# The Early Church Fathers Writings

*Volume 116*

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Christians under Islam: Syriac, Arabic and Greek Writers

c. AD 840 – 1425

SERMONINDEX

The Early Church Fathers Writings
Volume 116: Christians under Islam: Syriac, Arabic and Greek Writers

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# Introduction to This Volume

*How this book is arranged*

This is the hundred and sixteenth volume of a series that gathers the writings of the early Church. It is an addendum, and it gathers what Christians wrote in the lands that came under Islam, in Syriac, Arabic and Greek. The first part holds two histories: the Universal History of Agapius of Hierapolis, written in Arabic, and the Book of Governors of Thomas of Marga, the history of the monks of the East. The second part holds Syriac scholars of the Church of the East and the Jacobite church: the Pearl of Abdisho bar Brikha, his catalogue of Syriac writers, and two works of Dionysius bar Salibi, on Revelation and against the Melchites. The third part holds the Arabic Christian writers: Hunayn ibn Ishaq, Yahya ibn Adi, Abdallah and Abu al-Khayr ibn al-Tayyib and Abu al-Majdalus, on faith, reason and the Gospels. The last part holds two Greek dialogues with Islam, one by the emperor Manuel II and one by Gerasimos.

The introductions, the descriptions of the parts and the headings were prepared for SermonIndex with the help of artificial intelligence. The texts themselves are the translations, and were not rewritten.

*Translations and texts*

The English is that of older translators, nearly all of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and is printed as the website prints it. Most of these texts were read by machine from scanned books and have not been proofread against the printed pages, so a misreading may remain. Footnotes, and words in Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic and Latin, are left out of this book, as are the translators' long introductions; the reader who wants them should go to the printed edition.

*Dates and authorship*

The Arabic writers are of the ninth century and after, and several of their works survive in English only in recent translations, which are printed here without the Arabic text that stood beside them. The works run in time from

about the year 840 to 1425. Some are replies to Muslim questions and others are not written against Islam at all, and the reader will see the difference.

PART ONE

# Histories

*The Universal History of Agapius of Hierapolis, and Thomas of Marga's Book of Governors, a history of the monks of the East.*

# Universal History

## Agapius of Hierapolis

*d. c. AD 942*

Melkite bishop who wrote a universal history in Arabic.

### PART 1

*KITAB AL-'UNVAN*

1 DECORATED WITH THE EMINENT QUALITIES OF WISDOM, CROWNED WITH VARIOUS SPECIES OF PHILOSOPHY, ILLUSTRATED BY THE TRUTHS OF KNOWLEDGE. Ms. C Mss. BA In the name of the only and eternal God. We beseech his help. The book al-`Unvan (of the Title), decorated with eminent qualities of wisdom, crowned with various kinds of philosophy, illustrated by the truths of knowledge, composed with care by the eminent sheik, the erudite doctor, the excellent philosopher, Agapius, son of Constantine, a Greek of Manbidj, and which he sent to an eminent man `Isa, son of al-Husein. Know, may great God help you, that this blessed book is composed by its author, and is written according to the Sacred Books of God, according to the books of the philosophers and the scholars. He worked on it with sorrow, weariness, assiduity and effort; he composed it for the great benefit and profit of people who will meditate on it; those who, indeed, will contemplate this book with assiduity, will understand it, think about it seriously and will be interested, like a man who had traversed the whole universe, as if he knew the world from its origins and as if the world were telling its history, its wonders, its extraordinary things, the events and miracles which have taken place from the origins of creation until his own time and era. May he who reads it, do so with great care and understand it well.

2 Here is the beginning of the book. The Apostle says: "Every excellent grace and every perfect gift comes from above and comes down from the Father of lights." God, O friend, has granted to you in abundance the good

and beautiful gift, which inspires in you the desire to arrive at knowledge and to clarify events, and to arrive at the possession of the truth about them and the knowledge of the subtleties of their mysteries. In the name of God, clement and merciful. The Book of history, attributed to Mahbub, son of Constantine, a Greek of Manbidj. Its title belongs to the man, decorated with eminent qualities of wisdom, crowned with various kinds of philosophy, illustrated by the truths of knowledge, the virtuous and good, Abu-Musa-`Isa, son of al-Husein, may the grace of God towards him endure, may his wisdom be perfect, may his philosophy increase twofold, may his dignity be raised, may all the power of his enemies, who hate him, be decreased and be subjected to him, may the hand which preserves be on him, and may his life be prolonged.

3 Mahbub, son of Constantine, the Greek, of Manbidj, composed this book and wrote it according to the revealed Books of God, may His name be great, and the books of the philosophers and the scholars; he worked there with much care, great weariness and great sorrow; he composed it for the great benefit and profit of people who will meditate on it; whoever will contemplate with assiduity this book, will understand it, will pass through it in spirit and will know what is in it, --- he will resemble a man who has traversed the whole universe, as if he knew the world from its origins and as if the world told its history, its wonders, its extraordinary things, miraculous events which took place and which are worthy of admiration, and marvellous stories. The beginning of the book. Every excellent gift - may God prolong your glory and raise the happiness of your rank - comes down from the Father of lights. God has granted a high spirit and noble and beautiful qualities to you. He put in you the desire and the intention to find out the history of the faith and to arrive at the possession of the truth and the knowledge of the mysteries.

4 To the best of my ability, may God help you, I have wanted to publish a book commencing with the origins of the world and I considered that you were able and worthy, because I have solid evidence of the fineness of your spirit and your intelligence. I have composed this book which explains, shows and clarifies. This book contains, from the origins of the world, complete information on the years of the world, the centuries and dates, and the nations, nation by nation, with an explanation and description, the events which took place in former times in the regions of the earth, their history

and the wonders which existed among the nations, the peoples and the kingdoms, nation by nation, kingdom by kingdom, - and the history of the prophets, prophet by prophet, their date and era, the philosophers, tyrants and the owner of talismans invulnerable against reptiles or insects, - the confection of pearls, the art of working hyacinth, marble, Pharaonic glass, -- the arts, i.e. the ten gifts, that God has given specially to the children of Adam, the description of the seven wonders of the world and the places where they are.

5 These wonders are: the Capitol in Rome; it is a marvellous building, where Apollonius taught magic. The second wonder is the Pharos of Alexandria. It is a tower with an observatory, which is at the entrance to the sea, on four columns of glass. It is this of which the scholar Bedas speaks who measured the sea, traversed the earth and did not find any construction in the world higher than this one. The third wonder is the temple of Çyzicus in Cappadocia, in the country of the Greeks. It is an astonishing building of one hundred fifty square cubits, on four pilasters, and what is most astonishing, is that the rain does not fall on it. The fourth wonder are the three stones of Baalbek. The fifth wonder is the woman (?) in the town of Caesarea in Palestine. The sixth wonder, the Ifos of Bellerophon; it is an iron horse, on which is an iron rider, suspended in the air under a vaulted ceiling without any support against the walls of the vault. The seventh wonder is three statues that Hercules, the most ancient king, made in the sea to preserve travellers from immersion. Along with this, in this book is gathered the explained history of the divisions of the earth and the seven climates, their length, their width, their seas, their gulfs, their famous cities, the state of the inhabitants of the climates, their manners and what there is in the way of vermin and of use in each climate.

6 In the name of God unique and eternal. We beseech his help. This is the beginning of the book of the eminent master, the perfect philosopher, Agapius, son of Constantine. May God give eternal rest and great reward to his soul. Amen. Some intelligent people, versed in the knowledge of the things which, as you see, happen according to the order of nature from the origins of the world, know that the beginning of time, the origin of things created, the order of the years and days are counted from the time of the equinox at the entry of the sun into the head of the Ram, i.e. the equator. From this time, the earth starts to produce green grass and the trees start to

produce leaves and change colour. The earth is covered with greenery and shows its beauty and a great number of pretty colours. At the same time the animals, all the insects of the earth and all the birds, as we see, mate one with another and bring into the world the little ones of every species and every kind according to their nature. At the time of which we speak, and in this period, birds built nests of every kind and form, according to their ability.

7 The time of which we speak starts, according to all the scholars and all the chronologists, at the origin of the world, the 18 of the month of Adar (Mark), which is the lunar month of Nisan (April); as for Nisan, it is Redjeb, (the first) the twelve lunar months at the beginning of the months of the world. We have found that the book of God, (may it be blessed), revealed via the intermediary of Moses the prophet, agrees with what we have said on the natural course of the things since the first origins of the world; (this book) is like it, agrees with it and follows it. However God, may His name be blessed and His glory be great, inspired Moses his prophet and said to him: "Let this month be the first and the beginning of the lunar months." The people versed in the books revealed by God affirm that in this same month the end of the world will take place. Then there is no-one among all the scholars and people of knowledge who doubts that this month started on a Sunday at the beginning of the world; and we do not need to examine this question or to explain the account of this, because it is clear and obvious among all scholars and all the experts of the Scriptures, that the first beginning of creation took place on Sunday; the name of this day proves what we say. On this day, this month and this year the chronology of the history of the world started and from this moment what happened is reported and related.

8 This book is called in Greek chronikon, which in the Arabic translation means the sequence of years and the mark of dates and the centuries. This book begins with the first day, when God created all the creatures, from Adam to the Ascension of Christ, (our) Lord; it describes, tells and deals with the nations, nation after nation, of the kings of the earth, king after king, of the things which took place in the world, of the wonders in the various kingdoms and the various nations and other things. The author and the writer of this book said; "We must start with the origins, that we seek the reasons and the causes of what is known about the beginning of the world and the order of the years, that we explain the evidence and that we tell and set forth this history." 9 He said: In the first year after the exodus of the Is-

raelites from the country of Egypt, Moses, the prophet of God, went up on the mountain of God, Tur-Sina (the Sinai), fasted for forty days and forty nights and prayed. Then God condescended to speak to him and granted to him power, wisdom, knowledge and the gift of prophecy, so that he prophesied, told, reported and wrote how God had created this world in six days; and God sent down (revealed) to him the written tablets of the Law, and Moses wrote five books: The first book makes known things created, described the beginning of their creation and their qualities. The second book writes and tells the exodus of the Israelites from the country of Egypt. The third book sets forth the rules for the priests and the Levites and is called the book of the priests (Leviticus). The fourth book is that of the number of Israelites, in which Moses the prophet counted them and enumerated their number. The fifth book is that of Deuteronomy.

10 Here ends the era of the world from the beginning of creation until this year which is the 81st year since the birth of Moses finishes and which is the year when Moses the prophet went up on the mountain of God Tûr-Sina (the Sinai); and there were three thousand eight hundred and forty-seven years until this date and this day, as we can give it according to the version of the Seventy, Jewish commentators who translated the Pentateuch and all the books of the prophets from Hebrew into Greek under Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. That took place approximately three hundred years before the arrival of Christ Our Lord. At the beginning of the first book, Moses the prophet writes that God created in the beginning the substance of heaven and earth, understanding by the word 'substance' the hypostasis of heaven and earth and their essence. God created the light, which was a dispersed and extended light, separated the light from darkness on the first day, which was the beginning of creation, and which he named Sunday. This is the first day of the month of Nisan which is the lunar month Redjeb at the beginning of creation. The proof that this first lunar month was Redjeb and that it was Sunday, is the astronomical calculation, the formula for which is easy to understand; thus whoever wishes and wants to know this, will acquire this knowledge with little effort, which will satisfy his understanding. But sometimes this astronomical calculation is hidden from he who wants to know it, God willing.

11 On the second day God created the celestial sphere which turns with a perpetual motion and travels from East to West, making a circuit every

twenty-four hours, day and night, permanently, without stopping; and God named the revolving, attached and raised sphere 'heaven'. On the third day God ordered that all the waters above the earth be gathered in one location and one place; and after their gathering, the waters were called seas. Then the earth produced grasses, various flowers, trees with fruit and trees without fruit. On the fourth day God, may his name be exalted, ordered the extended light to gather and placed it in all the luminaries, i.e. the sun, the moon and all the fixed and moving stars according to their categories and their classes, which are moved in the sphere which puts them in perpetual and continuous motion, and they turn in a direction opposed to that of the sphere, from West to East.

12 On the fifth day God created from the water all the birds which fly in the air over the earth, and all the animals of the sea; God created from the water their bodies and the breath of their life. On the sixth day God created from the earth all the animals and the wild animals, all the reptiles which crawl on its surface, and the others whose bodies and breath of life came from the earth. On this day God created a man -- i.e. Adam -- in the image of God. He created him and made him the most perfect of the creatures and improved him, putting in him a particular superiority of intelligence, word and soul, endowing with reason, intelligent and speaking, wherein was the resemblance to God. The body of Adam and his spirit came from the earth and the four elements, the primitive forms, created before everything as separate, independent and free; the soul of Adam, intelligent, expressing thought, speaking, similar to God, immortal, was from God; its flame and all that there is of good in it, (was also from Him). And the man, i.e. Adam, having become a spiritual and corporeal being, with a better structure, God took him and put him, he and his wife, whom he had created from one of his sides, in the garden of Eden.

13 On the seventh day God completed all his works which He had created, and He called (this day) the day of Sabbath, because Sabbath means rest. Certain scholars believe that God, may He be blessed and exalted, located the garden of Eden and placed it above the earth, at a distance of fifteen cubits, without support. God put Adam there and on the one hand established him as king over the animals and the beasts, which were below him, and on the other hand He placed him beneath the wisdom and knowledge of the immaterial Angels, enjoying the special favour of God, who were above him.

14 In the middle of the paradise God planted the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which He prohibited to Adam, rigorously prescribed to him not to approach it and He gave him the order not to eat of its fruit, to test his obedience thus; and if Adam had persevered in obedience, he would have been worthy to be placed in the order of the angels and to be with them; if he fell into disobedience and error, he would be rejected from paradise altogether, would be driven out and would be with the animals. When Adam had disobeyed his Lord and his Creator and had violated his order, he could not live in the holy and spiritual paradise any more after the error and the violation of the commandment; this was inadmissible in the holy and spiritual paradise. God made him leave the paradise, made him live opposite it in the mountains and did not drive him far, thanks to His leniency to him. This is why David, the prophet, said in the Book of the Psalms about Adam: "The man, who did not understand his honour and the favour of God that was granted to him, was delivered to the animals, driven out to them and became similar to them."

15 Adam and his wife Eve remained sad and afflicted for a hundred years because of their disobedience towards their Lord, and they experienced sorrow every time that they looked at the paradise; they regretted the delights which had escaped them, and they were afflicted at their cohabitation with animals. A hundred years afterwards, Adam knew his wife Eve, and fathered from her Cain; then, after him, Abel (was born). When they had reached the age of thirty, they offered to God their offerings; and God accepted the offering of Abel because of his purity and the kindness of his heart; but God did not accept the offering of Cain, who had in his heart resentment and secret hatred against his brother. He envied his brother because God had preferred his offering to that of Cain. Cain said to Abel, his brother: "Come with us to the fields." They went down from the mountains to the fields, and Cain threw himself on Abel, his brother, and killed him. God was angry against Cain and made him pass all his life in fear. Adam and Eve, his wife, were extremely upset at the violent death of Abel for hundred years more. Adam understood that the misfortune of Abel, his son, was the punishment of his error and his disobedience towards His Lord, because the fathers were to be struck and punished for their own sins in their children; and Adam feared Cain for himself.

16 A hundred years after, Adam and Eve his wife, were comforted for their affliction. Adam knew Eve, his wife, and fathered Seth, who resembled Adam in appearance and features. Seth remained with Adam his father, in the mountains, and Cain lived down in the plain. The seventh descendant of Cain was Lamech the blind man, son of Methuschael, son of Mehuiael, son of Hirad, son of Enoch, son of Cain, son of Adam. Lamech the blind went out one day with a child who led him. Trembling, Cain was in the woods. Lamech the blind man heard him and believing that he was a wild beast of the forest, he took a stone, threw it against Cain and killed him. The child said to him: "What have you done? You have killed Cain!" In an access of pain, sorrow, regret and affliction which invaded him, he struck his hands one against the other, and they hit the head of the child, broke it and killed him. Then he came to his wives, Hada and Scilla, and said to them: "Hear my voice and listen to my word in silence, Hada and Scilla, wives of Lamech! If Cain is punished seven times, Lamech will be seventy-seven times, because he killed a man with a blow of a stone and a child by striking it a blow with his hands."

17 At that time and during this generation lived Nahama, sister of Jubal and TubalCain, descended from Cain. There was nobody in the world more expert than TubalCain at playing the lute, the cymbal and all the string instruments and in all the kinds of entertainments and recreations. He was the first who introduced them into the world, so that thanks to excellence of his playing and the beauty of his voice the wild and savage beasts and the birds gathered near him to hear his voice without attacking each other. Nahama, his sister, was one of the most beautiful women and the prettiest. It was she which first taught how to dye and colour fabrics and used coloured clothing. The children of Cain delivered themselves to recreation and devoted themselves to entertainment, gaity, to excess in delight and passion, without slackening either day or night. The children of Seth, being in the mountains above them, heard their voices.

18 In the fifth generation of the children of Adam, -- it was the 135th year of the birth of Mahalalail, son of Cainan, son of Enos, son of Seth, son of Adam, - Adam died, may God have pity on him, nine hundred and thirty years old. He had lived seven hundred years after the birth of his son Seth. Here is the calculation of this, according to the translation of the Seventy. It is written: Adam lived two hundred and thirty years and fathered Seth; from

the day of the birth of Seth until that of Enos, there were 205 years, which makes 435 years; from the birth of Enos until that of Cainan, son of Enos, there were 190 years, which makes 625 years; from the day when Cainan was born, until the birth of Mahalalail, son of Cainan, there were 170 years, which makes 795 years. After the birth of Mahalalail Adam completed 930 years, which was the duration of his life.

19 According to the Torah, which is in the hands of the Jews, and which they have mutilated by reducing the years of the life of the patriarks before the birth of their children, here is the calculation of the years which are counted in the chronology of the world. The Syriac Torah depends on the Torah (of the Jews), because it was translated from Hebrew after Christianity and the deterioration (of the text). It is written there that Adam lived until the ninth generation of the children of his children, i.e. until the 56th year of the birth of Lamech, son (of Mathusaleh, son) of Enoch, because the Jews reduced by one hundred years the years of Adam and other patriarks before the birth of their children and added them to the years of their life after the birth of their children. Hanan (Annas) and Caiphas, High Priests of the Jews, wanted to refute the advent of the Messiah and said that the time of his advent had not arrived yet. The Jews wrote: Adam lived 130 years and fathered Seth; from the day of the birth of Seth to the birth of Enos 105 years; from the day of the birth of Enos to the birth of Cainan - 90 years; from the day of the birth of Cainan to the birth of Mahalalail - 70 years; from the day of the birth of Mahalalail to the birth of Jared - 65 years;

20 from the day of the birth of Jared to the birth of Enoch - 162 years; from the day of the birth of Enoch to the birth of Mathusaleh - 65 years; from the day of the birth of Mathusaleh to the birth of Lamech - 187 years. If we count in an exact way what we have set forth, the number of the years comes to 874 years to the day of the birth of Lamech. 56 years after the birth of Lamech, father of Noah, who was the ninth generation from Adam, Adam was 930 years old, which is the lifespan of Adam. 21 The beginning of the flood. This is set down, as a proof and an argument for those who have not read nor examined the sacred books, without speaking of others, (and who claim) that the life of Adam did not last until the days of Lamech, father of Noah. After a duration of 1656 years, according to the chronology, Noah, son of Lamech was born. Lamech, his father, prophesied of him, that he would relieve the world of its sins.

22 It is written that the children of Seth, son of Adam, and his descendants, three hundred men, gathered and went down from the holy mountain to the children of Cain in the wicked plain, which had received the blood of Abel, led by the desire to hear their plays and their recreations. The daughters of Cain united themselves with them, and they committed adultery with them. A few days afterwards, when they wanted to go up on to the mountain to their residences and their domiciles, the mountain became a fire in front of them, so that they could not approach it nor go up there because of their sins. Those who were on the mountain, supposing that the delay of their companions was a serious thing, and seeing that they had not gone up home, did not cease going down, one after the other, themselves, their children and their wives, until there was only Noah alone who remained on the mountain; he was then five hundred years old, and he was not yet married. Then God said to Noah that He would send the flood on the earth and would submerge the earth and those upon it. And Noah arose, picked up the body of Adam, father of mankind, went down from the mountain and married. All the descendants of Seth and Cain were devoted to adultery, fell from all the ways of purity and descended in everything to the rank of beasts. The first cause of this, as we have said, were TubalCain and his sister Nahama. The sacred book says on this subject that the sons of the Angels dallied with the daughters of men, meaning by the former the sons of Seth and his descendants.

23 And the word of God and its commandment were in them and with them during their stay in the holy mountains. But after they had dallied with the daughters of Cain and fallen from the ways of purity, God ordered Noah, who was five hundred years old, to make a ship; and God fixed the limit for him and told him of the time of the flood at the end of a hundred and twenty years. On this, Noah married, as we have already told, and fathered three sons, Sem, Cham and Jafeth. And God, may He be blessed and magnified, showed them during these years the rainbow, in the lower part of which there was a cord of fire and some arrows of fire; the cord was tight; all was on fire, with a sword of fire, which permanently shone in the air. That is explained in the Book of the Psalms, where David the prophet said: "His sword shines and his bow is knocked; and the features of war and rage will set ablaze everything."

24 God wanted men to repent and renounce their sins and their errors; but they did not do penitence and did not repent; on the contrary, they fell into all kinds of impiety and all kinds of hypocrisy. They started to kill one another; whoever was stronger than his companion, killed him and ate him to satisfy himself because of the lack of animals and beasts. On these events, God reduced the deadline by twenty years, advanced the date of the flood and fixed it at the end of hundred years. Then Noah was six hundred years old and Sem, his son, one hundred years. God acted thus from his mercy for them, to prevent them being led astray, from sinning, from bloodshed between them and from eating each other. Now before commencing the account of the flood, it is necessary that we return to the narration of the period from the life of Adam and his children until the flood to explain the chronology of the world until this year.

25 It is written in the true Torah, that the Seventy learned translators translated, that Adam lived 230 years and fathered Seth his son in his image and his resemblance. Adam lived after the birth of Seth 700 years and his life having been 930 years, he died in the 5th generation, 135 years after the birth of Mahalalail. As for what relates to the mutilated Torah, that the Jews mutilated after the resurrection of the Lord Christ by reducing the number of the years, it is written there that Adam lived before the birth of Seth 130 years and after the birth of Seth 800 years. The Jews reduced the years of his life, which are counted for one hundred years in the chronology of the world, and added them to the years of his life after the birth of Seth, which do not count in the years of the history of the world. According to the calculation, which the Jews mutilated, Adam died fifty-six years after the birth of Lamech, father of Noah. Seth lived for 205 years, according to the translation of the Seventy, fathered Enos and lived after the birth of Enos for 707 years; his life was 912 years, and he died in the seventh generation, twenty years after the birth of Enoch.

26 As for what is in the mutilated Torah, which is in the hands of the Jews, which was reduced by them and from which the Syriac Torah was transcribed, it is written that Seth lived 105 years, fathered Enos and lived after the birth of Enos for 807 years; they reduced the years of his life by a hundred years, which count in the chronology of the world, and added them to the years of his life after the birth (of Enos); and they did not count them. In the same way they reduced the years of Adam; and they did the same thing

for the others. According to this calculation he died in the ninth generation, 108 years after the birth of Lamech, father of Noah. Afriqoun the scholar (Africanus) says that Seth, son of Adam, was the first to invent letters and taught writing and the Hebraic language. Enos lived for 190 years before the birth of Cainan, and he lived after the birth of Cainan for 715 years; his life having been 905 years, he died in the eighth generation, fifty-three years after the birth of Mathusaleh.

27 As for what we find in the Torah of the Jews, which were reduced by them, and in the Syriac Torah, which was copied from it, it is written there that Enos lived for 90 years and fathered Cainan; having lived after the birth of Cainan 815 years, he died in the tenth generation, 84 years after the birth of Noah. According to what we find in the Torah, translated by the Seventy, Cainan lived for 170 years until the birth of Mahalalail and 734 years after the birth of Mahalalail; his life having been 904 years, he died in the ninth generation, 55 years after the birth of Lamech, father of Noah. Cainan lived, according to what we find in the mutilated Torah, for 70 years and fathered Mahalalail; he lived after the birth of Mahalalail 834 years, and he died in the 10th generation, 173 years after the birth of Noah. Mahalalail lived, according to the true Torah, before the birth of Jared for 165 years and after the birth of Jared 730 years; his life was 895 years, and he died in the tenth generation, 34 years after the birth of Noah. Mahalalail lived, according to the Torah in the hands of the Jews, and the Syriac Torah, for 65 years before the birth of Jared; he lived after the birth of Jared for 830 years, and he died in the tenth generation, 284 years after the birth of Noah. Jared lived for 162 years before the birth of Enoch and 800 years after the birth of Enoch; his life was 962 years, and he died in the tenth generation, 266 years after the birth of Noah.

28 Jared lived for the same number of years according to the mutilated Torah. By this report the version of the Seventy agrees with the mutilated Torah of the Jews. As for the agreement of the years of Jared in the true Torah and the mutilated Torah of the Jews, it is one of the arguments which indicate the corruption and the defect (of the latter text). There is yet another reason for that: if the Jews had reduced (the years) of all the (patriarchs), Adam would have lived almost until the flood and until the 174th year after the birth of Noah. But the Jewish priests did not want a scandal; however they fell into what they sought to avoid, which is seen according to the evid-

ence and testimonies of the books which we will establish and check later, so that the truth of the Torah, translated by the seventy commentators, will be manifest, if God wishes.

29 Forty years after the birth of Jared the first millenium of the history of the world finished, according to the version of the Seventy. This is the explanation and the example of what we have said (of the manner of calculating); that will suffice for he who wants to count every year of the history of the world. We have already said that the years which we count, are those which are before the birth of their children; they count in the general chronology of the world. As for the years that they lived after the birth of their children, it is only (to indicate) the length of the life of each one of them. When we calculated the life of Adam from the day of his creation by God until the birth of Seth, his years were 230 years; this is the beginning of the chronology of the history of the world; then we added to this the number of the years of Seth from the day of his birth until he fathered Enos, which makes 205 years; the total is 435 years; then we added to this the number of the years of Enos from his birth until he fathered Cainan, which makes 190 years; the total is 625 years; then we added to this the number of the years of Cainan from the day of his birth until he fathered Mahalalail, which makes 170 years; the total is 795 years; then we added to this the number of the years of Mahalalail from the day of his birth until he fathered Jared, which makes 165 years; the total is 960 years. If we add 40 years to this from the birth of Jared, the first thousand of the years of the history of the world is complete.

30 With this calculation we will obtain the millenia of years of the history of the world in the time of their expiration, as we explained and described, until our days and our time, year after year and month after month, God willing. Specialists and educated men will understand from this example, how the years of the history of the world are calculated from the beginning of creation. Enoch lived, according to the true version, for 165 years until he fathered Mathusaleh, and he lived 200 years from the birth of Mathusaleh, so that his years are 365 years. All his life, he had requested God humbly to be transported to Paradise, and God granted his prayer, accepted his appeal and transported him to Paradise, 200 years after the birth of Mathusaleh and thirteen years after the birth of Lamech. As for what is in the mutilated Torah, which is in the hands of the Jews, and in the Syriac Torah, which is a

copy of it, it is written there that Enoch lived 65 years and fathered Mathusaleh; and he lived after the birth of Mathusaleh 300 years; and God transported him to paradise, 300 years after the birth of Mathusaleh and 113 years after the birth of Lamech, father of Noah. Enoch is the same person as Idris.

31 Certain scholars also affirm that Enoch — i.e. Idris — made known, explained and taught the arts of writing, letters, stars (astronomy) and calculation. Manetho, a scholar of Egypt and an astronomer, affirms that God raised Enoch to the revolving sphere and made known to him the signs of the zodiac, which are there, the fixed and wandering stars, horoscopes, the terms of the influence of the stars, the decades of the degrees, the constellations which are there, and the other mysteries of astrology. This is why it is said that his book of stars is called a book of hidden meanings. All the Harranians, who worship the idols and the stars, share the opinion of Manetho the Egyptian. Mathusaleh lived for 187 years and fathered Lamech, father of Noah; and he lived after the birth of Lamech for 782 years, his life having been 969 years. This is what is written in the Torah, which is in the hands of the Jews, and in the Syriac Torah. This also indicates, as we have said, their corruption and retrenchment of the years, that we have reported.

32 Mathusaleh died in the tenth generation, 600 years after the birth of Noah, in the year when the flood took place. Lamech lived for 182 years and fathered Noah; and he lived after the birth of Noah for 590 years, his life having been 777 years. On this point, i.e. on the years of Lamech, the mutilated Torah of the Jews agrees with what is in the Torah translated by the Seventy, with complete agreement, without any difference. Lamech died 595 years after the birth of Noah, and the death of Lamech took place five years before the death of Mathusaleh, his father. Noah lived for five hundred years and fathered Sem, Cham and Jafeth in the 600 year after the birth of Noah. Sem, his son, being one hundred years old, the flood spread over all the earth. Noah entered the ark with his three sons, Sem, Cham and Jafeth, the three wives of his sons and his wife, on Friday the 17th day of the second lunar month. God made it rain from the sky over all the earth for forty days. The springs of the earth overflowed, and the earth was submerged with all that there was on it, men, animals, beasts, and birds. Their exit took place on Sunday the 27th day of the second month of the following year after 366 days; they remained in the ark (366 days), because the year was a leap year. Certain scholars say that they would have eaten nothing there, neither they,

nor those who were with them, the animals, beasts and the birds, throughout their whole stay in this ark.

33 The length of the ark was three hundred cubits, its width fifty cubits and its height thirty cubits; the ark had three levels. Josephus the Jew, the scholar, who wrote about the destruction of Jerusalem after the Ascension of the Messiah Our Lord, affirms that the planks of the ark were in the town of Afamea. Abidenos and Alexander (Polyhistor), Greek philosophers, affirm that Kronos was the first man; he showed and revealed to Ksis that on the 15 of the month of Haziran a great inundation and flood would take place. When Ksis understood what he was being told, he left, moving by water towards the region of Armenia in a wooden boat. They claim that some planks of this boat are on the mountain of Ararat, and that they cure the inhabitants of this country until this day. As for the place where the ark stopped, this account agrees with that of the Torah. 344 years after the birth of Noah the second thousand of years of the history of the world was completed.

34 We have already said that the total of years to the birth of Jared was 900 years; if we add to this the years from the day of the birth of Jared until the birth of Enoch, that makes 162 years; - if we add to this also the years of Enoch, from the day of his birth until he fathered Mathusaleh, that makes 165 years; --- if we add to this then the years of Mathusaleh, from the day of his birth until he fathered Lamech, that makes 187 years; --- if we add to this then the years of Lamech, from the day of his birth until he fathered Noah, that makes 182 years, --- years until the day when Noah was born, making 1,656 years. 344 years after the birth of Noah the second millenium completed, as we have already reported. The total number of years of the history of the world from Adam and the beginning of creation until the year of the flood is 2,256 years, according to the Septuagint. As for what is in the Torah mutilated and reduced by the Jews and in the Syriac Torah, the total of years there is 1,656 years.

35 As for those which would like to make the sum and count of these figures, according to what we explained and exposed, we have given him the method to make the account and calculation of it. There were ten generations from Adam to Noah: They are those of Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalalail, Jared, Enoch, Mathusaleh, Lamech and Noah. When Noah had left the ark, he made sacrifices to God, and the Lord smelled the good odour of the sacrifices of Noah and purified him. The rainbow. God gave him the

rainbow as a guarantee against the flood and as His sign to him and his descendants in the centuries of the centuries. God filled the children of Adam with his leniency and his mercy. He gave them the ark, the cord and the arrows; and God made them from various colours, red, green and others, which indicate the satisfaction of God, because the translation of "chumreh" (red) and "khaudreh" (green) according to the Hebrew is the satisfaction and the mercy of God. God did this as His sign to him and to his children and as a guarantee against the flood in the centuries of the centuries.

36 The division of the earth. After the flood, the earth was divided between the tribes of the children of Noah. The borders of Shem, the firstborn of Noah, extended from Persia and Bactria to India, i.e. the country of India. The borders of Cham extended from the Rinokûrûra country in Gades; the borders of Jafeth extended from Media which is the country of Mosul and the neighbouring region, to the country of Gades, on the north side. Their border, which separated their lands, was the river of the Tigris which separates Media from Persia. There were fifteen tribes of the children of Jafeth, twenty-five tribes of the children of Shem and thirty-two tribes of the children of Cham, which gives a total of 72 tribes. The limits which separated the land of the sons of Cham, were the Djaihoun river, which is the river Nile. We will explain all this, with the distribution of the seven climates following the division of languages and we will describe their inhabitants, their uses, their religious opinions, their concerns, their science and the culture of their spirit; we will speak about their animals, their birds, the lifespan of their population, their manners and the wonders which can be found in their land, after the confusion and the division of the languages in Babel; we will mention the seas of each climate, their gulfs, their length and of their width in parasangs, of the point where they start and to where they extend, which islands, inhabited and uninhabited, are there; we will describe the famous cities of each climate, if God wills.

37 Noah lived after the flood for 350 years, and his life having been 950 years, he died in the fourteenth generation, 74 years after the birth of Scaleh. According the Torah of the Jews and the Syriac Torah, which the Jews mutilated after the Ascension of the Messiah, Noah died in the 21st generation, 53 years after the birth of Abraham, the friend of the Merciful one. This is a proof of the alteration of the Torah by the Jews and the reduction of the number of the years, as we have already reported. But Noah did not arrive at

the time of the birth of Abraham and did not live until the time of the division of the languages. Two years after the flood, Shem fathered Arphaxad and lived for 500 years after the birth of Arphaxad; his life was 660 years. On this point the version of the Seventy is in agreement with what is in the Torah of the Jews. Shem died 74 years after the birth of Haber. According to what is in the mutilated and reduced Torah Jews, Shem died 70 years after the birth of Jacob. Arphaxad, sons of Shem, lived from the day of his birth until he fathered Kainan, 135 years, and after that 430 years; his life was 565 years, and he died 27 years after the birth of Phaleg. According to the Torah of the Jews, Arphaxad lived, until he fathered Kainan, for 35 years, and having lived after that 530 years, he died one year after the birth of Kahath, son of Levi, son of Jacob.

38 According to this calculation, he lived, until he fathered Kainan, 35 years, and having lived after that 530 years, he died one year after the birth of Kahath, son of Levi, son of Jacob. According to this calculation he lived until the entry of Jacob in Egypt, which proves the deterioration (of the text). Kainan lived 130 years, until he fathered Scaleh, and 330 years after the birth of Scaleh; his life was 460 years, and he died 66 years after the birth of Phaleg. This is a second Kainan, the son of Arphaxad, son of Shem, son of Noah; neither his name, nor a mention of him, nor his years are found in the Torah which is in the hands of the Jews; he is not either question of Kainan in the Syriac Torah; his name and years are cut out in the Torah of the Jews. In the Syriac Torah it is written that several Jewish doctors and some honest people stood up to Annas and Caiphas, high priests at that time, blamed them and reproached them for what they had done to the Messiah, and made them fear for themselves because of their arrogance towards him, though they had recognized his grace and his benefits for them.

39 The frightened high priests hid from them; and the treasures of the revealed books of God being in their hands, they omitted these years of which we already spoke and which we will explain later, if great God wills. When they had found the name of this second Kainan among the descent of Noah, whose name was identical with that of Kainan, son of Enos, son of Seth, son of Adam, they cut out his name from the Torah; and they cut out his years, with other years still, to make their followers believe that they were in the middle of the duration of the world, in order to refute the word of the blessed Paul who said that the last days have arrived; as well as the word of

the disciples of the Messiah, who were after them, that the Messiah will appear at the end of time. They talked among themselves against them on this subject and said aloud that the time of the Messiah had not arrived and that it would arrive only at the end of time.

40 When the argument and the controversy had started between them, the disciples (of Christ) discovered the clear and obvious truth, noted it and forced them to acknowledge that they had cut out the name of this Kainan. After that they gave a reason to those who believed in the Messiah, and said to them that they had cut out his name because he had invented, had proclaimed and introduced the worship of idols. Then it was said to them: "Alright, you have cut out his name. But his years, where did you put them?" And they remained stuck and without arguments. We have found the name of this second Kainan written in the Torah which is in the hands of the Samaritans, and also in the Gospel of Luke the Evangelist, when he gives the genealogy of the Messiah. Scaleh lived 130 years and fathered Haber, and he lived after the birth of Haber 330 years. It is said that Haber is the same person as Hud. His life having been 460 years, he died in the seventeenth generation, 66 years after the birth of Ar`û (Rahu). As for what is in the mutilated Torah of the Jews and that which is extracted from it, it is written there that Scaleh lived 30 years and fathered Haber; having lived after the birth of Haber 430 years, he died in the 23rd generation, 65 years after the birth of Jacob. Haber lived 134 years until he fathered Phaleg; he lived after the birth of Phaleg 270 years; his life having been 464 years, he died in the 18th generation, 8 years after the birth of Sarûg.

41 According to the Torah of the Jews and the Syriac, Haber lived 430 years until he fathered Phaleg; he lived after the birth of Phaleg 370 years and he died in the 23rd generation, 39 years after the birth of Jacob. From the name 'Haber' the Jews were called Hebrews, because the first language was Hebrew. Others say that they were called Hebrews, because Abraham had crossed the Euphrates. Phaleg lived 130 years, fathered Ar`û and lived after that 280 years; his life having been 338 years, he died in the 18th generation, 76 years after the birth of Sarûg. According to the Torah of the Jews, Phaleg lived 30 years until he fathered Ar`û; having lived after that 368 years, he died in the 22nd generation, 37 years after the birth of Isaac. He died 62 years before the death of Haber, his son. At the time of Phaleg, son of Haber, and from his time, the languages, the people and the tribes divided among

the seven climates of the earth, as we reported above. Each of their tribes and groups took a country and a climate, of which it was master.

42 Account of the division of languages on the surface of the earth in all the climates. It is written that the earth had only one race and one language for everyone; this was Hebrew. Because of this, men gathered to build a high building and a castle, i.e. a tower, whose the top, as they believed, would reach to the sky, to take refuge there so that the flood would not arrive and drown them or that they would not be dispersed over the surface of the earth. The division of languages. When men revolted against their Lord and turned with eagerness to build the tower, -- there were seventy-two chiefs on seventy-two towers in this building, on each tower a chief to make his companions work -- God, may his name be blessed, during their disobedience, their wrongdoing and their revolt against their Lord, showed to them seventy-two tongues of fire in the air, revolving and of various colors to warn them, so that they would be converted (to God). But they did not convert and did not cease revolting.

43 Then God was angry against them, because they had not obeyed the signs of his dissatisfaction and his anger. The sacred Book said that the Lord then divided their language into seventy-two languages, so that one did not understand the language and the words of another, according to the number of their tribes, coming from the children of Shem, Cham and Jafeth, about which we spoke, and according to the number of their chiefs who supervised the construction of the tower. According to this account, this country was called Babel, because the Lord there had confused and divided their languages. As for Haber, he remained firm in obedience to his Lord, did not share in their wrongdoing, did not have any leaning to their passions and their perverse thoughts, thanks to his holiness, because he knew that God could do with them what he wished. A certain scholar has said that God revealed to him, because of the more perfect knowledge that he had of God because of his holiness and his purity, what He would do to men, and for language, He taught the Hebraic language to him. Men dispersed over all the earth, and their attacks, one against another were renewed.

44 The beginning of the description of the climates. We said at the beginning what we have reported earlier and wrote on the limits of the countries of the tribes of the children of Shem, Chain and Jafeth, son of Noah; we set forth how the earth had been divided in general between them, without in-

dicating the limits of the climates, without describing who was where, without explanation and comment. We will now begin by telling and setting forth the division of the seven climates, cultivated and inhabited, and the delimitation of their length and their width; we will describe the state of the tribes and the peoples which inhabit them; we will report their habits, their administration, their conditions, their distinctive characters, the principal events which have occurred on there since ancient times and since their dispersion; we will speak about the animals and all the wild beasts which are there, climate by climate, according to what Ptolemy the scholar said and after him Eratosthenes (?) the scholar.

45 We say that the earth is divided into five parts, of which four are not cultivated, nor habitable. The first part is that of the east, always hot, blazing and extreme; the second part is that of the south, located on the right side of the first climate, excessively hot, so that it is impossible to live there; the third part is that of the west, full of water; its limits are insuperable seas and uninhabited islands; the fourth part is that of North, on the right side of the seventh climate, excessively cold, poor and arid, always covered with snow. There is only one part of these five climates which is cultivated in the inhabitable world, it is the middle part. It is divided into seven parts and these seven parts are called in Greek Flimata, i.e. the climates, and in Persan Kouschour. It is necessary firstly to know that the earth is round like a ball; its cultivated and inhabited centre represents an elevation; its sides touch the four parts which are located below; because of its elevation the centre is closer to the course of the sun in the Eastern part of the earth, i.e. the area of the "scorched" earth. As a man moves and advances mentally and intellectually from the northern area towards the extreme limits of the earth and examines it attentively, he finds that the increase in the length of the day is related directly to the rise of the sun over the northern part of the twelve signs of the zodiac in the sign of Cancer, and the increase of the length of the night to the descent of the sun into the Zodiac in the south; he will perceive this by his intelligence and will understand it.

46 (This part that we are describing) is extremely cold. The explanation of what we reported the length of the duration of the night and the day in these places, is found in the astrolabe, i.e. in the "dial" that Ptolemy made, in "the beydeh" (egg), in the “zat al-Halk” and also in the Book of the Canon, where he tells and describes the length and the width of the earth, the seas,

the islands, the cities and the knowledge of the hours of the seven climates. Ptolemy reports in his books what follows and he said: "The first climate starts close to the scorched earth, and this climate is called diameros; it is the area of India and the part furthest away from China; the longest day is thirteen hours there. The second climate is called in Greek diastatos which is the country of Kush; it is the country of Abyssinia; the longest day is thirteen hours and half there.

47 The third climate is called the climate of Alexandria; the longest day is fourteen hours there. The fourth climate is called in Greek Rodous (Rhodes), the island which is in the sea; it includes the towns of Syria and Mesopotamia, which is located between two rivers; it includes Babel and other cities; the longest day is fourteen hours and half there. The fifth climate is called in Greek Hellespontus (Pontus), where Constantinople, Amouryah (Amorion) and Rome are; the longest day is fifteen hours there. The sixth climate is called in Greek Mesopotamia, where the countries of the Bourdjans and others are; the longest day is fifteen hours and half there. The seventh climate is called in Greek Baristhanis (Boristhenes), whose inhabitants are always somnolent; the longest day is sixteen hours. Now we will start to describe the longitude and the latitude of each of these climates. We say that the latitude of these seven climates, cultivated and inhabited, which are in the centre of the earth, starting with India and the part furthest away from China and the area of the scorched earth and going until the end of the seventh climate, i.e. of the area from the south to north; the whole latitude is of sixty-three degrees.

48 This latitude is divided into seven parts which are the climates; the latitude of each climate is nine degrees, as divided by the scholar Hermes and by Ptolemy. The extent of these nine degrees is twenty-seven days, because the extent of each degree is one hundred miles. There is obviously no doubt that the extent of each degree is a distance of three days. This climate begins in the region of the East and extends to the end of the region of the West; its longitude is 180 degrees, a half of the sphere being above it and other half below. Its overall length, from the area of the Sea-Ocean to the sea which surrounds the world, up to its Western point, is 160 days, a total of 5,600 parasangs, according to the calculation of the Persians and the peoples of the East. We already said that the latitude of this first climate, from the area

close to the scorched earth, extends to the land of Serendib (Taprobane, Ceylon).

49 The inhabitants of this climate, i.e. from the part of China furthest away from the edge of the land of the East to the edge of the region of the West, have one characteristic: they are naked like animals, of hideous and ugly exterior aspect and form. The majority of them derive from the tribes of the children of Cham. They had many mysteries and knew magic and other things well; their life is long. In this climate are found beasts and large animals with dreadful bodies, of hideous aspect, of extremely ugly form, large birds of which some have the shapes of animals, for example, the ostrich, the giraffe, the griffon and a bird which is called the sparrow of the elephant, which throws itself on the great elephant and carries it off; there are found large elephants and other animals which are not seen and about which are not spoken of elsewhere. Also there are found there every species of large snake, large dragons, ordinary snakes and hideous and dreaded reptiles.

50 In this climate the men are experts in magic and know aromatic plants and stones, whose quality and nature make of them effective remedies for the cure of the diseases; they treat with these all those who suffer from the bite of these hideous and dreaded reptiles, and cure them. Its length, as we have already recounted, is, from the region of the East to the region of the West, 5,600 parasangs, and its width, from the region of the South to the region of the North, is 285 parasangs. The second climate is that of Abyssinia. Its width extends from the limits of the land of Serendib to the Western region of the country of Abyssinia and to the mountains of emerald, precious stones and the gold mines; its inhabitants are those of the nearer part of China, Sind and India. In this climate are also found animals, birds and reptiles which are robust, dreaded and large, but less so than in the first climate; the aspect of its inhabitants, their form and their exterior, is not quite so hideous as among the inhabitants of the first climate. Many aromatic plants and stones are also found there which, thanks to their quality and their nature, produce a cure, if diseases are treated with them. Among its inhabitants, there are many who know magic, the mysteries and the treatment of the diseases with these plants and stones very well; but they are less expert than the inhabitants of the first climate. It is the same thing concerning their life (= their life is shorter). As for its length and its width, they are the same as the ones we gave for the first climate.

51 The third climate is that of Alexandria. This climate extends from the ends of the country of Egypt, of the region of the West and the East, from the borders of the land of Sindous of bysse; and its width goes from the region of the West to the borders of Syria (Souriya) external and the first part of Persia, close to the country of Ispahan, of Ray and the country of Maisan and to the border of Alexandria and Barkah and the first part of Africa. The inhabitants of this climate, I swear by my life, are interested in nature and in examining physical things; they are assiduous at work; they study literature, the sacred books and the sciences with more zeal than the inhabitants of the first climate or those of the second, because this climate is by nature better than the two precedents. As for its length and its width, they are same dimensions that we gave in connection with the length and the width of the first climate.

52 The fourth climate in the centre of which is a maritime island which is called Rhodes, includes many cities which it is impossible to count. But we will list some of them so as to clarify and explain the charts and the plans where the system of the division of the seven climates is traced. Of its cities we will name Damascus, Hims, Qinnesrin Haleb, Menbidj, Afainée, Antioch (Anthakyah), Harran, Edessa (ar-Roha), Rakkah, Râs`Ain, Nisibis, Mosul, Baghdad and Ray. Its limits extend from its eastern end on a line which goes to the region of the west; and from the country of Spain they touch part of the country of Africa, the north coast in Sicily, the country of Laodicea and Tripoli the country of Athens and Ephesus, in the Greek country with Cyprus and Asia Minor. This climate is in the centre of the earth, and, for this reason, it is superior to all the climates by the moderation and the evenness of the temperature. This is why its inhabitants are scholars, philosophers, scholars, astronomers, writers, doctors, and carry out research on the physical and natural questions and on the essence of things.

53 The books indicate that among them all the wonders and the ten sciences are joined together, i.e. astronomy, or the movement of stars, and astrology, i.e. the proverbs which relate to them, and their knowledge; geometry, i.e. the measurement of surfaces, the construction of figures, the operations of levelling and unspecified distances; arithmetic, or books of numbers; music, i.e. the collection and composition of melodies; medicine, which is the art of treatment; al-Soumie (= ta semeia), this is the science of alchemy; mechanics, these are books on machines, and al-Arkhifie (?) from

which come the books of magic and the other similar things; the tenth science is that of the categories; these are the treatises on the way of speaking, which is the art of learning the truth and distinguishing it from error. The inhabitants of this climate are superior to those in the third climate and have more scholars and philosophers, because they are characterized by fineness of spirit and knowledge because of the balance of their character. As for its length and its width, they are what we already indicated.

54 The fifth climate corresponds to the Hellespont where are Constantinople, Amorion, Rome, Spain and the province of Thrace. The inhabitants are a fair, reddish people, passionate, extremely lustful, fiery and irritable. Such was Esau, their father. They are less erudite and less philosophical that the inhabitants of the fourth climate; they are wild and are not civilized, but they hasten to adopt civilization and adapt to it quickly; however the inhabitants of the fourth climate have a finer spirit and a clearer intelligence than those of this climate. As for its length and its width, it is as we have already given. 55 The sixth climate corresponds to Mesopotamia, one of the islands of the sea. The inhabitants of this climate are Bourdjans and Slaves; and other tribes of women live also in a region of this climate, and the men do not live with them. They are called in Greek Amazons; they always cut off the right breast and cauterize it with fire to prevent it from developing in order to be ready for war and combat. They are also called al-Kharouniat (?) because the Samiris fought them and killed all their male children. They are obliged because of this not to raise the males, but only the women. They go out and go once a year to the border of their country, to the country of Bourdjans, where the men of Bourdjans sleep with them, and they conceive; then they return to their residences. They are always ready for war and combat. No scientist puts this fact in doubt or denies the truth of their history such as we report, and nobody disputes it. The inhabitants of this climate like war and the effusion of blood and are pitiless; this is why they are called Slaves. They are circumcised. This is a people with no knowledge of moral books, nor sciences, nor other things. As for its length and its width, it is as we already reported.

56 The seventh known climate corresponds to Borysthenes; it is inhabited by the people who are called in Greek Youmid.s (? ) i.e. "somnolent"; they are a weak and feeble people because of the excessive rigour of the cold, because they are close to the region of the north and the uncultivated and uninhab-

ited places, where the constellation of the Bear turns always just above their heads. The animals and the beasts of their country are very small; the cows and the sheep do not have horns because of the excessive rigour of the cold; no reptiles are found in their country; they cannot build houses; but they manufacture huts of wooden boards, coat them with tar, put them on carriages pulled by oxen; they live there, and travel day and night everywhere where they find in their country the means of living and the pastures for their herds. They are constantly reduced to misery because of the bad conditions of their deplorable life. It is said that, if they fall seriously ill, they put their patients on a carriage, remove their men's clothes and put those of woman on them; they are thus cured. As for the length and the width of this climate, it is as what we have reported for each of the seven climates. The indications which we have given on the seven climates, rest on obvious evidence for he who finds them, using our description, on the plan or the chart on which we have traced where these seven climates are represented.

57 Now look and examine well this chart and this map where the seven climates are traced, and see how many ideas this plan shows you, how it shows and explains the course of the sun in the four regions of the world from the beginning of its course and its rotation from east to west, - how it makes known you its rotation through the twelve signs of the zodiac, in every month of the year, - how the sun rises in the northern signs of the zodiac and sets in the southern signs of the zodiac; (this map) will explain to you the passage of the sun during the night in the regions lower down and located at the bottom; and from how many climates the sun is distant, when it is in the sign of Cancer, in the month of Haziran (June), and leaves behind him a climate and half in the region of the south, and when the sun enters the sign of the Capricorn, in the month of first Kanoun. Moreover, on the map there are explanations and information on this fact that the sun, entering there, leaves (without light) all the seven climates far from him.

58 Here is the description of the climates of the tribes of the children of Noah after the division of languages over the surface of the earth and over the whole length of these climates, from the west to the east, or over the width of the region, from south to north. As for what remains beyond the sixty-three degrees of latitude, which is called the top of the seven climates, day does not cease there, and lasts in the region of the north beyond the inhabited earth for twenty one hours and twenty two minutes and arrives at

twenty-four hours, so that daylight does not cease Then one arrives at the country of darkness: the night lasts six months, the day there also six months.

*Chapter of the seas, gulfs and islands.*

59 The sea of India has been measured and it is said that it extends in its length from west to east, i.e. from the coast of India until the coast of Abyssinia; its length is 8,000 miles and its width is 2,700 miles, until it passes beyond the island where night is equal to day; its second part is 1,900 miles; this sea contains a gulf in the country of Abyssinia, which extends from the region of Berber and is called the gulf of the Berbers; its length is 500 miles and the length of the coast is 100 miles. The other gulf is that on the coast of Aylah; its length is 1,400 miles and its width at the beginning is 700 miles, and its end, i.e. the part which is called the Red Sea, is 200 miles. This sea contains also on the coast of Persia a gulf which is called the Persian Gulf; its length is 1,400 miles, its width at the beginning is 500 miles and its end is 150 miles. Between these two gulfs is the country of Hedjaz and Yemen; the distance between the gulf of Aylah and the Persian Gulf is 1,500 miles. This sea contains still another gulf, extending to the end of the country of India, which is called the Green gulf; its length is of 1,500 miles.

60 Among the 1,370 islands, inhabited and uninhabited, at the end of the sea, near the country of India, on the east coast, there is a large island which is called Taprobane, 3,000 miles of circumference; there are there high mountains and several rivers from where the red and blue hyacinth are found; around this island there are 90 inhabited islands where many cities are found. As for the Green Sea, only its proximity to the region of the west and the north, at the edges of the country of Abyssinia as far as Britain, is known; ships do not go there. Six islands are found there, located near the country of Abyssinia, which are called the Eternal Islands (Khalidâth, the Canaries). There is another island, which is called Ghadyra (Cadiz); this island is located near Spain, close to the strait which comes out of the other sea. Its width is four miles; it is located between Spain and Tangier; it is called the strait of Ceuta and emerges in the sea of Roum. On the north side of this sea are twelve islands, which are called the Islands of Britain. Then this sea extends away from the inhabited regions and nobody knows anything about it.

61 The sea of Roum and of Misr (the Mediterranean) extends from the strait which leaves the Green Sea, towards the East, to Tyre and Sidon; its length is 5,000 miles and its width is about 800 miles. It forms a gulf moving north near Rome, of which the length is 500 miles and which is called the Adriatic Sea; it forms another gulf which starts near the country of the Berbers, of which the length is 200 miles. In this sea there are 162 inhabited islands, including fifteen large islands: Anhàr (Corsica?) 200 miles in circumference, Sardinia 300 miles in circumference, Sicily 500 miles in circumference, Crete 300 miles in circumference and Cyprus 350 miles in circumference. The sea of Pontus extends from Lazikah to beyond Constantinople; its length is 1,300 miles and its width 300 miles. It receives the river called Tanais; it runs from the north and comes out of the lake called Mayotis; it is a large sea, but it is called a lake; its length from east to west is 300 miles and its width is 100 miles. At Constantinople, this sea forms a strait which runs like a river and throws itself into the sea of Misr; its width at Constantinople is three miles; Constantinople is built on its sides.

62 The division of the earth. The sea of Djordjan or the sea al-Bab (Caspian Sea). The length of this sea, from east to west, is 800 miles and its width is 600 miles; it contains two islands, located near Djordjan, which were once inhabited. Such is the topography of the inhabited earth and the situation of the seas of the sphere which are known. The earth is also divided, in another way, into three parts. The first part is that which lies between the Green sea on the north coast and the strait which leaves the sea of Pontus in the great Sea, and that which lies between the Lake Mayotis and the sea of Pontus. The limits of this region are, on the west and north, the Green sea; on the south, the Sea of Roum (the Mediterranean) and of Misr (Egypt); on the east, the strait, the Tanaïs river and Lake Mayotis. This land resembles an island and is named Europe.

63 The second part extends from the south coast of the sea to the sea of Abyssinia. Its limits are, on the west side, the Green sea; on the north side, the sea of Roum and Misr; on the east side, al-`Arysch, and on the south side, the border of Abyssinia. This part is named Libya. The third part is what remains of the inhabited country of the earth as far as the ends of the East. Its limits are, on the west side, the Tanais river, al-`Arysch and Aylah; on the south side, the sea of India and Yemen; on the east side, it extends until the end of the inhabited country of China. This part is named Great Asia. These

three parts include the seven climates, all inhabited countries and all the cities. As for the earth, its length, according to the description that we have just given, extends from the east to the west and its width from south to north, starting from the middle of the circumference of the earth, where night and day, summer and winter are equal [in length], to the region of the north. In this place the days and the nights are twelve hours, without increase, or decrease.

64 Note on the rising and setting of the sun, on the increase and decrease in the day and night and on the course of the stars. 65 Night and the day are equal [in length] when the sun enters the head of the Ram [=Aries] and Libra; then, starting from the entry of the sun into the sign of the Ram to the entry of the sun into the sign of Cancer, the day does not cease increasing and the night decreasing, because the sun goes up towards the region of the north twenty-three degrees and fifty- one minutes; then the sun, from the moment of its entry into the head of Cancer until the first minute of Libra, goes down from the region of the north twenty-three degrees and fifty-one minutes. Then the day starts to increase and the night to decrease until the entry of the sun into Libra, until the night and the day become equal. Then the sun goes down into the region of the south, from the head of Libra until that of the Capricorn; these are the degrees about which we spoke, --- twenty-three degrees and fifty-one minutes. Then it is the day which starts to decrease and the night to increase until the sun arrives in the first minute of Capricorn. Then the sun is driven while going up and climbs from the south towards the equator, from the head of Capricorn to the head of the Ram. At this time the day starts to increase and the night to decrease;

66 the sun, as we said, is inclined in its rise and descent by twenty-three degrees and fifty-one minutes, because the sun crosses the centre of the Zodiac, on the right and on the left. As for the variation of the sun that we see, it occurs in front of the curvature of the Zodiac. The sun, the moon, the stars and the five planets move from west to east in a contrary direction to the rotation of the sphere, because the sphere turns from east to west. The sun moves as much below the earth, as above it; there is always above the earth the figure of the Zodiac and below it also the figure of the Zodiac; when one appears, the other disappears. 67 As for the remainder of the earth, it is unknown whether it is inhabited or deserted; it includes the eleven twelfths of the sphere; there is only one part out of twelve which is inhabited. In this

part, which is the inhabited country, there are seas and deserts. The researcher who wants to give an account of these things, will perhaps ask us whether there is in these eleven parts, vegetation, animals, or seas, as in our own single part; we will answer: the land which was inhabited before us, does not exceed the limits about which we spoke; as for what is beyond that, nobody has entered there and nobody came from there to us. The opinions and the ideas of the scholars are in agreement, and no intelligent person denies that the sun, the moon and the stars move over us, and that this movement produces the summer, the winter, spring and the autumn, which everyone knows. If the sun rises above all the places of the surface of the earth, as with us, just as the moon and stars, it is necessary that there are plants, animals, seas and mountains, as with us.

68 Here are some reasons why, as follows: if, in the seven climates, the sun, the moon and the stars move, as we said, it is also necessary that the earth as we described, is inhabited starting from the equator, i.e. the northern half of the terrestrial sphere and (the other) half of the terrestrial sphere, i.e. starting from the equator on the south side; there must be also a climate, like these seven climates which are in the north. In addition to the division that we have just given, the ancients divided the earth, its countries and its cities into twelve parts and allotted each part to one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, so that these countries and cities knew their relation to the signs of the zodiac and planets to which the ancients had allotted them; they thought thus to know of either abundance or famine in their countries by calculating the movement of the years, and from the signs of the zodiac which dominate the year, and from the stars. According to this idea one may form an opinion on the area and the country where (such a sign) dominates, according to the knowledge of the scholars, so far as that depends on external and interior qualities of the celestial sphere and that which it contains.

69 Chapter of the countries and the cities of the earth, named according to the signs of the zodiac. The countries of the Ram [=Aries] are: Fars, Azerbaijan, Britain, Sicily, Germany, Palestine and part of el-Balka. The sign of the Bull [=Taurus]: all towns of Mah, Ispahan, the small islands of the sea of Roum, Cyprus, Minor Asia. The sign of Gemini: the countries of Djilan, Deilem, Djordjan, Thabaristan, Greater Armenia, Merv, Tripoli (Athrablous), Marakiah and Misr. The sign of Cancer: the land of the Berbers (Barbary), Africa, Bithynia, which are in the country of the Greeks, Phrygia,

Ladikiyah (?) and Lydia. The sign of the Lion: the countries of the Turks, Abraschahr, Antioch (Anthakiah), Halikiyah (?), Aetolia (?) Emesa (Homs), Damascus (Dimeschk) and the country around Koufah. The sign of Virgo: Corinth, the country of Babel, of Mosul and al-Djezîreh, the country of the Greeks and Carthage. 70 The sign of Libra: Bukhara, Thabaristan, Kashmir, Tibet, Schoul, Awsis (?), the part of the country of Abyssinia which is called Troglodytica, Sedjestan, Carmania. The sign of Scorpio: the country of Hedjaz, Amoul, Tangier, Hatouliyah, blue Nubia, Souriah (Syria), Cappadocia. The sign of Sagittarius: the country of Ph.lathiki, Andalusia (Spain) and country of the Slavs. The sign of Capricorn: the country of India, al-Sous, Mokrân, Hûah (?), Thrace, Macedonia and Illyria (?). The sign of Aquarius: Sarmatia, the river of Balch, Sogdiania, Ferghânah, as-Schasch, al-Balkah and Azania in the centre of Abyssinia. The sign of Pisces: Babylonia, Paphlagonia, Smûnithis (?), Khorramah, Nikûdhûliah (Nicomedia?) We have already explained the state of the seven climates of the earth and their inhabited country; we have set forth the conditions wherein are their inhabitants and their distribution on the sphere; finally we described the earth which is neither cultivated, nor inhabited, as far as the information found in books of earlier scholars allowed.

71 Now we will return to the account of the history of the world. An account which makes known the true cause of how the worship of the idols entered the world after the division of languages over the surface of the earth. 72 It is written that when the languages of the tribes of the children of Shem, Cham and Jafeth, son of Noah, were divided in all the climates, on the surface of the earth; when they had occupied their areas and when each language, each people and tribe had moved away into an unspecified region of a climate of the earth, as we described, the people began to make war on each other, one against another. Each tribe and each people chose a head of an army, who led their troops and led them into battle, going at their head. It is told that once, when some of the chiefs of the warriors and commanders of the troops returned victorious and triumphing to their companions, their people and their tribe, the people took them as their masters because of their victory and for their chiefs, renowned and famous for their exploits, their wars and their success, they set up idols bearing their names and resembling them, so that these idols recalled the memory of those who had made conquests to their profit and had returned victorious to them. A long time after

this, people started to show veneration towards them and to offer sacrifices to them, initially as a testimony of veneration for them and to remember the victories which they had gained; then when misfortunes occurred, when their enemies, wanting revenge, inflicted on them all kinds of evils and wounds, they came to these idols, beseeching their help. For this reason, in the times that followed, the worship and the veneration of the idols were introduced by the living themselves of the heroes; devils, according to what is written, spoke to the men from the interior of these idols.

73 The total of the years from the time of the flood until the birth of Ar`û, son of Phaleg, which took place at the time of the division of the languages, is 670 years; from Adam and the beginning of the world until that year, there were 2926 years. Here is the explanation of this calculation: Shem fathered Arphaxad two years after the flood; the years of Arphaxad from the day of his birth until that of Kainan, his son, were 135 years; from the day of the birth of Kainan until that of Scaleh, his son, they were139 years; from the day of the birth of Scaleh until that of Haber, his son, they was 130 years; from the day of the birth of Haber until Haber fathered Phaleg, his son, 134 years; from the day of the birth of Phaleg until he fathered Ar`û, 132 years. That gives 670 years. If the years from Adam to the year of the flood, i.e. 2,256 years, are added to it, the total is 2,926 years.

74 This calculation is made using the Septuagint, which translated the Torah and all the books of the prophets in accordance with the truth. As for what we find in the Torah which is in the hands of the Jews, because of the reduction and the mutilation that they made it undergo, and in the Syriac Torah which is copied from it, it is written there that Shem fathered Arphaxad two years after the flood, and from the day of the birth of Arphaxad until he fathered Scaleh, there were 35 years; they omitted Kainan, his son, and, having removed from the Torah his name and his years, they wrote Scaleh, his grandson; from the day of the birth of Scaleh until he fathered Haber, there were 30 years; from the day of the birth of Haber until he fathered Phaleg, 34 years; from the birth of Phaleg until he fathered Ar`û, 30 years. That made 131 years. According to the reduced and mutilated Torah, from Adam to the flood there were 2,656 years and from the flood to the birth of Ar`û, son of Phaleg, at the time which the languages divided, there were 131 years.

75 According to the reduced Torah, from Adam and the origins of the world until this year, there were 2,787 years, so that the Jews reduced the count until that year by 1,139 years. In consequence of the confusion and the division of languages, Phaleg was called (the divider), because the translation of his name in Hebrew and Syriac was "moukassim". Ar`û lived from the day of his birth until he fathered Sarûg for 132 years and after the birth of Sarûg 267 years; he lived for 339 years, and he died 77 years after the birth of Nachor. As for the reduced Torah, it is written there that Ar`û lived for 32 years and fathered Sarûg; he lived after the birth of Sarûg 367 years, and he died 38 years after the birth of Jacob; his death happened before that of Haber, his grandfather. 74 years after the birth of Ar`û the third millenium of the chronology of the world was completed, according to the version of the Seventy, because we already explained and indicated above that the years from Adam and the origin of the world until the year of the birth of Ar' û, son of Phaleg, were 2,926 years; if we add 74 years to this from the birth of Ar' û, the third thousand years will be complete.

76 History of Nimrod, son of Chanaan, son of Cham, son of Noah, son of Lamec, the Giant-King. It is written that in the 84 year after the birth of Ar`û, ten years after the third millennium, there appeared the first king who ruled over all the earth, in Babel, Nimrod, son of Chanaan, son of Cham, the king-giant, who reigned for sixty-nine years; his crown was woven and was not of gold. Nimrod built three cities, Arakh, Adja and Kila, i.e. Edessa (ar-Roha), Nisibis and Seleucia. In the hundredth year of Ar' û the Egyptians, after the Babylonians, gave themselves a king, whose name was Manouphis, who reigned over them for 68 years; he was called Mesraïm according to the name of Mesraïm, their father. It is certain that it is from the name Mesraïm that (Egypt) was called Misr. History of the children of Kahthan, which is called in the Torah Abrithan who made known weapons and engines of war.

77 It is written that at that time the sons of Yokthan appeared, who is the same as Kahthan; they were three chiefs who were giants; one was called Sheba, another Ophir, the third Heval. The sons of Kahthan started to make war against the peoples and tribes with every kind of weapons and implements, because they were the first who used engines of war and who understood them. The first knowledge that they had of them and the first use that they made of them were suggested to them by the example of wild animals. The lance they imitated from the animal called in Greek Monokeraton; it is

the animal which the Persians call and know as Karkadann (rhinoceros), and the Arabs also call it by this name, because it has only one horn which rises in the middle of the head in the shape of a lance, with which it strikes any beast or animal.

78 The sword they made use of in the imitation of the wild boars, which, when they strike a tree with their tooth, cut it and split it in two. The arrow they imitated from the animal which is called the porcupine or douldoul, which, when it draws up one of its hairs, launches it and does not miss the place aimed at. The shield they borrowed from the turtle, whose back was of an extraordinary size. In this way, they invented by imitation all the kinds of weapons about which we spoke. The earth and the countries that each of these three chiefs obtained for themselves, were the Eastern countries on the coast of China and the neighbouring countries; pure gold is found there, hyacinths, emeralds, pearls and all the large trees which exhale perfumes, - for example: the aloe tree, the sandal tree and others, as the Bible reports.

79 The learned Mousous (?) wrote in his book on the nations that the peoples, tired of their battle against the children of Kahthan, and the disorders which resulted from the war and the battles waged against them with every kind of weapons that these people did not know, allowed them to choose the climates which they would prefer, so that they put an end to the war. The children of Kahthan chose this country: everyone needs this country, what is found here and what those who govern it possess, while they do not need anything of what is found in other countries. Sarug lived until he fathered Nachor for 130 years, and, after the birth of Nachor, for 200 years; his life was 330 years, and he died 46 years after the birth of Abraham. According to what we find in the Torah, which is today in the hands of the Jews, in consequence of the reduction that they made to it, and the deterioration (of the text), Sarug lived for 30 years until he fathered Nachor, and 300 years after the birth of Nachor, and died 61 years after the birth of Jacob; he died seventeen years before the death of Ar`û, his father.

80 In the year 21 from the birth of Sarug, there appeared the second king of Babel; he was called Kambiros and he reigned 85 years. In his time currency appeared, i.e. the house to strike dinars and dirhems and the art of making silver and gold ornaments. At that time Amorius was distinguished, of the family of Ophir, a craftsman of iron and copper. In the year forty-six of the reign of Cambiros, king of Babel, this monarch built some cities, of

which the first was great Susa. At that time Kambiros made war on the Chaldaeans and put them to death, as we find in the books and the accounts attributed to Zoroaster (Zaradouscht) the Magus. In year 106 of Sarug, there reigned in Babel the third king, who was called Samiros; the duration of his reign was 72 years; he was the first which had measures made, the balance and weights.

81 The Birth of Abraham. Nachor lived for 79 years, and fathered Tarikh, father of Abraham, and he lived, after the birth of Tarih, for 122 years; his life was 201 years, and he died 47 years after the birth of Abraham. Nachor lived until he fathered Tarih, according to the Torah of the Jews, for 29 years, and 172 years after the birth of Tarih, and he died 22 years after the birth of Isaac, son of Abraham; and his death took place before that of his father and his grandfather. At that time Kisrounis, king of Parthia, made war against Samiros and after having fought him killed him; he tore off the skin of his head and the hair, braided them in four braids, and made a crown for himself from it. Because of that he was called Diokratis, i.e. having two horns (Dou-l-Karnein). This is not the same person as Alexander Dou-l-Karnein, because Alexander was called Dou-l-Karnein because of his passage and his arrival in the East and the West.

82 The first to invent the sciences and astronomy. At that time in Egypt there reigned a king, called Antoutis (Aphintos), for thirty-two years; he was the first to invent books, sciences, astronomy, arithmetic according to the books of Chaldaeans and the Eastern scholars, and introduced them in Egypt; he learned science from sorcery and magic. At that time, Sodom and Gomorrha and also Babylon on the river Nile were built. In year 70 of Nachor Damascus (Dimeschk) was built. Tarikh lived 75 years and fathered Abraham; after the birth of Abraham, he lived 130 years; his life having been 205 years, he died 55 years after the birth of Isaac. This is what is written in the mutilated and truncated Torah of the Jews. The corruption and reduction continue until the years of the date of the birth of Abraham because this space of time, which the majority of men know nothing about, is so distant, the high priests of the Jews reduced the years to the era of the Messiah and after his ascension into Heaven. At that time two high priests of the Jews, Annas and Caiphas, wished to falsify the mission of Christ and to refute the time of his advent, because they were frightened because a great number of their respected and older chiefs recognized the mission of Christ

for them and the authenticity of the miracles among them, when they had seen the resurrection of Christ, as it is written in the Gospel, in which the Christians believed firmly. They talked against them, and a controversy took place between them. Annas and Caiphas, the high priests, made arguments against them and affirmed that the Messiah whom the prophets had prophesied, would come only in the last days; but, they said, we are still in the middle of the days of the world.

83 But the others disagreed with them; then they, having the libraries in their possession, set out to cut off these years from Adam and the beginning from the world until the time of Tarih and from the birth of Abraham; and because of the distance of time and ignorance of the majority of the men, as we already said, they cut off from the history from the world, from Adam to the time of Abraham, 1389 years; when they had arranged it between them, in secrecy, they showed it to their companions and all the men who agreed with them in their desire of the death of the Messiah. They made several copies, which they hid with their right-hand men, so that they would show this version and mislead people with it; they hid the translation of the Torah, translated by the Seventy commentators, with their companions, with the books of the Prophets, which were translated under King Ptolemy Philadelphus in the town of Alexandria; they changed and mutilated in the Books of the Prophets all that they could, of what referred to the prophecies on the Messiah. The acts of the Messiah Our Lord which are in the books of the Seventy, are, on the contrary, faithful and clear. They made this falsification after the Resurrection of Christ, while the translation of the Seventy was completed approximately 300 years before the Advent of Christ.

84 We will tell without ambiguity the history of Ptolemy Philadelphus and the care which he gave to the translation of the sacred books and their explanation, until we arrive at the end, if God so wishes. The beginning of this history goes up at the time of Ptolemy and Alexander Dou-l-Karnein, the greatest king. In this history we will explain the corruption of the Jews and the reduction of the years that they made, if God so wishes. The account of King Alexander Dou-l-Karnein. His empire was divided between his four servants, who had been his bodyguards. The sacred book calls them his servants. One of them was Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Alexandria, about whom we have already said that the Seventy, erudite Jews, translated for him into Greek the Torah and all the Books of the Prophets of Hebrew. It should

not be thought that this account has been anticipated and has been put in a place which was wrong for its date, but it was necessary to mention it above, because the reduction and the corruption of the years affected the date of Tarih and of the birth of Abraham. It was necessary for us to explain and to indicate the reasons and the reasons which caused Ptolemy Philadelphus to be concerned with translation of the sacred books and to desire this, to show exactly to the learned the motives and reasons from which the Jewish High Priests, Annas and Caiphas, applied themselves boldly to the corruption and reduction, and to explain to intelligent people, the learned and to investigators, how they were exposed and how these passages, mutilated and reduced by them, were recognized, when they were studied and examined.

85 One of the important people of Persia, called Darius, had a quarrel with (Alexander) Dou-l-Karnein, who reigned in Egypt for six years. Alexander conquered him and killed him and seized the best part of his kingdom; after that, he gathered many troops and went at their head against various countries, to make war on their kings and to seize their kingdoms; when he arrived at Sind, he seized some of it and was then on the point of invading India and China. Before that, he divided his empire between four of his bodyguards, as I have already mentioned above, and continued the war against the kings of various people until his death. When his death became known to his governors, each of them seized the country where he had been named as lieutenant. One of his governors, Ptolemy, son of Arib (Lagos), reigned over Egypt 40 years; Philip reigned over Macedonia; Antigonus and Demetrius over Syria and the country of Asia. Seleucus, who reigned over the countries of the East, went against Egypt in year 13 of Ptolemy, son of Arib; previously he had conquered Syria. Demetrius went towards Asia and having overcome and killed him, seized Asia, Syria and Babylon, where he reigned 32 years. He wanted to institute for Alexander something memorable which would recall after his death the benefits which he had received from him. On this basis he established the count of years according to his name and fixed the beginning of this era at the first day of the conquest of Syria, year 13 of his reign.

86 From Adam to this year, which is the first year of the reign of Dou-l-Karnein, the years of the history of the world are 5,197 years, which we will explain later, if God so wills. At that time Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned, for whom, as we have already told, the sacred Books were translated; he reigned

over Egypt 38 years. He freed from the captivity the people who were in his kingdom, 130,000, including 30,000 Jews. First of all, there is an allusion to him in the sacred books, where it is written that there was one of the great foreign kings, called Ptolemy Philadelphus. It is reported that he resembled Alexander in his power, and was higher to him in learning, wisdom and philosophy; all his care and all his pleasure tended only to philosophy, reading books, to all sciences and the knowledge of their mysteries; he propagated them, by gathering them from all the countries and all the regions, so that he cultivated them all; these were the sciences about which we spoke: astronomy, astrology, geometry, arithmetic and the others which we mentioned. In his history, it is written that he joined together the works of these sciences, erected the house of Wisdom (library) for them; he cultivated them and knew their laws and their mysteries. It is written that this king Ptolemy, in gathering books, thought with satisfaction of what posterity would say of him.

87 Ptolemy gathered the foreigners of all the people who were prisoners in his kingdom, and counted them, and he found their number was 130,000, including 30,000 Jews; and he proposed to them that they return to their countries. The Jews were extremely content with this, were delighted, addressed many prayers for him and thanked him. The causes of the translation of the Seventy of the old books. 88 Ptolemy said to them: "I give you this favour; but I have to ask you for something which you will do to show your gratitude." They said to him: "O King, what it?" He said to them: "My request is that you bring me, by the messengers who will go with you, some books of wisdom of your country." They agreed to this and made him an oath to do so. Then the Jews said to him: "Among us, O king, are found some rare Hebrew books that no other people have; these are the revealed books, which were sent from Heaven to the prophets, such as regulations, laws, commandments, order and prohibition; (there are found) what is and what must be." Their language on this subject astonished him and he liked their conduct. He provided them lavishly with travel provisions and food as far as their country and gave orders that they should be allowed to pass to their own place, to the place where they were staying, their governors and their chiefs; he sent gifts and clothing with them and wrote to them about his request. Rejoicing (at the news) which had reached them, they went to meet their companions, when the noise of their journey had reached the borders closest

to their country. When they had read the letters of the king, they hastened to agree to his request: they collected the books of the Torah and all the books of the Prophets for him, and sent with them a letter written in Hebrew in letters of gold to him using his messengers; at the same time they wrote a reply to his letter. The Hebrew books arrived, and this was awkward, because he not understand them at all. He sent messengers back to them and let them know, requiring them to send scholars and jurists to him, to translate these books for him into his language; he promised splendid gifts to them.

89 When his letter had arrived and had been read, they hastened to choose (someone) to send to him, in order to obtain what he promised. Discord and argument broke out among them on this subject; finally they agreed to send six people from each of their tribes, their number being of 72 men, who went to him. When they arrived, he received them in a very hospitable way and divided them into thirty-six groups. Their tribes being of differing opinions, he appointed for each group a man who prevented them from meeting, dealt with their business and, once the translation of the books was completed, passed them from one group to another, until the Torah and all the books of the Prophets were entirely finished. He obtained thirty-six copies in Greek, distributed them to all the countries in his empire and sent a certain number of them to Rome, Ephesus and Byzantium. During their stay, thanks to his good relations with them, he learned Hebrew and became more skilful than themselves in the reading of their books.

90 After the end of their labours, he loaded them with gifts and provisions for the voyage, sent them back to their compatriots and sent his messengers with them with gifts for their governors and clothing for their chief Eleazar, the high priest, and their companions; in his letter he praised their work. The scholar translators asked him for one of these copies so that they could impress their compatriots; and Ptolemy granted them one. This was the action of the Providence of God who, in his eternal wisdom (knew) the future acts of Annas and Caiphas, their high priests and chiefs, and their followers, who acted in an iniquitous way against the Messiah at the time of his appearance, his advent and their participation in his death, according to what is written in the Gospel of the Christians. Then the resurrection of Christ happened. Several of them joined him, counting on His kindness and His mercy towards them, because He raised the dead, cured the leprous and

worked miracles, who struck the spirit, disturbed reason, confused intelligence, made real the inexplicable, in support of what was written on this subject in the Books of the Prophets.

91 The Jews revealed what they had changed in the sacred books. Then they revolted against the high priests on the question of Christ, threatened their life, proposed to kill them and attacked them. On this, the high priests changed tactics to escape them and switched their attention to inventing evidence in the question of the Messiah thereby to protect their lives. The libraries were in their hands, as we already mentioned above, so they busied themselves with the Torah with a preconceived intention and observed there that the their own time was very far away from the time of Adam; then they cut off 1389 years from the count of years of Adam and his descent to the birth of Abraham, after cutting off a given number of years from the life of each one (among the patriarchs) of the years before the birth of their children, a hundred years from each, and transferred them to the years of their life after the birth of their children, who are not counted from the beginning of time.

92 They found Kainan, son of Arfaxad, son of Shem, son of Noah, and cut out his name and his years from the book of the Torah. The retrenchment of these years from their place is obvious to anyone who looks at these passages with their own eyes and examines this question according to the Torah; this passage will tell him what they have mutilated and cut out. When they had done this and arranged it in secrecy, they invited a certain number of those who had revolted against them, because of their manner of acting in the question of the Messiah, and proffered the evidence to them claiming that his time had not arrived yet and that his appearance would take place only at the last days of the world; they said: "We are still in the middle of the space of years of the world." Then they added: "May this Torah be between us and you!" and they brought out the book of the Torah, which had been already mutilated by their reduction of these years; with this they threw them into doubt and diverted them. After that they composed separate copies of this Torah, which they gave in secrecy to the people of confidence in their countries and the neighbouring provinces, so that they recited it and supported their arguments in favour of the corruption and the reduction. Even today this Torah is in the hands of all the Christians who use the Syriac language.

93 The true Torah, translated by the Seventy, was not shown to them until the reign of Constantine, son of Helen, the faithful one, who reigned 305 years after the advent of Christ. He went to Jerusalem, and asked for the relics of Christ and the books of the Prophets to choose some and benefit from them. The Jews gave him all the books; and among the books that was given to him was the book of the mutilated Torah. Before that, no discord had broken out among them; but there were some of them who were afraid that the truth about the Messiah and what had happened to him might be discovered. Then these plotted with king Constantine and taught him about the corruption of the Torah which the Jews had given him, and their perfidy towards him on this matter they informed him that the copy, made before them by the Seventy commentators, had been hidden, that there were still (copies) similar to this one in Alexandria, Rome and in the cities which were between them.

94 The emperor sent to the high priests of the Jews, informing them of what had happened. They did not agree and disavowed his information. Then Constantine ordered them to be thrown in prison and sent his messengers to Alexandria, Rome and other cities so that a copy could be brought to him. That happened to the imprisoned high priests, who were in fear of their lives. Then they gave in secrecy this copy to some of their impious chiefs and asked them to inform the emperor Constantine about this business when they had obtained his forgiveness for them. They did so and, a few days after, they gave the copy to him. The emperor ordered the high priests to be set at liberty. The copies from Alexandria, Rome and the other cities arrived, and he compared them and found that they were of one manner and one language only. Then he asked for the mutilated Torah, and he found there clear and obvious alteration, man after man, and their years, century after century, which had been transferred from their early years which count in the chronology of the world, before the birth of their children, to the later years which do not count.

95 Here is the reason that the emperor Constantine asked for the books of the Torah and the Prophets: previously he had asked them what was found in the Book of the prophet Daniel in the way of information and indications of the time of the advent of the Messiah and his death at the end of the seven weeks and of the sixty-two weeks, after the 70 years during which the Israelites had remained in the country of Babel, and on the speech of the

archangel Gabriel to the prophet Daniel on this matter, on his mission, on the command that he gave him to understand his word well, while he was making his speech, on his revelation of the advent of the Messiah and of his death at the end of these weeks, within the limits that archangel Gabriel fixed for the prophet Daniel in the discourse which he addressed to him, and on the exit of the Israelites from Babel and the reconstruction of Jerusalem.

96 When the emperor Constantine learned of the lie of the Jews and the ruse of their language in their arguments drawn from what their former kings had been called anointed, he said to them: "Which of them was called the Messiah (the anointed) and appeared after the exit of Israelites from Babel at the end of these weeks?" But they did not answer because they were totally inhibited and embarrassed. Then they said that the Messiah announced by the prophets would come in the last days: "We await him later, because we are in the middle of this time." He said to them: "How many years do you count to today?" They said to him: "The complete length of time is 7000 years, and we are still in year 4000 approximately." Then the emperor answered them and accused them of cheating, when he saw their audacity in the lie. 97 On this he sent messengers in the bishops, to inform them of this, and of his interest in the prophecy of the prophet Daniel about the Messiah, and to tell them what he had seen of the weakness of the arguments of the Jews on this matter. He asked the bishops to clearly set forth the arguments for him on this subject. The bishops asked him for a delay so that they could address this subject, until the time of a special audience. He was astonished by this language and in his desire to know and to understand, he assigned an audience to them; because he took pleasure in their argument with the Jews on this subject and ordered them all to speak. He informed the bishops of the statement of the Jews which confirmed it.

98 Then the bishops said: "The deviation of the Jews from the word of truth, O king, on the question of the Messiah has been since ancient times, like the heritage of their first (high priests). Their refusal to believe in his mission for fear of changing their religion pushed them into acts worthy only of misleading and impious men. The argument that they plead about the number of the years since Adam, is right only in seeming. You have examined it and elucidated it to the bottom which you understood rightly. We have given you two manuscripts in which we have explained everything to you; we have reported the translation of the Seventy scholars who translated

the Torah under king Ptolemy Philadelphus, approximately 300 years before the advent of the Messiah Our Lord and the time of his appearance. The copy of the Torah which is today in the hands of the Jews is made according to that which Annas and Caiphas, their high priests, mutilated at the time of the Messiah and from which they cut off years which they reduced. In addition to this, we have clear arguments that we will bring with evidence and explanation and which will be long to set forth; but if the emperor allows, we will submit the report and will explain the length of the years according to the weeks of the prophet Daniel until the death of the Messiah, date per date, king by king." Then the emperor said to them: "Do so." The bishops said: "(Daniel), the prophet of God, prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, the demolition of his walls, the captivity of his people in Babylon, their stay over there for 70 years.

99 When king Bokht-Nassar (Nabuchodonosor) reigned over Babylon, he attacked Jerusalem, and took into captivity most of the population, among whom was the prophet Daniel. Not ceasing to attack it during the 20 years which followed his first invasion, in his last invasion Nabuchodonosor demolished its walls, burned its temple, seized all its people and devastated the country. And after 50 years the prophet Daniel remembered the word of God which the prophet Jeremiah had announced during their stay in Babel. It was obvious for him that this time was already close. On this he was absorbed in prayer with God in fasting, tears, with humility and compunction. It is written in the Book of Daniel the prophet: He acknowledged before his Lord the malicious actions of his companions, enumerated their sins and beseeched his forgiveness and his indulgence for them. He fasted for twenty one days, without eating bread, drinking water or lying down. In his prayer he recalled the promise of God to the Israelites to reveal to his prophets the advent of the Messiah to support their goodwill and to bring them to the good; he asked God (to show him) the realization of this hope and to indicate to him the time of their return to Jerusalem. God answered his prayer because of his good faith, the uprightness of his heart and the purity of his intentions in the request that he addressed to him. God revealed to him what he asked, because truth follows sincerity and certainty results;

100 and because of the fidelity of Daniel, He answered his request and raised the veil of what had been hidden from his eyes and that he had not known. God sent the archangel Gabriel to him to explain his request to him.

The angel Gabriel said to him: "The vision and the word of the prophets about the Messiah, the Holy of Holies, will be accomplished. Learn and know, O Daniel, the word which is uttered, and which my word has revealed to you, O man of desire: you will return and rebuild Jerusalem. As for the reign of the Messiah, until the time of His advent and His death there will be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks. Then He will be put to death and the Holy City will be destroyed." 101 Thus began the angel Gabriel; then he said to Daniel: "The vision and the word of the prophets will be fulfilled, i.e. with regard to the return of the Israelites at the end of 70 years, in accordance with the word of the prophet Jeremiah. After their return, Jerusalem will be rebuilt and after its restoration the weeks of the Messiah will be counted until his death." God treated the Israelites as Gabriel had said, to attest the sincerity and the truth of his words. The transplantation of the Israelites to Babel lasted for 20 years and was done on different occasions; their return also lasted and was completed in 20 years and was done on different occasions; the total duration of their stay in Babel being 70 years, the equality was perfect, in accordance with the word of the prophet. The first group arrived to Babel the second year of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, and remained there during the remainder of his reign until the end of his life, a period of 43 years, then five years under the sovereigns of his house, and, after them, 22 years under the domination of Cyrus the Persian - which makes 70 years, in accordance with the word of the prophet. The other group of prisoners arrived to Babel in the year 22 of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, and remained there for the 23 years of the remainder of his reign, then under the reign of his successors 5 years, after that under Cyrus the Persian for 31 years; under king Cambyses 8 years, under the Magus one year and under Darius, son of Hystaspes, 2 years, - which makes 70 years.

102 The return was completed at the end of 70 years, as the prophet Jeremiah said. They set themselves to rebuild Jerusalem, in accordance with the word of the angel Gabriel to the prophet Daniel. But they did not finish it at the time that they had intended, because the acts of men, compared to their wishes, are such that sometimes they precede it, sometimes are late, because of the accidental circumstances which prevent them and stop them. 103 The acts of men are not like those of God, whose words are fixed and time is determined, as He fixed the stay of the Israelites in Babel at 70 years, the time of the advent of the Messiah and the term of his death in a given

number of years, because the actions of God in his providence are hidden from men, if he did not want to reveal them to his servants; as far as it is useful for them, He informs his prophets of them so that they announce the good news and exhort men to perseverance in good deeds; if He starts to threaten and announce the punishment who must strike them in punishment of their sins, the prophets announce it and in fixing the time as a warning to induce them to obey Him, to lead them to repentance, to frighten them by terrible signs appearing in the sky and to make them desire the mercy of their Lord and his benevolence towards them. And by deferring the time, God leaves them the possibility of converting and of repentance, as He had done at the time of the flood, the confusion of languages, Sodom and Gomorrha, Nineveh and other events. And concerning this time, the angel Gabriel again determined it in the explanation that he made about it to the prophet Daniel. He said to him: "First the return will take place, then the construction"; then, after that, he determined for him the weeks of the Messiah as from that moment.

104 And the return from exile of the Israelites to Jerusalem occurred 2 years after the advent to the throne of king Darius, son of Hystaspes. At that time they began to rebuild the city and did not cease working there until the time of Artaxerxes Longhand. It is written in the Books of Esdras that in year 20 of his reign king Artaxerxes sent Nehemiah his wine waiter to supervise the construction of Jerusalem; and Nehemiah found that they had already finished it five years before. He found that they were building the Temple in year 46 after the captivity, as the Jewish scholars said to the Messiah: "This temple was built, completed and finished at the end of 46 years, and You, You say that you will restore it in three days. However there is nobody who thinks that the Jews worked without interruption at the construction of the Temple during 46 years; but, as we have already said, its construction was entirely finished in year 46 after the captivity in Babel. Nehemiah went to the king and let him know.

105 The weeks of the Messiah are counted from the time of the end of the construction of the city, according to the word of the angel Gabriel: first the return; then the construction; then it is necessary to count the weeks from the 2 year before the end of the reign of king Artaxerxes, and starting from the end of the construction until the death of the Messiah; then the total is 483 years, which all things considered makes seven weeks and sixty-two

weeks of seven (years), as we have already set forth in detail in our book, king after king, with the years of their reign. It is also written that the dignity of the high priests of Israelites was abolished at the time of king Herod, in whose reign the Messiah appeared. The prophecy of Jacob, leader of the Patriarchs, and Moses was realised; they said: "The royal sceptre will not be removed from Judah, nor the legislator from among him, i.e. the prophets, until the one comes who must be its king; and the people will place their hope in him."

106 We have said that seven weeks and sixty-two weeks make 483 years, because we multiply them by seven. Here is the explanation of the years of the weeks of the Messiah - 483 years, according to the word of the angel Gabriel to the prophet Daniel, the names of the kings and the total of their years, king after king. The account of the kings of Persia. Artaxerxes Longhand reigned 41 years; Artaxerxes II, 5 years; after him Sogdian, one year; Darius Nothus, 19 years; after him Artaxerxes, his son, 40 years; Artaxerxes Ochus, 25 years; Faris(Arses), son of Ochus, 4, years; Darius, son of Arses, 6 years. The total of the years of kings of the East is 141 years. After this the count arrives at the years of the Ptolemies, the years of the kings of the West and the enumeration of the blessed Ptolemies. Ptolemy Alexander reigned 12 years; Ptolemy Logos, i.e. word, 40 years; Ptolemy Philadelphus, i.e. he who loves his brother, 38 years; it is he who had the Sacred Books translated by the Seventy commentators; Ptolemy Ergates (Evergetes), i.e. the do-(good)er, 24 years; Ptolemy Philopator, i.e. he who loves his father, 17 years; Ptolemy Epiphanes, i.e. the Famous one, 24 years; Ptolemy Philometor, i.e. he who loves his mother, 25 years; again Ptolemy Evergetes, i.e. the do-(good)er, 19 years; Ptolemy Soter, i.e. the Saviour, 12 years; Ptolemy Alexander the Second, 10 years; Ptolemy Philippe, i.e. he who loves horses, 8 years; Ptolemy Dionysios, i.e. the noble one, 30 years; Cleopatra, i.e. the Glorious one, 15 years; Herod, king of the Jews, 35 years.

107 The years of the Messiah Our Lord are 33 years. That gives for the Western kings 342 years. The total of the years of kings of the East and West are 483 years. Because of the contradictions contained in these books, the emperor Constantine sought for the books of the Torah, had them examined as well as the books of the Prophets and the recollections of the Messiah. Before that time, there was among Christians nobody, except for the scholars, who knew the things kept secret and who knew about alterations

and mutilations performed by the Jews. As for the people, they did not know that the Torah had been mutilated. Thus today the Christian people, in the East and West, do not know the cause of the disagreement between the Greek Torah, translated by the Seventy, and the Syriac Torah, copied from the Hebraic Torah, which is mutilated and reduced, which all the Christians read in the churches.

108 At the beginning we said that the deterioration and reduction go only as far as the birth of Abraham, son of Tarih, and the total of the reduction of the years of the world, from Adam and the beginning of the world until the birth of Abraham, son of Tarih, is 2,389 years. Now the mutilated Torah and all the books of the Prophets in Syriac copies which are in the hands of the Christians, are widespread in all the countries of the earth of the East and West, so that because of that the Christians cannot explain them and give an account of this question. All the scholars and the learned and those who wanted to translate the books of the Prophets from one language to another, or to make an exegesis of what they contained, changed nothing and commented on the Syriac text, which is in disagreement with the translation of the Seventy because the Jews mutilated it and changed it after the Resurrection of the Messiah.

109 The ending of the history of Abraham. Now that we have explained and recounted the history of the interpretation and the translation of the Seventy, the efforts and research of king Constantine on the reason of the difference which he had found in the Sacred Books, we will return to the account of the time of Abraham; that is the point where we had arrived before beginning this narrative. At the time of Abraham, Khoudroun, brother of Tarih, made war on Kisaronos king of Babel, and having fought him and overcome him, he killed him; (he did it), because he wanted to lead the population into captivity and to plunder all the country. At that time the empire passed from Bebel, whose kings were called Babylonians, to the Assyrians, who reigned over the countries of Mosul, Nineveh and the surrounding provinces. The first of their kings, Boulis, reigned 72 years and built several cities.

110 Abraham, having lived 100 years, fathered Isaac by Sara; but 16 years before Isaac, he fathered Ishmael by Agar. We start with Isaac, because the years of the history of the world are counted from Isaac. After the death of Sara, Abraham fathered a great number of strong children by Retura; they

were called the sons of Cadir (the Strong) and their children were also called Modar, because of Ishmael. Abraham lived for 75 years after the birth of Isaac and, his life having been 175 years, he died 40 years after the birth of Jacob. At that time king Boulis died and after him reigned Ninos, his son, who built the town of Nineveh, so called after his name. The fifth year after the birth of Abraham, Jerusalem was built by king Melchizedek. The first king of the Sicyonites was Aglaous who reigned over them 53 years. 111 In the year 71 after the birth of Abraham wars and conflicts broke out between king Rodollogomor and the five kings of the country of Sodom and Gomorrha; they lasted for 14 years until the 10th year after the departure of Abraham from the country of Ur of the Chaldaeans, which was the country of Canaan, son of Cham, son of Noah. At that time the town of Hebron was built, which is the al-Ladjoun of the Canaanites. In the year 75 after the birth of Abraham, God said to him in the country of Ur of the Chaldaeans: "Get up, leave the house of your father and the place of your birth and go to the promised land that God promised to give you, to your seed and your posterity. Thus God concluded a pact and alliance with Abraham, for him and his posterity, ensuring to him the inheritance of the promised land. From this time, 430 years are counted that God assigned to the Israelites for their slavery with the country of Egypt. Other scholars say that these years are counted from the time when Abraham made the sacrifice of a goat, a pigeon and a dove. We have done some research on this subject, but have found nothing about it. The total number of years from Adam and the beginning of the chronology of the world until this year is 3,417 years, because the years from the flood to this year is 1,161 years.

112 In the year 77 of his life, Abraham went to Egypt because of the famine and the drought which prevailed in the country of Syria. In the year 85 of his life, Agar the Egyptian woman came to him, and he fathered by her Ishmael. For this reason her children were named sons of Agar. They were also called Arabs because of the blood-link of Ishmael with the tribe of Djourboum, because he married women of this tribe and spoke Arabic. They were named Ismaelites after Ishmael, their father. Ishmael lived for 137 years and fathered by Arab women twelve princes who are named and mentioned in the Book of the Torah. His death took place 63 years after the birth of Jacob. 113 At that time Lot was made prisoner by king Khodollogomor. In the same period Semiramis reigned in Babel for 42 years; she seized the country of

Asia and several cities of Syria, rebuilt Babel for the second time, and she raised artificial hills and a great number of monuments that are allotted to her. Abraham reached the age of 99, and God ordered him to circumcise himself. He was 100 years old when he fathered Isaac by Sara. At the age of 60 years Isaac fathered Esau, who was hairy, and Jacob, the same as Israel, twins of Rebecca, daughter of Balhuel, a relative of Abraham, of a family of Haran. Isaac lived 180 years until the 31st year after the birth of Levi, son of Jacob. At that time the queen Semiramis built a large temple in a city, at the edge of the Euphrates, to the idol Q.yous (Bel, Baal) and, after having appointed for Q.yous (Bel) seventy sacrificers, she named this city Hierapolis, which means the city of the sacrificers; this was the old town of Manbidj.

114 When Isaac had reached the age of 16, God said to Abraham: "Get up. Take Isaac, your only son, whom you love, place him on the altar and offer him to God, your Lord, in a holocaust on the mountain of the Amorians (Moriah)." Later, 1,030 years after the birth of Abraham, Solomon, son of David, built a temple of God on this mountain, the place of the holocaust of Abraham and the sacrifice of Isaac. We possess the Sacred Books, which tell and indicate that it is on this mountain, at the place of the holocaust of Abraham, that Adam was interred and buried; it is said that the body of Adam was with Noah in the ark; when the flood was over, and Noah with his companions had left the ark, he buried Adam on this mountain. Thus God led Abraham to travel until he indicated to him the place of the tomb of Adam. Abraham offered Isaac (to God): he built the altar above the tomb of Adam and put Isaac on the altar raised on the tomb of Adam, and he was on the point of immolating him to God in a holocaust. But God saved him, substituting for him a lamb, because of his confidence in God and because he knew the sincerity of the intention of Abraham and his confidence that God could return life to his son after the immolation. It is written that at the moment of the sacrifice of Isaac, when Abraham raised the knife, the troops of the angels beat their hands and that God announced in the heavens the holocaust of Abraham; (then) he said: "Stay your hand from the child: now I know that you love God, your Lord, with all your heart."

115 The first construction of Jerusalem. After the time when Noah went out the ark and before the installation of Abraham in the promised land of the country of Syria, the high priest Melchizedek built over the tomb of our father Adam the town of Jerusalem. God let him know and indicated to him

the place of the tomb of Adam, and he offered two sacrifices of bread and wine to Him. Here what the Jews report in their book that they call the Mishna: we have heard it said that Hakib and his followers claim that Melchizedek was the same as Shem, son of Noah, and that Joshua, son of Nun, killed him, along with the thirty one kings whom he put to death. But all the Jewish scholars disagree with them about this stupidity and this error. The Christians find in the mysteries of their books that the cross on which the Messiah was crucified, was planted in the middle of the tomb of Adam, on his larynx; it is on this cross that the Messiah was crucified; because of that this place was called al-tarfqah and it is called Golgotha, which means cranium.

116 In the year 19 of the birth of Isaac, Abraham learned that his brother Nachor, son of Tarih, had several children, and (from the children) of Nachor was born Aram, son of Kamuel; he gave his name to the Aramaeans, who lived in Haran in Mesopotamia and the surrounding country as far as the area of Mosul. We have found books which mention and make known another Aram, resulting from Shem, who lived to the East of Susa (Susiana), i.e. of Elam, and Assur, brother of Elam, from whom the Elamites, Assyrians and their tribes come. The borders of Aram (extended) from the native land of Shem to the country of Misan; it is for that that the population of this country and beyond took the name of Aram their father, the issue of the son of Shem, son of Noah. In year 37 of the birth of Isaac, Sara died at the age of 127, because she was 90 years old when she brought Isaac into the world by Abraham.

117 In the year 44 of his birth, Isaac married Rebecca, daughter of Bathuel, cousin of his father Abraham. At that time king Abimelech made a pact of friendship with Isaac; his kingdom was located at Gerar, in the country of the Jordan. At that time the domination of the Philistines started, who are the inhabitants of Philistine (Palestine); their race indicates the origin of their country. Jacob was 89 years old when he fathered Levi; the life of Jacob was 147 years. In year 20 of the birth of Jacob, Esau, his brother, married the daughters of Canaan, son of Cham, son of Noah; one of them was Judith, daughter of Beeri, the Hethaean, the other, Basmath, daughter of Elon the Hethaean. When Esau had seen that his father Isaac did not like them, he married Basmath, daughter of Ishmael. It is written that Job the Just drew his origin from the children of Basmath, daughter of Ishmael. It is

written that Moses, the prophet, wrote the famous book allotted to Job the Just; in this book, i.e. in the book of Job the Just, there are 1,348 verses.

118 In the lists of the generation of the tribes and the people (of Esau) Job was called Jobab, son of Zerah. Job lived 210 years, including 70 years before his misfortunes and 140 years afterwards. We have found among the children of Shem, son of Noah, another Jobab; certain people claim that he is the same as Job, because they believed him prior to Abraham. Thus from this people affirm contradictory things on this subject. At that time Hamor, brother of Sichem, built a large city which he named Sichem, according to the name of his brother. Some time after, two sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, devastated it and killed three thousand men there to avenge their sister who was called Dina on its population. When Jacob had reached the age of 77 and Isaac, his father, that of 137, Isaac his father blessed him and addressed in his favour the prayers and the blessings which are reported in the Torah; then he sent him to Haran to Laban, his uncle, because he feared that Esau would kill him. Jacob left with his staff in his hand.

119 Having arrived at Beitaïl, he prayed and putting his head on a stone, he fell asleep. In the night he saw angels of God who went up and down along a ladder of which the top touched heaven and the foot was on the earth. Throughout this night, until dawn had risen, the angel fought with him. And here God appeared to Jacob and said to him: "Jacob, I will not let you go until you tell me your name." When it was dawning, Jacob said: "This place is the window of heaven and the house of God " and he made a vow to devote to God a tithe of what God had granted to him during his absence, to build to him in this place a house of God. After that Jacob crossed the Euphrates with his staff and arrived at Haran. In year 84 of his life, Jacob married Leah, the daughter of Laban, his uncle, and fathered by her Ruben, Simeon, and at the age of 89 years he also fathered Levi, in whose name the chronology of the world was regulated. Then after Levi he fathered Judah, after him Issachar, then Zabulon. Jacob married Rachel, sister of Leah, and fathered by her Joseph and Benjamin. He also fathered (two sons) by Bilhah, the maidservant of Rachel, who gave to Jacob Gad and Asher, and (two sons) by Zelphah, the maidservant of Leah, who gave to Jacob Dan and Nephthali. They gave rise to the twelve tribes of the Israelites.

120 In the year 97 after the birth of Jacob, he went back to Haran to (Isaac), his father; his herds, she-asses, oxen and cows, slaves and utensils were

innumerable. After coming to the promised land of the country of Syria, Joseph was sold by his brothers. At the age of seventeen, he was brought into Egypt where he spent ten years as a slave and three years in prison. When Joseph reached the age of thirty, the Pharaoh, king of Egypt, saw in dream seven cows and seven ears of corn. Joseph was brought out of the prison and his hair cut; then he was presented before Pharaoh. Joseph, being thirty years old, explained his dream to him. Everything happened as Joseph had explained to him. The Pharaoh gave him power over the country of Egypt.
121 In year 39 from the birth of Joseph, Jacob his father, arrived in Egypt with all his children and the children of his children in the second year of the famine and the drought which prevailed in Syria. In fact the Israelites remained in Egypt, as slaves, for 215 years. The number of the Israelites who arrived in Egypt with Jacob was 70 men; moreover, Joseph, his two sons, Ephraïm and Manasseh, and their two sons, (makes) 5 men. Jacob, being 127 years old, presented himself before Pharaoh 7 years after the death of Isaac, his father. The number of Israelites, when they left Egypt, was 603,500 men able to carry the weapons who were counted in the census, i.e. in the census (of Moses). When Moses counted them and separated them, he did not register and did not count those who were younger than 22 years old and those who exceeded 50; the women were not counted either. Jacob lived in Egypt 20 years, and died 13 years after the birth of Kahath. Levi lived 45 years and then fathered Kahath, and Kahath lived 60 years and then fathered `Amran. At that time the Pharaoh the sovereign of Joseph died and Amousiyus reigned after him in Egypt for 25 years

122 In year 38 from the birth of Kahath, there reigned in Egypt Kebroun for 13 years. At that time Zeus, whose name is translated as Jupiter (Al-Mouschtari), knew Niobé and fathered Apis by her, who was named later Serapis and who started to fight the courageous women (?) who are called Amazons and killed their male children. Zeus reigned over the country of Crete on the coast. The meaning of "Zeus" is "long lived" because it is told that he lived for a thousand years. At that time the town of Eleusina was built. In year 51 from the birth of Kahath, son of Levi, Amenophis ascended the throne of Egypt and he was also called Pharaoh; he reigned 21 years and then he started to persecute Israelites. `Amran lived 70 years and then fathered Moses the prophet and, having lived after the birth of Moses for 67 years, he died 13 years before the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. In year

6 from the birth of `Amran Joseph died, at the age of 110. His brothers ordered the Israelites to carry his bones with them, until God called them and made them leave the country of Egypt.

123 It is written that at that time, under (the king) Agous, the flood took place. In year 12 (after the birth of `Amran) there reigned in Egypt Mensis for 12 years. In the year 24 after the birth of `Amran, Balaios also reigned for 18 years. In the year 68 after the birth of `Amran, Amenofis (Asfanis, misphres?) reigned in Egypt for 43 years; he ordered that the first-born males of the Israelites should be strangled and drowned in the river Nile. The birth of Moses and his history. When Moses came into the world, `Amran, his father, the very same day was 70. His parents put him in a basket, and exposed him on the river Nile. He was only three months old and was pretty and beautiful. At that time Mary, daughter of the Pharaoh, went out to the river Nile where she found Moses. When she saw that he was circumcised, she knew that he was one of the Israelites. Mary took him, raised him, educated him and taught him all the sciences of the Egyptians, their education and their wisdom. Janis and Jambris were the teachers of Moses, who became, in Egypt, extremely strong and powerful.

124 In the year 28 of the birth of Moses the prophet, the Pharaoh built the town of Hermopolis on the river Nile which was called also Al-F.r.ma. At that time the Ethiopians fought the Egyptians and devastated several provinces of Egypt. Then Kenefra, the king, all his companions, his notable and his close relations were envious of Moses, but because of Mary, neither he nor they could do what they wanted about this; then they tried to make him lose his rank and his powerful situation, saying to him: "You have great obligations towards the queen. Look, the Ethiopians are coming down the Nile in boats, thanks to the rising waters, and attacking the country of Egypt; they have devastated already several provinces and reduced their population to captivity. It is your duty to defend the kingdom, because you are placed at its head and that its defense rests on you. The king, all his chiefs and his court are thinking that you will attack the Ethiopians. It is said that all the lands and deserts which are between Ethiopia and Egypt are uninhabited, the country being full of a great quantity of snakes, which prevent people from passing there."

125 When Moses had learned of their ambushes and what they were weaving against him, he ordered 10,000 riders chosen from among the Israelites

and the same number from among the Egyptians; then he ordered them to prepare the greatest possible number of large cranes (ibis), which was called ka`ka`, and to put them in wicker cages, so that their heads appeared out of the cages. Moses set out to march with with his companions. He had these cranes fed at the break of day, and when night fell and he had set up camp, he ordered that the cages where the cranes were be distributed throughout the camp. During the night, tormented by hunger, all the cranes made resounding cries. The snakes, having heard their cries, ran away into the earth for fear the cranes would eat them. Moses did not cease doing this until he reached the Ethiopian city of Meroe.

126 When the inhabitants saw him with his troops, this struck them with admiration and fear, and they were astonished that so many troops had arrived at their home through these deserts. Then God inspired the daughter of the king of Ethiopia and let him know with certainty that Moses would capture the city and its inhabitants and that God, may He be blessed, would make him master of it. So she sent a message to Moses that she offered herself to him in marriage; (in return) she would show him a place from where one could take the city and capture its surroundings. Moses granted her wish. God gave him the victory over the city and his inhabitants, and Moses married the daughter of the king of Ethiopia. This is why the Holy Scripture tells that Mariam, the sister of Moses, and Aaron, while speaking about Moses, slandered him, because he had married a Kushite woman, i.e. of the sons of al-Khabaschat (an Ethiopian). God was irritated against Mariam, who became scabious and leprous, so that the Israelites avoided her.

127 But Moses, the prophet of God, having pity on her, prayed to God for her. And God said to Moses: "If her father had spit in her face, wouldn't she be covered with shame for ten days?" Moses remained, after the conquest of the city, in the countries of Ethiopia, with all his troops, until the time of the flood of the Nile; then he brought his troops back to Egypt, by means of boats during the rising of the Nile and the high waters, and he returned to the king laden with riches. On this, the king, all his notables, his courtiers, his ministers and all the inhabitants of Egypt were afraid of him, and the king even conceived the idea of killing Moses, after the death of Mary who had raised Moses. In the year 37 after the birth of Moses, Joshua, son of Nun was born. 128 In the year 41 from the birth of Moses, the Pharaoh ascended the throne of Egypt who, according to the Sacred Books, was submerged in

the sea, 40 years later, with his troops and his chariots. According to what is written, Moses, at the age of 40, killed an Egyptian who wanted to put him to death, and he fled into the country of Midian to Raguel or Jethro or Sa`ïb and, having married Sephora, daughter of Sa`ib, he fathered Guerson and Eleazar. In the year 42 of the birth of Moses, Caleb, son of Jephonneh was born. At that time Atlas, son of Prometheus appeared and made himself known, who taught magic (astrology). It is told that, when his magic reached the celestial sphere, he knew all that occurred of its mysteries. Because of this, the name of Atlas was given to the mountain which rises above the clouds. According to his knowledge and his books, Erathosthenes, the scholar, traced the plans of the sphere with all the species of its constellations and their terms. This book was translated from Greek into Arabic by Thahir ibn al-Husein, a clever man with its charts, all its plans and all the kinds of its details. It is a remarkable book and can be obtained if desired.

129 At that time king Souris was known, who reigned over Dimeschk (Damascus). Where Syria (asch-Scham) is called Souriah, this name is derived from the name of Souris. In the year 80 from the birth of Moses, Joshua, son of Nun being 39 years old, God appeared to Moses at Tur-Sina (in the Sinai) and showed to him the miracles which he worked with its staff and his hand, which became white, and the other things that God did. Then God ordered to him to go to Egypt to work miracles and celestial signs in order to lead the Israelites out. In this year Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt; he struck the sea with his staff and led the Israelites through the sea; when they had passed, he struck the sea again with his staff, and God submerged the Pharaoh and all his troops. Then the word that God had said to Abraham was accomplished, that his posterity would remain in a remote country in a state of slavery for 430 years.

130 Explanation of the causes and the reasons which led to the introduction of the worship of idols into Egypt. It is told that all the Egyptians who had not gone with Pharaoh and who had remained in Egypt, having learned the news that the Pharaoh and his troops had drowned in the Red Sea, were struck by this; and they adored the thing and the object which they held in the hand, and each one of them made an idol following the example of the object and adored it, as if it were that which had saved them from immersion. Because of this, the worship of idols in Egypt increased and, at the end of a certain time, the devils spoke to them from the interior of these idols. In

the year 81 after the birth of Moses, when the Israelites had left Egypt, the Amalekites attacked them; but God led a great number to perish via Moses. The hostility between the Amalekites and the Israelites continued until the time of Haman the Amalekite, the minister of king Artaxerxes. We will give the account of this in its place, if God so wills.

131 In this year, in the third month, Moses went up on the mountain of God, Tur-Sina (Sinai), and received from God the knowledge of things. God granted wisdom, the power of prophecy and knowledge to him, so that he could speak about the origin of the world and explain the universe, so that he made known and explained why the universe was created and had a beginning; it is said that in the space of the centuries passed, from the origins of the world, there had never been as many followers of temporal origin than at the time when Moses, the prophet of God, composed the Torah, in which he discussed the origin of the world, to bring men to the opinion that the world was temporal. And the majority of Israelites adhered firmly to this belief and professed these doctrines; it was their belief and their religious conviction. Moses also spoke about the Tabernacle. From this year, Moses appointed to the Tabernacle the oldest of the Israelites, selected from the twelve tribes, who governed the Tabernacle.

132 The total number of years from Adam and the beginning of the world until the year when Moses went up on the mountain of God Tur-Sina (Sinai) and received the tables of the Torah, i.e. until year 81 from the birth of Moses, - the total years from Adam to that year is 3,847 years. We have set forth all this at the beginning of our treatise and our book; we have corrected it by shortening the calculation and have explained it above. The Jews celebrated the first Passover in Egypt on the Sunday of the ninth cycle; and they did not celebrate Passover for the 40 years that they passed in the desert. Then Moses governed them, after this year, for 39 years and he died at the age of 120. The years from Adam and the origins of the world until the year of the death of Moses are 3,886 years. After that the years are counted, as we have explained, in the history of the world, according to the years of the government of the Judges over the the Israelites.

133 The explanation is as follows: the total number of the years from Adam to the flood is 2,256 years; from the flood until Ar`û fathered Phaleg, at which time the languages were divided, -- 670 years; from Adam until that year 2,926 years; from the day of the birth of Ar′ û until the day of the

birth of Abraham 416 years; from the flood to that year 1,076 (1,510) years; from Adam to that year 3,342 (3,766) years; from the day of the birth of Moses to the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, i.e. until the year when Moses went up on the mountain of God Tur-Sina and received the tablets from God, - 81 years; from the flood to that year 1,591 years; from Adam to that year 3,847 years, according to what we have said above. After that Moses governed for his life until he died, a space of 39 years, so that the years from Adam and the origins of the world until the year of the death of Moses are 3,886 years. The Jews celebrated the first Passover 40 years after, at the time of Joshua, son of Nun, near Jéricho, in the tenth cycle. After Moses, it was Joshua, son of Nun, who governed them for 27 years; then after Joshua, son of Nun, it was the governors and the judges who governed the Israelites for 556 years; after the end of their government the chronology of the history of the world is evaluated according to the years of their kings.

134 This chronology starts with the year when Saul, son of Kisch, of the tribe of Benjamin, the first king who reigned over the Israelites, ascended the throne. The years from Adam and the origins of the world until the day when Saul ascended the throne are 4,391 years. The life of Moses was 120 years, of which he spent 40 years in Egypt, 40 years with Jethro in the country of Midian and 40 years in the desert. Moses wrote five books, about which we spoke earlier; in these books there are 17,041 verses. 135 History of the art of alchemy, the work of the hyacinth and other precious stones. It is written that God endowed Beseleel with intelligence and indicated the manner to him of setting up the Tabernacle; He taught him art and knowledge to work the precious stones and to clean them from foreign substances and impurities. Béséléel made the Tabernacle and embellished it with his talent. He was the first who managed to make a work of art. In this year Moses sent them spies into the countries of Canaan, i.e. Palestine, the Jordan and the regions bordering, so that they could examined the country and the people. Joshua, son of Nun, and Caleb, son of Jephonne, cut a bunch of grapes and carried it between them on a pole. At that time Joshua, son of Nun, was 45 and Caleb, son of Jephonné, 42 (43) years old. When this year had passed, Balak, king of the Midianites, sent ambassadors to Balaam, the magician, so that he would come to him and curse the Israelites.

136 In the year 84 of the life of Moses, Aaron, his brother, became high priest. God made his two sons die because they had offered a profane fire in

sacrifice. Eleazar, son of Aaron, of the tribe of Levi, to which the Levites belonged, married a daughter of Aminazab of the tribe of Judah. This was the first case of the mingling and family ties of one tribe with another, because the law allowed only marriages between people of the same tribe. Eleazar fathered Phinehas of which it is written that he was zealous for God, was annoyed for Him, struck two adulterers with his lance and hanged them in the air. In the year 118 from the birth of Moses, Aaron his brother died. He had as a successor Eleazar, his son. Moses died two years after Aaron; he was 120. After the death of Moses, it was Joshua, son of Nun, its servant, 83 years old, who started to govern the Israelites in the place of Moses, two years after Aaron. Joshua, son of Nun, led the Israelites in the promised land of Canaan that God had promised to give to the posterity of Abraham. After governing them for 27 years, Josua, son of Nun, died at the age of 110.

137 In the first year of the government of Joshua, son of Nun, the Amalekites made war; but he overcame them and killed a great number of them, so that there remained only one small troop of them; with his troops he did not cease pursuing them until the 9th hour of the day. In fear of not succeeding in what he intended to do with them, he entreated the sun and the moon and said: "You, O sun, halt over Gabaon, and you, moon, in the field of Aïloun (Ajalon)!" And the sun remained motionless for 6 hours until he had been avenged on his enemies. As for the sun halting where it was, it is not, as people believe who do not examine it and do not know the treasures of books and their mysteries, that the sun and the moon alone stopped, while the sphere continued to move. That is explained by this fact that if, as certain people believe, the sun had stopped and the moon had been frozen, then an upheaval would have occurred in the times and the four seasons, because, once the celestial sphere had crossed three signs of the zodiac in 6 hours, then instead of spring we would have had summer, instead of summer, autumn, instead of autumn, winter and instead of winter, spring. But the books of the scholars indicate that the celestial sphere stopped with all its planets and all its stars without change in the seasons.

138 From Adam to Joshua, son of Nun, until the death of Moses, there were 27 generations. In the year 10 of the government of Joshua, son of Nun, he divided the land that God had given them as an inheritance between the tribes of the Israelites, except for the tribe of Levi, that of the Levites; he did not give them land, in accordance with what God had instructed him. He

said that the Lord was their portion and their inheritance. And God ordered that all the eleven tribes gave each year the tenth of their harvest to that of Levi. In that time Erichthonius the Greek made the first chariot, harnessed four horses and similar to the moving throne for nine mikdar; ten people were in it and the chariot, drawn by these four horses, ran on wheels. The king took his seat with his most favoured notables; and the chariot went where he wanted. It is said that none exist any more, because there is nobody who can make one; but certain people say that the Greeks do this even now.

139 In that year the sons of Lot, the Ammonites and Moabites, made war and fought against the Cananaeans, but the latter killed 5,000 of them, and Joshua, son of Nun, himself killed also 7 tribes and 31 kings of them. After Joshua, son of Nun, it was Kuschan, the deceiver, who was the leader of the Israelites and governed them for 8 years. In this time the Curetes and Corybantes in the town of Knossos made themselves known; they were the first to invent music, dance, song and various kinds of music with various types of instruments. Then Othoniel, son of Kaniz, governed the children of Israel for 40 years. In the first year of his government, Cecrops reigned in the town of Athens for 49 years. It is written in the poems of Homer that Cecrops and his successors who had the same religious beliefs were those brought into existence those evil things and those unpleasant stories received among Greeks; this is what is written in the poems of Homer.

140 In this year Othoniel killed Kuschan, the deceiver, king of Aram, and freed the Israelites from him. At this time, another flood happened in the time of Deucalion. Some time afterwards, Plato, who was the teacher of Aristotle, gave us an account and history of this flood in his books. At this time Zeus is mentioned who, it is reported, was a king of Crete, a maritime country; his lifetime was 107 years; he did all kinds of abominations and was soiled with the vices of the Greeks. At that time, Io, who was called Isis because of her behaviour, went to the country of Egypt. Then the Moabites, from the posterity of Lot, having overcome the Israelites, governed them for 14 years. At this time the town of Kourithous was built, which is known by the name of Corinth. At that time the Corinthians made copper (?) which neither quadrupeds, nor reptiles could attack.

141 Towards the end of the reign of Moabites, there reigned over Athens, after Cecrops, Cronos, whose name translated means Saturn, for 9 years. At that time, in the town of Athens, the assembly of the Areopagus was estab-

lished, which means the assembly of the judges and the scholars. It is told that at that time Dionysios, son of Deucalion, started to plant vines and to press wine; and men drank it. But that does not agree with what certain people say in their ignorance: they said that the first who learned how to drink wine and gave indications on this subject, were the devils; but we also found in the Sacred Books that before that time Noah planted vines, pressed wine and drank it. 142 Ahoud (Ehud, Aod), son of Hara (Gera), governed the Israelites for 80 years. It was he who killed Eglon, king of the Moabites, of the race of Lot; he killed him as follows: he attached to his thigh a sword with two edges; then he was presented before Eglon and said to him: "I have a secret for you; I want to entrust it to you." Eglon ordered all his companions to leave and remained alone with him. Then Ahoud detached his sword from his thigh and stabbed him in the belly, so that his entrails came out, and killed him; after that he left. He governed the Israelites and overcame the Moabites. In year 25 of the government of Ahoud, the fourth thousand of the years of the history of the world was completed. This is clear, because we have already set out and described in a precise way that the space of the years from Adam and the origins of the world until the year of the death of Moses, prophet of God, was 3,886 years. If we add to it, from the day of the death of Moses, the years of the government of Joshua, son of Nun, over the Israelites, i.e. 27 years; --- after him those of Kuschan, the deceiver, 8 years; then those of Othoniel, 40 years; after Othoniel, those of the Moabites, the children of Lot, 14 years; then if we add to it the 25 years of the years of the government of Ahoud, who, as we said, governed them for 80 years, we obtain the number of 114 years, and if we add this figure to the years past from Adam to the day of the death of Moses, i.e. 3,886 years, then that will give the 4,000 year figure of the chronology of the world, just at the end of 25 years of the government of Ahoud over the Israelites, which we spoke about earlier.

143 At this time Nicomedes built Nicomedia, i.e. Constantinople; but at the end of a period of time this city sank into the earth. Then after that, king Byzas rebuilt it and called it, after his name, Byzantium. At the end of a period of time, Constantine, son of Helen, ascended the throne; he enlarged it, increased it and called it by his name Constantinople (Constaniyniya). At that time Poseidon married Lysianasse and fathered by her Douk.ntis and Busiris; some time after, Busiris seized the country which is located on the

river Nile; he massacred the foreigners who passed, and travellers, and he ate them. Then (Samgar) governed the Israelites, after Ahoud, for 22 years. At that time Phrixus was illustrious; it is told that, thanks to his agility and speed, he flew like a bird, and that neither the most excellent horses, nor the gazelles could catch him. Then Barak, of the tribe of Nephthali, governed the Israelites for 40 years; he made war with Sisara and killed him with all his troops and 500 iron chariots which he had.

144 At that time Achaeus built a city and gave his name to it. At that time Sibyl, the prophetess lived, who clearly explained the thoughts of men by her gift of prophecy. At that time it was a question of prayers and supplications of ..... addressed to the gods ... Zeus; he knew a slave of the family .... on the edge of Lake Triton; she brought Aphrodite into the world, which means Beauty (Venus). At that time Melampus the magician, Tantalus and Tityus are notable, who with their magic revealed hidden things, so that people admired them. It is told that Zeus also knew Leto and fathered on her Apollo and Hercules. At that time reigned the kings whose history is in the books of the poems of Homer. After Barak, the Midianites, who were Arabs, governed the Israelites for 7 years; they devastated all their country. [End of PO 5.4 ]

145 At this time Phemonoe the magician was notable; she predicted the future in hexameter verse and disturbed the spirits of people. In that time, Gideon, son of Joash, saw the angel of the Lord who encouraged him to deliver the Israelites. Then he arose and governed the Israelites for 40 years. At the same time, Perseus returned to the country of Persia and cut of the head of Gorgon (Gharghou) the courtesan, who, by her beauty and grace, had struck all those who looked at her, so much so that they seemed changed into stones, as Didymus the scholar reports in his books. Gideon governed the Israelites for 31 years, when the daughters of Helios appeared and were made known, whom Klytia had given him; the names of these seven girls were Circe (Qirqâ), Merope (Mirfa), Hirqa (?) Zirqa (?), Qirda (?), Lampétie (?), (Midyâ) and Pasiphae (Basoufiyâ); they were magicians. It is said that a man could see his face in that of each of them, because of the beauty of their colour; and when one of them arose in the darkness, the place shone.

146 At that time, the towns of Cyrene and Miletus were founded. At that time reigned Fasouniyous (?) Apollo (Afoulyoun). It is told that he played the cithar; it was he which was made a lute from stone; the wild beasts and the deer gathered to him to hear his voice, without injuring each other, because

of the great beauty of his voice, his playing and his song; it is told that sometimes, when he sang, the wild beasts and the deer fell asleep. It is written that Gideon, having gathered an army of 30,000 men, went out with them against the Midianites. But God did not want the victory to be due to the great number of troops, and ordered him to take with him 300 men; and Gideon delivered the Israelites from the Midianites. After Gideon, Abimelech, his son, governed the Israelites for three years. When he became king, he killed his seventy brothers by his father Gideon. When Abimelech had gone out against the town of Tebec, a woman threw on him, from the top of the citadel, a fragment of a grinding stone and killed him. Thus God repaid him and rewarded him by promptly punishing him for his bad conduct and the evil which he had done to his brothers. Then Tholag, his cousin, judged the Israelites for 22 years.

147 In that time, Kora (Proserpine), daughter of Zeus, was abducted. At that time, Marsyas the shepherd (Silenus) was a flute-player and tried to excel Apollo; they made both a contract and a bet. Then Marsyas, having been overcome, was hung from a tree, as had been agreed between them In the year 21 of the government of Tholag, the town of Tarsus was built by king Perseus. At that time, Apollo married a woman and fathered on her Asclepius. Dionysius captured India, was governor of it and built the town of Nysa there on the banks of the river Indus. In that time, after Tholag, Jair, of Gilead, judged the Israelites for 22 years; he had thirty sons who mounted with him on thirty foals. At that time, the town of Cyzicus was built on the shore of the sea. This is the Cyzicus, of which we already said that the temple, one of the seven wonders, had been built there.

148 Then, after Jair, the Israelites were subjected to the Ammonites, descendants of Lot, for 18 years. At that time, Linus, the teacher of Hercules announced himself, the first great king who, as we have said, erected in the sea three marvellous statues to preserve sailors from shipwreck; they were one of the seven wonders of which we spoke at the beginning of our book. In the first year of the victory of the Ammonites, the town of Tyre was built. As the Ammonites oppressed the Israelites at every meeting, the inhabitants of Gilead went to find Jephte, fifteen years after driving him out and sent away from them. They went to him, brought him back and placed him at their head; then he governed the Israelites for six years. He engaged himself by a vow and an irrevocable oath to offer to God in sacrifice, after his return from

combat, the first of his house which he met, if God granted the victory to him. Having gone out and having overcome the enemies, he returned: however, his only daughter came out to meet him; he immolated her and offered her to God in sacrifice, in accordance with the vow which he had made.

149 Then Ebsan (Abîsan) or Hesbon, of Bethlehem, judged the Israelites for seven years. He had thirty sons and thirty daughters; he married off his thirty sons and, in one day, he acquired thirty daughters-in-law; he married off his thirty daughters and, in one day, he obtained thirty sons-in-law. Then Elon, of the tribe of Zabulon, judged the Israelites for ten years. In that time, the witch Medea announced herself. By her magic spells she made Creon (Qâr̲oun) and Glaucus (`Alouqa) burn. In an fit of rage, she killed all her sons. Then Labdon or `Abdon judged the Israelites for eight years. He had forty sons and thirty grandsons who rode with him on seventy foals. In that time, king Hercules fell seriously sick; he threw himself in the fire and died, at the age of 52. At that time, Apollo was taken with and in love with Daphne to such a point that he lost his head and became insane.

150 The Israelites having sinned and their faults having become enormous, God delivered them into the hands of the Philistines, i.e. of the people of Palestine, for 41 years. Then, after the Philistines, Samson, devoted to God by his parents, judged the Israelites; he was of the tribe of Dan, he was a judge for 20 years. In the year 3 of his government, he began a war against the Philistines. In year 5 of the same, the story of Ruth the Moabite took place, i.e. originating from the tribe of Moab. Boaz married her and fathered by her Obed, grandfather of the prophet David. The story of Ruth contains 246 verses; her book is so beautiful, that it was translated from Greek into Arabic. 151 In year 8 of the government of Samson, Alexander Paris, son of Priam, king of Ilion, took some offerings and went to offer them to the god Apollo, in the country of HelIas, at the age of 33, because he said that this was the god who had predicted to his father that he would have a son. When he had left and had been presented to the king of Sparta who was called Menelaus, he saw Helen there. Her beauty and her grace charmed him and he ardently desired her. Her husband being delayed where he had gone, and being far from him, Paris abducted the young woman and brought her to Troy, in the country of Phrygia, to his father, without having presented his offering [to Apollo]. When Menelaus arrived and learned what had happened, he sent messengers and called to his assistance twenty kings with

their ships, to the number of 2,250. They went by sea and fought Priam and his son who had abducted the beautiful Helen. They captured Helen and all the country which had made war against them for ten years, until the year 18 of the government of Samson. At this same time, the town of Ilion, described in the book and poetries of Homer, was destroyed.

152 In year 19 of the government of Samson, Zeus, king of Crete, died and was buried at Aqrathi, i.e. on the shore of the sea. He had lived 780 years. Because of his longevity he was called Zeus; but before he was called Dios. In that time, after Samson had killed a great number of the Philistines, he was handed over to them; they put out his eyes because of one of their women, whom he had loved passionately. This girl-friend did not cease employing tricks against him until he had let her know that his strength was in his hair. While he slept in the room of this woman, she cut the hair devoted to God from him; his strength disappeared, she strangled him and called the Philistines to him. After Samson the Israelites were without a judge for 12 years. The book of Joshua, son of Nun, the first book of Judges, contains 1,953 verses; the second book, 2,880 verses.

153 After that the priest Heli (ʿAli) came who judged the Israelites for 40 years; he had become their judge at the age of 38. In year 18 of the government of the priest Heli priest, was born the prophet Samuel, consecrated to God by his parents. In year 20 of the government of Heli, Anne, mother of Samuel, presented him and dedicated him to the Lord, when he was two years old; and he remained with the priest Heli in the temple, for the remainder of his government, without leaving it. On the death of Heli, the prophet Samuel succeeded him and judged the Israelites for 20 years. When he replaced Heli who had just died, Samuel was 22. This was the year when the Philistines seized the Ark of the Lord; but as they could not endure the pain which took them from behind, when it arrived, they restored it and sent at the same time offerings in its honour. When Samuel had governed the Israelites for 20 years, they requested him to name and appoint a king for them; they asked to be delivered from the government that the Lord exercised over them by the intermediary of the judges and the governors. Consequently, Samuel gave them for king Saul, son of Cis.

154 The number of the years from the government of Joshua, son of Nun, and from the judges who followed him, until the day when Saul, son of Cis, began to reign, was 505; from Adam to that year, 4391 years. This is ex-

plained by what we have set out above. We have said that from Adam to the flood there were 2,256 years; from the flood to the birth of `Aru, 670 years; from Adam to the year of the birth of Ar`u, 2926 years; from the birth of Ar`u until that of Abraham, 416 years; from Adam to that year, 3342 years; since the birth of Abraham until that of Moses, 424 years; from Adam to the birth of Moses, 3766 years; from the year of the birth of Moses until the year of the exodus of the Israelites of Egypt and the ascension of Moses on the mountain of the Lord, Tur Sina, 81 years; from Adam to that year, 3847 years. Then, after bringing the Israelites out of Egypt into the desert, Moses governed them for 39 years. From Adam and the origins of the world until the year of the death of Moses there were 3,886 years; if we add to this the total of the years of the judges who governed the Israelites, i.e. 505 years, the years of the history of the world, from Adam and the origins of the universe, will be 4,391 years. (This book) is called the book of the Judges.

155 Saul, son of Cis, of the tribe of Benjamin, reigned over the Israelites and governed them for 40 years, and the years from the beginning of his reign are counted and these years added to the years of the history of the world which, as we said, until the beginning of the reign of Saul, are 4,391. After that the years of their kings are added, one after the other, until the moment when king Nabuchodonosor (Bokht-Nasar) reduced them into captivity. Then, after the period of the kings and the captivity, the work of Nabuchodonosor, by adding them to the era of the world, the total of the years of kings of Persia and the East are counted, one after the other, until the end of the time of the latter; and the total of the calculation reaches the first year of the Ptolemaic kings who were kings of the West and the first was Ptolemy Alexander or Dou' l-Karnein.

156 We will recount this in our account; we will write the whole story, the events, the news and the wonders which marked these centuries and those times; after which, we will continue the annals from the beginning of the reign of Alexander Dou' l-Karnein until our own times and even to this day; we will tell what happened then and you will set it out in a clear account, if God wills. The history of the prophet Samuel, last governor and the last judge of the Israelites; the history of Saul, son of Cis, first king of the Israelites. 157 It is written that the prophet Samuel governed the Israelites for 20 years. They obeyed, as we said in the beginning, neither Samuel nor their Lord; and they set themselves to demand of the prophet to be exempted

from the government of the judges, requesting him to obtain for them from the Lord, following the example of the other peoples, the establishment of a king, thus scorning the worship of the Lord and the government which he exercised over them through Samuel, in order to run after their love of pleasure. Samuel advised them, exhorted them, warned them, told them which would be the conduct of the kings towards them, [of the kings] who would seize their daughters to make of them weavers, tapestry-makers, bakers and cooks, and would reduce them to slavery. Samuel informed them this, hoping to reach them; but they did not obey and did not attend at all to his remonstrances; on the contrary, they came from there to accuse the son of Samuel of lying and to charge them wrongfully. They said to Samuel: "As for you, we want to loosen your yoke." In view of their audacity, their importunity and their manifest impiety, he asked God for permission to give them a king. The Lord ordered him to go out, to anoint for them Saul, son of Cis, of the tribe of Benjamin, and to make him reign over them to punish them.

158 That took place 545 years after the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, and this figure includes all the time in which they were administered by their governors, their judges and also by their Lord of whom these were the intermediaries. After Saul, reigned the prophet David and, after him, his son Solomon. To Solomon his son succeeded, and, after him, the son of his son, until the last of their kings and until Nabuchodonosor had taken them into captivity to Babylon. During the long period of their kings, lived the prophet Elijah, the prophet Abdias, the prophet Eleazar, the prophet Micaiah, the prophet Judas and the prophet Hosea. After his ascension into heaven, the prophet Elijah was replaced by his disciple Elisha. At the time of king Oziah, the prophets Isaiah, Joel and Zachariah, son of Barachiah, prophesied about Christ. The Jews stoned Zachariah, son of Barachiah, in the temple, because he reproached them for the abominations which they had committed: they killed him between the temple and the altar. The Lord, irritated against them, put them under the yoke of king Salmanasar who took their ten tribes into captivity. According to the Jews these are those who [are] beyond the river Gozan.

159 The Bible says that Saul, son of Cis, reigned over the Israelites for 40 years. This was the punishment which the Lord inflicted on them to punish them. In the year 3 of his reign, Saul made war on the Amalekites and overcame them. In the year 10 of the same reign, was born David, son of Isaiah;

his mother was Nahas; he belonged to the tribe of Judah. At that time, the kings of the Lacedemonians and Corinthians began to reign and the town of Nileus was built. In the year 23 of the reign of Saul, the prophet David was annointed by the prophet Samuel, who was then 65 years old; David was 13. In year 28 of the reign of Saul, David, 18 years old, killed the giant Goliath. In year 33, a pilgrimage of the prophets to Nayoth took place, a town of Ramah; and king Saul prophesied with them.

160 In year 35 of the reign of Saul, died the prophet Samuel. In year 30 from the birth of David, 17 years after his anointing and 5 years after the death of Samuel, Saul died in battle against the Philistines, who are the inhabitants of Palestine. The tribe of Judah was assembled, and took David for its king at Hebron. Then he was annointed again and reigned over all the tribes of the Israelites. He reigned in Jerusalem for 33 years, in all for 40 years. The complete book of Samuel contains 3,436 verses and the book of David, i.e. the Psalms, 4,830 verses. David, in year 10 of his reign, gathered all the Israelites and made the Ark of the Lord leave the house of Amminadhab in the Tabernacle which he had designed and constructed for it. In that time, the prophets Gad, Nathan and Asaph prophesied. Nathan is the one who presented himself before David to say that he would not build the house of the Lord, but that it would be his son Solomon who would build it; it is he also who reprimanded David because of the wife of Uriah. Being in the town of Gabaon, this prophet died there and was buried there. Asaph was of those whom David established to praise God before the Ark of the Lord. It was Gad whom God ordered to tell David to get up and to build an altar to the Lord on the ground of Ornan.

161 It is said that David united to the dignity of prophet and king that of priest. We do not need to bring testimonies to show that he was a king and prophet, because it is an obvious and manifest fact which every one knows. It remains for us to show and demonstrate that he was also a priest. We are assured that Jesus Christ attested this in the Gospel, saying: David ate the unleavened bread that nobody could eat except the priests alone, that nobody had the right to eat, except them. Moreover, David wore all the time the priestly vestments. One of the famous men of this time was the high priest Abiathar. In that year, i.e. in year 10 of his reign, David brought up and placed the Ark of the Lord in the Tabernacle, i.e. the house which he had built to receive it; he established before the Ark of the Lord, in the Taber-

nacle, cantors who sang psalms, praised and glorified God, we mean Asaph and his companions.

162 From that time dates the custom of praying at three o'clock, at six o'clock and nine o'clock, without counting the prayers of the morning, evening, before the day and midnight: this makes a total of seven prayers of the day and the night. It is also said that the custom of making these prayers goes back to the time of Enoch, son of Seth, son of Adam, because Enoch, the first, started to name and to call upon the Lord; Adam and Seth already knew the name of God (Allah). But it was Enoch who gave him the name of Lord (ar-Rabb) and made mention of the name of God (Allah). He said: "Allahomma! my Lord and my God!" He was the first to know the name of the Lord (ar-Rabb). In year 16 of the reign of David, died Nahach, king of the Ammonites. Then David sent his son Hamon (Hamnoun) to comfort the Ammonites. When he arrived, an argument broke out between them. Hamon was unjust to him; then he went away. In year 18 of the reign of David, Hamon revolted against his father David; he hired the kings of Harran, Nisibis and Aram for a thousand talents (kikar); the kikar is a great amount of money; he brought them with a numerous army which numbered 32,000 men to make war on David. Joab, son of Zerouya (Sarouyâ), and his brother Abisaï, both son of David's sister and leaders of David's troops, advanced to meet them; they fought a battle with Hamon and his troops, put them to rout, exterminated them and captured Rabbath, a city of the Ammonites.

163 In that time, David had Uriah the Hethaenn killed and took his wife. At the same period the towns of Magnesia and Myrina were built in Asia. In year 30 of his reign, David made war on the Philistines; in the battle that he fought with them, he killed the four giants of Gath and destroyed the race of the giants. At that period the town of Ephesus was built. In that period, the Greek poet Homer lived. In year 39 of his reign, David reorganised the families of the Levites, the tribe of the priests; he established 288 priests who were to praise and glorify God, while singing before the Ark of the Lord; he divided them into twenty-four classes; each class, which included twelve priests, was to sing for one of the 24 hours of the day and the night, one group of twelve priests succeeding another, without interruption. He instituted the tribes of the priests, one following another.

164 After a reign of forty years, David died, aged 70. From his time, the Jews received part of the Mishna, which is the book of Chema`sa, according

to the books of Ananias and others as well as astonishing stupidities which are not good and which it is inadvisable to make known by repeating them in our book. There are yet other stupidities, which the foolish ones believe down to this day, together with their eminent scholars, without speaking of others who also like and want to know these [follies]. To David succeeded his son Solomon, who reigned over the Israelites for 40 years, as it says in the Bible. In the first year of his reign, he drove out and exiled the priest Abiathar, as well as his brother Adoniah and killed Joab, son of Zerouya (Sarouyâ). In the year 11 of his reign, Solomon completed the construction of the Temple of the Lord, construction begun in year 4 of his reign, at the beginning of the month of Ayar (May), on the ground that David had bought from Oman (Arân) the Jebusaean, on the mountain of the Amorrhaeans. He thus built the Temple in seven years, this construction having been finished in year 11 of his reign, the 2nd of the month of Tichrin II (November). It is said that God had inspired in David the idea to buy this ground and to order his son Solomon to build the Temple of the Lord there, because, as we told above, it was the place where Abraham had offered to the Lord his Isaac son in a holocaust; we described this place with precise details.

165 In the place of the priest Abiathar whom Solomon had deposed, the prophet Zadok (Zadeqiyâ) was appointed to his position as priest. It is said that he was the eighth since Aaron. In the place of Joab, son of Zerouya (Sarouyâ), Benaya son of Yoyada was appointed as head of the army. At that period, Hesiod and Homer, poets of the Greeks, were illustrious. In the year 24 of his reign, Solomon destroyed Antioch and built Tadmor in a desolate and deserted country. In the year 29 of the reign of Solomon, the prophet Ahiya the Scilonite prophesied. It is written that Solomon, in year 34 of his reign, built on the mountain which is opposite Jerusalem, a altar to Kamoch, god of the Moabites, and to Malkoum, god of the Ammonites: he obeyed some of his wives who had made him impious and had misled him. At that period, Jeroboam, son of Nabat, fled to Egypt to king Sesac (Shishak) and remained there until the death of Solomon and the advent of his son Roboam (Ardjab`am).

166 The book of the Proverbs of Solomon contains 1,762 verses; the book of Great Wisdom 1,550 verses. The book of Ecclesiastes, which means the sermon of Solomon addressed by him to the Israelites, when he reigned over them and gathered them in order to deliver this speech to them, contains

427 verses. In the book of the Song of Songs there are 256 verses. Roboam, son of Solomon, was born from an Ammonite woman named Naama, a year before the advent of Solomon. Roboam, son of Solomon, reigned 17 years; he lived 58 years. In the first year of his reign, not having taken the advice of the old men who had advised to him to act with uprightness and to be gentle towards the Israelites, but having shown to them even more harshness than his father, the Israelites revolted against him, assembled and stoned Adoram (Oudous), the controller of the taxes. The kingdom was divided into two parts, according to the word of the prophet Ahiya.

167 Jeroboam, son of Nabat, who had fled to Egypt, reigned over ten tribes for 22 years; Roboam reigned only over the tribe of Judah. Jeroboam built Sichem, on the mountain of Ephraim. In year 2 [of his reign], Jeroboam made two golden calves and brought them out for the worship of the Israelites. In year 5 of the reign of Roboam, Sesac (Chishaq), king of Egypt, went up to Jerusalem and took all the shields of gold that Solomon had made in the Temple; Roboam replaced them by others made of bronze. After the death of Roboam, his son Abiah succeeded him for 3 years. In the first year of his reign, he gathered his troops to the number of four hundred thousand to make war with Jeroboam and with the tribes of Israel. Jeroboam on his side gathered his troops which counted eight hundred thousand riders, and they made war. Jeroboam was overcome and fled. Five hundred thousand warriors of the Israelites succumbed. In that time, Abiah took fourteen wives; he had twenty-six sons and sixteen daughters.

168 After his death, his son Asa reigned for 41 years; he lived 60 years. In year 3 of his reign, Nadab began to reign, after Jeroboam, over the Israelites, and reigned for two years. In year 5 of the reign of Asa, the hight priest Abimelek flourished. Then Ba`asa (Ba`cha) reigned over the ten tribes of the Israelites for 24 years. Asa, in year 10 of his reign, gathered the idols and burned them; he drove out the public women from all his kingdom and sent away his mother, because she celebrated the festivals of the idols of the grove. In year 29 of the reign of Asa, Ela, son of Ba`asa, reigned over the Israelites and occupied the throne for two years; and after him, Zimri, his servant, for seven days. Then the kingdom of the ten tribes of the Israelites was divided: one part lined up under the standards of Tibni, another under the standards of `Amri. The troops of `Amri being numerous, Tibni was so afraid and so dismayed that he fell sick and died because of this. `Amri reigned over [only]

the [ten] the tribes for six years. In that time, `Amri bought the mountain of Samaria (Chamarîn) which belonged to Samer (Chamîr); he built there a city which he called Samaria (Chamarîn), like the mountain. It became the seat of the kings of the ten tribes of Israel. The seat of the kings of the tribe of Judah was in Jerusalem. `Amri reigned another six years in the royal city which he had built.

169 In year 30 of the reign of Asa, king of the tribe of Judah, Zarah, king of India, went against Jerusalem, by land and sea, at the head of an army of eleven hundred thousand men; he camped under its walls and besieged it. Then king Asa addressed his prayers to his Lord,... he removed his royal clothing, covered himself with sackcloth and, humbly prostrate on ashes, prayed to God, asking His help and assistance against Zarah, king of India, and against his troops. God, who is powerful and great, answered his prayer, spoke to him and ordered him to assemble his troops and go out at their head against Zarah, in order to show him His power; but He prohibited him from including in his army people who carried swords or who shot arrows. When he went out with his army and came hand to hand with the troops of Zarah, those bent their bows, whose cords made a sound similar to the buzz of hives full of bees. They launched their arrows; but when these arrows reached their destination, God returned them to the hand of each rider of Zarah. The riders wounded by the arrows complained and informed their king of what had happened to them: "It is one of the magic spells which the Israelites have brought out of Egypt, " said the king to his companions.

170 The soldiers took their swords then and set to kill each other, because God had given them, each to the eyes of the others, the appearance of the Israelites: thus they exterminated themselves. Those who escaped death, drowned in the sea; and three days after the sea threw them on to the shore. Then God ordered king Asa to go out with his troops towards the sea to take their skins. May no-one be astonished by my account in which I explain the order given by God to king Asa: any intelligent man knows, indeed, that victory and triumph depend on God. The history of the campaign of Zarah against Jerusalem and the reason which caused him to make war on the Israelites would take a little too a long time to tell. 171 After Asa, king of Jerusalem, his son Josaphat reigned over the tribe of Judah for 25 years. In year 2 of his reign, Ahab succeeded his father `Amri and reigned in Samaria over the ten tribes of Israel. He then married a woman, named Jezabel, the

daughter of Ethba'al, king of Sidon. He rebuilt the accursed city of Jericho that Joshua, son of Noun, had cursed, when he captured it at the time of the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt; Joshua had cursed also he who rebuilt it. Jericho was rebuilt 700 years after its destruction. One of the prophets of this time was Elijah, of the family of Aaron. He lived in a town of Gilead. On the day of his birth, his father saw him in a dream, surrounded by flames and going up to the sky. Another prophet was Abdias, of the tribe of Ephraim, who had hidden a hundred prophets for fear they would be killed by king Ahab. There was also the prophet Micaiah who had proclaimed to king Ahab the victory that he would gain over his enemies; the chaldaean prophets, among whom was Zedekiah, son of a Canaanite woman; Eleazar with 400 prophets who prophesied in the city of the queen Jezabel against her whims and passions.

172 In year 8 of the reign of Josaphat, king of the tribe of Judah, Ahab built a temple and some altars to the idols in the town of Samaria. Josaphat, in year 12 of his reign, made war on the king of Ramah who was called Ben-Hadad (Bar-Hadad) and with 32 kings who were with him; he overcame them and killed 7,000 of their men. Among the prophets of this time, there were Oziel (Hazayyal) and Eleazar. In the year 24 of the reign of Josaphat, king of the tribe of Judah, Ochozia (Ahaz), son of Ahab, began to reign over the ten tribes of Israel and occupied the throne for two years. Josaphat died at the age of 60 and had as successor his son Joram who reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem for eight years; he lived 40 years. At that time, the prophet Elijah was lifted up into heaven.

173 Joram, king of the tribe of Judah, married Athalia, sister of Ahab, king of the tribes of Israel. At the same time, Joram killed all his brothers, the children of Josaphat. After which he fell ill: all his entrails came out of his belly which was thus completely emptied, and he died. Then Ahaziah, son of Joram, reigned over the tribe of Judah for one year; he lived 23 years. That year Jezabel died; she reigned for 36 years, including 15 years after the death of her husband. It is written that after the death of Ahaziah, son of Athalia, sister (daughter) of Ahab, Athalia seized all the royal princes of the tribe of Judah and killed them, except Joash, son of Ahaziah, whom Josabeth (Yahouchaba`), his aunt, had hidden with her nurse. The policy of Athalia and its goal throughout were to destroy the kingdom of the tribe of Judah and reduce it to just one, by joining it together with that of her brother

Ahab, king of the ten tribes of Israel; then to tear off the sceptre with the tribe of Judah of which it was written that the Messiah was to come, as if she wanted of her own will to prevent the advent of the Messiah, while obeying the suggestions that Satan, revolted against God, had thrown in her heart; because Satan would have liked to make empty the revelations made by God to the prophets on the arrival of the Messiah, and this is why he made of Athalia his instrument and the place of his residence.

174 In year 7 of the reign of Athalia, Joiada the high priest gathered all the tribe of Judah, and they proclaimed king Joash, son of Ahaziah, who was seven years old; he reigned over the tribe of Judah for 40 years and lived 47 years. At that time, Lycurgus the legislator flourished. At the same time, Elisha and Zachariah prophesied; this last was the son of the priest Joiada. Joash, king of Judah, ordered the prophet Zachariah, son of the priest Joiada, put to death, and the prophet was killed in the court of the temple. Joash also killed all the children of Joiada and attracted on himself the anger of God. In year 25 of the reign of Joash, son of Ahaziah, died the high priest Joiada. This same year, Joachaz, son of Jehu began to reign over the ten tribes of Israel and reigned for 17 years. 175 In year 30 of the reign of Joash, king of Judah, the prophet Elisha died, who had lived 50 years after the removal of Elijah to the sky and 67 years after annointing. Joash, king of Judah, was killed by his servants and died a miserable death. Amaziah his son reigned after him for 29 years; he lived 54 years. In year 2 of his reign, a king, whose name was also Joash, started to reign over the ten tribes of Israel. But he drew his origin from these ten tribes and was not the Joash who had reigned over the tribe of Judah. He reigned over the ten tribes for 16 years. In year 13 of the reign of Amaziah, king of Judah, Joash, king of the tribes of Israel, made war on him. He drew up balistas against Jerusalem, destroyed the enclosing wall over a length of four hundreds cubits and entered the city; he then took all the vestments from the temple of the Lord, the sacred vessels, and the royal treasures and returned to Samaria, the capital of his kingdom.

176 In that time, prophesied the prophet Hosea of the tribe of Issachar, and the prophet Amos, of Thecue (Taqou`), who was killed by order of Amaziah. At that time, prophesied the prophet Younan, who is Jonah, son of the prophet Amathi (Matai). He prophesied against the town of Nineveh and its inhabitants. It is said that Jonah was the son of the widow, that like the prophet Elijah he was resuscitated after his death. In year 18 of the reign of

Amaziah, king of Judah, Jeroboam began to reign over the ten tribes of Israel and reigned for 41 years. When Amaziah had reigned 29 years over the tribe of Judah, his servants killed him, and he died a miserable death. His son Uzziah succeeded him and reigned for 52 years; he lived 68 years. The books of the Kings, according to which we have written and tell the history of the kings, indicate that Uzziah was son of Amaziah; Amaziah, son of Joash; Joash, son of Ahaziah; and Ahaziah, son of Joram. No-one among the learned is worried about this. But three of these kings are not mentioned in the genealogy of Christ, contained in the Gospel of the evangelist Matthew (on him be safety!) Matthew says, in fact, that Joram fathered Uzziah; and he omits these three kings, i.e. Amaziah, Joash and Ahaziah, father of Joash, and makes no mention of them in the genealogy of Christ.

177 The astonishing history of Amaziah, of his son Joash, of Ahaziah, son of Joash, kings of Judah, from whom Christ draws his origin. We will recount and indicate the reason why the evangelist Matthew did not mention these kings, when he drew up the genealogy of the Messiah in the Gospel, and [we will say] why he omitted them, from Joram to Uzziah. Thus the Gospel begins where Matthew says: "History of the birth of Jesus-Christ, son of David, son of Abraham"; then he adds: "Abraham fathered Isaac. Isaac fathered Jacob. Jacob fathered Judah and his brothers. Judah fathered by Thamar Pharez and Zarah. Pharez fathered Esrom (Hosroun). Esrom fathered Aram. Aram fathered Aminadab. Aminadab fathered Nahson. Nahson fathered Salmon. Salmon fathered by Rahab Boaz. Boaz fathered `Obed by Ruth. `Obed fathered Jesse. Jesse fathered king David. David fathered Solomon, by the wife of Uriah. Solomon fathered Roboam. Roboam fathered Abia. Abia fathered Asa. Asa fathered Josaphat. Josaphat fathered Joram. Joram fathered Uzziah." Matthew draws up a continuous genealogy of Christ to Joseph, promised in marriage to Mary; but he omits kings from Joram to Uzziah, as we said, i.e. three kings, from which Christ draws also his origin according to our calculation. Matthew does not insert them in the genealogy of Christ, and these are: Amaziah, Uzziah and Joash.

178 The Christian scholars and doctors say that Joram did a thing at which the Lord was angry: he married Athalia, sister of Ahab, king of the tribes of Israel, who had married the Jezabel queen, murderess of the prophets. God was angry against Joram, because he had married the sister of the husband of the queen Jezabel, as if he had massacred the prophets and built

temples and altars to idols. It is because of this that king Ahab had undertaken what he did. The Bible also says about this: After the death of Ahaziah, king of Judah, Joash, son of Ahaziah, alone remained by the care of Josabeth, his aunt, who had hidden him with her nurse. This is why God was angry against Joram, as we have already said, because he had married Athalia, sister of Ahab, the woman who would have liked to destroy the kingdom of Joram and that of the tribe of Judah and its posterity, from where Christ draws his origin; who would have liked to extirpate the descent of the tribe of Judah and his kingdom, to make it hers and that of Ahab her brother, and, if possible, to destroy the descent of Judah from where the Messiah was to come, to join together the two kingdoms, that of Judah and that of the ten tribes, in only one. Athalia, sister of Ahab, husband of Jezabel, also killed all the children of the high priest Joiada. Then Joram was not satisfied to have married Athalia, sister of Ahab: God was angry again against him because he massacred all his brothers, children of his father Josaphat. God thus brought down on him his vengeance: he fell ill; his entrails escaped and his belly was entirely emptied; he died thus a miserable death.

179 Then his son Joash ascended the throneand killed the prophet Zachariah in the court of the temple of the Lord. He also killed all the family of the high priest Joiada. Then God delivered him into the hands of his servants who killed him; and he died a miserable death. When his son Amaziah ascended the throne of Judah, he killed the prophet Amos at the end of his reign. Then God was angry against him and delivered him into the hands of his servants who killed him; and he died a miserable death. It is because of these very striking facts that the evangelist Matthew excluded from his Gospel the names of these three kings, when he made the genealogy of Christ, out of horror of their actions. The most hideous of these stories is that of Athalia which had thought of exterminating the tribe of Judah, because Satan, who lived in this woman, had persuaded her to prevent the advent of the Messiah. We already explained this to you and we are showing it to you now, so that you can understand it. Ask (may God keep you!) who you like among the scholars, the wise ones and the people skilled in learning, about the history of these three kings who are the ancestors of Christ. I have set it forth to you and explained it. It is one of the mysteries of the Gospel which contains innumerable such.

180 We have said that Uzziah, son of Amaziah, reigned over the tribe of Judah for 52 years. It is written that in year 6 of his reign the dynasty of the kings of the Assyrians ended, i.e. of Mosul, and that their kingdom fell into the power of the Medes, with the country of Babylon (Babil). The first king of the Assyrians was Phoul, son of Sa(?); he reigned over them for 35 years. In that time, the repentance of the inhabitants of the town of Nineveh took place. At the same time, Hosea, Amos (ʿAmoun), Jonah, son of Amathi, and Isaiah who was from Jerusalem and which was sawn with a saw and put to death by order of Manasseh, then buried with the cemetery of Siloe, prophesied. After having prophesied for 35 years, he was deprived of the gift of prophecy for 28 years, i.e. for all the reign of the four kings in question; he lived 113 years. Here is the reason why the Isaiah prophet was deprived of the gift of prophecy for 28 years: Uzziah, king of Judah, was impudent, although he was not a priest, so far as entering (the temple) to offer incense to God. Deterred by fear, the prophet Isaiah did not inform him, did not condemn him, he did not reprimand this audacity and impudence. Then Isaiah was deprived of the gift of prophecy for 28 years, until the death of Uzziah. His entire body was covered with leprosy and scales; his skin became white like snow; and all that, in a wink of an eye. After the death of Uzziah, Joatham, his son, succeeded him and reigned over the tribe of Judah for 16 years. God again inspired Isaiah who again prophesied for 61 years.

181 Here what is written in his prophecies, according to the Bible: "The year of king Uzziah died, I saw the Lord sitting in the Temple on a throne that was high and lifted up. The chosen Seraphs stood before him, each them having six wings; with two wings they covered their faces, with two others they covered their feet and with the last two they flew, one toward another, saying: Holy, Holy, Holy are the Lord of the armies; heaven and earth are full of his glory and his majesty." The book of the prophet Isaiah has 3,926 verses. In the year 29 of the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah, Zachariah ascended the throne of the ten tribes of Israel and reigned for six months. After him Selloum, son of Jabez, reigned thirty days; then Manahem, son of Gadi, reigned 10 years. At that time, the first king of the Macedonians reigned, i.e. the Greeks (Roum). He was named Qaranos.

182 Porphyry, the commentator of the book of Aristotle, and deacon of a church in the town of Tyre (Sour), was arrogant before all the deacons, his equals. This is why they threw themselves on him one day in the temple and

beat him. Then he revolted, gave up Christianity, disavowed Christ, apostasised and denied the Gospel. This Porphyry claims that the philosopher Homer, composer of the book of the poems of the Greeks at that time, recounted their wars. In that time flourished Zachariah, son of Barachiah, and Ananie (Anouniya) high priests of the Israelites. It is written that the Jews stoned Zachariah, son of Barachiah, in the temple; and he died. A second time: Lycurgus, legislator of the Greeks, flourished at that time. In the year 23 of the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah, Phoul, king of Babylon, made an expedition against Samaria, city of the kingdom of the ten tribes of Israel; he overcame it and captured it. Then the king of Samaria gave him a thousand talents of silver, which makes thousand purses, and Phoul returned into the East.

183 At that time, Phidon, of Argos, who manufactured measurements and weights, was made known. In year 40 of the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah, Peqachya, son of Manahem, reigned over the tribes of Israel for four years. King Teglatphalasar reigned in Babylon and Nineveh for 35 years. At the same time, Ardysus (Ardashir) reigned as the first [king of the Lydians]; the kings of the Corinthians ceased; the first king of the Greeks reigned in the town of Athens or Cecrops, for 23 years. In year 5 of the reign of Uzziah, leap years began to be counted, one leap year every four years. From that time dates the beginning of the war between the Prasini and Veneti, i.e. between the partisans of the green and the partisans of the blue. The colour was only a pretext which the kings used for themselves to make war break out between the parties. There fell in the fray 500,000 men, more or less, as we find in the books. Their kings employed this trick to prevent them multiplying and from revolting against them. Their history is astonishing, but a little long; if you are ready to hear it, you can hear it. We found that the majority of bishops of these ancient and former times had grasped this [principle] and stuck to it. I have heard one of them say: "If the flocks of a bishop live in peace and prosperity, the bishop will be unhappy, [and that will continue] until the day when the flocks are afflicted." I believe that the majority of them stuck to this principle; this is why they divided their flocks into two parties.

184 The total of the years from Adam and the origins of the world until the first olympiad are in total 4,725 years; from the flood to that year, 2,469 years; from the exodus of the Israelites of Egypt until the same year, 878 years; from the reign of Saul, the first king who reigned over the Israelites,

334 years. In year 50 of the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah, Peqach, son of Remalya (Roumalya), began to reign over the ten tribes of Israel and he occupied the throne for 20 years. In his time Teglatphalasar time, king of Babylon, made an incursion: he fought the Israelites and took into captivity to Babylon a great number of them. When Uzziah died, after a reign of 52 years, his son Joatham succeeded him and reigned over the tribe of Judah for 16 years; he lived 41 years. At that time, the prophets Joel, of the tribe of Ruben (Roubal), and Micaiah, of the tribe of Ephraim, prophesied.

185 Then also the town of Rhodes was built, which is an island of the sea. Ptolemy tells, in his book of the Canon, that it was in the middle of the fourth climate. It remained for 1,405 years. Then the Arabs destroyed it and took its inhabitants into captivity. After the death of Joatham, his son Ahaz succeeded him and reigned 16 years; he lived 36 years. He raised himself up against his Lord, served the gods of the gentiles, and worshipped their idols. Then God brought against him Racin, king of Syria, and Peqach, son of Remalya (Roumalya), who massacred 120,000 combatants of the tribe of Judah and took captive a great number. Ahaz, king of Judah, sent presents to Teglatphalasar, king of Babylon, and asked him for his help and assistance. This prince lent him aid and, arrived at Damascus, he fought against Racin, king of Syria, in the country of Esch-Scham, overcame him and killed him; then he took into captivity a great number of the inhabitants of his kingdom.

186 In year 2 of the reign of Ahaz, Hosee, son of Ela, ascended the throne of the ten tribes of Israel and reigned for 9 years. The following year, he called to his aid Adramelek the Kushite, king of Egypt. At that time, the sage Thales, the first physician, made himself known. In year 8 of the reign of Ahaz, Salmanasar began his reign which lasted for 14 years. 187 This same year, the first king of the Romans (Roum) who were the Franks, not the Greeks of the East (Younaniyoun), ascended the throne. Remus (Roumanaous) and Romulus reigned over the Roman-Franks; they built the marvellous city of Rome. The two brothers reigned together and they called the town of Rome from the name of Remus. (Romulus) reigned for 38 years; he attacked his brother and killed him. It is told that Remus and Romulus were born from a lukaina, i.e. a she-wolf. It is what their carved statues which are found to this day in the town of Rome portray. As for the learned, they tell that their grandfather Amulius, thinking that they had been born from an

adultery, ordered them immediately thrown in the forest; they were thrown there. The name of their mother was Helen (Aelia, Ilia), who was a priestess of Ares, i.e. of Mars. Their grandfather thought that a rider of the Roman-Franks had commited adultery with her. The learned and the poets tell that Ares made her pregnant, and that she had by him Remus and Romulus; then that, when they had been thrown into the forest, a woman who fed the herds found them, and seized with pity, took them and nourished them with her milk. In the language of the people of this country those who kept the herds were called "Liqouniyous", which means in the Greek language "a wolf": so "Liqouniyous", i.e. "Pastor" belongs to the Frank language and means in the Greek language "a wolf". They were so called, because they always fed their herds in the deserts and the wild places and that they lived there like the wild animals and beasts.

188 A scholar tells that the husband of Helen (Ilia) having spent the night with her, fathered them both then and that this same night he died, leaving her pregnant. Then when she had brought them into the world, their grandfather Amulius believed that they had been born from an adultery, and this is why he ordered them thrown into the forest, among the wild animals. There is nothing strange that Helen (Ilia) conceived them in one night, since we know already that Thamar conceived by Judah, after he had slept with her at a crossroads, and that she had by him Pharez and Zarah. We are not astonished, either, that the husband of Helen (Ilia) died the same night. 189 When (Remus and Romulus) had reigned together, as we said, for ten years, they changed to enmity and hatred and came to blows. Romulus threw himself on his brother Remus, killed him 3 and reigned alone. But after this murder, throughout the year, the town of Rome did not cease being shaken by earthquakes, nor its inhabitants from making war and committing suicide. Then Romulus addressed prayers to God to ask him to put an end to the earthquakes. God said to him in a dream: "the earthquakes will cease in your capital only if you place your brother beside you on the royal throne; it is only on this condition that the city will cease being disturbed by war and earthquake and that its inhabitants will find shelter from the punishments." Then Romulus made a statue of gold om the image of his brother; he placed it beside him on the throne, and when he ordered or forbade, he spoke in the plural, saying: "We order, we forbid, we do," and so on, always expressing himself on his own behalf and in the name of his brother.

This is why the kings of the Romans stick to this habit of speaking in the name of two people, when they order or forbid, from the time of Romulus until today, for example: "we order, we forbid, we do", and so on. Hardly had Romulus placed the statue of his brother at his side on the throne, when the earthquakes ceased in the city and that the people laid down their weapons.

190 When he had built the seven ramparts of the town of Rome, had laid out and decorated its streets with art, Romulus made a great festival. He called "March" the month which is the new moon of Nisan (April) and which always corresponds to the month of Adar (March), when the equinox takes place. This month was before called Primus, and the translation (of Martius) is "month of Ares", i.e. of Mars; and Mars means in the frank language (Latin) the beauty of the flowers, because, in that month, the ground shows its beauty and is covered with a multitude of pretty flowers. The Romans celebrate this festival, that Romulus instituted, every year until today, and call it the kalends of Mars; on that day they offer presents to their king and to each other. (This festival) resembles that of the new year (Naurouz) among the inhabitants of the East.

191 After that, he made an (other) great festival where he distributed many largesses to the Romans. He established the upatoi (consuls?) for them, i.e. the leaders of the public affairs. Since that time kings have adopted the practice of creating division, war and dissension among their subjects to distract them from themselves, by civil war, and to let them destroy each other. Romulus built a circus, i.e. a marvellous theatre in the town of Rome, to draw aside the opposition, dissatisfaction and resentment which were among the inhabitants of the town of Rome, angry against him because he had killed his brother. Romulus made a festival in the honour of the sun and placed the (four) elements on a chariot drawn by four horses on which he made war. He gave names to these four elements: (he called) the earth "Prasinus", i.e. green, because of its grass; he named the sea "Venetus", i.e. colour of the sky, because the colour of water resembles that of the sky; he made the colour of fire red and that of the air white. These four things have existed in the town of Rome until today. The inhabitants of the city were divided into two parties, and since then war and battles [between them] have continued ever since. This is one of the tricks which kings have invented so that their subjects will destroy each other and cease being dangerous, the king always inclining towards most powerful of the two parties.

192 In year 17 from the foundation of Rome, the king made a count of them and counted the inhabitants; and their number was 950,000 men. Eight years after, he counted them for the second time, and their number was 7,000,000 men. Oenomaus, king of Pisa also instituted and celebrated a festival in the honour of the sun on the 25th of the month of Adar (March); he organized the combat and fighting on land and sea and subordinated these four elements, i.e. fire, the air, water and earth, to the sun. 193 In year 9 of the reign of Hosea, king of the ten tribes of Israel, in year 8 of the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah, in the first year of the reign of Salmanasar, king of Babylon, Salmanasar attacked the town of Samaria, capital of the kings of the ten tribes of Israel; he camped before it and, after having besieged it for three years, captured it; after which he took the inhabitants of the ten tribes of Israel into captivity in Babylon. Then Salmanasar, king of Babylon, sent a great number of inhabitants of the country of Mosul and other cities, to guard the countries where the Israelites had lived. These people were called Samaritans, which means in Hebrew guardians or guards. But the lions and the wild animals were going to attack them and kill them. This was reported to Salmanasar who said: "Perhaps this has happened, because the people that I have sent don't know the worship of the god of this country?" And he sent them a certain number of Israelite priests, to teach only the Torah to them: the wild animals went away. It is for this reason that the Samaritans only accept among the prophets the Book of the Torah. They say that they are the true Israelites, but they are mistaken, because they are only the descendants of the people who came from the East.

194 After the death of Ahaz, king of Judah, his son Hezekiah reigned for 29 years; he lived 54 years. In year 6 of his reign, Sennacherib ascended the throne in Babylon and reigned for 9 years.Then he made a expedition against Jerusalem, and he had Bocht-Nassar as secretary. But the Lord, hearing the prayer and supplications which king Hezekiah had addressed to him, made 185,000 men of his army perish. Its history is written in the Book of the Kings of Israel. When Sennacherib had escaped, his son Asarhaddon, seeing that his troops had been exterminated, captured him and killed him; then he reigned after him for three years. In year 15 of the reign of Hezekiah, Merodach-Baladan reigned for 48 years. History of king Hezekiah. It is written that king Hezekiah gave satisfaction to God in all his actions: he abolished from the middle of his people the idols and their worship, purified

the Temple of the Lord of any stain and impurity, sanctified it and put priests there, in the way in which the prophet David had done.

195 In his time the prophets Isaiah and Micaiah lived. Isaiah prophesied on the advent of the Messiah. There was [also] the prophet Hosea who, for all his life, exhorted the Israelites, diverted them from the cult and worship of idols and set himself to prayer and supplication to obtain from His Lord to move Sennacherib away from his people: God heard his prayer and broke the anger of Sennacherib, king of Babylon. God wanted the prophet Hosea to know the hardness of the heart of the Israelites and their obstinacy towards Him. So He said to this prophet: "Go, marry a repudiated woman who prostitutes herself publicly, and another woman who commits adultery in secret." The prophet Hosea was amazed at this order from God and he conceived an overpowering sorrow from it. But God wanted to make known to him his lack of patience compared to that of the Lord towards the Israelites. The truth indeed, according to the prophet Hosea, it is that several of them adored the idols in secret, and others publicly. This is why God ordered him to marry a repudiated woman who prostituted herself publicly, and another who committed adultery in secrecy, so that the prophet would not importune his Lord any more because of them.

196 It is written that king Hezekiah committed himself to dedicate himself exclusively to the service of God, without marrying, because he remembered the promise and the oath that God had made the prophet David, namely that the race and the posterity of David would not cease occupying his throne until the consummation of the centuries. King Hezekiah thought to himself and said: "The blessing that God gave to the prophet David and the promise that He made to him, namely that his race and posterity will not cease to occupy his throne until the consummation of the centuries, - is a perfect blessing by God, who could never withdraw His promises nor His gifts. As my fathers and my grandfathers married and had children, the blessing passed from one to another, from father to son, who thus inherited the throne of the prophet David." And the prophet Hezekiah thought that, if he remained virgin and did not marry, he would reign and would occupy the throne of the prophet David until the consummation of the centuries. He had not understood that it was necessary to interpret differently than he thought, the word addressed by God to the prophet David. But on this God sent the prophet Isaiah to him saying to the latter: "Go and tell king Hezeki-

ah to make his will in favour of his own, because he will die and will not live any more"; as if he said: "People will die and live again at the day of Resurrection; as for him, he will die and will not live again any more, because he thought that it would remain [alive] until the end of time."

197 And king Hezekiah fell sick, as soon as the prophet Isaiah had told him and reported the word of the Lord. On his bed, he started to weep hot tears, the prey of sadness. He spat against the wall, saying: "Pah for this earthly mud from which I draw my origin! and I believed that I could live until the consummation of the centuries!" Then he recalled to God his actions and what he had done to please his Lord. God approved his prayer and sent to him for the second time the prophet Isaiah saying to the latter: "Go to king Hezekiah and say to him: The Lord has added fifteen years to your life; and here is the proof: ask at your pleasure that the sun, on the sundial of your father Ahaz, should advance by fifteen degrees, or that it go back by fifteen degrees." Then king Hezekiah said himself: "It would not be a wonder that the sun advanced, since it is the way of its course and the law of its movement. Let it rather go back by fifteen degrees!" He thus said to the prophet Isaiah: "I ask that the sun go back by fifteen degrees." However the sun, which was then in the middle of the sky, at midday, at the time when it goes down again, at the end of the sixth hour, retraced its steps towards the East as if it were at the time of its rising, at the hour of the morning prayer.

198 But for two reasons I do not see what king Hezekiah was thinking, when he asked that the sun go back: firstly, this is not the way of its movement nor the line of its route; in the second place, often people, in their work, their occupations or their discussions, spend several hours of the day without realizing it; but it is when the sun was in the middle of the sky, at the end of the sixth hour, that is when people needed to eat, the workmen, the managers and others, and to rest, that the sun rereturned its steps, at similar hour, and returned to the time of its rising, to the hour of the morning prayer. Then all men had to notice this and note this; even the animals had to realize it, without speaking like men. It is not necessary however that somebody thinks that the sun returned from the degree of the middle of the sky to the place (litt. degree) of its rising without the return of the whole celestial sphere. Also we say that the whole celestial sphere retrogressed, returned with all its stars and its planets — the stars remaining in their places - and returned from the middle of the sky towards the East. And we add that,

if the sun returned from the degree of the middle of the sky instead of its rising, the three signs of the zodiac also retraced their steps and the four seasons of the year were changed: if it were the season of spring, it changed into the season of summer; if it were the season of summer, it changed into the season of autumn; if it were the season of autumn, it changed into the season of winter, and if it were the season of winter, it changed into the season of spring; so that the four seasons changed.

199 You (may God keep you!) must have and indeed possess those things which belong to the depths of learning and the mysterious treasures of wisdom; it is necessary that you have an exact knowledge, when you question on this point the learned and those who plunge into the reading of the books of learning or literature. You will see then if there is only one among them who knows similar mysteries and you will be delighted to have these hidden treasures of learning, that nobody, except you, knows, neither the wise ones, nor the patriarchs, nor the bishops, nor other men. 200 It is written that Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, sent to king Hezekiah presents, gifts and offerings, when he had noted that the sun had returned from the middle of the sky to the East. The Magi worship the sun, fire, water and all the luminous elements; therefore king Merodach, witnessing the return of the sun, said to his companions: "I see that our god has been put to rout; there must be another god more powerful who ran up against it, pushed back and made it move back." Then he informed himself on this. And when he knew what had happened to king Hezekiah and he learned of the prophecy of Balaam the magician who had said: "A star will come forth from Jacob and a leader from Israel," he was seized with fear and was afraid of king Hezekiah; this is why he sent gifts and present to him, in testimony of his veneration, to seek his favour because he feared him. When the ambassadors of king Merodach arrived with king Hezekiah, with their offerings and their presents, he boasted; he spread out all the vases of the temple and all the wonders which it contained, to show them to the envoys. Then God was angry against him and said to him: "In truth, says the Lord: All that you showed and of which you have boasted, will be plundered and carried off into the regions of the East; your sons and your descendants will be led there in captivity."

201 After this king Hezekiah married and fathered Manasseh, who, after the death of his Hezekiah father, ascended the throne at the age of 13. His

reign lasted 55 years, and he lived 68 years. At that time, in the town of Rome, (Numa) Pompilius reigned for 43 years. He added to the months of the Romans Kanoun II (January) and Chebat (February); until that time the Romans had known only ten months; (imagine that!) and each month was of 36 days. He built and set up in the town of Rome the Capitol, the first of the seven wonders; he widened its hall and rooms, because they were narrow. Manasseh, in year 18 of his reign, was taken into captivity in punishment for his great injustice, his impiety, his opposition to the Lord and the restoration of the worship of the idols; he remained imprisoned in Babylon for 39 years. He addressed to the Lord prayers and supplications and he returned to his kingdom where he removed the idol with four faces which he had made and placed in the temple of the Lord; he moved this idol from the temple and had it burned. The prayer of Manasseh is beautiful in its sadness and the humble supplication which the king addresses to his Lord; it is inscribed in the books of the Christians and Jews.

202 In year 39 of the reign of Manasseh, Sennacherib the Younger began his reign which lasted 31 years. In year 52 of the reign of Manasseh, king of Judah, Byzantium was built by king Byzos. It was previously called Nicomedia and had been absorbed. Then, 970 years after the foundation of the town of Byzantium by king Byzos, the emperor Constantine the Great, son of Helene, restored it, increased it, built there palaces, theatres and surrounding walls and gave it his name, Constantinople (Qastantiniya). After the death of Manasseh, his son Amon succeeded him and reigned 12 years; he lived 24 years. At that time, Alcman flourished, who is called Loqman among the Arabs. In year 5 of the reign of Amon, was born his son Josias. From that time, after 348 years, the prophecy on the Altar was carried out. After the death of Amon, his son Josias reigned in his place for 31 years.

203 In that year, the Magus ascended the throne of Babylon and reigned 33 years. In year 6 of the reign of Josias, the prophet Sophoniah, son of Kouchi, of the tribe of Simeon, prophesied. [At that time] there lived the priest Hilkiya, father of the prophet Jeremiah. In year 13 of the reign of Josias, the prophet Jeremiah started to prophesy. In year 31 of the reign of Josias, the lame Pharaoh (Nechao) ascended the throne of Egypt and reigned for 6 years. He killed Josias. The son of the latter, Joachaz, reigned after him for three months. Then the Pharaoh, king of Egypt, returned, killed Joachaz also and established in his place his brother Joachim, called Eliakim, who

reigned for 12 years and lived 18 years. In year 3 of the reign of Eliakim, Nabuchodonosor ascended the throne of Babylon and reigned for 45 years. In the first year of his reign, he attacked Jerusalem, took into captivity part of its inhabitants and carried off all the utensils and all the vases of the temple, according to the word that God had said to king Hezekiah, when this one was boasting about these [treasures] and had shown them to the envoys of king Merodach. Among these first prisoners that Nabuchodonosor took, that year, there were Daniel with his companions, Ananias, Azarias and Misael. Nabuchodonosor had them thrown into a burning furnace; but they remained healthy and safe, and their clothing was not even smoke-damaged.

204 In year 5 of the reign of Eliakim, Nabuchodonosor killed the lame Pharaoh (Nechao), king of Egypt, after whom Psammeticus (Samizis) reigned for 17 years. At that time the Pharaoh devastated the town of Menbidj located on the Euphrates. When it was rebuilt, it was called Hierapolis, i.e. the city of priests. In year 8 of the reign of Eliakim and in year 5 of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, Nabuchodonosor attacked Jerusalem for the second time and imposed a tribute on its inhabitants; but Joachim continued to reign in his place. In year 8 of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, Joachin died, and his son Joachin succeeded him; it is he who is named in the Gospel Jechoniah. He reigned for three months. When he had deviated from the obedience which he owed to his Lord, king Nabuchodonosor attacked him and took him captive to Babylon, where he remained prisoner for 37 years, until the time when Evilmerodach succeeded Nabuchodonosor. Evilmerodach took Jechoniah from his prison, made him sit at his table and eat with him; the son of Jechoniah married Suzanne, daughter of the priest Hilkia and sister of the prophet Jeremiah.

205 When Joachin was taken into captivity, Nabuchodonosor established in his place his uncle Zedekiah, called Mathanya; he was called also Jechoniah. He reigned for 11 years and lived 32 years. In this same year, the prophet Ezechiel was taken captive to Babylon with the Israelite prisoners. In year 5 of the reign of Zedekiah and in year 9 of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, the Prophet Ezechiel began to prophesy. In the same year, Astyages began to reign over the country of the Persians and occupied the throne for 38 years. The prophet Jeremiah, knowing by his prophecies that the temple was going to be burned and the people of the Israelites taken into captivity to Babylon,

took the Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant that Moses had drawn up in the desert, and hid them in a cave, of which nobody, to this day, knows the location. 206 At that time, Hophra reigned in Egypt for 25 years. In year 9 of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, Nabuchodonosor undertook his fourth campaign [against Jerusalem] and besieged it until the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, king of the Jews. In this same year, which is the twenty-first of his reign, Nabuchodonosor captured Jerusalem and burned the Temple. The Temple, since the time when Solomon, son of David, had built it, until the day when it was set on fire, lasted 534 years. 22 kings of the tribe of Judah are counted until this date, and they reigned in total for a period of 518 years and six months. When the Israelites were taken captive to Babylon, Nebuzardan seized the high priest Sophoniah and other chiefs and big men of the people as well as Zedekiah, king of Judah, and he transported them to Babylon where he had them killed; he had the eyes of Zedekiah put out and the throats of his sons cut; then he made him turn a mill by hand. He was then 32 years old. After his death his corpse was thrown behind the curtain wall; and thus the prophecy was accomplished which the Lord had made over him by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah.

207 As for the Jews who remained in Jerusalem, they took the prophet Jeremiah and went down to Hophra, king of Egypt. There, they killed the prophet Jeremiah who died and was buried. He had prophesied for 38 years. His book contains 4,252 verses; the book of Kings contains 1,113 and the book of Paralipomen 3,503. The Jews who were in captivity also seized the prophet Ezechiel and killed him; he was buried over there, in the tomb of Shem, son of Noah. He had prophesied for 28 years. His book contains 4,376 verses. A little time afterwards, Nabuchodonosor attacked the town of Tyre. He ordered his troops to pile up stones in the sea to reach the city. But at this sight, the inhabitants of Tyre threw in the sea all that they had and fled on their vessels. Nabuchodonosor took Hiram, king of Tyre, and returned home. Hiram lived 50 years, during the reigns of the 21 kings of the tribe of Judah. When the troops of Nabuchodonosor had left the town of Tyre, the country of Egypt fell into their hands. Nabuchodonosor reigned 24 years after the destruction of Jerusalem and the burning of the temple. It is from the year 22 of his reign that we start to count the 70 years of the captivity of the Israelites in Babylon.

208 In year 37 of the reign of Nabuchodonosor which is year 13 of the captivity, Nabuchodonosor made this great statue of gold, which was 60 cubits high. It is because of this idol that Ananias, Azarias and Misael were distinguished: they were thrown into a burning furnace; but they remained healthy and safe, because God preserved them from the flame. From this time, among the Greeks, Joseph (Yousifous) was distinguished, i.e. Aesop (Yousfâs) the fabulist. After the death of Nabuchodonosor, his son Evilmerodach reigned for one year. In year 5 of the captivity, Balthasar ascended the throne; and it is in the first year of his reign that the prophet Daniel saw in a dream the beast which came up from the sea. In year 2 of his reign, Balthasar made a feast and while he was sitting on a raised seat, he had them bring in the sacred vessels which had been removed from the Temple of the Lord, and drank from them. But hardly he had drunk from these vessels, than a hand appeared on the wall opposite, writing the misfortune which would happen to him and the punishment which awaited him. Here what was written: "He who counts the hair of the head (God) has counted and numbers his kingdom and torn its veil (has deprived it of defense)." The same night Darius the Mede and Persian, entered his place, killed him and annexed his kingdom to that of the Medes and Persians...

209 Darius, son of Assuerus (Ahchirach) began to reign in year 28 of the captivity. In the first year of this reign, the prophet Daniel made a prayer, because he saw clearly that the years were approaching and that the 70 years that God had fixed for their slavery in Babylon was coming to an end. They had started, indeed, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Josias, the time when the prophet Jeremiah made his beginning as a prophet. Having heard the prayer and supplications of Daniel, the Lord sent the archangel Gabriel to him and announced to him concerning the weeks, the destruction of Jerusalem and the kings who reigned at that time and who are mentioned in the book of the prophet Daniel. In that time, Daniel was thrown in the lion's den. Cyrus the Persian rose up. He killed Astyages, king of the Medes, and Darius, king of the Babylonians; then he established the empire of the Persians, in year 81 of the captivity of Israelites. He reigned 30 years. In the first year of his reign, he ordered that 50,000 Israelite prisoners should be released and set free and he sent them to Jerusalem. As of that moment he ordered them to rebuild the Temple of the Lord; but they were prevented from doing so by the people who surrounded them, until the end of the sixth

year of Darius, son of Hystaspes, which is year 46 of their captivity, as it is written in the Gospel of John. Let no-one think in consequence that the Jews took 46 years to rebuild this Temple.

210 In year 2 of the reign of Darius, Daniel was thrown, a second time, into the lion's den because he had frustrated and confused the priests of the idols in their temple and revealed and published their artifices. Daniel killed the Dragon. In year 3 of the reign of Darius, the prophet Daniel fasted for three weeks, that is to say twenty-one days; he started to fast on the 4th of the first month of Nisan (April). Then God sent the angel Gabriel to him. Daniel collapsed and fell down, seized with fear. This same year, the prophet Daniel died, while the Israelites were still captive, and he was buried in Babylon. Daniel was of the tribe of Judah. His book contains 1,550 verses. At that time prophesied the prophet Habakuk, of the tribe of Simeon. It was he whom the Angel took by the hair, when, mounted on an ass, he carried their meal to the harvesters. The Angel of the Lord carried him from the country of Jerusalem to Babylon, to the prophet Daniel, who was in the pit. Habakuk gave the prophet something to eat from the collation which he carried with him and which was hot. Then the Angel of the Lord brought him back to the country of Jerusalem.

211 At that time prophesied the prophet Haggai, of the tribe of Levi, and the prophet Zachariah, son of Barachyah. At the same time, the lived the Magus Zoroaster (Azeradhoucht), author of the doctrines of the Magi, which consisted of the worship of water, fire, of the elements, and other shameful practises, which it is not advisable to describe in this book. At that time, the doctrines of Pythagoras appeared and Simonides and Anacreon were distinguished, inventors of lutes and guitars. In year 10 of the Persian Cyrus, the seventy years of the first captivity were accomplished, which had started in year 3 of Joachim (or Eliakim). After the death of Cyrus, Cambyses, or, as the Hebrews say, Nabuchodonosor II ascended the throne. He reigned for 8 years. At that time, Judith distinguished herself who, by her stratagem, killed Holophernes, king of Babylon. The book of Judith contains 1,268 verses. 212 Among the Israelites there was the high priest Joshua, son of Josedek; and in Jerusalem, Joachim (Ilyaqim). Cambyses, in year 6 of his reign, invaded Egypt, captured it and killed Amasis (Maqnousiyous), king of Egypt. After which the kingdom of Egypt ceased existing until year 15 of the reign of Darius. At that time, Fansamous (?) cut up the stone which spoke,

because he believed he would find the mysteries of magic inside. After Cambyses, the Magus reigned 3 years and 7 months; after this latter, Darius, son of Hystaspes, reigned 36 years. In year 2 of his reign, the seventy years were accomplished; and in year 6, the 3rd of the month of Adar (March), the construction of the Temple of the Lord was completed. At that time, the philosopher Democritus flourished. After the death of Darius, his son Xerxes i.e. Assuerus (Akhchirach), reigned for 26 years.

213 At that time the painter Zeuxis was famous. At the same time, there lived the Jews Esther and Mordecai, nephew of the prophet Jeremiah, sons of the high priest Barachyah; Mordecai was the uncle d' Esther. They were both prisoners in Babylon. In that time, flourished the prophet Malachi, one of the twelve prophets; he prophesied in the country of Judah. After his death there were no more prophets known among the Israelites. The book of the Twelve Prophets contains in all 3,643 verses. The book of Esther contains 654 verses. In year 11 of his reign, Xerxes (Akhchirach) captured the town of Athens and many other cities. His son succeeded him for two years and half, and had himself as a successor Artaxerxes Longhand, called Ariyoukh who reigned for 41 years At that time, a stone fell from the sky in the river of Aigos (Augoch); its name was Afsis (aix?).

214 In year 7 of his reign, king Artaxerxes ordered the scribe Esdras to go up to the country of Judah and to rebuild Jerusalem; it was under the pontificate of the high priest Joshua, son of Josedek. This was explained and revealed to Esdras. Esdras wrote down all the Torah and the Prophets from memory, because he knew them by heart; he also set to describe and tell how the people had left Babylon. He was the fourteenth high priest after Aaron. The book of Esdras contains 2,808 verses. At that time lived the wise Empedocles of Sicily. He went to see and examine the fire which spouted in swirls out of a cave. Not being able to understand this mystery, he threw himself into the cave; but he forgot his shoes, outside. Thus he betrayed himself and made known that he did not have the qualities that its contemporaries had allotted to him.

215 At the same time, Democritus and Hippocrates were famous, who were doctors; Zeno and Heraclites. It was then also that the Romans sent messengers to the town of Athens: [these messengers] copied [the laws of the Athenians] and wrote the XII Tables based on them. Artaxerxes, in year 20 of his reign, sent Nehemiah, his wine waiter, to rebuild Jerusalem; Nehemi-

ah remained in Jerusalem until the end of year 25 of the reign (1) ** of Artaxerxes. Then lived the minister of king Artaxerxes, Haman the Amalekite. He remembered the old enmity and the wars which had formerly separated the Israelites and Amalekites; he kept the resentment of it. And he asked the king to kill and exterminate the Jewish people. In this same year, the construction of Jerusalem was completed, with its streets, its palaces, its citadels: it was under the pontificate of the high priest Joiadah, son of Elisee. When Nehemiah had gone up to Jerusalem, the Jews did not have any sacred fire and they did not dare to offer sacrifices to God with a profane fire: at the time where they had been taken captive to Babylon, they had taken the sacred fire of the altar of the Lord and had thrown it in a well which was in one of the suburbs of the town of Apamea; this suburb was called Ashin (?). The wine waiter Nehemiah had a vase and bowl brought from this well, sixty-four years after the fire had been thrown there; he placed this vase and this bowl on the wood of the altar; and the fire ignited.

216 At that time, Plato was born and the sophist Socrates was famous in (1) the town of Athens. As he perverted the young people, he was made to drink poison, and he died. But he left Plato who revealed his actions as well as his depraved and infamous doctrines. At the same time, while Haman, minister of the king, employed all the resources of his spirit to seek ruses to destroy and exterminate all the people of Israel, Esther and Mordecai covered themselves with sackcloth and addressed to God their prayers and their supplications. God made the artifices of the Amalekite Haman collapse on his own head: Artaxerxes had him killed and crucified. The history of Esther, niece of Mordecai, nephew of the prophet Jeremiah, and Haman the Amalekite, minister of king Artaxerxes. 217 It is written that king Artaxerxes prepared a great feast where he gathered all the delights; he gathered his notables there, his parents and the leaders of his (1) army. The Amalekite Haman was his Prime Minister and his intendant. At this feast, when the king had enjoyed to satiety all the delights and all the kinds of pleasures that he could wish, he said to himself that there remained nothing any more but only one pleasure at his disposal; it was that the queen Vachti wear her most beautiful finery and present herself to give him things to drink, him and to his companions. Consequently, the king sent to tell the queen to leave the flowers and to hurry herself to come to his banquet and to that of his companions. But she made him a most unpleasant and most crushing answer. The king conceived

such a sorrow at this that he forgot all the pleasures of that day and of the years of his reign. Witnessing his sorrow and his sadness, his companions and his friends left him. And it is said that he ordered that queen Vachti should be driven out from his realm, and to choose for him a thousand women, from among all those in his empire. This empire contained 127 cities subjected to his sceptre. So he sent his messengers to choose for him the women most remarkable, as far as possible, for their beauty, their grace and their spirit. When the choice of these women was done, Esther the Jew was among them. (1)

218 The king then ordered that the hundred most beautiful and most intelligent women be chosen from among them. These hundred women were chosen, and Esther was among them. Among these hundred women, he ordered the ten most particularly remarkable for beauty, grace and spirit to be chosen. Ten of them were chosen, and Esther was among them. Again, he ordered three women to be chosen, from among these ten. Three of them were chosen, and Esther was still among them. Finally he ordered, from among these three, the one chosen who exceeded all the others by her beauty, grace and spirit. And, among these three, Esther, niece of Mordecai was chosen, because no woman exceeded her in beauty, grace and spirit. Then the king ordered Esther to embellish and prepare her ornaments for thirty days, at the end of which she would enter his house. From the day when she was presented and became queen in the place of Vachti, Mordecai remained at the door of the king and did not leave it. Haman, extremely annoyed and concerned about this attitude, employed a trick and a lie to gain the ascendancy over king Artaxerxes; he said to him: "In your empire, O king, there is a people or rather a small troop of Israelites. And he did not cease insisting until he had bought from the king, with the help of a predetermined amount of money, that he offered to him, [the heads] of (1) all the Israelites who were in the towns of his empire.

219 The contract was signed between him and the king and the execution of the clauses were fixed by him for a specific date. Then the governors of all the cities of the empire received, by the messengers of Haman, the order to kill the Israelites who were there on the expiry of the fixed term, when they received the letter. He had a gibbet prepared, 120 cubits high, to hang Mordecai there; and he hid this gibbet in his house. 220 During that time, two eunuchs of Turkish origin, specially assigned to the bodyguard, one named

Bagathan (Ba`thân) and other Tarech (Itnâh), devised a conspiracy and resolved to kill the king the same night. Mordecai, uncle of queen Esther, learned of this project and he discovered clear evidence of it, because he was assiduous and was attached to the palace. So he presented to Artaxerxes an honest report and gave him the evidence of the conspiracy of the two eunuchs. At nightfall, the king had them placed under surveillance. They did not know that the king knew about their actions. Therefore they were taken at the moment when Artaxerxes saw with his own eyes the evidence which had been presented to him. They acknowledged it; then they were put to death by order of the sovereign. (1) That which concerns the report of Mordecai was written in the Book of the acts of the Kings. It is written that the king, during one sleepless night where he could not find sleep, had the history of the kings read to him. The secretary continued his reading until he came to the history of Mordecai and his report. Then the king said to the secretary: "What reward did we give this man?" - "The king did not reward him at all," he was told. So he ordered him to remind him of this business when morning came, in order to reward Mordecai; and at this moment sleep made heavy his eyelids and he fell asleep.

221 The day came, and Haman his minister, who was the first to enter to the king, was presented: "What would be, in your opinion, the right reward for a man whom the king wishes to distinguish and honour?" asked the sovereign. --- "Nobody, more than myself, has the favour of the king," Haman thought; and he said: "O king, this would his reward: this man must be mounted on the royal horse, your own crown placed on his head; then he who holds the bridle of his horse, having rolled up his clothing, will lead him around the city, shouting: (1) This is the reward of the man whom the king wants to distinguish and honour!" - "So get up immediately," the king told him, "place Mordecai on the royal horse, place my royal crown on his head with a sign at his neck, take the bridle of his horse and do for him what you said!" Haman went out from the king and did for Mordecai what the king had ordered him. When he had returned home, sad and afflicted, his wife said to him: "What news? Why do I see you sad and sorry?" And he told her the story. "Of which people and which nation is this man?" asked the woman. "He is an Israelite," he answered. The woman remembered that formerly God had granted his help to Israelites against Amalekites; and she said to Haman: "Since this man is of the people of Israelites and you have

already started to fall and to humiliate yourself before him, receive thus the humiliations which have happened to you." Then Mordecai remembered that the term fixed between the king and Haman approached, the term when the Israelites were to be massacred according to the clauses of the agreement. He then made a request to the queen Esther to speak to the king and he repeated several times his request on this subject.

222 The law of the Persian kings demanded that whoever presented themselves before the king (1) without being called, had their the head cut off by the torturers, unless the king touched he who appeared before him with his sceptre. It was the sign of [royal] protection. Esther, who remembered this law of the (Persian) kings, feared for her life; but her uncle Mordecai insisted on it. Seeing her slownesses, he had said to her: "If you do not repurchase your life by saving the people of the Lord, i.e. the Israelites, the Lord who is their God will come graciously to their help. Otherwise you will be one of those who are sold by the king, one of those whom Haman must make die. So do not imagine you that you will be able to escape. Then the queen Esther had her uncle Mordecai asked to fast, pray and order all the virgins of Israel to fast at the same time as him, for three days and three nights. The queen Esther fasted and prayed for three days and three nights; then she was covered with sackcloth, prostrated herself on ashes and prayed, begging God with great cries to preserve her from the [anger] of the king and to save his people from the malice of Haman. On the fourth day, when her fast was finished, she dressed in her royal robes (1) and presented herself before the king, while he was sitting on the throne. She was one of the prettiest and most gracious women.

223 The officers prepared to kill her. But the king extended his sceptre to her, which was with the kings of the Persians the sign of safety. He ran towards her, because she fell senseless to the ground. So the king arose from his throne, picked her up, put her head on his chest and started to stroke her face; and to support her, he placed her by his side on his throne. 224 "Ask of the king what you wish," he said to her. "I ask the king to come tomorrow to dine with me, with his minister Haman," she replied. He agreed to this and, the following day, he dined with her with his minister Haman. The meal finished, the king said to Esther: "Ask what you wish." --- "I ask the king and his minister Haman to return tomorrow to dine with me. The king accepted; and the following day he and his minister Haman dined with her. After

dining the king said to her: "Ask what you wish. She answered: "I ask that the king and his minister Haman again dine with me tomorrow. The king accepted, and the following day he and his minister Haman dined with her once again. But a coolness and a feeling of jealousy towards his minister Haman slipped into (1) the heart of the king. After dining he said to Esther: "Ask what you wish. The queen Esther answered: "What request could someone who is about to be put to death and to lose her life make, whose people will be exterminated? The king, filled with sadness and affliction, said to her: "But who has did this? She answered him: "It is he who is jealous of you because of me and who does not want you to have a wife like me, --- it is your minister Haman who is here. At that moment the sadness and affliction loosened the belly of the sovereign so much that it had to rush out.

225 Then he went out (of the latrines) and saw Haman prostrate himself before the queen Esther and kiss the end of her feet. Seized with jealousy, the king exclaimed: "What! you still want to dishonour us? Thus God heard the prayer of Mordecai, accepted his fast as well as the prayer of the queen Esther and all the Israelite women. The king gave orders that Haman was hanged; and somebody having reported to him that Haman had had made a gibbet, 120 cubits high, to hang Mordecai on, he (2) ** ordered that his minister should be hanged on this gibbet. Thus God saved the Israelites and preserved them from the perfidy of Haman the Amalekite. 226 After Artaxerxes Longhand, Artaxerxes II reigned for two years; after him, Sogdianos reigned for one year, and after him, Darius Nothos for 19 years. At that period lived Euclid the geometrician. In year 5 of the reign of Darius, the inhabitants of Egypt revolted against the Persians and, after having been under their yoke for 124 years, gave themselves a king. At the same period, flames coming from Mount Etna consumed a great number of cities. In that time, the Greeks acquired twenty-four letters; they had only sixteen before. Cadmus and Agenor, who were from Egypt, came to the town of Athens and brought there the sixteen characters, with which the Greeks wrote first of all. Here are these characters: (2) a b g d e i k l n al-Alfa al-Bita al-Gama al-Delta Youta Qaba Lambd Nou p r C t u ph o Bi Rau Sigma

227 Tau These characters are called Phoenician characters. Then Palamedes, of the town of Argos... invented four other characters which are these: zthech. Finally Simonides invented four other characters, i.e.: mxops. It is said that the Egyptians invented the first the alphabet and that Phoeni-

cians (learned it) from them. These were the letters that Cadmus had earlier brought into that country. Then the Greeks (learned the alphabet) following the Phoenicians. At that time, [the Greeks] had Socrates put to death: they made him drink poison and he died. After him his disciples Plato and Epicurus distinguished themselves, who taught various doctrines. (2) In year 15 of king Artaxerxes, Africanus (Afriquiyons) invaded the country of Carthage (Carchedona) and captured it; after which this country was called Africa, from the name of Africanus. Then Artaxerxes II reigned for 27 years. At that period there took place the enumeration and census of the inhabitants of Rome; this census lasted for three years; and it was halted in consequence of the exhaustion of those who were doing it.

228 In that time, Nectanebo (Fastou), king of Egypt, fled to Ethiopia, because in the report of the omens, many armies were to founder on him. Some people say that he was the father of Alexander. The empire of the Egyptians was abolished for 42 years, until the time of Ptolemy, one of the servants of Alexander, son of Philip. In year 4 of the reign of king Artaxerxes, Aristotle, aged 17, was at the school of Plato. (2) At that time, Philip, father of Alexander, began to reign in Macedonia; the name of his mother was Olympias. In year 13 of king Artaxerxes, Alexander, son of Philip was born, and Plato died. At the same period, Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, king of Judah, build a temple on Mount Garizim in imitation of that which was in Jerusalem. Then Darius, son of Arsaces, reigned for 6 years. In the first year of his reign, Alexander, son of Philip, the Macedonian, ascended the throne. He was 20 years old. He reigned initially over Hellas for 12 years and he lived 32 years. He subjected many regions and, after having made thirty-five kings perish, he captured their States; his army was made up of one hundred twenty thousand men; he had three horns on his head.

229 It was he who made the barrier to stop the invasions of Gog and of Magog. At that time, he gathered and assembled troops at the head of which (2) he invaded [different] countries, making war with the kings of the whole world and seizing their States. So he arrived in the country of Sind and captured it; from there he prepared to invade India. So he sent part of his troops, and at their head one of his lieutenants named Seleucus, to call the Indians to obedience. Seleucus was ordered obtain their willing submission and, if they resisted, to fight them. Arriving at the border of India --- it was at the beginning of the winter --- Seleucus wrote to the Indians what Alexander

had ordered him in their connection, and sent his letter by three notables from his army. The reading of this letter caused the Indians fear mixed with stupor; but they answered the proposals of Seleucus negatively, and let him know that he was not in a position to fight their troops. They retained his envoys, until they had arranged their troops; after which they started moving at the head of a multitude so numerous that no similar one has ever been seen. They brought a crowd (2) of elephants, atop which they fought. They met Seleucus, who had not moved from his camp and who did not have time to arrange [his troops] in order of battle. He went out nevertheless with his army, and the two parties came to blows. But the cavalry of Seleucus, afraid at the sight of the elephants, dispersed and returned to the camp. Seleucus wrote then to Alexander to tell him about his situation and that of the Indians, their elephants which had put his cavalry to rout, and to ask him whether the battle should be begun again.

230 Alexander, having read the letter of Seleucus, convened his philosophers, communicated to them this letter and asked them their opinion in this respect. They said by mutual agreement that it was necessary to abstain from the war for the remainder of the winter, so as to undertake it then himself. Then he wrote to Seleucus, the head of his army, and ordered him to remain where he was, in the country of Sind, for the remainder of the winter. On this news, the Indians, who only asked the Greeks to leave them alone, moved away. Alexander profited from this delay and immediately made preparations: he gathered the workmen who could work bronze and ordered them to prepare forty hollow bronze elephants, resembling the elephants of (2) the Indians, and to fill them with coal. The feet of these elephants were dismountable and could be assembled [at will]; below wheels were fitted on which they could advance. Alexander appointed guards to prevent anyone from approaching them and seeing them, because he had his reasons to hide them from the eyes of the people. He ordered the guards to follow one another without interruption in their activity and to the workmen to make the feet of the elephants solid and to arrange openings on their backs so that fire could be introduced.

231 The Indians, seeing that he for a long time did not concern himself with them, hoped to gain his friendship. They wrote to him without allowing anything of their fear appear and started talks by seeing that he had philosophers with him. The king of India made him a marvellous present

and sent a letter to him in which he filled with praises the Indian philosophers who were with him. Then Alexander ordered his philosophers to answer. A correspondence began between them and differences of opinions were not slow in appearing in their ranks. The two kings entered into correspondence to organize a meeting of these philosophers. They discussed in their letters what the disagreement between Socrates, (2) as we explained, and Hippocrates, Democritus, Aristotle and their followers, consisted of. The meeting of the philosophers was fixed for a day and an hour, to explain that which was disputed. And they met to this end.

232 Here is the letter of the king of India to Alexander on this subject: "To Alexander the greatest of kings, the king of India and all his subjects, greetings. May happiness, O king, enfold you; may your wisdom be perfect; may your health last a long time; may the whole earth belong to you; may your rank be high; may philosophy flower with you; may your people be submitted; may that be open for you what misfortune closes, and that for you be closed what misfortune opens; may all the desirable things of the world come to your hand; may the blows of fortune fall far from you; may you be sheltered from being surprised by evil; may the defense of your kingdom be well organized; may by you the hopes of your subjects increase; may noble children come to surround you; may your life be strengthened in the quietude of the heart as long as you enjoy life and by a plenitude of the intelligence until the end of the world; may your life be prolonged in health and may your troops be victorious to the borders of your empire; may you (2) speak with glory about wisdom; may you enjoy this low world with all its goods; may your capabilities be strengthened by increase of your power; may God help you to find proven assistance; may you succeed in the rightness of your projects; may your worries be overcome by the experience of the government; may you be sheltered from the vicissitudes of fate! We and our subjects make these wishes for you and we inform you of this in our greetings because of our high opinion of you.

233 It is said that the earth has given you power over his countries; that all peoples obey you; that your power is greater than that of the kings of the earth, your contemporaries; that the result [of your enterprises] appeases the envy of your enemies; that your power cannot be abated; that you reign over the peoples of the four kings; and that you will reign thus until the end of time, [great] as the king who already rose among the Persians, and powerful

like Nemrod, son of Chanaan, among all the other kings; so that your empire will shine with the splendour of the kings like a lamp; that its foundations will be solid like the mountains; that its sacrifices will burn like fire, and that its force will be as firm as iron; that it will live among the other kings, until the end of time, like the four elements: water, fire, earth and air."

234 Such was the content of this letter. (2) By order of Alexander his philosophers answered, but they shortened part of the title of the king (of India), because their opinion on this subject was different. Here is the reply of Alexander: "On behalf of Alexander, the greatest king of the age and the earth, the support of the world, to the king of India. You have received a splendour without stain; you are adorned with the royal dignity and you have arrived at the utmost degree of virtue; you are famous for the greatness of your power. May there be a hand upon you to guard you; may your empire be durable; may the earth be subjected to you; may you get rid of the former kings, and may all power be given to you until the end of time!" The two kings, while they dealt with their correspondence and abstained from the war, did not scorn to make use of trickery, each against the other, being on their guard, and watching over the state of their business.

235 The king of India entered into correspondence with the king of China; he let him know that Alexander had attacked him, and told him what had occurred between them; he warned him to take care that Alexander did not attack him, once he had gained the victory over (himself); he asked him for help, assistance and support, thus hoping to have strength and power to compensate for his weakness before the great force of Alexander, to overcome his resistance, to expel him out of his country and away if they fell out of agreement and understood each other. When the king of China had read his letter, as he knew his manner of thinking, as well as the accuracy of his intentions of which he wrote, and of his request, he sent a favourable answer to him; because he hoped to profit from all this; and he recognized, in his letter, the advantages of this enterprise. He let him know that he was beginning his preparations, that he was ready to start work at once and to employ all his power in this; [at the same time] he asked him to inform him of the moment when he would need his help.

236 Alexander learned this news, whereas he had already made his preparations and had completed all his work. A few days after announcing that he

would set out, he left with his troops, arrived at the country of India and halted at the camp of Seleucus his lieutenant. He wrote to the king of India, to inform him and invite him to make his submission; if not, he would declare war on him. He prepared couriers for the letter; and Alexander himself joined them secretly, because he wanted to see the place with his own eyes, to study it, so he could fight the Indians when he passed through their country, and to learn their position and to understand their situation. 237 The king of India received them with benevolence and filled them with favours; but he greeted them quickly, as opposed to what Alexander would have wished, and let him know in his answer that he would not await the arrival of Alexander, but that he would come to him with his troops. On this the king of India wrote and let the king of China know the intention that Alexander had conceived, and asked him to come more quickly with help, as he had written to him. Alexander chose an advantageous place for his army, at a distance of 30 parasangs from the residence of the king of India. As soon as he arrived in the camp of his army, he expedited the departure and started marching with a great quantity of provisions and food, camped in that place and forced the king of India to approach him, while he was still awaiting the help of the king of China. Learning this, the king of India wrote a threatening letter to Alexander to intimidate him. Then he went out at the head of his troops and camped at a distance of a mile from the army of Alexander. The site of his camp was lower than that of the camp of Alexander, which was on a height.

238 Alexander let him know that he wanted to meet him in the morning. He arranged his bronze elephants in order, filled them with coal and, in the night, lit a fire in them. It was not yet day, when the fire produced a heat so intense that nobody could approach the elephants. The day having come, the king of India, who had arisen early in the morning with his troops, was surprised by the stratagem: he approached the camp of Alexander in an improvised way, having at the front of his army several elephants, ridden by warriors. When his elephants had approached and seen the elephants of Alexander, they started a combat with them, because the riders who were on the elephants believed that in fact the elephants of Sind were unaccustomed to combat; and the Indians attacked them imprudently. Then Alexander had his elephants pushed from behind straight against them; they were set moving and ran on their wheels at high speed, because of the height and the slope of the ground. The elephants of the king of India did not delay in

throwing themselves on them, as they were accustomed to doing during the engagements, and struck the elephants of Alexander with their horns, but they were burned and they escaped without looking behind them and without it being possible for their drivers to stop them; suffering terribly from their burns, they crushed all the Indian cavalry and foot whom they met; this threw the Indian cavalry into disorder, so that the king of India and his troops took flight. The troops of Alexander pursued them in all directions and killed a very great number of them.

239 After this the auxiliary troops of the king of China, agitated and drawn out, came to the king of India, with their tired beasts of burden. They halted in the camp of the Indians without movement or resources. Alexander, who was unaware of their situation, thought, after having seen their camp, that this was a trick on their part. So he gathered his philosophers and said to them: "You have already seen with which speed their reinforcements arrived and what a state of exhaustion we are in; [you see] that we have fewer resources than they do. Yesterday, at nightfall, we had massacred them and made them perish. But hardly has the day begun, and their army has returned more numerous than before. What is your opinion on this, our situation and our position?" While they were reflecting, the oldest of their philosophers said: "I believe that we must attack them and fight them next Tuesday." However this opinion was pronounced on Wednesday, seven days before Tuesday.

240 The king of India was extremely sad for the Chinese help, because of their misery and the fatigue of their mounts. For this reason he gathered his astrologers who examined the same question as Alexander, concerning the suspension of the war and the request which he had made, to examine what was better and easier than war. Their letter and their request agreed with the desire which Alexander had for a suspension of the fighting, because he had seen their situation with his own eyes. Then he called his philosophers and said to them: "Let's go and visit the enemy, listen to them, enter into argument with them and try to learn their intentions; then we will act as seems best." They carried out this order; and after listening to the Indians, they left, inviting them to come to see Alexander. Then the Indian philosophers accompanied them to hear the answer of Alexander on this subject. However he had prepared some of his notables and his cavalry for them, to which he had told his intentions and his words. The meeting took place under these

conditions. [The Greeks] told the Indians that they were very sad at the march of Alexander, his arrival on their premises and that he had invaded their kingdom, because the two sides were in an obvious error and a manifest mistake, in massacring each other because of these two kings. They acted as Alexander had ordered them, and gave them his answer.

241 Hearing these words, the Indians fell into agreement with them and said that it was also their opinion. Other (companions of Alexander) said: "Your king is very powerful in his physical force and his art of drawing up horse; and our king is small in size and weak, and he does not know the art of drawing up horse. If you have the same intentions and the same desires, urge your king to fight in single combat with our king, we will do the same with ours, and one of them will be inevitably victorious. Then we will rest, we and you, from this war and this calamity." The Indians went off after having accepted these conditions and not doubting the sincerity of the Greeks in any way; this confidence filled them with joy, and they said to the Greeks: "Let us set to work, both of us!" Having taken the answer that Alexander had made to their letter, they left, without having obtained an audience of the latter.

242 When they arrived in their camp, they informed their companions of this project, which had the general approval of the multitude. They did not doubt that the victory would be with the king of India, their Master, if the meeting took place. What led Alexander to this daring enterprise was his conviction that he would die only after his return and his arrival at Rome; he did not have any doubt in this respect: he thus entrusted to himself. The Indians did not cease to pester their king until he had agreed to fight in single combat with Alexander, provided that the empire would belong to the winner. They entered in correspondence on this subject, made their conventions and, by mutual agreement, set the meeting for the seventh day, which, according to their calculation, was a Tuesday. Alexander ordered his companions to prepare a short lance for him, in the handling of which he was skilful so that he never missed. Then he went out with his troops, and the other arrived with his, and the two armies lined up in good order. The two kings came out from the ranks. Alexander, who spoke the language of the Indians, said to the king of India: "You are a giant, while I am small and weak; however you fear me and my position fills you with terror; you have asked others for help against me." The king of India, irritated by these words, said: "What

need have I to beseech help against you?" Alexander answered him: "Of the rider which is behind you!" The king of India turning to look behind him, Alexander stabbed him in the nape of his neck with a blow of his lance: thus he struck him a mortal blow, when the former turned his head. He fell dead from his horse and his companions carried him away. The two armies returned to their camps.

243 Alexander then ordered the Indians to come to him and he gave this speech to them: "I have no intention of either remaining in your country, or taking your goods; I ask you only for obedience. If every year you bring to me, on the same day, a bag of earth from your country, that will be for me the sign of your submission. Go, choose a king and let him reign over you." Then Alexander left them. The Indians, surprised at his language, encouraged and delighted by his speech, returned to their companions, and everyone was delighted by the news which they brought. Then they carried gifts to Alexander, piled up the rarest things of their country for him, sent many sumptuous processions to him and loaded him with presents. They indicated to him the place in their country where the Chinese were camped and asked Alexander to treat them in the same way. They asked him moreover to give them a king of their own sort. He agreed to this and gave them as king the one whom they had chosen. Then Alexander left them, traversed the country around them and behind them, as far as the borders. After which he left for Babylon.

244 During this march through the desert, Alexander felt weak and found himself ill with sunstroke: he got down from his horse. His companions put him at the shade of their gold-covered shields. But he did not improve. Towards the end of the day, he ordered them to lead him to the nearest village. They did as he ordered, and he spent the night there. At the dawn of the day, the illness had worsened: he asked for the name of this village, and when it was reported to him that he was called Roumiya al-Madaïn (Rome), he lost any hope, persuaded that he was predestined that death was to strike him in Rome in a house of gold. Feeling overcome by the disease, he spoke to make his will; and as he did not have any heirs, he spoke in favour of Seleucus, his lieutenant, whom he indicated should succeed him in Babylon. Death struck Alexander in this place. He had lived 32 years in this world below and reigned for twelve years. It is told that one of his servants gave him poison to

drink in this locality and thus killed him. Ptolemy, who reigned after him, carried him to Alexandria and buried him there.

245 When his officers (litt. his servants) learned the news of his death, each of them seized the region where he had established them as lieutenants: among them, there was Ptolemy, son of Lagos who reigned over Egypt for 40 years; Philip who reigned over Macedonia and Antigonia; Demetrius who reigned over Syria and Asia; Seleucus which marched against Egypt in year 13 of Ptolemy, son of Lagos, who conquered Syria and, having pursued Demetrius to Asia, killed him. He was Master of Asia, Syria and Babylon where he reigned for 32 years. At that time, Antiochus built Antioch and gave it his name. At that time, Seleucus built Apamea, Aleppo, Kinnesrin, Edessa (ar-Rohâ), Seleucia and Laodicea. The celebrated Simeon, son of Jechonias, was then the high priest of the Jews; he had as successor his brother Eleazar. In year 9 of the reign of Ptolemy, Antiochus the Great subjugated the Jews: having come to Judaea where they lived, he made them slaves. In year 11, Ptolemy Epiphanes sent Scopas, one of his generals, besieged the cities of Syria and Judaea and captured them. Antiochus the Great went to meet him, in year 11 of the reign of Ptolemy. Antiochus then made war on the Romans who overcame him and took his son Antiochus Epiphanes as a hostage, in the town of Rome. He was obliged to give them each year a thousand talents of silver.

246 Ptolemy, in year 13 of his reign, made a peace treaty with Antiochus which gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and Ptolemy accepted from him Syria and Phoenicia as a dowry. In year 17 of Ptolemy, Antiochus the Great was killed in the country of Persia; he was stoned in the temple of a god. After him, his son reigned for 12 years. At that time, Simon or Simeon addressed a petition to Apollonius, head of the army in Phoenicia, promising to give him much gold. When Seleucus learned by the report from his general Apollonius that there was much gold in the Temple of Jerusalem, he sent an army. But God punished him, and he was put at death. In year 131 of the Greeks, Ptolemy Philometor ascended the throne and reigned 35 years. At that time, Aristobulus flourished, who translated the Torah [into Greek] for King Philometor.

247 In year 6 of Ptolemy and 137 of the Greeks, in the indiction when Antiochus, son of Antiochus, began to reign ---- the one who had been hostage in the town of Rome, ---- Antiochus marched to make war on

Ptolemy, king of Egypt. Prevented from doing so by the Romans, he returned to Judaea and gave the sovereign pontificate to Jason (Sim`oun), brother of Onias, son of Jechonias. Then he removed it from him and gave it to Onias, called Menelaus. This dissension which broke out between them, was the cause of evils and afflictions for the Jews. In the year 14 of the reign of Ptolemy and 145 of the Greeks, in the second indiction, Antiochus Epiphanes ascended the throne and reigned for eight years. He sent a general from his companions with a strong army against Jerusalem. Capturing it by trickery, on the 25 of the month of Kanoun I (Dec.), he entered the Temple and defiled it; he set up on the altar of the Temple the desolation and ruin about which the prophet Daniel speaks. It was a statue of Olympian Zeus. He also placed an(other) statue of Zeus Xenios, on Mt. Garizim. He had the Books of the Law burned. He oppressed all the Israelites until they followed the path [of the gentiles] and adhered to their errors.

248 But Mathathias, son of John, son of Simeon the priest, of the family of Jonadab, who lived in Mod`im, rose up. He had five son: John called Gaddis (Khafis), Simeon called Tarsi, Judas called Maccabeus, Eleazar Haurân and Jonathan called Hîfous (Apphus). They were seized with zeal and ardour to defend the Law of the Lord. They covered themselves with sack-cloth and were deeply grieved. One of them who was near this idol, --- taken there to make him sacrifice, --- he saw a Jew then approaching to offer a sacrifice to this idol. Inflamed with anger, he seized him and killed him. He killed the chief who was obliging them to sacrifice; after which he destroyed the idol and fled into the mountain with those which were zealous for the law of the Lord. Then an old man named Eleazar, chief of the doctors of the Law, was taken; after having endured cruel torments, he died; but he did not sacrifice, because he wanted to observe the law.

249 Also a woman, named Chamouni (Achmounith), and her seven sons were taken; they were brought into the presence of king Antiochus and were each of her sons subjected separately to the various torments: for the first one the extremities of all the members were cut off, then he was thrown into a boiling pot; for the second one they tore off the skin of his head; for the third one they cut off his tongue. As for the fourth, he said to the king: "For me death is good, because I hope to be reborn, and I will not sacrifice to the idols". After the death of these seven brothers, their mother Achmounith died in her turn. They were buried in Antioch. In their memory a great

church was built; in their honour also every year a great fair was held, accompanied by a great festival. We have told here their history and their sufferings, because they were the first who suffered martyrdom to testify to their obedience to our Lord Christ.

250 At that time, the Jews were allowed to transgress the Sabbath, to fight [enemies] who wanted to attack them on that day. In year 148 of the Greeks and 17 of Ptolemy, Mathathias died, and after him his son Judas Maccabeus became governor of the Jews for three years. He was strong and fought for the cause of the people of Israel. The same year, Judas purified the Temple of the impure idols and iniquities which defiled it. In year 149 of the Greeks and 18 of Ptolemy, Antiochus Epiphanes died, struck by a cruel disease, in the country of the Persians. Antiochus (Eupator) reigned after him for two years. The following year, Antiochus sent a large army of 120,000 men to Jerusalem to deport the people of the Jews. Eleazar, called Haurân, saw a large elephant; believing that it carried the king, he placed himself below it and pierced its belly with his sword; the disembowelled elephant fell on Eleazar who died. After the battle, the bodies were gathered and buried in Jerusalem. In collecting them, the gold of these idols was found in the clothing of a man. Then Judas Maccabeus sent three thousand drachmas to the priests of Jerusalem, requesting them to offer a sacrifice for those who had died, and to intercede for them, because he hoped for the resurrection of the dead.

251 At that time, the Romans and the Jews were linked by a peace treaty. In year 151 of the Greeks, Demetrius Soter, son of Seleucus, having left Rome, came (to Syria) and occupied the throne of his ancestors for twelve years. Because of him (his soldiers) killed Antiochus and Lysias, his confidant. At that time, after the death of the high priest Menelaus, Alcimus the impious, who was not a Jew, became high priest by simony. At this spectacle Onias, son of Onias, fled to Egypt where he built a city and a temple in imitation of that of Jerusalem. But God struck Alcimus the impious and killed him. In his place Judas Maccabeus was established and, after the death of the latter, Jonathan his brother who was at the same time governor of the people and high priest. He fought against Bachides, general of Demetrius, and overcame him. 252 In year 160 of the Greeks, Demetrius left for Egypt and captured it. Then the king of Egypt gave him in marriage his daughter Cleopatra. Others say that it was the eldest daughter of Ptolemy Evergetes. Ana-

stasius (?) bishop of Rome, says about this that it accomplished the word of the prophet Daniel who said: "The daughter of the city of the south will be given to the north." Theodoret, bishop of Cyr, said: "In her whom Ptolemy Epiphanes gave in marriage to Antiochus the Great, was accomplished [the prophetic word of Daniel "], etc. In year 165 of Alexander, Ptolemy Evergetes ascended the throne and reigned 29 years. At that time, John (Younân) became high priest and governor of the Jews. In year 167 of the Greeks and 3 of Ptolemy, Demetrius, son of Demetrius, [called] Siderites was killed, after having reigned for three years. Jonathan the high priest was killed, in year 170, by the perfidy of Tryphon, head of the army of Demetrius. His brother Simon succeeded him for three years.

253 At that time, Ptolemy gave his daughter in marriage to Demetrius, and [with her] the kingdom of Alexander. In year 174 [of the Greeks], Antiochus, brother of Demetrius, called Sidetes, ascended the throne of Syria and reigned for nine years. At that time, Simon sent to the king of Rome some gold tablets and made with him a treaty [of alliance] on a bronze tablet. At the same time, the high priest Simon sent John, his son, against Cendebeus (Qandoubyous), head of the army of Antiochus. When he had overcome him and destroyed his army, he freed the Jews from a slavery which had lasted for 28 years; they were also freed from the tribute. It is certain indeed that since the reign of Seleucus Nicator and the beginning of the Greek era, the Jews had paid the tribute to the kings of Syria. In this year the second history of the Maccabees finishes.

254 In year 177 of the Greeks and 21 of Ptolemy, Simon, son of Onias, was killed in the month of chebat (February), and his son John succeeded him; but Ptolemy killed him. John was the one called Hyrcanus; he was high priest for 28 years. From this time date the rulers of Edessa; they fulfilled their functions until the time of the other kings who were of the family of Abgar, king of Edessa. In year 182 of the Greeks and 17 of Ptolemy, Arsaces, the Parthian, killed Antiochus Sidetes. Demetrius, son of Demetrius, his brother, succeeded him for four years. After the latter [Antiochus] Grypos reigned for 12 years. After this Antiochus laid seige to Jerusalem, with which he reduced the inhabitants to an extreme embarrassment. Seeing their lassitude, John Hyrcanus opened the tomb of the prophet David, who was richest of all the kings, and took 3,000 talents of gold from it; he gave 300 of the talents to Antiochus who moved away from Jerusalem.

255 At that time, Hyrcanus devastated the town of Samaria; then he rebuilt it and called it Sebastia. In this year which is year 186 of the Greeks, during which Antiochus ascended the throne and besieged Jerusalem, begins the dating of the Tyrians. In year 194, Ptolemy Soter ascended the throne and reigned for 17 years. After this Hyrcanus, ruler of the Jews, went with Antiochus to the war, and they killed Indates, the general of the king of the Parthians. In year 198, Antiochus Cyzicenus ascended the throne of Syria and reigned for 18 years. At that time, there was a shock and an earthquake in the town of Rhodes; and the Colossus fell. In year 205, John Hyrcanus died, and his son Aristobulus succeeded him for one year. He was high priest; he was also the first king of the Jews, in the 484 years since the temple had been set afire and their kingdom destroyed. But Aristobulus had a brother called John or Alexander and another called Antigonus; he killed this one by trickery and jealousy. And in the very place where it had shed the blood of his brother, his own blood was shed. John, their father, had prophesied, indeed, that they would not be very good in government. Their father was a veracious man, who spoke with inspiration about God.

256 In year 207, after the death of Aristobulus, John-Alexander reigned for 27 years. He governed the people of Israel with harshness, severity and roughness. At that time, Ptolemy Soter was driven out by his mother, the queen Cleopatra, who deprived him of power. Ptolemy Alexander succeeded him for 10 years. In year 211 of the Greeks, the dating of the Ascalonites starts, from the 208th year of the Greeks. In year 216 of the Greeks and 5 of Ptolemy, Epiphanes, head of the troops, killed Antiochus Cyzicenus, after he had burned his presents. Philip reigned after him over Syria for two years. After that, in year 217, the kingdom of Syria ceased to exist. In year 222 of their era, Ptolemy ascended the throne. This is he who lived eight more years. From his time, a census was taken of the inhabitants of Rome. 470,300 of them (460,300) were counted.

257 Ptolemy, who was over there also, was burned by the Thracians. In year 230, Ptolemy Dionysius ascended the throne of Egypt and reigned for 30 years. In year 5 of his reign and 234 of the Greeks, John-Alexander died, and Alexandra, called Salina, ruled for 9 years. She observed the precepts of the Law carefully and punished those who transgressed it. Then she made her son Hyrcanus high priest. But when he was raised [to this dignity], rivalries broke out among the Jews. After many disturbances, it was agreed concern-

ing both (sons of Alexandra), that Hyrcanus would be high priest and Aristobulus king. Pompey, general of the Romans, came then, seized Aristobulus and deported him in chains to Rome. He established the high priest Hyrcanus in his place. In the year 14 of Ptolemy and 243 of the Greeks, Hyrcanus started to rule and ruled for 33 years as high priest.

258 At that time, the Romans devastated Antioch, the city of Syria, made the Jews subject again and imposed a tribute on them; they refounded several cities. Then they gave governors to the Jews, of which the first was called Antipater. This Antipater, who belonged to the gentiles, was the son of a hegemon named Herod. The Idumeans, i.e. the children of Edom, descendants of Lot, during one of their expeditions, had attacked a temple of Apollo which was close to the ramparts of the town of Ascalon, and had made Antipater captive. And as his father did not have the money to repurchase him and deliver him, Antipater his son remained in their hands and departed with them. This young man, having recovered his freedom, took as his wife the daughter of Arethas, king of the Arabs, whose name was Aritâh; his name for her was Cypris. He then became the friend of Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, fought vigorously in his favour and supported him in his contentions with his brother. Then on behalf of Hyrcanus, he went to find Pompey, the general of the Romans. And this is why he also became the friend of the Romans, who liked him and established him in their name as procurator of the Jews. Antipater had [four] sons by Cypris the Jewess (the Arab): Joseph, Pherorah, Phasaël and Herod, and a girl who was called Salome. As for Phasaël and Joseph, they became, a little time afterwards, procurators of the Jews. As for Antipater their father, he died, poisoned by one of his wine waiters. His son Herod went to Rome and after receiving there the royal power over the Jews, he returned. It is this Herod who lived at the time of Christ Our Saviour; we will speak soon about him and his family.

259 In year 259 of the Greeks and 30 of Ptolemy, those who are called upatoi (consuls) took up their duties; they were named Caius Julius and Marcus Antonius. This same year, after the death of Ptolemy, Cleopatra in Egypt reigned for 22 years. In the 2nd year of the reign of Cleopatra, Pompey, general of the Roman army, was killed in battle. Then the deeds of the Maccabees finished. The Jews concluded a treaty with the Romans and made them an act of submission. The first book of the Maccabees includes 2,766 verses, the second 5,600. From the beginning of the Maccabees, i.e from the 93

Greek year, until the end of their history, 168 years are counted. In year 5 of the reign of Cleopatra and 264 of the Greeks, the dating of the Antiochians starts. This year began on the Monday after the leap year. From Adam to that year there were 5,461 years

260 In this same year, the Romans considered it convenient to convene their senate which numbered 320 men, and whose meeting was called boule. They made one of these consuls of which we spoke, emperor: this was Caius Julius; [he reigned] for four years. He was also called Caesar, in the language of the Romans, because his mother died while he was still moving in the womb; the entrails of the mother were opened and he was taken out; then he was raised until his majority. He reigned over the Romans, in Rome, and he rose above the kings, by saying that he had not been born as they had been born, and that he had not come out where they had left, wanting to imply that he had not come out by the way that modesty hides. The month Quintilis, which is the month mesori (?) i.e. tammouz, was also called since that time, Julius (July), because it was in this month that the emperor Julius started to reign.

261 After the death of Julius, in year 268 of the Greeks, Augustus Caesar succeeded him for 56 years and six months. Concerning the two days which are missing in the month chebat it is written that at the time of [Manlius] Capitolinus (Qabiton), general of the Roman army, a troop of cavalry having invaded his country, he made war on it and overcame it. But one of the Roman Generals who was called Februarius (Frourious) and other depraved men made opposition to Qabiton and removed the power which he had over the Romans from him. The enemy cavalry, having heard and learned that Qabiton had been just removed, advanced and seized Rome during the night. The generals fled with Februarius and took refuge in the Capitol, the temple of the idols; then they sent to Qabiton: "We have done wrong and we are guilty. Gather the Romans on the side where they will be able to seize the Capitol. Deliver us, and we will make you king." He then gathered an army of Romans and, during the night, (attacked) the town of Rome on three sides and confined the attackers in the middle; then having killed them, as well as the head of their troop, he reigned over the Romans. Februarius, who wanted to deliver the city to the enemy, was seized; he was put in a net, made to ride an ass, and struck with blows of sticks and rods, while saying to him: "Agba, Frourié!" which means: "Get out, O Chebât (February)!" Then he was

thrown in the sea. The king ordered that this month should bear the name of Februarius, so that, each year, his evil memory would be an object of contempt.

262 As for these two days during which the unexpected attack of the enemy expedition had taken place, which had gone against Rome, they were rejected, because this event had taken place on the 28th of the month; but one of these two days was added to the month of phibin (?) which is Temmouz (July), and the other to the month of Kanoun II (January), so that each of these two months had thirty one days. After some time, another king reigned over the Romans and said: "It is not appropriate that the month of chebat, i.e. February, is in the middle of the year." He thus removed it and placed it at the end of the year before March, which is Adhar. It was he who called one month Julius, after his name, and the other Augustus, after the name of his uncle. For this reason Chebat has two days less. Since this time, the Romans have not ceased to believe in bad omens in the month of Chebat and to believe that the demon appears in this month and that the malignant spirits dominate then.

263 In year 8 of the reign of Augustus Caesar and 275 of the Greeks, in the 146th Olympiad, the kingdom and the priesthood of the Jews were abolished. Herod, son of Antipater, who, as we have reported, was of the race of the gentiles, reigned over the Jews for 37 years. As for Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews, he was taken into captivity in the country of the Parthians; on his return, Herod had him killed with his son Jonathan. Then the word of Jacob was accomplished, the chief of the Patriarchs, who had said: "(The sceptre) will not be removed from Judah, nor the legislator from among his feet, until he comes to whom the kingdom belongs and whom the people await." And in truth, it is at that time, after a short delay, that the advent of Christ took place. And in the same way the prophecy of Daniel was accomplished which the archangel Gabriel had revealed to him about the seven and the sixty two weeks which make 433 (483) years and which were completed [in that time; the first year was] the sixth of the reign of Darius, son of Hystaspes, in which the Temple of the Lord was finished, in the 6th Olympiad. From that time until Herod started to reign, all the rulers of the Jews were called Messiahs (anointeds), i.e. high priests. Then the existing priesthood ceased to exist and also the government formerly which they chose themselves in their own land.

264 When Herod had accepted the kingship from the Romans and had arrived in the country of the Jews, they opposed him. Then he made war on them without mercy, destroyed all the walls of Jerusalem and made a great number of Jews in the city perish; he seized the sacerdotal insignia which the high priest alone could wear. Herod took them to his own house and put them under seals; and he did not allow anybody to be high priest for more than one year. A little time afterwards, he established Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, brother of his wife, as high priest; then he had him killed and established Hananiel in his place. In the year 14 of the reign of Augustus Caesar and 7 of the reign of Herod, the emperor Augustus marched against Antony the general of his army, who had risen against him and who was under the domination of Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. Augustus vigorously made war on both of them, overcame them, seized the two sons of Cleopatra who were called Sun and Moon and put them to death. It is said that these two sons, being unable to escape him, killed themselves with their own hands. The kingdom of Egypt then ceased to exist and fell under the domination of the Romans.

265 At that time, there was a census in the town of Rome; the inhabitants were counted and four million hundred sixty-four thousand were found. Augustus, in year 18 of his reign, sent Tiberius, general of the Romans, into Armenia, who also subjected the Parthians and gave freedom to the inhabitants of Samos. At that time, the Romans started to call the day which arrived every four years 'bissextile'; i.e.: idus pro ex kalandon martion. As for the Greeks, they call it bisexton. In year 28 of the reign of Augustus, Herod built cities, walls, many fortresses; he also built a city and called it Caesarea, in honour of Caesar. Previously this city bore the name of "Strato's Tower". At that time, Sextus the Pythagorean philosopher was illustrious. [Judas] the Galilean and Sadoc, of the town of Gamala, were impostors. They revolted, and said: "In truth, it is not allowed to pay the poll-tax and to give us mortal masters."

266 In year 42 of the reign of Augustus Caesar, 35 of the reign of Herod, 46 of Antiochenians, 309 of the Greeks, in the first indiction, the 2nd year of the 19th Olympiad, Our Lord and Saver Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem, town of Judaea, pro `okto `kalandoṅianouarion, on the twenty-fifth day of Kanoun I (December). From Adam to that year there were in total 5,566 years. The beginning of this year fell on a Monday. According to the

calculation of the Greeks, it was the twelfth day of the moon, and according to the calculation of the Romans it was the sixteenth day. The previous year in which Christ was conceived, the 25th day of the month of Adhar (March), had begun on a Sunday. According to the lunar calculation of the Greeks, it was the first day of the year, and according to the calculation of the Romans, the fifth day. In this year, the moon was intercalated.

267 The year before the birth of Christ, Cyrinus, egemo tes sunkletou (president of the senate), an assembly which governed the empire, was sent to count the population of Judaea subjected to the capitation tax. In fact he was upatos (consul) and belonged to those who gathered in the boule (senate). However, when everyone was going to enroll in his city, Joseph, husband of Mary, also went up to register in the town of Bethlehem; and at this point in time Christ was born. The Greek scholar Longinus, who also reports [the events of] this time in the third part of his book, where he treats of the war and victory of the Romans over Antioch, a town of Syria, wrote to Caesar: "Some Persians who have come from the East entered your States and offered presents to a little child born in Bethlehem; we have not yet learned who he is, and whose son." Then Augustus sent to Longinus the following letter: "Herod, the satrap (governor), whom we set up over there, over the Jews, will write to us and will make everything known to us."

268 As for the king of the Persians who had sent the Magi, he was called Pharansoun. In year 44 of Augustus, these Magi came to the Christ who, according to some, was then two years old. But Cyril and Africanus along with others tell that Christ was seven days old at the time of the arrival of the Magi. This opinion is more probable, because in the images and the effigies of many churches, we have found the Magi and the pastors represented beside Christ and of her mother Mary. We have also showed that Christ was born in year 35 of the reign of Herod who reigned for 37 years. If Christ had been two years old, Herod would have been dead. Then the Gospel tells of the escape of Joseph with Christ into Egypt and his two years stay in Egypt, until the death of Herod and the advent of his son Archelaus, who succeeded him.

269 Herod, seeing that the Magi had not kept their word, then sent to kill all the children of Bethlehem and the surrounding region, who were two years old and below, according to the indications provided by the Magi. When pure Mary gave birth to Christ Our Saviour, she was thirteen years old;

she died aged 51 years and five years after the Ascension of Christ. In year 307 of the Greeks, the 24th of the month of Eloul (September), John, son of Zachariah, was conceived; he was born on the 24 of the month of Haziran (June), in the year 308 of the Greeks. Mary received the message on the 25th of the month of Adhar (March), six months after the conception of John. Nine months after, in year 309 of the Greeks and the 25th of Kanoun I (December), Christ was born in Bethlehem and he was circumcised there, at the age of eight days. At the end of forty days he was carried to the temple, and it is there that the old man Simeon took him in his arms. It is from there [also] that Joseph fled with him into Egypt.

270 We already told that at the time of the death of Herod, Christ was two years old; we stated that Christ was born in year 35 of the reign of Herod who reigned thirty-seven years. So if, at the time of the arrival of the Magi, Christ had been two years old, Herod would have been dead. It is said that the year when the Magi had their vision, [Christ] withdrew into Egypt, where he remained for two years; that after this Joseph, learning of the death of Herod, left Egypt when Christ was already four years old: this is the opinion of a certain number. But here the truth: Christ withdrew into Egypt, at the age of forty days, because we have already showed that Herod died two years after the birth of Christ; and that proves that he remained in Egypt only for the two last years of the life of Herod, because the Gospel says: "Joseph, having learned that Herod had died, left Egypt and went to Nazareth, where Christ was raised." The Gospel says [also] that the Magi came to Jerusalem and learned about the birth of Christ; that the Jewish scholars told Herod, when he questioned them on the same subject, that the Christ was to be born in Bethlehem; that Herod sent the Magi to obtain information on Christ. The Gospel says [finally] that the Magi returned to their country by another way and did not return again to Herod. That proves that the Magi did not come to Christ in Jerusalem.

271 So we say that Christ was born in year 35 of the reign of Herod, two years before the end of his reign; that the same year when Christ was born, Joseph and his Mary mother took him and went away into Egypt, where he remained for two years until the death of Herod; that Herod, after having lived 70 years and reigned 37 years, died in year 44 of the reign of Augustus Caesar, which is the 311th year of the Greeks. This is one of the proofs that Christ remained in Egypt for two years and that Joseph took him there im-

mediately after he had been carried in the arms of the old man Simeon, who had said by an inspiration of the Holy Spirit that he would not taste death before he had seen the Christ Our Lord. At the temple he thus took Christ in his arms and requested the Lord to let him die, saying: "It is now, Lord, that You may let Your servant die in peace, because my eyes have seen the salvation that You have prepared for all the people, like the light which will illuminate the nations, and for the glory of Your people of Israel."

272 There are other accounts about which the Gospel says nothing. Simeon, being upright, with the Christ in his arms, rendered up his spirit. The people who saw this wonder, Simeon dead and standing with Christ in his arms, told that of which they had been the eyewitnesses. The news came to Herod after the departure of the Magi for Bethlehem. If Christ had been two years old before his escape into Egypt, Herod would be dead and could not have said to the Magi: "Go and inform yourselves about the child; and when you find him, return here and let me know it, so that I may worship him." Consequently the account of those which believe that the Magi saw Christ in Jerusalem is lacking in truth. The Gospel did not need to tell the stories about which we spoke. From these considerations and other similar ones, it results that the Magi and the shepherds arrived at the time of the birth of Christ, as our ancestors represented it in the churches.

273 Herod died of a bitter and cruel disease. It is said that first he killed his wife, following an argument which he had with her in the bed where they slept together; finally his wife quarrelled with him so much, that Herod arose, took her pillow, placed it on the face of his wife and remained sitting until she died. He then killed his daughter and several of his close relations, because he was in the grip of a strong access of madness. His entrails were covered with ulcers which caused him violent pains; his feet were swollen with gout; his pubis and his testicles broke up and swarmed with worms; terrible and persistent ulcers covered his body. Tortured by the pain and the suffering, Herod took a knife and an apple; he started to cut apple, hoping to benefit from the carelessness of those who surrounded him, to strike himself in the heart with a blow of the knife. But they realized it and did not let him do it. Then he also said to his sister Salome and to her husband: "I know that the Jews will make a great festival after my death and that they will be delighted much by it. So let us gather all those who are joined together here, put them in prison and kill them, so that the Jews, when they gather, weep

for me, out of liking or perforce." It was thus that Herod died in atrocious suffering, and that God punished him to avenge the massacre of the innocent children, [a massacre committed] in spite and bold enmity against God, who is powerful and great.

274 We have written this according to what the scholars say who lived at that time. But [others] say that all these trials struck him before the massacre of these children, before his unjust and daring acts against God. Herod had nine wives and [eight] sons: by Doris, he had Antipater who killed his brothers and was finally killed by his father; by Mary, daughter of the high priest Hyrcanus, whom Herod had killed, Aristobulus and Alexander, who lost their lives by the intrigues of their brother Antipater, and another Herod, called Antipas who married Herodias, the wife of his brother, and killed John the Baptist, because the latter exhorted him and condemned him for marrying the wife of his brother. Herodias hated him and did not cease inventing tricks to make him die. On the anniversary day of his birth, Herod made a feast for all the important people of his court and Herodias sent her daughter, who danced before king Herod. He with all the guests were charmed at her dance. He had agreed beforehand with her that she would ask for the death of John, promising to give her his head in a dish. Herod thus promised to give her anything she asked, be it half of his kingdom; and when Herodias asked for the head of John from him, he sent into the prison one of his torturers, who cut off the head of John the Baptist and brought it. Herod then gave it to the girl, who took it and carried it to her mother.

275 Herod Antipas had by Malkous the Samaritan Archelaus, who reigned after him; by Cleopatra the Jerusalemite another Herod who lived as a private man and Philip who was put to death by his brother, the kidnapper of his wife; by Pallas, he had Phasaël. (Herod) had then three grandsons: Aristobulus, brother of Alexander; Herod who was king of Chalcis; Agrippa called Herod, who had James, the brother of Christ Our Lord, killed with a sword, and who was eaten by worms; it is also he who seized and took away the kingdom of his uncle Herod. His children were Agrippa, who succeeded him, and two girls: Berenice and Drusilla. Drusilla married the procurator Felix of whom the Acts of the Apostles speak. Now we go back to tell that, after the death of Herod, who was struck by the punishments which we have described, his son Archelaus succeeded him in the 45th year of the reign of Augustus Caesar, which is the 312th year of the Greeks. At the same time,

Augustus named also Herod, called Antipas, brother of Archelaus, tetrarch of the Jews; he named Felix governor of Trachonitis and Lysanias governor of Abilene.

276 At that time, a census was made in the town of Rome; the inhabitants were counted and four million hundred one thousand of them were found. It was then also that, for several reasons and for his failures, Archelaus was sent in exile to Vienne, a town of Galatia (of Gaul). After him Herod the tetrarch reigned over the Jews for twenty-eight years. Augustus Caesar died in year 54 of his reign, at the age of 75 years. Tiberius Caesar was his successor for 23 years and lived 78 years. At that time, there was a great panic and many earthquakes, during which 13 cities were overturned. In year 7 of the reign of Tiberius, Philip the tetrarch built a city, which he called Caesarea Philippi. Herod also built Tiberias, to which he gave the name of Tiberius Caesar. In the year 14 of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, which is the 357th year of the Greeks, Pilate who from the town of Pontus (Bontos), in the country of Euxine was sent [to Judaea] and started to drive out the Jews from the country of Tiberius Caesar.

277 The following year, which is the year 5,535 from Adam and the origins of the world, year 75 of the Antiochians, at the end of the 201th Olympiad, in the 15th indiction, which is year 15 of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Christ Our Lord, thirty years old, was baptized by John the Baptist, son of Zachariah, in the river of the Jordan, on the 6th of the month of Kanoun II (January), a Sunday. Christ was born on a Tuesday. Christ, Our Lord and Master, starting from his baptism and after having fasted for forty days and forty nights in the desert where He was tempted by the impostor, started to work wonders and miracles, for three and a half years. The first miracle of Our Lord Christ took place at the wedding at Cana in Galilee, when He changed water into an exquisite wine. Then He gave the ten Beatitudes; He taught the prayer to His disciples; He purified the leper; He cures the sick, delivered the possessed, opened the eyes of the blind, returned speech to the dumb and revived the dead.

278 With the assistance and the help of Christ, the stories, the accounts and the tales of the Old Testament are finished; finished is the first part of the book of the origins of the world, which tells the stories, the tales and the accounts of the world for the first centuries and the ages passed, age by age; [which tells] of the happy or unhappy events of all the times, i.e. the news,

facts and descriptions from the beginning of the world and Adam to the end of the Old Testament, until the accomplishment by Christ of all the figures which relate to Him in the Books of Prophets and finally until the time, the month and the day, where Christ Our Lord went up to heaven: which took place on Thursday, 3rd (2nd) of the month of Iyar (May), because the Passover had fallen, that year, on Saturday, the 24th of the month of Adhar (March), and the day of Resurrection Sunday 25 of same month.

279 From here we will begin the second part of the History of the New Testament, from the time of the Rise of Christ Our Lord; we will recount and set forth all the accounts of the New Testament; we will report the opposing opinions, the events and the facts which took place in the whole world from this time until our own days. Then we will recount, point out and describe certain things which exist and which must happen; we will continue our account until the end of the world and until the consummation of the centuries, according to what the Prophets and the revealed Books of God say on this subject, because that gives satisfaction to the reason and allows it to follow the rules of the analogy, --- if God so wills! Selected footnotes 1. This seems to mean the Venerable Bede, "Bedae cui tribuitur septem miraculorum ordo". H. Schott, De septem orbis spectaculis quaestiones, Onoldi, 1891, p.5; see appendix, p. ii-iv.

280 1a. Compare this to a passage from Eusebius Ecclesiastical History concerning a statue at Panneas / Caesarea Phillippi:"But since I have come to mention this city, I do not think it right to omit a story that is worthy to be recorded also from those that come after us. For they say that the woman who had a haemorrhage, and who, as we learn from the sacred Gospels, found at the hands of our Saviour relief from her affliction, came to this place, and that her house was pointed out in the city, and that marvelous memorials of the good deed, which the Savior wrought upon her, still remained. For that there stood on a lofty stone at the gates of her house a bronze figure of a woman, bending on her knee and stretching forth her hands like a suppliant, while opposite to this there was another of the same material, an upright figure of a man, clothed in comely fashion in a double cloak and stretching out his hand to the woman; at his feet on the monument itself a strange species of herb was growing, which climbed up to the double cloak of bronze, and acted as an antidote to all kinds of diseases. This statue, they said, bore the likeness of the Lord Jesus. And it was in existence

even to our day, so that we saw it with out own eyes when we stayed in the city." (Note contributed to the online text by David Blocker).

282 14. Instead of these two names ms. A gives Haleb and Salamiyah. 15. Here the Mss. again add the country of Al-Djezîreh. 16. Cf. Georg. Sync., p. 98 et 170; also p. 100. Michael the Syrian, I, 20: Panouphis. 17. Son of Haber. Genesis, X, 25 (= Yokthan). 18. Cf. Mich. the Syr., I, 23-24. 19. I Macchab., i, 7-9. 20. Here the explanation of the copyist is: (the author) understands what is not known to the majority of men, because it was so long ago. 21. According to ms. A it was Helene who went to Jerusalem and asked for the relics. Instead of the passage of ms. B. starting from the words "The Jews gave him", we find in ms A: "The Jews gave to Helen all the books; among the books which were given to her, there was the book of the mutilated Torah. The queen Helen carried them to king Constantine, her son. Then a certain number of Jews were sent to the king to teach him all that the Jews had mutilated in the Torah and the books of the Prophets."

285 57. The preceding fascicle (P. O., t. V, fasc. 4) ends with: "The Midianites devastated all their country"; the manuscripts then continue: "with their many troops". 58. These are the terribly disfigured names of the Heliades: Merope, Helie, Aegle, Lampetia, Phoebe, Aetheria, Dioxippa. Ex Perseide, Oceani filia, Circe, Pasiphaë. 59. Perhaps is necessary to see here "at Thebes"? 60. Perhaps "Jonah"? 61. The author confuses Hanon, son of Nahach (II Sam, X, 2), with Amnon, son of David (ibid., xiii). 62. For these names cf. the passage of Maçoudi, Al-Masûdi, Kitâb at-Tanbîb, Bibl. geogr. arab. ed. de Goeje, VIII, 1894, 11218-1132. Macoudi, Le livre de l'avertissement, trad. Carra de Vaux, Paris, 1896, 159. P. Kokovzoff drew my attention to this passage of Maçoudi. Cf. P.O., VII, 599, the Jewish sects of the Achma`at and Anâïat (Caraïtes?). 63. Two words which I do not understand. 64. Phoul = Poul (Pul) = Tiglathpileser IV = belos in the Greek chronicles. See II Kings, xv, 19; I Chron., v, 26. Perhaps is necessary it to read "Phoul father of Ninus"? Cf. Mich. the Syr., I, 77: Belus, father of Ninus.

288 97. The text of the end of this sentence is obscure. Perhaps is necessary to translate: "because, in origin, he belonged to these two families" (= to the Medes and Persians)? 98. G. Sync, I, 438: 16: dareios assouerou. See Mich. the Syr., I, 105: Darius, i.e. Assuerus. 99. Dan., viii, 17-27; ix, 21-27. 100. John, ii, 20. 101. Mich. the Syr., I, 102. 102. Mich. the Syr., I, 101. 103. Daniel, xiv, 33-39 (according to the LXX and the Latin Vulgate). This episode belongs to

the deuterocanonical part of the book of Daniel. 104. Mich. the Syr., I, 105. 105. Cf. Mich. the Syr., I, 103-104. 106. G. Sync, I, 457: 14-15 (Eus. Chr., II, 98 IIi). Mich. the Syr., I, 102-103. 107. See Mich. the Syr., I, 103. 108. lbid., I, 105. 109. Ms. B: Qasmous? 110. G. Sync, I, 471: 44 (Eus. Ch., II, 100 Hi). Mich. the Syr., I, 106.

289 111. In the text, rather "Chosroes". 112. See Mich. the Syr., I, 105. 113. G. Sync, I, 470: 6 (Eus. Chr., II, 102 Hd). Mich. the Syr., I, 105. 114. Cf. Zachariah, i, 1: Zachariah, son of Barachya. Isaiah, viii, 2. See above. 115. G. Sync, I, 4761C. Mich. the Syr., I, 105. 116. Cf. Mich. the Syr., I, 107: Arovik. 117. G. Sync, I, 483 (Eus. Chr., II, 104 Hc). 118. See Jos. Flav. Antiq. Jud., XI, 226. 119. The text adds once again: "The king saw this, when he came out". ** Note to the online edition. Here the page numbers in the printed text suddenly go from 226 to 217 -- i.e 10 is subtracted. 120. For the history of Esther and Mordecai cf. Jos. Flav. Ant. Jud., XI, 184-268. See also the Book of Esther. 121. We must read "two months". 122. I omit [ arabic phrase] that I do not understand

290 123. This is Nectanebo II. 124. On the legendary history of Alexander the Great see Pseudo-Callisthenes, III, 1-4; ed. C. Mäller, p. 94-99 (Arriani Anabasis et Indica, Parisiis, 1846. Scriptorum Graecorum Bibliotheca, t. XXVI). H. Meusel, Pseudo-Callisthenes. Nach der Leidener Handschrift herausgegeben von H. M. Jahrbächer fur classische Philologie. V. Supplementband. Leipzig, 1864-1872, p. 769-772 (the correspondence of Alexander with Porus which differs from that of Agapius; the anecdote of the elephants; the single combat; there is no mention of the help sent by the Chinese). See also the texts of the Russian chronographers, Moscow, 1893, p. 194-198; 309-313. Examples drawn from the Arab authors in T. Noeldeke, Beitrage zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans. Denkschriften der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, T. 38 (1890), p. 38, 40 (episode with China). The Syriac version in W.Budge, The History of Alexander the Great, Cambridge, 1889, p. 87-92; 109-112 (episode with China). The Ethiopian version in W. Budge, The life and exploits of Alexander the Great, London, 1896, p. 107-125; 172-180 (relations with China); 367-371.

291 125. Mich. the Syr., I. 115. 126. In the text: "son of a hare" i.e. "son of Lagos". 127. See Theodoreti Explanatio ad Danielem, cap. xi, 6. Migne, Patr. Gr., t. LXXXI, coll. 1505-1508. 128. Mich. le. Syr. I, 129-130. 129. In the ms, probably the mutilated name of "Alexander". See G. Sync., 1, 552.13. 130.

Mich. the Syr., I, 127-128 and 132. 131. M. the Syr., I, 128. 132. On this passage, cf. Jos. Flav., Ant., XIII, 366-369 (Eus. Chr., II, 132-133 Hl et 1920-1923). G. Sync., I, 553.18-19. Mich. le Syr., I, 134. 133. Mich. the Syr., 1, 130 or rather 134. 134. I believe that it is necessary to read "by the inhabitants of Alexandria". This is all about Ptolemy-Alexander II, who was killed by them. See Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire des Lagides, II, p. 119-120. 135. On this legend see J. Malalae Chronographia, 183-187 (ed. Bonn.). Georgii Monachi Chronicon, ed. de Boor, 1904, Lipsiae, I, 23-24. Cedr., I, 263-264. Mich. the Syr., I, 141-143.

292 136. Perhaps the coptic month "epiphi"? Cf. supra, p. 137. From here on the events are also described in the beginning of the second part of Agapius; but the editing of the Florence ms. is different. 138. Agapius, II (1), p. 3-4 (P. O., t. VII, p. 459-460); the corresponding texts are indicated. [Note to the online edition; I have not troubled to transcribe all these; the reader may find them easily enough in the PO edition] 139. In the ms. "Antiochus". 140. See Agapius, II (1), p. 4-5 (P. O., t. VII, p. 460-461). 141. The Ms A says: People say that Christ was two years old. As for the scholars, philosophers and the author of this book, they say that at the time of the arrival of the Magi, Christ was seven days old. It is the obvious truth, because we have found and seen in the images, i.e. the icons, and the effigies which are in the holy churches, etc.

293 142. Agapius, II (1), p. 9 (P. O., t. VII, p. 465). 143. Here there begins a gap in the ms. C. 144. A adds: "two years old". 145. Here the gap in ms. C finishes. 146. Agapius, II (1), p. 11-12 (P. O., t. VII, p. 467-468). 147. The ms. says "Antigone" 148. In the mss. "Antigone". 149. malthake,. See, for example, genealogy of Herod at Jos. Flav. Ant. Jud., XVII, 19-22; De bello Judaico, I, 562. Mich. the Syr., I, 140. Chr. Min., 46. 150. It seems to me that the litteral translation of this passage is this: "Phasaël gave him by Pallas three [grand]sons who were in truth Aristobulus," etc. 151. In the mss. is the disfigured name "Qabdhâfrâ"? 152. See Agapius, II (1), p. 13 (P. O., t. VII, p. 469). 153. In the ms. the name is very mutilated. 154. Here the ms. A finishes; it is probably missing some leaves.

294 155. Compare the calculation of Severus ibn al-Moqaffa`, P. O., t. III, p. 222-225.

PART 2

*THE SECOND PART OF THE HISTORY OF MAHBOUB, SON OF CONSTANTINE, OF MENBIDJ, BISHOP OF THE CITY OF MENBIDJ,*

2 Copied for himself by Sa`id, son of Abu-l-Bedri John, son of `Abd al-Mesih - may God have mercy on him, his parents, his ancestors and on all Christians. In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, one God. Julius Caesar reigned for four years and four months, and Caesar Augustus reigned for fifty-six years and six months. In the year 8 of his reign the kingdom of the Jews was destroyed, which had belonged to them, and which became a dependency of the Romans and their priesthood was abolished. Herod, son of Antipater, who, as we reported, was of gentile race, ruled them for thirty-four years, he imposed a poll tax on them and had Hyrcanus, the high priest, and Jonathan, his son killed. All the high priests of the Jews, before Herod ruled them, were called Messiahs (anointed ones), but from the time when Herod reigned over them, their prophecy and kingship ceased at the same time. Then was fulfilled the word of Jacob, [the chief of the Patriarchs], who said: "Kings and prophecy will not be removed from Judah, until he comes to whom everything belongs and it is he who is expected by the people." And likewise was fulfilled what Daniel said, when the Archangel Gabriel appeared to him, about the seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks the total of which is four hundred and eighty-three years and which were completed at that time, the first year of which was the sixth of Darius, son of Hystaspes, in which the Temple of the Lord was completed.

3 Shortly afterwards, when Herod had received from the Romans sovereignty over [the Jews], the Jews revolted against him and would not have him rule them. He completely destroyed the two walls of Jerusalem and killed many of its inhabitants, he took the priestly insignia and would not permit anyone to be high priest for more than one year. The same measure was taken by those who ruled the Jews after him. Then he brought from Babylon and set up Hananiel as high priest over them for a year; after one year he instituted Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, the brother of his wife, for one year. Then he killed Aristobulus, son of Hyrcan, and restored Hananiel over them. In the fourteenth year of Augustus Caesar and the fourth year of Herod, Augustus marched against Antonius, his lieutenant, who had revolted, had resisted, had refused obedience to him and had protested against Caesar, because he was in love with Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. Augustus fought the

people of Egypt, seized the two sons of Cleopatra, who were called Sun and Moon, and killed them and he captured (also) Cleopatra and Anthony, who killed themselves overnight. From that day the kingdom of Egypt ceased to exist and it fell under the dominion of the Romans.

4 In the eighteenth year of his reign, Augustus sent Tiberius his general in Armenia who subjected it and captured it. It was on this day that the Romans instituted the leap month, which was every four years, ie: idus pro ex kalandon martion. As for the Greeks, they called it bisexton. The twenty-eighth year of Augustus, Herod built a city called Caesarea, after Caesar. At that time the scholar Sextus, Pythagorean philosopher, and Judah the Galilean were distinguished. In the thirty-second year of Herod and the three hundred and ninth year of Alexander, was born our Lord the Messiah, may He be glorified on Wednesday (Tuesday), the twenty-fifth day of Kanoun I; according to the calculation of Greeks, today was the twelfth day of the month. From Adam until then there is a space of 5,506 years. 5 Prior to that year, the Romans had sent the judge (legate) Cyrinus to count the population subject to tax. Everyone [went to register] in his hometown, and now Joseph, husband of Mary, went up to register... then. After the birth of Our Lord the Messiah, may He be glorified, the Magi came from the East with their presents, they offered to Our Lord the Messiah, may He be glorified, --- gold, myrrh and incense. The learned Greek Longinus introduces this event in the third part of his book, which [treats] of the Roman wars against Antioch, a city of Syria, i.e. as-Schâm, when he said to Caesar: "The Persians from the East have entered your empire and they have offered presents to a child born in Palestine; who he is and whose son he is, we have not yet learned." He wrote about this to Augustus and sent him a letter. And Augustus wrote to Longinus in response to his letter: "I have read your letter and the information you have given about the child born in Palestine among the Jews, and about the Mages, who have come from the East and have given him presents; and you do not know who he is or whose son he is. I will learn the truth and act according to justice: Herod, our governor in Judea, will let us know who he is, his condition and history."

6 And Augustus wrote to Herod, his governor in Judea, the following letter: "From the king of kings Augustus to Herod, the son of Antipater, governor of Judea, greeting. Longinus, the scholar, has let me know that among you is born a child to whom the Persians made gifts and presents; inform

yourself carefully about him and about the Magi, who came to him --- what is the cause of their coming, who sent them and what were the presents they offered him? Hide nothing about this, so I may obtain knowledge, if great God wills it. " Herod had an interview with the Magi and said to them: "What are you doing?" The Magi said: "The giant (Nimrod) composed books for us in which he prophesies as follows: A child will be born in Palestine in a few centuries, he will be great and the whole universe will be subject to him, and as a sign of this, you will find, as we know, a star of such and such aspect; you will look for it, and when you have seen, carry myrrh, gold and incense, go and find the child, give him all this, love him and come back; if you do not do this, a great misfortune will happen to you. And we have not ceased to keep this prophecy in our memory, we and our forefathers, until this star appeared to us. When we found there the signs that our great leader had given us, we obeyed him: we brought these things and have come to see him and adore him."

7 And Herod said: "Your approach is correct. Go and find exactly where the child is, and when you have found him, please let me know so that I may also worship him. " The Magi, departing, saw a star that went before them and led them to the cave where the child was; when it arrived with them at this place, it stopped and did not move. When the Magi had seen this, they entered the cave, found the child and his mother, felt a great joy, opened their travel bags, offered him the presents and worshipped and then they went another way and did not return to Herod. Herod, having seen that the Magi did not pay attention to him, went into a great rage and sent to kill all the children of Bethlehem two years old and below, because the Messiah was at that time the age of two years.

8 But by inspiration of God, Joseph and Mary took the child and left Bethlehem. His mother Mary was thirteen years old; the duration of her whole life was fifty-one years, she lived six years after the Ascension of Our Lord Christ. It was the forty-fourth year of Augustus Caesar. 9 Caesar wrote to Herod, king of the Romans, in response to the letter he had received from him: "To Caesar, King of the Romans, from his servant Herod, greeting. The King of Kings required me to inform myself about the child of whose birth in Judea he had learned, and of the Magi who came to him with gifts. I stopped the Magi and forced them to confess to their affair, and they made me know that in ancient times Nemrod (the giant, the Great) gave them

and left a will in which he said: After some time, in the land of Judea, will be born a child, who will reign over all the earth, and the sign of this is that you see in the sky a star, which differs from ordinary stars, and he indicated the signs; he ordered them, when they saw this star with these signs, to take myrrh, gold and incense, to go to the child, to worship him and to offer these presents; he also told them that if they did not, they would fall into a great misfortune. And their ancestors have not ceased, nor they themselves, to inquire into this matter, until the star appeared to them today, and they did what Nemrod ordered them: they took gold, myrrh and frankincense and went to him to adore him. I sent envoys with them to ascertain where the child was, and to return the Magi to me, so that I could send them to the king of kings, Caesar. But they gave my envoys money and escaped. So I have sent to Bethlehem to kill all the children aged two and below, and with them I have killed the child. May the emperor be informed. Greeting."

10 Augustus Caesar read the letter of Herod and was content and... of his thought. Elizabeth, whom we have already discussed, became pregnant before this, and gave birth in the month of Haziran. The Annunciation of Mary took place on 25th of the month of Adar, six months after the conception of Elizabeth, and Mary gave birth on Wednesday (Tuesday), 25 of Kanoun I. After eight days, (Our Lord) was brought to the place of circumcision, and forty days after his birth, was presented to the Temple and the old man Simeon carried Our Lord Christ in his arms. Two years after his birth, he was transported to Egypt at night when the Magi came to him, and he stayed in Egypt; He was then aged four; then he returned to his hometown of Nazareth and lived there. Then Herod died, having lived in his city seventy years, he reigned thirty-four, in the year 44 of Caesar. Before his death, he killed his wife and children. His intestines were swollen and his feet were too; his intestines swarmed with worms and his breathing was difficult. Prey to the disease and tortured by pain, Herod, who had an apple in his hand and a knife with which he cut and ate, tried to kill himself with the knife because of the sorrow and grief that tormented him; then he lay down on his side, his stomach burst and he died. (Before that) he said to Salome, his sister and to her husband: "I know that the Jews will be have a big party because of my death and will rejoice at it greatly. So let us take those who are gathered here and put them to death so that when the Jews come together, they will

beat their hands and shout laments at my death against their will. " Herod had nine wives and thirteen children.

11 After the death of Herod, Archelaus succeeded him in the year 45 of Augustus Caesar in the year 312 of Alexander; and Archelaus ruled for 9 years. Then Augustus handed their affairs over to Herod, brother of Archelaus, and appointed Philippe governor of Filan, Trakhuma and.... Augustus then banished Athroudis to exile in Alania, within Armenia, and gave him Herod as successor who reigned twenty-eight years. Augustus lived seventy-five years and died after having reigned for fifty-six years and six months. Tiberius Caesar reigned for twenty-three years and lived seventy-eight years. The first year of his reign, there was a great earthquake, and several cities were knocked down and many men and animals killed. In the year 7 of his reign, Herod built a city and called it Tabariye (Tiberias) in honor of the Emperor Tiberius. In the year 14 the procurator Pilate was sent to the Jews (in Judaea).

12 In the year 15 (of Tiberius), Our Lord Christ, may He be glorified, was baptized by John, son of Zechariah. He had returned... our Lord Christ, may He be glorified, was thirty years old, and his baptism took place on [6 of Kanoun II].... [The first miracle was that] of the water changed into wine at Cana; he healed the paralysed, opened the eyes of the blind, expelled spirits... forgave sins and worked other (miracles) that the Holy Gospel relates. In the year 19 of Tiberius Caesar, and in the year 342 of Alexander, Our Lord Christ was crucified... On the same day that Adam had been driven out of Paradise, Our Lord Christ died, may He be glorified, and he was buried, then rose from the dead and ascended into heaven. That year the Passover took place on 21 Adar, on Thursday, and the Passover of the Christians, the people of our Lord Christ, may He be glorified, took place on Sunday, 24 of Adar; the Ascension on Thursday, 3 of Iyar, and Pentecost on the Sunday, the 13 of Iyar.

13 From Adam until that time there were 5,539 years, according to what is H.r.l... s (?) says. [But writers do not agree] on this subject, and each of them says whatever [does not] exceed the limits of his knowledge. The first of them, Eusebius, says that from Adam [to the Passion of Our Lord], may He be glorified, there are five... years... [2 lines illegible]... 5,350 years. As for the Hebrews, they count only 4,000 years, the Samaritans, 4,365. The philosophers in their books tell that the days of the Passion of Christ, may He be

glorified,... in the volume... [three lines illegible]... kings, that, during the reign of Caesar, the sun was darkened, and it became night at the ninth hour and the stars appeared: there was a strong earthquake at Nicaea and in all the surrounding cities, and extraordinary things happened. The philosopher Ursinus says in the fifth chapter of his book on the wars and expeditions of the kings: "We were in great grief and long anguish. The sun was darkened and the earth shook, and we learned that extraordinary and terrifying things were happening in the country of the Hebrews, and we know the cause of this from the letters which the Governor Pilate wrote from Palestine to Tiberius Caesar, when he said that from the death of a man whom the Jews had crucified, these things happened." On learning this, Caesar sent orders to Pilate and dismissed the government of Judea, because he had surrendered to the Jews, and he threatened and intimidated the Jews who had crucified Christ.

14 Josephus the Hebrew spoke of this also in his books which he wrote about the wars of the Jews: "At that time there was a wise man named Jesus, whose life was perfect, his virtues were recognized, and many Jews and Gentiles became his disciples. And Pilate condemned him to death on a cross, and those who had become his disciples, preached his doctrine. They claimed that he appeared to them alive three days after his passion. Maybe he was the Messiah, about whom the prophets had spoken of miracles." This is the story of Josephus and his coreligionists concerning our Lord Christ, may He be glorified. It is also said that the life of our Lord Christ, may He be glorified, and his preaching (or pilgrimage) happened in the pontificate of Hannan and Caiaphas, because they were high priests in those years i.e. from the pontificate of Hannan to the beginning of the pontificate of Caiaphas; as for the time between them, there was no time for four years because, when Herod was appointed governor, he burned the books of the tribes of the Hebrews, because they knew only that he belonged to a race which was little valued by them; and he took the priestly vestment, put it under seal and allowed each high priest to serve only for a year. Because of this there were four priests from the pontificate of Hannan to that of Caiaphas: Hannan was removed and Ishmael, son of Yachya, succeeded him; a year later, Eleazar, son of Hannan, succeeded him as high priest; when his year was over, Simeon, son of Qamihoud, succeeded him. He was succeeded by Caiaphas, at which time and under whose pontificate Our Lord Christ, may He be glorified, was cru-

cified. There were between Hannan and Caiphas less than four years, according to Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea.

15 In the year 17 of Tiberius Caesar, and in the year 341 of Alexander, one year before the crucifixion of our Lord the Christ, may he be glorified, Abgar the Black, king of Edessa, sent messengers to some towns on business. On the way back they entered Jerusalem and there were eye-witnesses of certain actions of the Jews towards our Lord the Christ, may he be glorified, and of their preparations to crucify him. They preserved an account of the actions of our Lord the Christ and of that which they learned of his miracles and the cures of incurable illnesses carried out by him. When they arrived at Edessa, they told their master all that they had seen and that they had learned of the actions of our Lord the Christ, may be he glorified, and of the injustice of the Jews towards him, and how they were plotting against him. When Abgar learned this, he was filled with admiration and wanted to go to Him and see himself His divine miracles; but he could not go outside his kingdom for fear of enemies. So he sent Hannan the painters and charged him with a letter, where he said:

16 "From Abgar the Black to Jesus the physician, who has appeared at Jerusalem. I have heard of you, of your knowledge of medicine, of your spiritual knowledge and that you heal pain and illnesses without drugs or remedies. My astonishment at this was great, and my joy at it extreme. And I am telling myself that you must certainly be God, or the son of God, since you do such things. I ask you and invite you to come to me. Perhaps you may heal the painful illness from which I suffer. I have heard that the Jews want to kill you and crucify you. I have a town, pleasant and pretty, which would be enough for me and for you to live there. There you would be in tranquillity, good health and safety; and if you pleased to grant my wish, do so, and you will fill me with joy because you have."

17 Our Lord the Christ, may he be glorified, received his letter, read it, and wrote to him. "Be blessed, because you have believed in me before you have seen me. It is written of me that those who see me will not believe in me. As for your request for me to come to you, it is necessary that I complete the work for which I was sent; and when I have completed it and ascended (to heaven), I will send one of my disciples who will heal your pains and illnesses and will convert those with you to eternal life." Hannan, who was a painter, after receiving the response of our Lord the Christ, may he be glori-

fied, took a square board and painted our Lord the Christ, may he be glorified, on it in bright and attractive colours. He set himself to look at Him and to paint his image on this board. Then he went with it to Edessa and gave it to his master, Abgar the Black. Abgar received it with great honours and placed it in one of his treasuries, and it can be found there to this day.

18 When our Lord the Christ had ascended to his Father, he sent the apostle thomas, one of the Seventy (disciples) to Edessa. When he arrived there and Abgar the Black saw him, he prostrated himself before him, because a divine light shone from his face. And the apostle Thomas said to him, "If you believe in He that sent me, you will find what you need and obtain what you ask." And Abgar the Black said to him, "I have already believed in Him. And if it were not for the treaties that exist between the Romans and myself, and the confidence they have in me which I cannot break, I, because of my admiration and my love for Him, would leave with a great number of my men, make war against the Jews who crucified Him, and destroy them." Then (Thomas) approached him and healed him of his illness: and in this place he worked many miracles, so that Mousa, king of Athour heard about him and wanted to see him.

19 Then Abgar wrote to Tiberius Caesar, emperor of the Romans, a letter where he said: "From Abgar, sovereign of Edessa, to Tiberius Caesar, sovereign of the Romans. Know, o king, that the Jews that are in your empire have crucified the messiah, although he did not deserve this, and had done nothing that they could condemn. When they had crucified him, the sun was darkened, the earth shook, many of the dead came back to life and rose up (from their tombs) and extraordinary things happened which have never before been seen." Tiberius Caesar wrote to him, in response to his letter, a letter where he says: "From Tiberius, master of the Romans, to Abgar, master of Edessa. Know that I have already learned all that the Jews have done to the man of whom you speak; and I want to punish them; but I cannot, because of the wars that I was undertaking against the inhabitants of Spain, who have risen up and revolted against me, and I was busy fighting against them; but when I am a little more free, I will carry out my vengeance against them and will inflict on them an exemplary chastisement. As for Pilate whom I named as their judge, I have already deposed him with great humiliation and scorn, because he gave way to them and did what they wanted; and I have sent another in his place."

20 After reading this letter, Abgar rejoiced at it and was content. A little time later, he learned that Caesar had put to death the chiefs of the Jews: and he rejoiced greatly at this. After the death of Thomas the apostle happened on the 14th May, (the apostles) sent in his place Addai, the silk-maker. After the ascension of our Lord the Christ, may be he glorified, the eleven apostles chose Matthias in the place of Judas Iscariot. Fifty days after the resurrection and ten days after the ascension, they received the Holy Spirit in the assembly: they laid hands on James, son of Joseph, who had fathered James by another wife, and made him bishop of Jerusalem, where he ruled for thirty years. They established the seven deacons. One of them was Stephen, whom the Jews stones; Philip, who preached to the inhabitants of Samaria; Nicanor; Timon; Prochoros; Parmenas; and Nicholas of Antioch.

21 At this period the emir of Ethiopia, the eunuch, was baptised by the apostle Philip. The apostle Paul was converted in the year that Stephen was stoned, at the end of the reign of Tiberius and at the same time that Cornelius was converted in the town of Caesarea by Simon Cephas (Peter). The names of the thirteen apostles, including Matthias, the place (of their apostolate) and of the death. Simon Cephas (Peter), originally from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Nephthli; he went first to Antioch, where he built a chapel in the first year of the reign of Claudius. Then he passed to Rome, where he was bishop for 25 years, until the 13th year of Nero Caesar. Nero had him killed, and Paul with him. Peter was crucified with his head at the bottom. Andrew, his brother, went to the land of the anthrophages, and preached there. Then he went to Nicaea, to Nicomedia, and into Achaia which he entirely converted. He was the first to be enthroned at Constantinople, made proselytes there and baptised them.

22 James, son of Zebedee, of the tribe of Zabulon, of Bethsaida, whom Herod Agrippa had killed. John, his brother, went to Ephesus and to the land of Asia. Domitian exiled him in one of the islands of the sea in the year 9 of his reign, but at the end of his reign he called him back to Ephesus, where he died and was buried. Philip, the apostle, of the tribe of Aschir (Asher), of Bethsaida, went to Carthage and preached to its inhabitants. Then he went to Phrygia where he died and was buried. Bartholemew, of the tribe of Issachar, went to Armenia Major, where he was crucified and died. Thomas, of the tribe of Judah, went to Sind and to India, where he died. His embalmed body was carried to Edessa. Matthew the evangelist, of the tribe of Is-

sachar, of Nazareth, went to the land of the anthropophages and preached there. Then he returned to preach to the Hebrews and composed the gospel for them. Then he went to India, where he died and was buried. This...

23 Simeon the Chananean, the Galilean, the Zealot of the tribe of Ephraim, died at Hemath. Judas, son of James, called Thaddeus, of the tribe of Simeon. He was called Labbai, because he was wise. He died at Beirut, where he was buried. James, son of Alphaeus, of the tribe of Manasseh, was stoned at Jerusalem. Judas, son of Simeon, the Iscariot, of the tribe of Dan. When he realised the price and horror of his perfidy, by which he sold our Lord the Christ, may he be glorified, he strangled himself; all his intestines fell out. Matthias was chosen in his place. Matthias was of the tribe of Reuben. The disciples chose him in the place of Judas Iscariot. The names of the Seventy (disciples) and their origin. Here is the list of the Seventy (disciples). 24 Addai of Phamas (Paneas); Severos son of Abgar killed him. Ananias was killed at Damascus. Milia (Malea, amplias) was stoned at Alexandria. Capha was stoned at Antioch. Barnabas died on the island of Cyprus. Sontanis was thrown into the sea. Qeisqous died of hunger at Alexandria and was buried there. Joseph of Arimathea, who was converted to Christ and died in the prison of Jerusalem. Nicodemus the Welcome; this was he who was converted to Christ after he came to find Him and spoke with Him. Nathaniel, chief of the scribes. Justus, whom Paul mentions. Judas, brother of James, brother of Christ. Silas, of whom Paul also speaks. Judas, son of Barsabas. Marcus, whome Luke mentions in the praxeis with the others. John, called the Black (?). Jason, Manaël, Herod, Rufus, Alexander, Simon the Cyrenean, Cleophas, brother of Joseph the husband of Mary, Simeon, his son, whom became bishop of Jerusalem and was crucified. Joses, son of Joseph, James, son of Joseph, James the elder, Judah, called Simeon. Those who were with Cleophas on his voyage: Tourmis and Fastourius [Termus and Castorius?], the slaves whom the apostles ordained. Those of whom Paul speaks: Andronicus, Titus, Hermas, Phlegon, Patroba, Asyneritus. Hermas called the Pastor. The six people with Peter at Caesarea; Crescens, Milichas, Kiriton (Crito), Simeon, Gaius, Apollos. The two who did not believe in the divinity of Christ; Cerinthus and Cleon (?), who were heretics. They were replaced with Luke the evangelist and Urbanus. Istichaus, Aristobulus, Stephen, Herodion, Mark, Rufus, Olympas, Maris (?), S.m..lu...s (?) M.rula. (?) Hymenaeus, Alexander,... rus...laoun.

25 The false apostles: Simon r. k. r. bn d. la. Now the apostles gathered together and established canon directed against those men who appeared in their times and did not agree with them. The apostles were men who did not allow them to... nor to proclaim as the truth what each of them had invented themselves. When they gathered, they baptised a great number of men in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, taking them from impiety and error to make them ready for the true worship of God. Matthew wrote the gospel in Hebrew for the Hebrews; Mark wrote the gospel in Latin (Frankish) for the inhabitants of mighty Rome. Like wrote (the gospel) in Greek for the inhabitants of Alexandria. John wrote his gospel in Greek for the inhabitants of Ephesus. Then Luke wrote the praxeis, that is the Acts of the Apostles. Paul wrote fourteen letters.

26 In the year 22 of Tiberius Caesar, Herod Agrippa went to Rome to intrigue against Herod the tetrarch and he remained there until the reign of Caius. Tiberius died at 78, and Caius reigned four years, from the year 347 of Alexander. In the first year of his reign, Flaccus the Prefect of Egypt made an expedition against (the Jews) and oppressed them for 7 years. He filled their synagogues with statues and offerings to idols. Ambassadors were sent to Caius to let him know. One of them was Philo, the Hebrew philosopher, who composed many treatises on the calamities which were happening to the Jews in his time. He wrote a satire against the emperor Caius where he criticised his ignorance and his folly. He wrote a eulogy of the faithful who were living in Ehypt. He interpreted the first book of the Torah. He records that... when he was waking up and surrounded. He composed 5 treatises on the Exodus of the Israelites and 4 on the things which are told in the Law. His treatises were read in the assemblies of the Romans in the time of Claudius and were borrowed; and (his treatises) were placed in the library of the emperors at Rome.

27 In the first year of the reign of Caius, Herod Agrippa was made king of the Jews and reigned for seven years. In that year Pilate committed suicide. This was Pontius Pilate, mentioned in the Creed of the faith. In the 4th year of his reign, Caius ordered the Prefect of Syria to erect idols in the synagogues of the Jews and in all their temples. And he erected the statue of Zeus, which the Romans worshipped at Jerusalem. Then the word of the prophet Daniel was fulfilled, who said, "the sign of the abomination is found where it should not be." At this time the Jews were enduring great misfor-

tunes. Petronius, who was governor of Judaea, wanted to set up idols in the synagogues and their chiefs gathered and asked him not to do this, saying that, if he did, all the Jews would perish. Petronius wrote to the emperor Caius to tell him that all their tribes were prepared for death and that they would not violate the laws of their ancestors. Caius sent a letter to the governor Petronius in which he ordered him, with menaces, to carry out his order concerning the Jews. Petronius informed them of this, and was using violence against them, when the news arrived that the slaves of Caius had attacked him and put him to death. At the same time the messengers bearing the menacing letters arrived. Then the Jews threw themselves on the idols and removed them from their synagogues.

28 Claudius reigned for fourteen years, In the first year of his reign Agrippa, governor of the Jews, put to death James, son of Zebedee, and put Simon Cephas in prison. But then the angel delivered him from prison and he went to Antioch, where he laid the foundations of the church which is named after Cassian and established a shrine there. In year 3 of Claudius, Simon Cephas arrived at Rome. He became bishop there and governed this church for 23 years. A woman of the imperial family named Protonice, a patrician lady, went up to Jerusalem and discovered the cross of our Lord the Christ, may he be glorified, which was found in the hands of the Jews, who would not let the Christians near it. Then Protonice went to them and took the cross from them, and the position of the Christians to it was reaffirmed. She left the cross in Jerusalem and departed.

29 The apostles revealed the wicked actions of Simon the magician, unmasked him, and made his imposture known to the whole population of Samaria. He went to Rome, and Nicaea. He presented himself to the Jews as being God the Father; to the Samaritans as being God the Son; and to the gentiles as the spirit of God. When he had arrived at Rome, that city gave him a good reception; and the inhabitants of Rome erected his statue, because he had led them astray with his sorceries, and they wrote on it, "this is the statue of Simon the holy god." Simon Cephas had arrived in Rome in year 3 of Claudius, and he went to the house where Simon was living and found a dog lying at his door. News of the arrival of Simon Cephas at Rome had already come to Simon. Simon Cephas ordered the dog to go in and announce to Simon that Simon Cephas was at the door, and "that he was calling him." The dog went in and said to Simon, in front of all the company

that was with him, "Simon, Cephas the Hebrew, who is at the door, is calling you." Seeing the dog speak, the population of the town was seized with astonishment. Then Simon the magician said to them, "Don't be astonished; I myself also ordered this dog to talk." He then commanded it in these terms, "Go and say to Simon to come in." The dog went out and said to him, "The man says 'enter'." And he went in.

30 Then Simon had a living bull brought, went up to its ear and said something; and the bull burst. Everyone was seized with astonishment at this. While they were admiring this, Peter approached the bull, prayed, pressed it with his foot; and the bull got up, alive and well. Then Simon flew in the air, by the power of the demons that were with him. Peter chased them away, and Simon fell to the ground and broke his limbs. Then Simon (Cephas) brought dead men back to life before the whole population of Rome. Then he healed illnesses and worked miracles publicly. When the population of Rome had seen this, they doubted the work of Simon and moved away from him: and many of the inhabitants of Rome were baptised and believed in Christ, the Son of God. The first of these was Cyprian, father of the dead man brought back to life by Simon Cephas: he was baptised, became a Christian, received Peter into his house, treated him as his guest, and honoured him.

31 The wife of Claudius, the lady patrician, of whom we have already spoken, was converted, was baptised, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and enquired after the cross of our Lord the Christ, may he be glorified. It is said that James, the brother of Christ, was bishop of Jerusalem, and that the Jews were involved in these matters. She ordered the chief Jews to come and see her; among them was the High Priest, Onias Gedaliah, son of Caiaphas, and many others as well as those two. She said to them, "Deliver over to the bishop James (the land of) Calvary, the tomb, and the crosses on which the Christ and the two robbers were crucified." When she had given this order, she went to the tomb of Christ; but when she went in, her daughter fell down before her and died. She was profoundly sorrowful and afflicted at this. Then one of her slaves said to her, "This matter is no accident, nor without importance; it will demonstrate the power of Christ, God our Saviour." Listening to the slave speak thus, the woman was comforted a little, accepted her words, and gave orders for the crosses to be brought to her. Then she placed the first and the second crosses on her daughter, but she did not stir.

But when she placed the third cross on her, her daughter stirred, revived and got up. The woman confided this cross to bishop James, built a church there, returned to Rome, and told this story to her husband, and to the people there.

32 Then the emperor Claudius set himself to oppress and persecute the Jews, especially after they stoned the martyr Stephen. Other apostles went to Antioch and there converted many people. It is there that the supporters of Christ were called Christians. At that time there was a famine. And the disciples bought a great quantity of food and distributed it to the faithful, men and women. Agrippa, governor of the Jews, died, and his son Agrippa succeeded him, and reigned fro 26 years. He had no successor in the government, because Jerusalem was destroyed and its inhabitants were deported. At this time Herod Agrippa took a census of the Jews whom he found in his realm. They were counted, and their number was 6,944,000. At this time a man named Cerinthus appeared. He said that the kingdom of God would appear on earth, and that there men would eat, drink, and cohabit with women.

33 At this time the Egyptian mentioned in the praxeis also appeared; he led many people astray and wanted to overrun Jerusalem by force. Then Felix, a Roman patrician, marched against him and killed many of those who had accepted his teaching. This happened in year 8 of Claudius Caesar. In that time, the Jews were divided into seven sects. The 1st sect was the scribes, who were called scribes and doctors of the Law. The 2nd was that of the Levites, who followed the tradition of the ancient priests. The 3rd included those who believed in the resurrection and said that there were angels and spirits; they took their name from a priest named Sadoc, who was of their party. The 4th was that of the baptised, who purified themselves daily and said that no-one would live unless they washed themselves with water every day. The 5th was that of the Nazoreans, who ate no animal food and did not accept the books of Moses nor of any of the prophets but invented strange books for themselves. The 6th was that of the Jews who believed in God, observed the Law, and received the books of Moses and the Prophets. The 7th was that of the Samaritans who, out of the sacred books, only received the Torah of Moses and followed an allegorical commentary of Holy Scripture.

34 One day the apostles gathered together at Rome and composed canons about divine things which, thanks to Clement, are at the disposal of the

faithful. And there they fixed the number of the divine books that must be received and read in the churches, and they prescribed that no others should be admitted. Among the ancient books which must be received, they listed those which we call Torah, i.e. the 5 books of Moses; the book of Joshua son of Nun; the book of Judges; the story of Ruth; the story of Judith; the 4 books of Kings; the 2 books of Chronicles (Paralipomena); the 3 books of Maccabees; the book of Esdras; the story of Esther; the book of Job, the truthful; the book of Psalms of the prophet David; the 5 books of Solomon, son of David; the 16 books of the prophets: one book of the son of Sirach. The new books were the gospel, composed of 4 books; the 2 letters of the apostle Peter; the 14 letters of Paul; 1 book of the Acts of the Apostles; the 3 letters of John, son of Zebedee; 1 letter of James, son of Zebedee; the one of Juda; the 2 letters of Clement; the 8 books of Clement. Then Clement also described in 8 books all the story and the acts of the apostles, what they had allowed and what they had forbidden. The apostles ordered that all his books should be received.

35 At this time the apostle Andrew died, who was bishop of Byzantium, after 2 years of episcopate. Stychus was bishop there for 15 years. After him Onesimus for 13 years. Then Claudius Caesar fell ill and died, after living for sixty-five years, of which he reigned for fourteen. Nero, son of Claudius, reigned after him for fourteen years. In the year 2 of the reign of Nero, Felix, governor of Judaea, died. He had as successor Festus, under whom Paul baptised and who brought him before his tribunal. At this time there was a great earthquake at Rome and an eclipse of the sun. The Jews revolted at Jerusalem and Caesarea, and the High Priest of the Jews, Jonathan, was killed. In the year 5 of Nero, Festus governor of Judaea died; he had for successor Albinus.
36 In the year 8 of Nero, the Jews at Jerusalem threw themselves on James, the brother of Christ, and killed him. He was a pious man, living in poverty, obedient to God. The Jews took him, placed him at the highest point of the temple, and said to him, "Speak to the people. Renounce the faith of Christ." When he would not agree to their demand, they threw him down. He fell face down, and said, "God, don't punish them for this sin, because they don't know what they are doing." Then they stoned him. One of them, who was a fuller, took the stick with which he beat the fabric, and struck him with it. He died, and was buried near the temple. Then they destroyed the church, seized the cross of Christ and the two crosses of the robbers, and hide them

underground. Then they went back to the Torah and shortened the years of Adam, Noah, Abraham and others, by two thousand years, cutting a hundred years from period from the birth of each of them to the birth of their son, in such a way that they didn't shorten the total life of each. In this way they sought to prove, against the Christians, that the Messiah had not yet come. They likewise changed the names of towns and places signalled, according to tradition, by each action of the Lord the Christ, as well as the name of the place of crucifixion and other places.

37 At this time Nero violently persecuted the Christians. After the death of James, his successor was Simon, son of Cleophas, who was his cousin, and he governed the people for forty-two years; ten years before the destruction of Jerusalem and thirty-two years after the destruction, from the ninth year of Tiberius Caesar until the second year after the death of John the evangelist. It is recorded that John the evangelist did not die, but, being pursued by the inhabitants of a certain town, he went up on the mountain, and hid from their sight, and no-one knew what happened to him. Then Nero cut off the heads of Simon Cephas and Paul. As for Simon, there are those who claim that his head was not cut off, but that his beard was cut off, and that he was crucified head down. Paul had his head cut off at the same time as Simon, who is the same as Peter, was crucified head down, in the year 13 of his reign.

38 At the moment when the Jews killed James, brother of the Christ, may he be glorified, Albinus, prefect of the Jews, was absent and at Rome. When on his arrival he heard what the Jews had done to James, he deposed Anianus (Ananos), the High Priest, who belonged to the Sadducees, and established Jesus son of Danai in his place. Peter Cephas sent Mark the evangelist to Alexandria and made him bishop of that city. He lived there for 2 years and died. He had as successor Anianus, whose episcopate lasted twenty-two years. In the time of Nero the philosophers Musonius and Plutarchus flourished. Then madness struck Nero, and his reason was disturbed. He had his mother killed, his aunt and many of his relatives. He had Peter and Paul killed by crucifixion, head down, as we have related. This happened on Thursday the 28th of Temouz, in the year 377 of Alexander.

39 At Rome, Peter had as his successor Linus, of whom Paul speaks in his second letter to Timothy, and he governed the people for eleven years. Paul established Timothy as his successor at Ephesus, and ordained Titus in Crete.

Like, who was then a physician at Antioch, was a companion of the apostles. In this year Nero Caesar sent Vespasian, chief of his soldiers, with Titus his son, to make war on the Jews of Palestine, who were revolting and had risen up. He went (to Jerusalem), stopped there, and besieged it for a long time. When he was on the point of capturing it, he learned the news of the death of Nero, who, in the course of his madness, had killed himself. The Jews wanted to fight Vespasian, but he returned to Rome. Earlier he captured the town of Aeliya (Yotapata) because he heard it said that Joseph son of the priest Matthai was there. Some scholars claim that this Joseph was the same as Caiaphas, who had prophesied about the death of Christ, may he be glorified, and in whose pontificate He was crucified. The town was taken and he made Joseph prisoner, but did not kill him, because he was the general, and he had predicted to him that he would be emperor after Nero.

40 At Antioch, Evodius was bishop for twenty-five years. After his death Ignatius succeeded him and his episcopate lasted thirty-eight years, until the tenth year of Trajan. The beasts devoured him at Rome. Vespasian reigned for nine and a half years in the year 381 of Alexander. The 1st year of his reign, he invaded Egypt and captured it. Then he returned by sea to Rome. He sent Titus his son with numerous soldiers to Jerusalem, in year 3 of his reign. The latter besieged it, make 60,000 men perish, and made prisoners of more than 100,000. A great number of people died of hunger. He destroyed Jerusalem, set fire to its temple, burned the books of the Jews and dispersed them to the four corners of the world. Thus all the Laws of Israel were abolished, and the prophecy of Jacob was fulfilled, who said, "The sceptre shall never pass from the tribe of Judah, nor the prophecy from its race, until he comes, to whom belongs the victory, and the peoples will obey him." On the other hand see what Daniel says at Babylon, "After the death of Christ, may he be glorified, Jerusalem will be destroyed and its laws abolished." Our Lord the Christ, may he be glorified, says in the gospel, "The days will come when your enemies will besiege you, and the children at your breast will be killed and die." He says also, "There will be great anguish and a great calamity on the people".

41 All this was fulfilled thirty-nine years after His crucifixion and death. The people were reduced to such misery that women ate their children. It is said that those who perished in the battles in Jerusalem and died of hunger during the invasion of Vespasian and the siege of that city for 3 years were

counted; and the number of dead was about 1,200,000; 110,000 were made prisoners, according to what Josephus says. The cause of such an agglomeration of people in Jerusalem was that, when Vespasian had sent his son Titus to battle the Jews, the latter had arrived at Jerusalem for the feast of the Passover; and people were gathered there from every city because of the feast. And what happened, happened. From Adam to the year in which Jerusalem was destroyed there were 5,570 years. From Adam to the year 50 of Abraham, when Jerusalem was built, 3,376 years. From its first construction to its final destruction in the time of Vespasian Caesar, 1,191 years.

42 Josephus the Jew tells in his book on the destruction of Jerusalem that before the ruin of this town, there appeared signs and prodigies, various and extraordinary, which presaged the destruction. For example, there was seen above the town a long star, resembling a sword of fire, which shone. -- While (the Jews) were celebrating the feast of the Passover, a cow was brought for the sacrifice, and it gave birth to a lamb in the middle of the temple. -- The doors of the Temple which were of solid iron and that 20 men together could hardly close and open, opened of themselves at midnight. During the whole year, in the temple various voices were heard, saying "Let's get out of here." -- There happened many things like these, which announced the destruction of Jerusalem. Those who want to know how many men perished have made a calculation according to various books. One of them reports that at the festival of the Passover which fell on the 12th of Nisan (April), the Jews offered 240,000 sheep; for each sheep there were 10 men purified, ignoring unpurified men and the children among them.

43 When the Romans possessed themselves of Jerusalem, -- Josephus had warned his countrymen before the destruction of Jerusalem and said to them, "Obey the Romans and submit to their emperors and you will praise yourselves for the result of your conduct." -- but they treated him with contempt and insulted him so much that they struck him several times and stoned him. He came to the Romans who, having made him prisoner, obliged him to remain at the court of the emperor. He composed 20 books on the organisation of the Jews, their emigration, their High Priests, the wars against the Romans and the siege of Jerusalem. Agrippa wrote 62 letters in which he praised the books of Josephus and the understanding and depth of his knowledge. After his death, the Romans erected a statue of him at Rome

in his honour. At that time Vespasian persecuted the Jews and ordered that all the descendants of David should be killed.

44 There was a great plague at Rome. Vespasian died after having lived seventy years, of which he reigned ten. (After him) reigned Titus, son of Vespasian, for two years and three months, in year 389 of Alexander. In year 2 of his reign, Anencletus (Anacletus) succeeded Linus on the throne of Rome, and his episcopate lasted 12 years. In that year a mountain split into two and a great flame came out of it, which set fire to several cities. At Rome, there was a great fire. Titus fell ill and died at the age of forty. (After him) reigned Domitian, son of Vespasian, for sixteen years, in year 391 of Alexander. In year 4 of his reign, at Alexandria, after Anianus, Aemilius sat for thirteen years. The emperor Domitian built a temple, without any part of it of wood. He ordered that all the philosophers and magicians should be expelled from the city, and he completely forbade anyone to plant vines at Rome.

45 In year 9 of his reign, he carried out a great persecution against the Christians and banished John the evangelist to an island of the sea, which is called Yafa (Patmos). Irenaeus, Bouttius, and Hippolytus record that great prodigies happened, which John attests in his book which he composed after the gospel. In that time, Dionysius the Areopagite, who was the disciple of Paul, became bishop of Athens, the city of the philosophers. He wrote a letter to John the evangelist in which he says, "May anguish and sorrow not overcome you, because your stay there (at Patmos) will not be very long, and Christ will hasten your deliverance. Learn patience in your heart, and praise Christ." In that time a great number of Christians who believed in Christ were put to death. At that time Apollonius, master of talismans, became celebrated. He opposed the disciples of Christ by his works, which thwarted those of Christ, and he said, "What a misfortune for me, that I was preceded by the son of Mary!"

46 At the same time, the philosopher Patrophilus said to his master Ursinus, "I have intended to speak, master, of this man in whom all the peoples and the nations of different languages believe. According to what is said of him, he was crucified, died; then he came back to life and went up to heaven, according to the testimony of his companions, who believe in him. And we see that Theodore, chief of the sages of Athens, with Africanus of Alexandria, Martianus (Martinus) of drourousah (?) and Mark (?) gave up their gods in order to worship Him and call upon Him. They were freed from the busi-

ness of this vile world, they have neither riches nor goods, and they are powerful in word and work." Ursinus responded to his disciple, "All the people have become his disciples and worship the Galilean of Nazareth. We quote the names of eminent scholars who after seeing him renounced their gods and worshipped Him. As for me, I think that all the peoples and their posterity will become his disciples. You say that his disciples live a good life; what is also good, is that they do not abandon themselves to the evil hidden in the flesh."

47 In year 12 of Domitian, at Rome Clement became (bishop) and his pontificate lasted 9 years. We have found that the apostle Paul says, "Clement and my helpers." He wrote many books and letters, and he wrote a letter to the Corinthians, because of the enmities that had broken out among them, and this letter is received among all the books (of the church). In that time Domitian Caesar was killed on his carpet in his palace. Nero (Nerva) the Little reigned for a year, in the year 407 of Alexander. He ordered the recall of all those who had been exiled, and John the evangelist returned to Ephesus after sixteen years of exile. In that time Justus of Tiberias, a Jewish scholar, was illustrious. 48 Then Nerva died and in year 408 of Alexander Trajan Caesar began to reign, whose reign lasted nineteen years. The first year of his reign, the episcopal seat of Alexandria fell to Cerdon, who occupied it for eleven years. In year 4 of his reign, Rome had Evaristus as bishop, who sat for eight years. At Byzantium, Als.midis (Polycarp?) having been bishop for seventeen years, had at that time for successor Plutarchus, who sat for fifteen years; and then Cedekion for eight years. In the sixth year of the emperor Trajan bishop Mar-Diogenes was established whose episcopate lasted fourteen years. In that year John the evangelist died at Ephesus. He had lived seventy-one years after the ascension of Our Lord Christ, may he be glorified... He wrote the gospel after those of Matthewm Mark abd Luke. When their copies were brought to him and he had them read, he said, "What they have written is good; but they have shortened the account of the acts of our Lord Christ, may he be glorified, before the imprisonment of John, son of Zachariah." This is why, the people having asked him to write a gospel which told the acts which had taken place before the imprisonment of John, he says that this was the first miracle worked by our Lord Christ, may he be glorified, and that John had not yet been placed in prison.

49 In year 9 of Trajan, Simon, son of Cleophas, bishop of Jerusalem, suffered martyrdom at the age of 120. He fulfilled the functions of bishop for forty-two years; ten years before the destruction of Jerusalem and thirty-two years after the destruction. Then he had Justus as successor for five years; after him Zachaeus for two years; after him Tobias for three years; after him Benjamin for one year; after him John, for three years; after him Matthew, for two years. In year 10 Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, suffered martyrdom at Rome. He was devoured by the beasts. Then Heron (Eros) occupied the seat of Antioch for 18 years. In year 12 of Trajan, Alexander was bishop of Rome for 9 years, and at Alexandria, Primus for 12 years. At this time there lived at Menbidj (Hierapolis) an eminent scholar (Papias), author of several treatises. He composed 5 treatises on the gospel. He records the following in a treatise which he composed on the gospel of John: In the book of John the evangelist there is an issue about a woman who was an adultress. The Jews brought her to our Lord Christ, may he be glorified, and he said to the Jews that had brought her, "Whoever among you is certain of being innocent of the sin of which she is accused, bear witness against her with the proofs that he has!" When he said that to them, no-one among them answered him, and they went away.

50 In year 15 of his reign, Trajan expelled all the foreigners from Rome, because they were the cause of an increase in prices (of food) for the inhabitants. He also expelled the foreign Christians who were there, and these decided to leave and asked the emperor to allow them to take the bones of Peter and Paul with them, as they too were foreigners in Rome. He allowed them this, and they tried to carry them away. But the earth was rocked by an earthquake, the whole city was shaken, and darkness covered it, until the foreigners were called backed. And (the earth) calmed down. At that time Menander the magicians made himself known. He was from a city in the land of Samaria, a disciple of Simon the magician. He baptised people and said that those who received baptism at his hands would be greater than the angels. Until that time the church of our Lord Christ, may he be glorified, was free of impure knowledge and the stains, the weeds of the demons and the follies of the heresies.

51 At that time a certain Saturninus appeared at Antioch and Basilides at Alexandria. Saturninus said, "Seven angels gathered together and created the world; and it is to them that God addressed his word, 'Let us make man with

our resemblance and in our image'. It is these which gave the Law." He said, "Marriage is the work of Satan; the demons ensnare the bad men and lead them to evil, and the Saviour came to save the good." Basilides said, "We must honour and venerate the serpent, because he commanded Eve to sleep with her husband; if he had not existed, the world would no longer exist." He also said that there are 360 heavens, so that every day a new heaven appears, and affirmed many other proposals which he had invented. But an account of all this will not be given because of its hideous character. Then another man of the name of Cerinthus appeared, of the city of Corinth. He said that the world is the work of angels, and that the Messiah came from the union of the flesh. The scholar Irenaeus said, "Two years before his death, John the evangelist went into the bath; but on finding Cerinthus the heretic there, he went out without washing himself and said that the building and himself were in danger because of Cerinthus the heretic."

52 In the last year of the reign of Trajan, the Jews of Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia (al-Djezireh) revolted and set up a king named Lucua. Trajan sent soldiers against them, pursued them everywhere and killed several thousands of them. Then the emperor Trajan died, aged sixty-six. In year 4 of Hadrian (?), in year 427 of Alexander, Adrian reigned for twenty-one years. In year 3 of his reign, Xystus occupied the seat of Rome for 10 years; at Alexandria Justus sat for 11 years; at Jerusalem Philip for 4 years; Seneca succeeded him and sat for 2 years; Justus succeeded him for 1 year; then Ephraim sat for 1 year. At Antioch Cornelius sat for 17 years. At Byzantium, Eleutherius sat for 6 years: he had Polycarp as successor whose episcopate lasted 6 years. Then at Rome, Telesphorus sat for 11 years; at Alexandria Eumenius sat for 13 years. At Ephesus, after Timothy, Onesimus sat; after him, Gaius; after him, Philologus; after him, Lucius; after him, Apollonius; after him, Posidus.

53 In year 4 of Adrian, the kingdom of Edessa was abolished and Roman governors administered the country. Adrian built a house called Bas.lul in the city of Athens. He gathered there many scholars and gave them the laws of Solon and Draco. At that time, Sophia and her 3 daughters underwent martyrdom. In year 18 of his reign, Adrian was infected with elephantiasis. He sought throughout his empire for someone who could heal him, but he was unable to find anyone; and he went to Egypt to find such a man there. He took with him his companion Aquila the astrologer, magician, pro-

gnosticator, and diviner, a pacific man. Adrian left Antioch, passed into Syria, and arrived at Jerusalem 47 years after its destruction. After examining the location of the city, and how much of it had been destroyed, he saw that nothing was inhabited except a church of the apostles, and he commanded his companion to rebuild the city. When Aquila undertook this, he believed in the miracles that the disciples (of Christ) had worked, wished to embrace the Christian religion, was baptised and was made a Christian. But he did not renounce magic, astrology and superstitious practices. His disciples prohibited him doing this several times, but he did not obey. Then they excommunicated him and separated him from the church. Then anger, fury and shame led him to copy the (sacred) books which Bartholomew and Judas had composed; he wrote carefully some Syriac and Hebrew books and introduced errors into them in order to show the futility of the advent of our Lord Christ, may he be glorified. These books that he wrote are found in the hands of the Jews even today.

54 In that year the Jews of Jerusalem revolted. A man called Bar-Kuba came among them and led them astray; he claimed to be descended from heaven, like a star, to deliver them. Many among them followed him, and, as for those who did not, he made war on them and put them to death. At this news, Adrian sent soldiers against him; they attacked Jerusalem, destroyed all the Jews and demolished Jerusalem for the last time. Then another city was built there, called Aelia, in honour of the emperor Adrian, and foreigners were established there. Those of the Jews who remained and had not been killed in the battle had their ears cut off; and were forbidden irrevocably to turn their eyes towards the richness of their mother country. The bishop Mark sat at Jerusalem for four years. Then Adrian fell ill of dropsy and died, aged sixty-five. (After his death) Titus Antoninus, surnamed the Pious (?), reigned for twenty-two years and three months, in the year 448 of Alexander.

55 In the first year of his reign, bishop Hyginus sat at Rome for four years; after him, Pius for fourteen years. At Alexandria, Marcianus sat for ten years; after him, Celadion for fourteen years. At Antioch, Orthus (Orus, Eros) occupied the episcopal seat for sixteen years; after him Theophilus for fifteen years. At Byzantium Athenodorus sat for thirteen years. At Jerusalem, after Marcus, sat Cassianus, first of the gentile bishops, for three years; then Publius sat for four years; then he had for successor Maximus who sat for five years;

then Julianus, for six years; then Gaius had an episcopate of two years, and his successor Matousous (? Symmachus) sat for four years. At Rome Anicetus also sat for ten years. At that time, there appeared at Rome a man named Valentinus, and another named Cerdon, who were the teachers of Marcion. Valentinus said that the Lord Christ, may he be glorified, brought a body with him from heaven, and that it was found in Mary the virgin like water in a river-bed, taking nothing from her.

56 Cerdon said that several divinities gathered together and created the world; and he denied the resurrection. Then at Rome there appeared a man named Marcus who said that 360 gods existed from all eternity; they all gathered together and created the world, and each of them governed it in turn; power belonged to each of them for one day a year during which he was the sole master of it; among them, some loved good, the others evil. But united they had the ability to do good and evil, and they could choose in this regard. The chief of the gods sent the Lord Christ, may he be glorified, who was a part of his nature, in order to get men to worship him alone and obey him. Learning of this, the gods stirred up mankind against him, and these crucified him. The history of Marcion Then there appeared a man named Marcion, who was the son of a certain bishop of the land of Pontus. He found there a pious girl who stayed day and night at the church; she was a virgin. Marcion seduced her and corrupted her. When his father learned this, he excommunicated him and expelled him from the church. He went to Rome; but the faithful of that church would not receive him and scorned him. Returning to Asia, he attached to himself a bishop of that land named Aristinus. Marcion went out in public, proselytised, and discoursed on religion. When the bishop died, Marcion was not there. When he arrived, he was given the testament which bishop Aristinus had written, and where he was given (his last wishes). Marcion took it and read it, but, seeing nothing favourable to himself, he left in anger and corrupted all the people that he had captured for his purposes by his teaching.

57 The Lord Christ, may he be glorified, he said, was not the son of the Creator, as I told you until now; on the contrary, he is a stranger to him. There are 3 divine beings; one the Good, which is on high; the other the Evil, which is below; the third the Just, which is in the middle. The just god formed the matter which was in the depths and called the wicked being, there manifested his acts, and created the sky, the four elements, paradise

and the stars of heaven. Then he took from the mud of paradise, fashioned from it [the body] of man, placed a soul of his own substance and nature in him and... like him. Then he created from the dregs of matter Tartarus, the earth and its larger inanimate objects; he created all the animals of the earth and placed in them a created soul. Then he finished by creating Adam; and he married him off; they multiplied and their descendants were numerous. While the earth was being filled with men, he gave them the books of the Torah and all the ancient books which contained his commandments, his prohibitions, his promises and his threats. Then, as the good God watched this, he stirred from his inertia and was jealous of the Just Being, the creator, and was envious of him;

58 and he sent his son, who was of his nature and substance, to be with the creatures of the Just to recall them to the worship of his Father and to redeem them by his blood. He traversed his regions and passed, with the Just being knowing it, until he came down on to the earth where the fundament of matter was found. He saw the corruption of the creatures and their estrangement from religion and he led them to worship his Father. When the Creator learned this, he stirred up his servitors against him, and the Son himself gave to companions of the Creator the power to kill him and redeemed them by his power and his blood; then he returned from death and converted them to the worship of his Father. Embracing the worship of the good God, they reduced the Just being, the Creator, to impotence. The Good God gave them new books which did not agree with those that the Just Creator had given them with his commandments, his prohibitions, his promises and his threats. He took paradise from the Creator; he established there those who were obedient to his order; but those who disobeyed him. He threw them into hell and made them remain there for ever. Of the evangelists he only accepted Luke.

59 Marcion published this impure teaching and the bishops exhorted him for a long time to return to the truth; but as he persisted in his error, they excommunicated him and expelled him from the church. All this took place in the time of Titus Antoninus, the first year of his reign, which is the year 449 of Alexander. In year 470 of Alexander Marcus began to reign, with his two sons Antoninus and Lucius, for 19 years. In year 8 of his reign at Rome bishop Soter sat for 8 years; his successor Eleutherius sat for 30 years. At Alexandria Agrippinus sat for 12 years; after him, Julianus for 10 years. At Anti-

och Maximus sat for 18 years. At Byzantium Protonicus (Pertinax) sat for 10 years; after him Olympianus for 12 years. At Jerusalem Gaius sat for 3 years; after him another Gaius for 4 years; then Symmachus for 3 years.

60 In year 12 of the reign of Marcus, Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, was illustrious, who composed several books. In year 16 of Marcus, there was agitation against the Christians, and they were persecuted extremely; many bishops underwent martyrdom and Justus the philosopher was also crowned with martyrdom at Rome. At this time appeared a man named Tatian, who was a disciple of Justus, the philosopher of whom we have spoken as being crowned with martyrdom. After leaving his teacher he abandoned orthodoxy and was the author of a great heresy. There exists, he said, several divine beings and several invisible aeons; everything is a mixture of good and evil, because everything lives in pairs (Syzygy). He altered and reversed the order of the tribes (genealogies) which had been fixed; he said that the Lord Christ, may he be glorified, [is of the race of] David. He composed a gospel which differed from that... He said that after death, eating... his errors (produced) several difficulties.

61 Then there appeared [a man] named Montanus who claimed to be the Paraclete. The Lord Christ, may he be glorified, [he said], sent him into the world; some disciples gathered to follow him, and he set himself to teach a doctrine of impiety and error. Then he was excommunicated and expelled; but he made some proselytes and had some followers who remained attached to him until his death. Then at Rome appeared another heresiarch named Florinus, who was a priest. He was the object of public indignation and was deposed from the priesthood. Then he left the church, full of anger, and attracted some disciples. 62 He said that there were three divine beings who agreed among themselves: one of them was established on high, the second below him, in the middle, and the third below the latter, at the bottom. Each of the last two honours, respects and considers as superior to himself those above him. The god which is in the middle calls the god who is above him the Father; and the god at the bottom likewise gives the name of Father to him who is above him, so that each of them is like the Son to him that is above him. Together they created the world. (In the beginning) they formed and created a subtle substance; then they created man and placed him in the region located between heaven and earth; they embellished this location with fires and lights, making for him a paradise where they planted different

species of pleasant trees, and established him in the newly created world. A certain angel, seeing this, envied the man; without the permission of the gods he came down and established himself with a certain number of his companions. He set himself to oppose the man and wanted to expel him from paradise; and he didn't stop opposing him and fighting him until he was expelled from it; then he possessed himself of Paradise. The man multiplied and his descendants were numerous; but they were unable to return to Paradise.

63 When the gods saw this, they sent to him someone to get him to return to his place, and so that the man and his posterity might reenter Paradise; but (the angel) refused to do it. Then the gods were annoyed with the angel and his companions. Then the bottom god was himself entrusted with it. By a ruse he transformed himself into a man and appeared before Satan who was disobedient and before his companions; he didn't stop fighting against them until he expelled them from Paradise and had restored the first man to his place. Florinus denied the resurrection of the dead. Apart from that, he advanced some impious propositions which he had put forward. 64 At this time at Menbidj (Hierapolis) there lived a wise man, Apollinarius, who was bishop of Menbidj. He battled against the sectaries of this heresy, refuted their opinions and composed several books on this subject. History of the damned Ibn-Daisan (Bardesanes) In year 15 of Souhouq son of Narses, king of Persia, which is the year 465 of Alexander, a certain number of the inhabitants of his empire conspired against Souhouq, king of Persia, and wanted to kill him. He was informed of this, and had them arrested. There he found a man named Nouhama with his wife who was called Nahsiram. Learning what the king had ordered in this matter — he lived in the middle of the people — he and his wife left the city of the king and went to Edessa, where they settled. His wife Nahsiram was then pregnant. Then Nouhama was afraid that one of the Persian merchants who came from time to time to Edessa would notice him and have him arrested with his wife.

65 So he left Edessa and travelled towards the Euphrates, while his wife was already on the point of giving birth. When he had left Edessa and come to the river, just below the town which is called Daisan, on the bank of the river his wife Nahsiram gave birth to a son, to whom they gave the name of Ibn Daisan, from the name of this river where she gave birth. They fled again, he and his wife, into a cave close to the road, where they settled and

stayed for 25 days. Then he left that place, crossed the Euphrates and came to Menbidj (Hierapolis), where he settled. He found himself at Menbidj an old pagan priest, who had no children at all. The priest... Nouhama and lived with him; his son became attached to the priest and the latter adopted him. When the child began to walk and was larger, he set himself to learn from the priest the teachings of the pagans and their mysteries, and he so arrived at the age of puberty. Then the priest who was instructing him sent him one day to Edessa so that he could bring back certain objects and certain things that he needed for the cult of the gods whom he worshipped. In walking in the streets of Edessa, he passed a church built by the apostle Addai; he heard the voice of thebishop of Edessa, who was preaching to the people from the sacred books. Ibn Daisan reflected in his heart and decided to learn the mysteries of Christianity. He went into the church, frequented it, and made known to the Christians that which had struck him. Then (the bishop) explained to him the truth of Christianity, baptised him, made him a deacon, and gave him a job at the church.

66 The young man bowed, went out, abandoned his family and his mother and began to make some treatises in which he refuted the false opinions that were current in that place; and he didn't stop doing this until the pagans had had a particular conference with him. So they corrupted him and sowed their weeds into his heart. He took up again the mysteries of paganism that the priest of Menbidj had taught him, adopted the teaching of Anathousois (or Scuthinus?) and became the author of a heresy in which he had no predecessor. There are, he said, seven elements of which three are the principal ones, and the other four are less important. The three principal elements are: Intellect, Force and Spirit; the other four are Fire, Water, Light and Air. These seven elements are associated with one another, and from this union come 360 worlds. Man is likewise created from these seven elements: his soul is formed from the three principal and spiritual (elements); in another book, he admits that the body of man is composed of the four inferior elements. He affirms also the existence of seven and twelve (principles); he says: the brain of man comes from the sun; his bones from Saturn; his veins from Mercury; his blood from Mars; his flesh from Jupiter; his hair from Venus, his skin from the moon.

67 According to this teaching, man consists in these seven things. (Ibn Daisan) says: As the moon increases and then diminishes through thirty

days, so the Mother of life removes her clothes each month and goes into the Father of life; he is united to her, and she gives birth to seven children. So, each year, her children number 84. (Ibn Daisan) denied the resurrection of the body. He said that carnal copulation with women is a purification for them and a dimunition of the sin which is in them, and that in this way they may become better. This happened in the time of Marcus and his two sons, Lucius and Antoninus. Commodus, son of Antoninus, reigned for thirteen years, in the year 489 of Alexander. The first year of his reign, at Alexandria the bishop Julianus sat for ten years; his successor was Demetrius who sat for forty-two years.

68 In the year 10 of Commodus, at Rome sat the bishop Victor for ten years. At Antioch sat the bishop Serapion for twenty-one years. At Byzantium sat the bishop Pertinax for eighteen years. At Jerusalem sat the bishop Maximus for four years; after him, Antoninus for three years; after him Valens for four years; after him Dolichianus for four years. The emperor Commodus died and Pertinax succeeded him and reigned six months, and he was killed in his palace. In the year 502 of Alexander, Severus reigned for eighteen years. In the year 9 of his reign, at Rome sat the bishop Narcissus. In the year 10 of his reign there appeared at Rome two men, one called Artemon and the other Theodotus. They said that Christ was an ordinary created man and that he wasn't God at all; but that the Holy Spirit was of the substance of God and of his naturtem and that he had created the Son from nothing.

69 In the same year Severus stirred up a great persecution against the Christians and forced them to embrace paganism and to sacrifice to idols. At this period the philosopher Origen was famous, who was a learned man of Alexandria where he was a professor. He had many disciples among whom were: Gregory Thaumaturgus, Theodore bishop of Tarsus, Heracleas who became bishop of Alexandria and others. In the year 13 some difficulties arose between the Jews and Samaritans: they went to war and a great number were killed on both sides. In the year 520 of Alexander Antoninus Q.ntus began to reign (Caracalla); his reign lasted seven years. In the first year of his reign at Antioch the bishop Asclepiades sat, whose episcopate lasted 12 years. At Byzantium the bishop Marcus sat for 3 years. At Ephesus sat Onesimus for 10 years; after him, Lucius; after him, Proclus. Narcissus occupied the episcopal seat of Jerusalem. He left his seat and retired to the desert. His successor Dius

sat for 3 years; after him Germanus for 7 years; after him Gordius for 2 years. Then after 12 years Narcissus reappeared. (The bishops) asked him to return to his see (seat) and take up his ministry again, but he refused because he could not move because of his great age and his very advanced years. So they established Alexander in his place.

70 Macrinus reigned for one year. At this period at Rome sat the bishop Calixtus for 5 years. In the year 528 of Alexander Antoninus (Heliogabalus) began to reign; he reigned four years. In the first year of his reign the city of Nicopolis was constructed in the land of Palestine, which the Holy Scripture calls Emmaus. In the year 532 of Alexander, Alexander son of Mamma began to reign; his reign lasted 13 years. In the first year of his reign, bishop Urbanus occupied the seat of Rome for 8 years; after him Pontianus for 6 years. In the year 8 of his reign, at Alexandria after Demtrius sat Heracles for 16 years. At Antioch sat Philetus for 9 years; his successor Zebina (Zebennus) sat for 12 years. At Byzantium Cyrillianus sat for 15 years. In the year 9 of the reign of Alexander Severus, Ardashir, son of Babek, the first king of Persia of the line of the Sassanids, came to the position of king and reigned for 14 years; this year was the 541st of Alexander.

71 Then reigned Maximianus (Maximinus) for 3 years. The inhabitants of his empire (the soldiers) attacked and killed him. He stirred up a persecution against the Christians and killed Sergius and Bacchus, the martyrs, and many other martyrs. In the year 548 of Alexander Gordianus came to empire and reigned for 6 years. In the first year of his reign, at Rome there sat the bishop Anterus for a month; after him, Fabius (Fabianus) for 14 years. At Byzantium sat Constantine (Castinus, Kistinus) for 6 years. At this period appeared at Caesarea of Pontus (Neocaesarea) Gregory Thaumaturgus. At Antioch sat the bishop Babylas. He opposed the governor of Antioch in his time, and forbade him to enter the churches and mock them. So the governor killed him with three young folk, his disciples. At this period Africanus was famous, author of chronicles who composed many books on the eras and the dates of kings and others.

72 At that time Africanus was illustrious, author of the chronicles, who composed several books on the times and the lives of the kings and others. In the year 554 of Alexander, Philip became emperor and reigned for seven years; he professed the doctrines of Christianity. When he wanted to go into the church, the bishop forbade him and said to him: "You cannot go in

there, so long as you will persist in your sins; you are a sinner; you must confess your sins to God for a definite and given time; then you will go into (the church) with the believers." And (the emperor) remained outside with the penitents. In the first year of his reign, there reigned over the Persians Sabour, son of Ardashir, for thirty one years In year 3 of his reign, there sat in Alexandria the bishop Dionysius for eighteen years; he was one of the disciples of Origen.

73 In this year, a sect of heretics appeared which said: "He who apostasises with his mouth, refuses to recognize God and hides his faith in his heart, is not an infidel, because his faith is in the thoughts of his heart and his desire; it is the same for incredulity." They put about on this subject a book where they tell that he who reads it and listens to it, receives the forgiveness of his sins. They did not accept any of the prophets and apostles. At this time, the convents and the communities of monks were founded; they were established by Antonius, an Egyptian monk, and Paul the monk, the first of whom instituted the use of woollen clothing (the cilice) and the solitary life in the desert. In the year 561 of Alexander, Decius became emperor and reigned for one year and three months. He conspired against the life of the emperor Philip, and he killed him because of his inclination for Christianity. Decius was an enemy of the Christians and he persecuted them cruelly; many of them suffered martyrdom, and Fabianus, bishop of Rome, was put at death; his successor Cornelius, in Rome, had a pontificate of three years.

74 In Antioch, after Babylas, Flavianus (Fabius) sat for four years. Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, was also put to death; Mazabanus succeeded him and sat for fifteen years At that time, there appeared in Rome a priest called Novatus the heretic. He said that there is no forgiveness for those who sin after baptism, because those who are baptized must resemble Christ, may he be glorified, and be pure like him. He was excommunicated and driven out. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, wrote letters to him, where he informed him and requested him to give up his personal opinion and to return to the catholic doctrines; otherwise he would be in revolt and would leave the Church. But he did not accept his remonstrances. Then sixty bishops met in council to deal with him and they excommunicated him. At the time of Decius, the story of the young men happened, i.e. the sleepers of the cave. Here is what happened to them: Decius made a search for them, and they fled and hid in a cave. Having learned this, he ordered the entrance of the cave to be

stopped up. It was done. But God sent a sleep on them which lasted until the day of their awakening.

75 In the year 562 of Alexander, Gallus and Valusius (Valusianus) reigned for two years. In the first year of their reign, Origen the philosopher died. In this year, in Rome, the bishop Lucius sat for eight years; after him, Stephanus for two years. In Antioch, Demetrianus sat for two years. In Byzantium, Titus the bishop sat for thirty years. At that time, in Egypt, a man named Sabellius appeared. He said that the Father and the Son, may he be praised, are the names of only one essence and of several qualities with which it is provided; Our lord Christ, may he be glorified, appeared in the Old Testament with the attributes of the Father; then he took (?) a body in which he appeared in the world; he instituted the New Testament, where he was given as the Son, and he spoke to the Apostles as the Holy Spirit; but nevertheless, he is only one essence, only one person, only one God, who appeared under three aspects. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, refuted him. The fathers excommunicated him and drove him out.

76 In the year 564 of Alexander, Valerian with Gallienus, his son, became emperor and reigned for fifteen years. He acted against the Christians and excited a great persecution against them; and holy Cyprian underwent martyrdom. In the year 9 of his reign, Sabour, son of Ardashir, son of Babek, king of Persia, made war against Valerian. Sabour fought him, put him to flight, took him captive and took him back to Babylon. His son succeeded him as emperor. When Gallienus saw what had happened to Valerian, he put an end to the persecution against the Christians, had confidence in them and asked them to help him in matters of government. At that time, in Rome, Xystus (Sixtus) the bishop sat, who governed for four years; (after him), Dionysius, disciple of Xystus, for nine years. In Antioch, sat Paul of Samosata for fifteen years. In Jerusalem, Hymenaeus sat for twenty-four years.

77 Paul of Samosata said that God, alone and solitary, did not generate and was not born; one speaks about the Father and the Son only as a parable; Christ, may he be glorified, did not exist before Mary; he was an ordinary man, and not God. Several bishops met in council about him and excommunicated him. In the year 2 of Gallienus, Gar...ous was converted. In this year, in Alexandria, Maximus sat for eight years. At the same time, the heretic Nepos the wicked made himself known, and this Nepos taught... In the year 579

of Alexander, Claudius came to the empire and reigned for one year and nine months. In the first year (of his reign), in the sky four stars appeared which formed a crown of fire. In the year 580 of Alexander, Aurelian became emperor and had a reign of six years. At that time, Paul of Samosata was excommunicated. A synod had been convened against him previously. He had made a show of repentance and of conversion (to God). But when the synod had broken up, he returned to his first opinion. Then in this year, (the bishops) met (again) against him and excommunicated him; but he refused to leave the Church and had recourse to the emperor. The Christians also sought the help of the emperor Aurelian, who ordered him driven out of the Church. He was expelled in spite of himself and he remained in exile until his death.

78 The history of Mani (Manes) the damned. The father of Mani was a man of Susa, named Foutbaq, from Al-Ahwaz; his wife was called Yousit; she gave him a son whom he called Qourbiqous. When he had grown and reached seven years of age, he was taken into captivity and was led into Egypt. A woman of Africa, named Susannah, bought him. Her husband was called Sakousi. The doctors of Egypt attended him, and he shared the ideas of Pythagoras and of Empedocles and he had a disciple named B.rdourous, who was previously called Terbintos. Sakousi the woman's husband having died, his disciple, of whom we spoke and whose name was Bardourous, married her. He took along the woman and the young man whom she had bought, and, after having travelled, he arrived at Babylon. He said to the Persians that he had been born from a virgin and that he had been raised up in the mountains.

79 He composed four books; he called one the "Book of the Mysteries", another the "Gospel", the third the "Book of the Treasury," and the fourth the "Book of the chapters". He did not cease misleading people by his magic, insolence and perfidiousness, until he had amassed much money and had died in a miserable way. Susannah, his wife, after burying him, dealt with the young man; she was given to him; and she gave him the money of her husband, about which I spoke above, and the books which her second husband had made; and she was united to him, i.e. to the young man Qourbiqous, who was her third husband. The young man informed himself from these books and applied himself for a long time to the study of the letters. Then the woman died and left the money and the books to the young man. He

carried off the money and the books and arrived at Susa, his city and the place of his birth. He gave himself the name Mani and claimed to be the author of these books.

80 As he professed Christianity, the bishop of al-Ahwaz made him a priest; he taught at the church and explained the Scriptures and started to talk against the pagans, the Jews, the Magi and all the followers of the heretical doctrines in contradiction with Christianity. He chose disciples, of which one was called Addai, another Thomas, the third Hermeas (M.radi). He sent his disciple Addai to Yemen to invite people to embrace his doctrines; and he sent Thomas to India. Hermeas remained near him in Susa. The two disciples returned and let him know that (the people) had not complied with their word and had not received them. He was extremely irritated at this, abandoned the doctrines of the Christians which he had seemingly professed, and became the author of an absurd heresy. He represented himself as the Paraclete whom the Lord Christ, may he be glorified, promised to send to his disciples. He gathered twelve disciples; and he blew on them, as the Lord Christ, may he be glorified, did to his disciples. They separated, he and they, to lead the world astray.

81 He said: "I did not speak seriously when I said that the one God subsists in three person." Here in addition is what he wrote and did not cease inculcating: There were always two Beings of which one is God, source of Good and source of the Light and Kindness; the other is Matter, the substance of Evil and source of Ignorance, Darkness and Corruption. God is sublime and without limit; as for the two substances of the middle, they are limited, palpable and corporeal. One fine day, the Evil substance, having been disturbed, stirred up its children against each other; its children are the devils, demons, fire and water. They did not cease to make war against each other until they came to the place of the Good, and they stole its Light. They came then and said: "Let us attack it; if it is something edible, we will eat it; and if Good is a drink, we will drink it." And they resolved to attack it. When God, who is the principle of Good, had seen this, he took a piece of himself and threw it to them. The Evil Being absorbed this piece of God, whodrank him, was involved in him and was merged with him. And from this mixture the world was created. The most high God placed his two beloveds at the end (of the reign) of the principle of the Evil. And God recover this piece, which passed to the Evil principle, and will join it little by little to his substance; and he

will be secure against the principle of the Evil so much so that the latter will not be able to fight against him a second time.

82 He denied the resurrection of the dead and he said that the Lord Christ is by essence and by nature, the Son of God; God sent him to the pieces which had passed from his substance to the principle of the Evil, to announce to them that they would be delivered from the Evil Being and that they would return to him with those who were on the side of Evil and did not know it. (Mani said:) All the substance of Christ is only a phantom. He said that he had not been really crucified and had not died; but that his crucifixion and death were only an appearance, because the Evil Being stirred up against him its demons, which killed him and crucified him seemingly; but actually that did not take place. He was saved and reunited with the divine whole. He said that souls are transmitted. He said that he was the Apostle of Christ, that he is of the pure essence of God and that the body in which he appeared, is only a phantom.

83 Sabour, son of Ardashir, king of the Persians, had him killed, skinned his body, impaled him and thus crucified him. In the year 6 of Aurelian, Hormizd reigned in Persia for one year. In this same year, was born the emperor Constantine. (At that time) Eusebius, bishop of Laodicea, was known among the learned. Then Aurelian wanted to stir up in all his empire a persecution against the Christians; but while he was thinking of it, lightning fell..., and struck him. Tacitus reigned for six months and was killed. Florianus reigned for six years and was killed in Tarsus. Probus reigned for seven years, in the year 586 of Alexander. In the first year of his reign, Varahran, son of Varahran, reigned in Persia and occupied the throne for three years; he had as a successor his son Varahran who reigned for seventeen years. In the year 4 of his reign, sat in Rome, after Felix who had governed for six years, Eutychianus for one year; Gaius succeeded him and had a fifteen year pontificate.

84 In Alexandria, Theonas sat for nineteen years. In Antioch, Timaeus sat for fifteen years. In Byzantium, Domitius (Domitianus) sat for twenty-three years. In Jerusalem, Hermanus sat. Then the emperor Probus was killed in a war. After him, Carus, with his sons Carinus and Numerian, reigned for three years, in year 593 of Alexander; they were killed, all three, in a war. In the year 2 of his reign, the martyrs Cosmas and Damianus were put to death. Diocletian reigned for twenty years, in the year 596 of Alexander; the era of

Diocletian starts from that year. In the first year of his reign, the bishop Marcellinus occupied the see of Rome for fifteen years; after him, Eusebius for five years. In Antioch, Cyrillus sat for eleven years; his successor (in Rome) Marthis (Maltiades) had a five year pontificate In Alexandria, Peter sat for eleven years After him (in Antioch), Tyrannus sat for ten years

85 In Byzantium, Probus sat. Peter (of Alexandria) was succeeded by Archelaus (Achillas), according to what is in the diptych; it was a pontificate of eleven years. In Jerusalem, after Hermanus who governed for twenty-four years, sat (Vitalius (?)) for eight years, and his successor Heraclius for nine years. At that time there were four co-emperors: Diocletian; Maximianus, son-in-law of Diocletian; Maxentius, son of Diocletian (Maximianus), and Constantine. Diocletian and Maximianus governed the East, i.e. Armenia, Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia as far as Palestine; and their administration was separate. As for Maxentius, son of Diocletian (Maximianus), he only reigned in Rome and over the neighbouring countries and the regions. Constantine reigned over Constantinople, which is Byzantium. At that time, the inhabitants of Egypt and Alexandria revolted; and Diocletian sent against them many troops of soldiers who destroyed them. In the year 11 of Diocletian, there reigned in Persia Narses for seven years; after him, Hormizd reigned for five years.

86 In the year 19 of his reign, Diocletian ordered the churches of the Christians to be destroyed, and they were ruined, totally, from floor to roof; and he started to persecute the Christians violently; that lasted for eight years, and a great number of them were put to death. In this same year, Peter, bishop of Alexandria, suffered martyrdom. He was the first to uncover the heresy of Arius, and he anathematised him, because Arius disturbed his time and claimed that the Lord Christ, may he be glorified, is only a man and is not God. Peter died, without lifting (the anathema). After Peter had been put to death, Archelaus (Achillas) succeeded to him for one year; after him, the patriarch Alexander occupied the seat for twenty-three years. There was, that year, a terrible famine, so much so that a modius of wheat was sold for 2500 dirhams. Then Diocletian abdicated power, withdrew to his house and remained insane all the time until the moment of his death. His son-in-law Maximianus did the same. They had as successors one Severus and the other Maximianus, who persecuted the Christians and killed a great number of them.

87 After a reign of one year, Severus was killed. Constantine the Great reigned for thirty-three years, in the year 627 of Alexander. He was the first of the sovereigns of the Romans and the Greeks who accepted baptism and converted to Christianity. In the year 3 of his reign, he ordered the walls of Byzantium to be built, called it Constantinople and made it the capital. (At that time), the bishop Mitrophanus occupied the see for thirteen years; after him, Alexander for twenty-three years. In Antioch, Vitalius sat for six years; after him, Philogonius for five years; after him, Eustathius for eight years; after him, Paulinus for one year; after him, Eulalius for six years. In Jerusalem, Macarius sat for twenty-four years; after him, Maximus for fifteen years At that time, Father Pachomius, a monk of Egypt, started to found the communities and convents in Egypt. In the year 5 of Constantine, Sabour, son of Hormizd, reigned in Persia for seventy years.

88 In the year 7 of his reign, Maximianus was killed. In this same year, Constantine prepared to make war against Maxentius, son of Maximianus, son-in-law of Diocletian, because he had revolted (against him), had seized Rome and the neighbouring countries and had started to maltreat and persecute the inhabitants. Constantine reflected and thought that, if God helped him in this combat, he would worship him. While he was thinking about this, he raised his eyes to heaven in the middle of the day and saw there the image of a luminous cross on which was written: "In this sign and this image you will conquer." All those who were with him were also witnesses of this extraordinary vision. The following night, he saw the Lord Christ, may he be glorified, who said to him: "Go to a goldsmith and say to him to make you (an image) of gold in the resemblance of that which you saw in the sky; and with this sign you will conquer and overcome your enemy and you will triumph over all those who are opposed to you." When morning came, (he did what the vision prescribed). It is because of this wonder that the emperors of the Romans were from now on preceded by the cross in their armies and their wars.

89 Then Constantine marched against Rome. Maxentius, son of Maximianus, went out to meet him; but he was put to flight, fell into the river and drowned... Rome for twelve years. On this day the emperor Constantine captured Rome and entered there. The Christians who were there, were fleeing in fear of him. Bishop Eusebius (Silvester) had also fled. Constantine had married a daughter of Diocletian, who was called Maximi. 90 Constantine

being leprous in his body, certain pagans came near him and said to him: "If you want, O emperor, to be purified of your leprosy, kill the children who are in this city and wash yourself in their blood." He ordered that the children should be taken to kill them. Then great clamours were heard in the city and its surroundings. When he had heard this, he had pity on them and ordered them let go and returned them to their parents. During the night he saw in a dream two men who said to him: "If you want to be purified of your leprosy, send to seek out the bishop of Rome, Silvester, who, to hide from you, is in flight in the mountains, and make him come here; it is he who will cure your leprosy." In the morning he sent to seek out the bishop; he was found and brought back. When he came to the emperor, the latter said to him: "Explain to me, O man of God, who are the two pious men whom I saw this night in a dream." The bishop said to him: "O emperor! Those whom you saw, are not gods, but men like you: it is Peter and Paul, disciples of the Lord Christ, may he be glorified." And the bishop sent to seek out their image from the church. Seeing them, the emperor said: "In truth, these are those that I saw in dream." Then the bishop preached to the emperor and explained the principles of Christianity to him. The emperor believed and accepted baptism. At the moment of his baptism his leprosy disappeared and fell like scales from a fish.

91 Having received baptism, he ordered that the churches of the Christians destroyed throughout the country should be rebuilt; and they were restored. He established for them good and useful laws. At that time, approximately 12,000 pagans and Jews accepted baptism, without counting women and children. They praised the Great God and prayed for the emperor and the bishop. That took place in the year 11 of Constantine, which was the year 628 of Alexander. When the Jews who did not accept baptism saw this, envy misled them, and they said that it was not Christ who had cured the emperor of his leprosy, but the God alone whom the Jews worshipped. Having heard this, the emperor was disturbed by it, because of his desire to know the truth; he gathered twelve heads of the Jews and twelve bishops and ordered to them to discuss in front of him; and he did not cease listening to them greedily and acting as referee between them until they had finished their discussion. He made them go home and stuck to Christianity.

92 Then his mother Helena converted to Christianity, accepted baptism and went to Jerusalem on pilgrimage to beseech the protection of the Lord

Christ, may he be glorified. She built churches of Great God in Jerusalem and in all the country. That was done with the assistance of Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem. She took the nails with which the hands and the feet of the Lord Christ, may he be glorified, had been nailed, carried them to her son Constantine, who made some into a bit for his horse. He also took half of the cross, according to what certain people claim, and brought it to Constantinople. The other half remained in Apamea. She covered with gold the half that she had brought, and placed it at Constantinople in a church. There are some people who believe that she did not leave anything of it at Apamea and that she brought the complete cross to Constantinople.

93 The history of the damned Arius. 94 In the time of the emperor Constantine, there was in Alexandria a man named Arius. Peter, bishop of Alexandria, ordained him deacon; but having learned that Arius moved away from the truth, he excommunicated him. Then Peter was put to death and had as a successor Archelaous (Achillas) as bishop. Arius interceded with the latter and had recourse to the intervention of people close to him. Then Achillas lifted the excommunication that Peter the martyr, had pronounced against him, and made him a priest. But after a little time, he showed his hypocrisy and expressed what had been hidden in his heart. Arius envied Alexander because of his knowledge, his high culture and his influence. Alexander ordered in another message: Alexander was mistaken, because Achillas, who was after Peter... Achillas the year... (Alexander allowed? Arius one day to preach at the time of a festival. When he had gone up into the pulpit, he began his sermon by quoting the passage where Solomon, son of David, says in his Book: "The Lord created me before his creatures. One of those present asked him to interpret this passage. Arius answered him: "I understand only (by this passage) that the Lord Christ, the Son, was created before all the creatures. Then, one day, Arius went up into the pulpit and preached for the second time; he treated in his sermon the same idea and asserted that the Son is created. After that day he was forbidden by the priests to preach in the pulpits of Alexandria.

95 The people wanted to know his opinion, so he taught them his doctrines and taught that the Lord Christ, may he be glorified, according to his opinion, is a created man, that the Son has a beginning and that he created the Holy Spirit. When Alexander had been informed about his doctrines, he assembled nearly one hundred bishops of Egypt, who anathematised him

and all those who shared his ideas. Then bishop Alexander bishop informed the Patriarch of Constantinople about this. Arius also wrote to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomédie, requesting his help, and he let him know that several bishops shared his doctrines; among them: Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine; Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea; Paulinus, bishop of Tyre; A.m.s, bishop of Menbidj (Hierapolis); Athanasius, bishop of Anazarbe, and others. Then Arius went to Rome, was presented to the emperor Constantine and complained to him about the way in which Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, had treated him and his followers; and he explained to him why his doctrines were the truth.

96 Then the emperor Constantine wrote to Alexander, requesting him to lift the anathema on Arius. But Alexander refused to do it. Then the emperor, wanting to know the truth, to inform himself and to understand, sent to all the bishops the following letter: "On behalf of the emperor Constantine to the bishops and monks who receive our present message, greeting! You know already what I expressed in an absolute way, that I have nothing more at heart and that there is nothing better in my eyes than the fear of God and the veneration which is due to him, with that brings us closer to God. The first synod had already gathered in Ancyra, town of Galatia. Now we have judged it good to convene another synod in the town of Nicaea for several reasons: the first is the convenient situation (of this city) for the bishops of Antioch and other cities; the second, the stability and softness of the climate; the third, that I will be in the vicinity of the Synod and that I will attend the meetings which will take place there. This is why I let you know, my brothers, and I order you to prepare yourselves and to arrange to travel to the said town of Nicaea; — so that each one of you reflects on my order and regards it as his duty; arrange to arrive quickly, without sloth or negligence. Let each one of you attend the council of Nicaea as we have said. May God keep you and his grace be fulfilled in you. Greeting!"

97 The meeting of the council required a long time. Constantine charged those around him to organise the council and the bishops and the metropolitans who arrived successively at Nicaea, so that each got the residence which was appropriate for his rank and dignity until all the bishops of all the cities were brought together. And (those close to the emperor) carried this out. When the council was assembled, they wrote to the emperor to notify their meeting to him. The emperor entered, placed himself in the middle of the

company and assisted at the actions from beginning to end. Their first session took place on the 9 of Haziran (June) in the year 636 of Alexander, which is the year 19 of Constantine. Here are the names of the most famous prelates at this council: Viton and Vicentius, two priests, representatives of the pope of Rome. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria. Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem. Germanus, bishop of Samaria (Schamrin, Neapolis). Eusebius, bishop of Damascus. Anatolius, bishop of Hims (Emesa). Eustathius, bishop of Antioch. Zinabius, bishop of Seleucia. James, bishop of Nisibis and with him holy Ephraim the doctor. Theodore, bishop of Tarsus, and others. They anathematised Arius and formulated the symbol (of Nicaea) received by all (the members). They said:

98 "We believe in one God only, the Father, the almighty, maker of heaven and earth, (of all things) visible and invisible; and in one Lord only, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, alone, begotten of the Father before time, light of light, true God of true God; begotten, not created, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made; who for us men, and for our salvation came down from heaven, became incarnate by the Holy Spirit of the virgin Mary, was made man, was crucified for us in the time of Pontius Pilate, suffered, died, was buried, rose again on the third day, as is written, went up to heaven, sat on the right of the Father; and he will return in glory to judge the living and the dead; and his reign will have no end. And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father.

99 "As for those who say: He was and he died; he did not exist before being begotten; he was made of nothing or another substance or essence or another ousia; he is changeable or mutable; or that who represents the Son of God by one of these qualities, — that one is anathematised, excommunicated and wicked." They also settled several questions about the Easter calculation, which was changed, and they wrote 20 canons. Some of these bishops had met before in Ancyra of Galatia, had written 24 canons, then they had gone to Nicaea. Then they met in Caesarea, after their meeting at Ancyra and before that of Nicaea, and also wrote 20 canons. Then 90 bishops gathered in Antioch and wrote 25 canons. Then (bishops) met (in Gangres) and wrote 20 canons. Then they gathered in Laodicea and wrote 19 canons. All these events took place in the time of the emperor Constantine and of his house.

100 When Arius was anathematised at the council of the 318 bishops, who wrote his excommunication, there were there a certain number of bishops

and other personnages who shared the doctrines of Arius and who refused to sign the excommunication of Arius. As the council inspired them with fear, some of them repented and returned (to God); as for those who did not return, they were excommunicated, anathematised and banished. Among those who were anathematised and banished, were Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia; Theognis, bishop of Nicaea; Mari, bishop of Chalcedon, and Secundus, bishop of Akka (Ptolemaïs). Then some of the bishops rose and presented to the emperor a letter wherein there were recriminations against other bishops. When the emperor had read it, he ordered that it should be burned and said: "If I find a certain priest suspected and afflicted, I will cover him with my clothing." Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, was charged to formulate what had been halted by these synods.

101 The emperor sent a letter to all the provinces wherein he said that all the questions of this synod were finished and completed with the assistance of the Holy Spirit, his inspiration and his power, and that the question of the Easter Festival was appropriately settled. He ordered all the bishops to be zealous in the construction of churches; he ordered Eusebius to write to him the titles of the books that were read, and he ordered the books of Arius burned. He also sent another letter to all his governors in which he said: "On behalf of the emperor Constantine to the bishops, the metropolitans, the priests, the governors and all the people who will receive our letter, greeting! Arius the liar resembles the devil, wicked and malicious, and he has separated himself from the faith; this is why he contradicted the people and became the author of a heresy without precedent. Thus misfortune has seized him and the testing happened to him. It is necessary to burn his books, so that there remains no memory of him and nothing of his words; and I order those who have something of his, to burn and destroy it all; if not, they will be tainted with the misfortune which happened to Arius; and none of them will find for his soul the way of salvation, God willing!"

102 Then, after these matters, the emperor made war with certain enemies who surrounded him, overcame them and made captive a great number of them. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, died 5 months after the meeting of the council of Nicaea; and he had as successor Athanasius, who sat for 46 years Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, Théognis and those who shared their doctrines did not give up their opinions, their revolt and their error and they persisted in their impiety; they went, convened a council at Antioch and

drove out Eustathius, bishop of Antioch; they stripped him of everything and defamed him. They hid at his house a woman who was pregnant by a certain blacksmith; and she started to shout and say: "I am pregnant by a man who is called Eustathius." They deposed Eustathius and wanted to establish in his place Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea; but the latter did not accept it from them. Then the people were divided into parties; discord reigned and the see of Antioch remained vacant for eight years.

103 Then, after that, sat the bishop Eulalius for one year; Euphronius succeeded to him and sat for six years. When the inhabitants of Antioch had driven out Eustathius, they acclaimed Arius and declared in his favour. At the court of the emperor there was a follower of Arius, like a secret agent; he was attached to their doctrines, helped them and protected them. He requested the emperor to write to Arius and to enable him to come to him. The emperor acceded to this and ordered Arius to come to him. When he received the letter, he went to the emperor with a deacon, who had been anathematised with him. The emperor ordered them to explain their faith in a report and to present it to him. When he had examined it, he found there nothing which deviated from the truth. The emperor wrote to Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and asked him to receive them and to restore them in their rank. But Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, refused to receive them. On this the followers of Arius gathered and, in their deliberations, they resolved to calumniate Athanasius to the emperor and to bring the most serious charges against him. And they acted accordingly.

104 But at the court of the emperor, there was one of the disciples of Athanasius, who apprised the emperor of the trickery of Arius and his followers, their jealousy for Athanasius, the falseness of their calumnies and their charges. Then the emperor ordered that Arius and his followers should be separated and he wrote to Athanasius to come and find him. When he arrived, the emperor questioned him on several points that Arius and his followers had taught, and he explained all that to him. Then the emperor restored him to his place with great honor. These events took place in the year 30 of Constantine. And we have judged it good to give here the order of the kings who reigned from Adam to this time, according to what the authors of annals report, who wrote and laid out clearly the times and the years. We will join together (information) on the kings of various peoples and various nations as far as we are able, to show what difference exists between them

about the increase and of the reduction in the years (of the reign of such or such king), if God the Almighty allows it.

105 Africanus says in the book that he composed on the times: Adam governed the world from the beginning for 930 years. Seth, his son, governed the world for 128 years. After him, Alak.r.dis.(Alasparus) for 920 years and 7 months; after him, Amelun for 128 years and 3 months; Alorus king of Medes (?) for 98 years, 9 months and 20 days; after him, Amenon for 168 years and 7 months and half; after him, Metalarus for 157 years and 6 months; after him, Daonus for 98 years and 7 months and half; Evedorachus for 117 years and 6 months and half; Amphis for 98 years and 7 months and half; after him, Otiartes for 28 years and 7 months and half; after him, Xisuthrus for 157 years and 6 months and half. The total number of years from Adam to the flood is 2,242 years In the detailed calculation he misses out 3 months and 10 days.

106 That agrees with the true Torah, according to the translation of the Seventy which was translated under Ptolemy, king of Egypt, in an irreproachable manner. 107 After the flood: Noah governed the world for 310 years; Sem, his son, for 130 years; Arphaxad, Khamite, for 33 ans;... hraus (Evechius) for 21 years; Akoumasthous (Chosmasbolus) for 35 years; Kourous (Porus) for 30 years; Nachoubous (Nachoubes) for 33 years; Nabius for 40 years; Osanous (Oniballus) for 35 years; Findirous (Zinzirus) for 41 years; Mardocentes for (44) years; Mardafbus (Mardacus) for 40 years; M.r.d (Sisimordacus), his son, for 45 years; thius (Nabius) for 37 years; Parannus for 40 years; Samouanbous (Nabonnabus) for 28 years; Belus the Assyrian for 15 years; Nabius for 52 years; Semiramis for 42 years; Ninyas, called Zames, for 38 years; Arius for 30 years; Aralius for 40 years; Xerxes for 30 years; Armamithris for 30 years; Malaeus (Balaeus) for 52 years; Athadaus (Sehos) for 32 years; Mamythus for 30 years; Machalaous (Aschalius) for 28 years; Sphaerus for 22 years; Mamylus for 32 years; Asthatharas (Sparthaeus) for 28 years; Amyntes for 45 years; Ochsous (Belochus) for 25 years; Balatoris for 30 years; Lamprides for 32 years; Sosares for 20 years; Saqadataous (Ascadates) for 40 years; Saphranous (Saqranous) for 40 years;.faris (Lampraïs) for 30 years; Phanyas (Panyas) for 45 years; Sousarmous (Sosarmus) for 22 years; Snaraous (Mithraeus) for 27 years; Toutoumaous (Teutamus) for 32 years; Teutaeus for 40 years; Arabilus for 42 years; Kalaous (Chalaus) for 45 years; Anabus for 38 years; Babius for 37 years; Thinaeus for 30 years; Darqoulous

(Dercylus) for 40 years; Eupacmis for 38 years; Laosthanis (Laosthenes) for 45 years; Pertiades for 30 years; Arphiathous (Ophrataeus) for 21 years;

108 Ephouthais (Ephecheres) for 50 years; Acraganis for 42 years; Kounthoulaous (Concolerus) for 20 years; 2 Arbacus for 28 years; Mandaous (Mandauces) for 20 years; Sousarmous for 30 years; A.tha.s (Artycas) for 30 years; Deioces for 54 years; Aphraartis for 24 years; Cyaxares for 32 years; Astyages for 28 years; Cyrus Perse for 32 years; Cambyses for 8 years; Darius for 36 years; Xerxes for 21 years; Artaxerxes for 41 years; Darius II for 19 years; Artaxerxes for 46 years; Ochus for 21 years; Arses for two years; Darius III for 6 years; Alexander the Great for 6 years; Ptolemy, son of Lagos, for 39 years; Ptolemy called Philadelphus for 38 years; Ptolemy Evergetes for 25 years; Ptolemy Philopator for 29 years; Ptolemy (Epiphanes) for 24 years; Ptolemy Philometor for 35 years; Ptolemy (Evergetes II) Physcon for 16 years; (Ptolemy) Auletes for 9 years; Ptolemy Alexander for 3 years; Ptolemy Philadelphus II for 8 years; Ptolemy Dionysius for 29 years; Cleopatra for 22 years; Augustus the Romain for 43 years; Tiberius for 22 years; Gaius (Caligula) for 4 years; Claudius for 14 years; Nero for 14 years; Vespasian for 10 years; Titus for 3 years; Domitian for 15 years; Nerva for one year; Trajan for 20 years; Hadrian for 21 years; Titus Antoninus for 23 years; Marcus for 19 years; Commodus for 13 years; Severus for 18 years; Antoninus (Caracalla) for 7 years; Antoninus II (Heliogabalus) for 4 years; Alexander for 13 years; Maximianus (Maximinus) for 3 years; Gordianus for 6 years; Philippus for 6 years; Decius for 2 years;

109 Gallienus for 3 years; Valerian, son of..., for 14 years; Claudius for 2 years; Aurelian for 6 years; Probus for 9 years; Carus for 2 years; Diocletian for 19 years; Constantine for 20 years: That made 5,816 years. 110 Chrysostom says in his treatise that he wrote for Acacius, bishop of Melitene: "You have asked me to explain to you the chronology of the kings who reigned from Adam to Constantine the Great, the pious emperor; and I will explain it to you. "Adam, at the birth of Seth, was 230 years old; Seth, at the birth of Enos, was 205 years old; Enos, at the birth of Kaïnan, 290 years; Kaïnan, at the birth of Mahalalaïl, was 170 years old; Mahalalaïl lived, before the birth of Jared, 165 years; Jared, before the birth of Hénokh, 122 years; Hénokh, before the birth of Mathusaleh, 165 years; Mathusaleh, before the birth of Lamec, 107 years; Lamec, before the birth of Noah, 88 years; Noah, before the birth of Sem, 105 years; Sem, before the birth of Arphaxad, 102 years;

Arphaxad, before the birth of Sçaleh, 135 years; Sçaleh, before the birth of Haber, 130 years; Haber, before the birth of Phaleg, 134 years; Phaleg, before the birth of Ar`û (Rahu), 130 years; Ar`û, before the birth of Sarûg, 132 years; Sarûg, before the birth of Nachor, 130 years; Nachor, before the birth of Tarih, 79 years; Tarih, before the birth of Abraham, 70 years; Abraham, before the birth of Isaac, 100 years; Isaac, before the birth of Jacob, 60 years; Jacob, before the birth of Lévi, 86 years; Lévi, before the birth of Kahath, 46 years; Kahath, before the birth of Amran, 60 years; Amran, before the birth of Moïse the prophet, 73 years. The prophet Moses governed the Israelites in the desert, for 40 years.

111 "Joshua son of Nun governed the people for 27 years. Othoniel and Eglon the Moabite, for 40 years. The Moabites and Ahod, for 80 years. The Cananites, Debora and Baraq, for 40 years. The Madianites and Gideon, for 40 years. Thola, for 23 years. Abimelek, for 3 years. Jaïr, for 22 years. Jephthah (Jephte) and the Ammonites, for 6 years. Hesbon, for 7 years. Abdon, for 8 years. The Philistines and Samson, for 20 years. Heli, the high priest, for 40 years. Samuel and Saul, for 40 years. David the prophet, for 40 years. Solomon, for 40 years. Roboam, son of Solomon, for 17 years. Abia, for 3 years. Asa, for 41 years. Josaphat, for 25 years. Joram, for 8 years. Ochozia, for one year. Athalia, for 7 years. Joas, for 40 years. Amasia, for 29 years. Azaria, called Ozia, for 52 years. Joatham, for 16 years. Achaz, for 16 years. Hezechiah, for 29 years. Manasseh, for 55 years. Amon, for 12 years. Josiah, for 31 years. Joachaz, for 3 months. Joachim, for 12 years. Jechoniah, for 3 months. Zedekiah, for 11 years. The Israelites remained in Babylon for 70 years.

112 "Darius (reigned) for 36 years. Xerxes, son of Darius, for 20 years. Artabanus, for 7 months. Artaxerxes Longhand, for 41 years. Xerxes II, for two months. Sogdianus, for 7 months. Darius, son of his mother (?), for 19 years. Artaxerxes Mnemon, for 40 years. Artaxerxes Ochus, for 27 years. Arses, son of Ochus, for 4 years. Darius, son of San (Arsam), for 6 years. Alexander, son of Philip, for 6 years and 7 months. Alexander tells in his book that he reigned for 16 years. "Ptolemy Lagos, for 40 years. Ptolemy Philadelphus, for 38 years. Ptolemy Evergetes, for 26 years. Ptolemy Philopator, for 17 years. Ptolemy (Epiphanes), for 26 years. Ptolemy Philometor (mother-lover), for 35 years. Ptolemy Physcon, for 27 years and two months. Ptolemy Alexander, for 10 years. Ptolemy, who was driven out of the kingdom, for 8 years. Ptolemy, for 30 years. Cleopatra, for 22 years. 113 "Gaius Caesar, for 4 years

and 4 months. Augustus Caesar, for 56 years and 6 months. Tiberius, for 22 years and 3 months. Gaius, for 3 years and 10 months. Claudius, for 13 years and 3 months. Nero, for 13 years and 7 months. Vespasian, for 9 years and 11 months. Titus, for 2 years and 2 months. Domitian, for 15 years and 5 months. Nerva, for one year and 4 months. Trajan, for 19 years and 6 months. Hadrian, for 20 years. Titus Antoninus, for 22 years and 3 months. Marcus, for 19 years. Commodus, for 13 years. Pertinax, for 6 months. Severus, for 18 years. Antoninus Caracalla, for 7 years. Marcianus (Macrinus), for one year. Antoninus (Heliogabalus), for 4 years. Alexander, son of Mammea, for 13 years. Maximinus, for 3 years. Gordianus, for 6 years. Philip, for 7 years. Decius, for one year and 3 months. Aurelian, for 5 years and 3 months. Tacitus, for 6 months. Probus, for 6 years and 4 months. Carus and Carinus, for 2 years. Diocletian and Maximian, for 18 years. Constantine, for 20 years. All that made 5,460 years."

114 Jachya, son of Adiya, the grammarian, says in his chronicle which he made on... of Constantius (?); he begins and says: Adam governed the world for 230 years; Seth governed the world for 205 years. History of Oudhi and his work. In year 30 of the reign of the emperor Constantine a man named Oudhi of Edessa appeared; he was a Syrian and archpriest and had always aspired to the episcopal see. Seeing that he would not reach it, he attacked the truth and fought it so as to obtain by this means the dignity (of bishop) outside the Church; he was the author of a great heresy in contradiction to Christianity, and he invented nonsense in which he had no predecessor. He affirmed that there were several gods: the father of life, the mother of life, several different sons and several Spirits. He said: Life is linked with the mother of life, and several gods were born from it. The father of life created an angel; then he ordered him to create all the angels. He believed that the father of life had an enemy; and the father of life created Eve. Then he said to her: "Conceive by me before the god who is below me makes you pregnant." She conceived by him, gave birth, and the race resulting from her multiplied. The body is made from matter, the soul from the substance of the father of life.

115 When the malicious adversary had seen the father of life, he envied him and wanted to usurp its rank. He detached a piece from him, called it Christ and created a body for him. Having crossed the region of the gods, he went down without any of the gods or spirits seeing him, to call men to the

worship of his Master. While he preached to them, he violated the order of his Master; and the father of life set himself in anger against his Christ, killed him and crucified him. Oudhi told that the angels committed adultery with the daughters of men, and some of them had children. Evil is natural to men. The father of life will disappear and vanish, and the gods who are below him will also disappear; the mother of life will be also destroyed with the whole world, and there will remain nothing any more.

116 We cannot report many things about which he speaks, because our book would become too long thereby. Many bishops united against him, anathematised him and drove him out of the Church. Then the emperor Constantine concluded an agreement with his three sons and shared his empire between them before his death; he made each of them Caesar and started with his eldest son: he called him by his name Constantine and established him in Constantinople and the neighbouring countries on the side of the Occident. He established the other, who was called Constantine (Constantius), in the East, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Armenia and the neighbouring countries. He established the third, who was called Constans, in Rome and the neighbouring countries. This took place in the year 30 of his reign. When he was about to die, none of his sons being present, he gave his will into the hands of the bishop Eusebius, who was attached to the person of the emperor, and ordered him to give it to his son Constantine.

117 The emperor Constantine died in the year 642 of Alexander, on Sunday, the 22nd of ab (August); he lived 65 years of which he reigned 33 years. His three sons reigned after him for 25 years. Then Constantius went to Nicomedia, took the body of his father, embalmed it, put it in a coffin of gold and transported it to Constantinople. In this year, Sabour, king of the Persians, rose up and moved against Nisibis, when he learned that Constantine the Great had died; he besieged it for 30 days, but, not having managed to seize anything, he returned to his empire. Then he persecuted harshly the Christians who were in his empire, and he did not cease treating them this way until his death. In this year, James, bishop of Nisibis died; Babou succeeded him and Vologeses succeeded him. In Rome, after S.t.r.s (Silvester) who had governed it for 24 years, sat the bishop Marcus for 3 years; Julius succeeded him for 15 years; and after him, Liberius for 8 years

118 Athanasius occupied the pulpit of Alexandria. In Antioch sat Mr.ris (Euphronius?) for 4 years; Stephanus succeeded him for 5 years; his successor

Leontius sat for 6 years; Lucius succeeded him for 3 years. They professed the doctrines of Arius. Then Meletius sat for 2 years, his successor Dorotheus (?) sat for one year; Paul (Paulinus) succeeded him and his episcopate lasted 6 years. Then, in Constantinople, Alexander had as a successor Paul; then he was driven out, and Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, occupied the see for 5 years; the heretic Macedonius succeeded him and sat for 5 years. In Jerusalem, Cyril succeeded Maximus, sat for 12 years and was driven out. At that time, several learned Christians were illustrious: Athanasius, Mar Ephrem and Eusebius of Emesa (Homs). At that time, in Mesopotamia, lived great men, virtuous, pure and strong: the old man Julian, Abraham Qidounaya and others. At the same time, the Persian Sage was known who composed several books and various histories.

119 At the beginning of his reign, Constantius sent to seek out the bishop Athanasius whom his father had exiled, made him return and restored him in his dignity, having granted a rescript to him that nobody had obtained. In the year 3 of the reign of these three (brothers), Constantine the Younger was killed. When the followers of Arius saw that Athanasius had been restored to his rank, they were disturbed and excited. A priest, attached to the person of the emperor Constantius the Great, started to tell impure things (?) and to say that the doctrine of he who says that the Son is the substance of his Father, is the cause of misfortune, discord, the corruption of the people and their doubt; that there is nothing in this respect in the Holy Scriptures and that none of this is known according to the authentic sources; there is only Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, who affirms it.

120 Then Constantius, son of Constantine, emperor of the East, having a certain inclination for the followers of Arius, allowed himself to be led astray by their words and he sent some of his satellites to Egypt to drive out the bishop Athanasius from the city and to depose him. When Athanasius learned this, he fled, went to Julius, bishop of Rome, and let him know all these matters. Julius, bishop of Rome, ordered the followers of Arius to come to him to discuss with them and to deliver their opinions. They did not do so at all and did not reply; but they assembled in Antioch, to the number of 70 bishops, and anathematised any who say that the Son is substance of the Father; they confirmed that he had been created before the world and that God created the world. They wrote 25 canons. At that time, at Antioch, sat the bishop Meletius.

121 This took place in the year 653 of Alexander. Then the Arians raised up in Alexandria, in the place of Athanasius, Eusebius of Emesa, originally from Edessa. But the people refused to receive him, because he shared the ideas of Sabellius; and he returned to Emesa. Then the Arian Gregory was put in his place as bishop. Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, died and had as a successor a man named Paul, who sat for 2 years. Constantine the Younger having learned this, drove him out, because he had been instituted without his permission, and put in his place Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia. In the year 4 of Constantine the Younger, Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, died and he had as successor Acacius, his disciple. In the year 5 of his reign, Eusebius, his disciple, bishop of Nicomedia, died, who had been put on the seat of Constantinople, and Paul returned to his place.

122 Then the Arians met and established a bishop, in Constantinople, a man named Macedonius. A violent dispute burst out between them and the opposite party, and many people on both sides were killed. In the year 6 of Constantine the Younger, there was in Antioch a violent earthquake; and the earth did not cease trembling and being agitated for all the year; but this continued without causing damage. Then the Arians who were in Alexandria attacked Gregory, bishop of Alexandria, drove him out and put another in his place. They drove out (also) Paul of Constantinople and established another in his place. Then Paul and Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, went to Julius, bishop of Rome, and let him know the misfortune which had happened to them, and the conduct of the Arians. He wrote letters to them and restored them to their places. Having learned this, the emperor sent to Paul and drove him out; and Macedonius was put into his place by violence and constraint. Athanasius, having learned of their threats against him, fled and hid for two years. The Orientals who supported the doctrines of Arius wrote to Julius, patriarch of Rome, and deluged him with injuries and insults, because he had restored these two exiled bishops — Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and Paul, bishop of Constantinople. Then Julius, bishop of Rome, ordered (the Arians) to assemble in Rome, and 400 bishops gathered.

123 But when they learned that Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and Paul, bishop of Constantinople, were in Rome, they moved to another city, opposed the patriarch and anathematised whoever said that the Son was of the same substance as the Father. In this manner, the bishops of the East who supported the doctrines of Arius overrode the bishops who supported the op-

posite doctrines, made themselves masters of the council and made their thesis that the Son is created by the Father before all ages prevail. All the Western bishops learned this and did not go to this council; they anathematised and condemned the Eastern bishops, assembled in their turn, established that the Son was of the substance and the nature of the Father, excommunicated those who said that the Son had been created, and restored their rank to Paul and Athanasius. Then Constans, emperor of Rome, sent a letter to his brother Constantine by the intermediary of one of his patricians; he requested him to receive Athanasius and Paul and to restore them in their places; if not he would declare war on him. Having read the letter of his brother, Constantine convened a certain number of bishops and consulted them on what his brother had written to him on either the re-establishment of the two bishops in their places or the declaration of war. They advised to him to restore them in their places and declared to him that their re-establishment was more expedient than war. This decision lessened the calamities. Constantius accepted them and ordered that they be restored in their rank.

124 Then Constantius required Athanasius to concede a church to him in Alexandria. Athanasius said to him: "I myself have something to ask of you." The emperor said to him: "Ask!" Athanasius said: "Give me in each city where the Arians are in possession of the churches, a church to belong to our followers." In the year 15 of the reign of the children of Constantine, Constans, emperor of Rome was killed, in the year 663 of Alexander. This was the cause of his death: He marched against an enemy who had revolted against him, and was killed during the campaign. Then Constantine the Younger proclaimed Gallicus (Gallus), brother of Julian, his brother-in-law, emperor of the East in the place of his brother Constantius, and marched against the enemy who had killed his brother. The emperor Constans, master of Rome, having been killed, the Arians gathered, accusing Athanasius and Paul to the emperor Constantius after his return from the war and led him into error on their subject. The emperor ordered Athanasius killed and Paul exiled. Athanasius, having learned this news, fled and hid. Paul was taken and given to those which were to accompany him in exile in Armenia interior. When he arrived at the border of Armenia, the messenger sent with him to exile him, strangled him; he had sat in Constantinople for two years. Macedonius II succeeded him. In Alexandria George (Gregory) and in Antioch Leontius sat.

125 In the year 18 of Constantius and year 3 of Gallus, the Jews of Palestine revolted, attacked various cities and there captured and killed many people. Then Constantius sent Gallus against them, who destroyed them and demolished their cities and their residences. When Gallus had seized these cities, pride, vanity and the pride seized him, and he became arrogant. He seized two of the principal patricians among his companions, and killed them without the permission of the emperor. Constantius learned this and sent troops against him, killed him and established his brother in his place; the name of his brother who was substituted for him, was Julian. At that time Julius, patriarch of Rome, died after having sat for fifteen years; and Liberius succeeded him. In the year 20 of Constantius, at Nicomedia a great earthquake took place, and the city was engulfed. In this same year, the discords between the Arians and the other party burst out. Cyrillus, bishop of Jerusalem, were deposed; it was the same for S.r.n.s (Ursinus), bishop of Rome. In their place M.ttis was set up. But the people did not accept him, deposed him and put Eudoxius in his place (in Constantinople), after he had sat at Antioch for three years. In Antioch, after Eudoxius, sat Meletius of Sebaste, who had been bishop of Haleb. The Arians took him from Haleb and set him up in Antioch. Going up (into the pulpit) to preach, Meletius showed them, during his sermon, his three fingers; and he said to them: "All three are one." Arians, seeing that he did not agree with them, deposed him, after he had governed (the Church) for two years, and established in his place Euzoius, who was an Arian from Egypt.

126 Then the people of Antioch were divided: among them there was one party with the priest Marina, the other with Euzoius. In Jerusalem Arranius sat for nine years; after him Heraclius. Macedonius, who had been driven out of Constantinople, said that the Son is different from his Father by his substance, and that he does not have any link (with him). After teaching this, he was exiled to the country of Pontus, and he had Eudoxius as his successor, who used hypocrisy near the emperor and gave himself a deceptive appearance. He was driven out (?). It was he who had driven out of Cyzicus Eleusius, bishop (of that place), and had established in his place Eunomius de Cilicia. Eudoxius ordered him not to let his doctrines appear immediately. He began by seizing all the churches, because the Orientals contradicted the doctrines that he preached to them. Then they sent someone to Constantius to speak for them. The emperor ordered Eudoxius to punish him; but he agreed with

Eunomius and had sympathy with him, which was reciprocated, and they carried on the business at length. But Eudoxius started to blame Eunomius for making their doctrines known so quickly. Having learned that, the emperor ordered Eunomius to give up his seat. He left after an obstinate resistance, went to Eudoxius (and said): "You've acted badly towards me and my master Aetius."

127 Then he assembled a party, and they were called Eunomians. Eunomius and his followers said: God, eternal, alone, is unbegotten and does not beget. He is the creator of the Son and he created him like a spiritual soul; then he sent him into the world, and the Son took a body without linking himself with it, this body remaining the location of the soul. The Holy Spirit is created by the Son. Those who receive baptism are baptized only in the death of Christ; they baptize only the head of the child to the chest, and they do not baptize the lower parts of its body, saying that it is impure. In their baptism, they do not soak the child in water; but when they want to baptize a man, they move towards him and wrap the lower part of his body, from the feet to the chest; then they put him on a table, take water and pour some on his hands, chest and his head.

128 This Eunomius believed that he had resolved all questions and that he had from the substance of God the same knowledge as God himself. He was anathematised and exiled in the time of Constantius, son of Constantine, in the year 20 of his reign, which is the year 668 of Alexander. The History of Apollinarius. Then a man named Apollinarius appeared from Alexandria, where he had studied the knowledge of the pagans. From Egypt he came to Beirut and was ordained priest there under Theodotus, bishop of the place. His son learned there (Greek) literature, and the father astronomy; and they both went to see the philosopher Epiphanes from time to time. When the bishop Theootus saw this, he prohibited them doing this, so that they did not deviate from the truth or lean towards paganism. They obeyed him and were obedient until the death of the bishop Theodotus. The latter had George as successor. They then started again to visit the philosopher and made (pagan) sacrifices with him. Bishop George endeavoured to lead them away from him, and discord burst out between them and him (bishop George); but he could not succeed. As they refused to give up their practices, he excommunicated them and drove them out. As for Apollinarius, he invented, with his knowledge of philosophy, a new heresy and founded a sect.

He went to find excommunicated bishops, who ordained him bishop. He and his son agreed to create a perverse doctrine and they imagined a trinity of degrees and ranks.

129 Apollinarius said that the Father is immense, that the Son is great and that the rank of the Holy Ghost is less than either (of the Father and the Son). He reports that the Son borrowed our animal soul and body, that he did not take the reasoning soul, but that the Divinity takes its place. Apollinarius wrote several books: in one, he said that the body of Christ comes from heaven; in another, that he took a false body for us; in the third (book), he said, like Sabellius, that God is only one substance and only one hypostasis. He only said: (the expressions should be understood) "the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost" according to the actions of God in creation. He made a great error, in saying that in the future life one would eat, one would drink and one would join oneself with women; that Christ is only a form made up of the divine elements and the animal body; and that the substance of the Son is created. He said that his psalms, that he had composed himself, were better than those of the prophet David. The bishops of Constantinople met against him, excommunicated him and exiled him.

130 Then the emperor Constantius, who was at Antioch, learned that Caesar Julian, having fought the Barbarians, had put them to flight and that his subjects had proclaimed him emperor. Constantius was baptized by the bishop of Antioch, raised troops among the Romans and went against the rebel. While he was on the way, he was seized by sorrow and concern and died of apoplexy, after having reigned with his father for thirteen years and alone for twenty-five years. Julian the Apostate succeeded him, and reigned for two years; he was the cousin of Constantine. When he began to reign, he ordered that everyone should make public profession of their doctrine and practise their religion. Then the pagans attacked the Christians because of the hatred which was between them, and about which has been spoken previously; this hostility caused a great misfortune. This took place in Alexandria, and many people there were killed. They were thus punished for what they had done, as we reported above. They seized Gregory the Theologian, struck him and dragged him face down through all the city.

131 Then Julian prohibited the Christians from studying the knowledge (of the pagans) and said: (Otherwise) they would fight us with our own weapons. He ordered that the sacred vessels be taken from the churches, the

convents and the oratories and his treasure stored in them. Julian the Apostate had an uncle who was called Thouphili; the latter came to Antioch to take the vessels of the churches which were there. He entered the church, lifted his clothing and urinated on the altar. Euzoius sought to prevent him, but did not succeed. Then the emperor ordered that food and drink should be sprinkled with magical and impure water; and the Christians refused to do so. Then he made search for those who did not obey him; and the Christians, in their turn, made use of stratagems. He laid out money on a table, also filled with meats coming from the sacrifices of the pagans; then he declared: "Here: whoever wants money, must throw incense on fire, enter and eat the pagan offerings; after which he will receive that which he needs." Many Romans refused the invitation and said: "We are Christian, and we will not obey you in what you want!" Then he ordered a great number to undergo martyrdom.

132 John the Great addressed a command to the cantons of.... And he said to them that the idols of the peoples were merely silver and gold, the work of human hands. That those who make them and all who have confidence in them are no better. The emperor, having learned this, ordered them to be beaten and imprisoned. But the lightning burst out and set fire to their god Pythius, and his temple sank into the earth. The people attached to the oracle of Apollo and the priests, guardians of the temple, said to the emperor: "We saw our own eyes fire coming down from heaven and setting fire to the idol and the temple." Then when Julian conceived the project to make the war against the Persians, he wanted to know whether or not his expedition would succeed. So he went into the (temple) of the oracle of Apollo with Valentinian the Christian; they found a priest who was sprinkling the idols with impure water; and some of this impure water fell on the clothing of Valentinian. Then he struck the priest with his whip and said to him: "You soiled me, O impure one!" That day, the oracle answered him nothing; but it said to him: "The bones, deposited in my vicinity, prevents me from saying anything to you. They are those of Babylas the Martyr." Then the emperor ordered them removed from the place where they were; and the people of Antioch went out, took the bones and, having put them in a coffin, transported them into the city. Then the oracle declared in his favour and said to him: "You will come down and overcome your enemy on the Tigris."

133 When the oracle had decided in his favour in this way, the emperor became arrogant, entered an extreme fury and wanted to imitate Alexander the Macedonian; he reprised the same plan and went against the Persians. Arriving at Harran, he visited the oracle which was there and again asked him what he would say; and the oracle predicted victory for him. At the time when he was prepared to leave Harran, his head was disturbed, and he worshipped Sin, god of the Harranians; his crown fell from his head, and his horse, on which he was mounted, fell on the ground and died. The oracle said to him: "It is the Christians who are with you, who have attracted this misfortune to you." He then dismissed 20,000 men (of his troops). He did not raise the cross which was carried before him; he hid it and said: "If we obtain victory, we will say that we overcame not by the cross, but by our force; if we are overcome, we will say that we are overcome because of the cross which was with us."

134 Before arriving at Harran, he remained a few days at Tarsus. The Jews which were there, came to him and presented him with a crown of gold of seven mithqals for the idols which they adored. Julian said to them: "Why do you not sacrifice according to your law?" They answered him: "We cannot sacrifice outside Jerusalem." Then they threw in front of him incense, spread perfume in front of the idols and offered sacrifices to them. The emperor made them presents and sent them home; he ordered them to rebuild their temples and to sacrifice according to their customs. When they had prepared materials for the construction which they needed, Cyrillus, bishop of Jerusalem, said: It is the time of which Our Lord Christ prophesied, saying: "The days will come, where there will not remain one stone on another which is not overturned." During the night, a violent wind rose and destroyed all that they had built; then a great earthquake occurred, and 22 cities were engulfed.

135 In the same year, Julian was killed in the war, after a reign of two years and four months; he had lived thirty-one years. Here is how he was killed: During the war which he made against the Persians, at the moment when he was marching in the ranks of his soldiers to stir them to combat, a Persian launched a spear at him and struck him in the side; and the emperor fell from his horse. While he suffered, he filled the hollow of his hand with his blood and threw it in the air towards heaven, saying: "You have overcome me, Son of Mary!" and he died. He was transported to Tarsus and buried

there. The Roman army remained without an emperor; and (soldiers), according to the council of Sabour, elected Jovian who was the head of Julian's vanguard. But Jovian refused, saying that he was a Christian. They said to him that they were also Christians and that the fear of Julian had prevented them from expressing their faith. Jovian drew the cross from the treasure and drew up it in front of them in the camp; and everyone worshipped it, except the pagan priests. Peace was restored between him and Sabour. Sabour conducted him back to Nisibis, and Jovian ceded it to him, after having transplanted the Romans who lived there to Amida.

136 From his time, Basil the great, Julian the elder and Didymus were illustrious. Jovian reigned for one year, in the year 675 of Alexander. It is said that, while he commanded the vanguard of Julian, he went to Nisibis and left his troops to seek out the monks there. Mar Eugenios appeared to him then and ordered him to return to his troops and told him that his Master had been killed; that he would achieve empire; that king Sabour would come, at a time that he would reveal to him, in the camp of Julian to get informed about the situation; that he was to go there to find him at this time, and that after having seized him, he should treat him with honour and respect and to let him leave. Jovian left, as Mar Eugene had ordered him. Sabour came into (the camp) at the time that Mar Eugenios had indicated to him; and Jovian found him during the night in the camp, though Sabour had disguised himself and put on the clothing of a merchant. Jovian took him, brought him into his tent and, finding himself alone with him, told him that he had already recognized him, and that no trick threatened him neither personally nor on behalf of all his entourage. He ordered that food be brought, and they both ate. Then they sailed on the river at night, and Jovian did not leave him before he had led him to his camp; after which Jovian withdrew. For this reason Sabour advised that he should be invested with the imperial power.

137 Hardly had he started to reign than he sent a delegation to Sabour, king of the Persians, made peace with him and gave him Nisibis. Since that time Nisibis, with the surrounding area, has belonged to the Persians. In leaving the East, Jovian recalled all the bishops from exile. Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, reappeared and took again possession of his see. Then the emperor wrote to the patriarch Athanasius, asking him to write out for him the true creed of the faith in its real sense, to explain it to him in a letter and

to send this to him. Athanasius gathered some bishops, who wrote to the emperor that he should follow the symbol of the law of the 318 bishops who had met in the town of Nicaea. Then Jovian died at that time after having reigned for one year. After him, Valentinian and Valens reigned for 15 years. It was this Valentinian who had struck the priest and had said: "You soiled me with this water!" He fixed himself in Rome and made his brother Valens emperor of the East. That took place in the year 676 of Alexander.

138 Valentinian adhered to the true faith and approved the symbol of the 318. As for Valens, he leaned towards the doctrines of Arius, because he had been baptized by Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople, who was an Arian. It is told that Valens, having been baptized by Eudoxius the Arian, wanted to take communion; but the latter refused him and did not give him the Eucharist until he had sworn to him to communicate only according to the doctrines of Arius and to be opposed to those which opposed these doctrines. When he began to reign, he fulfilled his oath: he exiled all the bishops who did not agree with the doctrines of Arius, acted against all the bishops who did not adhere to his ideas, and persecuted them. Eusebius bishop of Samosata pretended that he was of the party of the Romans; he occupied his see all his life and, dressed in a (bournous) for fear of the Romans, he travelled and traversed the cities and ordained in secrecy priests and deacons (of the Orthodox party).

139 In this same year, a rebel named Procopius revolted against Valens, in Constantinople; and Valens put him to death because of his treason. The same year, hail as big as stones fell: there were earthquakes in Constantinople, where several districts were engulfed; and part of the town of Nicaea was also overthrown. Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, hid in a tomb, without seeing anything for four months, by fear of Valens. When this difficult situation ended, he came out and remained in his rank until his death. At that time, in Edessa, there appeared a man named Eusebius and surnamed Euchites (?), who had five disciples. Here is his doctrine: God is alone, but he has manifested himself in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. He said that the body of Christ was only an appearance, because God had created it from a fine and spiritual substance, and that his crucifixion was also only an appearance. He prohibited common prayer; he claimed that all his visions came from the Holy Spirit: that communion is useless and unprofitable; that the Holy Spirit lived in whoever was attached to his doctrine;

that adultery is a permissable thing; that after Christ there is neither sin nor error. He said that that which is thrown to the ground in an epileptic fit is thrown by a movement of the Holy Spirit. They were designated by the name of Messalians. They said: "Whoever has prayed and fasted for 12 years can order the mountain to transport itself from the place where it is; and it will be transported." Then all those who adhered to his doctrines after this time, left and said to the mountain: "O mountain! I order you to be transported from the place where you are." As it was not transported, they renounced his doctrine of which they thus knew the corruption.

140 At that time, Diodorus (of Tarsus) and Theodore (of Mopsuestia) were known. Among the doctors Athanasius and Mar Ephrem the Syrian and another (?) with Zenobius, priest of Edessa; Basil the Great; Gregory, his brother; Malchus; and Arsisius were illustrious. In same time, Macarius the Pious the Egyptian and Macarius of Alexandria who was transported to paradise were known, as is reported. Valens exiled them to an island of the sea. Likewise known were r.ou.s (Evagrius?) the monk, a disciple of Basil. In the year 7 of Valens, Abraham, bishop of Nisibis died. In this year Julian the Old died at Tour-Sina (Sinai). In this same year, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria died, to whom succeeded Peter... who had been his companion in all his tribulations. Then Euzoius, bishop of Antioch, who belonged to the sect of Arius, asked Valens for permission to go to Alexandria. He allowed him. Euzoius there went and took along with him a certain number of Greeks. He seized Peter, imprisoned him and set up in his place Lucius de Samosata. A few days later Peter escaped from the prison, went to Rome to Damasus, patriarch of Rome, and advised him how Valens had treated the people.

141 Then Valens carried out a great persecution against the followers of Sabour (?); he made many perish and exiled a certain number. Then a group of priests, 80 in number, and other personnages met, went to Valens and asked him to grant them peace, the safety of their lives and freedom from persecution. Valens ordered one of his chiefs to put them in a boat at sea, like exiling them to an island; and they rejoiced. While they were in the middle of the sea, the Patrician sent with them, with his companions, passed in another separate boat; then he set fire to the boat where the priests were, and burned them with the boat. Then Valens went to Edessa to see the church of the apostle Mar Thomas and found that the population did not agree with him; then he ordered that the recalcitrant ones and Barsê, bishop of Edessa, be

sent to the island of Roudis (Aradus); and he banished eighty inhabitants of Edessa, the chiefs and all the bishops who did not adhere to the doctrines of Arius, except Basil and Gregory the Theologian whom he could not proscribe.

142 Then Valens sent for Basil and had him brought to Antioch to reprove him. His son being sick, Valens said to him: "If your doctrine and belief are true, pray for this child, so that he recovers from his disease." Basil said: "If the child is baptized by those who adhere to the truth, it will heal and be in good health." When the emperor was told what Basil required of him, Eudoxius, the Arian bishop, ordered the Arians to baptize the boy. Hardly they had baptized him, than he died. The afflicted emperor entered the church to pray; and he called Basil and said to him: "What proof do have you that the truth is with you and your followers?" Basil explained the true faith to him and conversed with him a long time. Then the emperor treated Basil well and dismissed him safe and sound. A few days later, the emperor changed his mind and ordered Basil into exile; then he again changed his mind on what he had ordered in his connection, and left him alone.

143 The emperor Valentinianus, having lived as emperor for 13 years, died. Valens reigned, and his anger only became more violent against those who did not agree with him; and he persecuted them. Then a philosopher came and said to him: "O emperor! you should not fret to see several sects among the Christians. The pagans are divided into eighty beliefs. God allows this to glorify him and likes to be praised and described (in his qualities). This is why he is represented in various ways." On these entreaties Valens calmed himself a little and renounced his cruel conduct. In the year 14 of Valens, Euzoius, Arian bishop of Antioch, died, after having governed for 17 years; he was the seventh bishop of the Arians. Then Peter, bishop of Alexandria, returned from Rome to his city; after 6 years of episcopate, he died. His brother Timothy succeeded him and sat for 7 years

144 Then Valens prepared to make war against the Goths. When he was preparing to leave, a monk who was a hermit, named James the monk, said to him: "O enemy of God! if you wish to have success and to succeed, order that the bishops whom you exiled return to their seats; if you do not do it, you will not overcome and will not succeed." Valens said: "I will overcome, I will return and will kill you." James said to him: "If you return, does not leave me alive." And all the monks who were there said him the same thing. But

Valens paid no attention to their words and left for his expedition. He met the enemy. While he was in the battle against them, he entered a nearby village, where he hid with his companions. His enemies learned that he was there under a disguise. One of his enemies also disguised himself; he traversed the troops, entered the village where Valens was hidden, and set it on fire. So Valens with his companions, was burned to death, after having reigned for 15 years; he was 50 years old.

145 Gratian reigned with his brother Valentinian for one year, in the year 690 of Alexander. In this year died Sabour, king of the Persians, after having reigned for 70 years; and he had as a successor his brother Ardashir who reigned for 4 years. Gratian ordered all the bishops and other people that Valens had exiled to return home. He ordered that each man should stay in the religion that God let him profess, except Eunomians and Manicheans. Then Gratian associated a man named Theodosius in the empire; and he was baptized in Constantinople. Gratian died; and after him reigned Theodosius the Great for 17 years, — others say for 19 years, — in the year 691 of Alexander. He ordered that everyone might practise his own religion, and allowed all the exiles to return home. ** When the bishops, (the followers) of Macedonius, saw this, they gave up their business, wrote several letters to Damasus, bishop of Rome, and stuck to their religion.

146 This is why Meletius, after his return to Antioch, said to Paulinus, bishop of that town: "All the people are favourably disposed to neither you or me: one is for you, another for me. Here is how we could arrange things: reunite my followers with yours: if the (episcopal) power stirs up hate between us, we will place the Gospel in the centre of the room; you would put yourself on one side, me on the other, and whichever of us two survives, will occupy the see." But Paulinus refused. At this period Meletius took notice of Diodorus and learned that he well understood how to oppose heretics and refute them solidly; and he made him bishop of Tarsus. Then Meletius and several bishops undertook to transfer Gregory the Theologian from his place at Constantinople, because of his great spirit and abundance of learning, and they did that. Many people began to assemble near him, in the poor and small house that he was living in, with a man named Anastasius; and he instructed them. Two years later they abandoned him, disliking him for his merits, and he left the place.

147 Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, ordained in his place Maximus the cynic, who was a man who was conceited in his heart and proud and one who shared the ideas of Apollinarius. Then Theodosius started to persecute the Arians, who had been masters of the country and the churches for forty years; and he stirred up a violent persecution. Then he convened a council at Constantinople, and 150 bishops met there. This took place in the second year of his reign, which is the year 692 of Alexander, on the third of the month of Ab (=August). At this period Damasus was patriarch of Rome, Timothy of Alexandria, Meletius of Antioch, Cyril of Jerusalem. With these were united Basil, Gregory the Theologian, (Diodorus) bishop of Tarsus, who said that the Holy Spirit had been created, Maximus, bishop of Constantinople, and Nectarius. They supplemented and confirmed the creed (of Nicaea) and added that the Son is of the substance of the Father and that the Holy Spirit is God and Lord, the giver of life, proceeding from the substance of the Father and the Son. They anathematised Eustathius, who shared the ideas of Macedonius.

148 They drew up four canons. In the first they pronounced an anathema against the Eunomians, Arians, Sabellians, Apollinarians (?), Photinians and Macedonians. In the other three canons they defined that bishops should not pass from one place to another and that each should occupy his see until his death or until he was exiled after committing some misdeed. They ordained that the see of Constantinople was first after that of Rome, and that an accusation of a heretical bishop against an orthodox bishop would not be received. In the fifth year of Theodosius, Vahran (Fahran), son of Sabour, mounted the throne of Persia and reigned eleven years. In that year a rebel named Maximus revolted at Rome. Theodosius sent his troops against him and he was killed. In the sixth year of his reign, a son was born to Theodosius, who named him Honorius. In the same year, Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, died. Theophilus succeeded him, for twenty-eight years.

149 Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, died and John succeeded him, for twenty-two years. John, priest of Antioch, was one of the famous scholars of this time. In this year, Theodosius ordered that the wise people should define and profess their religious ideas in writing and present that to him. When they had done so and had presented it to him, he arose and prayed. Then he ordered that these (written) opinions be put on the altar; and God inspired him that only one was true, the statement of those which said that the Son is

of the substance and essence of the Father. Then he ordered all these opinions to be burned, and exiled their followers from the city; he expelled from holding command in his army, his council and his entourage all those who shared the ideas of Arius. He ordered that the churches of the Arians and the temples of the idols throughout the country be destroyed; and he had many pagans killed in Alexandria.

150 In that year, a column of fire appeared in the sky and remained for thirty days. In the same year, a terrible darkness took place at midday. Then Theodosius fell sick and sent for Honorius, his son. When he arrived, Theodosius had him proclaimed (emperor) and sent him into the west; he had Arcadius, his other son, proclaimed and sent him into the east. Theodosius died in these circumstances, after reigning seventeen years and living sixty years Arcadius, son of Theodosius, reigned thirteen years, in the year 708 of Alexander. In his time, among the scholars, Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, and Acacius, bishop of Aleppo were illustrious. At Rome, after Damasus, who occupied his see for eighteen years, came Siricius. In that year, after Nectarius, John Chrysostom became bishop of Constantinople. He was originally from Antioch and, at the age of twenty-eight, he had composed the Commentary on the Gospel as well as the Commentary on the Epistles of Paul.

151 When he became bishop of Constantinople, he prohibited the priests from many acts of corruption. They envied him and set out to find some fault against him with which to accuse him. At that time, he read the books of Origen. Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, sent to Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, and to all his bishops, and they anathematised the books of Origen. John paid no attention to this. Then everyone became hostile to him; among his enemies was Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, and Antiochus, bishop of Acre. The empress, wife of the emperor Arcadius, also was resentful against him, because he took down her statue, which was close to the church, and because he had insulted her, one day, in a sermon and had compared her to Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, who had taken the vineyard of Naboth the Israelite. This is why she departed one day with twenty-nine bishops, to which were joined seven other bishops who were stirred up against John, and they came to where Theophilus was. Being in agreement about John, they sent an order to him to come to them; but he did not come. Then they excommunicated him and deposed him.

152 After the excommunication of John Chrysostom, the population of the city was disturbed and divided. The emperor, witnessing their division, sent for John and restored him in his dignity. After his return, he composed some sermons on his exile. In one of his speeches, he designated, one day, the empress under the name of "Herodias." Outraged, she sent for Theophilus, Epiphanius and other bishops, whom she gathered in Constantinople; they excommunicated John and exiled him. This took place in the year 8 of Arcadius, which is the year 716 of Alexander. He was exiled in an island of the Euxine Sea, where he died, at the age of forty-six years; he had been a bishop for four years. A little time after him, the empress died. Arsacius, brother of Nectarius, succeeded John, for fourteen months; after him, Atticus, originating in Sebastia in Armenia came. Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, died, and Porphyrius succeeded him.

153 Then disorders broke out among the Greeks, in Egypt and the East concerning the remains of John Chrysostom; they were brought back thirty-three years after his death; they were buried in Constantinople, and his name was consigned for always in the book of life (in the diptychs). In the year 5 of Arcadius, Yezdegerd, son of Sabour, started to reign in Persia and reigned for twenty one years Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, died. Jewish by origin, he had become a Christian and received baptism. It was he who baptized Arcadius and Honorius, both the sons of Theodosius. Then Arcadius died, at the age of thirty. He left the throne to his son Theodosius, eight years old, who reigned for forty-two years, as from the year 721 of Alexander. In the year 3 of his reign, Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, died; and Cyril, his nephew, succeeded him for thirty-three years. In Rome, Anastasius was bishop for four years; after him, Bonifacius for three years, and after him, Celestinus for nine years.

154 At Antioch, after Porphyrius, who occupied the see for five years, Alexander was bishop for ten years. He restored the peace between the Easterners and Westerners, which had been disturbed in consequence of their discord about Paulinus, who had been bishop of Antioch at the time of Novatius(?) the impious. After a ten year episcopate, he had Theodotus as successor for thirteen years, and the latter had John as successor for thirteen years At that time, the Christians were multiplying in the empire of Persia and Christianity became very strong, thanks to Maroutha, bishop of Mayafariqin, who, by the order of Theodosius, went among the Persians. Then

Yezdegerd reigned; he was unjust and an oppressor; and his subjects revolted against him, feared him and reviled him. But on a certain day, a nimble horse (ran), of beautiful colour and so beautiful to see that the like had never been seen; it started to run and stopped close to the door of the palace of Yezdegerd. All those who saw it, were amazed at it. The servants entered and told Yezdegerd, their Master. He went out in haste to see the horse, found it beautiful and halted to stroke it with his hand. When he walked behind the horse to stroke its back, the horse struck him with its two (back) feet and killed him; then it started to run and disappeared; and no-one knew from where the horse had come. Thus the people were delivered from his persecutions.

155 Then Varahran (Bahram), his son, who succeeded him, persecuted and oppressed the Christians. In that year, there was an eclipse of the sun. In the same year there was a battle between the Greeks and Persians, and many were killed on both sides; the Persians were put to rout, and the persecution against the Christians ceased. In that time, among the scholars there flourished Mar Isaac, disciple of Mar Ephrem; he lived in Antioch and composed several sermons on the festivals, the martyrs, the wars and the invasions which took place at that time; he was originally from Edessa. In the same time, there were many Jews living in Alexandria. One fine day, several of them were baptized; so they took a statue, crucified it and said: "This is the Messiah!" A great discord broke out between them and the Christians and many people were killed. In the year 6 of Theodosius the Younger, there were found, in Jerusalem, the bones of Stephen the martyr, and a church under his name was built there.

156 In the year 10 of Theodosius, in Antioch, Simeon Stylites was illustrious, who did miracles and wonders. Among the scholars were Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyr, and Acacius of Aleppo. Having sat for twenty-two years, John, bishop of Jerusalem, died, and Praylius succeeded him for five years; the latter had as successor Juvenal for forty years In the East there was a man called Nestorius; he was educated and studied the books of Theodore (of Mopsuestia) and Theodoret. Then he came to Antioch in the time of Theodotus, bishop of the city, and settled in a convent. As he was assiduous in reading of the Sacred Books, Theodotus ordained him priest. Then Theodosius made him come to him and made him patriarch in Constantinople. He made many sermons to the people. Once, while he was giving

a sermon, instead of saying that Saint Mary is the Mother of God, he said that she was the mother of a man. (The people) did not hear any mention of his divinity. Anastasius, his disciple, who had come with him from Antioch, said also the same thing. When the people were disturbed and agitated by this, he went up in pulpit and said the same still more. The people listened, were irritated and disturbed.

157 This business spread, and news of it came to the bishop of Rome. He sent letters to Nestorius in which he exhorted him and told him not to give more sermons like this. Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, also sent letters to him in which he prohibited him from repeating what he had done. John, bishop of Antioch, wrote the same thing to him. Three years passed in the hope that he would recant and would return to the truth. When they saw him persevering in his business, they submitted a report on this to the patriarch of Rome. Then the patriarch wrote to Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, asking him to be his representative and to gather an assembly of bishops who would excommunicate Nestorius, if he did not retract his opinions. He wrote this (also) to the emperor. Theodosius the Younger convened at Ephesus a council of 200 bishops, who excommunicated Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople. In this synod were Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, John, bishop of Antioch, Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, and Acacius, bishop of Meitene. After studying his books and epistles carefully, they excommunicated him and found that he had moved away from the faith of God and deviated from the way of truth.

158 After his excommunication, Nestorius said to them: "Myself, I will not call that God which was two or three months old, and I will not adore it as God." Then Nestorius gathered the bishops who were of his opinion, and these excommunicated Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, and Memnon, bishop of Ephesus. None of the bishops of the East had attended the council. When John, bishop of Antioch, and, with him, the bishops of the East arrived, they found Nestorius already excommunicated, and they waited. Cyril several times sent his companions to them; but they did not come to him. Then Cyril excommunicated them, and they, they excommunicated him (likewise). When Nestorius saw that, he understood that the business would lead them into serious dissension; and he started to proclaim and to say: "No! Let it be said that Mary is the Mother of God!" The disorder calmed, and Nestorius returned to his convent to Antioch.

159 Then eight bishops from the followers of Cyril and eight bishops from the followers of John went, because of this business, to the emperor Theodosius. When they arrived there, he ordered them to say nothing of the business of Nestorius before him. Then each of them returned to his country. The hostilities between the Easterners and the population of Egypt did not stop. Theodoret, bishop of Cyr, and Andrew, bishop of Samosata, were sent the decisions established by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, defined in his third epistle to Nestorius. In Constantinople, a priest of good conduct called Maximianus succeeded Nestorius. Theodosius the Younger wrote to the patriarch Cyril about the hostility which reigned between the population of Egypt and the population of the East. When the letter reached Cyril, he wrote to the bishop of Aleppo and requested him to restore peace and security. Acacius, bishop of Aleppo, had gathered a council of many bishops, who sent a letter to Cyril in which they expounded the true faith; they sent this letter via Paul, bishop of Emesa, after saying to each other that "peace between us and him had already existed before this".

160 Coming to Cyril, they gave the letter to him. He read it and approved their proposal. Then he ordered Paul, bishop of Emesa, to deliver a sermon to the people in the church; and the people listened to his speech. Then Cyril sent a letter to the Easterners in which he recognized the truth of the faith about which they had written to him; he thanked them and excused past errors to them. He gave the letter to Paul and dismissed him. Thus, peace was made between them From the convocation of the council of Nicaea to the day of the council of the 150 bishops in Constantinople, there were fifty-six years; from this council to that of the 200 bishops at Ephesus -- fifty years; from the council of Ephesus to the council of Chalcedon - twenty one years. In the year 763 of Alexander, James the Mutilated underwent martyrdom.

161 Maximianus, patriarch of Constantinople, died, and Proclus was instituted in his place. When this peace was restored between the peoples, they started to dispute about the bones of John Chrysostom; and Proclus brought back his bones, which were deposed in the great church of Constantinople. In that time, among the Jews, a man appeared who was called Moses and who said to them: "I am come down from heaven to deliver you like Moses, son of Amran". This took place in an island of the sea which is called Crete. One fine day those who went with him, as well as their wives and their children in great number, at the sea-side, arrived in a place which overhung the sea;

then he said to them: "I will make you able to cross the sea, and I will go first." Several of them threw themselves into the sea and drowned. When the others had watched the spectacle given by their companions who had drowned, they did not throw themselves in and wanted to seize Moses; but he fled (far) away from them, and certain impure spirits (devils) accepted him. (Because of this) many of them became Christians.

162 In that time, in Edessa, Rabboulâ was bishop. After his death, Hiba succeeded him. In the year 29 of his reign, the emperor Theodosius the Younger remembered Nestorius and ordered that he be exiled in Egypt where he remained until his death. Then the emperor sent to Antioch to seize all those which would not excommunicate Nestorius, and to exile them. Then eighteen metropolitans with many of the bishops, priests, monks and laymen were sent into exile. The emperor ordered that the corpse of Odris (Diodorus? Theodore?) should be burned. There were in the East many people who were resigned to die, but none of them were burned; the population was unhappy and said: "It is not necessary to burn a man who is already dead." In that year, the companions of the cave awoke from the sleep which had overcome them in the reign of the emperor Decius, 182 years ago. The emperor Theodosius went out with bishops, priests, metropolitans and the leaders of the city; they saw them, and (the confessors) spoke to them. Then they died in their own countries.

163 In this year, there was a great earthquake at Constantinople. Many people fled out of the city, and several places were levelled. Celestinus, patriarch of Rome, sat for nine years and died; Xystus succeeded him for eight years and had Leo for successor. Cyril of Alexandria sat for thirty-three years and died; Dioscorus succeeded him. In Antioch, after John who sat there for thirteen years, came Domnus. In the year 33 of the emperor Theodosius, Varahran (Bahrâm), king of Persians, died, after having reigned for twenty (twenty one) years; after him Yezdegerd reigned for eight years That year, some people of Edessa arrived at Constantinople with their bishop (Hiba) and said that on a certain day he had given a sermon in which he had said: "I am not envious of what the Messiah did, because in all that happened to him, I am like him." In the same year, some people went to Alexandria and said in front of Dioscorus about their bishop that, when he gave sermons, he did not say that Mary had given birth to God, but that she was the mother of a

man and that she had given birth to a perfect man, which resembled God, according to the doctrines of Nestorius.

164 At the same time, a man appeared who was called Eutyches. He said that the eternal Son did not take anything from Mary, but that he was changed, transformed, became flesh and blood and passed through Mary without having taken anything from her. A council was gathered against him, and (the bishops) excommunicated him and sent him into exile. 130 bishops met because of him at Ephesus, Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, was head of the council; he drove out several bishops from their sees at the same time as him (Eutyches). In the year 41 of the emperor Theodosius, the head of John the Baptist was found at Emesa. Theodosius died at the age of fifty. (After him) Marcian reigned for seven years, in the year 762 of Alexander. He married Pulcheria (Qloudhiqiyah), sister of Theodosius the Younger, who felt resentment towards Dioscorus because he had exiled the bishop of Constantinople along with all the bishops and others whom he had excommunicated at this council; she started to press the emperor to be avenged for them.

165 Then the emperor and the empress wrote a letter to Leo, bishop of Rome, and to all the bishops, where they ordered them to meet to examine the theological questions and the conduct of Dioscorus at the second council of Ephesus. They expressed the desire that the council should take place at Nicaea, so the emperor ordered that the council met at Chalcedon because of the distance to Nicaea and in the vicinity of Chalcedon. It was in the year 2 of the emperor Marcian, the 25th of the month of Tichrin I (October), in the year 763 of Alexander, that the council met there. There were 630 bishops there. They excommunicated Dioscorus and wrote many canons. They declared that the Son took a nature without hypostasis, because nature differs from the hypostases; that there was one hypostasis and two natures; that he is endowed with two substances, two actions and two wills; but that the hypostasis is single and that the substance of God does not have three hypostases.

166 After having reigned for seven years, Marcian died at the age of sixty five and named Leo emperor, who reigned for sixteen years, in the year 769 of Alexander. In this first year, Peroz, son of Yezdegerd, started to reign over the Persians and he reigned for twenty-seven years. In the same year, in Antioch, a town of Syria, there was an earthquake, and several places there were levelled. After having governed for twenty-two years, Leo, (bishop) of Rome,

died. Hilarius (Ilarous) succeeded him for seven years; after him was Simplicius (Simblous) for sixteen years In Antioch, after Paulinus (? Basil) who sat for three years, there was Acacius for five years; after him Martyrius came. At Constantinople, Anatolius which sat for twenty and one years, Gennadius succeeded him for fifteen years. At Jerusalem, to Juvenal who sat for forty years, Anastasius succeeded. In the year 9 of the reign of Leo, there was an eclipse of the sun and the stars appeared (in broad daylight). In the year 10, in the East, a great food shortage happened and there were many locusts.

167 In the year 12 of his reign, the Persians moved against Amida, besieged it and devastated it. In this same year, Balas started to reign over the Persians and reigned for four years. In the year 16 of the reign of Leo, Qabad, son of Peroz, started to reign over the Persians and reigned for twenty one years Martyrius, bishop of Antioch, sat for thirteen years and had Julianus as successor for four years; Peter the Fuller succeeded him, who was later excommunicated and exiled. In the days of Leo, Simeon the Stylite died; he was the first who went up on a column. Zeno reigned for seventeen years, in the year 785 of Alexander. We will tell the history of Peter the Fuller. This Peter had retired from Chalcedon into a convent, and he was the superior of it. Zeno made war against the emperor Leo; he attached Peter to his person, made him his companion and went with him to Tarsus, a town of Cilicia. When Peter had entered there, he said to the bishops of the country: "Leo sent to me to you with Zeno so that you can make me bishop of Antioch; if you want to attract his favour, make me bishop before Leo orders you to." The population approved his words and made him bishop without the knowledge of the emperor. On this news, Leo excommunicated him and sent him into exile.

168 Then, in Antioch a rebel appeared who was called Basiliscus. He restored Peter to his rank by force, without asking the assent of the bishops who were in the country; he wrote a letter in which he confirmed him in his episcopal dignity, ordered the bishops to receive it and to countersign the letter with their hands. As the bishops did not agree to this, he ordered them put to death. Then part of the bishops and many of the monks fled and hid in the church of Mar Thomas which was in Antioch. Peter sought for them; he found them and killed them all. After the rebel had been killed and Zeno had become emperor, he wrote to the bishop of Rome and to all the bishops and informed them of the business of Peter and his crime. Learning this, the

bishop of Rome excommunicated him, he and all the bishops who shared his ideas.

169 Then Zeno sent him into exile to Euchaita. This Peter altered the Sacred Books by interpolations; he rejected the word of John the Evangelist, where he said: "Everything is in his power and without him there is nothing." he also rejected the word of he that said: "He was crucified for us." After the excommunication of Peter, at Antioch, John succeeded him for six years; then Calandion was (bishop) in Antioch for three years. Then the emperor Zeno wrote to all the bishops to consult them: "Is it permissible to restore Peter to his rank; if you believe it possible, do it." When Peter had learned that the emperor had written about this business, he returned, without any permission, to his see and occupied it again for five years. At Jerusalem, Anastasius, who occupied the episcopate for eighteen years, had Martyrius as successor for eighteen years. After him Sallustius governed for eight years.

170 Zeno died at the age of sixty one, and Anastasius reigned for twenty-seven years, in the year 806 of Alexander. In the year 6 of his reign, the sixth millenium since Adam came to an end. After nine years of episcopate, Felix, (bishop) of Rome, died, and Gelasius succeeded him for five years; after him came Anastasius for one year, then Symmachus for fourteen years. At Alexandria, to Peter Mongus who occupied the seat for nine years, Athanasius succeeded for four years; after him, came John the monk for six years; after him, John the hermit for seven years; after him, Dioscorus the younger for two years; after him Timothy for fourteen years After the sixteen years of the episcopate of Acacius, Euphemius was bishop of Constantinople for seven years. The emperor exiled him into an island of Pontus. Macedonius succeeded him for fourteen years, and the emperor Anastasius sent him into exile, because he had criticised him and had said to him: "You are a Manichaean and you share the ideas of the Manichaeans." Timothy succeeded him for six years; and after him John was (bishop) for two years.

171 At Jerusalem, to Saul (Sallustius) who occupied the seat for eight years, succeeded Elias for twenty years; after him John governed for fourteen years. In the first year of his reign, Anastasius killed the children of several women as well as some boys, who were studying reading and the writing. In year 3 of his reign, the town of Dara was built, which was above Nisibis, at the place where Darius, (king) of Persians, had been killed. Then the emperor Anastasius wanted to remove from the creed and the church the phrase: "You

were crucified for us." All the population of the city rose up and took up rocks to stone him. This business frightened him; and, being afraid of them, he removed the crown from his head and said to them: "I will act according to your order in all that you wish." Then the people left him alone.

172 In year 11 of the reign of Anastasius, in the country of the Greeks there was a cruel famine and it came from many locusts which devastated all their harvests. The same year, there was a violent earthquake. In this year, James, bishop of Batnan was famous, who composed some treatises on the famine, which happened in the country of the Greeks at that time. Then Marinus the monk, who came from Apamea also flourished, who composed many works at Emesa. In the year 22 of Anastasius, in the month of Hazirân (June), at midday, there was an eclipse of the sun. At that time, Severus, bishop of Antioch appeared who wrote several books against his adversaries; and he shared the ideas of Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria. Then Justinus reigned for nine years, in year 829 of Alexander; he was originally from Rome. He reconciled all the churches, drove out the gentiles and freed the bishops of the East.

173 In the year 7 of his reign, the Greeks and Persians fought a battle on the bank of the Euphrates, and many Greeks drowned. In this year, there was heavy snow and a hard frost, which destroyed the trees and the vines. In year 8 of this reign, the rains become rare, the harvest was small, and water lacking in the brooks. Then many locusts came and a terrible plague which lasted for six years. The same year, the emperor sent a delegation to Mondhar, king of the Arabs, to make peace with him, because he had raided the Greeks, destroyed their houses and taken the population into captivity. In this year, the Persian, i.e. Chosroes the Persian, made an expedition against Edessa where he killed many people. A comet appeared in the sky and remained for forty one nights. The emperor Justinianus (Justinus) associated with himself in the empire a man who was also called Justinianus; he was the son of his brother and he reigned for thirty nine years.

174 There was a violent earthquake, and several places were levelled. A disagreement broke out between the followers of Severus and the followers of Julian, (bishop of Halicarnassus). Julian said that the body of Christ is corruptible. The followers of Severus said that this is impossible and can never be. In year 3 of the reign of Justinianus (Justin) and his associate, the Arabs attacked the Greeks. At this same time, some causes of great misfortunes oc-

curred between the Greeks and Persians; many Greeks perished and a great number of them drowned in the Euphrates. The war between them lasted for four years. The head of the Greek forces was called Basilides (Belisarius). The Jews of Palestine revolted and rose against the Greeks, and chose a king for themselves. The Greeks marched against them and killed both them and their leader. Then the emperor Justinianus ordered that pagans should no longer be allowed in the Greek empire; they should be made to be baptized and convert to Christianity; if they refused, they would be killed and their goods confiscated. Many of them converted.

175 In the fifth year of his reign, he ordered that the bishops in favour of Severus and of Dioscorus should hold a council in Constantinople. When they were gathered, he exhorted them with authority and requested them to accept the doctrines of Leo, bishop of Rome, and the council of Chalcedon, namely that the Lord Christ has one person and two natures. But they did not accept his proposal. Severus, patriarch of Antioch, who was present, and all the Eastern bishops shared the same doctrines, said that the Divinity is identical with the hypostases and that the Lord Christ is only one person and only one nature of formed two persons and two natures, --- one divine, the other human. So the bishops of Severus did not accept the proposal of the emperor, who returned them to their sees laden with honours. In year 6 (of his reign), the Persians attacked (the Greeks) and conquered (their country). The same year, Qawad (Qabad), king of the Persians, died, and the Greeks made peace with the Persians.

176 The same year, the Samaritans revolted. Justinianus sent against them soldiers who fought against them and killed a very great number of them. In year 8 of his reign, there was an eclipse of the sun, the 29 of Nisân (April), at two o'clock in the afternoon. In this year the barbarians captured Rome. John, patriarch of Rome, died, after having governed the Church for three years, and Agapetus succeeded him. At that time, Epiphanius, patriarch of Constantinople, died, after having occupied the see for seven years; Anthimus succeeded him for ten years In Alexandria, Timothy who had sat for seventeen years, was succeeded by Gaianus for three months, to whom Theodosius succeeded. In this year, there was an eclipse of the sun which lasted for one year and two months, in all fourteen months. This was in the year 846 of Alexander. The sun only gave a weak light; the astronomers and

all the people said that an accident had happened to it which would never cease, and that the sun would never return to its first state.

177 In this year, locusts appeared throughout the country. In the same year, the winter was rigorous and with much snow, and many people died in it. In the year 10 of Justinianus, an extraordinary sign appeared in the sky; the heat of the sun was cooled, and the fruits did not mature that year. In this year, Sergius of Ras`ayn was celebrated, who was a philosopher, translator and interpreter of books, author of many works, and moreover a doctor. He came to Ephrem, patriarch of Antioch, and remained (some time) with him. Then Ephrem sent him to Agapetus, bishop of Rome, about the matters which had happened to him over there. Sergius died in Constantinople. The same year, on the order (of the emperor), 72 bishops met in Constantinople and condemned Petrus and Origen and their books. The same year, a sign, similar to a lance of double size, appeared in the sky and remained for forty days.

178 In this year, Chosroes, son of Qawad (Qabad), marched against Antioch, took it and took its inhabitants into captivity whom he led to Babylon, for them built a city that he named Antioch, known today under the name of Al-Makhuz Al-Djedid, and settled them there. Thereafter he treated them with benevolence and protected them. They paid him tax so that he would leave them alone. After that he marched on Rakkah and captured it. However the Greeks had business with the Barbarians (Berbers) and the Slavs (Saqalibah), located on the borders of the empire. When they had finished fighting with them, they turned against the Persians, and this war lasted without stopping for four years. In the year 16 (of his reign), a great plague occurred throughout the earth, which lasted three years. Ulcers appeared on people in the armpits, buttocks and kidneys, and a very great number of them died suddenly.

179 In this same year, Belisarius, commander of Justinianus, made an expedition against the Persians. The same year, an Arab, Harith-ibn-Gabala, marched against the Persians. While Chosroes was struck with these ulcers, Harith attacked the Persians with his forces and put them to rout, destroyed several of their cities and took many prisoners. But one of the satraps of Chosroes then went out against the Arabs, defeated them and recaptured all the prisoners. At that time, a sign of fire, the shape of a sword, appeared in the sky and was transported from the East towards the West; it remained

(visible) for all the winter. In the year 17 of Justinianus, Chosroes, son of Qawad, went up against Kafartoutha and Ras`ayn. But Basilius (Belisarius) went out with some Greek forces against the Persians and pushed back Chosroes before he had captured these cities. In year 18 of Justinianus, Chosroes went up against Edessa, besieged it for two months and, unable to take it, returned home.

180 In the year 20 of Justinianus, a great famine prevailed in the East, so much so that the bushel (modius) was sold for 13 dirhams. In the year 26 of Justinianus, a great plague occurred which killed many people. The oxen were also affected, so that men plowed with asses or horses. War was declared between men, who did not cease to kill one another, and many left their native land. In this year Justinianus ordered Theodore and his books to be condemned; also the chapters composed by Theodoret and that the chapters composed by Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, should be accepted. 164 bishops met and condemned Theodore, Theodoret, their books and their doctrines, and Hiba, bishop of Edessa, and his doctrines. But Vigilius, bishop of Rome, refused to affix his signature to this judgment and said: "Anyone who died without being excommunicated cannot properly be excommunicated after their death." But Justinianus insisted; then Vigilius excommunicated them and signed their condemnation with all the other bishops.

181 In the same year, there was a violent earthquake, which destroyed several localities. In the year 28 of Justinianus, the Greeks made peace with the Persians, and peace between them lasted until the sixth year of Justinus the Younger. The same year, there was an earthquake in Constantinople, in the month of Kanun I (December), and a great plague occurred in Rome and in the surrounding countries. In the year 35 of his reign, Justinian wrote to all the bishops ordering them to celebrate Christmas on the 24th of Kanun I (December) and Epiphany on the 6th of Kanun II (January), because many people had celebrated Christmas and the Epiphany together, on the same day, i.e. on the day of Epiphany, 6th of Kanun II. In the year 39 of Justinianus, a sign, like a lance of fire, appeared in the sky and remained for four months and started to move from one place to another.

182 At that time John the grammarian was illustrious in Alexandria. He was a philosopher and wrote many books on grammar, philosophy, logic, religion, etc. He shared the ideas of James and Severus; he then abandoned them and claimed that the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are three hy-

postases and three natures but only one substance. In that time, the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus announced themselves. Some said that the body of Christ had not been created, but that it was descended from heaven with him; others said: "On the contrary, the body was created, but it is subtle and spiritual. Christ could not undergo sufferings unless he was associated with sin; but Christ was never involved with sin; he was thus not really crucified, he did not suffer, he did not die; all that was only seemingly." Then the emperor Justinianus died, after reigning alone for nine years and with Justinus, his associate, for thirty-nine years. After these thirty-nine years, Justinus, his associate, reigned alone, in the year 788 of Alexander.

183 In the first year of his reign, there was an eclipse of the sun, on Sunday the first Ab (August). In year 8 of his reign, a sign of fire was seen in the sky, which began in the north and remained in all the sky. A darkness occurred which wrapped the whole world for nine hours of the day until the night, so that nothing could be seen; and it fell from the air like wisps of straw and ash. In this year, the emperor sent one of his lieutenants to Apamea to take from there the cross of Our Lord Christ that Helena had placed there. The population rose and refused to let him take it. The lieutenant wrote to the emperor to inform him of the events; then the emperor ordered the cross divided into two, to bring half to him and to leave the other in the city; the lieutenant did so.

184 In year 3 of Justinus the Younger, the rains became rare, and the winter was similar to the summer. There was a violent earthquake and a great plague. In the year 6 of his reign, a column of fire appeared in the sky, in the area of the West, and remained for the whole year. In the year 7 of his reign, the king of Persians marched against (the fortress) of Abaran, plundered it, set fire to Apamea, captured the wood of the Cross which was there, and sent it to Persia. The same year, a sedition broke out in Constantinople, and there was discord between the Armenian patricians. They wrote to the emperor Justinus to request him to send somebody to them who would put them in agreement. The emperor sent (somebody) who reconciled them. In year 8 (of the reign of Justinus), Chosroes, king of Persians, made a expedition against Dara, besieged it for a few months, but could not take it. Then he sent (one of his generals) to Antioch, who invaded its neighbourhood and returned to Apamea. The population of Apamea, relying on the peace which reigned between the Greeks and Persians, opened the gates of

the city. The Persians entered and spread out. Then their leader ordered them to put the inhabitants to the sword; and they plundered the city and killed a very great number of its inhabitants. It was while he besieged Dara that Chosroes sent one of his marzbans (satraps) to capture these places; the latter returned to him with many prisoners, riches and horses. Chosroes besieged Dara for six months and captured it on the 11 of Tichrin (II) (November).

185 Then Justinus prepared to make the war on the Persians, but he became dangerously sick, fell into insanity, and the campaign did not take place. In this year, there was a violent and great plague in all the country and particularly in Constantinople. A strong disease struck the people, and many of them became blind. Justinus recovered from his illness; he was cured, and his reason returned to him. He gathered his patricians and the leaders of his forces and proclaimed as Caesar to reign after him a man named Tiberius, who belonged to the notables of the empire and was always close to the emperor. In year 11 of Justinus, the Samaritans revolted. The emperor sent (an army) against them which fought them, plundered their country and killed a very great number of them. Tiberius reigned for four years, (from) year 889 of Alexander; he was heir apparent to the empire for six years.

186 During his reign, the truce which had been concluded between the Greeks and Persians expired, and a violent war broke out between them. Tiberius, emperor of the Greeks, wrote to the king of Persians to ask for peace or tell him to declare war. The king of Persians refused to make peace with the Greeks and promised Tiberius to come to fight him in a place that he indicated to him. The Greeks gathered for the battle and arrived in this place, where they awaited the Persians. But Chosroes tricked them and did not come to the agreed place. The Persians attacked Ras`ayn, Al-Khanurin (?) and Kitharizon (?). Then Tiberius sent against them forces under the command of one of his patricians named Maurice, who met Persians and put them to rout. Then Tiberius rejoined Maurice and his troops, made 40,000 prisoners whom he deported and settled in the island of Cyprus.

187 In this year, there was a violent earthquake in Antioch which overthrew two towers on the walls. In the same year, the summer was very rainy and very cold. The atmosphere tarnished and was darkened; many locusts appeared which devoured the harvest of grain, grasses and vegetables. There was a great plague. At that time there were found some people who worshipped

idols; and they were killed. The 4th year of his reign, Tiberius gave his daughter in marriage to Maurice, the most remarkable of his generals, and proclaimed him (Caesar) to succeed in future. Tiberius died and Maurice reigned for twenty years, (from) year 894 of Alexander. Maurice was a good man, with a gracious manner, and very charitable; he gave food sixty times a year to the indigent and poor; ignoring their status, he and his wife served them food and drink and gave them abundant alms. 188 In year 4 of Maurice, a great plague prevailed at Constantinople and carried off 400,000 of its inhabitants. In year 11 of his reign, Maurice ordered the banishment of the Jews who were in Antioch, and they were driven out of the city. This is why: a Christian had rented a house to live there. When he left it, an image of Mary was left behind there; after him, a Jew rented this house, and when he entered there, he found this image and urinated on it. This matter came to the emperor, who ordered the expulsion of the Jews of Antioch and made them shave the middle of their heads so that they could be recognized by this mark. In year 6 of Maurice on the 29th of Tichrin I (October), there was an earthquake at Antioch which devastated the whole city; the great temples, most of the walls and markets and all the houses were toppled.

189 It is said that it was there a merchant originating in Apamea, who, for all its life, had helped the indigent and the poor and was very charitable. The night of the earthquake, he went out to seek in the streets and the markets of the city someone to help; but he did not find anybody. He then went out to look outside of the city and saw two angels. When he saw them, they told him that they would overturn the city, and warned him to leave there, he and his family. He did so in all haste and escaped safe and sound with his fortune. In this year, the Persians attacked Mayafariqin and captured it. The same year, the Greeks of Syria revolted and put at their head one of their own. Maurice then wrote to Gregory, patriarch of Antioch, to request him to pacify the Greeks. The patriarch succeeded in this, and all the Greeks accepted the governor whom the emperor had sent to them, and departed for Mayafariqin; but they found that the Persians had already captured it; being unable to retake the city, they built a village close to it which they called Maurice, and camped there, while waiting to capture the other, and killed the Persians who were there.

190 At that time Qourya (Qoura) the philosopher, author of many works, was illustrious. In the year 8 of Maurice, the Persians attacked Hormizd

(Hormiz), their king, put out his eyes and then killed him. They divided into two parties: one was for his son Chosroes, the other for a marzban (satrap) named Bahram. The party which was for Chosroes, son of Hormizd, took the initiative and proclaimed him king. But Bahram the marzban was conducting a war with the Deilemites and was absent when Chrosroes was proclaimed. The war with the Deilemites finished, and he wrote to Chosroes: "I do not know you. Give up power or take this as a declaration of war!" Bahram had many soldiers. Chosroes, son of Hormizd, was young; he was afraid to enter into combat with Bahram and thought of asking help from the emperor of the Greeks. Then he called one of his private servants and announced his resolution to him. When the latter heard the words of the king, he left in secrecy and set out for the camp of the Greeks; he entered, met an Arab chief named Djafnah, who had asked protection of the Greeks, and informed him. Djafnah went along to Constantinople and acted so that he came to the emperor.

191 The emperor exclaimed and said to him: "What do you want?" Djafnah answered: "I want to communicate to the emperor a secret that I possess, and I will thus share with him something extraordinary." The emperor feared that Djafnah might wish to do him harm, and ordered his clothing removed. Djafnah was thus presented in front of the emperor in trousers only and said: "O emperor! I want to be sent to the king of the Persians so that he submits and obeys you." The emperor said: "I believe that you are insane." Then Djafnah brought out the letter that Chosroes had written. The emperor read it, understood it and was delighted at it. Then the emperor ordered him to make Chosroes come to him so that he could give him all he needed, and help him against his enemies. (At the same time) Maurice wrote a reply to the letter of Chosroes. Djafnah took it and returned with the servant to Chosroes; he gave the letter to him and told him of the good disposition of the emperor towards him.

192 When Chosroes read the letter, he left his kingdom, disguised as a beggar and so traversed the empire of the Persians; he passed by Nisibis and arrived at Edessa, where he entered. He presented himself before the governor and told him who he was. The governor embraced him, treated him with distinction, provided him all the necessaries and wrote to the emperor about him. Then the emperor wrote to Chosroes to tell him to go to Menbidj and to await there the arrival of the troops with all the necessaries.

There, he would be close to his empire and could strike at his enemy, before he had captured his kingdom. Chosroes felt great joy on reading this letter by Maurice. 193 Then he sent a letter to him thus: "To the blessed father, Master of the victorious sword, Maurice, son of the Master, on behalf of Chosroes, son of Hormizd, his son, greeting. I inform the emperor that Bahram and his followers, slaves of my father, did not recognize my authority, united against me, their Master, forgot the benefits from my father, revolted against me their lord, and wanted to kill me. Then I decided to have recourse to you, to seek protection near your grace and to submit myself to you, because to submit oneself to a king like myself, although he is an enemy, is better for me than to fall into the hands of rebellious slaves; to die at the hand of kings is nobler for me than to die by the hand of another; I regard that as less ignominious. I take refuge with you, trustful in your kindness, in the generosity that God has inspired in you, and in your clemency. I ask you to have pity on me, to show me mercy, to treat me with kindness, since I have recourse to you and humbly I beseech your help. I am come into your empire to place my fate between your hands. Hasten to help me and to help me; be not insensitive to the fate of a king like yourself, whom slaves overcame and drove out of his kingdom. If you have acted thus in my connection, I will be to you a docile and obedient son, with all my family, my entourage and the subjects of my kingdom, if this pleases God Almighty."

194 Having read this letter, Maurice gathered the commanders of the Greeks, the patricians, the warriors and the leaders of the city and had it read to them. The reading finished, each one required his opinion of his neighbour. The emperor took note of their answers, and he found himself alone in his opinion. He decided to answer favourably him that had taken refuge with him, and to help him who had beseeched his help. He ordered the troops to prepare to go on campaign and to take with them the money necessary (to Chosroes). The army, to the number of 40,000 soldiers, departed to Chosroes with the materials of war and much money. 195 Maurice wrote the following answer to him: "From Maurice, servant of Jesus Christ, may he be glorified! to Chosroes, king of the Persians, my son and my brother, greeting. I have read your letter and I learned from it the conduct of the slaves who raised themselves against you, their disobedience, the contempt which they made of the benefits of your fathers and your ancestors, and their rebellion against you whom they have driven out of your kingdom. I have

felt more sorrow at this than I can express, and sympathy leads me to feel sorry for your fate and to help you, as you ask. Since you say that it is preferable to hide under the wings of an enemy king and to be put in the shade of his protection, than to fall into the hands of rebellious slaves; that to die at the hand of the kings is better than to die at the hand of the slaves; but that you prefer a very noble friendship and that you beseech it from us, we believe your words and approve your language; we will strengthen your power, will achieve your desire and will satisfy your needs; we support and approve your finer feelings. We thus send troops and money to you, because you are thrown down and dispossessed of your rank and your dignity. I make you my son and I will be your father. I will not be niggardly of my money nor my troops and I will not refuse to send them to your help. Take the money, may it profit you, and go with the blessing and the help of God. Also take the troops, and feel neither distress nor fear! Quickly run to your enemy, without negligence or slowness! Hope that God will give you the victory over your enemy, will throw him at your feet, will make his tricks useless and will restore you in your rank, if God so wishes."

196 When the troops and the letter of the emperor had reached Chosroes, son of Hormizd, and he had accepted the money, he marched against the enemy. Bahram, learning of Chosroes' flight to the Greeks, had allied to Al-Makhuzah, had seized the riches contained in the treasury, the weapons and effects, had burned the whole city, destroyed the palaces of Chosroes and had prepared for war. Chosroes, son of Hormizd, went to their encounter with the Greek troops and met him between Al-Madain and Wasit. Bahram was put to flight; all his men were killed and his riches and his camp delivered over to plunder. Chosroes returned to his kingdom where he went up (on the throne), and all the people gave oath to him. After a short rest, he called the Greeks, loaded them with presents, returned them to their Master and turned over to the emperor Maurice twice the money and gifts that he had received. He started then by restoring Dara to the Greeks, taken seventeen years before by the Persians, and similarly Mayafariqin from which he transported all the Persians elsewhere. Chosroes kept with him a troop of Greeks and charged them with keeping his treasures, built two churches for the Christians, one, at Al-Madain, dedicated to St. Mary, and the other to St. Sergius the martyr; then he arranged for Anastasius, patriarch of Antioch, to come who dedicated them and established priests and deacons there. Chos-

roes rewarded him largely, and he (Anastasius) returned from there. That occurred at the end of the 902 year of Alexander.

197 In this year, there was a great plague among men; then a powerful disease struck them. The following year, which was the 903rd year of Alexander, in the month of Adhar (March), in the middle of the day, there was an eclipse of the sun, and the same day an earthquake occurred. In the year 14 of Maurice, excessive heat burned the trees, grapes, vines and all the greenery. In the year 16 of his reign, the rains were so abundant that many cities with their population and their cattle were drowned in water. Then there was a swarm of locusts such as had never been seen and which remained all year to devour and to destroy (the harvest). In year 17 of his reign, there was a strong earthquake and much snow fell. At the end of the 20th year of Maurice, the magnates and patricians of the Greeks were assembled in the town of Heraclea. Among them was a patrician named Phocas whom they wanted to proclaim emperor. But they had previously intended to proclaim Petrus, brother of Maurice, when Maurice, after concluding peace with the Persians, had removed them from leading the troops and had removed their (names) from the role. They let Petrus, brother of Maurice, know that they wanted to make him king, but he fled from them and left for Constantinople.

198 Then Maurice fled to Chalcedon. The Greeks caught up with him, as he was dressed in rags like a beggar, and killed both him, his sons and his followers, and proclaimed Phocas emperor. Phocas reigned for eight years, from the year 914 of Alexander; he did not belong in any way to the imperial family. Chosroes, on the news of the murder of Maurice, cancelled the treaty concluded between him and the Greeks, broke the peace which linked them, marched on Dara and captured it. In year 8 of Phocas, a sign appeared in the sky similar to a large resplendent star of which the rays looked like blood which was coloured the major part of the sky and the air; and this sign remained (visible) from the month of Tichrin I (October) to the month of Nisan (April). In the same year, a great misfortune occurred in Syria. Here is the cause: the Jews which were there and in Mesopotamia, intended to kill the Christians in all the cities and to ruin their churches. While they were preoccupied with this, they were denounced to the authorities. Then the Christians threw themselves on them and killed a great number of them. Learning this, Phocas was annoyed with the Christians and laid heavy taxes on them at Antioch, Laodicea and in all of Syria and Mesopotamia.

199 The same year, the Persians went up against Amid and captured it; then they turned against Qinnesrin and returned to Edessa. In this same year, two rebels rose against Phocas, emperor of the Greeks: one of them was Heraclius, other Gregory in Africa; they sent troops with two of their followers and ordered them, i.e. Heraclius, son of Heraclius, and Nicetas, son of Gregory, their followers, to kill Phocas. They agreed between them that the empire would belong to the first to arrive in Constantinople and kill Phocas. Heraclius, son of Heraclius, went by sea and found it favorable and calm, and Nicetas went by land. Heraclius preceded Nicetas, entered the city and killed Phocas. Heraclius reigned thirty and one years and five months, from the 922nd year of Alexander. In the first year of his reign, Heraclius sent ambassadors to the king of the Persians to make peace with him; but he refused completely. When the Persians learned that Heraclius had ascended the throne, they attacked Antioch, killed its patriarch and took along his population into captivity. Then Nicetas, son of Gregory, left for Alexandria and captured it. The Persians went up against the Greeks and took Antioch; then they turned against Apamea and captured it; then they went to Emesa (Hims) and captured it. All this took place in the month of Tichrin I (October). The Greeks assembled and fought the Persians close to (the river) of Halys; but the Greeks were put to flight and many of them drowned in the river. Then the Persians captured Caesarea.

200 In this year, among the Greeks, there was a great famine, so that men ate corpses and the skins of animals. Then Nicetas, son of Gregory, went out against the satrap (marzban) called Kesrou`an, who had captured these cities, fought him and put him to flight; and on the two sides there were 20,000 dead. In this year, many locusts appeared. In year 4 of Heraclius, the Arabs began their conquests, i.e. in year 935 of Alexander. In year 5 of Heraclius, the Persians left Caesarea, set out to march on Jerusalem and captured it. In year 8 of Heraclius, the Persians took Alexandria and the surrounding countries, striking as far as Nubia, attacked Chalcedon and captured it. In year 10 of Heraclius, the Arabs set out to move on Jathrib, in year 931 of Alexander. In year 15 (of Heraclius), the Persians made a raid against Rhodes and captured it. In this year, Chosroes, son of Hormizd, ordered the marble of the churches in all the cities which it had captured to be taken, and carried to al-Madain and al-Makhuzah; and this caused great suffering to men and animals.

201 In this year, Heraclius made war on the Persians, captured the town of Kisri, took many prisoners and departed. Three years afterwards, he made peace with the Persians, i.e. in year 17 of Heraclius. At that time, there was an eclipse of the sun, and this eclipse lasted from Tichrin I (October) until Haziran (June), i.e. for nine months; half of the disc was eclipsed and the other was not; and only a little of its light was visible. In the year 18 of the emperor Heraclius, Chosroes, son of Hormizd, king of Persians, was killed, after reigning thirty-eight years; then Qawad (Qabad), his son, succeeded him; he made peace with the Greeks and restored the cities to them which his father had taken. In year 19 of Heraclius, Qawad, sons of Chosroes, died, after having reigned one year, and Ardechir, his son, succeeded him. Then the satrap Chahrabaz who had made all these conquests, killed him, made peace with the Greeks and restored to them the cities that he and the others had taken, as far as Dara, which was located beyond Nisibis.

202 In this year in the sky a comet appeared, in the area of the west. Then Heraclius ordered the Greeks to leave the country (of the Persians) and to come into the country of the Greeks, because the Greeks and Persians had made peace. Chahrabaz ordered all Persians to return to their countries, each one to his city and family, and not to sow disorder in the country. But they did not accept his words. At the end of year 20 of Heraclius, the Persians made a raid on the banks of the Euphrates, and Chahrabaz made captive many troops of Greeks; a great number of the leaders of the Persians (of the Greeks?) and their followers were killed. In the year 21 of Heraclius, Chahrabaz, who had usurped power over the Persians, died, and Bouran, his daughter, began to reign and made peace with the Greeks; then she died, and her sister succeeded her.

203 In this year, the fame of the Arabs spread and terrified many among the Greeks and Persians. In the year 22 of Heraclius, the Greeks met with the Arabs on the banks of the Yarmuk; and the Arabs killed such a quantity of Greeks that (their bodies) formed a bridge on which to pass. That took place in year 943 of Alexander. (In that time), Abou-Bekr-`Atiq, son of Abou-Qouhafah, was recognized as their leader; he remained in Yathrib in the country of Farous (Qarous?) and he sent troops in all directions under the command of four generals: one (was sent) into the country of the Persians, another to Aleppo and Damascus. A Greek patrician, whose name was Sergius, resided at Caesarea and was governor for the Greeks. He met the Arabs

who put him to flight and killed his men. In this same year, there was a violent earthquake and a sign appeared in the sky, in the shape of a column of fire, which started to move from the East to the West and from North to South and then disappeared.

204 Heraclius sent his brother, who was at Edessa, against the Arabs; but he did not dare to oppose them; then Heraclius went to Constantinople, left Syria and sent against the Arabs some troops which put them to flight and plundered their camp. In this same year, Omar, son of Khattab, moved towards Syria and arrived at Jerusalem. The patriarch went out before him and admitted him into the city. Omar looked at the city and the temple which was there, and prayed there. After remaining there for forty days, he arose and went to Damascus where he remained a long time; then he returned to Yathrib. Heraclius, emperor of the Greeks, died, after reigning thirty one years and five months. In this same year, the Arabs captured the town of Caesarea, and Palestine. Then Constantine, son of Heraclius reigned for four months, in the year 953 of Alexander, and was killed. (After him) Heraclius, son of Heraclius, and his son reigned together for eight month; then they were dethroned. Then Constans reigned for twenty-seven years from the year 954 of Alexander.

205 In year 6 of his reign, the Arabs took Cyprus and conquered it. In year 7 of his reign, the Arabs and the Greeks divided the island of Cyprus into two halves. At the end of the twenty-seventh year of his reign, the Greeks killed him, i.e. Constans, in the bath, in Sicily. From Adam to the flood there were 2,242 years; from the flood to the construction of the tower, the confusion of languages in Babel and the time of Ar`u, 650 years; from the confusion of languages until the birth of Abraham, 413 years; from the birth of Abraham to the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, 506 years; from the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt until the first king, Saul, reigned over them, 696 years; from the reign of Saul until Nabuchodonosor took them into captivity, set fire to the Temple and destroyed the city, 505 years; from Zahab (Zedekiah), king of the Israelites, lieutenant of king Nabuchodonosor, and the kings of the Persians to Alexander, 2,239 years; from Alexander until the kings of the Greeks started to reign, 280 years and five months; from (the beginning) of the empire of the Arabs until now, i.e. until the 1,273 year of Alexander, there are 330 years and eight months.

206 We will report the years of the Arabs and their kings, king by king, and how long each of them reigned, as far as possible, if Great God wills. History of the Arabs. In the year 933 of Alexander and year 11 of Heraclius, king of the Greeks, and at the end of the 30th year of Chosroes, son of Hormizd, the Arabs were stirred up in Yathrib and established as their leader a man who was called Mohammed, son of `Abdallah. He became their leader and their king and governed them for ten years. His family, his parents and his tribe gathered around him, and he made them believe in only one God who has no associate; he made them reject the worship of the idols and to worship only one God. He ordered to them to practise circumcision, not to drink wine, not to eat pig, nor animals that have been strangled, nor blood; to pray and to pay the tax (zakat). He who accepted this was safe and sound; and if somebody refused and made opposition, he made war on him. He killed several Arab chiefs of his tribe and others and captured many cities of the neighbouring peoples.

207 The Arab Christians and the others came to him, and he protected them and gave them safe conduct. All the people who did not agree with him, i.e. the Jews, the Magi, the Sabaeans and the others, did the same thing; they gave oath to him and accepted his protection, with responsibility to pay a poll-tax and a tax on land. He ordered his people to accept the prophets and the apostles and what God had revealed to them; to believe in Christ, son of Mary, and to say that he is the messenger of God and his Word, his servant and his spirit; (to believe) in the Gospel, paradise, hell and the day of the last judgement. He said that in paradise there is food and drink, marriage and rivers of wine, milk and honey, and black-eyed girls (houris), untouched by men or genii. He prescribed the fast and the five prayers and other things of which I will say nothing for fear of being too long.

208 In the first year of his reign, Chahrabaz, satrap of the Persians, went against the Greeks, besieged Ancyra, and captured, killed or made captive all the inhabitants. He also captured, at the end of this year, the island of Rhodes and took its inhabitants into captivity. In year 2 of his reign, Chosroes, son of Hormizd, tyrannized the populations of his kingdom who did not share his religion, because he was seized by pride and vanity because of the many conquests which he had made, and because of the extension of his power. He imposed heavy taxes on them, doubled their contributions and ordered the demolition of the churches of Syria and Mesopotamia and the

marble from them to be carried off into his kingdom, as we already mentioned above, with all the vessels of gold, money and wood. In year 3 of Mohammed, son of `Abdallah, in the year 14 of Heraclius and year 35 of Chosroes, son of Hormizd, Chahrabaz directed a expedition against Constantinople with a numerous army of Persians and besieged it; then he made an assault on the city, but could not take it and withdrew, after a long siege.

209 This same year, Chosroes persecuted those of the inhabitants of Edessa who held to the doctrines of the Melkites, and ordered them to follow the doctrines of the Jacobites. This is why: There was a Jacobite man called Younan, who was a doctor for Chosroes, son of Hormizd. He was a relative of an inhabitant of Edessa named Qourrah, who was a Jacobite. Chosroes, son of Hormizd, had charged Qourrah of levy the land tax in Edessa. The inhabitants of Edessa hated him, denounced him to Chosroes and calumniated him to him, so that he was relieved. When Chosroes' doctor had seen the conduct of the inhabitants of Edessa towards Qourrah his relative, he felt anger at it. One day when he was alone with the king, he said to him: "O king! The inhabitants of Edessa should not be allowed to keep their religion, because they are bad people. But oppress them, as long as they remain in your empire, because their faith is that of Heraclius and of his followers and their doctrine on God is similar to his doctrine. They are in correspondence with him and they are sent messages. Order them to embrace the doctrines of the Jacobites or Nestorians: if they embrace one of the two doctrines, enmity will ignite between them and the Greeks; but if they believe as the Greeks, they will be always in favour of the Greeks."

210 Chosroes approved his words and wrote to the satrap, the governor of Mesopotamia, and ordered him to go to Edessa with his troops, to force the population to embrace the doctrines of the Jacobites or Nestorians and to put to death whoever refused. When the letter of Chosroes reached the satrap, he set out to march and arrived at Edessa; he assembled the inhabitants in a church and said to them: "You are the enemies of God and enemies of Chosroes. You are spies who keep his enemies informed of his business. Now choose one of these two things: make yourselves Jacobites or Nestorians. If you embrace one of the two doctrines, (you will remain) in your native land with your manner of living; if you refuse, I will put to you to death and I will send you to the court of the king with your families, your goods and all your

fortune. I grant to you for this a delay of a few days: reflect on this subject, before misfortune comes to assail you."

211 Then they said among themselves: "Let us choose one of these two things: to either eat the strangled ox or the swollen ass." They meant by the strangled ox Nestorianism and by the swollen ass Jacobitism. The people chose Jacobitism and did not leave their homes and native land. All the inhabitants of Edessa became Jacobites and took for leader a man called Isaiah. A few months afterwards, Chosroes ordered the inhabitants of Edessa transported into Persia and wrote on this subject to the governor of the city. The governor, who was a merciful man, gentle and benevolent, delayed in carrying out (this order) and did not deport them all in one go; but he sent them little by little; he hoped that the heart of the king would in the end have pity on them, and he hid their wrongdoings. On these events the emperor of the Greeks attacked the Persians and invaded Iraq. Chosroes forgot the inhabitants of Edessa, and the remainder of the inhabitants escaped captivity. Nobody appeared to resist Heraclius; he killed, took into captivity and returned to Syria.

212 In year 7 of Mohammed, son of `Abdallah, there was an eclipse of the sun, and the stars appeared in full daylight. Chahrabaz camped before Constantinople up to that moment; then he recognized emperor Heraclius of the Greeks, and made obeissance to him. The cause of this was that certain people had denounced Chahrabaz to Chosroes and had said to him that he was little by little decreasing the royal power and said: "It is I who made all these conquests;"; (it was said) that he attacked the king, scorned him, he and all his men, and that he affirmed that, without him, the empire of Chosroes would not exist. Chosroes was irritated and wrote to the satrap — there was a man called Mardif which was with Chahrabaz — and ordered him to seek to cut the head of Chahrabaz and to send it to him; and he charged him to take command of the troops and to continue the war.

213 When the envoy of Chosroes was travelling to the army of Chahrabaz, the Greeks captured him, when he arrived at their borders, and presented him to the emperor Heraclius. That took place after the return of Heraclius from Persia. The emperor took the letter and imprisoned the envoy. When he had read the letter, he sent a message to Chahrabaz and requested him to come to him; he said to him to fear nothing for his person, goods and family and let him know that he wished him well. Chahrabaz entered Con-

stantinople and presented himself at the court of the emperor Heraclius. The latter had the letter of Chosroes read to the satrap and brought the envoy to him, whom was put before him. Chahrabaz recognized him, spoke to him and questioned him about this business, and the envoy told him. When he understood the business clearly, he immediately took an oath to Heraclius. Then he composed a letter on behalf of the emperor, gave it to Mardif and ordered him to read it to all his chiefs and satraps; and he wrote to the satrap: "Do you believe it possible to do this?" Then the satraps and the nobles were full of irritation and anger against Chosroes; they thus came to Heraclius, took an oath to him and made obeisance to him. Heraclius ordered that those who were in their troops should be allowed to depart freely into Persia, without causing them any nuisance. And they left with their Master.

214 Then Heraclius prepared for war against Persia and sent to Khagan, king of the Khazars, a letter where he asked him to send auxiliary troops to him to the number of 40,000 riders, and that he would take him as his son-in-law and would give him his daughter. Heraclius left for Syria, and started to take, one after the other, the cities which belonged to the Persians, and established governors in them. When Chosroes learned of the conduct of Chahrabaz and his companions, their submission to Heraclius and the preparations for an expedition that Heraclius made against him; when his situation and the conquests of Heraclius were confirmed to him, he was frightened and disturbed and repented of what he had done. All the troops of the Persians were dispersed in Syria and Mesopotamia, and Heraclius, in his triumph, destroyed them, one after the other. Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Armenia belonged to the Persians. Then Chosroes ordered one of his satraps, called Rouzbahan, to take some Persian troops and to go against Heraclius, emperor of the Greeks. Rouzbahan left and arrived in the area of Mosul. Heraclius had already conquered Armenia, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Syria; he had beaten all the Persian troops which were in these countries, and the majority of the inhabitants and majority of the Armenians had given oath to him.

215 Heraclius set out on the march with 300,000 soldiers, and 40,000 men arrived from the Khazars. When they had advanced as far as Azerbaidjan, Heraclius sent a letter to them in which he ordered them to remain there until he came to join them. After capturing Armenia, Heraclius continued his march, arrived at Nineveh and halted on the great Zab. Rouzba-

han went before him; the two armies met and fought a tough battle in which Persians were put to flight; they lost there more than 50,000 men, and Rouzbahan their leader was numbered among the dead. Heraclius delivered their camp to plunder. Chosroes, at the news of the disaster to Rouzbahan and his troops, fled to al-Makhuzah and al-Madain. Heraclius arrived there, captured him, seized the treasures of the king and carried off everything there. Then he set fire to al-Madain, destroyed the surrounding villages and took the inhabitants into captivity.

216 Chirouyah, son of Chosroes, had been imprisoned by his father. He came out of the prison, sought his father and, when he found him, put him to death and reigned after him. Chosroes had reigned thirty-eight years. His son Chirouyah started to reign in year 7 of Mohammed, son of `Abdallah, year 18 of Heraclius and the 940th year of Alexander. Then Heraclius retraced his steps and camped at a village which was called Thamanin. This is the village where the ark stopped at the time of the flood, in the time of Noah. He climbed the mountain which is called al-Djoudi, examined the place of the ark, looked at the world, while turning to the four cardinal points, and went then over to Amid where he remained for all the winter. Chirouyah, son of Chosroes, sent messengers to Heraclius to ask for peace. Heraclius accepted his proposals, provided that he restored all the cities to him and all the villages his father (Chosroes) had captured and which had belonged to the Greeks; and Heraclius would return to Persia all the Persians who were in his empire.

217 In that time, among the philosophers Stephanus was illustrious, a sage of Egypt and of Alexandria, who was the disciple of the philosopher Olympiodorus and of Theodore, a philosopher of Constantinople. Then Heraclius resolved to leave for Mesopotamia and Syria; he ordered his brother Theodore to come to him and ordered him to allow the Persians who were anywhere in Mesopotamia and Syria, to leave his empire and go to Persia. Theodore left with the vanguard, and Heraclius visited successively each city, established his governors there, omitting none and returned then into his kingdom to Constantinople. Concerning Theodore, brother of Heraclius, he arrived at Edessa and ordered the Persians who were there, to leave there and go into Persia. But they refused to obey this order and said: "We do not know Chirouyah, son of Chosroes, and will not leave our fatherland." Then he drew up against them machines of war, put stones in them and launched

them on them; he launched thus on them more than 40 stones and killed many of the inhabitants. Seeing themselves too weak to resist, they made submission; he granted mercy to them, and they left the city and went away into Persia.

218 Theodore ordered that the Jews who were in Edessa should be killed, because they had helped the Persians to persecute the Christians. When he started to massacre them, one of them left, came to Heraclius, told him what occurred, and requested him to forgive them and to be benevolent towards them. Heraclius agreed to this request and sent to Theodore a letter where he ordered him to save the Jews and to close his eyes to their faults. When the letter came to him, he did not trouble them any more. Then, Heraclius arrived at Edessa and ordered the Christians who were there, to embrace the Melkite doctrines again. Then they abjured Jacobitism, except for some families, who have remained faithful to the Jacobite doctrines to this day. Heraclius passed a whole year at Edessa and exiled Qourrah, bishop of Edessa, to the island of Cyprus, because he realized that Qourrah could not read the Gospel very well. Then he said to him: "O man, how did you become a bishop, if you cannot read the Gospel very well! Go now to this island, fix yourself over there and learn to read and the other questions of the church."

219 Chirouyah, son of Chosroes, died, and Ardashir succeeded him. But Chahrabaz killed him. Here is how: After the death of Chosroes, Chahrabaz and several satraps employed a ruse, escaped from the camp of Heraclius and arrived in Persia because of the letter that Chirouyah, son of Chosroes, had sent to them. Then Chirouyah died, and his son Ardechir succeeded him. But Chahrabaz killed him and gathered troops of the Persians. Mardigan (Mardif) also gathered many troops, and the Persians were divided in two parties. We have already reported that after the conversion of the emperor Constantine with his mother Helena to Christianity, the latter marched on pilgrimage to seek out the tree of the Cross in Jerusalem. She gathered the Jews and oppressed them until they produced the Cross; and she found it broken into two halves. She took one half which she placed at Apamea, and brought the other to Constantinople. The Greek emperors wanted to take the other half which was in Apamea. But the inhabitants opposed this and only gave them part of their part... At the time of Justinianus, the Persians made war against the Greeks, plundered... to Apamea, took [the remainder] of the tree of the Cross and carried it [into Persia]. Heraclius requested

Chahrabaz to return it, and [Chahrabaz] agreed to his request and sent the Cross to him. Heraclius took it and carried it to Constantinople, [added it] to the remainder of the Cross and covered it with gold. The Cross has been there until the present day.

220 In this year there was a violent earthquake, and the sun was darkened... [Mohammed being dead, Abu-Bekr] succeeded [him and reigned for two years... He sent] four generals... with troops: [one in Palestine, another] in Egypt, the third in Persia and the fourth against the Christian Arabs. As for the one that Abu-Bekr sent to Palestine, he met a Greek patrician named Sergius, killed him with all his companions and plundered their camp. The other three (generals) were victorious and returned to Yathrib. In year 3 of Abu-Bekr, there was a violent earthquake in Palestine; for thirty days the ground trembled. In the same year, there was a strong epidemic in various places. Abu-Bekr died; and after him reigned Omar, son of Khattab, for twelve years, from the 946 year of Alexander and the thirteenth year of the Arabs. In the first year of his reign, he sent troops against al-Balqa, captured Basra, many cities and large fortresses and then returned to Yathrib.

221 In year 2 [of his reign], Khalid, son of al-Walid, [went] with many troops on al-Balqa and... in Persia. Khalid encountered... troops of the Greeks and destroyed them.... (Heraclius) went out from Menbidj and sent... against Khalid and he killed... Arabs... Damascus. Then Heraclius left Menbidj.... Souriyah, which is Syria (ach-Cham), and learned with certainty that the Arabs had conquered it. In the year... of Omar, the Arabs left Damascus with Khalid, son of al-Walid. The Greek patrician, who was at Antioch, learned of the sortie of Khalid with the Arab troops. Fear and disquiet seized him, and he gathered many troops and marched on Damascus with 70,000 warriors. Then Khalid moved towards Damascus and captured it by granting quarter to the inhabitants, and he went against all the cities of Syria which he took and to which he showed mercy. 222 Sa`d-ibn-Abu-Waqqas left Yathrib, marched into the desert of Qadas and arrived [at Qadisiyah (Kadisiyah)...] Koufah at the distance of five parasangs and remained there. When [Yezdegerd learned] of the invasion of the Arabs, he gathered many troops and sent.... (The Persians) camped on the Euphrates opposite Koufah. Then they met and [engaged in combat to] Qadisiyah (Kâdisîyah); and the Arabs put the Persians to rout and pursued them [to al-Madain], the town of Chosroes, which is on the Tigris. Then Yezdegerd left with his satraps and

his warriors, took position on the Eastern bank of the Tigris and engaged in combat with the Arabs there. The Arabs threw themselves in the water, passed through with their horses, charged the Persians and put them to flight; then they captured al-Madain, [the town of Chosroes], and its surroundings and they removed the treasures of the king and other things.... Yezdegerd [fled to] Holwan where he gathered many troops. The Arabs [pursued him, caught up with him] at Holwan, put him to rout and killed all his soldiers. [Yezdegerd] fled and arrived at Nihavend; but the Arabs pursued him and put him to flight. (After that) Yezdegerd fled to Khorasan.

223 When Heraclius, who was [at Antioch], saw the rout of the Greeks and learned what the Arabs had done to the Persians, he was seized with anger and indignation and was very upset. He wrote to Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia, ordering them not to engage in more combat with the Arabs or to oppose more the will of God; he informed them that Great God had sent this misfortune on men, that he was not opposing himself to the will of God, [who had promised] Ishmael, son of Ibrahim (Abraham), that several kings would come from him. Sa`id and Amrou, son of al-`Asi, marched on Egypt and entered there. Cyrus (Qourrah), bishop of Alexandria, [went out to meet them] and made peace with them on condition that he paid [each year] 200,000 dinars; their troops would not enter [Egypt and] would not pass its borders; he was preparing the money and would send it to them... (Sa`id and Amrou) made a pact with him on these conditions. And Cyrus, bishop [of Alexandria], did not cease to govern firmly for three years, and none of the Arabs entered there.

224 [Then], a certain number of inhabitants of Egypt [went] to the emperor Heraclius and accused Cyrus [of taking] the money of Egypt and giving it to the Arabs... and giving them the tax on land from Egypt that he [should give to the emperor]. Heraclius [was irritated] at this and sent to Egypt a patrician [named Manuel], ordered him to relieve Cyrus of the administration of Egypt, to invest himself (Manuel) with the administration and to defend its inhabitants. The following year, when the Arabs, according to custom, [came] to Egypt to ask for gold, they found Manuel encamped in Egypt with Greek troops. They were captured and brought before him. Manuel asked them for the purpose of their mission, and they made it known to him. When he heard that they were asking for gold, he drove out them with great anger and sent them back with scorn, saying: "I am not the bishop Cyrus

who gave you gold from fear of you, because he is a monk dedicated to the worship of God, but I am a man of arms and war and courage; you must understand that by seeing me. I have only contempt and scorn for you. Leave the country and do not return here any more; if you do, I will kill you. What has happened previously is considered excused."

225 The envoys returned to their Master, and told him this. Then Amrou-ibn-al-`Asi arose, advanced and arrived in Egypt where he met Manuel. Amrou put him to rout and killed almost all his soldiers; (after that), Manuel arrived at Alexandria with the remainder of his troops. Then the Arabs captured Egypt. At this news, Heraclius wrote Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria: "Some people calumniated and wrongfully accused you to me. Hurry to agree to the request of these Arabs and grant to them what they ask. You know already that they are sent like a plague on men; that God promised Abraham concerning Ishmael that several kings would come from him; that the promises of God are true and that one cannot be opposed to them nor to evade them. If you can pacify the Arabs and get them away from Egypt by any possible means, do so; if you can make them accept the first conditions that you dictated to them, and make them accept, do so. I put you at the head of Egypt and confide to you its government. Do as well as possible for its interests!"

226 The letter of the emperor Heraclius came to Cyrus, and he said: "How can I move the Arabs away? I already pass for a liar among them; and above all, they have already captured Egypt. However I will do all that I can and then I will await events." Cyrus went out from Alexandria and went to the camp of the Arabs. He was presented to Amrou-ibn-al-`Asi and, after having made excuses before him, made known him that he was not the cause of the transgression of the treaty which existed between them, but that the emperor Heraclius had treated him with violence and had made him change direction on this subject; he thus requested him to make peace again on the terms of the first treaty. Amrou-ibn-al-`Asi answered him that under no circumstances would he accede to his request. "I do not have confidence in you," he added, "because you have misled me once; moreover, you request an impossible thing, because we conquered Egypt by our weapons and we will never give up it." Cyrus thus returned to Alexandria, without having obtained anything.

227 Then Omar-ibn-al-Khattab removed the command of Syria from Khalid-ibn-al-Walid and named in his place Abu-`Obeidah-ibn-al-Djarrah. This was in year 15 of the Arabs and 26 of Heraclius. Omar started from Yathrib, arrived in Palestine and camped there. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, went out to meet him and obtained from him safety for Jerusalem and all the towns of Palestine. Omar gave him safety and passed an act for him, and in this act it was specified: every Jew that we find in Jerusalem will be deprived of the protection of the laws, as from this day; the Jew that we find there will be punished for it in his hair, his appearance and his money. Then Omar entered Jerusalem and prayed there; then he entered the very large temple that Solomon, son of David, had built, and ordered a mosque built there where the Moslems would make their prayers. Then the patriarch, having seen that the woollen clothing of Omar was dirty, requested him to accept of him (other) clothing. But Omar refused. The patriarch persisted. Then Omar said to him: "Do me the honour, please, to take these clothes, give them to the launderer and lend me these clothes that you brought to me, so that I can wear them until my clothes are washed; then I will return them to you." The patriarch did so, took Omar's clothes and gave them to the launderer; after washing, he brought them back to him. Omar put them on and returned his clothing to the patriarch.

228 Then Omar left Jerusalem, went to Yathrib, and invested Abu-`Obeidah with the command of Egypt and Syria. Abu-`Obeidah sent `Abbad-ibn-`Asim with many troops to go through all the towns of Syria; and he gave them safety and occupied them all. Then he returned to Mesopotamia, captured all the cities and gave them safety, after they had treated with him, stipulating that they would pay him each year 100,000 dinars, and that no Arab would pass the Euphrates, for whatever reason, so long as the treaty was closely adhered to. Then the inhabitants of Mesopotamia brought to `Abbad-ibn-`Asim the annual tribute. This (treaty) was concluded by the patrician Paul who was the governor of Heraclius, emperor of the Greeks, over Mesopotamia. On this news, Heraclius, emperor of the Greeks, relieved Paul, sent him into exile in Africa and named (in his place) in Mesopotamia a man named Ptolemy, one of the patricians.

229 Then the Arabs captured Antioch and took the inhabitants of its suburbs and fields into captivity. Then Omar removed the command in Syria from Abu-`Obeidah and named Mo`awia-ibn-Abu-Sofyan in his place. That

took place in the year 6 of Omar, year 18 of the Arabs and year 29 of Heraclius. `Abbad crossed the Euphrates and marched on Edessa, because the Edessans had not brought in the second year what they had promised to him. When he arrived there, the inhabitants went out to meet him and asked him for mercy for them and for Ptolemy, their governor and patrician. `Abbad entered Edessa, made Ptolemy leave and returned him to Greece; in a few days, he then made them pay 100,000 dinars. `Abbad then left Edessa and arrived at Mawzan, because this city had not capitulated yet like all the other towns of Mesopotamia. When he arrived there, the Greeks who were there, resisted him. He was irritated at this, drew up balistas against the city and remained at this city with the (besieged) Greeks, until he had captured it; and he killed the Greeks who were there. `Abbad made the towns of Mesopotamia capitulate, to which he gave the aman, except for Dara; he took it by storm and killed the Greeks who were there, named governors over all the towns of Mesopotamia and returned Mo`awia-ibn-Abu-Sofyan who was in Syria.

230 Then Omar ordered his governor to hit all the regions of his empire with a tribute. The rolls were drawn up and the tribute was imposed on each area, each province, each city and each village; this tribute consisted of corn and money. Heraclius, emperor of the Greeks, died, after reigning thirty one years. He died Sunday, February 7, year 952 of Alexander, 19 of the Arabs and the 7 of Omar. Constantine, son of Heraclius, reigned after him for four months. One of the women of his father killed him, and Heraclius, son of Heraclius, reigned for eight months. In this year, Mo`awia captured Caesarea, a town of Palestine, and massacred 7,000 Greeks there. The Greeks augured ill for the reign of Heraclius, son of Heraclius; they deposed him. Then Constans, son of Constantine, grandson of Heraclius, reigned twenty-seven years, from the year 954 of Alexander. In year 10 of Omar-ibn-al-Khattab, the Arabs attacked a town of Cilicia, captured it and took many prisoners from there into captivity.

231 In year 11 of Omar, the sun was darkened, on Friday 1, Tichrin II (November). In year 12 of Omar-ibn-al-Khattab, a man named Abu-Loulouah went to Omar and did not cease observing him with attention, while he prayed; and when Omar bowed deeply, he struck him several times with a knife and killed him. Omar died after reigning twelve years. Othman-ibn-`Affan reigned (after him) eleven years, from the 958 year of Alexander and

the fifth year of Constans. In this year Gregory, the Greek patrician who was in Africa, revolted. The Arabs attacked Alexandria where Manuel, the Greek patrician, was. He fled with his soldiers; they left by sea and arrived in Greece. The Arabs captured Alexandria and destroyed its walls; they occupied this city and the coast between Alexandria and al-Farama (Pelusium). Then, the same year, they invaded Africa and fought a battle there with Gregory, the Greek patrician; they put him to flight and massacred his troops. Gregory arrived in Greece and made peace with the emperor.

232 In this year there was a violent wind: large trees were uprooted; harvests and vines were destroyed, and many towers (of the stylites) collapsed. In year 3 of Othman, Mo`awia took to sea, arrived at Cyprus and captured it. He was accompanied by 1,700 ships full of weapons and riches. He took a great number of people from this island and neighbouring islands into captivity. Then when he learned that Greek troops had been sent against him, he returned to Syria and besieged Aroud (Aradus), employed all his efforts there, but could not take it. He then sent a bishop called Thomas who asked the inhabitants of the town to leave the island and to go away to Greece, so that the Arabs could settle there. When the bishop arrived there, they imprisoned him, did not let him return to Mo`awia and did not pay any attention to his message. Then Mo`awia returned to Damascus, because winter was arriving and that it was to the sea.

233 After the winter and at the beginning of spring, Mo`awia returned to the island of Aroud with troops stronger and more numerous than the first. He besieged it and treated the inhabitants with harshness. When the inhabitants of Aroud saw the difficult situation in which they were, and the troops that were pressing them, they asked for mercy on condition of leaving for Syria and of establishing themselves where they liked. Mo`awia-ibn-Abu-Sofyan agreed to their request, and they left the city. After they left, Mo`awia ordered the destruction of its walls. They were destroyed, set on fire, and burned. In this year, Othman-ibn-`Affan sent his son Sa`id with many troops to the pursuit of Yezdegerd, king of the Persians, who was in that time in Sedjestan. Having learned that Sa`id was coming to seek him, Yezdegerd fled from Sedjestan to Merv where he remained for two years. Sa`id took all the towns of Khorasan, and giving the aman, established there his governors and arrived at Merv where Yezdegerd was. When Yezdegerd learned of his arrival, he feared that the population, i.e. the population of the city, might

hand him over; he thus left in the night and hid in a mill which was on the river, to the gate of the city. The owner of the mill recognized him, cut off his head and carried it to Sa`id. Sa`id captured Merv; he took the crown and the head of Chosroes, who was called Yezdegerd, and carried them to his father. Othman-ibn-`Affan put (the head) on a pillar and placed the crown in the Kaabah where it is to this day.

234 Constans, king of the Greeks, sent ambassadors to Mo`awia to ask peace of him. Mo`awia was in Damascus and the envoy Manuel, who was in Egypt, was sent with a certain number of Greeks. Mo`awia agreed to his request provided that a certain number of the members of his house would be left with him as hostages. In year 4 of Othman, the inhabitants of Armenia revolted against Constans, emperor of the Greeks, and submitted themselves to the Moslems. Their governor, one of the Greek patricians named Pasagnathes, wrote to Mo`awia and sent his son as a hostage to him. Learning that the Armenians had revolted and risen up, Constans left with Greek troops and went to Caesarea in Cappadocia to go into Armenia. While he was on the way, this news came to him and saddened him; he had intended to recover Armenia, but then he returned from there, despairing of recovering it.

235 Then Mo`awia sent troops to the island of Rhodes, who captured it, reorganized the administration there and made it an observation post for the Arabs. In this island, there was a statue which had been standing for approximately three hundred and sixty years. Its height was fifty cubits. The Arabs removed it and threw it into the sea. That took place in year 8 of Othman. In this year, the (Arab) leader entered Armenia with many troops, captured it and killed all the Greeks who were there. In this year, Othman-ibn-`Affan directed the pilgrimage. It is necessary that you know, for the reading of our book, that the years of the Arabs do not agree with the non-Arab years, because there is a difference between them: thirty-two non-Arab years make thrity-three Arab years; but I will not omit to make the agreement; I will give this (33rd) additional year, as the Arabs count it; I will add it to the Arab years to keep their calendar in line with that which was already in use before their reign.

236 Then, in year 9 of Othman, 34 of the Arabs and 13 of Constans, emperor of the Greeks, Mo`awia-ibn-Abu-Sofyan prepared a expedition by sea against Constantinople. Mo`awia equipped many ships in the town of Trabulus (Tripoli) located at the seaside and embarked a great quantity of weapons

there. When the ships were ready and that he was thinking of going on campaign, there were two brothers in Tripoli, (sons) of a man named Boukinator, who were in the service of the Arabs. Having seen the preparations of Mo`awia, they were seized with irritation and anger; they came to the prison, opened it and released all the Greeks who were there; they threw themselves on the governor of the city and killed him; then they set fire to the ships and to the military equipment, went on a vessel and arrived in the country of the Greeks. Learning this, Mo`awia equipped many troops against the Greeks, who captured the country of Bazantiyah and of Malatia, pushed to Hisn-al-Mourrah near the gate of Malatia and made 100,000 of its population prisoners. (At the same time Mo`awia) sent a man named Abu'l-`Oud with many troops; he entered Phoenix which is on the coast of Lycia, and entirely devastated it.

237 Then Constans marched against him with Greek troops and sent his brother Yaqout (Theodosius?) by sea with many ships. (The Greeks and Arabs) met and came to battle. In the first shock the Greeks were put to rout, and Constans was about to drown; he was saved because so many people died that the sea was turned bloody. Then the Arabs returned victorious and Constans returned to Sicily. In that year, the inhabitants of Egypt and Iraq went to Othman-ibn-`Affan, surrounded him on all sides and killed him on Friday 19th of the month of Zou'l-qa`dah. The same year, `Abdallah-ibn-al-Abbas directed the pilgrimage. In that year, Talhah and az-Zobair went out from Mecca in the month of Rab'i II and agreed to march against Basra. Then `Ali-ibn-Abu-Talib went out from Medina to fight them, moved towards Feid and left Sahl-ibn-Hanifah in Medina as his lieutenant. He wrote to him then ordering him to rejoin him and conferred the administration of Medina on Abu-Hasan-al-Mazani. (The two forces) met and engaged in combat, and, near Basra, `Ali gained the victory. He prevented his troops from massacring the fleeing or maltreating the casualties; even he who had closed his gates, would be in safety. After remaining at Basra for fifteen days, `Ali went to Koufah and left `Abdallah-ibn-al-Abbas in Basra as lieutenant.

238 `Ali conferred the administration of Egypt on Qaiṣ-ibn-Sa`id (Sa`d) who resided there and governed it, but Mo`awia intrigued against him and had him relieved. Then Mo`awia and Amrou-ibn-al-`Asi went to Mohammed-ibn-Hazifah (Houzeifah) who was in Egypt and whom `Ali had made governor. They deceived him and made him go out to `Arich. Then

`Ali named Hakam-ibn-as-Salt in Egypt. Mo`awia and Amrou went against him and drew up balistas against him; then he went out against them with thirty of his companions, and they killed him. After that `Ali sent Qais-ibn-Sa`id to Egypt (as governor) (for the second time). Hasan-ibn-`Ali took the oath in the year 41 of the Arabs. Then Mo`awia went to Iraq, and Hasan-ibn-`Ali [followed him there]. They met at Meskin in Sawad, a province [of Koufah], and made peace in writing, on certain conditions and in front of eyewitnesses. Mo`awia went into [the mosque and] preached there, and the population took oath to him. Then, he left as lieutenant at Koufah [Mogair-ibn-Chou'bah and left for] Syria where he established Fadalah-ibn-`Abd as judge. Hasan-ibn-`Ali went to Medina. It was said to him: "What have you done?" He answered: "I have... taken in hate the inhabitants of Koufah, in which nobody can have confidence: my father had met... but he had not been able to get any profit at all from them, and they are good for nothing... `Atabah-ibn-Abu-Sofyan."

239 The power of Mo`awia was reaffirmed; he dominated from Yathrib to Damascus and captured the whole world, after being sole ruler for twenty years. That took place in year 972 of Alexander, 41 of the Arabs and 19 of Constans, emperor of the Greeks. (In that time) was born the sect of the Harourites...; (they claimed that they were the best) of all the Moslems, that their adversaries were in error and that they were entitled more to the empire than anybody. The master of the power, Mo`awia preferred the inhabitants of the West to those of the East because of the submission which the inhabitants of the west showed and because of the antagonism of these... In year 8 (of his reign), a raid of Alans came out of Armenia, where the Greeks had suffered a terrible defeat. The leader of this campaign was Bechr-ibn-Artat who killed a great number of patricians. The Moslems made captive and plundered.... They were the first prisoners that they took....

240 Mo`awia gave the government of the sea to... - ibn-Marwan.... ibn.... and he invested him with power over all... and was called Bechr-ibn-Artat. In this year, he named... and conferred the role of judge on `Abdallah-ibn... In this year, Bechr-ibn-Artat went... Rahman and Qathim, sons of `Abdallah-ibn-al-Abbas-ibn-`Abd-al-Mouttalib... Abu-Laila the rebel in the... suburb of Koufah. In that year, `Outbah-ibn-Sofyan directed the pilgrimage. In year 3 of Mo`awia, Bechr-ibn-Artat made for the second time a raid against the Greeks and took many prisoners. The Greeks fled to Constantinople. In this

year, Mo`awia ordered Marwan-ibn-al-Hakam to take the direction of the pilgrimage. The festival arrived, and he directed it. In this year, [Amrou-ibn-]al-`Asi died in Egypt the day of the ending of the Fast, after ruling Egypt [under the caliphate of Omar-ibn]-al-Khattab for four years, under the caliphate of Othman for three... years and ten months... two and a half years. (After his death) Mo`awia named (in... Egypt) his son `Abdallah-ibn-Amrou-ibn-fal-`Asi]... God... to Mo`awia... `Abdarrahman-ibn[- Khalid-ibn-al-Walid... he pushed as far as] Aklouniyah... (Koloneia) in the country of the Greeks and returned.... Marwan-ibn-al-Hakam...

241 The eunuch (Andreas) cut off the testicles of (Sergius) and ordered them attached to the end of a lance with this inscription: "This is the revenge of Andreas, the eunuch of the emperor, on the envoy of Sabour the rebel." Learning how the eunuch had treated the rebel envoy and that the troops of Mo`awia went to his help, Constans sent a patrician named Nicephorus with Greek troops to make war on Sabour, who was at Awdina. Sabour learned of the approach of these troops and each day went out to practise for the combat. One day he went out as usual and arrived at the door of the city, and he gave a blow of the whip to his horse which bucked and was carried off. Sabour ran his head against the gate of the city and fell down unconscious; he remained ill for a few days and died. Mo`awia had sent many numerous forces to him. When they arrived at Malatia and they learned of his death, (their leader Fadalah) stopped in Malatia and told Mo`awia, requesting him to send reinforcements to him so that he could attack the Greeks. Mo`awia ordered his son Yazid to take the Arab cavalry and to join the army. Yazid hurried there; thus increased, the Arab troops arrived at Chalcedon which they plundered and from where they took many prisoners and much spoil.

242 In this year, there was a strong rising of the waters of the Tiger, the Nile and Euphrates; all these rivers overflowed and ruined several places; the rising of the river of Edessa especially was such as to flood the city, demolish its walls and drown many people and innumerable animals. In year 9 of Mo`awia, Constans, emperor of the Greeks, was killed after his return from the expedition against the Slavs. He had gone to the bath in Sicily where he had his residence. This is why he had fixed himself in Sicily: he had transferred the seat of the empire from Constantinople to Rome, after the murder of his brother, because he feared the fury of people indignant against him because of this crime. So he had transported himself to Rome and from

there to Antakiyah (?); then he had established himself in Sicily, an island of the sea, and resided there with his generals and soldiers. He then sent to bring his family to him. But the inhabitants of Constantinople did not allow them to go to join him and said: "They are our emperors; and we will not allow our emperors to leave us." When Constans entered the bath, one of his servants took a vase with a handle in which he mixed mush with soap, and then poured it over his head. The emperor had the eyes full of mush and soap and he could not open them. Then the servant took the vase, struck him on the head and killed him; he left the bath in all haste and fled, without anybody seeing him.

243 However the servants waited for the emperor to come out; they waited a long time; time passed and (the emperor) did not leave; then they entered to the bath, found him unconscious and carried him out; he was still alive that day and died, after reigning twenty-seven years. Then the Greeks met and made Mizizi(us), emperor an Armenian by origin. He was wise, robust and courageous. When the son of Constans learned at Constantinople of the death of his father, he embarked and left for Sicily. He arrived, captured Mizizius and slaughtered him; then he seized those who had taken part in the murder of his father and had proclaimed another emperor; he killed the first, imprisoned the others and sent others of them into exile. Then he returned to Constantinople. Constantine and his brothers reigned for sixteen years, from the year 981 of Alexander and year 50 of the Arabs.

244 In that year, the Arabs made an expedition against the Greeks in Africa and took 100,000 prisoners. In that year, much snow fell and there was a rigorous frost; and many people and animals perished. In year 12 of Mo`awia, Bechr-ibn-Artat made a campaign against the Greeks; he killed (many) of them and took a great number of them into captivity. In year 13 of Mo`awia, there appeared in the clouds a complete rainbow. Fear and credulity overcame the people, and many (of them) said that the hour of the end of the world had come. Mo`awia took several ships, attacked the Greeks, and killed them and took prisoners. In this year, the plague prevailed among the populations of Egypt and Palestine In the year 14 of Mo`awia, the Arabs made a campaign by sea against the Greeks and arrived in Lycia. Three patricians went to meet them and caught up with them, and the Greeks killed 30,000 Arabs; the survivors embarked there. When they were on the open sea, a Greek found them with his ship, threw fire on their fleet which was

completely burned. That year the Greeks were favoured with victory. They were the first to make use of (Greek) fire, and they usually made use of it.

245 In this same year, rats were numerous in Syria, and a great famine resulted from this. In year 17 of Mo`awia, the Greeks equipped a fleet, took to the sea, arrived at the shore of Tyre and Sidon and unloaded there; then they captured the mountain of Lebanon where they established themselves. The people called them al-Kharaniqah. The Greeks, masters of the mountain of Lebanon, stretched from the holy mountain to the black mountain. Constantine had stationed them there to divert the Arabs from their raids. In this same year, there was an earthquake in Beisan, and Qatnan, one of the villages of Seroudj, subsided and its walls and all the houses collapsed. A similar thing occurred in Edessa where several localities were damaged. Mo`awia ordered that they should be restored and the churches of Edessa which had fallen rebuilt. He acted thus because he had remained in Edessa while going to fight `Ali-ibn-Abu-Talib.

246 Then Mo`awia died, after reigning for twenty years and being before that emir for twenty more years. He died Sunday 6th of the month of Iyar (May) (the year) 991 of Alexander and was buried in Damascus. After him Yazid-ibn-Mo`awia reigned three years and five months. In the first year of his reign, a council of bishops, 189 in number, met by order of Constantine, in Constantinople. This is what is called the sixth council. Agathon, bishop of Rome, wrote to expound the agreement of his doctrines with that of 120 bishops who did not attend the council. Canons were written which the Melkites alone accepted, to the exclusion of all the other Christian communities. Then Constantine dispossessed his brothers of the empire and reigned alone. The Greek patricians gave him their approval, because he had satisfied them. However a patrician named Leo did not approve of him, showed dissatisfaction and said: "It is wrong that the people who reigned over us for so long have been dispossessed." Then Constantine ordered that his tongue, hands and feet be cut off, and exiled his brothers to an island of the sea.

247 Then Yazid-ibn-Mo`awia died. Already before the death of Yazid, Mouhtar the deceiver had appeared in Koufah; he claimed that he was a prophet, and he gathered (around him) many people. Yazid died without having an adult son to succeed him, and disorders broke out and the Arabs divided themselves into many parties. Those who were in Yathrib, in Iraq

and in Mesopotamia proclaimed `Abdallah-ibn-az-Zobeir; those of Syria and Palestine remained faithful, by spirit of party, to the family of Mo`awia and spoke for them. Then Dhahhak-ibn-Qais gathered many troops, arrived at Damascus and declared that he would make war on `Abdallah-ibn-az-Zobeir. However the Arabs of Mesopotamia had already spoken for `Abdallah-ibn-az-Zobeir; each one thus started to have a province which he was defending and for which he made war. Mouhtar was victorious at Koufah.
248 Then Marwan-ibn-al-Hakam left Yathrib, took his children with him and marched on Damascus. On the news of his arrival, the children of Yazid-ibn-Mo`awia were assembled, with their followers and those of the Arabs and the freed (maoulah) who wanted to subject themselves to his rule. Marwan said to them: "O people! I am an old man; my body is weak and shrivelled; my bones are broken; but when I learned your discord, my heart engaged me to expose my life and to use my credit to make peace between you. I thought that it would be neither worthy nor right before me, nor before God to abandon my people, when I see them divided, not to pacify him, not to calm their discords, not to engage to recognize as leader one of them, to obey him and to subject ourselves to him. If you approve of me, do what I say to you: Go and seek three arrows, write the names of three men among you; then give them to a foreign man at this assembly and order to him to scramble them well. Then draw one of them and give it to the assembly; he whose name comes out, will reign over us."

249 The people, hearing these words, approved them; they accepted his counsel and consented to his judgement. Thus Hasan-ibn-Malik was chosen, of the family of Mo`awia, one of their leaders, who was a governor of Palestine and the Jordan. He agreed to this and accepted. Then Marwan-ibn-al-Hakam, Amrou-ibn-Sa`id-ibn-al-`Asi and other Qoreichites met and wrote their names on three arrows which were given to Hasan-ibn-Malik. He took them in his hand and stirred them up much; then he took one of them and launched it into the middle of the assembly. On inspection it bore the name of Marwan-ibn-al-Malik. Then the empire was given to him When Dhahhak-ibn-Qais had learned that Marwan-ibn-al-Hakam was king, he went in disguise with a troop of his tribe and his followers and entered the army of Marwan to inform himself about him. When he was in the middle of the troops, one of the companions of Hasan-ibn-Malik recognized him and made him come to Marwan, to whom he gave oath unwill-

ingly. When night fell, he fled and rejoined his troops. In the morning he was pursued, but it was impossible to catch him. Then Marwan left with his troops against Dhahhak and met him in a meadow (mardj) called Mardj-Rahit. The combat began, and Marwan killed Dhahhak with a very great number of his companions; the remainder took an oath to Marwan.

250 Then he returned to Damascus where he was based; he married a wife of Yazid-ibn-Mo`awia and lived in his room. Then Marwan resolved to go to Egypt to the inhabitants take an oath to him. But a disease seized him, and he died, after reigning nine months. His son `Abd-al-Malik-ibn-Marwan reigned after him for twenty-two years, from the year 65 of the Arabs, year 996 of Alexander. In this year, the people were struck by a great famine and plague. The same year, `Abd-al-Malik made peace with the Greeks. The same year still, Constantine, emperor of the Greeks, died, and Justinianus reigned after him for ten years. Then `Abd-al-Malik wrote a letter to ask peace. Justinianus agreed to make a ten years truce: he engaged to recall the Greeks who were in the mountains of Lebanon and make them return to the Greek country; on his side, `Abd-al-Malik would pay every day to Justinianus a thousand dinars, a horse and a slave in exchange for the recall of the Greeks who were in the mountains of Lebanon; the island of Cyprus would be divided in half between the Greeks and the Arabs...

251 ... to Khagan, king of Khazars, and all were drowned. Khagan, on this news, sent to Justinianus a letter where he said: "O dimwit! If you had sent a person in your confidence to me, I would have sent your wife to you and the son that she gave you. That would have been better than to make all these people who drowned perish. Or could you have believed that I send them only after a war or a battle, that I would be miserly towards you and would deprive to you of her? If you want your wife and your son, sends a messenger, and we will give them to him." Justinianus read the letter and sent a servant who brought back his wife and his son for him. He called his son Tiberius and made him reign with him. This was in the year 22 of `Abd-al-Malik-ibn-Marwan. Tiberius reigned for seven years.

252 In this same year, `Abd-al-Malik-ibn-Marwan died, and Walid his son reigned after him for nine years and six months, from the year 1018 of Alexander. The first year of his reign, he started to destroy the churches of Damascus, and especially the great church; he demolished it and built in its place a great mosque. He ordered that Greek should no longer be used in corres-

pondence in his offices, but Arabic, because all the Arabs who were in Syria (ach-Cham and Souriyah) were writing in Greek. In the second year of Walid, Maslamah-ibn-`Abd-al-Malik made a raid against the Greeks and entered the town of Tyana where he remained nine months. A Greek patrician went out against him and fought him. The Greeks were put to rout and lost 40,000 dead. The Arabs ruined the town of Tyana, took the inhabitants captive and burned them. This same year, Abbas-ibn-al-Walid made a expedition and brought back many prisoners from there. The same year, Othman-ibn-Hayan made a raid into Cilicia, forced many fortresses there to capitulate and took the inhabitants into captivity in Syria.

253 This same year, a Greek patrician named Philippicus, who was on an island of the sea, revolted. Justinianus then sent a certain of his patricians to fight him; but when he had arrived there, the latter took an oath to him and joined with him. The emperor, learning the news, went towards the coast of the sea of Pontus. The rebel Philippicus and his followers arrived at Constantinople where the Greeks accepted him and proclaimed him emperor. Tiberius, son of Justinianus, and his patricians were killed. Then Philippicus made the troops march to pursue Justinianus; they caught up with him. Justinianus was killed and his head was brought to Philippicus. That took place in year 93 of the Arabs, year 7 of Walid. In this same year, Maslamah-ibn-`Abd-al-Malik made a raid against the Greeks and captured the town of Amasea and many other fortresses. In this same year, Philippicus, emperor of the Greeks, ordered that all the Armenians be driven out of his empire into Armenia. They left and ventured themselves among the Arabs. Walid installed them in Malatia and Samosata.

254 In this same year, Abbas-ibn-al-Walid made a raid against the Greeks, captured Antioch (of Pisidia) and took the inhabitants into captivity. In that year, there was a violent earthquake, during which many dwellings were destroyed in Antioch. Then the Greeks threw themselves on Philippicus their emperor, put out his eyes, dethroned him and proclaimed Anastasius emperor. Philippicus had reigned for three years. In year 7 of Walid, Maslamah made a raid against the Greeks and took many prisoners. Walid died and Soleiman reigned after him for two years and four months. In the first year of his reign, Maslamah made a raid against the Greeks, penetrated into Galatia, captured many fortresses and took the population into captivity. In this same year, Anastasius, emperor of the Greeks, sent troops against

the enemies who surrounded him. The Greeks threw themselves on his patrician, killed him, and proclaimed another emperor. Anastasius, on this news, feared that he would be attacked by the population of Constantinople and went away to Nicaea. Then he sent messengers to Maslamah, requesting him to ask Soleiman to help him with Arab troops. The rebel learned that the emperor Anastasius was in Nicaea, and marched against him. On his arrival, Anastasius left in his place a patrician to bar the way to him. But the rebel entered Constantinople where the inhabitants accepted him and proclaimed him king.... Then the emperor ordered him sent into exile on an island of the sea, after one year and seven months of his reign.

255 In year 2 of Soleiman, Maslamah directed a expedition against Constantinople; he established Soleiman-ibn-Ma`adh and Bakhtari-ibn-al-Hasan as commanders of its vanguard with many troops, which went by land. He (also) sent `Amr-ibn-Houbairah with many ships; he himself came then and took many prisoners at Nicaea. Then a patrician, named Leo, went to Soleiman-ibn-Ma`adh and promised him to help him to enter Constantinople. Soleiman introduced him to Maslamah, who made many promises to him. Leo went out and went to Nicomedia. Theodosius, emperor of the Greeks, sent troops against him; Leo put them to rout and killed the son of the emperor Theodosius. Then the Greeks consulted to make the rebel Leo ascend the throne and proclaimed him king. He gathered troops, attacked Constantinople and captured the empire, after Theodosius had reigned for one year and seven months. Leo began to reign over the Greeks, and Maslamah awaited the accomplishment of his promises throughout the summer. Learning that Leo had already become emperor of the Greeks and that he had tricked him, he moved towards Constantinople and besieged it for a whole year. When he learned of the death of Soleiman, he ceased making war and remained in his place.

256 On the death of Soleiman, Omar-ibn-`Abd-al-`Aziz succeeded him and reigned for one year, four months and six days. He wrote... to Maslamah-ibn-Mohammed... In this same year, there was a violent earthquake, and many places were damaged. Omar-ibn-`Abd-al-`Aziz showed his devotion and fear of God; he drove out of his empire corrupt people, forbade the Moslems... (wine?) and fermented drinks and showed exemplary conduct. He wrote to the emperor Leo in order to get him to become a Moslem; and in his letter he attacked the Christian religion. Leo answered him by refut-

ing his arguments; he proved to him the perversity of his doctrines and showed to him the light of Christianity by the evidence drawn from the revealed Books, of the laws of reason and the testimonies of the Koran. 257 Then a certain Greek patrician sent to the exiled emperor Anastasius a letter where he disparaged the emperor Leo and said that the empire should not belong to him; "the empire should belong to you more." He said that this letter expressed the unanimous feeling of the inhabitants of the empire on the advent of Leo and the exile of his rival; that Anastasius should act accordingly and look for ways to return. Anastasius read this letter and was seduced. Then (the patrician) wrote to him in the name of other patricians, requesting him to come back. Then Anastasius fled during the night, arrived at the king of the Bulgarians, claimed his protection and asked his help. The Bulgarian (Nubian) helped him with many troops. (Then Anastasius) left and arrived at Constantinople. But the Greeks would not accept him at all. When the Negros (= the Bulgarians) saw that the Greeks did not accept him, they delivered him to the Greeks and to Leo their emperor, who put him in irons and imprisoned him in perpetuity. After that, the Nubian (= Bulgarian) troops returned to their king. Then Leo killed Anastasius and the patricians.

258 Omar-ibn-al-`Aziz died in the seventh month of the second year. Yazid-ibn-`Abd-al-Malik started to reign, in the year 1025 of Alexander. In the first year of his reign, a man named Yazid-ibn-al-Mohallab, revolted in Iraq, and the Eastern Arabs gathered around him; Maslamah-ibn-`Abd-al-Malik then went out against him, put him to rout and killed him with his followers. In this same year, there appeared a man from the inhabitants of Mardin. He said to the Jews that he was the Messiah. (This man) had been a Christian and then had converted to Judaism. He claimed to have come to deliver them and he collected much money. He had learned many juggleries and magic tricks; and he arranged for them to see them and to fascinate them. Yazid-ibn-`Abd-al-Malik learned this and killed him. In this same year, Leo, emperor of the Greeks, started to convert to Christianity the tribes of his empire which were of a different religion and opposed to Christianity. He made the Jews embrace the Christian religion and the... and they were called new Christians.

259 In this same year, Abbas-ibn-al-Walid made a raid against the Greeks; he entered Paphlagonia, devastated it, took into captivity 20,000 inhabitants and captured there a fortress which is called... Then Yazid-ibn-`Abd-al-

Malik died, after reigning four years. After him, Hicham, his brother, reigned for nineteen years, from the year 105 of the Arabs. He inventoried the great revenues of the majority of the towns of his empire, caravanserais, cabarets, small houses, villages and hamlets. He was the first to appropriate the goods of the Arabs. He diverted the water from many abundant rivers into canals and diverted the course of the river which was above al-Raqqah. He made plantations of every kind in Mesopotamia and Syria. And his revenues exceeded the land tax in his empire. In this year, Kethir-ibn-Rabi`ah made a raid against the Greeks. But the Greeks massacred his soldiers, and Kethir was only able to save himself together with a few people.

260 In this same year, Leo ordered the images of the martyrs to be removed from the churches, houses and convents. Gregory, patriarch of Rome, learning this, was irritated and forbade the inhabitants of Rome and Italy to to pay tax to him. In year 3 of Hicham, Maslamah made a raid against the Greeks; he captured the town of Neocaesarea and took its inhabitants into captivity. At that time there was a violent plague in Syria, and people were struck with various buboes and ulcers. In this same year, Mo`awia-ibn-Hicham made a raid against the Greeks, but he did not succeed. In year 4 of Hicham, Mo`awia-ibn-Hicham made a raid against the Greeks; he captured many fortresses and took many prisoners. In this same year, the son of Kagan, king of Khazars, went out against Azerbaijan and invaded many provinces. Djarrah, governor of Armenia, met him. (The son of Khagan) fought him, put the Arabs to rout, killed approximately 20,000 souls and made twice that prisoners.

261 In year 5 of Hicham, Maslamah made a raid against the Khazars. But they put him to rout, killed a very great number of his soldiers, and Maslamah sought safety in flight. Then Mo`awia-ibn-Hicham went against the Greeks, captured many fortresses and took many prisoners. In year 8 of Hicham-ibn-`Abd-al-Malik, Maslamah went against the Turks and arrived at the Gate (= defile of Derbend), which was between them and the Arabs; being unable to cross it, he agreed a peace and moved away. In this same year, Leo, emperor of the Greeks, made alliance with the king of Khazars of whom he asked the daughter for his son, and the marriage was concluded the same year. In this year, Mo`awia went against the Greeks; he entered Paphlagonia, captured the city of... took its inhabitants into captivity and...

set fire to it. In this year, Hicham-ibn-`Abd-al-Malik sent Marwan-ibn-Mohammed as governor of Armenia.

262 In year 10 (of Hicham), Mo`awia made a raid against the Greeks and captured a great number of fortresses. In this same year, there was a violent plague in Palestine and Egypt. In this same year, at the month of Tichrin I (October), in the sky there appeared the figure of a sword on fire. In year 11 of Hicham, Mo`awia made a raid into Asia (Minor) where he took many prisoners. Then he made a second expedition and took more prisoners; but he went out one day, fell from his horse and killed himself. In this same year, Marwan-ibn-Mohammed went against the Khazars and in their lands took many prisoners. In year 12 of Hicham, Soleiman-ibn-Hicham went against the Greeks; he arrived in Asia, captured a fortress called Soudour and took the inhabitants into captivity. In year 13 of his reign, Maslamah-ibn-`Abd-al-Malik made a raid against the Greeks. When he besieged Ancyra, Hicham went to Malatia and, after remaining there for a few days, returned to Damascus. Maslamah captured Ancyra and took many prisoners there.

263 In this same year, Zeid-ibn-`Ali-ibn-al-Housein-ibn-`Ali-ibn-Abu-Talib revolted in Koufah; he attacked people, killed them and took prisoners in many places. In this same year, the inhabitants of Africa revolted and massacred their governor and all the Moslems who were there. The same year, Soleiman-ibn-Hicham went against the Greeks. The Greeks put him to rout, massacred his troops and took more than 20,000 Arabs into captivity. In this same year, in Constantinople, there was a violent earthquake; most of its houses collapsed, and water started to run off the mountains. In this same year, Leo, emperor of the Greeks, died, after reigning twenty-three years and three months and half. Constantine his son reigned after him for thirty-four years, from the year 1042 of Alexander. In year 12 of Hicham, Soleiman-ibn-Hicham made a raid and besieged one of the fortresses of Asia. The plague broke out in his ranks, and many soldiers died; the famine prevailed; the Greeks massacred a great number of them; most of their horses perished; a very great number of them took refuge with the Greeks and became Christians because of the misfortune which had happened to them. (After that) Soleiman returned, fleeing.

264 In this same year, the Greeks marched against Malatia, plundered and devastated all the surrounding country. The Greeks took those who were there, and brought them into the country of the Greeks. In this same year, a

rebel named Artabaz (Artavasde) revolted against Constantine, emperor of the Greeks, entered Constantinople and assumed the imperial power. Constantine was absent. Constantine, on this news, returned to punish him; and they came to blows. While they fought, Soleiman made a raid against the Greeks and entered Paphlagonia. Nobody resisted him, because the Greeks were occupied with making war on each other; and Soleiman massacred 50,000 men. Then Hicham-ibn-`Abd-al-Malik died and Walid-ibn-Yazid succeeded him and reigned for one year and two months. In the first year of his reign, he greatly maltreated the people of the family of Hicham. Then Constantine, emperor of the Greeks, dispatched an envoy to Walid with many presents. Artabaz the rebel also dispatched (an envoy) to him.

265 Then, in that year, the rains failed and the springs and rivers were lowered. There was a great famine and many and frequent earthquakes. In that year, in Yemen, the monkeys attacked men, who were leaving their houses; and they killed several of them. In this same year, the rebel Artabaz left Constantinople to find the emperor Constantine. They met, and the rebel was put to rout, and all his followers perished. In this same year, Omar-ibn-`Abd-al-`Aziz made a raid against the Greeks; he killed and took prisoners. In the month of Haziran (June), a large sign appeared in the sky, under the aspect of columns of fire which burned and remained motionless. This was a first sign. Then, in the month of Eloul (September), another appeared, similar to a tongue of fire, and it extended from the East to the west. Walid-ibn-Yazid deported the Cypriots from their hearths and their country in order to install them at al-Mahour (?) which is located at the seaside, between Tyr and Sidon.

266 The same year, in the month of Kanoun II (January), there appeared another sign in the shape of the moon; and the atmosphere was dull and dark. Walid-ibn-Yazid was killed at Tadmor. The cause of his murder was this: Yazid, nicknamed the Simple, from the tribe of Bedr, went in secrecy to Damascus. He gathered his followers of the tribe of Bedr, and they captured the city and plundered the royal treasures. Then he sent many troops against Walid under the command of `Abd-al-`Aziz-ibn-al-Hadjadj, and the latter killed Walid, who made war on an Arab tribe and had arrived at Tadmor. After the murder of Walid-ibn-Yazid, Yazid the Simple captured Othman and Yazid, son of Walid-ibn-Yazid, and imprisoned them. When `Abd-al-`Aziz-ibn-al-Hadjadj returned, carrying the head of Walid, Yazid ordered it

put on a lance, sprinkled with wine and paraded in the city with this inscription: "Here is a head which likes wine!" The Arabs, on the news of the murder of Walid, were thrown into great disorder; their opinions divided them and they split into groups; discord and division broke out among them; the roads were cut, consternation dominated everywhere and misfortune took up residence among men. Soleiman-ibn-Hicham, who was in prison, went out and arrived at Damascus, where his soldiers took an oath to Yazid-ibn-al-Walid.

267 Marwan-ibn-Mohammed, who, as we said, was in Armenia, did not recognize Yazid. He left Armenia to go into Mesopotamia; he moved towards the Arabs of this country who took an oath to him. Then he resolved to pass the Euphrates and to go against Yazid the Simple, to fight him and avenge on him the blood of Walid. Then Yazid the Simple returned home the Cypriotes that Walid had deported from their country. There appeared in the sky a fire which flamed. Yazid died, after reigning five months, and his brother Ibrahim succeeded him. The people took an oath to him, except Marwan-ibn-Mohammed and the inhabitants of Emesa who were in favour of Marwan. Then Marwan passed the Euphrates with many troops and made people believe that he was going to deliver the two sons of Walid who were imprisoned at Damascus, and to make them reign in the place of their father. When `Ibrahim learned of the arrival of Marwan, he sent `Abd-al-`Aziz-ibn-al-Hadjadj with many troops against the inhabitants of Emesa, because they had not given oath to him; and (at the same time) he sent Masrour his brother with many troops to Haleb (Aleppo) to Bichr, who lived there. `Abd-al-`Aziz arrived at Emesa, besieged it and engaged in combat against its inhabitants who awaited their rescue in the arrival of Marwan. However Marwan had marched on Damascus and, capturing Haleb, had made captive Bichr and Masrour, sons of Hadjadj. `Abd-al-`Aziz, learning that Marwan had captured Haleb and had made captive his two sons, started from Emesa during the night and returned to Damascus.

268 Then Marwan went to Emesa, and the inhabitants of this city went out to meet him and took an oath to him. Then he marched on Damascus against Ibrahim. Ibrahim, learning that he was approaching, sent Soleiman-ibn-Hicham with an army to the encounter. Soleiman left Damascus and arrived in a village between Loubnan and Tell-Gara. Marwan marched against him and met him; but he pretended then to move towards the Jordan and

prepared for his enemy a ambush on his rear. He thus pretended to move away and Soleiman with his soldiers went in pursuit. When his army was divided and its order broken, the ambush came out behind and massacred them. (The soldiers of Marwan) threw themselves on the troops and the riches which they plundered, and they killed all they could. Soleiman and his troops, having learned the news, were discouraged and took flight. Marwan and his soldiers threw themselves on them and killed them. That day about 12,000 men perished. Soleiman-ibn-Hicham escaped with a small number of his followers. Ibrahim took the riches of Damascus and fled from this city with Soleiman-ibn-Hicham. `Abd-al-`Aziz-ibn-al-Hadjadj entered the prison and killed the two sons of Walid-ibn-Yazid; then he returned home, but the inhabitants of the city attacked him and set fire to its house which was burned.

269 Then Marwan marched on Damascus; its inhabitants opened the gates to him, and he entered there. The Arabs were assembled and took an oath to him. Then he camped at the distance of three miles of Damascus, (in a village) called `Aliyah. He removed Yazid the Simple from his tomb and hanged him. Then he made the Arabs of the tribe of Bedr appear and inflicted on them an exemplary punishment: he cut off the hands and feet of some, hanged others; he massacred some and sent others into exile. Marwan ordered the royal treasures brought into his treasury, which was carried out. Ibrahim presented himself to him and obtained pardon of him. As for Soleiman, he went into the desert of Phoenicia and hid there for some time. In this same year, Constantine, emperor of the Greeks, entered Constantinople, captured the rebel who had revolted against him and put him to death; after that he occupied the throne. That occurred in the year 1040 (?) of Alexander, 127 of the Arabs.

270 The Arabs of the desert, who are called Kelbites, gathered around Soleiman and marched on Tadmor which is in the desert, to the East of Rousafah. In that year, a comet appeared. The same year, a rebel named Thabit revolted in Palestine; he gathered many troops and captured Syria. The same year still, in Koufah and Deir-al-`Aqoul, Dhahhak-al-Harouri revolted; he captured most of Iraq, marched against Marwan and, when he was in his vicinity, he sent a delegation to him, took an oath to him and accepted safety from him. When Dhahhak had given oath and Marwan-ibn-Mohammed had ordered him to return to his country, Marwan passed the Eu-

phrates and went against Thabit the rebel of Palestine. Thabit, learning of the arrival of Marwan, went to Tabariyah (Tiberias). When Marwan passed by Emesa, a man of its inhabitants revolted: he gathered the Kelbites and was master of Emesa. Marwan attacked him, captured him and killed him with all his followers whom he hanged, and he exiled all the Kelbites from Emesa; he then made a large breach in the wall of Emesa.

271 However Thabit had marched on Tabariyah. The inhabitants of the city, informed of his arrival, made sorties every day to fight him; they killed approximately 10,000 of his men and plundered his riches. Thabit then with his sons and a certain number of his followers moved towards Moultan (?), where he remained wandering and fugitive. Marwan arrived in Palestine and learned how the inhabitants of Tabariyah had treated Thabit, and he showed himself very satisfied at this; he treated the inhabitants of Palestine well and appreciated their help. He halted and sent troops to the pursuit of the rebel Thabit who was... rejoined in the mountains of...; the troops captured him and the followers who accompanied him, and brought them to Marwan who ordered Thabit's right hand and left foot cut off. Marwan then left Palestine and went to Damascus where he had Thabit killed. 272 Then Marwan went from Damascus to Raqqah, with the intention to go down into Iraq. Soleiman-ibn-Hicham sent a delegation to him to ask for peace; Marwan granted it to him, and (Soleiman) presented himself to him. Marwan left for Raqqah, and Soleiman asked him for permission to go to Rousafah and to remain there for a few days. Marwan allowed him to, and Soleiman departed. When Marwan was at Qirqisiyah, Soleiman-ibn-Hicham revolted and gathered the Arabs of Syria; most of the Arabs who were with Marwan took the part of Soleiman who resolved to march on Harran. Marwan, informed of these events and knowing that Soleiman had made many recruits, gave up the intention which he had formed, went to Raqqah and transported himself from one place to the other, in making war. Soleiman met him, and they came to blows. Soleiman was overcome, and 7,000 men of his followers were killed. Soleiman escaped, got to the desert of Phoenicia and went to Tadmor. Marwan ordered that the fields of Hicham which were on the Euphrates and in other places should be devastated. Then a certain number of the followers of Hicham fortified themselves in a fort which was located on the Euphrates, opposite Rahbah, and put themselves to insult and to injure Marwan. He sent

troops against them and reduced them. Their heads were cut off. They were approximately 400 men.

273 The inhabitants of Emesa then revolted against Marwan; they killed `Abdallah, his governor at Emesa, and repaired the breach that Marwan had made in the fortress. The Kelbite Arabs took the part of Yazid-ibn-Hicham, arrived at Damascus and besieged it. In Palestine, the sons of Thabit rose, made themselves masters of the region and made war on those who remained faithful to Marwan. Dhahhak-al-Harouri acted at the same time in Iraq and gathered many troops against Marwan. Surrounded on all sides with misfortunes and encircled with enemies, Marwan sent his son `Abdallah with troops to Nisibis, because he had learned that Dhahhak was going there; and (at the same time) he sent troops with Yazid-ibn-Houbeirah to Qirqisiyah. Marwan gave them, both of them, his recommendations and said to them: "Dhahhak has risen; one of you fight him; the second will thus have free movement, he will go down into Iraq, will occupy the country and will capture it!" Marwan moved towards Emesa. The inhabitants, informed of his march, sent against him a man named Mo`awia with troops to make resistance; they then chose Sa`id-ibn-Hicham and put him at their head. Soleiman-ibn-Hicham was complicit with them. Having arrived at Qinnesrin, Marwan learned that Mo`awia was moving against him; he went to meet him, found him, put him to rout and killed him and most of his men; he then went against Emesa and besieged it in the spring; he sent messengers to the city, promised safety to the inhabitants, addressed them and promised forgiveness to them. But they refused to submit themselves. Seeing that, Marwan drew up the balistas and waited with patience.

274 However Dhahhak-al-Harouri marched on Mosul, killed Marwan's governor who was there, then arrived at Nisibis and besieged it. On this news, Yazid went down to Iraq, killed all the followers of Dhahhak and the members of his family which he found and maintained order throughout the East. Marwan sent Abu'l-Ward with many troops into Palestine. He found there a son of Thabit which he put to rout, made captive and brought him to Marwan who was at Emesa. The siege of Emesa continued and the inhabitants refused to open the gates to Marwan; he then ordered his troops to traverse the province and the villages of Emesa and to devastate them. The inhabitants of Emesa, at this sight, wrote (to Marwan) and asked for the aman. Marwan granted this to them, except for Sa`id-ibn-Hicham. (The in-

habitants of Emesa) then opened the gates. While the people underwent this misfortune, the emperor of the Greeks made a raid into Syria and arrived at Delouk. Learning that Marwan had captured Emesa, he feared attack and returned to Constantinople with many prisoners.

275 In this same year, there was thick darkness which was prolonged for five days in the month of Ab (August); the atmosphere was dull and obscure; the sun resembled blood and its light was weak. It was not an eclipse of the sun, but a great darkness in the sky. Marwan destroyed the walls of Emesa and Ba`lbek; then he returned to Harran and camped there; then he arose to go to Nisibis to the encounter with Dhahhak-al-Harouri. Dhahhak, informed of the arrival of Marwan, left the city and went to meet him. Soleiman-ibn-Hicham had already taken the part of Dhahhak. Dhahhak arrived at Kafartoutha and besieged it. Marwan arrived at Ras-`Ayn and left there against Dhahhak, which he met between Ras'ayn and Kafartoutha. The battle began between them and many people succumbed on both sides. Dhahhak and his followers took flight; Marwan pursued them, caught up with them and killed them all with Dhahhak.

276 After the death of Dhahhak, the Harourites took as leader a man named Khaibari. This Khaibari disguised himself and penetrated the camp of Marwan; he traversed it and arrived at the tent of Marwan. Then he suddenly attacked Marwan and his followers. Marwan and his followers were overcome. Marwan himself would have perished, except that his son `Abdallah and a group of Arabs of his companions who returned after their rout, attacked the Harourites and drove them out of their camp. Then the Harourites met again and elected as leader a man named Cheiban, who raised an army and marched to Niniveh. Marwan went against him and halted in the vicinity. The war between them continued little by little and was prolonged for two months. Then the troops of Marwan attacked the Harourites, put them to rout and pursued them as far as Azerbaijan. (Marwan) then sent Amrou-ibn-Sanarah with many troops to the pursuit of the Harourites. Then Marwan in flight returned to Harran and remained there.

277 At that time, Constantine, emperor of the Greeks, made a raid into Syria (ach-Chamat and Souriyah), attacked several places and returned from there. In the month of Kanoun II (January), there was a violent earthquake on the coast of the sea of Palestine. Many places were devastated, and many people perished, especially in Tiberias, where more than 100,000 men suc-

cumbed. The people were swamped with these misfortunes and these wars, when a man named Abu-Muslim revolted in Koufah and Deir-al-`Aqoul; he conferred confidentially with the population and made them share his ideas; the people answered his call, and he and his followers put on black clothing. There were with him 14 men of the Shiites. They made professions of abstinence, mortification and attachment to the family of Mohammed-ibn-`Abdallah who had been the origin of the empire of the Arabs, and they let their hair grow. Many people of Khorasan joined them and formed a great party. When they were a very significant party, they took an oath to Ibrahim-ibn-Mohammed... he arrived in the fortified camp of Harran and massacred the principal leaders of the Arabs and Khorasanians.

278 Then this news came to Marwan, who was overcome with sadness. He wrote to Amrou-ibn-Sanarah who was at that time in Iraq, and ordered him to go against Ibrahim and to fight him. Abu-Muslim had captured Djordjan, Ray, Qirmisin (Qirmanchah) and most of the cities of Khorasan and had constrained the inhabitants to take an oath to Ibrahim-ibn-Mohammed. Amrou-ibn-Sanarah marched against him and met him at Ispahan. The inhabitants of Khorasan put him to rout and killed him and his followers. Yazid-ibn-Houbeirah was a governor on behalf of Marwan-ibn-Mohammed over all the East. After the death of Amrou-ibn-Sanarah, Yazid-ibn-Houbeirah gathered troops from Iraq and camped near Madain. When Abu-Muslim saw this, he attacked him there and Yazid fled before Abu-Muslim and made a halt between the two rivers, i.e. between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Then Abu-Muslim the Khorasanian went against him, and (Yazid) fled (again), entered Wasit and fortified himself there. Abu-Muslim delivered his camp and his riches over to plundering. Yazid-ibn-Houbeirah had already collected at Wasit the riches and the goods which he needed.

279 Then Abu-Muslim went to Deir-al-`Aqoul, met there a man of his party and asked his advice on what must be done. The family of Ibrahim-ibn-Mohammed was worried in that time at Koufah. Marwan had sent (troops) against Ibrahim, had captured him, had put him in prison at Harran; and all his brothers had taken flight. Ibrahim died in prison, after having designated as successor his brother `Abdallah called Abu'l-Abbas. Then Abu-Muslim went to find `Abdallah in his retirement, made him come out and proclaimed him king with all Khorasanians who were with him. When `Abdallah-ibn-Mohammed had become king, he sent a man called Abu-

`Aoun, with the troops of Khorasan, against Mosul; he sent Hasan-ibn-Qahtabah with troops against Yazid-ibn-Houbeirah who was in Wasit. At this news, Marwan sent his son `Abdallah with many troops to Mosul; he also sent his other son `Oubeidallah to Qirqisiyah. Abu'l-Abbas sent his elder brother to Wasit against Ibn-Qahtabah, charged him with command of these troops and ordered him to make them take an oath. He (also) sent his uncle `Abd-allah-ibn-`Ali to Mosul against Ibn-Abu-`Aoun, conferred the administration of this city on him and ordered him to administer an oath to the western troops and others. `Abdallah-al-Mansour, when he arrived at Wasit, found that Hasan-ibn-Qahtabah was besieging it and avoided the battle. Then he ordered his troops to prepare for combat. The two parties met, and engaged in combat and the battle lasted a few days.

280 Then Marwan-ibn-Mohammed assembled the troops of Syria, Egypt and Mesopotamia and marched on Mosul. `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali, who had arrived with troops from Khorasan, made a halt on the Great Euphrates at Mosul. `Abdallah-ibn-Marwan also arrived there and halted on the western side, opposite `AbdalIah-ibn-`Ali; but they did not start the battle, waiting for the arrival of Marwan. When the letters (of Marwan) reached his son where he was enjoining to him to pass (the river) of Zab, to camp on its Eastern bank and to surround his camp with a ditch, `Abdallah carried out these orders; he built over the Zab a bridge, prepared his soldiers for battle and equipped the cavalry and the infantry. At the first meeting, Marwan found that the Khorasanians were brave, that they did not yield in the battle (and were) like blocks of stones unaffected by either iron nor fire; that they were courageous and valiant. The war between the two parties was prolonged, and every day they sustained losses that God alone knows; soon the soldiers of Marwan lacked ardour and lost courage, while the Khorasanians remained firm and quickly decided the victory. The Syrians felt weakness; (the Khorasanians) attacked them with so much force that they put them to rout; (the Syrians) fled and piled up on the bridge, one on another; the greatest part fell into the Euphrates and drowned; others died trodden underfoot and crushed; the remainder perished in the battle or were made prisoner.

281 And Theophilus the astrologer, from whom we drew this information, tells us: "Myself, I was all the time an eyewitness of these engagements, I noted many things and nothing of what relates to them has escaped me." Theophilus composed on this subject several books from which we extracted

this summary, and we have included what we believe should not be overlooked, but we have avoided being so long, as far as we could. Let us return to our account. When `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali had gained the victory and Marwan and his soldiers had been completely demolished, Marwan and his son `Abdallah ran away to Harran. Marwan rejoined his family and his clients, gathered as much wealth and weapons as he could, crossed the Euphrates and went towards Ascalon to await there what the Khorasanians would do. Then `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali, at the head of his troops, went against the troops of Marwan, captured the wealth, weapons and other things which were there, and brought back the whole to `Abdallah-ibn-Mohammed, who was at Koufah. After the flight of Marwan-ibn-Mohammed, the Arabs of Syria and Mesopotamia, as well as the non-Arab inhabitants of Mesopotamia, took an oath to `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali. The battle between `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali and Marwan-ibn-Mohammed took place on the Euphrates on Saturday, the 21 of Kanoun II (January), in year 133 of the Arabs.

282 On that day, the empire passed from the Omayyads to the Hashemites. Abu'l-Abbas-`Abdallah-ibn-Mohammed began to reign and his brother Mansour succeeded him. `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali went to Harran with troops of Khorasan and ordered the castles of Marwan which were there to be ruined. He made all trace of him disappear and entrusted the government of Mesopotamia to Mousa-ibn-Ka`b of Khorasan; then he went to pursue Marwan. When Walid, who was at Damascus, learned of the arrival of `Abdallah-ibn `Ali, he fortified himself and prepared for battle; Marwan had ordered him to do this. `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali arrived and besieged Damascus. He prepared scaling ladders and set them against the wall, in complicity with some inhabitants of Damascus; but those who were for Walid fought the troops of `Abdallah and did not let them go up, so that battle began between them. Then one of the enemies of Walid ran and opened the gates of the city. The soldiers of `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali there entered and gave (the inhabitants) to the edge of the sword; for three hours, they did not cease cutting off heads in the markets, in the streets and in the houses and seizing riches. At midday, `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali ordered an end to the massacre. Walid was among the dead; a great number of Christians and Jews had perished. `Abdallah-ibn-Mohammed sent his uncle Salih-ibn-`Ali with many troops to pursue Marwan and ordered him to go by the way of Qadisiyah and to move towards Egypt

to rejoin his brother `Abdallah; then to join with him to set out together to pursue Marwan.

283 `Abdallah-ibn-Mohammed-al-Mansour remained still near Wasit, to fight Yazid-ibn-Houbeirah. The situation of Wasit had become very difficult, and the inhabitants asked Yazid to leave; they said to him: "If you refuse (to depart), we will help your enemies." Then Yazid entered into talks with Mansour about safety; and Mansour promised safety to him and its soldiers. On these conditions they went over to him; but he ordered his head cut off and to demolish the wall of Wasit; after which, he returned with this news to his brother Abu'l-Abbas. Then Abu'l-Abbas built for himself a city where he would settle. The city was built for him on the Euphrates; he called it al-Anbar and he settled there. When Marwan learned what `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali had done with the body of Walid and that the inhabitants of Damascus had taken an oath to Abu'l-Abbas, he lost hope and fled with haste with a small number of his clients and members of his family, who moved towards Egypt; then he took the route of the Nile and arrived at the borders of Nubia. But he dealt with Salih-ibn-`Ali who had preceded his brother `Abdallah. This last had been delayed under the walls of Damascus, then had entered the city and had halted there.

284 When he arrived in Egypt, Salih-ibn-`Ali sent one of his followers, named `Amir-ibn-Isma`il, with troops to seek Marwan-ibn-Mohammed, who he found camped on the Nile. Then he attacked by night; the followers of Marwan abandoned him, and he remained alone. He took refuge on a hill which was there, and ceased fighting only when it fell; he was killed, and his two sons, `Abdallah and `Obeidallah, fled under a disguise with all the people... who were on the Nile. Then `Abdallah left `Obeidallah... in Mecca. `Obeidallah marched to... on the way; and he died. `Amir-[ibn-Isma`il] gathered... the riches which were with him, and returned to Salih-ibn-`Ali who was in Egypt. He put the corpse of Marwan on a cross and embalmed his head, which he brought to Abu'l-Abbas, the son of his brother. Salih-ibn-`Ali was his lieutenant in Palestine; approximately 70 men of Omayyads gathered to come to him and approached reading the Koran and reciting the words, and thinking that this would dispose him to pardon them. He had already promised safety for their life and property, when one day he ordered them to present themselves at his castle. He placed next to each of them two men of Khorasan who held in their hands a pointed bludgeon. While they

were addressing him, he made a sign with his eyes to the Khorasanians who massacred these Omayyads with the bludgeons. Salih took their heads and sent them to Abu'l-Abbas; then he seized their property, set to pursue the remainder, and he persecuted them in Palestine with so much eagerness that he destroyed them.

285 The Arabs of Syria repented what they had done, when Abu'l-Abbas exposed them to shame and the domination of strangers who lived their houses and seized their property; they were disturbed and agitated by this and refused to take an oath. [Habib-ibn-]Mourrah, of the tribe of Qais... who lived in Ramlah and his province and Abu'l-Ward... its surroundings and Mansour-ibn-Mohammed... they were thrown into disorder and there was a sedition.... Hashem... Then. the Arabs... and they captured it. Abu'l-Ward gathered a great number of Arabs and marched against `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali. `Abdallah left Palestine for Emesa; he camped in Merdj, to the east of Emesa, and ordered his troops to prepare for battle. Abu'l-Ward arrived. `Abdallah seeing the many troops of Abu'l-Ward, was frightened a little. The battle began and many fell on both sides; finally Abu'l-Ward and his troops fled. `Abdallah took the inhabitants of Syria and returned to Damascus, where he met Habib-ibn-Mourrah and killed him and his followers. After that he made the inhabitants of Damascus and all the cities of Syria take an oath.

286 Then Ishaq-ibn-Muslim revolted in Samosata, and the leaders of the tribe of Qais took his part. He had already put an Arab at the head of most of the towns of Mesopotamia, at Qirqisiyah, Ras'ayn, Tell-Maouzen (Maouzala), in Kafartoutha, Thamanin, Amid, Mayafariqin and other towns. Harran recognized the power of Mousa-ibn-Ka`b who was there. Then the Arabs of Mesopotamia gathered, marched on Harran and fought Mousa-ibn-Ka`b. When the Arabs learned that Abu'l-Ward had been killed, they were divided and took flight to the last man. At this news, `Abdallah-ibn-Mohammed sent `Abdallah-al-Mansour with many troops into Mesopotamia to make peace with the population of their cities and to fight those who would not take an oath. When he arrived at Qirqisiyah, he named one of his followers as governor there and went to Harran. As for `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali, he made the inhabitants of Syria (Chamat and Souriyah) take an oath and for the winter marched on Samosata. Then he returned, marched against Ishaq-ibn-Muslim and Mansour-ibn-Dja'ounah, promised safety to them, and they came to him. Then he captured Samosata and made its inhabitants take an

oath. Also `Abdallah-al-Mansour captured all the cities of Mesopotamia and made the population take an oath. The misfortunes did not stop for nine months.

287 While the people were in these wars, the emperor of the Greeks attacked Malatia, captured it, made captive the inhabitants and returned home. In this same year, Kousan (Kouchan), the leader of the Armenians, took most of the inhabitants of Armenia and deported them into the country of the Greeks. Then `Abdallah-ibn-Mohammed went to Harran and transported to Anbar the royal treasures of the Omayyads. Then he named Salih-ibn-`Ali as governor of Egypt and the neighbouring countries; `Abdallah-ibn-al-Mansour as governor of Mesopotamia and Armenia; Yahya-ibn-Mohammed as governor of Mosul and his province. When he arrived at Mosul, Yahya-ibn-Mohammed ordered that the Arabs of Mosul and their heads meet in the Great Mosque, and he massacred them all at the same time; their children and their wives perished (also). The Arabs were then seized with grief and covered with shame and humiliation. The Hashemites multiplied their exactions against everyone, whom they crushed with taxes, and they seized the wealth of all the Arabs.

288 Then a man of the Qoreichites named Habib revolted in Africa; he captured and killed the governor. Then `Abdallah-al-Mansour entered Armenia, imposed the capitation on the nobles, confiscated their wealth and made them undergo all kinds of vexations. Then `Abdallah-ibn-Mohammed wrote to Abu-Muslim who was then in Khorasan to order to him to come to find him; (he also ordered) `Abdallah-al-Mansour to return to him in haste. When they had arrived, he ordered `Abdallah to go to Mecca and to direct the pilgrimage, and he ordered Abu-Muslim to accompany him. (At the same time) he secretly ordered his brother to take the head of Abu-Muslim if he could. They thus both left together, at the head of many troops of Arabs and Persians. Then (`Abdallah-ibn-Mohammed) wrote to `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali to order to him to make a expedition; he thus attacked the Greeks, but did not gain any success and returned. 289 `Abdallah-al-Mansour entered Mecca, attended the festival and returned; however Abu'l-Abbas-`Abdallah-ibn-Mohammed died. His death took place on Sunday 7th of Haziran (June), year 136 of the Arabs; his reign had lasted four years and ten months. He bequeathed the caliphate to Abu-Dja`far-`Abdallah-al-Mansour and then to his cousin `Isa-ibn-Mousa. In this same year, Constantine,

emperor of the Greeks, gathered a council of approximately 300 bishops at Constantinople concerning the images which were in the churches. They examined and considered whether they should be venerated or not. Then they agreed with the emperor that they should not be venerated and could not be allowed for any other purpose; they brought testimonies of the Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments and treatises of the Fathers. They anathematised Jyannis (Jean), son of Mansour, of Damascus, and Gregorius (Georgius) of Cyprus and wrote many canons. This is what is called the seventh council.

290 `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali learning of the death of `Abdallah-ibn-Mohammed and seeing that `Abdallah-al-Mansour and Abu-Muslim were far away, avidly wanted the empire and ordered the Arabs and Khorasanians which were with him to take an oath to him. They took an oath to him, except for his brother Salih-ibn-`Ali, who refused. (`Abdallah-ibn-`Ali) had projected a raid (against the Greeks); but when he aspired to the empire, he renounced the idea and threw himself on Mesopotamia. There was then, in Harran, a man called Mouqatil and called al'akki, with many troops that `Abdallah-al-Mansour had established to keep his place until his return from the pilgrimage. Harran remained firm and did not take an oath to `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali. The latter arrived there, drew up balistas against the city with which he fought the inhabitants for forty days. Then they asked him for the aman, which he granted to them; and the gate of the city was opened to him. Harran taken, `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali arose to go into Iraq. He preferred the Arabs to the Khorasanians, chose them for high dignities, and he started to kill Persians and to confiscate their wealth to give to the Arabs.

291 Then `Abdallah-al-Mansour returned from Mecca with Abu-Muslim and entered Koufah. He spoke in the pulpit and asked the caliphate for himself; and the people took an oath to him. Before his arrival, `Isa-ibn-Mousa had already gathered the Arabs of the East and the Khorasanians, had read the will of Abu'l-Abbas to them, declared to them that `Abdallah-al-Mansour succeeded him, and by exhortations and promises had led them to take an oath to `Abdallah-al-Mansour. On his arrival, Mansour found troops which were subjected to him; the empire was assured to him and his power was consolidated. He then ordered Abu-Muslim to go with many troops from Mosul to the meeting of `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali who was in this moment with Qirqisiyah. `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali learned that Abu-Muslim had already

left Anbar and had taken the road to Mosul. `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali, who was camping on the Euphrates, took the (river) road of Khabour, moved towards the confluence of the Hirmas and Khabour, then skirted the course of Hirmas and arrived at Nisibis, which he besieged. But Abu-Muslim pretended to move towards Ras'ayn; then `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali went to pursue. Abu-Muslim, learning that, left the road of Ras'ayn, detoured, returned by another way and arrived at Nisibis where he camped and put himself thus between `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali and the city. Having learned that Abu-Muslim had captured Nisibis, `Abdallah was frightened by this somewhat and, each time that he was transported from one place to the other, he started by surrounding his camp with ditches and guards and spiky hedges. Then the two forces approached; each day was marked by some combat, and on both sides the losses were considerable.

292 In the sky there appeared a sign like a lance of fire which extended from the east to the west and sometimes grew, sometimes decreased. During all this time, the war of `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali dragged on. Then Abu-Muslim, in one of his attacks, beat `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali, who took flight before him with its followers. (The soldiers of Abu-Muslim) massacred the followers of `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali and plundered their camp. `Abdallah fled, hid in an unknown retreat and remained thus unknown until he arrived at Basrah, to his brother Soleiman-ibn-`Ali. Then Salih-ibn-`Ali sent Abu-`Aoun from Egypt to Palestine with many troops; he pursued the tribes of the Arabs, massacred them and killed them to the last man. Their goods and their herds were plundered. Then `Abdallah-al-Mansour sent to Qirqisiyah a man named Djaouher, at the head of troops of Khorasanians; he entered the city and killed there 20,000 Arabs. He (also) sent with him Houmeid-ibn-Qahtabah to Mosul. He had learned that `Abdallah-ibn-`Ali had in fact arrived at Harran and in other towns of Mesopotamia. He (al-Mansour?) was thus the head of all the Arabs of Mesopotamia and Syria, after they had despaired and lost hope of preserving life.

293 Then Abu-Muslim returned from Harran while passing by Mosul; then he left the way to Koufah and Anbar, took the road to Helwan, between Azerbaijan and Iraq, and decided not to return to Abu-Dja`far. Abu-Dja`far, learning that Abu-Muslim had left for Khorasan, knowing his intentions, sent against him `Isa-ibn-Mousa. This latter rejoined him and did not cease showing him benevolence and softness, making him promises,

softening him by flattering and crafty words. He did enough to divert him from his intentions and renounce them. Then `Isa-ibn-Mousa came with Abu-Muslim to Abu-Dja`far-al-Mansour, who ordered him killed as soon as he arrived, as he was coming in. 294 There was one of Abu-Muslim's leaders named Cheibah, who was also a Magus, whom Abu-Muslim had approached in person and who was in Azerbaijan, where he was awaiting the arrival of Abu-Muslim. When he learned of his death, he revolted and decided to avenge his blood. Then it came to Ray and perverted the ideas of the Magi, the Deilemites, the Indians and others, who took his part. This news came to Abu-Dja`far, who sent against Cheibah a man called Djaouher. The latter arrived at Ray and attacked Cheibah the Magus who took flight. Djaouher put to death all those of the Magi who had taken his part, to the number of approximately 50,000; he captured their families and their goods and forced the inhabitants of Ray to take an oath to Abu-Dja`far-al-Mansour. Having done that, he remained there and did not return to Mansour. Then Mansour sent against him Ibn-al-Ach`ath who overcame him and killed him with all his men. Then Mansour ordered his cousin Salih-ibn-`Ali to establish Abu-`Aoun as governor of Egypt and to send Cheibah to Syria and to the coastal country. Mansour then sent Mousa-ibn-Ka`b to Sind and its district where he met a rebel named Asbagh-ibn-Davoud; he overcame him, killed him with his followers, forced the Arabs and the other inhabitants to take an oath, established a governor on the country and returned. That took place in year 137 of the Arabs.

295 Then Constantine, emperor of the Greeks, attacked Qaliqala (Theodosiopolis), captured and took into captivity its population. Salih-ibn-`Ali made a raid against the Greeks with troops of Arabs and Persians; then he returned without success; but he took the Armenians and Alans which the Greeks had brought from Armenia with Kouchan their patrician, and settled them in Syria. Since that day, the kings of the Greeks have prohibited any of the Armenians from settling in their empire, and especially in places near the border. At that time, `Abdallah-al-Mansour rebuilt Malatia, ruined by the kings of the Greeks and established hostels to be used as dwellings for the soldiers. In Mesopotamia Harouri called Moulabbid revolted. A great number of Khorasanians took his part. That frightened `Abdallah-al-Mansour and this matter impressed him a lot. When (the rebel) arrived in Mosul, `Abdallah-al-Mansour sent Hazim-ibn-Houzeimah against him who over-

came him, killed him with his followers and returned. `Abdallah-al-Mansour named as governor of Khorasan a man called `Abd-al-Djabbar, who revolted against him. That took place in year 140 of the Arabs.

296 In this same year, a son of `Ali-ibn-Abu-Talib revolted and was called Mahdi. Part of the Arabs took his part. `Abdallah-al-Mansour sent against him someone who killed him and killed his followers. In this same year, Ach' ath made a expedition against Africa; he conquered it and made its inhabitants take an oath. In this same year, `Abdallah-al-Mansour ordered the rebuilding of Qaliqala (Theodosiopolis), ruined by the kings of the Greeks, to establish a garrison and to open the roads. In this same year, (`Abdallah-al-Mansour) named his son Mohammed governor of Khorasan and sent with him leaders and troops. `Abd-al-Djabbar the rebel was in Merv. Then a rebel called Hasan-ibn-Harran also revolted in Djordjan. This country is surrounded by seas and mountains; the Deilemites are to the west of it; Azerbaijan to the south. The defiles are difficult and the roads narrow, which makes access difficult. Its length, following the shore of the sea from the east to the west, is forty parasangs, and its width, from north to south, is twenty parasangs. There are there vast, large and broad meadows, abundant springs, thick trees and many fruits. Five cities are met with there; each city has two or three walls; a great number of fortresses are placed on the top of the high mountains. Its people have delicate bodies, of a very beautiful hue; they are very skilful in the various trades; they are a numerous people. Isbehbedh, which was in that time, was called Kourchib.

297 Mohammed-ibn-`Abdallah-al-Mansour sent messengers to him; he overpowered him with taxes and increased the tribute on him; he ordered him to pay them to him or to come out against him and declare war. The ambassador that he had sent to him was Abu-`Aoun with some companions. When the ambassador had presented and read the letter, Isbehbedh treated him well and sent to Mansour a letter thus designed: "I am a man who compares matters one with another; and my land is small and narrow. When I think of war, the misfortunes, testing times, calamities, sorrows and affliction which are involved with it, I become wise again and I restrain myself. For what I have said, I am ready to give my wealth. With this I will preserve my honour and my life and will deliver it to him that can come and get it. What I have paid to others who preceded you, all that will be given likewise to you.... Take it!"

298 When the ambassador had accepted the answer [of Isbehbedh and] had left, Isbehbedh hastened to put in safety, in his fortresses, his wealth, weapons and carpets and fortified himself. His letter came to Mohammed-ibn-`Abdallah. The reading filled him with anger and fury, and he sent against him Abu-`Aoun with all the troops of Khorasan. They entered Tabaristan, dispersed among its villages and fields and lived there; they attacked the inhabitants and caused great devastations. Isbehbedh with his family were safe in the fortresses which they had fortified. Seeing the many troops which arrived in his country, he understood that he could not resist them. The troops attacked one fortress, captured it and there found great wealth, effects, carpets, precious stones and other objects. When Isbehbedh saw that, he decided to go out to fight the troops. He thus went out against them with his soldiers; but the troops overcame him; he fled and went to the Deilemites. Then he gathered on their premises troops of men and returned against his enemies; but they inflicted a new defeat on him; then he passed to the Deilemites for the second time and remained there until his death. Then the enemies attacked these fortresses, captured the wealth, the weapons and the carpets and made captive the inhabitants; then they conquered the whole country, took everything and withdrew. Then Mohammed-ibn-`Abdallah departed from Ray and arrived at Nisabour (Nichapour) which is located at the distance of... parasangs from Djordjan and at a distance from 70 parasangs from...

299 In this same year, a comet [appeared]. It was in Aries, in front of the sun, when the sun was in Taurus. It went on until it came beneath the rays of the sun; then it went behind and remained for forty days. Towards the end of that year, Mohammed-ibn-`Abdallah returned from Khorasan and directed the pilgrimage with `Abdallah-al-Mansour. Then `Abdallah-al-Mansour built a city on the Tigris above Madain, and called it "city of peace" (Baghdad). He settled there and set up his court. Then he sent his Mohammed son into Khorasan and ordered him to settle at Ray. He departed and, having arrived there, he built beside it another city which he called Mohammediyah. In year 9 of `Abdallah-al-Mansour, in Medina, a rebel of the family of Fatimah called Mohammed revolted; he was descended from Hasan-ibn-`Ali-ibn-Abu-Talib. The people took an oath to him. Then `Abdallah-al-Mansour sent against him his cousin Isa-ibn-Mousa and Houmeid-al-Tousa with many troops. (`Isa) killed him with his followers, took his head

and brought it to Abu-Dja`far. `Abdallah had already left his city and marched on `Aqoul where he had camped, when he learned of the death of the rebel and received his head. He had only acted so because he feared a revolt of the inhabitants of Roufah who had already like those of Basra and the neighbouring cities taken an oath to the rebel called Ibrahim. The latter, when he arrived at Basra, made the inhabitants take an oath and decided to make war on `Abdallah-al-Mansour.

300 When he learned that his brother had been killed, he rose with many troops, marched against Abu-Dja`far and approached `Aqoul. He was separated from Abu-Dja`far only by a distance of fifteen parasangs approximately. Then `Isa-ibn-Mousa went out against him with many troops. (`Isa) overcame him and killed most of his followers. Ibrahim fled and was not killed in the battle. Then `Isa-ibn-Mousa pursued him, caught up with him and, after having killed him, brought his head to Abu-Dja`far. After the death of Ibrahim the wars calmed down and the misfortunes stopped. Then the Khazars made a raid against Haroun (?), Laziqah and all the Gates of the Alans and made captive 50,000 Arabs with great wealth and herds. Mousa-ibn-Ka`b went to battle them. But the... Khazars overcame him and killed most of his soldiers. In this same year, `Abdallah-ibn-Mohammed-al-Mansour violated the oath to his cousin `Isa-ibn-Mousa that the people had taken to him and according to which they had agreed to make him king after `Abdallah-al-Mansour. Then the people took an oath to Mohammed-ibn-`Abdallah and proclaimed him heir to the empire of the Moslems.

301 Constantine took an oath to his son Leo and made him heir to the Greek empire. In this same year, Constantine, emperor of the Greeks, built several cities and settled there Armenians and other populations. In year 10 of `Abdallah-al-Mansour, the Arabs captured a city, in the country of India, which is called Kabul. In this same year, in Khorasan, there was a violent earthquake, which moved mountains and left untouched neither trees nor stones. When the ground trembled below, the trees and the stones shattered and disappeared. In the year 14 of `Abdallah, the Magi revolted in Khorasan and shook the authority of `Abdallah-al-Mansour for this reason: 302 In a city of Khorasan which is called Far`is (?), there was a mountain from where much silver was taken. 30,000 workmen dealt specifically with the exploitation of this mine and the purification. The workmen were Magi to whom the mountain had been ceded. A very rich mine was discovered there. The

Sultan wanted to take the mountain from them and give it to others. They were opposed to the implementation of this project, and the Sultan struck a Magus. Then they threw themselves on him and killed a great number of his soldiers. After that, the Sultan wrote with Mohammed-ibn-`Abdallah-al-Mansour who was in Ray, to tell him what had occurred. The latter sent to him 34,000 soldiers who formed his vanguard; then he went out, himself, against the Magi, at the head of 30,000 soldiers. The people who formed the vanguard arrived at the mountain where the mines and the Magi were; they started the battle, but the Magi overcame them and made a very great number perish. Mohammed-ibn-`Abdallah, learning of the defeat of his soldiers, remained at the place where he was and sent a letter to `Abdallah-al-Mansour in which he made known to him the fate of his troops and the business of the mine. He was then at the place which is called Arfasir(?), and he spent the winter there.

303 After winter had passed, he sent against the rebels a man called Hazim at the head of 40,000 soldiers. When he arrived near the rebels, (his soldiers) attacked them, overcame them, killed more than 20,000, made captive the survivors whom they sent to Mohammed-ibn-`Abdallah who was on the Tigris, opposite Baghdad. In year 15 of Mansour, the inhabitants of Africa rose and killed Amrou-ibn-al-Mouhallab and his troops. Then Yazid-ibn-al-Mouhallab went against them with many troops, made 30,000 men perish and returned. Then Mansour left with all his troops and went to Mesopotamia where he remained some time; he then crossed the Euphrates and arrived in Palestine. He oppressed everyone, caused them more sorrows and misfortunes that any of the kings his predecessors; he treated them with such harshness that there was nobody, not a worker, or a servant, or a camel driver, or a grave-digger, or a farmer, or a charitable man, or any other class of people whom he did not subject to the tax and whose goods he did not confiscate. People were reduced to such a degree of misery that some dug up tombs, dragged out the corpses, cooked and ate them; others killed dogs, roasted them and sold them in the markets. Money disappeared from the hands of people. An unimaginable distress seized them, and to fill up their misfortune, the plague started to break out among them.

304 While they were thus in misfortune, Mansour died, after reigning twenty and one years and three and a half months. In this same year, Constantine, emperor of the Greeks, died, after reigning thirty-four years and

three months. Mohammed-ibn-`Abdallah-al-Mahdi, son of Mansour, started to reign in year 158 of the Arabs. He ordered the prisons opened and that all those whom his father had shut up there freed. Leo, son of Constantine, reigned over the Greeks for five years, from the year 1084 of Alexander. He freed all those which were in his father's prison, and recalled all those whom he had exiled. In year 2 of Mohammed-ibn-`Abdallah-al-Mahdi, Abbas-ibn-Mohammed made a raid against the Greeks and arrived at Ancyra, a town of Galatia; he entered it, but did nothing there. In this same year, four rebels revolted in the East: one in the country of Sa`id, another in Sedjestan, the third in Bahrain and the fourth beyond the river.

307 29. Cf. Georgii Elmacini Historia Saracenica, ed. Thomae Erpenii, Leide, 1625, p. 2-3. Elmacinus abridged the account of Agapius. Michael the Syrian, II, 403-405. 30. Folios 89v-90 are very deteriorated. 31. This relates to the war with Chrosroes in AD 540, and the capture of Apamea in the same year. 32. The following four lines are illegible. A few words can be read, suggesting that they concern the death of Mohammed and the transmission of power to Abu Bekr. Cf. Elmacinus, 9-10, 15. 33. The following six lines are illegible. A translation is given of whatever can be read. 34. The start of each of the next eight lines is illegible. 35. The text of this passage is damaged and illegible. 36. Some words here have been damaged. 37. The remainder of folio 97v is almost illegible. 38. The remainder of fol. 98 is illegible. The next four pages, consisting of folios 98v, 99, 99v and 100 cannot be read. These leaves are stuck to each other because of damp and so cannot be read.

308 39. Apart from the first two words, folios 104v, 105, 105b and 106 are stuck together and illegible. 40. A damaged line here. 41. Two damaged lines follow. 42. A number of words are probably missing here. 43. This interesting source used by Agapius is Theophilus of Edessa, son of Thomas, a distinguished astronomer, who lived under the Caliph al-Madhi and died in 785 AD. He was the author of works, today lost, which included a history and a Syriac translation of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Bar Hebraeus mentions and praises him (Historia dynastiarum, 98 (63), 40 (26), 228, (147-148), ed. Salhani 98. 40, 219-220; Chronicum Syriacum 134). His name is also found in Michael the Syrian, II, 358: " Theophilus of Edessa, who was a Chalcedonian and considered hatred of the orthodox as his heritage, left fraudulently to one side all the histories in which he found record of us... We borrowed from

his Chronicle some of things which are not found in better sources." See W. Wright, A Short History of Syriac Literature, London, 1894, pp.163-4.

309 44. Five lines are damaged here. 45. Three damaged lines here.

# The Book of Governors

THOMAS OF MARGA

*fl. c. AD 840*

A history of the monastery of Beth ʿAbhe in the mountains of northern Mesopotamia and of the monks of the Church of the East, written about AD 840 by Thomas, bishop of Marga. It has six books, with a chapter for each holy man or event. Budge's many footnotes and his introduction are left out

## BOOK I — CHAPTER 1. THE AUTHOR['S APOLOGY] TO HIM WHO ASKED HIM TO SET [THE HISTORIES] DOWN IN WRITING

1 In accordance with the causes which summoned us to converse with each other from time to time, and the histories of the holy men, praises of whom were stirred up in us, and the glorious stories and rehearsings of whose histories I was shewing forth before thee, O our brother 'Abhd-Īshō', thy mind was filled with truth, and thy tongue with the praise of the power Who made them victorious, and Who moved His saints. And thy wisdom offered to me earnest supplications, and helpful persuasions and directions, to set down [my] stories of holy men in writing, in order that their unwritten histories might neither be forgotten nor sink into oblivion. And [thou didst ask] me to give to thee written accounts of them as a rich inheritance, and as an excellent loan, that thy holiness might meditate upon them, and that thy divine understanding might be sanctified thereby. And although for some years past this wish hath never been absent from thee, and thou wast diligently urging me to do [this], sometimes with the living voice, and sometimes by many-lined epistles which thou wast sending to me to the place where I was, in times past I did not yield to this thy entreaty.

2 But at one time I took refuge in the inexperience of my speech, and at another [in the excuse] that there was no necessity for these histories [to be written], inasmuch as the Catholic Church aboundeth in histories of holy men, even as gardens are filled to overflowing with all kinds of fruits,—for what are these feeble repetitions of mine in comparison with [other] books

which speak of holy men?—Yet thy desire was not diminished, nor thy ardour quenched, for by the intercession of others with thy praiseworthy self, thou didst specially and promptly come to the monastery in which I lived, together with the sage and philosopher, the wise, and enlightened, and excellent Rabban Paul, [who] very willingly joined with thee on his own behalf in this exhortation. Thou hast softened the clay of my understanding with the gentle water of thy persuasion, and therefore since I attribute all this thy earnestness to the Divine Will I accept thy love's command with all willingness. And behold, by the help of our Lord, I will make ready to satisfy this thy desire with all the joyful care of which thy honour is worthy, and I will expand my speech to praise and glorify the ascetics and holy men who have lived in thy holy Monastery of Bèth 'Abhè; for to write down the things concerning them thou hast persuaded me enough.

3 And although I shall turn aside from [the writings] of others, yet wherever it is necessary, I shall add the record and narrative of others, in order to piece together and to harmonize the histories,—which in this respect require methodical arrangement, and consecutiveness of completing portions,—and also such repetitions as shew forth the style and manner of the lives of the holy men concerning whom thy holiness hath persuaded me to speak. Pray then, with love, and readiness of mind, and good will, and charity, that our Lord, in His grace, may grant a completion to the praise of His Godhead!

### CHAPTER 2. THE CAUSE OF THE HISTORIES

1 When I directed my thoughts to travel along the difficult path of the strict way of life of holy men, and to bring to light the things concerning them with my mouth, and my tongue, and my right hand, by the hand of Christ, and by my beloved brethren, and also by His living word which saith, "All things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive", and, "All things are possible to him that believeth", I was commanded to make Christ my leader and director. And since His treasury is open to faith, "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you," I will become a stranger unto all doubt, and I will believe that His graciousness will not repulse me, and that He will not shut the door of His gift in my face, and that He will shew forth in my ignorance a free and full gift beyond my merit—even as in times past His all-sufficient power made manifest speech in the she-ass of the soothsayer, out of the course of her

nature,—and that through me He will display the glory of His saints, in the one case by His working, in the other by the praise of His majesty, for the glorification of excellent men is the glorification of God Who made them victorious. For without Him they are nothing, and are even like unto the tools of a craft without the craftsman, and without Him they are incapable of anything, and are like unto the clay which can neither contend with him that mouldeth it, nor can of its own self choose that it may be fashioned according to its own will.

2 Now, I am commanded by the holy brethren of the holy Monastery of Bêth 'Abhê, in which I have ministered for many years, that of the written and unwritten histories, and excellent stories of the holy men who have lived therein, and have been victorious, I should spin a thread of the stories concerning them, formed of the matters omitted by the compilers of written and unwritten histories, and of a small selection of stories which I have heard from approved and venerable men, with whom I have become acquainted there, and that I should set forth in writing, with much brevity, such accounts as I should find scattered here and there in the narratives of others, and in the ecclesiastical histories of ancient authors. And since in the stories which are my own I do not repeat untrue things, I shew forth the trustworthiness of theirs. And behold I will go into the gardens of their victorious deeds as into a field, and, as it were, I will glean and gather up together the choice and well-filled ears of corn, and I will pile up into one sheaf the heap of their bundles, that from thence they may go into the threshing-floors of hearing, and be ground in the mill of discernment, and be kneaded in the kneading-trough of belief, and be baked in the oven of love, and laid as a glorious offering upon the altar of the mind of the Holy of Holies.

3 For it is said, "The mind which journeyeth to and fro in its state of nature is able to perceive, and to see, and to believe the glorious things of glorious men, and the accounts of the contests of mighty warriors, at the same time adding to its knowledge belief", even as spake he that saith, "and to belief also, confidence; and to confidence, excellence; and to excellence, righteousness; and to righteousness also, holiness; and to holiness also, constancy; and to constancy, hope; and to hope, stability; and to stability, strength; and to strength, love; which is the crown of the completion of the excellent things, in which standeth our profession, and upon which is laid

the foundation of our doctrine. And all things which have been, and which are, and which shall be, inasmuch as we have not been spectators of them, we must accept the saying concerning them in faith, for without it no single one of the things which are related, without seeing could we accept.

4 Now those who only in a small degree have themselves laboured in the virtues of holy men, and have participated in the smallest degree in the great joy which is bestowed upon prosperous toilers in the ascetic life and upon discreet penitents, possess from within a firm conviction concerning these things which is not an external matter produced by misery and rumour, inasmuch as experience has taught them that these things which are stated are true. Let the reader, then, perceive clearly, and let the listener understand, that the things concerning holy men which my narrative recounts are not vain imaginations of my own, for I have collected the materials for them from the things which have been said concerning them in the living speech, and from the written statements which I have found concerning them in the histories and traditions of others. And I shall finish the contest which I have undertaken at the wish of my brethren, and shall add according to the inclination of my opinion, those things which are accepted by discreet

5 able to understand nothing that is not visible, while for the things which are visible faith is unnecessary, for the sight of the eye seeth them." Philoxenus on Faith (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 12,163, fol. 12a, col. 1). 6 and prudent men, provided that they are not prejudicial to the truth in any particular, not the wonderful signs and miracles, and mighty deeds which these holy men have wrought, but to speak as [each] occasion shall require, and to add a word concerning each, one after another, on the things which have been wrought by them, and to arrange all these things, one after another, in one consecutive order, a matter which belongeth to the care of writers, and which the order of historical works requireth. I shall not confound story with story, or history with history, in such a manner that the mind of the reader will become confused by the mixture of matters, but I shall, with much brevity, set down each narrative by, and to itself, that from here universal history may arise, and I shall add story after story, in the form of chapters [each having] a distinct number. I shall begin my history with Mâr Abraham the Great, the father of the fathers of the holy men whom I have made ready my words to praise, as the cause of the effects and as the origin of

the orders of ascetics which have sprung up after him, even as the blessed Abraham is considered to be the father of all nations, and Israel the father of the Israelites, and Aaron the father of the priests.

7 And I ask our Lord, through the prayers of Mâr Abraham and of the children of his holiness, and I beg and entreat Him to give me of His spirit, even as [He gave] of the spirit of Moses to the elders of Israel, that I may hear and relate glorious things of Him; that I may speak of the glorious things of Him in His saints; that the hearing of the listeners may be sanctified by the speech of my mouth; that His holy name may be glorified by my polluted tongue; and that by author and scribe, reader and listener, confessor and believer, may be woven the rope of glorious things for His holy name for ever and ever.

### CHAPTER 3. THE INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY

1 In the everlasting knowledge of the wise Creator, the elect are set apart, and the predestined are written down for the kingdom of heaven. And the types of the Divine government which were written by the hand of Moses, testify that they indicated aforetime the things which should happen and should be given at the end, for the confirmation of the fore-knowledge of the election of holiness. For every matter of Christ our Lord was plainly brought about thereby, and inasmuch as it was given from heaven, it was inscribed on a rock in the face of heaven, for there, on mount Sinai, being overshadowed by a cloud for forty days, Moses wrote down the histories of the worlds which had been, and the commandments which had been given to the seed of Abraham. And there, by the glory with which his face was clothed, was it indicated that virginity and holiness should spread abroad in later times and be exalted.

2 And that thou mayest know that such is the case, follow after the footsteps of the life and conversation of Christ, and thou shalt find that He expounded and taught this plainly to His Apostles in taking them up to Mount Tâbhôr (Tabor), where He was changed to glory (i.e., transfigured) in their sight. And He commanded the earth and it brought up Moses, and He beckoned to the heavens and they brought down Elijah, and He shewed that the virginity and holiness which were with Moses were counterparts of the virginity and holiness which were with Shêm'ôn (Simon) in the heights of His kingdom. And He made virginity and holiness perfect for them at the time of His Ascension from the earthly Shâlim (Salem) to Jerusalem, the

great city which is in heaven, when He lifted up His holy hands and blessed them, and commanded them, saying, "Go ye forth and teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and teach them to keep everything which I have commanded you; and behold I am with you all the days in which the world maintaineth the course of its generations".

3 Virginity and holiness then descended from hand to hand among all nations, but especially among the pious armies of monks that exist in all quarters of the earth. And inasmuch as virginity and holiness were established in the mountains, and handed down from them,—by Moses in Mount Sinai, by Elijah in Mount Carmel, by the blessed Elisha, by the sons of the Prophets, and by Saint John in the wilderness, by those who were with Simon on Mount Tabor, by the Lord of the Prophets at the time of His fasting in the wilderness, and also at the time of His going up into the Mount of Olives,—the ascetic fathers also went forth into the wilderness and the mountains to preserve the virginity and holiness which had been handed down to them by the Apostles, and to do battle against "principalities and powers, and with the evil spirits which are under heaven". And that the Spirits and Will of God, which completed in the one case and maketh perfect in the other, is one, one of the saints testifieth, and saith, "The power which I have seen abiding in baptism, which giveth adoption as sons, and freedom, to those who are baptized, I have also seen in the dress of a brother on the day in which he received the garb of the solitary life, and it sanctified him for his work."

4 And that the venerable army of monks may not be despised in thine eyes by reason of the [superior] manner of life of the Prophets and Apostles, enter, in thy mind, into the garden of their noble deeds and triumphs, and there, as thou readest, thou shalt be able to understand the greatness and excellence of this pure and venerable habit of life. There shalt thou see Abbâ Pâwlê (Paul), who for seventy years, more or less, was ministered unto by a bird like Elijah the Great; and Abbâ Anṭônis (Antonius) with a company of devils standing before him in perfect subjection; and Abbâ Pambô, who like Moses received the glory of the image of Adam, and his face shone and became like unto lightning, and he was like unto a king sitting upon his throne; and Abbâ Silvanus; and Abbâ Sûsâis (Sisoes); and Abbâ Nastîr who [served] in the monastery; and Abbâ Arsânîs (Arsenius) who was clothed with

heavenly light; and another (?) [monk] whose cell was light by night as by day. May we be sustained by their prayers in the toilsome strife of their ascetic lives!

*Paul the Simple.*

6 Paul the Simple was one of the most celebrated disciples of Antony, and was considered to be the first disciple of that saint. He was alive in 338. For his life see Tillemont, Mémoires, vii. pp. 66—99; and Sozomen, Hist. Eccles. i. 13. The Syriac version of the account of his life by Palladius is as follows (fol. 68b): —...

## CHAPTER 4. OF THE BLESSED RABBAN MÂR ABRAHAM THE GREAT, THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY IN MOUNT IZLÂ

1 Now as God of old brought out the blessed Abraham from Ör (Ur) of the Chaldees, and made him, by faith, the father of a multitude of nations, so also He spread abroad and made to increase this holy habit of the solitary life in all the country of the East, by the hand of [this] spiritual man, worthy of Abraham in name, and country, and deed, whom He established to be the father of the army of virgins and men of abstinence. For thus the ancients write concerning him, more particularly Abbâ John, the writer of the 'History of Rabban Bar-Idtâ', and Rabban Rôstâm, of the Monastery of Bêth Kôkâ, in the History of Rabban Mâr Abraham, the head of the monastery of Rabban Zêkhâ Îshô', of the Monastery of Bêth 'Abhê. Now these writers say that he went to the desert of Êskîtê (Scete), where he received and took upon himself the order of the ascetic life. Afterwards, by the Divine command, he came and dwelt in a secret cave in Mount Îzlâ, in the neighbourhood of the city of Nêşibhîn (Nisibis). And he speedily became known unto men, inasmuch as he was ordained to be the cause of spiritual benefits unto many, through the everlasting fore-knowledge of Him who set him apart aforetime, that at his hands, and by his means, the holy fathers who were to become the founders of famous monasteries of the lands of the Persians, and Assyrians, and Babylonians, might become disciples.

2 And the fame of his glorious deeds spread abroad into every quarter, like the smell of choice spices, and a multitude of ascetics were gathered together unto him. He invented this distinguishing mark of ours, and commanded that the disciples of this holy habit of life should have their heads shaved like a crown; now before the days and time of his coming, the mark of the true Christians could not be distinguished from the tonsure of the

Sêwaryânê (i. e., followers of Severus). And as formerly everyone who wished
3 next cuts off the hair from the top of his head, leaving a space like a "wheel and a crown," which he sprinkles with water, saying, "Christ will wash away the impurity of thy sins." This form of tonsure has been associated with St. Peter, and is often called the Roman tonsure; the shaving of the whole head is called the Greek tonsure, and is associated with St. Paul. For the service of three years and three months in the monastery before receiving the tonsure see Hoffmann, Auszüge, p. 101, note 907. In the Jacobite office "the priest takes some of the hair from the front, and back, and each side of his head in the form of a cross" to learn and to become master of the heathen philosophy of the Greeks went to Athens, the famous city of philosophers, so in this case, every one who desired to be instructed in spiritual philosophy went to the holy Monastery of Rabban Mâr Abraham, and inscribed himself in sonship to him. Thus after many years, when the pursuit of the monastic life and voluntary abstinence had greatly increased, and when, during the lifetime of that holy man, fathers had gone forth from his congregation, and had, like him, built monasteries, he was gathered [to his fathers] in honour, and went to incorruptible life.

### CHAPTER 5. OF MÂR DÂDH-ÎŠHÔ

Now this blessed man Dâdh-Îshô, who, according to what we have learned from history concerning him, became governor after Rabban Mâr Abraham, formerly lived in Dairâ dhê Rishâ (i. e., Monastery of the Head), in this country of Margâ, with Rabban Êstaphnôs (Stephen) the Great, who was famous and renowned in all the East. When he had continued with him for a period of seven years, he departed to Rabban Mâr Abraham, and was, it is said, the first to come to him. And he ministered unto him a long time, and after Mār Abraham had departed from this mortal life to that of peace, Mār Dādh-Īshō' became the head and governor of the monastery after him. And the historians magnify him and say that in respect of the humility which he possessed, and his despising of self, and his abstinence and asceticism, he surpassed all others of his time. And the name and glory of his godly habits of life was, like that of his master, carried into all places, and by his means that holy convent flourished, and increased in holy men who became his disciples.

### CHAPTER 6. OF OUR RABBAN MĀR JACOB OF BĒTH-'AB̄HĒ

1 Now this holy man Rabban Jacob sprang from the town of Lāshōm of Bēth-Garmai. And having dwelt Marāgah a city of Adhōrbāijān, with which it is sometimes confounded by Assemānī, (B. O., iii. 2, p. 752). See Hoffmann, Auszüge, pp. 222—227 and the authorities quoted by him; Rich, Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan, vol. 2, pp. 72, 80; and Felix Jones, Notes on the Topography of Nineveh, p. 405 ff. (in Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. xlii. New Series. Bombay 1857). in divers places for many years, sometimes in teaching and exercising himself and others in the Scriptures, and sometimes in leading the life of a solitary in quiet places, he went up to the monastery [of Mount Îzlâ], and became a disciple of Rabban Mâr Dâdh-Îshô; and he lived as an anchorite in the cell of Mâr Jacob, Bishop of Nisibis. And this blessed man, our Jacob, dwelt in that cell for a certain time, according to what Sâhdônâ saith concerning him, for seven years. Now when the holy Mâr Dâdh-Îshô had also departed to the life of blessedness, the holy Mâr Bâbhai the Great became the head of that holy monastery. But inasmuch as our holy father Mâr Jacob chose great humility, and to be thought of no account at all, according to what his disciples write concerning him, he made himself a stranger to all positions of worldly honour, and he made himself a servant of all that holy brotherhood. And although before God, the Lord of all, he was a great and honourable man, yet by reason of his nakedness and poverty he was despised and held to be of no account by those void of understanding. And he set

2 the W., by the Ḥemrîn mountains on the S., and the Diyâlâ and Shirwân rivers on the E. The identification of the towns, rivers, etc., in this diocese has been excellently worked out by Hoffmann, Auszüge, pp. 253ff., 'Umfang der Diöcese Bèth Garmai.' For towns in Bèth Garmai, see pp. 267—277. aside many conflicts and afflictions [caused] by the rebellious devils there, to whom he appeared as one not to be conquered by any means whatever; but they made a goad for him as we are shortly about to say.

### CHAPTER 7. OF THE BLESSED MÂR BÂBHAI

Now this blessed man Mâr Bâbhai came from Bêth 'Ainâthâ, a city of Bêth Zabhdai, and according to what is written concerning him, he also was, like Jacob our father, a disciple of Mār Abraham. [And although he was] a learned and a wise man, he was by nature somewhat hasty of speech and

harsh in command. He wrote a lucid commentary on the works of the Fathers. Now when Mār Dādh-Īshōʿ had departed this life, and Mār Bābhai had become the head of the community, being the third head in the order of succession, Satan began to sow the accursed tares of the doctrine of abominable things in that blessed field of choice wheat sown by excellent husbandmen.

### CHAPTER 8. OF THE CORRUPT MEN WHO ROSE UP IN HIS DAYS IN THE HOLY MONASTERY [OF MOUNT ĪZLĀ]

1 Now Satan, the enemy of the race of man, who from the beginning fought with our parents in Eden; who wickedly Bēth Zabhdai was a district on the western or right bank of the Tigris, adjacent to Gazīret ibn ʿOmar. 2 sowed the name of polytheism in the world; who drew on Cain to his own will; who made the sons of God to sin, and brought them down from their membership in the divine household; who made the licentious Ham rejoice in the shame of his father; who taught those senseless builders to build a tower in Shinar to fight against God; who alienated Esau from a right course of action; who made the sons of the prophet Moses to cast off the yoke that they might not walk in the glorious manner of life of their father; who made the sons of Eli and the sons of Samuel to take bribes and to sport with the women in the tabernacle; who made Gehazi a stranger to the calling and manner of life which the service of the blessed Elijah required;—when that enemy saw that that holy assembly, by a course of life exalted above the body and out of the common order, was shining with the rays of the light of purity, he set apart for himself in that flock certain solitaries, and filled them with the spirit of whoredom, and he confounded their imaginations with the lust of the flesh, the mother of lasciviousness.

3 Now if these men had at the first growth of their imaginations resisted the wiles of Satan, and [had not made themselves] a place of refuge for the wicked thoughts which he was sowing in them even for a moment, they could at once have cast them out of their minds, and he would neither have been able to do harm to their upright understanding, nor to make them the ready vessels of his will. And it happened to them according to what Abbâ Pôman (Poemen) spake, saying, "The Evil One has three powers which go before all sin. First of all he lays down error, and after error, negligence, and after negligence, lust. Now when error hath obtained the mastery over a solitary brother, it taketh away the remembrance of divine things from his

heart, and delivereth him over to negligence, that he may not be aroused and put away from him the slumber of his remissness; and after negligence cometh the madness of lascivious desire, by reason of which the whole man becometh a vessel perfected for destruction. What then? Those wretched and contemptible men, by the evil counsel of the Calumniator, went down secretly, and took unto themselves women, whom, according to what history handeth down, they brought to the outside cells in which they lived; and they continued in this corrupt and abominable course of life some short time.

4 But our God, that good and gracious Being, Who is longsuffering towards sinners, and desireth the improvement and the saving of their lives, when He saw that penitence for the wickedness which they were committing had not entered into them, and that they being themselves impure and defiled, were living in a holy place, and among holy men, and were not ashamed, He exposed them and put them to shame in this manner.

### CHAPTER 9. OF THE HOLY MAN RABBAN MÂR ĔLÎYÂ

1 Now there lived in that holy monastery the truly blessed man Mâr Êlîyâ, who in earthly descent came "Abbâ Pœmen says, 'Satan hath three powers which go before all sin: the first is error, the second is negligence, and the third is lust. When error entereth in it giveth birth to negligence, and from negligence ariseth lust, and through lust man falleth. Now if [a man] be watchful of error, negligence cannot come; and if he be not negligent lust cannot arise; and if he work not lust, by the help of Christ he will never fall'." (fol. 228b). from Ḥirthā, the great city of the Ṭayyāyē (Arabs). He was instructed in doctrine in the city of Nisibis, and he also became a disciple of the ascetic life in the holy monastery [there]. He followed the path of monastic life blamelessly, and being remote and free from the gratification of the senses of the body, he excelled in self-denial, and in zeal against the devils and passions of the body like his namesake [Elijah the Tishbite], even as the holy man Abbā Māḵāris (Macarius) saith to the wise Mâr Evagrius, "So long as we make the devils rage we abide without injury." And although this blessed man naturally kept the strength of his wrath [to fight] against obstacles to a life of excellence,

2 the death of Antony the Great. Macarius the Younger, or Alexandrian, retired to the desert about A. D. 335. Before 349 he went to the Monastery of Saint Pachomius, where he died A. D. 394. Like his namesake Macarius the

Egyptian he visited Antony, and also suffered banishment with his namesake. See Sozomen, Hist. Eccles., iv. 23; Socrates, Hist. Eccles., iii. 14; Rufinus, Hist. Eccles., ii. 4; Tillemont, Mémoires, vii. pp. 57 and 102. At the end of the notice of the Macarii by Palladius the Syriac version has the following: — he abode without offence and without injury in [his] love for man, and in the love of the exact image of the excellence which [cometh from] the God of our frail nature. Now by the hand of this man, who was admirable in his manner of life, God, the Lord of all, exposed the secret crime which had taken place in that holy congregation in his days. And as God, the Lord of all, destroyed and slew the prophets of Baal by the hand of the blessed Mār Elijah, so it pleased the Lord of all to root out and destroy those evil thorns, which were fit and ready for the fiery furnace, that is, the unclean work and manner of life of those men, by the hand of this namesake and fellow-soldier of Elijah the prophet.

3 Now some say that he received a revelation from God, and that in an angelic vision he was commanded to go down from his own cell in the night season to the cells of those men; others say that it happened accidentally, and that he heard the noise of the rods which the women were using in weaving garments; and others that he found little boys and girls, the children of those men, playing round about the cells of their fathers, and that when he asked them who they were, and whence they came, they answered him saying, "We belong to this place, and our fathers are such an one, and such an one; but by whatever way it happened, we must know that Elijah did not leave his cell without the divine command,—especially at eventide when a solitary should be diligent in casting choice aromas into the censer of his heart, to make from them a sweet-smelling savour for the whole night,—merely to go down [to walk] among the cells of the solitaries. Now when he saw and knew [what had happened], he marvelled with an exceeding great wonder.

4 And since by nature heat of temper and exciteable and fiery zeal cleave to the race of Ishmaelites, he burned with fervour and became hot with wrath, and like Elijah the prophet he complained to God, saying, "The children of Israel have forsaken Thy covenant, they have trodden Thy law under foot, they have forgotten Thy commandments, and instead of the fatherhood of Abraham their father, they have chosen for their father Satan the enemy of the race of man."

### CHAPTER 10. OF THOSE THINGS WHICH THE BLESSED MAN DID ON THE MORNING OF THAT DAY

1 It was a custom in that holy monastery that the board by which the congregation was summoned should not be struck, for any cause whatever, without the command of the head of the convent; and whenever this was done without the governor's command it was a sign and an indication that they were removing the head of the convent from his governorship. 2 Now when it was morning, the blessed Mâr Elijah went down to the monastery, and commanded the sacristan to go up and strike the board to summon the congregation. And when the sacristan heard [this], on account of the greatness and honourable position of him that gave the command, he did not excuse himself and say, "I cannot do this without the command of Rabban, the head of the convent," but at the command he did what the blessed man told him; and all [the monks] were gathered together and came to the church. Now the holy man Mâr Bâbhai, who was head of the convent in those days, marvelled that contrary to his command, and for some cause unknown to him, the board to summon the congregation had been struck. And he called the sacristan and asked him, "By whose command hast thou struck the board? and the sacristan answered and said, "Mâr Elijah the Zealous commanded me; and Mâr Bâbhai called Mâr Elijah and told him to reveal to him the cause of this unaccustomed gathering together. Then Mâr Elijah answered and said, "How is it, O our father and head, that the things which are done afar off, and at a distance, are revealed to thee, while the manifest wickedness which is [wrought] near at hand in thy monastery is hidden from thee?

3 How is it that those who are not under the subjection of thy headship tremble and hide themselves at the report of thy being near or afar off, while in this divine inheritance Sodom is being raised to life again, und Geba rebuilt? How hath the gangrene and stinking sore taken root and spread in the members of the holy body of the sons of thy holiness? What availeth the blessing of our father Abraham, or the bringing up of Mâr Dâdh-Îshô, or the teaching of the Gihôn river of thy doctrine if thy instruction hath [only] been fruitful in bringing forth a brood of cursed snakes, which are the children of the Serpent, the murderer, that is to say these men of our congregation who are sitting before thee, for behold their eyes see and their ears hear? They have conceived iniquity, and brought forth falsehood, they have drunk

troubled waters, they have eaten husks, they have whored with the daughters of Moab by the counsel of a spiritual Balaam, and they have forgotten the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. To thee it belongeth, O our father, like Phinehas the zealous, to drive the spear of thy zeal into these unclean men, and to rip open those who have laid a blot on the congregation of the fathers of all the children of the East. To thee, I say, it belongeth to drive out and to destroy from Bethel, the house of the Lord God of thy fathers, those men who appeared to me in a vision.

4 Now when these and other such like words had been spoken by the holy mouth, and trembling and terror had fallen upon every man, the holy Mâr Bâbhai said to him, "Thou must indeed shew me the proof of these thy words, and that which is proper, and that which is incumbent upon me to do, I will do. And Elijah making a sign with his hand, pointed out and discovered those wretched men, and said, "These are they who have erred and gone forth from the fold of life to feed among the thorns; these are they who have forsaken Jerusalem, and wished to walk among the serpents of the waste places of Jericho; these are they who have made a calf in Horeb, and worshipped a molten image, and have changed their object of honour into filth and unclean stinkingness! Behold there are women in their cells, and children with them! These are they whose wickedness hath driven me to give a command and to do a deed without the command of thy holiness."

### CHAPTER 11. OF THOSE THINGS WHICH MÂR BÂBHAI AND ALL THE FATHERS DID

Now when these things had been thus zealously said and made manifest by the hand of this second Elijah, the hearts of those holy men were cast down; and they removed from [the offenders] the garb of the ascetic life, and cut off the tonsure of their heads, and drove them forth and expelled them from thence, together with their wives and their children, and they kindled a flame and burned their cells with fire. Thus they rooted out that evil from among them, even as the children of Israel, when they were zealous with the zeal of the will of the Lord, destroyed the children of Benjamin with the mouth of the sword, because they had corrupted the ways and paths of purity, and had renewed among themselves the customs of the Sodomites; and as Ishmael and the children of Kentōrâ (Keturah), were driven forth from the house of Abraham, and made aliens, that they might not inherit the paternal inheritance together with the son of the free woman; and as Manasseh

also was rejected, who corrupted the holy generations of the Lord, and established in the holy temple an idol with four faces, [so also were they driven forth and rejected]. Now although these men went forth in the disgrace of which their actions were worthy, yet, they finally offered penitence, and remembered Christ their Lord, and they did not bring their lives to an end with acts of wickedness. Now, by the hand of God, we will speak concerning these men in the place which requireth it.

### CHAPTER 12. OF THE UNLAWFUL ACCUSATION WITH WHICH OUR HOLY MÂR JACOB OF BÊTH 'ÂBHÊ WAS ACCUSED, AND OF THE JUDGMENT, REMOTE FROM JUSTICE, WITH WHICH HE WAS JUDGED

Now when those guilty men had been cast forth into exile, and had been justly driven away to a great distance, and Satan saw that his labour had been made of none effect, and that his disciples had been condemned, he wished also to cast out and to drive away from that [monastery] those chosen and excellent men who would not enter into his snares, and who could not be caught in his nets. And he stirred up an accusation against the holy Rabban Mâr Jacob, as being one whose cell was near to the habitations of those men, and as one who had known of their whole course of life, and who had, during the whole time past, sheltered instead of discovering them. And the holy Mâr Elijah according to his customary vehemence made an attack upon him saying, "All this folly is thine, and thou art guilty of all this sin; for if thou hadst revealed the matter and shown it to me at the beginning, these men would either have been admonished or expelled." And by this tumult which had risen up against him, this most meek and humble of all men, who knew not that any sin besides his own existed in creation, whose eye was pure, and who never perceived wickedness in his neighbour, who never injured a man all the days of his life, who never chid and who was never angry, without making any answer whatever to those who blamed him, with his looks bent to the ground, and with his eyes full of tears, and with sorrowful penitence in his heart, was he driven forth, and he went out from that monastery by the order and decree of the word of Mâr Bâbhai. And he departed with a venerable and holy disciple called Bar-Nôn who had been his companion for a long time past, and thus they two went forth to the mountains of Kardô to lead the life of anchorites.

### CHAPTER 13. OF THE THINGS WHICH HAPPENED IN THAT HOLY MONASTERY AFTER THE GOING FORTH OF MĀR JACOB

1 It is evident that meekness and humility are the most excellent of all the virtues which are cultivated and perfected by the body and the soul, and we may learn this from many things; and that there is nothing worse than pride and arrogance we may also learn from hearing and reading and seeing. If then, according to the command of the Lord Jesus Christ, thou art meek and gracious, and art of no account in thine own eyes and thy heart is filled with penitence and self-condemnation, then thou shalt find that all men [are thy] friends, and thou shalt turn the harshness of foes to kindness, and our Lord God shall make thee beloved in the sight of all men. And thou shalt also live uninjured with destructive beasts and harmful reptiles, like this holy father, who when he was unjustly condemned, and unlawfully accused, neither judged, nor thought himself to be like unto one of those men who condemned him, but commended the whole matter to God, to Whom belongeth the earth, and Who judgeth the round world with righteousness.

2 Now therefore, when the blessed Jacob had thus gone forth therefrom and the honourable head of the monastery had laid a ban of many lines, [full] of denunciations and accusations upon him, (let him that desireth to know what manner of ban it was read the epistle which the holy Mār Īshō'-yahbh, Bishop of Bālādh, who afterwards became Catholicus, wrote to Mâr Jacob, from which he will learn the exact contents. I do not set it down here out of respect for Mâr Bâbhai, nor is it right to make an accusation against holy men who in common with other people, suffer from shortcomings or defects, especially when the divine Will, which maketh upright men to act according as it pleaseth is hidden from our understanding) the holy fathers who lived there at that time saw what had been done, and that that praiseworthy man had without fault been driven forth unjustly, and they all put on indignation, and rebuked and chid the head of the monastery and strove with him, saying, "Thou administerest the things of God unjustly and after the manner of men, and according to a natural disposition which cannot be praised. Thou hast condemned the blessed and meek Jacob without our knowledge, and thou hast driven him away without our [consent]. Send then after him, wherever he is, and know that if thou dost not do so we all shall leave the convent. It is our opinion that he has performed the work of God in a twofold manner, and that he has acted rightly in sheltering the sinners,

and leaving them to the Divine examination, even though, according to what thou hast decreed concerning him, he had seen the wickedness. He was not constituted a ruler and a corrector for thee, but for himself alone was he judge, and it was

3 Hoffmann, Auszüge, pp. 97, 211; and the authorities quoted by Payne Smith (Thesaurus, col. 530). sufficient for him, and he purified his heart from seeing the wickedness of others. In which of the Scriptures canst thou shew us that we are commanded to neglect the care of our own souls, to judge the sins of others, after the manner of outside judges who pursue gnats with care, and swallow camels? On the contrary we are commanded to pray for our enemies, and to love him that hateth us, and that to him who would strive with us and who would take away from us our tunic, we should also give our cloak. Moreover also, it was thy bounden duty to correct those sinful men mercifully, and the women with whom they were united would have gone forth, and the men would have been sanctified by fasting and prayer, according to what we learn in the Holy Scriptures was done in various places to sinners and transgressors, even as the man in the [Epistle to the] Corinthians who lived with his father's wife, was corrected and afterwards accepted; and as is written in the elders, what Abbâ Pôman (Poemen) did to him to whom his wife gave birth, how he afflicted his heart and returned to his former manner of life; and as in the case of that elder by whose hands God turned back the young Alexandrian who went to him, saying, "He desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live.' Now when Mâr Bâbhai saw that the holy fathers of his congregation strove with him, and that he was unable to make an apology for this act, especially as he knew not whither the blessed Mâr Jacob had gone, he fell into great doubt.

4 because it was torn?' The toiler replied, 'No, I would sew it up and use it again.' The old man said, 'If thou hast pity upon thy garment which is without feeling, shall not God have compassion upon the work which He hath fashioned?' 'A certain brother asked Father Sisoes, saying, What shall I do, father, for I have fallen?' The old man said to him, 'Rise up again.' The brother saith, 'I did rise up, and again I fell.' The old man said to him, 'Rise up again.' The brother said to him, 'I did rise up again many times, and I fell.' The old man said to him, 'Rise up again.' The brother said to him, 'Until when?' The old man said to him, 'Until thou advancest either to good

deeds or to ruin, for in that thing in which a man advanceth he will go on, whether it be to death, or whether it be to life.'

5 'Abbâ Poemen said, I prefer the man who hath sinned and done wickedly and become good again to the man who hath never sinned and hath never shown repentance; for the former hath a humble opinion [of himself], but the latter considereth himself to be a righteous man.'

## CHAPTER 14.

1 Of the dispersion of the holy fathers into all countries, which although it was considered to have been wrought by evil temper and human passion, was nevertheless the divine will and work. Now therefore, as the loadstone' collecteth particles of iron, and attracteth them, and bindeth them to itself, and imparteth to them some of its own force, so also were those holy fathers, who were gathered together and formed a part of that holy congregation, [drawn] like particles of iron to the afore-mentioned stone, into that matter of contention, which beginning with small matters ended with great results, and they went forth from that monastery because the bond of agreement between them was broken. Now Mâr Bar-'Idtâ, an ascetic, who possessed the powers of a seer, with the eye of the spirit foresaw this dispersion, and one day he cried out to the old men of his congregation, and said to them, "My brethren, many matters come to pass and are wrought in this world, which from the trials [to which they give rise], or from their outward appearance, are thought by men either to arise from the opposition of devils, or to have been performed

3 e., the Black'), and Sabûkht to Bêth-Zabhdai; and Abbâ Sahrowai to Arzôn, where he built a monastery; Rabban Sabhr-Îshô to the Monastery of 'Abbâ Shappîrâ; Abbâ John of Adharmâh to Dâsen; and Abbâ Zêkhâ-Îshô and Rabban Abraham to Dâsen,. And they, and many others, built holy monasteries in various places, and thus by the Divine Power which aided them, the departure and the dispersion which outwardly carried suffering and strife into their hearts, at the last became a peace-making and friendly gathering together. And they filled the country of the East with monasteries, and convents, and habitations of monks, and Satan who had rejoiced at their discomfiture was put to shame; and they raised up to God everywhere holy worshippers of His commandments. May we be sustained by our Lord through their prayers, and according to His Will may we live before him in grace, Amen.

### CHAPTER 15. OF RABBAN BAR-HADH-BHÊ-SHABBÂ, [AND OF THE MONASTERY WHICH HE BUILT]

Now this old man Rabban Bar-Hadh-bhê-Shabbâ came from the village of Hadhôdh, and according to what is written in the history of him, he also was a disciple in the Great Monastery; and he also came down therefrom in this dispersion and was one of that holy body of monks who came to Bêth 'Abhê. And he dwelt in the valley which was above his village Hadhôdh, and built there a large monastery and lived in it. And there were gathered unto him a few brethren, and he remained with them and excelled in the deeds of a life of virtue all his days; and he gave large gifts to his monastery and bequeathed to it all his inheritance of the house of his fathers. And when Rabban Jacob came to him on his way to Béth Abhê, he also came with him to this holy monastery, and tarried with him until Mâr Jacob was established in the governorship thereof; then he returned to his own monastery and dwelt in it all the days of his life. His convent continued for a great many years, and flourished and increased through the healings and mighty deeds which were wrought at the place where his bones were laid. Before our time, however, it was entirely ruined and deserted, and his holy body was removed and laid in the martyrium of this monastery together with those of the holy fathers; may our assembly be preserved from harm by their prayers, Amen.

### CHAPTER 16. OF THOSE MEN WHO WERE DRIVEN FORTH FROM THE GREAT MONASTERY, AND OF WHITHER THEY WENT AND DWELT, AND OF HOW THEY PLEASED GOD

Neither iniquity, nor sin, nor any kind of folly or shortcoming, hath power or place before the great might of repentance. It was this power which turned back the prodigal son to his father's house and enriched him with the paternal inheritance; it sanctified Mary the sinner; it absolved the thief upon the Cross; it exalted the publican in the temple above him that fasted; it delivered the inhabitants of Nineveh from destruction; and it also had mercy upon those sinful monks, and raised up their feebleness to the sonship of a good name. Now when they had gone forth from that monastery, they sent away the women to whom the devils had united them, and they went to... to a quiet place where they dwelt for a long time. And with tears, and penitence, and spiritual suffering, and the burning pains of conscience, and the contrition of the understanding of their hearts, they purified themselves from the filthy pollution with which they had been defiled. And from being

lost, they were found; from being cast down, they stood upright; and from being lame, they walked firmly; from being aliens, they became members of the household [of God]; and from being outcasts and abominations, they became saints and crowned ones; for they had put away from them all the riotous living with which they were contaminated. And their minds shone; and the broken faculties of their understandings were brought to life again; and they remained like a new man in all the united power which is established by the body and the soul, that is to say by practice and spiritual contemplation, the two powers by which, when united we please God, the Lord of all, and honour our neighbour.

### CHAPTER 17. OF THE COMING TO THESE MEN OF THE HOLY ABBÂ JONAH THE ASCETIC FROM THE GREAT MONASTERY

1 Now just as when God, the Lord of all, wished to forgive the sins of king David, He sent Nathan the prophet to him, and by means of the allegory which he composed, made him perceive his sin, and David confessed that he was guilty of death, and said, 'I have sinned', and the answer was returned to him, 'Also the Lord hath put away thy folly, thou shalt not die'; and as when He sent Jonah the prophet, the herald of life, to Nineveh, and he preached to them, and by his hands the inhabitants thereof were turned back to what was seemly; so also did He send to those brethren who had sinned, and they were made a mockery, even as they deserved, and they were made outcasts from the household and inheritance of their fathers. 2 But when they repented and turned to God with all their hearts,—just as did the children of Israel when they sent away the remnant of the children of Benjamin which had escaped from the sword of their brethren to the rock of Rimmon, and gave them the right hand, and took oaths to them in the name of the Lord that they might return to their villages, and to their inheritance, and that they might take unto themselves wives from Israel, and might live and not die—inasmuch as His whole graciousness and mercy overfloweth the measure of our sins, and the sea of His loving-kindness bursts forth to help and redeem us on the smallest pretence of repentance which we show forth,—so by the Divine revelation of His all-powerful Will, He made the blessed man, the holy Rabban Jonah, come to them from that monastery, and he forgave them their sin and sanctified them, and he armed them with the spiritual armour of the keeping of the commandments, and so by a course of life which was pleasing to the Will of God, they were all made perfect, and they depar-

ted from this world with a fair name which bore praise to the justifier of their lives, and the expiator of their offences, Christ our Lord, to Whom be glory for ever and ever!

### CHAPTER 18. OF SOLOMON BAR-GÂRÂPH THE SOLITARY, FROM THE MONASTERY OF BAR TÛRÂ, AND OF THE HISTORIES WHICH HE WROTE

There was a solitary brother whose name was Solomon bar-Gârâph, from the Monastery of Bar-Tûrâ, and the period in which he lived is found to have been in the days of the holy Mâr Hênân-Îshô the Catholicus. Now this man, from careful investigations and from the reports of trustworthy men who lived in his days, and from the traditions of those who lived before his time, compiled histories, graceful of speech and elegant of diction, concerning the anchorites and recluses who lived before his time in various places, and in these he also speaks concerning our Mâr Jacob of Bêth 'Abhê. And it is from this history, [in] which he speaketh concerning him, that we know from those who knew [him], that after he went forth from the Great Monastery, he departed to the Mountains of Kardô; and we are certain concerning [the time of] his expulsion and his return thither afterwards. But before I set down in writing that history of our Rabban [Jacob], I will write in this book another history which Solomon bar-Gârâph composed concerning the blessed Mâr-yahbh and a virgin, from which is made known how he returned to his cell in the Great Monastery.

### CHAPTER 19. OF THE BLESSED MÂR-YAHBH AND OF THE VIRGIN NUN AND RECLUSE

1 One of the holy men narrated what he had heard from the blessed Mâr-yahbh, that glorious and wonderful man among righteous men, the memorial of whom Rabban Mâr Aphni-Mâran composed in elegant language, and he said that the blessed Mâr-yahbh repeated [the following]:—"When I went up into the mountain that I might find God, Who is everywhere, and is not limited to [any one] place, I found there a holy woman, whose garment, such as it was, was made of dried grass, and her food consisted of the roots and wild fruits of the wilderness. And it happened that I found a female child with her to whom she gave suck. Now [the cause of] the fall of our vile race was also with her who, after having led the life of [holy and pious] men, I should more truthfully say of holy angels, for forty years, fell through the working of Satan. Why should I keep silence [concerning this]? Now the girl whom the Guardian of all mankind raised up from her was, like Mary, in the

stead of Eve, heaven instead of earth, and a life-bearer instead of a death-bearer. And it came to pass not long after this that the holy woman, her mother, died having led a life of good deeds which were pleasing to God, and she left the divine woman, her daughter, in her place.

2 Now this holy man Mâr-yahbh was, at rare times, accustomed to visit this blessed woman, as he did her mother, and when he felt the help which came from her, he used to say that, "Although she was in the world, she was not of the world. And I know not at all if she ever lifted her eyes and looked in my face, for her mind was led captive by the vision of God. Now when I asked her, 'Art thou content that I should visit thee as I used to visit thy mother?' she answered me softly in this one word, 'As it pleaseth thee'. Now this history teaches us that we should not rely upon ourselves, even though we be occupied with labours, but that we should take heed to men, and be silent, according to the word of the Fathers.

### CHAPTER 20. OF MÂR JACOB OF BÊTH 'AḆHÊ]

1 Now they say concerning Rabban Jacob, him of Bêth 'Abhê, that when he went forth to that mountain [Kardô], it was the season of autumn. And a certain holy man dwelt near the hut of this blessed man without knowing who he was, for he lived in the rock above him, and he watched the manner of his life. And it came to pass one day that when the blessed Jacob went forth from his hut, the holy man went down and placed some of the herbs upon which he lived in the hut. And when [the blessed Jacob] went in and found them, he thought that they had been placed there for him by an angel of God, and he began to bow his head and his body down to the ground, and to return praise to God. Now when he took the Book of the Gospels [in his hands] and began to read, Satan, in the form of a serpent, straightway flew out between him and the Book, and because of his fear the Book of the Gospels fell out of his hands. And immediately he heard a voice which said, "Oh!". Now the voice was that of the holy man who lived in the rock above him, for he was looking on when the blessed Jacob was overcome by the Enemy. And he straightway rose up and went down to him, and said to him, "Art thou thus so speedily thrown down in the fight?

2 And he continued, saying, "Go thou from mountain to mountain, until a woman meeteth thee; whatsoever she shall say to thee, that do, doubting nothing. Now when he found her, the girl was in a pear tree, and immediately she saw him, she came down and fled away. And the elder woman cried

out to him at the top of her voice, saying, "If now because of this snake which thou hast seen thou art altogether terrified, how canst thou bear the severe onsets of devils? Rise up, and go back to thy cell, for by thy hands God is about to make a monastery, which shall be great and famous throughout all the East; and take thou this my Book of the Gospels, which is somewhat defaced, and give me thine. Now inasmuch as that excellent man had no doubt whatever, the word of the woman was fulfilled [to him] in unutterable wonder; may we obtain mercy in the Day of Judgment by the prayers of him, and of her, and of all God-fearing people! Amen.

### CHAPTER 21. OF THE RETURN OF MÂR JACOB TO THE MONASTERY OF MOUNT ÎZLÂ

1 Now when the blessed Mâr Jacob had heard these things from the Lord by the hand of that holy woman, although he would rather that his life had been passed like that of a hermit, far away from human habitation, and that his dwelling and place of sojourning had been with the animals, that his mind by the rest and quietness of the desert might have been united to God, and that he might have been remote from all human feelings and affairs, yet when he learnt from that holy woman that it was the Will of God that he should return to dwell with men, and that he should become a father and a bringer up of ascetics and holy men, and should cause to increase hosts of holy men, who were to become the children and inheritors of light, he conformed to the Will of God which governeth all things, and together with his meek and lowly disciple, he returned to that holy monastery [of Mount Îzlâ]. And [when] he had lived in his cell a little while, the heavenly power urged him, and he was by it selected to depart without delay; and it moved Mâr Bâbhai, and by means of it Mâr Jacob went forth therefrom and came to Bêth 'Abhê; but as to how [he left] we are silent, because we do not wish to appear to bring [the charge of] strife against holy men by the hands of fools.

2 Now when he went forth nine brethren departed from that monastery with him, and they clave to him and wished to dwell with him. And when he came to Rabban Bâr-Hadh-bhê-shabbâ, according to what is written in his history, he received him lovingly, and rejoiced in him greatly, and went with him to Bêth 'Abhê. And he prophesied to him concerning the growth of his monastery, and of the greatness of the honour which Christ our Lord would allot to his congregation, and he tarried with him a short time; and the blessed Bar-Hadh-be-shabbâ returned to his cell and his monastery.

### CHAPTER 22. OF THE JOY AND HAPPINESS, AND THE FESTIVAL FULL OF GLADNESS WHICH THE MONKS MADE BEFORE HIM WHEN THEY CAME TO THIS PLACE

Now as there is joy and gladness to the children, whose father having departed from them and gone to trade in a far country, and having tarried there a long while, afterwards returneth to his house in great prosperity because his business hath doubled many times, and appeareth among his children in perfect health and safety, with his face full of joy at the sight of them, as he findeth them occupying themselves in those matters which will give him pleasure, so also Abbâ Benjamin and his companions had joy and gladness in the coming of the holy Rabban Jacob to them. And they kissed his holy person, and he kissed them, even like Jacob when Joseph his son appeared, and they wept on each other's necks, with a weeping which was begotten of gladness of spirit. And he dwelt with them all his days, in all the humility which our Lord taught the children of His house, saying, "Learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in My heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

### CHAPTER 23. OF THE TIME WHEN RABBAN JACOB CAME TO THIS COUNTRY, AND OF KING KHUSRAU (CHOSROES) [THE SON OF HÔRMÎZD]

1 Now King Khusrau (Chosroes) the son of Hôrmîzd reigned in the nine hundred and first year, according to the reckoning of the Greeks, and he lived in his kingdom thirty-eight years. In the fifth year, then, of Khusrau according to what is written by the holy Rabban Îshô'-zêkhâ, who lived in the days of the last Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, who built the new temple, the coming of Rabban Jacob to this Monastery took place. And I, myself, having carefully investigated the matter of the date, have found from the history of Rabban Bar 'Idtâ that the time of his coming was exactly according to the word of the holy Rabban Îshô'-zêkhâ. Now when King Khusrau wished to build a convent to Shîrin his wife, in the country of Bêlèshphâr, he sent to the city of Edessa, to the good man of worthy memory, Shamṭâ, the son of the blessed Mâr Yazdîn, telling him to bring from there copies of the

2 that he was a heathen at heart is evident from his unseemly conduct in the Church at Dârâ. See Theophylactus 5. caps. 13.14, Evagrius vi. 21. (For an account of Sergius, who is said to have suffered persecution in the reign of Maximian, see Tillemont, Mémoires, tom. v. pp. 73,282, and Butler, Lives of the Saints, October 7.) Khusrau ascribed the pregnancy of his best-loved wife Shirîn to the power of Saint Sergius, but his professions of Christianity ap-

pear rather to have been due to the influence of the woman whose wit and beauty and gift of singing are famous in the romances of the East, than to conviction. Holy Scriptures, and Prayer Books, and Lectionaries, which were to belong to that convent. And after he had gone there, and finished his business, he brought with him for Rabban a large Service book, and he asked for Rabban's prayers and set out for his own country. And all the books which Rabban wrote with his own hands, were [copied] from the service book which the honourable Shamṭâ brought to him, and in the greater number of them may be found written thus, "Mâr Shamṭâ, the son of Yazdîn, the prince of believers, gave this service book."

### CHAPTER 24. OF THE HONOURABLE BASTÔHMAGH, THE FATHER OF MÂR ÎŠHÔ'-YAHBH, THE CATHOLICUS

1 Now Sâhdônâ, the writer of the "History of Rabban Jacob," has omitted from his work many important matters which he has made extraneous, as for example, asteries everywhere.... And he was beloved by Khusrau even as was Joseph in the sight of Pharaoh, and it is said that on the morning of each day he used to send one thousand to the King." Yazdîn also sent money to rebuild the churches at Jerusalem. See Guidi, Un nuovo testo Siriaco, pp. 17,22. the coming of Rabban Mâr Îshô'-zêkhâ to this holy man; the account concerning the fire which broke out in the monastery and to which he set limits, and it was extinguished; and the account of the flood which took place in the two valleys, against which he went forth, and set bounds to it, and little by little he made it go down until it subsided, that it might not tear up the monastery and the temple in the first place in which it was built. And concerning these things Mâr Gabriel wrote [also] in the metrical discourse which he composed on Rabban Jacob, saying, "He straightway extinguished the fire which broke out in the house of the monastery, and he made to subside the flood which rushed down to tear up its dwelling." And now, according to [the omissions made] in those things which Rabban Aphni-Mâran wrote concerning him in his small history of his triumphs, and according to what we have set down in a preceding chapter [from the history] which Shêlêmôn bar-Gârâph wrote,—from which the greatness of this man Mâr Jacob is well made known—so also will I omit what [I wish to omit] and will make ready to write down the following story concerning the man, worthy of remembrance and of fair renown among the righteous, Bastôhmagh the nobleman, from the country of Hê-

2 Smith, Thesaurus, coll. 577,2783, and Nöldeke in Z. D. M. G. xxv, p. 672. Hoffmann thinks that perhaps in Philoxenus = Gr. parelthe ten exo. 3 dhaiyabh. Now he possessed in this country some small estates, among which was one called Bêth Zîwâ, and whether it was to visit his estates, or to be blessed by Rabban, he was continually coming to him. And he always passed over the King's Bridge, which was below his village, the ruins of which are known to this day, and came by Esṭwân, a village on the Zâbhâ (Zâb). And it came to pass that once when he was passing over the bridge, he saw some sorceresses washing clothes by the Zâb, and they were singing to each other the songs of devils, and everything which was round about them danced as they sang. Now as he drew near to them on his way a small fragment of one of the refrains which they were singing became fixed in his mind, and when he had gone a short distance from them, he began to meditate upon what he had heard. And straightway devils joined themselves to him openly, and required of him, saying, "Command us to do something which thou wishest us to do. Now when Basṭôhmagh saw this, he feared greatly, and he acted craftily with them and said to them, "Gather together these stones, and pile them in a heap,"—now these stones are known to this day—"and follow me whither I am going.

4 And he drove the mule upon which he was riding quickly along until he came to the cell of the holy old man, and he said to the devils, "Take this mule, and watch him until I come out; and he went in trembling, and revealed to Mār Jacob what had happened to him. And Rabban answered and said to him, "Repeat before me what thou hast heard," and while Bastôhmagh was repeating, Rabban wrote down upon the ground with his finger what he heard. And when he had finished it all Rabban made the sign of the cross over the writing, and said to Bastôhmagh, "Repeat once more what thou hast already repeated; and he said to him, "I know nothing of it whatever; and Rabban answered, and said as he laughed, "Rise up, and look after thy mule, for the devils have loosed him and gone away."

### CHAPTER 25. OF GREGORY OF TELL-BESME [AND OF THE OFFICE OF CATHOLICUS WHICH HE RECEIVED]

1 In my first apology I made known to thy wisdom beforehand, O our brother, [ʿAbhd-Īshō], that when I had written down the memorials of the saints which thou hadst entreated me to write, I should be obliged to insert also the memorials of others who were governors of the Church in their times,

where it was necessary, in order that their period might be known, and that [this] history might possess a consecutive, historical narrative. Now therefore at this period the blessed Mâr Sabhr-Îshô was known to be the head of the Catholic Church, and he served the office of head of the Patriarchate for eight years, more or less, and he departed from this world in the fourteenth year of king Khusrau in the city of Nisibis, Mâr Îshô-zêkhâ, the head of the monastery, having departed this temporary life in the thirteenth year [of this king]. Now when the valiant Khusrau had captured the city of Dârâ on the borders [of the Greek and Persian territory], in the fifteenth year of his reign, the Christians demanded from him a Catholicus; and the king commanded that the blessed Gregory, Metropolitan of the city of Nisibis, whom Mār Sabhr-Īshō improperly had cast forth into exile,—which act is spoken of in terms of condemnation in the Church until this day—should be appointed Catholicus. But certain of the teachers and believing men by whom this matter was to have been carried out, acted with deceit against the blessed Gregory, because they were afraid of the immeasurable zeal which that blessed man possessed. Now there was in Māhōzē a certain expositor called

2 founders, and to provoke the jealousy of the Persians, who incessantly complained, that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires." Gibbon, Decline, chap. 40. Concerning the first fortification of Dārā by the Greeks see Wright, Joshua the Stylite, p. 70. Ibn Baṭūṭah describes it as "very old, white in appearance, with a lofty fortress which is now ruined" (ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, ii, p. 142). The ruins have been well described by Sachau in his Reise in Mesopotamien, pp. 394, 395. Gregory, and in respect of him they acted subtilly, and made him Catholicus without the Will of the Holy Spirit, Who [alone] perfecteth the holy things connected with the Holy Church according to His Will. And certain other men, [who] had not acted justly in the matter of Gregory [of Nisibis], but who felt it right to acquiesce in what had been done until the Lord had worked out His Will, or until Gregory had ended his life, and had passed out of the world, wrote letters of accusation, and painted pictures [in which they represented] Gregory feeling a hen [to see] if it was fat [enough] for his food. And the other bishops [acted] in various ways, which it is not seemly to describe, and they brought these painted drawings and the letters of accusation before King Khusrau.

### CHAPTER 26. OF THE STAGNATION OF THE CHURCH AFTER THE DEATH OF MĀR SABHR-ĪŠHŌ THE CATHOLICUS

Now when the king heard and saw these things, and had learned that the Christians had not enthroned as Catholicus the Gregory whom he had commanded, but had craftily set up another, he forgot all his love and friendship for the Christians, especially that which he had for Sabhr-Īshō, and he cursed them angrily, [saying,] 'Gregory shall not minister as head'; and he swore by the Sun, his god, saying, "As long as I live I will never have another patriarch in the country of the East," which [threat] he actually carried out, for the disciple of Satan contrived carefully that the holy priesthood should be removed from the Christians of the country of his rule. And since there was no father to beget, the children who had been born came to an end little by little and ceased; and so, until Khusrau died by the sword of the Christian children of the Church, the holy Church remained without a Patriarchate. And no Bishops and no Metropolitans were consecrated, and the holy Church endured grief through the absence of the head and governor, and father of fathers, the Patriarch.

### CHAPTER 27. OF MÂR BÂBHAI, AND OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL VISITATION WHICH HE UNDERTOOK

1 At this time, among the company of the monks, there flourished in doctrine and in a life of excellence, the blessed Mâr Bâbhai the Great. Now these Metropolitans who were allied to one another, Mâr Cyriacus of Nisibis, Mar Yônâdhâbh of Adiabene, and Mâr Gabriel of Karkhâ dhê Bêth Slôkh wrote —now by that time holy monasteries had been built, and they feared the wicked doctrine of the Mêşallêyânê, and the blackness of the religion of the heretics lest these regions round about should be sown by the husbandmen of the Evil One, and it was not easy for them to visit the churches through fear of the government, lest Khusrau by whom the Patriarch had been established should act deceitfully with them, and they be delivered over to dangers—to persuade the holy man and teacher of the Church, Már Bábhai, that as it was evident to every one that he was a solitary and not a bishop, as long as our Lord was ordering a change in His grace towards the Church, he should visit the monasteries, and convents, and monks, and repair the breaches and drive out and expel from the Church him that was sick and broken in wickedness. And these three Metropolitans did this, and they all wrote letters and entreaties to him, and he, like a prosperous labourer and a

vigorous soldier of the faith, ministered unto the Church, and guarded it, and glorified it until the murder of the wicked King Khusrau. And after a Catholicus was ordained he dwelt in quietness in his cell.

2 fection be found. Of them Epiphanius (Haer. 80) says "toti in orationes intenti cetera negligebant, et, abjectis propter falsam Evangelii interpretationem, bonis fortunae, otiosi errabant per vicos ac plateas, viris promiscue cum mulieribus dormientibus." They refused to work, and wandered from city to city begging their daily bread; their profession and occupation in life was "prayer." Bar-Hebraeus (Chron. Eccles., i. 573) calls them. See B. O., i, p. 128, col. 2, (where they are mentioned by Ephraem Syrus together with a number of other heretical sects); Assemâni, Dissertatio de Syris Nestorianis (B. O., iii. 2, p. CLXXIIff.; iii. 1, p. 101, col. 2, at the top); and Cotelerius, Eccles. Graec. Monumenta, t. 1, p. 302ff. A good account of the Meṣalléyânê is given by Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, t. viii, pp. 222—226; and see especially Guidi, Ostsyrische Bischöfe, in Z. D. M. G., Bd. xliii, p. 391.

## CHAPTER 28. THE APOLOGY OF THE AUTHOR TO HIM WHO WOULD ASK A QUESTION

1 If now any contentious man, or anyone peaceably disposed should ask, "Had not these great Metropolitans power to put an end to the wickedness which was springing up in their dominions without [the help of] Mār Bābhai? [I answer] Yes, but every Metropolitan is not necessarily a doctor, neither can every doctor know [how to decide] all questions in dispute, nor can every doctor successfully contend against all the various false religions; one doctor hath one quality, and another doctor has another. In the holy Mār Bābhai, however, all these various qualities were found: [the power of] arguing against heresies; [the power of] interpreting the Scriptures; [the power of] commenting upon the writings of the Fathers, and of investigating the matters in them which required searching out. And thou mayest learn concerning all his varied learning if thou wilt read the books which he composed; now eighty and four of his works on various subjects are preserved, and are held in honour by the holy Church. And also, the foul heresy of the Mēṣallēyānē began with monks, and it was even right that by monks it should be detected, as being those to whom the visitations of grace are [especially] manifest and the crafty workings of the devils which come upon monks who keep in the quietness of the cell.

2 And also when the heresy of the Melchisedekians broke out at Scete in the land of Egypt through the contemptible monks who said that Melchisedek was the son of God, although there were doctors and famous bishops in their days, yet Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, allowed the blessed Abbâ Macarius, a monk, to make a refutation of this error; and that holy man actually did so, and made manifest the foolishness of their opinion. So also in the following affair which happened in the holy Monastery of Rabban Şêlibhâ, which is situated by the side of Hêghlâ Omêd, a village on the river Tigris, to the brethren Abhâ and Thomas and Bar-'Idtâ, the solitary brethren and ascetics, who lived in that monastery. They were by craft falsely accused of being Mêşallêyânê, although they were in no wise allied to them, and they were ascribed to their sect by certain men who, being envious of their strict and ascetic manner of life, wrote letters concerning them to the holy Mâr Hênân-Îshô, the Catholicus, when he was in the Monastery of Mâr Jonah the Prophet at Nineveh. Now he knowing that he was by all manner of means bound to enquire into this matter, wrote for them, and they came to him.

3 And he answered and said to them, "My brethren, I have never mixed myself up in those matters which concern the manner of life of monks, and inasmuch as I have no knowledge whatever of these things of which ye are held to be guilty, let these matters of which ye are accused be searched into by the hands of men like unto yourselves. And he wrote letters and sent them by their hands to this our convent of Bêth 'Abhê, when the holy Mâr George bar-Şayyâdâ was the head, and the old men of the congregation were Abbâ Nathaniel, Abbâ Sêlibhâ, and Abhrôî, and Gabriel who was surnamed Şephrônâ and many others. And when they had been lovingly examined by their brethren, and had manifested before them visitations of grace remote from all error, [the brethren of Bêth Abhê] wrote letters by their hands to Mâr Catholicus [informing him of this]; and thus in justification remote from all falsehood of mind, those blessed men returned to their cells by the command of Mâr Catholicus. This then is the reason why the fathers who lived in the time of Mâr Bâbhai required of him to rule the Church, especially the congregations of solitaries.

## CHAPTER 29. OF THE COMING OF MÂR BÂBHAI TO THIS MONASTERY [OF BÊTH 'ÂBHÊ], AND OF THE MIRACLE WHICH WAS WROUGHT BEFORE HIM IN THE TEMPLE

1 Now when the blessed Mâr Bâbhai was going round from village to village, and from monastery to monastery, visiting, and asking questions, and making enquiries concerning the orthodoxy of belief, and the soundness of the opinions in the minds of all the monks and heads of monasteries to whom he came, he was pleased also to enter into this our monastery. Now he did not ask questions here on matters of belief, nor did he require from Rabban Jacob the results of his deliberations, for he was thoroughly well convinced concerning his doctrine and of the correctness of the actions of his holiness; for he looked with his discerning eye, and he saw the manner of the life which he led, and he smelled from him the savour of grace which entereth into the chambers of the soul, and maketh glad all its powers. And he required from Rabban "that he would abolish the glorious order of the service of readings which were read on the holy first days of the week in honour of the atoning Mysteries, inasmuch as it was not a thing appropriate for monks, but only for the clergy and the laity. For the solitaries are teachers, and are all occupied continually with the Scriptures, and courses of readings are therefore superfluous for them. They have no need of commandments, nor of the dispensation of God which is especially intended for the laity, which they were originally.

2 And moreover in this work there are questions and answers and speaking, and not every monk is able to guard his mind and his tongue equally well outside his cell as before he came out; but I would wish and desire that the monks should go forth to the congregation from their cells keeping silence, and that they should return to their cells in silence, as a guard for the tongue which is the storehouse of words. The holy Mâr Jacob said to him, "To-day let us perform the Holy Mysteries in the customary manner, and let us rejoice in the participation in the body of Christ our Lord, [before] thou departest from us, and let us read the readings and not change the order of our service; and whatsoever pleaseth the Lord let us do whilst thou art here. And this speech was pleasing in the sight of Mâr Bâbhai. Now there was in the martyrium a certain man smitten with the palsy who had never walked, but he used to crawl along supporting himself upon his hands, and [when] he raised up his body, he supported all his weight upon his hands. And when the

service of the Mysteries had begun, Rabban sent the man sick of the palsy to crawl into the temple, and he also selected for reading the passage from that part of the Gospels where our Lord commanded the paralytic to walk; and he gave it to one of his disciples and commanded him to read it.

3 And the paralytic crawled along and went into the temple, and the holy Mār Bābhai saw him. And it came to pass that as the reader was reading, when he came to that passage in which Jesus Christ says to the man sick of the palsy, "I say unto thee, O paralytic, arise, and take up thy bed, and go to thy house," the man sick of the palsy leaped up in the midst of the temple, and stood upon his feet; and wonder and astonishment seized all the brethren, and they all turned to the glorifying of God the Lord of all. And Mār Bābhai especially fell into wonder and amazement, and he knew and understood that this miracle had, for a long time past, been reserved for the holy Mār Jacob to work on the day when necessity required it, that it might be a bridle and a thing wherewith to silence those who wished to abolish the order of service which his holiness had established in the congregation under his rule. And Mār Bābhai, and those who were with him, rejoiced and were glad and confirmed his order of service, and praised the ordinances of Rabban; and the blessed Mâr Bâbhai went forth from this monastery, full of joy and praise, to visit the other monasteries which yet remained to be visited.

### CHAPTER 30. OF THOSE TRIED AND APPROVED MEN WHO BECAME DISCIPLES OF RABBAN MÂR JACOB IN THIS MONASTERY

Now wishing to write concerning the upright children of an upright father, and the noble heirs to the inheritance of a noble man, and the glorious disciples of a glorious father, it falleth to me first of all to give utterance to the sayings of the wise man, "The righteous man who walketh in integrity, blessed are his children after him;" "for the joy of the righteous man worketh judgment," "and his noble deeds are spoken of by his seed". And again, "The father of the righteous man shall rejoice, and if a father begets a wise man he will rejoice in him." And seeing that his own goodness was handed down as a goodly heritage to his children, the righteous man Mâr Jacob died; but perhaps he did not die, for he left many behind him like unto himself, concerning whom, by the hand of the Lord I make ready to write. And the departure of their father was not grievous unto them, because during his lifetime, they rejoiced him by the beauty of their manner of life, and they promised him that they would keep his commandments for ever. And on his departure he

also blessed them, and laid his holy hands upon their heads, and they bowed down at the top of his staff at the time of his going away out of their midst. Now, according to what is written in the history of him, a large congregation became disciples of Rabban, eighty men in number, whose names are written in the Book of Life.

### CHAPTER 31. OF ABBÂ JOHN THE ELDER

1 Now firstly it is known to us that the holy Abbâ John was an Elder and ascetic from the country of Bêth Garmai. He was a fellow-labourer and companion of Abbâ Jacob his father, and in carrying out completely all the glorious actions of an ascetic life, he was a pure mirror of all beautiful things, for all his contemporaries. Now concerning this man the holy Mâr Jacob commanded that he should become head of the monastery after him; and when he resisted, and would not consent to this, he was compelled by absolute necessity to become the head of this congregation. Concerning him the holy Mâr Îshô'yahbh, when he was Bishop of Nineveh, wrote to this monastery, because on account of Abbâ John's obstinate refusal the monks [of Bêth 'Abhê] wished to appoint another head of the monastery in his stead. And concerning Abbâ John Sâhdônâ made a second funeral oration upon him which begins "A little time before, when we were following our father to the grave."

2 Now when the blessed man had been head of the monastery for half a year, according to what I have learned from the aged Elders of whom I was a contemporary here, he forsook the monastery and departed secretly to the country of Bêth Garmai, to a mountain to the south east of the village of Dâkôk, to a place convenient for a life of contemplation, where, finally, the Monastery called 'Bêth Hazkîel' was built. Now this Hazkîel (Ezekiel) was the disciple of Khodhâhwai of Bêth Hâlê gently chides the monks of Bêth 'Abhê because they had not consulted him in the matter of the election of a successor to Mâr Jacob, and he advises them to appoint Abbâ John whom Mâr Jacob had nominated as his successor before he died. Îshô'-yahbh recommends the monks to appoint Abbâ John on account of his having been a monk for seventy years.

3 and a contemporary of Abbâ John, and he was greatly strengthened and enlightened in his knowledge and manner of life by the conversation and sight of that holy man; thus by the work of Rabban Ezekiel and the prayers of Abbâ John that holy monastery was built, and in it Abbâ John ended his

days and was buried in peace. And Rabban Ezekiel wrote to this monastery to encourage and cherish our love and good will towards them, saying, "May mutual love and fellowship between these two monasteries be preserved to the end of days." And I affirm and bear witness, as before God, that I learned this from Narsai the Elder, who was surnamed Dâdh Îshô, from the village of 'Ain Barkê, and also from an Elder who belonged to the monastery of Bêth Hazkîel, when in the days of my youth I was copying letters before the Patriarchal throne of the holy Mâr Abraham, the Catholicus and Patriarch. And this love was preserved so entirely, that of everything in that monastery, of fruits and any good things which were not to be found here, the brethren of that monastery used to send some here, and the brethren of this monastery used to send there, for the sake of Abbâ John, and for the sake of the holy Mâr Jacob, for they both came from there.

*Mâr Îshô'-Yahbh to the Monks of Bêth 'Âbhê on the Election of a Head.*

4 Letter from Mâr Îshô'-yahbh to Simon, John, Kâm-Îshô', Bar-Denhâ, Daniel and the other brethren of the Monastery of Bêth 'Abhê concerning the appointment of John the Elder as head of the monastery... four miles. From their youth up they were disciples in this monastery of the divine man Mâr Jacob, and everything which philosophy required and demanded, they received from the teaching of that blessed man. Now the holy Abbâ Joseph, on his departure from the [service of] the monastery, came forth to this laura, and lived the life of a solitary in it, and never came to the temple even on the day of the assembly. But at eventide, when it was quite dark, and no one could see him, he used to come and go into the refectory, and through a large opening that was built there,—which I also remember in that old refectory,—the blessed man used to take,—and very old men have also related this to me,—as much as he needed of the hard, burnt crusts, and of the pieces of bread which had dropped from the oven, and had been cast out, and depart to his cave. And when the blessed Mâr Jacob departed this temporary life, Abbâ Joseph took his brother with him, and the two of them departed to Mount Zinai, where they led an ascetic life, and performed unnatural austerities. And inasmuch as Rabban Aphni-Mâran and Rabban Sabhr-Îshô, who was surnamed Rôstâm, have written histories concerning these holy men, it seemeth to me superfluous that I also should speak about them; and in asking a prayer of those who read the accounts of their noble deeds and contest, I pass on from them.

### CHAPTER 33. OF RABBAN SARGÎS (SERGIUS) WHO WAS SURNAMED "DESTROYER OF THE MIGHTY"

1 Now this Sergius, worthy of all blessedness, came from the country of Bêth Garmai; he was instructed in doctrine in various schools, but more especially in that of Bêth Râsthâk, a village in the country of Margâ, at the time when Rabban Kâm-Îshô, a native of Bêth Garmai, from the village of Hâshâ, was an expositor there. Now when the blessed Mâr Kâm-Îshô went down to Mâhôzê, he died there. And this Sergius was a disciple of the holy Mâr Jacob, and he departed while Rabban was alive, [and went] and dwelt in Nêrbhâ dhê Bêth Gazzâ, in the cells which to the lives of Joseph and Abraham he wrote those of Abbâ Abraham of Bêth 'Abhê, Abbâ Kâm-Îshô' of Bêth 'Abhê, Abraham of Nethpar, and some others. See Wright, Syr. Lit., p. 843; B. O., iii. 1, p. 455. 2 were called Bēth ʿAināthā. And at the entreaty of Rabban Jacob, the blessed Sergius composed a history of the noble deeds and praiseworthy acts of the holy men who had lived in the country of Bēth Garmai, and this book which he composed is to be found everywhere, and the histories contained in it make the reader marvel, and excite praises of God in him. And he called his book the "Destroyer of the Mighty"—now he called it thus because he did not write about the great men who were in the Church, but rather concerning those who triumphed in the houses of their fathers, and in the church of their native villages, in simplicity of mien and despising of self,—and from the name of his book he himself was called, "Destroyer of the Mighty". The holy Mār Īshōʿ-yahbh, and Rabban Kām-Īshōʿ were also disciples of his, but I shall not speak here concerning them because they have histories which are set down in their proper places, together with those of their brethren, further on, and because the record of them, together with the necessary particulars [of their lives], would require that I should be able to speak without stint.

### CHAPTER 34. OF SĀHDŌNĀ, AND OF THE WORKS WHICH HE COMPOSED

1 Now this Sāhdōnā, according to what we learn from the history of him by Rabban Bar-ʿIdtā, came from Halmôn a village of Bêth Nûhâdhrâ. And after having been fully trained at Nisibis in the teaching of Divine Books, and being wise and learned in them, he took upon himself the garb of the ascetic life at the hands of Rabban Jacob in this monastery. And he zealously attached himself to the things which conduce to a divine manner of life, that is to say, to abstinence, and fasting, and watching, and prayer, under the

guidance of Rabban [Jacob]. And it is well known also that he felt the sweetness of the holy life, which is grafted on to spiritual conviction, from the reflections which he made in his works upon the venerable ascetic life. Now he wrote two volumes on the various exercises of the monastic life, and a book of "Consolations" is also attributed to him, and other works on various

2 He was one of the members of the Mission sent to Heraclius A. D. 628, and on his way back became a convert to Jacobite views, a fact which caused great scandal in the Nestorian Church. The text of the letters which İshô'-yahbh wrote concerning this matter are given at the end of Bk. ii, chap. 6, in which Thomas of Margâ relates the story. See B. O., iii. 1, pp. 81, 107, 115, 142, 453, 457, 462; Wright, Syr. Lit., p. 842. matters. He also composed a history of Rabban [Jacob], and of the triumphs of the ascetics who lived in the country of the East. He wrote the funeral oration for the burial of Rabban Jacob which begins, "My brethren, a mighty chief has fallen amongst us this day by the hand of death", from which, every one who readeth it will perceive the high character of his intellect, and the power of his language, and he will find that he was a mighty man among those who compose books. He did not continue to write to the end, for he went out of his mind; but how his understanding was destroyed I will relate afterwards in the place where his history requireth it to be written.

### CHAPTER 35. OF THE MURDER OF KING KHUSRAU

1 Now when Khusrau, the son of Hormizd, having exceeded all bounds in his mad greediness for acquiring money, had grown grey in all wickedness and became old, the blessed Mār Yazdīn, the head of the believers, died, who had crowned himself with earthly greatness and heavenly glory, and it was for him to inherit and enjoy the paradise of heavenly joy. And Khusrau forgot all the good deeds of Mār Yazdīn, and seized all his wealth and possessions, and he dismissed Shamṭā and Kūrṭā, his truly believing sons, worthy of blessing, and from being rich, they became poor, and from being men of rank, they became of no account. Now when the blessed Shamṭā saw that the wickedness of Khusrau the foolish king increased and was added unto as he became older, he rose up secretly, and went down to Māḥōzē, the royal cities, and he slew with the sword the twenty-four sons of Khusrau

2 there were already stored up 48,000,000 Mithqāl of money coined by Pērōz, son of Yazdegerd, and by Kawādh, son of Pērōz. "Dazu kam noch eine Menge von Juwelen, Kleidern, u.s.w., deren Betrag nur Gott zählen kann."

Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser, pp. 353ff. who were being educated there. And he took Shêrôê, that is Kêwâdh, Khusrau's son from among them, and he came to their palace, and opened the prison, and brought out all that were therein, and he mounted them upon horses, and he armed them with implements of war, and he made Shêrôê king without the wish and command of his father. Now because of his avarice and greediness, Khusrau had disbanded his troops and sent them away, and the blessed Shamṭâ went in to the palace of Khusrau with his servants, and slew him with the sword; and there was rest for the churches in all quarters, and by the command of Shamṭā the troops of Shêrôē proclaimed a good hope for men.

3 And Shêrôē commanded the Christians to appoint a Catholicus, and Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, Bishop of Bâlâdh, who was called the man of Gêdhâlâ, from Gêdhâlâ a village of Bêth 'Arbhâyê, was appointed. Now when a synod had been assembled, all the fathers entreated the holy Mār Bābhai to be Catholicus; but he would not accept the office at all, for he preferred to end his days in his cell in the monastery to becoming head of the monastery by strife. And the Catholicus and some of the Bishops accompanied him in honour to his monastery, and when they had parted in peace, and had gone away to a distance, suddenly the holy angel of God appeared to Mār Bābhai in the form of a horseman holding a fiery sword, mounted on a white horse. And he stood in the space before his cell and spake with him, and said, "Since now thou hast excused thyself from the office of Patriarch, and another standeth therein, grant me permission to follow him. Mār Bābhai said to him, "Who art thou, master? The angel said to him, "I am an angel commanded by God, the Lord of all, to minister unto the patriarchal throne of the East. As long as thou wast the vicar of the Catholicus, from the first day even until now, I never departed from thy side; but now it is necessary for me to cleave to him that hath received this office.

4 Rabban said to him, "If I had known that thou wast with me, I would, with all care, have accepted this great work; but now depart in peace, and pray for me; and the holy angel was hidden from Rabban's sight. May the prayers of Mār Bābhai, and of all his companions be a high wall to the holy Church, and to her children, Amen! And here I bring this book to a close in order that its end may be sanctified by the memory of the holy Mār Bābhai.
5 Here endeth the First Book.

BOOK II — CHAPTER 1. THE BEGINNING OF THE BOOK]

1 Now as the beginning of everything which existeth is poor and weak in comparison with the end thereof, which is built up little by little,—even as a child is first of all trained in simple things, and little by little he acquireth growth and increase of power and stature, and as when the command was given to Adam, that he should not eat of the fruit, the world continued for a long time in a state of childhood without progress to manhood, for the gift of the Law by the hands of the blessed Moses was more excellent than that which was given to Adam, for the latter was written upon the tables of the heart with the knowledge of nature, but the former was added with ink, after the manner of books, and also the perfection which is according to the wisdom which is in Christ, the Lord of our life, and which surpasseth all ancient laws and commandments, was given in after times according to the measure of the perfect Man—so also was it in respect of the [ascetic life of the] divine man Mār Jacob; in the beginning it acquired through him beauty, through the perfect sons and glorious heirs of his manner of life, but at the end it was crowned with glorious increase and growth.

2 So also in the matter of the kingdom of the wise man Solomon, although it gained more might and glory than the kingdom of the blessed David, yet the kingdom of David received no disparagement, inasmuch as that of Solomon was established by the prayers of David, and by the promises made to him; so also although the congregation increased, and the Monastery of Rabban Jacob became more glorious under the dispensation of his children than it was during his own life time, this fact did not induce any diminution of his holiness which had existed before, but made it rather the more glorious, for the growth and prosperity of disciples give joy to diligent teachers. So also the double portion of the spirit which the blessed Elisha received more than his master, did not bring upon the marvellous Elijah any loss of greatness, but rather made manifest his glory, when he said, "Thou hast asked a great deal, nevertheless what thou hast asked shall be to thee. Thus the glory which came upon this holy monastery under the holy Mār Īshō-yahbh, and the blessed Rabban Kām-Īshō increased the glory of their spiritual father. Now in their days the number of the monks in this holy assembly amounted to three hundred men. When the blessed John the Elder —now Rabban Jacob had commanded that he should be the head of the

monastery after him—went forth and fled, Abbâ Paul received the office of head; and after him Rabban Kâm-Îshô was the head for many years.

### CHAPTER 2. OF RABBAN JACOB OF BÊTH NÛHÂDHRÂ

1 Rabban Jacob who became head of the Monastery of Bêth Rabban Îshô'-yahbh, was a disciple of Rabban Kâm-Îshô', and he came from Rêshâ, a province in the country of Bêth Garmai. He laboured in the schools of Ḥarbath Gelâl, where he was thoroughly trained, and from his youth up he was a disciple in this Monastery [of Bêth 'Abhê], while Rabban Kâm-Îshô' was head. He was a spiritual man and a teacher, and he excelled in the ascetic life more than all his contemporaries. He was a seer of things which were remote, and of things which were about to happen, and he was called by his contemporaries, "Jacob the Seer." 2 Now when the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh had built the temple in this Monastery of [Bêth Abhê], he gathered together Metropolitans and Bishops to the consecration thereof by the office of the Holy Mysteries, wishing with pride to show forth the greatness of his monastery in the sight of all those who were assembled. And it came to pass that at that moment the blessed Jacob was in the refectory, and [Mâr Îshô'-yahbh] sent and called him, and commanded him to go up to the pulpit and read the psalms. Now there was present with Mâr Catholicus a great doctor who had gone out to the porch of the temple to meditate upon the heads of the subject which he wished to treat in a learned manner in [his] exposition of the Gospel. And when the divine man Jacob had begun to sing the psalm, the sweetness of his voice so greatly attracted the attention and mind of every one, that the eyes of all were fixed upon him and were looking at him. And when he had finished his psalm and had come down [from the pulpit], the doctor cried out with a loud voice, saying, "Fie upon thee, young man, for the sweetness of thy voice and the beautiful manner of thy singing have driven out of my mind all the thoughts which I wished to gather together"; and as the time had come Rabban Jacob went out to his cell.

3 Now God, who foreseeth what is for the benefit of the community, in that the blessed Rabban Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, the monk, and head of the monastery was dead, and the brethren of his monastery being troubled by reason of the absence of a man at their head,—now Rabban Îshô'-yahbh at the hour of his death had himself said to them, "Be not afflicted, my sons and brethren, at my separation from you, for behold our Lord will move the blessed Jacob, a monk of Bēth 'Ābhē, and he will come to you, and will be a

head to you"—stirred up against him foolish jealousy by the hand of certain men, such as was stirred up against the blessed Jacob his [spiritual] father in the Great Monastery [of Īzlā], and he went forth secretly and departed to that holy monastery. And the sons of this monastery were greatly vexed and afflicted on his account, and wished to make him come back here. And they went down to Mār Ḥenān-Īshō several times, and they brought against him letters [threatening] excommunication, but he would not at all be persuaded to return. Let every one who wishes to learn of his greatness and of the great freedom of speech which he possessed with God, take his history and read it; and from its perusal he will be moved to the praise of God, Who so greatly exalteth and magnifieth His saints, and to Whom be glory for ever and ever!

### CHAPTER 3. OF RABBAN APHNI-MĀRAN

1 This Aphni-Māran was a disciple of Rabban Kām-Īshō, and also of Rabban Aphni-Māran of holy memory, and he came from Karkhâ dhê Bêth Sêlôkh which is in the country of Bêth Garmai. From his youth up he was a son and heir of the holy fathers in this monastery, serving perfectly the life of excellence, and being guided to the kingdom of heaven and its happiness by the hands and mediation of Rabban Kâm-Îshô, whose own peculiar disciple he was. And God gave him wisdom and understanding in the Scriptures, and like a spiritual philosopher, he composed many works and "Responses", and treatises on doctrine in a perfect manner, and rivers of living water flowed from his belly according to the word of our Lord. And against this man, because he was also like unto the pillar of light which led the Hebrews, and because God wished him to be the founder of a monastery with a large brotherhood, like his [spiritual] father, envious people were stirred up, and they placed him on a bier for the dead, and [ascribing to him] the name of Meşâllêyânâ, with psalms and prayers for the dead they brought him out to the place where they make asses run. Nevertheless by his hands also the Lord

2 of the monks mentioned by name in the letter which Îshô'-yahbh sent to Bêth 'Abhê concerning the election of a head. See p. 104, l. 11. built and finished the holy monastery which is to this day called by his name and memorial; may his prayers be with us for good, Amen!

## CHAPTER 4. OF THE DEPARTURE OF MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH, [THE CATHOLICUS] AND OF THE BISHOPS WHO WERE WITH HIM TO BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ (ASIA MINOR)

1 Now when Îshô'-yahbh of Gêdhâlâ had become Catholicus, after the death of their Bishop, the believing men who were in Nineveh chose as governor and head of the pasture of their city and of all their country, the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, the disciple of Rabban, and the son of the good and honourable man of worthy memory, Bastôhmagh, the nobleman from Kûphlânâ, a city of Adiabene. And the people of Mâhôzê dhê Arîwân (or Ariavân), a city of Bêth Garmai, chose Sâhdônâ, the disciple of Rabban [Jacob], concerning whom we have written a short time ago. And when Shêrôê rose in the kingdom, he desired and wished to live in his kingdom in peace, and to be remote from the disturbances, and strifes, and raids, and evil things which Khusrau his father had committed; and by the command and permission of his pacific majesty there was rest to all the churches that were under the dominion of the Persians. And [when] Mâr Îshô'-yahbh from Bêth 'Arbhâyê was appointed Patriarch, King Shêrôê persuaded the Catholicus to select from

2 principal writings of Îshô'-yahbh were a commentary on the Psalms, and sundry epistles, histories, and homilies. According to Guidi, (Nuovo testo, p. 24) he was a married man. the dominion of the East certain Metropolitans and Bishops, that they might go up to the territory of the Byzantine Greeks, at the cost and expense of the [Persian] king, bearing his letters and greetings, saying, "Let them make to pass away and to be blotted out all the discord and enmity which have existed between the Persians and the Greeks, and by their wisdom let them sow peace in the two countries." Then Mâr Îshô'-yahbh being obedient to the command of the good King Shêrôë, gathered together Mâr Cyriacus, the Metropolitan Bishop of Nisibis, and Mâr Paul, Metropolitan of Adiabene, and Mâr Gabriel of Karkhâ dhê Bêth Sêlokh (Kerkûk) and certain other Bishops, who were wise, instructed and understanding 3 chap. xlvi), for that had been restored by Ardashîr III in 628—629, and the festival to celebrate its restoration took place at Jerusalem in 629. (One writer says that the general of Ardashîr, sent the Cross back to Heraclius; see Guidi, Nuovo testo, p. 25.) See the discussion on this point in Nôldeke, op. cit., p. 392, note 1. In the account of this mission given by Bar-Hebræus (Chron. Eccles., ii. 113) Îshô'-yahbh is said to have given the Greeks

to understand that his religion was the same as theirs. Îshô'-yahbh was far-sighted enough to make an alliance with Muḥammad the Prophet (or, as Wright thought, with Abû Bakr) through the intervention of a Christian governor at Najrân called Sayyed, and Îshô', the Bishop of the believers at that place. Certain of the conditions of the agreement, which was ratified by 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, are given by Bar-Hebræus Chron. Eccles., ii, col. 117; see also B. O., ii, p. 418; iii. 1, p. 108, col. 1. Îshô'-yahbh stipulated that the Christians should be protected from the attacks of their foes; that the Arabs should not compel them to go out to war with them; that they should not compel them to change their manners and laws; that they should help them to repair their old churches; that the tax on the poor should not exceed four zûzê, and that the tax on merchants and the wealthy should be ten zûzê per man; that a Christian woman in Arab service should neither be compelled to give up her faith, nor to neglect fasting and prayer; etc.

4 men, and with them were also our holy Ishō-yahbh of Nineveh, and Sāhdōnā. And thus through Christ our Lord, the Lord of the worlds and the Governor and Guardian of the two countries and of the whole world gave these shepherds mercy in the sight of the Greeks, and they received their assembly and their petition as if they had been the angels of God. Thus those holy men were rewarded for all the care and heavy toil of that long journey, and they returned in peace to this country, each man to his episcopal throne.

### CHAPTER 5. OF THE CASKET OF THE BONES OF THE APOSTLES WHICH MĀR ISHŌ-YAHBH BROUGHT WITH HIM [FROM ANTIOCH], AND PLACED IN THIS MONASTERY

Now while these holy men who have been mentioned above were passing through the city of Antioch, and while they were resting in one of the churches of this city in which they tarried many days, Mār Ishō-yahbh of Bēth 'Ābhē saw a white marble casket upon which was the sign of the adorable Cross, and to this, united to the chariot of its honour, were two figures of cherubs. And he saw the mighty deeds which were wrought there by means of it, and he learned that there were inside it some of the bones and portions of the bodies of the blessed Apostles, and being hot with all the desire of his love for that casket in which these were laid, he offered up prayers to God, the Lord of all, and frequent entreaties, that by means of himself it might be brought to this country. And having vexed and tortured himself [by scheming] all manner of devices, and not knowing what to do, he gave

this matter to God, [asking] that while he, that is Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, used all human efforts, Christ would protect and defend him in a Divine manner. And this actually happened, for he stole it and brought it with him here with all the honour due to the holy pearls which were therein. And we are certain in our opinion and judgment that this matter was wrought thus, for it is spoken of to this day in the city of Antioch, even as also it came down by tradition, and was handed on to us by those men who were before us in this monastery.

### CHAPTER 6. OF HOW SÂHDÔNÂ [FOOLISHLY] TURNED ASIDE FROM THE TRUE AND ORTHODOX BELIEF

1 Now when those holy men who went to the territory of the Greeks (Asia Minor) were in the land of Apamea, they tarried there a few days to rest themselves; and there was there a certain monastery of heretics who had made themselves strangers to the religion of truth. And the holy and blessed Mār John, Bishop of the Scattered of the country of Damascus, a great and godlike man who worked signs and wonders like the Apostles in those countries, and whose acts of abstinence and ascetic manner of life and exalted holiness are reported unto this day, and Mār Īshō-yahbh of our convent, and Sāhdōnā with him, wished to go to these men to hold a discussion with them. And when the sons of that monastery went forth to them, they marvelled and were astonished at the arguments which these three brilliant stars brought against them, and they perceived that the stubble of their doctrine was not able [to resist] in the very smallest degree, the fire of the true wisdom and the powerful demonstrations of the men from the East. Now the men of that monastery had a head, a grey-headed old man, and his disciples went into his presence and said to him, "Three Eastern Bishops from among the ambassadors of the King of the Persians, who have come to us, have destroyed and made of none effect all the labour and care [which we have spent] in weaving compositions of words on the dogma which we hold.

2 Now that wicked old man who, according to what I have learned from others by the tradition which hath come down, was a sorcerer, commanded his disciples to entreat them to come in to see him, for [he wished] more particularly to hear from them concerning the petition which they had moved. And when the blessed men Mār Īshō'-yahbh and Mār John excused themselves, for they accounted the sight of that wicked old man as the sight of the Devil himself, Sāhdōnā, as it were relying upon his own enlightened under-

standing was so bold as to go in; and when his companions entreated him not to cross [the threshold] he would not be persuaded by them. And they say that when he had gone in to the monastery to the old man, and had seen his grey hairs and age, he bowed his head under his right hand; and thus, they say, the understanding of Sâhdônâ became corrupted from the true faith which he held. And little by little, with the progress of time and changes, Sâhdônâ wrote books for those who denied the correctness of the opinion that there are two natures and two persons in one created form. And when the holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh of Adiabene arose as Catholicus, he expelled Sâhdônâ from the Church, according to the prophecy which had been [made] concerning him by the holy Rabban Bar-Idtâ the ascetic in very truth.

### CHAPTER 7. OF MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH [III], THE CATHOLICUS, AND OF HOW HE WISHED TO ESTABLISH A SCHOOL IN THIS MONASTERY

1 Now as soon as Mâr Îshô'-yahbh had become Catholicus and Patriarch, and had received all the fulness of the holy things, and the sacerdotal garments which are given for the glory and advancement and perfection of the holy Church, by the election of the Holy Spirit, the cause, and giver, and perfector of all her sublimity, he showed forth diligent zeal and care with all the solicitude which it is right should be manifested by sons for the paternal inheritance of the house in which they were reared. And he built in this monastery a splendid temple, at great expense, and with the participation of the holy and blessed in all things, the blessed Mâr Sabhr-Îshô', Metropolitan Bishop of Bêth Garmai, and of Mâr George, his disciple, the Metropolitan of Adiabene, concerning whom we will afterwards speak, and of all the Bishops of this diocese of Âthôr and Adiabene, the temple was consecrated and beautified with all holy things.

2 of Margâ, it has been thought proper to give the full texts of these at the end of this chapter. They are edited from two copies which I caused to be made from an old MS. at Môsul while on a mission to Mesopotamia for the Trustees of the British Museum. They afford an interesting insight into the history of Sâhdônâ, and into the character of Îshô'-yahbh, and give an idea of the internal troubles which beset the Nestorian Church at that period. And a short time after these things Mâr Îshô'-yahbh wished to build a school near his cell, and to provide it with all that was necessary, and to bring to it teachers and masters and expositors, and to gather together many scholars and to provide for them in all things. And he had made ready in his mind,

and had resolved and decided to carry out this work in such a way that for every child who was trained and instructed therein the monastery might be near at hand for the purpose of [his] becoming a disciple, so that the school and the monastery might become one; the school to give birth to and rear scholars, and the monastery to teach and sanctify them for the labours of the ascetic life. And he brought workmen and builders to build what he wished.

5 of his own opinion and manner of life saw what the Catholicus was doing, that he was preparing to bring uproar and noise upon them, and that henceforth they must abandon the happiness and enjoyment of retirement, and all the course of the ascetic life, the glory and beauty of which seclusion, whether it be on the tongue, or sight, or hearing, bringeth to a man, they were all gathered together in the presence of Mâr Catholicus, and with gentle entreaties, and humble supplication, they begged Mâr Catholicus exceedingly to desist from this work which would injure them in several particulars, saying, "It is not good for [us] monks, while dwelling in our cells, to be disturbed by the sound of the chanting of the psalms and the singing of the hymns and the offices, and by the noise of the voices of the school boys and of those who keep watch [by night]. We have neither found it in writing, nor have we received it by report that such a thing as this ever took place in any of the monasteries of the fathers. We are destined for weeping and mourning while we dwell in our cells, according to the doctrine which we have learned from [our] books, and we have also received [this] from our father Mâr Jacob, for during his lifetime and on his departure from us he did not command us that one should teach the other to sing, and to read the offices from books.

6 Cease then from the effort of making us to become school boys again, and instead let each man dwell in his cell, and let each man read by himself. If, however, thou wishest to build a school, behold all the towns, and villages and the lands round about them; the whole land of Persia is thy dominion, build then wheresoever thou wishest; but in this monastery a school shall not be built, for if thou dost build a school here, we shall all depart. And Mâr Catholicus said to them, "It is not necessary for you to be angry at a matter which would bring you honour, and which would expand and increase the glory of this monastery. For since two excellent things, as it were two effectual powers, viz., the one being practice, which is the learning of the Divine Scriptures, and the other being spiritual contemplation, which is established

by the working of the mind and understanding, would be perfected in this place, this monastery, the house of our fathers, would become a mirror of deeds to be emulated by the wise and diligent, and the congregation of monks would increase by reason of those who would be instructed in doctrine in the school. And, moreover, I have the power [to build] for two reasons which must overcome all obstacles; first, because I have adorned and endowed this monastery with property and earthly possessions, and secondly, because, spiritually, I am master of all monasteries and convents;

7 and it is meet for me to honour and adorn my own monastery especially rather than to glorify the monasteries [of others]. Therefore, by the word of our Lord, cease ye to be obstacles to the work, for the good pleasure of God, the Lord of all, is therein."

### CHAPTER 9. OF THE DEPARTURE OF RABBAN KÂM-ÎSHÔ AND THE BRETHREN [WHO WERE WITH HIM] FROM [THIS] MONASTERY TO HERPÂ, A VILLAGE OF SAPHSÂPHÂ

Now when Rabban Kâm-Îshô, and Bērâz Sûrîn the head of the congregation, who after Rabban KâmÎshô' obtained the headship of the monastery, saw that they were irresistibly compelled to depart from the monastery, because they were not able to withstand Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, they together with seventy solitaries belonging to this congregation, made ready with one accord and at night, unperceived by Mâr Catholicus, they went into the martyrium, and took away the coffin of the holy Mâr Jacob their spiritual father. And thus weeping, and crying, and murmuring, that they should never again see this monastery, and that their departure was for ever, they all went forth up above Herpâ, a village of Saphsâphâ, prepared to build a monastery in which they might lay Rabban Jacob, and where they might continue the course of their ascetic life and end their days. And they had made ready to bring stones and had prepared materials for the construction of a temple and cells, and those blessed men did not perceive that God would shortly bring them back to the inheritance of their father Jacob.

### CHAPTER 10. OF THE VISION WHICH MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH SAW ON THE NIGHT IN WHICH THE BRETHREN TOOK RABBAN JACOB AND DEPARTED

1 Now although the over-zealousness of the will of Mâr Îshô'-yahbh was not praiseworthy in the sight of these holy men, and appeared to them to be a hindrance,—as indeed it was,—to their ascetic manner of life, nevertheless it appeared that the zealousness of will of the holy man might at the end res-

ult in a beautiful ending, and he, therefore, determined to make it a good thing, however much it might be displeasing to the monks. And the Lord Christ Himself, who saw the thoughts of both parties, on the one side Mâr Îshô'-yahbh wishing to build a school for the increase of divine doctrine and spiritual growth, and on the other, the monks fleeing away from this for the sake of love for Him, that in quietness, and without any disturbance, they might take pains to please His Lordship, even as the Ashimonian desert in which they lived taught them to do, showed Mâr Catholicus on the night in which the holy men went forth, when he was lying on the bed of his holiness, half asleep and half awake, a vision in which a large eagle, strong of body and long of pinions, and having many eaglets upon his back, went forth from the martyrium where Rabban Jacob was buried, and flew away from the monastery towards the north; and he heard the noise of the twittering and the chattering of the eaglets which were upon his back as if their food had been taken away from them.

2 And he woke up with a start and the dream and the vision which he had seen made him marvel and wonder. And he called for the sacristan by the hand of his disciple, and he came to him, and before he could question him the sacristan said to him, A short time ago the head of the monastery and Bērāz Sūrên came with seventy men, and they took the body of Rabban Jacob and departed; and behold the whole congregation is making ready to depart from this monastery after them. And when the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh heard these things, he knew that what he wished to do was not the Will of God, and he rose up on that day and wrote to the holy men to come back to their monastery. And he departed to Kuphlânâ his village, and he built there the school which he had prepared to build in this monastery; and those blessed men turned and came back to their cells.

### CHAPTER 11. OF RABBAN 'AN̄ĀN-ĪSHŌ' THE DOCTOR, AND MONK, AND COMPILER OF THE "BOOK OF PARADISE."

1 It is not right that the glorious memory of the holy Abbâ 'Ânân-Îshô' should drop out from our mind, or that we should suppress the mention of his indefatigable zeal, on the contrary, let us place his noble acts among [those of] his companions, for happiness at the right hand of our Lord Christ is [also] laid up for him with them. Now this blessed man 'Ânân-Îshô' and Îshô'-yahbh his brother came from the country of Adiabene; they were both trained in doctrine in the city of Nisibis, being children of the school and

love and household of the blessed Mâr Īshô'-yahbh [of Adiabene]. They became disciples in the Great Monastery [of Īzlâ], as the books which belong to them in the library of this monastery testify, for they shew that they were written by their hands there. Now Abbā Ānān-Īshō having lived the life of an ascetic with all excellence, and having his mind constantly fixed upon the works of the ascetic fathers, determined to go and worship in Jerusalem. And from there he went to the desert of Scete, where he learned concerning all the manner of the lives of the ascetic fathers, whose histories and questions are written in books, and concerning their dwellings, and the places in which they lived.

2 And when he turned to come back he made his journey by way of the [monastery of the] holy Mār John, Bishop of the Scattered, of whom I have made mention a little way back, that he might be blessed by his holiness, and enjoy his conversation. And after he had come to his own monastery, he took his brother, and they came to this monastery [of Bēth 'Ābhē] by reason of the annoyance and contention which had taken place there, for certain men who were slanderers, and who set themselves against holy men, had risen up there, and they drove out the holy Rabban Narsai, the disciple of Mār Bābhai, who finally became head of the monastery and was renowned for a life of excellence. And concerning Mār Narsai the holy Mār Īshō-yahbh, when he was Bishop of Nineveh, wrote a letter to the Great Monastery, blaming them, and saying, "Ye have not acted rightly towards that [holy] man in making him a stranger to your congregation. Now when they came to this monastery, and dwelt in silence according to the rule of ascetics, Rabban 'Ānān-Īshō' the wise of understanding laboured so hard in the study of books, that he surpassed all who were before and after him in his knowledge.

3 And when Mār Īshō'-yahbh was Metropolitan of Arbēl (Arbela), and wished to draw up in order a book of the Canons that he might send copies of it to all the countries of his patriarchate, he made the wise Abbâ 'Ānān-Īshō', the love of whom is very dear and sweet to me, to sit with him during the drawing up of the canons, because of the institutes and rules which he had composed, and because he found that he alone possessed in a sufficient measure a clear mind, and a natural talent for the art of music, and a knowledge how to arrange words. 4 Now the excellent man, and elect of God, Īshō-yahbh, the brother of 'Ānān-Īshō', was appointed Bishop of Kārdālīābhādh, that is Shennā a city of Bēth Rāmmān. And the noble 'Ānān-Īshō'

composed definitions and divisions of various things, which were written upon the walls of his cell. And when his brother Mâr Îshô'-yahbh came to pray in this monastery, and saw the divisions of the science of philosophy of his brother 'Ânân-Îshô', he begged him to write a commentary on them for him, and to send it to him, which 'Ânân-Îshô' actually did. And he wrote to him a clear exposition in many lines, from which will be apparent to every one who readeth therein the greatness of his wisdom; now the title of this work is, "A letter which a brother wrote to his brother; to the excellent and holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh the Bishop, 'Ânân-Îshô' in the Lord, greeting." He also wrote a work on the correct pronunciation of the words and of the difficult words which are used with different significations in the writings of the Fathers, which exists among the books in the library of this convent, and which surpasses all other collations in its accuracy; and according to what I have learned concerning these his [books] from the aged Elders, they were completed and given to us by him. Now when the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh the Catholicus departed this temporary life, the holy Mâr George became Patriarch after him.

### CHAPTER 12. OF THE BLESSED MÂR GEORGE, THE CATHOLICUS

1 This holy man Mâr George came from Kaphrâ in the province of Bêth Gâwâyâ, which is in the country of Bêth Garmai; he was the son of rich and noble parents, and his father possessed in this country [of Margâ] two estates, Tellâ dhê Zâllê, that is Tell-zallah, and Bêth Ḥabbâ, and he was sent by his parents to watch and govern the affairs and business of these estates. And when he went into the monastery to pray and to be blessed by the ascetics and those who dwelt therein, their manner of life was pleasing in the sight of the blessed man, and he also wished to inscribe himself with the seal of their divine service. Now according to what I have learned from his kinsfolk, who possess written records of him, he became a disciple after the death of Rabban [Jacob], and the time itself shews us that it must have been subsequent to this event, for at that period he had not yet arrived at the age for being a disciple. It is probable that he received the tonsure before Rabban Kâm-Îshô' received the office of head of the convent. And when his father departed from this world, George entreated his brethren that the village of Bêth Ḥabbâ might be given to him as his share in the division of the inheritance, and he gave it to this monastery [of Bêth 'Abhê].

2 Now when the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh was Bishop of Nineveh he saw the intelligence and good disposition and humility of the young man George, and was drawn to love him as the blessed Nectarius loved Evagrius, and brought him to be his disciple. And when Mâr Īshō'-yahbh became Metropolitan of Adiabene he took the excellent and humble George with him; and when Mâr Īshō'-yahbh became Catholicus he made him Metropolitan of this country (Margā) in his place. So also when he became Patriarch this same Mâr Īshō'-yahbh was appointed general governor of the dominion of the countries which were far away. And he had many disciple and intimate friends, and one of them, George, he made Metropolitan of Pērāth dhē Maishān, and another George, to be distinguished from our George, he made Metropolitan of Nisibis, by whom was composed the hymn of praise for the consecration of a church which begins: —

3 "Glory to Thy mercy, Christ, our King, Son of God, adored by all." and Sozomen relates (Hist. Eccles., vi. 30) that when Gregory occupied the see of Constantinople, he made Evagrius his archdeacon. See also B. O., iii. 1, pp. 45, 151. Now both [these] Georges were Persians by birth. Now when our Lord wished to gather [to Himself] the holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, the fathers who were [standing] near him entreated him, saying, "Whom dost thou appoint, O Mâr Catholicus, to become governor of the Church after thee?" And he answered humbly, and said, "The choice doth not rest with me, but with the fathers [who are] Bishops; but it appeareth to me that of all our contemporaries it is most fitting that George should be Catholicus;" and it came to pass that George was appointed Catholicus. And when he was appointed, according to the command of his holy master, George of Nisibis, the Persian, was absent on a mission to the land of Persia, on which he had been sent by Mâr Îshô'-yahbh while he was alive. And when he came back and heard that the Catholicus had commanded, "George shall succeed me," and that he had not distinctly stated which George, certain fair-speaking, and malignant men disquieted him saying, It is meet that thou shouldst have the Patriarchate, and there is no doubt that the Patriarch thy predecessor made his testamentary deposition with reference to thee." And having returned from Persia and having arrived at Mĕdhínáthá dhē Bēth Aramāyē, he did not go in [to visit] George the Catholicus, but he despised him and held him in contempt, and in his pride he left him and went to Nisibis.

## CHAPTER 13. OF THE HUMILITY AND GENTLENESS OF THE HOLY GEORGE, THE CATHOLICUS, [AND OF GEORGE THE METROPOLITAN OF NISIBIS]

1 Now since this holy man had, from his youth up, placed himself under the yoke of the humility of Christ, and had held himself to be of no account in comparison with what was excellent, and in his own opinion had set himself below every [other] man, he did not meditate within himself and consider, saying, "I am a [distinguished man], the Catholicus, and I myself have power to despise him that despised me, and I can make a mock of him that held me in contempt," even although he had the power to prevent and put an end to his ministration, until he should come and apologize, and manifest penitence for his haughtiness. 2 And moreover, that humble head [of the Church] was not moved to wrath by any of these things, neither did his exalted position overcome him, who while standing as the head of the Church, and as a mighty fountain from which holiness flowed down to all ranks, nevertheless made use of that justice which alone is fitting [before] God: on the contrary he meditated wisely and he judged mercifully, in that he listened to our Lord, Who said, "Whosoever among you wisheth to be great, let him be last of all men, and a servant of all men. And he rose up lovingly and he went to the city of Nisibis to reconcile to him George the Metropolitan, who was angry and wrathful with him. Now the entry of Mâr Catholicus into the church of Nisibis was arranged to take place when George and all the city were gathered together in the temple at the time of the Mysteries on the first day of the week. And when the Metropolitan who was in the pulpit, saw the Catholicus coming in at the door, he came down from the pulpit, and went out of the temple, and departed to his cell. Now when he had done this thing, the people of Nisibis were ashamed, and they were exceedingly grieved and angry with their Metropolitan, and they went up to him forthwith, and said to him, "How is it that thou art not ashamed to do this thing?

3 How can we esteem thee a shepherd and a head whilst thou despisest all the toil, and trouble, and humility which Mâr Catholicus hath shewn thee? Thou must know, however, that unless thou yieldest thyself to be reconciled to him and art penitent for thy two acts of folly, namely in treating him lightly in Māḥōzē, and also at this present in our city, we will neither be thy people, nor shalt thou stand at our head; and being compelled he came down, and they each expressed their contrition by bowing to each other to

the ground. And Mâr Catholicus said, "Why hast thou raged and cut asunder the bonds of fatherly subjugation? and why hast thou turned aside the shoulder of humility from the yoke, and hast disturbed the order which is incumbent upon the paternal throne? The Metropolitan said to him, "Our Master, Mâr Îshô-yahbh, of holy memory made a testamentary deposition that I should be Patriarch after him, for I was a very servant working before him, and I have trodden all Persia on his missions. The Catholicus saith to him, "It is true that thou hast travelled in obedience to him, but I was reared upon his holy knees. He it was who made me wise in holy doctrine, and he it was also who made me Metropolitan of the country of his fathers, and I have laid my hands upon his eyes, as Joseph laid his hands upon those of his father Jacob.

4 If thou hast worked before him he hath rewarded thee by making thee Metropolitan of the high place of the world, Ṣôbhâ; this should be sufficient for thee and it is twice as much as thou hast deserved. For what merits which thou possessest could he have given thee the patriarchate? Or was it, peradventure that when thou didst find that we were humble, even as we are commanded to be, thou didst wish to magnify thyself against us, like the company of Ḳûrâḥ (Korah) and Dâthan against Moses? Know, however, that whilst we have acted according to the command of our Lord and of the fathers, thou by this pride which thy piety has shown, hast proved thyself to be in opposition to it. May God the Lord forgive us all, Amen. Thus by his humility Mâr George reconciled George the Metropolitan, and he bound on the crown of victory, and the happiness which is reserved for the humble is reserved for him in heaven. All these things, O beloved Mâr 'Abhd-Îshô, I have learned from the ecclesiastical histories of the saintly Mâr Athken, who was called "Plucker out of his beard," of the Great Monastery [of Mount Îzlâ].

### CHAPTER 14. OF ANOTHER GEORGE [METROPOLITAN] OF PERÂTH DHÊ MAISHÂN, WHO WAS ALSO ANGRY AND WISHED TO LIFT UP THE HEEL AGAINST MÂR CATHOLICUS

1 That holy men should live in afflictions, and that Satan would never let them have peace, but would, at every moment, be working all manner of grievous troubles for them, and disquieting the meek, and stirring up temptations for them, the adorable mouth of our Vivifier foretold, saying, "In the world ye shall have tribulation," and again, "If they have persecuted me, you also will they persecute." What then? As soon as George of Nisibis

had been reconciled, and Satan saw the profound humility which the Catholicus had manifested in respect of him, and the long road of trouble and afflictions which he had borne, he could not endure to leave that blessed man without other pain and anxiety even for a short time. Now when the Catholicus went down to Mědhináthá dhé Běth Armáyě, he heard and learned also concerning George of Pěráth dhé Maishán, how he was bringing accusations against him before the heathen, and also that he was making ready to offer resistance to him. And although this also made trouble for him, he went down to make peace, and to make of none effect the crafts of the Calumniator. Now when he arrived at [Pěráth dhé Maishán], George left that place and departed to 'Ákólé. And since that holy man [George] was armed with humility against all Satanic assaults, he went to take refuge with the spiritual man, Rabban Khodhâhwai, the head of the Monastery of Bêth Ḥâlê, a man who strove to live the life of Antony [the Great] and of Macarius, a holy man in truth, and a praiseworthy. And that holy man served the will of Mâr Catholicus with ready mind and with all the obedience with which it was seemly to act before the head of the Church; and thus through the instrumentality of Rabban Khodhâhwai, and through the humility of Mâr Catholicus, that George also was reconciled.

2 And after these things Mâr Catholicus went down to Bêth Ḳeṭrâyê that he might reconcile the inhabitants thereof, for they had cut themselves off from obedience to the episcopal throne of Rêw-Ardashîr, which is Persia; and he went to the island of Dîrên, and the people thereof were also reconciled. And he went up from there, and came to this holy monastery, and he brought with him cloths for the altar which had been woven for him in the island of Dîrên, of Bêth Ḳeṭrâyê. And he entreated the wise and holy father 'Ānān-Īshō' that he would collect the chapters and questions which were scattered about in a confused manner and were sown mixedly through the various sections of the [Book] of the histories, and narratives, and triumphs, and the questions and answers of the ascetic fathers,—now this book was called the "Conversations of the Elders"—and that he would make each question follow that to which it belonged in consecutive order.

### CHAPTER 15. OF THE COMPILATION OF THE BOOK WHICH WAS CALLED "PARADISE."

1 Now this Abbā 'Ānān-Īshō', (may his memory be for all blessings), who was mentioned a little way back, was a contemporary of both these Patriarchs

who were anointed with oil, and to both he showed his obedience; to Mār Īshō'-yahbh in arranging the Canons of the Ḥūdhrā, and to Mār George in arranging the Book of the Fathers, which work he undertook to do. And having asked for the prayers of Mār Catholicus, and of the holy old men of his congregation, he began and finished this command [with] which he had been commanded. And with an enlightened mind, and a wise understanding —especially as the Spirit had manifested in him the efficacy of His gift,—he arranged and fitted together in smooth order, six hundred chapters, [divided] into fifteen Canons, each containing forty sections. Each chapter was [followed by a] question having direct reference to the contents of the chapter which it followed, (so that if a brother was labouring in any spiritual warfare whatsoever, and wished to pluck consolation or to take counsel on the matter which vexed him, he might find it ready close at hand; and the counsels were placed in consecutive order so that he might be very quickly consoled in his affliction and relieved, and also that he might lay soothing plaster on his suffering wound), and four hundred and thirty other chapters, which treat generally of all kinds of excellence, and many others to which he did not affix numbers nor did he arrange them in order.

2 And he took from the Commentary on the blessed Matthew the Evangelist, the Discourse which was composed by Mâr John Chrysostom on the praises of the Egyptian ascetics, and the Questions of the blessed Mār Abraham of Nephthar, and other examples and narratives which he himself had collected from the writings of the Fathers. And he arranged the whole work in two volumes; in the first part were the histories of the holy Fathers composed by Palladius and Jerome, and in the second part were the questions and the narratives of the fathers which he himself had brought together. And he called this book "Paradise", and thus it is handed down and received in all the monasteries of the East, and the fathers everywhere praise his ability and applaud his work. And being inflamed by love for him I have written down his honourable memorial among the histories of the holy men who were his fellow workers and associates.

*The Syriac Version of the Paradise of Palladius.*

3 During the winter of 1888 the Vicar of the Chaldean Patriarch was so kind as to show me some of the Syriac Manuscripts in his possession, and among them was a thick 'Abhd-Îshô' (B. O., iii. 1, p. 49) Palladius and Jerome. See B. O., 1, pp. 568,608. Lôṣâ (Lausus) the chamberlain [of the Emperor Theodosi-

us]; to God be glory and honour and praise and worship and exaltation, for ever and ever; Yea and Amen." The book was finished on the sixth day of the latter Teshrîn, in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1890, in the blessed village of Alḳôsh, the village of Nahum the Prophet which is laid and built by the side of the Monastery of Rabban Hôrmizd the Persian, in the days of the Catholicus and Patriarch of Babylon of the East, Mâr Elîyâ XIII, and was written by 'Îsâ bar-Esha'yâ, the son of the deacon Cyriacus from the village of Eḳrôr.

4 11 Of the blessed Ammonius, the disciple of Pambo See fol. 56b 12 Of Benjamin of Mount Nēṭirā (Nitria) See fol. 57b 13 Of Apollonius the Merchant. See fol. 58b 14 Of the brethren Paesius and Isaiah. See fol. 58b 15 Of Macarius the child of the Cross. See fol. 59b... 16 The triumphs of Isaiah, and Paul, and Noph the confessors with Abbâ Ôr. See fol. 191 a 17 The triumphs of Evagrius. See fol. 191 b 18 The triumphs of Abbâ. See fol. 192 a 19 The triumphs of the blessed fathers who worked miracles. See fol. 192 b 20 The general triumph of the brethren in the Nitrian desert. See fol. 193 b 21 The triumphs of Ammon of Nitria. See fol. 194 a 22 The triumphs of another Ammon. 5 See fol. 194 b 23 The triumphs of Didymus, of and of three brethren. See fol. 195 a 24 The triumphs of Philemon, of John, and of Serapion. See fol. 195 b 25 The triumphs of Apollo the Martyr. See fol. 196 a IV. Foll. 197 b—350 b. The Counsels of the holy old men, and the questions and answers of the brethren. 1 Questions 1—62. On fleeing from men, on the solitary life, and on dwelling in the cell continually, compiled by Palladius. See foll. 197 b—205 a. This section contains questions, etc., by Arsenius, Ammon, Sisoes Sarmâta Antony, Theodore, Bēṭîmîôn Joseph, Nestor, Poemen, Bishop of Oxyrhynchus, Macarius, Alonius, Pambo, Abbâ John, Abbâ Agathon, Abbâ Moses, and many others whose names are not mentioned. 2 Questions 63—103. On fasting and abstinence. See foll. 205 a—209 b. Sayings, etc., of Paphnutius, Macarius, Isaac, John, Sisoes, Abraham, Agathon, Theodotus, Paphnutius, Serenus, Poemen, Sylvanus, Daniel, Benjamin, and others whose names are not mentioned.

6 3 Questions 104—134. On reading the Scriptures, night vigils, the singing of the Psalms and continual prayer. Sayings, etc., chiefly by the above mentioned writers. 11 Questions 548—586. On fornication. See foll. 269a—275a. Sayings, etc., by Isidore, Daniel, Isaac, Poemen, John, Zeno, Theodore, and other writers. 12 Questions 587—722 (fol. 295a); 101—400. See foll.

275a—333b. Of the acceptance of repentance. Sayings, etc., chiefly by the above mentioned writers. Some leaves appear to have been wanting at fol. 295a in the manuscript from which this copy was made. 13 Homilies against the idle and sluggish. See fol. 333b. 14 Homilies against those who love vainglory. See fol. 333b. 15 Questions and answers of the holy fathers for teacher and pupil. See fol. 334b. 16 Admonition concerning the questions and answers, etc. See fol. 339a. 17 Sayings of the fathers which I have found in other books. See fol. 341b. (Numbered from 1—1).

7 18 Questions and answers of the fathers. See fol. 345b. 19 Of humility and how a man should hold himself to be of none account before all men. See fol. 346b. 20 Admonition of the holy fathers. See fol. 348b. 21 A second admonition. See fol. 349b. 22 Admonition of Abbâ Mâr John Chrysostom. See fol. 350b.

### CHAPTER 16. OF THE DEATH OF THE HOLY MÂR GEORGE THE CATHOLICUS

1 According to what I have learned from the histories of the Church, all of which I have written down in this book,—now some are taken from written documents, and some from oral tradition,—and according to what I have also found written in the Ecclesiastical History of the excellent Mâr Athkên concerning Mâr George the Catholicus, the king who reigned in his time was named Ḥasan bar-ʿAli and that writer saith, "Ḥasan began to reign in the same year in which George was appointed [Catholicus]; and when George had ministered in the patriarchate and Hasan had reigned twenty-two years, both died in the same year, that is to say when each had ruled twenty-two years. Now Mâr George died in Hêrthâ, the city of the Arabs, and was buried with Mâr Abhâ, the Catholicus and Martyr, with all the honour which befitteth the labours and afflictions with which he wearied himself by sea and land for the sake of the holy Church and the flocks which had been entrusted to his hands by our Lord. And we may learn concerning the depth of his doctrine and the height of his wisdom, from the address of prayer which he composed, and which begins:—

2 "O God, the Eternal, Who art from everlasting, Thou Who art everlastingly the Good Being, Whose goodness never changeth...." And he composed for it mournful tunes which were to be accompanied by beautifully arranged instrumental music.

### CHAPTER 17. OF RABBAN SABHR-ÎŠHÔ WHO WAS SURNAMED RÔSTÂM

1 This Rabban Sabhr-Îshô who was called Rôstâm, the beloved friend of the holy fathers who lived in this holy monastery, and the composer of histories of them, came from Hêrem, a village of Adiabene. He was a venerable and holy man, and from his youth up had been a disciple in the Great Monastery of the holy Rabban Mâr Narsai, the head of the monastery. And when he had been there a short time, the fathers who were there asked him, and he wrote [a tract] on the occasion of the celebration of the Golden Sabbath Eve; he also wrote a lengthy work, in elegant language and with a clear mind, which consisted partly of disputations against heretics, and partly of arguments against obscure opinions of various kinds. And he departed from thence and came to our monastery, and when he had tarried here also a short time, the monks from the holy Monastery of Bêth Kôkâ came after him, and

2 Assemânî, considering to be no part of the metrical composition, translates, "Quot in ea suavium Cantuum mutationes cernere est, et quot pulcherrimo ordine succedentes sibi strophas et modos!" through their entreaties, and the counsel of the Elders of this congregation [who gave it] for the benefit of that holy monastery, he sorrowfully departed from here. He wrote also another book in eight discourses on the dispensation of our Lord, on the conversion of the various countries by the hands of the blessed Apostles, and on chastity and ascetic life. He also composed at the request of the holy Elders who were here, but especially of Abbâ Kardâgh, who occupied the same cell as Mâr Îshô'-yahbh [of Adiabene], the history of Rabban Mâr Îshô'-zêkhâ, of the Monastery of Gaṣṣâ; the history of Mâr Îshô'-yahbh; the history of Rabban Mâr Abraham, the head of this monastery, who came here from the monastery of Rabban Zêkhâ-Îshô'; and of Rabban Kâm-Îshô'. He also composed the history of Mâr Abraham of Nephthar, of Rabban Mâr Job the Persian, and the history of Rabban Sabhr-Îshô' [the founder of the Monastery] of Bêth Kôḳâ. Thus with the sweat of his toil in the vineyard of Christ dropping from his brow, he departed from this world, and his soul had rest. And to me when I saw in his writings the love with which he burned for this holy house, it seemed good to make pleasant this history with the venerable memorial of his uprightness.

### CHAPTER 18. OF RABBAN GABRIEL, [THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY], WHO WAS SURNAMED THE "COW"

1 Among the chapters of this our history, O our friend and master, Mâr Abhd-Îshô, we will also recount the history of the venerable Gabriel, who was rapid in thought and zealous for glorious deeds. This man sprang up, according to the body, in the country of Siârzôr, but it did not please him to remain in that place like a savage deprived of the instruction of doctrine, and he set out from thence and came to the city of Nisibis, where he laboured and acquired the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Now this man also was a disciple in the Great Monastery of Mâr Abraham [on Mount Îzlâ], and he toiled in the learning of many books, and his mind was diligently trained in controversy and in disputation against heresies. Especially, however, did he take up arms against the "shorn" followers of Severus of Antioch who lived in the Monastery of Karṭêmin, and he had much controversy with them, and [he composed] answers to them which burned up the evil stubble of their hateful doctrine.

2 And when Sâhdônâ was driven out of the Church, he went after him to Edessa,—as he himself testifies, saying, "At that time, when the wretched Sâhdônâ was expelled from the Church, I, Gabriel, blazed with the burning zeal of my soul, and I went to Edessa to him,"—and there he held a controversy with him, and defeated him. And when the holy Mâr Narsai, the head of that holy monastery, departed from this temporary life to the life which endureth for everlasting, this Gabriel composed the history of his noble deeds, at the end of which he wrote, "It is sufficient for me to say in praise of Rabban Mâr Abraham and his congregation, that the holy Rabban Jacob, the founder of the monastery of Bêth 'Abhê, went forth from it, for the Lord hath built by his hands the king of monasteries;" and from then until now this passage hath been handed down in all places, and Bêth 'Abhê is called the "king of monasteries." Now he was head of the monastery there for a short time, but he departed from thence and came to this monastery. And when Rabban Kâm-Îshô departed to his dwelling place, the blessed Bêrâz Sûrîn rose in his place; and when he also departed, the blessed Mâr Bar-Sâumâ—to whom Mâr Hênân-Îshô wrote a letter at the beginning of his holding the office of Patriarch—rose in his place; and when he also had completed his days, Rabban Gabriel became the head of this holy monastery. And he

3 Socin, Zur Geographie des Tûr 'Abhdîn, in Z.D.M.G. Band xxxv, p. 259. For the word i. e., kourdoum see Löw, Aram. Pflanzennamen, p. 218, no. 162. composed a discourse on washing the feet, which was read on the day of the Passover of our Lord, and he wrote a history of the noble acts of the holy martyrs of Tûr Bērâin, and narratives of various kinds. Now that discourse which was referred to in the commemoration of Rabban Jacob does not, strictly speaking, belong to this Gabriel, but it was composed by Mâr Gabriel, Metropolitan of Karkhâ dhê Bêth Sêlôkh, who was called "Gabriel the Dancer," and concerning whom we shall write when we come to his place.

## CHAPTER 19. OF RABBAN MÂR ABRAHAM THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY OF RABBAN ZÊKHÂ-ÎŠHÔ

1 Now although [the order of] the narratives of our work is destroyed and they do not possess the chronological sequence which it was expected they should possess, nevertheless according to my own opinion and according to the historical tradition which I have received from my fathers, I have preserved the order of the times, and of those [who lived] in them. And even if one person should be placed a little too late, and another a little too early, this is not a matter for blame and reproach, inasmuch as thy wisdom, O 'Abhd-Îshô', man of enlightened mind, lover of holy histories, did entreat me to go round the whole circle of the ascetics who have lived in this monastery and through all the mass of their histories, and to bring them to light before thee. Now it appears that the following account of Rabban Mâr Abraham of Bêth Rabban Zekhâ-Îshô, which we have omitted, belongs to the period of those histories which have been related by us, although we place it a little too late. And when Rabban Abraham was an old man he came to this holy monastery on account of the cold of the country of Dâsen, and on his entrance here, by reason of his fame and the exalted rigour of his ascetic life, this brotherhood entrusted to him the headship of the monastery.

2 And he led those diligent sons in all the ways of a holy life, and they made their perfection reach to heaven, and he wrought here mighty and exalted miracles, which are made known by his history composed by the excellent man [Sabhr-Îshô] Rôstâm. And it came to pass that when he was here, he was the head of this congregation and also of the congregation of [the Monastery of] Rabban Zêkhâ-Îshô from which he went forth. And one steward and governor and guardian ordered the affairs of both monasteries, and the monks of that monastery did not act in any way without the command

of the steward who was elected from this congregation, nor did the monks here oppose in any way the commands of the steward elected from that congregation, for it was a matter which excited the praise of God with all men. And this thing was rumoured among all the monasteries of this country. And although both Rabban Jacob and Rabban Zêkhâ-Îshô came forth from that holy monastery in Mount Îzlâ there was neither division nor severance of love on account of this. So also when the blessed Mâr Abraham had been borne to the rest of the grave, like a shock of corn in its season, and the standing corn at its time [of harvest], this arrangement, that one steward and governor should minister unto both these holy monasteries, continued for a long time after him.

### CHAPTER 20. OF THE OTHER HEADS WHO LIVED IN THIS MONASTERY

Now, to the lives of these [men] which have already been written, our discourse should add also some account of the noble deeds and pious lives of the holy fathers who lived in this holy monastery after them, I mean of Rabban George of Adiabene, who was called 'Bar-Şayyâdhê,' of Sâmâ his brother, of Abbâ Nathaniel, of Abbâ Şelîbhâ, and of Rabban Gabriel, who was called 'Şephrônâ', whose holy bodies were laid in the place in the chapel where the monks say the third service of the day; but inasmuch as Mâr David the Bishop, of [this] monastery, hath before our time written upon them, as well as upon others, at the request of Khûzn[a]hîr, the believing man from the village of Bâshôsh, I pass on to recount the history of those, the narratives of whom are not written down.

### CHAPTER 21. OF ABBÂ SIMON [WHO WAS SURNAMED] THE "BEARDLESS."

I entreat the wisdom of wise and understanding readers, that as they advance in the study of this book, they may hold me entirely free from blame should it appear [to them] that one narrative is in advance of its correct position, and another is after. For not all narratives will admit of being written down in chronological order, lest peradventure the root of history being severed, the narrative should lean to one side, and become like an animal which tries to walk upon two of its four legs, a thing which it is not in any way possible to do. What then? Now in the time of Mâr George, the Catholicus and Patriarch, of holy memory, there lived in this our monastery an old holy man who was called Simon, on whose face, according to what is written by his fellow monks, by reason of the austerity of his ascetic life, and the severity of

his abstinence, no hair remained in his beard, and for this reason he was surnamed the "Beardless." He was a great and glorious man in his days, for by the word of his mouth every affair of the monastery was governed by the ordering of his wisdom. And his old age shone like a broad and splendid beam of light through his lofty understanding, and his exalted philosophy. And like a wise merchant he gathered together and filled his soul with all manner of riches of the treasures of the Spirit, so that the word which our Lord spake, "Every scribe that becometh a disciple of the kingdom of heaven, is like unto a wise man, who bringeth forth from his treasures things new and old," was fulfilled in him; but all the glorious things of this man are drowned in the sea of oblivion because of the length of the time in which they happened before us.

### CHAPTER 22. OF THE GOING DOWN OF RABBAN SIMON TO GEORGE THE CATHOLICUS, [AND OF THE BARRENNESS WHICH HE MADE TO FLOWER IN THE CITY OF ḤADHATTĀ]

Now when the blessed Mār George the Patriarch went up from the countries of Persia and Bēth Ḳaṭrāyē, because he had been absent there a long time, and because everything concerning him was a joy or a sorrow to this holy congregation, when all the holy Elders heard of his coming to the paternal throne of Bēth Aramāyē, they decided to send suitable men to meet him and to salute the father of fathers. And they all entreated this honourable head of the monastery, Abbā Simon, to be the agent by whose means the homage due to his holy fatherhood might be conveyed to him; and this holy old man undertook to do so gladly, and he and others went down to the gate of the Patriarch. And when they had gone in to the city of Hadhattā, a certain God-fearing man received them into his house, and he and his wife were childless, like the God-fearing Shunammite woman and her husband, to whom, from the time that the prophet Elisha entered into their house, God gave a son through the prayers of the prophet. And when Abbā Simon asked those aged people how they did, they revealed to him that they had no child at all to be the heir of their old age; and the holy man gave them some water in which he had washed the cross which was upon him, and said to them, "Behold, God will give you a male child, and his name shall be called John;" and he went down to the door of the father of fathers.

### CHAPTER 23. OF MÂR JOHN OF DÊLÛM

1 And it came to pass that that Divine power which cleaveth to those who fear it, and which has worked, and [still] worketh in a marvellous manner in all generations through them, even as it worked with Sarâ (Sarah) and Rephkâ (Rebekah) and Hannah and the Shunammite woman, worked also with those believing people, and made perfect; and according to the prayer and prophecy of the holy old man, when the season of the year came round, a child of their old age was born unto them, and according to the command of Rabban Simon they called him John. And as God hath sanctified to His household the fruit which hath been born from barrenness, and by His care for them hath made them exalted and glorious in their generations, (as for example, Isaac and Jacob and Samuel and others), that same Power which governeth all things, and which manifesteth extraordinary things through His saints, and which makes them, from being fruits of the body, fruits of the Spirit, also established as a witness of His effectual might, which is above all things, that man of whom we now write. And the Holy One set him apart, like Samuel, from his childhood, and accounted him to be His own, and made him a member of His household.

2 And when this child had been born to his truly believing parents, whose lives rejoiced in him as in the air which they breathed, (for he was the light of their consolation), with great watchfulness and care for him they placed him in a school; and because the Lord knoweth His own, and worketh effectually that He may be known of them, he learned in a short time the Psalms and the other subjects which it is the duty of boys to learn. And when he was some few years old, when as yet he had experienced neither the motions of the body nor the importunities of the passions, he forsook those old people, worthy of blessed memory, and everything, and came to this holy monastery. Now although many have written histories about this blessed man, especially Abhú Nôh, who resteth among the righteous, I will relate briefly a few matters concerning him. It would seem that his coming [to this monastery] took place in the days of the holy Mâr Abraham, him of Bêth Rabban Zêkhâ-Îshô, as I will shew at the end. Now that same Divine grace which brought the child into existence through the prayers of the holy Abbâ Simon, placed him at the door of his cell, so that just as he had been the cause of his birth, so he should also be the guide and leader of his early manhood in each sublime step of the ascetic life.

3 And when Abbâ Simon knew who he was, and whence he came, and the cause of his coming to the monastery, for the young man informed him concerning these things little by little, his affection went forth to him, and he loved him much, even as Jacob loved his beloved Joseph when he saw him. And when the [other] holy Elders had learned how he had been born, because of the majesty of that holy old man and the honour in which he was held in this congregation, they offered no opposition on account of his youth to his receiving the tonsure. Now when he had become a disciple he was set to do the work of the monastery, and to be the keeper of the vineyard of the monastery which was situated in Dûrê, a village of Naḥlâ dhê Malkâ; and he continued in this service a long time living nobly a life of excellence, after the manner of the Elders who had led a monastic life from their youth up. And he made for himself of the vine branches in the vineyard a little hut, in which he tended the vines and watched and laboured the whole time that he was there, and in which, to this day, mighty deeds and healings of sicknesses are wrought by the prayers of that holy man.

4 And the believing and God-loving people of that village testify that they had recourse to him in every affliction, and having asked for the prayers of that holy man, rest and deliverance were afforded unto them. And the venerable old man Elisha relates:—"When I was sent there by the monastery to be the keeper of the vineyard, the marks of the fingers of the blessed man still remained in the plaster of mud with which he had plastered that cave. And when I was in the vineyard by myself, and there was no man with me, the Kartêwâyê came against me to carry away the iron tools and the provisions which were with me; and when I perceived that they were breaking down the hedge and coming through into the garden, I cried out to Mâr John [to come] and help me. And I saw an old man of lofty stature who appeared to me standing at the door of the cave, clothed in glorious and shining apparel, and when I saw him gladness came over me. And he deceived those thieves with apparitions and he hid the cave from them, and having sought much for it, and finding it not, they departed and went away. Thus the Lord protected me and all that was with me by the prayers of that holy man.

5 Now that blessed man planted a nut tree there, and nuts like unto those which it produced were not seen upon any other tree there, and although they took many [cuttings] from it, and planted them, they never produced

any tree. And, as it is written concerning the prophet Samuel, "It was heard from Dan even to Beer-sheba that Samuel was to be a prophet of God," so also was this word spoken concerning this man by reason of the miracles which he wrought from his youth up.

### CHAPTER 24. OF THE FAMINE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THEIR DAYS IN THIS COUNTRY, [AND OF THE DEPARTURE OF JOHN AND HIS MASTER TO NEĔŘEĔBHAʹ OF BEĔTH-GAZZAʹ

1 In the book which was composed by David, the pious Bishop of the Kartĕwáyĕ, which is called the "Little Paradise," which begins with the history of Rabban George bar-Ṣayyádhé, the head of the monastery, in the history of Abbá Ṣĕlibhá the Aramean it is made known that a great famine took place in this country. Now from this passage it would seem that the blessed Mâr John [did not] receive the tonsure at the hands of Mâr Abraham, because at the time of this famine the blessed Abraham was dead. And when the famine had become very severe, and there was no help to alleviate it from anywhere, Abbá Simon, who had three disciples, one of whom was our blessed John, gathered them together, and said to them, "Come, my children, let us depart from this place and go to the country of the mountains, and let us eat the leaves of the trees and not die;" and he took them and they departed to Něřebhá dhĕ Bĕth Gazzá, but some say that they went to the country of Salakh.

2 "the word concerning Samuel of old was fulfilled also in this man by the signs which he was accustomed to work from his youth up." And while they were thus living upon the berries of the trees, and were being directed by the blessed old man to the saving of their lives, the time of the departure of Rabban Simon drew near and arrived. And as Jacob called his sons, so he called his disciples, and said to them, "Come, my children, my doctrine is to me, and I will tell you what things will happen unto you after my departure from this world." And when the first had drawn near him, he answered and said, "Thou shalt take to thyself a wolf;" and to the second he said, "No man shall follow thee, my son, or know the way in which thou shalt depart from the world;" [and to the third he said], "As for thee, my son John, behold, our Lord will magnify thee with miracles and signs, and He will make thee a head and a chief in the congregation of the brotherhood of ascetics, and thou shalt teach the heathen barbarians;" and these prophecies of the holy

man came to pass to the three of them, according to what is written in his history.

### CHAPTER 25. OF HOW RABBAN JOHN WAS TAKEN CAPTIVE BY THE BARBARIANS

Now when that holy old man had departed this life, and his three disciples remained behind in his cave, one of them took the books which their blessed master in the present territory of the Bàlik-Kurds near Rawandiz. See Hoffmann, Auszüge, p. 245. had written and went down to the villages to sell [them], and to bring back food for them [all]. And when he had seen the world and the fairness thereof he took unto himself a wife; this is the man who took unto himself a wolf. Now when the two other disciples who remained behind had waited for some days, and their companion did not return, the second one went down to see what had become of him that had gone first, and he likewise did not come back, and it is not known what became of him; it is said of him, however, that he became an anchorite in the inner mountains. And when the excellent John saw that he was forsaken by his two companions, and that they were not, he also went down to see what had become of his two brethren. And according as the event happened and [by the working of] the Divine Providence that brought the holy man in the way to be the means of fulfilling the prophecy concerning himself, the men of Délûm went forth to spoil and to make a raid upon the country where the blessed man was, and thus they also carried him off into captivity, and brought him to their country. Concerning this holy man these [facts] must suffice, for very many and great things are written concerning him.

### CHAPTER 26. OF RABBAN JOSEPH THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY

Now according to what we have learned from the history of this holy Rabban Joseph, he came from the country of Shâhrâzûr, and was a kinsman of the blessed Rabban Gabriel, who was called the "Dancer", and during the lifetime of that blessed old man he came here, and became his disciple. He was a humble, happy, painstaking and abstinent man, who, according to what is said, accounted all earthly things as ashes and dung compared with the ascetic life. And having excelled in the glorious works of asceticism, the mother of life, after the heads of the monastery who followed one after the other, the choice of the whole congregation fell upon this holy man, and he was ordained chief and governor over them; and when he had ministered in

the office four years, he left it in the manner in which we are about to bring to light.

### CHAPTER 27. OF ṢELÎBHÂ-ZEKHÂ THE CATHOLICUS, [AND OF HIS COMING TO THIS MONASTERY]

1 After the death of Mâr Hênân-Îshô, the Catholicus and Patriarch of holy memory, the prince of fathers, the storehouse of grace, the mighty and spiritual man, Ṣelîbhâ-Zêkhâ became the head of the Church. Now this man, according to what ecclesiastical histories write concerning him, was an avaricious and a haughty man. 2 And when he heard of the golden Book of the Gospels which our Mâr Īshō'-yahbh, the blessed in everything, had bequeathed to this our monastery, he came with all his insolent pride to take it and to carry it away with him to Mědhínáthá dhě Běth Armáye. And when he had come unto the monastery and this assembly had received him joyfully, even as they were wont to receive the other Patriarchs who had come for the worship and honour of the place, he demanded of Rabban Joseph, the head of the monastery, that he should bring him that Book that he might rejoice in the sight of it. Now when he had done so, for he had no power to withhold it, and moreover, he did not comprehend what was in the heart of the Catholicus, he brought the Book from the Library and gave it into his hands. And when the Catholicus saw the splendour and beauty of the Book, which was ornamented with pure gold, and precious stones, he was devoured by desire for it, and he took it and laid it in his wallet. Then the head of the monastery answered and said to him, "Thou art not acting rightly in taking our Book in this iniquitous manner. And the Catholicus said, "Ye solitaries have no need of this Book, therefore let the believers enjoy it; and straightway he commanded those that were with him to set out on their way quickly.

3 Now when this had taken place, the board for summoning the congregation was struck, and those among the ascetics who were young and strong ran after the Catholicus and stopped him, even as David did Gûlyâdh (Goliath), and they prevailed against him with stones and sticks. And when they had come up with him they threw him off his mule, and they buffeted him with outspread hands and closed fists in an unseemly manner although they had it in their power to take the Book [from him] without striking a blow. Now the abandonment [to this treatment] was wrought upon him by God because he coveted that which was not his own. And when the aged Elders

heard what had been done to him by the novices, they gathered themselves together and went forth to appease the Catholicus, and they began to apologize for what had taken place without their knowledge and consent; and in this manner they pacified Ṣêlibhâ-Zêkhâ, and he departed from them.

### CHAPTER 28. OF THE DEPARTURE OF RABBAN JOSEPH TO THE MONASTERY OF RABBAN BAR-ʾIDTÂ

Now when the blessed Joseph, the head of the monastery, saw what had been done to Ṣêlibhâ-Zêkhâ the Catholicus by the brethren, he abandoned the headship of the monastery, and dwelt quietly in his cell. And when the brethren of the Monastery of Rabban bar-ʾIdtā heard [of this], inasmuch as they had neither head nor guardian, they came after the blessed man, and thus at their entreaty, and by the advice of the Elders of this monastery, he went and became the head and governor of the monastery, and ministered in that office with all the ability which the headship required.

### CHAPTER 29. OF AYĀS SHAIBNĀYĀ WHO WISHED TO SLAY RABBAN JOSEPH, AND OF THE FLIGHT OF RABBAN FROM BEFORE HIM

1 Now there lived in the neighbourhood of that monastery a man whose name was Ayās, and he was a man of the tribe of Dhūhl, and belonged to the family surnamed Shaibānāyē, and he was the store-keeper of the grain of that monastery, and of all its property. The day of his commemoration was the same as that of Jacob of Bēth ʾĀbhē. See Hoffmann, Auszüge, p. 181. Cf. also Tabarī ii, p. 707. And he craftily asked the brethren of that monastery to give him a place in which he might build a house to shelter his cattle, and they in their simplicity commanded him to build a house wherever he chose. He therefore built a khân by the side of the King's highway, in the fields belonging to the monastery, and by those who passed along the road, as well as by the inhabitants the building was called the "Khân of Ayâs;" and little by little as he obtained power, he seized upon all the fields round about it. And he slew the steward who lived in the monastery, and thinking to act like [Herod] Agrippa, who having slain the blessed James, the brother of John, laid hands on Simon Peter also, this daring man, having slain that blessed man and cast his venerable body into a well of water in one of the cultivated fields of the monastery—which is to-day called Muḥarraḳiyyā—sent watchmen by night to the blessed Joseph to spy out the place where he was and to slay him. Now the blessed man learned this from the believing neighbours of the monastery, [who said], "Behold, this evil man has threatened to destroy

thee also." And he left [the monastery] and went to the neighbourhood of the city of Bālādh, to the region of Āwānā,

2 stalls or chambers, usually open in the front, where the beasts are fed and sheltered. In the centre of the courtyard the camels are unloaded and their burdens piled up for the night. Such khāns usually have a supply of water either in a well in the courtyard, or close at hand outside. They are more expensive to stay at than the large public khāns, many of which have been built for the poor by rich men, and endowed with funds to pay for keeping them clean. a village of Bêth Nûhdêrân, and there by his hands the Lord laid the foundations of and established that holy monastery, which has been called after his name in memory of him, and has obtained renown. Now I have learned all these things from the history of this holy man which was composed by the venerable Mâr Athken, the monk, of the holy monastery of Rabban Aphni-Mâran.

### CHAPTER 30. OF RABBAN MÂR JOHN, METROPOLITAN BISHOP OF ADIABENE

1 I should be an enemy of the truth and of the living Word of Christ, if in these writings I attempted to manifest flattery of [any] man, or if for the sake of polluted gain I dared to approach matters which are beyond my strength. Moreover, I should appear silly biete des Euphrat und Tigris, (in Ergänzungsheft No. 45 zu Petermann's "Geographischen Mittheilungen", Gotha, 1876); and Hoffmann, Auszüge, p. 212. and ignorant if while writing and completing and showing forth [these histories], through my love of God, and at the entreaty of His holy men, I should add any matters of my own to that order which has come down to me by the tradition of those who recount histories, or should introduce any thing of my own into the accounts of the holy men, even though their beauty would not be tarnished by the defect of my speech, nor [their sweetness] polluted by the evil smell of my manner of treatment. Now we gather the rose from among thorns, and when we inhale its beautiful smell with our breath, the memory of the thorns is not present in our mind. And those who understand the culture of flowers and plants say that they sow garlic and onions and other vegetables which have an unpleasantly strong smell round about the rose, in order that through their nearness it may [appear to] acquire a more beautiful smell, and to have a more splendid colour. Let then this history which we are writing [take the place of] the rose, and let our own evil odour take the place of the leeks and onions and

garlic, so that these holy men may, [appear to] be the more glorious, and so that their glory may increase!

2 Now Abbâ 'Anân-Îshô', of whom I have written above, had a nephew whose name was John, and he was a disciple in this monastery during the lifetime of his uncle. And after the death of Abbâ 'Anân-Îshô', together with the inheritance of his manner of life and his doctrine, he inherited his cell and every thing that he had. Now all the books which 'Anân-Îshô' and Îshô'-yahbh his brother wrote and left behind them, this John made to pass into the library [of this monastery]. And having formed within himself all those glorious qualities by which a man is sanctified for living the divine monastic life, for he had been born of parents who sprang from a blessed stock, in body and in spirit, he at length became the head and governor of this holy monastery. And the fame of his piety was carried into all places, and he was ordained Bishop of the country of Bêth Bêghôsh. And when the blessed Mâr Simon the Metropolitan departed this temporary life, the choice of the Bishops and of the government, and of the believing men of Adiabene fell upon him, and he was ordained Metropolitan by Mâr Şelîbhâ-Zêkhâ, the Catholicus, concerning whom we have written a little way back. And while he adorned the office of head with all steadfastness, he made his body to abstain from everything which was pleasant, and he neither consented to drink wine, nor submitted to eat unclean things.

3 And all transient glory was a polluted thing in his sight, because he had been nourished in a life above all reproach by the overflowing abundance of the doctrine of the holy and pious 'Ânân-Îshô', and he nobly preserved to the end the teaching of his uncle and master. And because of his love for this holy house, every day, so it is said, he used to sit in his cell and quietly meditate. And in the days of this holy man the inhabitants of Bêth Bôrê, a village in [the district of] Nineveh, built a fine and beautiful temple at great expense; now they had [over them] a pious Bishop [called] Ephraim who came from this holy monastery. And when they wished to consecrate that temple, Ephraim came to this monastery to Mâr John the Metropolitan, and at the request of the Bishop and of the believing people of Bêth Bôrê who were with him, he (Mâr John) went and consecrated that holy temple. And so after he had continued to be the head of the monastery for a long time he died in this holy monastery, where he had been born of the Spirit and instructed in everything, and where he had been

4 schichte des Mâr 'Abhd-Îshô', Kiel, 1890, p. 10, no. 10, (text p. 26, l. 14, translation p. 25, at the foot). Cf. Yakût, vol. 1, p. 446. honoured by being elected the head of the Monastery. May he rise from the grave with the holy fathers who begat him, and with them may he receive from his Lord the reward of his actions! And behold, according to what I have learned from the old men, his grave is by the door of the screen of the martyrium. Now although the martyrium in which he was buried with the fathers, was demolished for the sake of this new temple which was built, nevertheless he and the other holy Metropolitans and Bishops were left in their places undisturbed. And if it be true, as I have heard from the Elders that it is, five Metropolitans and eighteen Bishops are buried in that holy chapel.

### CHAPTER 31. OF MÂR DÎNDOWAI BISHOP OF MÂ'ALLTHÂ

Now Mâr John had a companion in his cell whose name was Dindowai, and he appointed him Bishop of Maʿallthā and Ḥēnāithā; he was a venerable and holy man, and was also a disciple in this monastery. And there are in the library of this monastery many books belonging to him which bear witness to the love and affection which he bore to this holy house. He also was buried in this monastery with Mār Sergius, the bishop who came after him, of whom we shall give some account.

### CHAPTER 32. OF MĀR ĪSHŌ-ZĒKHĀ, THE SYRIAN, BISHOP OF SALAKH

1 Now although the story of the holy Mār Īshō-zēkhā, Bishop of our native country of Sēlōkh has been briefly told by me in another place, namely, in the history of Rabban Gabriel, inasmuch as that history demanded See Hoffmann, Auszüge, p. 208; B. O., iii. 11, p. dcclx; and Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, ii. 1584f. According to Badger, (Nestorians, vol. 1, p. 174) Maʿallthā contained twenty families and one church in 1842—44. Yākūt (iv, p. 578, l. 4) makes near Geziret ibn-ʿOmar. 2 it, it nevertheless appeareth to me that I ought to speak of his noble deeds and triumphs among the righteous phalanx of his companions. This blessed man came from the country of Bèth Armâyê, and according to what I have learned from the ancients, he was a monk in this holy monastery. It is said of him that his food daily throughout the entire year consisted of seven mouthfuls which he passed into his stomach. And he made his soul a bird which was accustomed to fly upwards always, the object of the vision and meditation of which was beyond its body, and in his renunciation he was free from every distracting influence.

And his cell was situated in Gâr Kâhnê, according to what I have learned from Rabban Matthew the Elder, who heard it from his master Abbâ Mâran-Zêkhâ. Now when Mâr John became Metropolitan of this church province, and the Bishop of the country of Salakh had departed from this world, they appointed Mâr John to be bishop there. And when he had gone into this Outer Salakh which is called Salakh of Narses,— now it is also called Banânes,—[he found] there a family of nobles who were chiefs of Salakh, and lords thereof.

3 And one day one of them whose name was Pharrōkh-bandādh made a commemoration service in honour of Mār Phransē in his convent, to all the scholars who were there,—now there was a school there before that time, and at that time, and afterwards,—and when they had mixed the wine, and had given the first cup to Mār Bishop, he tasted it, and behold it was acid. And he answered and said to Pharrōkh-bandādh, "Pharrōkh-bandādh", and he answered and said, "Bless, master. The Bishop said to him, "From what vine cometh this wine? and Pharrōkh-bandādh said, "From such and such a vine", and the Bishop spake to him this one word only, saying, "Let that vine wither; and with the curse of the righteous man wrath clothed that vine. And when it was the morning of the next day, after the commemoration of the holy Mār Phransē was ended, that man went home to his house, and he learned that the vine had withered to its very roots in the hour in which the Bishop cursed it, and behold the place where it withered is as if it had been burnt with fire, and is well known to this day. And fear fell upon all that country.

4 And Jacob, my father according to the body, related to me, and he had heard it from his fathers, that in the district called Bèth Shárónáye in which our village was situated there was a great, old oak (?), which was called the "king of the forest;" and in the villages round about it there were heathen who used to burn incense to it, and who worshipped before it, and we wished to cut it down, but we were afraid of the heathen who worshipped it, and also of the devil which appeared therein. Now when we heard of the coming of the pious Màr Íshó-zekhá into our country, and concerning the vine which he withered by his coming, when he had drawn near to the villages round about us, our priests went to bring him to us. And we commanded them that in coming back to us with the Bishop their way should be by the side of that tree, and they took that way. Now when the Bishop came near to the tree and

saw its beauty, which was caused by the exceeding care [shèwn] to it, and learned that it was the god of the heathen who dwelt in these villages, without coming down from the animal upon which he rode, or the matter causing him any astonishment, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, and cried to the Lord, saying, "O Lord of heaven and earth, uproot this god who receiveth together with thee worship and tithes;" and at his word the branches of that tree turned downwards, and its roots [grew] upwards, and thus was brought to nought the falsehood of the error of the devil which dwelt therein.

5 And there was a village in Inner Salakh which was called Gōlāi, the inhabitants of which were formerly Magians, and having become disciples of the doctrine of Christ they built a church in their village, and set apart certain nut trees and a small plantation that there might be [always] a sum of money for the maintenance and expenses of the church. Now when those old men died, their children seized the nut trees and defrauded the church of what assistance they afforded. And when the holy man went to that village, the priests of the church there complained of being defrauded by their fellow villagers. And while the two parties were disputing with each other, the priests saying, "These trees belong to the church," and the laity contradicting [them], and saying, "This has never been so," the Bishop said to the [priests], "Dispute ye not one with another, for I believe that the Will of the command of Christ, the Lord of the Church, will, if those nut trees truly belong to this church, bring them to the court yard of the church, without damage and without injury, in order that your dispute concerning their misappropriation may be rebuked. [And to the villagers he said,] "If those nut trees are yours, they shall remain just as they are without injury, in the place where they are.

6 And that Will which maintaineth creation by its might, and to which are easy the things which are difficult to us and appear to be impossible, heard the voice of the son of its house, and brought all those nut trees near to the church. And there was there a poor old woman to whom the men of the village had given as long as she should live the half of the produce of a large nut tree which was among those trees to provide her with food. And when the sacristan rose up to beat the board to summon the congregation for the office of the night, behold, he saw that all the nut trees had come round about the church, and in his joy he went to where the Bishop was

sleeping to announce to him the departure of the trees; and the Bishop said to him, "I know it [already], my son, be silent. And when it was morning, and the people had heard this report, the whole village was gathered together to that place, and they rose up with wonder and praise, and they marvelled and wondered, and glorified God. They saw, moreover, that the tree upon the half of the produce of which the old woman used to live, was divided into two halves, and that one half had come to the church with the other trees, and the other had remained in its place.

7 Now many other things were wrought by the holy Bishop Mâr Îshô'-Zêkhâ, but because of their number I have [only] written these three, which will make known concerning their greatness.

### CHAPTER 33. OF GABRIEL THE METROPOLITAN BISHOP OF KARKHÂ DHÊ BÊTH SÊLÔKH, WHO WAS CALLED THE "DANCER" [AND OF THE DISCOURSE WHICH HE MADE]

1 Now this Gabriel, of the city of Nisibis, having come to this monastery after he had been trained in the holy school there, laboured in the monastic life, as well as in the holy study of the Divine Books. And, as I have learned, having triumphed in the greatest self-abnegation,—now by reason of his abstinence and the asceticism of his nature his passions were [neither] stirred up, nor did there remain with him any of the inclinations of an impure mind,—it happened to him, because of the severity and the frequency of the fasts and labours, which he endured beyond his strength, that the people of the Karkhâ dhê Sêlôkhâyê of Bêth Garmai, at the report of his ability and self-abnegation were moved to make him their head; and he was set apart for them, and was ordained Metropolitan by Sêlôkhâ-Zêkhâ the Catholicus, together with Mâr John of Adiabene of holy memory. And when he was an old man he came here to pray, and to receive blessings at the tombs of his spiritual fathers. And it came to pass that one day during the commemoration of Rabban he heard certain scholars complaining, and saying, "Would it not be more meet for this wholly famous congregation that one of them should compose a special service for the holy Mâr Jacob, rather than borrow this one which was composed by Micha the Doctor for some one else, and recite it for Mâr Jacob as if he were a pauper?

2 And Mâr Gabriel, who on account of his mincing gait was called the "Dancer", went straightway into the place where the deacons were, during the first session of the Psalms, and he took tablets and wrote down the dis-

course which is now read for Rabban [Jacob]. And if thou dost examine the sequence of its composition, and the style of its language, thou wilt not find therein one example of the elegance of diction which the art of speaking requireth. And beginning first of all with prayer, the discourse continueth with the words, "Let us place in the midst one of the ranks of those who love their Lord," and so forth. Then attacking the holy Mâr Bâbhai, and all that congregation from which Jacob went forth, it saith, "Mad men who were exceedingly furious envied him with the evil imagination of their hearts," and so forth. Now we do not think that Mâr Bâbhai was stirred up to become the cause of the going forth of many from that monastery without the will of God, for if it had been so, not one of the holy men would willingly have taken upon himself the labour of founding a monastery. Moreover, Sâhdônâ, who lived at a time nearer to that dispute, in his history of Rabban [Jacob], praises and magnifies and glorifies that holy monastery.

3 And behold, this also we would make known, that although the blessed Rabban Kâm-Îshô, and the holy Mâr Jacob, and Rabban Aphni-Mâran, and Emmâ Leontius Zînâyâ, and Rabban Joseph went forth from the monastery in like manner by reason of a dispute, and became heads and governors in other monasteries, they neither called nor named this monastery a "monastery of madmen. And again Gabriel wishing to magnify this monastery, abuses its inhabitants and in his passion saith concerning the person of Mâr Jacob, "He left to them, that is to say to the monks, no possession in the land, and of everything which they possessed, that is to say the estates which their fathers Mâr Îshô'-yahbh the Catholicus, and Mâr George the Catholicus, bequeathed to them, behold they are entirely destitute. And again he saith, "No person is so utterly destitute of everything as they are, and although they labour, that is to say, although they gather in and carry out, in seed time and in harvest, there is no profit to him that toileth therein. Now he did not correct this discourse, and it continueth in its corrupt state. And this blessed man also died in this monastery.

### CHAPTER 34. OF THE BLESSED MÂR AHÂ, METROPOLITAN OF ARBELA, [AND HEAD OF THE MONASTERY OF BÊTH 'AḆHÊ]

1 If now it be that the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, righteous men who are dead, is the God of the living and not of the dead, according to the testimony of the Divine Book, inasmuch as the righteous live with Him and are not dead, and for their sakes He keepeth the cov-

enant, and performeth grace, and sheweth care for the thousands of generations, according to the word of the Lord, the righteous men of old, and the just men who came after them, and the holy men who come last, are the children of His kingdom, even as the living and life-giving mouth of Jesus our God maketh known, saying, "Many shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the south, and from the north, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God.'

2 Now in respect of the fatherhood of the holy Mâr Jacob, we may see that the promise of the word of the Lord was fulfilled. For although he worked and laboured and strove in all the various works of the ascetic life, and loaded to the full the ship of his own person [with] all manner of riches and sent it forth to heaven that it might enjoy its good things in the times of need, he nevertheless raised up governors of all those who have been and who will be imitators of him in the place of his dwelling, and of his manner of life, namely, these holy men whose histories up to the present we have been shewing forth. Now among these was this marvellous and holy Mâr Aḥâ, this glory of ascetics, and object of praise of [spiritual] shepherds, this canon of all beauty of those who hold the five talents, this wise and faithful steward of the kingdom of heaven, this holder of the keys of the height and the depth by the bestowal from on high of the Spirit of God, concerning whom I will relate a few things.

3 Now although his birth in respect of the body took place in the village of Awâkh, in the district of Ṭalânâ, in the country of Margâ, yet, like the prophet Jeremiah, whom the Lord set apart to know the marvellous acts which were about to be made manifest by Him, in his bodily presence, and in the physical form of his limbs, God honoured him, and made him glorious and to be admired. Hail to the beauty of the beautiful who are made exceedingly beautiful by the Lord! Seth became beautiful by the glory of his creation and renewed the glory of Adam his father; Joseph was beautiful, and all the hateful things [which he endured] did not mar his beauty; the beauty of Moses made him great, and with it the Lord smote and made a mock of the Egyptians; the beauty of David used to drive away the wicked spirit from Saul, and the beauty of Daniel and his companions quenched the flame and stopped the mouth of the lions: not only with the beauty of the body, but with two-fold and double beauty, for to the visible and apparent beauty which nature had given them, and which grace had bestowed upon them,

they united also that of the soul and mind which is prepared for the will of God.

4 Thus also was it in the case of this governor [Mâr Aḥâ] concerning whom my feeble discourse is about to speak. And thus have I heard from those who recount his glorious deeds, that together with the splendour of his acts and the glorious brilliance of his doctrine, he shone with the radiant beauty of a fine stature and a noble presence, and he was also born of believing and God-loving parents. Now this village of Awâkh was very famous for its fear of God, and concerning its church it is said that there were seventy priests in it at one time. And it came to pass that the blessed Mâr Aḥâ and another brother called Shûbhhâl-Mâran were left orphans, for their father died when they were little children, and the believing woman their mother brought them up until they arrived at years of discretion; and they went forth from their village and came with their mother to Shalmath, a village of Saphsâphâ, and entered the school there. And they were maintained [there] by the labour and care of the venerable woman their mother, who is worthy of remembrance for good, and they studied Divine doctrine; and that power which protected the beauty of Joseph and Moses in Egypt and of Daniel in Babylon, protected the beauty of the blessed Mār Aḥā from temptations. And when they had come to the estate of manhood they two came and made themselves disciples in this monastery.

5 Now the time in which nature had brought them into existence, was, according to what is said, a time of scarcity of food. And when they had laboured in the monastery and had gone forth into cells, they brought to themselves the venerable old woman their mother, who had toiled during her widowhood and who had worked with her hands and reared them, by whose counsels their youth had been guarded from wantonness, and through whose care they had become learned in the Holy Scriptures, and they rewarded her with natural love in the manner which was her due, and until the day of her death she was never separated from them, neither were they neglectful in ministering unto her. Now while Rabban Mār Aḥā wrote books, his brother Shubhhal-Māran was a book-binder. And Rabban Mār Aḥā grew and increased and became exalted in the deeds of a pious life, which are perfected in the body and the soul by those who are ascetics in very truth. And he subdued the passions, and purified the senses, and enlightened the movements of the mind, and that word which one of the holy men wrote was in

very truth fulfilled in him, "Now in the time of youth doctrine groweth up together with the soul and is mingled with it. And it dwelleth in silence for a long time working in the two parts, [that is] in the spirit and in the body, according to the ordinance of the fathers.

6 By its labour in the body it giveth to the needy, and receiveth strangers, and by the things of the spirit it shineth and enlighteneth. And he was directed and was guided [until] necessity drove him to the headship of the monastery and he drew near to subdue it.

### CHAPTER 35. OF THE ELECTION OF THE BLESSED MAN MÂR AḤÂ TO THE HEADSHIP OF THIS HOLY CONGREGATION

1 Now when the blessed Mâr John, the head of the monastery who preceded him, was elected to the episcopacy of the Apostolic throne of Bêth Bêghâsh, and this congregation remained without his fatherly care, and without a man to succeed him and to stand at its head, Mâr Aḥâ knew that the election to the headship by all the brethren was ready to fall upon him; and he left his cell, and hid himself secretly in the monastery for many days. And when [the consecration of] the blessed John was completed by Ṣêlibhâ-Zêkhâ the Patriarch, he came here; and when he asked concerning Mâr Ahâ, and they said, "He has fled", he adjured his brother Shûbhhâl-Mâran to find him wherever he was. And the brethren went to seek him, and they brought him out of the secret place in which he had hidden himself, and thus by the ordinance of Mâr John, and at the entreaty of the whole brotherhood, the blessed Mâr Ahâ, who was beautiful in appearance and beautiful in mind, stood at the head of the planets, the children of the angel of light, Mâr Jacob. And he walked in all the modest manner of life which befits the humble, without ever thinking within his pious and lowly soul that he was the head and governor of the monastery.

2 And while he entrusted to others the business of the management of the internal affairs of the monastery, and of going to the gate of princes, he himself, according to the custom of the other governors who were before him, sat quietly in the patriarchal chamber. And according to the tradition of his uncle, there used to be sent to him each evening from the refectory, one single kind of food, without much water in it, and it was not even prepared specially for him, for it consisted of ordinary bread and a little onion with some water. And thus the ship of his humility travelled on, with a guiding wind blowing and with its swift sails bellied out, and it flew on and

passed through all the storms which sink ships and destroy wealth without regard. And the venerable old men, who received it from their masters, have told us that when he came into the congregation, and stood at the head of the rows [of monks], from the beginning of the service until it was ended, he neither lifted up his eyes nor looked upon any man, but that from the beginning until the last 'Amen' he kept his eyes continually bent down to the ground in front of his feet, and upon the top of the sandals in which they were. And he made his passions submissive slaves, and he brought them under the yoke of order from the time that he was a novice;

3 and he made his soul to possess good habits, so that not even between himself and his soul, did he make free with his body, even as his master Abbâ Isaias commanded him. And thus all the time in which he ministered in the office of head, the sons of his congregation were in need of no teaching, for the holy sight of his person sufficed, as in the case of that brother who, together with many others, used to go to Abbâ Antonius each year to see him. And when Abbā Antonius asked him, while all the other brethren were asking questions and gaining instruction, saying, "My son, how long hast thou been coming to me thus? and why dost thou depart in silence? that brother said to him, "It is sufficient for me, O father, to see thee, that is to say the sight of thee maketh me wise, and [teacheth me] to emulate thy manner of life. Even so did this our holy father become a mirror of divine beauties to all those round about him, and while the eyes of all his children in this congregation were looking upon him, heavenly splendour filled his person like that of an angel. And they too became benefited, and their minds were quieted, and they became wise by [following] his holy example.

### CHAPTER 36. OF THE ELECTION OF THE HOLY MĀR AḤĀ, THE HEAD OF THIS MONASTERY, TO THE OFFICE OF METROPOLITAN

1 Now when our all blessed father Rabban Mār Aḥā had excelled in these and such like things, and had led this holy congregation towards heaven for many years, the blessed Mār John our Metropolitan, forsook the habitation with creatures of dust, and was united with and rested among the companies of spiritual beings; and in a good old age, and [after] a life of Apostolic deeds he was gathered to his fathers. Now certain people who were chief among the believers of Adiabene, namely, the dahkānē and noblemen, having had experience of the piety of the life of the divine man Mâr John the Metropolitan, and having also received by tradition from their fathers concerning the

holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, and the blessed Mâr George, and the excellent Simon, men who had become Metropolitans over them from this holy monastery, were compelled with all the force of necessity to consider that steadfast shepherds had in all generations and in all times been appointed to them from [this] paternal congregation. And because they had elected Mâr John from this monastery, they decided with one accord, saying, "So far as it is possible for us we will not have a head over

2 'the governor of a province.' In the Kâmûs (ed. Bûlâk A. H. 1303, t. IV. p. 221) is explained by Plur. and. The dihkân, then, were a class of noble landed proprietors. See Hoffmann, Auszüge, note 1900, p. 239; Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser, p. 446f.; Bedrossian, New English and Armenian Dict., Venice, 1875—79, p. 138, col. 1; and Lagarde, Armenische Studien, p. 43, no. 603 (in Abhandlungen der Historisch-Philologischen Classe der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, Band XXII.). According to Mas'ûdî, Wahkert was the first man who bore the title of dihkân, and the were divided into five classes, each of which wore its own distinctive garments. See Les Prairies d'Or, ed. Barbier de Meynard, tom. ii. p. 241. From Thomas of Margâ we learn that they paid tribute to the Shahrighân their superiors Book iii, chap. 3 (Syriac text), p. 152. us except from among the congregation of the children of Rabban Jacob." And they went down to the holy father of fathers, Mâr Abhâ the Catholicus, and brought a letter of prohibition of the blessed Rabban Mâr Ahâ, and thus he was of sheer necessity obliged to go down and receive the consecration to the great work of the Metropolitanship of the countries of Âthôr and Adiabene. And when he came up to his country the believing men of his diocese received him as an angel of light, and as the Apostle Simon Peter. And they found the head whom they had chosen for themselves exceeded by far all the expectation which they had formed of him in their minds, both in great and in glorious things, and in learning and in the sanctity of his life.

### CHAPTER 37. OF THE HOLY MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY

And when the blessed Mâr Ahâ left the headship of the monastery, and was exalted from glory to glory, and passed from strength to strength, according to the [words of the] Book [of Psalms], he ordained that the blessed Rabban Îshô'-yahbh should be his successor, and that he should be the guardian of this holy congregation in his stead. And finally, after many years, after the

death of the holy and pious man, the good servant of Jesus Christ our Lord, Mâr Abraham, Bishop of Nineveh, Îshô'-yahbh, the head of our monastery, was made Bishop of the city of Nineveh by the hands of Mâr Ahâ; and concerning this Mâr Îshô'-yahbh I will relate many things at the end [of this history].

### CHAPTER 38. OF THE MIRACLE WHICH THE BLESSED MÂR AIJÂ WROUGHT

1 Now if we who are under the yoke of government judge ourselves, we shall not be judged by those who hold the reins of government; and if we are obedient to their good counsels, and to their wise commands, Justice will not sharpen the sword of its vengeance against us. If, however, we tread these under foot we prepare ourselves for severe punishment. And how does this apply here? Now there was in Adiabene a man who had transgressed by a notorious sin which it is not necessary for me to set down here; and the eye witnesses and those who had been injured in the matter having come, they brought their accusation against him to that wise head while he was sitting in the temple. And according to the express canon, "A man is innocent in his own judgment, but when his companion cometh he trieth him," he sent after the offender, and rebuked him gently, saying, "If thou hast committed this offence, confess it, and thou wilt be

2 Stuttgart, 1857; Sachau, Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien, p. 341 ff.; Černik, Technische Studien-Expedition durch die Gebiete des Euphrat und Tigris, [forming nos. 44, 45 of Petermann's Geographischen Mittheilungen, (Ergänzungsheften)], Gotha, 1875; Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, and Fletcher, Notes from Nineveh, London, 1850. accepted by God in repentance, if thou desirest;" now as he disputed the matter his accusers reproached him, but neither at their testimony nor at the admonition of the holy man was he ashamed. And the Metropolitan answered and said to him, "Inasmuch as thou wilt persist in remaining unpersuaded, and art no more put to shame by us than thou art by other men, let the Lord take vengeance upon thee for thy sin." And he cursed him, saying, "I trust in our Lord who hath made us servants of this pasture, and hath given us power that every thing that we bind or loose in heaven and in earth shall be bound or loosed, that if thou art guilty, thou shalt receive the penalty which thou deservest; but that if, on the contrary, thou art innocent, thou shalt be preserved free from harm." And hardly were the words from the mouth of the holy man ended, when

the plastering of the ceiling of the temple fell down cubit by cubit upon the head of that wretched man; and thus being exposed and made a mockery of he fell down in the temple in the presence of the holy man and of a large congregation, and his soul left him and departed. And fear fell upon every man at the words of the blessed man Mār Aḥā.

### CHAPTER 39. OF THE REVELATION AND INDICATION OF WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN TO THE BLESSED AND HOLY MÂR AḤÂ, AND OF HOW HE SHOULD END HIS LIFE, AND [WHERE] HE SHOULD BE BURIED

1 Now, according to the word of Mâr Xystus, "God loveth the soul of the righteous man, and showeth plainly in his mind what is, and what is about to be;" and again, "The soul of the righteous man is betrothed to God, and the soul of the righteous man seeth God, in that it bears itself before Him, according to His will." Even thus to the soul of the holy Mâr Aḥâ, the vigorous worker of His will, did He reveal the measure of his life, and the place of his death, and the place where he should rest; and he constrained his soul and added to the acts of his ascetic life. So then, by the might of his prayers, I will write down the rest of this history which is to follow, and I will show forth to my supine companions those pillars of light [who] went forth from this holy congregation, the histories of whom have been allowed to fall into oblivion by the slothful, (of whom I myself am one), and have not been written down, and behold it is many many years ago since thou, O beloved of his Lord, and friend of His saints, Mār ʿAbd-Īshō, didst with all manner of wrestlings and supplications require of me to set before thee in writing those things which I had been accustomed to sow in thine ears. But I was not persuaded to do this, for two reasons, firstly because [the writing of] histories brings upon those who compose them severe labour, and secondly because of the cessation from daily work, and the constant urging of the mind [which is necessary] to produce and bring forth into remembrance the deeds and glorious acts [of holy men], which have been laid up in its store house for a long time.

2 Now when [this Mār Aḥā] was a child and was in the school of the village of Shalmath, he saw a dream in which he was clothed in the garments of the priesthood, like a bishop, and was attired with the mitre, and held the episcopal staff. And he was coming into the village as if he had journeyed thither from a place some distance off, and because of his weariness he sat down in the temple there. And a man, exceedingly glorious, stood up above

him, and answered and said to him, "Behold, since thou art weary and fatigued, rest thyself from thy labour and trouble in this temple;" and taking the dress of ministration off from him, he said to him, "Sleep now until I call thee." Now in his youth he did not understand this vision, but when he had received the office of chief priest, he remembered the dream and meditated upon it. And when Rabban Simon, the holy teacher who finally became Bishop of Béth Béghâsh, was building the temple of the village of Shalmath of stones and lime, the holy Mâr Ahâ came according to his custom to visit that village like the others. And he passed the night in the temple there, while it was yet unfinished, and a vision was shewn unto him twice, the first time dimly, but the second time exceedingly clearly; but what manner of vision it was I have never learned. And on the morrow, when that holy teacher went to him he asked, "How much hast thou spent upon this temple?" and Mâr Simon said, "I have spent so much and so much." Mâr Ahâ said to him, "How much more then, according to what the builders say,

3 have the same explanation with the addition of head-cloth, veil, (= = soudarion), and reference is made to the passage in Genesis xxxviii. 19, where =. In the Book of Paradise = a napkin "which Roman ladies wound round their heads." See the quotation in Payne Smith, Thes., col. 2442. 4 will be required to finish it?" and he said to him, "So much." And Mâr Aḥâ brought out the money from his purse, and gave to him, and answered and said, "It hath been pointed out to me by the Lord that I shall end my transitory life in this temple, and that it shall be to me a place of rest until the revelation of our Lord." And the teacher answered joyfully and said to him, "Thou hast announced exceedingly joyful tidings to me, that in this temple which is built by us both, we shall [both] be buried until the day of the revelation of the Raiser of the dead." The Metropolitan said to him, "Not so, for thou buildest, but I shall inherit." Rabban Simon said to him, "How?" The Metropolitan said, "There is another temple in which thou shalt be buried, viz., in the Monastery of Bâi, which is in the country of Bêth Bêghâsh, for thou shalt be appointed bishop by the governor who shall come after me, and there shalt thou finish the allotted course of thy life." And thus did it come to pass according to the word of the holy Mâr Aḥâ, for after his death the blessed Mâran-'ammeh, Bishop of Salâkh, succeeded him, and he made Mâr Simon Bishop of Bêth Bêghâsh; and after three years he ended his life, and was laid in the church of Bâi, the seat of the Bishops of Bêth Bêghâsh. Now I learned

these things from Rāmā, an old and venerable deacon of the church of the village of Shalmath, and from Mār Īshō-zēkhā, him of whom we have written previously, who was consecrated Metropolitan of the church of Salâkh by Mâr John, who died in peace, and in whose room Mâr Ahâ appointed another, Mâr Mâran-'ammeh.

## CHAPTER 40. OF ABBÂ ḤANANYÂ, WHO ATE VEGETABLES AND PASTURED WITH ANIMALS, AND WHO LIVED IN THIS MONASTERY IN THE TIME OF THE HOLY MÂR AḤÂ

1 Now I came to this holy monastery when I was a young man, in the two hundred and seventeenth year of the era of the dominion of the Arabs, [before any] of these histories had been written by me. And I used to listen to the histories of certain of the holy men, and by reason of the fervour which burned in me I used to make enquiries concerning them, and to learn about each one of them from the old men who were to be found here. Now therefore the venerable elder Rabban Matthew, who had had as master a very old and venerable man whose name was Abbâ Mâran-zêkhâ, and whose cell was, as I learned from him, in the days of his youth near Gâr Kâhnê, used to say to me from time to time, "Come with me and I will shew you the cave of Abbâ Mâran-zêkhâ; and this same Rabban Matthew informed me concerning Rabban Mâr Îshô'-zêkhâ, who became bishop of our native country. And when I was rehearsing before him the wonderful things which had happened to us in Salâkh through him, not knowing that he had lived in this monastery, he said to me, "This Bishop whose glorious acts thou art relating, came from this monastery, and his cell is in Gâr Kâhnê.

2 And he had near him in Gâr Kâhnê, in a little cave, a certain companion who was surnamed 'Abbâ Ḥananyâ of the wild goats.' And according to what I learned from my venerable master Mâran-zêkhâ, the life of his master was extended until he reached a very, very old age, and once a week or fortnight he used to carry him [on his back] as if he had been a bundle and bring him to partake of the sacrament. And the manner of life of this old man was, according to what I have learned, that he had neither fence nor door [to his cell], nor a place for retreat, nor anything, except that vegetable food upon which, with a little bread, of which he ate in small portions and very sparingly, he lived. But like the ostrich which hath neither nest, nor cover, and which leaveth her eggs on the warm sand without care, according to the natural instinct which the Creator of the universe hath implanted in

her, so also was the life of that old man, worthy of all good things. And at night while wandering in the wilderness, and passing the night with wild animals on the tops of the hills, by reason of his weariness and watching and labour, he used to prepare a little place and to lie down with them.

3 Now the animals had had experience of him and they did not flee away from him, as in the case of that blessed man of whom it is written in the [Book of] Paradise, He prayed to God that the beasts might be at peace with him, and it was so. And again, "He prayed that the fire might also be at peace with him, and it was to him even as [he had prayed]. And he used to gather sticks of wood, and set fire to them, and go up and sit upon them. For when the heart of a holy man is cleansed from these five kinds of sin, namely, the love of money, and gluttony, and the lust of the body, and anger, and pride, these five brethren who were with that rich man who was suffering tortures in hell, even as one of the saints made the comparison, all creation will be found to be friendly to him, both irrational animals and noxious reptiles; even as we may learn from the histories of holy men, as for example, that of the blessed old man Simon who was ministered unto by a lion; and that anchorite in the history of the triumphant Mār Milles with whom a serpent lived, and whom it did not hurt, who made the angels his companions and helpers. But why should I speak of angels since he was the abode of the Trinity, the Lord of the worlds?

4 Now this blessed man, according to what we have learned, they sustained in this monastery, so that for the sake of his love for God, he loved the food of animals and their companionship and their habitations. And he was also accustomed, according to what is said of him, each morning, which was the season of the day in which he took his food, to light a fire, and to boil water and to pour it upon the roots and over the dry crusts of bread with which he used to sustain his life. Now this was his food, and this was the season of the day in which he partook of it; but whether this was actually the case or whether he did this wishing either to conceal his manner of life or to be held of no account, I have neither been able to understand, nor have those who related this to me been able to decide. And his neighbours being stirred up with anger and burning with wrath, said, "How can this most aged man lengthen out his life in prodigality? Now from the mere sight of the fire did they come to this conclusion, but of what his food consisted, and of what he had within his cave they knew nothing. And every time they came to the

monastery they repeated their reproaches against that old man and complained of him, saying, "The proximity of this old man leadeth us down and bringeth us to the depth of a lax and dissolute manner of life.

5 And once, the holy Mār Aḥā the Metropolitan having consented, they brought before him an accusation against that holy old man, and he answered and said to them, "Go ye after him and bring him [here], but take heed that he doth not flee from you. And when they heard this they leapt up [the mountain] with light footsteps, and they came up with him and laid their hands upon him, and one of them took his turban, and threw it over his neck, while the others pulled it down from behind, saying in a scoffing manner, "O foolish old man, how long shall we bear reproaches for thy sake? Didst thou not know that justice would at length rise up in judgment against thee? Hasten thy steps, for the judge awaiteth thee. And without answering them a single word he drew near and came to the spring which we call 'Rabban's Spring', and he saw round about it a flock of wild goats, and he said to them, "Peace [be] with you, O dwellers in the wilderness, children and companions of my habitation! While we were living together in peace ye did not deny my fellowship with you, neither did ye set yourselves afar off from my company. Behold, I am justly taken captive by the righteous, because like you, I eat my meal in the morning;

6 now since your [manner of] life and food is the same as mine, come and let us go together to the judgment chamber, so that when the judge seeth that we are many, he may spare us because of our number, for it might happen that he would not shew mercy upon one despised creature; come then in the name of the Lord. Now while the brethren marvelled at these words which were not those of a demoniac, and [saw] the animals, which came running towards him, lifting up their feet and wagging their tails on all sides round about him like dogs when they see their masters afar off, surround that holy man, they let go their hands from him, and entreated his pardon for what they had thought; and when they had knelt down and prostrated themselves before him and had risen up they could not see him at all, and thus he passed out of their hands, and where he went and where he died until this day no man knoweth.

7 And when the brethren came to the Metropolitan in grief and sorrow and shame-facedness of conscience which rebuked them, and made known to him what had happened, he was exceedingly angry with them, and he

answered and said to them, "While the other monks who were your predecessors in the place in which ye live, made that holy old man the type and pattern of all correctness of life, and took refuge from all their trials and temptations in his prayers, and were delivered, you who come after them, and who dwell in the caves and desert of holy men, hath Satan stirred up with a foolish and empty zeal, that he may not allow you to look upon the correct lives of holy men in a proper manner. It is rather to the injury of your own souls and to the shame of your understanding, that ye have bespattered pious and blessed men with blemishes. But God our Lord will require of you the priceless pearl which ye have destroyed out of this monastery by your error. Moreover ye ought to be ashamed of all this wickedness which ye have wrought, in going to the place of the little hut where he lived, and prying into the manner in which he prepared his food. I, however, warned you away from there, saying, Take heed that he doth not escape out of your hands;

8 and I urged him to work many great and divine things before you to put you to shame, the like of which no man has ever wrought in our time."

### CHAPTER 41. OF THE BLESSED MÂRAN-ZĔKHÂ, BISHOP OF ḤADHATTÂ AND OF THE BISHOP WHO PASTURED CAMELS [WHOM HE FOUND]

1 Now when the holy Metropolitan Mâr Aḥâ was sitting on the holy throne of the church of the city of Ḥadhattâ, the pious and glorious and blessed Bishop Mâran-zêkhâ, the disciple and fellow-worker of Rabban Aphni-Mâran, was accustomed on the holy days of the fast of our Lord to go out and pass them in silence in the mountain of the village of Zinai. And once when he was journeying along the road to that mountain, he saw the figure of a man standing on the top of a hill with his face turned towards the east; and as he drew near to it,—now he was to the west of that person,—he heard him raising [his voice] in the hymn of the Resurrection from the Communion Service of the First day of the week, which beginneth, "Come all ye peoples, let us move our lips," and little by little he went up and came close to him. And Mâran-zêkhâ, before he perceived that man, wondered how this pasturer of camels was able to sing this hymn which was so difficult that not every man was capable of singing it, and where he had learned it. And when the holy Mâran-zêkhâ saw him he marvelled, and cried out in the customary way, "Peace"; but that blessed man answered him in Arabic, speaking in barbarous language, wishing to disguise himself. And Bishop Mâran-zêkhâ fell

down before him and affirming with oaths, said, "I will not rise up until thou dost promise me that thou wilt not hide from me who thou art;

2 and straightway the pasturer of camels said angrily to him in Arabic, "Rise up, master, what hast thou to do with me? depart in peace from my place. And Mâr Mâran-zêkhâ protested to him with an oath, saying, "If thou shouldst kill me I will not rise up until thou tellest me thy history. If thou art an Arab as thou sayest [by thy speech], where didst thou learn this hymn of the Resurrection of our Lord which very few men are found to have ability enough to sing? and why were thy arms and face turned towards the east? And when that holy man heard these things, and saw that he had been snared by his singing the hymn and the oath which that holy man had laid upon himself, he answered and said to him, "Swear to me, yea or nay, that if I do this I shall not be honoured in thine eyes, and that thou wilt not come to me continually, and that thou wilt send nothing to me. Now this he said knowing that he should speedily depart from this world as soon as any man perceived him. And he answered, saying, "Behold, Master, forty years ago I was appointed Bishop of the Scattered who were in the land of Egypt. And when I had ministered in this office a short time, a scarcity of rain took place there, and I gathered together the believers, and I went forth [with them] to the desert to make supplication and entreaty to God.

3 And those Arabs who dwell in tents came and surrounded me, and while every one else escaped, I remained because I thought that they would do me no harm; and they took me captive and brought me to their tents, and appointed me to be the shepherd of these camels which thou seest. And since I have determined that this [work] is the will of our Lord, and also that it does not in anything separate me from a life of purity, and I am not brought in contact with them [i. e., the Arabs], but am alone by myself in the desert, I praise God continually, and I remember that many of the saints were shepherds, and I am comforted. And as for this hymn which thou didst hear to-day, behold I am accustomed each day to perform the service of one festival of the Lord, and to watch, and to-day I performed the service of the Resurrection of our Lord, and I lifted up my voice in the hymn as if I had been standing in the temple before the altar of our Lord. And now, behold, for forty years I have been as thou

4 for we know that the Nestorians who were scattered about there had a bishop. See B. O., iii. 1, p. 107, col. 1; and iii. ii. p. CCCCXXXI. Or may be a

corruption of five farsah south-west of Aleppo, to the west of Kinneshrîn and north of Idlib. See Wright, Catalogue of Syriac MSS., fol. 126b; and Nöldeke, Zur Topographie und Geschichte des Damascenischen Gebietes und der Haurängegend, (in Z.D.M.G., Bd. XXIX, p. 420ff.) where the list of places mentioned in Add. 14,602 is discussed. 5 seest me, and our Lord hath protected me from all evil, and [the Arabs] have accounted me as one of their elders and as one of their brethren, because they found me upright and obedient. And I have received from them no compulsion to sin in any way; and I wait for the end of my life, which shall be completed according to the will of the Lord. Now when the holy Māran-zēkhā heard these things, he wondered greatly and marvelled, and he was moved to tears, and that [other] holy man wept in company with him. And he answered and said to him. "Master, I will go back and bring money (zūzē) and will give it [to thee] for thy deliverance, for I cannot leave thee in this ignominious and lowly condition. And that blessed man said to him, "Depart in peace to thy manner of life and to thy quietness, Mār Bishop, and disturb not thyself with any of these things; for if during the whole period of the time which has gone by, I had wished either to escape or to sell myself, I could have done it. And moreover, this [work] in which I am [occupied] is the will of God. And he urged the Bishop, saying, "Go in peace; and on Palm Sunday when thou goest down from the mountain to thy city, thou shalt come to me and shalt see me.

6 And when the Bishop went again at dawn on the Sunday aforesaid, he saw a man in the place of that man, and thinking that it was he, he went up to him. And when he had seen him and saluted him, he asked him, "Where is the old man who pastured these camels a short time ago? And he said to him, "He is dead. And the Bishop was grieved with a great and bitter grief, and said to him, "When? and he said to him, "During these [last] days. And the Bishop took a turban cloth from his body and gave to the man, saying, "Take this, and go and shew me his grave, for I am his friend. And when he had gone with him and saw the grave afar off, the Bishop made the Arab leave him, saying, "Go now to thy camels," so that he might have the opportunity to weep. And he sat down upon the grave, and wept bitterly, like the widow who had buried her only son, and he said, "Alas, my brother; alas, my brother! Why didst thou hide thy departure from me, and why didst thou not permit me to enjoy the sight of thee, but didst send me away from thee as the blessed Paul sent away Abbâ Antonius? And the blessed Mâran-zêkhâ

rose up and went to Hadhattâ, and kept the festival of Palm Sunday according to custom.

7 And on the second day of the week he invited the assembly of the priests, and many believers, and said unto them, "Come, let us go to the desert and bring from there Elijah; come with me to the wilderness that ye may see John the Baptist; come with me and I will give you a holy body more excellent than [those of] the prophets. Now when they had gone forth in fear with that holy man their Bishop, and had arrived at the place where the grave was, they began to say the prayers and the service for any dead person. And when they had performed the service of the dead for a whole day and the night which followed it, they began to dig up and uncover the grave, but they did not find that holy body. Now they found two woollen cloths, one which formed the clothing which he put on, and the other the covering with which he covered himself [at night], but he himself hath disappeared unto this day; and in all sorrow they took these garments and went away having put the earth of the grave back in its place. Hail to this pair of holy men, for behold [this] our history is sanctified by the account of them, and our simple speech by their glory! [Hail to] this venerable yoke of holy men which beareth upon its two shoulders the history of the holy Mâr Ahâ their fellow labourer;

8 one of whom pastured and made his habitation with the wild goats, and the other pastured the camels and lived his life with them! The children of men were unworthy to have near them the bodies of these men who possessed neither bed, nor pillow, nor seat, nor candlestick, nor table; the earth was their bed, their knees were their tables, and herbs were their food. The belly did not overcome them by its greediness; lust did not set them on fire with its ticklings; the blanket of sickness never weighed them down; they never needed the medicines of the children of Galen because of the weight of their luxurious and dainty food. No Eve ever visited them and used her blandishments upon them; they never tasted the [fruit of the] forbidden fig tree which is sweet to the palate of the children of Adam; they never sweated behind the plough in the toilsome labour which bringeth forth thorns; they never offered their offerings in the neighbourhood of a Cain to be envied and slain; they never drank wine and exposed their shame and became a mockery unto a Canaan which was [only to be] perceived by the mind, for their drink was water; they never brought burnt brick to the building of the

Tower of Pride which was formed by the agreement of senseless builders; they never saw the scourge of confusion; and they who pastured with the gazelles upon the mountain top instead of upon the top of that haughty tower fled from before the punishment.

9 All these things [did they not do] by reason of the hope which is to come, in which although they saw it not yet they believed, and although it was afar off yet they accounted it to be near. They have a righteous One Who will reward them, and Who will recompense them in His world, not according to their [merits], but according to Himself, and to Whose reward all sufferings and all pains are not to be [accounted] equal; may He make us to be partakers with them in His joy through their prayers, Amen.

### CHAPTER 42. OF THE BLESSED MÂR SERGIUS, BISHOP OF HĪNĀITHÂ

Now when the holy Mâr Dindowai, Bishop of Ma'allthâ, who had been ordained Metropolitan by the holy Mâr John, departed this trouble-bearing life, the blessed Mār Aḥā appointed as his successor the venerable Sergius, a monk and ascetic from this congregation, who was trained in the Scriptures, and who was enlightened in the understanding of them. And he pastured his flock piously with all the humility which befits the governors of the flocks of Christ; and during some small disturbance which took place in his country through a raid of the inhabitants of Dēlom who came to Salākh and Hēnāithā, he took all his books and came here, hoping for the repose of peace and of refreshing of spirit; and thus being insufficient for that which was expected [from him], he ended his life, and was also laid in this monastery of the house of his fathers.

### CHAPTER 43. OF HŪGAIR THE BELIEVING NOBLEMAN, AND OF THE MONASTERY WHICH HE BUILT

There was a believing man, whose name was Hūgair who belonged to a noble family. And he built a monastery between the village of Bāshōsh and Shalmath, not with a godly will and intention, but rather for boasting and pride. And wishing to emulate good and prosperous men, he named the monastery by the Persian name of "Hūgair-Ābād," after the manner of the Magians from whose race he had sprung. Now when he had made it ready with all things, he wished it to be consecrated by the holy Mâr Aḥâ, and he waited for the time of his coming to this country; and when he had come Ḥûgair entreated him to take the trouble to go up with the teachers and scholars, and to sanctify the monastery which he had built. But the holy

Metropolitan Mâr Aḥâ saw with the eye of the spirit that the Lord desired not this any more than the sacrifices to idols, and he answered and said to all those who were near, "This Monastery of Ḥûgair-Âbâd is ruined while it is yet new;" and he left it in its unconsecrated condition, and departed. And it was not consecrated afterwards, neither did the praise of the glorious Trinity ascend in it, and the remains of its building are well known and stand to this day.

### CHAPTER 44. OF THE DEPARTURE OF THE BLESSED METROPOLITAN MÂR AḤÂ FROM [THIS] TEMPORARY LIFE

1 Now I was preparing to add [to the history of] the noble deeds of the holy Mâr Aḥâ [some account] of the excellent work which he did in the Church of God in respect of the two Patriarchs who lived in his days, I mean the Catholicus Sûrîn, and the Catholicus Jacob, and of how he went down with his Bishops, and of how, by his firmness and the fair fame of his life, he abolished the blameworthy Sûrîn from being Catholicus, and confirmed Jacob, and of how he shewed his tact and skill in such a way that no man could stand before him. But inasmuch as these things concerning him are set down in the writings of others, and as, moreover, Chron. Eccles., ii. col. 155, and see B. O., iii. 1, p. 616. According to 'Abhd-Îshô' (B. O., iii. 1, p. 168) he wrote: The Catholics who were deposed were Mâr(î)-bôkht, Narsai, Elîsha, Joseph and Sûrîn or Sôrên; see Budge, Book of the Bee, p. 120.

2 we had formerly the intention to speak briefly about him as about his companions, I have passed over all these [as] extraneous matters, and come therefore to speak of the mournful end of his days. Now when he had arrived at the village of Shalmath on his visitation, he knew and felt also that he had arrived at the limit of the silence of his life, and through a short illness to which corporeal beings are subject, he like the [other] children of Adam lay down and slept the sleep of death. And according to the revelation and visions which had been upon him in his youth and old age, his venerable body was laid in that holy temple which is in this village. And he was a haven of help to all those who took refuge therein, and may God the Lord of all, through his prayers order that we also like him may depart from this world with fair renown, while lifting up praise to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and always and for ever! Amen.

3 Here endeth the Second Book.

*The Author's Apology to the Believing and Honourable Hasan.*

4 Now the blessed brethren of the monastery of Béth 'Abhê have completely set aside and made to slip from out of the fingers of our history the account of the holy Mâr Mâran-ammeh, the Metropolitan Bishop of Adiabene, and it hath not been embodied in our feeble lines because they exhorted me to crown with my discourse only such holy men as have lived in that holy monastery, and to omit [all] others. But this is not pleasing in thy sight, and by thy divine command thou hast required of me that I should also compose a history of that blessed man, and set down in writing an account of him based upon that which is handed down by word of mouth, that it may be joined to the equipage of the histories of the governors who lived before and after him, O most noble Mâr Ḥasân, beloved member of Christ, ready adorer of His glorious cross, chosen freeman, son and heir of the mighty one of God, worthy of all praise, beautiful in his majesty and in his various acts, Mâr Sabhr-Îshô, Governor of Adiabene and Athôr, who, behold, exchanged his [earthly] wealth and possessions, for heavenly riches, that he might go and inherit the life of happiness in the kingdom above with the true believers, and who measured the steps of his course of life that he might tread in their footprints.

5 I have already praised you, and I will praise you again, O wise and understanding men, in that being completely involved with things of this world, and with wealth which is a stumbling-block to others and the cause and substance of all wickedness, ye made [your wealth] subject to none of these things, but ye humbled it and made it subject unto you, that it might not be a god to you as it is to the foolish and wicked, but that ye might be its master. It is to be marvelled at, I repeat, that being as thou art in the prime of early manhood, yet behold 6 =. In addition to the native explanations of the word given in Payne Smith, Thes., coll. 1140, 1141 Duval gives Lexicon Bar-Bahlule, col. 694. 7 thou art standing on the highest point of the ladder of knowledge of the wise like an old man, and art inciting me to collect the stories, and pieces of information, and the triumphs of holy men, that thy soul may pleasantly meditate upon them, and that thou mayest make it to possess a pattern and an example of spiritual things, and mayest enrich it with the understanding which is above this world. Now the abundant virtues and the good and glorious qualities which are stored up and which flourish in thy noble self compel me, with great regard to thy distinguished com-

mand, to paint for thee in writing a picture of the glorious acts and deeds of that man worthy of all good things, the Metropolitan Bishop Mâr Mâran-ʿammêh. At the same time also, according to thy wish I will write briefly concerning the coming of the blessed and enlightened teacher, Mâr Bâbhai, to this country, and of the schools which he founded. And I will set down in consecutive order what I have learned from the Elders whom I have met, and from these things which are already written down, and I entreat and supplicate God the Lord of all to manifest His working in me the ignorant and unlearned, and may the praise of His Godhead increase in the mouth of the reader, and in the ears of the listeners, through those things which are about to be written!

8 And may the help and blessings of His grace cling to thee, as the cause of, and as the one who encouraged the writing of the histories of those who loved Him, and who did His will. First of all, however, as thy wisdom requireth, we will speak concerning the blessed Rabban Bābhai, and of the schools which he founded, and of his restoration of those which had fallen into decay for want of teachers and of people to care for them. And afterwards I will rehearse in plain language my history of the noble acts of his disciple, the chief priest, Mār Māran-'ammeh, and though omitting to introduce the proofs which the chapters require, so that I may not make the history too heavy, I will glorify them by brief accounts, even as I have praised their companions in short narratives.

### BOOK III — CHAPTER 1. OF THE BLESSED TEACHER RABBAN BĀBHAI

1 The holy teacher Rabban Bābhai was a very enlightened man, and through the healthy constitution of his body, and the knitting together of his limbs, he was a powerful man, and according to what is said of him, had a high, sweet voice like a trumpet. And there clave to him chastity, purity, love, graciousness, humility and exceeding lowliness, and he excelled in [these] last times by reason of these his glorious qualities like the teachers who lived in the former generations. And the multitude of his virtues magnified his name, and all the rules and arrangements of the schools which through laxity and neglect had been destroyed, were restored by him, and through him [the schools] regained their former glory. He came from a family in the town of Gēbhiltâ in the country of Tîrhân, where first of all he laboured in spiritual work, and he begat prosperous children who followed in the footsteps of their parent, and who showed themselves noble heirs of a wise father.

It is found that the period in which he lived was in the days of Şelîbhâ-zêkhâ, Catholicus and Patriarch, and the "Questions" of Rabban Bâbhai testify that he made enquiries of Şelîbhâ-zêkhâ concerning various matters. And just as among the people of Israel who were in Babylon the Divine praises had fallen into oblivion and were forgotten, because according to what is written, they did not know how to perform the praises of the Lord in a strange land, even so in the days of the holy Rabban Bâbhai were confounded all the tunes, and melodies, and airs, and the signs and accents(?) and all the songs which are sung [with the psalm which begins], "Lord, I have called upon Thee," and the final clauses of the prayers, and the psalms which are dispersed throughout the services, and the "stations", and the antiphonal

2 and is rendered by Assemânî Cantus. Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 2441, fol 330a, col. 2, explains it by "song" responses and the anthems, and everything which is recited by the voice. Each country, and town, and monastery, and school had its own hymns and songs of praise and tunes, and sang them in its own way, and if a teacher or a scholar happened to be away from his own school he was obliged to stand [silent] like an ignorant man. And as when the Hebrews had gone up to Jerusalem all their hymns and songs of praise which had become corrupt acquired [new] glory and splendour, or if thou wishest, as before the time of Mâr Îshô'-yahbh of Adiabene the Catholicus, the orders of the services were performed in a confused manner in every place, and by means of this man the services of all the churches acquired connected order, so also the Holy Spirit made wise this blessed man, and taught him beautiful airs, and sweet blendings of melody, and filled him with His gift, and enriched him with His treasures, and made him a musical instru-

4 And the blessed Rabban Bâbhai tarried in this school for many years during the lifetime of the honourable Zadhnaphrôkh, the father of the noble Prôkhzâdh, the father of the gentle-natured Lûhrâsâph and Maslêmah, and by his encouragement, while the holy Mâr John was Metropolitan Bishop, he afterwards passed over to the country of Margâ. And he founded there twenty-four schools, some of them being founded for the first time, and others being decayed schools which he restored. And since, perchance, there may be some who coming across these lines will consider us to be boasters and liars. I will mention these schools by their names, even

though our discourse should assume at this point an exceedingly vain and foolish character.

### CHAPTER 2. OF THE SCHOOLS WHICH RABBAN [BÂBHAI] FOUNDED, AND THEIR NAMES

When [this] blessed man had come to the country of Margâ, he first of all gathered together the scholars and founded the Ḥudhrâ, and revised and corrected the codices. [He next built a school] in Bâshôsh, a village of Saphsâphâ, and after this [another] in the Monastery of Barṣîl(?) in the province of Gârîn, another in the Monastery of Shâmîrâ, another in the Monastery of Ḳorî, another in Eḳrâ, another in Ḥardes, another in Shalmath, another in Bêth-Edrê, another in Ḥetârâ, another in Maḳḳabtâ, another in Ṣawrâ dhê Nîram dhê Râ'awâthâ, another in Ḳôph, another in Nêrabh Barzî, another in Gûbê, another in the Monastery of Mâr Ephraim, another in the Monastery of Mâr Aḥâ, another in Mayâ Ḳarîrê, another in Bêth Âsâ, another in Bêth Sâṭî, another in Bêth Ḳardagh, another in Ḥennes, another in Bêth Râstak, another in Bêth Narkôs, and another in Bêth Tarshêmâyê; these are the schools which this wise gardener planted and restored in the country of Margâ. Now some say that he had sixty disciples [who were] teachers, and that he founded sixty schools, and appointed a master to each one of them, and that through the zeal of believing and God-loving men, who made the instruction [of children] in divine things their care, he set apart for them property and funds for their maintenance. And he came back to Kêphar 'Uzzêl, and twice a year he visited all the schools, in order that laxity of discipline might not enter [into them], and that the musical training and canons and orders of services which he had made his disciples acquire might not be destroyed; and thus this manner of singing was called the "musical system of Rabban Bâbhai."

### CHAPTER 3. OF THE BOOKS WHICH THIS RABBAN BÂBHAI COMPOSED, AND OF THE END OF HIS LIFE

1 Let no man think that because [Rabban Bâbhai] was exceedingly learned in the training and culture of the voice he was ignorant of the knowledge which is in books, or that because he was thoroughly instructed in the Holy Scriptures he was remote from other knowledge, for he has left us works on various subjects; and he wrote many discourses and treatises on doctrine into which if any man shall enter he will find that he was much skilled and fertile in philosophic reasoning. And he wrote twenty-two funeral orations ar-

ranged alphabetically, which are recited by boys on the festival of Palm Sunday; and "Consolations" and "Blessings", according to the letters [of the alphabet]; and many "Epistles" to divers persons; and lengthy "Blessings upon brides and bridegrooms. And because he was accustomed to go to the Commemoration of the holy Mār Jacob of Bēth 'Ābhē, he composed on that person twenty-two hymns in the "great mystery", in the order of the letters [of the alphabet]. And he wrote the composition, "Behold, my days have flown, behold, to the dead", consisting of twelve different parts, and the hymn on Mār Nestorius [beginning], "In the path of the just"; and the other works on sundry and divers matters written by that blessed teacher which, if any man wisheth, he may find in our holy monastery of Bēth 'Ābhē.

2 And after all these his excellent deeds, his planting and watering, and begetting, and rearing, and making to bud, and to wax strong and to grow old, he left this country and went to his own city, and was there crowned with all the excellent virtues of a divine life which pleased his Master, and at a great old age he rested from his labours and troubles, and slept in the dust of his fathers. And his venerable and holy body was laid in the church in which he had learned and taught, and a glorious recompense is laid up for John, and Abraham by whose doctrine he was himself enlightened, and enlightened [others], and from the manner of whose lives he was inflamed with the desire to emulate them in the holy life. 3 Now they say concerning him that when he was a teacher in Kêphâr 'Uzzêl the mother of Mâr Abraham Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, twelve volumes of metrical discourses (360 in number), a liturgy, expositions of the Eucharist and of Baptism, consolatory epistles and funeral orations, hymns and sermons and exhortations, and a book entitled On the Corruption of Morals,. See B. O., iii. 1, p. 65f.; Wright, Syr. Lit., p. 830; and Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., ii. col. 77. the Lame of Bêth Ṣayyâdhê, carried and brought her son to him, and weeping before him, said, "Master, pray for this half of a man to whom I have given birth." And when he had examined and felt him he answered and said, "This is no half of a man, and he shall become a father of fathers and a chief of teachers, and his name and his doctrine shall be proclaimed in all the East;" and this actually happened as is manifest to every man. And in the time of his old age, when he had gone to his own city, he asked the numerous disciples that were before him a question unknown to us, and to which none of them were able to give him an answer. And he began to weep and to beat his face, and to

pluck out the hair of his head and to cry out and say, "O woe is me, the blinded of sin, for while thinking that I should leave behind me in the Church wise and understanding heirs, it hath befallen me, the wretched and stupid man, to be like unto a man who hath sown but hath not reaped, and who hath not been made glad in his labour." Now there was there before the holy man, a much enlightened

4 the school of Bâshôsh in Saphsâphâ. According to 'Abhd-İshô' he wrote a book of admonition, a commentary on the discourse of Mark the monk (see Wright, Cat. Syr. MSS., p. 482, col. 1), a disputation with the Jews, the Book of the king's way, discourses on repentance, and letters upon various subjects. See B. O., iii. 1, p. 194; and Wright, Syr. Lit., p. 844. For the writings of İshô' bar-Nôn and Abû Nûh al-Anbârî see B. O., iii. 1, pp. 165, 212. young man whose name was Gûryâ, and because the Divine grace is accustomed to set apart aforetime those who belong to it, and to set apart those who seek after spiritual wisdom, this young man was stirred up by grace and said to Rabban, "Peradventure the question which thou hast asked, Master, is thus." And the old man being stirred up with joy, answered and said, "Who is this then?" and they said to him "Gûryâ". And he commanded that he should be brought near to him, and he laid his hands and his mouth upon the young man's head, and answered joyfully and said, "Pray for this Gûryâ, for he shall become a mighty hound;" and this actually came to pass to this young man according to the word of the blessed old man. For after the death of Rabban, Gûryâ became a teacher after him, and he emulated his master in his teaching and manner of life, and behold both of them are laid in that holy church; may their memories be for blessing, and may we be aided by their prayers, Amen.

5 Here endeth the History of Rabban Bâbhai the teacher.

### CHAPTER 4. THE APOLOGY

The triumphs of holy men are the boast of the Holy Church, and the beloved rehearsings of them are a lifting up of the head to her children. Abundant helps for us descend from them, and they confirm in us the love of their Lord. The glorious festivals which we make to them, with whom we expect to receive participation in the kingdom above, and their yearly commemorations, proclaim the praise of that power Who aided them here, Who led them far into His mysteries, and Who entrusted to them the pasturing of His flocks, and with Whom they are there [in heaven] enjoying happiness in

the glory which He prepared for them. And, moreover, to those men who here [upon earth] became an altar of prayer, which continually breathed forth the incense of Life, who rejoiced all who were round about them, and who were angels clothed with bodies here [upon earth] it belongeth to speak to God. "And as for me, thou upholdest me in mine integrity, and settest me before thy face for ever." And because I, the wretched sinner, have in my lack of wisdom made ready to rehearse the triumphs and histories of one of these holy men, I entreat their prayers that I may be near to be helped by them, and that our Lord may grant that I may speak according to the power of my poverty, although it be not that which befitteth the occasion. And moreover He willeth that, according to his power, each one of us should cast his offering before Him, like the two mites of the widow. And by the prayers of the friend of His love, the chosen and holy man concerning whom my discourse dareth to recount the history, may my drawing near to the rehearsal of matters concerning him be a propitiation and not a condemnation for me.

### CHAPTER 5. OF THE ORIGIN OF MÂR MÂRAN-ʿAMMEH, AND OF HOW, AND BY WHOM, HE WAS DIRECTED IN INSTRUCTION IN DIVINE THINGS

1 Now the blessed Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh sprang from a family in the country of Tîrhân, and his city, which is now in ruins, was called Hêtârâ; here he was born and brought up by believing parents. And he was named by them 'Mâran-ʿammeh', a name which was full of prayer and supplication for him that Christ our Lord might be with him and might dwell in him. Now in his youth he learned doctrine in the church of his native city. And because at that time Rabban Bâbhai excelled above all others in teaching in the city of Gèbhìltâ, Mâran-'ammeh left his parents and their possessions and departed to that teacher. And he was trained and directed in all the knowledge of divine things before him, and he became learned and wise. And when the blessed Rabban Bâbhai went up to this country, the blessed Mâran-ammeh was the one man out of all his sixty famous disciples and teachers who went up with him; and when he had built schools in the village of Képhar'Uzzèl, he established Mâran-ammeh as the teacher of this village. And the fame of his glorious acts went forth in all this country, because his learning shone with the purity of his manner of life, and he made his body to abstain from every kind of delicate food; now he used to feed himself on bread and a few onions, just sufficient to maintain life.

2 And he lived in this manner from his youth up so that he might not become an object of reproach in his old age, for he had learned that "he who liveth delicately in his youth shall be a servant, and in his latter end shall groan. When he was a young man the monks his contemporaries held his manner of life to be marvellous, because that in addition to that great labour of the weight of the toil of teaching which was laid upon him, he was able to embrace the laborious life of voluntary abstinence coupled with great strictness of life. And he was a teacher for many years, while the blessed Mār Aḥā was Metropolitan, and the ship of his soul travelled on in a divine and noble manner by reason of the abundance of the beautiful things which were therein.

## CHAPTER 6. OF THE EPISCOPATE OF THE COUNTRY OF SALĀKH WHICH THE BLESSED MĀR MĀRAN-ʿAMMEH RECEIVED, AND OF THE MIRACLES WHICH TOOK PLACE THERE BY HIS HANDS

1 Now there was in the country of Salākh a holy and venerable Bishop called Mār Īshō-zēkhā, the history concerning whom I have already written, by whose hands mighty deeds and miracles were wrought in that country, and when he departed this life of troubles and trials for the rest of those who sleep in Christ,—inasmuch as that country abounded in Magianism, and not only in the worship of the sun, moon and stars, but [the people] in their stupidity offered worship also to trees of beautiful foliage, and this worship of trees existed even in the days of the old man from whom I learned [this],—the blessed Metropolitan Mār Aḥā was obliged to appoint and send the holy Māran-ʿammeh to that place, for he was a teacher and a righteous man, that by his knowledge and manner of life he might root up the tares from that country. Thus he was appointed, and he set out for that country, having received from the Holy Spirit with [his] consecration [the power] to work mighty deeds and to show forth miracles, while the Divine love which was in his soul, and the great purity of life which he had cultivated from his youth, exalted him in the chief-priesthood and in spiritual workings. Now when he had gone forth to visit [his] districts, he came to a village called Bèth Nèwà, and there was in it a man who had brought into [his house] another wife besides his lawful wife.

2 And he called for him to come before him, but he came not, and he required of him to expel the whore from his house, but he did it not. And Màr Màran-ʿammèh cursed him, saying, "I trust in our Lord that the Divine

wrath may come upon thee, and that both thy wives may be widows; and it came to pass on the morrow that the man lifted up a large butcher's knife to cut meat, and by the agency of God he smote his left hand, and it fell from him, and all his blood ran out from him and he died, according to the word of the holy man to him; and fear fell upon all those who heard [of it]. 3 And from this village he set out for another called Bêth Wark, which is in the province of Hithr, and in it there was a widow who had a little only son; and it fell out that he died as the blessed man entered the village, and many people were gathered together, and were weeping. And when he learned concerning the lonely condition of that old woman, he was exceedingly sorry, and he commanded that they should bring the body to the church; and he put every one outside, and began to entreat God for the life of the boy. And God, to Whose power all things are easy, Who by the hands of Elijah and Elisha brought the dead back to life, granted to the blessed man his petition for the resuscitation of the boy, and he came to life, and Mâran-âmmeh gave him to his mother; and all the people were stirred up to gladness and to praise.

4 And there were in the country certain Shahrighân, who although they were nominally Christians, made confession that Christ was an ordinary man, and said that "He was as one of the Prophets," and the Bishops who lived in the country laboured among them, but they did not accept the true and orthodox doctrine. Now when Mâran-'ammeh had learned concerning them, he went to them on a Sabbath day, that he might keep the first day of the week with them, and pray for them; and he lifted them up with him in the service, while he prayed in his heart to our Lord on their behalf, that He would make His light to shine into their hearts. Now when all the people of the village were in that church, and they had begun [to say], "Light hath dawned for the righteous, and joy for the upright of heart," the church and its court were filled with light which surpassed the light of the sun, and all men wondered and were amazed. And the holy man answered and said to them, "Now that Christ our Lord hath shewed you His light, and hath kindled His truth in your hearts, confess ye with us that He is the Lord and God, Jesus Christ; or do ye, peradventure, need to see other things [before ye will believe]? They answered and said to him, "We believe, O our father, we believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that He is God;

5 and at the time of the Holy Mysteries he absolved them, and they became beloved sons of the Church their mother, through the wonderful thing which Christ had wrought before them by the hand of His saint Mâran-'ammeh. And one of the congregation had a mule for riding upon, which had never been subservient to him, and this was very grievous to her owner, for she was a fine and beautiful animal; and he spake concerning her to the blessed man who commanded him to bring her to the church together with her bridle. And the holy man took the bridle, and signed it with the sign of the Cross, and he spake to the mule as to a rational being, and said, "For the sake of our Lord open thy mouth, and take the bit; and she opened her mouth and took it in all quietness; and every man was moved to the praise of God.

6 Now there was in the church of our native village Neḥshôn, a large ant's nest built in the wall, and it was not easy for the believers to root it out, because it occupied the whole wall up to the roof; and, because that church was roofed over and made strong with painted boards and beams, this thing was very grievous unto them, and when the holy man came to them they spake to him concerning this matter. And he washed the cross which he wore upon him in water, and he told them to sprinkle the water on the nest, and on the morrow not a single [ant] was to be found. Now in those days the Shahrighân used to take from the Dahkânê one half of the corn, and wine, and nuts, and poll-tax, and their oppression was very severe, and their exactions were unlimited, and the Dahkânê made complaints to their pious Bishop concerning their taxes and their tribute. And he answered, and said to them, "My children, the time is at hand when all these villages and towns will be taken by the Arabs, and all these Shahrighân shall go up out of the country, and a man whose name is Hîtm bar-Ṣâlâh shall persecute them and root them up, and ye all shall be subservient to him, because, as it is said, the iniquitous man shall take vengeance on the iniquitous man, and the Lord upon them both." And this actually came to pass to that country after many years. Now it appears that at that time Hîtm bar-Ṣâlâh was not yet born, but because the spirit of the prophets is submissive to the prophets, Mâran-'ammeh, by the eye of the Spirit, made known aforetime what was about to happen.

### CHAPTER 7. WHICH SHOWETH HOW THE HOLY MÂR MÂRAN-'AMMEH WAS APPOINTED METROPOLITAN BISHOP OF ADIABENE, AND [DESCRIBETH] THE FIRST MIRACLE WHICH HE WROUGHT IN THAT COUNTRY

1 Now the blessed and truly venerable and holy Metropolitan Mâr Ahâ, being crowned with a diadem of light, ended his life in the country of Margâ, and his chaste body was laid in the village of Shalmath; and the choice of the whole country, but particularly of Lôharsaph (Lohrâsp) and Maslémah, and of the rest of their brethren, fell upon the holy Bishop Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh, and he was appointed [Bishop of Arbela] by the blessed Catholicus and Patriarch Mâr Jacob. And when he had come and had been received with much pomp and with the honour which befitted his holiness, he went up and sat on the throne of the fathers. Now certain insolent and thievish Arabs who were in that country had seized upon a mill called Bêth Wardâ, which formed part of the possessions of the house of the Patriarch, and because the holy Mâr Aḥâ died some way off, those Arabs rose up quickly, and with little resistance called it their own property. And when the holy Mâran-ʿammeh had been appointed, he and all the honourable nobles with him worked with every possible means to take it back from those wrongful possessors, but were unable to do so; and when he said, "The mill belongs to the house of the Metropolitan, and is [therefore] my right," they disputed the matter with him, saying that they would not give it up at all.

2 Then Mâr Mâran-'ammeh answered and said to them, "Since ye thus dispute the matter, and will not put yourselves away from this iniquity, come, let us go to the mill, that we may learn from it to whom it belongs. And those Arabs, although they made a mock at the difficulty of these words, and neither trusted nor believed in the power which was united to the blessed man, agreed to this condition, and went forth with him; and with them there were many Shah-righân and Dahkânê [who went] to see what would come of his ordering. And [when] they had gone into [the mill], Mâr Mâran-'ammeh answered and said to his opponents, "Since the mill is yours, command it to shew us that it is yours, and then we will leave it in your hands and go away. And they answered and said to him, "Thou must order it to shew us to whom it belongs". He said to them, "If I command it, and it doeth what I have commanded, will ye leave it, and take yourselves away? And they said to him, "If we see this stone obedient to thy command, then

we have no portion in it, and we will depart immediately, and the mill shall be thine.

3 Then Mâr Mâran-'ammeh having knelt down and prayed to God, turned towards the mill, and said, "O stone without feeling, by the great and Divine power of the word of the Lord which is mighty in the height and in the depth, if thou belongest to these Arabs, then according to thy custom, grind flour; but if, on the other hand, thou art not the property of these men, but art the inheritance of the Metropolitan of this country, let what thou grindest be changed to ashes. And when he had said this, ashes began to come forth from under the mill, and the flour disappeared; and every man was made afraid and brought to the confession of God. And Mâr Mâran-'ammeh answered and said to those Arabs, "Now although [it hath happened] thus, if the mill be yours, command it to change the ashes into flour; but they marvelled and were put to shame, and they emptied their hands of the mill in great disgrace. And Mâr Mâran-'ammeh having given permission the mill changed its grinding of ashes into its usual grinding of flour, and this report flew throughout all countries.

4 Praise be to that merciful God Who worketh for His Church at all times, and among all peoples, and Who hath never left, nor will leave, Himself without a witness, but Who establisheth in His churches the chosen doers of mighty deeds, and maketh them fathers from being His sons, and Who restoreth by their hands the miracles, and wonderful acts and mighty deeds of the Apostles their fathers!

## CHAPTER 8.

Of those provinces which mâr mâran-'ammeh took over to the jurisdiction of the throne of adiabene from the [other] thrones of the diocese, and of those which he gave in their stead. Now from the country of Salâkh he took the province of Dèbhûr, and he wrote an order and placed it in his episcopal house to the end that from now and henceforth the Bishop of Salâkh should have no power over it, and also that his name should not be proclaimed in any one of the churches thereof. From Âdhôrbâighân he took Inner Salâkh, and gave it to the Bishop of Salâkh in the place of the province of Dèbhûr. To Stephen, Bishop of Dâsen, he gave the Great Monastery, and all the province of Nahlâ and Talânâ, which belonged to the diocese of Margâ; and he wrote for him an order that any Metropolitan who should succeed him should have no power to dispute [the matter] or to take it away from the

throne of the country of Dâsen. From the pious and holy Mâr Shlêmôn (Solomon), Bishop of Hadhattâ, he took the Monastery of Bârḳâ, and he gave him two districts from the dominion of Adiabene, Gamlâwlôḥê and Merdê; and because of the holiness and the excellence of the manner of life of Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh, no man disputed or murmured against these [arrangements], but everything which he commanded and did was received with gladness as from an angel of the Lord, and behold the divisions which he made stand to this day.

### CHAPTER 9.

1 Of the revelation which mâr mâran-ʿammeh received in a vision of the angel of the lord, to destroy with his hands the seed that worked evil and the corrupt children who were in the country of margâ. Among the sins which are committed by man there is none more abominable and filthy than that of the lust of the body, for it draweth him that indulgeth in it into all error, and driveth him out in disgrace from every thing which is seemly; and the lawful gratification of the desire of the body which is full of shamefacedness and modesty testifieth to this, for it is performed in the night season and in the darkness. 2 And thus the working of impurity cast to destruction the whole generation that lived in the days of Noah; it burned the Sodomites with fire; it threw Judah into disgrace; it drove Samson forth from the Divine care which accompanied him; and it laid a blemish upon David. And from this [thing] the blessed and divine Paul hath commanded us to keep at a distance, saying, "Flee fornication", and "Whosoever destroyeth the temple of God, him will God destroy, for the temple of God is holy, which [temple] ye are. Now certain men who were members of religious houses in various places in the country of Margâ, through this gratification of corrupt and destructive lust, and by toiling in other habits of life which provoke our Lord, put themselves away from what is seemly through the counsel of the Evil One, and others who were not deserving of the penalty of evil were made participators with them, just as in the case of the famines which took place in the days of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, those holy men also were participators with the wicked men on whose account the famines arose. What then? Now it came to pass one night that when the holy man was engaged in prayer in the cell in which he lived, that the Angel of the Lord appeared to him face to face, in a glorious and exceedingly sublime vision, and the temple of the blessed man was filled with a beautiful odour.

3 And he was greatly moved, and answered and said to the spiritual being, "Who art thou, Master? And the angel answered and said to him, "I am the Angel of the Lord who ministereth to this apostolic throne of Arbél. And the holy man answered and said to him, "What doth my lord command his servant [to do]? And the angel answered and said to him, "A command hath gone forth from before the Lord to waste and destroy by thy hands a sinful people and a people mighty in iniquity, which is in the country of Margâ, for their iniquity, like that of the people of Sodom, hath gone up before the Lord, and like them they shall receive punishment in divers ways according to thy command. The blessed man answered and said, "The Lord God is able to destroy them in a moment as He destroyed the hosts of the Assyrians, how then can my feeble intervention be required by Him by Whose nod the worlds stand, to whom if He appeareth they shriek violently, and at the sight of Whom the mountains reel, and the earth trembleth? The spiritual being said to him, "I am the angel who hath accompanied thee in all thy administration, and all those who have been before thee, and I shall accompany all those who shall come after thee until the end, and until time shall cease and be annihilated; I will be a participator with thee in their destruction.

4 The blessed man answered and said to him, "It is neither just nor seemly that I should be the executioner of my own children, and the slayer of those who have been sanctified by me with baptism and the laying on of hands, and whom I have made to drink of the living water of the doctrine of Christ; spare me, a sinful man from doing this. The destruction of the Assyrians, and the destruction of the people of Israel which took place in the days of David, the many cities which were overthrown, and the great and mighty deeds which God hath worked from generation to generation, were not wrought by the hands of men but by angels; go thou thyself then and do that which thou commandest me to do. The angel said to him, "Dispute not with the Divine command, lest thou appear pertinacious and obstinate; if vengeance is not taken upon them by means of thee, it will not be known that they have justly been destroyed and have perished, and also they will [not] be a warning to others not to be like unto them; and when the angel had spoken these things with him, he disappeared from him, and Mâr Mâran-'ammeh saw him no more.

### CHAPTER 10. OF HOW THE BLESSED MAN LEFT HIS EPISCOPAL HOUSE AND FLED, AND OF THE ANGELIC AGENCY WHICH PREVENTED HIS FLIGHT

1 Now when it appeared to the holy man thus, and he knew that the word had gone forth from before the Lord, with tears and great grief he secretly left his cell, and went out by night to go forth into solitude remote from all mankind, that he might not be the means by which the matter which the angel required of him [should be accomplished]; and he turned the impetuosity of his course with very rapid steps to a mountain eastwards, having his eyes filled with tears, and prayer and supplication in his mouth. But just as the Lord turned back the fugitive prophet in the belly of the whale unto the preaching of Nineveh, and completed by him that which was required of him, so also did He turn back this fugitive priest, not by means of a fish, but by means of the element of fire did He make him afraid; and he returned to His service. Now when he had gone on the whole day, without food and without water, he came to a valley in which was a pool of water, and there were reeds round about it, and he went into the place where the reeds were dense that he might satisfy his hunger with the plants and herbs which were round about him. Then that guardian angel stood above him as before, and answered and said to him, "Whither canst thou flee from before the Lord? Behold the heavens and the earth are filled with Him;

2 thou appearest to be acting like a stupid and ignorant man. Mâr Mâran-'ammeh said to him, "Even if I perish like a child of perdition I will neither become a wicked shepherd, and break the ankles of my sheep, nor the slayer of innocent lambs over whom the Holy Spirit has set me in a place of trust. The angel said to him, "I could take thee now and place thee, like Habakkuk, in thy cell, O simple old man, I do not, however, wish thy service to be forced but voluntary. And while he was yet disputing, by means of the spiritual being fire came round about him, and the thicket began to burn, and the angel said to him, "Wilt thou go now, or shall I consume thee with these reeds? And when the body of the old man began to wax hot, he promised with tears to go according to his command, and the angel took him, and in one moment placed him in the cell where he lived.

## CHAPTER 11. OF THE DEPARTURE OF THE BLESSED MÂR MÂRAN-ʿAMMEH TO THE COUNTRY OF MARGÂ, AND OF THE MIRACLES WHICH TOOK PLACE THERE BY HIS HANDS

1 Now when the holy man had returned from his flight, and had tarried a little he prepared himself to go forth to the mournful and sorrowful work which had been sent to him; and he crossed the Zâb, and made his way direct to the province beyond the Zâb which lay to the east of Margâ, and went up to a great village, situated in the mountain, the name of which was Birtâ. And he passed the night in the church [there] according to [his] custom, and it appeared to him in a dream that [one said to him], "This village is one of those which have provoked thy Lord, cast into it one of the arrows of thy curses, and get thee forth from it early." And with the falling of the sun upon the earth, he mounted his ass and went forth from it, and he turned his face towards it, and said, "O village full of iniquity, nevermore shall the cock, the harbinger of peace, crow in thee, nevermore shall his voice be heard in thee; thy inhabitants shall go forth from thee, and be scattered, and moreover thou shalt nevermore be inhabited." And with the word of the righteous man there went forth fire from the four ends of the village, and burnt up all the houses in a moment, and behold to this day no man dwelleth therein.

2 From this [village] he came to Bêth Têhûnâi in which dwelt certain Shahrighân who possessed many estates in the country. And one of these men whose name was Armenâzwâi, had a wife, who was from the village Kêphar ʾUzzêl, and she was well acquainted with the holy man; now she was a lady of noble birth. And there was in the village of Bêth Têhūnâi a convent of holy women, and the husband of this woman used to commit fornication with one of those nuns. And when the blessed man went into the church, the wife came to him as to her father and as to the one who had reared her, and began to make an accusation against her husband concerning the secret unchastity which he wrought, and that he had forsaken her and was working fornication. And he called the man before him, and began to rebuke and to reprove him; saying, "Thou art not acting rightly, for instead of [the] lawful union, thou makest Satan to rejoice through [thy] corrupt union with strangers; moreover thou hast condemned thine own soul, and wilt be cast forth from being a member of His household. Now Armēnāzwāi, instead of receiving the rebuke, and confessing his sin, and asking [pardon] with pray-

ers, and promising repentance, abused the holy man with foul names, and also lifted up his hand to strike him.

3 And the holy man answered and said to him, "I trust in our Lord that thou and all thy village shall go down alive into Sheol, like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. And when the wife saw the cursing of the holy old man, and it fell upon her ears, she knew that straightway his command would be carried out, and she answered and said to him, "Father, what shall I and these my two sons do? He said to her, "Get thee forth quickly, and flee to the Monastery of Kûrâi, and tarry not here for an instant, that ye perish not. And it came to pass in the morning season, when the reapers were in the fields, that a sound like unto mighty peals of thunder was heard, and like that of the earth being rent asunder under the village, and the mountain which was above it gave forth a sound as of falling upon it; and while the reapers of millet were looking on at a distance, they saw two horsemen mounted on horses of fire holding swords of fire in their hands; and they stood, one above the mountain, and one below it. And the horseman that was above answered and said to him that was below, "Do thou destroy from below, and I will destroy from above; and thus the village of Bêth Têhûnâi sank into the earth with its inhabitants unto this day.

4 Now those who remember these things told us that for quite two months before this happened, smoke and stinking vapours were ascending from the village; and [its destruction] became a proverb and a saying for ever.
5 And from this [village] he departed and came to Bêth ʿAināthâ, a village in the neighbourhood of the village of Bâshôsh, and Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh had a vision concerning it. And as he was riding along he stood upon a hill above the village, and lifting up his hand against it, he cursed it, saying, "The Lord shall make mighty winds to blow upon thee, and all thy houses shall be swept away, all thine inhabitants shall perish, and thou shalt never [again] be inhabited to the end of time, and all thy lands shall the village Bâshôsh inherit." And it came to pass in the night which followed that day that a mighty south wind came upon it, and destroyed it and wasted it, and it became an inheritance for the people of Bâshôsh to this day. And he was also commanded by the spiritual being to destroy another village in the neighbourhood of Bâshôsh, which was called Ḥabbûṣhtâ, and this he did with words of wrath and destruction.

6 And he left this village also, and it appeared to him in a vision that he should go to the village of Bêth Edrê. Now this was the [native] village of the father of the holy Mār Abraham, the Catholicus in our days, and the name of his father was Shābhōr, and that of his brother was Ḳenārgh. And concerning this man, a certain priest whose name was Emmanuel, from the village of Bāshōsh, told me that, "during the whole course of his life he worshipped the sun, and that he bowed down to the east, in the morning when it rose, to the south at mid-day, and to the west in the evening; finally he became a heathen and [afterwards] a preacher. And the blessed Māran-ʿammeh came to the village of these men. Now there was in it a small school, and twelve scholars and their teacher, and he went into it when the teacher was making ready to have a passage read from the Bible, and the passage was from Isaiah. And the blessed man asked him what passage he was going to read, and [when he had told him] Mār Māran-ʿammeh said, "Leave this passage to-day, and begin from where I will shew thee. And he opened out the Book and shewed him [the passage], "Howl, O village; cry out and complain, O village; all Philistia is troubled; for smoke cometh forth from the north, and there is in thee no one person of his who striveth," and he added the passage which cometh after it.

7 And when he had finished, he answered and said to the teacher and to the scholars, "Get ye forth from this village, and go to Shalmath which is above you, for the ruin of the lords of the village is nigh. And on the following day men came from the north as they had read, and slew Shâbhôr, the lord of the village, and it became a ruin, and to this day no man dwelleth therein. 8 And from this village he came to Mayâ Karîre, the village of the honourable Zâdhâi, and there was in it a famous school, and he possessed seventy and two estates in Margâ, Gôghmal and Nineveh; now for what sin Mâr Mâran-ammeh cursed this man is hidden from us. And he answered and said to him, "Thou shalt fall from all this glory in which thou art, thy estates shall be taken from thee, and finally thou shalt perish of hunger;" which [thing] actually took place, to the great astonishment [of all], for his riches and glory departed, and all his estates became the property of strangers, and that during his lifetime and while his eyes could see it. And Shâbhôrân, the Shahrîgh, from the village of Kôph, related to me concerning this man, that in his old age he came to such absolute poverty that he must have brought in the beginning of the fast without bread, if a certain man of his household

had not brought him a handful of wheat, which he roasted on hot coals, and thus brought in the fast of forty days.

9 Now there was in the village which was called Bêth Kârdâgh, a certain heretic who dwelt upon a pillar of limestone; now this man had dwelt for many years on this pillar, but from the swift punishment which came upon him by the hands of the holy man it was known that he performed all his labour and his dwelling thereon by the wish of devils. And when he saw the blessed man, and the multitudes that were with him, from afar off—now they followed close after him by reason of the wonderful deeds which he wrought, and it is said that seventy nobles of the Shahrighān and of the Dihkān accompanied him,—he understood that it was the Metropolitan. And he called quickly to his disciple and said to him, "Run fast and quickly before the Metropolitan of the Nestorians (for behold he cometh from Mayā Ḳarīrē), and salute him for me, saying, 'Thou knowest, my lord, the obligation by which I am bound and that it is not easy for me to come to salute thee; but I entreat thee by the love of our Lord, to draw near to me that I may see thee and be blessed by thee.'" Now when his disciple met Mār Māran-ʿammeh at some distance away, he bowed down before him, and repeated to him everything which his master had said. And the holy old man answered and said, "He who withholds a salutation from his companion forsaketh the fear of the Highest.

10 Then the man in the pillar-shaped tower, seeing that the Metropolitan had turned aside into the road which went to his village, and being confident that he was coming to visit him, thrust his head through the window and said to the people of his village. "Behold how excellent is my manner of life before God! for behold the head of the wicked Nestorians cometh to be blessed by me while ye despise me, and make a mock of my wishes. Now Shârzâdh, who was afterwards, when he became a monk, called George, and who became Catholicus, with his servants had gone out to the chase; and when he saw the Metropolitan he alighted from his horse, and was blessed by him. And Mâr Mâran-'ammeh asked him, "Whose son art thou, my son? and he said, "I am the son of Mihrói, from the village of Hennes; and Mâr Mâran-'ammeh said, "Mount thy horse, and come with us, for we are going to thy village. And when he had come and stood beneath the man in the tower he answered and said to the dweller [therein], "Why didst thou send

after me? and the man said to him, "That I might salute thee and ask for thy prayers, O Mâr Metropolitan.

11 The blessed man said to him, "I have confidence in the mercy of our Lord, that if, as thou sayest, thou didst call me for the sake of greeting and love, our Lord will cleanse thy heart from [thy] blasphemy concerning His manhood, so that thou mayest understand Him [as] God and Man in one person of holy sonship; that He will make thee a member of the household of the true faith which we hold; that for all thy labour up to this day propitiation may be made, and that it may be acceptable before Him; and that He may hold thee worthy of the enjoyment of His kingdom with His saints. But if, on the other hand, thou hast, in the scorn of thy boasting, acted in a scoffing manner, may the Lord smite with hail-stones this tower upon which thou dwellest outside the doctrine of orthodoxy, and may it fall and be destroyed; and may fire go forth from the hail and consume thy body, and mayest thou be a reproach and a byword for all generations which shall come after. And those who were spectators tell me that with the word of the blessed old man, there appeared a little black cloud rising up and coming from Mount Matthew, and mighty thunders roared, and blazing lightnings played round about it, and it came on and rested over that pillar.

12 And the stones of which it was built were rent asunder and scattered abroad by mighty and violent hail-stones, and fire went forth from the hail, and set fire to the body of that wretched man and consumed it; and thus he became a mockery and a byword according to the curse [laid] upon him by the old man. Then Shârzâdh, that is [to say] George, when he saw the storm, and the things which had taken place, answered and said to the Metropolitan, "Is the power which cleaveth to the saints so mighty as this? and the Metropolitan said, "My son, what hast thou seen yet of the deeds of the Apostles? And George said to him, "If it be thus, as the Lord liveth, I will become a monk, and I will renounce the world, and everything that I have. The holy man said to him, "If now thou wilt do as thou sayest, and wilt make thyself a monk, our Lord will make thee the head of all His church; and the prophecy of the holy man actually happened to the blessed Shârzâdh. For he went and became a disciple in the monastery of Bêth 'Abhê, and when he had become the head of the monastery he said to the monks who were in his monastery, "My foot hath begun to tread the ladder of preferment according to the word of the blessed Mâran-ammeh;

13 and when he had been Metropolitan of Elam for twenty-five years, he sent to the sons of his monastery, saying, "Another step is reserved for me, according to the word of the holy man. And when Rabban Îshô bar-Nôn died, this George became Patriarch after him, 14 marvellous acts of strength, who spake and burned up him that dwelt insolently in a tower, avenged the blood of the righteous Mâr Nestorius." and he sent to his monastery, saying, "See, my brethren, the prophecy of Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh concerning me has, in very deed, been fulfilled." Now therefore the blessed Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh went forth from Hennes, and he went up in anger to the province of Birtâ, against the village of Heṭrê, and against it he also cast the arrow of his curses, saying, "There shall never be bread in thee, and the life of everyone who shall dare to dwell in thee shall perish by famine and sickness;" and this village also was clothed with the curse, and it became a ruin for ever. And from these [deeds] the blessed man returned to his habitation like a valiant soldier, who had destroyed the enemies of his lord, and who had overthrown their lands for ever, and who had scattered to every wind those that were left.

### CHAPTER 12. OF THE DROUGHT AND FAMINE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE DAYS OF THE HOLY MÂR MÂRAN-ʿAMMEH, AND OF THE WONDER WHICH HE SHEWED BY HIS STAFF

1 Now in the time of the extreme old age of the holy man there took place in the countries of his against the Catholicus Timothy whom, playing upon his name, he called Tâlcmathêôs or "God-reviler," and when Timothy died he was elected Catholicus A. D. 820. He sat four years, and died aged eighty-four years; he was buried in the Monastery of Kelîl-Îshô' (See B. O., ii. pp. 434, 435; Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., ii. col. 181). For 'Abhd-Îshô's list of his works see B. O., iii. 1, p. 165. dominion the great drought which is called by the Elders the "first drought", since this took place following the two hundred and fourth year of the Arabs; and the famine waxed very great during the drought, and slew many by its severity. And when the blessed man saw the orphans and widows that were dying of hunger, he rose up and went to Ḥesnâ 'Ebhrâyâ, and he began to go round and to ask alms of the believers, wherewith he might feed the orphans and poor people

2 which none remembered ever to have blown before,"; see Gottwaldt, Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium, Leipzig, 1844, vol. 1, p. 188; Abû-'l-Maḥâsm, ed. Juynboll, vol. 1, p. 801; and Bar-Hebraeus, Historia Dynastiarum, Oxford 1663, pp. 92, 93, 94, 98. of his country. And because they were

well acquainted with his greatness, and with the Apostolic wonders and mighty deeds which he wrought, the believing lovers of God gave to him abundantly. And when he had collected much money, and went forth to come [to his own country], certain thieves who had watched him from Môṣul to Bèth Tartar of the Ninevites, went before him on the road, and lay hidden in a mountain hollow and watched for him to pass by. And when he passed by singing a psalm, they knew that he had none of his property with him; but when his disciples entered that hollow, the thieves rose up and laid hold upon the possessions which were under them. And his disciples cried out to him, and he turned back and saw the thieves making ready to carry off everything that he had with him. And he said to his disciples, "Give me my staff;" and when they had given it to him, he tied his turban cloth around the top of it, and threw it towards heaven in anger. And he began to weep, saying, "My soul abhorreth that which troubleth it;" how many are they increased who trouble me; how many are my days in which thou dost not depart from me, and in which I do not see evil days?

3 Dynastiarum, pp. 404, 441; and Tuch, De Nino Urbe, p. 49. In Bk. iv. chap. 5 is said to be in "Nineveh" and in Bk. v. chap. 2 it is said to be a "town". for behold now thou hast delivered the alms which I have begged for the poor into the hands of the spoilers." Now the rod stood between earth and heaven, and a gentle wind was blowing towards the holy man, but sparks of fire came forth from the knotted fringes of the turban cloth, and smote the thieves in their faces. And when they saw this wonder they were in great fear, and they let go their hands from the mules, and asked for alms from him like wretched beggars, saying, "Consider us also, O blessed man, like those poor people to whom thou art carrying this money, and give us alms from it, for it is through hunger that we have done this." And he commanded his disciples, and they gave money to them, and thus those thieves turned back, and travelled on their way rejoicing; and when they came to their habitation they proclaimed continually throughout the whole country the wonderful thing which the blessed man had wrought. These are [some of] the glorious things of the holy Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh, and these are the miracles which he wrought; it is evident that we have only written down some few of them, for the complete accounts have been blotted out through the lapse of time, and through the remissness of scribes who have neglected to set down in writing for us [all] the noble acts of the blessed man.

### CHAPTER 13. OF THE SICKNESS WHICH SMOTE THE HOLY MAN, AND OF HIS DEPARTURE FROM THIS LIFE OF TIME TO THAT OF ETERNITY

1 Now when the blessed man had arrived at infirm old age, after he had laboured prosperously in the vineyard of his Lord from the breasts and from tender childhood to the evening of advanced old age, the glorious end of his contests drew near and arrived. And he perceived the beginning of his fatal sickness, and commanded and they prepared an animal for him to ride upon, and he went to the Monastery of Bârka with the hope that he would gain benefit from drinking the waters of the Tigris. Now when he had tarried there ten days, and saw that every day he was going backwards, he rose up to come to his country, and when he arrived at the village of Bēth Rēwāi, he went in to lie there for the night. And when the inhabitants of Rēwāi saw that his departure from [this] life was at hand, they would not allow him to depart from them; and with all manner of reasons and deeds they worked that he might finish his course with them, and that his holy body might be laid in their church. And Mār Māran-ʿammeh sent secretly to Lōhrāsāph, and he came to him;

2 and while Lōhrāsāph was weeping in his presence, because he saw that he was already laid in the chamber of the tomb, the holy man quieted him, and whispered to him, saying, "I desire and very much wish to lie in thy church, and it is also the will of our Lord that I should be laid there, for thy village is about to become a very rich and much inhabited place; but these villagers are scheming and planning all manner of devices so as not to allow me to depart from here. Do thou then ask for thy ten thousand zūzē from me, and demand from them either that they shall give thee ten thousand zūzē, and that thou shalt leave me here to them, or that they shall allow thee to carry me with thee to thy village. And Lōhrāsāph began to speak to the Metropolitan in an audible voice, saying, "Master, give me that money, ten thousand zūzē, which thou didst borrow from me before thy departure, give it to me, for it is my children's means of subsistence; and the Metropolitan promised, saying, "I am in debt to thee, carry me away that I may go and give thee the money. And when the inhabitants of Rêwâi began to prevent him, the holy man said to them, "If ye wish to keep me back give this nobleman the ten thousand zûzê which I owe him, or depart from me that I may go and give them to him while I am alive.

3 Now the inhabitants of Rêwâi were poor and were wholly unable to do this, and he commanded that they should prepare an animal for him to ride on, and when he had come half way on the road, the soul of the blessed man departed, and went by the hands of holy angels with spiritual hymns of praise to Paradise, and rested with the spirits and souls of the righteous who have been made perfect. And the nobles and the dahkânê of the village, together with the multitudes who came from the estates round about, paid honour to his holy body, and bore it with the ceremony which befitted the greatness of his person, and laid it in the church close by the of the, on the right hand side, that it might be in this 4 altar of sacrifice, stood. (Compare soleas, Pars templi quae Bemati observatur, quae uno aut altero gradu aedis sacrae pavimento eductior est. bema Sacrarium, Locus in templo ubi consistant sacerdotes, et quem nulli Laico ingredi fas erat. Du Cange, Glossarium, coll. 195, 1513). The also included the and its pavement was three steps above the pavement of the rest of the church. (See B. O., iii. ii. p. 802, note 1). seems to mean primarily a "tiled pavement" (compare Bekker, Anedota Graeca, Tom. 1. p. 269, l. 27, where kalamidas is explained by e tous thelukous kalamous tous pros sundesmon ton plinthinon katastromaton tes oikodomias), and cannot be older than the edaphos plinthois katastromenon which was laid on the ground before the temple where the altar of burnt sacrifice was placed. is also the "deck of a vessel; compare katastromata, tes neos meros, en o estotes naumachousin, Hesychius, Lexicon, ed. Schmidt, Jena, 1857, p. 435. On men-of-war the katastroma must have been the uppermost deck of all, as the combatants were posted on it when the ship went into action: see Thucydides, i. 49. 1,3; Polybios, i. 44. 3; Plutarch, Themistocles, 14, Antonius, 67. On merchant-men the katastroma must also have been the uppermost deck, for the depth of the ship was reckoned from the katastroma to the bottom of the hold: see Lucian, navigium, V. See also Kraus, Real-Encyklopädie der Christlichen Alterthümer, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1880, articles ambon, bema (vol. 1, pp. 43—46), and Basilica (vol. 1, pp. 109—143); De Vogüé, Syrie Centrale, Planches 119, 126, 138;

5 L'Eglise de Saint-Férémie à Abou-Gosch (Emmaus), with plans, by C. Mauss in Revue Archéologique, 3ième Série, Tom. xix. p. 223 ff. and Assemânî, B. O., iii. 1, p. 537, capp. 3 and 5; iii. ii. pp. 795, 821, 835. In Assemânî, Codex Liturgicus, tom. ix. Appendix, p. 281, note 2, we have explained by Cancellos "qui Ecclesiae Sanctuariam a Navi, seu loco fidelium separant.

From comes the Arabic balustrade en bois ou en bronze autour du cénotaphe d'un saint. Dozy, Supplément, tom. ii. p. 358, col. 2. 6 world before the face of the Lord in His holy temple as long as the world endureth, even as he will be on the right hand of the King of Kings, Jesus Christ, for everlasting, in that world where there is no space of time to be divided into seasons and years; and his holy body is a fountain of help for the afflicted and diseased, and a strong wall to the whole village. Let us praise God, the Lord of all, Who made the holy man victorious, and the honourable Ḥasān who zealously encouraged setting down his history in writing, that his glorious acts and deeds might not flee into oblivion, but that they might all be brought to light. May we be preserved from every harmful thing in this world by his prayers, and in the next may we be neighbours in the happiness which God hath prepared for the holy man; and may we all together praise and glorify our Lord Jesus Christ, and may His grace and mercy be with us all, now and always, for ever and ever! Amen.

7 Here endeth the history of the similitude of the manner of life of the holy and pious Mār Māran-ʿammeh, Metropolitan Bishop of Adiabene; to God be glory, and upon us His mercy, Amen! ing, meant the beginning of the; compare Payne Smith, Thes., col. 2727; and "limina Cancellorum," B. O., iii. ii. p. 821, l. 28. In Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 342b, col. 2, we have A METRICAL HOMILY ALSO UPON THE HOLY MĀRAN-ʿAMMEH WHICH WAS COMPOSED BY MĀR THOMAS, BISHOP OF MARGĀ. Response. May We FIND MERCY THROUGH THE PRAYERS OF THE PRIEST WHOSE COMMEMORATION IS CELEBRATED WITH GREAT HONOUR IN OUR CONGREGATION.

*My Brethren, Bless Ye the Lord!*

8 O lovers of truth, bring near to my wretchedness the entreaty of truth, That I may weave with my words a crown of the praises of the pious man. The children of the nobility of this world, and of that of Christ, Have asked from me a petition wholly full of the love of the righteous man. 5 The guests of light, and those who enjoy the Living Mystery Have made me the means [of recounting] the glorious praises of the noble labourer. The children of the right hand have urged my uninstructed right hand To paint a picture of his perfection full of beauty. The chief of pastors, and the father of priests, Māran-ʿammeh, 10 The man who was pre-eminent in the Holy Church,

they wish to praise. The watchful shepherd, and steward of the treasures of the Spirit, Their command seeketh to crown by means of our speech.

9 To the angel of light, to the pure and entirely holy man, May they and I devote our words on the day of his commemoration. 15 And with the offering and sacrifice of truth, which his vigil requireth, We will compose a discourse in which [his] contests shall be sung. And while with my mouth and understanding I take refuge in his prayer, May my tongue well up with a pleasing discourse on his glorious deeds. May my feeble speech travel on with his history, 20 And may it repeat the stories concerning him, in order, even as they were performed. The holy man sprang from Ḥaṭre a city in Ṭirhân, From a family and holy race of righteous men. Mâran-ʿammeh was he named by his parents, And as in prophecy [he was named] with a noble name [so also] his person was distinguished. 25 Our Lord Jesus was with him, and chose him for Himself,

10 And from his youth up He set him aside and sanctified him for His household. To be a member of His heavenly household was the holy man worthy, And as he grew in bodily stature he increased in the doctrine of Life. And when the beloved youth had arrived at early manhood, 30 He forsook his parents, and friends, and relations, and kinsmen. He despised and contemned the love of the world which passeth away, And he fastened his love upon Him that had chosen him, as upon an anchor. The love of his Lord inflamed the mind of the noble labourer, And he began to walk on the way of life as to heaven. 35 Now at that time the much enlightened Rabban Bâbhai Was praised by many on account of his teaching. In his city Gēbhiltā the teacher of truth founded a school, And like the Tigris a fountain of learning flowed from his belly.

11 By the theory and practice of his teaching 40 He made the truth of his enlightenment shine upon many. Towards this man did [Mār Māran-ʿammeh] direct the impetus of his steps at the beginning of his way, That he might be his disciple as was Joshua of Moses the Great, Before this [man] he was instructed in the writings of the Spirit, And in the expositions of Theodore, the scribe of truth. 45 By the vigilance of his mind was he directed in a straight line, And he received fully the doctrine of the Holy Church. Now when the Lord stirred up the heart of Rabban Bâbhai, To go up to our country, and to sow in it the teaching of Life, He associated Mâran-ʿammeh

with him in that going up, 50 Like Jesus, the son of Jozadak and Zerubbabel. They two arrived with many [people] at the country of Arbela,

12 And first of all planted a great school in Kêphar ʿUzzêl. Peter; on Titus, and Philemon, and Hebrews for Cyrinus; and five volumes on the works of the other apostles. He wrote a book on the "Sacraments;" another on "Faith;" two volumes on the "Priesthood;" two volumes on the "Holy Spirit;" one volume on the "Incarnation;" two volumes against "Eunomius;" two volumes against those who would say, "Sin is ingrained in [our] nature;" two volumes "against Magianism;" one volume "to Monks;" one on "obscure speech"; one volume on "Perfection of manner of life;" five volumes against "Allegorists,"; one volume "on behalf of Basil;" one volume on "the taker and that which is taken,"; "the Book of the Pearl," in which his letters are collected; and a "discourse on the laying down of the Law",. See Asse-manî, B. O., iii. 1, pp. 30—35; iii. ii. pp. 190, 203, 227, 228; Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccles., i. col. 124; ii. coll. 58, 64, 74; Fabricius, Bibl. Graec., vol. x. p. 346ff.; Tillemont, Mémoires, tom. vi. p. 219 (ed. Brussels 1732); and Wright, Catalogue of Syriac MSS., p. 1329, col. 1.

13 And when it flourished with scholars and doctors, He left it in the hands of Mâran-ʿammeh and went away from it, That he might go and plant other schools like unto it, And place in them teachers from among his disciples. The holy Rabban Bâbhai planted sixty schools, And established sixty men, teachers of the truth, in them. He ordained that Mâran-ʿammeh should be established in this our [school], And he departed to Gêbhîltâ, and there he died. Mâran-ʿammeh became a teacher in this church, In which his venerable body was laid at the end of his life. By the glorious rays of his teaching and manner of life Every one round about him shone by the power of the grace which clave to him. He became a teacher and a preacher of the Spirit, And he preached and taught the doctrine of his Lord like Paul. He planted spiritual cuttings in the courtyards of the Church, And he reared them upon the rain and dew which [fell] from his lips.

14 He weaned his body from the dainty things of all manner of pleasant foods, 70 And by voluntary abstinence from a life of softness he emaciated his body. The mind which is devoted to the flesh is wont to beget a thick belly, When it remaineth barren of the mind devoted to spiritual things. He sanctified himself to be an offering to the name of the Creator, And he cleansed his heart from all the passions of the body and soul. 75 His thoughts

shone like incorporeal light, He made his feelings to possess a chaste demeanour, and a pure report. At every moment he made his eyes to be occupied with the writings of the Spirit, He also sanctified his hands by means of almsgiving. His feet had for a firm standing-place truth and rectitude, 80 As it is written concerning his fellows in the writings of the Spirit.

15 He became a temple and a pure shrine according to the command, And was a dwellingplace for the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, As our Lord Jesus promised to the friends of His love, That they should be a dwelling for His Godhood in the manner of their lives. 85 Moreover his Lord gave him the [power] of healing all sicknesses, And He blessed by his hand also the signs of the Cross which he made. From his right hand sicknesses of all kinds fled, And by his blessings he made the sterile fruitful, and dried up wombs he made fertile. And although he excelled in all divine beauties, 90 Praise to his Lord was attributed by all mouths. And from the labour of teaching the Spirit raised him up, To the great glory of the headship of the Holy Church, To the throne of Salâkh, the country of Yânes (Jannes) mentioned by the Apostles.

16 His Lord distinguished him [as] a good servant to lead His sheep. 95 The good shepherd received five talents from the Spirit, And like that wise steward he made use of them with skill and care. The provisions of time he made use of in an excellent manner, [being] truly wise, And there accrued to him the blessing of our Lord [which is] in the Gospel. He went to his country and began to visit the flocks of his Lord, 100 And to rear them, and to make them increase according to the command. He set out for a village which was called Bêth Nâwâ, and he heard and learned That one tare had taken root and begun to grow among the wheat. He tore up this tare by its root, and gave it to the fire, And it became its own murderer, like Saul. 105 He passed over to another [village], and there was a young man, the son of a widow,

17 Being carried out to the grave of the dead, with great sorrow. He saw the poor [mother] tearing out her hair unsparingly, And crying out upon her only son with tears of suffering. "Woe is me, woe is me, my beloved son," she cried out, 110 "For after thee I have no other to open or to shut for me. "Let the old woman thy mother die with thee, and not survive thee, "That her life may not be days full of death." The tears streamed from the eyes of the watchful shepherd for the sake of his ewe, And he commanded them to take the body back to the church that he might pray over it. 115 He put out all

men and remained alone with the dead, And began [to pray] with tears and fervent prostrations. His Lord Who saw the prayer and the tears which were offered to Him,

18 Restored the soul of the young man to its body, and rejoiced His servant. With sorrow the earnest master prayed for him that was lying there, And our Lord made His glorious light to shine [on them] as on Paul, When he went forth to persecute the apostles who were in Damascus. They also returned to what was seemly, like Paul, 130 And they confessed Jesus [to be] the God of all, and the Son of God. He subdued the untamed mule, and it received the bridle With quietness and tranquillity, according to his command. He drove away from the wall of the holy temple a nest of ants, And in a moment they all departed through his prayers. 135 And while the tried priest was excelling in such-like things, The Spirit lifted him up another step higher than this. Metropolitan of all Adiabene, and Margâ, and Ḥephtôn, The Spirit entrusted to him to hold the oars of the elect Church.

19 And with the advancement from grade to grade of the pious man, our father 140 Was also exalted by miracles which were exceedingly sublime. Before the coming of the mighty man to this country Certain men dared to seize the mill belonging to the episcopal house. And when he saw their avariciousness and obstinate strife [concerning it] He carried them to the mill that he might shew them the truth of what he said. 145 "Let us all go to the mill, and it shall teach us To whom it belongeth and who hath a right to it, whether you or I". The believing nobles and also the assembly of the priests went with him That they might see how and what would come to pass from that which should be wrought. He adjured the mill, and instead of wheat it ground out ashes, 150 He commanded it again, and it changed the ashes to pure flour.

20 The large assembly of spectators who were with him marvelled, And the avaricious men were put to shame, and left the mill in the hands of the righteous man. As unto Moses dumb things of nature were submissive unto him, And he brought forth from them the power of wonder and marvel. 155 In the country of Margâ there were men of evil life, The Lord was stirred up to reward them twofold into their bosom. He sent one of the Watchers to the soldier of the Spirit, That he might arm himself, and make an end of them by his curses. The spiritual being came, and manifested himself to the noble labourer, 160 When he was standing in prayer and vigil according to

his custom. The holy man saw the spiritual Watcher and marvelled and was astonished, And he asked for what cause he had come to him. "I am," said he, "the guardian angel

21 Who ministereth to the throne of this country by the command of my Lord. 165 And the Nod which ruleth creation and maketh times to pass away hath sent me, That thou mayest go and destroy the blind people who have trodden His laws under foot, A foolishly wicked and godless people in the country of Margâ Who by thy hands shall suffer death and destruction. Take hold of the sword of the Word of our Lord without pity, 170 And cast down and destroy good and evil men without sparing." He made answer to the Watcher, "I cannot do this deed, Because the Creator needeth not for power the help of man. By the hand of angels He overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, And now by the hand of the Watchers on high let Him do this." 175 The Watcher answered, "Do not dispute my words, For whether thou wilt, or whether thou wilt not, perforce thou must go".

22 And when the Watcher had disappeared from him, he departed and fled, That he might live the life of an anchorite in the wilderness far away from men, Like Jonah when he fled by sea to Tarshish, 180 That he might not go at his Lord's command to the city of Nineveh. The Watcher overtook the blessed old man, and surrounded him with fire, Threatening him that if he would not return he would consume him. The Lord brought Jonah in the belly of the fish back to land, And He terrified our father with fire and he turned back. 185 The mighty man arose, the charioteer mounted, the athlete made ready, And he took in his quiver eight arrows breathing death, That he might make them devour the flesh and blood of evil men, And perform by them the vengeance of wrath according to what they deserved. Like Joshua, holding the spear after the manner of a warrior, 190 And being wrathful and full of fighting zeal against the iniquitous, He went up to the village, the name of which was Birtâ, and the Watcher showed him, [Saying,] "Curse this village and its inhabitants by the wrath of thy words." He stood upon a hill and waved his hand like David, He took one arrow from his quiver, and cursed the village, and passed on, 195 And at once from every side fire went forth, And licked it up like stubble, and it came to an end and perished suddenly. He came to the village of Bêth Ṭêḥûnâi, which is situated on the bank of a river, In this village was a whoremonger who was exceedingly cruel.

23 The holy man called him and began to rebuke him, as he would his sons, 200 "What I hear thou art doing is not right, Cease from the way that leadeth to Gehenna, and return To that which is proper, and the hatefulness of thy [past] life shall be forgiven thee." The wretched man who was worthy of the death of the Sodomites, turned, And as Shimei cast dirt at the just man David, 205 He sent forth his hand like Shimei(?) against the holy man, And answered the master and good shepherd with words of mocking scorn. [Mâran-ʿammeh] rose up, and went forth and took a spiritual arrow, And shot it into him, and cursed him and his village in great anger, "Be thou swallowed up in the earth like Abiram and the wicked men his companions; 210 Thy village shall be overthrown, and the earth shall cover it and its inhabitants."

24 Suddenly there appeared Watchers of fire like horsemen, One on the plain, one on the mountain, each facing each. The Watcher above answered, "Thou below, and I above, Let us make the village sink into the earth, and consume its inhabitants within it." 215 The earth reeled, and gave forth a sound like the sea. The mountain which was above the village thundered with violent thunders. And the earth was opened below it, and it was swallowed up, And the smoke of it began to go up like that of Sodom. Darkness remained above it for sixty days, 220 The report flew abroad, like a bird, into all countries. [Māran-ʿammeh] came and arrived at BēthʿAināthā and Ḥabūshtā, And he sent two arrows flying into them and destroyed them. A violent wind like that of Job blew suddenly, And they fell and were destroyed [and remained] without inhabitants for ever. 225 He passed on from these villages to the little village of Bēth Edhrē,

25 And with a sharp arrow he rent it asunder, saying, "Howl, O village, complain, O village, for thine inhabitants, For thou shalt put on mourning by the reason of the nearness of complete desolation". Like Bêlṭeshâṣar by Darius on the last night, 230 Was slain Shâbhôr, the Lord of the village, and all who were therein fled. He went forth from these villages and in his quiver [were] three arrows, Five had been emptied on the villages which he had passed and they had destroyed them. He came to the village of Zâdhôi the nobleman, He took an arrow and drew it out from himself for his bitterness, 235 He shot it at Zâdhôi, and prophesied to him what was about to come to pass, "All the glory with which thou art clothed thou shalt be made to put away, And thou shalt live a life of hunger and misery."

26 And this happened to the old man Zâdhôi even as [Mâran-'ammeh] had said to him. In Kârdhâghîâ there was a man who lived on a pillar, 240 Like a vulture and an unclean carrion crow seated on a hill. He distinguished from afar the star of dawn by his clear light, And the son of darkness thought and decided that he would make a mock of him. He cried out to his disciple to go out quickly to meet him, And to ask him to turn aside to him that he might be blessed [by him]. 245 He saw that the blessed old man had turned aside to pass by his way, And he put on boasting, and he laid out his tongue for blaspheming. He answered and said to the dwellers in the village below him, "Behold, even the head of the Nestorians hath need of my salutation, While in your opinion, I am of little worth, and despicable, and of small account,

27 250 And ye do not confess the hidden power in which I dwell." The strenuous soldier turned aside to the son of destruction, And he came to the crafty one, and asked him in love for what reason he had called him. That man answered him falsely, "That I might be blessed [by thee] Did I send that thou shouldst come to me, and that I might see thy face." 255 "I have confidence in that God Whom I serve," The holy man with righteous mouth made answer to the wicked one, "If, according to this thy word, thou hast called me to be blessed [by me], May our Lord draw off the veil of darkness from thy understanding, May He make the light of His belief to shine in thy mind, 260 That thou mayest confess Him and know Him [to be] God [and] Man, in one Sonship." He took from his quiver a poisoned and fire-scattering arrow, And he added to it that which was meet from that of Zâdhô, He placed it in the bow, and directed its aim towards the pillar, He stretched the string and shot the arrow, and it smote him and passed on. 265 [Saying], "If, O servant of devils, thou hast called me to disgrace and mock me, May the Lord smite this thy tower with hailstones, And mayest thou fall among the stones thereof into an evil death,

28 May fire go forth from within the hail and devour thy bones, Mayest thou be a mocking and a byword to all generations. 270 And all those who pass by the way shall make a mock of thee for ever!" At the words of the mighty old man, which were filled with death, A cloud of darkness filled with hail, and [having] fire inside it, Suddenly surrounded the whole tower like a garment, To take vengeance upon the despicable scoffer who had acted insolently. 275 And the coming down of the [hail-]stones upon the pillar was

[a sight] to see! [They were] like the [hail-]stones which the Lord brought down by Joshua the son of Nun. Every man stood at a distance looking at that which was done, And fear and wonder filled the hearts of the multitudes that were with him. The wretched man was beaten to pieces, and fire went forth and consumed his body,

29 280 And the old man avenged our father Mâr Nestorius. The despicable offspring of bats, the lover of darkness, Threatened to make war, forsooth, with an eagle of mighty wings. His claw smote him on the head, and ripped him open, and cast him into the darkness of his nest, The stone crushed him, the fire devoured him, and he remained for perdition. 285 He became a reproach for the wayfarers, and a proverb for generations, According to what the sanctified mouth of our pious father said. The head of the Holy Church was exalted by reason of that which was wrought, And the heretics, the followers of Severus were made a mockery. The report flew like a bird into all countries, 290 And the hidden power which is in holy men was glorified. And to George, by the spirit of revelation, he prophesied, [saying], "Our Lord Jesus will exalt thee to be the head of all His Church",

30 And also to this man was this thing wrought in a sublime manner, And he was appointed Catholicus and Patriarch of the Church. 295 He went forth from these [villages], being led by the hand of the angel, To the village of Ḥeṭrē which is situated at the ends of the earth. And the arrow which was left he threw and cast at it, and it remained a ruin, Its inhabitants forsook it, and they were scattered about to all countries. The Lord made to disappear and scattered from village to village 300 Those who went forth, like brands from the fire. Their mighty villages he left in ruin, And the stones of their buildings he piled up in heaps like hills. The strenuous soldier passed on and came to his throne, His garments were red with the blood of men like a treader of grapes, 305 Like a treader of grapes in the winepress had he trodden their bodies,

31 And he had pierced them with sharp arrows and had destroyed them. May our Lord Jesus have mercy upon them through his prayers, And may He hold to be sufficient for them the judgment with which they were judged in this world. His Nod beareth all sinners graciously, 310 And by means of them He spreadeth out His righteousness without sparing. His dispensation is hidden from us, namely, why He made an end of the good and evil together. A mighty famine took place in the days of the good shepherd, Want, in

which there was no solace, spread over every thing. 315 Starving men and languishing beggars and orphans increased, The blessed man saw their afflictions and was pained and was grieved. He went to the city of the Athôrâyê on their behalf, To collect from them a sack full of alms and oblations for them. Every man gave to him with a full and ever flowing hand,

32 320 For they held him to be like unto a prophet and an Apostle. The things which he wrought shone brightly in their sight, For he was established as a mighty man in their opinion. He took the money which had been given to him with diligent zeal, And he went forth from thence like Abraham from Egypt. 325 There met him on the way six wicked men who were thieves, And they dared to plunder him, and likewise to take the money which he had with him. He took his rod, and tied his turban cloth upon the top of it, and threw it up into the air. And what had been done was bitter, and painful and grievous to him. He cried out with mournful sighs to our Redeemer concerning his injury, 330 And he called his days a life full of every affliction. "Behold from the time that I came into the world I have lived an evil life,

33 And a little rest hath never appeared to me in the habitation of time". His rod stood [in the air], and that spiritual being who accompanied him, Surrounded it on all sides with arrows of fire. 335 He emitted and shot out sparks from the fringes of the turban cloth, And they came down and lighted upon the faces of those evil men. They were overcome and brought low by the fiery darts of the burning, They sought to escape and were no longer wishful to do harm to his holiness. "Restrain from thy servants, O blessed old man, the sparks of fire, 340 Let us depart as we have come in this matter. Famine compelled us and through necessity have we done this thing, Spare our lives which are come to an end and are extinguished by the suffering of hunger". The holy man took a handful of his blessings (alms),

34 And made the men participators in his provisions, and went on his way, 345 The blessed man being by what he had done like unto The mercy of the God of the universe in respect of our wickednesses. He distributed the silver and gold which he had brought to the mouths of the starving, And he wisely fed the orphans and the needy. And while the glorious priest was excelling in such things, 350 He was advancing in years, and becoming old and grey. He drew near, and had already come to the end of his days And the end of his course began to appear, and the conclusion of his life. Sickness came

upon him, and the powers of his body began to be enfeebled, And little by little his body melted away, and came to an end, and perished. 355 His ship came to rest in the harbour of peace away from storms,

35 And his rich cargo went forth uninjured from among the waves. He forsook the dwelling of mortality, reserved for corruption, And in the pure path of all the righteous he ended his journey. His soul departed in the hands of the Watchers, borne with great honour, 360 And with the songs and hymns of praise of the spiritual beings, His pious soul entered into Paradise, and rested. And the triumph of its labours and their rewards are preserved in silence, Until the day in which our Lord shall be revealed in great glory, And it shall return and put on glory in its temple. 365 The multitudes and all ranks [of people] bore with honour his venerable body, With hymns and songs of praise of the Holy Spirit. They laid him in the temple to the right of the holy altar, A mystery [is] that position which is prepared for him in heaven above.

36 May our Lord guard our feebleness by his prayers, 370 And surround with the wall of Thy care the sheep of Thy flocks. At his entreaty rain down Thy showers upon our fields, And drive away from them granary worms, and locusts, and hail, and the scorching wind. May our crop become [increased] an hundredfold, like that of Isaac, That the offering of the humble as well as of the great man may come to Thy home. 375 Bless, O our Lord, the herds of our cattle, and the flocks of our sheep, That orphans and the needy may be clothed from them like those of Job. Prosper and bless the rich like Jacob; That the needy may feed at their table [as at that of] Abraham. Enrich the poor with riches sufficient for sustaining their lives, 380 That by reason of their abundance they may confess Thy goodness at all times.

37 Support the old men with the strength of Thy power, and make them young men, That they may teach early manhood chastity of life. choir, (text. p. 171, l. 6), so he will one day stand at the right hand of the presence of God. Bless all young people, nourish the children, and cherish the ailing, Satisfy the hungry, and feed the orphans that they may praise Thee. 385 Fill the garment of the widow with Thy food, That she may not be left without the means of sustaining her life. Magnify and honour the reverend priests who minister in Thy holy things, And clothe with glory the deacons who bear Thy altar. Preserve, O our Lord, this our monastery from the spoilers, 390

And establish every thing belonging to it in Thy mercy and by Thy grace. Hide our lives from all our affliction in the shadow of Thy wings,

38 And put away from us every sickness and every injury. Drive away from Thy servants the evil oppression of those who hate us, And may Thy compassion abound towards us at every moment to preserve our lives. 395 May faith spring up within us like a root, And true righteousness like the fruit thereof. Sustain our feebleness at every moment to stand before Thee, As it is meet for good servants who love their lord. May this church, in which is placed the body of the righteous man Thy servant, 400 Pour out the truth of the doctrine of life for ever. Protect our Father the Metropolitan, and increase by his hands The flocks of Thy sheep and of Thy pasture like unto Paul. Bless the priests and the Levites who are round about him, And according to Thy pleasure may they increase the talents which they have taken from Thee.

39 405 [Bless] believing men and women also, and all ranks [of people] Who go in before Thee to pray in this temple. Make them worthy, that in the church which is in Heaven above, They may praise Thy name together with the hosts of the righteous who have been made perfect. Also upon the hands and mouth which wrote down the triumph of Thy servant 410 Let Thy tribunal shew compassion, according to the wont of Thy graciousness. And him that was, by his entreaty, the cause of our history, Protect in this world, and in the next make worthy of the festal chamber of Thy light. Pardon the offences of all the children of the Holy Church, And let those who are written down by Thee, live through Thee, according to Thy will. 415 From the mouth of us all, may there be praise to Thee, and to Thy Father glory, And to the Holy Spirit exaltation, for ever and ever, Amen.

40 By the help of our Lord [here] endeth the discourse which was composed and written by the command of the wise and learned nobleman Mār Ḥasān, the son of Sabhr-Īshōʿ, the teacher of truth, upon the holy and blessed Mār Māranʿammeh, the Metropolitan Bishop. [Here] endeth the Third Book.

### BOOK IV — CHAPTER 1. THE INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK

1 Now as among the ancient people the priest, in that law which foreshadowed these things which we now have, seasoned the offerings of the Lord with salt which could be perceived by the senses, even as it is said, "Upon all thy offerings thou shalt sprinkle salt, and thou shalt not neglect the salt of the covenant of the Lord thy God", so also let us come and season these

things which we have with the salt which can be perceived by the mind, and let us join to our histories, in every place where it is necessary, the words of the Holy Scriptures. And as the offerings of old received an additional sweetness from the salt, so also will these our histories acquire an additional flavour through the salt of the words from the writings of the Spirit. And first of all let the blessed Evagrius cast his contribution with us into this discourse which we are about to write upon his fellow-workers, and let us hearken unto his counsel and take heed unto his command, for he speaketh unto us, saying, "Look into thine own self, lest for the sake of profit, or transient glory, or that it may be well with thee, thou darest to speak about that which is not seemly, and art cast forth from divine circles (assemblies), like that man who sold young doves in the Temple".

2 It is necessary then, that above all things we should cleave to the truth, and that we should carefully preserve the order of truth, so that we may not err from what is seemly, but that we may write and may make manifest those things which stir up in the hearts of the prudent glory to God, Who in the early, middle and latter [generations] shewed forth and still sheweth forth His power, and Who honoured and held to be worthy of the same reward of one dînâr those who had laboured in the vineyard of His commandments the whole day, and those who had laboured for some hours, and those who had laboured for one hour [only].

## CHAPTER 2. OF THE BLESSED RABBAN ÎSHÔ-YAHBH, THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY, WHENCE HE CAME, OF WHAT PARENTS HE WAS BORN, AND OF HOW HE WAS BROUGHT UP

1 In the three books which precede this, which is the fourth, the matter of our discourse hath undertaken to relate the histories of holy men, some of which have been written down by skilled writers, and some of which have not been put on record. Of those histories which exist in writing we have written such things as [their writers] omitted, and which we either found in the histories of others, or which were handed down to us by hearsay; but those histories which do not exist in writing, and which are inscribed neither in works specially devoted to them, nor in other places, I have learned from the very old men who were to be found in this monastery, and according as Christ our Lord hath aided me I have made them to possess consecutive order, and have laid them before thee [O 'Abd-Îshô']. And behold now, by the help of our Lord and by thy prayers, I will proceed with my

rehearsing of them, and with my feeble ability will relate the histories of these holy men who a short time ago served our Lord in this holy monastery, and all the things concerning them which were luminously pointed out to me by the holy men who lived in their days, and who became also their disciples. At the beginning of their histories we will place the account of the triumphs of the holy Rabban Îshô'-yahbh. Now this Îshô'-yahbh of holy memory was by race from this country of Margâ;

2 he sprang from an honourable and noble family, and was a kinsman of the Patriarch Îshô'-yahbh the Great. The village in which he was born and brought up was Tellâ, a village in the province of Birtâ, and he became a disciple in this monastery from his youth at the hands of the Metropolitan Bishop Mâr John, when he was head of the monastery. And when the holy Mâr Aḥâ, the head of the monastery, was consecrated Metropolitan after Mâr John, this holy man was elected head of this monastery; and when the Bishop of Nineveh, Mâr Abraham, of blessed life, died, the people of Nineveh begged and entreated that he might be their bishop, and the blessed Mâr Aḥâ ordained Mâr Îshô-yahbh bishop, and sent him to Nineveh; and he performed the episcopal office until he was crowned with old age. And when the pious Hênân-Îshô, this other Catholicus, died, and a synod was assembled to appoint a Catholicus, the election to the patriarchate was ordered and prepared for the blessed Mâr Îshô-yahbh by all the Bishops and Metropolitans and heads of believers so that he became the Patriarch.

### CHAPTER 3. OF MÂR TIMOTHY, BISHOP OF BÊTH BÊGHÂSH, AND OF THE PROPHECY WHICH WAS MADE CONCERNING HIM BY ONE OF THE OLD MEN [IN THE MONASTERY]

1 Now there was in this monastery a certain solitary, who was an exceedingly old man, with whose name I am unacquainted. Now Timothy had an uncle whose name was George, who was Bishop of the country of Bêth Bêghâsh, and he sent the boy Timothy from him to Rabban Mâr Abraham the Expositor, when he was in Bâshôsh, a village of Saphsâphâ, and the boy made his passage [thither by way of] this monastery. And when that holy old man came to this community, and saw the youth who was standing up, it was revealed to him that he was to be exalted above all who were there by Christ our Lord, and he knew that he was to be a chief in the Church of God. And when [the service in] the church was ended, he took him with him to his cell, and made him sit down, and asked him, saying, "Whence comest thou,

my son, and whither goest thou? And the youth said to him, "I am a nephew of George, Bishop of Bêth Bêghâsh, and he has sent me that I might go to school to Rabban Abraham, in the village of Bâshôsh".

2 Now at that time, according to what is said, a gerîbhâ of wheat was sold for one zûzâ, and [the old man] took out one zûzâ and gave him, and admonished him, saying, "Go now and buy wheat, and eat, and work fully in the study of the Scriptures, and guard thyself from all ignoble things, for thou shalt become Patriarch of all the country of the East. And behold, our Lord will make thee triumphant so that like unto thee no one hath ever been, and before and after thee no one shall ever be. Forty and two years shalt thou stand at the head of all the pastures of Christ, and when by the hand of God thou hast been exalted to these things, let thy heart be disposed to honour this holy house, in which it was [made] known to thee that thou wert neither of no account nor despised before God; go now in peace, and keep those things which I have commanded thee". And when the youth had been sufficiently trained and had returned to his uncle,—now George was using every means he could to adjudge his throne to his brother's son—[Divine] grace, I say, wrought that which was beyond his intention, and he excused himself to Mâr Mâran-ammeh the Metropolitan on the ground of his old age, and resigned the priesthood. And the young man Timothy was appointed Bishop of the country of Bêth Bêghâsh.

### CHAPTER 4. OF HOW TIMOTHY OBTAINED POSSESSION OF THE PATRIARCHATE BY FRAUD, LIKE JACOB WHO OBTAINED BY FRAUD THE BLESSINGS OF ISAAC HIS FATHER

1 There are times when matters concerning heaven and things above [this] world require human means and help, and we may learn and prove from many instances that such means and help are allowed by the Will of God, even though they progress by cunning. When God the Lord of all made the blessed Isaac to bless his sons, He moved him with the desire for food of the chase in the desert, to such a degree that when Esau was away, there should be the opportunity for Jacob to carry away the blessing. And if it were not so would not that great and rich man have said to his son, "My son, slay me a kid of the goats, that I may eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I die"? but no, he sent him off upon the troublesome labour of hunting after fleeing and inaccessible prey. Thus also was it when Samuel was commanded by the Lord to anoint David, and he feared the sword of Saul, he was commanded

to take a heifer and to say, "I am come to sacrifice to the Lord". Thus also was it when the blessed Paul received a revelation from God that not one of them should perish, but only the ship, and he said beforehand to all those who were with him, "Eat bread, and be not distressed, for our Lord hath revealed it to me that no soul of us shall perish, but only the ship"; and [when] he knew that the sailors were making ready to flee, he said to the Romans who were with him, "If these flee we shall all perish." And [there are] many [other] instances which it is not necessary for us to collect.

2 And in this case also, since the Patriarchate was set apart for Timothy, truth acted with subtlety and performed its work. And when Timothy saw the face of every man fixed upon our Mār Īshō'-yahbh, he advised him secretly when they were alone together, and said to him, "Thou art an old man, and thou art notable to stand up and meet the attacks of the envious, Ephraim of Elam, Joseph the son of Mari, and other opponents; but do thou excuse thyself, and become one of my supporters, and I will make thee Metropolitan of Adiabene"; and to speak briefly, Timothy was appointed Catholicus and Patriarch, and was proclaimed among the heads of the fathers. And after a few days, because the holy Mār Māran-'ammeh, Metropolitan of Arbela, was dead, he appointed and proclaimed Mār Īshō'-yahbh Bishop of the church of Adiabene, and Metropolitan of all his countries.

### CHAPTER 5. OF RÔSTÂM BISHOP OF HĔNÁITHÂ

Now when the Shahrighân of Kêphar 'Uzzêl, and the inhabitants of the province of Bêth Ârô'ê saw that a Metropolitan Bishop who had not been elected by them had been appointed over them, and that the Catholicus had considered them as if they did not exist, they decreed with oaths, saying, "We will never be obedient to Íshó-yahbh who hath been set over us without being elected by us". And they went down to Hédhattá to Mâr Solomon, bishop of that place, and there happened to be there also Joseph the son of Marî, the wicked Metropolitan of Merv, who had come thither because the holy Mâr Solomon, on account of his old age, was not able to go down to the synod. And Joseph the son of Marî thought that he (i. e., Solomon) would stir up a commotion against Timothy when he should speak to Solomon, saying, "Behold, Ephraim of Elam wisheth also to gather together the Bishops and Metropolitans who are not of the laying on of hands of Timothy, that he may cause Timothy to be deposed"; and when to this wish that of the Shahrîghân was added Joseph found the material for his wickedness. And he led astray

the holy Mâr Solomon, as Şaibâ [Ziba] led David astray, and as the lying prophet [deceived] the prophet of God who came from Judah to Bethel. And they took Rôstâm, Bishop of Hênâithâ, and appointed him Metropolitan of Arbela in the Mud Convent, which is on the Tigris, below the Hesnâ 'Ebhrâyâ in Nineveh, and the Shahrîghân took him and seated him on the Metropolitan throne of Bêth Mâr Kardâgh. And he seized the Bishop's throne and all his income, and the wretched man began to eat and to make merry, not knowing that his stroke was at hand, and that there was none to deliver him.

### CHAPTER 6. OF THE GOING UP OF OUR HOLY MÂR ÎŠHŌ'-YAHBH TO ADIABENE

1 And when Mâr Îshō'-yahbh had arrived at the village of Haighâlâ, and at Estreniyâ, and had heard and learned also concerning the things which had taken place in the matter of Rôstâm, he wrote to Mâr Timothy, saying, "This is thy love for thy friend! Thou hast deceived me, and hast made a laughing-stock of me. Thou hast brought me out from the throne of Nineveh upon which I sat, and I am deprived even of this throne which thou hast been pleased to give me; take then this priesthood which thou hast given to me, and I will go to my own monastery and will end my life [there]". And Mâr Timothy wrote to him, "Faint not, neither be disturbed by these two tails of burning brands who have appointed a Metropolitan without the [consent of] the Patriarch; go to Adiabene, and abide in every village which will receive thee, and the village which desireth thee not, dispute not with it; for the day of the destruction of the enemy is near, and that which shall happen to them hasteneth, for the Lord judgeth His people, and consoleth His servants". And when the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh had read these things, he took courage and went up and came to his country.

2 And when, according to the agreement which existed between them, neither the Shahrîghân nor the Ârô'âyê went out to meet him, he went up to the Bânîkâyê, and these people, and those of all their province, and all the people of the mountains of Adiabene, and the people of Hefthôn received him with great joy, and with the honour of which his holiness was worthy; and he passed over to Margâ, and he remained thus visiting these believing people, and they rejoiced in him. And Rôstâm and the nobles of Kêphâr 'Uzzêl lived luxuriously upon all manner of dainty foods when he first came from his throne to them, and they enjoyed themselves with riotous living

while they threatened and made ready to drive away the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh from the part of the country which he held; but they did not know that they would be put to shame through what they were preparing and making ready.

### CHAPTER 7. OF THE SWIFT JUDGMENT WHICH OVERTOOK RÔSTÂM, AND OF HOW THOSE WHO HAD APPOINTED HIM WERE PUT TO SHAME AND DISGRACED

1 Now while the Spirit of God was longsuffering towards Rôstâm, he hardened his heart and the wretched man never brought the matter into his mind or thought, "How can I continue in the office of Metropolitan since I have neither been appointed by the Catholicus nor fully installed, or how can I dare to remain in what I have"? But like Absalom, he wished to act insolently towards the fatherhood of the Head of the East, and according to the seed which Joseph the son of Marî had sown in his ears, he awaited with hope the disturbance [which was made] concerning the Catholicus, even as Absalom waited eagerly for the counsel of Ahithophel in [the matter of] the destruction of David. And while he was in the midst of these deliberations the Lord roused Himself like a sleeping man, and smote His enemies behind Him, and He chose Îshô'-yahbh His servant, and established him [to be] the faithful steward over all His house.

2 And it came to pass one day when Rôstâm was riding upon a large, richly caparisoned mule [which he had chosen] in his pride, that as he was coming to his house from his luxurious, riotous and licentious orgies, he arrived near the habitation of Bèth Màr Ḳardàgh, and the dogs of that place surrounded him until at last he [was obliged] to dismount, and as soon as he put his feet upon the ground they leaped upon him in a body, and they worried him and bit him, and brought him unto death, like that wicked woman Jezebel who persecuted the prophets. And this was a marvellous and fearful thing to all those who heard it. And Rōstām's boon companions were disgraced; and their faces put to shame; and their counsels brought to nought; and their fellowship and the bond of love and their breathings of death against the righteous man [Mār Īshō-yahbh] which they had murmured over their wine cups when brimming over with mixed wine were dissolved. Then too the pious Mār Solomon wrote a letter of excuses and resigned [his] episcopal office, and went and dwelt in the Monastery of Rabban Aaron until the end of his life, and Joseph, the son of Mari forsook Christianity and became

a heathen. Thus was fulfilled upon them that which the pious Mār Timothy spake, saying, "The day of their destruction is near at hand, and that which shall happen to them hasteneth."

### CHAPTER 8. OF THE REPENTANCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ADIABENE, AND OF THE MOST HUMBLE ENTREATY WHICH THEY OFFERED TO MĀR ĪSHŌ-YAHBH THAT HE WOULD OCCUPY HIS EPISCOPAL THRONE

1 Now if not every man is to be trusted to guard the treasures of an earthly kingdom, but only those of whom the kingdom hath learned by experience for a long time that they are fit to have its riches entrusted to their care, how much less in respect of the treasures of the kingdom of heaven is not every man worthy to be an intermediary of their glory, but only that man who is stamped with the signs of the members of the household, who hath shown forth all the days of his life proofs of his strenuousness, who hath drunk like water medicines which cannot be perceived by the mind, who hath driven away all [signs of] growing old, who hath expelled from himself all crassness, who hath been in the hospital and hath learned all things which are needful for healing, who hath been made perfect in all the art of the healing of souls, and who hath become a friend of wise physicians. And because also the Divine selection, observing beforehand the excellent qualities of many, of its administration maketh intermediaries of those who possess such qualities, and setteth apart physicians for the sickness of the world, in such wise that when they come to act as intermediaries with mankind they shall not be found wanting, and shall not suffer, together with the scattering of the collection of their good qualities, the ruin and destruction of those who are under their hands.

2 Now this Rōstām, the evil liver, took refuge with men, and forgot the word of the divine man David, "It is better to trust in the Lord than to trust in man", for "his spirit goeth forth, and he returneth to his earth", etc. And when the Eye which governeth all things saw beforehand all the defects which he had already gathered to himself, and all those others which he was about to gather, He put him out of life in silence by a punishment of the bites of dogs, and by the bitings of his own tongue with which he had bitten the bodies of the holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh and Mâr Timothy; here was he rewarded with the destruction of all his body, and thus he left this life and went to Sheol. Now when the Shahrîghân and the believers saw what had taken place, they came to the pious Mâr Îshô'-yahbh their Metropolitan, and

they offered him repentance, and asked him to rise up and to come with them to his episcopal throne. And he said to them, "I shall remain here until Mâr Catholicus sendeth me [his] command to go in, and then I shall go in." And Mâr Timothy wrote to him an open letter, and thus they celebrated his entry with honour like the day of Hosannas, and all the people of the country were subject to his fatherhood.

## CHAPTER 9.

1 Of How The HOLY METROPOLITAN MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH WAS MOVED TO PULL DOWN THE MUD TEMPLE WHICH THE HOLY MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH [THE CATHOLICUS] HAD BUILT, AND TO BUILD ANOTHER OF LIME, AND OF HOW THE MONKS WHO LIVED IN HIS DAYS COUNSELLED HIM NOT TO DO SO BECAUSE OF THE DIFFICULTY OF THE UNDERTAKING. 2 We may see by those things which have happened from old time, in every kind of different way, through the administration of God which is beyond scrutiny, that these things which are easy for the might of the wise Creator break out suddenly, beyond all expectation and human thought, and they make the minds of the prudent to stand up in wonder, and they stir up praise of the excellence of His dispensation on every tongue and in every mind. And moreover, we must write down some of these our matters concerning our own monastery that we may shew that it is easy for His power to do every thing, and that when it appeareth fit to him, He maketh use of the riches and money of strangers as if they were His own, even as He spake by the hand of Haggai the prophet, "The gold is mine, and the silver is mine", and, "From between the teeth, and from the depths of the sea He turneth back, and bringeth forth, and saveth", as He spake by the hand of David. And He compelleth forcibly foreign nations who are remote from the knowledge of Him and His worship, to be servants of those whom He pleaseth, and He maketh them to carry their wealth and their glory and to place them in the hands of those who are members of His household.

3 For when the coming forth of the people from Egypt by the hand of Moses was ordained and predestined in His everlasting knowledge, and the gold and the silver which the construction of the Tabernacle in the wilderness would require from them [was determined], He commanded the children of Israel, by the hand of Moses, to borrow vessels of gold, and vessels of silver, and fine raiment of all kinds from the Egyptians, and He gave the Israelites favour in the eyes of the Egyptians, and they spoiled them. And again

when king Solomon was making ready to build a house to the Lord, he, so to speak, moved every thing under heaven, and he made the Tyrians, and the Sidonians, and Saba, and Ophir, and Havilah, and the remote islands to be participators with him in the building of the holy temple in Jerusalem. So also in the case of the temple which was restored by Zerubbabel after the return from the captivity, when the children of Judah were prevented [in their work] by the envious nations that were round about them, and were in despair because they thought that this return from the captivity was not that which the prophets proclaimed, and also because of the insufficiency [of money] for the expenses of its mighty and glorious buildings, the Lord encouraged them by the hand of the prophet and said, "Yet once, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the dry land;

4 and I will shake all nations, and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord, the mighty One, and I will shake the house of Magog". And they went up, being prepared, with great riches, and the Lord destroyed them all, and the children of Judah inherited their riches and built the house of the Lord, and had money to spare. 5 And [several] such-like things which were in no wise of less magnitude than these did the Lord work in this place for His chosen servant Mâr Îshô'-yahbh. For when he meditated pulling down that temple which the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh the Catholicus had built, and which had become old through the lapse of time and years, and his friends were advising him not to do this, saying, "Thou wilt never be able to finish thy building"; and the men who were envious of him, and those who took no pleasure in such divine matters, but were turning them back through human considerations, even as [saith] the great and blessed Pachomius, were hindering him, saying, "We do not wish thee to pull down the temple which the holy fathers have built. Thou wilt begin to build another, and wilt never finish it, or thou wilt leave it half built, and wilt go away", yet Îshô'-yahbh prevailed over both sides by the firmness of his hope in God, and he brought many workmen and hewers of stone, and he went with them to the mountain of Dêbhar Hewtôn and he shewed them round about the river Zâbhâ (Zâb) limestone which they were to quarry. And he made rafts and brought

6 to the north of Panopolis (Ahmîm) and built monasteries at Smine, or Tesmine (see Champollion, L'Égypte sous les Pharaons, tom. I, p. 265), and at Phenoum, near the mountains of Esneh. Thus in founding monasteries, in confirming the brethren, in healing the sick, and in working miracles

Pachomius passed his life; and died about A. D. 351, aged sixty years. The above facts are drawn from the Coptic life of Pachomius published by Amélineau, entitled Histoire de Saint Pakhôme et de ses Communautés, (in Annales du Musée Guimet) Paris, 1889; and from Étude Historique sur Saint Pachome (in Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien de l'année 1886, Cairo 1887) by the same author. For the Latin and Greek lives of Pachomius see Acta Sanctorum, May 14; for an Arabic life see B. O., iii. 1, p. 286; for his Regulae Monasticae see Cave, Hist. Litt., ad ann. 340, vol. I, p. 208; Palladius, Hist. Laus., cap. 38 (for the Ethiopic text see Dillmann, Chrestomathia Aethiopica, pp. XII. No. 6, and pp. 57–69; and Wright, Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum, p. 171; and for the Syriac text see Wright, Catalogue of Syriac MSS., p. 1312); and for an account of the estimation in which he was held see Tillemont, Mémoires, tom. vii. p. 56.

7 the limestone for the buttress of the monastery, and it was brought from there to the monastery by donkeys 8 kalak, pronounced vulgarly tcheletch) is a raft made of skins of sheep blown out and tied in rows to poles. The poles are fastened together by other poles and ropes and thus a square or oblong structure is made. Upon it are laid planks of wood, and upon those is placed the merchandise to be carried. A small raft to carry four or five passengers and a fair amount of baggage requires about one hundred and fifty skins, and measures about 15×20 feet; but in the large wheat and alabaster carrying rafts several hundreds are required; such rafts are from thirty to forty feet square, and will carry from twenty-five to forty tons of wheat packed in sacks, each of which weighs about two hundredweight. The kalak floats down the stream, and is guided by very long oars, at the ends of which are tied pieces of reeds to form blades. The kalakje, or raftsman, every now and then pours water upon the skins to prevent the escape of the air inside, but it is often necessary to untie the neck of each skin, and to blow air into it with his mouth through a reed, which he carries for this purpose. When a raft arrives at its destination the poles are untied, and sold either for building purposes or firewood, and the skins are untied, emptied of air, dried thoroughly, and having been tied in bundles, are packed upon the backs of animals and sent up the river to be used again.

9 The speed of a raft depends upon the current and upon the exertions of the raftsman. I made the journey by raft from Môṣul to Bagdad in February 1889 in a little over four days; but in December 1890 the journey required

nearly seven days, while the huge rafts about forty feet square which I passed at the junction of the Lower Zâb with the Tigris did not arrive for some days after I had landed at Bagdad. Rafts which carry alabaster slabs for building purposes or for burning into lime are much smaller than wheat rafts, and the skins are often totally submerged. For other descriptions of the raft see Buckingham, Travels, vol. ii. p. 87; and Ker Porter, Travels, vol. ii. p. 259. 10 and mules; and he burned the limestone and pounded it into lime, and he collected stones for building and stands for either S ||| "the tooth of a river bed," or S ||| "the head of a river bed." It seems that Thomas of Margâ means that he brought blocks of limestone to build a pier in the peak of the mountain upon which the monastery stood, where two streams joined, to form a firm foundation for the walls of the church. The rafts would bring the stone immediately under the monastery, and mules and donkeys would bring it up the hill.

11 burned bricks. And having removed the altar to the library of the monastery, and the bodies and the coffins (or sarcophagi) of the holy men from the martyrium, he began with great labour to pull down the wide and massive old walls which his fathers had built, and a heap of earth was thrown up, which filled the whole space round about the temple. And when the holy Īshō-yahbh saw that, the temple having been pulled down, the size of the [heap of] earth required three times more space than the building itself, and was crushed with grief on account of this, for he had not taken [the matter of the mud] into consideration in the estimate which he made in his plan for the whole [re]building, he made use of an artifice which should benefit himself and others. On the day of the congregation he said to the solitaries, "Ye know, O blessed men,—and also the tradition of those who [were] before us hath come down to us from hand to hand, for the holy Mār Īshō-yahbh was able and sufficient to do all things, especially since the rank in which he stood and opportunity answered to [his call]—that the greater part of this earth came from Hēdhattā while that of the other [buildings] came from Adiabene. Now there is no mud like unto this, and it is better and harder than lime:

12 let therefore no one of you take away any of it, for when, by the hand of God, we have built this temple, we will pull down all the dwellings of the community, and build them up again with this earth". Now when the solitaries, some of whom were friends and some of whom were adversaries, heard

these things they wished to steal from that earth, and to plaster their cells with it; and since Îshô'-yahbh wished to be relieved from the expense and trouble of having the earth carried away himself he remained the whole of that Sabbath in the patriarchal cell, and he proclaimed concerning himself, "I am suffering from sickness". Now when [the monks] discovered this opportunity, with laughing and rejoicing they stole away that earth, even sweeping the place where it had stood with a broom, and carried it to their cells. And when Îshô'-yahbh heard concerning this thing he rejoiced with an exceeding great joy, and when he came and saw that the place where the earth had been was swept and sprinkled, with a chaste and holy smile he answered and said to them, "Ye have not so much as left behind even a little of that earth; may the Lord pardon and forgive us all!"

### CHAPTER 10. OF HOW GOD, THE LORD OF ALL, MOVED MEN TO PUT FORTH THEIR HANDS TO OPPOSE THIS GREAT WORK

1 Now when the holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh had begun to lay the foundations of this temple, the materials [required] and the wages which had to be given to the labourers and the builders became more and more day by day. And because, according to the report which I have received by tradition, he had taken upon himself to build [the temple] in difficult times, there rose up a certain governor and ruler of the dominion of Môṣul, a greedy and avaricious man, who afflicted this monastery by the workings of envious devils, and who mulcted this congregation of fifteen thousand silver [pieces]. And moreover the believing men of Adiabene were smitten with envy against [Mâr Îshô'-yahbh], and said, "Why, while the Metropolitan throne of Adiabene is going to ruin, dost thou build a temple in Bêth' Âbhê"? All these things [happened] by the counsel of Satan. Also in this assembly when [Mâr Îshô'-yahbh] was sitting at table on one of the feast days with the brethren, in the common room, some of them, being incited thereto by certain mischief-makers, rebelled against him, saying, "Thou hast pulled down our temple, and we no longer want thee to build a temple for us; get thee out and depart from our monastery. We are under [the authority of] the Patriarch, pass on to thine own dominion, and tarry no longer amongst us". And when the humble and gentle man perceived secretly the working of Satan the Evil One, he said to them, "May God forgive you.

2 It is not you [who] are speaking these things but that being who hath never tasted peace, and who delighteth not in peace. I shall not depart, unless

ye drag me out on my feet, until I shall have built this holy temple". And he spake this also unto them, "When I began to pull down the first temple, our Lord knoweth that I was master of one hundred and fifty zūzē; but for all these expenses which ye see, for behold [only] one half of the building has been completed, I do not know where our Lord hath made ready: but quiet yourselves, and fret not with care and anxiety, for our Lord will build for Himself without taking anything either from you or from your common funds.

### CHAPTER 11. OF THE SATANIC VISION WHICH [ABBĀ] ĪSHŌ-DĀDH, ONE OF THE OLD MEN OF THIS CONGREGATION SAW, AND OF THE MONEY WHICH HE FOUND

1 Now the holy Mār Īshō-yahbh was in trouble and anxiety concerning the expenses, for the first day of the week was near in which the builder would ask him for seven thousand zūzē, being the wages of himself and of his workmen, according to the contract for the work which he had taken upon himself [to do] for him. And the brethren saw him during the after-supper service of the first day of the week with a gloomy face, and his colour was green by reason of weariness, and care and anxiety, because the morrow after the first day of the week was the time fixed for weighing to the builders seven thousand zûzê, although as has already been said, he had not a single zûzâ in his possession. Now what did He Who hath the power, and to Whom nothing is difficult, do? He uncovered before him hidden and buried and hoarded up treasures, and placed them in his hand without labour and without toil.

2 Now there was in the monastery Abbâ Îshô'-dâdh, an old man, the master of Mâr George the Catholicus, and the master of Mâr Abraham the Catholicus our Father, and his cell was [situated] on the top of the ridge [of the mountain] which is between two valleys, to the right as thou goest up to the head of the spring, and opposite to the fortress which is called the 'Little'. And when the service of the night was ended, he went up at the conclusion of the psalms for the morning to his cell, and as he was going along the path God's goodness moved him, and he looked to his right hand, towards the east, and he saw in an uninhabited and ruined cell a fire burning in its little oven; and just as the blessed Moses said, "I will go and see this great sight, why the bush burneth not", so also the blessed man thought, "What can be the cause of this fire which now burneth in the ruined cell? I will go there and see". And when he had come near, he saw Satan in the form of a black

old man eating bread which he baked on the oven, and because, according to what I have learned about this whole matter from the holy Mār Abraham the Catholicus, he was a mighty and a holy man, he adjured Satan by the word of our Lord to depart.

3 And straightway that oven was rent in twain, and an earthen jar full of zūzē was cast forth at the feet of Abbā Īshō-dādh; and it broke immediately, and the zūzē poured out with a chinking sound, and he bowed low to the ground before God lest peradventure it was a phantasm. And when the zūzē had been felt by his hands, and he knew of a certainty that it was money in very truth, he took the cross which was upon his neck, and buried it among them; and the blessed old man girded up his feet, and ran swiftly from the one valley to the other valley until he arrived at the cell of Rabban. And he knocked at the door, and the monk who guarded the door answered him, and he said to him, "Go in and tell Mâr Îshô'-yahbh that Îshô'-dâdh is at the door". And the Metropolitan answered and said, "What can the old man want of us at this time [of night]"? And the old man having gone in, said, "Rise up, for thy prayer hath been heard. I saw thy face of despair in the evening and during the after-supper service, and I knew that thou wast in need, and I offered prayer on thy behalf to Christ that He would not allow thy face to be put to the blush". And when he had learned concerning that which had happened, Mâr Îshô'-yahbh answered and said, "Perhaps it is a phantasm of devils".

4 And [Mâr Îshô'-dâdh] said to him, "Master, I went down on my knees before God, and I also felt the zûzê, and I placed the cross which was upon me among them; rise up and let us go [to the ruined cell] before it dawns [when] we should be seen". 5 which were scattered about in the neighbouring mountains, although they belonged to the congregation of the monastery. The anchorites or solitaries, who lived in these cells, were accustomed to go to the church of the monastery on certain occasions and on Sundays to partake of the Eucharist. The were the monks who lived in cells, which were separate from each other, but which were grouped round about the church, the whole cluster of buildings comprising the or residence in common. The with its outlying cells, was a later development of monastic dwelling; compare what is said of Job the Monk (he flourished about A. D. 550), "and he founded coenobia and cells, which formerly were like unto places where monks dwelt in common." See B. O., iii. i. p. 431, col. 1, at the foot; Hoff-

mann, Auszüge, Notes 1330, 1332, pp. 171, 172; Du Cange, Glossarium, col. 677.

6 And they took the monk, and the three of them ran and took the zûzê, and Rabban came back to his cell. And the old man said to the Metropolitan, "By the living grave of Rabban how many thousand zûzê hast thou?" And he said to him, "Seven"; and when they had weighed the money, the weight came out exactly seven thousand [zûzê]. Thus are the saints who are consumed with the love of God, and who desire to please Him in every kind of manner, perfected by His munificent gift.

### CHAPTER 12. OF ANOTHER TREASURE WHICH CHRIST OUR LORD GAVE TO HIM

1 Now when the builder had received this specified sum [of money], seven thousand zûzê, the holy man, [trusting] in [his] heavenly Hope (on Whom those who trust are never put to shame), made an agreement with him as to the price to be paid for another specified piece of work, viz., thirteen thousand [zûzê]. And the days and months having passed during the interval [of the course of the work], behold the temple had already come to the upper rafter corbels, and the first day of the appointed week, on the fourth day of which the builder was to come to ask for thirteen thousand zûzê, arrived. And the [bones of] the back of the pious Mâr Îshô'-yahbh were broken by reason of his fear, and he brought to the God of the universe a cry that He would not be unmindful of His temple, and that he himself might not become an object of derision like that foolish builder who began to build and was not able to finish. And when the first day of the week had passed by, the builder began to say to the Metropolitan, "Make ready the zûzê, and do not forget"; now by reason of this [speech] also, the trouble of the Metropolitan was increased, because the builder, who was a heretic, wished to make him a laughing-stock. And [the Metropolitan] answered and said, "Be not avaricious, behold, the zûzê are weighed out, and are set aside for thee;

2 but although he uttered courageous words with his mouth, he bore grief and sorrow in his heart. Now there was a very old man [who lived] opposite the monastery from Gâr Kâhnê, and he also was moved by grace to give what he had by him for the building of the temple. And on the morning of the third day of the week he rose up, leaning upon his staff,—now he was a man who was [only] able to come to the temple to receive the Holy Mysteries once a week—and with the morning he knocked at the door of the 3 p. 218, col. 1.

Hoffmann thinks that m, = geisa, the projecting part of the roof, the eaves, parapet, coping. 4 Patriarchal cell; and the keeper of the door answered him, and made known [to the Metropolitan] concerning him. And the Metropolitan being moved at the report of his coming went out to meet him, and answered and said to him, "Rabban, why hast thou taken all this great trouble to come to me? If thou hadst any reason thou shouldst have sent to me that I might come to thee". The old man said, "However great may be the love and ready disposition which we have to bestow upon each other, the treasury of the Giver is rich enough to recompense us all for our love; but I entreat thee this day to take the trouble to go down to [my] cell which thou seest". The Metropolitan saith to him, "During all this long time which I have been with thee thou hast never asked me to go down to thy cell, until this day in which destruction taketh away my life"; [the old man] saith to him, "Rise up, and be not distressed, for the deliverance of thy Lord is at hand". And when the Metropolitan heard this, [it was] as if peace came upon his soul; now he was accustomed to receive such-like [consolation] from [the conversation] of Abba Īshō-dādh. And he rose up and went down with the old man, [who] said to him, "Take this monk with thee, for we shall have need of him"; and he went down [with them] according to his word.

5 And when the breaking of bread drew nigh and he was urging him to take some refreshment, it was not easy for him to make the Metropolitan take any. And the old man answered and said to him, "For how much money wilt thou sell me the keeping of thy fast this day? Know also that we monks are under thy control, and that we know the time for keeping [the fast], and the time and season for the loosing of love". And when they had eaten and drunk the old man said to him, "Mâr Metropolitan, I saw thee in the spirit standing in a dark house, and thou wast calling us all to thy help, and I knew that thou wast in sore need of money for the expenses of the building of the temple. And I swear by the prayer of Rabban that I possessed neither gold nor silver, for by the labour of my hands have I ministered unto my life day by day as thou knowest. But I have a small sum of money deposited with me, and if thou wilt promise to pay it back I will give it to thee". The Metropolitan said to him, "How much is that which is deposited with thee, father"? and he said to him, "I swear by [our] love, that I know not. Two old women who were going to Jerusalem from my own country of Bêth Bêghâsh came to me some twenty years ago, and placed in my hands this napkin;

6 but how much is that something which they placed [in my hands] I know not, only I know that it is much. And they went and never came back. And they commanded me, saying, 'If we return, this something be-longeth to us, but if we are smitten by death on the journey, then give it to this monastery'. Take then this something, and if they return,—but they will never return—thou must pay it back; and if on the other hand they do not return, there will be none to ask it from thee, and thou wilt not need to pay it back'. And when the Metropolitan heard [these things] he received it all with joy, and he weighed the money, which amounted to thirteen thousand zūzē, and gave it to the builders in all gladness. Now I have heard these things from many, and as I have learned [them] so have I set [them] down in the writing of the history of the holy Mār Īshō-yahbh.

### CHAPTER 13. OF THE MIRACLE WHICH CHRIST WROUGHT BY THE HANDS OF THE HOLY MĀR ĪSHŌ-YAHBH

1 Now when the blessed man Īshō-yahbh was building this holy temple, every man was extending help to him by his labour, and by gifts from what he possessed, the rich man according to his large means, and the poor man according to his small means. And there was a certain gardener in the village of Hadhūdh, and this man, as I have learned concerning him, was deaf, and this [affliction] had happened to him from the days of his youth; and having expended much money upon physicians that he might be cured, he was disappointed in this expectation. Now this man also, together with the other people who were contributing from their wares, brought to the monastery a load of onions. And when they received his gift there was here a monk who was acquainted with him, and he took him and carried him to the Patriarchal cell, to the Metropolitan, that he might be blessed by him; and he made known to the holy man concerning the gift which he had brought, and that he could not hear at all. And the Metropolitan was very sorry for him, and he made for him a washing from the cross of Rabban, and dismissed him, saying, "We trust in our Lord that He will give thee [the power of] hearing".

2 And when he had mounted his ass and had gone forth, he arrived at the ascent where the young asses run about, and he heard the noise of the wild goats which fled frightened, and again he marvelled and was astonished, for he heard also the sound of the footsteps of the ass. And when he had drawn nigh to the village, and he, being filled with wonder and amazement, heard

the crowing of the cocks and the barking of the dogs, because of his joy he could not believe that which had happened to him. But when he went into the door of his courtyard, one of his children saw him, and he heard the child say to his mother, "Father hath come; and he made known to his wife all these things; thus was he healed by the prayers of that holy man, and he was whole until his death. Now this [story] I heard from the old and venerable Rabban Elisha; may his memory be blessed! It is well known that wonders and miracles were wrought also by all the holy men whose histories I have written, but time in its course hath covered them up because they were not written down at the time by those who were acquainted with them.

### CHAPTER 14. OF THE COMPLETION OF THE TEMPLE, AND OF THE DEATH OF MÂR ÍSHÔ'-YAHBH

Now when the temple was entirely built except the roof, he left off for that year, and waited so that the building might settle down, and in the following year he finished both it and the martyrium, and consecrated it. And he removed [the bodies of] Rabban Jacob, and Mâr Catholicus and the fathers who were with them, and laid them in the martyrium. And he had made up his mind, if life had been granted to him, to [re]build the monastery generally and the porter's lodge with stones and lime. But after the fast of our Lord, on the Friday which cometh after the Sunday of renewal, the hymn for which [begins], "In the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ", he put off the garment of the body and the weight of its afflictions, and he departed to the land of light and gladness; and he was laid with the fathers his companions in the dwelling of the Metropolitan of Adiabene, that is to say, in Bèth Mâr Kardagh. May his prayers be a strong wall [to protect] this monastery against all injuries, Amen!

### CHAPTER 15. THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY MÂR CYRIACUS, THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY OF BÊTH 'AḆHÊ AND BISHOP OF THE CITY OF BÂLÂDH

1 The composition of man testifieth that the constitution of [his] mortal nature hath received from Him Who alone is, two opposing parts, between which there is [always] contention, because each endeavoureth always to attract its fellow to itself, and according to its twofold character He hath prepared two habitations for it. This [dwelling], viz., that in which we now are, He hath set for the training and exercise of our rational nature, so that by severe strivings we may gain possession of some of the treasure of contest,

and become rich in those things which befit our rational nature, and the honour with which we are honoured; but that [dwelling] for which we look, hath He prepared for [our] delight and for [our] happiness which shall be beyond all change, that we may live a life, without the least [inclination] to turn aside from it, in a dwelling which is meet to endure for ever. And He hath given [us] power and might to possess both these [dwellings] unless our own personal matters should hinder our freewill choice, and therefore the choice of good things and of the inheritance of the happiness which is expected [to come] belongeth to us.

2 Now the blessed Rabban Mâr Cyriacus, the glorious things concerning whom we have now come to relate, having understood this, laboured abundantly, in this world full of strife, and abounding in contests, and through this behaviour he followed after, and acquired, and traded in all those things which are convenient for and befit that rest which, according to the word of the divine Paul, is preserved for us in heaven, whence we expect our Vivifier, our Lord Jesus Christ, Who shall change the body of our humility, that it may become like unto His glorious body.

### CHAPTER 16. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BLESSED MÂR CYRIACUS, AND OF HIS COMING TO THIS MONASTERY [OF BÊTH ʿAḆHÊ]

1 This blessed man Cyriacus was descended from a family of Gebhiltâ, an orthodox city in the country of Târihân, and he was the son of wealthy people who were diligent worshippers in the fear of God. Through the care of his parents he was trained in doctrine in the church of their native city, before the famous and much enlightened teacher Rabban Gûryâ, a disciple of the master of masters, Rabban Bâbhai, the teacher and founder of schools. And wishing to lead the life of an ascetic, and to inscribe himself for spiritual labour among the hosts of those who do battle against the body and the lusts thereof, he heard concerning this holy monastery from his teacher Rabban Gûryâ, who had heard and learned from Rabban Bâbhai concerning its famous and holy men, and how their course of life shone with splendour, for Rabban Bâbhai drew every man to the sight of the glorious light of their excellent virtues. And Mâr Cyriacus went forth, and made straight the path of his journey, and arrived at this monastery when Rabban Mâr Ahâ, the glorious acts of whose life we have written a little way back, was its head. And when he had finished his period of serving in the monastery, the holy Mâr Ahâ permitted him to go forth to a [separate] cell, and he was endowed with

prayers and blessings, and he dwelt in silence. Now if I came to write down all that I have heard concerning him, and concerning the chastity and abstinence of his life, and his labours, and his toils difficult to bear and to carry out, it would be great and heavy work both for me to write, and for thee to read, [O 'Abhd-Îshô']; but I will pass over them briefly, giving examples of them as it were in short hand, and I will make selections from them referring to different matters, and will lay them [before thee] to please thee.

2 Now the old man Henân-Îshô, the head of the congregation, whom I met in this place, and who was his neighbour, related to me that from the day in which he went forth to his cell, until the end of his life, wine never entered therein, and that he only took it at table with the brethren when he felt that it was necessary for him to hide his manner of life. And he made his cell a judgment hall for himself, and he set Christ as Judge over the throne of his understanding, and of all the thoughts which rose up in him he extinguished the evil and watered the pure; and he was making them appear before the Judge at all seasons. And when, according to what I have heard concerning him, he had passed through [his] period of novitiate, and had [served in the monastery] a few years, as is commanded by the fathers, "A novice shall not serve overmuch in the service of the monastery, that he be not injured by devils," he found excellent means for extinguishing the emotions and impulses of the body. He made two thick, leather straps;

3 one of them [was] for binding round his two knees, and when he was sitting down and reading, or eating, or sleeping, he used to put his bent knees inside it, so that [his legs] might neither be stretched out, nor the sinews of the body be extended, and the spirit be filled, and the passion of the body stirred up, according to what the holy man Basil wrote to the blessed man Gregory his brother, saying, "When thou sleepest stretch not out thy legs, and behold thou wilt be at peace from this passion; and the other strap [was] for binding round one knee when he was standing in the vigil of prayer. And he used to bend one knee like a camel, and bind it round with the smaller strap, and with the sole of the foot bent, and holding a rod, [he stood] in that painful [position] on one leg like a crane, that is a kĕlákesá, until he was worn out by exhaustion and fell down; then he rose up and changed the [leather] ligature to the other leg until he was wearied, and thus he kept his vigil until dawn. And the old man Henán-Íshó told me, saying, "Inasmuch as the situation of my own cell was higher than that of Mâr Cyri-

acus I could see him becoming worn out and exhausted by his vigil. And he used to remain [in this position] for a long space of time, and by reason of his fatigue he was insensible of his fervour.

4 Now for his food he took every evening a dry crust of bread, which he dipped in water and salt and lived upon; and this was the manner of his life during the whole time of his early manhood, and as long as strength was preserved in his body. This was the pure heart in which, according to what the holy man saith, God dwelleth, and it was meet that God should hear his prayer; this was the sincere mind in which the Trinity abideth. "Be thou mindful of God and thy mind shall become a heaven," saith the holy Nilôs. Hail to the new discoveries by which the holy men have become wise! Each one of them hath found out some new thing by which he was able to subdue the body which giveth birth to passions and afflictions, viz., fasting, prayer, bowings to the ground, vigils, standing on one foot, together with all the severe war against the thoughts of the mind, anxious care and weeping for their souls, meditation upon the hour of death, meditation upon the hour of judgment, and meditation upon the hour of Gehenna; three [subjects for] anxious thought, and three [subjects for] meditation, spiritual and mental, for which monks in very truth should have a care, for by them is a monk preserved and exalted, and by them he mounteth to the grade of perfection. Now in this world perfection is given as a pledge, not by insensibility to passions, God forbid, but by not being subject unto them.

5 Now when the mind of this our holy father had been trained and exercised in these things for a long time, the covering of the passions was lifted off from his mind, and his mind shone, and his understanding became bright, and he became wise to guard the treasures of his success by the watchfulness of his soul. "For a man to labour in the virtues," saith one of the Saints, "is an easy thing [to do], but to preserve them from spoliation belongeth to the perfect." Wherefore also when God the Lord of all saw that [Mâr Cyriacus] with all his heart and with all his soul had committed himself to keep His commandments, and to fulfil His will, he honoured and glorified him by the miracles which he wrought, and by the revelations which he received, and by the other mighty things which took place by his hands; now this [honour] was not given to [any] other person in his time, and little by little, by the might of his prayer, I shall demonstrate this fact.

### CHAPTER 17. OF THE CALL OF OUR FATHER RABBAN CYRIACUS TO THE HEADSHIP OF THE MONASTERY

1 Now since for the sake of the truth the holy Mâr Cyriacus chose labours such as these, and afflictions which humble the body, and bore, according to the word of Mark the Monk, the suffering of the bending of the legs and back, that he might follow after his Master along the Apostolic road, being bound with chains and carrying [his] cross;—that is to say, having driven out from himself all passions, and having endured the afflictions which [arose] from this patience in the knowledge of the truth, in the hope of the good things which [were to come] afterwards,—he made his mind like a swift eagle, which mounteth up with gladness in the upper heights, and he bowed the eyes of his body beneath the yoke of the burden of Christ, that they might not stray to lying sights. 2 Now when there was a seeking for a head to stand up in this congregation, the choice and agreement of the whole brotherhood [fell] upon him to hold the office of head over them, and with much labour they established him, and entrusted to him the direction of the manner of their lives. And he established overseers to superintend non-spiritual matters, and he himself sat in the Abbot's cell according to the custom of asceticism, there being brought to him every evening, according to tradition, a piece of bread and an onion from the common [table]. And it came to pass that when want afflicted and distressed the monastery, and [the monks] did not know where they were to find means of subsistence, because in that year the locusts had devoured all the seed crops, and they were obliged to sow summer grass, he went into the town [hoping] to borrow money at interest from the merchants, and this he succeeded in doing; and while all the monks were wondering anxiously about this matter, and where they would be able to find money to pay it back, God performed an act by means of the holy man, the son of His house.

### CHAPTER 18. OF THE FIRST MIRACLE WHICH CHRIST WROUGHT BY HIS HANDS AND OF THE REST OF HIS MIRACLES

1 Now there was in the city of Môsul a certain Arab whose belief was akin to ours, and his offerings and gifts to the congregations of the monks were well known. Now this man had an only beloved son, besides whom he had no other [child], and this son fell into a mortal sickness, from which the physicians despaired of [all] hope of recovery for him. And when his father had promised to give everything which he possessed to save his son's life,—now

he was very rich, but he accounted all his riches of no value, since the heir was doomed to inherit the grave—that power which worked upon the disciples who were in Joppa to send to Simon Peter on behalf of the life of Tabitha, and also the angel [that told] Cornelius to send to Simon Peter that the light of the doctrine of Christ might come to him, appeared to that Ishmaelite in a vision, and said to him, "There is a monk, in the Monastery of Bêth 'Abhê, send and bring him, and he shall heal thy son; and when he heard this he went for help to Mâr Mâran-zêkhâ, Bishop of Nineveh, and entreated him to send and bring the monk to him. And when he asked him, "What is the name of the monk who appeared to thee? he told him, saying, "His name is not known to me.

2 And the pious Mâr Mâran-zêkhâ, holy in all things, wrote a letter to the holy Mâr Cyriacus that he would send "a means of grace" to that man, and he wrote also how he had appeared to him in a vision; and the blessed Cyriacus sent a washing from the cross of Rabban by the hands of two brethren, and he gave himself to prayer on behalf [of the Arab's son]. Now when those two brethren had departed and had given the "means of grace" and God's mercy which they had with them to the man, and he had made his son drink it, the boy straightway stood up, and asked for food; and his parents marvelled, and they praised and glorified God. And this [matter] was proclaimed in all the city, and the holy man Cyriacus became famous and well known.

## CHAPTER 19.

1 Of how that man came to this monastery, and of how he rewarded it with a noble recompense, as was meet, [and of the rest of the miracles of the holy mâr cyriacus]. 2 Now just as by reason of the glorious crown of sublime things with which the nation of the Jews was crowned after their going up from Babylon, it is written in the prophet Zechariah, "The nations which dwell in many towns shall come, and the inhabitants of one [city] shall go to another, and shall say, 'Come, let us go and pray before the Lord;' and many peoples and mighty nations shall come to entreat the Lord, the mighty One, in Jerusalem. And ten men, from all the tongues of the nations, shall take hold of the skirt of a man who is a Jew, and shall say to him 'Let us go with thee to Jerusalem, for we have heard that the Lord is with thee'," even thus was it wrought in this case. For when that man saw that he had gotten back his son safe and sound from the mouth of the grave, and from the maw of

hell by means of God's "mercy" which had been sent to him, he decided rightly, saying, "I will go and reward with [gifts of] love and kindness him who hath done this act of grace for me, and who hath delivered and given to me out of the teeth of death the only branch which I possess, and the staff of my old age, because of this thing; and he took his son and a number of his servants, and others joining themselves to them they became a great company, and he came to this monastery.

3 Now when the brethren took the old man to Rabban in the Abbot's cell, as soon as he had gone in and seen him, he answered and said in the Arabic tongue, "This is the old man whom I saw proclaiming to me 'peace', and saying, 'Send to Bèth Abhè, and bring from there a monk and he shall heal thy son'; and wonder took hold upon every man. And he took out ten thousand zûzê, and gave to Rabban, but Rabban thought wisely, If I take all this money the gift will become a loss. And he answered and said to him, "Blessed art thou before God, O old man, and blessed shalt thou be; but we do not require this [money], for it is not good that the healing which our Lord hath given us should be [sold] for money. And the old man with entreaties and tears spake, saying, "If thou dost not take them, I will throw them away, for one nail of my son which through thy prayers hath been restored to me, is better to me than all the money and riches which I possess. Rabban said to him, "Since it must be thus, give the money to such and such a merchant who hath [a debt] against us, and thy act of grace will be acceptable unto God the Lord of all, and to us. The Arab saith to him, "How much hath he against you? and he said, "Eight thousand [zûzê]";

4 and he left here two thousand [zûzê], and [with] the remainder he went and paid the debt, anxiety concerning the payment of which troubled the monks greatly; and thus were those men dismissed, and they went away rejoicing. 5 The very old man Rabban Îshô'-yahbh, [surnamed] the Long, who had received the tonsure at the hands of Rabban Cyriacus related to me the following:—"One day at the time of the after-supper service on the first day of the week I was selected by the potter to go to the spring, and to bring water to the tank of the monastery. And there was a certain old man who was called Bakhôs (Bacchus) bar-Kusṭōi, and he had near his cell a large olive tree from which he pressed out thirty measures of oil every year, and the tree was therefore precious to him, and he took care of it, and never missed watering it. Now this man was spying upon me, and watching my footsteps; and when

I had gone some distance from his cell, he went out secretly, and opened the channel and drew off water and brought it into his cell to water the olive tree. And when I had come and had made the water to flow in the channel towards the monastery, and was going away to follow along with the water, through [my] fear of the others, [this old man] went out, being moved so to do by his greediness, and made an opening in the channel to let in the water to his cell. And when I saw this piece of folly, the fear lest the potter should beat me being vividly depicted before my eyes, it was exceedingly grievous unto me.

6 And behold the blessed Cyriacus was in the place of the after-supper service, and he heard my voice complaining, and he asked me, 'What aileth thee, my son?' And I said to him, 'The monks will not allow the water to come to the monastery.' Now Rabban Cyriacus was, as every one hath told me, of a hot-tempered disposition, and was [easily] made furious with anger, and when he was moved to wrath he was not to be controlled. And he straightway came down in haste from the place of the after-supper service, and went along by the side of the water, and found that it ran into the place where Bacchus was. And he cried out, saying, 'Bacchus, Bacchus;' now Bacchus was silent, and was dried up through his terror. And Cyriacus answered and said, 'Because I see that this olive tree hindereth thee from pleasing God, even as that fig tree which was in the monastery of the blessed Pachomius became a stumbling-block to the simple youths [there], and because, moreover, while every one [else] is occupied in the after-supper service, thou art corrupting the Calumniator by [thy] solicitude for thy olive tree, the life which maketh thy olive tree to grow shall be taken from it, and the earth in which are its roots shall become salt and dried up, and God shall make it wither during this night, and thou shalt have no gratification from it except wood for burning and [for making] a roof;

7 and so, with the morning of the [next] day, he found that olive tree dried up from its roots, and black as pitch." 8 And again, a very old man whose name was Tûmânâ related to me that there was a certain monk employed in the monastery whose name was Khusrau, and that it was customary every week for a monk employed in the monastery to be set apart for the purpose of waiting upon that holy old man in Rabban's cell. Now it happened that one week this Khusrau was set apart [for this duty]. And when he had stood at the door two or three days, and he could not endure [the ser-

vice], he came to the monastery to his companions without the knowledge of the old man. And when the evening was come, and the blessed old man was waiting for him to bring him [his] food, Khusrau neglected him and treated him with contempt. And behold, the old man holding his staff came himself to the monastery—now Khusrau by reason of his fear had laid himself down upon a bed, and feigned himself to be sick—and Rabban called him, "Khusrau, Khusrau," and he answered him saying, "Master, a fever hath seized me," And Rabban replied, saying, "I trust in our Lord that if the fever hath seized thee in very truth, He will visit thee and heal thee by the prayers of Rabban Jacob; but if thou hast spoken contrary [to the truth], may a mighty fever come upon thee;" and he left him and departed. And the old man who told me this thing asseverated with oaths that Khusrau began at once to cry out and to shriek and to beat upon his head with his hands like a man who was [actually] afflicted, and his life was near to be destroyed if we had not run and besought forgiveness for him from the holy man, who sent him a "mercy", and straightway he was relieved.

9 And after this there was set apart for his service Jacob bar-Bâbhânôsh, who was surnamed "the sacristan's son," with whom I was also contemporary for many years, and [Rabban] knew beforehand that he would not be an upright man, and every time that he saw him he was pointing him out with his finger to those round about him, and saying, "This Jacob bar-Bâbhânôsh hath broken the yoke and cut the ropes which tied it upon his neck," and thus also did we know him. I have also heard concerning him from the aged men, that he neither drew near to the laborious life of asceticism, nor embraced it. And in the time of his old age when the "sacristan's son" was forced to celebrate the sacrament standing by the priest in the capacity of a deacon —now he used to sit [basking] in the portico of the nave of the church the whole day—and when he went in to celebrate, and the wafers were laid in the paten upon the altar, he used to steal some of them and place [them] in his bosom; and thus he did many times until at last we perceived him. And from every cell into which he entered—for every man used to invite [him] in to rest himself, taking pity on his old age—if its master went away a short distance from before him he took something, and placed it in his bosom; and in this manner of life he died.

10 Rabban Íshó'-yahbh, who was surnamed the 'Long', also related to me that there lived in this monastery a certain solitary named Rabban Sergius,

an old man and the head of the ministration, with whom also I was contemporary. And it came to pass one day that this old man met Rabban Cyriacus as he was going into the colonnade from the temple, and as he himself was going into the temple from the colonnade, and that they met one another in the place of the watchers. And although Sergius was a holy man, yet through the working of Satan he said to Rabban Cyriacus, "I would rather that Satan had met me than thou." Rabban said to him, "Now I hope in our Lord that Satan will stand "portico" or prostoon (for a description of such a portico see Badger, Nestorians, vol. 1, p. 94). It is not probable that =.

11 enter into thee, and that thou wilt never be rid of him until the grave." And Rabban Īshō'-yahbh swore to me that straightway Satan smote him in the place of the watchers, and tore off his skin from him by jerking him along upon the walls, until the monks went in to him by reason of the noise of his cries. And it was thus until the end of his life, and even when he stood up in the service in the temple leaning upon his staff, fifty years after Rabban had cursed him, he was afflicted as he stood, and he foamed, and his spittle came out [of his mouth] and ran down upon his beard; and although he was an upright man until his death, according to the word of the holy man concerning him, he found no rest. And a certain evil and ill-natured Arab who was passing from the mountains to the city came to this monastery with a large company of followers, and he had with him a hunting dog which he had brought with him as a gift for one of the chiefs who were his superiors; and having tied him up in the

13 outer martyrium by some chance or other the dog died. And when it was morning, and [the Arab] saw that his dog was dead, he was greatly grieved, and he began to abuse and to threaten the monks, and also to demand from them the price of the dog, saying, "Ye have killed him." And when the monks had gone in for necessary purposes, and the Arab was still threatening them, and his striving was becoming more violent, they went to the cell of Rabban, and informed him of the matter. And he took the abbot's staff and came, and when he went in and saw the Arab he said to him, "Why art thou thus enraged, and why dost thou threaten us?" And the Arab said, "Because ye have killed the dog which I brought [with me] with such great trouble." Rabban said to him, "Now if thy dog be not dead thou wilt ask nothing from us?" And the Arab said, "God forbid that I should importune you in anything." And the blessed old man asked for the dog, and they

shewed him to him lying outside; and he said to the Arab, "Thy dog is not dead; rise up, and do thou and thy companions mount your animals, and I will wake up thy dog and he shall go with thee." And when the Arab had mounted Rabban went and pricked the dog with the top of his staff, saying, "Rise up, dead dog, and die outside of our territory;" and straightway the dog stood up. And all those Arabs saw and marvelled, and they threw a bark-rope over him, and took him away and when he came to the Edhrê dhê Bâlâs the dog died. Thus those men went away having harmed [us] in nothing.

14 One year when the wheat [which was] the property of the monastery was being brought from Bêth Zîwâ, and by reason of the heat [of the day] the overseers were urging the labourers to get up to work in the morning while it was yet dark, they complained, saying, "There is a lion in the reedy swamp, and we are afraid to go forth by night because of him." And when the blessed man learned [this], he took his staff and went on foot before them, and behold they came to the head of the reedy swamp, and the lion himself was there. And the holy man answered and said to him, "In the name of our Lord Jesus, to Whom all things are subject, mayest thou never be found here [again]; if I see thee here another day I will smote thee with hard blows." And he answered and said to the labourers, "From henceforth fear not, and walk hither by day and by night freely;" and it came to pass according to the word of the holy man, and during all that time that lion was never seen there. Now these things were related to me by the old man Hênân-Îshô who was surnamed the "Red".

15 This man also related to me that there was a certain widow from the village of Tîdôr, and that [one day] she was collecting the scattered ears after the reapers with her young son; now this lad was her only son. 16 And it came to pass that the boy fell down suddenly in the field by reason of an evil spirit which had seized him in his heart, and he died, and [his sad case] moved every one to weep for him. And the monks who were reaping counselled her, saying, "If thou wilt take him to the monastery, to the head of the monastery, he will make thy son to live again. And she lifted up her son upon an ass before her, and she went along quickly and laid him at the door of the abbot's cell, in which the blessed man was at that moment, and she began to weep dolefully, and to call him by his name, and to adjure [him], saying, "O Father Cyriacus, have mercy upon [me] a wretched woman, have mercy on the stranger, for the root from which life was extended for me has been cut

off from me like a dried up tree. O spare the woman who looketh [for help] to the hope of thy prayer, and turn not away thy face from me, that He also may not turn His face away from thy petition in the hour when thou knockest at His door. Be thou sorrowful for the wretched old widow, for there is no life for me now that the light of my eyes, and the breath of my life, and the touching of my hands, and the steps of my feet, and the maintenance and protector of my life [hath departed].

17 By that power which cleaveth to thee, if thou entreatest Him for the life of my son He will give it back to thee. Let thy mercy be revealed, and listen to my voice, even as thy Lord, Who hearkened to the Canaanitish woman, and to Whom the sin of the harlot was not an abominable thing. Now while the woman was at the door and was making use of such [words] as these, and was at the same time crying and weeping with plaintive lamentation, he had no monk from the monastery with him at that time, and he himself opened the door and saw the dead body of her son, and she herself was sitting crying before it. And he answered and said to her, "What have I to do with thee, O woman, and what have I in my hands wherewith to help thee? And he took her son and brought him unto his cell, and when he had remained a long time in prayer and supplication, the Lord gave to the holy man the soul of that child; and he gave him back to his mother alive, and she took him with great joy and praise, and returned to the field. And this [miracle] was proclaimed throughout all the country.

18 And it also happened to that blessed man by the hand of God that it was not necessary for him to work his miracles openly, and [therefore] he hid himself being afraid of vainglory, and he plucked out this foul affection from the dross of his thoughts, and cast it far, far away. Now although a short way back I said that the Lord honoured this holy man, so that before and after him there was none like unto him, there are nevertheless other [saints], and I did not make this decision in respect of all men, nor did I by any means intend it to include all the saints; I only intended to say that by reason of the miracles which took place at his hands he was superior to all who lived in his time in this monastery. And if thy mind, [O 'Abhd-Îshô'] will hearken unto my argument it shall be convinced [of this fact].

19 And there was in this monastery one of the elders who was surnamed Solomon bar-Sabhêthâ, who was a spectator of the miracle which we are about to relate; now the account of [this miracle] was handed down from his

mouth to us, for we never knew this man in this life. And he used to relate [it] to all those from whom I have heard it, saying, "When Rabban Cyriacus was the head of the monastery, I was the steward. And when the commemoration of Rabban Jacob came, he gathered together the twenty-two schools of Margâ, [concerning] which also Mâr Abraham the Catholicus, of holy memory, and blessed in all things, said to me, 'There existed in Margâ at that time, and flourished a great congregation, without number.' And I, Solomon, say that when I saw that the multitudes were very great I was afraid to give out wine in abundance in the butler's closet according to custom; now Rabban himself was sitting with the butlers and those who laid the tables. And when the monks in the monastery came to me to the wine cellar, and I had given them wine to carry away once, and again a second time.

20 they came yet a third time by the command of Rabban. And I sent him [a message], saying, 'Spare the wine a little, for if thou givest it out thus abundantly to-day thou wilt be without wine for the vigil of to-morrow.' And when the blessed man heard this, behold he blazed like a furnace, and he came to me to the wine cellar, and said, 'My son, why hast thou not sent wine?' And I said to him, 'Master, I was afraid lest it would not hold out even for the table of the Mysteries to-morrow. Be sparing then, for we have [to celebrate] another vigil for the dead, and behold, there is gathered together to us an assembly the like of which [for magnitude] we have never seen in this monastery.' And he answered and said to me, 'While I go and give permission for the multitudes to begin [to sing] psalms, do thou make ready eight mules and skin bottles and bags, for I have heard that there is a caravan of Ḥirthāyē at the place of the crossing, at Eṣṭwân, that we may go and obtain wine from them. And when, by the hand of God, we have celebrated the festival which standeth [at hand], we will bring wine and pay them back'; and he left me and went to the temple, as I was wondering and amazed at his words.

21 And because we had experience of him in all things, I accounted this [thing] likewise as one of his many glorious acts, and I did according to his word which never failed. And I took two soldiers with me, and [Rabban] went before us along the road which goeth to the Zâbhâ [Zâb], and although he was on foot in front of us and we were riding we did not overtake him. And when we arrived at the appointed place by the Zâb he asked me, 'Have ye brought with you any earthenware vessel?' and I said to him, 'Why do we

want such a thing?' He said to me, 'That we might borrow the wine through it, and pay it back through it.' Now the vessel which he asked for [was that] with which we used to fill the skin bottles from the Zâb. And when we came to the water he said to me, 'Tarry here with thy companions, for I am going to see if that caravan is still there;' and when we had been sitting by the Zâb some time, behold the blessed man came to us, and there breathed forth from him

22 likely that a caravan going from Kûfa and Bagdad to Âdhôrbâî-gân by way of Arbela would cross the Zâb and make a circuit by Môsul. On the other hand a local caravan from Hêdhattâ would cross the Zâb pretty soon and make its way into Margâ. For then, we should probably read to which the readings of BC point. 23 an odour which surpassed all scents, and fear and wonder fell upon us. And he answered, like one in distress and said to me, 'My son, according to what I have learned, those men passed by last evening and have gone away; but that our journey may not be in vain, fill the bottles from the Zâb and let us go [home];' and we did according to his word. Now the villagers who were with me began to laugh secretly, saying, 'Instead of wine we shall take water, which is much cooler than that of the monastery, for the blessed men.' And while he was walking on before us we were laughing over the water which we were carrying with so much care, and when we came to the monastery he said to me, 'Take the loads into the wine cellar, and take heed unto them.' And we left [him], and he went to the temple, and I dismissed the villagers also from my presence. And I pondered that it could not be by accident and for nothing that so great a man as this, a man who knew the secrets of [all] hearts, who brought the dead to life, and who had done and still doeth other marvellous deeds, was moved to bring water from the Zâb;

24 and I rose up and lit a lamp, and I opened the ear of one of the bottles, and behold there breathed forth the smell of wine, the like of which he used to say, "before our Lord, I never smelt from any other wine. And I praised and glorified the might of Christ, Who had given the power and the promise to His disciples that they should work miracles even as He did; and I also determined that I would not reveal the matter to any man, and that I would not give out this wine to be drunk, either to-day or to-morrow, until this old wine which we had brought from the mountain should be finished. Now when the service of the Mysteries was ended, and every one had gone into the

common-room of the brethren, Rabban sent to me, saying, 'Bring into the common-room some of that good wine which thou hast, and give up the intention which thou didst decide upon during the night'. And at this [speech] also I was the more moved to the praise of God the Lord of all, in that Rabban could see beforehand and know by the eye of the Spirit even the motions of the thoughts of my mind."

25 Now it came to pass one year that Rabban himself was obliged to carry the imperial tax which was due from this monastery to Yazdinbadh, a village of Margâ, and taking with him one of the monks in the monastery they both departed. And while the blessed old man, by reason of his age and feebleness, was riding upon an ass, and the monk was marching behind, the monk meditated the following thought:—"The head of the monastery hath not done well in carrying with him all this money to the government without five other men coming with us; alas for the evilness of the times, and alas for thieves! Peradventure we shall meet with some opposition which we shall not be able to stand against." And that holy man turned, and looked at the monk, and said to him, "Why art thou doubtful about the hidden protector who is with us, my son, just as if the providence of God cometh by accident? March on in confidence in God the Lord of all, and fear not;" thus pure and clear was the hidden eye of the understanding of that holy man.

## CHAPTER 20. OF THE REVELATIONS WHICH THAT HOLY MAN RECEIVED WHEN HE WAS WITH THE WHOLE CONGREGATION IN THE REFECTORY

1 Since now [this] ascetic had become like unto an altar of prayer, and with his secret, inner man his mind had burned [upon it] ceaselessly the incense of psalms and hymns of praise to the exalted Godhead,—like the Watchers (i. e., Angels) on high whose chain of praises before the throne of Godhead is never severed,—like the spiritual powers he became wise and understanding, by the revelations which were hovering round about him abundantly, and he saw things which were afar off, and prophesied concerning things which were about to happen, even as the blessed Evagrius, [who] comparing the sight of the understanding with the Cherubim spake, saying, "He that hath many eyes, perceiveth spiritually much, and is enlightened on all sides, and abideth without shadow." 2 Now on the day before the commemoration of the holy Mâr Jacob, in which all the brethren were accustomed to bake bread in the refectory, and to celebrate this night with psalms and spiritual praises, when they came [to the verse] "I will sing of the goodness of the Lord for

ever, and His belief shall be in my mouth from generation to generation," the mind of the holy man was carried away as though by some spiritual vision. And it appeared to him in the spirit as though he were not in the refectory, but in this holy temple, and he saw that of the monks, old and young, who were there with him, two and forty persons were chosen, and in his hearing the words, "The Grace of the Lord," which are usually sung on the Festivals of the Lord, were changed into those which are sung to a different tune at the consecration of Bishops at the moment when the hands are laid upon them; and he saw that there were given to them from the sanctuary white turbans and staves of the laying on of hands. Now while he was being led away by such a vision and was carried away by this divine sight, the ascetics saw that his face was clothed at that moment with the light of glory, and they knew that a Divine visitation had united itself to his understanding.

3 And when he had returned to himself and had come down from that sublimity, he sighed a deep sigh while he was yet shining with the glory of the Divine nature; and although they wished to ask him a question or to draw nigh to him, yet because of this they feared, and refrained from him. And when they had proceeded with the service of the parts of the Psalms called Hullâlê, and with the different hymns which were sung between the Psalms, they went on with the Psalter, and came to [the verse], "Lord, remember David and all his humility," again another revelation shone upon the blessed man; and when he came to himself again from the vision, and knew where he was, he was sorrowful, and shed tears, and sighed very bitterly. And 5 when the service of the refectory was over, and each man had gone to his cell, at mid-day, according to custom, the brethren went in to the refectory, and that holy old man was at their head like the moon surrounded by stars. And he answered and said to them, "Did ye then, beloved, see me last night while these things happened to me? They said to him, "Yes, master, we have seen that two visitations happened to thee, but what these visitations which happened to thee [portended] we know not; and now we ask thee to shew us. And again he answered and said to them, "In the first vision I saw that two and forty men belonging to this congregation here present, old men, middle-aged, and young men, were set apart [to be] governors of the Holy Church; some of them Patriarchs, some of them Metropolitans, and some of them Bishops. And also in the second vision it was shewn to me that from the glorious position in which this monastery now

standeth, flourishing with teachers, and expositors, and sages, and wise and understanding men, it shall be brought low, and abased, and humbled in everything in which it excelleth, more particularly in respect of teachers, until the time cometh in which [the monks] shall be obliged to hire directors for the vigils, and [men] to carry out for them the musical parts of the service, and to correct and set in order the tunes having refrains which are sung to the psalms and hymns.

6 These are the things which were foretold by that blessed man, and I was a spectator, and was in the midst of the whole matter, being a neighbour, and one who gave encouraging advice. And it came to pass at one time that [this monastery] was obliged to hire the much enlightened man, Solomon of Bèth Garmai (Garmèkâyâ), who was surnamed Mâhdî, to teach all the brethren who needed it [firstly,] how to read the service-books, and how to sing the hymns and responses, and secondly, how to sing the book of hymns of consolation which they were wont to sing at the vigil of the dead; and also to bring the much enlightened Bā'uth to our monastery for the same purpose. 7 And as regards the Bishops of whom the old man said that there should be two and forty, I will write down without delay the names both of those whom I myself saw, and of those which I learned from others, who were among that blessed congregation and who also were selected for consecration one after the other. Firstly we will honour the holy person, the prophet and seer concerning whom is our discourse, Rabban Cyriacus who was elected Bishop of the city of Bālâdh, as we shall shew at the end [of the book]; Rabban George the Metropolitan was elected Bishop of Elam, and afterwards Patriarch; Mâr Abraham was elected Bishop of Ḥadhattâ and afterwards Patriarch; Mâr Ḳardagh, Mâr Shûbhhâl-Îshô, and Mâr Yahbh-lâhâ were elected Metropolitans of Gilân and of Dailôm; and Thomas from Ḥedhôdh, Zacchaeus from Bêth Mûlê, and Shêm bar-Arlâyê, and Ephraim, and Simon, and Ananias and David who went with them from this monastery were elected and consecrated Bishops of those countries. Mâr Eliyâ, whose history we are about to write, was elected Bishop of Mûkân, David was elected to be Metropolitan of Bêth Şinâyê—now I have learned concerning this man from the Epistles of Mâr Timothy—together with Peter his disciple, who was alive and held the office of Bishop of the country of Yâmân and of Şanâ when I was secretary to Mâr Abraham; Îshô'-zêkhâ was elected Metropolitan Bishop of Karkhâ-dhê-Bêth-Slôkh; Bûrd-Îshô', and Cyriacus, and

Bâbhai, and this Îshô' who came to Margâ, all these were elected Bishops of Bêth Garmai;

8 Îshô', who was surnamed Mâran-zêkhâ, was elected Bishop of Shôshan, the city that is in Elam; Rabban Diodorus and 'Abd-Îshô' were elected Bishops of Bêth Bêghâsh, one after the other; Lazarus, Gabriel, and Jacob, these three were elected Bishops of Mârgâ; Cyriacus of Awâkh was elected Bishop of Nineveh; Mâr Narsai, concerning whom also our discourse is prepared to praise, was elected Bishop of Shennâ; and Elisha and George were elected Bishops of Khânishâbhôr, that is Bêth Wâzik. Now [the names of] the others by reason of the remoteness of the time have not been handed down to me by tradition, and inasmuch as I did not know that I should become the historian of the glorious deeds of the holy man I did not enquire beforehand concerning them from the old men who related to me the accounts of his actions.

## CHAPTER 21.

1 Of the coming in of 'amran bar-muḥammad to this country [of margâ], and of how having seized many estates and slain their owners, he wished also to kill the holy man [cyriacus] and to inherit this monastery. 2 And there was a certain troublesome Ishmaelite whose name was 'Amran bar-Muḥammad, concerning whom I have also written in the history of Rabban Gabriel, and he was a harsh, violent, and pitiless man, and a murderer. Now upon [his] coming into this country from Bēth Bōzāi, he began to slay its inhabitants, and to take possession of the province of Birtā, and of Ḥēlaphtā, and Ḥeṭrā, and Bāshōsh, and Ḥerpā, villages of Saphsāphā, and little by little of many others. And he determined to take possession of the estates of this holy monastery, [and he would have done so] if this holy father [Mār Cyriacus] had not stood in our breaches and fenced up our paths against his harmful acts, as did the blessed Moses, and Joshua and David in their times. And when he made his coming to this monastery and would have compelled all the brethren to sign a deed selling the monastery and its estates to him, the blessed old man stood up valiantly before him, and reproached him, and made him despicable through the rebukes of his words, and by the abundance of his demonstrations, saying, "I affirm and I swear by the hope of the Christians, O Amran bar-Muḥammad, that this monastery shall never belong to thee, nor to thy sons, nor to thy grandsons. Behold all the land is before thee, get thee away from this holy house, for as the Lord liveth, if thou

departest [from it], it will be much the better for thee, and thou wilt do great good unto thyself;

3 but if thou darest to seek to enter the monastery by the might of thy threats, thou shalt very soon eat the bitterness of the reward of thy evil deeds. Behold I have warned thee, and behold I have advised thee for good; get thee forth from our monastery and it shall be well with thee, lest thou go quickly to the house of the dead. And know this also: because of all the blood of the believers which thou hast poured out, and the wretched people whom thou hast slain and whose houses thou hast seized, it is written with an iron style on a shâmir stone in the record chamber of the justice of God. And this shall be to thee the sign; when thou diest, the earth from which thou wast taken and to which thou shouldst return shall not receive thee, but thy body shall be cast forth, and the Evil One will not accept thy body. Now when by all this might of trust in divine providence, and by the fervidness of his temperament, and by the sharpness of his tongue he had put Amran to shame, 'Amran rose up wrathfully and went to Hélaphtâ having the evil [intention] in his heart to send secretly and slay the holy man.

4 And when Amran had gone, and [the blessed man] saw that the monks were terrified and afraid of his threats, he said to them, "Fear not, O blessed brethren, his words, nor any stumbling-block which he can put in our way, for this monastery shall be for ever and ever preserved from this man and from all his posterity; let no man be afraid that Amran will send here to slay any one, for, on the contrary, he hath made up his mind to flatter you. And behold he will shortly send for some of you, therefore go with him readily and be not afraid, for I will go forth with you, and I will pour into his ears things mightier than those which ye have [already] heard." 5 Now when a few days had passed by 'Amran sent ten horsemen for certain of the old men of the congregation. And when they beat the board for assembling the monks and they were all gathered together, all the brethren were afflicted through fear, because [the horsemen] would not allow the holy old man to go with the [other] old men his companions, saying, "We are not commanded to bring Rabban Cyriacus with us. Now when [the holy man] saw that the brethren were in despair and undone, he drew them aside, and said to them, "Be not afraid to go, for when ye shall enter into the presence of 'Amran ye shall find me sitting before him on his seat"; and relying upon his hope they quickened their steps, and set out immediately, the horsemen

leaving that blessed man in the porch before the temple. Now until they (i. e., the horsemen) had passed the village of Rishá he and the brethren remained in the place of the after-supper service, but when every man had returned to his cell, that same Divine power which carried the Prophet Habakkuk to Babylon, and by which the ship of the disciples came suddenly to the land whither they were going, and which lifted up the blessed Paul to heaven and to Paradise, worked on behalf of this poor monastery at that time when there was no king, and when this Arab was wishing to compel those blessed men to transfer to him the monastery and its estates.

6 And, by the might of the Holy Spirit, it took him like his companion [Paul] and made him come into the presence of 'Amran before those old men and the horsemen who were with them had come in; and it hid him from his sight, as he stood above his head until they had knocked at the door, and suddenly he revealed himself and appeared among them. And when Amran saw him, he looked in savage anger upon those whom he had sent and upon the old men, saying, "Since I commanded that Cyriacus should not come why have ye brought him with you? And they all swore [saying], "We have not seen him since we left him in the monastery, except at this present. The blessed man said to him, "I am come hither to thee before thou couldst look in the mirror and comb thy head and beard; be not angry with these venerable men, for thou shalt never inherit our monastery. Cease from this [thy] wish and let thy hard heart be softened, and let thy avarice be satisfied, for behold, thou hast inherited much; and by these things hast thou made thyself such that no one of thy contemporaries will go before thee into hell.

7 And 'Amran, while wondering and marvelling at the words of the old man, recognised that all this boldness of speech which his words had acquired, was of no ordinary origin, and also that his swift coming and his entrance into his presence, which had had no need of the opening of a door, and his being hidden from his view until the entrance of his companions also testified to this, and he feared and trembled before him, and he answered and said to them, "Rise up and go in peace to your monastery, for I have no dispute with you; so the blessed men went forth and came to their cells.

### CHAPTER 22. OF HOW 'AMRAN AFTERWARDS SENT FIVE ARABS TO LIE IN WAIT ROUND ABOUT THE CELL OF RABBAN CYRIACUS AND TO KILL HIM AND TO BRING HIS HEAD TO HIM

1 Then the Calumniator, the wicked enemy of the Christians, and especially of holy men, gave 'Amran counsel, and he hardened his heart, and he attributed that which had been done to sorcery, and he judged that Cyriacus had performed that piece of work which had been wrought before him by means of his enchantments. And he called secretly those five men of violence whom he was accustomed to employ to shed blood, and to do all manner of wickedness, and he commanded them, saying, "Go to Bêth Abhê, and when it hath become night go down secretly to the cell of Cyriacus and take his head and bring it to me. And when those men had come without any man knowing [of their arrival], and in the thick darkness of the evening had come down by the descent which is called "Way to Shikôn, and little by little had drawn nigh unto the little hill which lay to the north of his cell, they saw him walking up and down in the open space before his cell, and they lay in wait until he slept to fall upon him. Now inasmuch as the holy man turned his nights into days, and like the blessed Arsenius, passed the whole night in watching, he went up to the place where he used to say the after-supper service in his cell, and he began to sing the psalms from the beginning of the Psalter.

2 And that Divine power which the blessed Elisha possessed, by which there appeared to the young man his servant spiritual hosts, with their chariots and horses of fire, surrounding all the place where Elisha was, according to the custom of the might of His power, which strengtheneth all things, likewise surrounded with fire the whole place where this holy old man sang the after-supper service, and those [men] saw the fire and marvelled. And it appeared to them, moreover, that not only fire which could not be approached surrounded him and shot out flames, but also that the whole of his body was like light, and that every [time] that he bowed himself to the earth and stood up [again], and spread out his fingers to heaven, there went forth from them ten lamps of light which were ascending unto heaven. And after these things they saw another like unto him standing at his right hand, and those men were stupefied and terror-stricken, and they thought with anxiety that the fire would suddenly come forth from him and consume them. And when they wished to depart their bellies clave to the ground upon which they

were lying until it dawned; and when they had been perceived by certain of the brethren, they went forth to them, and asked them what was the cause of their [being there], and the men revealed to them truthfully what the reason was. Now the old man Hênân-Îshô, the neighbour of Cyriacus swore, saying, I was one of those brethren who went to the men.

3 And when the men had gone to him that sent them, and had repeated to him all [these] things, he desisted from all the evil which he was ready to do to us, and at the end of his life he commanded his sons, saying, "The monastery of Bêth 'Abhê can never be yours. And when 'Amran died the earth would not receive him, but three times was he buried, and three times was he cast forth from it, according to the word spoken concerning him beforehand by the blessed Cyriacus.

### CHAPTER 23. OF ANOTHER REVELATION WHICH [MÂR CYRIACUS] RECEIVED, AND OF HOW HE NEEDS MUST BE NAMED AND ACCOUNTED BISHOP FOR A LITTLE WHILE, AND THEN DEPART FROM [THIS] WORLD

1 Now when the holy man our holy father Mâr Cyriacus had laboured in all kinds of asceticism, the mother of all uprightness, in voluntary poverty, and abstinence, and fasting, and prayer, and philosophic reading in the cell, and holy meditation upon the Scriptures, and contemplation [which] pierceth into things of the future, and the acquiring of things which endure, and watching which purifieth the thoughts, and bendings in double, and stretchings out at full length in making bowings of adoration, and prostrations which make the sweat to flow, like a watchful guardian he kept a strict watch on all sides that for no reason whatever a single duty of the ascetic life should be neglected on his part or on that of his fellow-monks, and he was like unto a wall to this godly flock. And when he was waiting and wishing that the ship of the treasures of his riches had already drawn nigh unto rest, an angel spake with him, face to face [saying], "Thou shalt be a Bishop, and then thou shalt rest from thy troubles. According to the number of the fifty years in which thou hast led an ascetic life in this monastery, for fifty days shalt thou be called Bishop; and then thou shalt by a peaceful death rest in peace. Behold I am with thee in all thy labours;

2 let thy old age then be strong, and thy time of life be renewed, and a month of days hence believing men, from the city of Báládh, over whom the Spirit hath appointed thee governor, shall come for thee; go with them disputing nothing, for the matter is from the Lord, Who ordereth all thy [acts]

as His will pleaseth, He hath helped thee that thou shouldst be saved. And when the angel had disappeared from before him, he took a reed and wrote upon the wall of his cell concerning this vision which had appeared to him, and the brethren found this writing after his departure and read it. And the old man Rabban Elisha, may his memory be blessed! used to say, "I also read these lines when I was serving in the monastery, for his handwriting was still preserved in that cell."

## CHAPTER 24.

1 Of The Coming OF THE PEOPLE OF BÂLÂDH TO THIS MONASTERY FOR THE BLESSED MAN [MÂR CYRIACUS], AND OF HOW THEY HAD WITH THEM A LETTER OF THE PIOUS MÂR TIMOTHY PROHIBITING HIM TO REMAIN IN THE MONASTERY AFTER HE HAD BEEN CALLED. 2 Now therefore, when the report, which was filled with the glory of Christ, of the wonderful deeds which He was working through the son of His house, Mâr Cyriacus, in this monastery, had flown like a bird with swift pinions, and had been carried to every quarter of the world, and to all peoples, and his glorious deeds were being repeated in the streets and among the assemblies for the glorifying of the Holy Church, the Bishop of the city of Bâlâdh, who had arranged these holy matters, departed this temporary life. And because of the glorious things of Rabban Cyriacus, which were in the mouths of all men, the people of Bâlâdh sent letters to the holy Mâr Timothy, praying and entreating him, saying, "We have elected that thou shouldst set over us as head, and shepherd, and guardian, and governor, Rabban Cyriacus the ascetic, the head of the monastery of Bêth 'Abhê," (now this took place, in very truth), and they took the letter and came for him here. Now a very old monk whose name was Bar-Henânâ told me that the people of Bâlâdh made the expedition to us for the sake of Mâr Cyriacus, with horses of long pedigree, and baggage horses, and mules for burdens, together with eagles, and panthers, and leopards, and hunting dogs, an exceeding mighty host, for the inhabitants of this city were at that time exceedingly prosperous, and their city was very beautiful and much to be admired.

3 And when they had gone in before the temple, and had made known the cause of their coming, they were received by the community with great honour. And when they gave Mâr Cyriacus the letter which commanded him to go down to the Catholicus, his eyes overflowed with tears, and weeping he lifted up his face to God like aged Simeon, and said, "Lord, dismiss

Thy servant, according to Thy word, in peace; for behold, mine eyes have seen, and my lips have proclaimed Thy great mercy, in that Thou hast set the limit to the close of my life and to the end of my years. And he answered and said to the believing men who came after him, "Beloved, ye have wearied yourselves for nothing, and your expectation is in vain; ye cannot rejoice at my being appointed to be your head, neither can I rejoice at the glory of rearing you, for I shall [only] live fifty days in your city, and it sufficeth. It is a mere bundle of bones which shall be brought in to dwell in your city; may its protection and generation be prolonged among all the generations of the world! And our Lord shall raise up for you

4 the Arab. plur. See Dozy, Supplément, tom. 1. p. 69, col. 1. after my death a good guardian, and to him will He grant an extension of life for a long time." And when they took him away to go [to Bâlâdh], a cry from all this congregation went up to heaven, and they ascribed woe to themselves and to their monastery, because they were deprived of such a head and governor of their lives; thus he went down to Mâr Timothy the Catholicus and was consecrated, and he went up that he might come to his city. Now Rabban Elisha told me that when the boat in which he was travelling arrived at the Ḥesnâ 'Ebhrâya, and was passing along on this side of it, which faceth the east, the believers of Môṣul sent and stopped it in its course, and crowds upon crowds of Christians and Arabs came forth to see that blessed man and to be blessed by him (now they gave the owner of the boat much money that it might stop for this purpose), and so on the following day his boat passed on accompanied by crowds, and went up to his city. Now his entrance into the city of Bâlâdh took place on the Friday evening before Pentecost.

### CHAPTER 25. OF THE WONDERFUL DEED WHICH THE BLESSED MÂR CYRIACUS WROUGHT IN THE CITY OF BÂLÂDH, AND OF THE END OF HIS LIFE

1 Now since I have been in the habit of making enquiries concerning every thing which relates to this blessed man with great eagerness and desire, for stories about him are sweet and pleasant to me, one year when I went on certain business which called me to the city of Bâlâdh, I asked about his holy grave, and I was blessed by it. And I went out to the porch before the great temple of the church, and I found there a very old priest, whose name was Nekhwâr, and with whom I was acquainted when I was the secretary of the holy Mâr Abraham the Catholicus in the royal city, and I asked that old

man to relate to me any miracles or mighty deeds which the blessed Mâr Cyriacus had wrought. And having told me of the many cures [which he had made] and of the devils which he had driven out from multitudes of men, he also told me the following:—"In the days of Mâr Cyriacus there was in this City a Bishop of the followers of Severus [of Antioch], and much friendship existed between him and our Bishop Cyriacus; and after the death of Mâr Cyriacus that Bishop related to me as follows:—'One day I had risen up early in the morning, and I had come from my cell to this your church to go in and to enjoy myself with the sight and conversation of the holy man your Bishop Cyriacus.

2 And while I was speaking in the porch and was not yet inside the church, behold the blessed man himself came down, and when he saw me he answered and said to me, Why art thou standing here, master? And I said to him, I have come to see thee, and to be blessed by thy holiness. He said to me, Blessed be thy coming! If thou hadst come to me before I came out, I would have gone nowhere; but since we two have met outside, come with me, and let us go together to pray in the Monastery of Rabban Pithion; and,' he continued, 'he took hold of my right hand with his left, and thus he and I singing a psalm went outside the city, and entered into that monastery. And when we had prayed, and he was still holding me by my hand, the two of us went down to the Tigris, and he answered joyfully, and said to me, Come now, let us cross over and pray in the Monastery of the holy Rabban Joseph, because his shrine is very dear to me and because he is from my own monastery and because I have not yet seen his monastery. I said to him, If thou hadst this intention in thy mind why did we not cross over at the ferry instead of troubling ourselves to come down to this [place]?

3 And he looked at me smiling, and said, Hast thou any doubt that, by the power of God, we can cross over on a wooden boat only? Now shalt thou see the power of Christ our Lord. And he made the sign of the Cross upon the face of the water, and another upon his own face, and another upon mine, and we turned to cross over. And while I was afraid lest peradventure the waters would let us drop through them, I perceived that they were becoming solid under my feet as if they were ice-bound, and thus we crossed over the Tigris and went into that monastery. And when we had come forth from there and he had dismissed the brethren who had come forth in honour of us, and they had returned to their cells, we remained for a little time

on the bank of the river; now he did this that the monks might go away to a distance and not be able to see him. And again he answered and said to me, Let us cross over the river [to the place] exactly opposite to us, and let us go and pray in the monas-

4 (i. e., puthion), on the left bank of the river, about a farsah below Eski-Môṣul. See Hoffmann, Auszüge, p. 211. 5 tery of Rabban Aaron, and afterwards we will go into the city. And I said to him, Do as it pleaseth thy holiness. And he made the sign of the Cross upon the waters in front of us, and holding me by the hand he led me over the river, and we went into the monastery and prayed, and we went forth from there and came to the cell of the holy man. Now these things which that holy old man related to me, 'Uthmân, a believer of the confession of Jacob, who was surnamed Bar-Khusrau, confirmed to us. And Rabban George, the head of our monastery told me, saying, "One year I went into the city of Môşul about the taxes, and I went to the house of this believing man Uthmân bar-Khusrau, that I might obtain some assistance from him by his speaking for me a good word to the government, and I found him reading in the book Huppâkh Hushshâbhê, of our holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh of Adiabene. And when I had sat down he said to me, 'I love your monastery of Bêth Abhê for two reasons; firstly, because of this teacher Îshô'-yahbh the Catholicus, who is in very truth a great teacher and debater, and [who] standeth firmly in the strength of his demonstrations against the confession of the duality of the Natures in one Person, which those who follow the Council of Chalcedon wickedly declare, and I meditate upon his composition continually;

6 and secondly, because of this story which our Bishop who was in Bâlâdh in the days of Cyriacus, Bishop of that city, who came from your monastery, and was surnamed 'Gêbhîltâyâ,' related to me.' Now he told me this history which I heard from our priests in the city of Bâlâdh, and we must be well aware that the testimony of adversaries is more exact and more to be believed [than our own], inasmuch as in such matters they have a habit of concealing certain facts, and concerning some certain and well attested deeds, which have been wrought by our holy men, they deliberately lie. Now when the celebration of the Fast of the Apostles drew near, the holy Bishop Mâr Cyriacus died on the Friday evening of the commemoration of the [twelve] Apostles, with a name filled with glory, and a remembrance for good, and was buried in honour with the holy Bishops who had died before him in that

city; may his prayers be for the whole world, and for the Catholic Church, and may mercy be shewn to us in the Hall of Judgment, Amen.

7 Here endeth the Fourth Book.

### BOOK V — CHAPTER 1. OF RABBAN MÂR SHÛBHÎL-ÎSHÔ

1 O our brother [ʿAbhd-Îshô], let also this discourse, which is the fifth of the books of this our history, be received upon the table of the hearing of thy understanding, for by the glorious entreaty of thy electness my feeble tongue hath run, and will further run, upon the excellent matters of the histories of holy men, those athletes of might and warriors of strength, who did battle with the body and the passions thereof and with rebellious devils, and who bound on the crown of victory and overcame, and were crowned in the spiritual contest of their lives which pleased God. And we will place at the beginning of all those histories which our speech is about to unfold the account of the victorious deeds of the ascetic priest, and victorious martyr, the blessed Rabban Mâr Shûbhhâl-Îshô, the Metropolitan Bishop; and to it we will add that of the pious and holy men who followed in his footsteps throughout the land in which he taught, Mâr Yahbh-lâhâ and Kardagh his brother, as well as that of the blessed Bishop Mâr Elijah, the men who were ordained by the pious Mâr Timothy, the Catholicus and Patriarch, for the countries of the barbarians who were remote from all understanding and a decent manner of life, and to whose part of the world no preacher and planter of the truth had ever gone, and where the doctrine of the glad tidings of our Redeemer had never been proclaimed. But why should I speak of the [knowledge] of Christ our Lord [only]?

2 for they had not even received the knowledge of God, the Creator of the worlds and their Governor, like the Jews and other nations, but they offered, and behold they [still] offer, worship to trees, graven images of wood, four-footed beasts, fishes, reptiles, birds of prey, and [other] birds, and such like things, and they bow down to worship fire and the stars and planets. [Mâr Yahbh Allâhâ, and Kardagh and Mâr Elijah were] the men who preached the doctrine of Christ in those countries of Dailômâyê and of Gilâyê, and of the other barbarians who live beyond them, and they planted in them the light of the truth of the glad tidings of our Lord, and plucked out from the simple souls that were there all the abominable thorns and tares of evil deeds which Satan had sown in their hearts. And they taught and baptized, and wrought mighty deeds, and shewed forth wonderful works,

and the fame of their acts was carried to all the ends of the East. And thou mayest learn clearly concerning all these things from the letter which certain merchants and king's scribes, who were going in and coming out from those countries for the purposes of trade and the business of the government, wrote to Mâr Timothy.

### CHAPTER 2. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BLESSED SHŪBHĪ-AL-IŠHŌ AND OF HIS COMING TO THIS MONASTERY

1 The family of the blessed Shûbhhâl-Īshô was descended from the race of the children of Ishmael, and his city was Hêrâ-dhê-Na'mân, but his parents departed from there, and took up their habitation in Hesnâ Ebhrâyâ, and according to what I have learned, the blessed man was born and brought up in that city. And when he had become a young man, having, by the exceeding care of his parents, been trained in the Holy Scriptures and instructed in the literature of the Arabic [language], which was their own tongue, his parents departed this temporary life, and he and one sister, who was younger than he, were left behind. Now their parents had left them much riches, and this he divided between the two of them, and to his sister he left the estate and everything that was in the house, and he took his portion and came to this monastery. And having served in the monastery and performed the exercises of the monks in a perfect manner according to the command of the fathers, he persuaded the community to give him Bêth Ḥabbâ that he might sow it and give food to the brethren, according to what they should receive from the head of the monastery, from the produce of Bêth Ziwâ; and according to his wish it was given unto him. And he built a house for the ploughmen, (i.

2 e., a farm) to the south of this one of to-day, the site of which is well known, and he bought yokes of oxen, and he hired ploughmen, and he began to sow and to reap, and to be kind to and to give gifts to the monks of his congregation, and to strangers, and to the poor, like that merchant who traded with Spain with two ships, and [like] the blessed Apollonius who [lived] in Mount Nêṭirâ, and like that believing man, the account of whom is written in the history of the blessed Paphnutius, and like one of those two [brethren] Pēsis (Paesius) and Isaiah, the sons of one merchant, who did not scatter his portion, but placed it as an offering to God for the relief of the needy. And when the blessed man Shûbhhâl-Ishô had laboured in this course of life for many years, and was pleasing Christ by means of His Saints, certain wicked men in this congregation, through the working of Satan, the

father of lies, and the hater of the love Christ left to His disciples, rose up craftily against him, like Judas among the twelve [disciples], and like the seven tares who were among the three hundred and eighteen Bishops, and besides these, like the disciples who were from among the people who were jealous of Paul, and of his teaching, and others who were among the companies of the saints, and they were envious of that love of love which filled his holy and believing soul.

3 First of all they began to make measures which were greater and fuller than 4, those which were in current use everywhere among the merchants, now this he endured cheerfully, but finally they began to make him hear cruel words, saying, "Let our corn lands alone, and depart. And having sown much seed in the past year, and the harvest being near, certain sinful men and evil livers, when no one perceived, devised an artful plot to slay that holy man, having forgotten all the good deeds which he had done unto them; and [the words], "They rewarded me evil for good, and hatred instead of love," and again, "The eater of my bread upon whom I trusted greatly, hath acted craftily against me," were fulfilled in very deed in the matter of that holy man. But since our Lord God willed that those evil men should not be partakers in that innocent blood, His graciousness did not in any wise allow that man to be alienated from His household. And moreover, he that feareth the Lord, even though it be but a little, and would dare to commit some evil act, the holy angel which cleaveth to him alloweth not that evil act to be wrought successfully as he would wish, but he extinguisheth and hindereth and confoundeth the manner of his work, even as he wrought in the case of that blessed man who saw in the country [of Egypt] the daughter of a priest of idols, and by the agency of the Evil One he lusted after her.

5 And when he asked her from her father, he promised to give him to her, but after he had denied God, and the garb with which he was clothed, and baptism, the holy angel which clave to him compelled the Satan who dwelt in the idol, and he returned answer to the priest, saying, "Thou shalt not give him thy daughter, for God is with him, and He aideth him. Now therefore in this manner did that merciful Lord act, Who beareth with all our obstinacy, Who endureth our wickednesses, and Who doeth good unto us, until in the righteous judgment which is to come He will reward us according to our deeds with a measure pressed down and running over. 6 Now Rabban Īshō'-yahbh the Long, from whom I have received much material

for these histories, told me, saying:—"When I was serving in the monastery, I was sent secretly by the monks who held the affairs of the community in their hands, saying, 'Go to Rabban Shûbhhâl-Îshô' at Bêth Ḥabbâ, and inform him, saying, If thou dost not save thyself by flight this night thou wilt certainly be slain by the assiduity of such and such persons, who have taken themselves out of everything which is seemly for the sake of thy destruction.' And that truthful old man swore to me, saying, When I had told him those things, he began to weep bitterly; and he answered and said, 'Am I worthy of the reward of being a participator in the sufferings of Christ? This day hath it been pointed out to me that the labours of my loving-kindness have reached unto heaven before God for an everlasting memorial. I entered Bêth Abhê with earthly riches, and I have spent them at the word of the mouth of Christ, according to His command, and this day I shall go forth from it without even a wallet." And Îshô'-yahbh the old man said, When I saw that I was obliged to make him set out on the road to flee to the city without bread, and without a wallet, inasmuch as he had nothing with him except his tunic and his cloak, I gave him my own wallet, and I put inside it three loaves of bread, and he departed; and he went down to the pious Mâr Timothy the Catholicus, and informed him what had been done to him."

### CHAPTER 3. OF THE PUNISHMENT WHICH THIS MONASTERY JUSTLY RECEIVED FOR THE PERSECUTION OF THE HOLY SHÛBHÎL-ÎSHÔ

1 If now earthly judges should do unto those who work wickedness according to what the sword of justice which they hold demandeth, and should award good things to good men, this would be according to the testimony of the scribe of the Spirit, the blessed Paul, [who saith] "How just then and righteous is our good God! for He chastiseth and punisheth, and judgeth, and correcteth in such wise that we may not become altogether without perception [of sin], having trodden down conscience and cast out from our minds the [retribution of] justice which is to come". 2 Now when [those men] thought that behold they had slain the righteous man, and they would inherit his labour, and were making ready to go out and reap the fields which they had not sown, and to gather in that which they had not scattered, the Lord brought up against them only, a huge cloud of locusts, which devoured all the crops of Bêth Ḥabbâ, and which did not leave them a remnant; and year after year God sent this punishment upon them because it was as if the innocent blood of that innocent man had been shed by them by murder. And if

God would judge a man for his readiness of intention, and would take vengeance upon him for what he wished to do, and would punish him according to His word, "He that looketh upon a woman to desire her, hath straightway committed adultery with her in his heart, and is already accounted an adulterer"—although [as in the case of the blessed man who lusted for the daughter of the priest], it is natural that the man who had subjected himself to that which was unnatural should be moved with desire for the beauty of a woman—[how much more would He do so in this case]? And although murder is an abominable thing, and ten thousand evil punishments are reserved for those who commit it, yet those men were prepared to slay him if an opportunity for doing so had come into their hands, and they were therefore strictly speaking murderers and men guilty of the blood of that holy man.

3 Now when, according to their custom, the monks of this monastery were going down to the blessed Timothy the Catholicus that he might give them help—for he loved this monastery greatly, and honoured it with many gifts, because it was here pointed out to him that he should become Catholicus—he asked how they and their crops did. And they made answer to him, saying, "They are going on poorly and badly, for behold, for some years [past] the locusts have eaten up our crops in particular [and those of no one else]". The blessed man said to them, "My sons, the locusts which devour the fields, and those which eat up the hidden fruits of your souls, shall not be scraped away from you, because ye were the cause of the persecution and driving away of the holy Mâr Shûbhhâl-Îshô from among you. For our Lord and His holy angels have testified to me [concerning] these things which I have learned from old monks in this monastery, and which I have not imagined out of my own mind, but have judged according to that which is said by the holy man, 'If an act of sin which happeneth accidentally is deserving of seventy and sevenfold punishment, how many times seventy and seven shall an act of wilful sin be punished?' Assume [if ye will] that for a man to look upon a woman is an act of accidental sin, but the going out of those wretched men to commit murder is certainly an act of wilful sin; even so are these things.

### CHAPTER 4. OF THE LAYING ON OF HANDS WHICH THE BLESSED MÂR SHÛBHHÂL-IŠHÔ RECEIVED TO BE THE METROPOLITAN OF GÎLÂN AND DAILÔM

1 If now according to the goodness of his master, and according as he is able, a servant shall endeavour to measure the steps of his course of life along the smooth paths of his commandments, and shall arrange every thing concerning himself for the good will and pleasure of his master, he will be glorified with the glory of his master, and will be made ruler over all his treasures, for the treasure shall be added unto and increased by his industrious trafficking, like the man who received five talents and made them ten, and him that [received] two and made them into four, and both heard [the words], "Well done, good and faithful servants, ye have been faithful in little, and much shall be entrusted into your hands". According to the might of every man it is required of him: from him that hath received much that he should labour much [is required], and from him unto whom little hath been given little [is required]; every man according to his might, saith our Lord, to Whom be glory. And a certain holy man testifieth [to this], saying, "One man converteth a mighty people, and another a small district, and another hath acquired his own soul only; yet in excellence [all three] are equal."

2 Now in respect of this man of whom we speak, inasmuch as he was exceedingly able, very much was entrusted into his hand. And when he went down to the holy Mâr Timothy, who having learned concerning all his affairs, and seen that he was instructed in the Syriac language and learning, and also in the Arabic and Persian tongues, determined to anoint him with holy oil, and to make him hold the pastoral staff, and to send him as a shepherd and teacher to the barbarian nations who had never received the bridle of the teaching concerning God, and into whose country none of the preachers and evangelists of the kingdom of heaven had gone since the time of the Apostles until the present. And when he advised him to undertake this thing, relying upon the Lord and upon the Divine help which would cleave to him and which would convert those erring nations by his hand, inasmuch as this work to which he was called was from the Lord, he undertook [it] with fear and joy. And the day of the consecration of the blessed man was celebrated with the great ceremony which belongeth to a festival full of all joyous things, and all the chief men, among the believers who heard that he had undertaken the conversion of those countries, provided him with much

money, and with the necessary clothing, and together with the Divine power and the venerable disciples who accompanied him, he set out for those countries. Now Mâr Abraham, the Catholicus, a holy man in very truth, related to me fully concerning all this matter [of Mâr Shûbhhâl-Îshô], and he told me that he made his entrance there with exceeding great splendour, for barbarian nations need to see a little worldly pomp and show to attract them and to make them draw nigh willingly to Christianity.

3 And when he had entered those countries he began to teach and to shew them the true knowledge of his doctrine, and while he was teaching with these words, Christ our Lord was confirming them by the miracles which he worked, by cleansing the lepers, by healing the sick, by opening the eyes of the blind, by making the lame to walk, by raising the dead, and by making barren women fruitful, for the Divine dispensation is accustomed to shew forth mighty works at the beginning of Divine operations, more particularly in the case of those barbarians who from their earliest times and throughout all their generations had been led captive by evil devils to the worship and service of their corrupt things. And by the sight of the miracles which our Lord worked by the hands of the blessed man, he taught many cities and thickly peopled districts, and baptized [their inhabitants], and brought them near to the doctrine of Divine life. And he built churches, and established priests and deacons in them, and he set apart some of the brethren who were with him to teach them psalms and spiritual praises, and he himself went further and further into the country, until [he arrived at] the ends of the East in the great teaching which he made among the heathen, and Marcionites, and Manichees, [against] every object of worship and every impure thing; and he sowed among them the glorious light of the doctrine of the Gospel, the mother of life and peace.

## CHAPTER 5. OF THE MURDER OF THE HOLY MÂR SHŪBHĪL-ĪSHŌ AND OF THE GLORIOUS TESTIMONY OF HIS CORONATION

1 If the covenant of our freedom from death, and sin, and Satan was written with blood on the top of the mount of Golgotha in the body of Jesus, Who collated it, and signed it and gave it to His disciples, and if they also sealed their dispensation among all nations—for Stephen was stoned, the head of James was cut off, the brains of James the brother of our Lord were crushed by a blow, Simon [Peter] was crucified, Paul doctrines and belief of this sect resembled those of the Magians in many particulars. The Arabic text of the

history of Bâbak and his parentage, etc., is given by Flügel, Kitâb al-Fihrist, Leipzig, 1871, p. 343; see also Bâbek seine Abstammung und erstes Auftreten, by Flügel in Z. D. M. G., Bd. xxiii. p. 531 ff. was slain, Bartholomew was flayed, the side of Thomas was torn open, and Mār Simon, Shāhādōst and Barba'shēmīn, the heads of the throne of the Eastern Church were slain, and others in all countries—it is then a glorious thing for disciples to be like unto their masters, and to be shepherds slain for the sake of their flocks, and keepers of treasure stoned for the sake of the sacred things [under their charge]; and this is what happened also to this person worthy of all good things, our holy father Mār Shūbhhāl-Īshō.

2 Now when he had remained in those countries for many years, while God planted and watered and nourished by his hands, like the blessed Paul, he was wishing to come [back] to the Bethel of his fathers, namely, to this monastery, and to pay back the gifts of honour due [from him] to the monastery from which he had gone forth, and was esteeming that which had happened [to be] a benefit [to him]—as was the selling of Joseph by his brethren—and he forsook the fields of the doctrine of life which he had sown, and the churches which he had founded, and the temples which he had established to the Lord, until he could come and worship and return there. But when the Enemy, the hater of all truth, saw that his own doctrine was made a mockery, and that the fire-temples and the fire-altars of his cakes were pulled down, he plotted death against the blessed man by the hands of certain workers of evil, a remnant that remained. And when they saw that he was provided with every thing which befitted the honour of his monastery, and that he began to go forth from thence, they went before him craftily, and sat down in ambush waiting for him, and at a terrible spot on that road they surrounded him, and crowned him with swords. Thus the blessed man departed from [this] laborious life, flowing with the blood of the reproach and disgrace of the Cross, to the greatly desired chambers of Paradise.

3 And certain Christians who had become his disciples, when they had learned [these things], went out to search for him and took his holy body, and according to their power and knowledge, they buried him hastily in a church, and mourned for him greatly; and they gathered together from the men who had murdered him the things which had been made for him, vails, curtains, and stoles in which the priest administers the sacrament, which

they had taken from him, and sent them to Mār Timothy, and some of them were handed on to this monastery. To Christ our Lord, Who made that noble athlete to be victorious, be glory and honour, and praise, and worship, and may His mercy be upon the assembly of His worshippers and friends for ever and ever, Amen, and Amen.

## CHAPTER 6. OF MÂR YABHLÂHÂ, AND OF MÂR KARDAGH HIS BROTHER

1 From the whole circle of the Holy Scriptures we may learn that the piety of the acts of [men's] lives which are wrought secretly, and of all the good qualities of the soul which are perfected spiritually in the hidden man, is not by any means hidden [on the contrary, for] God, for the gratification of Whose will [these things] have been wrought by righteous and holy men, maketh [them] manifest straightway; and [this we know] especially from the living mouth of our Redeemer, [Who] saith, "When thou prayest, enter into thy chamber and shut thy door, and pray to thy Father Who is in secret, and thy Father Who seeth in secret will reward thee openly. And He will increase and make to rejoice those of His household in this world, and He will shew that they are His glorious [subjects] and men united in concord by the signs and powers of healing which are wrought by them and by their hands in every kind of way, and will reward them in the kingdom of heaven by making them to live before His face with everlasting happiness. And this was what was wrought upon that holy union in blessed brotherhood of body and of spirit, Rabban Yabhlāhā and Abbā Ḳardagh his brother, the Metropolitans of the countries which have before been mentioned in writing. Now these two blessed men [came] from Rēsh Ainā, a village of Saphsāphā, in this country of Margā, and both became disciples together in this holy monastery.

2 And they excelled in chastity and in all the various kinds of observances which the sublime monastic life demandeth, the keeping of the tongue and of the passions, the evening fast, the watching all night, the prayer for collecting the thoughts, and the [keeping] pure the dwelling-place of Godhead, even according to the words of the blessed Mark the monk who in these three virtues included the whole ascetic life, namely, "Let a man cleanse his thoughts, let him pray without ceasing, and let him endure those things which shall come [upon him]; with these three virtues were these brethren adorned. Now the old man Ḳardagh was younger than his brother, and he was a beautiful writer; and Yabhlāhā was a book-binder, like the blessed Mār

Aḥā and his brother. And they were praised by the tongues of all men, according to what the holy Mār Abraham told me, saying, "In the beginning when I came [here] to be a solitary, I worked in the monastery for the whole of the specified space of three years, and I did not know if Kṛḍagh had ever lifted his eyes or opened them to look upon me; and I thought, concerning him," he was saying to me, "perhaps he is blind. The labours and humility of Rabban Yahbh Allāḥā were," he was saying to me, "more excellent than [those of] his brother, but in each one of them there was some one thing in which the one was superior to the other."

3 Now inasmuch as the holy Mār Shūbhhāl-Īshō had finished the course of his testimony, it was necessary that another man should be chosen to succeed him, to go and rear the flocks which had been brought into the fold of life by the care of that holy man. And when Mār Timothy, of pious memory, had urged this [service] upon every man who was able to do this, and there was no one who would undertake the work for God's sake like unto that man, the blessed Mār Catholicus was obliged to send to this monastery for these two blessed brethren, that he might consecrate them bishops, and send them to those countries.

### CHAPTER 7. OF THE CHOICE OF THE HOLY MEN TO BE SENT TO THOSE COUNTRIES (I. E. GĪLĀN AND DAILŌM)

1 We must learn and recount that many shepherds have been chosen for all parts of the world from this holy monastery, who, through their splendid triumphs, have appeared in their generations like unto lamps set upon the candlestick the of Church, [and we must also learn and recount that this monastery] hath been named by the ancients the "house of the priesthood," and the "father of the pillars of the holy Church" by reason of the men who have in all generations gone forth [from it], and who have become shepherds set over the flocks of Christ. And they did not only accept established and princely thrones, which were [situated] in flourishing towns and civilized countries, but also [those of] the countries which were destitute of all knowledge of Divine things and holy doctrine, and which abounded in sorcery and idolatry and all corrupt and abominable practices, that they might uproot the evil and sow the good, and drive out the darkness of error and make to shine upon them the glorious light of their doctrine, and cast forth the devils [who were] teachers of all uncleanness. And that this was so we may learn from the blessed Mār Shubhhal-Īshō, and from these blessed men who

succeeded him, and who because of their labour in other matters of the ascetic life, did not wish to depart.

2 And [Mâr Timothy] wrote here that the blessed Yahbhlâhâ and Kardagh should go down to him, saying that it was meet for them to preserve and rear the [fruits of the] teaching of Mâr Shubhhal-Îshô, like a goodly inheritance handed on from one brother to another, according to what is said, "If the brother of a man die and leave a widow without children, let his brother take his wife and raise up seed to him; in this latter case according to the body, and in the former according to the spirit. So the two went down according to the rule of the Church, and [Mâr Timothy] anointed them both Metropolitans, Kardagh of Gilân and Yahbhlâhâ of the people of Dailôm. And when they came up to this monastery to put their affairs in order, there went with them according to what I have learned, fifteen monks [who were] holy and enlightened men, that they also might be companions with them in the spiritual labour of the Gospel of Christ, and among those men were those who were appointed to be Bishops of the countries beyond Gilân and Dailôm. For I have read the letter of Mâr Timothy the Catholicus to Mâr Yahbhlâhâ and the letter which was sent by him in answer to the Catholicus, saying, "Through thy prayers, O our father, by the grace of Christ, many nations have been converted to the belief of the truth, and we want to appoint Bishops over them from among the ascetics who have come with us.

3 And Mâr Catholicus wrote to them this, "Inasmuch as the ordination of a Bishop doth not absolutely require [the presence of] three persons, and ye in your country are free from this [regulation], ye have permission [to do so] by the power of the word of our Lord, in which every thing standeth and is directed. Appoint as Bishops whomsoever ye and the pious Kardagh shall choose, and in the place of the third [person who should be present], let the Book of the Gospels be laid on the [episcopal] throne on the right hand; thus by the hand of God perform the ordination of the first Bishop, and let others be appointed by means of [this] third [person]. May the Divine Spirit direct and govern His sanctifications by your means even as He did with the blessed Apostles. And when the blessed men had received this permission from the Patriarch, they ordained and made Thomas, Zacchaeus, Shem, Ephraim, Simon, Ananias and David, bishops of the countries which had been taught by their hands, through the signs and mighty deeds which had been manifested by them, no one of which, on account of their number and the remoteness

of the countries in which they were wrought and completed, have we been able to distinguish clearly how it was worked, or in what village or city, or in whom a healing was performed, or from whom devils and sicknesses were expelled.

4 And I think, if we were to make false or incorrect statements, and to attempt to paint a picture of miracles which were never manifested to us, that this presumption would bring great danger upon him that should write down something with which he was not acquainted. Now the names of those persons among them who were elected and anointed for the episcopacy were handed down to me by venerable old men—but more especially by the holy old man Elisha—for they heard concerning them from the mouth of Mār Yahbhlāhā, who twice came to this holy monastery from Dailōm, and paid to the holy monastery of his fathers the honour which he was bound [to give]. Mār Kardagh, however, because he had penetrated far into the countries which were beyond those where his brother was, never came back here. But now if thou wishest to learn in part concerning the wonderful deeds which took place at their hands, consider in thy mind, that not without cause and simply through words divorced from deeds did those barbarian nations of daring thieves, and plunderers, and worshippers of devils turn from their polluted religions, which were established without the labour of fasting and prayer, and despise the customary acts of the service of hateful things, and bow their necks to the submission of the yoke of fasting and of prayer, of vigil by nights, and of abstinence from every [kind of] food on the stated fasts and holy festivals.

5 How fitting is it to quote here the words of the holy monk Ammonius, the chosen Bishop in the Church of God, who wrote in one of his letters to his disciples, saying, "For this reason the fathers lived apart in the desert, whether it be Elijah the Tishbite or John. Do not imagine that these men who were righteous among men were able to cultivate righteousness while they lived among men, for they first of all dwelt in great solitude, and thus received the power of God that it might dwell in them, and then, possessing all virtues, God sent them among men to be His stewards, and to heal the sicknesses of men. It was, then, only when all their own sicknesses had been healed, that they were sent, for it is not possible that a soul possessing any defect whatever should be sent among mankind for edification. And I, your father, also say, because I have written these things to you, that I endured a

great fight in the desert and in the mountain, and then [only] did I arrive at this condition [of perfection]. Thus far according to the words of the blessed Ammonius.

6 Now this pair of holy men having been first of all healed [of their own sicknesses], and having gathered together treasure of the good things of heaven by tranquil solitude and by labours of asceticism in this holy monastery, were then sent forth as apostles by God to the countries of the heathen to make their souls to live. And they became like rays of light from the height of the eminence of their course of life, and the pure lamps of their doctrine were shining brightly, being set not under the bushel and measure of sluggishness, but upon a candlestick, and they lightened all the ends of the East. And like the blessed Apostles in their days, they also taught the erring nations by the piety of their daily life, and by abstinence from every [kind of] food, as the canon of the doctrine of our Lord requireth, Who when His disciples asked Him, "Why were we not able to heal him?" said distinctly, "This kind goeth not out except by fasting and by prayer."

7 And, moreover, the bread which is in those countries is made of rice, for the blessed family of wheat and barley is not found there, and there is nothing except rice and other kinds of dry grain, and this we have learned from the mouth of Mâr Yahbhlâhâ, of holy memory, for the old men Hênân-Îshô' and Elisha told me that he said, "As I began my journey to come here I arrived at [the dwelling of] the pious Mâr Ḥabbibhâ, the Metropolitan of the city of Râi, and when I had partaken of food and bread made of wheat I became exceedingly sick, because I was accustomed in those countries to a diet of rice-bread." And when [these men] had laboured in that uncultivated country for many years, and had spread abroad the Gospel of our Lord in those rational countries, and had taught, and converted, and baptized and sanctified many, they all of them ended their days there, and [their names] were written down with the first-born, [whose names] are written down in heaven, in the Book of the Kingdom, and happiness is laid up for them with the Prophets, and Apostles, and teachers, and martyrs, by whose prayers may our Lord make priesthood to be at peace with royalty; and may wars be abolished from the ends of the earth, and may our Lord give to the whole world, and especially to His Holy Church, of His hope, and rest and peace from all conflicts, and may we all lift up praise to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, for ever, Amen.

### CHAPTER 8. OF THE BLESSED MĀR ELIJAH, BISHOP OF MŪKĀN [AND OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE BARBARIANS]

1 Now having walked along the path of words in the histories of holy men, step by step, as along a ladder, and having revealed according to the sufficiency of my feeble knowledge, certain of their triumphs and noble deeds, I have now arrived at, and drawn near to enter into the Paradise, full of the blossoms and the beautiful odours of the glorious acts of our holy father Mār Elijah, the simple but wise man, the untutored but full of understanding, the ignorant in speech but enlightened in mind, for he lacked nothing in his humility [to prevent my] speech from exalting him above teachers. And, moreover, when the scribes and priests [of old] considered that the simple fishermen, the Apostles his fathers, were unlettered and ignorant men, the Apostles rejoiced that they were worthy to be spoken evil of for the sake of their Lord. Now this blessed twig was the produce of the gardening of the divine Mār Jacob, and his village was 'Ain Bakrē in the country of Margā; and having forsaken it and all the things of earth, his city to-day is heaven, and his companions are the Prophets and Apostles and Martyrs and all the ascetic Fathers, the glorious manner of whose lives he emulated. Now when he had elected to devote himself to the labours of the ascetic life, he himself invented a distinct manner of life, and held fast to it from the beginning of his discipleship;

2 for he possessed neither cell, nor place for storing his things, nor [any house] built with mud walls, and having a roof with thick beams and a framework with strong rafters, nor any place which needed repairs, or expenses, or watching [against] falling down suddenly, or shocks, but [he built a hut] of reeds and grass and of bands [made] of the thin, pliant branches of trees similar to that which watchers of vineyards, and husbandmen and gardeners make for themselves, of sufficient [width] to cover his body, and of sufficient [height for him] to stand up and pray, and to perform those things which must needs be done by all those who are fettered by the flesh and its needs. And he surrounded his booth with a hedge made of reeds and narrow [strips] of wood, and [he made] a door of reeds similar to that which they make for sheep-folds, and whether he was inside or out, it was always fastened by a fastening and shut. Now he possessed no utensils, for having reduced himself to the lowest depth of voluntary poverty, such things, which were held to be of great value by others, appeared to him superfluous; but he

had a broken vessel, in which he used to put the dry crust of bread upon which he lived, and an earthenware jar into which he cast salt seasoned with wild thyme.

3 In [the court-yard of] his cell he had a well without a rope and without a bucket, and he made use of a long reed to supply the place of a rope, and on the top of this he tied a small jar, and each evening he used to take his crust of bread, and sit by the well, and draw up water and pour over it, and he ate and it was sufficient for him; but as for [other] foods or wine they never entered his cell, neither did he make use of them. The garments which were on his body were alike his clothing and his bed, though his ascetic mode of life did not need a bed; but a seat against the wall—according to what I have learned from the pious and holy Mâr Abraham—served as a sleeping place for him, even according to the words of the holy Mâr Evagrius, "Voluntary poverty is this, that a man shall possess nothing except a cloak, a tunic, a Bible, and a cell. Now when he went to the congregation on stated days, he used to take the Bible which he read with him in his cloak, and lay it upon the Kestrómâ of the temple until he went back to his cell [when] he took it with him;

4 but his cell he left [unguarded] without fear, according to the words of the blessed Evagrius, "The man that hath prepared himself for voluntary poverty dwelleth in peace of mind," and again he saith, "The monk who hath embraced voluntary poverty is a swift traveller; let him dwell wherever he wishes without fear. Such things concerning his voluntary poverty and asceticism we have thus briefly related. 5 verbum vendidi, quod jubet, vende omnia, et da pauperibus." Rosweyde, Vitae Patrum, p. 582, No. 5. "Interrogatus est senex quidam à fratre, quid faceret ut salvus esset. Ille autem exspolians se vestimento suo, et cingens lumbos suos, atque extendens manus, dixit: Sic debet nudus esse monachus ab omni materiâ saeculari, et crucifigere se adversus tentationem atque certamina mundi." Rosweyde, op. cit., p. 583, No. 16. The quotations from Evagrius made by Thomas of Margâ probably form part of the monachos e peri praktikes, extracts from which are given by Cotelerius, Eccles. Graec. Monumenta, tom. iii. pp. 68–102; by Bigot, Palladii De Vita S. Joh. Chrysostomi dialogus, 1680, pp. 349–355; and by Galland in his seventh volume of Bibliotheca Patrum; see also philokalia ton ieron neptikon, 1782, fol. pp. 41 and 46ff. upotutopis monachike didaskousa

pos dei askein kai esuchazein and kephalaia peri diakriseos pathon kai logismon.

### CHAPTER 9. OF THE SUBLIME KINDS OF PRAYER WITH WHICH HE ENRICHED HIS SOUL

1 Among all the virtues cultivated by holy men there is none greater and more excellent than the wonderful work of prayer, for prayer maketh the pure mind at one with God, and maketh the whole man a deified and spiritual being. It removeth him that giveth himself continually to it from earth, and from the anxious care which is upon it; it made the Prophets to be victorious; it sanctified the Apostles; it entered with the Martyrs into every kind of contest, and by it they conquered the threats of kings and terrible torments; it made them like asbestos before the fire, and they became like wood and creatures without feeling under the various tortures of every [kind of] affliction; and it protected the recluses, and anchorites, and ascetics in desert places, which were full of every [kind of] harmful assaults of devils, and evil animals, and noxious reptiles. For when our Lord Jesus, the Cause of the redemption of our nature, walked upon earth on our behalf in the days of His dispensation, and was teaching, and commanding, and exhorting the keeping of all the virtues which are in His Gospel with His living mouth, He shewed forth in His own Person the effectual working of prayer, going at one time to the mountain desert [by day], and at another to a solitary wilderness to pass the night alone, so that by His immunity from the sounds and sights which confuse the understanding, and by His solitude, He might assist [His] occupation in divine things.

2 On account of this the holy fathers the monks were more anxious about this than any other virtue, and they have taught us to do as they did, for the blessed Mark the monk saith, "Being men subject to passions it is meet that we subject ourselves to prayer; he that subdueth himself with the subjection of prayer is a wise athlete, for by means of his remoteness from things which can be felt by the senses, he sheweth forth openly the strife which is hidden. And again he saith, "There is nothing so powerful to help as prayer, and there is nothing which profiteth like unto it in respect of the Will of God, for it containeth the whole doing of the commandments; the prayer which is without wandering is a sign of the love of God to him that endureth patiently. And again the holy Evagrius saith, "We are not commanded to watch and fast at all times, but that we should pray continually is a law laid down

for us; for those who would heal the part which is liable to affections and passions need the labour of the body."

3 And again the blessed Abbâ Macarius, on being asked by the brethren, "Which of the labours of the ascetic life hath a reward? answered thus: —"There is nothing more sublime than the continuing in prayer. To the very end the devils will wish to abolish [prayer], for they know that their artifices are made of none effect thereby. And the holy Abbâ Isaiah places endurance in prayer above all the glorious acts of the ascetic life, and thus also saith the blessed Expositor in his book on the Mysteries, "Every prayer that is [made] is a teaching concerning life to every one who is careful and knoweth [how] to regard that which is fitting. And again he saith, "Let him that is solicitous for [a life of] excellence, and is careful to do those things which please God, have anxious regard unto prayer more than unto any [other] thing; for it is manifest that the man who is not careful for even one virtue, and is not anxious to do those things which please God, will also be sluggish in respect of prayer. Wherefore also the holy Rabban Mâr Elijah, to whose noble deeds we bring back our simple narrative, aiming at the mark of the holy fathers, or rather having already entered into the experience of its efficacy, and felt through it all the hidden treasures [which are] hidden in the Books of the Spirit, knew and understood that without it a man was not able to be perfect in the service of the ascetic life.

4 And he yoked himself to it from the beginning of his going into the cell, and he joined to it bodily labours and the concentration of the mind, having learned from the blessed Mark the monk, that every prayer in which the body hath not laboured is accounted to be an abortion and imperfect in its bodily form. And because these two fierce contentions resist the man who has yoked his mind to the concentration which is in prayer, that is to say, disturbed wandering of the mind, and vacillating perplexity, Elijah was armed mightily, for he listened to the blessed Evagrius, who said, "If thou hast overcome the wandering of the mind, the aim of all aims, thou art worthy of perfection. Now concerning the pious and holy man [Mâr Elijah], Mâr Abraham the Catholicus told me that he had made himself accustomed to live in a dark spot in his cell, and that in it he used to perform all his seasons of prayer. And to every verse of the psalm which he said he joined a "Hallelujah! Glory be to Thee, O God," in such a way that his mind was com-

pelled to think about the verse which was coming next and that he might not be distracted in prayer.

5 And he used to do this so that by reason of [his] too ready facility in calling the verse to mind, it might not be too easy for his mind to wander during his prayers, and to forget the verse which should follow, and that when, at the end of every verse, the mouth followed with, "Hallelujah! Glory be to Thee, O God," his mind might be compelled to make [one] verse follow the other in proper order. And because without the concentration of the mind divine intuition doth not give itself to the understanding so that the understanding may enter into the bosom of a divine intuition and the ascetic cannot find the shadowless Galilee, he made his understanding prepared for seeing [God], even as one of the saints saith, "The moon is not equal in all its periphery except at full moon," and he asked those who observe the mind by prayer if there were any corners in their country. And because it hath been said by the holy fathers "One word near is better than a thousand afar off," he cared less about the quantity of the Psalms [which he sang] than for the doubling of the riches and concentration of the thoughts which were in his mind, and it was superfluous to him that others said the psalter of David twice in a day and night, while their minds were building up, and hiding, and judging, and condemning, and buying, and selling.

6 Such were the advantages which this most praiseworthy man learned for himself, who although he was little cultivated in the Scriptures, and only [knew] the psalms, and responses, and the ordinary lessons for the day, yet included all the commandments in one [act, viz.,] voluntary renunciation of every thing, and the crucifixion of the mind against all [disturbing] thoughts. And when by means of great wrestling after many years he was freed from this defect of wandering [in prayer], he cleansed and purified his heart, and from this time and onward he forsook the first step of the ascetic life, and he changed his manner of life to the singing of psalms without ceasing, being silent neither day nor night. For the holy Mâr Abraham, who more than any was acquainted with every thing concerning him, told me that even when he was wearied in sleep his mouth was not silent, but was singing psalms audibly, and that whilst his soul was answering with secret hallelujahs, his mouth sang psalms as he dreamed. And as that holy soul was [engaged] in all the spiritual and external service of the Spirit, and was dwelling in that aged and ascetic body, that strife which existed between the spirit

and the flesh, and the flesh and the spirit, ceased, and his two natures (lit. manhoods) were swallowed up in the desire for the happiness of the life which is to come.

7 And in proportion as the body languished, and his labour became less, his soul was lifted up to heaven on the wings of the spirit, as the holy Abbâ Isaiah wrote, saying, "The soul that hath walked worthily by the might of Christ, and hath departed from [this] world, delighteth itself in these countries whither pinions incapable of sufferings have borne it."

## CHAPTER 10. OF THE ELECTION OF THE HOLY MÂR ELIJAH TO BE BISHOP OF MÔKÂN A CITY OF THE BARBARIANS

1 There is a certain city called Môkân, which is [situated] in a country to the north-east, near to the border of the peoples of Dailôm, and its inhabitants are barbarians, and they worship dumb animals. Now when the pious Mâr Timothy had anointed and sent the holy Metropolitans Mâr Yabhlâhâ and Kardagh to Gilân and Dailôm, he wisely determined that he would appoint to the city of Môkân also a shepherd and prosperous husbandman to cultivate the rational souls that were therein, which had been led captive by the Calumniator from days of old. And because he knew by experience, and had found out in very deed that men of might and athletes of valour had gone forth from the divine congregation of the holy Mâr Jacob, and because from these men Mâr Catholicus had appointed fitting persons to all regions and cities [of the world], and because by them wonderful acts of power and glorious cures had been made manifest, he chose from this stock to send to that city also a rod of power as out of Zion, that he might obtain dominion over the demons and devils which were in that wretched city, [where] the sore of destruction had spread abroad. And because he had heard about the extraordinary manner of life of the blessed Elijah, he wrote a letter to him with love and patience, like a wise father to a son who can be easily persuaded, [telling him] to come down to him and he would appoint him Bishop of the city of Môkân.

2 And the pious Elijah answered, saying, "I cannot receive consecration except in the holy temple in which I am, and I would that this [rite] be performed upon me on the holy first day of the week of Pentecost," [wishing] in his simplicity that [he might receive the rite] on the day in which the blessed Apostles received the gifts of the Holy Spirit. And although the time which Mâr Elijah appointed [appeared] to be afar off to the quickened readiness of

the Catholicus, Mâr Timothy put off the time until the day of Pentecost, and he wrote to the pious Nestorius, Metropolitan of Adiabene, who came here (i. e., to Bêth Âbhe) and ordained Mâr Elijah in this temple according to his will; and Mâr Elijah went down to Mâr Timothy who confirmed him, and sent him off with certain merchants who were going into the countries in which Môkân was situated. And the blessed Mâr Abraham the Catholicus related to me concerning him, that instead of a cross on his neck he used to hang upon his breast a complete Book of the Gospels in a small size; and he took with him a cross of brass which, when he required to sing the psalms where he passed the night, he placed on the top of the staff which was in his hand, and he used to drive it into the ground in front of him and pray, and in this manner he acted when he was travelling in terrible places.

3 Now when he was going along the road with the merchants in several companies, and he was following at some distance behind that he might have an opportunity of [singing] a psalm, a certain man had a mule which he was [trying] to keep close to the other animals (now this mule had a heavy load upon his back), and when he was going up through a high, rough and rocky pass, his foot slipped off the rugged rock, and the hoof of his foot was wrenched off and put out of its place. And when the holy Mâr Elijah came up to the man and asked him the reason of his staying behind his companions, behold he wept, and cried and rent his garments, and shewed the spiritual physician the hoof of his animal which had fallen off. Now because that holy old man in the time of his old age made use of olive oil with his dry crust by reason of the cold and feebleness which had fallen upon his stomach through [eating] dry bread and salt, he had with him in his cloak a phial of oil. And he answered and said to the owner of the mule, "Weep not, my son, neither be mournful, for God will heal thy mule easily.

4 And he said to him, "Bring me the hoof," and he took it, and poured upon it [some of] the oil for his food, and salt of wild thyme which he ate, and he laid it upon the leg of the mule, and made the sign of the Cross over it, and said to the man, "Lead on quickly in the name of the Lord, that he may not remain behind his companions; thus he bestowed healing on the animal and joy upon his master. And this was known to all that company of people which was journeying with him into that country, and they praised and confessed the mighty power of Christ by Whose disciples sicknesses were healed without medicines and without drugs.

CHAPTER 11.

1 Of the going in of the blessed mâr elijah to the city of môkân, and of his preaching in it, [and of his return to this monastery, and of the end of his life]. 2 Now when by the hand of God his helper the holy Mâr Elijah arrived at that city of the heathen, and went into it, and saw that the name of God, the Lord of all, and confession of Him did not exist therein at all, but that all the people that were in it offered up worship to dumb trees and senseless stones, and that it was destitute even of the Arabs and Jews who confess One God, the Creator of heaven and earth, he offered up prayer ceaselessly to Christ our Lord on their behalf, that He, Who according to the custom of His graciousness and longsuffering had brought all nations to the worship of His Godhead, might by his means, as by the hand of the Apostles, give to those people a new heart and a new spirit, that they might despise the images and senseless forms which they worshipped, and be converted to the knowledge of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

3 And together with all these [prayers] which he made on their behalf he bore suffering in his heart, and he placed the cross which [he had] with him upon the top of the staff which was in his hand, and during the whole day he went round about in the streets and lanes of the whole city, and preached to the inhabitants with a loud voice, saying, "O men, who have erred from the true knowledge of God, God the Lord of all hath sent me to you to turn you from the error in which ye live. Ye have served enough those things which from their nature are not gods, for without knowledge, and by the agency of daring devils, have ye offered the worship which was due to your Lord to the trees which the earth maketh to grow up for your honour. And having gone round and about the whole day in this preaching of Life, every evening he used to go forth outside the city, and fix the cross [upon his staff], and sing the service for the night and pray until dawn; and when it was morning, and they opened the gates, and [the people] came forth, and saw that he sat openly before the cross they marvelled and were astonished. Now in those days when he came to them, according to the Divine command and the curse of Jeremiah, the evening wolves gained the mastery over them, and all persons who were left outside the [city] wall were devoured mercilessly.

4 And the people having compassion upon him said to the blessed man, "Pass the night with us inside the wall that the wolves devour thee not. And he answered and said to them, "The God Whom I serve will protect me from

the wolves; and this [thing] became to them a great wonder. And when he had tilled, and ploughed, and thrown up [the furrows], and cast the grains of the living wheat of the doctrine of our Lord into their ears, and had covered them up and made [the ground] smooth, he did not gather from them the fruit which he expected, but at one time they mocked at him, and at another they laughed at him. Then the good and merciful God Who saw his labour and toil on their behalf, brought upon them the sickness which is called "Shar'ûṯâ", and their bodies were smitten with ulcers and tumours. And when Mâr Elijah saw them in the depth of their infirmity and saw that they were nigh unto death, he demanded from them that [in return for] the healing of their bodies, [they should] worship his God, and they by reason of the affliction which they were suffering promised, saying, "We will do this at once, and we will become servants of that God Who is able to give us healing, and we will cast aside all our [present] objects of worship, and elect Him [in their stead].

5 And he blessed the oil [taken] from the phial which he had upon him, and by prayer, and the sign of the Cross, and the making mention of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, he healed them all. Now when they were healed of this sickness by the grace of God, and they had seen the mighty deeds and miracles which [Mâr Elijah] worked among the sick, and the devils which he drove out of many [people], their hearts were softened to hearken unto his doctrine. And he began to speak before them concerning God, the Lord of all, and concerning the coming of our Lord Christ into the world, and they were converted by his words, and by the love of his God, and they answered him with one voice, saying, "We have Yazd, whom our grandfathers, fathers and ourselves have worshipped, and we are afraid of the injuries which he may do unto us, lest peradventure when we deny him, he may destroy our lives. If, however, thy God, in Whom thou hast made us to place our trust—for He is [God alone], and there is none other besides Him, and we also have chosen to be His servants and worshippers—is able to slay and destroy him, behold then we are before thee like matter before the handicraftsman, and it is in thy power to do with us according to thy will.

6 Now the holy Mâr Abraham told me—even as if he were standing before God the Lord of all, with His holy angels as witnesses, and I set down [here] his words without alteration—that when those people had said this to the blessed man, he answered and said to them, "Where is this Yazd, the son

of a whore, whom ye and your fathers have served? And they went with him and shewed him from the top of a hill a mighty oak tree, situated in a valley, which was called the "chief of the forest," and which owing to length of time and the care with which they had tended it, had grown to a great height, and had acquired great breadth in its girth, and great density of foliage. And he asked for an axe, and they brought him [one], and he girded up his loins, and rolled up the sleeves of his tunic, and he took the axe like a warrior, and went down to the tree, more especially, however, against the devil which dwelt therein, and lifting up his voice in the courage of his confidence, saying, "The voice of the Lord moveth the hinds to calve, and uprooteth the trees of the forest," he lifted up his axe and brandished it against the tree. And he did it a second time, and a third time, and the tree fell, and he hewed down all its ancient strength and thickness with three strokes of the axe;

7 and he smote and cut down also the rest of the branches which were round about it, and which those erring people called the "children of Yazd. And he lifted up his voice, and with his hand he made signs to those people to come down to him, and they did so, and they gathered together reeds, and pieces of bramble and pieces of dry wood, and laid them on the tree and upon its branches, and burnt them up, and thus the error of that devil ceased. And they all lifted up their voices and glorified God Who had made the blessed Már Elijah to preach to them, as did those [men] who in the days of Elijah the Prophet mocked at Baal and destroyed all his priests; in that case heathen priests were destroyed, and in this case false gods, which by the error of their reproof made devils to abound to the destruction and annihilation of those who were obedient unto them. And after the burning of their images of accursed devils they all went up to that city, being glad and rejoicing in the victory which the soldier of Christ, who had been sent for the conversion and life of their souls, had wrought.

8 And they all began to build the glorious building of a church, and Mâr Elijah ordered it with all its arrangements, and he baptized many of them, and ordained them priests and deacons, and he wrote out psalms for them, and taught them the responses, and thus little by little they became virtuous, and increased, and the grace of Christ grew and dwelt in them. And they received the conviction in their hidden nature that they were in very truth converted from error to the light of life, and they laid fast hold upon the or-

dinances of the seasons of prayer, and the receiving of the Holy Mysteries, and they were sanctified in their manner of life, and the sun of the mind of God shone upon them, Who called them and brought them near, and made them members of His household. And when they were confirmed in their hope, and had become members of the household of this man in all the ordering of the Christians, that blessed man praised and glorified [God], and gave thanks unto our Lord, that the first seed which he had sowed in his plot of ground had come up in seed buds, and had given birth to ears, and had produced wheat and a granary full of wheat and grain. And when he had tarried with them for many years, the holy man was minded to come to this country to worship in the holy monastery of the house of his fathers, and to return.

9 And when he had done this, and had come here, he shewed to all his brethren the conversion of those erring nations which, by his hands, had been converted to life and redemption, and how he had built for them a church, and how he had baptized and sanctified them, and [how] they had become participators in his joy in divine gratitude for these things. And Mâr Jacob the Bishop of the country of Margâ, came to this monastery with certain well-known believers of this country, and he and the whole assembly of monks entreated him not to leave this country to return there before he had gone round about through it, and had blessed its inhabitants, and healed the sick, and visited the smitten that were in it; and certain old and venerable brethren of the congregation were appointed to go round about with him from village to village. And the pious Bishop Jacob wrote to all the believers, saying, "Behold I have entreated the pious and holy Mâr Elijah, Bishop of Môkân, the strenuous soldier of virtue and the doer of mighty deeds, to go forth and round about among all the villages which ye inhabit that ye may be blessed by his holiness. Now therefore any one of you who hath any [cause for] judgment, or who wisheth to receive the laying on of hands for grades of the Holy Church, hath the power to settle the idle matters of his contention before Mâr Elijah and to receive ecclesiastical ordination.

10 And the venerable old man Sergius said to me, "I was one of those who accompanied him from the monastery, and when all the believing men heard [of him] they came out to meet us from a great distance, and they brought us into their churches with service and honour, and a great crowd accompanied us from one village to another; and he healed and made whole

the sick and the afflicted, and cast out devils by the word of his mouth. And heathen and Jews came to be blessed by him, and by his means the praise of God increased in the mouth of the inhabitants of this country who saw the sick that were made whole, and the deaf and the dumb who heard and spake. Now of all his wonders and mighty deeds which he wrought in this country I can only describe and write down one or two, but from these the reader will understand concerning all the mighty deeds of his wonderful acts and boldness of speech with Christ Who made him victorious. And that trustworthy old man Sergius, who went about with him through the whole country said, "He never sat upon an ass during the whole [time] of our going round about through this country. Now he acted thus all his life, for he walked upon his feet at an easy pace, and a psalm was never absent from his mouth.

11 And at the words Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost," which [came] between each marmithâ, he used to bow down and prostrate himself to the ground as a mark of honour, and he did not refrain from this even when he was [walking] upon stones, or briars or any other [thorny] growth, and at every place [in the psalm] where he ought to say the Gloria, he bowed down until he touched the ground with his head. Now when he had arrived at the city of Shahrai, the people saw him and came forth to meet him from this village, and they begged and entreated him to go into the house of a poor Arab woman who was afflicted with an evil devil, and pray for her, and he did so. And when we had gone in he commanded me to say, 'Peace', and he himself prayed and made the sign of the cross before the woman, who was in great affliction and was beaten so mightily by that devil that four women were [obliged to] hold her and to kneel upon her that the devil might not break her to pieces with the blows and beatings with which he rent her. Now the devil through the mouth of that woman began [to give utterance] in the Arabic tongue to wicked blasphemies and horrible abuse of the blessed man.

12 And since he wore hung round his neck the Book of the Gospels instead of a cross", (even as I have written in a preceding passage), "he brought it forth from his bosom, and laid it on the breast of that woman, at the same time anathematising and adjuring the devil to come forth from that woman. And when the devil had acted with great insolence, and had contended against the command of the holy man,—now the holy man was ordering him to depart from her with quietness,—his answers began to fail little by

little. And he answered in the Arabic tongue and said to the blessed man, Where dost thou command me to go, O bishop? And the blessed man answered and said to him, "For the sake of our Lord, thou wilt not be restrained until thou goest to Harran, and moreover, by the word of our Lord thou art bound not to return to this woman again. And as the entire village being gathered together, was listening to the words of the holy man, and the answers of that devil to his speech, the devil began to go forth from her, and he cried out in Arabic, saying, "Ho, let us go to Harran, ho, let us go to Harran," many times, "the road is before us, let us go to Harran.

13 And we heard his voice as he cried out in the air, going towards the west, for a long time, and [then] little by little his voice died away and became inaudible to us in the distance. And fear and trembling laid hold upon all those that were there, and they began to glorify Christ and to magnify his servant the blessed Mâr Elijah; and that woman received a complete cure, and she confessed the power of Christ, and lived freed from the attacks of the devil a life of gratitude to Christ our Lord, and she proclaimed, "There is no true belief except among the holy Christian people." 14 And again, another woman entrusted an exceedingly valuable pledge to a neighbour, and when she demanded it back from her she denied her, saying, "Thou hast never given any pledge to me, and I cannot pay it back. And the defrauded woman drew nigh to this blessed man, and he sent and called the other woman, and said to her, "Behold, the pledge which thy neighbour gave thee is lying in such and such a place in thy house, bring it hither, and defraud her not lest the anger of the Lord come upon thee; and when she saw that she was made a mockery, she at once returned to that woman the things which belonged to her, that she might not be exposed in other matters also. Now very many other things were wrought by the holy man which I need not take the trouble to write down, because I only wish to receive some small blessing from the glorious deeds of these holy men, and to pass on. And when he had gone round about throughout all this country, and had been blessed in his holy steps and had made judicial decisions, and ordained priests and deacons, he came into this monastery.

15 Now when God the Lord of all saw his troubles and afflictions, and the length of his years, and the greatness of his age, in order that he might not die in exile, far away from the house of his fathers, like the blessed Moses whom He buried on Mount Nebo that he might not be disturbed by the war

of the Canaanites, and the slaughter of insolent kings, He willed that this blessed man also should rest from a life full of anxiety and care; and he fell sick of a slight ailment, and so departed from [this] temporary life to the enjoyment of everlasting life. And our holy father Mâr Abraham the Catholicus told me, saying, "While many of us were gathered together about him at the hour of his departure, he sat and spake with us concerning his separation from us. And he commanded us to say the response of baptism [which runs], The doors of the spiritual marriage chamber are opened for the absolution of men," while he sat with his hands laid upon his knees. And when we had come [to the passage] "Enter in then ye that are called to the joy which hath been prepared for you," he opened his mouth three times [to join in the singing], and his soul departed from his body with the joy which was prepared for him.

16 And marvelling we understood that he actually saw and beheld with the hidden eye of his mind the happiness which had been prepared for him, and that it was because of this he had asked us to sing this baptismal response, and that the rest and happiness which is laid up for the righteous baptized firstborn whose [names] are written down in heaven had assumed a visible form. And he was buried with great ceremony and honour by all the congregation of his sons and brethren, and he was laid with the rest of the Bishops and Metropolitans who were before him in the martyrium of this monastery; and is made ready for him with those who are of like rank and garb the enjoyment of heaven, namely the just and righteous in whose footsteps he walked, and in whose manner of life he triumphed. Glory be to Christ our Lord Who made him victorious, and may mercy be shewn upon us sinners by his prayers in this world, and may we participate in his enjoyment in that which is to come, Amen.

## CHAPTER 12. THE HISTORY OF THE BLESSED MÂR NARSAI (NARSES), BISHOP OF THE CITY OF SHENNÂ

1 Now every spiritual gift cometh down from above from the Father of lights, according to the words of the divine James in the Catholic Epistle, and the light which shineth upon our holy temples beareth the mark of spiritual knowledge, according to the affirmation of Evagrius the spiritual philosopher, and according to David, the prophet of the Spirit who said to God, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path," and the Lord of the Prophets and Apostles stated definitely that He was 'the Light of

the world', and that, even as the Scriptures say, "Rivers of living water should flow from the belly" of whomsoever believeth in Him. It is well known then that all the holy men who were authors of works upon the healthful doctrine of orthodoxy, whether of history, or doctrine, or prayer, or admonition, have drunk from the abundant streams of the sweetness of the Gospel, which like the breath of life is placed for the cooling of their bitterness. And they have filled the Church with the spiritual light of the glorious rays of their understanding, and they have enlightened the assemblies of its children, and they have made them to know and to understand that while they make use of those footsteps they must set their own feet in the paths which lead to the height above, where Christ our Lord sitteth on the right hand [of God], and maketh intercession for them, although they do not actually make perfect this ascent except by mysteries and types.

2 And I also, who am subject to all passions, have been obliged through the entreaty of many to write down also the history of the blessed and holy Mâr Narses, Bishop of the city of Kârdîlâbhâdh, which is Shennâ dhê Bêth Rammân, and to teach it together with those of the holy men his companions. And because I am a man lacking all wisdom, from the Light, the Father of light, according to the words of the holy and wise Dionysius, I ask for a gift and the bestowal of power, to enable me to speak and to enter into the sanctuary of the victorious deeds of the holy man concerning whom our speech hath made ready to praise. And I beg and entreat that as He hath bestowed a gift upon others to the praise and glorification of His saints, he will also bestow upon me a sinner, full of hypocrisy through his hateful deeds, a gift that I may speak, if it be only in part, concerning some of the noble deeds of the blessed Mâr Narses, the member of His household.

3 Moreover, I would make known unto those who come across these histories, that according to what I have learned from the gentle-souled Eustathius, the Archdeacon of the holy Mâr Abraham the Catholicus, at the time when he and I were deacons of the Catholicus in the city of the kingdom of the world, after the death of the elect and holy Mâr Narses, that by the encouragement of Bûrzâdh his father, the head of the church at Shennâ, he collected the [accounts of] his noble deeds and sent them to Rabban Ḥabbibhâ, the teacher of the monastery of Mâr Gabriel, that he might weave them into a crown, and glorify them in a history. Now Rabban Ḥabbibhâ having departed from the manner of diction which historical narrative re-

quireth, composed an account in metrical discourses which were to be sung to the 'fourth tone'—a style of composition which doth not at all aid [the writer] to make known acts of piety and persecutions, and moreover this style is appropriate for hymns and for the sweet penitential compositions which are sung to tunes, but not for history. "And when we had seen it", he saith, "we rejected it, and we did not miss it, and the leaves were torn by reason of the lapse of time, and because it was not suitable we have not copied it into our book.

4 But I will now set down in writing, for the gratification of those who have commanded me, some of the things which I have learned from Eustathius, and from the monks who lived in the holy Monastery of Abbá Simon of Shenná, but more especially from the aged monks who were to be found in my days in the holy monastery of Běth Ábhé, and from the Tigris boatmen and fishermen whom I have seen; and taking refuge in the prayers of those who told me the stories, and of those who commanded me to write them, and of readers, and listeners, I will go into the sweet-smelling garden laid out and cultivated by the holy Mâr Narses, and I will write briefly about him, even as I have written about his companions, some few matters to commemorate his holiness.

## CHAPTER 13. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BLESSED MÂR NARSES AND OF HIS COMING TO THIS MONASTERY

1 There was in the country of Běth Běghásh a famous village called Zám, the inhabitants of which were warriors, and they all were mighty men of valour. Not only did they pursue thieves, and make raids, but they also shewed themselves fierce and disobedient to the royal officers who came to them for the imperial taxes, and many of them they fearlessly drove away with blows. From this village then came the blessed man, whose noble deeds I am about to relate, and he and his brother whose name was Shalmân, and his only sister sprang from a family of believers, and from people who were prosperous as regards the affairs of this world. And the manner of life of each brother was as different as that of the blessed Jacob and of Esau, for Shalmân carried a sword and shed the blood, not of the good but of wicked men. And because the Kharêwâyê had at that time begun [to commit acts] of destruction and theft, Shalmân armed himself, and having gathered together a body of men, he put an end to many of the Kharêwâyê by cutting off their heads. And the rumour is reported of him that every day in which he did not lie down upon

the skull of some malefactor whom he had slain with his own hands as upon a pillow, his food was without taste and unpleasant to him.

2 And like Esau he was a man of the chase and a man of the desert, but his brother, the holy Narses, elected to live the ascetic life in an admirable manner, and he firmly stamped into himself—like the impression on a dinâr—the [qualities] of the blessed Jacob, gentleness and sweetness, and praiseworthy obedience to his parents. Now their sister became the wife of the honourable Shâhdôst from the country of Dâsen, who was born at Beth Gâwzâ, and who begat by her the honourable Nâ'mân, that great and famous and rich man, who accepted many offices of government and received dominion over countries from Zuraik and [from] his fathers [who were] governors of Mōṣul and of all the north, and who during the time of his rule made great gifts to the Church, and to her children, and to her directors. And when Rabban Mār Narses had become a young man, having by the care and pains taken about him by his parents been trained in the Holy Scriptures in the church of their native village, at which time each man turneth to the right hand or to the left according to the nature which is implanted in his earthy composition, and sheweth in his manner of life either nobility or depravity of nature, he elected to become a disciple [of purity], and left the house of his fathers, and all the wealth of their possessions;

3 and he despised the love of brethren and of relatives, and came to the holy monastery of Bēth Ābhē, and worked in the monastery, as the canons of the Fathers order; and it came to pass that an accident happened to the advantage of himself and for the benefit of the purity of the body with which he was clothed. Now when he was with the other monks his companions shaking down the olives from the olive trees in the large garden of the community, having gone up into one of the trees he slipped down between the fork of the branches, and his testicles were crushed. And he fell into a severe illness and these members had to be cut off from him altogether, and 4 and a safe-conduct, (Ya'kubī p. 564, l. 18). When Zuraik came to him he sent him to the court of the Khalifa, who at once ordered that all the wealth and possessions of Zuraik and of his family should be confiscated. This order was not, however, strictly carried out, for Fumaid entered into negotiations with Zuraik's brethren, and part of Zuraik's wealth was returned to his family. he became a eunuch. And as it is written concerning this matter by the fathers, and concerning those who cut off their members, "If [the members] have

been cut off by sickness or by barbarians, the canon of the Church doth not reject a man, but let him take upon himself the grades of priesthood, and let him minister, and this shall become to him the merchandize of virginity;" and according to that which the wise man spake, "Woe to the man that worketh impurity upon his couch;" and that which the blessed Evagrius spake warningly, "At the time when [thou art] striving against impurity, excuse thyself from going to thy friend when he shall ask thee;" and from the fact that the fathers commanded us to be remote from the sight of these members—for by the sight of them the fire of desire which is implanted within us is stirred up, and it may happen that we shall not be able to hold ourselves against the force of passion—by the sickness which happened to him Christ our Lord freed him from the necessity of handling and touching those parts which is an absolute loss of chastity. But perhaps the Divine dispensation arranged beforehand these things concerning him, so that when afterwards he should be appointed to act as shepherd to the city of his flock, he might rest in peace from the sight of the beautiful things of this world and its losses.

5 And when he had gone forth from service in the monastery, he built himself a little cell far away from the community (which is well known to this day and in which there still exists an olive tree which the holy man himself planted), to the east of the monastery, and below the [Little] Fortress; and when he had come to dwell in it, he made himself a place for weeping, and as he regarded himself as living in a grave he hid himself therein with humility and weeping of tears. And although he excused himself from the society of those who wished to increase in virtue by reading and conversing and singing the Psalms [with him], yet because he was a neighbour of the holy Mār Cyriacus, whose history I have written a little above, he visited him, and it was sufficient for him. For they had been fellow-workers in the monastery, and contemporaries; they were the children of one love, for they were to become the children of one kingdom; they were the sons of one monastery, for they were about to become heads of the monasteries which are in heaven; one was their communion, for they lived under one directorship; one was their doctrine, for they had been made wise by the Master of teachers; fellows under one yoke were they, for they had both ploughed the same spiritual furrow; two mighty arms were they of one body, and two brilliant eyes were they of one body;

6 and both of them were appointed shepherds of cities, which are [situated] on the great river Tigris, the one to Bâlâdh, and the other to Shennâ. Now the blessed Narses so devoted himself to solitary meditation that he was never seen outside his habitation, and for many days according to the report which I heard handed down from one to another, he never went out even to his outer chamber; but the gain and sweetness from this art with which a man enricheth and enjoyeth himself is only known and made manifest to those who have tasted it, and who have been consumed by the vision of beauty which is produced from thence. "For quietness of the body," saith the blessed Abbâ Isaiah, "begetteth peace of the mind; for by the peace of the mind, and the keeping watch upon the body which resulteth [therefrom], and by prayer and reading, and by the other works of the ascetic life, the soul acquireth unity with Christ, and becometh with Him one spirit. Blessed is the man who endeth his life in such employments, for, being crowned with diadems of light, as it is said, he entereth into heaven. For living in solitude did not magnify and glorify the saints of the new [dispensation] and the righteous men of the new [dispensation only], so that they became gods among men, but heathen philosophers also, before the coming of our Lord, and before the revelation of His dispensation, gained therefrom the riches of sublime and glorious knowledge, and they enriched others [thereby].

7 Pythagoras the master of philosophers, from the experience which he had gained during a long [interval of] time, said, "Without the lying fallow of the body in restraint, and the silence of the tongue from speaking, philosophy can never be acquired. And he commanded all those who were being taught in his school to keep silence for five years, and the entrance to wisdom was taught by him in that school by hearing and sight only. And the wise man Homer, having lived in the desert for many years making his mind to fly about collecting knowledge, arrived at a subtle perception which he received through solitude and silence; and by means of chemicals, and fire, and a furnace he transmuted lead into silver, and brass into gold, and formed precious stones by means of a preparation of herbs, from these common things [about us], and other things from other materials. And concerning Plato, who was wiser in philosophy than all [other men], and who obtained a splendid reputation among the Athenians, it is said and written that he built himself a cell in the heart of the wilderness, beyond the habitation of man, and that he took the covenant of the blessed Moses, and

8 Aristotle, Anaxagoras and others upon metals and their alloys, etc., see Hoefer, Histoire de la Chimie depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à notre époque, Paris, 1842, tom. i. pp. 65, 108ff. On the whole subject of ancient Alchemy (al-kimiyâ, from Gr. chemeia or chemia, which in its turn seems to be derived from an Egyptian word meaning "preparation of the black)," see the excellent article Chemie by Hoffmann in Ladenburg's Handwörterbuch der Chimie (in the Encyklopaedie der Naturwissenschaften, Breslau 1884), Bd. XVI. p. 2, pp. 516—530; Kopp, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chemie, 1869; and the article Pierre Philosophale in Migne, Encyclopédie Théologique, tom. 46, col. 1173. 9 meditated on the verse, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One," for three years, until God, the Lord of all saw his toil and trouble and granted His mercy unto him, and he wrote, saying, "The God of the Jews is one in nature, and three in Persons," and behold this composition on His similarity of nature and unity, and on the Trinity of Persons and their attributes is [extant] in the books of the Church. And it is said concerning him, and written also in another [place], that once when he was occupied in trying to think out some speculation concerning created things, he travailed in [his] mind, and was brought low, and [fell] into great toil and affliction; but when he had plucked out his [earthly] desires, and had become aware of his contemplative power, and had been persuaded from within, [saying] "Verily I have attained unto some of it", he remained silent in joy three whole nights and days without any movement whatever. And the master of physicians, and the teacher of great doctors, Hippocrates the philosopher, by means of all the wisdom which he received from solitude and silence, penetrated deeply with his mind sagaciously into the strife of mental investigations, and he learned to understand how the child is nourished in the womb of its mother.

10 And if upon the heathen who are aliens, and who are remote from spiritual knowledge, God the Lord of all bestowed the wisdom which they sought after, or by reason of their affliction, or as it were for the benefit of others by the labour of the deepest tranquillity and silence and absence from mankind, made them glad, how much [more] to the holy men who keep His commandments, and who train themselves according to His will by hunger and thirst, and suffering, and tears, and prayer day and night, will He give not [only] the wisdom of [this] world, which they have not sought after, but the kingdom for which they suffer, and make them to enjoy the pledge of it

here? 11 Now the holy man Mâr Narses received a gift of the fruits of a tranquil life which is beloved by all the fathers, and which is the completion of all excellence, that is to say a constant flowing of tears which never ceased from him. And an old man from this monastery whose name was Tûmânâ, whom I have mentioned in the history of Rabban Cyriacus, told me that when the blessed Narses came to the congregation he used to wrap himself up in the covering of his cap so that the flowing of his tears might not be seen; now this was also said of him by the believing men of Shennâ. And when one of the brethren asked a certain old man, saying, "How is it, father, that although my soul desireth tears they are not given to it? he replied to him, "My son, tears are the land of promise, for as long as a man is without tears he journeyeth in the wilderness with the children of Israel; but when he arriveth at the gift of tears he entereth into the land of promise. And because this great gift, for which not every man is sufficient, is much needed for the watching of humility, a man should train himself to despise himself and to hold everything in contempt in such a manner as not to be deprived of this great wealth and gift.

12 And let him hearken unto the advice with which the blessed Evagrius ordereth him, saying, "Even though thou shouldst have a fountain of tears in thy prayer, be not in any wise exalted in thyself, [thinking] that thou art greater than many [other men], for thou wilt [only] have received help from thy prayer [when] thou hast discovered [how] to confess thy sins with diligence, and to pacify thy Lord by thy tears. Do not then turn to the passion of pride that which is the destroyer of the passions, lest peradventure thou shalt offend the more Him that hath bestowed grace upon thee; for there are many who have wept for their sins, but because they have forgotten the end and aim of tears they have been smitten with madness. And the blessed Mark the monk saith, "If thou hast tears in thy prayer be not lifted up, for Christ hath drawn near to thine eyes, and thou hast obscurely seen the Light.

13 And because in proportion as the soul is exalted to the height of excellence, mighty adversaries make attacks upon it, according to the words of the holy Evagrius, [let a man] spiritually adorn himself with the deepest humility, and with watchfulness of every thing round about him through abstraction and contemplative power, lest peradventure when he conquereth in the war of fornication, he whom he hath overcome may accidentally ensnare him, and he be led captive by the Evil One to the cruelty of wrath, or even if

he endure this he fall into the abyss of envy and anger, or if he be free from these things he be led astray by avarice and vain-glory. For it is more difficult to preserve excellence than it is to labour for it, even as saith a certain holy man, "If thou shouldst put all the labours of virtue on one side, and the observance of them on the other, the observance of them would outweigh them; for the glory of the actions of a man's life and the purity of his heart are like unto the entrance into the love of his Lord, and Christ will thus sanctify him to be a pure temple unto Him. For in this manner doth act that gracious Lord Who doth not withhold the hire of those who labour in the garden of His Gospel.

14 And when He findeth a pure spot He sanctifieth it for the dwelling of His Will, and crowneth it with the glorious honour of the revelations of His wonders, and when it is manifest to His inscrutable wisdom that the hidden pupils of the eyes of a man, which are within, cannot be injured by the glorious brightness of the beauties of his splendours, He maketh him to be an altar of His revelations, and He maketh the mind to be a priest in the holy of holies of the heart, which is within, with secret hymns of praise which are akin to the holy hymns of spiritual beings. And this holy man concerning whom our insipid narrative relates lived in the enjoyment of such things as these for many years and excelled; but the time draweth nigh, indeed hath already come when he must receive the ordination of the five talents, and must administer like a wise servant the treasures of his master to the members of the house.

### CHAPTER 14. OF THE ELECTION OF THE HOLY MĀR NARSES TO BE BISHOP OF THE CITY OF KĀRDĀLĪĀBHĀDH WHICH IS SHENNĀ

1 Now since the spirit of the Prophets is subject unto Prophets, and [since] revelations conceive a fulfilment before the time for their being carried out hath arrived, because they are made manifest and pointed out by a hand which is of the Holy Spirit, so also according to the spiritual vision which the blessed Mār Cyriacus, Bishop of Bālādh, had seen some years before—as I have made known above—concerning the election of the holy Mār Narses and of many others, the time drew near and came for him to be appointed to the direction of the Church. Now he was made manifest by the hand of God through the blessed father, Shûbhhâl-Mâran, the ascetic and head of the Monastery of Shennâ, the murder of whom we are about to describe in this history, and he made known to those believing men that the Spirit of the

Lord had set apart the holy Mâr Narses, the ascetic from Bêth 'Abhê, to be a shepherd and governor of their church. And Christ also urged them through him to go after him without delay, and they went down to the pious Mâr Timothy, and made known to him that he must ordain as their Bishop Rabban Narses the solitary and ascetic.

2 And Mâr Timothy wrote [and sent] by their hands a canonical letter ordering Mâr Narses not to dispute the Divine choice, and when this blessed man had read it, and saw that in any case he was bound and compelled to appear before the Patriarchal throne, he assented to the Divine Will and departed with them, and was consecrated by the Patriarchal hands and by the prayers of the chief priests, and he was reckoned like Matthias in the series and company of the priests of the Church. How very fitting is it to introduce in this place the Divine word which was spoken by the Lord to the holy prophet Zechariah, saying, "Take of [them of] the captivity, [even] of Hûldi (Heldai), of Tûbhyâ (Tobijah), and of Îdha'yâ (Jedaiah), and go into the house of Josiah the son of Zephaniah, who hath come from Babylon; take his silver and his gold, and make a crown and put [it] on the head of Îshô bar-Yôzâdhâk, the high priest."

3 Now when [Mâr Narses] had gone into his city, and had been received with the ceremony and honour of which his piety was worthy, the city of Shennâ became enviable in the sight of the other cities, and [it was] as if the psalm of the blessed David had been said of them, "The Lord hath multiplied to do these [things] for us," and they had answered, "The Lord hath multiplied to do for us, and we are glad," and again, "The Lord hath brought back upon us His good gifts together with His gracious acts like the water brooks that are in the South. And the holy [Mâr Narses], like a vigilant watchman of the flock which had been entrusted to him, kept a strict and careful watch on all sides upon the sheep of his flock that none of those believing men under his pastoral care might stray in the slightest degree from what was right. And he became like a wall to that flock, and like a spiritual boatman he held the oars of that spiritual ship, and guided it through the storms and waves of [this] world, and brought it to the mansions of heaven.

4 And like a wise gardener he cleansed and purified from it as from a garden all the bad shoots and stubborn roots, and he drew water for the fruit-bearing trees, and he made the sweet herbs to grow up and to flourish, and he protected their fruit that they might not be injured by the wiles of

Satan their adversary, who is accustomed to put tares in the place of choice wheat. And in order that when the account of their reckoning and what they had lost should be demanded from them, he might in very truth give an answer on their behalf, he diligently examined and scrutinized and looked carefully into all the affairs of those under his pastoral charge. And while he was occupied and employed in working with such care as this, and was meditating upon everything which belonged to it by right, the Holy Spirit bestowed upon him another gift of the power of healing, so that every pain and sickness to which his blessing and holy right hand drew near departed without delay from the body in which it was.

5 And he received the spirit of revelation, and attained unto the knowledge of things which were afar off, and as the Prophets and Apostles in their times, the times when justice, and righteousness, and chastity, and piety of life had fled from the world, proclaimed peace upon all men and departed, so the holy man triumphed, and in his days restored the gift of miracles which had been taken away from the world, and the name of Christ was magnified in the mouth of the heathen, and honour was accorded to the solitary and ascetic life through which his holiness had flourished; and until the end of his life his city remained unharmed by any injury either secret or manifest.

## CHAPTER 15.

1 Of The Spiritual CONTEMPLATION AND OF THE INTELLECTUAL PLEASURE IN THE THREE [KINDS OF] SPIRITUAL MEDITATIONS, ON THE CORPOREAL, ON THE INCORPOREAL, AND ON THE HOLY TRINITY, IN WHICH THE HOLY MÂR NARSES WAS TRAINED AND MEDITATED PHILOSOPHICALLY. 2 Certain of the fathers have written in their books that there existeth in the heart a glorious intellectual mirror which the Creator of natures formed from all the visible and spiritual natures which are in creation for the great honour of His image, and as a means for discovering His invisibility; and He made it a tie, and a bond, and a completion of all natures. Now the fathers call it the "beauty of our person," and by Saint Paul it is called the "house of love," and by the doctors the "house of peace," and by the wise the "house of goodness," and by others the "house of joy," in which dwelleth the spirit of adoption which we have received from holy baptism, and upon it shineth the light of grace. And whosoever hath cleansed this mirror of beautiful things from the impurity of the passions and from sin, and hath renewed it and established it in the original

condition of the nature of its creation, can see by the light of its glorious rays all spiritual things which belong to natures and to things of creation which are afar off and which are near. And he is able by the secret power of the Holy Spirit to look into them closely as if they were all arranged in order, without any covering whatever, before his eyes. And when the working of God dawneth upon the souls of holy men there dwelleth and abideth upon it this gift of the Holy Spirit, and He bestoweth this gift upon the good, and maketh them to possess life and happiness for ever. And even thus, according to what I have heard from those who saw his glorious deeds, was the holy man of whom we are about to speak worthy [of this gift].

3 Now there was in the Monastery of the holy Abbâ Simon of Shennâ, an old man whose name was Mârî, and this man related to me concerning the holy man, that inasmuch as the blessed man was endowed with the knowledge [of God], and his mind was continually carried away towards God, he was unable to keep himself from this holy contemplation; and as in [the case of] many [other] things he was prevented from going down to the service of the Holy Mysteries on the first days of the weeks, it was thought by the believers that he acted thus by reason of the weight of his old age. And it came to pass on a certain first day of the week, when he was forced by the elect of God, Rabban Shûbhhâl-Mâran, the head of our monastery, to be with him in the pulpit for the performing of the service of the church, that Mâr Shûbhhâl-Mâran saw that he was occupied in meditating upon this subject and in doing so he saw that he became unconscious of every human feeling and movement, so much so that he was utterly unmindful of the necessary acts which the service of psalmody required, to sit down for the keryânê, and to lead off in the exordia, and he saw that his eyes were closed and that he did not know where he was.

4 And as soon as Rabban Shûbhhâl-Mâran had gone up with him to his cell, he fell at his feet and took an oath, saying, "I will not stand up again until thou shalt have revealed unto me concerning the vision which was seen by thee in the church. And the holy Mâr Narses having required the head of the monastery to keep this matter secret until his death, answered and said to him, "Every time I am in the church during the service of the Mysteries, my mind is lifted up above the sight of these things which are done during the service, and above the church and its congregation, to the things which are in heaven; and these things which are before my eyes are explained [mystic-

ally] by the things which are secret and hidden from every man. The church which is depicted before me [represents] that of Jerusalem which is upon earth; the platform which is in it [represents] Zion; the altar which is in it represents the ark of the Old Covenant; the cross which is upon it, and the Book of the Gospels [represent] the New Covenant and the throne of Christ at the time of His dispensation here, and the connexion which both Covenants possess, each with the other; the body of priests which are in it [represents] the companies of the Apostles; and the path [leading] from the platform to the cupola above the platform the narrow path which goeth up to heaven.

5 The three steps which are before the platform [symbolise] the third heaven whither the blessed Paul was taken up; the ḳestrōmā the place [which extends] from this [earth] to the firmament; the screen which is over the door of the chancel, and the veils which are upon it indicate to me a type of the firmament. The chancel [symbolises] 6 the place which is above the heavens; the naos [symbolizes] the heaven of heavens and the Divine Shechinah; and the veils which are upon it [indicate] that the Godhead is hidden even from the angels. The altar [represents] the throne of the Deity; the priests [represent] the angels, the three congregations of which are in heaven divided into nine companies. The Cherubim, Seraphim and Thrones [which form] chancel from the nave. It stood either upon the third or highest step leading to the or by the side of the lowest step on the floor of the nave. The seems to have been the partition wall to the right and left of the door of the and its width must have been equal to the depth of the three steps. According to this theory the would very well represent the. the first congregation represent to me Patriarchs, Metropolitans and Bishops; the second congregation [which consists] of Powers, Lords and Rulers [represents] priests, and deacons, and solitaries; and the third congregation [which consists] of Principalities, Archangels and Angels [represents] sub-deacons, readers, and believing laymen. The lights which are in the chancel fill the place of Divine splendour, and the knowledge Divine in all things by which all the companies of spiritual beings sparkle and shine. The censer which hath been transmitted by the priests, from hand to hand, in order, from the priests of the early [period] to those of the middle [period], and from the priests of the middle period to those of these last times, [represents] the doctrine of the things which are about to come to pass, and of the things which must needs

be, and which the Divine dispensation demandeth, and which the angels receive by teaching from one another. And the knowledge of things which are about to come to pass, and the insight into things which are hidden, and the

7 are a fiery motion; and the Thrones are a fixed motion. The Lords are a motion which is entrusted with the government of the motions beneath it; the Powers are the minister of the will of God; and Rulers are a motion which hath power over spiritual treasures. This class of angels governs the luminaries, the sun, moon and stars. The Principalities are a defined motion which possesseth the direction of the upper ether, of rain, cloud, lightning, thunder, whirlwinds, tempests, winds, etc.; the Archangels are a swift operative motion which governeth the animal creation and everything that hath life, from the gnat to the elephant; and the Angels are a motion which hath spiritual knowledge of everything that is on earth and in heaven. The number of each one of these classes of angels is equal to the number of all mankind from Adam to the resurrection." 8 zzz gratification and joy which we receive therefrom are like unto the sweet scents which the censer breatheth forth in our holy temples. The gathering of us all in the church [symbolises] the universal assembling which [shall take place] before the face of our Lord in the celestial heights. Our choirs which face each other, and the service which is sung by two choirs, represent those which cry each to each, and say, "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord the mighty One," etc. So then by reason of the contemplation of these things which are before my sight, O chosen one of Christ, I am exalted to the incorporeal congregations of the spiritual beings, and I forget myself, and I pass over by the mental faculty which I abstract from these typical objects to the prototype which is depicted upon my understanding by these things which are above the world. And on account of this many, many times I have kept myself back from going into the holy temple on days of assembling for holy feasts, and since I am occupied in this enjoyment every first day of the week, in order that I may not be accounted a drunkard and remote from knowledge and understanding of those things which are being performed during the festivals, I remain in my cell that I may not appear to be such to the simple and pure minds of the saints. For our Lord when pronouncing the Beatitudes spake, saying, Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see the living God;" and again, "I and my Father will come, and we will make a dwelling with them"; and again, "I will dwell in

you and walk in you, and they shall be one with us, even as Thou and I, O my Father, are one".

9 And moreover this same very aged man Mārī who related to me the things [above] concerning [Mār Narses], also told me saying:—"Once Abbā Shubhhal-Māran asked him concerning the questions and answers of the old men which are written in the Book of Paradise, saying, 'How is it, master, that the excellent Palladius was able to carry in his memory an innumerable multitude of questions and to set them down in writing? Have they not been altered since the time when they were spoken by the fathers and by those who asked them?' And the holy Mār Narses answered him, saying, 'The histories of the holy fathers which have written above them [the statement] that they were composed by him, were actually written by him, but the questions and their answers he gathered together from the collections of the books of the Fathers. Now on the holy days of the Passover, and the Passion, and the Resurrection, when they were going forth from the restraint of fasting, between one service and the other, the holy fathers were accustomed to sit down with the novices before them, and scribes wrote down the questions which were asked and the explanations of them, and counsels, and answers, and they placed them in writing for their own benefit, and for the benefit of those who should come after them; and Divine grace worked upon the holy Bishop Palladius, and he gathered them together'. And this thought hath at times greatly troubled me also, but it was shewn to me secretly that these things were written down in this manner; and it is well known to us that the revelation and knowledge of this [matter] became known unto him by the hand of the holy angel which clave unto him."

## CHAPTER 16. OF THOSE THINGS WHICH WERE WROUGHT BY THE HOLY MÂR NARSES, SOME BY SPIRITUAL VISION, AND SOME BY THE WORKING OF MIRACLES, AND OF THE END OF HIS LIFE

1 If any man desireth to learn concerning all the wonderful acts and mighty deeds of healing which the holy man ever wrought, let him go to that believing city [of Shennâ,] and he will hear about all the glorious and excellent things which were performed by the hands of that holy person, not only from priests and deacons, and ordinary believing men, but also from a host of women and children, for behold, to this day his wonderful acts are spoken of daily. I, however, will write down a few pleasant memorials [of him] out of the many things which I have heard concerning him, even as I have done in

the case of the histories of the holy men his companions, leaving out the remainder which are beyond counting, for I must bring the writing of my history to a close. Now the venerable Eustathius told me that there were certain believing people in the royal city of Bagdad who had an only son about twenty years old, who when he was three years of age had fallen sick of the palsy, and he was grievously afflicted by severe pains for seven years until he became abhorred by his parents by reason of this disease. And they would even have preferred his death [to his being alive]; for he received no benefit at all from the physicians, and he found no relief from the prayers and gifts which his parents distributed on his behalf among the needy.

2 Now the blessed Mâr Narses had a man sick of the palsy in the house of a certain rich God-fearing believer in Bagdad, and one year the holy man went down to see the Catholicus Mâr Timothy. And when those people learned and heard from many concerning the gift of healing which the blessed man possessed, they went to Mâr Catholicus and entreated him to write to the holy man Mâr Narses to command that the boy should be brought to him, so that he might pray over him, that peradventure by [his] help he might receive healing. And he wrote through them [to him], saying, "Inasmuch as thy holiness hath received the gift from the Holy Spirit, which hath prepared for itself the working of mighty deeds, and cures of sicknesses according to thy piety through the virtues of the spirit and of the body which it hath gathered together and placed [in thee], and inasmuch as our Lord hath trusted thee to be steward of His household, and to work wonderful deeds, and hath set me in the third grade of teaching, as the blessed Paul glorieth, and inasmuch as these believing people have required of me to write to thy holiness to command them to bring to thee their sick son who is struggling with disease, I entreat thee to do this, and to let the young man be brought to thee, and to let him be blessed by thy holy right hand;

3 and our Lord Christ shall heal him also of the infirmity which hath become confirmed in him, even as He hath healed others by thy hands". And when the blessed man had read the letter, he commanded them to bring the young man to him. And Eustathius swore that they took the young man, who was lying in his bed upon his back and was unable to turn upon either side, to the upper chamber of the blessed man, and Már Narses commanded them, saying, "Go to your house, and at mid-day come and take away your son. And when they had come back according to his command and the mas-

ters of the house had informed him, he commanded the young man, who had been made whole and sound by the might of the prayer of the blessed man, and he went down the steps of the staircase of the gallery with leaps, like the paralytic whom the Apostles healed in Jerusalem; and he induced and moved all men to give praise to God, the Lord of all, Who had visited our evil generation in the person of this holy man; and this thing was known throughout all the city.

4 And again there lived in the city of Shennâ a well-known believer, who had an only son, who when he was eight years of age departed from this world through the destructive work of magic. And when the blessed man heard the sound of the funeral service with which the boy was being carried to the cemetery, and the noise of the crowd, and the weeping of his parents as they arrived at the door of the church, he stood at the door holding the stick upon which his old age was supported, and commanded them, saying, "Enter in all of you, and [bring] the dead body with you, that we may perform a short service over it in the church"; and the people did so, and the bier was set down in the place where the services were held. And the blessed man commanded every one to bow down in worship and to kneel, and he commanded the parents of the boy to untie the cords and bandages with which he was bound, and he took hold of his hand, and said to him, "By the might of our God, rise up", and the boy sat up alive. And the blessed man answered and said, "The death of your son was an act of magicians, but henceforth fear not, for he shall not suffer this mischance a second time;" and every one glorified God and returned to their houses.

5 Now the blessed man had as a disciple, a certain priest whose name was Cyprian, and this man told [me], saying, "One night while I was sleeping in the outer courtyard [of the house] of the holy man, and he was inside, he came out to me hastily, and stirred and roused me up, and he answered and said to me sadly, 'Rise up, my son, and take with thee a little bread and a jar of water, and a rope, and take with thee a donkey, and go quickly to the ruined village of Hammimâ, and go into a ruined house which is in such and such a place, and behold there is there a dry well into which a man has fallen, and thieves threw him into it two days ago; draw him up and lift him out, and feed him with bread and water, and set him upon the animal and bring him hither'. And I answered and said to him, 'Be patient a little, master, and with the dawn I will set out, for I am afraid lest some harm should

happen to me on the road during the night time.' And the holy man answered and said to me, 'My son, go quickly before that stranger die, and

6 (and note on p. 150); p. 154, and p. 49, l. 5 (and note on p. 153). I will be a pledge to thee that neither evil hap nor injury shall befall thee.' "And", said Cyprian, "through [my] confidence in the word of the blessed man I did what he commanded me, and I went to the ruined village according to the indications which he had given me. And I stood above the well, and I cried out, and there answered me [a man] who chattered like a bird, and I drew him up, and lifted him out, and I brought him to the city to Mâr Narses. And he remained with him until he was healed of the bruises and wounds in his limbs, and with a blessing he bestowed upon him a prayer for the way, and sent him away from his house." "And again, one day at dawn he called me, and said to me, 'Go to-day to the banks of the Tigris and command the sailors that not one of them unmoor his boat to cross over to the other side, that their ships be not broken and sunk, for a violent storm is about to arise through a mighty wind'—now this wind actually arrived—; 'and the boat and all the cargo of every man who doth not receive what I have said shall perish', now it was the season of the great flood when the rivers Tigris and the Little Zâb overflow."

7 "And again, on another occasion, there began to be a pestilence in the city of Mâr Narses, and the believers entreated him to allow them to decree a solemn supplication to God on account of this. And he said to them, 'That we should make a solemn supplication is a good thing to do, but death, which is your master, will not be stayed unless he hath taken from among your souls according to the number which God hath decreed shall be taken from you as a punishment.' Now he privily made known the number to his disciple, and when this limit was reached the sword of death rested and stayed." 8 (became a mighty stream, and it was not hard to understand how very materially this river which Sennacherib tells us he brought to Nineveh (Rawlinson, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, vol. iii. pl. 14, l. 11), must have helped to destroy the palaces of his great city. The yellow Tigris flowed along with its swollen stream at the rate of 5½ or 6 miles an hour, and small rafts reached Bagdad in 4½ days, including stoppages of a few hours each night. The distance from Môṣul to Bagdad viâ Kerkûk is about 300 miles, and I believe the distance by river to be about 400. The greatest flood of the Tigris and Zâb takes place in April. It may be noticed that

Thomas of Margâ used the Syriac form of the Old Assyrian word for "flood"; i. e., = Assyrian mi-lum; see Strassmaier, Wörterverzeichniss, No. 5294, p. 658; Bruno, A Classified List, Leyden 1887, p. 466, No. 11538; Smith, Sennacherib, p. 146, l. 52; Rawlinson, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, vol. I. pl. 57, col. vii. l. 51; and Norris, Assyrian Dictionary, pt. iii. p. 789. Floods on the Tigris are often accompanied by violent south-east winds which literally blow craft up the river or into the banks, and it is necessary to cut the bridges of boats until the wind and stream subside.

9 "Now there was an exceedingly wicked Arab who surpassed all those who lived in his time and after him in his cruelty and plunderings, and his name was Ya'lê bar-Himrân of Beni-Taimlah, which is in this country of Adiabene. And this man having brought himself to execute all wickedness, the [shedding of] blood and the slaughter of men were regarded by him as the slaughter of snakes and scorpions, and his conscience never pricked him because of the blood of the holy men which he cruelly shed. And this man destroyed the Monastery of the holy Rabban Mâr Job, and the Monastery of Bêth Nestorius and the Monastery of Margânâ, and he left many places without an inhabitant. He rode a mare without saddle or bridle, and none of the governors was able to overtake him because he could travel in one night twenty farsah, more or less, at a rapid rate, and while he was heard of in this country to-day, to-morrow he was heard of in a very distant one. Now this utterly wicked man went down to the Monastery of the holy Abbâ Simon, and he went up covertly to the cell of Rabban Shûbhhâl-Mâran, the head of the monastery, and slew him.

10 And it was revealed to the blessed Mâr Narses, and Cyprian his disciple said, 'When deep sleep falleth upon man, with sadness and tears he cried to me, saying, Rise up, my son, and follow me, and let us go to the Monastery of Abbâ Simon;' and we went forth from the church and arrived at the Tigris, and he made the sign of the cross over the water and he took hold of me with his hand, and said to me, 'Come with me, and fear not.' And we crossed over, and went into the monastery, and he sent me to cry out and to knock at the door of the common-room, and the brethren came out, and I took them to him. And he answered and said to them, with tears, 'Woe to you my brethren, for your chief Shûbhhâl-Mâran is slain;' and we all went to his cell, and we found that blessed old man smitten with knife and sword wounds. And upon this a great uproar arose, and that murderer from the top

of a hill answered and said to us, 'I am Yâlê bar-Himrân, and I have slain the head of the monastery; after a time I will come and destroy you all.' The holy Mâr Narses said to him, 'If thou dost ever return here I will dry up the mighty river Tigris.

11 The decree of the Highest hath gone forth against thee, and thou wilt be slain by the governor of the city of Hadhattâ in the village of Esîrenyâ.' And thus our Lord actually did to that murderer, for wishing to come back again to Shennâ, the governor of Hadhattâ slew him in Esîrenyâ according to the word of the holy man'." 12 "And also, one year when I for some reason or other was coming up from the low countries with the boatmen along the banks of the Tigris, there met me above the city of Hadhattâ a certain fisherman whose name was Hêshim, and who having tied up his large net was wishing to cast his gâwpâ into the river. 13 And he lifted it up in his right hand, and spake with his mouth, saying, 'In the name of the living God, and by the prayer of the holy Mâr Narses.' And I said to him, 'How is it that being an Arab thou didst call upon the holy Mâr Narses, a Christian teacher, to help thee by his prayers?' He said to me, 'Upon which Mâr Narses thinkest thou that I called?' And I said to him, 'As I think, Mâr Narses the teacher who lived in Nisibis.' He said to me, 'That Mâr Narses upon whom I called was the blessed Mâr Narses who was Bishop of Shennâ. For when I was a boy with my father and we were fishing there, we used to see him continually crossing over upon the water at night-time from his city to the Monastery of Rabban Simon, and back again from the monastery to the city. And when he perceived that we had seen him, he sent his disciple after us early one day, and called my father to him, and he prayed and entreated of him that he would reveal [this] to no man until [after] the holy man's death. And he blessed us, and said to us, Every time ye fish, and ye make mention of the living name of God, the Lord of all, and the name of my sinfulness, an abundant catch of fish shall be brought back to you in a full net; and from that time to this, whenever we have made mention of that holy man, we have made a large haul of fish in the Tigris."

14 "And again, there was a certain Arab who had never taken anything from any man by fraud or injury, and he was in want, and he went out one night to go and plunder and steal. And after the death of the blessed man he said, 'I went out to steal, being in want, and I crossed over the Zâb and went to the neighbourhood of Ekrôntâ, I and two members of my household, and

we took from there many sheep, and a quantity of other things, and we left the guardians who were there strongly bound and beaten. And when we were in the plain opposite Shennâ, behold the blessed man himself was coming towards us, and he met us above the Monastery which is named after Bar-Gâmêsh. And when the mare which I was riding saw him—now it was a dark night without a moon—she pricked up her ears, and threw up her neck, and I knew that something had appeared to her; and I laid the pointed end of the spear on [her head] between her ears, and let go of the bridle, and she charged straight ahead against the blessed man who was coming on towards us without fear.

15 And when I saw him I lifted up the spear and wished to drive it into him, and he answered in the Syriac tongue, and smiling said to me, O thou that hast a spear and a mare, smite me not.' And I answered and said to him, 'Who art thou?' And he said to me, 'I am Narses the Bishop.' And I got down from the mare and fell at his feet, for I was acquainted with the beauty of his holiness. And I said to him again, 'How hast thou come hither at this time [of night]? and who ferried thee across the river? and for what cause hast thou troubled thyself [to come out] at this time [of night]?' He said to me, 'I have come out for thy deliverance, and the Lord Who desireth not that thou shouldst live before Him a life of theft and fraud hath sent me;

16 now take back everything which thou hast with thee, and go and set free those men from their bonds, and hand over to them everything which thou hast taken, and come to me to my cell to-morrow privily, and I will give to thee more than that which thou hast taken by wickedness.' And when I saw that the man possessed so great renown that God had informed him concerning the iniquity which had taken place by my hands, and that God had not allowed me to be polluted by sins which I had never committed in the days of my youth, I promised him that I would readily do it, and I did according to his will. Next morning I went to him without delay, and he brought out five hundred züzé and gave to me, and he said to me, 'Buy thyself two yoke of asses, and buy wheat and sow a field, and behold thou shalt gather in a crop a hundredfold, and our Lord will make thee rich, and thou wilt not need to perform this disgraceful work; and it came to pass according to his word, and I gathered fruit a hundredfold, and by his blessing from being a poor man I became rich.'"

17 Now if I were to write down all his acts, how many sick he healed, how many evil devils he drove out from men, and what temptations and trials he endured from bad and vicious men, as well as all his glorious deeds, I think that much time would not be sufficient for this, and that many volumes would not contain the multitude of mighty deeds and wonders which Christ wrought by his hands; and from the time when we began to write our history until now, it hath not been our intention [to do this], but only to give a brief account of each one of the holy fathers. So [Mâr Narses] finished the rest of his days, and rested in peace with all the just and upright men, and his holy body was laid in the holy church of that city, where the holy fathers [who were] Bishops before him lie; and his holy body in that holy church in which he performed the duties of priest, became a haven of help and a fountain of healing for all those who were attacked by any kind of pain and temptation, whether of bodily sickness, or affliction by cruel devils. May our Lord also shew compassion upon us by his prayers, that the remainder of our days may be made perfect according to His good will and pleasure, and may we make praise to ascend to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for ever and ever, Amen.

### CHAPTER 17. THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY ABBÂ JOSEPH

1 The greater number of the histories which I have written before this I have written down in order from hearsay and from tradition handed down from one [man] to the other; but the present history, which is now in my hands and which my discourse wisheth to set forth clearly, concerneth the holy and blessed life of Rabban Joseph, of whom I was a contemporary. And moreover I have been blessed by that God-worthy old man, for he departed from affairs of this mortal life to the everlasting house of light in the first year of my coming to this holy monastery [of Bêth 'Abhê]. Now this blessed man came from the country of Bêth Garmai, from the district called Bêth Mêshainânê, which is situated on the Lower Zâb, and from his youth up he was a disciple in this your monastery of Bêth Âbhê. And from the beginning of his coming out from the world he expelled from his heart all noxious thoughts and emotions, and he renounced every material thing absolutely, and he built himself a cell in that valley which is called Dakhyâ; and he dwelt therein all the days of his life with absolute poverty of the spirit, and he did not possess, according to what is said [about him, the quality] which may be called friendly affection.

2 During the whole period of his life he had neither companion nor disciple, and he either collected wheat from a little plot of cultivated ground which he had before his cell, or he went out to harvest with his fellow [monks], and from this he supplied his want in a very sparing manner. And in addition to all his excellent virtues, I observed also in that holy person, of whose prayers I am in need, the following method which he observed for guarding his feelings: namely, that he always looked straight before him, and that even when he was in his cell he never moved his neck to this side or to that to look at any place, so that the nerves of his neck and shoulders which went up his head, according to the arrangement of our natural construction, had become dried up, and he was only able to see such things as were quite near him at his feet, but other things which were a little way off, either to this side or to that, he could not see at all. The very old solitaries whom I found told [me] concerning him: "For forty years he has neither lifted up [his head], nor seen the ceiling of this temple," even as it is written of a monk like unto himself, "His eyes were destroyed, and his eyelids were worn away, and the flesh beneath them was seared and blackened by reason of the perpetual flow of his tears;" and he ended his life peacefully, wishing to be known to no man, nor to be considered by any.

3 At that time when I was his contemporary the thievish Kartēwāyē came against us in great numbers, and they spoiled and seized all the monastery, and they went into all the cells, and took everything which they found; now since we all had taken refuge in flight to every hill, there was the greater opportunity for them to go about quietly through all the common-rooms of the monastery and the cells, for it was daytime. And when they had set out and departed from the monastery, we all went back, and one of the brethren [who were] the neighbours of Abbá Joseph went to see what had happened to that holy old man, and he found him sleeping the mid-day sleep in the little doorway of his habitation with the door open upon the old man for coolness. And he asked him, saying, "Father, whither didst thou flee from before the Kartêwâyê who came against us this day, and who have carried off all our property?" And being astonished he answered and said, "My son, I did not perceive that thieves had been here;" thus did God guard that man from harm and trouble by those thieves.

4 Now the pious Ḥakimâ, Bishop of Ghâwkai—now one day I went to this blessed man to ask for his prayers, and to be blessed by him—told me

[saying], "When I knocked [at his door] and he opened [it] to me, I sat down with him for a little, and [as] he dismissed me to go forth he brought out and gave me a small bowl, the like of which for manner of make and appearance I had never seen. And he answered and said to me, 'Give this, my son, to such and such an old man, and take it for him as a gift of grace and say to him, Thy gift of grace is accepted, for since thou didst bring me cooked food in this bowl for three days [at a time] nothing was lacking to me.' For behold the Angel of the Lord had brought food to him even as He sent food to Daniel by the hands

5 No. 3892; Strassmaier, Wörterverzeichnis, No. 59, p. 13, and for the form a-bu-la see The Tell el-Amarna tablets in the British Museum, p. 87, No. 42, l. 39. For the Greek embolos see Du Cange, Glossarium, col. 378, and for native explanations of see Payne Smith, Thes., col. 11; Duval, Lexicon, col. 12; and Hoffmann, Syr.-Arab. Glossen, No. 30, p. 6. of Habakkuk, from Judah to Babylon. And I am certain that such was really the case, for when I had taken the bowl to that old man, and had repeated to him these things which Abbâ Joseph had said to me, he swore to me and assured me with an oath, saying, 'It is more than a year since I went to the cell of that blessed man.' Now the angel of the Lord in the form of that old man, had appeared to Abbâ Joseph, who bore hunger inside the door of his cell and who never went outside to knock at any human door to supply his need."

6 Now there was in this monastery a man whose name was Pálôhâ, and he was a hireling of the monastery, and was sent by those who were over the affairs of the monastery to cut wood [and to bring it] in a boat. Now Rabban Joseph had the day before gone to the holy Monastery of Rabban Mâr Îshô'-Zêkhâ, which is called Gâṣṣâ, and at the break of day he turned to come back, and Pálôhâ saw the holy man on the other side of the river, and he recognized that it was he; and he saw that when he had drawn near to the Zâb he made the sign of the cross and crossed over upon the top of the water, and he drew near to him and saluted him. And when the old man saw and knew that Pálôhâ had perceived him care afflicted him, and he was troubled, and he adjured him, saying, "Thou art forbidden by the word of our Lord to make known what thou hast seen until I depart [this] life;" and he left him and came to his cell. And Pâlôhâ, paying no heed to the ban, neither fearing the oaths, related this before the whole brotherhood.

7 Now when I lived in the service of the monastery I used to pasture a few cattle which we had in the monastery in the woods [which were] in the valley near the cemetery, and I heard from within the thicket the sound of bitter weeping, like that of one fastened in the stocks. And at the noise of the mournful outcries I went softly into [the thicket] and found Abbâ Joseph sitting on the ground among the grass and plants and flowers—now it was the time of the month of Îyâr—and I saw him gathering dry grasses from among the green grass, which he brought with his hands before his face, and weeping bitterly he said, "The days of man are like the grass, and he groweth up like the herb of the field, which when the wind hath blown over it is not, neither is its place known; and again, "Man is like unto a vapour, and his days pass like a shadow; and he laid them down upon the ground. And again he gathered other grasses and after he had weeded out all the old, he passed his hand softly over the new, and embracing them said, "Verily the generations of flesh and blood are like unto the leaves of trees, some of which fade and fall, and some of which grow up; and he repeated these [words] with mournful sighs and groans while tears flowed down from his eyes abundantly.

8 And again he took some of the beautiful flowers, and looking at them sweetly he groaned, and said to God, "Glory be to Thee, O Creator of all [things], how beautiful are Thy works. Now I standing silently above him marvelled at the wonderful things that I saw, and how that holy old man was able to weep over such contemptible and despicable matters with so great a weeping which others could not have wept even had they been beaten. And after his great weeping and his bitter outcries, he started up with gratitude to God, and there sprang up gladness within him, and like David, his mouth was filled with laughter, and his tongue with praise, and he took some of those flowers which were in front of him in his hand, and bringing them near to his nose, he lifted up his voice and sang in metre the whole of the hymn of Hosannas, "The rose, and the lilies, and the blossoms, and the spring flowers are very lovely in their appearance; and without being perceived, for he would have been angry, I left him and went away. There are many things about him [which I could tell], but I pass over them all that I may not burden this discourse with too much weight, and that it may not become longer than its fellows. Now when this holy man died he was alone

in his cell, and he departed this life without a servant, for no man ministered unto him during his illness;

9 but the holy Rabban Peter his fellow-soldier knew of it, but whether by divine revelation, or whether because he went to visit him is hidden from us, and he made known to us concerning his death. And the funeral service was said over his venerable body and it was laid in the common sepulchre of the monastery near the oratory; may we receive a blessing through it, and may we be helped by his prayers, Amen. 10 Here endeth the history of the holy men who lived in the Monastery of Bêth 'Abhê. Permit me to inform thy love, O Mâr 'Abd-Îshô', and every one who shall peruse these lines that I am not to be blamed because I have not been able to write these histories with polished speech and with learned words skilfully strung together. For I have not done it as well as I could have wished, but according to my power and as I was able, and that which [is done] according to [a man's] power is beloved by God and [resteth] upon Him. To God the Cause of all things, the Supporter of all things, and the Administrator of all things, be glory, and honour, and praise, and worship, and thanksgiving, now and always, and for ever and ever, Amen. Here end the five Books of the triumphs of the holy Fathers.

## BOOK VI — CHAPTER 1.

1 The histories of rabban cyprian and of rabban gabriel the holy head of the monastery which is in the district of bîrtâ, in the country of margâ, composed by the pious thomas. 2 According to what the holy fathers say, the rational soul possesseth three powers, desire, anger, and thought, and from these, as from fathers and mothers, are produced the other powers. From desire spring chastity, love, and patience; from anger, strength and fortitude, and from thought understanding, wisdom and knowledge. From these, according to what say the holy writers on the ascetic and monastic life, is propagated in the God-loving heart every work upon which as by stories, the spiritual building riseth and with which the mind, which is wise in Divine matters, buildeth up and completeth the whole tower which mounteth up to heaven. Now the labours and habits of life which are wrought by holy men and which have repentance as their aim, namely, fasting, watching, bowing of the whole body and head to the ground, and prayers themselves, are the primary matters and materials for the ascetic life; and services of Psalms, self-denial, tears, contrition, readings of the Scriptures, patience, seriousness, chastity, voluntary poverty, silence, meditation on divine matters, the des-

pising of self, the fleeing away from men, the struggling, and the sitting apart quietly in the cell: these are all the various things which purify the understanding [which] loveth prudence. These, and more than these, needeth the labour of monks which is performed with correct aim and for the sake of the glory of the world which is to come. And the blessed Mark the monk grouped these things under the three comprehensive heads of the ascetic life, namely, "that a man should pray without ceasing;

3 that he should cleanse his thoughts; and that he should endure those things which happen. Wherefore when the soul of him that would be perfect in these things hath entered into them, it hath already become a dwelling-place for the Holy Spirit; and hath trodden the passions under foot; and hath become exalted above the body; and hath yoked it beneath itself like a chariot; and like a strenuous charioteer it pursueth after the passions and treadeth under foot the desires of the body; and like a fire blazing with the love of our Lord it burneth up all humidity [of the body] which is placed as an obstacle in the burning path of Christ; and it is filled with love towards its neighbour, from which love for God is produced, and concerning which the divine Apostle John saith in his Catholic Epistle, "He that thinketh he loveth God, but who loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? [Thus] thou seest that love to God is produced by love to man. And [this] soul despiseth the hostile disposition and all the crafty duplicity of the devils which are its enemies, and by the Divine help in which it taketh refuge it cutteth to pieces their snares, and dissipateth their crafts and wiles, and becometh a mansion of Christ, and He, and His Father, and His Spirit come and make their dwelling with it.

4 And it attaineth the heavenly rest and the Sabbath peace in that mystical feast which the tried fathers who have penetrated into the mysteries of the new world have celebrated in the secrecy of their pure minds, by a bond of perfect unity which is joined to its object and which is superior to this world, and which can never be explained by created beings with a tongue of flesh, and which is filled on all sides with understanding which is superior to the learning of books, and the mind plungeth into the obscure and concealed domain of their dark hiding place, and emergeth into the splendour of their enjoyments and forgetteth the world and everything which is in it. And it happeneth that twice and thrice a day [the mind] is absorbed there without perceiving it, even as it is said concerning every one of the holy men, and ac-

cording also to what happened to Abbâ Sisoes, who when his disciple knocked at the door of his cell to come in cried out, saying, "Be gone, Abraham, and come not in hither, for this place will not suffice [for thee]"; and according to that which [happened] to Abbâ Bessarion, and which was wrought for the blessed Macarius and others. Observe then to what [height] is exalted the dust of Adam, which is formed with the clay of passions and moistened with the water of wandering from what is right.

5 So mayest thou know that when man is purified from the passions which are within [him] and without, and his course moveth in a supernatural place, he will be able to illumine all deep places, and to throw light into the deepest wells; and thus the spiritual eye, which is the understanding, shineth and illumineth others, like a polished mirror which when placed opposite the sun, also reflecteth in the same manner the glorious rays which overcome the pupils of eyes of flesh. To such degrees and to such great glory were lifted up the holy men, who were superior to the world in their lives and actions, and concerning whom our feeble narrative wisheth to relate, that is to say, Rabban Cyprian the anchorite and ascetic, by whose hands the Lord completed a holy monastery in the district of Bîrtâ towards the end of his life, and with him was the holy Abbâ Gabriel who also triumphed in this monastery. But before we involve ourselves in these histories and write down their noble deeds for prudent readers, we will lift ourselves above our narrative a little, and introduce into this history [some] mention of the holy anchorites who lived in this country, by whose rays our part of the world was illumined, and who made the country of Margâ to possess a splendid appearance [such] as it never possessed before; and they made it the abode of their holiness, and the scene of their labours in the caves, and habitations, and monasteries which they planted therein.

6 I speak now concerning the holy Monastery of Rîshâ, in which according to what the historians of times and kings say, seven Bishops lived at the beginning, but in which subsequently many [more] lived; and the Monastery of the holy Mâr Ephraim the monk, who lived for the whole period of his life in a double cave, [which was situated] in a place called "Ammîkê" or "Nahlâ dhê Nahrâ", far away from all human intercourse and affairs; and also of the blessed 'Anân-Îshô', that famous and triumphant man, whose monastery which was [situated] above Hêtârâ excelled preeminently in mighty deeds and miracles; and of the holy Mâr Îth Allâhâ, who passed his whole life

in the perfection of ascetic acts and deeds in a small hole in the rock above the village of Lalêsh; and of the blessed Îshô' Râhmêh, to the name of whose piety the Monastery of Beṭmâ was built, the glorious things of whose shrine are still spoken of by the wise and prudent;

7 and of the blessed Hebhishâ whose booth was fixed near the village of Hennes, and the resting place of whose bones and of those of the holy men who were his companions was revealed in our days by the hands of venerable men;—now when thou goest into that cave and seest the crosses hewn out of rock [which] hath never [before] been subject to the [chisel of] steel, fixed there as marks of honour for a testimony of the holiness of those monks, and how the tablets above their coffins are hewn out, and how little holes (or channels) have been left [in the coffins] for the sweet odour from their dust [to come out], thou must marvel and admire—and also of the holy Mâr Addai, whose Monastery was called Râmâ, the strength of which testifies to the solitude of his dwelling place, in which, according to what is said, many mighty deeds and miracles were wrought for all men. And of this company were the holy Gregory, whose holy monastery was [situated] near the village of Berbêli; and the blessed Mâr Isaac the ascetic, who made his habitation in the territory of the village

8 and Payne Smith, Thes., col. 300. The form i. e., stomoma also occurs; see Payne Smith, Thes., col. 2601. Ḥarbai, and lived a life remote from all visible things; and the blessed Mâr John, concerning whom we will speak later, who dwelt in a cave like unto a grave in a place which is called Nêrabh Barzai, and who wrought signs and wonders like the Apostles in the conversion of the village of Kôph to belief [in Christ]; and the blessed Mâr Abhâ, who built a monastery in a mountain ravine on the Outer Rishâ above the village of Bêth Zêâṭâ, which is Bêth Sâṭi, where he ended his days, at a good old age, and in a course of life which was superior to the world; and the blessed Mâr Abraham, the dust of whose limbs worketh many mighty deeds unto this day. And a fellow-worker of his was the holy Mâr Aḥâ, who ended the strife of his life of an anchorite in a little cave in a mountain gorge near the Zâb, and he was a fountain of help to all the countries round about him. Now these men were, according to what the early writers say concerning them, bishops and ascetics. And at the time when the abominable doctrine of Arius the heretic was blazing forth, during the reign of Valens the Emperor and of his wicked companions, who tyrannically persecuted the orthodox

who would not accept their doctrine, by reason of the insolence and cruelty of those who persecuted them these men fled from the countries of the Greeks, and came to this land of the east, and preferred rather to live in tribulation, and in banishment from their native lands and relatives, than to be near their persecutors, and to be tormented by acquiescence with the diseased doctrine of heretics.

9 Now once, when [the sense of] what was right urged me to go round about and to pray in their caves where they had lived, I went into them with great reverence, and I understood the affliction and tribulation of their lives, to which the very places where they lived testify, and I was exceedingly sorry and very much grieved, and at once I blamed the teachers who were found in their days, [teachers who] perhaps had been esteemed worthy to see these men, or to behold their wonderful works, because [the sense of] what was right had not urged and obliged them to set down in writing some matters of the noble acts and deeds of such anchorites as 3rd century A. D., and died at Constantinople A. D. 336. For his life and doctrines see Sozomen, Hist. Eccles., I. 15; Socrates, Hist. Eccles., I. 4, 38; Theodoret, Hist. Eccles., I. 5; Epiphanius, Haeres. 69. 6, 60; Rufinus, Hist. Eccles., I. 13; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. XXI.

10 these; for it is more evident than the sun at noon-day that signs, and mighty deeds, and noble acts must have been exhibited by them to the believing men who lived in their days. And when I had returned from there, that is to say from the clefts and holes of the holy men in the rocks above, I went also into the Monastery of the holy Mār Cyprian the ascetic, which was situated in the vicinity of [the caves of] these holy men, and I enquired also concerning the holy men who were therein, and if they had any histories of them in their possession which I could read, and with which I could satisfy my eager desire [to know] their triumphs. And the brethren who were therein brought out and gave to me some incomplete narratives, in which there were, however, some few materials relating to the triumphs of the mighty deeds of the holy Rabban Cyprian, and of the blessed Gabriel, and of Paul his brother, from which I could learn whence they came, and how and where they became disciples, and how they lived, and in what manner they ended their days.

11 And when I had gone through them, although they were written in a simple manner by men who loved God, I thanked our Lord and offered up

grateful thanks for the gift of the zeal of the ascetic brethren who lived in this monastery during the life-time of these fathers, who had not been negligent like the early [writers] and passed over all the noble acts and deeds of these holy men. And I dared—now such boldness as this is praiseworthy, because it stirreth up those who listen to the praise of God—to collect from the materials of their most excellent works a spiritual treatise in writing, upon which the brethren [and] ascetics who are in this monastery may meditate, as well as the priests and believing men who are desirous of hearing about the glorious works of these men who are [now] captains of the hosts of the kingdom of heaven. Now first we will make ready our discourse to speak concerning the thrice blessed and holy Rabban Cyprian the ascetic, and we will set down in writing the blessed things of his victorious deeds before wise and prudent readers and listeners, for he lived a long time before Rabban Gabriel, and he was the origin and father of this holy assembly. We will begin, then, to relate [his] history, and may the Divine grace through his prayers be with us, and may our discourse, through Christ Who strengthened him, be a benefit [to all].

12 Here endeth the Prologue and First Chapter.

## CHAPTER 2. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BLESSED CYPRIAN, AND OF HIS TRAINING AT SCHOOL, AND OF HIS GOING TO JERUSALEM

1 There is in the country of Margâ a district, the name of which is Birtâ, and in this district is a village, the name of which is Béth Magûshâ, and it would seem that it received its name and title from the leaning which its former lords and inhabitants had to Magianism, and from this village the blessed Cyprian is said to have sprung. And having been born of believing parents, he was brought up by them in an excellent manner, and carrying out the Apostolic command which [saith], "Fathers, provoke not your children, but bring them up in the instruction and teaching of our Lord", they laboured with all their might in the teaching of the blessed Cyprian; and because a new plant maketh use of everything, and the Lord knoweth those that are His, grace at an early period manifested in him the sign of its working. And having read for a short time the Psalms and the subjects which children are taught in their village church, he arrived at the state of being a young man, when every man doeth his own will and pleasure, without let or hindrance, and he chose these things which belong to the Spirit, and dedicated himself

to the service of the Lord, and wandered about as a pilgrim in foreign countries.

2 So then he departed to the holy school in the village of Makkabhâ—now it was flourishing greatly during his days—where he was thoroughly trained in all the glorious doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, and in the books on the dispensation of life, and in expositions of them. And when he arrived at the state of perfect manhood, because he like Samuel, and Jeremiah, and the other holy men, had been set apart aforetime to be a soldier and a member of the household of the heavenly Lordship, and because he had been ordained to be the cause of great benefits at a time when [important] matters began to run their course, He that knoweth hidden things, and things which are about to happen, and things which are afar off, did not fail to give to that blessingworthy person an indication of His providential dispensation that he should become and be called a portion of eternity. And with what result? He inflamed his heart and set on fire his mind with the desire, hotter than fire, of going to Jerusalem to see the holy place where Christ our Lord manifested to mankind His bodily dispensation for the sake of their redemption.

3 And being involved in this thought and determination he prepared to begin the plan of his journey with hot and zealous steps directed thither, and having renounced earthly love, and made himself an alien to the love for parents, and brethren, and human kind, and all his kindred, he laid upon himself the holy Book of the Gospels, and thus like an athlete he began to depart; and he brought his journey to an end in hot haste, letting pass places of tarrying for rest, like a man who hurries home to his father's house and to his family whom he hath not seen for a long time. And when he had arrived in Jerusalem and had worshipped in all the holy places, the place where Christ was baptized in the Jordan, and the Temple, and Golgotha, and the Sepulchre, and the Upper Chamber, and the Mount of Olives, [places] in which the redemption of our race by a Son of our nature was completed, his soul rejoiced, and his spirit was satisfied, and he rested from the toil and weariness of his way; and he praised and glorified Him, by trust in Whom he had been anxious to travel and to see the places which the adorable footsteps [had trodden].

4 From thence he set out to go to Mount Sinai in Arabia, and in this mountain [he went into] the cave in which the blessed Moses had lived, and in which the Lord shewed him the constitution of all this universe, and

where he composed the words of the Spirit, and where also God had spoken with Elijah the great Prophet, and he offered up the sacrifice of praise to the Lord like sweet-smelling odours; and our Lord made His light to shine upon the understanding of the holy young man, and He prepared him to journey uprightly along the path in which there is no blame. From thence he directed the course of his journey straight to Alexandria, and from this [city] he went to the Egyptian desert, where he stayed some time going about among the monasteries of the holy men who lived in the desert; and he worshipped at the graves of the righteous and holy Antonius, and Pachomius, and Evagrius, and Arsenius, and Macarius, and Serapion. And from the sight of the holy men who were there and from their labours he gained a good type and example for himself. And just as the bee that is skilful in her handicraft formeth and buildeth up the honeycomb in her dwelling from [various] herbs and grasses, so also did this holy man gather together habits of the monastic life from each of the holy men and did perfect them in himself;

5 and having become initiated into all the monastic life, and having endued himself with the venerable garb of the monks in one of the monasteries of the orthodox which were there, and having laboured in the service of the community according to the canon of the fathers, and having lived in that monastery a considerable time, the chosen vessel deemed that henceforth he might become an anchorite.

### CHAPTER 3. OF THE DEPARTURE OF THE HOLY CYPRIAN FROM THE DESERT TO AN ISLAND OF GREECE

1 Now the holy Cyprian heard of a solitary island in the territory of the Greeks in which palms and fruits for food were found, and although there might be men living there he would have no need for the services of man; and he persuaded certain traders of the sea, and they carried him in their ship and brought him thither. And when he had gone into the interior he praised God, the Lord of all, who had prepared that place for him, and he rejoiced in it and loved it, and it seemed to him as if he were in the Paradise of Eden. And thus he took advantage of tranquil solitude to fast, and also to pray and to sing Psalms, and from these [arose] prayer and supplication, which [lasted] day and night, to Him Who loved and Who walked [over] sea and land to fulfil His will in the renunciation of every thing. Now he tarried there a long time without the knowledge of [any] man, delighting in the desert and training himself in all the most severe and minute details and

particulars of the ascetic life, at the same time sparingly sustaining his life with dates and vegetables and herbs which he took from the earth. How many were the fierce strifes and afflictions which this valiant athlete endured there from the passions of the body and the wickedness of obstinate devils it is not for us to write;

2 but those who have occupied themselves for a long time with the affairs of the solitary life and with the life of an anchorite [know] how hard it is to lead that life, and how difficult, and what fierce enemies attack the wretched monk, and how he eateth [his bread] day and night with the tears of his eyes, and with bitterness. As for consolation it is far from him; as for wars, they surround him on all sides; and helpers he has none. So then, considering contests and strifes of absolute necessity he was entirely collected in his mind, and he was afraid lest the thought which awoke in him irritatingly would put an end to his contemplation, and would destroy in the twinkling of an eye all his life-long labour; for, as Paul saith, his contest "was not against flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers, and against the rulers of darkness of this world, and against evil spirits under the heavens". His labour was [his] furnace, that [he might go forth] like gold which is tried and tested by the fire. There in the desert he was victorious, and he was profited by afflictions by which as the body melted away and gradually disappeared, the soul shone and became radiant to meet the riches of glorious things after its sufferings and afflictions; for in proportion as the soul entereth into sublime things and becometh exalted, so do its fierce enemies attack it.

3 So then [we cannot] relate concerning the strifes of this mighty man of strength, for they are secret and hidden from us. 4 Now after he had tarried there for the space of many years he became known even unto the traders in this wise: it came to pass that they once touched that island to brace up their ship which had been greatly shaken by the violence of the waves, and certain of the crew wandered about hither and thither in the island. And they had heard about him from those who had brought him over there when he first came to that island, and when they saw from a distance the palm trees of his garden they knew that the man of God dwelt there. And they went, and found him, and drew near to him, and were blessed by the holy man whom they sought, and they left with him some of their provisions, and received a blessing from him and departed. And this was the cause of his being per-

ceived there by men and becoming well known. And after his strugglings and strivings which [took place] there our Lord made him to flourish in all the excellence of a perfect ascetic life, and not only were healed those who came to him, but even those who were afar off, and who could not see him, when they called upon the name of the God of Cyprian the anchorite, speedily received healing of their sicknesses.

5 And likewise also the seamen who went down into the sea, when they were in trouble through the raging of the sea, [called upon] the name of the holy man, and the waves became quiet by his prayer, and the billows of the sea subsided. Now when he had lived full forty years in that desert, and had gathered to himself riches of which he could not be despoiled, and had laid up all his treasure in heaven above, according to the Redeeming word, and had received from the Lord all things which could perfect His will, and had become instead of a creature of soul and body, a man of the Spirit, the holy angel of the Lord appeared to him in a vision, [and told him] to return without delay to the country of Margâ, and to build a monastery for ascetics on the border of his village, and to become a spiritual father and a director of solitaries. Now Divine Goodness is accustomed to work in this [manner], even as it did in the case of Moses the Great (whom after he had been the shepherd of a dumb flock for forty years, it raised up to lead and direct the thousands and ten thousands of Israel), and many others; for they were first of all trained and exercised in the solitude of the desert and mountains, and were afterwards appointed by God and brought to rule over those who led the life of solitaries, and over the Church.

### CHAPTER 4. OF THE COMING OF RABBAN CYPRIAN TO THIS COUNTRY OF MARGÂ, AND OF HOW HE WAS REVEALED AND BECAME KNOWN IN THIS PLACE

1 Now this holy man, having received from the Lord this permission, changed the place in which he had lived for forty years pleasing God, as was right, and crossed the sea, and returned to this country. And it happened before his coming here that the village of Bêth Magûshê, which was the home of his parents, had been laid waste, and so, Divine Grace leading him, he came and dwelt in the wood which is below the monastery [which he afterwards built]. Now aforetime the place was such that fierce wild animals dwelt therein, and even with the blessed man Cyprian, according to what is written concerning him, during the whole of the time in which he lived in the

wood without any man being aware of his presence, there lived two lions, which not only did not do him harm, but stood tranquilly before him like innocent lambs. His food was grass and other green herbs and vegetables which [grew] on this river, but because he had ordered and set himself apart for the benefit of many people he did not tarry long here before men came to know about him and to see him.

2 And in the days of snow the young men of Nîrâm dhê Râ'awâthâ, a village [situated] above the monastery, went forth, and they took (crossed) river after river that they might find wild animals to hunt, and they had with them powerful dogs, and with slings and outcries they surrounded the wood, in which was the blessed old man, for they saw the tracks of the wild animals which were gathered together to the old man. And when they had made much noise, being in fear and terror of lions, and saw that there was no lion there, they went into the wood [thinking] that perchance they might find some animal therein; and when they had gone in they saw a little shelter built above a ravine, like that which wild animals make in the ground, and when they had looked hither and thither they saw the man of God sitting half hidden in his cave. And they pointed their spears at him boldly and threatened [to slay] him, for they did not know that he was a holy man, but he spake with them gently, and went forth, and blessed them, and gave them words of encouragement, saying, "I am one of the company of

4 wandering mendicants. I came here last night, and to-day I shall go away. Go back to your village, and behold a stag will meet you, take him and slay him, and so depart to your houses; then they went forth from him quickly that they might inform their fathers concerning him. Now when they had gone away about a stone's throw, from that part of the wood [where] the old man [was] they found the stag of which he had spoken to them caught by his horns in the branches of the forest, and they took him and slew him, and went in to their village, and they quickly informed the people thereof concerning that old man. Then the whole village came out, and ran swiftly to the old man that they might see and become acquainted with the anchorite who had been sent to help them; the wise physician who was able to heal their sicknesses without payment; the merchant who was laden with much riches which he might spend for their benefit; the spiritual father who was able, like the son of 'Amram, to stand before the breaches of those who afflicted them; and the man who became altogether like Paul;

that they might see John in the Jordan, and hear his voice encouraging sinners to repentance; [and] Elijah the prophet who would burn up and destroy the evil company of heretics as he burned up the children of Baal.

5 And when they had come to him, and had gone in and seen this holy old man they bowed themselves down to the ground before the ascetic and recluse, and they drew near [to him] and kissed the old rags of his clothing. Now the blessed man perceived no one of them, for he remained before them lying on his face with his eyes streaming with tears, and the man who had led the life of an anchorite for forty years was not able to look boldly upon [any] man in that gathering. And while they were waiting and entreating him that he would hold them to be worthy of the blessings of his prayers, he answered and said to them, "Rise up now, my children, and go to your homes, for behold the head and governor of the churches of this country will come to your village this evening, and as for me I shall remain here tomorrow and the day following; and he blessed them and said farewell to them. Thus they left him, and departed from him, and according to the words of our master, "[he will come] at the eventide of this day", there came to them the pious and holy Metropolitan of the country, as he was going round visiting his flocks and nourishing the people of his pasture, according to our Lord's command to him.

6 And when they were gathered together to that holy head, they related to him concerning the manifestation of that mighty man of God, and at the same time concerning his asceticism and his venerable appearance, and concerning the self-abnegation and voluntary poverty which they had seen in him, and how he had informed them, saying that "at the eventide of this day the coming of thy holiness would take place. And when the holy father had heard these things, he went down to the holy man in the morning of the morrow with a great assembly of priests and teachers and scholars of the school of Ṣāwrā; and when the blessed old man perceived that it was the Head of the Church who had come to him, he rose up without delay and went forth to meet him. And the holy Bishop saw him from afar, bent, and bowed, and supporting himself on a small staff, and bowing, and falling down, and rising up, and he hastened towards him and fell upon his face before the feet of the Metropolitan. And the holy Bishop marvelled greatly at the unexampled sight which he saw in the blessed man, for by reason of the long endured burden of his labours he appeared to be like unto a spectre.

7 Then the holy old man wept, and said to the Bishop, "Why did I not come to thee, like a servant to the feet of his lord, instead of thy coming to me, O holy father, [seeing that] I am a sinner [who is bound] to bow down to thy greatness? (Hail to the humility which is so superior! Hail to mind [which] beareth wisdom! "For [I] know that honour is due to the priesthood, and for this reason I have come with tears to meet him to whom the ministry of the priesthood hath been entrusted, and not like a man who hath been reared in a desert country, and who is not acquainted with the estimation in which the fathers are held, and who hath in his hole in the rock become neglectful and remiss, and who considereth the honouring of that man not to be among things which are necessities. And when both of these holy men had been blessed by each other Már Bishop asked the blessed man by degrees to tell him about the manner of his coming here, and from what place he made his way to us; and having informed him about lesser matters he omitted [to speak] of great matters.

8 Then the Bishop rose up and took the old man by his hand and led him round this place where a temple and monastery should be, and in the words of the Lord he said to him, "This is thy portion, build, finish, receive the brethren, and teach disciples, and may the Lord be pleased by thy labour, and by all the course which thou runnest in His commands. For thou shalt increase and become abundant, and thy seed shall inherit the lands which are round about thee, and with the hosts of ascetics which thou shalt beget shalt thou meet the face of the Judge on the day of His coming; and he marked out for him the dimensions of the temple and of the sanctuary, and he departed from him to [continue] his visitation.

### CHAPTER 5. OF THE BUILDING OF THIS HOLY MONASTERY BY THE HANDS OF THE BLESSED MAN

1 Then the believing men from these and many other villages came with all solicitude to the blessed man to build the temple and the buildings for the community, and in a few days the building received conclusion. And there were gathered together to Rabban an assembly of ascetic brethren, fifty men who were proved by their wonderful works, and who were stamped with the likeness of their spiritual father; but the wax did not receive the impressions of the gems of the ring, even although they inscribed upon them the likenesses of the holy Cyprian, until there lived among them ascetics who had wrought holy and mighty deeds in this world. And our Lord sustained

[them], and provided abundantly all things which were necessary for their use, and little by little the belief of our Lord was fully spread abroad by them, and the renown of the congregation of the holy man was carried into every place; and [one] might see that through the prayers of this holy man, this congregation [was] the fountain of all help which flowed into all parts [of the country]. Now Rabban lived here, from his coming to the day of his death, twenty years, more or less.

2 And the blessed man became old and gray, and reached a prolonged old age, and his limbs became infirm by reason of the asceticism of those years which had passed over him, for he had lived forty years in that island, and it is well known that he lived [there] upon the meagre fare of green herbs and of the fruit of palms, and [during] the twenty [years] which he lived in this monastery he supported his life with dry bread only; for one of the monks who served in the monastery used to bring to him every evening a piece of ordinary bread, and a draught of common water only. And once when the brethren urged him to take part with them in a meal of cooked food, and he did what they wished, that food became the cause of an illness, for he was not accustomed to [eat] such food as that, and by reason of feebleness in this respect his illness increased, and the end of his term of years arrived, and the athlete of Christ, who had borne the burden of the day and its heat from the morning of youth to the evening of old age in the service of His vineyard, drew near to rest from his labour; and the conclusion of the end of the days of this strenuous worker of the house of our Lord took place with sweaty labours dripping with the sweat of the new life.

3 He received revelations from his Lord, and he wrought among us the mighty deeds and miracles of the Prophets and Apostles, concerning which, selecting certain parts from their whole [mass], it is time for us to narrate, and thus the course of our history draweth towards the end of the contest of our holy father; and it will be possible for us by means of the small portion which is [here] written down, to explore for wise and understanding [readers —if indeed we have them—] the depth of all his wonderful deeds, for "he that is faithful in a little shall become master over much," according to the word of Him that laid down the contest [for us].

### CHAPTER 6. WHICH MAKETH KNOWN CONCERNING THE WONDERFUL DEEDS WHICH THE BLESSED CYPRIAN WROUGHT

1 The first of the wonders which the blessed Cyprian wrought in our country is the following, and the village in which the working of mighty deeds began was that which first of all perceived his manifestation. Now it came to pass that while two young men from Nirâm, a village of the Shepherds, were tending their cattle in the fields, it fell out that they were afflicted by devils in one day; but when their parents had brought them to Rabban, the power of the Evil One departed from them straightway, and they ended their lives in freedom [from him]. And while a certain man was passing at night along the road by the side of a fire temple of the Magians which had been a ruin for some time, devils sprang out upon him in the form of black ravens, and they entered into him and convulsed him; and since his kinsfolk and relations had heard concerning the wonders which had been wrought by the hands of this our Elisha, they led him in bonds to bring him to him. And when they had crossed the river Hâzer to come to this monastery, those devils answered and said to them, "If ye are going to that impostor Cyprian, we are going to remain here;" so they departed from the man and left him. But they nevertheless brought him to Rabban, and he commanded him not to deprive himself of the attendance at Church, and the receiving of the Holy Mysteries, [saying], "the devils shall not be able to draw nigh to thee again;" and the man undertook [to do this], and departed in joy.

2 And on another occasion they brought to him from the village of Bêth Kaddishê, a woman bound with cord, and with her garments rent by reason of the violence of the struggling of a devil [with her]; but when they had brought her and a Hênânâ to Rabban, he signed the sign of the Cross over her, and she was completely healed, and her kinsfolk and relatives took her and went away with gladness. And a certain man from Margâ had a paralytic son who from the womb had never walked, and this man, having heard of the influence which the prayer of Rabban possessed with God, and that our Lord brought to a satisfactory issue every thing which he commanded, laid the boy upon an ass in firm belief, and came to this our Simon; and when he had set him before the feet of the holy old man, he entreated him with tears to have mercy upon him. Then Rabban brought forth the oil of prayer from the sanctuary—now it was a custom of Rabban to

3 of the body and soul, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost." have the horn [of oil] carefully placed in the kotche— and when he had anointed the whole body of the boy, he stepped back from him about ten paces, and calling the boy by his name, said, "Rise up, and come to me," and at the word the boy rose up readily and went to Rabban. Then Rabban laid his hand upon his head, and blessed him, and his father took him and went to his house rejoicing, and every one marvelled and praised God. And about that time a pestilence fell upon the camels in the country of Bèth Garmai. And the believing men sent to him and asked him to pray for them, and as soon as their messenger had gone into the monastery on that very day the pestilence ceased from their camels; and having received a Hênânâ and returned, they asked him concerning the day on which he had seen Rabban, and they knew that it was at that hour that God had manifested His help to them; and they praised and glorified God for the power which the prayer of the holy man possessed, in that while he himself was in the country of Margâ, his prayer was doing battle with the pestilence in Bèth Garmai.

4 One day they brought a boy to him from Birtâ, a village of Rûstâkâ, with his face turned behind him by the agency of Satan; and when they had brought him in to Rabban, he received healing by the holy right hand of this our father, and he set his face straight, and he became as he was in former times. Once there came to Rabban a man from the country of Bèth Bèghàsh, whose name [was] Yahbh Màran, who although he had lived with his wife for many years had not become the father of children, and he entreated Rabban that he would consider him worthy of the help of his prayer. And Rabban made the sign of the Cross over him with a hènànà three times, and having dismissed him to his journey with prayer he departed to his [own] country, and there were born to him two sons and one daughter.

5 And they brought to him from Sèyàn, a village of heretics, a woman whose two legs were paralysed, and after she had continued in the monastery two days, lying in the chapel, our Lord gave her healing by the prayers of the holy man. And again they brought to him from the province of Gàrìn a woman who was blind in both eyes—now this woman belonged to a noble family of rich people, and she was exceedingly beautiful in appearance—and by the prayers of the holy man she also received a complete cure in the appearance and beauty of both her eyes, and every man praised and glorified God when they saw the help which that woman had obtained. [One] night a

devil beat a youth from Berbèli severely, and made him foam at the mouth, and on the morrow in the morning his parents carried him and brought him [to the holy man]. And when they had taken him in to Rabban, he sealed him with the sign of the Cross, and rebuked the devil according to the word of our Lord, and all the brethren being gathered together before him, he went forth from his mouth like a carrion crow and flew away and departed; and that boy received healing and became as he was aforetime.

6 And they brought to him from Nâhêrmeshi a woman who was persecuted by a wicked devil, and by the prayer of this holy man, the power of our Lord freed her also from the conflict with that devil. And a certain man from Şeyân brought to Rabban his only son who was smitten with a putrid sore, and Rabban commanded him to go down to the river which ran under his cell and to bathe, and by this [means] he sent away [from him] the whole garment of that evil sore; and being healed his father took him with joy and praise of God, and departed to his village. Once a man from the village of Bêth Talai, who believed in God and loved Him wholly, fell into a severe illness, and by reason of its violence his soul was well nigh departing [from him], and like Hezekiah he sent to this our Isaiah [asking] that he would visit him with his prayer. And when the youth had gone forth from him to come to the monastery, that believing man saw the angel of the Lord standing above him in the form of Rabban as if he were offering up prayer on his behalf, and he was healed completely, and he sat up in his bed, and he praised and glorified God; and by reason of the sound of his praise the people of his house were disturbed, and they went in and saw [him] sitting on [his] bed praising God, and he stood up forthwith and walked. And when the youth came to Rabban he informed him that he that had sent him was made whole; and those and such-like wonders were wrought by this holy man.

7 Once Satan appeared to a man by night in the form of a mighty man, and as he neither distinguished the vision nor the strange power, when Satan called him by his name, the man answered him readily and as he spoke Satan entered into him and tortured him. And his kinsfolk and relatives brought him to Rabban, and by the holy oil, and the mediation of his right hand, and by proclaiming over him [the name] of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, he received healing and remained whole all his days. And they brought to Rabban from the village of Shamrakh a man who was vexed by Satan and he lacerated all his body with bites; he also was quickly made

whole by the prayers of Rabban, and returned to his house rejoicing and praising God. And a certain man had a plot of land which was sown with beans, and when the fruit was in the pod, the worm fell upon all the pods, and tore them to pieces mercilessly; and when he had brought some of the pods and shewed [them] to Rabban, Rabban gave him some water in which the cross which [he wore] upon him had been washed, and commanded him to sprinkle it over all his plot of land, and straightway the plague ceased, and the praise of God increased through him and flourished.

8 And again, a certain man had large flocks of sheep, upon which there once fell a pestilence, and many of the sheep perished. And the man came to this holy old man and entreated him to pray against that affliction, and on the day when he returned from us, and had distributed the ḥenānâ over his flock, by the help of our Lord the pestilence ceased. And when they had brought to this servant of Jesus the God of all, a woman whose blood had flowed from her for a long time, and she was nigh unto death, she was healed by the prayer of this blessed old man like the woman whom Jesus healed. In a district called Sâwrâ, which was situated above the monastery, there lived a famous family of Magians, are contained; compare Brit. Mus. Orient. 7203, fol. 180a, col. 2; plur. Dozy, Supplément, tom. 1. p. 754, col. 1; Lagarde, Praetermissorum, p. 122, No. 55. The plur. occurs in Ahrens, Das Buch der Naturgegenstände, text, p. 37, l. 17, trans. p. 60, note 3. In Brit. Mus. Orient. 2441, fol. 371a, col. 2, we have:

9 who had not yet taken upon themselves the bridle of the worship of God the Life of the worlds, but according to the custom of their parents they worshipped fire and the heavenly bodies. And when these men saw the mighty deeds and signs which were wrought by the mediation of this wonderful man, they were overcome [by] a noble-minded victory, and they spat upon the object of their worship, and despised the impure doctrine of Magianism, and came to this light of Christianity, and entreated him that through him they might become members of the household for the worship of his God, for, said they to him, "The God who is worshipped by thee, O our father, is the true God, and we will be His servants and adorers as long as He permitteth us to live in this world, and Magianism is to be denied, together with all its unclean and polluted muttered prayers. Then he with great joy shewed and made clear before them all the glory of Christianity, and of the living doctrine of the Gospel of Christ our Lord and of those good things

which are above [this] world, and which are laid up for holy Christians in the world which is to come, and how in all generations holy men have pleased God the Creator and Maker of all created things, and of God the Cause of everything which exists and is made.

10 And he commanded and made ready everything which was necessary for the Mysteries of holy baptism, and according to the order of the service of the Holy Church he baptized them with his hands in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And he commanded their wives and children [to be brought], and he baptized them in the church of Ṣāwrā their village, and he admonished them, and said to them, This day is a marriage feast made in the heights of heaven above among the ranks of the holy angels, for if our Lord said, 'The angels who are in heaven rejoice over the conversion of one sinner that repenteth', how very much more [will they rejoice] over the many who have gone into the courts of the Holy Church, and [whose names] have been written down and inscribed with the royal stamp of the money of the kingdom! This day have your names been written down with [those of] the first who have been inscribed in heaven; this day have ye cast off the black garment which the error of the worship of fire wove for you; this day have ye made white that soul which was spotted with the polluted passions of the doctrine of erring devils.

11 Now therefore, my beloved, seek the things which are above, and let be earnestly desired the things which are above, and not those which are upon earth, where Christ Whom ye have put on dwelleth in heaven, for ye are dead to yourselves, and your lives are hidden with Christ in God, and when Christ, Who is our Life, shall be revealed, then will ye also be revealed with Him in glory. Mortify then your members which are upon earth, fornication, uncleanness, theft, avarice, and idolatry; try everything, and lay hold upon that which is good, and flee from every evil thing. And the Magians hearkened unto him graciously and simply, and undertook [to do] those things which were said by him to them, and they were mingled among the Catholic Church; and they were changed from their former manner of life of marrying their mothers, and sisters, and daughters, and they acted according to the rule of life which Rabban taught them. And they brought an enlightened and learned man, and he taught them the psalms, and hymns, and holy customs, and observances; and thus they were made perfect holily in the new man which they had put on.

12 And a certain Persian woman having been made by devils their abode, the poor creature was grievously vexed by them, and she used to come against every one who passed near unto her with foul abuse and stone-throwing; and her kinsfolk having brought her to Rabban, she tarried in the martyrium the whole night, and with the dawn our Lord gave to her freedom from the subjection to the devils. And after she had been made whole she related to her neighbours, saying, "An old man came to me in the night, and he laid hold of those black beings which clave to me, and he smote them, and with adjurations forbade them to come near to me again, and they fled and they have not [come] again"; and thus being made whole she returned to her house. 13 And again, a certain thief once came in the night and began to dig through the wall of the kogche of this monastery that he might carry off the books and property of the monastery, and having struck two blows his right hand straightway withered. And in the morning he went in to Rabban and confessed his folly, but although Rabban laboured much, and made much supplication in prayer on his behalf, the man did not receive healing, and rightly, for it was meet that the man who had dared to break into the house of God's worship, which had [but] newly been built, and to which the blessed brethren had been [but] recently gathered together, should remain with an uncured stroke. For in every beginning of [progress] in Divine things fear and awe are necessary, just as the word of Simon, the chief of the Apostles, cast fear upon Ananias and Sapphira at the beginning of [his] preaching; and it is written moreover, "If a man sinneth against a man, let him entreat the Lord and it shall be forgiven him; but if he sin against the Lord, whom shall he entreat?" So that wretched man remained with his withered arm, like Cain in Genesis, and as he was unable to find food to sustain his life, when he went begging from door to door and from village to village, he became the herald of his own punishment.

14 On another occasion a certain man took away the silken veil from the martyrium, and as soon as he brought it into his house all his children were vexed by a devil. And when he saw this he went back to the monastery, [having] the veil with him, and he bowed down before Rabban, and confessed his sin, and Rabban gave him a ḥenānā and commanded him to give it to his children to drink, [mixed] with water; and when he had done this they straightway received healing. On another day a certain heathen went into the garden of the monastery, wishing to gather figs, and the Lord smote

him with the sickness of blindness, and he remained the whole night sitting on the wall. And when it had dawned and the monks who served in the monastery came and found him, he confessed the sin which he had committed, and they took him in to Rabban who passed his hand over his eyes, and he received perfect healing and undertook never to do the like again.

15 Now when Satan, the father of lies, who from the beginning fought with our parents in Eden and who hath in all generations inflicted injury upon our race in many things—and he it is who hath sown bitter tares among the chosen wheat of the congregations of the Cross—saw that the monastery of the triumphant man was adorned with every kind of virtue and that its monks performed their duties and observed with diligent care the stated seasons of prayer, and that they completed with joy all the singing of the Psalms, and the praise of Christ which was formed in the mouth of those who daily went in and came out [of it], he wished to make those ascetic brethren to cease from service of the spirit, through the service of the table, and to pour into and to fill their cells with the votive offerings of meat and drink of the will of Satan, and [to occupy them] with services for the villagers of the country round about and for people of all ranks in the world whom he invited and brought to this poor monastery, instead of the standing up in service before God. And he worked upon a certain erring monk who [belonged] to the corrupt confession of the followers of Severus of Antioch, and he brought with him some rancid oil, and he came to this monastery, forsooth, to pray.

16 And he tarried here the night, and in the morning he took out from his bosom a little horn of that abominable oil, and gave it to the steward, saying, "Keep this prayer oil for me until I come back from a journey which I must needs make"; now the brother in his simplicity took the oil without asking any questions, and hid it in one of the windows of the monastery, until its owner should come and take it. And what did Satan our adversary do? As long as that stinking oil remained here, he stirred up [the people of] every country and district to come and pray in the monastery of Rabban Cyprian, and [they came] not only [from] Margâ, which was near, but from Bêth Nûhdêrân, and there came Arabs, and Ninevites, people of Adiabene, and the people of Bêth Garmai, Bêth Bêghâsh, Dâsen, and the field of Heptôn. And he caught and brought hither such crowds upon crowds of people that the monastery and the temple and the cells of the brethren could not hold the

multitudes that were going and coming, and that belonged to the congregations which established the will of Satan. And when Rabban, the holy Mâr Cyprian, saw this thing which was not according to custom, he called to the brethren and said to them, "O my sons, the tumult of all this changing multitude is very foreign, in my opinion [to our life].

17 Who am I, and what is my righteousness, that my fame hath stirred up all countries to weary us? Shew me if ye have wrought any thing contrary to [our rules], or if there is among you a man who hath associated himself with heretics and hath learned any thing from them; for I know that God is not the cause of all these assemblies. Then the brother who had received the oil from the heretic came and fell down before Rabban, and he answered and said to him, "Master, forgive me, for I have committed sin unwittingly. A certain monk of the followers of Severus of Antioch gave me this vessel of oil, and he said to me, 'Keep it until I return from the journey which I must make'; but what was the object of it I knew not. And when Rabban saw it, he smelled from it the rancid smell of the wicked, and he knew that it was the cause of this damned weariness; and he commanded, and the furnace was made hot, and he threw it into the fire together with the vessel [that contained it]. Thus was extinguished the flame of that spiritual sickness, and those people who were on the roads turned back, and those who were making preparations in their houses to come left off making ready, and we received the grace of God that the heretical doctrine of the Evil One was corrected by the mediation of our holy father.

18 And a certain woman from Ṣāwrâ had a daughter who was one day vexed by Satan, and she brought her to this driver away of devils. And when she had laid her at the feet of his holiness, he stood up and prayed over her, and we were all looking on, and wasps' vicious as those excited by smoke came forth from her mouth, and thus our Lord speedily gave her healing; and the woman took her daughter and went out from before him confessing and glorifying God with us. But why should we strive as if, forsooth, we were able to relate [all] the wonders of this holy man? For who knoweth the mighty deeds which he wrought in that island, and in the deserts of Egypt and Scete, where he lived for forty years? The things which he wrought here he wrought secretly, and we have written down a few of the many things which he did, [being] those which were wrought before us, but we have omitted [to notice] the rest because of their great number.

### CHAPTER 7. OF THE END OF THE COURSE OF THE BLESSED MAN, AND OF HIS EXHORTATIONS TO HIS CHILDREN IN THE HOUR OF HIS DEATH

1 Let us now shew forth the crowning of the course of this warrior, and how he who for sixty years had not rested, either day or night, from his ardent course towards his Lord, rested from the trouble of his wandering in strange lands. Now after he had completed twenty years of life here, and after he had made his monastery to flourish with many brethren, and with the books of the Holy Scriptures, and with readers and ascetics, like the other monasteries of the holy men his contemporaries, the day drew nigh and arrived in which he should rest from his labour, and should finish his contest in glorious perfectness. And he knew and felt that the hour of his departure had arrived, and he called to his holy sons, and spake to them, saying, "Now, my sons, abide in peace, for my time is come, and the moment of the end in which I shall go the way of my fathers, and along the road of all the race of Adam, hath drawn nigh. Take good heed, my sons, to yourselves, and to all the doctrine which ye have received from me; be not neglectful of the seasons of prayer, nor of sitting [in meditation] in your cells, nor of penitential bowings and prostrations to the ground which I have committed to you, and in token of regret for the worldliness of your lives, commanded you to perform.

2 Let not your lives pass away in idleness, for the hour of death is hidden from us, and when it hath come [to you] ye will repent of your days which [ye have passed] in slothfulness. With all your might take good heed that ye be not mingled with profane heretics, and let your souls abominate all their doctrine, for they are enemies of your manner of life, and of your peace of mind, like Satan who is in them. My sons, enter not into their monasteries, and mingle not with the pure gold of your belief the abominable brass of their subtleties; for they are cut off from belief, and are empty of hope, and that their work is Satanic the polluted oil which [we burned] a short time ago [and which] gathered all countries against us, will teach. Take heed moreover, my beloved, unto the love of those who are in the world and exchange not the love of your Lord for the love which ye once denied before many. Possess neither gold, nor silver, nor clothes more than ye need, that ye fall not, like Gehazi, from the household of our Lord; for just as our Lord is greater than Elisha, so also is the punishment of those who tread His commandments under foot greater; ye shall give answer to our Lord on the Day of Judgment if ye transgress one of these commandments.

3 And when he had admonished and exhorted them, he commanded them and they came near before him, and he kissed each one of them, and said farewell to them; and all the brethren wept with a great weeping at the parting of the righteous man from them. And when he had saluted them, he bowed on the top of his staff, like Jacob, and prayed, and he blessed the Church and her children, and pastors, and masters, and kings, and governors; and he made the sign of the holy Cross over his monastery, and thus with his mouth full of the glory of God, and his tongue [of] praise, he stretched out his legs without sickness and without suffering, and he opened his holy mouth and delivered up his spirit in peace. And as he was gentle and gracious in his life, and never chid any man or behaved harshly [to him], so let him sleep happily until the Voice which shall raise him up alive calleth him, and lifteth him up to heaven with all his holy fellow-labourers. And [the people of] all the village, together with the teachers, and scholars, and priests, and deacons were assembled with the congregation of his sons, and they celebrated the day of his commemoration with the praises and canons according to custom, day and night, and he was laid in the martyrium with the honour which befitted his holiness;

4 and on the following day they kept a vigil for him a second time that he might be an intercessor with his followers for them on the day when he shall be paid the wages of his trials and troubles, and that they might sit down happily at the feast of the kingdom above. Amen. 5 Now after the death of that holy chief our Lord wrought a miracle at his grave, the [like of] which had never been worked by him during his life, that it might be known unto all men that he was alive and with our Lord, and that now he was more near to Him, and that he had obtained freedom of speech before Him. A certain believing woman from the village of Bèth Màrùth, who during the lifetime of Rabban had had experience of the signs [which he worked], had a son, who had been given to her by the prayer of Rabban through a hènànà which she had received from him; and this son contracted a serious disease, and it waxed grievously sore in him. Now when his mother understood that he was a dead man, for he was nigh unto death, that believing woman, who is worthy of being remembered for good, was, in her faith, like unto the Shunammite woman of Elisha, and she said to her husband, "Rise up, and make ready a she-ass for me, that it may go with my son to my Elisha, Màr Cyprian, the ascetic, the spiritual father of my son".

6 And although every man advised her [saying], "Give up this idea, for when the boy's body is shaken by the motion of the ass, he will die immediately", she was not at all persuaded, but said, "If he die there I will bury him, and if he is made whole it will be the power of God that, by the prayer of the holy man, shall bestow healing upon my son". And having set herself and her son upon the she-ass, she commanded her servant to lead on quickly, and when she had come a distance of three farsah the soul of the lad departed from him. And she alighted from the ass, and she bandaged(? him, and wrapped him round, being strong in her faith. And she came to this monastery and went into the martyrium, and laid him before the grave of Rabban and she gave herself to prayer like the holy woman Hannah, the mother of Samuel, and in a voice which could be heard she spake mournfully, so that every one round about her wept, saying, "O Mâr Cyprian, the servant of God, behold the loan which thou didst grant to me during thy lifetime thou hast taken back in thy death. I did not ask of thee a soulless corpse, neither did I seek to suffer the pangs of childbirth, and to bring up a child if all my care and lullabies were to be in vain.

7 Take pity upon that belief which hath taken refuge in thee now that thou art dead as when thou wast alive, and let not the bosom of thy woman disciple be deprived of the child which thou hast placed therein. Entreat now thy Lord, like Elisha, and let Him give back to me the blessing which I have plucked from the tree of the house of Adam by thy prayer; and as concerning Elisha also it is written that a dead man came to life again [through touching] his dead body, even so let the breath of life blow into the son of thy handmaid by the shrine of thy glorious body, for when a servant is near unto his master he hath the greater freedom of speech. Have pity upon the woman who with lamentations goeth round about thy holy tomb, and I will make it a condition with thy Lord that he shall minister in thy monastery all the days of his life, and that like Samuel the son of Hannah he shall be a man set apart to the Lord, and shall be dedicated [to God] all his days. O God of Mâr Cyprian, let the request of thy handmaid enter in before Thee, although I am unworthy [of it], and let Thy holy man Cyprian be [my] advocate before Thee.

8 Then God the merciful One Who spake "Let light shine out of darkness", and "Everything is possible to him that believeth", and "Everything which ye shall ask in prayer, if ye believe, ye shall receive", especially wishing

to glorify the son of His household in his death more than in his life, made the soul of the boy to return to its body, and he cried out according to [his] custom. Now we were in the temple [occupied] in the service of Psalms for the night, and the woman was in the martyrium; and when the mother saw that [her] boy moved she glorified God with a loud voice, and by her voice we perceived that the boy had come to life. And we also went into the martyrium, and saw him sitting before his mother as in former times; and with the life which was restored to him he received a complete cure. And every man praised God and marvelled, and the woman took her son and went to her village, and related to the believers everything which had taken place; and because of this thing the praise of our Lord was proclaimed in all the country. And that believing woman, like Hannah, performed her vow, and she set him apart [to the Lord] even as she had vowed; and when the boy had grown up and had arrived at years of discretion, she brought him to the monastery and left him and went away.

9 And he became a disciple and [afterwards] an ascetic, and every year she came to see him, and brought to him clothes even as Hannah did for Samuel. And he became a perfect example of a solitary brother, and completed his life in this monastery according to the will of God, the Lord of all, to Whom be praise, and honour, and worship, and dominion, and exaltation; and by the prayers of the holy Mâr Cyprian may His grace and mercy [be] upon our assembly, now and always, and for ever and ever, Amen. 10 Here endeth the history of the blessed Rabban Mâr Cyprian, the priest and ascetic, the founder of the holy monastery in the province of Birtâ.

## CHAPTER 8. THE HISTORY OF THE WONDERFUL ACTS OF THE MIGHTY MAN RABBAN GABRIEL, THE ASCETIC IN VERY TRUTH, AND THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY OF THE HOLY MÁR CYPRIAN

*The Author's Apology to the Reader.*

1 Now therefore we have the intention of writing concerning that marvellous man among the ascetics who flourished in the later times, the blessed Rabban Gabriel, the man who penetrated the mysteries of Christ, by whose hands our Lord wrought the signs of the Prophets and Apostles, and of weaving with my feeble speech the crown of his strife, from the materials which have been written down by early [writers] concerning his noble acts, and from those things which I have heard repeated about him, some by the monks who saw him whom I have met, and some from the priests and be-

lieving men of the country. And I will lay it upon the table of the hearing of those who love the histories of holy men, adding also at the same time, according to the materials which I have found with his history, the narrative of the gentle-minded Rabban Paul, his brother, whose memorial is among the righteous, upon the help of whose prayers I rely. And as far as my ignorance will allow I hope to bring conviction to my hearers of the befitting rank of the excellence of these divine men, and I entreat every one who is about to read through these histories, not to consider me blameworthy as if I had drawn nigh presumptuously to set down in writing their glorious deeds; for our Lord knoweth that I have not drawn near to write down their histories for the sake of profane advantages or lying fame.

2 For what profit can the ignorant man who relieth upon his own wisdom inherit from dull and senseless words? Or what benefit can the fool gain, who although he cannot heal himself, is nevertheless occupied with the praise of others? And I was seized with jealousy that the congregation, and the place where their bodies rest should not be deprived of the stories of their holiness, for a paternal inheritance is beloved by children, and the study of the histories of their lives is a blessed thing for the heirs of the fathers. And, moreover, it is not meet that the marvellous fame of the mighty deeds of men, who in their holiness fall short in no way of the early saints, should not be proclaimed and spoken of in the world. So then it becometh the wise and understanding reader to drive out all blame of my shortcomings from his mind, for just as I have drawn near to set down in writing the memorials [of holy men] for the benefit of the community, so also is it incumbent upon him to praise and magnify these things which are written down. And although [my] discourse be weak and halting, let him have regard of the fruit which it beareth, and let him gather roses from thorns, and flowers from brambles, leaving the thorns and brambles behind in their commonness to become food for fire and pasturage for wild animals.

### CHAPTER 9. OF THE ORIGIN OF THESE HOLY MEN [RABBAN GABRIEL AND RABBAN PAUL]

1 In the country of Bèth Garmai there was a village called Lûz, and in it there was a certain house of believers renowned for [their] fear of God, among whom was a believing man whose good works were well attested. For this man our Lord prepared a good wife, as it is written in Wisdom, "A good wife shall be given to the man that feareth God because of his good works",

and he begot by her two sons; the name of the one was Paul, and of the other Gabriel. And while they were young children their father departed from [this] temporary life to that of eternity, and his true faith clave to him by the light of his works; and the house remaining to their mother, this woman occupied herself in the reading of the Holy Scriptures and in fasting and prayer, and she gave alms and oblations abundantly to the poor and afflicted. Now when the two boys had grown up and they had determinedly set themselves apart to observe the things which were seemly and which their Creator had placed in the nature of the family of Adam, that believing and holy woman took them, and gave herself to exile for God's sake, holding on to the hands of her sons, and relying upon the heavenly hope, and going along the paths which [lead] towards this land.

2 When God, Who knoweth every thing before it cometh to pass, saw the love of that believing woman, and that her sons were about to become sons of His kingdom, for she had despised everything in her love for Him, He drew her with her sons to this province of Birtâ, to a hamlet called Ṣâwrâ where there was a famous school with enlightened teachers—for that school was still in existence through [the support] of other believing men who feared God, and who carefully provided for the assemblies of scholars, and for the teachers who loved learning. And when this woman had gone into this part of the country, and saw that the believing men who lived there were well attested in the Christian belief, she elected to live in this village, and she entrusted her two beloved sons, Paul and Gabriel, to the school there. And she trained and taught them by works of the perfect life and admonished and counselled them by day and by night to despise and reject all the possessions of this fleeting world, to such a degree that she allowed them to draw nigh to no manner of service, the labour of learning alone excepted.

3 And they remained in that holy school for fifteen years until they were trained in all the doctrine of Divine things, and in the theoretical knowledge of the Scriptures and the understanding and interpretation of them, moreover, they were frequent in the actual practice of fasting, and prayer, and night vigils [which they kept] with their mother, the woman worthy of mention for good; for she would not separate nor depart from them, and she lived in a chamber in the school, and like Hannah the daughter of Penuel, she persevered with them in standing up in prayer in the temple, and in the vigils of holy festivals, and of first days of the week. And when they had been

fully instructed, and needed nothing more from the school—for in the fifteen years they had acquired all ecclesiastical learning—that blessed old woman counselled them to renounce henceforth every material thing of [this] world, and to draw nigh to the ascetic life.

### CHAPTER 10. OF THE DISCIPLESHIP OF THE BLESSED PAUL AND GABRIEL IN THE MONASTERY OF RABBAN CYPRIAN

1 Now at that time the congregation of Rabban Cyprian was famous among perfect, upright and holy men, with whom there still existed the sweet smell of the sweat of the labours of that holy man, and by the will of God, and their own freewill choice, and the desire of their mother they elected to draw nigh to the ascetic life in this monastery. And when they two had entered there, and had asked to be received by the old men, and were numbered among the brotherhood, they completed three full years in the service of the community in the ready obedience [which is] acceptable unto God, having careful regard always for the nursing and attendance upon strangers, and [performing] all manner of service for the community; and they became a fair mirror to all the brethren who were in the monastery, and to the strangers who used to come to them. Now Paul was of a zealous nature and somewhat quick-tempered, but the divine man Gabriel was gentle and mild, and he was a man in whom the love of Christ dwelt, and by reason of his gracious disposition he was called Sābhā by all the brotherhood. What peaceful disposition ever existed which could be compared unto his? What wise man ever possessed the ready disposition [to receive] all men like unto him?

2 For those who had never seen him distinguished and recognized him at once from the report of his characteristic qualities, the venerable appearance, the gentle word, the measured step, the bent head with his gaze fixed upon the ground, and his stooping position, when meditating upon the Holy Scriptures at such times as he was free from the service of the monastery. And the two [young men] performed the work of the monastery thoroughly and with great discretion, without which no man is able to live perfectly the ascetic life, for they went forth into the outer cells of the monastery when all the other monks were celebrating the vigil of a festival, and remained by themselves. Now the excellent Paul received and ministered unto strangers, and he chose this manner of life that he might afford relief and do honour unto all men, to the poor and afflicted, the troubled and the sick, for he had experience in healing the body; and he established the old woman his moth-

er in a chamber near his cell, and thus toiling and labouring in acts of holiness, like the venerable and holy women [of old] and with a good name and a crown of praise, she departed to our Lord in sweet peace; and glorious happiness is prepared for her on the day of His coming. Now the blessed Gabriel chose to dwell in the cell of the monk and to lead the life of an anchorite;

3 and while Paul, like the blessed Abraham, took care by his labour and service to become one who received the poor, Gabriel, like the mighty prophet Elijah, honoured the life of the solitary.

### CHAPTER 11. OF THE DEPARTURE OF RABBAN GABRIEL TO THE COUNTRY OF KARDÔ TO LEAD THE LIFE OF AN ANCHORITE, AND OF HOW HE CAME BACK AGAIN TO THIS COUNTRY

1 Now when [Rabban Gabriel] had been in this monastery a long time labouring and excelling in all the various acts of the life of ascetics, in fasting, and in prayer, in nightly vigils, and sighing and weeping between the times [of prayer], happiness was ascribed to him by all the brotherhood. But when that man, [who was] wise in matters relating to God, saw the honour which was offered to him by all the brotherhood, and that happiness was ascribed to him by every man, he despised and rejected everything, his cell, and the things which were necessary for his use, and everything which he possessed in the monastery, and taking with him the holy Book of the Gospels [wrapped up] in a small cloak, he went out secretly by night, without any one knowing [of his departure]. 2 And because he had decided to become an anchorite and to live remote from any human habitation, and to make himself a stranger to all those who knew him, he directed the course of his journey to the mountains of Kardô, and he made himself a dwelling and a place of rest far away from any spot where he was likely to meet a human being, in a hollow which he lighted upon in a thickly wooded glen in a mountain side, for asceticism and voluntary abstinence became his dwelling-place, which was remote from every human consolation, and he never saw a man, and never approached either a habitation or a peaceful and inhabited place during the whole time that he lived there. His food [consisted] of the roots and the fruit with which the Divine Grace kept his life [in him]. What temptation of devils [is there] which did not pass over him there? And what pains [are there] which mortal nature knoweth [how] to bring upon the child of man, which did not come upon the holy man? Those who have lived the life of the anchorite and have tasted its troubles will know the taste of these bitternesses.

Now he held conversations with the wild animals, for they came to him constantly.

3 And just as [they stood] before the blessed Noah at the door of the ark, even so also did they stand tranquilly before him—now a wild animal [usually] departeth, and fleeth and shyly runneth away at the sight and approach of a human being—and although they were [usually] afraid of the cage(? yet they fed and made their homes near him, as if they had taken refuge and shelter in him. 4 Now the blessed Paul his brother ceased not to weep by reason of the remoteness of the venerable Gabriel, but by day and by night he and the brethren prayed with supplication and beseeching, and entreated God to make known to them what had become of the holy man and where he dwelt; and after a long time, because the blessed Rabban Gabriel became well known to all the people who were in Kardó, for our Lord had given healing and great cures by his hand unto many, his fame also reached the wonderful Paul his brother. And having taken a letter of entreaty from the congregation of the brethren who were in this monastery, he rose up and set out to bring him, and he made inquiries about him, and sought [him] out, and it was shewn to him where he dwelt; and when he came up to him, they fell upon each other's neck and wept like loving brothers. And the venerable Paul brought out the letter of the congregation and gave [it] to him, and when he had read it, he did not give his brother a decided answer whether he would go or whether he would not, but he gave the matter to God; and they both stood up the whole night in prayer, [entrating] that the Lord would make known His will unto them.

5 And on the third night when Paul was sleeping through the fatigue of the vigil, the angel of the Lord appeared to Abbâ Gabriel, face to face, and counselled him to set out with his brother, [saying,] "This is the will of the Lord, for thou art set to be a great benefit to that country; and on the morrow he rose up and came with his brother, while Paul rejoiced, and was glad, and praised God at the return of the holy man his brother. Thus by the power of Christ our Lord which clave to them they came to this country.

### CHAPTER 12. OF THE BLESSED MÂR JOHN, AND OF HIS CONGREGATION IN THE HOLY MONASTERY OF NÊRABH BARZAI

1 Now inasmuch as I promised above, in the history of Rabban Cyprian, when I repeated the names of the holy men who lived in this country, and counted among them the holy John who lived in Nêrabh Barzai (for to this

[monastery] came Rabban Gabriel when he returned from Kardô, and dwelt therein a long time), to relate the history of this place, it is [now] time for me to do so. This mountain glen (nêrêbhâ) had a place of ascent on one of its lower sides, but on [all] the others it was fortified from the most remote generations and times of old, when each country had a chief, and when each chief was held to be a petty king in his country; but each was afraid of the others and considered them to be raiders and robbers. And therefore in many places in the mountains, and rocks, and crags thou mayest find fortresses, and castles, and strong cities fenced about with walls, which were built and fortified by the ancients. In this country, according to what is said, there lived a mighty man called Barzai, and he fortified this mountain glen and dug in it great cisterns, that is to say, pits to hold water, and he built caves hewn out of the rock [in it], and it was called Nêrabh Barzai, after the name of that ruler who furnished the fortress and made it a habitable place from the beginning.

2 Now when the Gospel of our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ had flown abroad, and heathen doctrine and the worship of idols had ceased from the world, all the furrows of the world ascribed praise to the wise Creator by the mouths of the holy men who were in it, and the mountains also ascribed praise to God through the ascetics and anchorites who dwelt in them, according to the word of Isaiah the prophet, "Those who dwell in the rocks shall give praise, and from the top of the mountains shall they cry out. To this mountain glen then, with other [ascetics] from the territory of the Byzantine Greeks, came the blessed Mâr John, the Metropolitan, the companion and colleague of the seven Bishops who dwelt together all their lives in the holy Monastery of Rîshâ, and this holy Mâr John established there a congregation of anchorites; and he himself dwelt among them in a [cave like unto a] grave without light and without intercourse with his fellow-man, except on rare occasions, and sometimes he went to participate in the Holy Mysteries. All [those] men were perfect and divine men, as the cave in which their bodies were laid testifieth, and their names are written in the Book of Life; and behold if thou readest above their coffins thou wilt find their names written over the places where they are buried, but some of them are known to have been erased through the long interval of time.

3 Now the congregation of that place was preserved and continued until the time of the holy Rabban Gabriel, and in the days when he came from

Kardó there were forty men in that holy Monastery of Rabban Már John. And this Már John taught the inhabitants of the village of Kóph, and this village before his time never accepted the teaching of Christianity, but was mad and drunk with the worship of idols and of trees and other things. When Már John received the Divine revelation concerning the teaching of that village, that divine man rose up and came forth from the place in which he had shut himself up, and went down to the village of Kóph, and the Magians and Manicheans and heathen who dwelt therein were gathered together to hear his discourse and to listen to what he had to say to them; for they knew of the virtue and righteousness of the man, and they had also heard of the mighty deeds and signs which he wrought in the name of Christ. And when, according to the words of the blessed Paul, "Those who believe will not ask for signs, but only those who do not believe", they asked him to shew them the greatness of his doctrine and belief which [arose] from [the signs], he manifested mightily to them his great works. He brought to life again a man who had been dead three days, and they marvelled;

4 and again he withered by a curse only a large, tall olive tree, to the worship of which Satan had led them on by reason of the beauty and splendour of its growth, the abundance of its fruit, and the density of its foliage. He mocked at fire, for he used to go and sit in it, like Ananias and his companions, and was in no wise injured; the sun which was held to be a god by those who worshipped it, he turned back by his command; he adjured a fountain of water and stopped it from flowing, and again he gave the permission, and the water came forth; and the blessed John greatly moved and terrified the inhabitants of Kôph by the power of his signs. And when those people saw that the power of God was manifested by his command, not only upon creatures and things, but also upon physical bodies which were accounted gods by them, they bowed the shoulders of their free-will to take upon them the yoke of the chariot of the Cross. And he brought them nigh to holy baptism, he made them partakers in the happiness of the propitiating Mysteries, he pulled down the fire-temple and built them the church which still standeth [there], he brought a teacher for them, he established schools there, and he sanctified it and purified it.

5 From being a field of tares and a shrine of the Calumniator, it hath become this day the field of Christ, and the abiding place for His will, and [its inhabitants] make a boast in the name of the holy Mâr John, as people who

by his hands were converted to the worship of God the Maker of heaven and earth.

### CHAPTER 13. OF THE COMING OF RABBAN GABRIEL TO THE MONASTERY OF NÊRABH BARZAI, OF THE HEADSHIP WHICH HE ACCEPTED, AND OF THE DEATH OF PAUL HIS BROTHER

1 Now when the congregation of this Monastery of Nêrabh Barzai heard that the blessed Rabban Gabriel had drawn nigh to their border, since the head who had been appointed over them was dead, they went out to meet him with great honour and ceremony, and they led him to their monastery. And when he had tarried with them a few days, they and the believing men of the place prevailed over him with their entreaties, and he unwillingly accepted the headship of that holy monastery; and he did not wish to dwell with them [in the monastery] below, but in the cell of the holy Mâr John in the place where he was wont to shut himself up. And he lived there for many years, even until he reached the limit of his old age, ministering in the service of angels, and profiting and making [others] profit, and leading [others], and being led himself. And he was watchful to guard himself and the brotherhood which had been entrusted to him, and he was never once negligent in [making] intercession and prostrations in prayer, and in [performing] labours, and in continuing in his strenuous career by day and by night.

2 Now Rabban Paul his brother lived in the Monastery of Rabban Cyprian, and after a few days the head of that monastery departed [this] temporary life to that of eternity, and by the election of the brethren and by the wish of the believing men [Divine] Grace marked Paul out to be the head and governor of the brethren. And when he had accepted this work he went down to the country of Béth Garmai, and sold his village Lûz, for as much as anyone would give him, disputing nothing, and he removed and built in this place the temple which had been built some time ago, in the days of Rabban Cyprian, because it was well nigh crumbling into ruins and falling down by reason of its great age. And he also built and furnished the Monastery of the holy Mâr John, where his brother Rabbân Gabriel was the head, and whatever [money] was left over he gave and distributed among the poor and needy (may his alms be laid up in heaven!), caring for himself nothing at all, but only that he might give food to the orphans, and the afflicted, and the distressed, and the beggars who came to him. He was kind and gracious to the orphans, he fed the widows, and in his monastery the table was at all times

laid ready with good, substantial food as much for the stranger who came there, as for the brethren whom he had appointed therein.

3 He ministered unto the sick, he visited the prisoners, he clothed the naked, he filled the hungry with food, he gave the thirsty to drink, he visited continually the prisoners who were confined in the gaol of Shukā-dhe-hadh-bhē-Shabbā for [non-payment of] taxes, he himself carrying in his own hands food for them, and whatever they were in need of, clothing for the naked, and fruits (? for the sick who were among them. But how many [more] times shall we repeat the glorious things of this strenuous labourer who took upon himself the burden of every man? In that day shall our Lord cause him to hear the joyful sound, "I was hungry and thou gavest me to eat, I was thirsty and thou gavest me to drink, I was naked and thou didst clothe me, I was sick and thou didst visit me, I was in prison and thou didst come unto me; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

4 And it came to pass that he went into the city according to his habit of anxious care [for others] to bring back clothes for the ascetics and strangers, and he fell ill there of the severe attack of sickness through which he departed from [this world]. And the brethren who were with him carried him upon an animal and brought him to the monastery, and [his] illness became more severe, and thus being soaked with the sweat of his labours, and his feet worn and broken through [his] travelling in the paths of holy men, he exchanged [this] life which passeth away for that of heaven, and he became the heir of the saints. Then the brethren and the people of all the country were pained at the death of the holy man, and all the brethren from the monasteries round about were gathered together, and they bore his holy body with honour and laid it on the west [side] of the martyrium towards the north by the command of Rabban Gabriel, [who] solemnly adjured and forbade that any tomb-stone or monument whatever should be built above his grave, for he looked upon humility as his monument; may our Lord by his prayers give help and redemption to those who care for this holy house, Amen!

5 Now when a certain believer whose name was Malbadh, who belonged to a noble family, saw that Rabban Paul had built this monastery and finished it, and had obtained a great and fair renown thereby, he was smitten with envy, and he presumed to set himself in opposition to these holy men, and wasted much money uselessly, and built a so-called monastery near Ṣāwrā. And he filled it with fine buildings, and provided it with cells, and he

invited [thither] ascetics, promising [them] that he would care for them in everything; but he did not know that a monastery for ascetics must be built by holy ascetics and virgins [themselves], and not by wealthy denizens of the world. And Rabban Gabriel, who was in the habit of enjoying Divine revelations, made a mock of that building, saying, "Behold, as it is written in Ezekiel, it is founded, but it shall not prosper;" and in a short time that house began to be deserted, and the two or three ascetics who dwelt therein were scattered, and it remained in its miserable condition as it is apparent to all men.

### CHAPTER 14. OF THE HEADSHIP OF THE MONASTERY OF RABBAN CYPRIAN WHICH RABBAN GABRIEL RECEIVED, AND OF HIS WATCHFUL REGARD FOR EVERY DUTY

1 Now after the departure of Rabban Paul of holy memory to [his] everlasting home, this monastery began to be in want and to become poor; for their divine protector Paul had already left them, and the monks also began to depart. And the people of this country together with these brethren were gathered together, and they went to Rabban Gabriel in the Monastery of Mâr John of Nêrabh Barzai, and shewed him that this monastery would certainly fall into decay if it was deprived of his protection. And they said to him, "All the brethren are going away, and this holy place which thou hast toiled to build up is becoming deserted. And the blessed man answered and said to them, "I am unable to go to [any] place without the Divine command which permitted me to return from Kardô, and which gave me rest in this holy place; but return all of you, each man to his house, and this night I and these brethren will pray to our Lord, and that which is best He will do for us". And in the evening at the general service of prayer he commanded the brethren to pray concerning the matter, and he himself went up to the cell of Abbâ John, and offered up prayer to God the whole night. And towards the morning when his wakefulness rested, his mind was carried away, and it was as if he were in the martyrium of Rabban Cyprian.

2 And Rabban Cyprian himself was alive and singing this psalm by himself, "How good, and how pleasant [it is] for brethren when they dwell together", and it seemed as if Rabban Cyprian were asking him to sing the verses of this psalm in turn with him. And when he had said the last verse, "For there the Lord commanded blessing and life for evermore", he woke up and came to himself glad and rejoicing, and he knew that the vision was

from the Lord, and that he had received permission to depart from there to the dwelling of [Rabban Cyprian]'s monastery where his marvellous brother Paul had ended his life. And in the morning he went down to the monastery and appointed a guardian in his stead, and promising that he would never forget them, he and the brethren of the monastery came down hither. And he began the work of relieving the poor and the brethren of the monastery like unto his brother, but he helped them more than he did, and he manifested the greatest care [for them], for our Lord had given him the gift of dominion over devils, and he healed every wound and sickness by the might of the Cross; and revelations were shewn to him by God, and he could look into and see things that were afar off like things that were near. He bore the Cross of his Master with glorious fervour, and he clave to the reproach of the Cross;

3 and as he had laboured in the vineyard of his Master the whole day, and had borne the burden and the heat without shewing slackness in his spiritual traffic, his Master honoured him, as with a pledge by the mighty deeds and wonders which He wrought by his hands, and by the glorious revelations which He made him enjoy, until the day for which he waited should come when He would call him, and set him at His right hand, as a guest of the company of Antonius, and Macarius, and Arsenius, and all the righteous men of his calling and manner of life. For after the manner of the Prophets and like unto the Apostles he wrought healings and wonders in this monastery, and on account of this, many ascetics were gathered together here. And every one who flagged, or was lax in carrying out the works of the ascetic life, became young again, and his strength was renewed for the labours of the monastic life when he saw this holy old man. And he constantly admonished the brethren who persistently carried out the work to which they had been called, saying, "My beloved, it is but a little time that we can serve our Lord in this life, and [then] we pass away, but the reward for our small service is laid up for us [for] a space of time which is not diminished by the course and revolutions of times and seasons.

4 Consider, my beloved, how many troubles and trials the holy Prophets bore, and how many afflictions and tortures the blessed Apostles endured, and the sufferings and bitter deaths which the victorious martyrs suffered for the sake of the kingdom of heaven! Consider the ascetic fathers how they forsook the world and its possessions, and [how] they forgot the love of par-

ents and brethren, and how they went forth naked into the wilderness to live by themselves for the love of our Lord Who said to them, Whosoever will not forsake parents, and brethren, and sons, and daughters, and everything, and hate himself, and take up his cross", —that is to say troubles, and trials, and bitterness— "and endure for My sake everything which shall afflict [him], and deny himself the things that are visible, is not able to be my disciple. Let us not then, beloved, be readers of the glorious deeds of holy men without carrying out in ourselves their course of life, for God, the Lord of all, reproacheth the man who readeth but doeth not, by the hand of David, thus, "What hast thou to do with the books of My commandments? Thou hast taken My covenant in thy mouth, but thou hast hated my instruction, and thou hast cast My words behind thee. And again the divine Paul writeth in his beloved epistles, "Those who know the law are not [accounted] righteous before God, but those who do the law are justified".

5 Let us not put our trust upon the tunic, and the black cloak, and the tonsure, and the garb with which we are clothed, as if these were anything at all before God. For there are in the world poor people who do not possess even these things, but are naked and in want, and are afflicted and needy, and have not even the bread of the day, yet God doth not shew compassion on them for the sake of their being in want, because poverty is their business in life. And although ye fast and pray, and watch, and work, still all the labour of all the days of your lives is not worthy to be compared with the gift of food with which God sustaineth you in this life; give up, then, expecting to be rewarded for it with a reward in the world which is to come. For the happiness of that world is not given for the sake of labours, but is bestowed upon holy men by Divine Grace, for the wages which are laid up there are in proportion to the righteousness of God, and the [merits of the] labours of holy men are completely put out of sight by the Grace of God.

6 So then, my beloved, let us not imagine that the little work which we do [here] can justify us before God, but let us be the more filled with fear lest our parents and our brethren who are involved in earthly affairs, and who give tribute, whose heads are bowed under the payment of imperial taxes, who relieve the afflicted and shew compassion upon the needy, and who imagine that we are righteous, may be found there before our Lord to be better than we are; for it is written, "Blessed is he that giveth more than he that receiveth. Let us not then destroy that blessing by eating the labour of believ-

ing men, and by doing nothing which is worth our food; for the hireling who laboureth honestly before his companion keepeth [his] covenant with his master who hath hired him; and if in the presence of a man like unto himself he is careful not to eat the bread of his labour without fatigue, how much more is it meet for us to live upon the bread of our Lord with tears, and not to neglect for one moment the service and labour which our holy garb demandeth. My brethren, let us remember that unchangeable kingdom, and that never-ending feast and that everlasting light in which the saints revel with delight.

7 And let us earnestly desire that brotherhood which is never attacked by envy, and that undisturbed concord, and that unbroken unanimity, and that insatiable love by which the hearts of the righteous are filled at the sight of the adorable splendour of Christ. And [let us remember] that assembly of the Church gathered together from spiritual and corporeal beings which is never to be dispersed; and that unchangeable happiness of the sounds of the songs of joy of those who sing; and that humility which can never be puffed up; and that inheritance which can never be spoiled, which the righteous inherit in the world of light; and the incomparable glory with which the children of light there are clothed; and the gift which can never be stolen away, which the blessed inherit in the new world of Christ; and that praise which can never be silenced, which is loudly proclaimed by all rational beings. And if the vigilant understanding of your souls be occupied in meditation upon these and such-like things, O my venerable brethren, ye will find the power and be able to tread down and to hold in contempt the foul passions which are stirred up within you by reason of the wretchedness and earthiness of the body with which ye are clothed, and by the erring nature of the changeable soul which is in you;

8 and ye shall be worthy of the Grace which is the bestower of all gifts, so that ye may live out your days in peace which is free from all strivings, according to the Will of your Creator. And ye shall become in this world holy temples in which the praises of the Lord are sung; and ye shall be glorious tabernacles in which the songs of glory and redemption are heard; and ye shall become like luminaries [shining] in the darkness, whose good works [men] shall see and shall glorify your Father Who is in heaven; and ye shall be crowned with the glory which is laid up for all the righteous who have been and who shall be. And with these and such-like words did that holy

mouth preach and make to listen the ears of the flock which had been entrusted to him. And they became like unto good seed sown in a cultivated field of good ground, and the furrows of the souls of his disciples brought forth fruit; and the holy children of his fatherly [rule] became well known and esteemed, and every day and always the sons of this congregation, [which was under] the direction of this good and famous labourer in the sanctuary, the all-wise and holy Rabban Gabriel, became the occasion of praise of their Lord.

### CHAPTER 15. OF THOSE ASCETICS AND HOLY MEN WHO WERE TO BE FOUND IN VARIOUS PLACES IN THE DAYS OF RABBAN GABRIEL

1 Now in the days of Rabban [Gabriel] many ascetics were to be found, some of whom were solitary brethren who lived in a monastery, and some were Bishops and Metropolitans, of whom we have made mention in this history that we might be blessed through recording their names; and we will shew forth concerning Rabban Gabriel who was well known and famous among them. In the holy monastery of Béth 'Abhê there lived a holy ascetic whose name was Abbâ Dômat (Domitius), and he was a righteous and famous man by whose hands Christ our Lord wrought many mighty deeds. And the rags from his garments drove away the devils openly as did those from the clothes of Paul; now as he also came from the country of Béth Garmai he had great affection for Rabban Gabriel. In the Monastery of Bêth Rabban bar-'Idtâ there lived a holy man who was called Îshô'-sabhran bar-Mâmai, a good and self-denying man, and sicknesses were driven away by the maṣṭaba upon which he rested himself; he was finally appointed Bishop of the great city of Nineveh (Môṣul). This man restored the temple of that monastery, and removed it from its site, as did Rabban Paul in this monastery.

2 In a mountain glen called Bêth Gazzâ there dwelt the marvellous ascetics Khôminâ and Ma'nâ, [who were] aged solitaries, and who wrought many mighty deeds, for they were many times seen by believers to cross over on the top of the Great Zâb river. The holy Abbâ Pethion lived a glorious life of asceticism by himself in a cell [situated] in a mountain glen called Ṣaphi. He was a good and self-denying man, and was seen by men but rarely; devils and sicknesses fled away from the bread which had been blessed and given [to people] by him. He departed this temporary life there, and his body was removed to a village called Rishâ. Abbâ Ḥabhibhâ and Jacob his brother shone with the light of virtue in the mountain of Yânân; they made whole those

who were sick of the palsy, they gave barren women children, they forbade the locusts to injure the vines, and everything was obedient to their command.

3 In the Monastery of Béth Ḳôḳâ there lived—famous for holiness—Abbâ Sabhr-Îshô, surnamed Khêphiphâ (i. e., Humpback), who was a truly ascetic monk, and also Abbâ 'Abd-Îshô of Kartaw. This latter ascetic had no door to his cell so that no man could come into his cell, and he could go out to no man. Now he was exceedingly poor, and he had no care for his dwelling-place—even so also was the holy man Gabriel—and he was like the ostriches and other birds, [and he lived] remote and in solitude away from disturbing influences in the voluntary poverty of his mind. In the mountain of Zinai there lived tried solitaries, and discreet anchorites, concerning one of whom whose name was Amonius the [following] wonderful thing is told. Every wild goat which had fallen from a rock or any high place, and injured itself, came to him to be healed; and once when his servant, [who was] a believing man, went to carry [his] food to him, he found there with him a she-goat with her leg broken, and it had been set and bound up by that holy old man, and her two young ones were with her. And as a proof of the truth of [this] wonderful thing the believing man took one of the young ones, and brought [it] to his village, and I have seen people who saw that kid which lived tame in the village from year to year.

4 At that time certain holy fathers flourished in the government of the Church. On the throne of Arbela [sat] the blessed Metropolitan, Mâr Ahâ, and after him the marvellous Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh, and after them Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh the Metropolitan. Now the venerable Rabban Gabriel flourished during the life-time of those three Metropolitans who wrought many mighty deeds during their governorships, and as he sprang from this country which was [under] their jurisdiction, they had great affection for him, and he was accounted by them a mighty man, and a servant of righteousness. In the church of the city of Adiabene [there lived] the holy and praiseworthy Bishop Mâr Solomon, [who was] a fellow-worker with the Apostles, and who, like Peter, by his command only used to drive away refractory devils; he passed over on the top of the great river Tigris many times, and he cursed the wicked man Kardagh, and made a horn to grow out of his forehead. But why should I weary my fingers with writing his glorious deeds? for behold they are written at great length by his disciples. Now the [hair of] his head and his

beard were shaved off from this man, worthy of blessing, by a heathen king because of the conversion which he wrought among the heathen.

5 Now in the Church on the episcopal throne of Sinjâr the holy Mâr Shûbhhal-Mâran was being glorified, and all his great and splendid works were superhuman. For when he was appointed Bishop in the great church of Nisibis, and was obliged to go to the Patriarch that [the enthronement] might be performed, he took the boat in which he embarked from Bâlâdh to Baghdad in one night, [that is] he made the boat go down to Baghdad; and so also when he came up he brought the boat in which he sailed back to Bâlâdh in one night. And [once] when Satan smote his disciple and blinded his eyes he adjured Satan, and he brought stones upon an ass for the building of his church instead of his servant. In the country of Hânâithâ, in a mountain half way towards Ma allthâ, there dwelt a certain solitary whose name was Mârôî, and on the mountain of a village near him there lived a dragon which used to come each day and carry off an ox from the herd. And when those men came to him, and wept before him concerning the injuries which they [suffered] from that destructive beast, he went with them to the dragon's cave; and when the dragon saw them he hissed like a serpent and came down against them, and the holy old man cursed him, and straightway he became like a senseless stone. And he stands [there] to this day, and is like unto a clay building, and those who pass along the road rest under his shadow, and marvelling, praise God and bless that holy man, and make entreaty for his prayers.

6 And on the episcopal throne of Salâkh there shone with apostolic light the holy Bishop Mâr Îshô'-zêkhâ, who came from the country of Bêth Armâyê; this [holy] man cursed a certain large vine belonging to some proud and insolent men, and tore it up by its roots. In Salâkh Gâwaitâ there was a village called 'Ulâi, the inhabitants of which had but recently become converted to the way of Christ, and when they built a church in their village they endowed it with a thicket of many nut trees; but when those old men were dead their children raised a dispute about the nut trees, and took possession of them. And when this holy man went to them the priests of that church laid a complaint before him against the believing men; the believing men said, "They are ours", and the priests said, "[They belong to] the church." Then the holy man stood up and prayed, and said before them all, "I trust in our Lord, Whom I serve, that if those nut trees belong to the believing men

they will remain in their place[s], but if they [belong] to the church that Christ will bring them to the courtyard of the church." And when the night had passed, and they came early in the morning, behold, they saw that the whole of that thicket had departed [and come] near the church, without any one of the trees having [suffered] injury, or leaving behind any of its roots in its former position; and all those who saw and heard [this] glorified God.

7 And again, in the Monastery of Rabban Aphni Mâran the truly venerable and holy Abbâ bar-Dairâ the anchorite put forth signs and mighty works, which are greater than any related in history; it is not however, our affair to relate things about him, but that of the holy men who have composed accounts of his noble deeds. In the Monastery of Bar-Ṭûrâ there shone like a heavenly star with the light of his holiness, the blessed Abbâ Mark, who put the heathen to shame, and exalted the horn of the Church by the noble deeds which he shewed forth before multitudes of people. And in those days and times, the monk and ascetic the holy Abbâ 'Anân-Îshô, who is worthy of being mentioned with all the righteous, built and completed the monastery near the city of Hadhattâ, and he established a famous congregation by the mighty deeds and wonders which our Lord wrought by his hands.

8 In the country of Béth Béghâsh the holy Bishop Mâr Simon was glorious in his ecclesiastical pasture and government which was [situated] there; he it was who built the church in the village of Shalmath when he was a teacher there, and he shewed forth many healings in the world in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. During the time of his episcopate the mention of his name was a subject for boasting for all Christians, and even after his departure from the tabernacle of his holy bones every healing of the body and of the soul was vouchsafed unto whomsoever took refuge in him. These and such-like wonderful things were performed by the hands of these holy men, [to write] the noble deeds of each of whom would require a history to be specially devoted to the purpose; I have, however, written down the histories of certain of them in another book. Now inasmuch as I have made mention of them twice, [I did so] the first time, that I might make manifest what lamps were shining in the Church in the days of Rabban Gabriel, and the second time, that those who read this book might hearken to [the account of] his wonderful deeds, and might not remain unbelievers when they hear repeated

before them [the story of] the mighty works which our Lord wrought by the hands of this member of His household.

### CHAPTER 16. OF THE REVELATIONS CONCERNING THINGS OF THE FUTURE WHICH THE HOLY RABBAN MÂR GABRIEL RECEIVED FROM GOD

1 Unto what limit now shall we extend our feeble discourse in demonstrating the greatness of this marvellous man? Let us come now, little by little, and as it were by brief signs and indications we will [first] relate concerning the revelations which came to him, and afterwards [we will speak] about the miracles and mighty works which he wrought, and thus with the steps of [our] narrative of him we shall travel on to the conclusion of [this] history. 2 Who now is unacquainted with 'Amran bar-Muḥammad' of the family of el-Azd, who was descended from the [tribe of] the great Taiman, the exceedingly stubborn servant whose asperity was softened and mollified by means of this holy head? Now before this Arab came to this country, God, the Lord of all, had revealed before the eyes of the mind of the holy man the beginning and end of this man, and concerning his children, and his childrens' children, for five generations; and he became known to him in this wise:—Rabban once wished to sell certain oxen of the herd belonging to the monastery to provide for the ministration of the brethren, and he sent ten oxen with a monk to the market of the village of Yazdainâbhâdh, and he commanded him, saying, "Take these oxen, and go to Yazdainâbhâdh, and do not take them into the market, but pasture them above the village. And behold, a man will come to you mounted upon a horse, and will haggle concerning their price with thee with many words, but thou shalt not strike a bargain with him, neither shalt thou accept their price from him. And when he shall say to thee, 'Wait until I bring thee their price,' thou shalt say to him, 'Thus saith Mâr Gabriel, Whenever it is easy for thee, take their price and come [with it] to me to the monastery'.

3 And when that brother had gone and had done as he had been commanded, behold 'Amran came, and when he saw the oxen he turned aside [to look at] them. And having enquired about their condition he said, Hast thou brought them to sell? and the brother answered and said to 'Amran, "What is thy name? and he said, "Why askest thou concerning my name? The monk said, "My father Rabban Gabriel commanded me, saying, 'Behold a certain Ishmaelite whose name is Amran will come to thee, deliver the oxen to him freely, and say to him, I know that thou hast not the money to pay

for them, but whenever God hath made it ready for thee, take [it] and come [with it] to me to the monastery that I may see thee'. And when 'Amran heard these things [about himself from] this holy old man who was not even acquainted with him, for he had not as yet entered into [his] inheritance of the estates of Margâ,' he marvelled and was astonished, and he knew that this man must be great, for, said he, He saw my coming to the market, and saw that I wished to buy oxen; and he knew and perceived with his soul's understanding that the esteem of the Christians was mighty and exalted before God, for behold their holy men see and know the things which are hidden. So he took the oxen and went [his way], and the monk returned to Rabban and informed him of all that had happened meanwhile;

4 and Rabban was silent and answered never a word. Now after a day or two behold 'Amran knocked at the door [of the monastery], and when they opened the door for him and he had gone in he asked for Rabban and fell down upon the ground before him, and Rabban kissed him on the head and blessed him; and Amran brought [out] the money, the price of the oxen. And as he was sitting down he embraced Rabban's legs as a mark of honour, and entreated him to pray for him, and Rabban answered and said to him, "If thou wilt establish a covenant before God and before myself that thou wilt not slay the Christians, I will reveal to thee what thou shalt become, and what shall happen to thy children, and to thy children's children. And he swore before him, saying, "From this day and henceforth to the most remote time, among the Christians a man like unto thyself I will never harm. Thou hast heard concerning the children of Bôzî, but they acted wickedly towards me, and exasperated me with their fables and pride. The blessed man answered and said to him, "If thou wilt restrain thy sword from the people of God, behold God will make thee, and thy children, and thy children's children to inherit peacefully all this country of Margâ, and the men who shall arise from thy seed shall become strong and mighty, and no man shall be able to stand before them and conquer.

5 Like Nisân with its blossoms and flowers, and the vine with its clusters of grapes, even so shall they be distinguished in their appearance and strength from the other families of the Arabs. Thus hath it been revealed to me by God, in comparison with the love of Whom I count the whole world as nothing, and I entreat thee to command the sons whom God shall raise up from thee to shew love to the Christians, and especially to the monaster-

ies and convents, and to ascetics, and scholars, and priests, and deacons. And 'Amran undertook to act according to the command of Rabban, and he did so, and he likewise commanded his sons to do so. Such was the revelation which appeared to the holy old man. 6 And again, there were three hamlets near the monastery of the holy man, the inhabitants of which, together with all the heathen, robbed and vexed this holy house; and when the brethren made a complaint [to Rabban], he said to them merely, "They will be made desolate utterly", and this actually came to pass. Moreover, by the [gift of] prophecy which dwelt in him he made known concerning the revolt in the kingdom which took place before this our generation. And as we have said above, he shewed aforetime to the brethren concerning the desolation of the Monastery of Malbadh, and the ruin of all his family, and of the glory which descended not after him; and behold the sight of that ruined and desolate place testifieth to the words of the holy man. And he shewed aforetime concerning the death, which should take place before his own, of his beloved fellow-labourer and ascetic Abbâ Dômat (Domitius) of Bêth 'Abhê, and when that holy old man was dying [Rabban] said to the brethren, who were in his monastery, "In this night shall the perfection of the blessed Abbâ Dômat (Domitius) be accomplished, and his soul shall be exalted to the treasuries of heaven; this day shall Satan, the foe of holy men, be put to shame by reason of the escape of that divine old man from his crafty wiles."

7 Now divine visions which surpassed our knowledge appeared to him frequently, but through the negligence of authors they have not been set down in writing; we, however, by a very few of the things which have been said about him, like a drop of rain out of the whole shower, or like a single block of stone out of the whole mountain, make known to what measure [of power] this divine man attained. was a contemporary of Mâr Ahâ, Mâr Mâran-'ammeh and Mâr Îshô'-yahbh [of Adiabene], and we know that these Metropolitans lived in the VIIth century of our era; however, died about A. H. 137 (A. D. 754), and if he had been a contemporary of Mâr Ahâ he must have been considerably more than 100 years old at the time of his death. For the account of Malbadh's monastery see Bk. VI. chap. 13, supra p. 639.

### CHAPTER 17. OF THE WONDERS, AND MIGHTY WORKS OF HEALING, AND CURES OF ALL KINDS WHICH WERE WROUGHT BY THE HANDS OF RABBAN GABRIEL

1 Let us now turn, the might of the prayer of this holy man cleaving unto us, to the mighty deeds which Christ wrought, and the wonders which He shewed forth by his hands. "A city which is built upon a mountain cannot be hid," as [long as] it pleaseth Christ our Lord, and according to His command, neither may His disciples conceal His mysteries and revelations. Now although certain holy men have excelled in mighty works of excellence, yet wonders and the working of mighty deeds have not been performed by their hands; and this did not happen through any defect or lack of renown on their part, but because God, the only wise Being, giveth to every man that [gift] which is most suitable for him. And because human nature is deceitful, and Satan lieth in wait continually, and lurketh to compass its ruin, especially in the case of holy men and of those who have often cut through his snares and laughed at his wily tricks, our Lord God withholds from certain men this gift of healing. For behold, we see that to the divine Paul, who was the tongue of Christ, who fulfilled His designs, and who was the great pillar and father of the churches of the Gentiles which had been sanctified by his hands with the mark of the Cross of Christ, was delivered a goad for his flesh, the messenger of Satan, which was his moderate weakness, lest by the excellence of the revelations and signs which he used to work, after he had preached to others he himself might become a castaway. So then everything cometh from the will of the Governor, Who, according to His inscrutable fore-knowledge, perfecteth in those who are participators in His counsel those things which are administered for the common good. Now this holy man, our father Mâr Gabriel,

2 "ambush", and by. "bands of thieves who lie in wait, that is to say, thieves who plunder people, and who band themselves together with others in revolt, and unite together to rob and steal;" see Duval, Lexicon, col. 1147. Compare "band of brigands," and "voleur", Dozy, Supplément, p. 408, col. 2. having aforetime, from the beginning of his discipleship, embraced humility, chose to be considered of no account and unknown, and he passed the whole period of his life in this [manner], even until his old age, when by the Divine choice he was called to the headship of this holy monastery, and our Lord gave by his hands mighty deeds and gifts which fell short in nothing of

those possessed by the early fathers. And, notwithstanding that he was the fountain and origin of the healings which were wrought by him, many afflictions came upon him from the wicked men who were his neighbours in this place, whom Satan, the enemy of our master, stirred up [against him] every day and always, and they were gathered together against him with threats and curses to put him to shame in this place, as afterwards, little by little, by the help of God we will prove with our words.

3 Now when Rabban [Gabriel] lived in the Monastery of Mâr John, and was carrying out his customary duties, a certain man from the village of Tellâ came to him in the month of Îlûl, and said to him sadly, "The vines in our village have been severely smitten by the hail, and my vine only remaineth uninjured." The blessed man said to him, "My son, a punishment hath been sent upon you by God for your benefit, and whosoever receiveth the chastisement of the Lord, the Lord will bind up his wound. Had the hail smitten thy vine also it would have been for thy benefit; but thou must know that destruction [of thy vine] awaiteth thee. If the sin is the sin of the whole community, the chastisement also must be of the whole community." And that man went and pressed the grapes of his vine, and he poured his wine into a wine jar and sealed it; and when he went back to look at it on the following day, behold the wine jar was empty and there was nothing inside it. Thus the words of Rabban were actually fulfilled.

4 Once while he lived in the cell of Mâr John, when he was sitting in front of his cell and reading a book, an eagle came and carried off a kid of the goats belonging to the monastery. And when Rabban saw that the kid bleated, and that the eagle was carrying it up to his nest to devour, he said to the eagle, "For the sake of our Lord let down carefully what thou hast taken"; and the eagle, as if some heavy thing were hanging from him, let the kid down little by little, and laid it on the ground without injury, and spread out his wings and flew away. And all those who heard concerning these things from the shepherd, praised God, but because they were the beginning of the miracles of the blessed man they were perturbed and frightened. And the holy man answered and said to them, "My brethren, be not astonished at this thing which hath taken place, for it hath not happened through my power, but by God, Who hath made manifest these things on your account; I am a weak man and a sinner, and this hath been wrought by your prayers. Every wild animal, and beast, and bird, and reptile is made subject unto divine and

holy men, even as it was to Noah at the door of his ark, for the God of the people of these last times is the God of the ancients.

5 Another time also there came to him a certain Persian believer from the village of Bèth Kèwàz, which [is situated] on the Great Zàb, leading with him his two sons who were vexed by evil spirits; the name of the one was Noah, and that of the other Marwà, and he entreated Rabban to pray for them. Then Rabban commanded and the boys were brought to him, and he anathematized those devils, saying, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who cast out legions from him who dwelt among the tombs, I command you to come forth from these boys"; and while the brethren were standing before him and all looking on, [the devils] came forth from their mouths in the form of fire. Thus by the word of Rabban they received healing from the vexation of obstinate devils, and that man returned to his house rejoicing and praising God.

6 One day a mad dog came forth from the village of Niram, and as it passed by some children who were playing, it fell upon one whose name was Màròn, and tore open his belly, and his bowels came out freely, and his parents carried him and brought him to Rabban. And when he saw him he was much grieved for him, and he commanded and they put the child's bowels back into his belly, and he made the sign of the Cross over them, and thus by the word of Rabban the wound was healed. Sapsa with lions; and Macarius had two lions whom he called "Little sons." See Rosweyde, Vitae Patrum, pp. 49, 650, 120, 459, 84, 857 and 228. 7 In the village of Hēṭārā, which is situated on the [bank of] the river Hāzer, there was a certain man whose name was Naggārā; he belonged to the race of the Shahrīghān, and had a son whose name was Maslamāh. Now this boy was smitten with a very virulent sore, and his father sent him to this monastery, and the old man gave him a hēnānā, and commanded him not to eat meat or anything of that nature until the end of the Fast of the Apostles; and when the fifty days were ended the boy had become whole. And his father commanded one of the members of his home to bring some fish from the river, and to carry [them] with the boy to Rabban, and some they fried [to eat] in the village, and some they left alive and took with them as they came to this monastery. And the young man who was with Maslamāh was a heathen, and when they drew near to the precincts of the monastery on the first day of the week which ended the "Week of the Apostles"—now the boy was fasting to receive the Holy Myster-

ies—the heathen young man counselled the boy with the counsel of Eve, saying, "Thou art fasting now, and when thou goest to the monks thou wilt be ashamed to eat, but I will place in this tree a piece of fish with [some] bread, so that when we come back thou canst eat;

8 now the boy did not prevent him, and according to his word they placed [the meat and bread there], and set forth [again] on their journey. And when they had gone in to the old man they laid the basket of fish before him, and he commanded the brethren to dress them by the time of the Holy Mysteries. And while the fish, which they were about to fry on the fire in Rabban's chamber, were lying in the pan, Rabban's cat came and took one of them. And Rabban answered and laughing, said to him, "Do not be more greedy than the brethren, for he that brought the fish did not receive healing from thee, but through their prayers; let it go, wretched creature, that chastisement may not come upon thee; and with the word of Rabban, a strong eagle seized the cat and bore him up into the air. And Rabban said to the eagle, "Let him go and offend not a second time," and the eagle let him down and laid him upon the ground uninjured; and the young men and the brethren marvelled and were astonished.

9 And with this miracle the blessed man wrought also another wonderful thing at the table in the refectory while they were eating. When the brethren had taken the gift and had sat down to eat the good things which the Lord had brought to them, Maslamâh and his companion ate with deliberation. And Rabban said to Maslamâh, "My son, see what this my servant telleth me." Now the old man had as his disciple a young man whose name was Kûphrâ, the son of Sabhrîshô, a believer [who came] from Nîram, a village of shepherds, and when many illnesses had waxed strong in him, his father set him apart to become the servant of Rabban, if ever he should become well, and by the mediation of this holy man this actually came to pass, and he became a disciple, and a monk, and afterwards head of a monastery. At that moment this young man was standing before Rabban, and to him Rabban directed the gaze of the boy Maslamâh, saying, "This [my] servant counselleth thee to eat abundantly, for a crow hath carried off that which ye hid in a tree." And with the word of Rabban, behold [there came] upon the roof a large black crow, [holding] in his beak the bread and the fish which the young men had hidden in the tree; thus astonishment about the crow

and what he carried followed closely upon their wonder concerning the cat. These and such-like things were wrought by the hands of this our prophet.

10 At another time there came to him a certain believing man from Nineveh (Môṣul), who, although he had lived with his wife a long time, was not called the father of children; to him Rabban gave a ḥenânâ, and having prayed for him, he dismissed him, and three children were born to him through the prayers of Rabban, and he also was called the father of children. A certain man from the village of Amûlhir was sorely vexed by Satan, and he shouted out with cries by day and by night, and he was brought to Rabban by his parents; and as soon as he had gone into the martyrium and Rabban had anointed him with the oil of prayer, he was made whole, and became free from attack. And a certain man from the village of Birtâ who had no children, came and knocked at the door of the old man with supplication, and asked for his prayers, and in due time twins were born to him. And Rabban commanded him to minister unto the poor and the strangers "in return for the double blessing which God hath given thee;" and that believer undertook and did according to the command of Rabban.

11 In the village of Niram there was a woman who was a ministrant unto rebellious devils. And when she saw the mighty deeds and wonders which the holy man was working against the devils her masters, she set herself in opposition to him, that they might make an end of him and destroy him out of the world. And although Rabban had known concerning her for some time past, he had never done her any harm, nor given information concerning her; now this woman set her face to slay Rabban, whom the wretched creature was not only not able to harm in any way, but she, the wretched creature, destroyed herself. And she took in her bosom some dried white grapes and went straight to him; now Rabban was saying Compline at the door of the martyrium. And when she saw him, she bowed down before him, and reproaching him in, as it were, a loving manner said, "Because I am a poor and sinful woman, thou neither liftest up my head, nor takest any care for me, as thou dost for the other widows whom thou feedest. And the holy man rebuked her, saying, "Depart, wretched woman, thou hast no need of sustenance at my hands, for thou hast other protectors; but she did not understand that he spake of the devils whom she served, and sighing she sadly entreated him to receive the few dried grapes which she had brought to him.

12 And Rabban, knowing of the strange power that was hidden therein, answered and said to her, "Get thee gone, woman; I have harmed thee in no way, what hast thou to do with me? Light hath no portion with darkness, neither can the adorers of the Cross be participators in the table and the food of devils. Now although [Rabban had spoken] thus, she nevertheless dared to throw the grapes down upon the doorstep of the martyrium before the holy old man, and she left [him] and went away. And as Rabban was singing the psalm, with the top of his staff he traced [a figure of] the Cross over and among them, and they were straightway changed into large, strong wasps. And they flew after that despicable woman and overtook her on the road, and they took vengeance upon her for the insult to the holy man, and they stung her upon her face and head, and she died immediately, and fell into the river; and every man was astonished at the terrible death which had happened to the wretched woman.

13 And again the Calumniator, who wishes to make a mock of the holy men of our Lord, and who was lurking in ambush and watching for the ruin of that mighty old man, into whom none of his arrows ever stuck, and whom no spiritual or corporeal blemish ever touched, brought upon him, and upon his monastery innumerable trials, in which Rabban was victorious, and inflicted severe defeat upon his enemy, who sometimes troubled him by the stubborn heathen, and sometimes by other afflictions. 14 Now there lived in the village of Bêth Ôbhîd a woman who was exceedingly beautiful, and she set the beauty with which mortal nature had endowed her as a stumbling-block for the children of the race of mankind, and Satan invited and led on this woman [to attempt] the ruin of this divine man. And she rose up and adorned herself like a harlot with all the ornaments which stir up lust for women in men, and she put kohl on her eyes, and tired her head like Jezebel, and like Jezebel she also was about to drink the cup of the wrath of the Lord; and she hung upon herself all her ornaments of gold and silver, and she rose up and set out from the village and made her journey to the monastery of Rabban. Now Rabban was among a great crowd of people who were sick and afflicted with devils, and she also went in among them all breathing forth the evil smelling scent of her perfumes, and she waited until every one had gone forth on his way. And when she saw that Rabban remained alone she dared to stand before him with her face uncovered, and she showed him her beauty without shame. And Rabban answered in his ac-

customed gracious manner, and said to her, "What is the cause of thy coming here? and the audacious woman said to him, "I have come to thee that I may sleep with thee this night and that thou mayest be united with me.

15 And Rabban was passionately enraged with her, and he cursed her, and she fell down on her face straightway, and he called brother Kûphrâ his servant to gather her up, and commanded him to drag her outside; and she went to her village in great pain, and on the morning of the morrow she was buried, and behold she was reserved for a judgment more bitter than death. And this thing was known to all who dwelt in the country, and they glorified our Lord Who made the holy man victorious, because by the memory of her [whom] the holy man burnt up with his curses and destroyed, the lust of the lascivious perished. 16 And on a certain day the heathen from the hamlets round about came by night and fell upon Bêth Hêsikhê, the forest of the monastery, with axes and scythes, and they mercilessly hacked and hewed and threw down [the trees]; and they at the same time were making threats against the monastery, saying, "We will burn it with fire, and we will make it a waste place as if it had never existed;" and when the sacristan went out to strike the board for morning [prayer], he heard the noise of those that were cutting the trees, and he went in and informed Rabban. And the holy man went out to speak with them, and to admonish them for their daring behaviour, but the children of destruction poured out insulting words upon him, and with bitter pain in his heart he cursed them as Elisha cursed the children, and straightway the angel of the Lord slew them with the exception of one who remained [alive] to proclaim their audacious behaviour. Thus the prayer of this altar of prayer was heard and accepted, and at the first moving of his request the work [of destruction] was performed.

17 And again Satan, who desired their destruction, inflamed [the hearts of] the inhabitants of a village called Bêth Ṭimai, who were heathen, and evil livers, and thieves, to come and smite the monks and to plunder the community; and when they had come and many of the brethren had been badly wounded, and had had their bones broken by them, the [other] brethren went in and informed Rabban of the audacious violence of those godless men. And Rabban admonished the brethren, saying, "My sons, for the sake of Christ, your Lord, endure insults and blows from [your] enemies, for He said, 'In the world ye shall have tribulation'; and what man or what saint ever departed from [this] world without affliction? And while Rabban

was admonishing and exhorting his disciples with such words as these, those men from Bèth Timai seized the herd of cattle [belonging] to the community and departed, and they hid themselves in a certain place called Bèth Saphwàn, so that when the night came they might carry the oxen away unobserved to a distance and sell them. Now when it was evening Rabban went forth after them secretly, and he went into the wood and took with him two fierce lions, and drew near to those wretched men.

18 And when they saw him and the lions, [one] on his right hand, and [one] on his left, and saw that they were ready at his command to swiftly destroy them, mounting upon rocks, and hiding in caves they adjured him by his God to take what belonged to him, and to save their lives from destruction by those cruel lions; and they swore to him that they would never come back to the monastery. And the holy man spake to them darkly, saying, "I trust in God, Whom I serve, that from this day and henceforth ye will need neither to buy nor to sell, nor to go forth outside the borders of your village, but that ye may rest in relaxation and peace for ever, and that ye may not wake up until the time appointed beforehand for this universe. And the men worthy of woe rose up and went to their village, and the Lord destroyed them in a short time, and their village was made a desolation for ever, so much so that even its name and memorial were blotted out entirely from this earth. And the holy man took the herd of cattle and returned to the monastery in the evening when it was quite dark; and this wonder was proclaimed throughout all the country.

19 And again when the 'Amran bar-Muḥammad—whom we have mentioned above—had gone in and inherited the lands [round about], and with them also Nīram of the shepherds, in which he lived, because of the love which he had for this righteous man—for he had actually done what Rabban asked him [to do]—he called to one of his servants and said to him, "Go to Rabban Gabriel and say to him, if he has a little wheat, let him lend it to us, and as soon as we bring the corn into the granary we will pay him double. Now it was the season of Nīsān when it happeneth that many people are in need [of wheat]. And when he that had been sent had come [to Rabban], the holy old man rose up and shewed him a hollow in the ground, that is to say, a pit, full of wheat, and said to him, "Behold, my son, take all this wheat and carry it to thy master". And this servant took up out of the pit as many loads as he pleased, leaving, however, some behind, for he was mindful not to take

all the grain, having compassion for the brethren that they themselves might not lack. And he left [the monastery] and went to 'Amran, and when Amran asked him if any [wheat] was left in the pit, he was afraid of his master's violence, and told him, saying, "I did leave a little there for the food of the monastery and of the old man.

20 Then 'Amran according to his cruel disposition asked him to go back and bring also what was left, saying, "Rabban Gabriel will lack nothing. And when the servant had gone back to the old man he made the matter known to Rabban, who answered and said to him, "O my son, I have lent all the pitful [of wheat] to 'Amran, do not therefore leave anything in it that thou dost not carry away. And when the servant went to the pit he opened it and saw, and behold it was full to the top as before, and he looked and was astonished, and he went back having loaded the mule, and related [the matter] to his master, who marvelled and was astonished, and did not send again [to Rabban]. How wonderful is the love of God towards holy men, who having elected to live in penury and to be unpraised and unknown, in that, contrary to their wishes, it leadeth on their part to the praise of His great power, and in such a way that they provoke those who love its excellence! And this holy person who was beloved by his Lord wrought many most astonishing things which were full of His glory. This man was a prosperous gardener who fenced round his own vineyard with the sure hedge of keeping the commandments, that [wild animals] might not enter in and destroy the fruits of his sweetness.

21 He was a wise builder who dug down deep and laid the walls of his house firmly upon the sure rock of belief, that they might not move by reason of the blast of the mighty winds of pride, and that the thief might not enter in and spoil the riches of his treasure. He was a faithful steward who laid upon the table before those who sat at meat in his master's house the portion which had been entrusted to him. He was a diligent mariner who saved his valuable ship from the waves and storms, and who steered straight out of them for the quiet harbour. He was a merchant [who] understood what was advantageous for him, and who laid up his treasures in heaven above where the fingers of thieves draw not nigh to plunder the riches of the prosperous. He was a soldier without blame who went forth to meet the enemies of his Lord, and who never turned his back until he had destroyed them. He was a husbandman who sowed the seed wisely, and who cleansed the field of his thoughts from every plant of stubborn tares, and he shewed

his field [to be] full of choice fat wheat. He was a valiant warrior who conquered all the armies of the mighty Philistines who had driven out the upright from the land of promise.

22 He was a Gideon victorious in the wars of the Lord, who pursued spiritual Midianites, and took the gold and the crescents of their camels, and plundered them until he had made them pass from out of his dominion. It was in such a manner that he was victorious, and these and suchlike triumphs did he exhibit. What speech can fathom the hidden virtues of this man, and bring [them] to the light and shew their glorious character? It is meet that his praises should be recited by blessed and righteous men whose discourse is savoury and sweet, in that it hath been seasoned with the salt of chastity, and not by ignorant men who are overwhelmed in sin like myself. It is meet that thy noble triumphs should be set down in writing, O pearl of asceticism, wherefore we have made bold to write [the history of them]. We will attribute honour to thy love, and we will award gratitude to thy holiness, in order that the dust of thy limbs, which alive or dead, driveth away devils, and the vessel in which thy body is laid, may be known by the prudent and not be despised. And although it was pleasing to thee in thy life and in thy death to follow after humility, yet if [thy triumphs] remain unknown they will bring injury and harm [upon men]; [therefore we have written them] that they may be a benefit to them. To thee be praise and to thy Lord glory!

23 moon, in which are set precious stones; they also call that [piece of] iron which is made like the half moon, and which the Arabs put on their camels above their nostrils." The Arabs call every thing which has the form of a crescent or new moon.

## CHAPTER 18. OF THE LAMENTABLE DEATH OF RABBAN GABRIEL, AND OF HIS DEPARTURE TO THE WORLD OF JOY

1 And how much longer shall we weary [our] listeners with our common and ignorant words? After these things then, let us proceed and advance to the sickness which smote the holy man, and to those things which happened during his illness, so that with the end of his career we may also bring our lines to a close. Now while that holy man was bringing down this and suchlike help upon all mankind, one by one the years of his life came to an end, and old age and feebleness troubled him; day by day he began to complete the path of his journey in this world and to set out on the paths of death, so

that he also might go and join all the saints in the never-ending mansions for which and because of which he had toiled all his days. And the holy man fell ill of a disease of the bowels and suffered from diarrhoea for four months, like the majority of the holy men who have departed and who will depart from the world. And at the end of the months of his sickness the report of his departure from this life was carried to all the nobles and governors of the country, and they were gathered together and came to see him.

2 And the honourable and noble Zádói bar-Zadhbháh, [who] is worthy of mention for good because of his noble deeds and his protection of the schools,—for he had taken upon himself the burden of maintaining them —was also among the many who came to the monastery to see the holy man, and the honourable Zádói, who was sitting behind Rabban, supported him in the hour of his death, and he was grieved at the departure of the holy old man. And while all the brethren were standing before him, (now some of them were sitting) the eyes of the blessed man dropped tears of grief, and he wept abundantly. And when the brethren saw that he wept, all the believers wept also, saying to him, "If thou weepest, Rabban, and art grieved at thy departure, what shall we who are sinners do? He said to them, "I am not afraid of death, neither am I grieved at my departure, but I am afraid of the judgment of our Lord, for God judgeth by fire. If Saint Paul was terrified at the judgment hall of God and said, 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God,' who am I that I should not be stupefied with terror? For I know not what the Judge will make me hear there, or what answer He will return to me, for I know not whether my work will be pleasing before Him or not.

3 And behold I am going along a road upon which I have not journeyed, and to a judgment hall of sin into which I have not entered, and the face of the Judge is terrible towards sinners, among whom I am reckoned. His Holy Cross shall be an advocate for me before His justice, and I will take refuge in it; and as the holy old man wept and [his] tears poured down wetting his beard and his neck, a cry went up to heaven from every man. And after the weeping and the tears the beauty of grace shone upon his countenance and drew forth great astonishment from every man, and the eyes of the brethren and of the believers looked upon him. And when they saw him in that changed condition of heavenly splendour, and saw that he had composed his mind and had become peaceful [after] his weeping, the brethren and monks

answered and said to him, "Our father, to whom wilt thou leave us? From this day and henceforth who will hedge us in from before the enemies by whom we are surrounded? Whilst thou wast alive they swallowed us up alive, and when thou art dead what evil will they not make us suffer? They will certainly make a desolation of this poor monastery. The blessed man answered and said to them, "My brethren, take heed to your redemption and to your reward, and multiply [your] prayers for the Church and the government.

4 Pray also for me that I may have openness of face before our Lord, [and if it be granted to me] by the fifth day of the week not one of your enemies shall remain alive; and this actually came to pass according to the old man Rabban's word, for he departed [this] life at dawn on the fifth day of the week and by the following fifth day they had all come to an end and perished, [and], their lands are made desolate unto this day. And having his mouth filled with praise, and admonishing and encouraging the brethren not to be cast down before the afflictions and sufferings and trials from within and without, he delivered up his soul to his Master and ended his valiant contest; and immediately the whole house in which he died was filled with a sweet smell. And the teachers, and scholars, and priests, and deacons, and believing men were gathered together and came to be blessed at the bier of the holy old man, and every man wept and was sad and mournful by reason of the departure of [their] father; the monks for their head and governor who watched on behalf of their souls; the widows for the supporter of their lives; the orphans for the foster-father of their destitution; the poor for the man who filled their bosoms with his crumbs; the wandering strangers and abjects for him that gathered together their wanderings [into a house]; the afflicted for the man who relieved their need;

5 the troubled for the man who alleviated the pains of their wounds; the oppressed for him that delivered them from their oppressors; the sick for the physician who healed them for nothing; those who were in anguish for the consoler of their sorrow; and the rich because he made their alms wing their way to heaven. In his death the man who was entirely and in every way like unto Paul was lamented by every man. And the venerable and holy body, which was in truth the fountain of help, was borne with honour and laid in the south side of the martyrium in front of the shrine of the bones of the true ascetic Rabban Rā'yā, the disciple of Rabban Cyprian, for the holy Gabriel had commanded and strictly enjoined that the pavement should be his

grave, as it was that of Paul his brother, and commanded that no monument should be built above him. And so he was buried by all the grades of ecclesiastics in all the honour of which the majesty of that holy old age was worthy; and he left behind in the world the fair renown of his strife, and the sweet odour of his name. The death of the righteous is not death, but sleep.

6 And some days after his death and departure God wrought a wonderful thing. Two sick men vexed by devils were brought to this monastery, and when they had gone into the martyrium and had bowed down before Rabban's grave they received healing immediately. And again a certain Persian, who was hostile to the monastery, came and took away an ass from the community by force; and when he had gone forth to depart the Lord smote him with a severe pain, and with an abundant gift he brought the ass back here. To God now, for Whom holy men live, Who doeth for the benefit of our nature everything which He doeth in their lives and in their deaths, to Him Who hath made victorious the early [saints], Who hath sustained those who come next, and Who hath made mighty those who come last, be praise, and honour, and adoration, and exaltation, from every rational being who hath lived and who liveth. By the prayers of these saints whose histories we have recounted, may He make His blessings to accompany this assembly in all its crises, and may He extend to it His help, now and always, and for ever and ever! Amen.

7 Here endeth the book of the history of the life of Rabban Gabriel, the priest and true ascetic, and with it endeth [the whole work]. By the help of our Lord, and by the support of His power here endeth the writing of this book which is called the "Book of Governors," which consisteth of the histories, and noble triumphs, and profitable stories concerning the holy men and ascetics who lived in the holy Monastery of Bèth 'Abhè, together with discourses divided into distinct chapters, which shew forth all their histories, and which was composed by the divinely pious man and spiritual philosopher Màr Thomas, Bishop of Margà. May his prayers, and those of his master Màr Jacob, and of the saints whose noble triumphs he wrote, be a high wall to all believers, especially to the poor scribe, and to the man who had this spiritual composition copied, and may the Lord God hold them worthy of the remission of [their] sins in the day of judgment! Amen.

PART TWO

# Syriac Scholars of the East

*Abdisho bar Brikha's Pearl and his catalogue of Syriac writers, and Dionysius bar Salibi on Revelation and against the Melchites.*

# Marganitha or Pearl : the truth of the faith. (AD 1298)

Abdisho bar Brikha

*d. AD 1318*

Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia; wrote a catalogue of Syriac writers and a summary of doctrine.

## introduction

*THE JEWEL,*

2 Written by Mar Abd Yeshua, Nestorian Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia, A.D. 1298. In the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the book called Marghianeetha, (lit. "The Jewel,") on the truth of Christianity. Written by the undeserving Abd Yeshua, Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia. O Lord, help us. Amen. [Preamble.] O God the Cause of all things, the Enlightener of all men, the Giver of life and existence to all beings corporeal and incorporeal, the Vast Ocean of every blessing, the Unfathomable Depth of every knowledge, the Righteous One whose Nature is all-merciful, the Lover of mankind, and the Eternal Spring of all goodness.----Thy Godhead is worthy of all praise and honour, and to Thy Greatness it is fit that unceasing thanks should be offered for Thy wonderful providence towards the world above and the world beneath, and for the abundance of Thy mercies towards Thy heavenly and earthly creatures. With the humility of a servant we implore Thy Eternity, and with earnest longing we beseech Thy Unspeakable Love, to select us as unsullied and chosen vessels for Thy hidden Treasury, and to make us abodes of beauty and purity for the inhabitation of Thy Trinity: that by Thy help we may be drawn up out of the drowning sea of this material world, and be lifted up to the holy of holies, the place of Thy divine mysteries, and be transformed into That Likeness which is above all likeness; and that through the rays of Thy Everlasting Light we may shine forth for ever, being eternal, and live and be confirmed far beyond the reach

of all error of mind or of body, and become the companions of those who are near to Thee in spirit and in act, and be happy both here and there for ever and ever. Amen.

3 The chief of our community and the father of our people, after having been graciously pleased to approve of my book entitled "the Paradise of Eden," written by me in varied versification, directed me to write another in proof of the truth and certainty of the Christian faith, for the perusal and study of his disciples, and for the benefit of all the lovers of Christ under his sway, as it will be an evidence of his own zeal and renown to those who shall come after. As an obedient servant I obeyed his profitable injunction, and wrote this small book, small in size and brief, but precious in its subject matter. Hence I have called it "The Jewel" of the truth of Christianity; and herein I have briefly treated of the origin, roots, plants and branches of the teaching of the Church, and have divided it into five parts, each part subdivided into chapters. And now I conjure, and most humbly and earnestly beseech, every lover of God into whose hands this book may fall, or who may read it, copy it, or hear it, that, for the love of Christ, he will not censure me for whatsoever I have written, but on the contrary pray for me, inasmuch as I have spent much labour therein, although as regards myself I am very weak and unworthy. Let every one follow herein whatever approves itself to his own mind; and may God make them and us meet for blessedness, and enable both to attain the truth.

## PART I.

1 OF GOD. CHAPTER I. -- That there is a God, and that the world is created, made, and temporal. S. Paul the heavenly apostle, the treasury of the Holy Ghost, and the spiritual philosopher, has, through the Spirit, laid an admirable foundation for Theology, by his saying, that men "should seek God, and feel after Him, and find Him out from His creation." Inasmuch as the artificer is known by his work, and the maker through the thing made. That the world is made, and created, and had a beginning in time we know from this:----This world is compounded, framed, and disposed, as a whole, and in all its parts; and every thing that is compounded, framed, and disposed, must have a com-pounder, framer, and disposer. That it is compound is proved from its whole being made up of many parts, and from all its bodies being made up of matter and kinds, and from the visible and invisible movers therein. But the most certain witness of its being framed is man, who

is a small world in himself, and in whose formation all creation is brought together, as one of the sages has said: "Man is an epitome of the whole world, and of the whole frame of creation."

2 Now that the world is disposed is clear from the wonderful order of the heavens, the planets, the elements, with all their productive powers, generating plants, trees, mines, and the members of beasts and of men, the astonishing order of which surpasses the wisdom and knowledge of all created beings. In the same way the ancient philosophers concluded that every motion must have a mover, until they arrived at Him Who is not moved, Who is the Cause of all, and of Whom they predicated that He must be good, wise, and almighty. Good, inasmuch as He created the world without a cause [i.e. of His own motion]; wise, because of the admirable order and frame displayed in the universe; almighty, because He overcame the things which are naturally destructive of each other, and brought them together in one agreement. Further, this world is made up of quality and quantity, as respects its bodies and spirits, and of different dimensions and extensions, of which the mind can inquire, why they were not less or more, higher or lower than they are. And when it would know a cause for the appropriated designs, resemblances, and dimensions, of all and of each, and for their existence and continuance as they are, it can find no other than the will and intelligence of the Creator, who created and disposed them after His own will, and as He knew would be best and most fit. The artificer must of necessity exist before the work, in order that it may be proved of him that he is really the maker of that which did not exist before, and that he made it. This truth, then, being confirmed, it results that the world is made, and had a beginning in time, and is not eternal. It also results that it has a Maker, Who is good, wise, eternal, strong, and possessed of a will.

### CHAPTER II. -- THAT GOD IS ONE AND NOT MANY.

That the Maker of this world is one and not many may be proved thus:----It is impossible that many can possess one, perfect, unchangeable, self-consentaneous will; because they must either be co-equal in substance, and in every thing appertaining thereto, which would destroy plurality by the non-existence of distinction, or anything distinguishing, just as it is inconsistent to conceive of the existence of two blacknesses, alike in every respect, and not distinguishable, and having but one and the same substance:----or they must be distinct from each other in substance, and in what appertains

thereto; when they would be contrary the one to the other, and destructive the one of the other. But existence could not exist between two opposing makers, nor could a perfect work proceed from them.----Or they must be alike in substance, and distinct in what appertains thereto, each one having an appropriate quality by which he is distinguishable from his associates; when they would all be compounded of the things in which they are alike, and of those in which they are distinguishable. But every compound thing is made, and must have a maker and compounder; hence results the truth of that declaration: "The Lord our God is One God; and though there be gods many and lords many, to us there is but one God."

### CHAPTER III. -- THAT GOD IS ETERNAL.

Everything that exists must be either eternal or temporal; and everything temporal has a cause and maker, and time and maker must be pre-existent to it. But that the cause of all things is without a cause, and that the Maker of all things has no maker, every right and unprejudiced mind is assured of, because it is natural to it so to judge. It results, then, that the Self-existent is the Creator, and the Eternal, anterior to time, because He Himself created time. For time is a reckoning of the motions of bodies, and as we have already proved that He is the Creator of these, therefore He is eternal, and without beginning. Now that which has no beginning, can be reachable by no end, and must possess of these two opposite extremes whatsoever is the most high and the most glorious, as truth, light, and life, and must be the Best, the Wisest, the Almighty.

### CHAPTER IV. -- THAT GOD IS INCOMPREHENSIBLE.

1 Every thing comprehensible is comprehended either by the senses, or by the mind; and that which is comprehended by the senses must be either a body or an accident. But the adorable God is not a body; for every body is compound, and every body occupies space, and every body has limits, all which is opposed to the Self-existent. Nor is He an accident; for an accident cannot exist alone, but requires a substance wherein to exist. All that is comprehended by the mind, the mind must either stretch to the ends of its length and breadth, (which are parts of its limits distinguishing it from what it is not) in order that it may in reality comprehend it; but hereby the thing is at once limited, and extension and dimension are foreign to the nature of the Self-existent:----or the mind does not stretch to its end, or to the

boundaries which limit it; but this is not comprehension. Hence the Divine Nature is incomprehensible, it being impossible for the mind to comprehend aught of the knowledge of the Self-existent, except that He does exist.

2 It is said of a certain great philosopher, that he always used this prayer: "O Thou cause of the motion of my soul, grant me to know that subtle essence which moves me, what it is, and what it is like. But not even that subtle essence wherewith I am endowed, and whereby I am capable of knowing, can comprehend what Thou art, and how Thou art. This only it can know, that Thou dost exist." Now, when we say [of God] that He is invisible, incomprehensible, impassible, and immutable, we do not describe what He is, but what He is not.

### CHAPTER V. -- OF THE TRINITY.

1 Everything that exists must be either a material body whose existence is the subject of accidents and changes, and is acted upon by whatever is opposed to it; or not a body, and consequently not the subject of any of these things. Now, we have already proved, that God, (glory be to His incomprehensibility) is not a body, and therefore is not subject to anything pertaining to materiality, from which He is infinitely removed. Whatever is immaterial, and not subject to anything appertaining to matter, the traditions of the ancients call Mind. And whatever is exclusive of matter, and of what appertains thereto, must be knowing, and must know himself, because himself is ever present and known to him, and he is not dependent on anything but himself. And whatever knows himself must be living. Therefore God is Wise and Living. Now, he who is wise is wise because of his wisdom; and he who is living is living because he has life. This is the mystery of the Trinity, which the Church confesses of the Adorable Essence: The Mind, Wisdom, and Life, Three co-essential proprieties in One, and One who is glorified in three proprieties. [The Church] has called the Mind, Father and Begetter, because He is the Cause of all, and First. [She] has called the Son, Wisdom and Begotten, because He is begotten of the Mind, and by Him everything was made and created. [She] has called Life the Holy Ghost, and Proceeding, because there is no other Holy Ghost but He. He who is Holy is unchangeable, according to the expositions of received expositors; and this is that which is declared by John the Divine, the son of Zebedee: "In the beginning was the Word;" and, "the Light is the life of man."

2 Now, as the reasonable soul has a three-fold energy, mind, word, and life, and is one and not three; even so should we conceive of the Three in One, and One in Three. The sun also, which is one in its disk, radiance, and heat, is another simile adduced by the second Theologus Paul, the chosen vessel: "He is the brightness of His glory, and the Express Image of His Person;" and, again: "Christ, the power of God, and the wisdom of God." Further, every thing that exists is either an accident or a substance. But the Self-existent can in no wise be susceptible of accidents. Therefore these three proprieties must be essential, and are on this account called persons, and not accidental powers, and do not cause any change or plurality in the essence of the Self-existent; for He is the Mind, the Same He is the Wisdom, the Same He is the Life, Who ever begat without cessation, and puts forth [makes to proceed] without distance [i.e. without removal from Himself.] These things [cessation and distance] are infinitely removed from Him, and appertain to bodies.

3 Now, there is no real likeness between created natures and the Nature of the Self-existent, and a simile does not in every thing resemble that which is compared by it; for then the simile and that which is compared by it would be the thing itself, and we [who have just instituted several comparisons] should not be unlike the man who attempts to compare a thing by the self-same thing. The mystery of the Trinity is expressed in the words of the Old Testament: "Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness; "the occurrence of the letter noon three times in this sentence is an indication of the Trinity. The "Holy" thrice repeated in the seraphic hymn, as mentioned by Isaiah, joined with one "Lord," attests Three Persons in One Essence. The words of David, also, are of the same import: "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth;" and many other like references. Let the heathen, then, and Jews who rail at the truth of the Catholic Church, on account of her faith in the Trinity, be confounded and put to shame. Here endeth the first part.

### CHAPTER I. -- ON THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE.

1 He to Whom time was before He wrought, and subsequently began to work, must have wrought either by compulsion, or through necessity, or from a motive of goodness. But God did not create the world of compulsion, because there was no other God beside Him, nor any other Essence to compel Him to act. Neither of necessity, because His Essence is perfect, and in

nothing wanting, and He is the Giver of all perfection, and is Himself imperfect in nothing, either in His Essence, or in what appertains thereto. It justly results, then, that He created the world of His goodness and love, He being essentially the origin of all good and bounteous things. 2 First He created the Angels, the heavens, and the four elements, the light, and the planets. After that trees and plants; then the different classes of animals, with their various species. And when He had adorned the universe with every good thing, and made it like the chamber of a bridegroom, and a wonderful paradise, on the sixth day, after the heavens and the earth with all their hosts were finished, He created the first Adam, the father of the human race, "in the Image of God created He him," according to the testimony of the blessed Moses, the first-born of the Prophets, and the first of the scribes. And he was called an image [of God] for three reasons: First, on account of the reasonable soul with which he was endowed, and which is a likeness of the Divine Image in a twofold respect, first, in its spirituality, subtilty, and incorporeality; and, again, because in his mind, word, and life, man is an emblem of the Trinity. Secondly, on account of his power over all, [Gen. i. 26,] his sovereignty, and his free will. Thirdly, because from him God intended to take a temple for His union [thereto], and to be worshipped of all with it for ever and ever.

### CHAPTER II. -- ON MAN'S FIRST SIN.

1 After God had thus created man a reasonable image, a wonderful temple, and a bond of the universe, in short, a small world existing in the great world, He took from him a rib and made therewith woman, and placed them in the delectable paradise of Eden which He had prepared for them, and commanded them that they might eat of all the trees in paradise, but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil they were not to eat. And He further decreed, that in the day they should eat thereof they should die the death. Now, hereby God declared the freedom of man's will; for, had they not been free to act, He would have wronged them in punishing their transgression of the command; whereas, if they were really free agents, He justly condemned them, inasmuch as with wicked intent, and in their own self-sufficiency, they trampled upon and despised the Divine command, in order that they might become gods, and be released from obedience to their Creator, after the advice of the devil who deceived them. Because of this, they became debtors to death, and fell under subjection to the devil, and were

shorn of their glory, and put on shame, and were removed from the companionship of angels, and became mourners in a land of curses.

2 Their children also, because they walked in the selfsame way of transgression, bound more tightly the yoke of the devil, and of death, on their necks, and these forgat their Creator, and walked after their own hearts' lust, and the desires of their own minds, and nourished iniquity, and strengthened rebellion,----"who, being past feeling, gave themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness. On this account justice woke up, and led Noah and his family into the ark, which the Long-suffering had ordered to be made in the hope of their repentance. And every mortal was destroyed by the flood, and the earth was cleansed from their wickedness. And thus after two thousand years, more or less, that barbarous dispensation was brought to an end. 3 CHAPTER III. -- On the Divine Laws and Ordinances, and of the Prophets. 4 When Noah went forth from the ark, God gave him ordinances adapted to the infancy of human nature; but, gradually, as his race increased, they forgat these, and some of them deemed it right to worship the images of those whom they revered, whilst others joined in a ruinous confederacy, and made a vain counsel that they would build a tower and a place wherein to rebel against God; so that in case of another flood being sent in His anger, it might serve them as a place of refuge; or in case of His commanding any thing contrary to their will, they might thereby ascend and war against heaven. And after that God had confounded their tongues, and scattered them to the four winds of heaven, because of this, they added idolatry to their wickedness, and sacrificed their sons and their daughters to devils, and served the creature more than the Creator. God then chose our father Abraham, from whose seed He purposed to take to Himself an everlasting temple, gave him the covenant of circumcision, and entered into a compact with him, and in him began the way of the fear of God called Hebrew. After this, through successive generations, God raised up of his family good and righteous persons, who laboured in vain to make men return unto the Lord. Then Moses, the head of the Prophets, was chosen, and to him were given written laws and ordinances, such as were not vouchsafed to the three dispensations which preceded him.

5 And in him began the Jewish dispensation, which like a child who has not yet attained to perfect knowledge, was taught to read in the old law, which enjoined that good should be done towards relations, and towards the

good, and evil to evil doers and enemies. It moreover represented God after the similitude of man, with bodily members, as dwelling at Jerusalem, as abiding on Mount Sion and among the congregation of Israel. It makes no mention of hell, or of the kingdom of heaven; but it threatens the transgressors of its laws with corporal punishments, such as submission to enemies, the being scattered among the heathen, with drought, famine, poverty, and barrenness; whilst, on the other hand, the good are rewarded with earthly and temporal rewards. All the Prophets who succeeded Moses followed and confirmed this way, and for it they submitted to every species of trial and persecution.

### CHAPTER IV. -- PROPHECIES CONCERNING CHRIST.

1 All the holy Prophets prophesied of Christ, Who was to bring salvation to the world, and to create all things new. And, in order not to lengthen our discourse, we shall adduce the witness of six of the greatest among them. In the first place Israel, the father of the Prophets declared: "The sceptre," that is, a king, "shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver," that is, a Prophet, "from between his feet, until He shall come Whose it is, and Him shall the nations wait for;" together with the remaining portion of the chapter. Moses says: "the Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a great prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto Him shall ye hearken.... and whosoever will not hearken to that Prophet shall be cut off from among his people." The deliverance of Israel, moreover, out of the hand of Pharaoh, was a type of the redemption of all from under the power of the chief of this world. The manna, also, prefigured the mystery of our Lord's Body; the water from the rock, the drinking of His Blood; and the brazen serpent, the life-giving Cross.

2 David likewise fully prophesied of Christ in the Psalm, "Why do the heathen rage?" and in that beginning with "O Lord our God, how glorious is Thy Name in all the earth!" and in that, "My heart is inditing of a good matter;" as also in the Psalm, "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit Thou on My right hand." Isaiah prophesies: "Behold a Virgin shall conceive, and bring forth a Child, and they shall call His name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us, and His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Prince of Peace, the Everlasting Father." And, again: "He was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon Him;" to the end of the chapter. Zechariah

says: "Fear not, O daughter of Sion, behold thy King cometh unto thee, lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass."

3 Daniel, after having fixed the period of the seventy weeks which were to precede His appearance, writes: "Messiah shall be cut off, and shall have nothing; and the holy city shall be destroyed, and the sacrifice and oblation shall cease." And, again: "I beheld till the thrones were placed, and the Ancient of Days did sit; and I saw one like the Son of Man come with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days; and there was given to Him dominion and kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve Him; for His dominion shall not pass away; and His kingdom shall not be destroyed." Here endeth the Second Part.

PART III.

1 ON THE CHRISTIAN DISPENSATION. CHAPTER I. -- On the advent of Christ, and of His union [of the divine with the human nature.] 2 Justice is an universal benefit, since whatsoever man would have others do to him, justice demands that he should do to them; and whatsoever he would not have men do to him, let him not do the same to them. This is the Law and the Prophets, as saith the Saviour. But as the prophets could not hereby reduce to perfect order the lives of men, and bring them to a knowledge of the truth by causing them to forego idols and follow the divine commands, in order that they might be saved, there remained no other way for the renewal of our nature, and for the reformation of our lives, but that God should appear in the world. Like a sovereign, who having sent many messengers to dispense the affairs of his kingdom, and to put in order those whom he would reconcile, if these should be overcome because of their weakness, and be unable to effect any thing, he goes in person to put those of that country in order. But since God is invisible, and because were it possible for Him to appear to the created as He is, all men would be destroyed by the effulgence of His brightness;

3 therefore He took to Himself a man for His habitation, and made him His temple, and the place of His abiding, and thus united an offspring of mortal nature to His Divinity, in an everlasting, indissoluble union, and made it a co-partaker of His sovereignty, authority, and dominion.----That is, the Divine Essence enlightened the human nature by its union therewith, as the pure and faultless jewel is enlightened by the rays of the sun falling upon it, causing the nature of that which is enlightened to be like the nature

of that which enlightened it, and causing the sight to be affected by the rays and brightness pertaining to the nature of that which received, as it is by the nature of that which communicated, the light, no change whatever taking place in the agent by his action on that which was acted upon. And, again, just as speech hidden in the soul is united to written discourse by the consent of the mind, and is transmitted from one spot to another without itself moving, from its place,----so the Word of the Father united with the man of us, through the mind, and came into this our world, without, in His self-existence, leaving the Father:----"The Word became flesh and dwelt among us. A devout and pious man laboured for many years in prayer to God, that He would disclose to him the meaning of this declaration. A voice from heaven was at length vouchsafed to him, saying:

4 " Ascribe to the flesh the word 'became,' and to the 'Word" ascribe 'dwelt among us.' " Such was the answer.

### CHAPTER II. -- ON THE LIFE AND ACTIONS OF CHRIST.

1 When the angel saluted the Blessed Virgin, saying: "the Lord be with thee; blessed art thou among women;" God the Word, beyond all doubt, united Himself at that moment with that which He formed simultaneously, and without human seed, in the womb of the Holy Virgin, and to which He gave the name of the "Highest;" at whose birth, also, He wrought miracles, and diffused joy over the whole world, and endued It with perfect wisdom, grace and stature. And when He had attained the age of thirty years, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, and the three hundred and forty-first of Alexander, He presented Himself to the baptism of John. Not that His purity needed a baptism of water; but in order that He might become a pattern and example to us in every thing. He was baptized, and He commanded that we should be baptized. He fasted, and directed us to fast. He prayed and taught us to pray. He humbled Himself, and instructed us to be humble. He was lowly in the exercise of every virtue, and enjoined us to be lowly.----"Whosoever shall do and teach these things, shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven."

2 And after having wrought signs and wonders in the land of Judah, such as, the healing of the sick, the raising of the dead, the opening of the blind eyes, the making the lame to walk, casting out devils, and revealing hidden mysteries, He drew near to the time when He was to pay the debt of the first Adam's transgression, and to cancel the writing of condemnation against his

race, and to reveal, by an example, the mystery of the general resurrection. He suffered, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, He died, and was buried, and rose again on the third day, as it is written. After His resurrection, He appeared to His disciples through many signs during the space of forty days, saying unto them: "All power is given unto Me in heaven and on earth. As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. Go and disciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and, behold, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen." "And He brought them out to Bethany, and lifted up His hands and blessed them; and, as He blessed them, He separated from them, and ascended up to heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. Then the disciples went forth and preached in every place, the Lord helping them, and confirming their words by the miracles which they wrought." This is the origin of Christianity; its truth we shall establish in the following chapter.

### CHAPTER III. -- ON THE TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY.

1 Christianity is the belief in One Divine Essence, in Three Persons, and the confession of Christ as has already been explained, and the belief in a resurrection of the dead, and a judgment to come, and a new and eternal life, all which articles of faith are spiritual and unworldly. For the rational soul has a threefold power, lust, anger, and discriminating judgment, from the excess or the want of a due proportion of which, evil acts and follies proceed, and from the harmony of which proceed virtues. Our Gospel, however, inculcates with regard to each of these what is superior to nature. Thus, with regard to lust, Christ saith: "Whosoever shall look upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery already in his heart." Again: "Be ye like the birds of heaven, and like the flowers of the field." And, again: "Take no thought for the morrow." Of anger, He saith: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that despitefully use you." Of discriminating judgment; that the kingdom of God is life everlasting, and everlasting life is a knowledge of the truth:----"This is eternal life, to know Thee the Only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." What exalted doctrine is this! and what truth can be superior to this, or more certain?

2 The truth of Christianity is indicated by this also, that like philosophy, it is divided into theory and practice. The end of its theory is truth, as we have already shown, and shall yet further show; and the end of its practice is

virtue, as we proved by what we said of the powers of the soul, in regard of which it demands purity of thought, and the sanctification of the spirit, and enjoins good to be done to evil-doers, the love of our enemies, and that we should bless those who curse us. The truth of the Christian religion is still further established by the credibility of those who preached it,----who preached and wrote of Christ,----men, who without exercising any compulsion, and without holding out any lure, were received by people of various tongues, by kings, sages, and philosophers; for whosoever abandons the religion of his forefathers, and follows him who calls him to embrace another, must do so either from fear, or because of the allurement held out to him, or he is led by the supernatural signs and wonders by which it is attested. But the blessed Apostles had neither weapons nor soldiery to terrify any; neither had they possessions or riches wherewith to allure; it results, then, that the world bowed to listen to them on account of the supernatural signs and wonders which they wrought. But God does not work miracles by the hands of false men, lest they should cause His servants to err, and corrupt the work of His hands. The Apostles, therefore, were true and not false men; and if they were true, those things which we confess of Christ, and which we have received from their preaching and writings, the Christian Church holds to be true, because those who delivered them were true.

### CHAPTER IV. -- ON THE DIFFERENT SECTS.

1 When the light of Christ's brightness, shed abroad by these preachers, had scattered the darkness of error from the face of the world, idolatry ceased, and the worship of pictures and molten images passed away, and the earth was cleansed from the abomination of sacrifices and unclean rites, and the inhabitants of the world learned goodness, holiness, humility, and gentleness, and the earth was full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea. This filled Satan with envy and rage, and he forthwith proceeded to act towards us as he had acted towards Adam; so that after the Apostles, and their disciples, and their immediate successors, had slept, Christians rose up against each other, and divisions and controversies sprung up among them, and heresies without number increased in the Church of Christ, until they went so far as to compass each other's destruction, and regarded each other as infidels deserving of death. How many false doctrines were rife, and how many crimes were perpetrated in those days, we learn from the histories of Mar Eusebius. On account of these things, the Oecumenical Council of the

318 was convened, by order of the good and CHRIST-loving Emperor and Saint Constantine, in the year of Alexander 636, and by the power of the Spirit, and by proofs adduced from the Holy Scriptures, they decreed, interpreted, enlightened, disclosed, manifested, and confirmed, the orthodox faith; and by strong argument, and with words of sound doctrine, they condemned all the heresiarchs, excommunicated and cut them off from the body of Christ, as being diseased members not susceptible of cure. And thus the Catholic Church, was purified from every stain of vain worship and false doctrine, and all the world, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, was of one mind, and of one Church.

2 About one hundred years after this a dispute arose between Cyril Patriarch of Alexandria, and Mar Nestorius Patriarch of Byzantium, respecting the Incarnate Word. In the confession of the Trinity all Christians agree, for all receive the Nicene Creed, which creed confesses that the Trinity is coequal in essence, dignity, power and will; and all confess of Christ that He is perfect God and perfect Man, being fully persuaded thereof by the declarations of the Gospels, of Saint Paul, and of the 318 Fathers. The dispute which now arose respected the manner of the Union, and the words used to express it. Cyril maintained that we ought to call the Virgin "Mother of God," and wrote twelve Sentences excommunicating all who should, in any way, draw a distinction between the divinity and humanity of Christ after the union. Nestorius replied to these Sentences, and showed that they were erroneous, and with respect to the appellation "Mother of God," he argued that it did not exist either in the writings of the Prophets or Apostles. The Prophets prophesied of Christ to come, and the Apostles preached of that same Christ, predicted by the Prophets as coming into the world, that this was He Who was born of Mary. Now, were we to use the expression "Mother of Man' only, we should be like Paul of Samosata, and Photinus of Galatia, who said of our Lord that He was but a mere man like one of the prophets, and on this account they were excommunicated;

3 so if we use the bare expression "Mother of God," we become like Simon and Menander, who say that God did not take a body from Mary; but that His life and actions were in appearance only and not real, and on that account they also were excommunicated. But we call the Virgin "Mother of Christ," the name used by Prophets and Apostles, and which denotes the union generally. Cyril, in the Sentences which he drew up, and in which he

excommunicated all who shall distinguish between the divinity and humanity of Christ, virtually excommunicates the Holy Scriptures, since the Apostles and Prophets do distinguish between the natures of the Person respecting Whom the dispute is, and from these the holy Fathers learnt to confess of Christ, that He is perfect God and perfect Man, the Likeness of God and the likeness of a servant, the Son of David and the Son of the Highest, flesh and Word.

4 From this time commenced the division of the Church; some followed Nestorius, whilst others went after Cyril, both parties mutually anathematizing each other; from which resulted sects, and the slaughter, exile, imprisonment, and persecution of the Fathers, such as had never been before, as is fully recorded in the histories of Irenaeus, Bishop of Tyre. After this, tumult and discord went on increasing until the zealous and Christ-loving Marcian undertook to convene the great Council of the 632 in the town of Chalcedon, and commanded that both parties should be examined and judged, and that whosoever did not follow the truth and faith as declared by this Council should be expelled the Church, in order that the Church might be united in one perfect agreement. This Council confirmed the confession, that there are two natures in Christ, distinct in the attributes of each, and also two wills, and anathematized all who should speak of mixture, which destroys the two natures. But because in Greek there is no difference between the meaning of the word Person and Parsopa, they confessed but one Person in Christ. And when the party of Cyril was not satisfied with the expression "two Natures," and the party of Nestorius with the expression "one Person," an imperial edict was issued declaring all who did not consent to this doctrine degraded from their dignity. Some were made to submit through compulsion; but the remainder maintained their own opinions.

5 Christianity thus became divided into three sects: the first confessing One Nature and One Person in Christ, which doctrine is held by the Copts, Egyptians, and Abyssinians, after the tradition of Cyril their Patriarch; and this is called the Jacobite sect, from a certain Syrian doctor called Jacob, who laboured zealously to spread the doctrines of Cyril among the Syrians and Armenians. The second sect are those who confess the doctrine of two natures and one Person in Christ, and these are called "Melchites," because it was imposed forcibly by the king. This is the doctrine which is received by the Romans called Franks, and by the Constantinopolitans who are Greeks,

and by all the people of the West, such as the Russians, Alani, Circassians, Assaï, [?] Georgians, and their neighbours. But the Franks differ from the rest of these in maintaining that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and in their use of unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper. These two sects accepted the appellation "Mother of God;" but the Jacobites have added to the canon: "Holy God," &c. "Who wast crucified for us."

6 The third sect which confesses two Natures and two Persons in Christ is called the sect of the Nestorians. As to the Easterns, however, because they never changed their faith, but kept it as they received it from the Apostles, they were unjustly styled "Nestorians," since Nestorius was not their Patriarch, neither did they understand his language; but when they heard that he taught the doctrine of the two Natures and two Persons, one Son of God, one Christ, and that he confessed the orthodox faith, they bore witness to him, because they themselves held the same faith. Nestorius, then, followed them, and not they him, and that more especially in the matter of the appellation "Mother of Christ." Therefore when called upon to excommunicate him, they refused, maintaining that their excommunication of Nestorius would be equivalent to their excommunication of the Sacred Scriptures and the holy Apostles, from which they received what they professed, and for which we are censured together with Nestorius, as shall appear in the following chapter.

### CHAPTER V. -- REFUTATION OF THE FOREGOING CREEDS.

1 After having carefully distinguished the above Creeds, we shall now briefly refute two of them. First: If it is right to believe that there is but one nature and one Person in Christ after the union, either the human nature and person are destroyed through the union;----here is destruction, not salvation. Or, the Divine Nature and Person are destroyed;----a monstrous profanity. Or, the two natures and two persons were mingled and confounded together;----behold hence a corruption! neither divinity nor humanity any longer existing. Mar Yohanan bar Pinkhâyé adduced the name of Christ, written with black and red ink, by way of illustrating this confused union which the Jacobites believe, and the union of adherence which we believe; thus, CHRIST, behold corruption! behold confusion! Is it red ink? It is not. Is it black ink? It is not. Now look at this CHRIST behold beauty! behold light! Is it black ink? It is. Is it red ink? It is.

2 Secondly: The Divine Nature and Person, before and after the union, is an eternal, uncompounded Spirit. But the human nature and person is a temporal and compound body. Now, if the union destroys the attributes which distinguish the natures and persons in Christ, either the one or the other of these becomes a nonentity, or they become a thing which is neither God nor man. But if the union does not destroy the attributes which distinguish the natures and persons in Christ; then Christ must exist in two natures and two persons, which united in the Parsopa of the Filiation. Thirdly, the Gospel declares, that the infant Christ "increased in stature, and in wisdom, and in favour with God and man." And the Apostle Peter says: "Jesus, a Man of God, approved among you by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by Him in the midst of you." And, again, S. Paul, the master-builder of the Church testifies, that "there is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus." These three quotations most clearly affirm of Christ, after the union, that He existed in two natures and two persons, and whosoever shall dispute these testimonies is far removed from all truth.

### CHAPTER VI. -- ON THE TITLE "MOTHER OF GOD."

1 First: If the Virgin is the "Mother of God," and we understand by the word "God," Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; then she brought forth the Trinity, and not the one only Son. Secondly: If the Virgin is the "Mother of God," and if He whom she brought forth suffered, died, and was buried, as the four Evangelists testify, either ye hold that He died in reality, (and he who really dies has no power whatever to revivify others or himself, but must remain in death for ever) and thus ye declare false the saying that He rose again: Or, ye hold that He died in appearance only, and in the same way rose again, (in which case He could not have arisen in reality, seeing that He did not die in reality;) then the hope of the resurrection is vain, since hereby the saying that "He hath raised us up with Christ" is made void.

2 Thirdly: If Mary is the "Mother of God," and Peter testifieth of Him whom she brought forth, saying: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God;" then, according to you, she is not the Mother of Christ, but the mother of His Father, and Christ is her grandson, not her Son, and she is the mother of His Father. Where, then, is the mother of Christ?

### CHAPTER VII. -- OF FOUR PERSONS.

First. If by our confession of Two Persons in Christ there result four Persons in the Trinity; then, by your confession of two natures in Christ there must equally result two natures in the Deity. Secondly. If the Trinity, as is admitted by all, is eternal and uncompounded, and the human person temporal and compound, how can this, in any way, be considered as a fourth person to That? Thirdly. If we maintained two Sons in Christ, this charge might justly be brought against us; because the Father and the Spirit, with these two Sons, would make four persons. But seeing that we confess but one Son, one Christ, one Parsopa, we have no fear of being guilty of blasphemy.

### CHAPTER VIII. -- OF THE CHURCH.

The term "Church" imports a congregation, and an assembly met together to unite in acts of celebration. It is a model of things above; for as the nine orders which minister to the Most High are divided into three degrees, just so the Church. The Patriarchs, Metropolitans, and Bishops, occupy the place of the Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones; the Archdeacons, Deans, and Presbyters, the place of the Dominions, Virtues, and Powers; the Deacons, Subdeacons, and Readers, the place of the Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. The name "Church," as we have said, has this signification; for Christ does not call material foundations and stones "a Church," but the congregation which believes in Him. The nave and the altar are called the Church metaphorically, just as the people of a city are called by the name of the city, as when it is said: "all the city went out to meet Jesus." And just as the city itself is often called by the name of the city, as when it is said; "He entered into the city."

### CHAPTER I. -- ON THE NUMBER OF THE CHURCH SACRAMENTS.

1 The Sacraments of the Church, according to the Divine Scriptures, are seven in number; 1. The Priesthood, which is the ministry of all the other Sacraments. 2. Holy Baptism. 3. The Oil of Unction. 4. The Oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ. 5. Absolution. 6. The Holy Leaven. 7. The sign of the life-giving Cross. These are necessary because of the wants of man in this carnal world. In order for a man to be, and to exist in the world, he must be born of a carnal mother through a carnal father, though the figure and perfection of man come from the Father of Lights. In like manner, in order to belong to a world of immortality, it is requisite to be born of the spiritual

womb of baptism, through the spiritual father, the priest, notwithstanding that form and perfection are imparted by the Holy Ghost, and by the power of The Highest.

2 Further, it is requisite for every one belonging to this world to sustain his temporal life by temporal food, and earthly drink. So, in like manner, spiritual meat and divine drink are a means to him who is baptized for sustaining his eternal life in God. Again, as every one who is in the body, through the changes of the times, and bad living, is subject to sickness and disease, and is in need of physicians who will restore him to his former health if he follow their injunctions; so the man of God, through the effects of sin, and immoral living, falls into the disorders of iniquity, and receives health from the priests of the Church, the spiritual physicians, if he orders himself after their directions. The Oil of Unction is used in the birth which is by baptism, and the Holy Leaven is used in the spiritual food of the Body of Christ. The Sign of the life-giving Cross is that by which Christians are ever kept, and by it all the other Sacraments are sealed and perfected.

3 But some Christians who possess not the Leaven reckon Marriage, according to Christ's ordinance, (whereby in the place of a mortal deceased another is raised up) the seventh Sacrament. Should any from without inquire what constitutes the holiness and sacramental nature of each of these Seven Sacraments, we reply that these three things sanctify them: First, a true priest, who has attained the priesthood rightly, according to the requirements of the Church. Secondly, the word and command of the Lord of Sacraments, whereby He ordained each of them. Thirdly, right intention and confirmed faith on the part of those who partake of them, believing that the effect of the Sacraments takes place by a heavenly power. We shall now treat briefly of each of the Sacraments separately.

### CHAPTER II. -- OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

1 The Priesthood is the ministry of mediation between God and man in those things which impart forgiveness of sins, convey blessings, and put away wrath. It is divided into imperfect, as was that of the law; and perfect, as is that of the Church. The foundation of the Priesthood in the Church is laid on that declaration of the Lord of the Priesthood to S. Peter, in the town of Caesarea Philippi: "To thee I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." Its superstructure comes

from that other injunction: "Feed My lambs. Feed My sheep. Feed My sheep." Its ornament and perfection from Christ's breathing on the Apostles when He said: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

2 The old Priesthood was one of generation, was not irrespective of family, and did not depend upon the will of those who succeeded to it. But the new Priesthood handed down from the Apostles, and imparted in the Church through the laying on of hands, is committed to those who are deemed worthy of it after examination had of their life and conversation.----"Let these be first proved, and then let them minister being found blameless." Therefore the perfection of this and the imperfection of that Priesthood is evident, since we know that very many wicked children are begotten to righteous fathers, as Cain, Ham, and the children of Lot, of Moses, Eli, and others; and good children are begotten of wicked fathers, as Melchizedek, [?] Abraham, and others. Moreover, the former Priesthood was conferred by material oil; but this latter by the immaterial unction of the Spirit, through the laying on of hands.

3 As to the matter of the rules whereby he who desires the priesthood is to be tried, whether he be worthy or not, let him who wishes to know this attend to the words of S. Paul, the tongue of the Spirit: "If a man desire the presbyterate he desireth a good work. A Presbyter, then, must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, not a brawler, not covetous; one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity; (for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?) not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into the condemnation of the devil. Moreover he must have a good report of them which are without; lest he fall into reproach, and the snare of the devil. Likewise must the deacons be grave, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre; holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. And let these," that is, all the degrees of the priesthood, " be first proved, and then let them use the office of a minister being found blameless."

### CHAPTER III. -- OF BAPTISM.

1 Baptism is the immersion in and the washing with water, and of this there are five kinds: 1. The washing off of the filth of the body, as is commonly

done by all men. 2. The legal washings, whereby it was believed that purity towards God from all carnal uncleanness was attained. 3. Those of the traditions of the elders, such as "the washing of cups, and pots, brazen vessels, and tables," and as "when they come from the market, except they wash, they eat not." 4. The baptism of John, whereby he preached only repentance and the forgiveness of sins. 5. The baptism of our Saviour, which is received, through the Holy Spirit, for the gift of adoption, for the resurrection from the dead, and for everlasting life; which is "the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ." For as the circumcision of the flesh was given for a sign denoting those who were of the family of Israel of old according to the flesh; so the baptism of Christ is a sign of spiritual relationship to the new Israel, viz., those who are the called, and the children of God. "Those who received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God."

2 The matter of Baptism is pure water. "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." The form, baptism "in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," according to the words of the Saviour. There is also a Sixth Baptism, that of blood, as our Lord has noticed: "I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened until it is accomplished." Also a Seventh Baptism, of tears, after the saying of the Fathers. These two are allied to the Fifth, which is an emblem of death and the resurrection.

### CHAPTER IV. -- OF THE OIL OF UNCTION.

1 The Oil of Unction is an apostolical tradition, and there is still kept up in the Church of God a succession of that which was consecrated by the Apostles. The end of its use we learn from its own physical properties, and from the sacred Scriptures. The Bible instructs us that, according to the Law, such as were set apart for the typical priesthood, or for earthly sovereignty, were anointed with the oil of unction. And in like manner with us: such as are separated to the kingdom of heaven and to the true priesthood, must be anointed with this same manifoldly symbolical unction, in order that they may be truly anointed ones and brethren of Christ, Who by His union with God is truly and supernaturally anointed. "Therefore hath the Lord Thy God anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows." He is the Anointer and the Anointed: the Anointer by His Divinity, and the Anointed by His humanity.

2 As to the natural properties of oil, we know that the most eminent artists, after having completed a picture with all its rich colouring, anoint it with oil, in order that it may not easily be injured, or receive damage when brought into contact with other objects. In like manner, those who are drawn after the Likeness of the Heavenly King are for the same reason anointed, lest they should receive damage from the chances of the world and from the opposition of the devil. The matter of the Oil of Unction is pure olive oil. The form the apostolical benediction.

### CHAPTER V. -- OF THE OBLATION.

1 The Oblation is a service offered up by those below to those above, through material elements, in hope of the forgiveness of sins and of an answer to prayer. The old oblations consisted of irrational animals and of the blood of bodies, but with us the Only-begotten of God, Who took upon Him the form of a servant, He offered His own body a sacrifice to His Father for the life of the world, and hence He is called by John, "The Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world. And again it is said of Him, that "His blood is the new testament, shed for many for the remission of sins. And again: "So God loved the world that He gave His Only-begotten Son," Who was offered up to His Father a living, rational sacrifice for all mankind, thereby reconciling the world to Himself, and bringing salvation to angels and to men. Now, seeing that it was impossible that His identical sacrifice upon the cross for the salvation of all could be showed forth, in every place, throughout all ages, and to all men, just as it was, without any alteration, He beheld with an eye of mercy, and in wisdom and compassion thus ordained: "In that night in which He was betrayed for the life of the world, He took bread into His holy, pure, and immaculate hands, blessed, brake, and gave it to His disciples, saying: This is My body which is broken for the sins of the world.

2 And also of the cup, He gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying: This is My Blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. Take and eat all of you of this bread, and drink of this cup, and do this, whenever ye shall meet together, in remembrance of Me. Through this divine institution the bread is changed into His Holy Body, and the wine into His Precious Blood, and they impart, to all who receive them in faith and without doubting, the forgiveness of sins, purification, enlightenment, pardon, the great hope of the resurrection from the dead, the inheritance of

heaven, and the new life. Whenever we approach these Sacraments we meet with Christ Himself, and His very Self we take into our hands and kiss, and thereby we are joined to and with Christ, His holy Body mixing with our bodies, and His pure Blood mingling with our blood, and by faith we know Him that is in heaven and Him that is in the Church, to be but one Body.

3 The matter of this Sacrament Christ ordained to be of wheat and wine, as being most fit to represent body and blood. The form He conveys through His life-giving word, and by the descent of the Holy Ghost.

### CHAPTER VI. -- OF THE HOLY LEAVEN.

1 The holy and blessed Apostles, Thomas and Bartholomew of the Twelve, and Adi and Mari of the Seventy, who discipled the East, committed to all the Eastern Churches a Holy Leaven, to be kept for the perfecting of the administration of the Sacrament of our Lord's Body until His coming again. And should any Christians dispute the fact of the above-mentioned Apostles having committed to those of the East this Leaven, on the ground that Peter, the head of the Apostles, and his companions did not commit it to the Westerns, and should object to us on this wise: "If it be as you say, then one of these two consequences must result: either the Apostles did not agree in their mode of discipling, which is impossible, or this tradition of yours is false." We reply: The Easterns from the day of their discipleship up to this day have kept their faith as a sacred deposit, and have observed, without change, the Apostolical Canons; and notwithstanding all the persecutions which they have suffered from many kings, and their subjection to the severe yoke of a foreign power, they have never altered their creed nor changed their canons. Such as are well versed in such matters know full well the labour and care required on the part of Christians to observe these canons, and more especially to preserve this Leaven, in a difficult country, where there is no Christian sovereign to support them, nor any commander to back them, and where they are continually persecuted, vexed, and troubled. Had this Leaven not been of apostolical transmission they would not, most assuredly, have endured all these afflictions and trials to keep it together with the orthodox faith.

2 Then, as to their argument drawn from Peter and the great Apostles who discipled the west, we have this to oppose to them, ---- that those Apostles did transmit the same to the Westerns, but that with their alteration of the faith, the canons also were corrupted, through the influence of

heretical rulers. And, in proof of this statement, we urge that if they all held the traditions of the Apostles, the Franks would not offer an unleavened, and the Romans [Greeks] a leavened oblation; since the Apostles did not transmit it in two different ways. Therefore the Westerns have changed the faith and the canons, and not the Easterns.

### CHAPTER VII. -- OF ABSOLUTION AND REPENTANCE.

The human race is frail, and easily inclined to evil, and it is hardly possible that all should not be tried with spiritual diseases; and on this account the healing priesthood was given to heal freely.----"Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted." "The whole have no need of a physician; but such as are variously sick." And, again: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners unto repentance." The parables of the Prodigal Son, of the Hundred Sheep, and of the Two Debtors, were moreover intended to raise the hope of sinners, and to open to them the gate of repentance which leads to heaven and imparts heavenly happiness. To the same end serve the case of Peter after his denial of Christ, and of Paul after his persecution, and the woman who was a sinner, the Publican, and the Thief upon the cross. Hence it behoves believers when, through the infirmity of their human nature, which all cannot keep upright, they are overcome of sin, to seek the Christian Dispensary, and to open their diseases to the spiritual Physicians, that by absolution and penance they may obtain the cure of their souls, and afterwards go and partake of the Lord's Feast in purity, agreeably with the injunction of the eminent doctor, who writes thus: "Our Lord has committed the medicine of repentance to learned physicians, the priests of the Church. Whomsoever, therefore, Satan has cast into the disease of sin, let him come and show his wounds to the disciples of the Wise Physician, who will heal him with spiritual medicine." These things will most assuredly result if they are done in faith, and not after a worldly manner, for "whatsoever is not of faith is sin." Just as some, for lucre's sake, have made of this sacred thing a merchandize, and a source of temporal profit.

### CHAPTER VIII. -- OF MATRIMONY AND OF VIRGINITY.

1 Marriage after the ordinance of Christ, and entered into for the sake of the care and labour of a wife about the house, and for the bringing up of children in the fear of God, without idleness or murmuring, and in order that the eye may not wander towards that which belongs to others,----this is

called in Scripture a holy estate:---- "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled." Paul makes it the mystery of things far above this world:----" This is a great mystery, but I speak of Christ and His Church." Hence divorce is unlawful except for the cause of adultery. For adultery of the soul, which is divisible into three kinds: sorcery, denial of the faith, and murder. Or of the body:----" Whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery; and whosoever shall many her that is divorced committeth adultery."

2 With regard to Virginity, the steward of God's house saith: "I have no commandment of the Lord;" for the commandment of the Lord enjoins matrimony. But should any one desire to keep his virginity, and to follow, in this respect, the example of the Baptist, of the Saviour, of Elijah, and of Paul, it is allowable for him so to do, agreeably with the permission, and not after the command of God. Not, moreover, because he counts marriage an unholy and contemptible thing, but on account of what it entails, such as the being obliged to mix with the multitude, to have and to hold converse with them, and to reside in towns and villages, from all of which difficulties arise, which ofttimes make the yoke of marriage heavy by increasing one's cares, and thus the soul's advancement is hindered through its manifold connection with the world. Notwithstanding this, however, he who makes a vow of virginity, and does not become like a spiritual angel in theory and in practice, is inferior to a lax married man; for "no man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life." Here endeth the Fourth Part.

## PART V.

## ON THE THEORY OF THOSE THINGS WHICH PREFIGURE THE WORLD TO COME.

### CHAPTER I. -- OF WORSHIPPING TOWARDS THE EAST.

1 The custom of worshipping toward the East is the subject of an apostolical canon, and is founded upon that saying of our Blessed Lord: "As the lightning cometh forth from the east and shineth towards the west, so shall the coming of the Son of Man be." And because "of that day and of that hour knoweth no man, neither the angels "of heaven, it becometh us ever to be on the watch, with our faces turned towards the promise of His coming. This custom is therefore profitable in two ways; first, because it stirs up the remembrance of the end, and of the judgment to come, which is a preservative

against evil; and, secondly, because it brings to mind our old place from which we were driven out on account of our sins, viz. Paradise, which is situated in the East, and thereby we are led to lay hold on repentance.

2 It is written in the Commentaries of Mar Ephraim, that the angel Gabriel appeared to the Virgin from the East, and that when he said unto her, "Hail, thou highly favoured!" she worshipped at his salutation towards the East. And when our Lord ascended up to heaven, His face was turned toward the west, in the same way in which He will come at the Resurrection. The disciples who were before Him, and looking at Him ascending, worshipped Him towards the East, and the angels said unto them: "This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come, in like manner, as ye have seen Him go into heaven." And the early commentators have added that on the first day the seven essences were created in silence, and afterwards the voice went forth, "Let there be light." The angels, who knew not that they had a Creator, when they heard the voice, concluded that if an effect followed it the Speaker must be their Creator, and the Creator of all. "And there was light," instantaneously. Then all of them worshipped towards that part from whence the light sprang forth, which was the East; and this is what Job the blessed says: "When I created the morning star, all My angels worshipped Me." [Syriac Version.]

### CHAPTER II. -- ON THE WORSHIP OF THE LORD'S CROSS.

1 We worship Christ's humanity because of the Godhead in Him; so, through the Cross, we worship God our Saviour. The "Cross " is the name of Christ, being equivalent to our saying the "killed," the "worshipped," and does not rightly designate wood, silver, or brass. Now the great foundation of Christianity is the confession that through the Cross renewal and universal salvation were obtained for all, and that Cross which we use is the same sign of our Lord as is to appear in the heavens before His coming, as He Himself has foretold. When, therefore, we look upon this emblem of our salvation, we conceive as though we were beholding our Saviour outstretched upon it for the remission of our sins, and for the renewal of all creation. Hence we offer a fervent and eucharistic worship, not to the fashioned matter of the Cross; but to Him whom we figure as upon it, and above all to God, who gave His Son to be a Cross [i.e. crucified] for us, through whose crucifixion He wrought out renewal and redemption for us, and through Whom He gives to such as are worthy everlasting life in the kingdom of

heaven. "For if, while we were yet enemies, we were reconciled unto God by His Son; how much more shall we be saved through His life."

2 By this sign the Apostles wrought miracles, and the laying on of hands for the Priesthood, and all the other Sacraments of the Church are perfected thereby. These things, handed down from the Apostles, and confirmed by all those who succeeded them, declare that "the preaching of the Cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God." CHAPTER III. -- Of the holy First Day of the Week, and of the Festivals commemorative of our Lord. 3 The observance of the First day of the Week is also the matter of an Apostolical Canon, it being the great day on which our Saviour rose from the dead, and by His resurrection made all created beings to rejoice by giving them, in His own Person, a most certain proof of the general resurrection and of everlasting life. For as the First-born of men arose on the first day of the week, so shall all the race of Adam arise on that same day,----a day which shall be the commencement of an endless world,----of that world which shall not begin with a beginning, but which is to appear. Surely it becomes us to hallow the day on which such great events transpired, and, seeing that at the resurrection all worldly labours shall cease, and all shall return to the worship of God, and be engaged in the contemplation of His unutterable mysteries; hence the Apostles ordained, that on the first day of the week Christians should suspend all worldly occupations, and engage in prayer to God, in reading the Holy Scriptures, and in meditating on the life of Christ. And they enjoined more especially the study of the Prophetical books, which are, as it were, the foundation and introduction to the truth of the life and actions of Christ, Who came to fulfil the prophecies and not to destroy; (for He who cometh to perfect that which was imperfect, though in some things he substituteth perfection for imperfection, how can such a one be deemed a looser or destroyer?

4 "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify" that the Father hath sent Me. Hence the Apostles enjoined that the Prophets should be read first, and after these the Gospel which is their fulfilment and seal. And this ordinance we observe every Sunday in remembrance of the resurrection to come, when all shall be rewarded according to their works, that hereby we may be led to eschew evil and to do good. 5 In like manner, and with the same design, the Church celebrates year by year the life and actions of our blessed Lord, lest, from not

being commemorated, those benefits which are given to us through the advent of Christ should be withheld from us, and should finally be lost to us in the darkness of error.

### CHAPTER IV. -- OF FRIDAY.

This used to be called the sixth day until the sun set upon it at the crucifixion of our Saviour, and darkness prevailed over all creation on account of the temerity of the Jews; and hence it is called arobta [the setting of the sun]. Creation, we say, put on the garment of mourning and affliction because of the enormity of the first sin, and because of the sins of all, for which He died Who had committed no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth. The sun was hid from the heavens, the earth shook and quaked, the veil of the temple was rent, and the rocks were riven, and no carnivorous animals or birds of prey ate meat on that day, or went near to any carcasses, in reverence to the holy corpse of the Saviour which was outstretched upon the wood, as we understand from the comments of Mar Ephrem. Hence the Apostles made a Canon, that Christians should not eat meat on this day, neither on Wednesday, on which latter day the Jews took counsel together to kill the Saviour, and agreed upon the price of the innocent blood with Judas Iscariot. On this account Wednesday is included in the same Canon. And, in truth, Friday ought to be a day of mourning with all, because on it, for the transgression of the first Adam, the sentence of death was passed upon all our race, and we were driven from Paradise into a land of curses. On this same day the flood took place, in the time of Noah, and destroyed all mankind; and thereon also Satan warred with the First-Born of men, viz. on the last of the forty days, as he did on the day of the Passion.

### CHAPTER V. -- OF FASTING, PRAYER, AND ALMSGIVING.

1 The foundation of the virtues of true godliness with such as believe in the resurrection, and exercise themselves therein in hope of the world to come, consists of these three, Fasting, Prayer, and Mercy, wrought with the end enjoined in the Gospel, and not from any other motive. As one of our sages has said: "Fasting is superior to all passiveness, and Prayer superior to all other action; but Mercy is the being like God." Now Fasting is of two kinds: outward, from food; and inward, from evil. It tends to induce the rich to show mercy to others, for by tasting the bitterness of hunger and thirst themselves, they are made to feel what the poor experience. It moreover tends to sanctify the

senses, purify the thoughts, and to make us resemble the angels. Prayer is not only the key of the Lord's treasury, but a spiritual converse, as one of the fathers has said: "My son, when thou art engaged in prayer, thou dost speak with God; and when thou readest the Scriptures, God speaketh with thee."

2 Mercy doth not only make us resemble God, Whom there is none like, but it is also a medium for the exercise of wisdom on the part of the followers of Christ, Who, through the needy, sends forward to heaven those things which we love and esteem, and declares that in them we shall have joy and exultation without end: "Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up unto yourselves treasures in heaven,... for where your treasure is there will your heart be also." There is a passage in the life of Saint Thomas the Apostle, which beautifully illustrates this Scripture. Having undertaken to build a magnificent palace for the Emperor of India, and received vast sums for this purpose, which he distributed among the poor, when asked about it, he replied that he had built the palace in heaven: and the fact was confirmed by the testimony of a deceased brother of the Emperor, who was restored to life through the prayers of the Apostle. By the exercise of mercy men are made worthy of receiving Angels unawares; and to Cornelius it was said: "Thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God." The Prophets and Apostles moreover testify that this is the only way by which the rich can attain unto God.

### CHAPTER VI. -- OF THE GIRDLE.

1 The girding of Christians at the time of prayer, though it betokens a preparedness for service, and a ready appearance before the Lord, after the manner of those who stand in the presence of the kings of the earth; yet it is nevertheless the subject of a Divine command both in the Old and New Testaments. In the Old Testament the girdle was ordered to be worn by the Priests, the sons of Levi, with the other parts of their vestment; and in the New Testament we read: "Let your loins be girt about, and your lamps burning, and be like those servants waiting for their Lord's coming." The blessed John the Baptist had his loins girt about with a leathern girdle; and it is said of S. Paul in the Acts, that the Prophet Agabus took the girdle from off his waist, and girded himself therewith. Now there is a threefold object in the use of the girdle: First, he who binds up his loins bears the sign of worship and ministry, and intimates that he is a worshipper and minister in the

kingdom. Secondly, as it was enjoined by our Lord, it betokens a wakeful mind, pure intention, and the being in wait for Him, Who is to return from the feast, and to conduct all with Him thither. Thirdly, it is an emblem of death: "another shall gird thee, and lead thee where thou wouldest not." Those who set out on a journey generally gird up their loins; and so it becometh us mortals and wayfarers, whose days, in spite of ourselves, have been brought forward on the road which leadeth above, to make ready a viaticum which shall be useful to us in the other world, viz. a right theory of the orthodox faith, and the practice of good works. The use of the girdle teaches us these things.

2 CHAPTER VII. -- Of the Resurrection, the Judgment to come, and Everlasting Life. 3 He who commenceth a work must have a design therein, and when this is attained he ceases working, and maketh an end of his work, otherwise his labour is vain and unprofitable. Now God, who is all-wise, did not create His creation in vain, and without a design; but, as we have already shown, He created it in consummate wisdom, and with an exalted purpose, to be the study of His rational creatures, and for the perfection of His Likeness in them. And when the time decreed in His wisdom shall arrive, He will bring this world to an end; for every beginning is the beginning of an end, and, contrarily, every end is the end of a beginning. On this subject a certain godly man has said: "When the tenth circle shall be made up from among men, then shall the end be, and the cutting off of time shall come, and shall not fail. On that day the sun shall set and shall not rise again, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and all this world shall become a chaos of darkness, and all the motions of the elements shall cease. Then shall the sign of the Son of God, the shining Cross, appear in the heavens with power and great glory, accompanied with the awful sounds of the trumpets of angels. Thus shall Christ, the King of kings, appear like the lightning which cometh from the east, and shineth towards the west.

4 His glorious appearance shall shake all the ends of the heavens, and all the foundations of the earth, and He shall then cry out with His life-giving voice: Let the resurrection and the renewal be. This is the last trumpet, at the sound of which the wind of revivification shall blow and enter into those who shall be alive, and shall divest them of their grossness, and suddenly, as in the twinkling of an eye, they shall be changed into the likeness of Angels. And it shall likewise enter into the dead, and these also shall rise up incor-

ruptible. Then shall the righteous ascend up into the kingdom of heaven, and shall enter with their Lord into the chamber of the Bridegroom above, and with unspeakable joy shall exult in the visions and revelations which through His light shall shine in upon them. This is true happiness. But, as to the wicked, they shall remain upon the earth in darkness in which none can walk, and shall be consumed with the fire of remorse for those things which they have committed, and because they bartered everlasting bliss for temporal and deceptive enjoyments, and a real possession for the dung of earth. This is the true hell, whose fire is not quenched, and whose worm dieth not.

5 But as to those who are deceived, and who fancy that everlasting life consists of something corporeal, such as eating, and drinking, and marriage, things which appertain to mortals, our Saviour reproves such when He says: "In the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the Angels of God in heaven." Eating and drinking are profitable for the body, because by replacing the humours which go out thence they preserve the person from decay. And marriage, likewise, by raising up one for the one who dies, keeps up the species until the number decreed in the Everlasting Purpose is made up. Then as these two effects will cease, the causes also by which they existed must necessarily cease. Moreover all carnal blessings serve for the warding off of pain; but, as we have before observed, when man exceeds in the use of them they turn into evils. As, for example, meat and drink: one realizes the blessings of these after the pain experienced from hunger and thirst; but used inordinately and greedily, they bring pain and disease, if not death. And so with all the good things of this world; but with spiritual blessings it is not so, for the more one desires and partakes of these, he ever desireth more, as is seen in the case of those who seek after knowledge, science, and wisdom.

6 But, now, should any doubtingly inquire how bodies can rise again which have been destroyed, and which have mingled with the dust, which have been eaten of wild beasts, or consumed by fire, or drowned in water? we reply: Should a piece of iron be broken into impalpable powder, and be mixed with dust and sand, the hidden power of a magnet will at once separate the atoms from the dust and sand, and from whatever other heterogeneous bodies with which they may have been mixed; and if such virtue resides in the magnet, how much more possible is it for the power of the Creator, in His wisdom, to separate, bring together, and remodel the bodies of men at

the resurrection! 7 Or, again: if a skilful and ingenious mechanic should form a figure from many materials, and should conceal each of these separate materials in a particular part of his house, no one knowing the place where they are hidden but himself; if asked to construct that figure, could he not at once, and without hesitation, bring forth every part from its separate hiding place, and put all the different parts together in their proper order without any mistake? How much more easy must a like work be to Him Who is the Only Wise, the Almighty! Our bodies, through corruption, return at last to the four elements of which they were composed; the skill whereby these parts were put together in our likeness is hidden with God, and when it pleaseth Him, He can restore each part to its place, in its separate shape and quantity, so as to make it conformable to that figure, the lineaments of which are hidden with Him. Then shall every human body arise, just as it was, "in the stature of the fulness of Christ." As to the final rewards and punishments, these shall be distributed according to the deserts of each, in perfect justice: "the wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal."

8 "Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto Him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen." Here endeth, by the help of God, the book called Marghianeetha, on the truth of Christianity, written by the undeserving Abd Yeshua, Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia. To our God be glory and thanksgiving for ever. Amen. This useful book was written in the month of September, in the year of Alexander 1609, in the blessed city of Khlât, in the Church of the blessed Nestorians; and to God be praise, honour, thanks, and worship, for ever. Amen. Written by the frail hands of the author for the benefit of his own soul, and for the profit of all who may possess it. May the Lord endue all such with wisdom. Amen.

# Metrical Catalogue of Syriac Writers. (AD 1298)

Abdisho bar Brikha

*d. AD 1318*

Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia; wrote a catalogue of Syriac writers and a summary of doctrine.

## INTRODUCTION

*INDEX OF BIBLICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL WRITINGS,*

Drawn up by Mar Abd Yeshua, Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia, A.D. 1298. In the strength of Thy help, O Lord, and aided by the prayers of all the eminently righteous, and of the Mother of great name, I write an excellent treatise, in which I shall enumerate the Divine Scriptures, and all the ecclesiastical writings of ancient and modern times. I shall moreover record the names of the authors of the different books, and the subjects of which they treat; and, depending upon God, I begin with Moses.

## [PART FIRST.]

[Old Testament Scriptures.] Genesis. Exodus. Leviticus. Numbers. Deuteronomy. Joshua. Judges. Samuel. Kings. Chronicles. Psalms. Proverbs. Ecclesiastes. Cautica. Wisdom. Jesus the son of Sirach. Job. Isaiah. Hosea. Joel. Amos. Obadiah. Jonah. Micah. Nahum. Habbacuc. Zephaniah. Haggai. Zechariah. Malachi. Jeremiah. Ezekiel. Daniel. Judith. Esther. Susanna. Ezra. Daniel the Less, probably comprising the Song of the Three Children, and Bel and the Dragon. Baruch. Maccabees. Tobit. Moses wrote the Law in five books, viz.: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. After these follow the book of Joshua the son of Nun, Judges, Samuel, the book of Kings, the Chronicles, the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, the Great Wisdom, the Wisdom of the son of Sirach, Job, Isaiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum,

Habbacuc, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Judith, Esther, Susanna, Ezra, Daniel the Less, the Epistle of Baruch, the Traditions [or Expositions] of the Elders, Josephus the historian, the book of Proverbs, the Narrative of the sons of Solomona, the Maccabees, an account of Herod the king, the book of the destruction of the latter Jerusalem by Titus, the book of Asenath the wife of Joseph the son of Jacob the righteous, and the book of Tobias and Tobit the Israelites.

[PART SECOND.]

1 [New Testament Scriptures.] Matthew. Mark. Luke. John. Acts of Apostles. Epistle of James. Epistles of Peter. Epistles of John. Epistles to the Romans. 1 Corinthians. 2 Corinthians. Galatians. Ephesians. Philippians. Colossians. 1 Thessalonians. 2 Thessalonians. 1 Timothy. 2 Timothy. Titus. Philemon. Hebrews. 2 Having enumerated the books of the Old Testament, we shall now record those of the New Testament. First, Matthew wrote in Palestine, in the Hebrew tongue. After him comes Mark, who wrote in Latin at Rome. Luke, in Alexandria, spoke and wrote in Greek. John also wrote his Gospel in Greek at Ephesus. The Acts of the Apostles were written by Luke to Theophilus; and the three Epistles of James, Peter, and John, were written in all languages, and called Catholic. Besides these there are fourteen Epistles of the great Apostle Paul, viz., the Epistle to the Romans, written from Corinth; the First Epistle to the Corinthians, written from Ephesus and sent by the hands of Timothy; the Second to the Corinthians, written from Philippi of Macedonia the great, and sent by the hands of Titus; the Epistle to the Galatians, written at Rome, and sent by the same person; the Epistle to the Ephesians, also written at Rome, and sent by Tychicus; the Epistle to the Philippians, written at the same place, and sent by the hands of Epaphroditus; the Epistle to the Colossians, written at Rome, and sent by Tychicus the true disciple; the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, written at Athens, and sent by the hands of Timothy; the Second to the Thessalonians, written at Laodicea of Pisidia, and sent also by Timothy; the First Epistle to Timothy, also written from Laodicea of Pisidia, and sent by the hands of Luke;

3 the Second to Timothy, written from Rome, and sent by the hands of Luke, the Physician and Evangelist; the Epistle to Titus, written at Nicapolis, and sent by the hands of Epaphroditus; the Epistle to Philemon, written at Rome, and sent by Onesimus, the slave of Philemon; the Epistle to the Hebrews, written in Italy, and sent by the hands of Timothy, the spiritual

son. And the [Harmony of the] Gospels, called the Diatesseron, collated by a man of Alexandria named Amonis, who is Tatian.

[PART THIRD.]

1 [Writings of Western Fathers.] The following were written by disciples of the Apostles: the book of Dionysius, the heavenly philosopher; the book of Clemens, one of the Seventy; the Narratives of Peter, Paul, and John, and the other Apostles; and the Apostolic Constitutions. Africanus the Happy, Bishop of Emmaus, wrote a Commentary on the New Testament and a Chronicon. Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, wrote a book on the Life and Actions of Christ, an Exposition of Daniel the Less and Susanna, also Sentences against Gaius, an Introduction on the Advent of Christ, and an Exposition of the Gospel of S. John. Damasus, Bishop of Rome, wrote an account of the Faith, and drew up several Canons, as did also Ignatius. Symmachus is mentioned by the Expositor [Theodorus of Mopsuestia] as having written several works, one of which is entitled the Distinction of the Commandments. Eusebius of Caesarea wrote a history in two volumes, a treatise on the Divine Advent, a Chronicon, a book solving the contradictions contained in the Gospels, another entitled a Picture of the World, an account of Constantine and of the Martyrs of the West, and an epic poem in their praise, a narrative of a drought of rain, and a defence of Origen which was condemned by Theodorus.

2 Athanasius the Great, Patriarch of Alexandria, wrote many epistles and treatises on the orthodox faith, an account of his flight, and a narrative of S. Anthony, which was sent by him to Epictetus. Basil the Great wrote a work on the Six days of Creation, besides many other dissertations, narratives, and epistles. Gregory of Nyssa wrote many treatises, among which are an Exposition of the Lord's Prayer and of the Beatitudes, a book of poems, a dissertation on the Resurrection, a dissertation on the Creation of Man which he sent to his sister, another on Natural Philosophy, one against the Gentiles, an exposition of the Song of Solomon in two volumes, and a treatise on the soul. Gregory Nazianzen the Great wrote five volumes, and a collection of Poems, several Essays for Caesar, a work called Tragoedia, and a book against the Theopaschites. John Chrysostom wrote an exposition of the Gospels of SS. Matthew and John, each consisting of two volumes, an Exposition of the Apostolic writings, a book on the Priesthood, another on Baptism, a treatise against the Jews, a book on the Monks of Egypt, a book of Consolations, a

treatise on Repentance, a treatise written to Justinian, another to Mitidus the Bishop, another on Generations, besides many epistles on various subjects.

3 Diodorus of Tarsus wrote sixty books, most of which were burnt by the Arians; among those remaining are the book entitled the Division of Food, one written against Chaldeanism, one against the Eunomians, another against the Manicheans, another against Apollinaris, and an exposition of a portion of S. Matthew's Gospel. Theodorus the Expositor wrote forty-one volumes containing one hundred and fifty prophecies, each prophecy divided into thirty chapters. He also wrote a theoretical and practical exposition of Genesis in three books, which he sent to Elipia the great; an exposition of the Psalms in five books, sent by him to Cedron and his brother; an exposition of the Twelve Prophets in two volumes for Maurice; an exposition of Samuel in one book, which he sent to Marius; an exposition of Job, sent to Cyril of Egypt; an exposition of Ecclesiastes in one book, written at the request of Porphyry; also an exposition of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel, each in one book. These were his labours on the Old Testament.

4 On the New Testament, he wrote an exposition of S. Matthew to Julia in one book, and another of SS. Luke and John, in two books, to Eusebius; an exposition of the Acts in one book, to Basil; on the Epistle to the Romans, also to Eusebius; on the Epistles to the Corinthians, in two books, at the request of Theodora; and on the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, for Staurachius. The Epistles to the Thessalonians he expounded for Jacob, and the two Epistles to Timothy for Peter, and those to Titus and Philemon for Corinne, and the Epistle to the Hebrews he expounded for the same person. All his expositions of the Apostle Paul he collected in five volumes, and he wrote, besides these, a work on the Sacraments, and another on Faith, and another on the Priesthood, also two books on the Holy Spirit, and one on the Incarnation, in two volumes; and two other books against such as say that man cannot help sinning, and two against the Magians, and one addressed to the Monks, and one on Perfection, and another for Basil, and another on the union of the two natures and persons in Christ, and a book of Jewels in which he collected all his epistles, and a treatise on the enacting of Laws, with which he concluded his writings.

5 Nestorius the Patriarch wrote many celebrated works, most of which were destroyed by the blasphemers. Of those remaining, one is entitled the

Tragoedia, one dedicated to Heraclides, and an epistle to Cosmas, which was written in the time of Paul. He wrote, moreover, a large liturgy which was translated [into Syriac] by Tooma and Mar Awa. There is also of his a book of epistles, an Antiphonary, and a collection of epic poems. Theodotus, the disciple of Theodorus the Expositor, wrote an exposition of Isaiah in two volumes, and in another work he has explained the occasion of the writing of the different Psalms of David, and to what occasions their use is adapted. Aquilinus wrote a commentary on S. Matthew and S. John the son of Zebedee after the traditions of the ancients. Basilius wrote several Antiphonaries, and other treatises. Chiore wrote on the different kinds of worship, and several narratives.

6 Irenaeus of Tyre wrote five histories on the persecution of Mar Nestorius, and on all the events which transpired during that period. Phileteus expounded Ezekiel in two volumes, and wrote a book named, from its subject, the Healer. Theodoret of Cyprus wrote a book entitled "Phileteus," one against Origen, another called the "Division of Food," an exposition of Daniel, excellent histories, Apologies for our righteous Fathers in two volumes, a solution of the Sentences of Cyril, a book against the Philosophers, and many epistles containing much learning and knowledge. Socrates wrote two volumes of History, and an account of the Emperors Constantine and Jovian. Titus wrote a work against Manes. Arniastataeus also wrote a work against Manes. Theophilus, the Persian, wrote against Dostseus, and another work in which he solved the Sentences of Cyril. Eutheris wrote a book against the Patripassians, several narratives, antiphonae, and expositions of the Gospel. 7 Epiphanes wrote a work on the Divine Advent, and another on the different heresies which had arisen up to his time. Zenobius wrote against Marcion and Pamphilus, and epistles to Isidore, Lycullus, Abraham and Job. Eusebius of Emesa wrote a book against the Jews, and on the ceremonies of the Old Testament, and a narrative of Stephen. Father Macarius wrote three books on the right mode of living. Marcus wrote a book of chapters. John wrote histories. Evagrius wrote three books. Father Isaiah wrote one book. Ammonius wrote epistles. Macarius, not the same just mentioned, wrote several narratives. Xistus wrote a book of sacred poems, and a work on the Lovers of God. Nilus the Monk wrote two wonderful volumes. Palladius and Hierome wrote the book of Paradise, and the sayings and injunctions of the Elders in three volumes. John of Apamea, wrote three

books, and several epistles on the Spiritual Life, on the Effects of Sin, and on Perfection.

8 Jacob, the disciple, wrote a short exposition of S. Matthew, of the Epistles, and of the Prophet Jeremiah.

[PART FOURTH.]

1 [Writings of Syrian Fathers.] After having enumerated the writings of the Greek Fathers we now begin to record the writings of the Syrian Fathers. Shimeon Barsabbaï wrote epistles to Mar Acac. Meelis wrote epistles and treatises on various subjects. Mar Yaw-ahui wrote an epistle to the Eastern Papa, in whose days a letter was written by the Westerns raising this Eastern See into a Patriarchate. The letter was sent, with all honour, by the hands of Agepta of Elam. Ephraem the Great, called the Prophet of the Syrians, wrote a commentary on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, the Kings, the Psalms, Isaiah, the Twelve Prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; besides other books and Epistles on the faith of the Church, poems, anthems, and hymns, and the Anneedhé, [Services for the dead]. He wrote also on the alphabet, a controversy with the Jews, and treatises against Manes, Bardassenes, and Marcion, and an answer to the blasphemy of Julian.

2 Narsai, the Harp of the Soul, wrote an exposition of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, the twelve minor Prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. He wrote also twelve other books, three hundred and sixty poems, a Liturgy, an exposition of the Sacraments, and a treatise on Baptism. He wrote, moreover, Consolations, Antiphonae, hymns, litanies, homilies, and a treatise on an Evil Life. Barsoma wrote homilies, anthems, and other poems: also a liturgy, and many epistles. Auraham of Beit Rabban wrote an exposition of Joshua, Judges, Kings, the Wisdom of the son of Sirach, and Isaiah, in two volumes; also a Commentary on the twelve minor Prophets, on Daniel, and the Song of Solomon, and a book of Moutwé, divided into chapters. Johanan of Beit Rabban, wrote a commentary on Genesis, Leviticus, Numbers, Job, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Proverbs, a book against the Magi, one on the Customs of the Jews, and another against heretics. He wrote also a poem on the humiliation of the Ninevites, one on the death of Chosroes, and another on the plague which visited Nisibis, together with consolations for all conditions of men, a Catechism on the Old and New Testament, hymns, poems, and a treatise on Chanting.

3 Marootha, Bishop of Meiparket, the learned physician, wrote a book of Evidences, Antiphonae, and hymns in honour of the Martyrs. He also expounded the Canons of the 318 [of Nice], and wrote a full account of that Holy Synod. Mar Awa the Great translated the entire Old Testament from the Greek into this Syriac tongue; he also wrote an exposition of Genesis, the Psalms, Proverbs, the Epistle to the Romans, the second to the Corinthians, the three following Epistles, and that also to the Hebrews. He wrote, moreover, several poems and anthems for the Canons of the Psalter, a synodal epistle on the Discipline of the Church, and other Ecclesiastical Rules and Canons. Hnâna of Hdheiyyeb wrote a Commentary on the Psalms, Genesis, Job, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, the Twelve Prophets, on the Gospel of S. Mark, and the Epistles of S. Paul. Also an exposition of the Faith and Sacraments, a Catechism and a Treatise on the Origin of the Festival of Palms, with poems thereon. Besides these he wrote on the origin of the festivals of Golden Friday, of that in commemoration of the Humiliation of the Ninevites, and on the Invention of the Cross, with many other works condemned by Theodorus of Mopsuestia.

4 Eprahat, the wise Persian, of happy memory, wrote two books, and many poems alphabetically arranged. Heeba, Comar, and Proba, translated the writings of Theodorus of Mopsuestia from Greek into Syriac, as they did also the works of Aristotle. This same Heeba wrote also a commentary on the Proverbs, Antiphons, and other poems, and a polemical work against the heretics. The Disciples of Mar Awa wrote many poems, and an exposition of the prophecy of Daniel. Tooma of Edessa wrote on the origin of the Feasts of the Nativity and Epiphany, an epistle to Kâlé, a work against astrology, a book of Consolations, and a polemical treatise against heretics. Serghees of Reish Aina wrote a treatise on Logic. Paul of Nisibis wrote a Commentary on the Bible, a treatise against Caesar, and various epistles. Babai the Great wrote eighty-three books, in one of which he gives an account of the origin of the Feast of Palms, a dissertation on the union of Christ's humanity and divinity, and an exposition of the Book of Hundreds. He also expounded the book written by the Father Marcos, wrote an account of Diodorus and his followers, of the Feast of the Cross, and of the Saints for the cycle of the year, such as the Feasts of S. Mary, S. John, and the other feasts and commemorations. He moreover wrote a book for conventual Novices, an epistle to Joseph the Seer, rules for Monks, and an exposition of the whole Bible. Also a work

on the Causes of Things, in which he speaks of Mattai who was translated, of Auraharn of Nisibis, and of Gawrièl of Kutr [or Kutra.]

5 Dad-Yeshua expounded the "Paradise" of the Westerns, and the work of Father Isaiah, and wrote other books on the right mode of living. He also wrote a hymn on the consecration of a Cell, a funeral Dirge, several Epistles, and a Catechism on the Spiritual Life and Quiet. Joseph the Seer wrote 1900 chapters on various theological subjects, and a book called the "Treasure," in which he solves many difficult questions. He also wrote a work on Calamities, an Exposition of the work entitled the "Merchant's Book," and another, in two volumes, on the Paradise of the Easterns, which contains many historical notices. Besides these, he composed a commentary on the Prophet Ezekiel, a treatise on the Festivals, and an exposition of the Heads of Knowledge, and of the works of Dionysius. He moreover expounded the Vision of Mar Gregorius, and wrote epistles on the life of Anchorites. John of Dilyâtha wrote two books, besides epistles on the monastic life.

6 Ishâk of Nineveh wrote seven books on the spiritual and divine Sacraments, and one on the Distribution of Food. Yeshua-yau, of Gadhla, wrote a commentary on the Psalms, together with epistles, dissertations, and poems on various subjects. Yeshua-yau, of Erzona, wrote a work against Eunomius, and another against an heretical Bishop. Also twenty-three Queries on the Sacraments of the Church, a Synodal Preface, Epistles, and Canons. Cyprian, of Nisibis, expounded the Theology of Gregory the Great, and compiled an Ordination Office. Yeshua-yau, of Hdheyyeb, wrote on a Change of Mind, and an Advice to Monastic Novices. He also arranged the Khudhra, and the Baptismal Office, and wrote an Office for the Consecration of a New Church, as also an Ordination Office, and the Office of Hoosâyé. He wrote, moreover, many antiphons, epic poems, epistles, anthems, and Consolations, in the most beautiful style, and a controversial treatise against certain persons.
7 Hnan-Yeshua wrote a treatise on Chanting. Michael composed a book of Inquiries into the Bible, in three volumes. Theodore, Metropolitan of Marro, wrote an account of Mar Eughène, and of the Greek doctors, in poetry; also an Exposition of the Psalms, and other poems, in which he answered the ten theses of Serghees. He composed another excellent book, moreover, at the instance of Mar Awa, the Catholicos. Gawrièl, brother of the above, and Bishop of Hormuzdshir, wrote a work against Manes, and another against the Chaldeans, besides Homilies and other treatises on various subjects, to

the extent of about three hundred chapters. Elîa, Metropolitan of Marro, wrote antiphons, Consolations, and a Commentary on all the Gospel Lessons; also epistles, and an account of the origin of the Moutwé, and an Exposition of the Proverbs, Genesis, the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, Isaiah, the Twelve Prophets, and the Epistles of the Apostle Paul. He also compiled an authentic History.

8 Gheorghees, Catholicos, wrote hymns, anthems, a Litany for the Fast of the Ninevites, and a few other Canons and poems. Gawrièl Arya, of the family of Ishâk of Nineveh, wrote an Exposition of many extracts taken from the whole Bible. Hnan-Yeshua, surnamed Hgheera [the lame] wrote antiphons, epistles, Consolations, homilies, poems, and several catechisms: also a book of Thanksgiving, on account of Serghees Doda, Two Reasons for Schools, and an Analogical exposition. Awa, of Cashgar, wrote several homilies and epistles, a book on the rules of Logic, and another in which he explains the Logic of Aristotle. Hnan-Yeshua, Catholicos, wrote a collection of epistles, Consolations, and anthems, in five books, besides other poems and ten dissertations. Awa bar Brikh Sowyâne wrote a work on Strategy, several expositions, and antiphons full of wisdom. Timatheos wrote a book on the Stars, another against the Mehdi, another on Church Matters, with many Synodal Canons, two hundred epistles collected into two volumes, a catechism, and a dissertation against heretics.

9 Ephràm, of Elam, wrote a work on the Faith. Tooris, the Anchorite, composed a book in two volumes. Hoonein, the physician, the son of Ishâk, wrote a book on the fear of God, a Grammar, and a Vocabulary. Yeshua bar Nun wrote a work called "Theologia," Inquiries into the Bible, in two volumes, a book of sentences, of the Causes of things, Consolations, and epistles. He wrote also on the different Church Services, antiphons, and anthems. Elisha, the Expounder, wrote a Commentary on Job, and on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and on the three following epistles. He also composed an account of the Moutwé, and another of the Martyrs, a book of Thanksgivings, and a poem on Shimoon of Germakh. Besides which he explained the Chronicon of Eusebius. Soreen, the Expounder, wrote in Greek against the heretics, and a book of evidences. Bar Had-Bshabba, the Arab, wrote a work entitled "The Book of Treasures," in three volumes, and other polemical treatises, against the Gentiles, such as idolaters and others.

He also wrote a history, and an account of Mar Diodorus and his followers, and an exposition of Mark the Evangelist, and of the Psalter.

10 Mikha, the Doctor, wrote Five Causes of the Moutwé, a poem on Cantropos [?], and another on Mar Sawr-Yeshua, of Lashum. Also an exposition of the books of the Kings of Israel. Kioré wrote various dissertations, homilies, and anaphoras. Paulona wrote poems, a dissertation against inquirers, a treatise against Marcion, a book on Believers, and another on the Creed. Serghees wrote an exposition of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and of Daniel, after the style of the ancients. Mari, the Persian, wrote a Commentary on Daniel, an explanation of the epistle of Akak, and a work against the Magi of Nisibis. Auraham, of Mahozé, wrote Consolations, Epistles, an account of all the Festivals, and a book of Antiphons. Paulos, of Ambar, wrote a work against the epistle of Omar, Consolations, and Antiphons, and a treatise against different persons. Gawrièl, of Kotra, wrote a poem on the union of Christ, and a solution of the difficulties of the Faith.

11 Yakoob, of Kelta, wrote an exposition of the Proverbs, poems on Diodorus, and a book on the Faith of the Church. Barsoma, of Kerkook, wrote a work called "the Liver," and another containing thanksgivings, Consolations, and Antiphons. Ab Yeshua, Bar Bahrees, Metropolitan of Athur, wrote on the Division of Inheritances, and an Explanation of the different Church Services. Daniel, of Toowaneetha, Bishop of Tahl, wrote a work entitled "the Book of Lilies," Consolations, and Antiphons. Also a book solving the difficulties contained in Holy Scripture, Replies to different Queries, one of Thanksgiving, another of Poems, a Solution of the difficulties in the writings of Mar Ishak of Nineveh, and an exposition of the Heads of Knowledge. Auraham, Metropolitan of Basra, wrote several epistles. Ahoob, of Kotra, wrote a Commentary on the Old and New Testaments with the exception of the Pentateuch. Dinha expounded the Psalms, and wrote Consolations, and other treatises on Church subjects. He also explained the two books of Gregory, and the Logic of Aristotle.

12 Shallecta, Bishop of Reish Aina, wrote Antiphons, Consolations, Prayers, Canons, and hootamât, [collects for the conclusion of Divine Service]. He also expounded two Litanies. Babai, the Persian, who became Bishop of Riu Ardsheer, wrote a work solving various difficult questions. Shehdost, of Teheran, wrote several Synodal Epistles and Letters, besides many small poems and Antiphons. Habeeb, the Anchorite, wrote Meditations on the

Life of Christ, Elements of Knowledge, and made several chants and tunes for Anthems. Babai of Nisibis, wrote poems, epistles, hymns, narratives, and several homilies. Shimoon of Taibootha, wrote a work entitled "the way to live," another on Medicine, and an Exposition of the Sacraments. Yohanan el-Ezrak, of Heerta, wrote a book of Homilies, a Guide, and two hundred and eighty epistles. Yohanan of Deilom wrote nine poems. Mar Yau, wrote an epistle and an exposition of the same for Epni Mâran. Yeshua Pâna, of Kotra, wrote hortatory poems, an exposition of the "Book of Hundreds," another on the Philosophy of the Soul, and many poems, anthems, epistles, Consolations, and hymns, arranged alphabetically.

13 Babai, the Scribe, of Maarra, wrote a work on the Distinction of Things. The Turkish Expounder wrote a work on the Joys of Heaven. Mar Shooha 'l Mâran, of Seleucia, wrote a work called the "Book of Portions," another on Elements of Knowledge, besides many useful epistles. Yohanan bar Pinkhâyé wrote seven books, one on the Education of Children, a controversial treatise against the "Words of a Merchant," one against Idolatry, one on the Seven Eyes of the Lord, one on Perfection, and a Catechism. Auraham, of Nethpra, wrote many works. Gregorius, of Deir, wrote one book and several epistles. Akb-Shma wrote homilies, Consolations, anthems, on the Principles of Knowledge and Proverbs. Akhoodemé wrote against the Philosophers and Magi, and on the limits of things. He also wrote a book on Logic, another on the Persons [of Christ], and a third on the inquiry: "Has the will power over the nature of man?" in two parts. He also wrote on the Soul, showing that man is a small world in himself, besides many other instructive treatises in beautiful style and language.

14 Auraham bar Dishended, wrote a Book of Advice, an exposition of the writings of Father Marcos, a treatise against the Jews, another entitled "the Way of the King," poems on Repentance, and many epistles on various subjects. Yeshua-Bukht wrote a book on All Things, and another on Church Matters, and poems on the Air. Yeshua-Dnah, of Basra, wrote three books of History, an exposition of Logic, Consolations, Anthems, and Poems, and a treatise on Chastity, in which he collected an account of all the Saints. Auraham bar Lipah wrote a Rationale of the different Services. Alexandros wrote a work against the blasphemy of Julian. Poplius wrote two books, one on Holy Things, and a Remembrancer. Abd Mesheeh, of Heerta, wrote a book rich in meaning. Theodorus bar Coozai wrote a Scholion, a History, and

many other dissertations. Abd Yeshua bar Akarwé wrote several anthems, and a work on the origin of Things.

15 Andraos wrote antiphons, and a work on the diacritical and vowel points. Gawrièl, of Basra, collected all the Synodal Canons, in two volumes, and added thereto several dissertations. Yohanan, of Germaka, wrote on the Principles of Knowledge, Rules for Novices, a short Chronicon, an account of Mar Koodehwi, and many poems and anthems. Auraham, of Beit Hâlé, wrote a treatise against the Tai [Arabs.] Mar Shlemon, Bishop of Hdhetta near Mosul, wrote several narratives, and a treatise on the Monastic Life. Yeshua-dad, also of Hdhetta, wrote a Commentary on the New Testament, and a short exposition of the Pentateuch. Aboo-Nuah wrote a work against the Koran, a treatise against Heretics, and on several other subjects. Kindi wrote an excellent work on Polemics, and another on the Faith. Dad-Yeshua wrote a wonderful exposition of Daniel, of the Kings, and of the book of Wisdom, in three volumes. Yohanan, of Nineveh, wrote a work on Controversy.

16 Kuriakòs wrote an exposition of the Faith and Sacraments, another work on the Nativity and Epiphany, and a Commentary on the Epistles of S. Paul. Shimoon bar Tabbâhé wrote a History. Meshikha Skha also wrote a History. Mar Athken, the Anchorite, wrote a Controversy with the Wise Brother, and many epistles on the right way of living. Gheorghees, of Nishra, wrote a book on Obedience. Anos, of Piros-Shaboor, wrote poems, Consolations, and many other works. Bood Piryadotha wrote poems on the Faith, a treatise against the Manichees, and another against the followers of Marcion. He also wrote a work in Greek, entitled "Alep-Megheen," and it was he who translated "Kleilagh oo Dimnagh" from the Indian language. Danièl, of Reish Aina, wrote poems against the Marcionites, Manichees, Heretics, and Chaldeans. Auraham bar Kardâkhé wrote anthems, Consolations, poems, and homilies, and an Epistle against Shisban. Nathnièl wrote against the followers of Severus, against Manes, and against the Kanthi and Mandri [Sabaeans], and an Exposition of the Psalms.

17 Elisha bar Sabîné wrote an Exposition of the Psalter, on Different Opinions, and a chapter of Proverbs. Auraham Katteena wrote Catechisms. Shimoon, of Kurdlah, wrote 1,028 poems and anthems. Father Yazeedad wrote a vocabulary called "Lookaté." Bar Shhak wrote one book. Damanis wrote poems. Susai, of Sus, wrote a book of Thanksgivings. Auraham Saba wrote a beautiful Catechism. Gregor, of Shushtre, wrote a work against Hea-

thenism, on Natural Evidences, Consolations, anthems, a narrative of Auraham of Shushtre, a History, and an account of the different Festivals. It was he who originated the chant "Ittayyeb b'awadheicon." Bar Sehde, of Kerkook, wrote a History, and a work against the Magi, the disciples of Zoroaster. Jacob, of Edessa, wrote a Book of the Times, and a Chronicon. Shimoon, of Bedhka, wrote a History. Ara wrote a work against the Magi, and another against Bardassenes, entitled "Beetles." Pâkor wrote one book. Bar Dkôsi wrote two volumes against the Chaldeans, and another against Porphyry the heretic.

18 Danièl ibn Mariam wrote a History in four volumes, and another expounding the Chronicon. Zacchai, of Supna, wrote on the Wonders of the World. Bar Daknâna wrote poems for the consolation of the sorrowing. Yohanan bar Abgaré wrote Canons and Homilies on Church matters, and on the Division of Inheritances. Mar Daweedh, of Beit Rabban, wrote on the Boundaries of countries, and on the Changes of nights and days. Yohanan, of Estooni, wrote a Grammar. Yohanan bar Khâmees, Bishop of Temnoon, also wrote a Grammar. Bar Bahlool collated a Lexicon from many books, assisted by Yeshua bar Ali the Physician, Marozi, and Gawrièl. Elîa, of Azak, wrote three books of poetry, questions, epistles, prefaces and anthems. Dad-Yeshua, Bishop of Heerta, called Mattushuah, wrote a Catechism on the Holy Scriptures, and Anthems. Andor, the Scholar, wrote a dissertation on many things, arranged alphabetically, which he sent to his friend Koorta. 19 Elîa bar Kanosh wrote Benedictions, Narratives, a treatise on the use of the Psalms, and on the Sacraments of the Church. Mar Elîa, the First, wrote Decrees, a treatise on Church matters, and a Grammar. Yohanan bar Keldon wrote a valuable work called "Busnâya," another on the Most Beautiful, and a third on the Merchandize of the Monks. Elîa bar Yeshnâya, Metropolitan of Nisibis, wrote a History, a Grammar, poems, four books of Church rules, and epistles on various subjects in Syriac and Arabic. Behishua, of Kamool, wrote on the Monastic life. Yohanan Hermis wrote poems. Emmanuèl, the Doctor, wrote a work on the six days of Creation in poetry, homilies, and expositions. Gawrièl, Bishop of Shabookhwest, wrote a catechism, homilies, controversies, Consolations, and anthems. The Greek Emperors Constantine, Leo, and Theodosius the Great, convened the Synods of the Westerns, that of the Apostles, of Nice, of Byzantium, of Gangra, the false one of

Ephesus, that of Chalcedon, of Antioch, and the -- -- of the Greek Emperors.

20 And we possess the Eastern Synods of Ishâk, of Barsoma, of Mar Awa, of Mar Hezkièl, of Yosep, of Yeshua-yau, of Mar Timataos, of Yeshua bar Nun, of Yohanan, the Acts of Shimoon, the Acts of Yeshua-Bukht, Metropolitan of Persia, and those of Abd Yeshua and of Gheorghees, Metropolitans of Athor, besides two volumes of Synods collated by Gawrièl, Metropolitan of Basra, and another of the Catholicos Mar Elîa the First, and four of Elîa of Nisibis, surnamed Bar Ishnâya. We possess, moreover, many other books whose authors' names are unknown; such as the book entitled "the Enlightenment," and the book on the Union. [Here several lines of the original are destroyed.] Shlemon, of Khlàt, of Basra [prob. Metrop.], wrote a work entitled Debboreetha [lit. The Bee], another on the Heavens and the Earth, and several poems. Abd Yeshua, my vile self, wrote a Commentary on the Bible [MS. defaced], the book of the Paradise of Eden, a collection of Synods in Arabic, the book entitled Marghianeetha on the Truth of the Faith, a treatise on the Mysteries of the Grecian Philosophers, and another called "Scholasticus," against heresy. I also collated a book of Church Laws and Discipline, and another consisting of twelve treatises on knowledge in general, besides Consolations, antiphons, and anthems, for various occasions, an explanation of the Epistle sent by Aristotle to Alexander the Great [MS. defaced], also a work solving many difficult questions, and one of arguments, proverbs, and riddles.

21 After the best of our ability we have recorded the books which we have seen, our object being to show that the perusal of them is profitable. The authors spake by the Spirit, according to the testimony of Paul the Apostle; may their prayers keep and invest with glory us, the sheep of Christ, and may their memory endure for ever, inasmuch as they enlightened the Church by their wisdom, and enriched her children by their attainments. Glory be to that Spirit by whom they themselves were enriched. Here endeth the catalogue of all the Church books, written by the undeserving Abd Yeshua, Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia. To God be thanksgiving and glory for ever. Amen.

# Commentary on Revelation

DIONYSIUS BAR SALIBI

*d. AD 1171*

Syriac Orthodox bishop and commentator.

## INTRODUCTION

1 Dionysius Bar Salibi quotes the comments of Gaius and Hippolytus on: and of Hippolytus on: and (from a subsequent manuscript find) Some additional notes by Roger Pearse

### *HIPPOLYTUS AND HIS 'HEADS AGAINST CAIUS.'*

2 [By John GWYNN. D.D.] The extant remains of the writings of Caius, and the scattered notices of him that occur in ancient writers, are so few and meagre, that they serve to raise, rather than to solve, questions concerning him. It may be briefly said, that hardly anything has hitherto been known of him with certainty, beyond the facts that he flourished about the year of our Lord 200, and that he wrote a Dialogue against Proclus, a Montanist leader. I believe, therefore, that many students of the early history of the Church, and of the New Testament Canon, will welcome an accession to the scanty materials out of which the existing acounts of him have been constructed. I propose, accordingly, to give in this Paper a few passages which I have recently lighted on, purporting to be derived from a work in which his contemporary, Hippolytus, controverted his teaching concerning the authenticity of the Apocalypse of St. John.

3 These passages, five in number, are embodied in the inedited Syriac Commentary on the Apocalypse, Acts, and Epistles, of Dionysius Barsalibi, the learned Jacobite divine of the twelfth century from whose Commentary on the Gospels investigators have learned many valuable facts----notably, the existence of Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron of Tatian, recently confirmed so signally by Moesinger's publication of a Latin translation of the Armenian version. Of each of the five the method is the same. An

objection is briefly stated as raised by Caius against some point in which he conceived that the Apocalypse was at variance with the teaching of the Gospels and of St. Paul; and the arguments of Hippolytus, in reply, are given at some length. Now, of the fragments preserved for us by Eusebius of the Dialogue of Caius, the principal is one on which much dispute has arisen---- whether it refers to the canonical Apocalypse. It is as follows:----

4 'Cerinthus, by means of revelations purporting to have been written by a great Apostle, attempts to impose on us marvels which he pretended were shown to him by angels; and says, that after the resurrection the reign of Christ is to be on earth, and that men are to inhabit Jerusalem in fleshy bondage to lusts and pleasures; and being an enemy to God's Scriptures, he declares, in his desire to deceive, that the space of a thousand years is to be spent in a marriage feast.' (Hist. Eccl. iii. 28.) 5 From these words the suspicion, prima facie, arises, that Caius may have rejected the Apocalypse from the Canon, and ascribed it to the arch-heretic Cerinthus. Yet, if the passage stood alone, this suspicion might well be set aside. The carnal millennium it describes is utterly unlike the millennium of our Apocalypse; and it seems, besides, impossible that anyone could have imagined Cerinthus to be the author of a book of which the Christology differs so fundamentally from his. But Eusebius, though he does not appear himself to have understood Caius to refer to the Apocalypse of the Canon, cites from Dionysius of Alexandria a statement, that 'some of those before him' had rejected the Apocalypse as the work, not of St. John, but of Cerinthus; the grounds of rejection being much the same as those alleged by Caius, and expressed in similar, but grosser terms. The obvious inference seems to be, that Dionysius is here referring to Caius, and that he believed the 'revelations' which Caius ascribed to Cerinthus to be the Book of the Revelation, usually received in the Church as written by St. John. And in support of this inference the fact is adduced that Ebediesu, a late Syriac writer (circ. 1300), in his Catalogue, mentions, among the works of Hippolytus, his 'Heads against Caius.' What more likely (it may be asked) than that the point of controversy between these contemporaries may have been the authenticity of the Book which the one appears to have called in question; while the other, as his extant works attest, accepted it with reverence, and studied it with sedulous care?

6 Bearing these particulars in mind, we shall better be able to estimate the evidence yielded by the passages of which I proceed to give a translation.

I. THE FIRST IS AS FOLLOWS :----

1 [Rev. viii. 8: A great mountain was cast into the sea, and the third part of the sea became blood,] fol. 3r, line 13) 'On this, Caius the heretic objected to this revelation, and said that it is not possible that these things should be, inasmuch as as a thief that cometh in the night, so is the coming of the Lord [1 Thess. v. 2]. Hippolytus of Rome answered him, and said that, in like manner as God wrought signs such as these in Egypt, so is He to work when Christ appears. And those that [were wrought] in Egypt were partial, inasmuch as a part of the people was subjected there; but these are to be general, before the judgment, on all the world. Accordingly, by the revelation John declared that there are to be plagues before the judgment, as though for the avenging of the righteous and retribution on the unbelieving, that when involved in these they may not trouble the faithful.

2 So also the Lord said, There shall be in that day tribulation such as has been none like it [St. Matth. xxiv. 21]; and Joel, I will shew signs in heaven and on earth, blood and fire and vapour of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood, before the day of the Lord come [Joel ii. 30, 31]; and Amos, To what end is the day of the Lord for you, for it is dark and not light? in like manner as if thou fleddest from a lion and a bear met thee, or one leaned his hands on a wall and a serpent bit him [Amos v. 18, 19]. The text, that the day of the Lord cometh as a thief, signifies as regards the unbelieving that they are darkness, inasmuch as the faithful are children of light, who walk not in the night [St. John xi. 10; xii. 35, 36; Eph. v. 8]. Accordingly, in Egypt this type was completed; for the Egyptians had darkness, but the Hebrews had light [Exod. x. 22, 23].'

II. THE SECOND GOES ON MUCH THE SAME LINES----

1 [Rev. viii. 12: The third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened]. (Ms. Rich. 7185, f. 3v, line 20) 'On this Caius said that, just as in the Flood the heavenly bodies were not taken away and suddenly submerged, thus also is it to be in the end, as it is written [St. Matth. xxiv. 37]; and Paul says, When they shall say, Peace and safety, destruction shall come upon them [1 Thess. v. 3]. But Hippolytus says, in reply to this objection of the heretic: Before the Flood there was none of these signs, inasmuch as the Flood was partial; and the heavenly bodies were not removed, inasmuch as

the general end had not arrived: but when heaven and earth are about to pass away [St. Matth. xxiv. 35], it must needs be that by little and little their splendour shall perish.

2 And to this Joel testifies: Before him verily the earth shall be confounded and the heavens shaken, and the sun and moon shall be darkened, and the stars their light shall set [Joel ii. 10]. And our Lord said, in the Book of Luke, And there shall be signs in the sun and moon and stars, and on the earth distress of nations, and the powers which are in heaven shall be shaken [St. Luke xxi. 25, 26]. And as to this, that He sent a manifest token, it is with regard to the non-perception of the unbelieving that He signifies. And as to the text, When they shall say Peace, destruction shall come upon them, it is with regard to the Jews that He signifies, that they expect to possess their land and to be able to live in peace, and forthwith Christ appears and they are put to shame.'

### III. THE THIRD IS NOT DISSIMILAR.

1 [Rev. ix. 2, 3: There came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth, and unto them was given power, even as the scorpions of the earth have power,]. (Ms. Rich. 7185, f. 4r, line 14) 'On this Caius objects, that according to this, the unrighteous are consumed by the locusts; whereas Scripture has said that sinners prosper and the righteous are persecuted, in the world' [Ps. lxxiii. 12 ]; and Paul, that the faithful shall be persecuted and the evil shall flourish, deceiving and being deceived [2 Tim. iii. 12, 13]. But Hippolytus answers him, and says that the faithful, those who are persecuted by the unrighteous, at this period are to have rest, because they have been sealed; but the unrighteous who persecuted the saints, on them comes the plague of locusts; even as the Egyptians were devoured, and the Hebrews were free from the plagues, while they dwelt in one place. Thus the saints in this time are to be in well-being, even as our Lord said, When these things begin to be, be of good cheer, and lift up your heads, inasmuch as your redemption is nigh [St. Luke, xxi. 28]; that is, when plagues come on the evil, the righteous have rest. And this, that evil men deceive and are deceived [2 Tim. iii. 13], at the present day is coming to pass: that crafty men, who alter the words of the Lord and of the Scriptures after their evil thoughts, that even though at the present day they are proceeding further, yet in the end they are to be rebuked: even as Jannes and Jambres, who withstood Moses [ib. 8, 9], and afterwards were overcome and put to shame.'

2 IV. The fourth takes up different ground, and (as will presently be shown) contains a further element of interest. [Rev. ix. 15: And the angels were loosed, which were prepared for seasons and for days, to slay the third part of men,]. (Ms. Rich. 7185, f. 4v, line 7) 'On this Caius says: It is not written that angels are to make war, nor that a third part of men is to perish; but that nation shall rise against nation [St. Matth. xxiv. 7]. Hippolytus in reply to him: It is not of angels he says that they are to go to war, but that four nations are to arise out of the region which is by Euphrates, and to come against the earth, and to war with mankind. But this that he says, four angels, is not alien from Scripture. Moses said, When He dispersed the sons of Adam, He set the boundary of the nations according to the number of the Angels of God [Deut. xxxii. 8 (LXX.)].

3 Since therefore nations have been assigned to angels, and each nation pertains to one angel, John rightly declared by the Revelation a loosing for those four angels: who are the Persians, and the Medes, and the Babylonians, and the Assyrians. Since then these angels who have been appointed over the nations have not been commanded to stir up those who have been assigned to them, a certain bond of the power of the word is indicated, which restrains them until the day shall arrive and the Lord of all shall command. And this then is to happen when Antichrist shall come.' V. The fifth has a special importance, as touching on the matter of millennarian prediction. [Rev. xx. 2. 3: And he laid hold on the dragon, the old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him

4 up and sealed the bottomless pit upon him, in order that he should not deceive the nations till the thousand years should be fulfilled: after that, he must be loosed a little season,]. (Ms. Rich. 7185, f. 9v, line 8) 'On this Caius the heretic objected: that Satan is bound here, according to that which is written, that Christ went up into the strong man's house and bound him, and spoiled his goods for us [St. Matth. xii. 29]. Hippolytus answered this and said: If the Devil has been bound, how does he deceive the faithful and persecute and plunder men? And if you say that he has been bound as regards the faithful, how did he draw near against Christ, Him who aid no sin? according to the text, The Prince cometh and findeth no sin in me [St. John, xiv. 30 ]. And if then he has been bound, how did the Lord teach us to pray, that we should be delivered front the evil one [St. Matth. vi. 13]? and why did he

desire to tempt Simon and the Apostles [St. Luke, xxii. 31]? And how was one who had been bound able to sift and trouble the disciples [ib.]?

5 And truly for us the conflict is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, and against the rulers of the darkness of this world [Eph. vi. 12]. If he had been bound, he would not maintain the conflict, or catch away the word which was sown [St. Matth. xiii. 19], as is said in the Parable of the Seed. That He has bound the strong man; the meaning of it is this: that He has rebuked and cast scorn on those who did not come unto Him when He went against the Devil in order to purify them from his bondage and make them sons unto the Father. And this is proved by what He said just after, that he that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth abroad [St. Matth. xii. 30]. Accordingly, in the end of times, the Devil is to be bound and to be flung into the bottomless pit, when the Lord comes; even as Esaias hath said, that the wicked shall be taken away in order that he see not the glory of the Lord [Isai. xxvi. 10----LXX. (Syr. Hex.)].

6 And the number of the years is not the number of days, but it represents the space of one day, glorious and perfect; in which, when the King comes in glory with His slain, the creation is to shine: according to the text, The sun shall shine twofold [marg., sevenfold; Isai. xxx. 26]; while the righteous eat with Him and drink of His vine. This is the day which the Lord hath made [Ps. cxviii. 24], which David spoke of. Accordingly, when with the eye of the spirit John saw the glory of that day, he likened it to the space of a thousand years; according to the saying, One day in the world of the righteous is as a thousand years [2 Pet. iii. 8?]. And by the number he shows that day to be perfect, for those that are faithful. But as for what he has said, that after the thousand years he shall be loosed, and shall deceive the nations [Rev. xx. 7, 8], it is this: that justly he is to be loosed, and to be cast into the burning, and to be judged [ib. 10, 12]; with those who from old time were gathered together with him, when he gathered the strangers of the kingdom, and Gog and Magog [ib. 8].'

7 These passages are conclusive on the main question that has been in dispute concerning Caius. They prove that he refused to admit the Apocalypse as the work of St. John. And they prove that Hippolytus wrote a reply to the arguments by which Caius maintained his opinion. These arguments, we may assume, were put forth in a written treatise; and the purport of them appears to have been (so far as they are reported to us by Barsalibi), that the

teaching of the Apocalypse, especially as regards its eschatology, is contradictory to that of our Lord, as reported in the Synoptic Gospels, and of St. Paul. Hence it follows that he rejects its claim, not merely to be the work of St. John, but to be an authentic part of the New Testament Canon. The work of Hippolytus whence Barsalibi derived his knowledge of this controversy was, no doubt, the Heads against Caius, mentioned by Ebediesu, which was evidently a distinct treatise from his Exposition of the Apocalypse and Gospel of St. John. The passages as they stand in Barsalibi's Commentary are, probably, not actual excerpts from the 'Heads'; they have the air rather of brief summaries of the arguments on either side: those of Caius (whom it will be observed Barsalibi brands as a 'heretic') being stated in the barest possible form, while those of Hippolytus are given in more detail, yet highly compressed.

8 The objections of Caius are, as will be seen, those of a somewhat captious critic, and indicate little breadth of scriptural learning or of eschatological conceptions; while the replies of his antagonist are not only fair ad hominem retorts, but display a large and thorough knowledge of his subject. But, on the other hand, it is observable that none of the objections at all resembles in character or tone the passage above cited (from Eusebius), in which Caius condemns the spurious 'revelations' which he accuses Cerinthus of attempting to pass off as the work of 'a great Apostle'; nor does any of them, in the remotest degree, answer to the account given by Dionysius of Alexandria of the attack made by certain unnamed writers on the canonical Revelation as being carnal in its promises of millennarian felicity. And this remark applies with especial force to the last of our five passages, which deals with the millennial binding of Satan [Rev. xx. 2, and following verses]. We may assume that if Caius not only denied the Revelation to be written by St. John, but ascribed it to Cerinthus, and interpreted the millennium it foreshows as being one of sensual joys, devised by an 'enemy of the Church of God who desired to deceive,' this would be the place where he would put forward that view. If so, it is not to be supposed that Hippolytus would leave so gross a misconstruction unrefuted;

9 and it is, to say the least, improbable that Barsalibi would omit, in his summary of their controversy, to include this which would be obviously beyond comparison the most important and interesting part of it. But, instead of this, we find the point at issue between the two disputants to be merely

whether Satan has or has not been already ' bound,' and therefore whether it is or is not in accordance with our Lord's teaching to speak of the 'binding' as deferred till the millennium. Besides, the error which in his reply Hippolytus imputes to Caius is, not that he represented the millennium as sensual and unworthy, but merely that he understood the 'thousand years' literally, and not as denoting the spiritual fulness and perfection of ' the day which the Lord hath made.' And Hippolytus does not himself hesitate to speak of the righteous as 'eating and drinking' in that day with the Lord in His glory, without giving any hint that the promise of a grosser 'eating and drinking' had been attributed by Caius to the Apocalyptist.

10 It is hardly necessary to add that in none of these objections do we find any trace of doubt cast by Caius on the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel. He does not, indeed, expressly cite any Gospel by name in any of these passages, and the texts he uses are from St. Matthew only. But it will be perceived that Hippolytus, in replying to him, once at least cites St. John's Gospel, evidently as an authority admitted by his opponent; and this fact of course excludes the supposition----for which, indeed, no ground exists---- that Caius, like the of whom Epiphanius tells us (Haer. xxxi. [li.]), rejected that Gospel as well as the Apocalypse. In the fourth passage, however, there occurs a point of contact between the views of Caius and those of the Alogoi, as stated by Epiphanius (ut supr.), as regards their objections against Rev. ix. 15. It extends, however, only so far as this, that he demurred, as they did, to the idea of angels 'making war';----not, however, because he found it ridiculous, as they professed to do, but because he regarded it as unscriptural ('it is not written'). But it is highly interesting to compare the reply of Hippolytus to this objection, with the arguments with which Epiphanius refutes the Alogoi, the substance of which is as follows:----

11 'By the four angels he signifies the four nations who dwell by the Euphrates----the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, and Persians... That the nations are put in. charge of angels, Moses testifies... He set the boundaries of the nations after the number of the angels of God [Deut., as above]. The loosing of the angels implies, therefore, that these nations, after being for a while restrained in the longsuffering of God, are in due time to be let loose, stirred up by their several angels to work vengeance on such nations as have done despite to the saints of God.' 12 Here, as will be seen, we have every one of the points put forward by Hippolytus reproduced. In both these passages

we have the explanation of 'angels' as representing nations; in both the same passage of Deuteronomy is adduced in support of it; both name the same four nations; both represent the 'binding' as a delay of the vengeance of which these nations are to be the instruments, till God shall command; and the ' loosing,' as the signal given for its execution on the oppressors of His people. That Epiphanius here borrowed from Hippolytus there can be no question; and thus we draw from the comparison of these passages a striking confirmation of the ingenious and convincing theory of Lipsius (Quellenkritik des Epiphanios), who has made it practically certain that in this part of his Panarion Epiphanius (in common with Philaster, in his similar Treatise on Heresies) is borrowing from the lost Refutation of the Thirty-two Heresies of Hippolytus. The passage, as thus reproduced by Epiphanius, is not indeed identical with that translated by Barsalibi; but the agreement between them, in substance, is complete, and there is a close resemblance in diction (so far as the Syriac version of the latter passage enables us to judge ). And this is just the sort of affinity to be expected between two passages from different works by the same author.

13 The results at which the discovery of these passages has enabled us to arrive may be conveniently summed up as follows:---- 1. They establish the separate identity of Caius, of whom hitherto so little has been certainly known, that Bishop Lightfoot was able to make out a strong case in favour of the hypothesis that Caius was but Hippolytus under a different name. 2. They prove that Caius (apparently in a written treatise----possibly his Dialogue against Proclus) rejected the Apocalypse from the New Testament Canon, as containing predictions, mainly eschatological, irreconcilable with the words of our Lord and the teaching of St. Paul. 3. They prove that Hippolytus wrote a work in refutation of this view----probably the Heads against Caius, named by Ebediesu---- These conclusions are direct and certain; and it may be added as a safe inference from them---- 4. That Caius was not (as some have supposed), the author of the Muratorian Fragment, in which the Apocalypse is included in the Canon.

14 And it seems to follow, with scarcely less certainty---- 5. That Caius accepted the Fourth Gospel as St. John's. 6. As a further result, we may add, that the theory of Lipsius concerning the relation between the Panarion of Epiphanius and the lost Refutation of the Thirty-two Heresies of Hippolytus, has received independent and strong confirmation from our fourth extract.

But the farther question, whether Caius went to such lengths in his condemnation of the Apocalypse as to assign it to Cerinthus, is not decided by any of these extracts. It is, at least, a possible hypothesis that Cerinthus may have written a pseudo-Apocalypse, containing previsions of a millennium of carnal pleasures; and that Caius, in his anti-millennarian over-zeal, may have rejected both Apocalypses, the genuine and the spurious alike,----the former for the reasons assigned in the Barsalibaean extracts, namely, that it contravened those Books of the New Testament which he accepted asbeyond question genuine----the latter on the ground stated in his Dialogue, as cited by Eusebius, that its promises were addressed to the baser part of man. It is unfortunate that the introduction prefixed by Barsalibi to this work has reached us in such a mutilated state that little light is thrown by it on the points which are in doubt. The fragment that remains of it merely exhibits a brief notice of the opinions for and against the Johannine authorship, the writers mentioned being Eusebius, Dionysius of Alexandria, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus. It breaks off in the middle of a sentence in which 'John the Presbyter' is suggested as the possible author.

15 The MS. whence I have derived the Syriac text which I print at the end of this article was acquired by the British Museum, in 1830, as part of the Rich collection, and is classed as 'Rich 7185.' It is a small quarto, written on cotton paper, apparently of the fourteenth century. It contains a series of brief commentaries on the Apocalypse, the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Epistles of St. Paul, ending with Hebrews. The second and third leaves only are missing, but of the first leaf nearly half has been torn away, vertically. Its recto is blank, and its verso exhibits the superscription of the book, and the fragment above mentioned of the introduction. The fourth leaf (now numbered 2) begins in the middle of the comment on Rev. iv. 3. The first three chapters, including the Epistles to the Seven Churches, must therefore have been very briefly noticed, or (more probably) passed over without comment. In the Bodleian there is another, and perhaps earlier, copy of the same Commentary, in the MS. Bodl. Or. 560 (small folio, on cotton paper), which, however, has suffered far more severely from the effects of decay or injury. Several leaves are missing at the beginning, so that more than half the Commentary on the Apocalypse (which in this MS. likewise stands first ) has perished, and of our five passages, the last only survives----that relating to Rev. xx. 2, 3. I have collated it, and find that its variations

from the text of Rich 7185 are very minute. I have recorded them, so far as they are of any value, in the notes on that passage.

16 Except in the cases indicated in the notes, I have been content, in printing these extracts, to follow the MSS., without attempting to correct inconsistencies in the use of the diacritical and other points. [pp.411-416 containing Syriac text, and 417 (textual notes) are omitted] [I have not thought it worth while to record the variations of Rich in transliterating the name Hippolytus.] SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE. A few points of affinity between the foregoing extracts and the known writings of Hippolytus may be here noted. (1). The replies to Caius, in I. and II., are paralleled by the discussion of Genesis xlix. 6, in the treatise De Consummatione Mundi, c. 19; where the argument turns similarly on the distinction between and. (Lagarde, p. 103.) (2). In V., the explanation of the "thousand years" harmonizes with (in fact, is implied in) the signification given to the "seventh day," in cc. 4-6 of the Chisian fragment of the Comm. in Danielem, and in both places the saying, "one day is as a thousand years," is adduced (with slight variation) (ib. p. 153.)

17 (3). In V., again, we find the same remarkable application of Isai. xxvi. 10 as in De Antichristo, c. 63 (ib. p. 33.) (4). But on the other hand the interpretation of the binding of the "strong man" (St. Matth. xii. 29), in this same extract, does not well agree with the use of that text in Comm. in Dan., c. 18 (ib. p. 158.) JOHN GWYNN. July, 1888. END OF VOL. VI. Printed by PONSONBY and WELDRICK, Dublin.

*HIPPOLYTUS ON ST. MATTHEW XXIV. 15-22.*

18 IN a Paper which appeared in the last number of Hermathena (Vol. VI, pp. 397-418) I gave some extracts from the unpublished Commentary of Dionysius Barsalibi on the Apocalypse, being controversial passages which that writer professes to have derived from a treatise of Hippolytus----no doubt, his lost Heads against Caius. As a sequel to that Paper, I now offer another extract: from the same Commentary, purporting to contain a summary of the interpretation of the passage, St. Matth. xxiv. 15-22, given by Hippolytus, apparently in some other of his writings which has not reached us.

VI. IT IS AS FOLLOWS : ----

1 [Rev. xi. 2: And the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months] (Ms. Rich. 7185, f. 5v, line 10) '(On this): The city is the Church; and these months they are to persecute her and kill, when the false Christ [St.

Matth. xxiv. 24] shall come, because she worships him not. Now of this said Daniel, He shall approve the covenant for many, one week; in the half of the week shall cease the sacrifice [Dan, ix. 27]. The half of the week: that is, three years and a-half; and these make the forty and two months which are mentioned. The sacrifice he speaks of is not that of sheep, but the prayers of the upright. And the holy city he speaks of is the righteous, i. e. [those] who are oppressed and trodden under foot by the horn that sprang up in the midst [Dan. vii. 8, 20, 21, 25], which is Antichrist, as Daniel said.

2 Hippolytusotherwise interprets that which is said in the Gospel, When indeed ye shall see the pollution of desolation [St. Matth. xxiv. 15]: for he says that it is not concerning the Jews, and the laying waste of Jerusalem, that these things are said, but concerning the end of Antichrist. The elect [ib. 22] he speaks of are the Christians who are in this conflict. And He says, Pray that ye fly not on the Sabbath or in winter [ib. 20]: i. e. He advises that we be not overtaken by those things that are coming on us, when we are unoccupied in righteousness, as the Jews [are unoccupied] on the Sabbath, or troubled with worldly cares and sins, as one that is in a winter storm. There shall be tribulation such as there was not like it since the beginning of the world, etc. [ib. 21; cp. Dan. xii. 1].

3 On this Hippolytus says, that in the siege of Vespasian this did not come to pass; for nothing new happened to the world in his days beyond the things that were before. If you speak of war, many times it has happened in former times: and if again of captives, there have not lacked massacres or bloodshedding that was more than that [of the siege]. And if of the eating of children and unclean beasts, lo also in the days of Ahab these things were [2 Kings, vi. 28]. Accordingly it is not concerning Jerusalem that the Lord said this; for when He willed to speak concerning her, He said, When ye shall see the army compassing the city, know that the desolation thereof is nigh [St. Luke, xxi. 20]. Hence the pollution of devastations He speaks of is Antichrist. And Daniel said, [In] the half of the week standeth the abomination in the sanctuary [Dan. ix. 27; cp. xi. 31]. Now "Vespasian did not set up in the temple an idol, but that Legion which Trajanus Quintus placed, a chief man of the Romans: he set up the idol there which is called Kôre.

4 Also the Apostle has written that these things are concerning Antichrist, Except if there come first a falling away, and the Man of iniquity be revealed, so that he as God shall sit in the temple, whom our Lord Jesus shall

consume, etc. [2 Thess. ii. 3, 4, 8]. From these [words] it is evident that Vespasian did not call himself God, nor did he sit in the temple, nor was he killed by the Spirit of the Lord. Accordingly it is manifest that in the end tribulation arises against the Church, such as was none like it.'

VII.

1 [Rev. xi. 3: And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy, etc.] 2 '(On this: There come two prophets, Enoch and Elias, and these are the two olive trees he speaks of [ib. 4], even as Zacharias spoke of them [Zech. iv. 3, 11, 14]. Now concerning Elias our Lord said, Elias must come to restore all things [St. Mark, ix. 12; cp. St. Matth. xvii. 11]. Of these he says that they work miracles and signs, and send plagues upon the unbelieving [Rev. xi. 5, 6], in order that the faithful may have some respite. These two prophets will stand up against Antichrist, even as Moses and Aaron stood up against Pharaoh and the Egyptians. These things then are to be in the half of the week, when Antichrist will scatter all men, so that there shall not be found two or three together to assemble, to offer sacrifice to God. This then is to be fulfilled, that the sacrifice shall cease. When then these are killed there [ib. 7] by the false Christ, afterwards they are to stand up, in presence of many, and are to be caught upon the clouds to meet our Lord [ib. 11, 12; 1 Thess. iv. 17]. In the half of the week, said John, Enoch and Elias are to receive power [ib. 6], and are to preach a thousand two hundred and threescore days girt with sackcloth [ib. 3], and to teach repentance to the people and the Gentiles. These days are the half of the week;

3 and these are the two olive-trees and the two candlesticks (ib. 4), as Zacharias said, Enoch and Elias. And the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them. And their dead bodies he shall cast into the streets, that is the highways, of the city [ib. 7, 8]. (On this: Concerning this beast Daniel said, I saw indeed a beast that came up out of the bottomless pit, that is, the sea [Dan. vii. 3], and made war with the saints [ib. 21], which [beast] that horn which sprang up designates [ib. 8J. No other kingdom is to persecute the saints, save this alone from which the horn is to spring up at the last, which is Antichrist, who is to kill Enoch and Elias. And after these things that is to come to pass which Esaias said; Behold the Lord out of His sanctuary send-eth forth His sword, great and strong, against the dragon, the crooked serpent [Isaiah, xxvi. 21; xxvii. 1]: and in like manner said Daniel, The beast was

killed and destroyed, and his body was given to the burning fire [Dan. vii. 11]. The body he speaks of is the devil, he who worketh [2 Thess. ii. 7, 9] in the false Christ: and the city he speaks of is Jerusalem, where these things are to come to pass. For Paul said concerning him who is Antichrist, He sitteth in the temple of God as God'

4 The foregoing extract, though continuously written in the MS. whence I take it, divides itself into two parts, the division being marked (as is usual in this MS.) by the sign x. It will be perceived that Hippolytus is cited by name in the former of these parts only----that which relates to the second verse of Rev. xi. But (as I shall presently show) it is certain that in the latter part likewise the comment on the ten following verses (3-12) is in great measure drawn from Hippolytus. Besides, the line of interpretation that runs through both parts is continuous. For these reasons I have thought it well to give the whole. The Commentary has no further note on chapter xi., but passes on immediately to chapter xii. 5 On the second verse Barsalibi begins by explaining the 'treading underfoot' by the Gentiles of the 'holy city ' during 'forty and two months' to mean that in the latter days of the world the Church shall suffer persecution for three years and a half, which period he identifies with the 'half-week' foretold by Daniel (ix. 27); and the 'sacrifice caused to cease in the midst of the week,' signifies accordingly the suppression of the public prayers of the Church by the tyranny of Antichrist, when she will refuse to worship him. And he is the 'little horn' of the fourth of the beasts of Daniel's vision, who is to 'prevail against the saints' (Dan. vii. 8, 21). For so far the Commentary appears to follow the teaching of Hippolytus in the treatise De Christo et Antichristo (Lagarde, pp. 1-36). In that treatise it is laid down, as in the Commentary, that the 'horn' is Antichrist (ss. 28, 47 ); that the half-week of Daniel is the same as the period defined in this eleventh chapter of the Revelation (ss. 43, 47, 61), and that its completion is to be the end of all things (ib., & s. 64). But the discussion which is subjoined, cited as from Hippolytus, of our Lord's eschatological prediction, recorded in the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and of St.

6 Paul's, in the second chapter of his second Epistle to the Thessalonians, is not (so far as I know) to be found in any of his extant writings----though in the De Christo et Antichristo (ss. 62, 63) he inserts several verses of both chapters (St. Matth. xxiv. 15-19, & 21; 2 Thess. 11. 1-12 ], similarly connected together. It is natural to suppose that the citation is from the lost Comment-

ary on Matthew, which St. Jerome mentions in the Prologue to his own Commentary on that Gospel. Indeed, this appears to be directly attested by the MS. of Barsalibi in the marginal note (quantum valeat) attached to the name of Hippolytus, which says, 'In the Commentary on the Gospel.' The words with which Barsalibi introduces this discussion ('Hippolytus otherwise interprets...') imply that he regarded it as in some measure inconsistent with the preceding interpretation of Rev. xi. 2, which (as I have shown) is drawn from, or at least coincides with, that contained in the De Christo et Antichristo. But it is not easy to see any real inconsistency between them; and it may be that he only means to point out that of Daniel's two representations of Antichrist----the 'little horn' and the 'abomination of desolation '----Hippolytus has fixed on the former in the Treatise, and on the latter in the Commentary (or whatever work of his is here borrowed from). It is to be noted that though the texts of Daniel and St.

7 Matthew, which speak of the 'abomination of desolation,' are cited in the De Christo et Antichristo (s. 62), and its appearance reckoned among the signs of the end (64), it is nowhere in this Treatise identified with Antichrist.

8 I see no reason to doubt that we have here a genuine excerpt, probably in a condensed form, from a lost work of Hippolytus; though the identification of it as belonging to the Commentary on Matthew is but conjectural. It is of value as a clear and forcible summary of the reasons why the seige and destruction of Jerusalem under Vespasian cannot be regarded as adequately fulfilling the predictions of our Lord, or those of St. Paul, as we read them in the chapters referred to. It contains, moreover, an incidental statement which, if true, is an interesting addition to our knowledge of the history of the capture of the city. Josephus makes no mention of the setting up of an idol in the Temple, which Hippolytus here relates as the act of a Roman commander named Trajanus. But he mentions a Trajanus as being prefect of the tenth legion at the time when Jotapata was besieged (B. J., bk. III., chh. vii. 31, viii. 8), who may be presumed to be the same person. And the name of the idol, Kore, of course represents,or Persephone, whose images, set up beside watersprings, were so familiar to Justin in the second century, probably in Palestine (Apol. 1. 64).

9 In the remaining part of my extract----that in which the next ten verses of the Revelation are commented on----the relation of the Commentary of Barsalibi to Hippolytus is closer. Not only is the identification of

the 'two witnesses' as Enoch and Elias common to both, but in the terms in which the mission of the witnesses is expressed there is a striking coincidence. St. John has merely said, 'they shall prophesy,' which the Commentary expands into, 'they are to preach... and to teach repentance to the people and the Gentiles.' This expansion is plainly derived from the words of the De Christo et Antichristo, 'They shall preach... proclaiming repentance to the people and all the Gentiles' (s. 43). There are, indeed, in the extract a few points which, so far as I am aware, are not to be found in any work of Hippolytus that has come down to us, for example, the curious explanation that the 'body of the beast' is the Devil. But that Barsalibi had the De Christo et Antichristo before him in the composition of his Commentary appears beyond question in many places. A conclusive instance is his comment on the latter verses of Rev. xiii., the greater part of which I find to be simply a translation, somewhat abridged, of the latter half of section 49 and the former half of section 50 of that treatise.

10 It may be well to note here that this mention of Enoch and Elias, and nearly all the other points above noted as connecting the Commentary with Hippolytus, appear also in the Homily De Consummatione mundi (Lagarde, pp. 92-123). But this Homily seems to be certainly spurious. I have inadvertently quoted it in my Paper in Hermathena xiv. (p. 418, suppl. note (1)), where I ought to have referred instead to the De Christo et Antichristo, s. 15 (Lagarde, p. 8). I may add that a coincidence with the Hippolytean fragment V in that Paper, which I had overlooked, is to be found in the Commentary on Proverbs, printed by Mai (Nova Patrum Biblioth., t. vii. ii. p. 74), which is not included in Lagarde's Hippolytus. It is the comment on Prov. XXX. 19:. On this remarkable reading of St. John xiv. 30, see my note, ib. p. 417.

11 VIII. The accompanying autotype [omitted from the online text] reproduces faithfully the mutilated first page of the MS. Rich 7185. The first eight lines contain the superscription (written in vermilion). Lines 1 and 2 are as follows: 'On God [relying] we delay not to write extracts from the interpretation of the Revelation of John, a small portion...' Of the six following I can only decipher a word here and there. Among them, however, I find 'Dionysius [Bishop of] the city Amid.' This identifies the author as Dionysius Barsalibi, who occupied that See from A.D. 1166 to 1171. It appears, moreover, that in the MS. we have not his Commentary on the Apocalypse in full, but only a series of excerpts from it. The remainder of the page (twenty lines in

all) is written in black ink. The page is so mutilated that the opening words of every line of it are lost, except of the first four. Lines 9 and 10 appear to speak of the brevity of this Commentary as compared with the fuller one on the Gospel. Lines 11 and 12 ask the reader's prayers for Dionysius Xenaias [?]. In line 13 begins the discussion of the authorship of the book. The substance of the remaining lines (14-28), mutilated as they are, may be made out to this effect:----

12 'Many have denied that the Revelation is the work of John the Apostle. Eusebius of Csesarea quotes [Diony]sius of Alexandria, who argues that it is written by some other John, because the style is unlike that of the Gospel, and because the writer [not as in the Gospel] gives his name, and claims to have received his revelation from the Lord. Irenaeus and Hippolytus ascribe it to John the Evangelist, writing in the reign of Domitian: but [Eusebius] to John the Presbyter, contemporary of the Apostle.' [See Euseb. H. E. iii. 39; vii. 25.]

*THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE MURATORIAN CANON.*

13 [T.H. ROBINSON, in The Expositor] The Muratorian Canon is our oldest list of the books of the New Testament. It is a fragment discovered in the Ambrosian library at Milan, and published in 1740 by the librarian Muratori, from whom it takes its name. His object was to give an example of the kind of Latin an ignorant monk could write, but it was soon seen that the document had a very great intrinsic importance, due to the professed antiquity of the Canon of New Testament writings which it contains. Pius, who was bishop of Rome from 146-161 a.d., is mentioned as being almost a contemporary of the author. As it stands, the fragment is anonymous; and, of course, several attempts have been made to identify the author. Muratori himself suggested "Gaius the Presbyter," of whom Eusebius says: "There has come down also to our time a dialogue by the eloquent Gaius, which was addressed at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus, to Proclus, the champion of the Phrygian heresy. He, Gaius, rebukes the precipitancy and rashness of the opposite party in the matter of composing new scriptures, and mentions only the thirteen epistles as belonging to the blessed Apostle, not including the Epistle to the Hebrews with the rest; so also, even to the present day, there are some in Rome who do not regard it as being the Apostle's."

14 This was, for a time, practically the sum of our knowledge and the limit of critical speculation concerning Gaius. Then came the discovery of a

work entitled, The Philosophumena, a Refutation of all Heresies. This was attributed to Origen by the first editor on its publication in 1851, and subsequently, by certain critics, to the Gaius in question, together with a number of other works belonging to the second century. It is, however, perfectly certain that this document is the work not of Gaius, but of Hippolytus. And Lightfoot took the various lesser books which had been ascribed to Gaius, and showed that they also were to be regarded as writings of Hippolytus (Apost. Fath., part i. vol. ii. pp. 378-380). He was, however, unable thus to explain away the Dialogue with Proclus, except by supposing that Proclus and Gaius alike were mere dramatis personae, with no more solid basis for existence than Hippolytus' imagination. Some later authors, finding a book Gaius against Proclus, had, he assumed, deduced from it Gaius' reality.

15 Now if Gaius was a mere lay figure, Muratori's connexion between Gaius and the fragmentary Canon disappears, unless we reserve the case that the fragment is a part of the speech of the assumed Gaius against the imaginary Proclus. And, as all Gaius' other works had been attributed to Hippolytus, it was natural that this should go the way of the rest. The question then arose, to which of the Hippolytean writings did it belong? It is certainly not in any of his extant works, but we have several lists of his writings preserved, and from the titles it may be possible to infer to which of them a Canon of the books of the New Testament should be referred. The oldest of these lists is an inscription on the statue of Hippolytus, which is now preserved in the Lateran Museum. The statue dates from the first half of the third century, and represents the recently deceased Hippolytus as seated in his episcopal cathedra. On the back of his chair there is a list of his works, and Lightfoot quotes the inscription in full. This gives very nearly a complete catalogue; though it omits several books to which other writers refer. Eusebius' catalogue (H.E. vi. 22) does not profess to be complete, nor does it throw any fresh light. That of the fourteenth century Syrian father, Ebed-Jesu, does, however, include a title which we should not have known from other sources, for it mentions two works noted on the chair---- and just before them inserts, "And chapters against Gaius." Lightfoot guessed----and, as we shall try to show, the guess was a correct one,----that there was some intimate connexion between this work and the two apologetic treatises, suspecting that it was composed of extracts taken from them.

16 To return to the Canon itself. Lightfoot not unnaturally attempted to discover the original Greek that lay behind Muratori's text, and his first effort showed that some of the Latin went naturally into Greek Iambics, and it was possible to retranslate the whole into verse. It is true that there were certain metrical licences, but, as Lightfoot pointed out, they were frequently surpassed by writers of the same age. Now near the end of one of the lists of Hippolytus' works was an item entitled. This was suspected to be a metrical account of the books of the Old and the New Testaments, The first part of this was assumed to have perished, but possibly the second survives in a mutilated form in the Muratorian Canon. This, then, is a brief outline of the position in which Lightfoot left the study of this fragment. The next phase began with the discovery of a MS. of a commentary on the Apo-calypse by Dionysius Bar Salibi, a Syrian father of the twelfth century. The MS. is in the British Museum (Add. 7185), and was there studied by Dr. Gwynn of Dublin.

17 Dr. Gwynn published the results of his investigations in Hermathena (vol. vi. pp. 397-418). He found in the MS. in question five passages where Bar Salibi quotes from a work of Hippolytus against Gaius. The quotations are introduced with a brief objection by the "heretic" Gaius, who insists in each case that the teaching of the Apocalypse is not in accord with the teaching of Jesus and the Apostles. The answer of Hippolytus is given in a condensed form----as, indeed, are nearly all Bar Salibi's quotations from other authors. From these passages Dr. Gwynn deduces three direct and certain conclusions. 1. They establish the separate existence of Gaius, thus refuting the view of his identity with Hippolytus which Lightfoot had put forward. 2. Gaius rejected the Apocalypse on the ground stated above. 3. Hippolytus wrote a work in refutation of this view. This, Dr. Gwynn thinks, is not the same as the Apology for the Apocalypse and the Gospel. (But Dr. Gwynn translates the Syriac words "mappaq brucha" as "Exposition," although the usual rendering is that of Lightfoot, "Apology.")

18 To these he adds, as a safe inference, that the Muratorian Canon was not the work of Gaius, since the Canon includes the Apocalypse, while Gaius rejected it. It also seemed equally certain to Dr. Gwynn that Gaius accepted the Fourth Gospel. This is due to the fact that Hippolytus quoted it against him, and was unlikely to appeal to a disputed book. Further, one of the passages quoted proves that Epiphanius knew and used the same work that Bar Salibi employed in this Commentary. This work Dr. Gwynn believed to be

the lost " Refutation of the thirty-two heresies," which is now identified with the Philosophumena. 19 The next step was taken by Rendel Harris, in a paper read before the Society for Historical Theology in November, 1895. Dr. Harris has since published this essay (Presbyter Gaius and the Fourth Gospel) in a small volume, entitled Hermas in Arcadia. Working on the same material as Dr. Gwynn, the Cambridge scholar found himself able to go further in his knowledge of Gaius, and succeeded in explaining one of the difficulties which hindered our acceptance of the view that Gaius attributed the Apocalypse to Cerinthus. He was also able to show, from Bar Salibi's commentary on the Fourth Gospel, that Gaius had denied the Johannine authorship of that book in just the same way as he criticised the Apocalypse. Dr. Harris goes on to suggest, by a reference to the passage in Epiphanius already cited by Gwynn, that Gaius was one, perhaps the leader, of the heretics known as the Alogi. It is strange to find that Harnack (Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur, p. 227) still refuses to admit that Gaius rejected the Gospel of John, on the ground that Eusebius could not have described him as being (H.E. ii. 25). This is certainly a difficulty; but in the face of the overwhelming evidence which we now have to the contrary, we can no longer agree with Gwynn and Harnack on this point.

20 Dr. Gwynn (Hermathena, vi. p. 410) notes with regret that there are two leaves missing from the MS. of Bar Salibi on the Apocalypse in the British Museum. Fortunately a MS. of this work has been discovered in the Tur 'Abdin, and a transcript has found its way into the collection of Rendel Harris. This MS. is complete, and by one of those strange tricks of fortune which are at once the hope and the despair of the critic, the missing pages contain the solutions of some of the problems which centre round Gaius, Hippolytus and the Muratorian Canon. The keys that have been already filed will go far towards opening the door; but it is only within the last few months that the exact piece of metal has been found which will fit the lock without further manipulation. This is true, at any rate, as far as the authorship of the Muratorian Canon is concerned; and there are one or two other problems whose answer is given with certainty.

21 Bar Salibi is a good scholar and a sound critic, and well repays study. The introduction to the Commentary on the Apocalypse is so interesting that it will be well worth quoting at some length:----

IX.

1 "Now that we have finished the exposition of the Gospel, brethren, fully and very clearly, we come and approach the exposition of the Revelation of John the Evangelist. But do you, readers, with the students of the spiritual enquiries maintain your prayers for Dionysius the stranger, according as you also will be saved. At the beginning of the treatise we must say that there are many teachers who are in doubt regarding the Revelation of John, and say that it is not his. And Eusebius of Caesarea declares the same thing in his ecclesiastical writings (i.e. in the History of the Church). For Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, says that the Revelation was not that of John the Apostle, but of another John, 'the Presbyter,' who lived in Asia. The reason is, that the style of the Revelation is not like the type of the language of the Gospel. Also John makes no mention of his name at all in the Gospel, but does put his name at the beginning and end of the Revelation. Now we agree that he received the Revelation of which he wrote from our Lord. Irenaeus the bishop, and Hippolytus of Bozra say that the Revelation is that of John the Evangelist, and that it was granted about the end of the reign of Domitian. And Eusebius of Caesarea agrees with this, but immediately says that some do not accept it as being the Revelation of John the Apostle, so saying that it is the work of John the Elder, who was a contemporary of John the Apostle. And there are two tombs in Asia, one being that of the Evangelist, the other that of John the Elder.

2 Hippolytus of Rome states that a man named Gaius had appeared, who said that neither the Gospel nor yet the Revelation was John's; but that they were the work of Cerinthus the heretic. And the blessed Hippolytus opposed this Gaius, and showed that the teaching of John in the Gospel and Revelation was different from that of Cerinthus. "This Cerinthus was one who taught circumcision, and was angry with Paul when he did not circumcise Titus, and the Apostle calls him and his disciples in one of his letters 'sham apostles, crafty workers.' Again he teaches that the world was created by angels, and that our Lord was not born of a virgin. He also teaches carnal eating and drinking, and many other blasphemies. The Gospel and Revelation of John, however, are like the teaching which the Scriptures contain; and so they are liars who say that the Revelation is not by the Apostle John." And we agree with Hippolytus that the Revelation is the Evangelist John's. This is attested by S. Cyril and Mar Severus, and all the teachers who bring evidence

from it. Also the Theologian, in his 'Address to the Nation,' testifies that there is no proof from the conclusion, and says, 'as John taught me by his Revelation; He made a way for thy people, and these stones'----where he calls the heretics and their teaching stones."

3 This is good criticism, and we shall want it again. In the meantime, Bar Salibi plunges at once into exposition:---- "The Revelation of Jesus Christ, etc.----Hence he begins with that which was revealed to him in a vision concerning those things which were about to be. To His servant John.----He records his name in the Revelation that we may believe what he saw. In the Gospel he does not record his name, because there was no need for it there, since all the Apostles were witnesses of what our Lord did. John to the seven Churches which are in Asia.----By Churches, he indicates cities, and calls them Churches because of the excellence of the elect who were in them. He says "seven," because the number seven was in high esteem among the Hebrews in the Scriptures. And there are seven gifts of One Spirit descending on one Church. Hippolytus says that in writing to seven Churches, he writes just as Paul wrote thirteen letters, but wrote them to seven Churches. That to the Hebrews he does not judge to be Paul's, but perhaps Clement's."

4 We have gone far enough. We have heard something like this before. "Cum ipse beatus Apostolus Paulus sequens prodecessoris sui Johannis ordinem nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat ordine tali:----ad Corinthios prima, ad Ephesios secunda, ad Philippenses tertia, ad Colossenses quarta, ad Galatos quinta, ad Thessalonicenses sexta, ad Romanos septima. Verum Corintheis et Thessalonicensibus licet pro correptione iteretur, una tamen per omnem orbem terrae ecclesia diffusa esse denoscitur, et Johannis enim in Apocalypsi licet septem ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit." So runs the fragment of Muratori. What are we to say? 5 Muratori's own guess as to the Gaian authorship of this fragment is at any rate proved to be impossible by the above quotation from Bar Salibi. For the Canon accepts both the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel as being Johannine; Gaius accepted neither. But the mention of Pius seems to prove that the Canon is at least of the age of Hippolytus and Gaius. The probabilities were, before, on the side of the Hippolytean authorship; it looks as though they were considerably strengthened. It is obvious, however, that Bar Salibi is not quoting exactly, and, unfortunately, we have no means of testing his other quotations from Hippolytus, unless Epiphanius be allowed to represent Hippolytus more

closely. But we can compare his references to Eusebius with that author's Syriac text, and the result we reach is the certainty that Bar Salibi's quotations are not necessarily verbal. He only means to reproduce the thought. This being so, we shall have no longer any hesitation in saying that our Syrian Father is quoting the Muratorian Canon as being the work of Hippolytus. The proof is not mathematical, but there seems to be no real objection on a priori grounds; so that there is now as strong a presumption as criticism ever needs, and a much stronger one than it usually finds. If the scale pans wavered at all before, this extra weight will carry them down with a run.

6 But we now have a further light on the Canon itself. The omission of the Epistle to the Hebrews has puzzled every one, Westcott included. The Canon, however, is universally admitted to be incomplete, and its testimony to the fourteenth "Pauline" epistle would have been most valuable. We have no other indication of Hippolytus' views on the authorship beyond the bare fact that he did not regard it as Paul's. Origen and Eusebius both report that some people have regarded it as being the work of Clement of Rome. Now for the first time we have a name attached to that suggestion, and while we feel that the Clementine authorship is out of the question, it is interesting to note that it had such respectable support as that of Hippolytus in his Canon. So we come to a further question. What is the work of which this document forms a part? Lightfoot, finding that he was able to write it in Greek verse, suggested the "Odes on all the Scriptures." And this indeed seems at first sight a very suitable place for the Canon. But a scholar of Lightfoot's calibre would probably have little difficulty in rendering any Latin into Greek Iambics, and even if it were originally metrical, it need not have formed a part of the Odes. And we shall find reason to assign it differently.

7 In the first place we have to notice that this is not a mere guess on Bar Salibi's part. He knows what he is quoting and he knows its source. It follows from his familiarity with the author that he is familiar with the work containing the passage. Now, so far, we have only detected one single work of Hippolytus on Bar Salibi's bookshelf. This is the work against Gaius which Dr. Gwynn has referred to the Refutation of the thirty-two Heresies, and Lightfoot to the Apology for the Apocalypse and Gospel of John. The recognition of the Refutation under its pseudonym of Philosophumena contradicts the theory of the Irish critic. He was unable to accept Lightfoot's identification of the "chapters against Gaius" with the Apology, because he be-

lieved that Gaius accepted the Fourth Gospel, and Hippolytus was evidently opposing some one who rejected it. The passage cited from Bar Salibi proves conclusively that Gaius did not regard John as the author of the Fourth Gospel. He is in the critical position of the "Alogi," and we feel ourselves justified in regarding him as their leader and the principal object of Hippolytus' attack. It is still difficult to explain Eusebius' respect for Gaius, and we do not quite understand how Hippolytus could quote against him from the Fourth Gospel. But we feel that although these objections would have weight in the absence of other evidence, they cannot be allowed to stand in face of the direct and positive testimony of Bar Salibi.

8 The removal of this objection leaves open the way for the other hypothesis----that there is an essential connexion between the "chapters against Gaius" and the Apology for the Apocalypse and Gospel of John. It may be noted that it is not at all improbable that this was what Ebed Jesu intended to imply in his catalogue of Hippolytus' works. A very brief acquaintance with the ways of Syriac scribes justifies us in omitting a conjunction, or at least in suspecting its presence. And in all probability Ebed Jesu intended to write first the full title of the work and then denote two of its sections, one concerned with the Apocalypse, the other with the Fourth Gospel. This view is strongly supported by the way in which the combatants are introduced by Bar Salibi. "The blessed Hippolytus," he says, "opposed this Gaius"----qam luqbal hana Gaius----a phrase so like the title of Hippolytus' work "rishe luqbal Gaius " as to justify us in regarding it as a reminiscence thereof. Lightfoot may have felt that Bar Salibi had robbed him of a favourite theory by proving the existence of Gaius; he has now every reason for gratitude, for on two points, the authorship of the Muratorian Canon and the identity of the "chapters against Gaius," the Syrian Father has unexpectedly vindicated two out of the English critic's series of conjectures.

9 Now, this being the only work of Hippolytus which we have found in Bar Salibi's hands, the law of parsimony of causes compels us to attribute all quotations from this author to the same document unless we have some fairly strong evidence to the contrary. And an examination of the evidence seems to lead to a conclusion which confirms our first impression. We are now at liberty to use the Canon itself in order to determine its place in Hippolytus' writings. And near the beginning we certainly find a most illuminating passage: "Primum omnium Corinthiis schisma haeresis interdicens,

deinceps Galatis circumcisionem, Romanis autem ordinem scripturarum, sed et principium earum esse Christum intimans, prolixius scripsit. De quibus singulis necesse est a nobis disputari." So little has this passage been understood that some editors have even inserted "non" before "necesse." Needless to say, this has no foundation in the MS. and it leaves the passage really more inexplicable than ever. For why should these three epistles be especially mentioned if there is no need to discuss them? The very fact of their selection here shows, as Tregelles saw, that this Canon must have stood at the head of a controversial work. The points of difference will be:----

10 1. Heresy. 2. Circumcision. 3. Canonicity of certain books of Scripture. 4. Christology. The word "ordinem" offers a difficulty. Its use in the first passage cited----a list of the Pauline Epistles----shows that it does not mean a definite orderly sequence. And it seems to have been the earliest translation of the idea expressed in the Greek ecclesiastical language by " Canon," as a Latin word is not quoted in this sense before Augustine, while Quintilian (1, 4, 3) uses "ordo" with almost the same meaning: "Grammatici alios auctores in ordinem redigerunt, alios omnino exemerant numero." We recognize, therefore, that it is not simply the order of the books of the Scriptures, but a list of those which they oontain. Moreover, there would be little point in discussing the sequence of the books of Scripture in a treatise which involved the other matters; and as a matter of fact the sequence is immediately set at nought.

11 Hippolytus' meaning in this extract is clear. He points out how Paul had found it necessary to face and solve certain problems in certain of his Epistles. He remarks that he is faced with the same questions, and will have to discuss these same matters. The connexion in subject between this passage and Bar Salibi's quotation from Hippolytus is abundantly clear. This Cerinthus was one who taught circumcision, and was angry with Paul because he did not circumcise Titus, and the Apostle calls him and his disciples in one of his letters "Sham apostles."... Again he teaches that the world was created by angels and that our Lord was not born of a virgin. He also teaches carnal eating and drinking and many other blasphemies." Primum omnium Corinthiis schisma haeresis interdicens, deinceps Galatis circumcisionem; Romania autem ordinem scripturarum sed et principium earum esse Christum intimans prolixius scripsit. De quibus singulis necesse est a nobis disputari.

12 The parallel between the various subjects is easily seen when it is remembered that Bar Salibi does not mean to quote exactly. The question then arises, To which of Hippolytus' works is the passage to be referred? The natural answer is, The Philosophumena; but we have that work, and the passages concerned with Cerinthus make no mention of his Judaizing tendency. The Chapters against Gaius, however, must have contained sections on all the questions raised in the above citation from the Canon, because they are the points on which Cerinthus differs from the Scriptures. It is by enumerating and discussing such points, as Bar Salibi tells us, that Hippolytus refutes Gaius' objection to the Apocalypse and Fourth Gospel. It becomes clear, therefore, that the most suitable suggestion for the source of this Canon is the book entitled Chapters against Gaius. One more point may be brought forward. Can we be sure that this Cerinthus passage in Hippolytus comes from the same work as the other answers to Gaius? If it does, we may be fairly sure that our guess is right, and we have reached a point between probability and certainty. For this it is only necessary to turn to that arch-plagiarist, Epiphanius. Dr. Gwynn and Rendel Harris have already shown that he knew and quoted the "Heads against Gaius," and indeed, that his work is largely based on Hippolytus. We come to him with assurance, and find our expectations fully met, in the article on Cerinthus in Epiphanius' work on Heresies. The following extracts will make this sufficiently clear:----

14 This does not claim to be more than a preliminary discussion of the subject. A fuller investigation of the questions involved is reserved for the publication of Bar Salibi's Commentary on the Apocalypse. It may be possible, however, to sum up our results. We may regard as practically certain the following:---- 1. The fact that the Muratorian Canon is the work of Hippolytus. 2. The identity of the Chapters against Gaius with the Apology for the Apocalypse and Gospel of John. Incidentally we may regard it as proved that Gaius really existed. 3. The free use made by Epiphanius of the Heads against Gaius. This is one of the subjects that needs further inquiry, and will probably throw no small light on the history of the Church at the end of the second century. These results may be held to be certain. To them we may add as being highly probable, though not of the same order of probability as the others:----

15 4. The Muratorian Canon stood at or near the beginning of the treatise against Gaius in which Hippolytus defended the Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse and Fourth Gospel. Theodore H. ROBINSON.

*Notes from the Commentary on the four gospels*

16 [Roger Pearse] This material was composed and placed online after a discussion in an online forum, provoked by the question, "What are our (ancient) sources for the datum that Gaius, presbyter of Rome, attacked the fourth gospel and the apocalypse of John?" The answer given was: No single source combines all those details in one place. Rather, it is a conclusion reached by coordinating different ancient and medieval sources, including: Irenaeus, AH 3.11.9; Eusebius, HE 6.20.1-3 and 7.25.2; Epiphanius, Pan 51; Photius, Bibl; and Dionysius bar Salibi, In Apoc at Rev 8:8, 12, 9:2-3, 15, and 20:2-3. These sources are collected, quoted, discussed, and criticized by Charles E. Hill, The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church (Oxford: University Press, 2004), 172-204. I found from Sebastian Brock, A brief outline of Syriac literature,Moran Etho 9, Kottayam (1997), that Dionysius (or Jacob) Bar Salibi (aka Dionysius Syrus) died in 1197 AD, and was a monophysite author. From W. Wright, A short history of Syriac Literature (A&C Black, 1894, reprint. Gorgias 2001) I learn that copious extracts from his commentary on the NT were translated in to Latin; there are, in fact, English translations of portions of the commentary on the gospels (tr. Loftus, 1672, 1695), and on revelation (tr. J. Gwyn, Hermathena 6, p.397ff, and 7, p.137ff, the latter containing extracts from Hippolytus on Matthew; the journal started in 1873).

17 Hill, based Pierre Prigent (Hippolyte, Commentateur de l'Apocalypse, in Theologische Zeitschrift 28, 1972, pages 391-412; Les Fragments du De Apocalypse d'Hippolyte, in Theologische Zeitschrift 29, 1973, pages 313-333; Citations d'Hippolyte trouvée dans le ms. Bodl. Syr 140, in Theologische Zeitschrift 30, 1974, pages 82-85, with R. Stehly) and Allen Brent (Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century, Supplement to Vigilae christianae 31, 1995), argued that Bar Salibi in fact did not possess the so-called Heads against Caius, but rather a florilegium of Hippolytan extracts that included legendary embellishments. Bar Salibi, On the Apocalypse This work has been printed, with a Latin translation, by Sedlacek. His Latin translation of the introduction to the Apocalypse reads: Postquam enim absolvimus expositionem Evangelii, o frater noster, fuse et lucidissime, parati

sumus aggredi explicationem Apocalypsis Iohannis evangelistae. Vos autem lectores, cum incitatoribus petitionum spiritualium, orationes emittite pro Dionysio peregrino, ut et vos sanemini.

18 Initio sermonis dicimus multos magistros dubitavisse de Apocalypsi Iohannis et dixisse eam ipsius non esse. Et hoc exponit Eusebius Caesaraeensis in libro eqlisiastiqi seu Historiarum ecciesiasticarum. Dicit enim Dionysius, episcopus Alexandriae: Apocalypsis non est Iohannis apostoli, sed Iohannis alius, presbyteri, qui habitabat in Asia; nam non est similis typus, id est species sermonis, Evangelii et Apocalypsis. Et Iohannes nullibi in Evangelio commemoravit suum nomen; hic vero, initio et fine Apocalypsis posuit nomen suum. Et a Domino nostro accepisse revelationem eum, qui eam scripsit, profitemur. Irenaeus episcopus et Hippolytus Bosrae dicunt Apocalypsim Iohannis evangelistae esse et sub finem regni Domitiani ipsi revelatam esse. Etiam Eusebius Caesaraeensis his assentit at statim dicit: Si quis non admittit Apocalypsim esse Iohannis apostoli, evangelistae, dicimus: ergo est Iohannis presbyteri, qui tempore Iohannis apostoli extitit. Et duo sunt sepulcra in Asia, unum evangelistae et alterum Iohannis presbyteri. Hippolytus Romanus dixit: Apparuit vir, nomine Caius, qui asserebat Evangelium non esse Iohannis, nec Apocalypsim, sed Cerinthi haeretici ea esse. Et contra hunc Caium surrexit beatus Hippolytus et demonstravit aliam esse doctrinam Iohannis, in Evangelio et in Apocalypsi, et aliam Cerinthi.

19 Ille quidem Cerinthus docebat circumcisionem, et iratus est in Paulum, quod non circumciderat Titum, et vocat apostolum eiusque discipulos in quadam e suis epistulis "apostolos falsos et operarios fallaces". Docebat etiam mundum ab angelis creatum esse; et non e virgine Dominum nostrum natum esse, et cibum et potum materiales, et multas blasphemias. Evangelium et Apocalypsis Iohannis mentem Scripturarum sequuntur; ergo mendaces sunt qui dicunt Apocalypsim non esse Iohannis apostoli. Nos autem Hippolyto assentimur. Etiam Iohannis evangelistae esse Apocalypsim testatur s. Cyrillus, et Mar Severus et omnes Doctores qui adducunt testimonia in libris suis, sed etiam Theologus in oratione valedictoria ab eo adducit argumentum et dicit: "Quemadmodum docet me Iohannes per revelationem suam: 'Auferte viam populo meo; et hos lapides'...", cum "lapides" haereticos et doctrinam eorum vocat.

I.E.

1 After in fact we finished the exposition of the gospels, o our brother, on a grand scale and very clearly, we were prepared to attempt an explication of the Apocalypse of John the Evangelist. However you, dear readers, with those who incite spiritual petitions, please utter prayers on behalf of Dionysius the pilgrim, so that you also may be saved. In the beginning of the text, we say that many masters have doubted concerning the Apocalpyse of John and said that it is not his. And this Eusebius of Caesarea expounds in the book The Church or The Church History. For Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria says: The Apocalypse is not by the apostle John, but by another John, a presbyter, who used to live in Asia; for they are not of the same type, that is species of text, in the Gospel and the Apocalypse. And John nowhere in the Gospel mentions his name; but here, at the start and end of the Apocalypse he gives his name. And we declare that we have received from our Lord his revelation, who wrote it. Bishop Irenaeus and Hippolytus of Bosra say that the Apocalypse is by John the Evangelist and was revealed to him at the end of the reign of Domitian. Also Eusebius of Caesarea assents to these things and immediately says: If anyone does not admit that the Apocalypse is by John the apostle, the evangelist, we say: therefore it is by John the presbyter, who lived in the time of John the apostle. And there are two sepulchers in Asia, one of the evangelist and the other of the presbyter John.

2 Hippolytus of Rome said: A man appeared, by name Caius, who used to assert that the Gospel was not by John, nor the Apocalypse, but that they are by the heretic Cerinthus. And against this Caius the blessed Hippolytus rose up and demonstrated that the teaching of John, in the Gospel and in the Apocalypse, was one thing, and that of Cerinthus another. This Cerinthus indeed used to teach circumcision, and was angry against Paul, because he did not circumcise Titus, and he calls the apostle and his disciples in some of his letters "false apostles and workers-for-hire". He also used to teach that the world was created by angels; and that our Lord was not born from a virgin, and the importance (?) of food and drink, and many blasphemies. The Gospel and Apocalypse of John [both?] follow the plan of the Scriptures; therefore they are liars who say that the Apocalypse is not by John the apostle. However we agree with Hippolytus. Also there testify that the Apocalypse is by John the evangelist: St.Cyril, and Mar Severus, and all the Doctors [of the church], who adduce witnesses in their books, but also [Gregory] Theologus

in the valedictory oration adduces an argument from this and says: "In the way that John teaches me by his revelation: 'take away the way from my people and these stones'...", where he calls heretics and their doctrine "stones".

3 (Cyril=Cyril of Alexandria, Mar Severus = Severus of Antioch, Theologus = Gregory Nazianzen). Bar-Salibi, Commentary on the Four Gospels Charles E. Hill mentioned that further information about Gaius was available from a further work of Dionysius, although his comments were rather too compressed: Another advance, however, came in 1895, when Rendel Harris reported the existence of another fragment from bar Salibi, this one in a Latin translation made by Dudley Loftus in the seventeenth century (Bodleian Fell 6 and 7) from a now lost Syriac manuscript of bar Salibi's Commentary on the Gospel of John. In this work Gaius is recorded as criticizing the author of the Fourth Gospel with one of the same objections which Epiphanius had attributed to the Alogi. 'A certain heretic Gaius criticized John because he did not agree with his fellow evangelists who say [emend to: in that he says] that after the baptism he went to Galilee and performed the miracle of the wine at Cana' (John 2:1-11).

4 This, at last, appeared to establish that Gaius had also opposed the Fourth Gospel—though doubts were still possible for the sceptic, for Loftus's translation of the name of Gaius was evidently based on a Syriac text which included it only as 'added in the margin by a later hand'! Another Syriac copy of the text discovered later (British Museum Add. 12,143) in fact did not include the name of the heretic. The objection is followed in the commentary, however, by a reply from Hippolytus, as in the extracts from the Commentary on Revelation. In any case, Harris's discovery was corroborated when T. H. Robinson in 1906 discovered and published a manuscript of bar Salibi's Commentary on Revelation which contained its prologue (missing in the manuscript used by Gwynn), in which bar Salibi explicitly named Gaius as one who attributed both Johannine works to Cerinthus. 'Hippolytus of Rome states that a man named Gaius had appeared, who said that neither the Gospel nor yet the Revelation was John's; but that they were the work of Cerinthus the heretic. And the blessed Hippolytus opposed this Gaius, and showed that the teaching of John in the Gospel and Revelation was different from that of Cerinthus.'

5 J. R. Harris, Hermas in Arcadia and Other Essays (Cambridge, 1896), 48-9. Text from an unpublished Syriac MS, Cod. Paris. syr. 67, fol. 270, r, col.

2, contained in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, tr. by Smith, 'Gaius', 200-1, 591. Smith, 'Gaius', 201. That MS is Cod. Mus. Britt. Add. 7184, fo. 2432. Cf. Brent, Hippolytus, 145. T. H. Robinson, 'The Authorship of the Muratorian Canon', The Expositor, 7/1 (1906), 481-95. Ibid. 487. Dionysius' commentary was finally published in full in 1909 (I. Sedlacek). Sedlacek = Dionysius bar Salibi In Apocalypsim, Actus et Epistulas Catholicas Part: [Syriac text] / edidit I. Sedlácek. Series: Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium; vol.53. Publisher: Parisiis: E Typographeo Reipublicae, 1909. Physical desc.: 170p; 25cm. Note: Syriac text and Latin translation. Other Names: Sedlácek, Jaroslav, 1860-1925. Brent = Alan Brent, Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop, VCSuppl. 31 (Leiden, 1995).

6 Smith = Smith, Joseph Daniel. Title: Gaius and the Controversy Over the Johannine Literature [microform]. Notes: UMI80-11552 Dissertation: Thesis (Ph. D.)--Yale University, Department of Religious Studies, 1979. Hill was mistaken in supposing that the manuscript used by Loftus was lost. In Harris, Hermas in Arcadia, it states that the manuscript is now in Trinity College Dublin. An email to their library revealed the existance of a Ms. 1512 containing the Commentarius in Quatuor Evangelia by Dionysius (Jacob) Barsalibi. According to their catalogue it was written by "Matthew, son of John, for his nephew Mathew, son of Bakhtitujar, A. Gr. 1509; A.D. 1198." Hill's comments on the Commentary on the Gospel of John are also somewhat condensed. The work is in fact a Commentary on the Four Gospels. Fell translated a Syriac manuscript now in Trinity College Dublin (Ms. 1512) into Latin, creating the handwritten Bodleian Mss. Fell 6 and 7 (which I have seen: it is a large work, and so split in two volumes; 6 contains comments on Matthew and Mark, 7 the remainder, together with some material on the Pauline letters, and ends with a note that the manuscript didn't contain very much more, but was so corrupt he could not continue). Loftus published some extracts from Dionysius in English:

7 Loftus did publish an English translation of materials from the Commentary on the Gospels, and there is a copy in Cambridge University Library, since I saw it in the catalogue om Wednesday but was too rushed to look at it: A clear and learned explication of the history of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ: taken out of above thirty Greek, Syriack, and other oriental authors: by Dionysius Syrus,... and faithfully translated by D. Loftus. /

[by] DIONYSIUS BAR SALIBI, Bishop of Amadia; Loftus, Dudley; JESUS CHRIST. (1695) In this he states his intention to publish the Latin translation of the Commentary, but in fact he never did so. However his manuscript was intended for a publisher, so is quite readable. I could only transcribe a small portion, which took around an hour (John is contained in folios 105-193); this is from f.124, where his commentary on chapter 2 of John starts. From the top of the page (underlinings by Loftus):

8 Et die tertio factum est convivium. Expositio Mosis Bar Capha, -- non conformendo hunc diem cum die baptismi, ita dixit, sed cum isto die quo rediit e deserto, cum vicisset Diabolum; si enim cum die baptismi eum contulisset, composisetur esse quartus dies, non tertius, quia antea dixit die postero, id est, post diem interrogationis sacerdotum vidit Johannes Jesum bonientem, alioque die stabat, & duo ex discipulis eius, alio etiam die voluit Jesus exire in Galileam; non refert igitur hunc diem ad diem baptismi sed ad ipsum quo rediit e deserto.-- Sanctus Hypolitus Romanus) dies primus, ipso fuit, quo interrogarunt Pharisei Johannem, Quis es? et secundus dies, fuit ipse, quo baptisavit Dominum nostrum, statimque abiit in desertum, ibique mansit quadraginta dies et postea rediit, primus dies fuit, quando vidit eum ambulantem & secuti sunt eum duo discipuli, secundus quando abiit in Galileam, tertius quando factum est convivium. Gaius haereticus reprehendebat Johannem quia non concors fuit cum sociis dicontibus, quod post baptismum abiit in Galileam. et fecit miraculum vini in Kaina). Santus Hippolytus e contrario, s?? dicit (?), Christus postquam baptizatus fuerat abiit in desertum, et quando inquisitio facta erat de illo per discipulos Johannis et per populum, quarebant eum & non inveniebant, quia in deserto erat, cum vero finita fuisset temptatio & rediisset, venit in partos habitatas non ut baptizaretur, baptizatus enim iam fuerat, sed ut monstraretur a Johanne qui dixit intuens eum, Ecce agnus Dei! [etc]

10 And on the third day the (wedding) feast happened. The exposition of Moses Bar Kepha, -- this day cannot be made to agree with the day of baptism 1, but with that day when he returned from the desert 2, when he had conquered the Devil; for if it be tied to the day of baptism, four days will be computed, because earlier he said 'the next day', i.e., after the day of the interrogation of the priests, John saw Jesus and his goodness, and on another day also two of his disciples, and on another day again Jesus wanted to leave Galilee; therefore this day does not relate to the day of baptism, but to that

on which he returned from the desert. -- St. Hippolytus of Rome) the first day, so-called, when the Pharisees asked John, Who are you? and the supposed second day, when he baptised our Lord, and at once He went off into the desert, and remained there for 40 days, and afterwards returned, was the first day, because he saw him walking and two disciples were following him; the second when he went off into Galilee, the third when the (wedding) feast happened. Gaius the heretic used to criticise John because he was not in agreement with his fellow narrators because (he says that) after the baptism he went off into Galilee and performed the miracle of the wine in Cana). St.

11 Hippolytus, on the contrary, [uncertain in ms. -- says to this?], Christ, after he had been baptised, went off into the desert, and when an inquiry was made concerning him by the disciples of John, and by the people, seeking and not finding him, because he was in the desert, when indeed the temptation had been finished and he had returned, he came into the habitable parts, not to be baptised, for he had already been baptised, but that he might be pointed out by John who said, looking at him, Behold the lamb of God! [etc] 12 1. Matt. 3:13. 2. Luke 4:14. A modern edition of the Commentary exists, in the CSCO series, with Latin translation: Dionysii bar Salibi Commentarii in Evangelia: Ediderunt I. Sedlacek, I.-B. Chabot et A. Vaschalde Series: Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Scriptores syri; t. 33, 40, 47, 49 Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium; v.77, 85, 95, 98 Publisher: Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1953 However this stopped at the end of Luke, on the death of Sedlacek. The portions on John have never been published. But the Syriac of this portion of the Commentary on the Four Gospels was published by J.Rendel Harris in his article, and he consulted two manuscripts. In this he determined that, in British Library Ms. Add. 7184, the name 'Gaius' was added above the line by a later hand; in another copy of the same text in the same library, B.L. Add. 12143, the addition of the name 'Gaius' was not present at all.

# A Treatise against the Melchites (Mingana translation)

Dionysius bar Salibi

*d. AD 1171*

Bar Ṣalībī's treatise against the 'Greeks' or Melchites, the Chalcedonian Christians of Syria, in ten chapters on the sign of the cross, the Trisagion and the person of Christ. It is a rare work of the twelfth-century Syriac Orthodox controversy, and Mingana's prefatory note is kept with it.

## PREFATORY NOTE

1 (i) A Treatise of Barṣalībi against the Melchites. I GIVE in the following pages the translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of a very rare treatise of Dionysius Barṣalībi, the well-known West Syrian or Jacobite writer who died in A.D. 1171. The treatise is indeed so rare that not even a reference to it is found in Baumstark, and no acquaintance with its existence is shown by the early Syrian bibliographer who wrote a complete list of Barṣalībi's works. The treatise is in the form of a discussion with, or rather a long address to, a certain Rabban 'Ishō', a West Syrian monk of some importance, who had evidently shown some leniency towards the Melchites, and was about to leave, or had already left, his own community to join them. He had written a long letter to Barṣalībi on this subject, and it is this lost letter that has given birth to the present treatise. Barṣalībi analyses verbatim his opponent's missive, and refutes it. As the author does not give any clear indication where his own sentence ends and that of his adversary begins, I have experienced some difficulty in following his argumentation; but I believe that I have succeeded in overcoming the obstacles thrown in our way in this matter, but not without sacrificing to the altar of clearness my predilection for literal translations.

2 I have, therefore, been compelled to mark in the translation Rabban 'Ishō's text by the words: "You write" which are not in the text, and here and

there I have added words and even complete phrases in order to make it easier for the English reader to follow the author's too concise, too disconnected, and sometimes obscure reasoning. The "Greeks" assailed by Barṣalibi are better known to us under the name of Melchites, who in the West Syrian Orthodox Church are generally styled "Chalcedonians," although the appellation "Melchites" is also very often ascribed to them. The Syriac MS. in which the treatise is found constitutes an integral part of my own collection of Syriac MSS., in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham, where it has the class-mark Syriac MS. Mingana 4. It was copied in A.D. 1895 by Deacon Matthew, from a very ancient MS. preserved in Ṭūr 'Abdīn, near the monastery of Dair uz-za'farān, the residence of the monophysite Patriarchs of Antioch. Because of the rarity of the MS. I have deemed it advisable to give a complete facsimile of its text, and refer in the footnotes of the translation to some lexicographical and grammatical errors made either by the first or by the second copyist. An index of proper names will be found at the end of the work.

3 We will further write the ten chapters composed by Dionysius, metropolitan of Amed, who is the illustrious Jacob Bar Ṣalibi, against Rabban 'Ishō'. The humble Dionysius, the servant of God, offers you his greetings and his prayers, O Rabban 'Ishō'; may you be in the keeping of Providence! Any work from which spring good and gain for the souls of both the speaker and the attentive hearer, is not to be hindered or silenced. These words we write at the beginning of our discourse to you, as we have read your conciliatory treatise which stands between truth and falsehood in order not to hurt anybody's feelings. In another place we will deal with the worldly questions that it raises. So far as the spiritual questions which give life to the souls are concerned, it is more advantageous to strive after undiluted truth and avoid ambiguity, especially in our dealings with those people who twist the facts and mix straw with corn, water with wine, and all kinds of impure alloys with gold. The Apostle of the Gentiles has said: "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good, and abstain from any form of evil." See how Paul teaches us to prove and examine everything, and hold fast that which is good before God, and flee from all bad things and false teaching, as from nests of snakes.

4 We are also shown how a man can learn with certitude where truth lies: he must either follow one who is universally acknowledged to be wise and learn little by little from him, as Philip taught the eunuch of the Queen of

Sheba, or he must read studiously the Books of the Spirit and acquire from them the knowledge of truth. He who believes that he has attained truth from hearsay, or from the ravings of a seducer, or from the sight of an occurrence that happens to be in harmony with his beliefs, does not lean on truth but on a broken reed, on a shadow only. But it is time now to embark on our subject.

### CHAPTER 1. ON THE SIGN OF THE CROSS

1 You wrote to us that neither from nature nor from any book did you learn to cross yourself with two fingers, but that you are following in this the habit of the Greeks, of the Franks, and of twenty-four other peoples such as the Iberians, Alans, Russians, Hungarians and others who cross themselves with two fingers. This, O Rabban 'Ishō', we will answer in the following manner: 2 An intelligent man like you should weigh his words in the balance of justice before uttering them. If you have not acquired a subject from a book, nor learned it from nature, the two sources which embrace all the universe, how then can you neglect the truth of both book and nature, and follow something that is not based on any real foundation? The Book says: " Remove not the eternal landmark; " now if the landmark is nature and book, in rejecting them both we naturally trespass on the boundaries of truth. Christ did not destroy the law but fulfilled it, and we contend that we are not to follow nature and the law, but to step in strange paths! Do we not fear then a rebuke from David who says: " When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers." Among the peoples whom you have mentioned there is injustice, murder, immorality and many other abominations; should we follow them in these? Sound judgement forbids it. Even those people whom you have mentioned, if they do not prove the truth they hold from nature and book, no one will ever induce himself to listen to them, and their own followers will forsake them. But we who are right and possessors of the truth, will demonstrate to you that we are walking in the path of nature and book, and that is why we make the sign of the cross with one finger only.

3 First, nature teaches us that the cross to which Christ was attached was not composed of double pieces of wood stretched in its perpendicular and horizontal side, as a symbol to the two fingers used by the Greeks in crossing themselves, but had only one piece of wood on each side. Further, the rod of Moses which was a symbol of the cross, was one and not two like that sym-

bolized by two fingers. Finally, the crosses made of silver, brass and wood, and those found on the walls are not fashioned by the peoples you mentioned in double perpendicular and horizontal lines, but in one line only as the symbol of one finger. These arguments from nature will suffice, and we will now enumerate the arguments from book. 4 That universal Doctor, John Chrysostom, clearly shows this in saying thus in the fifty-third discourse of his commentary on Matthew: "(Paul's saying) 'Ye are bought with a price,'" signifies the price paid on your behalf, and it does not fit you to be the servants of any man. (Paul) alludes by the word "Price" to the cross; you should not make the sign of the cross with the finger in a simple way, but you should first make it with will and with great faith; and then if you print it in this way on your forehead, no vile demon will be able to prevail against you." See how the Doctor speaks of one finger only and not of two or three. If we were to cross ourselves with two fingers he would have said "with the fingers" or "with two fingers." Further, when the Apostle Thomas wished to test the resurrection of the One who was crucified, he only desired to put his finger into the print of the nails, because he said: " Except I put my finger into the print of the nails, I will not believe." And when our Lord revealed Himself to him, He said, " Reach hither thy finger." See how the Book mentioned one finger only in the first and the second instances, and not two or several.

5 From these we may learn that the act of making the sign of the cross upon oneself or upon the holy elements is not done with two fingers but with one only. The Greeks, however, who believe in two natures in Christ say: " We make the sign of the cross with two fingers because there are two natures in Christ." Against this we wrote at length in our controversial treatise against them; here it will suffice us to say: If the natures in Christ are as separate from each other as two fingers are, they have no unity, and the Doctors of the Church who say that the Word was united to His flesh as fire is to iron, are in error. Further, two fingers, although separate from each other, are really one in substance, and thus, in the contention of the Greeks, the eternal Son of the Father would be one in substance with the flesh which is created and subject to time; and this is blasphemy.

6 We will further rebut the Greeks as follows: the cross teaches us that Christ, the Son, was attached to it in the flesh, while in His divinity He was neither extended nor attached; but with two fingers you show that He was extended on the cross and crucified in His two natures. You are thus Theo-

paschites, because with the human nature you crucify God also. As to us, we believe that as Christ is one, and the cross is one, the sign also of the cross is to be made with one finger only; and this we have learned from both nature and book. You write: " The sacrament of the sign of the cross consists in the Word of God who became flesh and came down from heaven to earth, and removed mankind from the left hand and darkness to the right hand and light." 7 We do not drive away darkness with light, as you write, because we make the sign of the cross from right to left; everyone knows that darkness is the very antithesis of light, and that if the latter is mixed up in the former it becomes swallowed up in it in the same way as the bitterness of a little brackish water in a jug of sweet water, or that of a little myrrh or wormwood in a considerable quantity of honey. Let us admit that light drives away darkness, how can the left hand drive away the right? Our Lord has said that He will set the sheep on His right hand and the goats on His left; in this our Saviour demonstrated that the right cannot expel the left, but those who make the sign of the cross from right to left, move, out of their own free will, from the right hand to the left which is that of the goats, and are counted with the robber who was on our Lord's left. But see how in the consecration of the elements and in the final prayers of the service the Greeks make the sign of the cross like us, from left to right, and in this way they contradict themselves.

8 You wrote: "twenty-four peoples use two fingers," but your number did not reach even ten. Do not listen, therefore, to some deceivers who say that we have with us twenty-four peoples. Further, truth is not always with the majority. Consider that there are seventy different peoples, and that those who follow the gospel are less numerous than those who are still pagan; and no one pretends that because of their higher number, the pagans have greater right than we have. In the time of Abraham and Moses there was only one people, that of the Hebrews, who worshipped God, and the rest worshipped idols, and no one says that because of that the worshippers of idols had greater right than the single people of the Hebrews. This suffices for this chapter.

### CHAPTER 2. ALSO ON THE SIGN OF THE CROSS

1 You wrote: "What is the meaning of our making the sign of the cross with one finger? Could we possibly have greater right than all others? Christ ordered that every word should be established at the mouth of two or three witnesses, and in our case there are more than three." If your words are true,

it follows than wherever there are several people holding an opinion, they have more truth than one people; and this leads us, as we wrote in the first chapter, to the assumption that the Gentiles had more truth than the Jews, and that Abraham was in error because he was the only one who worshipped God, and the numerous men, his contemporaries, who worshipped idols, were right. Our Lord's sentence: "At the mouth of two witnesses or three every word is established," has not the meaning that you attribute to it; it bears exclusively on the fact that the testimony of a single witness should not be accepted against a culprit, lest he should be testifying falsely against him out of spite; when, however, there are two or three witnesses, they could not testify against him in a biased way, but only truly and rightly.

2 You write: "Is it not more advantageous that a man should cross himself in beginning with the right side, which is the side of light, and then pass this light over his face and with it drive away darkness, than to cross himself from the side of darkness and pass it over his face?" If darkness and light are defined by the right hand moving horizontally, tell me what is meant by the first act we do in crossing ourselves, which consists in moving our hand in a perpendicular way from our head downwards? You might say that the top movement means light and the bottom one darkness, and that a man first takes light and comes down to darkness, and then takes light again to another darkness. The Greeks would have thus two lights and two darknesses, and would begin with light and end with darkness. This theory of yours is not a happy one, and the single cross is not light in one of its horizontal sides and darkness in the other, but it is light in both of its sides. It is also advantageous that the end of all our works should be on the right hand, that is to say, good, and it is thus better to end the sign of the cross with the side of the right hand, and not with the side of the left which is, according to the words of our Lord, that of the goats.

3 Further, we maintain that the cross of the Greeks has not only two lines in its horizontal side, but four lines. In the first act of crossing themselves they form their cross from top to bottom with two fingers, and then in making the horizontal part of the cross, they form it, also with two fingers, from right to left, and finally they return backwards to the right. The horizontal part of their cross has then two lines, nay, even four lines, in counting the two fingers. Those who, as you put it, had driven away the darkness of the left by the light of the right, return now from the light right to the dark

left, and take over its darkness which they carry to the right, so that they become involved in thick darkness in both their right and left. If they were consistent with themselves, since they form their cross from right to left, they should have crossed themselves with the left hand, because in this way their cross would have been more natural and it would not have been necessary for them to move their hand twice over.

4 Our ecclesiastical historians are in accord with their ecclesiastical historians in what they wrote concerning the Emperor Constantine, that at the hour of the day in which the sun was hottest, he saw in heaven a column of light in the shape of a cross, on which there were the words "By this sign thou shalt conquer," and after the pattern which he saw he fashioned the cross. Now what do the Greeks say about that column? Was it in the shape of double columns, like the two fingers, or in the shape of one column? If in the shape of double columns, two of which stretched perpendicularly and two horizontally, why is not the fact mentioned in any ecclesiastical history? If the column of light was in the shape of one column only, corresponding with one finger, why should we not have greater right than the Greeks? And why should we not make the sign of the cross on ourselves with one finger only, and from left to right as we, and not as they, do?

5 In administering the baptism even the Greeks make the sign of the cross on the child with a collyrium-pencil which has one point only and not two points, which would correspond with the two fingers, and move also the instrument from left to right as we do, and not from right to left. Had they not done so in this case even their cross would not have been straight but twisted. You write: "As we heard and saw, all the Fathers and Doctors whose names I mentioned, whether they be Frankish, or Egyptian, or Greek, make the sign of the cross with two fingers; and we have never heard that any of them has made it with one finger." You have not attained yet the age of seventy years, and consequently you could not have seen Athanasius the Great, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and others. We might believe you when you say that you heard, but who can believe you that you saw? You should not, therefore, have written that you saw. If you mean that you saw their books, how did you then write previously that you had not learned this either from book or from nature? Is it because you forgot what you wrote previously that you assert now that all of them made the sign of the cross with two fingers? If you have heard and seen, tell us in which

book and in which treatise? So far as we are concerned we have already quoted you John Chrysostom, the glory of the Greeks, who refutes them and corroborates us.

6 You write: "Since the Armenians profess one nature in Christ, why are they not ordered to make the sign of the cross with one finger only?" Some of the Armenians make the sign of the cross with two fingers, some of them with three fingers, and some of them with all their hand, like the Franks. It is only those among them who are ignorant and mixed with the Greeks, who make the sign of the cross with two fingers; but who can hold a discussion with illiterate and insensible people, except those who wish to throw their pearls into the depth of the sea? Further, the Armenians did not remain united with us long enough to learn all the Christian sacramental customs; after having accepted the dogma of one nature in the Word that became flesh, they left us and went after their own. They are somewhat inconsistent with their belief; on the one hand they believe in one Lord, and in one nature in the Word who became flesh, and on the other they believe in two natures in Him, a proposition which they would readily reject, were they but told that it is implied in the act of making the sign of the cross with two fingers.

7 You write: "We who make the sign of the cross with two fingers, do we believe in two natures in Christ? God forbid that this should ever happen." If you do not believe in two natures after the union, how then do you make the sign of the cross with two fingers? In your mouth you believe something, and with your hand which makes the sign of the cross you believe something else. The Greeks at any rate assert that the two fingers symbolize the two natures in Christ. If this is not so, show us then the sacrament of the two fingers. How can you mix up two incompatible propositions in saying "We believe like the orthodox Syrians, and we make the sign of the cross like the Greeks?" This amounts to saying, "We accept truth and untruth." No man can serve two masters; if we have the truth with us, you cannot follow the others, and if the others have the truth, we are liars; and if you pretend that both of us are right, who will believe you? How can that section of Christians who believes in one nature that became flesh, and the other in two natures, and how can that section of them who makes the sign of the cross with one finger and the other who makes it with two fingers, be in harmony with each other and be equally right?

8 You write: "We should not reject the Greeks because they believe in two natures, since apart from us and the Armenians, and a few Franks, all Christians believe in two natures in Christ." It is narrated that a philosopher used to change his faith with every rising king. When eventually he repented and realized that it was not good to forsake truth and change with the times, he wrote: "Pity the salt which has lost its savour." O brother, no one in your position should say that he does not reject the Greeks; if they are right and should not be rejected, your own people are, therefore, wrong and should be rejected; and if the Syrians are rejected, no one will believe you also, because you are a Syrian from us and not from our enemies; but tell us now, if you know, which are the two natures in which the Greeks believe? The Franks and some others call natures the Word God and the body with a soul which He united to Himself, but the Greeks think otherwise, and their story on this subject is a long one, and not even yet quite clear; if it ever becomes clear, I know and I am convinced that you will never accept any Melchite. Further, how did you assert that all Christians believe in two natures except us and the Armenians, while the Egyptians, Nubians, Abyssinians, the majority of the Indians, and the country of Libya which in the time of Dioscorus was composed of one thousand and five hundred parishes, accept the faith of St. Cyril and St. Dioscorus, and of the great Severus.

9 Even the Greeks when brought face to face with the words of Athanasius the Great and Cyril the Wise are put to shame and believe like them in one nature of the Word who became flesh; this is written in their books and they believe in it like ourselves, but they explain away the expression "one nature" and say afterwards "two natures" contrary to the teaching of the Doctors, and give a meaning of their own to the words used by Cyril the Great, and pretend that he really meant two natures, and this in spite of the fact that those Arabs and Persians of the East and the South who are Christians understand like us the doctrine of one nature in the Word who became flesh, and they are known to be Arabs or Persians by the fact that they are not versed in any other language but Arabic and Persian. Let now the subject end here.

### CHAPTER 3. ON HIS HIDDEN FALSEHOOD THAT HAS BEEN EXPOSED AND ON HOW HE IS A PROTAGONIST OF THE BELIEVERS IN TWO NATURES

1 You write: "Why should we have greater truth than all? We do not agree with them in the matter of two natures, but we should not reject them and

consider them as heretics." See how this discloses your intention to favour those who differ from us in their faith. I will now ask you a question: Are the Syrians right or are they wrong? If they are wrong, why do you not reject them completely? And if they are right, why do you not reject the Chalcedonians? If you refuse to believe in two natures, you should reject also the truth of the orthodox Syrians. As light is opposed to darkness, and good health to illness, so that they are mutually repellent and cannot remain concomitantly in one place, so also the one who believes in two natures in Christ after the union is opposed to the one who believes in one nature in the Word who became flesh. You will not contradict that the two are opposed to each other, how then do you pretend that you do not believe in two natures like them, and at the same time not reject them? You are like the one who holds the two ends of a rope and is unable to climb up with any of them.

2 You write: "Why should we not accept them? The Apostle said: 'Who art thou that judgest the servant of another? To his own lord he standeth or falleth.' He also said: 'Pray for one another,' and he did not say 'anathematize.'" Your words would have been very true, if only the Chalcedonians would listen to you. For your sake we shall compromise and accept them: but come now to Melitene which is not under their power and see how they tear at our people like wolves. Anyone who through his unstability and weakness falls (and joins them), they baptize again, and they openly call us heretics and untruthful, and out of their own free will they do not allow anyone to enter their churches. I remonstrated several times with them, but because of their arrogance they did not desist. Were it not for a reason that I will not disclose, and for the fact that they would have been sneered at by outsiders, I would have revealed their falsehood, and they would have been despised by all; but mendacity often succeeds.

3 Now repair in your imagination to the city of their pride. You will see that it contains a mosque for the Mohammedans, but it has no church for the Syrians and the Armenians. Do they do this out of their good nature or out of their wickedness? By their actions they show that the faith of the Mohammedans is better than the orthodox faith of ours. About a hundred years ago, in the time of Ignatius of Melitene, we had a church in Constantinople, but impelled by Satan they took possession of it, and their Patriarch of that time ordered our books that were in it and the church vestry, and the holy chrism, to be burnt in the middle of the bazaars. In that very night that Pat-

riarch was struck by a sudden illness and lost his life. What do you say about these? Glory be to the one who deprived them of their power! If they had the power they would not have left a single Christian alive, as their fathers did in the times of yore.

4 As to the quotation that you brought forth to the effect "Who art thou that judgest the servant of another," it has not the significance that you attribute to it, and it has not been said of the heretics. If it were, we should not be allowed to bring an accusation against the Jews and the pagans, or to reprove the immoral people and the adulterers, or to punish the criminals, the sedition-mongers, the robbers, and the murderers. Will the Apostle come in these cases and tell us: "Who are you that judge these who are the servants of another?" but for the tranquillity of your conscience I am going to disclose for you the mind of the Apostle. 5 The Jews who had believed in Christ used to keep also the law of Moses, and not to eat the food that that law considered to be unclean; but the Gentiles who had believed in Christ used to eat everything. A disturbance arose on this account between Jewish Christians and Christians. Paul then rose, strong in truth, against the Jews who had believed, and he maintained that food does not bring men nearer to God nor farther from Him; why do you force, therefore, the Gentiles to observe the old law? and he further added: "He that is weak eateth herbs.' He meant by these words that as you Jews are weak in faith you distinguish between this and that food (as a weak stomach does) with regard to herbs, but he who is strong in faith eats everything and despises distinctions between foods; let not him which eateth not judge the Christian that eateth, for God hath received him;" that is to say, He has made him to be related to Him and not to the law; you, therefore, O Jew, why do you judge him? He is the servant of God, how dare you then judge him? If he standeth, that is to say by faith, he is to his Lord and not to you; and if he falleth, as you believe, because he does not observe the legal distinction between the foods, he is also to his own Lord. This is in short terms the meaning of the sentence of the Apostle.

6 As to your other point, that we are commanded to pray for one another, it does not mean that we are commanded to pray for a man to go astray from the truth of the faith and walk in error; nor are we commanded to pray for this particular person in relation with that particular person, but only to pray in such general terms as: O God, call all men and bring them to Thyself. As to your saying "Paul did not say: anathematize;" but Paul did say: "If some-

body should preach unto you other than that which we preached unto you, let him be anathema." What answer do you want us now to give to Paul? He said: "Let him be anathema," and you say that we should not anathematize. Three hundred and eighteen bishops assembled once and defined the Catholic faith in the Father and the Son, and reached in the Credo as far as the passage "And in the Holy Ghost," and they anathematized Arius and Sabellius. Then one hundred and fifty others gathered together in Constantinople, completed the Credo, and said, "And in one Holy Ghost the Lord and vivifier of all, who proceeds from the Father," etc., till the end of the Credo; and they anathematized the Macedonians. Then again two hundred and fifty bishops assembled at Ephesus in the time of the Emperor Theodosius and of the Patriarch Cyril, but they did not write a new profession of faith nor did they add anything to the Credo in unum Deum, but they said that the faith of the two previous Councils was sufficient; and they enacted in the Synod a Canon of anathemas and curses against anyone who would introduce a new faith, or would add anything to it, or diminish anything from it; and after anathematizing Nestorius and his teachers, they went back.

7 Then after a time the Emperor Marcian assembled that unholy Council of Chalcedon. The Fathers of it, however, did not follow in the steps of the Fathers who had preceded them, but through the pressure brought upon them by the wicked Emperor, and by his accursed wife, Pulcheria, and by other heretics who were present there, such as Theodoret, they trespassed against the anathema of the Council of Ephesus, and wrote a new Credo which begins: "We believe in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and in the incarnation of the Son." They thus made the Trinity a quaternity; and then they defined the two natures. Now if the Greeks are anathematized, it is the Fathers of the first Council who anathematize them; what blame then attaches to us from it? Where did you hear in the faith of the ancients the mention of the two natures, which the Greeks have added? Et Cetera.

### CHAPTER 4. ON THE WICKED RITES AND HABITS OF THE GREEKS

1 Let us see what Rabban Isho' writes on this subject: "We (Syrians) constitute ourselves the judges of Christians; some of them we make pagans and some others heretics. What would be better for us to do would be to live in peace with everybody." Peace is a very beautiful and praiseworthy thing, O honourable one, but not all peace; this is known from the sentence uttered by our Saviour; "I am come not to cast peace on the earth but sword; for I am come

to set a father at variance against his son, and a daughter against her mother." Learn, therefore, that peace with immoral passions and with the enemies of truth drives us away from God. The theologian says: "A just war is better than a peace which separates from God." Examine well the saying of this Doctor who teaches us that peace with everybody is not advantageous.

2 Now who makes the Christians pagan except themselves? A pagan is much better than a Christian who forsakes the true faith and follows strange religions, and is unjust, immoral, adulterous, a murderer, a liar, or a breaker of the law. Go now to the Capital of which you are so proud and see how much immorality prevails in it, and what is still more terrible, how they call immorality "father." Bring also to it with you foodstuffs of any kind and see how they will steal them from you and swear that they have not done so. 3 Let it be also known to you that the word "Greek" is expressed in their language by "Hellenios," which further means "pagan." What blame attaches to us from a fact to which they themselves bear witness that their true names are "Hellenes" and "Hellenism," which mean "pagan" and "paganism" respectively? The name "Romans" does not belong to them but to the Franks, and it is derived from the name of "Rome" their town, and Romulus, their ancient king; and the Greeks unjustly stole it from them. What does the word "heresy" mean except "heterodoxy," or holding of another theological opinion? He, therefore, who adds to, or subtracts from, the theological opinion of the ancients is an heretic. So far as we are concerned we love so dearly our ancient Fathers because of the good habits and good laws which they have; now what good habits do the Greeks possess? Is it the habit of eating fish and drinking wine in Lent? Or is it that other habit of theirs by which they rebel against God, and make men like women, in emasculating them, and defile themselves with many abominations? What is still more terrible is that they ordain such men priests and bishops. Paul has said: "I permit not a woman to teach," and what is the difference between a woman and a neutered man? on the whole the difference is not very great. They have other perverse habits about which we wrote at length elsewhere.

4 Which is the law that is observed to-day in their Capital? Not one. There is in it nothing but iniquity, injustice and theft; the strong in it beat the weak, and the rich plunder the poor; their soldiers enter anywhere they fancy, plunder and rob and misconduct themselves with the wives of other men, who fear even to speak to them. You wrote: "They have arranged rites

of prayers, canons and Gospel lessons for every festival, and have given eleven lessons to Easter; and what they read here is read in every other Church of theirs. They have also composed Canons and Cathismata and stichera, and have written a book which turns on eight echadia. If one is obliged to follow them for the sake of these rites which you have mentioned, the Hebrew people had also similar rites; indeed the Torah was not read by everybody, but only by the elders and the priests, and the prophetical Books were only read on some special days, and what was read in Jerusalem was also read in every country in which Jews were found, and their sacrifices were offered in one place. David in his days set up twenty-four singers, every two of whom used to sing two hours and were followed by a relay of two others. Coclions (= Cyclii) and various kinds of tones never ceased to be in use in the Temple; and the Jews possessed other enactments and rites of a similar kind. Why then we Christians do not follow the Jews? For crucifying the Son they were humbled in spite of their tunes and rites. It is not through catechismata and stichera that one will enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but by means of good works and pious deeds: "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom."

5 If the Gospel of the Syrians was different from that of the Greeks, the former might have been blamed. But when the Gospel is one, no harm and wrong can possibly attach to anyone who reads this or that lesson from it on a special occasion. Look at the community of Muḥammad, their munādis or mu'adhdhins, when they cry, have the same words here and anywhere else, and none of them adds anything to them or subtracts anything from them, but no Christian praises them for this rite. Lo the Syrians also have arranged their prayers in eight tones, and they perform two echadia every week. Sundays are consecrated to the festival of the Resurrection; Mondays and Tuesdays are devoted to prayers for repentance; Wednesdays are to the Mother of God, to the martyrs and the dead; Thursdays to the Apostles and Doctors, to the Mother of God, to the martyrs, and to the dead; Fridays to the Cross; and Saturdays to the Mother of God, to the martyrs and the dead.

6 The Syrians perform also every month the eight echadia like the Greeks; and they have further Ḳabbelai Mār with the rest of the Ḳāle, while the M'irāne with the rest of the itdakhraith are even supererogatory, and it was only the wealth of the devotions of the Syrian Fathers that induced them to arrange them as a rite in this way. See now how the Greeks have no special prayers for the night, apart from what they regularly recite in the morning

and in the evening, at night, and in the day-time; but the Syrians who are endowed with great wealth of devotions have also the Shuḥlāph—Ḳāla which was recited by the ancients, the Madhrāshé, the Ma'nyātha, the takhshpātha, the ba'wātha, with the rest of the Ḳāle of itdakhraith, the Greek and Syriac Canons, and the 'Inyānē. The fact that people of every country pray differently, and have something which singles them out from the rest, goes to their credit, first because it indicates the wealth of their devotions and spiritual vigour, and secondly because it is a sign of the incomprehensibility of God who wishes to be glorified in different ways in different countries and towns.

7 Now you examine our Service Books and our penkyātha: if you find in them mistakes or heresies, blame and rebuke us; but if they tell the undiluted truth, why should they be blasphemous in their different bātē and Kīnātha? The Greeks also have different Canons, Stichera, and Cathismata in different countries, and I myself saw in the books of the Melchites Canons which were at Antioch recited for the saints, but which were not so used in Melitene, and some others were substituted in their place; and the same thing happens with them in other countries, as it happens also with the Franks, the Armenians and other Christians. Tones and words vary with countries and persons. What harm is there in the simple service of Maksa? It contains "multum in parvo," and has been arranged for the sick, and at one time, for the nuns. Now that it has been established everywhere you see that it possesses driving force, and fulfils all the requirements of the prayers directed to the Mother of God, to the Apostles, to the Fathers, to the Prophets, to the Martyrs, to repentance, and to the dead. "Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."

8 Let it also be known to you that the Canons, the Cathismata and the rest have entered into the Church as something supererogatory. This is known from the fact that in the days of the Doctors, there was only reading and interpretation of the scripture in the Churches, and there were not found in it melodies and harmonious modulations which create lust in the hearers. When Bardaiṣān became insane and composed the Kīṇta, St. Ephrem was obliged to multiply the madhrāsha through which he destroyed Bardaiṣān's lustful Kīnātha. And Mar Severus recited ma'nyātha against the poets and against the 'onyātha' of the Greek Sustius. And John Chrysostom

arranged the stichera against the Arians who had composed 'onyātha' through which they used to deceive the simple folk. The same may also be said of the Canons, etc., which really did harm to the Church, since they have been in it the cause of the cessation of the reading and interpretation of scripture and the art of preaching. Show me if in the time of the Apostles there were musical tones and 'onyātha, apart from the reading and interpretation of scripture and the art of teaching and preaching.

9 You write: In the penkiyātha of the office of Lent it is said: "Moses, Elijah and Daniel fasted;" and in the office of Palm Sunday it is written: "The children glorified Him," etc.; and in the office of the Passion Week there is: "Blessed is Thy passion, O Lord." 10 Let it be known to you that the Syrian writers showed the mystery of every festival in the words of the office which they wrote for it, and they wove all its history in the Kīnātha, in order to teach the hearers the mystery of the festival. It was quite legitimate for them to have written the office of the festivals and commemorations in a way that its prayers were directed only to penitence, but they wished to put variety in the ritual. If, for instance, the Fathers had not said in the breviary of the time of Lent that so-and-so had fasted, others would not have imitated the ancients and fasted; if they had not explained how the wound of the sinners was healed, those who had the wound of sin would not have had recourse to any medical treatment and to penitence; if they had not told how our Lord entered Jerusalem and was praised by children, the children would not have striven to emulate their praise; if they had not concerned themselves with Zechariah, David, Ezechiel and the Prophets, one would not have known who prophesied about the Christ that he would ride on a she-ass and enter the Holy City; if they had not written about Abraham, and his son, no one would ever have known that Abraham was the figure of the Father, and Isaac that of the Son, who was offered as a sacrifice for us; that Cain was the figure of the Jews, and Abel the figure of Christ who was murdered; and that the vineyard was the symbol of the synagogue of the Jews.

11 Now knowledge and not ignorance is necessary for the understanding of all these. The Hdhau 'Amme has been said by St. Ephrem, and he derived it from the prophet who said "Rejoice and be glad because your Saviour is mighty." The Train Talmidhe is derived from the Gospel. You say that these two prayers have no driving power and no savour. If there is no driving power in the prophets and in the Apostles whose very words have been bor-

rowed by the Fathers in the composition of these prayers, we will admit that the former have not got them either; but if the prophets and the Apostles are believed in and accepted by all Christians, we must also accept the Fathers and not rebel against the truth. Et cetera.

### CHAPTER 5. ON HOW TONES AND MELODIES DO NOT BRING ANY PROFIT TO THOSE WHO SING THEM AND THOSE WHO HEAR THEM

1 Now let us come to the remaining part of what you wrote on this subject: "To-day that you are the Father of the Syrians and the son of... the rest of your encomium it is not necessary to quote—collect all the service books of the Church and write from them all one good book of Octoechus. What you have mentioned has been arranged by the ancient Fathers in the matter of Ma'niyātha and the service of nocturns, as we have stated above. The Church, however, is in no need of them, and I would suggest to you and to every God-fearing man that instead of canticles and prayers containing musical melodies which bring no profit to the singer nor to the hearer, to make use of the Books of the Old and New Testaments and the writings of the Fathers, and to read a chapter from each one of them at every festival. Both the reader and the hearer will derive profit from these lessons. Be concerned with this good work rather than Canons. The Apostle Peter said: "Be ready to give answer to every man that asketh you a reason concerning the hope of your faith;" and the Apostle Paul said: "In the Church I had rather speak five words with my understanding than ten thousand words." And: "Cry with thy throat, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet and show my people their transgression, and the children of Israel their sins." It is not good to forsake the words of God and do good worldly service at the altar.

2 You see how the Prophets and the Apostles exhort us to read, interpret, preach and teach the mysteries of the faith, and convert any one who is against us, and not to sing and to contrive musical melodies like sirens, nor to bray like asses, nor to utter sweet sounds like nightingales, nor to sing like swans, nor to coo like doves, nor should we institute to-day a feast for so-and-so, and to-morrow another feast for so-and-so, and in this open our stomachs to excessive food, and broaden our gullets to drink, and thus pander to the proclivities of our alimentary desires and minister to occasions of sin and say: "To-day is a feast, we must therefore eat and drink." To pagans belong festivities, songs, dances, banquets and drink, and to Christians fast-

ing, prayer, and reading of scripture. In their festivities the Greeks resemble, therefore, those who are outside our sheepfold.

3 Let it be also known to you that musical tunes and melodies with Canons, stichera and the rest of them have come down to the Greeks from outsiders, that is to say from the pagan Odysseus who having experienced the sweetness of the song of sirens which dwelt in the sea of Scylla, perceived a desire to learn it; and because these sirens sang men used frequently to throw themselves into the sea, bewitched as they were by their song, and were eaten by them. Odysseus, however, resorted to a stratagem: he plugged with wax the ears of the sailors, and some men tied him and his companions with chains of iron, and they floated on the sea. When the sirens saw them they began to sing songs of various melodies, but those men whose ears were plugged did not hear the sweetness of the song, and those who were attached with chains of iron could not throw themselves into the sea because of their being strongly tied, and so they little by little learned the melodies and introduced them to mankind. Examine, then, the origin of the melodies. It is really the sirens which have to take pride rather than the Greeks.

4 You say: "It is not fair to make other Christians heretics, and to call ourselves orthodox people." If Christians were such as they, what would you be yourself? If you answer that you are a Christian, rise up and go to them and see what they will call you. If they are not heretics, then the Syrians are. If you pretend that both sides are right, no one from either side will believe you, neither from our side nor from the side of the adversaries. They call us heretical Jacobites, and we call them Chalcedonians, Nestorians, and heretics. If you have enough power in you like your namesake Joshua, son of Nun, to reconcile them with one another, we ourselves will help you in everything. But what union is there between light and darkness? Many believed that it would be good to join the adversaries, but this has proved a stumbling block to them and finally their downfall. When Ahab had pity on Benhadad and saved his life, God got angry with him and with his people, and he was rejected from power, and Hazael killed him.

5 You write: "My heart does not allow me to anathematize anyone, not even Nestorius and his companions. If I do not accept them it is solely because they are alien to, and rejected from, the Church of God." I am tempted to be amazed at your simplicity, O brother, how it easily contradicts itself. You contended that your heart does not allow you to anathematize Nestorius

and his companions, and you have at the same time unknowingly anathematized him. Anathema is a separation from God, and when you have separated them from the Church and rejected and denounced them, you have anathematized them. Do you then believe that anathema means anything else? The word "anathema" is used in two meanings. The first meaning is found in the sentence of Moses: "every 'anathema' which is anathematized' by a man." Here "anathema" means "vow": i.e. every vow vowed by a man. The second kind of anathema is that spoken of by Paul: "He who does not love our Lord Jesus Christ let him be anathema." The first "anathema" means "vow" and "sacrifice," and the second anathema means "separation from God" and "rejection from the Church of God." This last kind of anathema is the one used by the Doctors against the heretics.

6 You write: "The Greeks have a heavenly King, and God gave them also an earthly king, how can they not be proud?" It is written that we cannot serve two masters, O brother. If they call God their King, they are deprived of an earthly king; and if they seek the earthly one, they forsake the heavenly one. This is also known by what God said to Samuel: In asking for an earthly king, the Jews "have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me," Creator and God, "that I should not reign over them." You see how God Himself decreed by His words that any one who has an earthly king is deprived of the heavenly one. We follow the words of God, and do not contend that a man has two kings; if it was so he would be bound to "love the one and hate the other, and hold to one and despise the other."

7 Every pride in an earthly kingdom is from the evil one; it is he who overcomes the passions and lays the body under the power of the soul who is a king. Further, other Christian peoples have also kings, and they do not for that take pride in their souls, and the Persians and the Arabs have all kings, and we could not say that they have greater right than we have. The true kingdom is that which is established in orderliness and virtue, as in the times of Constantine, Theodosius and the rest of the Roman kings, that is to say the kings of the Franks. Now look back at the kings of the Greeks of our days, how they commit adultery and fornication more than the pagan kings. When they are ordered not to take two wives, they take them. And enter their Metropolis, and you will see in a love of money, which is the root of all evil, and coveteousness which is idolatry, and unbounded adultery, not only among laymen and laywomen, but also among the clergy. No king, no head,

and no superior can stop them. Their bishops are likewise covetous, and they pile up gold like stones, and they enjoy material things, and wear fine linen and purple instead of wool. They ride also on powerful mules and bathe in the public baths like women, and relish different kinds of food. Faith without works and good conduct is dead. Et cetera.

### CHAPTER 6. AGAINST THE PRIDE OF THE CHALCEDONIANS, AND ON THE BUILDING OF THEIR CAPITAL

1 Let us proceed now with haste and examine the fallacy of the Greeks on this subject. You write: "The beautiful Metropolis which Jeremiah has foreseen when lamenting over Jerusalem is our Metropolis. God showed him her towers, her beauty, her ramparts, and her buildings and said to him: 'Do not weep over Jerusalem, lo I have found a house better than Jerusalem, and I will bring all people and all tongues to its glory;' and it happened as he said." To whom shall we now speak, and on whom shall we pour our wrath? On those who foolishly utter fallacies like these, or on people who listen to them? In what passage did Jeremiah prophesy about Constantinople, and who is the commentator who understood it in that sense? Jeremiah was taken to Egypt; and according to some people, he even composed his Lamentations over Jerusalem in Egypt. It is not written in the Lamentations that he prophesied about the Metropolis, nor about a town that would stand on its site. If they are so untruthful in palpable subjects like this, how much more will they be so on the subject of faith which is thinner that a hair?

2 They raved also another falsehood to the effect that it was Euphemia the martyr who gave them the articles of faith of the Council of Chalcedon. In this they show that they have received their faith from a dead woman; and to this effect they even hang in their Churches the picture of something which is unreal. The fact is that the Council assembled in the temple of Euphemia, and the Tomos of the unholy Leo and the other book containing the articles of faith were laid in the font of the saint; but it is nowhere written that the saint rose from the dead and confirmed them; what they are uttering is pure lie, and their powerful pillars, and the enemies of the truth, such as Joannes Damascenus, Theophilus, and Theodore of Harrân did not write these lies, I mean the untruth concerning Jeremiah and Euphemia, because they knew that they were lies. Damascenus, however, indulged in another falsehood in writing that a child rose up to heaven and heard the angels say: "Sanctus es Deus, Sanctus es Omnipotens, Sanctus es Immortalis,"

without the addition: Qui crucifixus es pro nobis. Against this we wrote at length (in another book) and we reproved him and showed that "no man hath ascended into heaven but he that descended out of heaven." We rebuked them that their faith has come down to them from a woman, and that their trisagion has emanated from a child not yet in his full senses, and not from an angel or a man in his full senses. You, however, believe not the untruth that they have uttered against the Armenians.

3 Constantinople was built in the time of Manasseh by the brothers Byzantion, and it was a pagan town, which had no fame till the days of Constantine who repaired to it and enlarged it. You say that it is written: "I will bring to it all peoples and tongues for worship," to which we will answer: not the Christian, but the pagan, peoples. We have heard that peoples and tongues went to Jerusalem for worship; and to the town you are mentioning no one ever went for worship, but only on business. Further, when did Christians ever repair to it for the sake of honour? They went to it only to grub, and to buy and sell. It is frequented mostly by Persians, Arabs, and barbarous and godless peoples, such as Kumanians and Hungarians, who have enriched it with gold, silver and precious stones. Lo, Bagdad, Cairo, and other towns of the kingdom of the Arabs are richer in gold, silver and precious stones, and we do not say that they have more truth than we have.

4 Listen now to Gregory, how he rebukes those who are rich in gold: "Against those who have gold and silver, we have a pure speech; against those who have churches, we possess the One who dwells in them; against those who have temples, we possess God and we are His living temples; and against those who have multitudes, we have angels." You write: "God has gathered together and brought to it prophets, apostles, and martyrs, so that none of them is outside it." This also is untrue. James, the brother of our Lord, is buried in Jerusalem, and James, son of Zebedee, is in the west, south of the city of Rome; Peter and Paul are in Rome, and John, son of Zebedee is buried in Ephesus, where also is the mother of God. The Apostle Thomas was buried in India, and his bones were transferred to Edessa. Ezechiel and the three children are in Babylonia with Daniel, and the prophet Isaiah is in Jerusalem. The rest of the prophets and apostles are likewise in all directions, and all are not in the Metropolis. As to St. Basil, all the Emperors strove to transfer his bones from Cæsarea to the Metropolis, but they did not succeed. The great Meletius was transferred from the Metropolis to Antioch. As to the wood of

the Holy Cross, it was in Jerusalem, and in the time of Shahrbaraz and Chosrau it was carried to Persia, and in their time also it was brought back and sawn in the middle, and half of it reached the Metropolis.

5 You write: "And also the rod of Moses and the staff of Aaron, and the ark." O deceivers and liars! How they deceive the simple folk to make them accept their teaching! In the ark were the rod, the staff, and the golden pot holding the manna. This ark and all the sacraments that it contained Jeremiah took out and hid in a cave: and from that day up to now no one has ever known their exact place. We know this from the Book of Maccabees and from other Doctors. You write: "And also the twelve baskets, and the veronica, and the robe of the mother of God." From the time of the Economy of Christ to that of Constantine, there are more than three hundred years, and in that time kings were pagan, and Christianity was not yet in plain light; who, therefore, collected the above sacred objects for the Greeks? So they are also liars in this matter; they have neither the baskets, nor the crown of thorns—for which they have fabricated one of nails—nor the swaddling clothes of Christ, as they rave. It is possible that the existence there of the veronica is true, but who stole the robe of the mother of God and brought it to them, and left the Virgin naked? Fie, the madness! All the sacred objects were in Jerusalem, but when the Jews transgressed the commandments and the law, they were taken in captivity, and Jerusalem was destroyed; the ark also and the tables of the Covenant were carried away by the Philistines: their pride, therefore, in these things is that of ignorant and not of intelligent men.

6 As to the right hand of John the Baptist by which they sanctify the holy chrism, do not follow blindly after children, O brother! Tell me this: when Herodias took the head of John the Baptist in a charger, what profit did she get out of this gift? Was it not a loss that she sustained? It is the good actions of a man that give him the right to be worthy of John's fellowship, and not the fact that he possesses great things for which he does not care. To a pig pearls and muck are on the same level. Many asses of merchants carry precious things from which they derive no profit whatever. Concerning John the Baptist, Theodoret, the helper of the Greeks, wrote that in the days of Julian the Apostate, pagans took his bones from the urn and burned them. John of Asia also wrote that in the time of Justinian one of the prefects of Palestine who was like a pagan in his conduct, sent a right hand to the Met-

ropolis and said that it was John the Baptist's. Many were suspicious about it and said that it could not be true. It was, however, accepted by the Emperor and the people as true. Where is it written that the holy chrism should be sanctified by the right hand of John? The Greeks that are amongst us rave that they mix the blood of Christ with the holy chrism. The Apostles and the Doctors have ordered that the holy chrism should be composed of different elements and be sanctified by the prayers of the bishops and the people, and these pretend that it contains the blood of Christ; which is untrue. This would make them resemble the Jews who said: "His blood be on us and on our children." And they are being baptized by this same blood!

7 If the holy chrism is sanctified by a dead right hand, they are, therefore, being baptized by a dead man; because although St. John be living to God, he is so in his soul, while in his body he is so far dead, and he has not yet resuscitated. How can the right hand of a dead man sanctify the holy chrism? Why! this is not a great affair, since their ordination also emanates from a dead man! Indeed they used to receive for some time their bishops from Rome, but when trouble arose between them and the Franks, Rome did not give them any bishop; and it was after many frays and bickerings that they gave them a bishop, but when the messengers who were bringing him reached the city of Heraclea in Thrace, he fell ill and died. They were then in great pain and sorrow, and fearing lest the Romans should require the ordination of another bishop from them, they resorted to a stratagem and brought a man and laid the hand of the dead bishop on his head and ordained him. They decreed also that in future it is the bishop of Thrace that shall lay the right hand on the head of all the bishops of the Capital. This custom they observe down to our own days, and on it we have written elsewhere in several places.

8 You write: "So far as we are concerned whom have we but SS. Barṣauma and Aaron?" What shall we say to a mind glued to earthly things? As to us we have our beloved, the Lord of heaven and earth; it is He, the Lord of heaven and earth and holy sacraments who said: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;" and who spoke through the prophet: I do not count heaven and earth, "where is the house ye build unto me?" and who proclaimed in the mouth of Isaiah: "To whom shall we look and in whom shall I dwell except him who is peaceful and humble," and fears my word. You will see, if you reflect, whom we have! He is indeed St.

Barṣauma! Listen also to St. John Chrysostom how he rises against those who take pride in such things; he said in the eighty-second chapter of his commentary on Matthew: "How many men there are now who say 'We wish to see the face of Christ, His image, His dresses, and His shoes;' but lo you are seeing Him, and you are holding Him; you are eating Him, and you are wishing to see His dresses! He did not give Himself to you in order that you may only see Him, but that you may also touch Him, eat Him, and receive Him in yourself."

9 What would you say about this quotation? Did it not confute and destroy all that you wrote? Did it not put an end to all the pride of the Greeks? Do not err, therefore, after them, but follow in the steps of your fathers. Et cetera.

### CHAPTER 7. ON THE FACT THAT HE MADE THE GREEKS THE HEAD OF ALL CHRISTIANS

1 Let us go on with our investigation of the words of this writer and see how he inclines to all winds, and how he possesses zeal and kindness, but not in the sense in which the Apostle intended these to be. You write: "Why should we blame them? If they blame us it is because we did not obey them when they were right. It is written: The superiors of the peoples are their superiors." How well has Esau been tested and his hidden mind disclosed! In everything that you have propounded you have shown that you are not holding your faith from conviction but out of hypocrisy. On the one hand you persuade us not to blame those who out of their own free will have trampled on the anathemas of the Synod of Ephesus and decreed another canon. On the other hand you gave them authority to blame us on the score that they are our superiors and directors. Show us where you get the information that they have that precedence of us which would entitle them to blame us, and be our superiors. If you say that it is because they were evangelized before us, we demonstrated in our previous letter to you that their evangelization did not precede ours. If you pretend that they are our superiors because some of their books have been translated by us, we have proved decisively that all the Doctors of the Church are not Greek.

2 As the Jews do not scorn the Christians because it is from their people that the Books of the Prophets and Apostles have emanated, so also the Greeks should not blame us on this score. If as you say they are our superiors, and they have consequently right to blame us because we did not listen to

them, the Jews will hold them by their throats and say: "We are older than you, and we are your superiors and directors; you took the Books from us; come and become like us; if we blame you, it is our duty to do so; you Greeks should never rebuke us for the fact that we crucified the Christ." What are these old women's tales, and what is this useless discussion! You write: "That Council (of Chalcedon) which had six hundred and thirty-six Fathers, and from which two were driven out." I am amazed at the way you have accepted as true the falsehood of liars. Who saw (the Fathers of that Council) and counted them as amounting to such a number? Who read their unofficial proceedings and deliberations? As for us we read everything in books and we know what was done and spoken there, and how long the Council lasted; we have also written with us the names of all the bishops who assembled in it, and those who subscribed to it by proxy, and the number of all them amounts only to three hundred and sixty-three. To what extent can the deceivers lie! They believe that it is by the magnitude of the number of the Fathers that truth is made manifest. Three hundred and seventy bishops assembled in the town of Madecolinus subscribed to the wickedness of Arius, and wished to throw away Athanasius the Great, because he did not agree with them.

3 Now what do you say? Had the high number of men in this case greater right than one man, or had this one man, Athanasius, greater right than all of them? Learned men even among the Greeks testify that Athanasius was right. Picture, therefore, in your mind and know that Dioscorus and the bishops who were with him had likewise greater right than the other three hundred who out of their fear of the king and for the love of their sees put their signatures to the Tomos of Leo. Abraham was in his days the only one who served God, the rest being idol-worshippers. But listen to what the holy Theologian says: "Three men who gather together in the name of God, are more numerous before His eyes than several myriads who deny His Godhead. Would you honour all the Canaanites more than one Abraham, or the Sodomites more than one Lot, or the Midianites more than one Moses?" And he added afterwards:

4 "No; this could not be, could not be. God was not pleased with a great number of people. You count the myriads, but God counts those who are saved; you (count) the earth that cannot be measured, but I will (count) the vessels of election." You further write: "Those Kānōnē which are called Koklia

are invented by the Jews." Show us the Canon which was invented by the Jews. It is said that the Jews invented not the Kānōnē but the tishbhātha to the tunes of which the Kānōnē have been invented, and which serve as the foundations of their intonations. As to whether the Koklia are from the Hebrews, I heard that it is the tishbhātha, that is to say the mazmōre, that they sing with different melodies. Ponder well over what you write, and then begin to discuss. You condescended also to say that the Greeks took the kingdom of the Romans by stratagem.

5 When did it happen that a kingdom has been stolen? It is God who removes kings and raises up kings. He removed the kingdom from the Franks and bestowed it on the Greeks. That a kingdom, however, is stolen without the wish of God is known from the fact that Absalom stole the kingdom from his father David, and the people leaned towards him. That a king does rise without the order of God is also borne out by the prophet who testifies and says: "He reigned but not by me, and he governed but not by my will." Wicked kings reign by the tacit permission of God; this occurs especially when iniquity is on the increase among the people. If God gave the kingdom to the Greeks, it follows that it is He who also gave it to the Arabs and the Turks for such a long time. The fact, however, is not so, and the subject is different from the one that concerns us.

6 You write: "The foreign merchants who go in and out of the Metropolis testify that there is no kingdom, no government, no wealth, and no charity similar to that of the Greeks; and we Syrians consider them as nothing." Your saying that the Greeks are praised by outsiders and not by Christians is prophetical; we mean by outsiders Persians, Arabs, and Turks. Earthly people think of earthly things. The Greeks are not praised by just, pious, and orthodox people, but by grubbing and robbing merchants. And in what do these praise them? In the fact that there is no kingdom, no government, and no wealth like theirs. Alexander has not been praised in any (sacred or ecclesiastical) book because his government embraced three ends of the inhabited globe, and his kingdom extended to nearly all the earth, and his wealth increased like stones. The kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar and that of Sennacherib, Pharaoh, and others was also very great, but in what did these pagans excel in their kingdom and government? Is it in their piety and holiness? There is no man of sound judgment who thinks so. Do not praise, therefore, the Greeks for something that is shameful before the eyes of God.

The ancients, prophets and Apostles, have not been praised for their government, kingdom and wealth, but for their trials, privations, poverty and wants.

7 You say: " There is no charity like theirs." This is also untrue. Where is the one who has been fed in the bazaars of their Capital? Indeed how many needy and destitute people walk in its bazaars? Some Christians who had gone there because of their poverty told us that they have no mercy at all, and that when they wish to eat bread they close their doors and bolt them, and the poor man hoarsens his voice in crying and sighing from hunger, and no man gives him bread. Here we will end this subject.

### CHAPTER 8. ON HOW HE BLAMES HIS CO-RELIGIONISTS AND IS PROUD OF THE GREEKS

1 You write: " We (Syrians) were the first in our evangelization and the Greeks the last, and God gave us kingdom, power, ecclesiastical see, and honour, because we were the first to believe in Him, but now He has greatly humbled us." O brother, open your eyes and see, incline your ear and listen, and you will not cling much to earthly things. Christ did not promise the Christians earthly things sticking with mud, but He promised them heavenly things. "Seek the things that are above, and set your mind on the things that are above where Christ is." It is the pagans who glory in an earthly kingdom and have earthly possessions; if we Christians wish to fix our minds on the latter, by what would we be distinguished from pagans? Have you not heard your Lord say: "My kingdom is not of this world; if it were then would my servants fight for me." And: "Where I am, there shall also my servant be." If we are, therefore, the servants of Christ, we should prepare ourselves for our journey to His heavenly kingdom, and not seek to reign here like other people who have no hope.

2 To which of the Apostles, who were the first to be evangelized, did God give in this world, kingdom, government and wealth? On the contrary, they toured the world in want, privation, poverty, and need. Has not the Son of God Himself plainly declared that He "hath not where to lay His head." Peter and John said to the man that was lame: "Silver and gold have we none, but in the name of Jesus rise and walk." The Lord of all did not bestow any worldly honours, nor any earthly kingdom, which in reality is nothing, on all these saints who forsook everything and followed him. If every poor man were despised before God and wrong in his faith, and if the man who has

wealth and kingdom were right in his faith, it would have been high time for you to despise Lazarus, the poor, full of sores, and to extol the rich man who was "clothed in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously;" it would have also been good opportunity for you to praise the faith of the sons of Hagar who reigned in the earth from end to end, and are prosperous in the world, while the Christians are lowly, wretched, under subjection, and poor.

3 Listen to your Lord who says: "If the world hateth you, know ye that it hath hated me before you." And: "If ye were of the world, the world would love its own." And: "If they persecuted me, they will also persecute you." And: "Ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice." And: "Love of this world is enmity against God." What do you say against all these? Your Lord has shown that it is the one who possesses neither kingdom nor government who is accepted by Him. He who is here in subjection and strong in faith is going to rejoice in the kingdom of heaven which will never perish. You write: "There are no Syrians except with you in Melitene and in Edessa. There are very few of them with us." Now Rabban 'Isho' comes back to us like a mighty teacher, and believing that the Syrians are uprooted more than any other people, he asks us why.

4 If you say that that is their condition because of their sins, we will retort that there are to-day many pagans and Jews who have kindled and kindle the wrath of God more than the Syrians, yet they are strong in power and prosperous in wealth, and their number is so high that it cannot be reckoned. Tell me also why are the prophets that rose in this world now uprooted, while the Jewish people who crucified the Son is still prosperous everywhere. Where are the Fathers, the just men, and the pontiffs? Where are the Apostles, the evangelists, the solitaries, the martyrs, and the confessors? If all these are uprooted because of their sins or for a similar reason, so also consider the Syrians; but if it is because God loved them that He took them to Him, you should also assert the same in the case of the Syrians.

5 Now listen to what Jeremiah says: "Now that the just have gone to their rest, and the prophets have died, and we have left the land, we have nothing but the mighty one and His law." That just king Josiah also did not last long in power, and it has been said about him: "The just man goes to his rest before the wrath." You see that the wheat is always gathered in the barns while the chaff is abandoned. You write: "Why should we (Syrians) be proud because we were evangelized first? The Christ has said: 'Many shall be last that are

first, and first that are last.'" We did not take pride because we were evangelized first; but we simply asked you the reason why the Greeks scorn us after you had made them our superiors and directors! We have not received our faith from them; the Books have not come down from them to us, and their language is not more ancient than ours. Further, in Lord Jesus "there is no Greek, no barbarian, no bondman, and no freeman, but Christ is all and in all." He who works with Him is accepted by Him. The proof which you put forward runs counter to what you intended: you say that we who are first became the last, but see how in the same sequence you added: "and the last shall be first;" the Syrians who in your sentence were the last became the first in relation to the Greeks.

6 You write: "A prickly shrub that gives a beautiful rose, how can its master uproot it?" It is sufficient for it that its name is a "prickly shrub." There are many prickly shrubs which have no roses but are full of thorns, and their end is fire. Before the Council of Chalcedon the Greeks were not prickly shrubs, but a tree that bore fruits. After they tore the robe of Christ and divided it into duality of natures, the rose of the "first" was taken away from them, in a way similar to that of the Jews from whom priesthood and Books have been taken and given to a people that would yield fruits. The Jews were like the fig tree of tender branches; as long as they kept the commandments and discarded sin, they were planted in the angle of the heavenly abode, but when they sinned and transgressed the commandments, the vineyard, that is to say, the people, was uprooted, and the vine and its branches were burnt, and the fig tree was cut to pieces from its roots by the axe of Vespasian and cast into the fire of dispersion.

7 Why did you not say to the master of the vineyard, as you would have doubtless wished to have done: let the "prickly shrub" be watered, in order that it may bring forth a rose? But which is the rose of the Greeks? Please tell me. If you say that the rose is the Canons, the cathismata, and the stichera, intelligent people do not consider these as a rose, because both our Church and theirs have been meditating for a long time over these hymns, and have been unable to convert through them a single man to the right path. The true rose is scriptural meditation, interpretation, teaching, wisdom and good advices; it is through these that the Apostles and Doctors converted all the ends of the earth to the truth. A second rose consists in fast, prayer, charity,

holiness, chastity, and acts of perfection. It is through the scent of this rose that one can convert his own soul and convert others also.

8 Listen now to what the Doctors say concerning Canons and Kīnātha, of which you are proud. The poets and the composers of Kīnātha, call sometimes a Kīnta angelic, and some other times they compare the singers to Moses and to the three children. They confined their Biblical references concerning those who fasted in repentance to the Ninevites, and to the publican. Through high-toned Zummāre you may forget or completely lose the power of penitence. We are commanded to "pray with the spirit and to sing with the understanding." This is something difficult for a Greek to do, since his mind is concentrated on music. God permitted sacrifices because He knew that the Israelites could not be convinced otherwise; and He also permitted the use by them of cymbals and other musical instruments, in order that they may not indulge in profane glees and in banquets. At the end, however, he put an end to sacrifices in saying: "I have no pleasure in whole burnt offerings, and the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit." He also put an end to songs and melodies by saying through the prophet: "Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols." How is it that you who have been ordered to sing spiritual songs endeavour to mix with the Church songs those relaxing Kīnātha and loose tones, and thus weaken with these same Kīnātha the vigour of the souls which have hardened themselves against the passions, and mortified their bodies by ascetic works, and begun to sing with angels?

9 If somebody says that these Kīnātha are spiritual, let him show me their fruits, and I will agree: "By their fruits ye shall know them." You do not see any poet making repentance from the depth of his heart, nor striking on his breast to thwart unclean movements. On the contrary he stands erect, shakes his head, moves his neck hither and thither, gesticulates with his hands and his fingers and claps them together with noise; he often also strikes with his foot against the ground, but he does not exhibit a single fruit of penitence to the hearers who are bewitched by the sweetness of his Kīntā (= melody). Church music is not like this, but it is quiet, lugubrious, and inducing to sighing and weeping. Kīnātha did not penetrate into the Churches except when these were deprived of the gifts of teaching. When there was nobody to impart sound teaching, chanted hymns invaded the Churches. Look, therefore, at this Doctor, how he disliked the Canons, and the Zummāré, and

magnified and praised the interpretations of doctrine. Do not despise, therefore, the Kabbelai Māran, and the 'al itra d'bismé, and the Dukhrānāh d'Maryam. Very often one gets greater spiritual gains from these simple Kālè than from the elaborate tones, in which the words are lost or not caught by the ears of the listeners through the twistings, falls, elevations, and cadences of the voice. Let this subject end here.

### CHAPTER 9. ON THE SIGN OF THE CROSS

1 Let us examine now your other points. You write: "Show me a Christian who believes in Christ who crosses himself with one finger that we also should do the same. What is there that matters in the act itself; if you wish, cross yourself with one finger, and if you wish, do it with two fingers." Lo the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Nubians, that is to say the Indians, and the peoples of their neighbourhood, such as the Kushites (= Abyssinians) cross themselves with one finger. We have shown you above that the Book and nature agree with us on this point; but now that you have become the advocate of the Chalcedonians, show us either from yourself or from them the Doctor from whom they have received the meaning of the habit of which the two fingers are the emblem, and where it is written. 2 If the habit of crossing oneself with two fingers symbolizes the two natures, as the babbling nonsense of the Greeks has it, they crucify, therefore, both these natures as we have already written in the previous chapters. How could it be good to make the divine nature suffer and be crucified? If, however, there is nothing in the fact of crossing ourselves with one finger or with two, why do you then forsake the habit of crossing yourself with one finger, practised by your fathers, and make use of the practice of two fingers against your fathers? If, as you say, you are not a stumbling block to your children and to the children of your people—and it is more advantageous that one should not be a stumbling block and a boulder—when your people, with the presbyters, elders, dead and living bishops warn you that the practice is a stumbling block and a scandal, how is it that you do not heed them? Did you not see what Paul wrote: "If meat maketh my brother to stumble, I will eat no flesh for evermore."

3 You write: "We believe in one nature in Christ, we add to the trisagion: Qui crucifixus es pro nobis, and we follow all the ecclesiastical canons of the Syrians; we do not reject those of the Romans but we respect them, as a son respects his father, but in the matter of the two natures we do not agree with

them." The Book says: "How long will you limp on your two hams?" Now in which camp shall we see and count you? In that of the Syrians with whose faith you agree, according to your own words, or in that of the Greeks whom you do not reject, and what is more difficult, whom you have made your fathers? Our first father is God, from whom we are born in the spirit; our second father, and that in the flesh, is Adam; each one of us also has a carnal father of whom he is born; the name of "father" extends also to the holy Fathers, who, as we have previously shown, were not all Greek. The great Alexander, the promoter of the Council of three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and Athanasius, his disciple, were Egyptian; and so also were the rest of the bishops who accompanied them from Egypt and Alexandria; Viton with Vincentius, the priests of Rome, and Hosius of the town of Cordova, and the rest of the Western bishops were Franks; Jacob of Nisibin, and Ephrem, his disciple, and Ith-Alaha of Edessa, and Mara of Macedonopolis, and John of Persia, were Syrian.

4 Show us how are the Greeks your Fathers. The kind of pride you are taking belonged to the Jews who used to have pride in Abraham and say: "We have Abraham to our father," but Christ answered them: "God is able from these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." Listen also to John Chrysostom how he rebukes those who take pride in carnal fathers, in origin, in earthly possessions, and in country, in all of which the Greeks your fathers and friends take pride: "Why are you proud that you are from a great country, while I would command you to be a stranger to all the earth? And why do you take pride in earthly possessions, you man, who, if you wish, can easily render all the world unworthy of you?" Christ was brought up in Nazareth, was born in Bethlehem, and laid in a manger. What profit had the children of Samuel in not imitating their father's conduct? And likewise the children of Moses? What harm came to Timothy from the fact that he was the child of pagan parents? In what was Canaan helped by Noah, his father? Children do not always help their parents, nor parents their children; indeed no help came to Esau from Isaac, nor to the Jews from Abraham. From these you will learn that neither parents help their children, nor the children their parents, but each one is justified by his works and his deeds.

5 Neither the Greeks are our fathers nor the Romans, nor are the Jews the fathers of Christians: all these are loose expressions and old women's tales. If Yawan, the father of the Greeks, was born before Aram, our father, there

might have been occasion for discussion, but when this is not the case, how did you then glory in the not very weighty words of those haughty and arrogant people. It is written in the prophets: "A son honours his father, and a servant his master; if I am a father, how is it that you do not honour me, and if I am a master, how is it that you do not fear me, saith the Lord Sabaoth." What do you say about this? God says that He is the Father and the Lord of us and them and of all peoples, and you establish them as our fathers, our lords, and our superiors because of some of their Canons that happened to be translated in our Service-books! This is not the saying of a wise man.

6 If it is because of these Canons and because of four or five books of theirs that we have translated that they are so arrogant, our Lord was a Syrian, and they have translated all His teaching into their language; and in case we pretended to be their fathers, we might say that lo all the Melchites who resemble them take great pleasure in the teaching of St. Jacob. The Greeks take also great pleasure in the teaching of the great Athanasius and Cyril, both of whom Egyptians, while the Franks take great pleasure in the teaching of Xystus, and the Franks, we and they in that of Hippolytus, Julius and others. Let them, therefore, not show arrogance against truth. These will suffice for this point.

### CHAPTER 10. ON THE TRISAGION

1 You also discuss with us the trisagion in which you have written that the Greeks say: Sanctus es Deus, Sanctus es Pater omnipotens. Let it be known to you that the Chalcedonians do not refer all the trisagion to the Father, as you write, but to the Trinity, because they say: "Sanctus es Deus Pater, Sanctus es omnipotens Filius, Sanctus es immortalis Spiritus Sancte, miserere nobis." We Syrians, with the Armenians, the Egyptians, the Abyssinians, the Nubians, and the Indians, refer the trisagion to the Son. There are some who say that when Joseph brought down the body of our Lord from the Cross, people saw that angels had set up three choirs, the first of which saying: "Sanctus es Deus," and the second: "Sanctus es omnipotens," and the third: "Sanctus es Immortalis:" then Joseph and Nicodemus were moved by the Spirit and said: "Qui crucifixus es pro nobis—i.e. for mankind—miserere nobis." This was immediately received in the Churches, and Ignatius the fiery, the disciple of John, established it in the Churches. Some others, however, say that it has been established after Nestorius had been rejected from the Church, but they are wrong. The Fathers said that it was that fourth Person, with the human

nature which was crucified, who, although God, omnipotent and immortal, wished to become flesh for us, and not another kind of nature.

2 The Chalcedonians say that the trisagion is derived from the Sanctus found in Isaiah. As the Seraphim glorify the three persons of the Trinity with the thrice repeated Sanctus, so we also should refer the trisagion to the Trinity. Against them we will write as follows:— The One whom Isaiah saw on a high throne and the seraphim round him is the Son. This we know from John the Evangelist who says: "These things said Isaiah about Him when he saw His glory." Cyril, John Chrysostom, and other Doctors teach us that it was the Son, the Word, that Isaiah saw on the throne and not the Father. We also believe that it is He who is the door and that it is through Him that we go to the Father. He says: "I am the door; by me if any man enter in, he shall find life." In the fact that we refer the trisagion to the Son we may go up to the Father and say: "Our Father who art in heaven." And in referring the glory to the Son we speak in the Holy Spirit: "No man can say: 'Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit.'"

3 We say further that the Seraphim said: "Holy, Holy, Holy, heaven and earth are full of His glory," and they did not say: "Thou art holy O God, Thou art holy O Omnipotent, Thou art holy O Immortal." If the Doctors have explained the thrice repeated "holy" as referring to the three persons (of the Trinity), and if the Sanctus of the liturgy also: "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Omnipotens, pleni sunt," etc., refers to the three persons, although addressed to one of them only, let them show us from where they learned that the trisagion of "Sanctus es Deus" refers to the Trinity. The prophet says only: "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus," and the words "Deus, Omnipotens, Immortalis" have been added afterwards. That this trisagion refers to the Son to whom it is appropriate is known by the following: we say "Holy art Thou O God the Son," because He became flesh although remaining God; and we say: "Holy art Thou O Omnipotent," because He put on our weak body although remaining omnipotent in His divinity; and we say: "Holy art Thou O Immortal," because He died in the flesh although remaining immortal like God. What passage is it of the heretic Macedonius or of any other who attributed mortality to the Holy Spirit that the Chalcedonians want to refute when they say: "Holy Thou art O immortal Holy Spirit?" They have really no apology to offer. The words of the trisagion have been attributed by the Doctors to the Son because He became flesh, put on the weak and mortal human

body, and was addressed by them as "God," "omnipotent," "immortal," and "who hast been crucified for us" in the flesh.

4 If they refuse this and say that the trisagion refers to the Trinity, let them only say: "Holy, holy, holy," and not: "Holy art Thou O God," and the remaining "Omnipotent" and "Immortal." The Nestorians and the Chalcedonians, in order to take from the middle the question of the crucifixion, and to introduce the division of nature and natures, and count in Christ two attributes, powers, and wills, and in order not to admit that we crucify the Son in the flesh, avoided the reference of the trisagion to the Son and attributed it to the Trinity, not paying sufficient attention to what Paul said: "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." John the evangelist also said: "glory to the cross." The theologian said in his discourse on the passover: "We had need of a God becoming flesh and dying in order that we may live with Him. We died that we may be purified, and we rose with Him. Many miracles occurred at that time: God was crucified, the sun suffered eclipse and then shone again. It was necessary that the creatures should suffer with the Creator." Now where does this Doctor put division in Christ? Where does he say that man died or that human nature was crucified? He openly declared that God became flesh, died and was crucified.

5 Let it be also known to you that if, as the Greeks believe, the trisagion refers to the Trinity, and the sentence Qui crucifixus es pro nobis is taken away from it, it would not only refer to the Trinity, as they say, but also to angels and demons; which is blasphemy. The angel or the demon might indeed say: "I am a God," because they are Spirits; and Satan said about himself: "I will ascend above the stars of heaven, and I will be like God," and Paul also said: "Whose minds the god of this world hath blinded." Satan calls also himself "omnipotent," because he is constantly watchful in his war against the saints, and he even made bold and fought the Christ. He is also "immortal" because he does not die. Consider well, therefore, where the trisagion might lead, if we did not add to it Qui crucifixus es pro nobis; indeed the trisagion of the Greek may reach Satan! When, however, the words Qui crucifixus es pro nobis are added to it, no one can refer "crucifixion" to an angel or a demon, because this would be impossible; nor could then the trisagion be referred to a mere man, because "immortality"

6 which is expressed in it is not referred to a man. The trisagion is, therefore, to be truly referred to the Son, and Word—God who became man, and who is both mortal and immortal: mortal in the flesh, and immortal in His Godhead, and He was crucified on our behalf. You mentioned that the Armenians at the Nativity say one thing and at the Epiphany say another thing, and on some other occasion some other thing. This, however, does not matter, since they refer the trisagion to Christ. As we say in the Passion week: "O Christ, who by His passion delivered us from error," and as at the beginning of the Gospel we say: "At the time of the Nativity of our Lord," or "at the time of His Baptism, at the time of His Economy, at the time of His resurrection" as the case may be, so also the Armenians do with the trisagion, and use it according to circumstances.

7 We gave ourselves all this trouble for your salvation, not yours alone, but that of many others who will listen to us. The prophet said: "He who taketh forth the precious from the vile shall be as my mouth." Do not throw, therefore, truth behind you, and abandon an old habit. Who is the man who can be so forgetful of his own self as to hate a human being? We do not hate the Greeks, but the schisms which they brought into the midst and the divisions which they introduced into the Church. For a certain number of years I only disclosed the trouble caused by five of their innovations in five points of faith; had I disclosed at length all the disturbances they had caused, they would have been ashamed of themselves, because not all of them are aware of what happened to them. I warned them several times to let everyone go his own way without recrimination against his neighbour of another creed, but they showed no desire to heed our advice. I wrote chapters concerning their habits, and also on the fact that we should be permitted to enter their churches, and be allowed to pray for them and they for us; I also wrote many other chapters to rebuke them and point to the disturbance that they would be causing in the Church if they did not desire to live in peace and concord. For several reasons, however, among which is the fact that they have no responsible director and head, I kept my tongue and did not disclose what we are now aiming at.

8 Because, if God gives me life, I have the intention of exposing little by little all their teaching and comparing it with the interpretation of the holy Doctors, and of outlining afterwards our own teaching and interpretation and those of the Doctors. We have written the present pages in haste, but we

have confidence that we shall not find ourselves in need to write to you again on the same subject, and that you will rather constitute yourself a preacher of truth, and thus possess your own soul and that of the many who fell like you. In case you remain stubborn in your old ideas, and in case light and darkness are on the same footing with you, it is your own business, but there is a great day which will make manifest all the hidden secrets of mankind. Let it be also known to you that it is very pleasing and agreeable to God that there should be no divisions in the Churches of Christians; it would have been also more just that the Greeks should have torn and pulled at their own flesh, but they are so steeped in iniquity as to say that there are no other Christians but themselves, and they inflict more harm on our community and on that of the Armenians than the Turks. As I said above, I warned several times the Greeks of Melitene that they and the Syrians and Armenians should love one another and not to growl at one another like wolves and lions, but their madness reached such a pitch as to say like their fathers: "You are not Christians" and other similar ugly offensive words which are in keeping with their iniquity.

9 I wished to sow peace in the camp of the hostile parties, and to convince them from the books of the Apostles and Doctors that it is not good that they should contend with one another, but that they should enter one another's Churches, and pray with love, and if necessary to come nearer to one another and remember one another in prayers, with the understanding that each one may follow his own theological convictions, but they did not condescend to reconciliation. When I examined their madness and noticed that it was that of insolent people, I retorted and said to them: since you are so incurable, and believe that truth, which you do not know, is with you, bring first the testimony and the signature of your bishop, priests and notables, and I on my part shall also bring those of our Patriarch, our bishops, priests, and notables, to the effect that (in a public discussion which we will hold on religious questions) either party shall be pleased with the truth which shall there be revealed, and that either of them shall embrace it when revealed; that in the discussion no party shall abuse the other, or rebuke him and refer to extraneous subjects. By the help of God I shall on that day disclose everything to the sun with justice and equity, in spite of the fact that the affair requires labour, time, helpers and promoters.

10 Here end the ten chapters.

PART THREE

# Arabic Christian Writers

*Hunayn ibn Ishaq, Yahya ibn Adi, Abdallah ibn al-Tayyib, Abu al-Khayr ibn al-Tayyib and Abu al-Majdalus on faith, reason and the Gospels.*

# On How to Discern the Truth of Religion

Hunayn ibn Ishaq

*AD 809–873*

Nestorian physician and translator of Greek works into Syriac and Arabic at Baghdad.

### on how to discern the truth of religion

1 Hunayn ibn Ishāq, On How to Discern the Truth of Religion [Translated by Stephen J. Davis] Based on the critical edition by Samir Khalil Samir, "Maqālat Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq fī 'Kayfīyat idrāk ḥaqīqat al-diyāna'," al-Mashriq 71.2 (1997), 345-63; see also Paul Sbath, Vingt traités philosophiques et apologétique d'auteurs arabes chrétiens du IX au XIV siècle (Cairo: H. Friedrich and Co., 1929), 181-5. The respective paginations of Samir's and Sbath's editions are marked in the translation with the symbols Sm (= Samir) and Sb (= Sbath). N.B. The italicized headings in bold and in brackets were supplied by Samir for the presentation of his edition; they are not part of Hunayn's original text.

*(Sm349/Sb181) On how to discern the truth of religion, by the wise Hunayn ibn Ishāq, the Nestorian physician (may God have mercy upon him).*

2 He said, (2) From where does a person know that what he believes is the truth, and that what someone else believes is falsehood? [I. Introduction: A Basic Premise] (3) Indeed, if someone says that that belief has come to him by way of his ancestors, (4) or if he says that that belief (Sm350) has come to him by way of a book, (5) or from a prophet who has performed miracles, (6) or from his own opinion, since he holds to a certain viewpoint and to him his own religion is confirmed to be true through it, (7) all the adherents of the religions who disagree with him would be able to say something similar. (8) If that response is common among all the adherents of the (different) religions, (9) it must be necessary then for whoever accepts his religion on the

basis of this argument to embrace any other religion on account of this same argument.

3 (10) But if he does not accept such an argument from those who disagree with him, then he should not accept this argument from the followers of his own religion. (Sm351) [II. The Distinction between Truth and Falsehood] (11) To the one who says this, we say that truth and falsehood, among all utterances, (12) are known by the reasons that prompted their acceptance in the first place. (13) The reasons why a lie is accepted are different from the reasons why the truth is accepted. [II.1. Reasons for the Acceptance of Falsehood] (14) The reasons for the acceptance (Sb182) of a falsehood are six in number. (15) The first reason is that the one who accepts falsehood is forced to accept that which is made compulsory for him against his will. (16) The second reason is that a person willingly tries to escape from hardship and oppression, (Sm352) since he was not able to bear them, (17) so as to be delivered from them to what he hopes is ease and comfort.

4 (18) The third reason is that a person favors great might over humiliation, honor over inferiority, and power over weakness, (19) so that he leaves his religion and converts to another. (20) The fourth reason is that the one who speaks (falsehood) is a wicked man, deceitful in word, (21) with the result that he beguiles and overwhelms whomever he invites (to accept falsehood). (22) The fifth reason is that (the one who invites to falsehood) exploits the ignorance of his invitees and their lack of literacy. (23) The sixth reason is that there is (Sm353) a natural kinship between the invitee and the inviter, (24) so that the invitee, not wishing to sever that shared kinship, agrees with him in his religion. [II.2. Reasons for the Acceptance of Truth] (25) Now, the reasons for why truth is accepted are four in number. (26) The first reason is that the one who accepts the truth beholds miracles that the human faculties are incapable of (performing).

5 (27) (Sm354) The second reason is that the manifest aspect of the truth to which the inviter offers an invitation is (in fact) evidence that testifies to the truthfulness of its hidden aspect. (28) The third reason is the (decisive kind of) proof that obliges one to accept it. (29) The fourth reason is when the end of something corresponds to its beginning, (30/31) and when its origin (i.e. the valid statement following its valid precedent) is indisputable due to the validity of what preceded it. [III. The Application of These Criteria to the Different Religions] [III.1. How the (Different) Religions Stand in Rela-

tion to these Reasons] (32) This induces us to observe (Sm355) how we may know (33) that all the other religions have been accepted on the basis of those (first) six characteristics, whereas the true religion has been accepted on the basis of the (latter) four. (34) It would take too long to mention every single one of the religions: (35) those religions that were ancient (Sb183) but became defunct along with everything that had given them subsistence, (36) as well as those religions that have come about more recently but whose subsistence has rested on the subsistence of those (defunct religions); (37) for, insofar as we can know that one of these religions has been invalidated, it is indeed proven invalid, just as the other religions before it were invalid.

6 (38) It is incumbent upon anyone who wants to understand (Sm356) (in the first place) which of these reasons has led to the acceptance of his (own) religion, (39) and whether it was one of the reasons for the acceptance of falsehood or one of the reasons for the acceptance of the truth, (40) to do the following: First, he must observe who it is who accepts that religion now and for what reason he accepts it—(41) whether it is on account of one of the reasons for accepting the truth or one of the reasons for accepting falsehood —(42) until he understands (from the acceptance of what is held to in his own time) what the reasons were for its acceptance in times past, since its very beginning. (43) And second, he must perceive that the truth is something that is accepted spontaneously, (44) and that falsehood requires reasons through which it becomes established in the mind of the one who accepts it, (Sm357) (45) for indeed whoever contemplates this, at the very moment that he contemplates it, perceives which forms of religious observance are true and which are false.

7 [III.2. Presentation of the Idea: The Reasons for the Acceptance of Christianity are Contrary to the Reasons for the Acceptance of Falsehood] (46) Now I will refrain from mentioning the remaining forms of religious observance, and instead I will expound on my own religion, asserting that it has been accepted (47) for the (same) reasons that truth is accepted, whether it be for all of those reasons or (only) some of them. (48) And I say that it is incomprehensible that people should accept a particular form of religious observance (49) without (at least) one of the reasons why every religion is accepted. Indeed, it is unimaginable, apart from the ten characteristic reasons (Sb184) that I have enumerated, (51) with six of them being the reasons for the acceptance of falsehood, (Sm358) and four being the reasons for the ac-

ceptance of truth. (52) If it is correct that not one reason for the acceptance of the (true) worship of God is found among the reasons for the acceptance of falsehood, (53) then the reason for the acceptance of this (true) worship must be found among the four reasons why truth is accepted, whether it be all of them or (only) some.

8 (54) And if the reason for the acceptance of the (true) worship of God (that which we ourselves hold to) in fact is not (the same as) the reason for the acceptance of falsehood, (55) but rather it is the case that the reasons for the former are opposed to the latter, as far as it can be from its opposite, (56) then the truth of the matter is established and obligatory. (57) We find the matter to be just so. (Sm359) [IV. Proof that the Reasons for the Acceptance of Christianity are Contrary to the Reasons for the Acceptance of Falsehood] (58) Examination of each of the reasons: (59) With regard to the first reason (for the acceptance of a lie), the true religion is in fact not accepted through the great might of a king, nor through subjugation by a ruler. (60) But rather all the kings and rulers of the earth have been hostile to it (61) and have forbidden all the people from (accepting) it by means of all kinds of torture and unseemly killing, (62) and (thus) they have wiped them off (the face of) the earth. (63) And yet this true religion has vanquished all of those rulers and has remained unshakeable.

9 (64) With regard to the second reason, the true religion has not invited (people) to flee from a life of hardship and difficulty to a life of plenty and ease. (65) But rather, it has called (them) (Sm360) from all the more plentiful and easier forms of life (66) to the life that is harder and more difficult, to that which is almost an object of loathing. (67) And yet, it has been accepted in the most excellent way! (68) With regard to the third reason, the true religion has not invited (people) from lowliness to high standing, or from humiliation to great might. (69) But rather, it has called (them) from great might to humiliation. (70) And yet, it has been accepted, even to the extent that whoever has accepted it would rather die than live at its cost. (71) With regard to the fourth reason, the true religion was not received from wicked people (Sb185) and from the eloquent in speech. (Sm361) (72) Rather, it is received from the ignorant and speech-impaired, and from fishermen (who might even be considered more silent and speech-impaired than the fish).

10 (73) With regard to the fifth reason, those who have accepted the true religion have in fact been neither ignorant, nor stupid, nor common, nor

barbarian. (74) But rather, they have been people of logic and philosophy more than all the (rest of the) world, (75) and (they have been) people of discernment and scholarship, those who surpass the rest of the people in wisdom. (76) With regard to the sixth reason, it was not the case that whoever accepted the true religion (Sm362) was joined with those he loved and with his friends as a result of that acceptance. (77) But rather, once that person accepted it, for its sake he typically parted ways with everyone with whom he had common kinship—whatever that kinship might be, whether through close family ties or through loving affection. (78) Now if you would like to add a seventh characteristic reason, then look and see (79) what the apostles made public knowledge about this religion, (80) in comparison to which nothing appears more difficult.

11 [Conclusion] (81) No one at all ought to say (Sm363) that if all of these matters were like this—(82) and hence our acceptance of whatever we believe apart from the display of signs and wonders—(83) then (proving the truthfulness of religion) would be impossible except by an opponent who presents (it) out of his own expertise. (84) If you say this, then seek for yourself (with respect to your religion as well as the others) what corresponds to what I have described to you regarding our religion. (85) Indeed, you will notice that there is no comparison between us and them.

# On the Truth of the Gospel by Way of Reasoning from Proofs

YAHYA IBN ADI

*AD 893–974*

Syriac Orthodox philosopher and translator in Baghdad, who wrote in Arabic.

## ON THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL BY WAY OF REASONING FROM PROOFS

*On the Truth of the Gospel by Way of Reasoning from Proofs — by Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī ibn Ḥamīd ibn Zakriyā, may God almighty have mercy on him*

1[Translated by Sam Noble] 2Among the evident proofs is that the pure Gospel is accepted by many peoples whose countries are far from each other and who have different religions and diverse ambitions. It is not possible for ones such as them to collude nor is it thinkable that they would agree with one another. If this is the case, then all things that are accepted are accepted either because of the reasons that something false is accepted or because of the reasons that the truth is accepted. The reasons for accepting something that is false are fear of being killed and degradation and poverty, the imposition of oppressive burdens, the constraints of the law, separation from relatives, proximity to pleasures and the rebelliousness of desires, the desire for strength and power and easy circumstances and the acquisition of wealth, the desire for ease and calm and security and peace, laxity in the law, familial bonds, the allowing of total indulgence in pleasures, the permission to indulge in lusts, and the trickiness of those preaching and the foolishness of those who are preached to. The Gospel contains the opposites of all these things and the renouncement of them all. It commands the bearing of degradation, the renouncing of seeking power, the love of poverty, patience with oppressive burdens, and the leaving aside of laxity in the law in favor of exactitude in it. It commands courage in bearing suffering, the laying aside

of indulgence in pleasures, and the laying aside of worry in the face of dangers.

3 It is manifestly clear that those who preach the Gospel, that is, those who preach Christianity, were not trickier and cleverer than those to whom they preached. Most of those who preached were illiterate fishermen and craftsmen. They were not endowed with special knowledge or overwhelmingly strong understanding. As for those to whom they preached, these included the Romans and the Greeks, the masters of subtle wisdom and the foremost in lofty knowledge. They possessed sharp intellects and penetrating insights. They could not be fooled by a trick or defeated by deception. No error is hidden from them and they are not blind to erroneous expressions. Thus it is clearly unimaginable that the Gospel was accepted for one of those reasons by which falsehood is accepted. 4 It remains then that it was accepted for those reasons by which the truth is accepted, either wholly or in part, and this compels belief in what it contains. These commands and prophecies that the Gospel contains not only require that one not hasten to accept them, but even demand to be found burdensome, and to be mocked and fled from and avoided, to not be accepted at all and to not be loved in principle. For this reason, if it is accepted by peoples whose numbers are countless, then this is the most convincing proof and the most impartial testament that belief in it is a miracle and the surest sign. The reasons that remain by which, in whole or in part, the truth must be accepted are: that what is reported is tangible to the senses and manifestly present, that it is primary in the intellect, that it is made clear through apodictic proof like the existence of the corners of an isosceles triangle, or it is believed because it is commonly and widely known and because peoples who could not conspire to agree on a falsehood bear witness to it. A reason for its acceptance other than these reasons is that acceptance and credence in it is only because those who preach it demonstrate it through signs and miracles of which man's inability to perform bears witness that they are not possible without the help of the Creator, blessed be His name. Only those who are good and pure are able to perform them, those who are excellent and trustworthy, who only speak the pure truth untainted by falsehood, only that which is wholly beneficial unmixed with harm.

5 If this is the case, and if what is contained in the Gospel was not ascertained by the all peoples who accept it through the senses or through its being materially present, nor is it one of the first principles in the intellect, nor

is it ascertainable by apodictic proofs from the natures of things, and not something that is widely and commonly known, the truth of which is undisputed, then it necessarily follows that it was accepted and believed on account of the miraculous signs that those who preached it used to demonstrate it. It is not at all possible to believe that those who were preached to believed those preaching if what they preached was completely devoid of the reasons by which the truth is accepted, which we have enumerated. It follows that those who accepted it, accepted it because they witnessed the miracles that the preachers worked, which are impossible for humans. This confirms what we wanted to prove about the truth of what the pure Gospel contains, which is that the peoples who were called to believe it only did so because of signs and miracles that God worked by the hands of those who preached it. Thanks be to God always!

# On our saying "and became incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary"

Yahya ibn Adi

*AD 893–974*

Syriac Orthodox philosopher and translator in Baghdad, who wrote in Arabic.

## On our saying "and became incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary"

*On our saying "and became incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary" — By Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī*

1 [Translated by Sam Noble] When some of the brothers asked, one after another, about the meaning of our saying in the Catholic Creed "and became incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary" each one of them received a response appropriate for him that proved this, so that they may recall what the scholars have examined and articulated (if indeed it needs articulation) so that those who have need of it may benefit from it. I say: the source from which these words were taken is the Holy Gospel because in it is written, "Mary, of whom was born Jesus who is called the Christ, and she gave birth to her firstborn son and his name was called Jesus, and the one to whom she will give birth is of the Holy Spirit, and she was found with child from the Holy Spirit.[4]" So it is established that Jesus Christ was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary. The Apostle Paul made clear the circumstances of His birth from His mother and said, "He was born in the body of a woman," meaning that He was born in His human nature of Our Lady the Virgin Mary and it was established in our previous essay on this statement that that His human nature is created.

2 The existence of each created thing requires causes such as the carpenter and the wood and other things. His efficient cause is the one divine nature which creates every creature, that is, the divinity of the Father and the Son

and the Holy Spirit. His material cause is the Virgin Mary. Just as it is not possible for iron to be made into a sword without fire entering into it and giving it form in order to make it possible for a sword to be formed from it, so too the Virgin Mary did not have a human nature that the Holy Spirit did not rest upon and prepare for the adoption of the human nature from it. For this reason, when the angel said to her, "Behold you will bear a child and give birth" and she said "How can this be for me when I have not known a man?", he said, "The holy spirit will come upon you" and the Holy Spirit put into her the natural power to form an embryo.

3 This is like what was written in the Old Testament: "The Spirit of God hovered over the waters." The Holy Spirit rested upon the water and put into it the natural power for animals to come out of it. Then after that God said, "Let the water bring forth animals, and it brought forth." This is like when a bird sits on its egg to warm it and the power of life goes from it to its egg and after that an animal is brought forth from it. It is also known that the relation of the woman to what is born of her is the relation of the earth to what springs forth from it. Just as God wanted in the beginning of creation for the earth to bring forth plants without plants first being sown there, so too the Almighty wanted a woman to be with child without a human being sown [in her].

4 The expression "of" when we say "and of Mary" is the genitive of material, like when we say "the ring is of gold" because the human nature is a part of Mary in the way that the ring is a piece of gold with the form of the ring that the goldsmith made in it and in the way that each embryo is from its mother. The expression "of" when we say "of the Holy Spirit" has the meaning of something made by Him. This is like when it is said that all is of God, not meaning that something is a part of God, but that everything is made by God. There is no difference between when we say that the human nature is made by the Holy Spirit and when we say that it is made by the divine nature, since the divine nature is the divine nature of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. It is clear that the Holy Spirit prepared Mary to bear that which the divine nature formed from her nature, according to the natural, gradual development of the embryo in the belly of the one bearing it. About this it was written of old, "Wisdom built itself a house." In expressing building, there is indication of an agent, which is the divine nature, and of a material, which is the nature of Mary, and of an object, which is the human

nature of Christ. In His gradual development, which is His natural formation, and in our saying "built itself a house" there is indication of the divine nature's residing in the human nature. This is the residing of union, not the residing of resting within, like the union of the soul and the body in man.

# On the Differences in the Expressions in the Gospels and their Meanings

Yahya ibn Adi

*AD 893–974*

Syriac Orthodox philosopher and translator in Baghdad, who wrote in Arabic.

## On the Differences in the Expressions in the Gospels and their Meanings

*On the Differences in the Expressions in the Gospels and their Meanings, also by Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī*

1 [Translated by Sam Noble] 2 "Difference" is used in various ways. One way is to mean a contradiction, as when a speaker says something and its opposite which contradicts it. This is like when someone recounts something and also recounts its opposite, which undermines it. This is impossible in the books of God, on account of the infallibility of those who recount them. "Difference" also has another meaning, as when someone reports about something that no one else reports. In reality, this is not called a difference because one person may say one thing and another something else but these two things are not called different. "Difference" is used in another way, which is a difference in names but not in meanings, as when we say "rock" and "stone". When the Spirit of the Paraclete rested on the disciples and they were made infallible with the infallibility with which we are made secure from mistakes and errors, the writers of the gospels only wrote them at the times when necessity called for writing, each one of them writing what is useful from what he saw by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

3 Do you not see the Evangelist Luke mention that the reason that he wrote his gospel was that many people had written stories and reports about Christ but that their stories were not satisfactory for him, as when he says "As for me, I write to you O Theophilus, what I have taken from those who

saw with their eyes and witnessed"? If each of the evangelists brought something that the others did not bring, this is not a difference, as we have explained it according to the types of differences. Rather, in this is keen wisdom and one of the great graces of God, because if the expressions and meanings and language of the gospels were the same, then it would be possible for one to accuse the evangelists of collusion in writing them and spreading them through the world, as those who oppose us among the sects claim.

# On Knowledge and Miracles

## Abdallah ibn al-Tayyib

*d. AD 1043*

Physician, philosopher and priest of the Church of the East in Baghdad.

### on knowledge and miracles

*On Knowledge and Miracles — By Abū al-Faraj ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib, secretary of the Catholicos and philosopher*

[Translated by Sam Noble] In the religion of the Christians, rational proof is nobler than miracles because rational proof is proof by which the intellect comes to grasp the truth of the claim of those who have miracles, his own investigation, the investigation of his circumstances and the circumstances of those who are making the claim, and the state of the matter with regard to the claim. Rational proof is for the elites and the philosophers and the scholars who are not led except by it, while miracles are for the masses whose breasts are not delighted by certain knowledge and who only believe what they behold by the senses. So it is clear that rational proof is evidence which convinces through knowledge and is for the elites and that miracles are evidence which convince through the senses and they are for the masses. Scriptural evidence that knowledge is nobler than miracles is from when Paul, the chosen and heavenly apostle says, "God appointed in His Church the apostles first, and after then the prophets, and after them the scholars, and after them those who work miracles, and after them those who heal the sick, and after them those who possess languages (1 Corinthians 12:28)." From this evidence it becomes known that knowledge is nobler than miracles. Then he says, "The elders who order the affairs of the Church well deserve multiple recompense, especially those who toil with knowledge (1 Timothy 5:17)."

# Refutation of the Muslims who accuse the Christians of Believing in Three Gods

Abu al-Khayr ibn al-Tayyib

*11th century*

Christian Arabic writer of Baghdad.

## Refutation of the Muslims who accuse the Christians of believing in three gods

*Refutation of the Muslims who accuse the Christians of Believing in Three Gods — Composed by the excellent father and scholar, the priest Abū al-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib*

1 [Translated by Sam Noble] Some of the Muslims say, "Christ said to the apostles, 'Go forth and make apostles of all the nations and baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit,' so here it is said openly that you believe in three gods!" We respond to them: There is no doubt that the sciences of the Christian Law are the fruits of three things—the glorious Gospel, the letters of the Apostle Paul, and the stories of the pure apostles and disciples. These three books testify in all the corners of existence that God is one god, and that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are attributes of His one essence. All the writings of their scholars in the four corners of the inhabited world testify to this. If not for fear of it taking too long, I would recount their beliefs in detail, but I will be brief here and summarize their statements as will become clear, and I will say:

2 The Christians say that the Creator, may he be exalted, is one substance endowed with the attributes of perfection and that He is endowed with three eternal essential attributes which the Lawgiver has commanded, and they are the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. They indicate by "the Father" the name of the substance which they call the Creator, who possesses pure intellect. By "the Son" they indicate the aforementioned substance which possesses an intellect that intelligizes itself. By "the Holy Spirit" they indicate the aforementioned substance which possesses an intellect that is intelligible in

itself. Here they indicate the substance that is subsistent in itself and is free of [...] The Christian Law only permitted Him, may He be exalted, to be described in this way in order to speak to the peoples in a way they understand. The scholar and imam Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī gave this opinion about them in his book known as al-Radd al-Jamīl: "The Christians believe that the essence of the Creator, may He be exalted, is objectively one and that it has aspects. If it is regarded with relation to an attribute whose existence does not depend on an attribute prior to it, such as existence, then they call this the hypostasis of the Father. If it is regarded in relation to an attribute whose existence depends on the existence of a prior attribute, such as knowledge, since the essence's having attributes depends on its having the attribute of existence, then they call it the hypostasis of the Son and the Word. If it is regarded with relation to its essence being intelligible to itself, then they call this the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit, because the essence of the Creator is intelligible to Himself. This usage of terminology means that the divine essence is objectively one and is characterized by each of these hypostases.

3 Some of them say that the essence qua essence without regard to attribute is an expression for the intellect and they call this the hypostasis of the Father. If it is regarded from the perspective of it intelligizing itself, then this perspective expresses for them the intelligizer, which they call the hypostasis of the Son or the Word. If it is regarded with relation to it being itself, then this perspective is for them an expression of the intelligible, which they call the Holy Spirit. According to this usage of terminology, 'the intellect' only expresses the essence of God and the Father is synonymous with it. 'The intelligizer' expresses of His essence with regard to its intelligizing itself, and the Son or the Word is synonymous with it. 'The intelligible' expresses the God whose essence is intelligible to Himself, and the Holy Spirit is synonymous with it." Then he says, with reference to the above, "If these meanings are true, then the terms are indisputable, as are the technical terms that those who set them down agree upon."

# Commentary on the Nicene Creed

Abu al-Majdalus

*medieval, date uncertain*

Arabic Christian writer who commented on the Nicene Creed.

## COMMENTARY ON THE NICENE CREED

*Al-Majdalus, Commentary on the Nicene Creed.*

1 [Translated by Samuel Noble.] In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. We begin with divine help and the assistance of the Holy Spirit to write the commentary on the Orthodox Creed which three hundred and eighteen blessed spiritual fathers set down by the grace of the Holy Spirit, as it was commented upon by the priest father Abu al-Majdalus, God rest his soul. May we benefit from the movement of his knowledge and his prayers, amen. May the copyist and the reader and the hearer be forgiven. Know, dear brother-- may God aid you with the Spirit of success and write your name in the Book of Life, the registry of the day of reckoning-- that when our three hundred eighteen fathers were aided by Christ and set down this creed according to how Christ deified them, Christ was with them at its setting down and they numbered three hundred nineteen when they sat on their seats. This is according to the words of Christ to them- 'two of you do not gather in my name without me being the third and not three without me being the fourth.' There is nothing in it which is not from the Law of Moses and the prophecies of the prophets, their blessings be upon us, amen.

2 First, the believer says 'we believe in one God.' This expression is taken from the Law of Moses, since God said in it, 'hear O Israel, the Lord your God is one.' They began by confirming God's sole lordship, as in unity He is the God of every thing. No one is His partner, no likeness resembles Him, and no opposite rivals Him. In His eternal essence there is no mass and no breadth because mass is bounded by dimensions and dimension confines it and form touches it. The parts of that which is divided separate and what is

described is bounded by its description, but the Absolutely One is not resembled by His works or comparable to His creature. He is not described except by the attributes of His eternity because He was Creator before every attribute and description. His essence is unrestricted and His work is unimpeded. He is veiled from intellects just as He is veiled from vision. He has no bounded description and no numbered time. Shortcomings and defects do not reach Him. Times and seasons do not change Him. Pre-eternal, He remains eternal. His existence has no beginning. Pre-eternal is an expression referring to one before whom there is nothing. The Absolutely One is an expression referring to one who has no second. Just as 'alif' is the first letter and nothing precedes it, the Creator—may He be praised—is the first without beginning, eternally existent with nothing before Him. Everything depends upon His will and comes out of His volition.

3 Moses bore witness in his great Law and all the prophets in their prophecies to the oneness of God and the pre-eternity of His being eternal. God, may He be exalted, said in the Law, 'Hear, O Israel, I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt. Do not worship any god other than Me and do not bow to any god besides Me.' He also said, 'Look, look, I am He and there is no god other than Me. I cause death and I bring life. I strike and I heal. No one escapes from My hand.' The prophet Isaiah said, 'I am the first and the last. There is no god before Me nor will one come after Me.' The one is unique in oneness. No one shares in it. The prophet Isaiah said, 'You are the mighty God, the God of Israel who sits upon the cherubim. You alone are God over all the kingdoms of the earth.' The prophet Jeremiah said, 'Our Lord is one. We do not worship another with Him.' The Holy Gospel said, 'Bow to the Lord your God and worship Him alone.'

4 The believer says: 'Father almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth, what is seen and what is not seen.' These words are taken from the prophecy of the prophet Zakariah, 'O children, love truth and goodness, said God almighty.' Our fathers made known to us that the God whose unity they confirmed and whose lordship they confessed is eternal, everlasting and that the eternal one is the master of all things and holds all in his lofty power and his lordly arrangements. He alone is singular in his creating and fashioning. He is singular in his bringing things into being and originating. Nothing similar resembles Him and no opposite rivals Him. He is the one who reveals and the one who causes to return. He is the master of all of his works

through his greatness and their arranger through the loftiness of His word, sensible things of what is seen and intelligibles of what is unseen. Nothing leaves His governance and nothing evades His knowledge. He knows all knowable things and encompasses all created things. Nothing is dependant except on His will and nothing emerges except from His volition. He brought all extant things into being and is self-sufficient in His essence and in the perfection of His attributes. Limits do not confine Him and changes do not change Him. Those sent by Him, the prophets, and the saints, those close to Him, bear witness to this. Zachariah said, 'God almighty says these things: Lo I shall save My people from the eastern and western ends of the earth.

5 I will lead them into their land and settle them amidst Jerusalem.' The prophet Nahum said, 'O Judah, lo I shall come and dwell in you, said God almighty.' As for their saying 'father,' the prophet David said, 'as a father has mercy on his children, so likewise the Lord has mercy on those who fear Him.' He also said, 'I will be a father to him, and he will be a son to Me.' The prophets called God 'father' due to the pre-eternity of his eternity and His having mercy on his creation and they called His Word 'son' not because this sonship was a prophetic term but because it is an eternal sonship from an eternal father. Through it the Word of God is above all the attributes of the sonship of created things, like the begetting of power from one powerful and speech from one speaking. The essence is absolutely one, above attainment, division, or dimension.

6 The believer says: 'We believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only son of God, begotten from the Father before all ages.' Their saying 'the only son of God' is an expression taken from the prophet David: 'The Lord said to me, "you are my son and today I have begotten you."' By their saying 'the only son of God,' they mean that the eternal Word of God is begotten from His eternal essence, as is witnessed by the prophet Micah who said, 'You, oh Bethlehem of Judah, are not small among the kings of Judah because from you will emerge a leader to shepherd my people Israel, whose begetting is before the ages.' The sense of this is that Christ is that eternal Word, begotten from God who said 'be!' at the beginning of eternity, by whom all came into being. His begetting is from the Father in the same way as when one says 'My speech is begotten from my intellect and my tongue speaks of what my thought begets. My thought is begotten from my essence and my essence is

one with my reason.' God's speaking is begotten from His eternal essence and not a letter of it is cut off from it. Rather, it is begotten from the essence which eternally speaks it. It comes forth from an eternal essence and is present and subsistent in it. It is described by the pre-eternity and eternity with which God describes His eternity.

7 Just as His will is pre-eternally present in His eternal essence in order to create His creation, so is the Word pre-eternally in the will and present in it in the essence of its Speaker. It was begotten from Him by the eternal command. The Word of God is a pre-eternal characteristic of His eternal essence and is not an essence other than the essence of God who speaks and not a substance other than His substance and not an attribute other than His attribute. His is not a sonship which He added to Himself, separate from His eternal essence. God has one Word by which He devised worship through the power of His eternity. From His divine nature God does with it what He wills. It is the will of God which surpasses all wills. His will is from His substance and the will is one and the sovereignty of his majesty. Its essence is eternal in His divine eternity. The law established for us that God's Word is eternal and all the prophets testified to its pre-eternity and existence and that it is eternal from the eternity of God who speaks by it, that it is uncreated, and that the eternal God alone possesses the Word of His eternity and is satisfied with it. It is not cut off broken up into letters. It is established in the law that Christ is the Word of God. God said about Him, "I will be a father to him and he will be a son to me.

8 Christ, the Word of God, appeared by His lofty will and His lordly economy and his divine volition. He established to the world that He is the Word of God. We found Him to be eternal light from God's eternal light and we saw Him in the sight of His creation as a limited human. God alone possesses His Word. The evangelists announced his appearance and said, "The one who is from the beginning is the one whom we saw and witnessed with our eyes and touched with our hands. When the veil of darkness was removed from our vision, we saw that He had shone light and removed from us the darkness of blindness and enlightened us with His eternal light. He taught us that He is God's eternal Word by whom all things came into being. God's Word is uncreated and is of an eternal essence. There is not anyone from the beginning and to the ages of ages who has the power of divinity while being in the human form other than Christ, the son of the living God. He alone

possesses His signs and the majesty of His lordship without comparison to creatures. He is called 'Christ' and 'lord' and 'powerful' and 'worker of lordly signs' and 'maker of the divine powers.' He is described in the books of His prophets by eternity of essence and the working of signs.

9 He appeared by His lofty and lordly will as one upon whose divine essence createdness did not enter and as one who by a mystery too subtle to be understood and too lofty for the imagination was not transported from the majesty of lordship by it. His appearance was through the power of one mighty and eternal, who by it is above relation to creatures and the actions of limited beings because He has an eternal essence and the eternity of the Word and He is above any name by which He could be named or any mention of Him that could be made. One who claims that Christ, the Word of God, is created and attributes servanthood to this creating Word is irrational and has no knowledge of God. He will not see the face of God and He has no place in this world or in the world to come. God will keep him in hell unto the ages of ages. The creator bore witness and His witness is true and His prophets whom He sent and the holy ones dear to Him bore witness that Christ is His eternal Word though whom He created all the worlds and that Christ has active power which comes from one active and capable. His is power and majesty and lofty will and the greatness of divine authority. All his actions are heavenly and not earthly. No created being can perform a single one of his wonders such as raising the dead and great signs.

10 God bore witness and his prophets with him that Christ is his son and his word begotten from his eternal essence. Christ went up Mount Tabor along with his pure disciples and they heard God's testimony and his life-giving voice as he addressed his word, Christ, by saying, "You are my beloved son with whom I am pleased. God is truthful even if all the people disbelieve. The prophets and the one giving the prophets to prophecy bore witness to the eternity of the Word of God who is Christ. One who disbelieves God and the prophets he sent deserves an eternity in hell as well as one who teaches disbelief in the Word of God and does not believe his testimony on account of his ignorance of the divine books and says that Christ, the hypostasis of the Word of God is created and disbelieves the Law of Moses even though the prophecies of the prophets who went before testified that the unseen God appeared to all the prophets in the human form in which Christ appeared to the Children of Israel, and those who denied the prophecies of the prophets

and disbelieved the Law of Moses and the prophecies of the prophets and deny the appearance of the Word of God who will appear on the day of resurrection and all human eyes will see him and testify that he is lord and master and judge.

11 He will appear to one who believes in him in this world in the court of the resurrection in the image in which he was seen in this world. This will be counted as great righteousness and a good work which causes him to merit eternal life as the prophet Moses testified in the Law that God appeared to Abraham by the oak tree and Abraham believed and this was counted for him as righteousness. Out of the greatness of Abraham's faith in him he stood before him and prostrated to him and called him 'the judge of the earth.' The Law testifies that he appeared to Jacob in the form of a very powerful man and said to him, "From now on your name will not be called Jacob, but rather Israel, whose meaning is 'one looking upon God.'" God said to Moses when the Children of Israel thirsted in the desert, "Lo I go behind you and stand in Horeb upon a rock. When you see me standing on it, strike the staff with which you struck the sea and water will come out of it for you. God appeared to all the prophets in the form of Christ and they prophesied about his appearance to the world in the human form in which Christ dared to appear to the world and to the Children of Israel just as the prophets saw him in it and confirmed in it the vision of the God of Sabaoth and confirmed through it his presence to them.

12 In it they became certain of his appearing to them openly to them and to the rest of the servants of God. They hope for him and if the people searched the books of the prophets for what they set down relating to the appearance of God the eternal word, they would realize the existence of their creator through the vision of Christ and would behold their creator because God and all the prophets testify to the coming of Christ as his appearing two times: the first time is his appearance in human form from the Virgin Mary and the second time is his coming in human form to sit in judgment and judge the whole world in truth. The book of the Muslims testifies to this when it says, "faces looking to their Lord" and everyone who read the Law of Moses and the prophecies of the prophets and believed in the appearance of Christ the Word of God in human form is called to knowledge of him through it, believing in God and witnessing the truth through the existence of his creator and maker. The prophet David said, "The God of gods will ap-

pear in Sion. He also spoke of the birth of the eternal word from the divine essence and its second birth from the Virgin Mary when he said, "From the womb before the morning star I begat you.

13 Isaiah said, "A child is born to us and a sign and a son is given to us and he is the mighty God and the king of great council. His authority is on his shoulders. The prophet Moses said, "This is your father who made you and created you. Solomon said, "Who is the one who went up to heaven and came down to earth and gathered the winds in his fist and the waters in his robe. What is his name and the name of his father, if you knew? He also said, "He begat me from the beginning and I was with him when he separated the sky and the earth and set his throne upon the wings of the wind. When he gathered the clouds in their storehouses I was with him and he begat me." 14 The believer says: "Light from light, true God from true God, begotten, not created, equal to the Father in essence. This expression is taken from the prophecy of the prophet Isaiah who says, "A light will shine in the darkness," though human vision cannot see that light and it is not a light that lights space and does not accept accident. It is not a light from the heaven of createdness or one of the similar accidents. Rather, it is a light which is above all light, present in the beginning and above being specified with dimensions, a light above all light to which can be attributed spatialiality and movement and rest. Christ is from this light which is above all light because his essence is from the essence of God his father. From his divine light he shown that light from God the eternal father because his essence is from the essence of the greatness of God and his light is begotten from the unattainable uncircumscribable eternal light. That light is not sensed and is not compound. It is a light from the light of God's greatness and his power. Anyone who does not believe that that light is from God walks in darkness all the days of his life and he will not behold the truth, neither in this world nor in the world to come because the light of God did not shine in his intellect.

15 Christ is an eternal light and that light abolishes all darkness since his essence is eternal and subsistent in the eternity of the eternal creator. That light appeared ineffably because he is not bounded by dimension and he is not encompassed by any kind of vision into his essence because he is a light beyond human capability and too holy for dimensions and space. When Christ appeared with his light from the divine light of God's essence, this

light was not divided though his divine light is from the substance of the true God. 16 The fathers said, "light from light true God from true God equal to God his father in substance and essence and greatness," just as Christ said from his pure mouth, "I am the light of the world and one who follows me does not walk in darkness. He said to the Children of Israel, "The light is with you for a short time so walk in the light as long as you have the light. When they realized that light, they called it the light of truth. The Law said, "Moses looked at a fire in a tree and its branches were not burning and he said, 'let me see this strange and wondrous sight.' He went forward to see and God called out to him from that fire which is the light of truth, "I am God, the God of your fathers," and taught us that that fire is from the light of truth because the tree did not burn. The Muslims said that God is a light and is like the light which is like a lamp in a niche. The creator, may he be praised, is robed and veiled with light. Human vision cannot see that light nor can it see its eternal divine essence. As the prophet David said, "With you, O lord, is the spring of life and in your light we see the light. He also said, "Your light is great in the eternal mountains. The Prophet Isaiah said, "Shine O Jerusalem!

17 He is present and the grace of the lord has shone upon you. The lord will see in you and his grace will rest upon you and the nations will walk with you in your radiance and the kings by your light. Jeremiah said, "Thus says the lord, 'I will raise up for David the light of light and he will rule over the domain and set up justice in the midst of the earth and on that day I will save Jerusalem from those who combat her. The name of the one who will save her is God.' Thus said the lord, 'A son of David will not cease to sit on his throne until eternity.'" 18 The believer says: "who for the sake of us men and for the sake of our salvation came down from heaven. They took this expression from the prophet David who says, "O lord, incline in your heaven and come down. As for their saying, "came down from heaven," they intend the closeness of the lord to them, the connection of their intellects to knowledge of him and their witnessing his human appearance which all the prophets going before had desired to see with their eyes as the Children of Israel saw him with their eyes because God appeared to all the prophets and He favored them over all mankind. So they prophesied of his coming in the appearance with which they saw him with their eyes, just as the apostle Paul said, "in every way and every form God spoke to our fathers on the tongues

of the prophets of old and in these days he spoke to us in his only son whom he made an inheritor of all, the one through whom he made the ages who is the light of his glory and the image of his eternity and he held all in the power of his Word. The expression "descent" is a connection of the soul to the maker of its life and the witnessing of the light of truth without a movement in the divine essence and its descent from the heaven of its dread throne to the passing, decaying material world.

19 By "descent," they intended the creator's drawing near to his servants through his fellowship with them and his appearing to them in human form, since he was high on his heavenly throne above their appearing to him and loftier than them in the high of his heaven, above their seeing his divine essence. When the prophets brought tidings of his coming in human form, this necessitated vision in terms of the human eye achieving vision of the divine essence which is holy beyond dimensions and space. All the books of God that have been sent down testify that he will come down and appear to his servants openly, and it is an expression used in the books of God, even though no one in heaven or on earth can see the light of the greatness of his divine essence because of its loftiness. Just as God said to Moses when he asked to see the divine essence, "No one sees me and lives," this indicates that human vision does not attain his light. When the prophets saw him, as they testified, in his appearance they only saw him in the appearance of the form in which he announced to them him appearing to them as Christ in his material world, just as he will appear in it on the day of resurrection to judge them and pass judgment over them in it.

20 One who understands God's having written his name on the tablets of Moses without the divine essence becoming present in those tablets or being encompassed by them has understood when we point to it with this meaning that the writing was engraved in the tablets and was not God but rather just as God, may he be praised, willed that the writing be engraved it was as he willed, may he be exalted, and the words are subsistent in the essence and preserved in the heart and written on the tablets for Moses without leaving his divine essence. The Lordly Judge has a lofty will which appears by his will a he wishes and how he wishes by his divine will which is connected to his lordly wisdom. The powerful one is powerful and those over whom he has power do not reach him and his lofty will. The thing which is made does not reach the work of its maker. When Moses saw him in the veil of light in the

bush though the wonder of sight and God assured him of his presence in it and called out to him from it, "I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob," Moses realized that that light was calling out to him, "I am God," and that he appeared to him through a veil of fire and made it a veil for his power.

21 Moses did not doubt and did not think that the fire was other than the eternal essence and he believed that the one addressing him by sound was God and that it was his will in his appearance through the veil of fire. 22 We will follow with some of what the prophets testified regarding his descent in human form. The prophet David said, "He will come down like rain upon wool and like the drop of water upon the earth." He also said, "The heavens leaned down and descended and the fog is under his legs. He rides upon the cherubim and flies upon the wings of the wind." He also said in the 143rd Psalm, "O lord, incline in your heaven and come down!" He said about his birth in Zion, "O mother of man, a man is born in her and he is the exalted one who established her forever." He also said, "The God of gods will appear in Zion and in his entering into the city of Zion." The prophet Zachariah said, "Say to the daughter of Zion, behold your king will come to you humbly, riding upon a foal, the son of an ass."

23 The believer says: "and became incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary. The fathers took this expression from the prophet Isaiah who says, "Behold the virgin will conceive and bear a son and his name will be called 'Immanuel,'" the interpretation of which is, "our God is with us. As for the fathers' saying, "became incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary," they mention two incarnations and this statement is exalted beyond human understanding or material ideas. The fathers said with the help of the Holy Spirit that when the Spirit of God rested upon the prophets, they learned of the appearance of the Eternal Word and that it took its substance from its eternal essence without being divided into parts and without separation from this essence of its ineffable majesty and it took from the Virgin Mary a sensible body in a manner which human intellects cannot understand, just as the prophet Samuel said when they asked him what form the speech of God takes when it speaks to him in the temple, 'God appears to me in the form of a man like me. In this way he will appear in Sion at the end of days.' The form in which he appeared from the Virgin Mary was not a temple or a veil or a place existent before the union. Rather, he appeared as Lord and Christ

and Savior, and as the worker of divine wonders and the receiver of bodily acts, except that the union is beyond human resemblance and psychological notions.

24 The Gospel of God says, 'The Word became flesh and dwelt among us' and we saw his glory insofar as he became incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary. The word appeared in human form without descending from the seat of his majesty or coming down from its throne, from his dread throne and from his heavenly glory. We learned that the Creator, may he be exalted, is capable of everything and is great in his power. He is able to appear to whom he wishes how he wishes. He decrees as he wishes and his is the lofty will and the divine, lordly power. He appeared from the Virgin Mary as He willed and as his will preceded in his appearing. The prophets prophesied it and the form in which He appeared was a human form to which was united the Eternal Word. His is the lordly authority and his is the will which is above all wills. He is the Lord of the Judgment and He will appear in this form on Judgment Day. He will appear with great and indescribable glory and He will be more majestic than the creatures as He is the judge of those in heaven and on earth. The Gospel of God says that when the angel Gabriel was sent by God to the Virgin Mary, he said to her, 'Rejoice O full of grace! The Lord is with you!' He did not say to her, 'You will bear a son' or 'an apostle' or 'a human'.

25 Rather, he said, 'You will conceive and bear a son and he will be called the Son of the Most High and his kingdom will have no end.' The holy Gospel says in the Gospel of Matthew, 'And Mary was found to be pregnant from the Holy Spirit' and the ineffable divine seed whose way of being is unknowable took its place in her and he revealed to her the mystery of God who sent him to bring tidings of it, saying to her when she asked how there could be seed in violation of what is usual, 'The Holy Spirit will dwell within you and the power of the Most High will overshadow you because the one to be born of you is holy and will be called the Son of God.' When he said this to her, the Spirit of God dwelt in her and purified her with its divine gift through the dwelling of the Eternal Word within her. The indwelling of the Word was without its being split or divided. That light surpasses all light and the light shone in the inner darkness and wisdom built a house for the light by its eternal will and from the Virgin Mary, as Solomon said, 'Wisdom built it-

self a house and established it upon six pillars,' meaning that that house became incarnate in six dimensions.

26 The book of the pagans bears witness that the Virgin Mary bore the Word of God and that He cast his eternal Word into her and He came from her as a man, just as the Gospel of God says, 'the Word became flesh and dwelt among us.' The book of the pagans honors the Pure Virgin Mary by saying, 'Mary, the daughter of Imran who guarded her virtue, we breathed into her from our spirit and she believed the words of her Lord and was among the obedient.' This agrees with the Gospel of God's saying that in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God to the city of Galilee which is called Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man named Joseph of the house of David. When the angel announced to her the dwelling of the Word of God within her, she asked him how there could be conception without human seed because there had not been a sign like this. The angel revealed the mystery of God which He had entrusted to him and he informed her that the conception would not be from seed but rather that the one to be born from her would be from the Holy Spirit. All the prophets sent forth prophesied this birth, that it is the Eternal Word of God born from God the Father and from his eternal essence. Many of the ancient wise men and philosophers spoke of this and afterwards the prophecies of the prophets were transmitted.

27 In the book of the wise Hermes on the science of astrology known as the book of the nine stones, he addresses his son saying, 'O my son, the great and uncontainable cause, the rays of the perfect cause, subsistent in itself, not needing anything outside itself, must descend and walk on earth in a veil which it will make for itself and it will return to its heights and the seat of its throne. This is not movement from place to place. He also said, 'A star will go from east to west for two and a half years and will return to its center. It is the star of the good tidings. It will go unto the wise men coming from the east to the eternal king in order to worship him and give their offerings. For his sake the children of Bethlehem and its surroundings will be killed. This is after 183 rotations of Saturn, the ancient Zuhal, because its rotation crosses the sky every thirty years. Plato said in the book of mysteries that the most high would appear on the earth and would raise the dead and would exhibit lordly signs. He would be lifted up to his throne and would not be seen until the day when He judges the world. The wise Jovatian said, 'He is the

great one of old, the pre-eternal who sits above the highest of the heavens, the lofty one dressed in flames of fire, whose kingdom does not pass away.

28 He will appear upon the earth and raise the dead and heal the sick and he will exhibit lordly signs and return to his lofty throne. When he appears upon the earth wise men will come to him from the land of Persia and will present their offerings to him for he is the king of kings and his kingdom does not pass away. Augustus, the wise in astrology, said that a Hebrew youth whose name is Christ and who is eternal in his essence will appear openly and bear lordly authority. He will raise the dead and cleanse the lepers and unbind the tongues of the mute. The wise Aristotle said in his book known as the Lofty Sciences, 'You do not behold your God except through the veil in which he appears. He hides his light from your vision lest your eyes become fixed upon looking at Him. If He appeared and you saw Him, his signs would demonstrate the majesty of his authority and by this you would know that He is the Lord of Lords and the King of Kings.' He said in his letter to Alexander when he went off to search for the water of life, 'You will not find the water of life except in one who will appear in the world wearing the clothing of the world. If you find him, you will gain the water of life from him. He will redeem you with the tree of life by tasting him and the water of eternal life flows from him.

29 He said in his book known as the Book of Treasures that the treasure of life is with the god Adonai who will appear in the world and the dead will hear his voice from the graves and they will rise. The prophets whom he gave to prophecy in truth spoke in veiled terms about the appearance of Christ and his incarnation from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary. The prophet Nahum said, 'God will come in my image and his dress like my dress and his name will be engraved in the books of the name. His vineyard is twelve branches from the Children of Israel. He will have mercy on the nations and provide bread in the wildernesses. He will walk upon the sea and the waves will bow to him. By his hand He wrote the tablets for Moses. The prophet Zephaniah said, 'O daughter of Zion, do not let your hand slacken for our God will come and live in you and will save you.' The prophet Isaiah said, 'Rejoice O daughter of Zion for the one within you is the Holy One of Israel.' He also said, 'A rod will come from the back of Jesse and will sprout a branch from his root. The Spirit of God will dwell in him, the spirit of wisdom and intellect.

30 The evil will retreat from his land and he will smite the earth with the rod of his mouth and he will kill the hypocrite with the speech of his lips.' God said in the Law of Moses, 'Judah, the lion's cub. There will not cease to be in Judah a king ruling and a prophet sent until the one who has authority comes and the peoples will hope in him.' The prophet Daniel said, 'I saw a mountain uncut by a hand and it struck the foot of the idol which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream and it broke the clay, the brass, the iron, and the silver and they were like the short-lived dust and. A strong wind blew and no trace of them was seen. The great stone filled all the earth.' 31 The believer says: He suffered and was buried. The fathers took this expression from the prophet Isaiah's saying 'the one in whom was found no lie came to death.' Know my son that Christ, glory to Him, fulfilled the prophecies of the prophets about his receiving passions and death. When the Laws which the Hebrews possess and the prophecies of the prophets prophesied about the coming of Christ, they prophesied about his receiving passions and death, as Isaiah said that Christ would come and be killed because Christ appeared in a sensible body susceptible to passions and death. The body in which he appeared was coarse and he did not want to return that coarse body to heaven. He decided to strip away from it from the corruptible, decaying form and to clothe it in the dress of lastingness and eternity and to glorify it with the eternal resurrection to which no one was magnified except Him and to exalt it with the robe of glory in the resurrection of glory and eternity and to magnify this form with eternal glory. If it was raised to its lofty throne, the form rested in the light of its divine majesty and the form became visible in the light of its eternal essence just as David said, 'The Lord has put on glory and is exalted in loftiness.

32 When he willed by his heavenly will the body, He kept it free from the clothing of being and decay by death and He clothed it in the clothing of eternal kingship in his resurrection from the dead and raised it to his dread throne in the form of everlasting eternity. It will no longer be subject to change. Death and decay do not change it, like the grain of wheat that became through its death a fruitful ear. Its death was the cause of its becoming the fruit of life. Likewise, the death of Christ in the form of Adam which God had condemned to death he raised in the divine form of eternal kingship and lordly majesty. He sat upon his dread throne in his lofty place in which his righteous angels praise Him, just as the prophet Daniel said about

Him, 'I saw in the cloud of heaven one resembling the Son of Man go down to the Ancient of Days and He gave him kingship and authority. Thousands of thousands of angels serve him and myriads of myriads stand before him. His rule will not end and will not cease unto the ages of ages.' Death spares his essence; it is only a movement from abode to abode, from the abode of passing away to the abode of eternity. Christ willed by his accepting passions to rise up to his heavenly throne.

33 We have compared the passions of Christ which He accepted by his will and the wonders He worked by his power and we see that one of his signs among all his signs suffices for a thousand of the passions which He accepted in human form. The Children of Israel imagined that the passions of Christ are due to weakness on his part because of their unbelief. The wise looked at the passions of Christ as heavenly and lordly wisdom that is not understood except by those who have been helped, those to whom God has revealed the hidden things of his divine wisdom. The death of Christ which He revealed openly distinguished between the spirit and its body. The word of God is united to the spirit always and eternally from the time of the union and forever because the Word is light from God's eternal essence and the light rests in him eternally, united with him and one with him existing eternally. One in whom is God and whom He has made one with his eternal essence is in the body in which Christ accepted death and in the soul which left its body.

34 They both have eternal life since the union and forever, just as the prophet Isaiah said when he saw with the eye of prophecy, 'God truly rests within you and God is none other and you are the hidden God, the God of Israel and its savior.' The Holy Gospel said, 'The Word became flesh' and the Word is light that does not suffer and is not subject to passions because it is beyond the intellect of humans and it is not a sensible body that suffers. The light of truth does not suffer and is not subject to passions in his lordly essence and the light of truth is the maker who is not attained by creatures. The Maker is present in the form in which he appeared as Christ and the form received passions and the Word does not receive what coarse things receive except that the form is the form of the eternal essence and became one with him in the union and it rose as Christ and lord and judge. If the Wise Maker made a garment and was robed in it while his essence is one and eternal, what does the maker cause to suffer or in what is he ignorant of his

creation? He did not enter into it in a garment added to his essence nor with a lacking since his unity is always more majestic than created attributes and corporeal actions.

35 God caused all his prophets whom He sent to prophesy Christ's accepting passions and death, which is a decree of divine wisdom. That which God caused his prophets to prophesy is the passions which the Children of Israel wrought upon him, just as the prophet Moses said that God commanded him when the snakes in their multitude bit the Children of Israel, 'Make a snake of copper and hang it on a piece of wood before them. Let all of those whom the snake bit lift their gaze up to the copper snake and they will be healed.' Then Moses prophesied saying, 'Truly I say to you that you will see the one who gave you life suspended before your eyes and you will not believe.' The prophet David said, 'Why were the peoples disturbed and the nations guided in falsehood? The kings and chiefs of the earth rose up and make orphans of all against the Lord and his Christ. May He break their chains and throw off their fetters. The One who dwells in heaven laughs at them. The Lord despises them. Then He will speak to them in his anger wrath and will forget them.' The prophet Nathan said, 'The Lord will appear in Jerusalem with a rod of three kinds and with it he will save the nations.

36 Their kings will be honored by that wood and He will purify them in the water of the Jordan.' The prophet Isaiah said, 'In difficult straights they think of you and in necessity they seek you.' He also said, 'God gave me the tongue of knowledge because I wore away my cheeks with the flow of tears and I did not turn my face from the contempt of those who spit.' He also said, 'Every man among us has gone astray in his path. The Lord was given up for our sins. Humble, not opening his mouth, like a sheep he was led to the slaughter and like a lamb before the slaughterer. Who can speak of his stories?' The prophet Jeremiah said, 'The Lord will come with great glory and the sign of his coming is that the nations will bow to the wood of the tree and the ark.' The prophet Amos said, 'When three pieces of wood are nailed together outside of Jerusalem and the sign of salvation is planted upon it, then the Children of Israel will return to hunger and famine and shame.' He also said, 'The Lord will come with his saints. There will not be light on that day, but rather there will be hail and ice. It is a single day known to the Lord.

37 There will not be in it day or night and at evening there will be light.' The prophet Obadiah said, 'God will come down from the heaven of his holiness to the earth and will scatter the Children of Israel to the ends of the earth and make them a curse in the mouths of the nations. They will kill him but he will rise on the third day and raise the dead by his tree.' The prophet Jothan said, 'When you see the stone cry out with a voice then the end has drawn near and the hope of the hopeful has drawn near. When you see the nations with their loins girded then fear will come forever to Israel.' The prophet Habakkuk said, 'God will come from the south and the Holy One from Mount Pharan, which is the shaggy mountain, and they will know him among wild beasts.' The prophet Amos said, 'God will appear veiled and will renew Adam by rising upon a tree. He will cause the life of the world to appear and He will cause bread to be tasted in the desert and make a new creation. The dead will hear his voice and come to life.

38 He is the Holy One who will appear from the tribe of Judah.' The prophet Zachariah said, 'God will save Adam by the tree and the feet of the ark when he rides upon it in the middle of the earth and there will be fear upon Zion.' The prophet Malachi said, 'The Lord will appear from Judah and mix with the house of David and manifest his glory to the ends of the earth. His food from the people of Israel will be will be vinegar and myrrh and they will stab him with a spear though he is their God.' The prophet Daniel said, 'After seven weeks the Christ will come and will be killed. Jerusalem has no savior but him.' David said, 'Many dogs surrounded me and a group of evil people enclosed me. They pierced my hands and my feet. They counted all my bones. They divided my robes among them and drew cast lots over my clothes.' He also said, 'They all took council against me and plotted to take my soul.' He also said, 'They put myrrh in my food and gave me vinegar to me when I was thirsty.' He also said, 'They hated me unjustly.' He also said, 'They rewarded me with evil rather than good and cast me away, the beloved one, as one rejected and nailed my flesh with nails.' The prophet Zachariah said, 'The ones who pierced him will know their recompense from the Lord.'

39 The believer says, 'and rose on the third day'. The fathers took this expression from the prophet David who said, 'The Lord rose like one sleeping, like the mighty one drunk with wine.' Know, my son, that Christ put his body to death by his will and brought it to life by the power of his majesty. He cast off of it the robe of passing away and dressed it in the robe of eternity

and the majesty of his lordliness. He raised it to the seat of majesty and the pure angels bowed to him, just as the prophet Daniel said with the true eye of prophecy, 'I saw in the cloud of heaven one resembling the Son of Man go down to the Ancient of Days and he gave him kingship and authority and all tongues worship him and his authority is forever.' Christ said to his pure disciples after his resurrection from the dead, 'I have been given all authority in heaven and on earth.' He aided them after his resurrection with the greatness of his authority and said to them, 'Raise the dead' and they raised them and 'cleanse the lepers' and they cleansed them and 'heal the sick' and they healed them. They worked great signs by his power with which He aided them after his resurrection. He lived among them for forty days after his resurrection, teaching them his life-giving law. He granted them his heavenly help and they subjugated the demons beneath their feet.

40 Their shadow raised the dead and their speech put the spirits of devils to death. Then He rose to the seat of majesty and sat on the right hand of the lordly power. 'The right hand' is an expression referring to the power which is beyond all majesty and all authority. The Creator, may He be exalted, is not in his eternal essence a compound body and He has no right or left. The right and left hands of power are not sensible and are not compound because God, may He be exalted, is exalted above the attributes of created beings and the actions of limited beings. His saying to us, 'He sat at the right hand of the father in the heights' is like the Book's saying 'he sat upon the throne'. If our saying this was not an expression then we would not be able to distinguish God's right hand from his left. Christ rose up to the essence of majesty which is an unattainable place and cannot enter into the human intellect. Its essence is unattainable.

41 Human bodies are created from dust and will return to their first element, as God says to Adam, 'You are created from dust and to the dust you will return.' For this reason Christ put to death that in which He appeared to the world and raised it and did not let the dust corrupt it, as the prophet David prophesied about him, 'O Lord do no let your pure one see corruption.' The bodies of Moses, Abraham, David and all the prophets decayed in the soil while Christ is in heaven above the highest of the heights of honor. The soil did not corrupt his body and the changes that God previously decreed to Adam when He said, 'You are created from dust and to the dust you will return' did not change him. There has been no one in the world from Adam

until eternity who died by his own will and rose by the power of his own authority other than Christ. For this reason we realized that He is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Only He lifted up his body as an offering to God his father for the sin of Adam and his seed. This pure and holy sacrifice is for the forgiveness of sins and their redemption from the prison of hell and for returning them to the paradise of blessedness. When He accepted the passions—which are his economy and divine wisdom—He manifested with them things that dazzle the minds of the philosophers:

42 earthquakes and the disturbance of the inhabited world and the distress and sadness which befell the people upon his rising up on the cross, the covering of the world with darkness. The mountains shook and the sun hid its light. The rocks split and the graves opened. The dead rose from their graves and left their graves and cried out weeping in the streets of Jerusalem. When the Children of Israel did all this to their creator, if He had not been the Lord of the sun it would not have veiled its light at his passions and if He were not Lord of the temple then the temple's veil would not have split on account of Him. At his resurrection from the tomb it shined upon the entire inhabited world with the light of his resurrection. The sun multiplied its light seven times. The light of his resurrection shone with it upon the believers. This is because the light shone to those sitting in darkness and the shadows of death. He released those imprisoned in the prison of hell and took them out of the darkness, just as Hannah, the mother of Samuel, said, 'The Lord will go down to hell and release those who are bound from its mouth.' We follow with some of what the holy prophets have said about his resurrection.

43 The prophet David said, '"Now I rise" said the Lord, "and I work salvation openly."' He also said, 'Rise up O Lord and destroy your enemies.' He said, 'The Lord will rise and scatter all his enemies.' He also said, 'The Lord rose in the assembly of the gods and in the midst of their assemblies He judges them.' He also said, 'The Lord rose with the decree and saves the humble of the earth.' Isaiah said, 'The Lord said, "Now I will rise and go up."' He also said, 'If the Lord rises the earth will indicate it and they will cast away the idols of gold and silver which they adopted for worship.' He also said, 'The Lord of Sabaoth will arise and raise in righteousness his paths.' He said, 'Those who think evilly of the Most High will know. The body will give forth drops of water and blood and the voice of the servant will be heard

from the wood of the tree. He will be buried and will rise from the dead and from the earth, ascending to heaven. He will be eternal and rise to the right hand of the Most High and will be above the cherubim where he was in the beginning. The holy ones in him will be proud.' The prophet David said, 'The Lord went up with praise. The Lord went up with the sound of the horn. Sing to our Lord!

44 Sing, sing to our king!' He also said, 'The Lord went up with the sound of triumph.' He also said, 'I looked at the Lord in front of me at all times. For this reason my heart is joyous and my tongue gives praise.' He also said, 'The Lord went up to the heavens and thundered and He will judge the ends of the earth.' The prophet Hosea said, 'We will return to the Lord whom we smote and He will heal us. After two days, on the third day He will rise alive and He will give us life.' 45 The believer says, 'He ascended into heaven and sits at the right hand of the Father in the heights.' The fathers took this expression from the prophet David who said, 'He sits upon the wings of the winds.' He ascended into heaven as the gospel of God said, 'no one ascends to heaven except the one who came down from heaven, the Son of Man who is still in heaven.' There has not been anyone who came down from heaven and ascended to heaven except Christ alone. All the prophets and the friends of God remain in the earth until the day of resurrection. When it is the day of resurrection Christ will come, the one who ascended to heaven in the greatness of his dread glory with all his holy angels. Then he will call to the dead with his voice and all the dead will arise and stand before his throne. He will judge them in truth. He will judge them because when Christ ascended to heaven He ascended to the unlimited space, to the seat of his ineffable majesty. 'The right hand' is an expression referring to the unlimited right hand of the majesty of the Creator because the right hand is lordly power without bodily sensation because if we raise or hands to heaven we gesture towards the height of his majesty and intend an unlimited essence that is not lacking in anything.

46 The one who ascended to this majesty is the eternal Word of God and the Word of God does not cease to be with God and God is the Word. Its ascent is to its eternal essence and it sits upon its throne in the place which is unattainable. The light that does not dawn is begotten from the light of the eternal essence of God who dawned on us with his lordly light as Lord and Christ with the meaning which He desired. It happened in his lordly know-

ledge and He appeared by his lordly will which is incomprehensible to the human mind. That light appeared in the world and shone in the darkness. He guided the world to knowledge of his lordship and He ascended to his throne unto the completion of divine will. He sat at the majesty of the right hand of his father ineffably and without delimited dimensions. His sitting in his lofty place is in the form in which he appeared as Christ but it subsists in the divine light which vision does not apprehend. This is the form in which he will appear on the day of resurrection. On that day their faces will gaze and just as I cannot explain how He sat upon his throne likewise I cannot explain his place at the right hand of the majesty of the ineffable lordship other than that we indicate his majesty and the place of the indescribable divine power. No one defines the creator or delimits his ineffable essence.

47 If we said that the king unsheathed a sword and killed his enemies with it, then the essence of the king is not defined and sight does not attain it. The king returned the sword to its scabbard in the majesty of his glory and his original glory shines forth. Who can comprehend the direction to which the king raised his sword when the king's light is above all things? The pagans say that God raised Christ and cannot discern the direction to which God raised him. Our minds cannot reach knowledge of Christ's ascension to his lofty place and his sitting at the right hand of the divine majesty except what we have read and we do not attain any knowledge of his appearing in the bodily world except what we have explained and what the prophets who have been sent said to us. If we went far into uncovering the depths of this mystery then no man's intellect will attain it. The good disciple and evangelist John said, 'The one who is from the beginning is himself the one whom we saw with our eyes and touched with our hands on account of the word of life.' The prophets spoke openly about Christ's ascent. The prophet Jeremiah said, 'The Lord will go up from Sinai and will come with great glory.' Also, the prophet David said, 'The Lord went up with praise. The Lord went up with the sound of the trumpet.

48 Sing, sing to our king, sing for the Lord has gone up to the seat of his glory.' He also said, 'Rise up, you eternal gates to let the King of Glory enter in. Who is the King of Glory? The mighty Lord, He is the King of Glory.' The prophet Zachariah said, 'From the Mount of Olives the feet of the Lord arise towards the east and from the Holy House He ascends to heaven.' The prophet David said, 'The Lord said to my lord, "Sit at my right hand so that I

put your enemies under your feet."' The prophet Daniel said, 'I saw one resembling the Son of Man go up to heaven and draw near to the Ancient of Days and He gave him eternal dominion.' 49 The believer says, 'and He will also come in glory to judge the living and the dead, whose kingdom has no passing away or end.' The fathers took this expression from the Law of Moses because God said, 'I will come and judge and recompense in truth.' Know, my son, that no one at all has seen God, as the gospel of God says his light enlightens all light. If He appeared to creation with his divine light then the creatures would not have been able to see him and their vision would be rent by the light of his awesomeness, as He said to Moses when he asked to see Him, 'No one will see me and live.' The creator's essence, may He be exalted, is unattainable and far above resting in space. The vision by which Moses and Abraham and Jacob saw him in bodily form as Christ is a kind of divine wisdom. That in which He appeared to them was not fantasia and was not imaginary. His appearance affirmed his existence and the necessity of his wisdom and if He relied on an unseen judge and perfect wisdom in his appearance on the day of resurrection in the bodily form of Christ in which they denied his lordship, He will chastise those who opposed him for their denial of his lordship in it. He will judge him for their works and for how they opposed his words and commandments.

50 When they see him on the day of resurrection in that form of Christ, He will appear in it as Lord and Christ and Judge. He will judge them as the judge who fashions his judgment's acceptance. They will realize that that form is the vision of God and the image of his eternity and the mirror of his eternal essence and they will realize that it is the vision of the judge who judges righteousness, just as the prophet David said, 'He will judge the inhabited world with true judgment.' He also said, 'Out of Zion comes the law and the Word of God from Jerusalem and he will judge the peoples.' He also said, 'The Lord reigned and the earth gives praise. The islands rejoice, the fog and clouds around him. A just judgment is before his face.' He said, 'They said on the earth, "the Lord has reigned and established the inhabited world."' The prophet Isaiah said, 'The Lord will arise and judge his people. He is the Lord who judges the elders of his people.' Solomon said, 'The Lord said, "vengeance is mine and I will repay. The prophet Malachi said, 'Lo the Lord comes ruling all and those who endure to the end, to the day of his coming. His appearing is like fire and he will sit in judgment, to purify mankind like

silver.' He also said, 'Our God, God is the judge and blessed are those who rejoice with Him.'

51 The believer says, 'We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds, whom we worship and glorify with the Father and the Son, who speaks in the prophets.' The fathers took this expression from the Law which says, 'the Spirit of God hovers upon the waters' and 'the Spirit of God created me.' David said, 'Your mighty Spirit established me.' Know, my son, that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of God by which He gives life to every living thing because it is the Spirit of corporeal and spiritual beings. When the fathers confirmed the unity of the Creator, they showed that He is above having human attributes, and attested to his unity in the attributes of his subsistence and established his existence with eternal essential attributes. He has two essential attributes by which his essence is described, may He be exalted. He exists in silences except for these two attributes which, if they did not exist, H e would not exist. They established that He is subsistent in himself, living. Since nothing is alive without the Spirit of God, it is an eternal essential attribute of God who is subsistent in himself.

52 Then they said that his one living, rational hand is a living Lord and a rational God and when the one Creator is described by these two attributes by which they established his existence they said, 'We believe in the Holy Spirit,' meaning that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the true God who comes out of Him, who causes the prophets to prophesy. When Isaiah gazed upon Christ with the eye of prophecy he said, 'the Spirit of the Lord is upon me for the sake of the one who anointed me and sent me to bring good tidings to the poor and to heal the broken-hearted and to warn those imprisoned in annihilation and those blinded in vision and I will bring good tidings in the year received by the Lord.' The prophet Joel said, 'In those days I will pour out my Spirit upon all those who have bodies and your sons and will prophesy and your old men will dream dreams and your youths will see visions.' The prophet David said, 'You established me by your mighty Spirit.' He also said, 'Send your Spirit and they are created and renew the face of the earth.' The prophet Ezekiel said, 'The Spirit of God has reached me and the Spirit of God has removed me.'

53 The believer says, 'we confess one baptism for the forgiveness of sins.' The fathers took this expression from the prophet Isaiah who said, 'They were given to drink with joy from the fountain of salvation.' Know, my son,

that the water of holy baptism is the water of life upon which the Holy Spirit blows just as God said in the Law, 'the Sprit of the Lord blows upon the waters.' It blows upon the baptized and gives light to their darkness and enlightens their essences. The universal soul rests upon the particular soul and the Holy Sprit rests upon everyone who is baptized and by this they merit entrance into God's heaven and rise from the world of darkness to the world of light. Those who are not baptized do not rise to heaven and do not enter into the kingdom of God and God does not count them among his righteous or write their name in the Book of Life, as Christ said by his truthful mouth, 'anyone who is not born of water and the Spirit will not enter the kingdom of God and he will not count him with his righteous or write his name with the righteous.' The pure gospel said, 'one born from flesh is flesh and one born of the Spirit is spirit.' Christ has given us two births: a birth from the flesh from mothers and fathers and a birth from the Spirit.

54 The birth from the flesh decays and changes while the birth from the Spirit does not decay and does not change because it is the birth of life, the birth from God to perfect the human form by this second birth because the Spirit of perfection is in baptism and brings the salvation of the soul from the darkness of the body. The Spirit of God rests in the temple of God and if the Spirit of God rests in it, then it opens its eyes so that it might witness the truth. Just as the soul of the body gives it the life of acting in the corporeal world, so too the Spirit of God gives those baptized the eternal life of action in the eternal heavenly world because the birth of the flesh is susceptible to corruption and change, just as God said to Moses, 'my Spirit will not rest upon them because they are flesh.' The apostle Paul said, 'flesh and blood will not enter into the kingdom of God' because the unbaptized soul must be in the world of darkness. Baptism washes the soul from the effects of sin and enlightens the essence of the soul so that it may be worthy to rise to eternal bliss, as David said, 'sprinkle me with hyssop and I will be cleansed. Wash me with it and I will be white like snow.' The prophet Ezekiel said, 'I will take you out from the worldly and put you into your land.

55 I will sprinkle you with pure water which will purify you from your sins and your transgressions. I will take out of you the heart of stone and give you a merciful heart.' 56 The believer says, 'We hope for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the age to come, amen.' The fathers took this expression from the prophet Isaiah who said, 'The dead will rise from the graves.' Know,

my son, that God created two abodes: the abode of this world and the abode of the world to come. This world is the abode of change and decay but the world to come is the abode of eternity and lastingness. He created the body coarse, temporary and susceptible to destruction through death. He compounded within it a rational intelligent soul, abstract and indestructible. It uses the body in obedience to its Creator and intends its elevation within its own spiritual world after its purification from the filth of corporeal nature so that it might rise with it in the resurrection of life because the rational soul is bounded within the body. Death is the perfection of the human form- and the resurrection its second existence unto eternity- because when the wise builder destroys a house he builds one better than it and when the planter wants plants to grow, he sows it in the earth and rejoices at its death in the earth so that pure fruit might come out. God created the element of earth and created his creation from that element and decreed that it will return to its element. The elements are in his mastery and they obey his command to return what they absorbed for He alone is unique in creating out of nothing by generosity.

57 The rational soul of man which He compounded within the body will only receive the gift of God in the beatitude of paradise through its good works in the abode of this world. He caused its temple which was taken from the elements to live with the soul but it is the house of its darkness and quick to decay. Just as it was in the darkness of the belly, turning about in the enclosure of vileness, so the soul turns about in the body, in the darkness of the elements in which it grew. However, it does not know what will become of it in its turning about in the corporeal world. So too, the when the soul leaves the house of its darkness, it leaves to a spacious world of light and looks upon the spiritual world and the heavenly nations with their lofty ranks and spiritual levels. At that hour, it will see that which it deserved on account of its actions. If it was good in the obedience of its Creator, then it will go among the enlightened spiritual ones. He will raise it on the day of resurrection and the light of its works will shine upon it if they were righteous. Likewise, the gospel of God says, 'the righteous will shine in the kingdom of their Father' because the resurrection of the dead is eternal life for the happiness of those in whose righteousness He is pleased while the one who is proud of his ignorance sin will be tormented.

58 The scriptures of God and the scriptures of his prophets bear witness to the resurrection of the dead and the recompense of each soul for what it did, just as the priest Ezra said, 'God will resurrect those in the grave all at once after death unto the judgment. He will announce that truth and justice will know the people's works and He will chastise them for their evil works.' The prophet David said, 'O Lord of Mercy who recompenses each one according to his works.' Solomon said, 'God will recompense everything you do in the abode of the world to come, what you have done secretly and what you have done openly, if they were good and if they were evil.' Isaiah said, 'The day of the Lord is near. He comes without forgiveness because He comes in anger and wrath and will destroy the sinners. The stars of the sky will not give their light and the sun will go dark at its rising.' Ezekiel said, 'God said to me, "O son of man, will you say how the dead will arise? Come to the place of worn-out bones and prophesy upon them so that you might see their resurrection. Thus spoke the Lord of Lords that each muscle may join to its sinew. I did as the Lord said to me and I saw at those bones move and come together with an earthquake of motion. The Lord said, "Prophesy, so that they put on flesh and veins and nerves" and I saw them as complete bodies.

59 Then the Lord said to me, "O son of man, prophesy that the living spirit might enter into them" so I did as He said and I saw them rise up and stand on their feet alive. He said, "O son of man, these bones are from the Children of Israel and lo I open their graves and raise them up to judgment. Thus said the Lord of Lords.'

PART FOUR

# Greek Dialogues with Islam

*A dialogue of the emperor Manuel II with a Muslim scholar, and an apology by Gerasimos.*

# Dialogues with a Learned Muslim: Dialogue 7

Manuel II Palaiologos

*AD 1350–1425*

Byzantine emperor who recorded his dialogues with a learned Muslim.

## DIALOGUES WITH A LEARNED MUSLIM: DIALOGUE 7

*The most pious Emperor, friend of Christ, MANUEL PALEOLOGUS, — to his most dear brother, the most fortunate born-in-the-purple despot, Theodore Paleologus. — A dialogue with a certain Persian, by profession a teacher, held in Ancyra of Galatia*

1 The beginning of the seventh controversy 1. a. At daybreak, the Mudarris greeted us at the doorstep. Addressing himself to us, according to his custom, he said, "Let us address, if you like, the points left over from yesterday." When they had all sat down around us, as by custom, I started the subject: b. "The Law of Moses comes from God. This is shown by the multitude of supernatural miracles. Because Moses could not have worked wonders beyond nature, if the laws that he was bearing were not communicated to him by God. However God manifestly honoured this Law by constant works and declarations, not only by those by which he glorified the aforementioned legislator, during and after the promulgation of the Law, but also by the fact that He hated (so to speak) and rejected those who did not observe it, and that if somebody scorned it, He scorned him and inflicted on him suitable punishment.

2 c. "But I can teach you in a clear and short way the difference between the two Laws. "Almost all mankind divides into three groups: those for Moses, those for Christ and those for he whom you are not afraid to compare to him that saw God. However only your Law has, in the eyes of all, from all points of view, nothing healthy about it. 2. a. "Consider this: you yourselves say that the Law of Moses came down from God and that ours is without any doubt much better than it. You thus judge them both good, although you

preferred your own, which is valued by nobody but is decried by all. b. "Here is the proof: If one asked the whole of the men which is the best of all the Laws and which is on the contrary the worst, each one would make this assertion: that his own is the best, but that of Mohammed is the worst. We, now, we say that in the form of a supposition, but you are not unaware that it is indeed the truth. You in vain scorn the opinion of all men; taking them one at a time as if they were enemies, you reason badly. It is undoubtedly necessary to consider the testimony of each for itself as inadmissible, and its vote invalid; those of the whole of mankind on the contrary, when they converge, must be admitted, whatever the subject under consideration.

3 c. "So your law cannot properly be called a "Law" any more, nor ranged with those which are established by a number of legislators. And that because the most significant articles of this new Law are older even than the legislation of Moses. Because they have an ancient origin, and it is not Mahomet who instituted them. Indeed, to demolish the making of idols, to flee polytheism, to believe in only one creator God, to receive circumcision as a sign of faith, and other similar points, Abraham established these without writing. Moses then put them in writing and promulgated them, adding to it what God, in his discussions with him, had ordered. So this more recent Law, coming later than the old one, borrowed it - this is obvious - its basis and its principles; and certainly not the older from it. How indeed the could the older one be derived from the more recent? However so much does such a condition give pre-eminence, that there is no need of a discourse to show it. And what need I say about the basis and the principles, when what appears most perfect of all and, we might say, all of what your Law seems to consist is obviously taken from the old Law? So there is nothing new there, but the same things have been said again; or rather they have been impudently plundered. For show me anything that Mohammed instituted new: you will only find what is bad or inhuman, such as when he orders in decreeing that the belief that he preached should be advanced by the sword.

4 3.a. "But it is necessary, I think, to explain this point more clearly. Men on earth must experience one of three things [according to Mohammed]: -- they must place themselves under this law -- or pay tribute and, more, be reduced into slavery -- or, in the absence of either, be struck without hesitation with iron. b. "But this is extremely absurd! Why? Because God is not pleased with blood, and to act unreasonably is foreign to God. What you say

thus has stepped over the border of insanity, or almost so. Firstly indeed, is it not very absurd to pay money and to thus buy the opportunity to lead an impious life and one contrary to the Law? c. "Next, faith is a fruit of the heart, not of the body. So he who intends to bring somebody to faith needs skilful language and correct thinking, not violence or threats, nor some instrument of wounding or intimidation. Because just as, when it is necessary to compel a non-reasonable nature, one would not have recourse to persuasion, in the same way to persuade a reasonable soul, one does not need to resort to force, or a whip, or any other threat of death.

5 d. "No one can ever claim that, if he uses violence, it is in spite of himself, because it is an order from God. Because if it was good to attack with the sword those which are complete unbelievers and that this was a law of God given from heaven -- as Mohammed claims -- it would undoubtedly be necessary to kill all those who would not embrace this Law and this preaching. He is indeed quite impious to buy piety with money. Do you think differently about this? I do not think so. How would you do it? However if that is not good, to kill is yet much worse. e. "However if it is found that Mohammed added something to the Law of Moses, at once you call that the Law. And you are not satisfied that we allow you to talk like that, but you require that we prefer this Law to those which preceded it. In virtue of what? -- and something which it is not right even to call the Law!

6 f. "In fact the very thing which makes us consider it as Law, is the same thing which places this kind of Law on the opposite side (from the real law). One of the properties of the Law is that it can lay down new regulations which are agreeable to God. Yours boasts that it has borrowed regulations. If we pruned out the older articles from it, it would be just like the jay in the fable: He borrowed feathers of every kind, then they were removed from him, and there he was, once again just a jay. g. "If so, everyone will consider your Law — we'll call it the Law, in the meantime, to make you happy — inferior to that of the Jews. And if it is inferior to that, it is far more so to the Law of Christ, which, with your consent and the consent of all, superabundantly prevails over that of the Jews."

7 4. a. I spoke thus. He was silent for rather a long time. Then the interpreter — he was descended from Christians, liked the beliefs of his parents and was opposed to our interlocutors in thought, although not as much as might have been appropriate -- the interpreter thus, rightly transported by

our words, with a pleased look, put the blame on the Persian, but not openly. He said more or less this: "How long will we remain like statues without replying? You need to have the courage to perform some generous action if we do not want to come out of here covered in confusion, leaving to others the crown of victory. " b. He therefore, lifting his head with haughty pride, looked at them, and then, turning to us, he spoke more or less as follows: The Persian 5. a. -- "I have said, I say and I will say that good and beautiful is the Law of Christ and much better than the earlier Law, but that mine is superior to both. Therefore consider what I am going to say, you may hear something that you do not condemn altogether. Your law, I say, is beautiful and good, but it is very hard and very burdensome and can not easily be useful. These remedies are too bitter to taste. So there is no error in believing it is not completely perfect.

8 b. "The Law of Mohammed follows the middle path and proclaims ordinances which are bearable and in sum gentler and more humane. Hence it is moderate in all respects and takes precedence over other laws. Indeed, the shortcomings of the old Law it fills by the supplements which it brings; on the other hand it reduces the exaggerations of the Law of Christ. There is also what it prunes visibly from both Laws, and suddenly it quite prevails over them. c. "It also avoids, I think, the mediocrity and the imperfection of the Law of the Jews on the one hand, and on the other hand, the elevation and height of the precepts of Christ, their harshness, that they are excessive and impractical so far for men, because they force, so to speak, our terrestrial nature to mount up to Heaven. It thus avoids both faults and strives for moderation in everything. Thereby it appears better than all the Laws that have preceded it.

9 d. "The virtues, you know, consist of avoiding excesses and keeping exactly to a happy medium. That's what we call virtue, and what virtue is. What is virtue is a happy medium, and what is not such is not virtue. This is the doctrine of all the ancients, and you yourself have said the same earlier. e. "But tell me, is it to stay in the happy medium - 'to love one's enemies, to pray for them', to provide them with food when they are hungry; -- And what is amusing - allow me this freedom - to 'hate his parents and brothers and even his own soul; --- 'to he who took your shirt, to give him also your coat';--- 'to give without distinction to he who asks' until you appear more naked than a stick and ridiculous in the eyes of those who would then make

your property the loot of the Mysians, by pretending to be in need;--- to he who strikes 'on one cheek, to turn the other; to never stand up to evil';--- to have 'no stick, no bag, no money, nor two tunics';-- 'to not worry about tomorrow'? "Who is the man of iron, diamond, more insensible than stone, who will bear all these things,- who will bear the offence and cherish the insulter;-- who will do good to he who is ill-disposed towards him;--- who by his extra bounty will invite the people of this species to gorge on him like vultures on the corpses of the dead?

10 f. "What ear could accept this, at least one without great complaisance towards requirements of any kind, even those for which our miseries do not suffice? And that which is quite intolerable and opposes the precept of God enacted already, I mean virginity, should that be allowed? The answer is obvious. Because living in a body and wanting to imitate the nature of incorporeal beings and, as if we lived as pure spirits, not approaching women, is contrary to reason: it is a heavy burden and a great violence. g. "Also, to not procreate children for posterity, because of living without getting married, obviously destroys the world. It is completely absurd and unworthy of God to make the human male and female in the beginning, to prescribe them to multiply, and then, having reached the prescribed end and the earth being filled with men, to give men a law that must do away with men. Do not tell me about the flood, nor the case of those who were slaughtered in the desert at the time of Moses, nor the extraordinary fire, that of Sodom. These cases and consequent punishment did not make the world entirely disappear, and it was because of the magnitude of the transgression that they were inflicted on the guilty. Christ, himself, is not a Minister of anger. He did not come, I think, to take revenge on men who offended God, but rather to bring benefit and relief to men, mainly by a better law.

11 h. "Let us consider this: It is good to 'leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife' and thereby increase the human race, as the former precept ordered. There's no reply to this, I think. God forbid that I try to destroy what has been prescribed by God to our first parents for the construction of our species and that has peopled this world with humans! But the second Law, which establishes virginity, you just want to see this as carrying on from the previous one! What? Should not everyone observe it? But if everyone observed it, the whole human race would be reduced to absolutely nothing. Thus these precepts, namely, multiply and keep virginity, do not agree, they

rather fight against each other. And since there's no choice that, given their opposition, one must be good and one not, the one is bad, in my opinion, that urges men to have an indecent opinion about God. But this is indeed the case for the one that would have made the human race disappear, virginity, as I said.

12 i. "So the interim Law, I mean yours, offering us many such examples, is clearly not perfect. However, it is without question much better than that which preceded it. But relative to that which followed, it clearly comes second. 6. a. "The Law that came later thus appears higher than the others, as in buildings. That is why the Jew, under an Law which lies closer to the ground, we can not welcome him when he comes to the law of Mohammed, the highest located, unless he has first of all, as far as possible, practiced your religion. He who comes to God must not in fact leapfrog forward in a disorderly advance, but, by degrees, climb through the intermediate level to the last, beginning with the first: thus everywhere the order will be preserved. b. "It follows, therefore, to speak briefly, that the Jews had the true religion until the advent of Christ, and that was the case for those who had faith in him; and the others were unfaithful to the Law and not obeying Moses who had predicted Christ, even if they observed all the precepts, even if they claimed to render to Moses veneration and honour (to him) after God himself. It also follows that those who believed in Christ were God's people, all in succession, until the arrival of Muhammad, who brings the perfect law. But, afterwards only those (belong to the people of God) who adhere to this Law. So those who have rallied to Mohammed, those are really the disciples of Christ and Moses. Those on the contrary who are more zealous than they should be and because of this have remained in the repealed Laws, provoke against themselves the wrath of legislators and by their madness work to their own injury."

13 The emperor 7. a. The old man, after these words, raised his eyebrows and sat down. The circle of listeners were attentive. The struggle, they felt, was reaching the culmination. The children underscored with gestures the words of their father, applauded and wanted to jump up and down. b. So I say: 8. a. -- "What's this, my man? Here, by a massive attack, you invested the acropolis with an arrogance and a fierce passion. You were expecting to take it at the first assault. But you were mistaken in your hopes. There are men who live there, and it is firmly based on the rock. It is full of wonderful

goods. Perhaps of these goods of which you never had experience, you will have your share, when the war is fortunately completed with the support of God, you and your two sons that are here. b. "But I'm allowed to be amazed at this: You are in truth a man of sense and honour, in the very first place among the doctors in your land, you are adorned with the great wisdom that is specific to your country, you have virtuous morals, believing everything less important than the truth. And yet here you refute yourself and you contradict yourself openly. You have already declared the Law of Moses divine and good, and said strongly that it has been sent from heaven to men. Then, as if you have repented of your previous declarations, you do not hesitate to say evil of it, and thus contradict yourself, as I said. It is not actually possible that the same Law is both divine and good and is also such that it can receive fair criticism. However, this Law and that of Christ, because they did not recommend moderation, you place among the bad Laws.

14 c. "You assume that the Law which is the best on all points, is yours, and that it keeps to a happy medium. You hope to show thereby that because of this happy medium, it is consistent with virtue. You deviate in this from the right position, and your friends will be ashamed for you. Because it is not appropriate for so important a man as you to cover the Law of Christ with lengthy contempt. You know how much you have allowed yourself to show scorn, openly calling it very unbearable and very violent, and absurd and cumbersome, even like a trap, and other similar epithets. I'm not saying anything about the many criticisms that you have uttered against virginity and because of which you have grossly attacked the legislator who established it, although you also placed him above all. 9. a. "But continue to reflect on this. You could reach better judgments even on points where you seem not to contradict yourself.

15 Now I should present my defence against your objections. b. "The extraordinary and supernatural things that, you say, are beyond human virtue, because they seem to you above human nature, are merely beyond a man. On the other hand, they are very accessible and easy for men, if they wish. That may seem to you like a puzzle, but it is completely the truth. If we consider our strength, or rather our weakness inherited from Adam, these points may seem above every virtue, but not when you consider the support and power of him who calls us to them. He doesn't encourage men in order to abandon them without his aid, but invisibly the hand of God helps them with their

actions. Here, then where such assistance is found, won't that which seems rude, what seems awkward, be that which appears instead very easy? c. "Get into the spirit where the reward is the kingdom of God. The previous discourse has already shown this and you yourself are still in agreement with it. It is therefore necessary that those whom this hope nourishes bear all. But this is not the time to explain myself. Your words lead us imperceptibly to the assistants, like a current. Let us therefore proceed to the defence, with the reasons that might persuade you, without, from need of a reply, you having to be ashamed of what is fair (to say).

16 10. a. "Our Lord, in the time he lived among us, adjusting our habits and leading us by all means into the light of truth, seemed to command and prescribe certain things indistinctly to everyone. He established them actually as an indication, as a sign, if you like, that we love him. Because, he says, 'one who loves me, keep my commandments. Therefore all must observe them well. Without this it is not possible to truly become his servants, from the enemies that we were previously because of the sin of our first parents. b. "The other points, he does not establish them as precepts necessary, not for all, nor as absolute master. It is in the form of exhortations and advice, or spiritual battle, if we like to call them so, that he offers to the most perfect, the promise of both the kingdom and the divine sonship. To those who are content to be servants, little ones with little ambitions, He gives corresponding benefits. All wealth, as they say, is not the same. On the contrary, all those who receive and observe this advice, enjoy the mystical parentage through participation in the divine grace. As evidenced by the operations and the power of the divine Spirit, who reveals himself in them and comes from them, like a current from an eternal source.

17 11. a. "I want to speak about this more clearly. May I be forgiven if I allow myself to follow the thread of discourse, led, if you like, by the current of truth; it leads me to what I now don't want to say or agree to, and what looks like green fruit, or rather, to speak more exactly, things premature for you who are attached to things carnal. Such spiritual food belongs to all those who are found inferior to them, and who are still attached all the same to the commandments: because if we omit them, we cannot be considered blameless servants. So these men can not only avoid incurring punishment, but also benefit from immortal rewards by the grace of the master to his ser-

vants, so that is beneficial for all those who, to this end, agreed to 'take the form of a slave', even though He is by nature the lord of all.

18 b. "So it is clear that to respect the precepts is a general and essential need. But to raise the level of the advice, which raise up to sonship, is a matter only for those who choose to suffer the painful things, whatever the quality and quantity, in order to win a joy and a glory without end. It is their task to preserve their eagerness until the end, not over time to abandon the group of the virtuous who practise virtue for itself, and finally get the crowns that are only for the heads of the virtuous. 19 c. "That's why, in dealing with this, the Saviour, who wanted to show what I said, uses this expression, very brief if we consider the words alone, but as great as Heaven when you consider its power: 'Let he who is able understand.' It is as if he said: great is the current battle, but larger and eternal are the rewards. This is to notify the man who has shown youthful courage and who, supported by his meditation, knows how to endure the hard part. I do not intend (you) to train at the race-track by force: that is neither normal nor just. Know who has the power, i.e. the will to overcome the hard part. He's the one who is worthy of admiration. Because free will, the honour given to men from the beginning and by which they are superior to other animals, remains intact: it is unnecessary that it be otherwise. Because how would one make a gift for what was done of necessity, whether it concerns a kingdom, or should one crown the lazy? On the contrary, it is in another way, it is by an art and a suitable power that he drives us all towards better goals. He has opened to all men the kingdom of heaven, and indicated the path that leads to it. Leading to a successful conclusion all that relates to that purpose, he had omitted nothing by way of relief to help strugglers and travellers. Rather there is nothing that he has not strongly recommended to all for their good.

20 d. "Is this a law above nature that you see here? It trains all men into virtue, provides relief to the will and rewards that reflect the struggles of everyone. " The Persians 12. a. -- "We see, said some, you speak of mysteries and doctrines higher than our knowledge. The precepts of Christ, you divide them into commands and counsels. You have expounded extremely well on this subject. b. "But we would like to hear you explain this more clearly and in detail." The Emperor 13. a. -- "How do you think, I said, that I should complete my defence? Anyone who can not keep their virginity will not be deprived of future blessings: otherwise the elect would be few. Similarly, any

person who, stripped of his coat, does not give his shirt also to him who seeks a quarrel, he is not liable to punishment, nor the one that, struck on one cheek, did not present the other to the aggressor. But even though we were unable to demonstrate a willingness to bear a greater injustice than the inclination to injustice of the unjust, nevertheless the fact that we suffer patiently injustice from anyone deserves, as we know, an important reward: because that is not easy nor possible for most people.

21 b. "These are your statements from the start - you remember - which we have rightly brought to these words. However, even taken this way, the high character of the exhortations does us good. Because certainly nothing would be happier than being able to achieve them, to launch ourselves out towards them like a goal and to strip oneself of this infirmity of spirit. This is not for us an acquisition of nature, far from it! Even if we were not able to give even what has escaped the ferocity of the unjust, even though we have not practiced all the higher virtues and are not in this way come to the end of perfection, if we have been able to accomplish, as they say, the second crossing, to know how to support patiently anyone encroaching on us, but we keep the medium, knowing how much we are lacking to the best of the best things."

22 The Persian 14. a. -- "How is it obvious," said the Persian, "that the medium will look after those who are lacking with respect to higher things, but practice charity, justice and like virtues? b. "For you have said, I think, that few will share in the eternal blessings. Living in such expectations is not keeping the medium." The Emperor 15. a. -- "But, my dear fellow, this is possible at need for those at least who have the spirit and reason from suitable principles. If men carefully observe the commandments good for mercenary servants, consider how to estimate those provided by the son? There is nothing that can engage a servant to take pride, if he is sensible. If in fact he performs the works of the servants, although by his service he gave his master thousands of blessings, made of dark, poor and humble elements, he merely carried out his duty and did not perform a service of freewill. He who does not do his duty is liable for a beating, imprisonment and other chastisements. He on the other hand who performs well in all things, no-one admires; he does even admire himself, I think. Is it his place to do it? Far from it.

23 b. " However the example, certainly, is not a happy one. For us, we need servants, and there are those who, by their servants, have escaped many misfortunes and gained a lot of property. But God, what need would he have of our services, He who lacks absolutely nothing and who created all things merely out of goodwill? Thus no man of intelligence could feel proud, because he observes the commandments of the master. He will however have his wages, which are granted by grace. Because no wages are due to slaves. He will obtain, however, what his moderate conduct deserves, and he will envy those who have practiced the points that he himself left out. 16. a. "That should be enough on that. But it was necessary that the discourse, which has deviated from the topic because of your questions, should respond to those who require one. Sometimes even in the course of discussion, the discourse takes us back on track so that it completes its course and returns to the subject that is appropriate.

24 b. "It is certainly not true that all those who have not managed to raise themselves to the level of the advice and exhortations were lost themselves. If, without any wrong to anyone, without wishing to suffer any longer, we then carry on in fear of being abused and will refer to the master of judgment to accuse the evildoer, we will not for that be liable to this censure. Certainly not, any more than if we go about wearing shoes, owning two tunics, with a staff, bag and money on the belt. It is also possible for those who want to marry and gain money by just means to live in a reasonable manner, although it would be a better acquisition if we did not want to acquire possessions in this world and loved the poverty adopted at the beginning by Christ more than any abundance. In short, to perform for a reasonable cause anything which is for us life is not condemned by nature, so to speak, nor prohibited by the Law.

25 17. a. "Let us say this, if we must make distinctions and summarize what has been said about this subject: b. "This is the act of evil men, unworthy even to be servants, to scorn the commands of the Master. To observe them is the due of wise and faithful servants. But to welcome the wonderful advice with pleasure and carry it out as you can, this is the duty of a man desirous of great values, not content to just be a servant, when it is possible to be a son. c. "It is thus necessary to speak as follows: it is the nature of better men, I mean those who say that they follow the values above, to be with the angels and become, so to speak, their companions in life. The characteristic

of men below them, men in the middle, is simply to observe the precepts that save and reconcile God with sinners. The third group, I mean those who, by their own decision, place themselves outside the other two groups mentioned, this is the herd of swine that are no good.

26 d. "It seems to me, dear friend, that you no longer hold to your first opinion, having learned this, and do not declare more openly that our Law is very hard and like a trap, nor that exhortations and advice which you said exceed the virtue of men, against all truth. For how would this law have seen fit to recommend things impossible? e. "That this advice seem more burdensome to you than the commandments of the past, is not surprising: they are clearly higher that them - because they lead to their completion - as you yourself have already agreed. But the thing that is complete is in all points higher than that which receives its completion from it. On the other hand, that which is higher and ascending is somewhat more difficult and makes more difficult the path that leads there. For in truth, narrow, straight and elevating, considering it for itself, is the path paved for all by God who, without leaving heaven, descended and became man for the salvation of our species. This way was in the beginning unknown, unused and difficult. These difficulties are inherent for it, because it leads upwards: it leads to the highest place; it is neither broad, neither plain, nor easy, for the reason that nobody traversed it before.

27 f. "The characteristics of the way that our first parents followed are the opposite. It leads to the abyss, and there are many men who from the beginning committed themselves, attracted by its gentle and easy slope and by the lure of the easiness. Not surprisingly, the Saviour leads men away from pleasures that lead to the abyss, and He encourages them to embark on the path that can save the travellers. It would have been amazing if he had recommended the opposite. The main reason is that there is of necessity nothing in common between him and playing around and that he has stigmatised the easy life, so to speak, in the eyes of all and of those who seek the same. g. "Indeed, among all humans, it is to you also and above all that he shows this. For those among you who seem to be the children of virtue, you believe that they are better than those who boast of a wide reputation and of great riches. The Greeks, obviously, thought in the same way. In short, for all, virtue is an object of esteem, and vice one of contempt. However, it was undoubtedly in

giving precepts or advice in good and due form, better done than in seeking to gain the consent of all.

28 18. a. "But as in fact not all of them follow the same way as the fervent (disciples), it is not this which it is important to examine. The part which is flesh and mud may be urged and pushed and led by any means to virtue by a rational soul, but it resists, you think well, and by its nature refuses the benefits which refrain from corruption. Because if it is true that the fruits of the virtue are sweet, the root of it is bitter. If such is the truth, the works of virtue are painful and are not achieved by necessity in nature but by the generosity of the will. However the will is not the same in everyone. It would be necessary, on the contrary, to be astonished if all nourished the same dispositions with regard to virtue and did not differ from each other in conduct.

29 b. "Thus the fact that all do not follow the same way as the fervent, in no way disparages the affirmation that virtue is good. On the contrary, the fact that all rather wish to be numbered with the virtuous than with those who have given themselves up to a slacker life, it is this which raises it to the value of a higher good. I think that if one offered, even to those dedicated to carelessness, the choice to be able, in all their conduct, to turn towards the better values, or of living in their usual loose morals, they would choose the first way and would reject the other, almost without considering it. [The seventh dialogue continues, to chapter 37, when the day ends and the two sides separate]

# Apology (extract)

GERASIMOS

*medieval, date uncertain*

Arabic Christian writer; an extract of his Apology is translated here.

## APOLOGY (EXTRACT)

1 [The following item appears in Beirut, Saint-Joseph University manuscript 548, pp.243-271. It is an extract from book 4 of the 5-book apology of Gerasimus, abbot of the monastery of St. Simeon the Wonderworker near Antioch, and contains a collection of sayings by pagans predicting the teaching of Christ.] In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. We begin with the help of God- may He be exalted- to write the words of the excellent father Gerasimos, abbot of the monastery of Simeon Stylites. He compiled a book and named it al-Kafi fi al-Ma'na al-Shafi and gathered within it testimonies from the Old and New [Testaments], from all the religions, from the books of the sages and the [illegible] and the book of the Muslims which confirm the true religion. Here we copy them. The Old and New [Testaments] we have with us, but the testimonies of the Muslims and [illegible], are not with us and here we copy them with God's help.

2 We say: the testimonies to the unity of God's substance which is exalted above every substance. The wise Sybille said: One is God, may He be exalted. His greatness is not varied. He alone sees all, though He is not seen by any mortal body. Plato: All these are a part of time that was and will be. However, it is not proper for us to attribute these to the eternal substance because we say that it was and it also will be. Rather, what is appropriate for it in true and precise language is that it is only a verbal expression, as 'was' and 'will be' must be predicated upon being in time. Also among what he wrote to Dionysius about God the Father: Because the existence of all of this and its maker is difficult to grasp, if He exists speech about Him is forbidden to all people because He is not like all the other things.

3 From the fourth book of Cyrus about the One God and that He does not have a name: There is no name for Him and human knowledge does not grasp Him. [illegible] said: because He has no need for anything, not for a part nor substance nor words, nor deeds. Rather, He is the cause of all these things. From the words of Hermes Trismegistos about God: Here is what I recounted about the One God alone. Nothing at all of Him is reached. We say that He is unattainable. Antisianus: He is not known from the image of his likeness and is not seen with the eye. He resembles nothing. Therefore no one can grasp Him from the image of His likeness. Xenophon: It is evident that the One who shakes all though He is unmoved is a great and powerful god. Any thing is subordinate with regard to form. One who wishes to know the lacking as manifest is in need of faith.

4 Socrates: O excellent one, we do not need to think about what the many say about us. Rather, we need to heed the righteous and the hypocrites. He is one and the truth itself. Also Plato: That which the treatise on definition arranges is the god of the beginning. What is below it is the gods. Tatawus Allakrus: The beginning of all is one and He is not part of being, because if He was under being He is not a beginning. On the hypostasis of the Son the Word. Plato: The eternally emanating essence of the Father which does not change or cease has a personal will and power. From it the eternal word took substance and upon its taking substance it alone governed all and graced the giver with the same governance. Also from him: I swear by the chief of all the gods under existence and the [illegible] their being. After Him are the chief and His son the Lord. He is the one whom you will know if you rightly philosophize.

5 Aristotle: God's nature is not overcome and its being has no beginning. From it the word took substance, the God who is powerful over all. From his fourth philosophical book: He came out before all ages from God the cause, complete since he is begotten in himself because his coming out did not only become a movement of that in the begetting. Arfaqus: I swear to you O sky, the perfect work of God is wisdom. I swear to you by the word of the Father who by it established the world. Hermes: The word of the creator is like an eternal begetting, moving in itself without increasing or decreasing. It does not change and does not decay. He alone resembles and is equal to himself, standing upright, steadfast and watchful. He is one after the god the know-

ledge of whom is prior. Numithius: God the creator should be thought of as a father, the first god.

6 The man given to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, in the time of Moses: When Pharoah, whose name was Batsunius, king of Egypt, became enraged with Moses at the release of the People he immediately went to the city of Munif, to the famous temple. When he made a sacrifice he asked the Thibia, saying thus: 'Inform me who the first among you is, the great god of Israel.' So he gave an oracle thus: 'In the great heavens there is a fire that surpasses description, eternally moving and immortal. The earth, the sea, and the depths are shaken by it and the demons are drowned by it. This is a god, the ruler of all, a father to a son, threefold not one. As for us, we are after the angels. Go silently.' Plutarch: Do not conceive of something prior to the cause of all, may it be exalted. From everything which is from every other thing is something else like it because it necessitates a change in it.

7 Babunius: From one intellect and the word which is from it aroseand was differentiated all of this. Bukididus: The nature of God's begetting is always power and it has no first. From Him himself the word took substance from the one with three hypostases. Porphyry: The substance of God goes out to three hypostases: the lofty and righteous god, the one who is after him and second to him, the creator, and the third is the soul of the world. Hermes: In himself he has not ceased to be in his own intellect. His light and his spirit enclose all. Also by him: There is no god besides him, and no angel and no demon and no other substance because he is the lord and father of all and his is god, source, life, power, light, intellect, and spirit. All is with him and under him. Another oracle given to Tudi, king of Egypt, in the temple of Africa: First is a god, then after him is a word and a spirit is with them. These agree in nature and their progress is towards the one.

8 Anthimus: God, the word, and the spirit are together. They do not cease to be one thing, one substance, and one majesty. The sermon of Darius the Wise: The three divine names are from the power of the one whose lordship is singular, whom no one has seen. He is the cause of all that has being and the cause of all that has a body. Hermes: I swear to you O sky by the father, the creator of wisdom, the divider of reason and intelligence. I swear to you by the word which created, perfected, caused confusion, and steadied. I swore to you by the spirit which divided the water and formed all that is in it. When they passed to the house prepared in the city of Muriqus, someone said

to them 'who is a man like?' Philo said, 'Know that this house is for a god one and threefold and for his word unbound and unperceived.

9 What follows this afterwards in the testimonies which pertain to the incarnation of the word: Philo also: What do you claim? Philo claimed one god with three names. One of them is the First Cause. The second is Power. The third is Wisdom pouring out upon all. The second is the word which creates all and the third is the life-giving soul. The statement on the birth of our lord Christ. Amilius the philosopher: One who aspires to becoming a philosopher must possess continence and distance himself from all evils and his action must be upright. When you philosophize thus then you will know the name and the one letter and you will behold the son of God who is free of passion and will become manifest. The words of Sybille the Wise: The maiden will come and with her the heavenly word. [illegible] The king Manidus gave an oracle and said, 'The word of God the pre-eternal Father will come in the body.' The king said, 'from which womb or from which seed will this appear?' He said to him, 'from the womb of a pure young maiden of short stature, with a light, shining complexion.' The king said to him, 'So without seed or sexual relations?' He said, 'By the wisdom foretold with the father. Then this body will be crucified and at that time doubts will come and minds will weaken.' His disciple said to him, 'Who sowed the seed about whom much will be said and discussed?' He said, 'The hidden will of God shall appear, my son.'

10 He pronounced another oracle that the word which was born perfect, who is the son and creator and maker came down and was born by a woman and roused the blind. Dimilitus pronounced an oracle and said, 'The word was with God and was God and made all with his hand. When he came down and was clothed in a robe of flesh man looked upon him and he revealed the substance of the majesty of the divine nature and he was as he was before his coming down. Severus: In the fifth age the youth will come from the south whose mother was not touched by man. The king will resist him and the children will be killed in the land of Judah for his sake. Philon: The son of God will come in the flesh, resembling the mortals of the earth. 11 [illegible] Hermes pronounced an oracle: Hermes, when Pharaoh asked him at the time of his worshipping the star known as Saturn to give him an oracle and to tell him who is greater than it. He said, 'Pardon me,' and he did not pardon him. Then he said, 'Greater and more magnificent is the one who treads

upon the heavens. His robe is eternal light and his rays do not change or diminish. He is not disturbed and is not penetrated. Before him are two blazing fires and he is the pre-eternal God and the eternal father. The divine nature is his and from him and in him. He has no father before him. He has a son from him and in him who is from no one but him. Pharaoh set this down on stone tablets and erected them in the temple which is in the city of Murikus. Time passed, and each one said 'this house is mine.' Their grandees gathered and accepted Philon. He pronounced an oracle and said, 'know that this house belongs to one threefold god and his unbounded and imperceptible word. I see a virgin girl with child and it is like a light coming from her. The one born will frequent this house. Then he will be offered as a sacrifice.

12 Aristotle said: The uncreated is created and the created is uncreated. The father is a father and the son is a son and the one is three. One incorporealbecame incarnate a land which gave birth to the maker of heaven. Apollo: Do all that leads towards the good and the beautiful. I will confirm three times the one, king of exaltedness, God whose wisdom and word do not decay. He will be born with them from a virgin girl and they will pass through the world like a bow blazing with fire. He will catch all and will offer it as a gift to the father. On statements about the holy passions of Christ Solon: In the end, he will come to the earth which is variegated in multiplicity and become flesh, free of sin. Within him will be the power of the unconquered divine nature to heal incurable ailments. For the sake of this he will be born in an unbelieving people in the flesh and will be persecuted by them and hung on a piece of wood.

13 Giun: At a certain time there will come to this drowning world a certain person free from sin and he will be born in the body without passion afflicting the divine nature. He will heal the corruption of incurable passions and the unbelieving people will be jealous of him. He will be crucified as one condemned to death and by this pleased all with his meekness. From the stories of the people of the city of Athens: The wise men of the city of Athens upon seeing the darkness which fell during the passions of our Lord Christ asked Dionysius the Areopagite, who was still a pagan, 'O teacher, what do you say about this darkness, because we have determined the correct paths of the sun and moon but we cannot determine the cause [of this].' He said to them, 'The Son of God was slandered by a people.' Sagharklis on the response of the houses of idols: The god who made the long heaven and earth is one,

while mortals are many and wandering in the heart. We have set up idols of stone and brass and images from works of gold and ivory. We offer to them wondrous sacrifices and feasts and think that in this way we perform proper worship.

14 Porphyry of Tyre said: Now you are surprised if a plague afflicts a city of this size for years, [but] it is because Asclepios and the rest of the gods have no presence and Jesus is honored for no one is granted a deceitful benefit from the gods. From one of the stories of the Romans: In the fifty-fifth year of the rule of Augustus, he went to the temple and performed a sacrifice. He asked who will rule the Romans after him but he was not given a response by the pythia. He made another sacrifice and asked, 'why do you not speak?' and this was said to him: 'A Hebrew child will take precedence over me as he is a gracious and powerful god. He will spur me on to leave this place and everything attached to it. From an oracle of Apollo al-Daqnuni: When the maidservants of the temple of Apollo asked him 'Why do you no longer give inspiration and knowledge like you used to?' he responded to them with this response: 'O ones more wretched than the other maidservants of my temples, it was not necessary to ask me this last question which inquires about the wondrous god and the breath of his divine nature which envelopes all creation which hangs from it like a bunch of grapes-- all creation, which is the stars and fire, the rivers and the lower frost, wind and light. [The divine nature] expelled me from Athens, from the temple which is here, and I did not desire this. The works of my three-legged stand which I retain today are emboldened to lose me. Apollo has perished and is extinguished, since the human and heavenly man is angered at me and the one who has suffered is a god and his divine nature itself did not suffer.

15 The end of what I can explain of the statements of the sages about the truth of the religion of Christ, which is the religion of the Christians, praise be to God forever. 17 Reading for This sentence is rather unclear in the Arabic, either due to a copyist's error or a clumsy translation from the Greek. Tentativly reading as possibly to be corrected to Yunius? This seems to be the sense here.

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