַתָּה> אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ
 מִתְּחַבֵּר. מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. עַתָּה אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִשְׁמַעַת
 מִתְּחַבֵּר. <עַתָּה> אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר.

שְׁמַעַת אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲמַתְּלָהּ אֲזָרָהּ חֲבִילָה. מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת
 מִתְּחַבֵּר. מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר.

חֲבִילָה. וְאֵל לֹא מִשְׁמַעַת חֲבִילָה לֹא מִשְׁמַעַת חֲבִילָה. [כֵּן] מִשְׁמַעַת חֲבִילָה
 מִשְׁמַעַת חֲבִילָה. מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר.

וְאֵל כֵּן וְחֲבִילָה וְחֲבִילָה וְחֲבִילָה. מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר.

אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר.

וְעַתָּה מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר.

חֲבִילָה אֲזָרָהּ מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר.

[וְעַתָּה] חֲבִילָה אֲזָרָהּ מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר.

חֲבִילָה אֲזָרָהּ [F48r] מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר.

אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר. מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר.

וְעַתָּה מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר.

וְעַתָּה מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר.

וְעַתָּה מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר.

וְעַתָּה מִן הַחֲמִשָּׁה מִשְׁמַעַת מִתְּחַבֵּר. אֲזָרָהּ אֲמַתְּלָהּ מִתְּחַבֵּר.

⁷⁶⁹ C¹ 171: 16: מִתְּחַבֵּר 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 Mōr 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.

⁷⁷⁸ Misreading of τοῦ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ μακέλλου “of the shambles in the colonnade;” see C¹ (trans.) 129 n.1.

779 C¹ 174:6 لا اصبى.

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 Constans [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].

The year six hundred and seventy (AD 368/9):⁷⁹⁰ Vetranus and Magnentius rebelled [in Rome and killed Constans the emperor].

And in the same year, Paul and Athanasius left their seats:⁷⁹¹ When Paul was taken away by his escorts, they strangled him during the night in the city of Cucuso. Athanasius fled and was saved. Also Lucius of Adrianopolis died in prison, shackled under heavy fetters.

When Macedonius seized the church,⁷⁹² he committed great evildeeds toward and killings of those who confessed consubstantiality such that not even idol-worshipping tyrants [committed them. As for George 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 Magnentius 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.

During this same year, Abraham bishop of Edessa died, and Barsai came from Ḥarrān 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.’⁸⁰⁶

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.

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 throughout 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.

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.⁸¹⁶ Hilarius the bishop of Pictavorum⁸¹⁷ was 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.⁸¹⁸ 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 Val]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.

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 *Tiḡr* (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 𐌹𐌺𐌹 in C¹ 181:24.

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 Aigyp[ty]os, 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.

The year six hundred and eighty-four (AD 372/3):⁸⁵⁴ The holy Mōr Ephrem the Doctor died on the nineteenth of *Ḥẓirōn* (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 *Ṭayy*-Arabs and the Romans. During this time, Mavia⁸⁵⁶ was ruling over the *Ṭayy*-Arabs. This Mavia said that if Moses, who was, with respect to race, of *Ṭayy*-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 *Ṭayy*-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 *Μαρία* of Arabic *Māwiya* or *Māwiyya*; 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.

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 Italia] 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.

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-ʿaynā 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.

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 Ṣahīā (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 Egal⁸⁸⁶ 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 ܕܒܒܐ, or ܕܒܐ), but the name is Debbā, the 'Bear' River, also given to the Zāb in the east of Mesopotamia.

⁸⁸⁶ Sumerian É.GAL, Akk. *Ekēkal*, for "palace" (lit. "the great house").

892 C¹ 188:11 **ἰου.**

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 *madrošē*-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.

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).

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 Daysān, 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.⁹¹⁶

⁹¹¹ Homonym hard to read in ms, but it must be gentile “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 ܡܠܝܬܐ lit. “conflicting” for ܡܠܝܬܐ.

⁹¹⁶ Soc. VII iv.

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):⁹²¹ 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 *mimrē*-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 *mimrō* on the destruction of Rome is not extant.

[illegible]

⁹²⁷ Toponym abbreviated in C¹ 192:4.

⁹²⁸ Sic ms for ω .

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.

941 C1 193:26 م.م.

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 known 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.

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.

[illegible]

⁹⁴⁸ C197:2: **حسا** (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 mi]nd. 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.

957 C¹ 199:6 *msb*.

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 **س** as in the Greek version; C¹ 200 n.2.

959 C¹ 198:17 .

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.”

⁹⁶⁴ Ms 90, 90; 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.

אלה פליק נאזו וזה דה חסדא האני. אביא סעבי עינא. אז אבי מדיעבי ובעל מ
 בעל ואדתיי. וזה לחד ואעסילא מן סליקא ודע. חסדא וס חקליל סעתי
 עתי. סעלל מביר ברביע זכילא. ולא אסלילא דאעסילא⁹⁶⁶ אסילא. ולא וביא לאעסילא
 וזה ואל דה מבעל סעללא וזכילא. וזכילא מביע אדתיי ברקא סעתיא. וזה אל
 זכילא אל. וזה אל ואלילא סעללא ואעסילא. [203] מבעל פבי אל
 ולאעסילא סעתיא אעלילא. זכילא וזה ואל דה מבעל ואעסילא * סבי מבעל ס
 מביע סבי יכליל אעסילא מביע סבי האני דה. זכילא אל מביע סבי. סבי וזכילא
 אל⁹⁶⁷ חסדא. אעסילא. סבי וזכילא אל חסדא. וזכילא זכילא ואל וזה חסדא
 וזה אבי * סבי מביע אני. זכילא סבי זכילא סביא וזכילא וזכילא. אלא א ס
 וזכילא מן וזה סעתיא. סבי חסדא האני. סבי סעתיא אעסילא סביא וזכילא מביע
 וזכילא. מבעל סבי חסדא אסבי חסדא. סעללא לא סעללא חסדא. אז חסדא
 סעסילא סבי וזכילא. וזכילא סביא. סעסילא. אלא אל סבי. אלא אל סבי
 וזכילא זכילא אבי אלילא ואל סעללא. וזה חסדא סביא וזכילא. וזכילא חסדא
 אעסילא. אלא אעסילא וזה חסדא אלילא * סבי מביע אעסילא⁹⁶⁸ אלא וזה
 דה וזה האני. מביע וזה חסדא. וזכילא חסדא. אלא סביא. סביא... סבי
 וזה מביע אלה פליק חסדא <סעללא>⁹⁶⁹ חסדא. סביא וזה וזכילא. וזכילא
 וזכילא חסדא. סעללא חסדא. סבי מביע חסדא. זכילא מביע סביא. חסדא
 סעללא. סבי חסדא מביע אעסילא⁹⁷⁰. וזה חסדא חסדא. וזכילא אעסילא
 דה ואל וזכילא מן מביע חסדא סבי וזכילא. וזכילא חסדא. סעללא.
 סבי חסדא מן חסדא. וזה חסדא וזה וזכילא. סבי מביע אלה פליק אומ סעללא
 סבי. סעללא סעללא חסדא וזכילא. וזה חסדא סעללא. [204] דה. מן מביע
 וזכילא זכילא חסדא⁹⁷¹ מבעלילא סעללא. סעללא⁹⁷² סעסילא. סעסילא סעסילא
 סעסילא. סעסילא סעסילא סעסילא סעסילא. סבי וזכילא. וזכילא אעסילא
 סעסילא. וזה חסדא. סעללא סעסילא. סבי חסדא * סבי מן אטי חסדא
 סבי. סעסילא. סעסילא חסדא חסדא סעללא וזכילא חסדא.

⁹⁶⁶ Also spelled *מסילא*, Latin *moneta* (see above).

⁹⁶⁷ Phonetic form for *מסילא*; 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. *חב*.

⁹⁷² C¹ 204:2. *מבילא*.

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].

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.

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[p]ius – 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.

⁹⁸⁹ C¹ 208:23 **معلمنا**.

[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 troubl[ed] 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, Plérphories*, 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 , while in exemplar A of the *Pleroph.* the form is ; *Pleroph.* #1, p. 12 :3 and n. 6

⁹⁹² Soc. VII xxix has *εὐφωνος δὲ ἄλλως καὶ εὐλαλος* “(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 *yud* is probably a phonetic rendering.

n.1. ⁹⁹⁴ The final *kef* is still visible in ms so the participle cannot be **ⲕⲉⲑⲓⲛⲓⲛ** as in M; C¹ 209
⁹⁹⁵ *ῥμῆρος*.
⁹⁹⁶ C¹ 210:3 **ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛ** (sic).
⁹⁹⁷ Impossible to verify in ms.
⁹⁹⁸ Ms **ⲙⲉ**.

n.1.

⁹⁹⁶ C¹ 210:3 (sic).

998 Ms Ld.

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 Mōr 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 Mōr 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.¹⁰⁰¹ An affair like this happened to them: A certain Jewish impostor appeared in Crete and took himself for Moses,¹⁰⁰² 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, *Zuqnin*, p. 163.

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 Valentinian III (425–455) occupied the Roman throne.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Soc. VII xliii.

¹⁰⁰⁸ C¹ 212:7 misread **من**.

¹⁰¹⁰ C¹ 212:7 misread **صلى**.

¹⁰¹² C¹ 212:28 *అలంకారములు.*

¹⁰¹³ Probably phonetic seplling (*metēmen* for *metē'men*: **معلم**).

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: *Lambrā*, instead of the previous *Labrā*. Chabot sought consistency and so he changed it to لآبرآ; C¹ 214:19.

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 Pamphilus, the deacon of the church of Jerusalem, who was [216] his friend.¹⁰³⁰ 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, Pamphilus 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 forward 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.

1034 Ms al-eḥḥa.

1035 Ms. ١٥٥٠.

¹⁰³⁶ Needed and as in the *Pleroph.*

¹⁰³⁷ No *syōmē* in ms but see C¹ 216:13.

1044 C¹ 218:13 അറുപത്തു.

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.

¹⁰⁵⁴ The adverb is not in ms but see C¹ 219 n.7.

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 *litra*-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.

1058 Ms 16.1.1.

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 understand¹⁰⁶⁰ 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.

1064 Ms 221.

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,¹⁰⁶⁵ 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.

1069 Σύγκελλλος.

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-Šawmō 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 Kephār-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.

1076

1077 Ms *مصحف*.

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 *Ilul* (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 ܡܫܝܬܐ, Greek ἀγρός, here and in the following line. This word begins with a *ptohō*, ʾagursō, but this vowel can also be ʾgōfō or even ʾšāšō; see Gabriel Qardāhī, *Al-lubāb: Qamūs Suryānī-ʿArabī* (Halab, Dār Mārdīn, 1994), p. 7. The first *waw* in ܡܫܝܬܐ is possibly to stress the ʾgōfō: ʾōgursō.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Mal. F369, 14:36 [202].

¹⁰⁸⁵ Chr. Edes. 8:8–11 [8]; Mal. F369, 14:37 [202].

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 the cross point of¹⁰⁹⁶ 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 the New 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 Mōr Mama) as in the Greek sources.

¹⁰⁹⁷ As in Chr. Pas.: νέον ἔμβολον.

[illegible]

1098 Ms *فدحيا*.

[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 “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, castle.

¹¹⁰⁸ Mal. F380, 15:6 [211]; Evag., *HE*, III x–xi; Mich. Syr. 256a [II, 149].

[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 rule – 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[tt]en: *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 [III149–152].

رسالة واحدة عليهم واجب انفسه محضاً. محضاً مضمناً وجباً: واماً واحدة:

أهلها؛ وفيه [231] رأى عدة من أهلها: مائة من أهلها؛ وفيه من أهلها
 أهلها. لا أقول من أهلها، وإنما من أهلها. لا أقول من أهلها، وإنما من أهلها.
 وفيه من أهلها من أهلها، لا أقول من أهلها، وإنما من أهلها. لا أقول من أهلها، وإنما من أهلها.
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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 whatever is beneficial to people will be granted in profusion.¹¹¹⁷ Therefore, since the unblemished Faith preserves 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.

¹¹¹⁷ Ms ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, “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.

1120 Ms 129.

¹¹²² Ms is not clear here but one wonders if the term is not **مَحْبُوتٌ** to fit the context seen **مَتَالٌ** and **مَتَالٌ**.

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 Eutychians 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 ܐܰܠܰܗܰܐ ܰܡܰܝܰܬܰܐ ܰܡܰܝܰܬܰܐ parallels ܰܡܰܝܰܬܰܐ ܰܡܰܝܰܬܰܐ.

[illegible]

1131 Ms ۵۷۱۸.

THE CHRONICLE OF ZUQNĪN (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.

1135

¹¹³⁸ C¹ 236 n.6: In margin. Something like √xxx 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.

[illegible]

¹¹⁴⁰ C¹ 237:19 , but a second *tām*, darker, was added.

¹¹⁴¹ Phonetic rendering of ل' موص.

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, “*Ab! The Assyrian is the Rod of My Hand! Syriac Views of History after the Advent of Islam*,” in J.J. van Ginkel et al., *Redefining Christian Identity: Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 45–65.

¹¹⁴⁶ The original feminine verb was changed to masculine by adding *nām*, and instead of **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥**, to fit the originl verb, **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭡** is written.

¹¹⁴⁷ C¹ 240 n.2 **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭡𐭬𐭣𐭩𐭠𐭤**. Ms **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭡** and the suffix was squeezed after the *nām*: **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭡𐭬𐭣𐭩𐭠𐭤**.

¹¹⁴⁸ C¹ 240 n.3 **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭡𐭬𐭣𐭩𐭠𐭤** but ms **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭡𐭬𐭣𐭩𐭠𐭤**!

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.

¹¹⁵⁰ 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 Mari 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 The following two notes end the repaired folio that the repairer Elisha of Zuqnīn had inserted to commemorate his deed.

¹¹⁵⁷ C¹ 241:11 **وَحِبْ**, but the *šm̄* is very clear in ms.

Pray for the wretched Elisha, of the monastery of Zuqnĭn 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 Yēšūʿ (Joshua) the Stylite, of the monastery of Zuqnĭn, 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 *nun* with the *waw*.

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.

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.

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.

So that the empire may 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 cavalymen, 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!

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 send 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.

¹¹⁷⁹ Ms. ٤٥٠, 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 *marzban*-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.

[illegible]

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 Ṭayy-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.

هذا المختار من الاحصاء وهو. كل جلد من صك وخط واصل الى غيره.
 ففصله اهل العلم. ثم يفتح ابدا له احد: من صرخة قضاة فاحد انت جرح
 حاصلا. صكك وختمه مع اوصاله وحلها. صوته ومع حقا حاصلا اقصا.
 صوته نكاح مع قضاة وانما بعض اهل العلم لا يؤمنه حقا. واستند مع اهل
 وجهه صوته في اهل محله. وما ومع كل اهل وجهه اهل وجهه [253]
 اهل وجهه. صكك ومع اهل محله¹¹⁸⁶ هو من صوته مستند. اما قال وهو حقه.

¹¹⁸⁶ C1 253 n.1 corrects it to **مقد** in reference to **مقدون**, but technically the subject is masculine: **مقدون**.

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:

¹¹⁸⁷ Sic ms. Whether it is ܡܕܡܝܠܐ “it is called” or ܡܕܡܝܠܐ “it lasted,” the feminine is puzzling as long as ܡܕܡܝܠܐ 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 ܡܕܡܝܠܐ ܡܕܡܝܠܐ and we tentatively follow him.

[illegible]

¹¹⁹⁵ The final *yōd* has a round tale and it looks like a *nām*; in any case it is an addition along with the *syōmē* 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. Mōr 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 *praetorium*, 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 "Public building," but also "public bathhouse."

سما حن: ورجسا و: وحبب طاب:ه ابوسلها¹¹⁹⁷ ولها صهلللسه صللل اوسم ص
 اب:ه و:ه ابوسلها اب اهللا سب. هفص هصلا صلل و:هلا وبعلا حبلا ح:صعلا.
 صلل و:ه سبجعلل اال و:ه سما ص رجلا بعه هلامت حب:هلا. [255] هاب:ه و:ه
 ابوسلها طاب:ه. اب مبر وحبب و:ه ح:ه ص مبر. حبب ال و:ه اهلاصك ق:هلا
 وهدنلا و:ه لاعلصع. وسم و:ه ص رجسه واهلا.
 هل امتعلال هلاملا. لا و:ه هفعلل ح ال و:ه حبب و:ه بلاملا ص:ه و:هلا. الا
 بلاملا فعب و:ه هلامنح كالا تلها وعلاللا. هومقل مترا وستنه. افك
 و:ه و:ه قلا صصل طاقلا ملب و:ه. هصعل هلالا صلل اعلاكي. و:ه و:ه و:ه
 هجلا. ااعم و:ه طالا و:ه بقلل حبشعل هتلا وهتلا اهلاوس ح:ه حببلا
 هحصلا. و:ه و:ه هلا هفلا حن:ه موزا افصعلا. هفلا حن:ه مبرلا وحبب
 حللص¹¹⁹⁸ وهاملا لاملا وهات وارا. و:ه هلامنح ح:ه ملا وارجل حصنعه ح:ه.
 حب:هلا و:ه ص هلا. هصعل مبر مبر وفعف و:ه طاب:ه. اهلاصلا و:ه ح:ه
 واهلا و:ه هلا مبرلا رجلا هفلا. هوبر ص و:ه و:هلا. اهلاوس و:ه اهلاص
 و:هلا. هال حب:هلا الحصلو:ه هلامنح و:هلا هلا. س:ه هقلا وحببلا ص
 رطا. حن:ه صللها¹¹⁹⁹ وحن:ه و:ه لاهلا طاقلا هلامنح. هصلا مبر ه:هلا
 و:ه هوبر صلا حصنعه. هملل حلا ص:ه و:ه و:ه مبر. هلا فعب
 ح:ه حلالا [F71r] بلاملا وبعلا ح:هلا و:هلا. و:ه و:هلا. رجلا وهتلا
 بك و:هلا و:ه [256] وهتلا وغب ح:ه. هملل اهلاصلا صلا و:هلا و:هلا
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¹¹⁹⁷ ἀνδρίας(-άντος).

¹¹⁹⁸ Λεκτίκιον.

¹¹⁹⁹ For هلاصلا.

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 *basilikai*¹²⁰⁶ 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 *litra*-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.

¹²⁰⁷ *ܡܚܠܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ*: Puzzling term, possibly an error for *ܡܚܠܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ* “urinary;” Qardāhī, *al-Labab*, p. 966; see also Trombley-Watt, *Pseudo-Joshua*, p. 29 n.143.

¹²⁰⁸ Chr. Edes. 8:19–21, short mention which specifies the month of the tax (the *chrysargyron*) remission: the month of May of the same year.

1213 Ms. ١٢١٣.

In this same year, on the fifth of the month of *Ḥẓīrōn* (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 Week¹²¹⁵ 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 *Iyyōr* (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 *Ōb* (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 *Ilūl* (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 *ḥī* is missed in C¹ 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, *Zuqnin*, p. 38–9.

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.

¹²²⁵ Since it is *bet-sōbde* “place of martyrs,” one would expect ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, as in W 30 n.4; see also C¹ 261 n.8.

And while they were in great fear, holding prayer and service in the middle of the night, the martyrrium 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 twenty-third, 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 faith¹²²⁷ [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 Mōr 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.

[illegible]

In Latter *Tešr* (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 *Konun* (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 *Odōr* (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 Urṭians,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, Aṭūr is associated with Mosul; see Shahab al-Dīn Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, Anonymous editor, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1986), p. 92. During the 6th century, Aṭūr 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 Urṭian” 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.

¹²³⁸ W 33:9 emends to **وَالسَّابِقِ**, 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 *Ḥẓīrōn* (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 Mōr 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.

¹²⁴² C¹ 264:26 misread **لعم**.

¹²⁴⁴ Sing. **𐤎𐤍** = νοῦμμος (Latin *numus*).

¹²⁴⁶ In ms digit and currency are connected. Φόλλις = a small coin (modern فلس).

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 *ḳaylā*-measures for a *denarius* after the vintage, and one *ḳab*-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 *liṭrā*-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.

[illegible]


¹²⁴⁹ Ms currently shows **حفت**, partially written [ل]و**حفت** which fits the context. C1 267:21 reads (ل)و**حفت** and W 37 n.1 (ل)و**حفت**, 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 Mōr 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 ; C¹ 268 and n.3. In the first case, the *syome* (not found in C¹ 268:22) are not needed.

¹²⁵³ That is the region of the city.

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 *Təšrī* (November) to the end [270] of *Ōdōr* (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 *Šebāt* (February), the shortage grew hard and the pestilence worsened. Wheat was sold thirteen *kab*-measures – barley eighteen *kab* – for a *denarius*. A *litra*-pound of meat cost a hundred *nummi*, a *litra*-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 *Ōdōr* (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 *Nīsōn* (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 *Hizirōn* (June) and *Tammūz* (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 *modi*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.

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 *Tešri* (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 *Nīsōn* (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 above¹²⁶⁵ – 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 *ḥṣṣa* it would then be “tilled (lands); on *ḥṣṣa* see ʿŪjēn Mannā, *Dahl al-raḡibīm fī luḡat al-aramiyyin*. Mosul: Dayr al-ʿābāʾ al-dūmanikiyyīn, 1900), p. 350.

¹²⁶⁴ See Trombley-Watt, *Pseudo-Joshua*, p. 47 n. 226.

¹²⁶⁵ See p. 376, 378, 382.

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 entire¹²⁷⁶ 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 *lomad* is unnecessarily added to **محذو**. Otherwise, the verb ought to be **محذو**, as suggested by Martin: “the entire earth was about to be wiped out in that conflagration of fire.” See C¹ 274 n.1.

¹²⁷⁷ Ms مَحْدَدًا; for the corrected reading above see W 43 n.1; see also C¹ 273 n.1.
¹²⁷⁸ C¹ 237:13 corrected it from مَحْدَدًا after W 43 n. 4. Other occurrences of مَحْدَدًا: C¹ 111:1 and C¹ 119:25.
¹²⁷⁹ Unnecessary final *yāʾ*; see also C¹ 282:13.
¹²⁸⁰ Direct object marker is in different colour, indicating that the phrase is emended.
¹²⁸¹ Ms لَا تَكُنْ not لَا تَكُنْ 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.

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‘mān, King of the Ṭayy-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. *keḏanu* 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 Viranşehir 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.

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 Ṭayy-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 Ṭayy-Arabs. Many of the Romans were killed, and the rest were taken captives.

On the twenty-sixth of this month, Nu'mān too came from the south and invaded the territory of the Ḥarrānians, 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 *liṭrā*-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 ܬܠܬܐ, but is a military tactic protecting front line soldiers from missiles with shields placed over their heads.

1303 Χελώνη.

¹³⁰⁵ Cl 278 n.3 **محفة** “in the dust.” The *ʿayn*, unusually long, may be the top part of *ʿēl* the bottom part perhaps faded away.

1307 Phonetic of ʁoʒ.

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. *taḫab* “ruin, destruction, injury...”

¹³⁰⁹ Cuneiform Singāra and Arabic Sinjār, a city located at the foot of Mt. Sinjār in northern Iraq.

¹³¹⁰ Ms **مِجَل**; as also in C¹ 279:16 “patched together.” The reading above is suggested in W 50 n.2.

¹³¹¹ Ms **لَب**; correction after W 51:7.

¹³¹² Hesitantly, but correctly, reported in W 51 n.6: The traces of the upper part of *tāw* are unmistakable. C¹ 280:20 reads it **لَبِيع**.

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 *periodentes*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 *Nisān* (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 Āmid 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 *boukellaton*¹³¹⁴ 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 Ṭayy-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 al., *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2011), pp. 444–445.

¹³¹⁴ Soldiers’ bread.

٥٦٦ ٥٦٧ ٥٦٨ ٥٦٩ ٥٧٠ ٥٧١ ٥٧٢ ٥٧٣ ٥٧٤ ٥٧٥ ٥٧٦ ٥٧٧ ٥٧٨ ٥٧٩ ٥٨٠ ٥٨١ ٥٨٢ ٥٨٣ ٥٨٤ ٥٨٥ ٥٨٦ ٥٨٧ ٥٨٨ ٥٨٩ ٥٩٠ ٥٩١ ٥٩٢ ٥٩٣ ٥٩٤ ٥٩٥ ٥٩٦ ٥٩٧ ٥٩٨ ٥٩٩ ٦٠٠ ٦٠١ ٦٠٢ ٦٠٣ ٦٠٤ ٦٠٥ ٦٠٦ ٦٠٧ ٦٠٨ ٦٠٩ ٦١٠ ٦١١ ٦١٢ ٦١٣ ٦١٤ ٦١٥ ٦١٦ ٦١٧ ٦١٨ ٦١٩ ٦٢٠ ٦٢١ ٦٢٢ ٦٢٣ ٦٢٤ ٦٢٥ ٦٢٦ ٦٢٧ ٦٢٨ ٦٢٩ ٦٣٠ ٦٣١ ٦٣٢ ٦٣٣ ٦٣٤ ٦٣٥ ٦٣٦ ٦٣٧ ٦٣٨ ٦٣٩ ٦٤٠ ٦٤١ ٦٤٢ ٦٤٣ ٦٤٤ ٦٤٥ ٦٤٦ ٦٤٧ ٦٤٨ ٦٤٩ ٦٥٠ ٦٥١ ٦٥٢ ٦٥٣ ٦٥٤ ٦٥٥ ٦٥٦ ٦٥٧ ٦٥٨ ٦٥٩ ٦٦٠ ٦٦١ ٦٦٢ ٦٦٣ ٦٦٤ ٦٦٥ ٦٦٦ ٦٦٧ ٦٦٨ ٦٦٩ ٦٧٠ ٦٧١ ٦٧٢ ٦٧٣ ٦٧٤ ٦٧٥ ٦٧٦ ٦٧٧ ٦٧٨ ٦٧٩ ٦٨٠ ٦٨١ ٦٨٢ ٦٨٣ ٦٨٤ ٦٨٥ ٦٨٦ ٦٨٧ ٦٨٨ ٦٨٩ ٦٩٠ ٦٩١ ٦٩٢ ٦٩٣ ٦٩٤ ٦٩٥ ٦٩٦ ٦٩٧ ٦٩٨ ٦٩٩ ٧٠٠ ٧٠١ ٧٠٢ ٧٠٣ ٧٠٤ ٧٠٥ ٧٠٦ ٧٠٧ ٧٠٨ ٧٠٩ ٧١٠ ٧١١ ٧١٢ ٧١٣ ٧١٤ ٧١٥ ٧١٦ ٧١٧ ٧١٨ ٧١٩ ٧٢٠ ٧٢١ ٧٢٢ ٧٢٣ ٧٢٤ ٧٢٥ ٧٢٦ ٧٢٧ ٧٢٨ ٧٢٩ ٧٣٠ ٧٣١ ٧٣٢ ٧٣٣ ٧٣٤ ٧٣٥ ٧٣٦ ٧٣٧ ٧٣٨ ٧٣٩ ٧٤٠ ٧٤١ ٧٤٢ ٧٤٣ ٧٤٤ ٧٤٥ ٧٤٦ ٧٤٧ ٧٤٨ ٧٤٩ ٧٥٠ ٧٥١ ٧٥٢ ٧٥٣ ٧٥٤ ٧٥٥ ٧٥٦ ٧٥٧ ٧٥٨ ٧٥٩ ٧٦٠ ٧٦١ ٧٦٢ ٧٦٣ ٧٦٤ ٧٦٥ ٧٦٦ ٧٦٧ ٧٦٨ ٧٦٩ ٧٧٠ ٧٧١ ٧٧٢ ٧٧٣ ٧٧٤ ٧٧٥ ٧٧٦ ٧٧٧ ٧٧٨ ٧٧٩ ٧٨٠ ٧٨١ ٧٨٢ ٧٨٣ ٧٨٤ ٧٨٥ ٧٨٦ ٧٨٧ ٧٨٨ ٧٨٩ ٧٩٠ ٧٩١ ٧٩٢ ٧٩٣ ٧٩٤ ٧٩٥ ٧٩٦ ٧٩٧ ٧٩٨ ٧٩٩ ٨٠٠ ٨٠١ ٨٠٢ ٨٠٣ ٨٠٤ ٨٠٥ ٨٠٦ ٨٠٧ ٨٠٨ ٨٠٩ ٨١٠ ٨١١ ٨١٢ ٨١٣ ٨١٤ ٨١٥ ٨١٦ ٨١٧ ٨١٨ ٨١٩ ٨٢٠ ٨٢١ ٨٢٢ ٨٢٣ ٨٢٤ ٨٢٥ ٨٢٦ ٨٢٧ ٨٢٨ ٨٢٩ ٨٣٠ ٨٣١ ٨٣٢ ٨٣٣ ٨٣٤ ٨٣٥ ٨٣٦ ٨٣٧ ٨٣٨ ٨٣٩ ٨٤٠ ٨٤١ ٨٤٢ ٨٤٣ ٨٤٤ ٨٤٥ ٨٤٦ ٨٤٧ ٨٤٨ ٨٤٩ ٨٥٠ ٨٥١ ٨٥٢ ٨٥٣ ٨٥٤ ٨٥٥ ٨٥٦ ٨٥٧ ٨٥٨ ٨٥٩ ٨٦٠ ٨٦١ ٨٦٢ ٨٦٣ ٨٦٤ ٨٦٥ ٨٦٦ ٨٦٧ ٨٦٨ ٨٦٩ ٨٧٠ ٨٧١ ٨٧٢ ٨٧٣ ٨٧٤ ٨٧٥ ٨٧٦ ٨٧٧ ٨٧٨ ٨٧٩ ٨٨٠ ٨٨١ ٨٨٢ ٨٨٣ ٨٨٤ ٨٨٥ ٨٨٦ ٨٨٧ ٨٨٨ ٨٨٩ ٨٩٠ ٨٩١ ٨٩٢ ٨٩٣ ٨٩٤ ٨٩٥ ٨٩٦ ٨٩٧ ٨٩٨ ٨٩٩ ٩٠٠ ٩٠١ ٩٠٢ ٩٠٣ ٩٠٤ ٩٠٥ ٩٠٦ ٩٠٧ ٩٠٨ ٩٠٩ ٩١٠ ٩١١ ٩١٢ ٩١٣ ٩١٤ ٩١٥ ٩١٦ ٩١٧ ٩١٨ ٩١٩ ٩٢٠ ٩٢١ ٩٢٢ ٩٢٣ ٩٢٤ ٩٢٥ ٩٢٦ ٩٢٧ ٩٢٨ ٩٢٩ ٩٣٠ ٩٣١ ٩٣٢ ٩٣٣ ٩٣٤ ٩٣٥ ٩٣٦ ٩٣٧ ٩٣٨ ٩٣٩ ٩٤٠ ٩٤١ ٩٤٢ ٩٤٣ ٩٤٤ ٩٤٥ ٩٤٦ ٩٤٧ ٩٤٨ ٩٤٩ ٩٥٠ ٩٥١ ٩٥٢ ٩٥٣ ٩٥٤ ٩٥٥ ٩٥٦ ٩٥٧ ٩٥٨ ٩٥٩ ٩٦٠ ٩٦١ ٩٦٢ ٩٦٣ ٩٦٤ ٩٦٥ ٩٦٦ ٩٦٧ ٩٦٨ ٩٦٩ ٩٧٠ ٩٧١ ٩٧٢ ٩٧٣ ٩٧٤ ٩٧٥ ٩٧٦ ٩٧٧ ٩٧٨ ٩٧٩ ٩٨٠ ٩٨١ ٩٨٢ ٩٨٣ ٩٨٤ ٩٨٥ ٩٨٦ ٩٨٧ ٩٨٨ ٩٨٩ ٩٩٠ ٩٩١ ٩٩٢ ٩٩٣ ٩٩٤ ٩٩٥ ٩٩٦ ٩٩٧ ٩٩٨ ٩٩٩ ١٠٠٠ ١٠٠١ ١٠٠٢ ١٠٠٣ ١٠٠٤ ١٠٠٥ ١٠٠٦ ١٠٠٧ ١٠٠٨ ١٠٠٩ ١٠١٠ ١٠١١ ١٠١٢ ١٠١٣ ١٠١٤ ١٠١٥ ١٠١٦ ١٠١٧ ١٠١٨ ١٠١٩ ١٠٢٠ ١٠٢١ ١٠٢٢ ١٠٢٣ ١٠٢٤ ١٠٢٥ ١٠٢٦ ١٠٢٧ ١٠٢٨ ١٠٢٩ ١٠٣٠ ١٠٣١ ١٠٣٢ ١٠٣٣ ١٠٣٤ ١٠٣٥ ١٠٣٦ ١٠٣٧ ١٠٣٨ ١٠٣٩ ١٠٤٠ ١٠٤١ ١٠٤٢ ١٠٤٣ ١٠٤٤ ١٠٤٥ ١٠٤٦ ١٠٤٧ ١٠٤٨ ١٠٤٩ ١٠٥٠ ١٠٥١ ١٠٥٢ ١٠٥٣ ١٠٥٤ ١٠٥٥ ١٠٥٦ ١٠٥٧ ١٠٥٨ ١٠٥٩ ١٠٦٠ ١٠٦١ ١٠٦٢ ١٠٦٣ ١٠٦٤ ١٠٦٥ ١٠٦٦ ١٠٦٧ ١٠٦٨ ١٠٦٩ ١٠٧٠ ١٠٧١ ١٠٧٢ ١٠٧٣ ١٠٧٤ ١٠٧٥ ١٠٧٦ ١٠٧٧ ١٠٧٨ ١٠٧٩ ١٠٨٠ ١٠٨١ ١٠٨٢ ١٠٨٣ ١٠٨٤ ١٠٨٥ ١٠٨٦ ١٠٨٧ ١٠٨٨ ١٠٨٩ ١٠٩٠ ١٠٩١ ١٠٩٢ ١٠٩٣ ١٠٩٤ ١٠٩٥ ١٠٩٦ ١٠٩٧ ١٠٩٨ ١٠٩٩ ١١٠٠ ١١٠١ ١١٠٢ ١١٠٣ ١١٠٤ ١١٠٥ ١١٠٦ ١١٠٧ ١١٠٨ ١١٠٩ ١١١٠ ١١١١ ١١١٢ ١١١٣ ١١١٤ ١١١٥ ١١١٦

¹³¹⁵ Ms مـ, – superfluous quotation mark.

¹³¹⁶ Beginning of the following homonym but is superfluous.

¹³¹⁷ Βουκελλάτον, Latin *buccellatum*.

¹³¹⁸ Ms 𐤎𐤏𐤕𐤕; 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 *marzban* was unable to fulfill his promise – those inside the city did not agree with him – the *stratelates* ordered him to be crucified.

The Ṭayy-Arabs of Persia marched to Hābūrā¹³¹⁹ [F78r] and Timostratus, *Dux* of Callinicum, went out against them [and destroyed them]. The Ṭayy-Arabs of the Roman land called Tha⁹labites¹³²⁰ also went toward Ḥirtā-d-Nu⁶mān¹³²¹ 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 Ḥirtā 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-Ḥirā. 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.

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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‘mān, King of the Ṭayy-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‘mān, King of the Ṭayy-Arabs, on account of what had happened to his caravan.¹³²⁷ A tribal man from Ḥirtā of Nu‘mān, 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!¹³²⁸ Upon hearing this, Nu‘mān 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‘mān, 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.

They first showed themselves as if annoyed, [F78v] but th[en thre]w 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 Tellā 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 *Ilul* (September), the Edessans uprooted all the monasteries and inns which were located near the wall, and set fire on the village of Kephār-Šlem, 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.

1337 C¹ 286:27 type .

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 Mōr 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 *litrā*-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'mān, they left Areobindus in Edessa, and went to fight against Ḥarrān, while sending all the Ṭayy-Arabs to Sarug. Rifaya, who was in Ḥarrān, 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 Ḥarrānians 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 Ṭayy-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 Šerrin.

¹³³⁸ Commander of the army; M. L. Chaumont, "Astabed":
<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/astabed>.

¹³³⁹ Ms **حصب** "still, yet" besides **حصب** does not make sense; changing its place to fit other contexts is emending the ms. The translation above disregards it.

[illegible]

¹³⁴⁰ C¹ 286:27 wrongly written ; delete note 5 since the text is clear in ms.

¹³⁴¹ Ms **هوقدله** should be **هوقدله**; delete note 6 in C¹ 286.

¹³⁴² Mid. Pers. *Spāhbad*.

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¹³⁴⁴ *Syōmē* not needed.

¹³⁴⁵ Typo in C¹ 288:5 اُمد.

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-ʿArūs, some 50 km south of Edessa.

¹³⁵¹ Phonetic of **٥١٥١٣**.

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 Mōr 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 Baṭnan, 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.

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 *marzban* [292] to wage battle against them. The *dux* Timostratus came out against him and destroyed the *marzban'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 *marzban* 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 ܠܗܝܝܐ 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.

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¹³⁶³ Read with W 64 n. 2 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢; 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 *Odōr* (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 *Odōr* (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.

¹³⁶⁶ Secure reading not **للمس** as in W 66 n. 2.
¹³⁶⁷ One of the two *tām* letters is not needed.
¹³⁶⁸ Unclear in ms. The third letter, although the dot seems to be above it, is most probably *dolat*. See C¹ 294:10 and n.7 for the conflicting decipherments of this term.
¹³⁶⁹ Ms **للمس**; 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 Arcobindus 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-ʿaynā.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-ʿaynā. 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 Harrān – 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-ʿAyn, “The Source of the Water,” on the upper Khābūr.

¹³⁷¹ Tribune, military commander.

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 *Hẓrōn* (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.

1375 Phonetic of $\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\alpha$.

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 Nicaea: not to be seen before him (again) and not to involve himself in (public) affairs.

Now Kawad, when he captured Āmid, 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 Ṭayy-Arab ʿAdid (or: ʿAzīz?), 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 *ballistae*¹³⁷⁶ 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.

[illegible]

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 to 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] Mōr 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.

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 *magistros* 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 *magistros* 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."

¹³⁸² Probably phonetic of 𐤁𐤍, 𐤁𐤍.

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 *astabid*) 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 Tellā, Rēsh-ʿaynā, 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.

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 Mōr 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 Āmideans 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 Āmid 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 *zūzō*¹³⁸⁵ 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*.

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.

دقيق.

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 *litrā*-pounds for the expenses of renovating the wall, and Urbicius the eunuch (gave him) ten *litrā*-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 oil-store – it was six thousand and eighty *xestai*¹³⁹⁸ – 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 *kaylā*-measures 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 *marzban* 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 Baṭnan, 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.

¹³⁹⁸ This is a volume measure; Arabic قسط 'portion, quantity, measure.'

¹³⁹⁹ This has been deciphered in various ways but the ms is damaged at this spot; see W 81 n. 7 and C¹ 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 *litra*-pounds of wood, and a bed and bedding for every two men among them.

¹⁴⁰² “Wine-can,” Smith, *Thesaurus*, p. 311.

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 *Nīsān* (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.

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 overcome 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 Mōr Šilā died in the village of [...]”

¹⁴¹⁴ Typo in C¹ 314:16 αλσδ.

The Romans wanted to capture the *astabid* and to kill the ones with him, [315] but the *magistros* 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 *magistros* 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 *magistros* 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 *Təšrī* (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.”

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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.

1422

[illegible]

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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INDEX

LIST OF SELECTED TERMS

Akkadian

arṣallu = ܐܪܫܐܠ “shelter”
dappu ܕܦܦ “plate”
kūdīnu ܟܘܕܝܢ “mule,” but it refers to a heap of dirt or a mound
maddattu > *madattu* ܡܕܬܬܘ or ܡܕܬܬܘ “tribute”
šikāru ܫܝܟܐܪܘ “fermented drink”
šītru ܫܝܬܪܘ or ܫܝܬܪܐ “documents, inscription”
šurmīnu or *šurmēnu* ܫܘܪܡܝܢܘ or ܫܘܪܡܝܢܐ “cypress”

Arabic

ܐܪܫܐܠ = ܐܪܫܐܠ “shelter”
ܦܠܬܐ = ܦܠܬܐ “folles-coin”
ܡܩܬܐ = ܡܩܬܐ = *sextarius* “portion, quantity (volume measure)”

Greek

ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “contest”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “hospital”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “grass”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “report”
ܐܕܝܢܐ (-ܐܢܬܐ) = ܐܕܝܢܐ “bronze statue”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “proconsul”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “market-space”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “Ruler, leader”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “public granary”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “bathhouse”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = *ballista* ܐܕܝܢܐ “catapult”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “portico”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = *buccellatum* ܐܕܝܢܐ “soldiers’ bread”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “reliquary”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “public building; public bathhouse”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = ܐܕܝܢܐ “theatre”
ܐܕܝܢܐ = *castrum* ܐܕܝܢܐ “fortress”

- κίνδυνος ܡܝܬܝܢܐ “danger”
 κόμης ܡܚܝܒܐ “comes” (companion)
 κύβος ܡܩܦܬܐ “casket”
 κυνήγιον ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “amphitheatre”
 λεκτίκιον ܠܡܬܝܒܐ “litter, bier”
 λαῦρα ܠܐܘܪܐ (type of monastery for hermits)
 μάγιστρος ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “magistros; commander of the army = MP *astabid*”
 módios = *modius* ܡܕܝܐ (corn measure)
 μοχλός ܡܩܬܐ “bars”
 νομή ܢܡܐ “pasture land, territory”
 νοῦμμος = *numus* ܢܡܡܐ (coinage)
 νέον ἔμβολον ܢܐܘܢ ܐܡܒܠܐ “New Portico”
 ξενοδόχος ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “Guest Master working in hospital”
 ξέστης = *sextarius* ܡܩܬܐ “portion, quantity (volume measure)”
 ὄμηρος ܐܡܝܪܐ “hostage”
 ὄργανον ܐܘܪܓܐܢ “instrument”
 ὀρχηστής ܐܡܬܝܒܐ “dancers”
 περίπατος ܦܝܦܐܬܐ “walkway”
 σιτικόν ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “granary”
 στρατηγός ܐܡܬܝܒܐ “stratagem, army commander”
 στρατιά ܐܡܬܝܒܐ “army”
 στρατιώτης ܐܡܬܝܒܐ “soldiers”
 στρατηλάτης ܐܡܬܝܒܐ “stratelates=army commander, general”
 σύγκελλος ܡܥܬܝܒܐ (Dignitary title referring to a prelate)
 σύγκλητος ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “senate”
 συντέλεια ܡܥܬܝܒܐ (poll-tax)
 στάσις ܐܡܬܝܒܐ “insurrection”
 στρήνος ܐܡܬܝܒܐ “debauchery”
 σχόλιον ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “scholion-unique term in historiography; scholarly work.”
 τάξις ܐܡܬܝܒܐ “attendants”
 τέως ܐܡܬܝܒܐ “little bit, only, at least”
 τριβοῦνος = *tribunus* ܬܪܝܒܘܢܐ “tribune, military commander”
 Τριμήσιον ܬܪܝܡܝܣܝܐ = *tremissis* (coinage)
 ὑπαρχία ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “Provinces”
 ὑπομνήματα ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “records”
 ὕπατος ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “consul”
 φανός = Arab. ܦܢܐܘܣ “lamps”
 φόλλις = ܦܠܠܐ “a small coin”
 Χαρτουλάριος ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “chartulary”
 Χελώνη ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “chelone or tortoise (military tactic)”
 Χώρα ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “Territory outside the city, rural area,”
 Χρόνος ܡܥܬܝܒܐ “time, era”
 πάσχα ܦܥܫܐ (Jewish) Pesach”
 παραμονάριος ܦܥܡܝܢܐ “church keepers”
 πολιτευόμενοι ܦܥܠܝܬܝܐ “public magistrates”

Gen 14:6 מֶלֶךְ שִׁמְכִי

ballista = Βαλλιστής **ܒܠܝܨܬܝܬܐ**
buccellatum = Βουκελλάτον **ܒܘܟܝܠܬܐܬܐܢ**
Castrum = Κάστρον **ܡܥܬܪܐ**
Modius = μόδιος = **ܡܕܝܐ**
monēta **ܡܥܢܬܐ** “a mint.”
Numus = νοῦμμος **ܢܘܡܡܐ**
Protonotarius **ܡܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܩܝܡܐ**
sextarius = Ξέστης **ܡܥܬܪܐ** “portion, quantity (volume measure)”
tremissis = Τριμήσιον **ܬܪܝܡܝܨܝܐ** (coinage)
tribunus = τριβούνος = **ܬܪܝܒܘܢܐ**

Spahbad **اسپاهب** Commander of the army
Tapab “ruin, destruction, injury...”
Zaradūštakan **زردوشکان** lit. “the little Zoroaster”

Daqdāqā دُقْدُقْ

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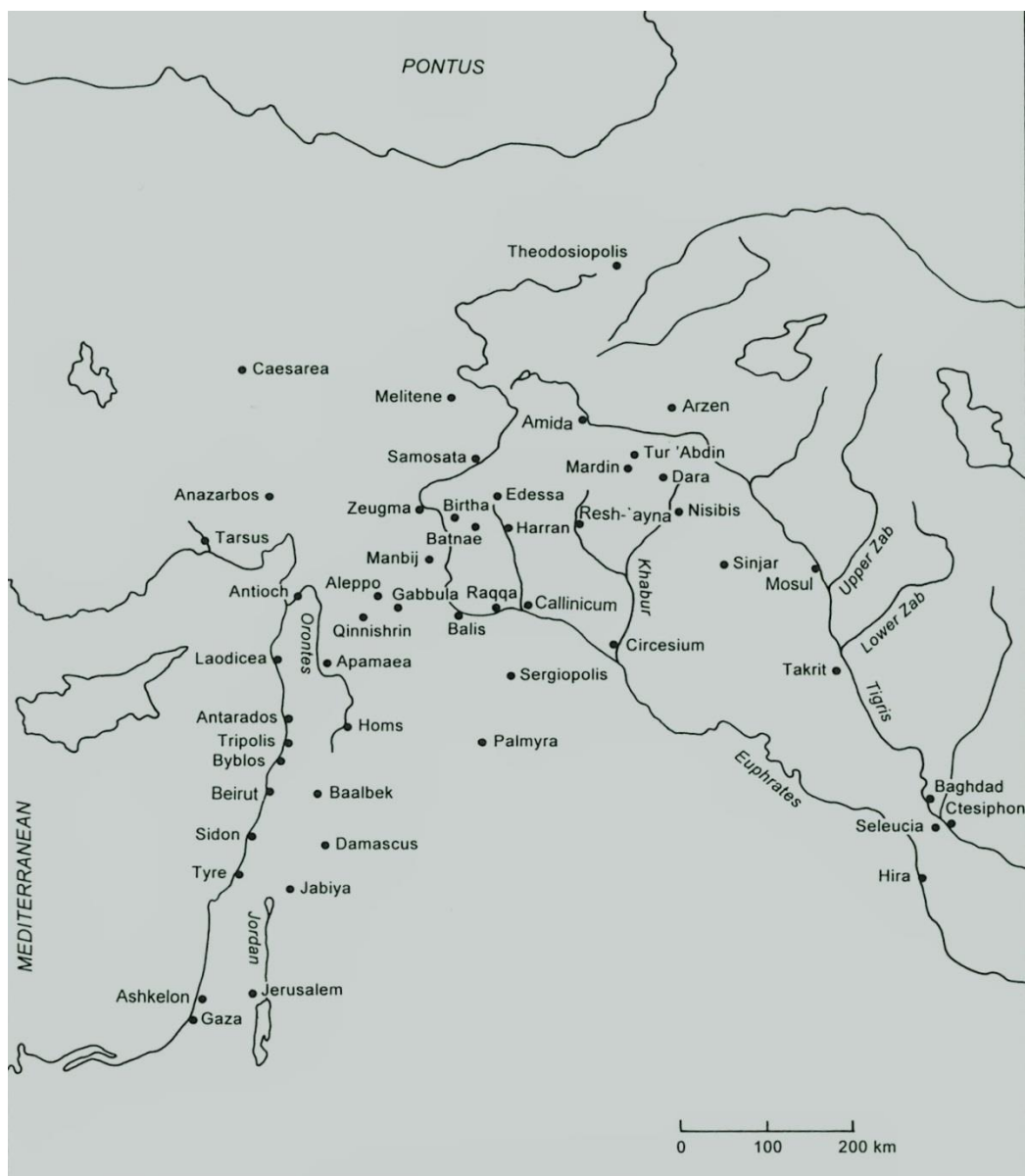
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Map 1. Syria and the West



Map 2. Syria and Mesopotamia