

The Chronicle of Arbela

Translated by Peter KAWERAU
English translation by Timothy KROLL

LOVANI IN ÆDIBUS E. PEETERS 1985



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And you have asked me many times, beloved Pinhes, to write down for you an account of all the bishops¹ of our hiparchy² and the martyrs, who were killed because of their love for Christ³, and all of those, who earned a famous name in this world, and he, who is ready to; so that the praise ascends to God and be a good ransom for us in heaven. You know namely, that the story of our church bishops⁴ leads us to the foundation of the church, which is our lord Jesus Christ, the awakener of our contemptible nation. And for that reason we love him with all our hearts. He must be namely the goal of our thoughts, which he is. And behind his love, we must go along. And when it is the case, that we do this, the Holy Ghost lives within us. And we will be temples for the Holy Trinity, which lives in us all. Their power is that this godly trinity plants in us a vineyard and surrounds it with a fence and digs for us a winepress.⁵ A vineyard, because we are the work of God and he planted us and we are his property. It is namely written, that he has come into his property.⁶ A fence, with which we be protected and guarded inside of him, that we will not be pierced by the claws of our enemies, hidden and open. The winepress due to the martyrs, which were called names, killed because of Christ⁷, and pressed out like grapes through the feet of the faithless torturers. It was namely said through the godly David: “Because of you we are killed daily. And we are watched as sheep to prey.”⁸ We will from here on speak with the power of God of the bishops and the martyrs. We plead through prayer for help from our kind God, that he, in his grace, forgives our mistakes and allows us the uncovered stories of the chancel⁹ of his glory, to him belong the honor and glory for ever.

1. Bishop Peqida of Arbela (104-114 A.D.)¹⁰

The first of the bishops¹¹, which the territory of Hedajjab¹² had, is, according to Habel the Teacher, Mar Peqida, who had a hand laid upon him¹³ by Addai the Apostle in his own person. This was the son of a poor man, whose name was Berri. And he was a servant of one of the Megušes.¹⁴ His son however, from that time on, when he saw a miracle, through which Addai the Apostle woke a small girl, as she was being carried to her grave, and there was, in her parents, the movement in their hearts of the Holy Ghost, which has been stored in us through our Lord, Jesus Christ¹⁵. And he decided that he would be his student. Those persecutions he therefore received from his father and from his relatives, for the mouth could not retell, and an understanding could not be made. However, he stood firm

¹ ܐܢܝܘܢܝܢ

² = metropolis

³ ܐܕܝܝܐ

⁴ ܐܘܝܝܢܝܢ

⁵ Ref: Matthew 21:33; Mark 21:1; and Luke 20:9.

⁶ John 1:11

⁷ *Mingana* has “for the love of...”: ܝܘܠܝܝܢܝܢ

⁸ Palm 44:23

⁹ ܐܘܪܫܠܝܡ = Βημα = بېما. = Bema: the church sanctuary where holy objects and writing are kept.

¹⁰ All chapter titles were added by Kawerau.

¹¹ Syrian ܐܘܝܝܢܝܢ

¹² Adiabene: territory in Assyria, between the rivers Lykus and Kaprus.

¹³ Laying of hands is the ordination of clergy.

¹⁴ Magians in the chronicle do not represent just the priests, but any Persian of the old faith.

¹⁵ Titus 3:6.

against all of this in his attitude, and his parents locked him up in a gloomy house. But he had a helper, which opened the door for him, and he escaped, and ran, and searched for the apostle; but he could not find him. And as it was said to him “He has gone to the mountain villages”, he wished immediately, that he go and be taught by him and be blessed by him. And as he reached¹⁶ him after many days, the saint¹⁷ was happy to take him where he went. And they say that after five years he laid his hand upon him and sent him into his land. And he began to preach among the herds¹⁸ of heathens and to perform great deeds and miracles like the apostle and to bring many of the sheep into the pen¹⁹ of Christ, in which he converted²⁰ them through the godly grace. And after ten years he died and his students buried him in the house of his parents, who had changed their attitude and stuck with him.

2. Bishop Šemšon of Arbela (120-123 .D.)

After six years came Mazra, the bishop²¹ of Bet Zabdai, in the territory of Hedajjab with a caravan of traders. And as he heard that a community of Christians²² was present here, he went secretly to them. And as he brought them to trust him, they let him into their house and told him, that they have been without a bishop²³ for six years, and called upon him to lay his hand upon Deacon Šemšon and ordain him as a bishop²⁴. And he consented to their good wishes and laid his hand upon him, because he heard that he was of Deacon Peqida. And so he began to lead this godly community and “let them live on grass of power²⁵”. And we went out and began to preach to the villagers, who sat around in rings, worshipping the fire. And they threw in it small children, during their great festival, which they called Šahrabgamud²⁶.

And Habel the Scribe reports about this festival as follows: “This festival falls namely in the month of Ijjar²⁷. And they gathered together from all areas to a large well. And after they bathed in it, they settled down and cooked and gave to their slaves, so that they ate. They themselves, however, did not eat until they threw into the fire one of their small children. Then they took its liver and its kidneys and hung them up on tree branches, which were there, as signs of their festival. Afterwards they shot many arrows into the sky and went back into their houses.”

And when he preached to them the length of two years, he baptized many of them, and the Christian faith spread out considerably through the virtues of Šemšon (120-123 A.D.). But when the affaires became known to the princes, who were there, and the Meguše, they bound him, and after many torments they killed him. And this happened seven years, says

¹⁶ ÚÓâ arrived

¹⁷ Syrian ܐܫܘܢܐ

¹⁸ ܐܫܘܢܐ

¹⁹ ܐܫܘܢܐ enclave

²⁰ äÓâ *Mingana*: engrossed

²¹ ܐܫܘܢܐ

²² ܐܫܘܢܐ

²³ Ms. 3:17: ܐܫܘܢܐ

²⁴ Ms. 3:18: ܐܫܘܢܐ

²⁵ Psalm 23:2

²⁶ : an ancient festival in Adiabene when it is believed children under 5 were sacrificed in a bonfire.

²⁷ Roughly the month of May.

Habel the Scribe, after Khusrau, Grand King of the Arsachids, was besieged by Trajan, the Caesar of the Romans, which came and visited our lands. And it was Šemšon, the first martyr of our area.

And he was raised to heaven. May the Lord help us through his prayers and ensure that we imitate his moral life, that we may enjoy his joys.

What shall I now say and recount about this holy apostle, which the Lord took as a model for us to look at every time. We want further to pray to our Lord Jesus²⁸, which gave his apostles and after them their representatives, the charge of their words, and gave the sermon of power, with which the uneducated and barbarian heathens will be brought together and seized by the faith. And the sound of these words are heard in the entire universe. “Throughout the whole world their proclamation is felt, and at the ends of the earth, their words.” And to him, which power has been bestowed, has done everything through their hands, to him shall be praise in every time in eternity.

Such men have arisen in our land, o Pinhes. With their blood the trenches of our land are filled and the crops are grown, and “they have given thirty times, sixty times, and one hundred times over²⁹”. Samson of the Old Testament has through his power pushed out and subjugated the Philistines. And the Samson of the New Testament, through the power of the Lord, and through his fasting, and through his Nazarites³⁰, subjugated the heathens, the Philistines of his day, and they were bound under the yolk of service to god. Because they were not able to break their chains. In the Old Testament he showed his power, and in the New Testament he showed his grace. His power and grace are with us all days.

3. Bishop Ishaq of Arbela (135-148 A.D.)

However, after him, this athlete³¹ of Christ, was a bishop³² of many Christians, which were available, Mar Ishaq (135-148 A.D.) a zealous and religious man, who was brought in the manner of Ishaq³³, as a living sacrifice for the Lord. However, the godly will did not allow, that he be pierced by the arrowheads of the evil, the enemies of everything holy. And also so he instructed as a colleague³⁴ without exhaustion. And in his time there was a man, who was well-known and well-off, and they said that he was appointed by the kings, to rule this region, and his name was Raqbakt. And when he heard of the calling of Mar Ishaq, he came to him and asked him about his vows. And he welcomed it and said that he holds to them. And after many days he baptized him in a secret village on account of his fear of Vologeses, the second Grand King of the Parthians. And through the influence of this saint, a Constantine³⁵ of his time, the Christian commitment was spread to the villages³⁶, which are

²⁸ ܠܗܝܘܐ

²⁹ Psalm 19:5

³⁰ -ܠܗܝܘܐ ܐܬܠܝܘܬܐ = אֲתֵלֵם = A person who has dedicated themselves to God per Num 6:2-21: no wine, no flesh, free-growing hair.

³¹ ܠܗܝܘܐ ܐܬܠܝܘܬܐ = αθλητης : also warrior

³² ܠܗܝܘܐ

³³ Isaac; 1st Moses/Gen 22:1-18

³⁴ ܐܘܡܝܢܐܝܝܢܐ

³⁵ Constantine I of Rome.

³⁶ ܠܗܝܘܐ ܐܬܠܝܘܬܐ old plural of ܠܗܝܘܐ : city, village, town



around us. And against him stood up the priests, the heathens, and endeavored, that they change his mind. And as they labored without success, they decided, that they would kill him, so that their Megušdom³⁷ would be saved.

Habel the Teacher reports it the following way and says: “They ordered other Megušes of their faith which lived in the mountains, they shed their over-ropes and dressed up and carried on like people of far lands and went to the saint of the Lord in the manner of travelers, who wished for a bite to eat and to stay there the whole night. And at the end of the night, they should kill him and go back to their land. However, some of these, enemies of the exalted God and friends of the accursed Satan, decided that everything that, which they had heard and were compelled and was said to them in secret, was sacrilegious of the Megušes, their comrades. And they sent forth many servants and proclaimed to the Christian³⁸ Raqbakt, that there are nobles from far lands of the Romans, who came to him and bid, that they spend a night at his house. Hence it should suit him, that he prepare lodging for them and a dinner, which was fitting for their status.

As the saint of the Lord heard this, he planned posthaste, that he prepare everything, that was fitting. And it pleased his soul in God, that he was capable of proselytizing them to a covenant with the One God, the creator of heaven and Earth. And as everything was prepared, these envoys of Satan arrived, so that they rode on bejeweled horses. However, God, “who is gracious to Israel and to those, who are of simple hearts”³⁹, did not allow it, that the evil arrows injure him, “which they placed on their bowstrings”⁴⁰. Then as they were at the meal, to the saint of the Lord came a messenger⁴¹ from Ctesiphon, which informed him on behalf of the Grand King Vologeses, that he should come, when he is willing, without delay to Ctesiphon, with it the power of both of them would pacify the impetuosity of a rebel people, which fell on land of the Qardu mountains⁴², and plundered and decimated many cities. And that he rise up thereupon quickly and delivered his satanic guests to his brother, the heathen. And he himself promptly sent the messenger of the grand king away with a few men of his household and told his brother that he should amass troops and lead them in person and bring them to Ctesiphon. And as “broken was the trap” of the priests of malice and the strong Raqbakt “escaped”, they poured their entire rage on the chief of the saints of the Lord, of the heroic and famous Ishaq. Two days later they went to him and imprisoned him in a gloomy house. And they had the intent to kill him, but they feared an insurrection and the furiousness of the people, in which they held great fear of Raqbakt, the commander of the army.

And as through God the victorious Raqbakt heard the painful news, he gave the order, that while he is in Ctesiphon, that they should release the servant of God and lead him out of prison and give him complete freedom. And he threatened with many oaths, that he would kill any one who stood against him and is not willing in this matter. And the prophet of God came forthwith freely out of the house of the prisoners. Raqbakt however, the powerful man, remained sixteen days in Ctesiphon. And from there he gave orders to his general Aršak⁴³,

³⁷ Խոսմեղսն զհնար

³⁸ Քրիստոս

³⁹ Psalm 73:1

⁴⁰ Psalm 11:2

⁴¹ Կարգաւոր = tabillarius

⁴² Կարձուք Գաբալ-Կուրդ, Kurdistan Mountains

⁴³ Many see here the name “Vologeses III”, as it is the Armenian form of the name Walgaš Արշակույն

that he amass many soldiers near him, some twenty thousand, all of them foot-soldiers⁴⁴. And he set out against the rebels. God knows which satraps they crossed on the march and how many difficult mountains they climbed, as they came. And at the time of their meeting they engaged in small skirmishes. And the rebels were besieged.

At the end one of the chiefs of the rebellion, who was named Kizo, had engaged Aršak in one of the mountain gulches. And he encircled them there. And for three days they lead a hefty battle. But Aršaq’s soldiers became weak against the strength of their hunger and gave up hope of victory and began to flee. And the powerful Raqbakt went out of the camp of the soldiers and called his guard to him. And they climbed up the mountain “like the eagle, circling above his aerie”⁴⁵. And he hit the rebels in a fearsome bloodbath. And he paved the way for Aršak and his troops so that they could escape those demonic wolves. However, this powerful man of God rode into a detachment of the enemy troops. And one of them pierced him in his side with a spear and brought him to the ground, afterwards he gave up his soul like Judas the Maccabean⁴⁶ as a victim for the lord instead of a ransom for his people, because had he not done so against the power of his love, all of his soldiers would have been killed.

The rebels now, when they saw this, endeavored to descend down to the desert and took away all of Aršaq’s cities. And also as they, when they heard that another barbarian people had crossed the sea⁴⁷ and came like thieves, in that they destroyed their cities and laid waste to them and took everything that they had by force, up to their woman; they turned in haste and sought help for their land. When they arrived they fought for two months, until they overcame them and fought them back across the sea.

Whatever the form the sadness our entire land took at the time, when they heard the painful news about the death of Raqbakt, the inscriber was not able to describe. Many times the true Christians let their eyes overrun with tears for him and bemoaned him like David did Jonathan⁴⁸: “How did the man fall in battle?! Jonathan, on your mountains are the fallen. I am in mourning over you, my brother Jonathan. You were dear to me.” And he who is capable of holding back their grief, was Ishaq at the death of his helper. The silence suited us, because we will see everything clearly on judgment day, as it is in truth.

After a short time the god-loving Mar Ishaq, the bishop (135-148 A.D.) died, after he had ruled the bishop’s seat for 13 years. And this caregiver, whose “vanity for the house of the Lord consumed him”, had a large and well-planned church built⁴⁹, which exists to this day and is named for him.

4. Bishop Abraham I of Arbela (148-163 A.D.)

And he was followed by Abraham the Teacher, son of the honor-worthy Salomon, whose

⁴⁴ The infantry was important in this area, as a cavalry could not handle the mountains.

⁴⁵ Deut32:11

⁴⁶ 1 Macc. 9

⁴⁷ “the sea” in the Chronicle always refers to the Caspian, not the Mediterranean.

⁴⁸ 2 Sam. 1:25-26

⁴⁹ ܡܫܩ ܒܢܐ means “had built”, but is best translated “he gave permission for its construction”



family is from Herda, a village in the area of Hesna ‘Ebraja.⁵⁰ And his grandfather came and lived in Arbela. And his parents brought him up in the Christian faith, since he was a kid, during the time of Šemšun, the Bishop. And also this man⁵¹ led the bishop’s seat in clemency and humility, which is unspeakable. And he stayed a long time in the high mountains, in which he taught the Christian faith and the true covenant and baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.⁵²

And as he made his way to the mountains, in which he taught the Christian Faith, the Megušes rose up against the Christians of our land and plundered their demesnes and tortured them gruesomely. And this news reached the pious Abraham. And he came down from the mountains. And through the power of miracles, which he brought about, and through his wisdom, which is incomprehensible, he did not allow the wild wolves to destroy all the worshipers of Christ. However, after he reconciled with them, he trekked to Ctesiphon. And the Grand King Vologeses II⁵³ was dead. And Vologeses III⁵⁴ followed in his place. And the man of God brought with him many presents for the nobles of the capital, so that through their mediation he could acquire a diploma⁵⁵ for the Christians of his land from the heathen grand king, that with it they would not be randomly and wrongfully hurt by the Megušes. But the tumultuous circumstances of the kingdom did not allow him to attain his goal. Many troops were namely collected there from all towns. And they were intent on falling on the lands of the Romans.⁵⁶ And he therefore returned, because it was not possible, that he bring back any diploma.

God, however, did not want the ambition of the grand king to reach its apex. Rather after the Parthians were vanquished after dastardly inroads, the Roman light cavalry followed them until they surrounded them in Ctesiphon⁵⁷. God wanted instead, that he shine his wrath on the both of them. And the Romans were pressed back, so that they fled and returned to their country⁵⁸. But also because of it they did not have the possibility to be free of it. And the pestilence followed them and many of them rotted. And they left behind many Parthian riches, because they had no time to take anything because of their fear. And this pestilence lasted three months and rotted many families of the people. And as this pestilence came into our land, Bishop Abraham held firm, that he, with all of his godly power, which was concealed in him, would comfort and assist the Christians⁵⁹, who fell ill. But he also was stricken intensely, and he ordained Noh, his deacon. And he entered paradise in order to gain the good reward for his labors from that judge of justice⁶⁰. So he had ruled the exalted bishop’s seat of Hedajjab for fifteen years.

⁵⁰ The location of these cities is unknown, but the main Hebrew cities were on the Tigris near Nineveh, and Budge believes the town is actually Mosul.

⁵¹ Abraham

⁵² Math 28:19

⁵³ = Vologeses III (111/2 – 146/7 A.D.)

⁵⁴ = Vologeses IV (147/8-190/1 A.D.)

⁵⁵ כְּרִיָּא a document guaranteeing the rights of a minority

⁵⁶ Caesar Marcus Aurelius (162 A.D) led a campaign against the Parthians in Cappadocia, Syria, and Armenia.

⁵⁷ Seleucia

⁵⁸ After the Romans conquered Seleucia, they were overcome by plague.

⁵⁹ כְּרִיָּא

⁶⁰ 2 Timothy 4:8



The holy Noh was however at that time in that big village, which sits on the Zaba⁶⁹. He fled from the poison of the Megušes and kept himself hidden there. And as Razšah arrived and saw his son ready to knock on death's door, he abandoned his senses of the greatness of the pain. And he began to throw ashes on his head and in the interior of his house. Thereupon the saint of God went there. And he promised the housemates, that he and his son will be resurrected under the condition that they believe in Jesus Christ. And they answered him: If you give this beloved boy life again, we will do as you wish. And the saint prayed on it and said: Lord, God the father, you have shown your power to the people and peasants, you, who through Moses has shown countless signs and lead out the Benai Israel⁷⁰ through your great power, you, who through your prophets has shown to all people, that you do not want the death of the sinners, but that they turn from their unjustness and lives, you, who has awakened your beloved Lazarus, who had slept for four days, you, who has said, that "everyone, who believes in me, that he will achieve better than this", you, who through the power of your strength had the apostles proclaim your name in every town and land and planted your church and founded it on the unconquerable rock of Šem'on Kepa⁷¹, you, oh Lord, look upon your servant, this small boy, who in his purity and in his silence believes in you, that you are the god of truth. And look mercifully on this group, who has gathered here and waits on your goodness. And judge this person, who followed in your image and your likeness, and heal them from the sickness of their bodies." And upon his last words he made the sign of the cross on the boy. And immediately he stood up, healed from all sickness and weakness and free from every injury. And many heard of this miracle. And everyone gave God the honor, which his glory showed through his body. And Razšah and his housemate fulfilled everything that they promised. And they received the baptism and lead a holy life the length of their lives.

But the saint of God, therefore, because he could not go back to the city of Arbela out of fear of the Megušes, remained in Razšah's house. And he taught the orthodox faith to all the village inhabitants. And he also went in the land of Nineveh and brought the name of Christ to many villages, which had not before heard it. And one of those towns, by the name of Reši, its inhabitants worshiped an oak⁷² tree. And they all converted and recognized that Jesus, who the Ihudaj⁷³ crucified, is truthfully the son of God. But in the canon⁷⁴ of this village, it was that no man may drip blood around that tree.

But on one day children were playing in the proximity of that accursed tree. And note: a black snake was crawling on the tree. But the children, incited by the Ghost of God, killed it with stones and dripped there the little blood, that was in it. As it became evening, the inhabitants of the village went to that place to pray. But: Oh great miracle! Look! They saw blood. Immediately they turned out of fear of their god and began to lament. The saint of God, however, was present there and cut into the tree the sign of the venerable cross. And the tree vanished from there. But after many days, they found it planted in the city of Daquq⁷⁵. And they uprooted it, those heathens and wanted to burn the

⁶⁹ The River Zab.

⁷⁰ אֱשֵׁרֵי יִבְנֵי לְאֻרְשַׁי, Israelites of the northern Empire

⁷¹ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܦܘܬܐ

⁷² ܥܘܕܐ

⁷³ Jews

⁷⁴ ܬܘܩܢܐ, the pagan religious law

⁷⁵ Tauk, south of Kirkuk on the road to aghdad.

saint and it, although it was living. Then they thought that it is the way of pure evil, from the first to the last. But in that moment, that they set a fire with wood, the tree arose and planted itself in its place. And they said then, the wicked, one to the other: Truly, our god doesn't want us to kill this man, because in the hour, in which we want to burn him, this God came and it appeared through this sign that he says to us, that we are not to kill him. We can no longer set ourselves against our God, who shows his will in this emphatic manner. This man compares to a rose, which when much rain falls on it, blooms beautifully; when however the sun comes, it becomes limp, but after when rain falls on it, is it even bigger than before. And this man was also withered. But God wanted to rescue him from our hands. And he cast rain over him. We will let him free and give him freedom, that with it he does not bring us under the foot of God.

Now the saint of God, when he saw that they were busy with such deliberations, began to show them the truth of the Christian faith, and many of them on the other. And under the count of an election they found a new village leader, whose name was Razmarduk. Now through zeal clothed with God was the thorn bush of the Megušdom weeded out of every village, and the faith in Jesus Christ conquered it and was planted against it. And he distanced them from those gods of lies, "they have ears, but do not hear; they have mouths, but do not speak; and have eyes, but do not see".⁷⁶

And in a few months the holy Noh baptized the collected inhabitants and remained there an entire year. Afterwards the saint went home to Arbela, and there, after he worked two years in the vineyard of the lord, and after he ordained many priests and deacons, he went over to the Lord, that with it he receive from him the good wage, which he earned through beautiful works and through his sleepless vigils and through his shining life, which was filled with mighty deeds and miracles. So he ruled the many Christians of our hiparchy sixteen years.

Seat Vacancy

And after his death our church was without a bishop⁷⁷ and remained orphaned because of the hate of the heathens and Megušes. And our brothers were saddened at this time. Many of them, who were new and weak in their Christianity, returned to the religion of Satan. Then they saw their houses, which were plundered, and their sons and daughters, which were taken away or kept in secret, and there were those, who were gruesomely beaten down by the students of the enemy of corporeal form.

6. Bishop Habel of Arbela. (183-190 A.D.)

After four years the Christians of our land gathered with the priests and the deacons and lected Mar Habel for the administration of the bishopric and brought him to Hanita⁷⁸, that with it Zeka Išo', the city bishop, ordained him there. Meanwhile the remembrance of the

⁷⁶ Psalm 115:5-6

⁷⁷ ܐܘܨܝܢܐ

⁷⁸ Theophanes, diocese on the east riverside of the Greater Zab.

holy Noh was not washed from the minds of the Christians. Then they built him a⁷⁹ church and named it after him. And it can be found there to this day. And the Christians⁸⁰ go there daily and place themselves under his protection ask request his intercession for themselves and their families.

Many heroes arose in our land, o beloved Pinhes. And they are for us a model of goodness and an exemplar of holiness, which is to be imitated dutifully at that time.

Now Mar Habel was the son of a carpenter from the village of Zaira⁸¹. And when he was big, his father made him a shepherd of sheep, which he possessed. And he had since his youth beauty of custom and goodness of character, which brought those to amazement, who saw him. And he was one of those poor of spirit, which the praise-worthy gospel mentions and augurs them beatitudes: “Blessed are the poor in spirit, because theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” His heart did not depend in any way on earthly possessions, and his father clearly recognized, that his son did not strive for earthly riches, but rather for something else. And when they spoke with him about worldly affairs, his heart did not take any part of it. And it did not interest him, to expand his earthly possessions. Yet when he was in need of something, he was not saddened and did not whine. And due to this he sometimes did not attend to his sheep, but rather left⁸² only the dog for the sheep, and went many times in a cave and contemplated the nothingness and the setting of this world. And for this reason his father hated him.

And one day Habel lost two ewes in the mountains and was immediately was banished from his house. But at dawn on the second day both ewes returned to the herd entirely on their own. And his father had remorse, that he outcast his son. But this changed after Arbela. And it happened, and he came into the Christian⁸³ church through godly influence. And the Christians⁸⁴ began to give him nourishment because of Christ’s love. And one of them let him stay with him. And after a few days, the son asked to be baptized. After two years he became a deacon⁸⁵ of Mar Abraham for the length of six month. When this saint of God died, he never parted ways with the holy Noh and loved him like his father. And as we have said above, this father was perfect and humble. And because of this he became worthy to sustain the land. “Even blessed be the humble, because they will inherit the land”⁸⁶, and that is the land of heaven. And through his perfection he was able to placate the rage of conflicts, which were between the Christians⁸⁷ and the heathens. He became further able to master his tongue, “with which we bless the Lord and Father and with which we execrate the people, who were made after the bible”⁸⁸. In on case did it come to us to think, that therefore he loved the people of the world who went on their way, because the saint is perfect, and the spirit of holiness is within them and they do nothing hate- worthy and recognized clearly, that “love of this world is animosity against God”⁸⁹.

At this time Vologeses IV, the grand king of the Parthians, got stronger and took many

⁷⁹ ܐܘܠܐܘܢܐ is used here as an indefinite article

⁸⁰ ܐܘܠܐܘܢܐܝܘܢܐ

⁸¹ Unknown location.

⁸² ܘܢܐܘܠܐܘܢܐܝܘܢܐ ܐܘܠܐܘܢܐܝܘܢܐ

⁸³ ܐܘܠܐܘܢܐܝܘܢܐܝܘܢܐ

⁸⁴ ܐܘܠܐܘܢܐܝܘܢܐܝܘܢܐ

⁸⁵ ܐܘܠܐܘܢܐܝܘܢܐܝܘܢܐ

⁸⁶ Matthew 5:5

⁸⁷ ܐܘܠܐܘܢܐܝܘܢܐܝܘܢܐ

⁸⁸ Jacob 3:8-9

⁸⁹ Jacob 4:4



lands from the Romans. And he turned against the land of the Persians, which, for a long time had been making preparations to confront him. And he came against them, Vologeses did, with 120,000 soldiers. And they rose against one another in the land of Khurasan. Now the Parthians, as they were for the first time looking to cross a small river, they saw themselves encircled on every shore by troops of Persians and Medes. And after a hefty battle, the Parthians were besieged and began to turn tail and run. And then ran to the hills, which are in that land, whereby they brought together their detachments. And they gave all their horses to the Persians.⁹⁰ But the Persians ran after them and surrounded the mountain above them, whereby they slaughtered a countless number of them. Now the Parthians, as they saw that without great valor all were slaughtered without exception, they pulled their forces together and fell upon the Persians with an impact, which is indescribable. And they fought them in their flight, and they overran their flight. And they pursued them up to the sea, whereupon they threw their bodies to the ground like locusts. And as they turned back, they rose upon the other Persians, who had separated themselves from their comrades. And this emerged as a new battle between them. And it lasted two days. And as it was the third night, both sides slept, that with it in the early morning of the day they could become invidious. But as the Persians arose, they saw not a single Persian more. Namely they all fled in the night and turned to their comrades and unified themselves with them. And the Parthians turned back victorious and proud in their hearts.

In this time, beloved Pinhes, wars were everywhere and tumultuous news in every land. And if the Lord were not at that time with his churches pursuant to his promise, and had not at this time reinforced their foundations, they would certainly have collapsed a thousand times over. Now if we look now on the land of the Romans: from the beginning of the church on the persecutions never stopped. We have the possibility to recognize this from the ecclesiastics⁹¹ of Eusebis de-Qesarja⁹². So everyone, who contemplated, how after such trials and tribulations of all kinds the canons and the church offices were not annihilated and effaced, truly believed, that they made it though by the bosom of God, the word.

So the first, who persecuted the Christians is Nero the Wicked, who not alone personally tortured them, but rather wanted to show that the Christians are the cause of all evil, which is done. And therefore he set fire to a large part of Rome, the city, and proclaimed that the Christians, they themselves, were the ones who set it ablaze, and commanded that they should be killed without mercy.

At that time those tyrants, who only sought pretense for themselves, that they oppress our brothers and the children of the church, and they are eradicated, not omitting a form of torturous torment, without adding to them. And on this grim occasion the blessed pair of head apostles. Patros was crucified like his Lord. But as to not be exactly like Him, he asked to be stretched on the cross with this feet up and his head below. Paulos was however beaten on the head. And immediately at that place where he was killed, two trees grew⁹³, beautiful and grand, that with it they will be in lasting memory of their lives and their deaths according to God's will and disgraceful damnation of their persecutors. And after Nero followed other caesars, heathens, which sought out and found different hellacious

⁹⁰ Nomads had to relinquish their horses to the nobility.

⁹¹ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία

⁹² Euseb of Caesaria was the first Christian church historian.

⁹³ In the book of Acts, this occurrence after the death of Peter and Paul is not mentioned.

martyrdoms. But in truth it was Satan who placed everything in their hearts and supported all of theirs⁹⁴. Domitian⁹⁵ and Marcus⁹⁶ and Severus⁹⁷ and many others did not stop and never got tired in their mass round-up of students of Christ. And they hid themselves at every corner, and there was not help. And they fled into the mountains, the heathens, like leopards hungry for blood, hunted for them. When they remained in their houses, they were slaughtered like lambs, they together with their women and children. The ones who were spared by grace, they worked in the mines from morning to evening.

So they remained slaves, even those who renounced Christ, the son of God, and named their friends. Oh about the bitter bondage, in which the son of God was, which not by grace⁹⁸ servants and laborers became the worshipers of idols.

Domitian now, of that sea of laziness and of idleness and of children's games and the anguish of evil, did not gird himself nor make pains for himself, but armed his armies without killing and bloodshed of Christians. And as that hand, which wrote the conviction of John the Apostle, did not grow stiff immediately and ceased its actions. And how are the penalties, which he portrayed in his revelation for the wicked and evil-doers, not immediately come over them and ushered them into the depths of hell? Despite all of this we believe, oh beloved Pinhes, that at such a time the wicked surround us, they befall us to our advantage, and that after tribulation joy fills our hearts. And also the Ihudaj, those, who spoke against the cooling of our suffering and pains "on the streams of Babylon: there we sat and cried"⁹⁹, have sung, as the decree of the creator of the world was completed with the voice of praise and thanks of their return, which was under the rule of Cyrus of Persia¹⁰⁰.

And also we, on account of because Narsai, the king of Hedajjab, did not enter the war, the one with the Parthians, that wild wolf became angry, and after they returned as victors from the war, they came into our country, and destroyed our cities and plundered and went into their lands. Narsai the king, however, did they drown in the Zaba Rabba¹⁰¹. And through this death and through this destruction the Christians, who were in our land, suffered greatly. And hands of humble penitence to him, who lives forever, they raised, and left them raised. Now Habel, the bishop of the oppressed sheep, began to travel around to every village, which we heard from

Christian people, in order to strengthen the brothers there, that with it they suffer in silence of the heart also this hardship against the love of Christ. But as it was one day in the village of Rahta¹⁰², that he fell ill of fever. And after he ordained his deacon 'Ebed Mešiha, he died in the night of the thirteen in the month Ilul¹⁰³. And the great pain, that the Christians had, who were there, was indescribable. And after five months a large group came out of the city of Arbela to hold the corpse, whereby it was held well and fresh¹⁰⁴, and carried him into the church with great honor. And the Lord facilitated this procession of

⁹⁴ *Mingana* has it as "their power".

⁹⁵ Caesar Domitian ruled Rome 81-96 A.D.

⁹⁶ Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajan (98-117 A.D.) conquered north Arabia, Asiria, Armenia, and Mesopotamia.

⁹⁷ Septimus Severus (193-211 A.D.) led a successful war against the Parthians

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⁹⁹ Psalm 136:1

¹⁰⁰ Cyrus II, who conquered Babylon and returned the Jews to Palestine.

¹⁰¹ The Greater Zab river.

¹⁰² Unknown location.

¹⁰³ =Septembr

¹⁰⁴ A part of saintly legend.

grand king of the Parthians, pushed into the land of the Romans. And he set ablaze many cities of the Armenians¹¹³. And coming with him was also Šahrat, the King of Hedajjab. And as news reached Macrinus, Caesar of the Romans, he attacked suddenly with his powerful army. And the war between them lasted a long time. But at the end both kings united, so that no one shed human blood without a great reason. And each side returned to his land. And the Parthians were strengthened from it and were inflated and boasting. And aside from manslaughter they strove for nothing. But God, who said through his prophets: “When you rise like an eagle and if you set your nest between stones, from there will I avalanche you”, held them back and threw them down.

And in earlier times the Persians sought to pounce on the throne of the Parthians, and many times they tested their power in battle. But they were pushed back and were not grown to the power of the Parthians. But those Parthians –due to the load of wars and battles– had grown weak. And this was recognized by the Persians and the Medes and they closed a union with Šahrat, the king of Hedajjab, and Domjtana, the king from Karek Selok¹¹⁴ and made a hefty assault on the Parthians in spring. And the Parthians were besieged, and their kingdom was annihilated for ever. First they fell on Bet Nahrin, on Bet Armaje, on Bet Zabdai¹¹⁵ and Arzun¹¹⁶. And in the course of a year they conquered all of these lands. *And every effort of the Parthians was futile. Their day namely had come, and the hour had struck.* In the end they all flew into the high mountains together, and the Persians overran all of their lands and their entire empire, which was culminated in Medinata¹¹⁷. The small son of Artabanus, who was of the name Aršaq, slew the Persians without mercy in Ctesiphon¹¹⁸. And they resided in it and made it the capital of their empire. *But the day, on which the kingdom of the Parthians ended, the sons of Aršaq the Mighty, was the twenty-seventh in the month of Nisan, on Wednesday, of the year 535 after the rule of Jawan¹¹⁹.* And in the beginning of the Persian Kingdom there was peace for the Christians, and they were capable of revival and spreading. All of this was in the days of Hairan the bishop. And he was ever more strengthened against the plights and fortified through grace, which was poured over us from our Lord Jesus Christ.

Know, oh Pinhes, that at this time, through the power of the Persians over the east, many Christians abounded in every land in the west¹²⁰ and in the east¹²¹. But in the west the persecutions never stopped and every day the blood of Christians flowed in the markets and in the plazas, and peace was not to be found there. There was none of this at all in our land. And the grand king was weary and plagued through daily warfare, and the hard circumstances were not yet unleashed against us. And therefore the evangelical preaching was allowed, “that it stretched its roots through us up to the sea and over¹²² the rivers away from their offshoots.”

¹¹³ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܐ

¹¹⁴ Karka de-Bet Slok, Kirkuk

¹¹⁵ Somewhere around Babylon.

¹¹⁶ Arzanene

¹¹⁷ The cities”, The area of Seleucia and Ctesiphon

¹¹⁸ Aratabanus IV fell April 28, 224 A.D.

¹¹⁹ ἸϞ , Ionia, Greece.

¹²⁰ Roman lands

¹²¹ Persian lands

¹²² ܐܝܢܐ , “in the direction of”

There were more than twenty bishops¹²³: In Bet Zabdai, in Karka de-Bet Selok¹²⁴, in Kaškar¹²⁵, in Bet Lapat, in Hormizd-Ardashir, in Perat Maišan, in Hanita¹²⁶, in Herbat-Gallal, in Arzun, in Bet Niqator¹²⁷, in Bet Šarqard¹²⁸, Bet Meskane¹²⁹, in Hulwan, in Bet Qatraje, in Bet Hazzaje¹³⁰, in Bet Dailomaje¹³¹, in Šiggar, and in the rest of the other cities.

But Nesibin¹³² and Medinata had no bishops for fear of the heathens. But as the kingship of Aršaq ended, the Christian Parthians, who were there¹³³, wished for a bishop¹³⁴, as to notify in his town, that we are ready with the help of the Lord.

At this time there was a renowned man of every form of science named Origenis, the admirable and godly teacher, the one who, they say, the Holy Ghost places everything to say in his mouth. And Eusebis said about him, that seven scribes were writing, one after the other, under his hand.¹³⁵

Now as the Persians began to rule the east, few of the Christians were in fear, that they would not be slain by the sharp-end of the sword by them. Namely they besieged the sub-kings of the eastern lands. And they placed in their seats Mahupats¹³⁶ and Marzebans¹³⁷, which subjugated them. And to the region to which belongs to us, Ardašir, the first Grand King of the Persians¹³⁸, sent a prefect¹³⁹, whose name was Adorzahad. But God, who at this time was watching the church, so that they do not sink to the abysses and the rainstorms, prepared for them a lucky escape. So Ardašir, the Grand King, gave an order that new fire-temples were to be built in the honor of the gods, and that the son, the great god, which is above everything, should be honored through special worship. *And for the first time he named himself King of Kings¹⁴⁰ and God. And unjustly he brought the masses in awe, in that he, who is of godly-birth, ripped the honor for himself and brought and convinced many of the other religions to worship of the sun and the fire.* But Hairan, the bishop, exhausted himself, that he save his people from all injury and from the satanic pitfalls. And like a true shepherd he attended to his sheep. And through this zeal, he was able to bring into the herds of Christ many souls, who were caught by the old enemy, the hater of all humanity. When he worked with this his holy talent¹⁴¹ many years, and, by my count, thirty-three years, he died at a very old age. And see, reserved for him was the crone of victory, which is ready to be given to him by every judge of justice.

¹²³ ܟܪܝܫܬܐܝܢ

¹²⁴ Kirkuk

¹²⁵ Kaškar, was on the other side of the river before the Muslim conquest

¹²⁶ Unknown location.

¹²⁷ Nikatoropolis

¹²⁸ Unknown location.

¹²⁹ Unknown location.

¹³⁰ Hormizd-Ardashir = al-Ahwaz

¹³¹ Unknown location.

¹³² Another name for Nisibis

¹³³ In the capital

¹³⁴ ܟܪܝܫܬܐܝܢ

¹³⁵ Magupat, Mobed, chief of the Magi.

¹³⁶ Marzban, marquis, margrave.

¹³⁷ Marzban, marquis, margrave.

¹³⁸ Sasanids

¹³⁹ ܟܪܝܫܬܐܝܢ

¹⁴⁰ ܟܪܝܫܬܐܝܢ, šahanšah

¹⁴¹ ܟܪܝܫܬܐܝܢ

which live in the distant mountains in the proximity of the rearmost see. And fear of him fell on every man. And many times he made war with the Romans. And there was in the troops of Šapur a man, a Christian¹⁴⁹ and a rich man, whose name was Ganzeqan. And when he came to Hedajjab and saw, that many Christians were in it and in its villages, he bid Šahlupa to go to Ctesiphon and seek the few Christians, which had begun to appear there. But Šahlupa was afraid to go. But after Ganzeqan calmed him and instilled trust in him, strong Šahlupa went through his God and brought with him Nakkiha, the one, whom he had healed from his illness of dysentery, and two deacons¹⁵⁰. But as they went on the way, they came upon Ismaelites¹⁵¹, and they took them with them. And they could not reach it except after four months. And they stepped into the rich city of Ctesiphon. And they gathered every brother, which was there, and encouraged them. And Šahlupa laid his hand on a man from there and ordained him a priest. And he remained there two years, since the time that Šapur, the grand king, returned.

And many deacons followed him and brought him back to Arbela with great honor. And the Christians cried for him, those who were in Seleucia and Ctesiphon and sadness filled their hearts. And they imitated the apostles, as they looked toward the Lord, which rose to heaven. And as he remained in his country, he reformed different things and laid his hand furthermore on many priests and deacons¹⁵². And as we have heard from Christian men, Šubha-Liso, the bishop from Bet Zabdai, also came to him. They lived together in great joy for a year. And both together went to Herbat Gellal¹⁵³ and to Rassonin¹⁵⁴. And they laid their hand on a bishop¹⁵⁵. And from there they moved on to Šahrqard. And they saw there also a few Christians, which had come from other places. And they ordained for them a priest, because their bishop had died shortly beforehand. But afterwards they went again to Arbela and separated from one another. And Šubha Liso in his land, whereby he was astonished of the wonderful order, in which the churches lived, and of the large number of Christians. And also he began to live after the order of which he saw, whereby he had a song of praise raised to God because of the greatness of the hiparchy of Hedajjab and its catholic and apostolic canons.

And after a few years, as the diligent Šahlupa worked in his¹⁵⁶ God and sacrificed himself for Christ, his savior, he withdrew from this world of tribulation into the world of friends, and was buried in the small church, which was built on the name of Noh, the one, who was before him in this eulogized task of leading the sheep of Christ. So he occupied the noble bishop's throne of Hedajjab for the span of fifteen years.

And following him was Aha d-Abuhi, a diligent and zealous man, son of a priest of the city of Arbela. This man had four sons, and four of them were priests. Their mother, however, was an ethinc Meguš¹⁵⁷. And she formerly had intercourse with her son, who was older than Aha d-Abuhi. And therefore they called him equally of the name Aha d-Abuhi¹⁵⁸ –

¹⁴⁹ ܟܥܥܐܠܝܐ

¹⁵⁰ ܟܥܝܥܝܐ

¹⁵¹ Ismaela, an area in northern Arabia.

¹⁵² ܟܥܝܥܝܐܐ ܟܥܝܥܝܐ

¹⁵³ Probably located on the lower Zab.

¹⁵⁴ Ramonin? A suburb of Adiabene.

¹⁵⁵ ܟܥܝܥܝܐܐ

¹⁵⁶ The suffix ܐ (his) was originally omitted by the scribe, and appears fused to the top of “god”.

¹⁵⁷ ܟܥܝܥܝܐܐ ܟܥܝܥܝܐ of the Magian people

¹⁵⁸ Brother of his father” ܟܥܝܥܝܐܐ ܟܥܝܥܝܐ



brother, that is to say, that his brother was the same one, who formerly had intercourse with his mother. This man was Meguš in his childhood and left for Ctesiphon because of the war with the Romans¹⁵⁹. And from there he returned to his country. And he was instructed in the Christian faith. And he remained close to Bishop Hairan until the day of his ordination. And he held many catechism instructions among the heathens.

During his time Guprašnasp, the mauhapta¹⁶⁰ of Hedajjab rebelled against Bahram the third¹⁶¹, the Grand King of the Persians. And in the mountains he built himself a high tower, that with it he could take refuge against an enemy invasion. And he took many people with him, excellent archers, in a number as handed down from year to year, 560 men. And these men made daily incursions, approximately fifty to sixty of them, and plundered in the street everything they saw. And the connections from city to city, from village to village was broken because of their raids. And many men of the inhabitants of Hedajjab pushed on and went into other lands. And blooming villages were deserted. And no man could sow seeds. The field men, from fear of the robbers, also did not leave their houses. And the countless rich people moved jointly to the cities, that with it they laid out the infestation and the plan to Bahram, the King of Kings. And he silenced them and sent many soldiers and they came, that they destroy and eradicate Guprašnasp's tower. And also from the distance they came to them and not once were capable of approaching them because of the many arrows, which the soldiers of Guprašnasp shot with skill. And as they planted themselves for the length of two months,

whereby they could not manage a thing, they made contact with Bahram, and he sent many other countless soldiers with a brave and intelligent commander, Zarhasp. But he was also not capable of conquering the fort, because they put up strong resistance, and the many soldiers, which were in it were very courageous, practiced archery, and did not allow it, that they only attacked from a distance, therefore Zarhasp handled it cunningly and set it in motion, so that he could catch Guprašnasp in a noose. And he sent his son to him with beautiful and expensive gifts and had him say: "See, even the king of kings heard of this cunning, which is on your side, and seeks your friendship and wants to make you universal administrator¹⁶² of the entire kingdom. It is therefore my job to make this action with you alone, whereby none of your soldiers may be. But stand down from the battle and come to a place alone, that with it we can negotiate, we two alone." Now Guprašnasp, the commander, believed him. Also he wanted namely and wished eagerly, to close a peace. Because he can last the entire war, and he had enough soldiers. And he went out to an agreed-upon place outside of the tower and called for Zarhasp, that he come to him and the both could converse. But Zarhasp had ordered many of his bodyguards, that they come and hide themselves near both of them. And when they see them sitting and talking, they should storm in and grab Guprašnasp. And as Guprašnasp was taken prisoner through this war-cunning, they destroyed his tower and brought him to the residence of the king of kings, Bahram. And Bahram rejoiced in that, what Zarhasp had done. And he gave orders, that they remove Guprašnasp's skin and hang it up in his royal palace, so that everyone, which saw it, should

¹⁵⁹ During his lifetime, three caesars made war with the Persians: Maximus Thrax in 238 A.D., Goridan III in 242 A.D., and Valerian in 259 A.D.

¹⁶⁰ موبد : another pronunciation of Mahupat "mobed" (ref. note 136)

¹⁶¹ Bahram II, grand king (274-293 A.D.)

¹⁶² موبدان موبد : It was not until the 5th century that we see a division of the Sasanid Persian administration into three: mobedan mobed (head of the priests), hazarbad (great commander of warriors), and darandarbad (head of scribes).

fear and well-recognize, that in this gruesome manner the king of kings takes out his rage and takes satisfaction from those, who are disobedient to him.

As Aha d-Abuhi, the brave, saw all of this gruesomeness and wildness, his strong soul in no way became discouraged and weak. And he began to roam around in his entire large hierarchy, in which he taught, disapproved, released from persecution, with all patience and goodness, which was sent for the students of Christ. And at this time came delegates, which were sent from the Christians in Ctesiphon, came to him and bid, that like Šahlupa, which preceded him, he can come and instruct them and teach them the correct path of the continuous lifestyle and strengthen them and comfort them a little. And they had chosen five Christian and god-fearing men, that with it he lays his hand on them. And like an efficient and zealous business man, which at all times is concerned with his possessions, he acquiesced to their request and laid his hand on these men. And he went with the delegates to the cities, he together with Zeka Išu' of Herbat Gellal and Sabbeta of Bet Zabdai. And they remained there about one year, which the tradition recounts about the subject, and polished smooth¹⁶³ all bumpiness.

And one of those days Sabbeta stood up in the middle of a group of people. He had indeed the intention, that he preach and show the people, that they should not stand in fear of those, who are alone ready to destroy the body, but of him, which is ready and able to send your soul and body into the fires of Gehenna¹⁶⁴. And he spoke emotionally about this subject and showed, that the victory of our Lord is truthfully the victory, but the victory is not of the kings of Earth besides pride and arrogance and pains and misery and harm and death. Pride namely because when the kings win, they win with the body alone. And because of this they behave with arrogance and are pompous without measure. And they forget their transient nature and hold themselves equal with gods. And through this they increase their sins. And their punishment will be the fire, which never ends. And pains, because in the time of the victory – who can tell the toils, which they have undergone. So before the war, they do not stop with the pondering of the war, if they will conquer or be conquered. And through this they agonize night and day. And as many nights pass, and they become agonized, so that their sleep is gone. And death, because certainly there will be many deaths on both sides for them. And this causes pains for parents and relatives and makes tears flow from the mother's eyes, because the swords have cut short¹⁶⁵ the lifetime of their sons, and the lance has pierced the side of their loved-ones. But Christ, his victory was the cause of joy for everyone and also for his enemies, the Ijudaj and the heathens. As he now was in the middle of his preaching, one of the heathens, who was present, stood up and explained to one of the elite of the grand king, that Christian people indeed teach that the king of kings will be subdued and destroyed by fire, that the victory is not the victory, but rather a rebellion and oppression. And the Christians heard this news and were very concerned and hid themselves in their houses. And a few of them fled into the desert. But Sabbeta, the bishops, stood up every night, whereby his nose developed a rash. And he could not manage to show himself because of their fear. Namely he feared that he would be taken and have his head cut off. And he remained so for about two years. The Christians from Ctesiphon, however, gave presents to one of the elites, Radgan. And they convinced

¹⁶³ ܐܘܢܝܢܐ , it is presumed by *Mingana* and others that the scribe wrote a false Nun and that it should be ܐܘܢܝܢܐ (to polish).

¹⁶⁴ Ancient city where people were sacrificed in bonfires. Often the city is translated as "hell" in modern Bibles.

¹⁶⁵ ܐܘܢܝܢܐ , is ambiguous as the second letter could be a zain, a dalat, or a nun. *Mingana* made it a zain, and translated it as "deprive".

him, that he avert the scorn of the grand king, that the lying and slanderous men had incited unjustly against them. And God laid it in the heart of Dargan¹⁶⁶, and he brought this in order and calmed this big scorn. And so, through the hand of God, the Lord of all, there was quiet in the storm and peace in the persecution, and through the clash of iron on iron¹⁶⁷ that issue was muted due to the fact many brothers were killed. Because the time of the persecution had not yet come. Aha d-Abuhi in all this disarray and fear was not moved from his place, and did not stand away from it, that he advise the Christians that they should place their trust in the living God, their savior. And I do not mean, that one was not capable to usher in complete quiet if not through the reason of their prayers. And someone was capable of beholding him without reverence if he kneeled in prayer and his heart was broken. And God never condemns a broken heart.¹⁶⁸

And the inhabitants of Ctesiphon urgently asked of him that he lay his hand on a bishop¹⁶⁹, which permanently should stand by them. There were many Christians here, who said to him: And the officials, the authorities, the bishops, are far from us. And they cannot come to us every time, in order to fulfill our necessities and to lead us on the path of righteousness spiritually and bodily. And he joyfully felt their request and heard their wish. And he informed Hai-Be'el, the bishop of Šašan¹⁷⁰. And in unanimity they both choose of the entire people Papa, the Aramaja, a smart and wise man¹⁷¹. And they returned home afterwards, each in his own town, amazed about the goodness of God and his watch on his church, and at all times his eyes are directed to them. Trusted namely is he because of the blood, which poured from his side on the wood of the cross. And as he reached Arblea, all the Christians and heathens and Megušes came to him for a reception and introduced him in a ceremonious procession because of the beauty of his morals and the sweetness of his speech and the goodness of his character. And after many successes he placed his soul in the hand of God, his creator, after he had reigned eighteen years.

11. Bishop Šeri'a of Arbela (291-316 A.D.)

And following Aha d-Abuhi in the leadership of the people of the Lord was the diligent worker and true priest Šeri'a. This man was from Arbela, son of Christian parents, who loved Christ. And since his youth, he relied on the church and lived off holy service. Also in his time the church had a great victory, the church of God, o pious Pinhes. And after 300 years more or less that it was persecuted and weak and its fundamentals were shaken. They had quiet and victory over all of its enemies through Constantine¹⁷², the victorious basileus¹⁷³.

But before his time, around a few, Diocletian, the sacreligious Caesar, had tried to

¹⁶⁶ Line 15 has ܩܝܢܐ *Radgan*, and line 18 has ܩܝܢܐ *Dargan*. They are undoubtedly the same person, yet it is unknown which is correct.

¹⁶⁷ Is this some colloquial idiom?

¹⁶⁸ Psalm 51:17; ܐܘܪܝܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܠܝܢ ܕܥܠܝܢ ܕܥܠܝܢ ܕܥܠܝܢ

¹⁶⁹ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ

¹⁷⁰ Susa, the winter residence of the Persian king.

¹⁷¹ The first bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was ordained in 291 A.D.

¹⁷² Constantine I, the Great

¹⁷³ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ = βασιλευς

exterminate the name of Christendom¹⁷⁴ from the Earth, and for this he fervently strove night and day. And he gave an order, that the churches be destroyed and all Christians slain without mercy.

Which fear and which panic won power over the entire world, as this order went out without mercy. And they weren't content with this, that they kill the Christians alone, but rather they killed them in droves or burned them, whereby they also did not have leadership prepared by a judge. And because of it, it was seen that the father was the butcher of his son, and the brother of his brother, and the enclosure of the natural love was ripped out of the midpoint. And as those Roman Caesars were stricken with such sin, and as this lust to kill was enflamed in them, they were not once capable of governing the people, as they should rule. And as this was noticed by the grand king of the Persians, Hormizd¹⁷⁵, he took a large army and plundered many Roman cities¹⁷⁶. And as God saw all of this turpitude, "he rose up, and all of his enemies were dispersed, and his haters fled before him. They were dispersed like smoke and melted away like wax."¹⁷⁷ And he gave over to them torture without mercy.

But He gave power over his servants to Constantine. And He showed him the sign of the cross over the clouds of lights, on which was written: "In this sign¹⁷⁸ you will be victorious." And he took this sign and gave it to all of his troops. And with it they beat them, the soldiers of the gruesome demons, into scattering like flies. And the cross, which was formerly the sign of shame, became the sign of victory for everyone, for the rich and for the poor, for the nobles and the condemned, the learned and the simple people.

In the East, Papa, the bishop of Medinata, which we had mentioned, because he lived in the grand king's city¹⁷⁹ and other bishops required this due to his external business, had the desire, that he obtain the authority over all bishops, as if one bishop-general was needed, which they had to have. And the priests of Medinata along with the people resisted him. And they desired, that they clarify his deposition¹⁸⁰. And also Šem'on, his archdeacon¹⁸¹, was enraged over these notions and gave notice to Miles of Šašan and to 'Aqeb Allaha of Karka de-Bet Selok. And Mar Papa became very afraid, because Šem'on's parents were very close to the grand king and respected by all people. And he wrote to the bishops of the West and especially to the bishop of Edessa, which had the name Sa'da. And all the bishops answered him, because they were of the opinion, that he was a brave and energetic man, and they promised him, that they would help him through Basileus Constantine. Because they recognized, that case would be measured, if now the bishop of Medinata would become the patriarch¹⁸² of all bishops in the East. And they wrote him a letter about this in their name and the name of the basileus and the patriarchs of the West. And they wrote him, that as in the West, which was under the rule of the Romans, there were many patriarchs, the one from Antioch and from Rome and Alexandria and Constantinople, in the East, which stands under the rule of the Persians, it is necessary, that present there should

¹⁷⁴ ܕܠܥܠܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܢܐ

¹⁷⁵ Hormizd II (302-309 A.D.)

¹⁷⁶ A war between Hormizd II and Rome does not appear in any other source, including the *Cambridge History of Iran*.

¹⁷⁷ Psalm 68:1

¹⁷⁸ The Christian monogram Chi-Ro.

¹⁷⁹ ܕܠܥܠܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܢܐ

¹⁸⁰ ܕܠܥܠܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܢܐ = removal from office

¹⁸¹ ܕܠܥܠܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܢܐ

¹⁸² ܕܠܥܠܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܢܐ, this text implies he would be in addition to the patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and New Rome (Constantinople).

be nevertheless at least one patriarch.

Now God, which ordered due to the sins of Adam, that a savior should come into the world, which is his own son, he, which through plagues of Egypt it was brought about, that there would be freedom for the Benai Israel, he, which from thorns brought fruit and from the thorn bush let roses spring forth, he, which at all times is capable of evoking goodness from the evil, allowed through his godly order and through his venerable providence, that the notions of Papa achieve success. And he became adamant in this matter without his knowledge as universal head of all bishops and all Christians in the land of the East¹⁸³. All bishops now consented to that which was ordered from the West, and they feared the bishops, which were there, that they not cause it, that they wedge themselves between two powerful enemies, from the West the Christian Basileus of the Romans, and from the East the grand king of the Persians. Šem'on, the archdeacon of Papa, however, did not want at all to accept this new government, but rather wanted, that through his parents they would be removed in the name of the grand king. Papa managed to reconcile with Šem'on's father, and promised him, that upon his death, he will appoint him to be Patriarch after him.

At this time, in the border city¹⁸⁴ a god-fearing man, Jacob¹⁸⁵, became known for the miracles he worked like the apostles and powerful deeds of the prophets. This man spent often the entire night in prayer like his Lord, and his vigils and fasting were known everywhere. And because truly he was a godly man, we will especially handle the news about him later¹⁸⁶. And also our Šeri'a, because he glowed in zeal in the love of God, he went often to him, that with it he visit him and became blessed through him. And both spoke to one another. And after great ado and countless adversities he died on a Friday in the summer of the year 627 of Jaunaj¹⁸⁷. And he was buried in the church with great celebration.

12. Bishop Johannan (Daniel Bar Mariam) of Arbela (316-345 A.D.)

And following him, Seri'a, was the vigilant and careful Johannan. This man, because he so much loved Mariam¹⁸⁸, the bearer of the invigorator of the world and our rejuvenator, was named Bar Mariam. He also taught many heathen people and the Ihudaj. And therefore they hated him with deadly hate. And upon their prosecution they forced him from Arbela. And they sent foot-soldiers after him, which should kill him. But he hid himself and saved himself from their snares and wandered a long time around in the hamlets and mountains. But his love for God was enflamed more and more. And he strengthened it by staying busy with work. And he succeeded in bringing many lambs into the sheep pen of Christ.

In this time, as a Christian basileus ruled the world, and the matters of the church were eminent, Hades furthered its honor and let loose its stinking mouth and put out words,

¹⁸³ His patriarchate included not only the Persian Empire, but also the Christians in southern India, the Christianized Turks of central Asia, and the emerging Christian populations in Mongolian China.

¹⁸⁴ Nisibis

¹⁸⁵ Jacob Episcopus, bishop of Nisibis (308-338 A.D.)

¹⁸⁶ If this was truly handled later, it might signify a missing part of the Chronicle, as it does not appear here.

¹⁸⁷ Meant here is the Seleucid era. 627 S.E. = 316 A.D.

¹⁸⁸ Mary, the mother of Jesus.

which stood in contradiction to the orthodox faith. And it found an unfaithful worker, which spread their teaching; the keen and astute Arius¹⁸⁹ the Wicked. He, who already did not recognize His grandeur and counted on the superfluosity, that was happening, that if even the son of God the creator, returned for our salvation, he would deny the godliness of Christ and proclaim falsely, that Christ is not the savior, but a creation, and that his nature was not the son of God, but rather just pretend. And there was great uproar because of him in the entire known world. And the bishops gathered in order to impeach his lies in the city of Nicea¹⁹⁰, in all 318, and through the willingness of Basileus Constantine, whose memory is blessed. And these fathers execrated Arius and everyone who accepted his opinion. And they affirmed that the son, Christ, was of one nature with the father, and equal with him in being¹⁹¹.

And at this time Šapur II, the grand king of the Persians, moved into the mountains, in order to annihilate the enemies, which were from the mountains near the sea, erupted, and decimated many hamlets. And his plan was, that he lay waste to many Roman cities. That, what also happened, we will see afterwards. And everyone could reckon that namely the time was near, that the church would be destroyed and the sanctuaries desecrated. But God, before whom everything arises, knows well, saw and silenced and delivered to us the scorching heat of his scorn. As namely it was seen by Šapur the second king, who ruled seventy years, more or less, from the year 620 of Jaunaj to the year 690¹⁹², after the death of Constantine, the victorious basileus, who filled the world with fear of him, and after him the Roman Constantius¹⁹³, his son, was made basileus of the lands of the East, who thought, that the time came for him, in which he can dare to take the leadership of the lands of the Christians without hindrance. And he moved out and laid siege to Nisibis, the border city. He did not namely know, that it, the city, was not destroyed and stood “like a rose out of the thorns”¹⁹⁴, only through the strong arm of the Lord, the King of Kings. Meanwhile God, which through Judith, a weak woman, threw down and destroyed the pride and the legions of Elparna¹⁹⁵ and through the prayers of Esther, a humble woman, and hung Haman, the evildoer, up on the gallows¹⁹⁶. He, who through Šem‘on slew thousands of Philistines, he distanced Šapur, the grand king, from the city through the prayers of the bishop, the pious and called Jacob¹⁹⁷, the famous. And as he, the people’s father, saw it, that the children now became distraught after every page a laughter became for the impure demons “like Moses, the Lord’s chosen one, he stood in the breach”¹⁹⁸ before them, he stepped up to the city wall and begun to bid the Lord, that either he kill him or save his people from the hand of the heathens and from death. And the Lord heard this. And see, an army of yellow

¹⁸⁹Arius (260-336 A.D.) was a priest in Alexandria, who taught that Jesus was not of the same body with God, but only his elegant creation, as he was *begat* by God and had therefore a beginning. His faith, Arianism, was so wide- spread that it reached from southern Ethiopia to the north with the Goths and Vandals.

¹⁹⁰The 1st Council of Nicea (19 June – 25 August 325 A.D.) was the first imperial synod. It was concerned with the Arian heresy, and actually only about 250 bishops took part.

¹⁹¹ ἑὐὐὐὐ , οὐστᾶ

¹⁹² 620-690 S.E. = 309-379 A.D.

¹⁹³ Basileus Constantius (337-361 A.D.)

¹⁹⁴ Song of Solomon 2:2

¹⁹⁵ Judith 13-16

¹⁹⁶ Esther 7

¹⁹⁷ Jacob of Nisibis

¹⁹⁸ Psalm 106:23

insects appeared from heaven. And it came and descended upon Šapur's army. And one of the swarms pushed into the nostrils of the horses and made them wild and robbed the men of visibility. And there was no time to do anything except to flee. They feared namely this unnatural blindness, and that the Roman army would suddenly fall on them and would annihilate them, while they were in this illness. And a few of them went and let Constantius know about that, which was. And they said praise and believed in God because of his grace, which he had poured over his servant Jacob. And he turned back to the grand king, in that he threatened him and he decided that the religion of the Romans would be weeded out of his lands. But Johannan, the bishop of our land, was then not among his sheep, but rather since the year 640 of Jaunaj²⁰⁰ he had moved to Medinata, he with other bishops, that with it they elect a man, a Christian and a sage, for the office of patriarch²⁰¹. Empty was namely the seat of Seleucia's patriarch by the lamentable death of Mar Papa, which was taken too soon before. They say that he spent two years there in Medinata. And then he went to Bet Huzaje because of the affairs of the church. And he was there, as the merciless orders went out to the Mahupats of the land, in which it was ordered, that all Christians should be killed without sympathy and that their churches should be destroyed, and on the sixth of the month of Nisan, as the grand king was in Bet Huzaje, and in the thirty-first year²⁰² of this evil, which never had known in his life, what mercifulness is, the sword began to rule without sympathy. And everyone, who dared to say, that he was Christian, was slain.

But Johannan, the bishop of Arbela, left thereupon Bet Huzaje and came to his herd, that he pastured the lambs and the cattle, which were given into his hands, and that he watch them. But his heart was filled with joy, as he saw, that the sword, which was ready, that it should slay the Christians of the land, was still hidden in its sheath. Pagrasp²⁰³ namely, the Mauhapta of the land, was in agreement with the city elite, that he not kill the Christians outside of the month of Ilul²⁰⁴ at the time of the vintage and the harvest. And it is said, that the grand king felt remorse over the fact that he gave this hard order of persecution and planned to lift it then. But the Ihudaj and the Manicheans, which are enemies of the name of Christ, pressed the Megušes and brought them in, that they not allow the king of kings to do it. And they explained to him, that all the Christians were spies of the Romans. And nothing happens in the kingdom, that they do not write to their brothers who are there. And they all were rich and found themselves in a comfortable life, while the king of kings is entwined in an excruciating life of war and battle. They, however, lead no war, and always live in peace. So the Megušes changed the mind of the grand king through their lying. And the king gave an order, that the head tax be doubled for all the Christians and strengthened his order that they be again killed without mercy.²⁰⁵

We became thereupon the laughter of the heathens and the faithless. The Ihudaj mocked us and said: "Where is your god? Rising now should be your Christ, he, who was crucified in shame on Galgatha, and should destroy your persecutors. Has he not said to you: "See, I

¹⁹⁹ 𐭪𐭥𐭩 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩

²⁰⁰ 640 S.E. = 329 A.D.

²⁰¹ 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩

²⁰² 309 + 30 = 339 A.D.

²⁰³ 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩

²⁰⁴ September/October (340 A.D.)

²⁰⁵ *Cambridge History of Iran* : Shapur II needed money for his army to attack the Romans, so the taxes on Christians were doubled to provide extra revenues. The Christians naturally objected and the persecutions resumed.

am with you until the end of the world?” But the Manicheans curse us more than the Ihudaj and they regard us as the scum of the people. “And the shepherd was slain and the herd was scattered.”²⁰⁶ It was namely the time of darkness, and the light was hunted. It was the time, when the meek and perishable creatures were forced, that they are prayed for with violence instead of the creator. So the sun, which was made as a servant for the god of the people, sacrifices and gifts were brought to it. And the fire, which was made for the need of the children of Adam: one temple²⁰⁷ was made for the children of light, which they built. One fire-temple, namely they built for the demons, that with it, they bring the churches of the heavenly father into the land of the forgotten. Oh the godlessness! O the disobedience and the insurgency of the people!

And as when a man, who wants to destroy a tree, to ruin his seeds and throw them away, and then rip out its roots and throw them away, so the Megušes and the heathens wanted to make and end of the bishops²⁰⁸, and the metropolitans²⁰⁹. And immediately Mar Šem‘on Bar Sabba‘e, who sat in the seat of the East, together with a large number of priests²¹⁰ and deacons²¹¹ were seized and brought to the grand king in Karka de-Ledan²¹². And after much torture, as the powerful man of the Lord and his great patriarch were not sheltered from his menace for not being willing to pray to the sun, a creature, Šapur turned over the torture to his associates, who were in a number of 102. However, they cut his head off, all those athletes of Christ. He strengthened them, all of them, and stood by them with courage in this battle for a short time.

This happened on a high Good Friday. And from then until the Sunday of the White Garments²¹³ the sword did not stop throughout the East. And to the ends of heaven groups of Christians were tied up like a group of sheep being led to slaughter, with exception of them, who were killed right there in their homes.

But in our land of Hedejjab, through the thoughtfulness of the mauhapta, the sympathetic Pagrasp, only a few, it was said, were killed, those whose names are unknown. But in the following year, as Pargasp²¹⁴, the mauhapta, died, after him they made Peroz Tamšabor his successor, the blood of the Christians began to flow in our land and flood the Earth, which was filled with injustice and evil due to the evil students of Satan, the cursed, who live off it. There he cleansed them through a flood of pure and innocent blood of all dross and of all vice, that with it they would be the bride in truth, which adorns and beautifies herself for the heavenly bridegroom²¹⁵, who through his cross and his dishonor wed them on the hilltop of Galgatha through torture and through agony, which is unspeakable, whereby it is said to all of his students and their successors after them and to all members of his church: “Blessed are you, when they taunt you and they persecute you and say against you every evil word against me in lies. Then be happy and rejoice, because your wage is great in heaven. Even so have they persecuted the prophets who were before you.”²¹⁶ It is hence

²⁰⁶ Matthew 26:31

²⁰⁷ 𐌸𐌴𐌹𐌸𐌴

²⁰⁸ 𐌸𐌴𐌹𐌸𐌴

²⁰⁹ 𐌸𐌴𐌹𐌸𐌴 : president, prefect, princeps

²¹⁰ 𐌸𐌴𐌹𐌸𐌴

²¹¹ 𐌸𐌴𐌹𐌸𐌴

²¹² = Susa

²¹³ = White Sunday (Easter Sunday), when the baptized wore white to show their purity.

²¹⁴ 𐌸𐌴𐌹𐌸𐌴 possible misspelling of 𐌸𐌴𐌹𐌸𐌴

²¹⁵ Ref. Ephesians 5:25-27

²¹⁶ Matthew 5:11-12.

difficult for me, oh my beloved Pinhes, that I enumerate for you one after the other all of those, the names of the Christians, which were killed in the entire land of the East. Uncountable and even incalculable are the simple sheep, which through the butcher's knife were brought as living sacrifices for God and became worthy for the kingdom of heaven. If I only now count those, who saturated the dirt of our city and our country –because it is your request-, so that through this you know, which godly men truly have gone before you, and that you are able to follow their footsteps without difficulty. They truly were lieutenants for us and the leaders on the way to perfection, on which all of them are followed with joy.

In the 35th year of Šapur²¹⁷, the grand king, Johannan, the bishop²¹⁸, with Jacob, his priest²¹⁹, were seized by order of Piroz Tamšabor. And the mauhaptas imprisoned them, without sympathy, first in Hesna da-Bedigar²²⁰. And they remained in Hesna one year. And the heathens let loose many tortures which are not to be counted. And they suffered it, these brave warriors of Christ with patience, which cannot be described, whereby they were cheerful and overjoyed, that they were held as worthy, to suffer such for the sake of the love of Christ. And on this day²²¹ men and women and daughters of the alliance²²² of all classes were killed, flock among flock. And among them Narsai, the priest²²³, and Hananja and Rehima, deacons of the church. And after all interrogations and adulatory convincing attempts, as Satan could not diminish their steadfastness, thereupon they were brought out of the house out of the city were crucified as the life-giver, their Lord. Their corpses, however, were taken away during the night by the Christians. And see, their bones are a fountain, which lets the godly grace flow for all, which took asylum in those of the errant children of Adam²²⁴. And from that day until the end of the year the sword was drunk with blood without satiation. And the collected Megušes²²⁵, were like butchers for our land, although they did not become fat. And like wild dogs they daily licked the coagulum of our blood, which like a bog colored red the markets and alleys of our city. And they rampaged out more and more and became rabid.

13. Bishop Abraham II of Arbela (345-346 A.D.)

And the Christians agreed and in secret elected Mar Abraham, that with it he lead the church of God in the time, when Johannan, the soldier of the lord, was to be in prison. But also this man, many times the Megušes went against him, that with it they seize him; because they noticed that another bishop was elected by the Christians. And this displeased them. But he hid for a month in a house of one of the Christians and he was saved from the

²¹⁷ 309 + 35 = 343 A.D.

²¹⁸ 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥

²¹⁹ 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥

²²⁰ 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥, unknown location.

²²¹ it appears that a part of the text may be missing as following it stands no year, month, or day.

²²² 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥 : Christendom (all the Christians from Asia and Africa to those in India)

²²³ 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥

²²⁴ Psalm 31:20

²²⁵ 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥

near end. And he awakened their beliefs, which had begun to die from the sharp sword, and strengthened their courage, which was deeply sunken, and it was nearly to become broken.

Who is hence capable, oh beloved Pinhes, to count all the murdered ones, which were destroyed of our land? Many families were completely rooted out. And countless others, see, the sons of their sons let the tears fall until the present day over their demise. And the sword remained swinging over their necks until the year 662²³⁴.

And in this year Šapur²³⁵, the grand king, collected all of his fighting strength and planned to besiege the cities of the Romans. And he killed many of their men. And he laid waste to many localities. And as he was incapable of taking Nisibis, he left it and strengthened his fighting forces back to Nahrin. He, himself, however, returned to his land, that with it he free his own cities for his part from barbarian peoples, which came against him from the last sea²³⁶.

And back then there was in the city of Arbela a priest²³⁷ of the goddess Šarbel, whose name was Italaha²³⁸. And his blood flowed like the menses of women. And as he on one of those days yelled in the temple of the goddess' idols because of the hardness of his pain, a Christen walked past and heard his voice. And he believed that someone was dying there. And he went into the temple of the idols and asked Italaha what pestered and plagued him. And as he experienced all that was ailing him, he said to him: "Go to a man of the Christian religion, whose name is Maran Zeka, and he –through the power of God- will heal you." And he got up thereupon, that with it he go to him. And as he was still far from the church, the flowing of his blood stopped, and he was healed. And he stepped closer and went in to the Bishop, which was together with all of the students of Christ²³⁹. They were, however, very afraid, because they knew him as the priest of the goddess Šarbel. But as he bid their trust and calmed them through his story and informed them of everything, which happened to him, and like him, even before he arrived, was healed through the God of the Christians, they all praised God, who wanted, that he show his power in these troubling days over the chiefs and priests of the heathens, which has slaughtered them without mercy. And he was with them a few days. But the Megušes noticed him and wanted that they seize him and have him die an evil death. But he fled that very night and went to Šahrqat²⁴⁰ to the bishop Habbiba. But even from there he feared the Megušes and he took flight to the Christians of Mahoza d-Ariwan and taught there exhaustively the Christian faith, for which he after a short while shall give his blood as a sacrifice. And there he was baptized and went in his land, that he disseminate the Christian faith in the one God of three persons²⁴¹. This was in truth an astounding event. This man was a second Šawol²⁴², which, after seeking at first to kill the Christians, learned the Christian faith and shed his blood for it. How astounded and speechless were the men over this new day-laborer²⁴³ of the godly grace, which was called in the love of Christ and preached the cross. This is the power of the Almighty, which made something from nothing and unified the

²³⁴ 662 S.E. = 350/1 A.D

²³⁵ Šapur II

²³⁶ The Caspian

²³⁷ ܐܘܪܝܘܬܐ a heathen priest, compared to a judeo-christian priest ܐܘܪܝܘܬܐ

²³⁸ ܐܝܬܐܠܗܐ

²³⁹ ܐܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܐܘܪܝܘܬܐ

²⁴⁰ Sahgerd

²⁴¹ ܐܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܐܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܐܘܪܝܘܬܐ

²⁴² = Saul, later Paul

²⁴³ ܐܘܪܝܘܬܐ

contradicting natures with one another.

And after he taught many men, his affairs were taught to the Meguš of the land, Šabor Tamšabor. And he commanded that they bring him to them. And all the Christians were afraid of this, and began to flee into hiding. And also Maran Zeka went into the high mountains and hid in the steep rock-bluffs and caves, that with it he escape this powerful hurricane, which the accursed Satan brought forth against the church of God. And Italaha tried again to save him. But as he was in the market, he was recognized and was brought to the evil servant of the sun. And this was ordered by a man, a Christian, ‘which fell away from his Christian faith and was returned to his dejection’, and his name was Meharnarsa, that he chop off the right ear of the servant of God. And as soon as he had lopped it off, this Judas, which denied his Lord, was stricken with elephantiasis. And this was a sign of fear for all, which saw him. And so our God exacted gratification for his servant of those, which had received the sign of baptism. But not once through this overt sign did the servant of Satan become smart, but rather his heart hardened like that of the Pharaoh. And collected for him was the fire, which is eternal, and the ruin of the soul; the servant of God, however, was place in the house of the prisoners.

And as few days²⁴⁴ were remaining for this servant of God, comforters for his pain and partners in his sorrow came to him, among them Hapsai, deacon of the church of Mata d- Arbaje²⁴⁵. Afterwards the two were lead to the chief of the Megušes, and as they did not deny their Christianity, they planned to send them to the grand king in Bet Lapat. But as with hexes and torture and with cajoling the accursed Satan was not able to change their minds, their heads were cut off there. And their corpses lay on the dirt. Their souls, however, flew and climbed to their creator, where they are humble, that they rejoice and triumph over their murderers, which will be punished with countless torture until eternity.

What am I talking about, when I tell you long and wide about this subject, oh beloved Pinhes, and report the sad history of pain of the witnesses of the Lord. Because no number is capable of counting their number. And no scribe is capable of describing their torture. And during the entire length of time, as the grand king, which was Šapur, did not stop the blood of our brothers, and the sword did not waver²⁴⁶, and the murders did not rest.

But Maran Zeka, after he had been hold up a long time in the mountains and in the villages in fear and fright, which is unspeakable, he died before Šapur. He had led the seat in the time of persecution for the length of twenty-nine years.

15. Metropolitan Šubha Liso‘ of Arbela (375-406 A.D.)

Mar Šubha Liso‘. This man, his parents were from Karka de-Bet Selok. And they came and lived in Arbela. And from his childhood on he was bound to the church. And there he climbed the ladder of asceticism, until he was held worthy to be placed as metropolitan for the entire hiparchy of Hedajjab. This was a very stately emergence, as they say, and from distant towns they came, in order to see him. And in his tenth year he began to place his hand on priests and deacons; they became very humble due to the persecution. And in the

²⁴⁴ ܐܘܪܝܘܢ ܩܝܝܐܢܐ

²⁴⁵ The province of Arbaj stretched from Nisibin to the Tigris.

²⁴⁶ ܐܘܪܝܘܢ

majority of villages there was not a single priest present. But in a few years the Christian belief turned our land again to its earlier beauty, which placed all eye-witnesses in astonishment.

In the time of Šubha Liso‘, one godly man, Mar Teodoros Mepaššeqana²⁴⁷, was renowned for all sciences in truth. And he first proved through known philosophy the godly symbols of the virtue of the Lord’s birth and suffering. And he taught the correct recognition of the duplicity of person in Christ, our Lord. And he was the first teacher of Mar Nestorius²⁴⁸, who also spilt his blood for Orthodoxy.

But among us deep peace ruled in every town, and the roots of Christendom spread out to foreign peoples and was firmly planted. And of this, his entire godly work, Mar Šubha Liso‘ had in him help and great prudence as far as that he did not sleep in the nighttime, but rather contemplated the work of proselytism. And after he plodded in service of the bishop’s office under untold labor and unthinkable tribulations, he died and was entombed with great celebration, after he had led the Christians the long time of thirty-one years.

16. Metropolitan Daniel of Arbela (406-430 A.D.)

And following him was a perfected and humble man, Daniel²⁴⁹. This man was from the village of Tahal²⁵⁰. And his father was a heathen²⁵¹ and his mother a Christian. This man converted and baptized many heathens, and together with them two Megušes. But also in his time there was a persecution, as in the time of Maran Zeka, which was hard for the Christians through the crafty plots of two criminal grand kings, Yazdgerd and Bahram²⁵². And the Earth was flooded anew with their blood. And for this reason the fire of war broke out between the heathens²⁵³, the Persians, and the Christians, the Romans. And in between them, both sides decided, that they should give full freedom to their lands relating to Christianity²⁵⁴. And through this accord the sword, our murderer, was beginning to quiet itself back into its sheath. And as there was a little calm for the Christians, wrote Mar Jahballaha²⁵⁵, the patriarch, and called upon all bishops²⁵⁶ that they should come to him and gather due to church affairs. And for these they had already gathered once in the time of Mar Ishaq.

And there they had resolved, that the bishop’s seat of Arbela should be a metropolitanate and created many other bishop’s seats of Bet Nuhadra, of Bet Begaš, of Bet Desan, of Ramonin, of Bahqart²⁵⁷, of Dabarna²⁵⁸. But due to a difficult illness Mar Daniel was not able to be

²⁴⁷ Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia (352-428 A.D.)

²⁴⁸ Ecumenical Patriarch Nestorius of Constantinople (428-431 A.D.), declared a heretic and exiled for opposing the declaration of Mary as Theotokos.

²⁴⁹ ܐܕܪܝܐܢܝܐ

²⁵⁰ Beth-Garma(i)

²⁵¹ ܐܘܪܝܝܢܐ

²⁵² Yazdgerd I (399-420 A.D.) and Bahram V. (420-438 A.D.).

²⁵³ ܐܘܪܝܝܢܐ

²⁵⁴ *Cambr. History of Iran* “not until the reign of Yazdgerd I was Christian worship permitted in Persia.”

²⁵⁵ ܐܘܪܝܝܢܐ, Patriarch of Medinata (415-420 A.D.)

²⁵⁶ ܐܘܪܝܝܢܐ

²⁵⁷ Mahqart

present at the synod²⁵⁹. But he was by Mar Dadišu²⁶⁰ – his memoir of blessing -, which took place two years later. And the fathers verified the highest primacy of the Patriarch of Ctesiphon over all bishops, just like the primacy of Peter over the apostles.

And at this time, in which the East was calm, and great unity was found in His creed and love, which is unspeakable, all hearts filled, the West was disrupted and disoriented in his honor through a second Pharaoh, Qewrellos the Egyptian²⁶¹, which with royal weapons and worldly power fought the truth and persecuted the true witness Mar Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople. And as Daniel heard of this disarray, they say, he prophesied that truly the time will come, when the West will be eclipsed and the light will shine in the East. And with such thoughts he departed on White Sunday²⁶², after having given the people the water of life to drink for twenty-four years.

17. Metropolitan Rehima of Arbela (430-450 .D.)

Mar Rehima, however, began in year 16 of Bahram²⁶³ to travel around his metropolitanate²⁶⁴, whereby he taught the way of truth and corrected the mistaken ones and showed them the straight path to the Christian Religion²⁶⁵. And back then there conflict and spats due to the orthodoxy began to haunt the house of the Lord and to shake its foundations. But they were destroyed in the lands of the Romans and thought-out and built-up in the kingdom of the Persians. And with this holy work he completed his life and went to his Lord in year 12 of Jazdgerd²⁶⁶. And following him was Mar ‘Abbušta.²⁶⁷

18. Metropolitan ‘Abbušta of Arbela (450-498 A.D.)

This holy father, his family is from a mountain village, which is called Talpena²⁶⁸. And from his childhood on he had lived in Nisibis, and then he came to Arbela. They say, that this father built twenty-five churches since the beginning of his taking of the Metropolitan office²⁶⁹. And he collected coinage from Christians²⁷⁰ and from the heathens, and everyone worked for him without pay.

At this time an accomplished man was known in the town of Orhai²⁷¹, whose name was

²⁵⁸ Dabarinós

²⁵⁹ ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ

²⁶⁰ Patriarch Dadišu of Medinata (421-456 A.D.)

²⁶¹ Cyril of Alexandria (?-444 A.D.)

²⁶² In 430 A.D. Easter Sunday fell on April 6.

²⁶³ Bahram V. 420 + 16 = 436 A.D.

²⁶⁴ ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ : pature, diocese, province, see

²⁶⁵ ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ

²⁶⁶ Yazdgird II. Grand king of Persia (438-457 A.D.) 438 + 12 = 450 A.D.

²⁶⁷ This is where the scribe made a ¶-sign (=two horizontal points).

²⁶⁸ Unknown location

²⁶⁹ ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ

²⁷⁰ ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ ܘܢܝܨܝܒܝܫ

²⁷¹ Edessa

Bishop Mar Hibai²⁷², which through his efforts he brought success to Orthodoxy. Those trials and tribulations which he suffered from the students of ignominy, no feather can describe. And in the schools²⁷³ of Orhai he taught exhaustively the truth and annihilated the wrongness until the hour of his death²⁷⁴. However, after his death the deceitful students gathered the won strength and were able to dislodge all Persian students. And they came to their hometowns and founded many schools in them, that with it they are not grabbed by fear before Satan. But Bar Sauma of Nisibis let Narsai, the famous teacher, stay with him²⁷⁵. And he constructed his large school for a many-faceted study for the brothers. And without surcease he taught them, from children to famous teachers, for Catholicism. There he laid out all the godly scriptures, and did not deviate from anything of the teachings of Mepaššeqana²⁷⁶. But many from our region went to him, as I have heard from trustworthy²⁷⁷ people. And in this number of righteous people was Joseph, which afterwards became the bishop of Hedajjab, as we will yet show afterwards. And the church became split into two halves. The Westerners spoke of a single nature²⁷⁸, and discounted the earthly nature of God, which ill-befit and contradicted their nature. And the Easterners recognized the two natures²⁷⁹ in one prosopon²⁸⁰.

And, for the spreading of the religion of Christ and to the igniting of the fire of love for martyrdom in the heart of Christ, Mar ‘Abuššta united with Johannan, the bishop of Karka de- Bet Selok and reported to the Catholic Mar Babui²⁸¹, that all the bishops of Bet Garmai should gather annually and at the same time host a jubilant and jovial commemoration for all martyrs, which gloriously shed their blood for Christ in the time of Yazdgerd²⁸². And in this year Piroz, the grand king of the Persians, died on the crusade against the Huns, in the month of Ab²⁸³. This grand king, also when he was a heathen, had helped the Christians in his lifetime, and on the advice of Bar Sauma of Nisibis, he had consistently dealt and ruled.

In the second year of Valgaš²⁸⁴, the king of kings, Aqaq²⁸⁵, the Catholic, called all the bishops of the East, as it was generally needed, to a synod, which he gathered. But Mar ‘Abuššta was not able to go. A hefty illness had namely befallen him. And many gave up their hope for him. But through the goodness of the Lord he was healed through the prayers of the flawless monk²⁸⁶ Abba Mešihā Rahmeh of holy memory. And he renewed the church building of Arbela, which can be found to this day. And he embellished it with beautiful pieces, of that fashion, that everyone, who sees it, is astounded and praises God due to grace, which he had poured out over it.

²⁷² Bishop Ibas of Edessa, ordained 435 A.D

²⁷³ ܟܘܠܩܘܠܘܢ : the Syrian *eskula* (from the greek οχολη) always meant a Christian school in contrast to a heathen or Muslim school called by the Arabic word *maktab* or *kuttāb*.

²⁷⁴ Bishop Ibas died on October 8, 457 A.D.

²⁷⁵ Narsai had to flee Edessa upon the death of Bishop Bar Sauma.

²⁷⁶ Theodore of Mopsuestia

²⁷⁷ ܩܘܠܘܢܐܢܐ past part.

²⁷⁸ ܟܘܠܘܢܐܢܐ : Monophysitism, in this case.

²⁷⁹ ܟܘܠܘܢܐܢܐ ܩܘܠܘܢܐܢܐ

²⁸⁰ ܟܘܠܘܢܐܢܐ : προσοπον : the person of Christ

²⁸¹ Babui, Catholic-Patriarch of Medinata. This is the first time the title ܟܘܠܘܢܐܢܐܢܐ appears in the Chronicle.

²⁸² Yazdgerd II. The bishops held a commemoration on Saturday and Sunday the sixth week after the Fast of the Apostles for all the Christians who died during the persecutions of Yazdgerd II.

²⁸³ = August

²⁸⁴ Valgash (Balaš), Sasanid King (484-488 A.D.)

²⁸⁵ Acacius (484-496 A.D.)

²⁸⁶ ܟܘܠܘܢܐܢܐܢܐ : hermit, and later cloistered monk



And in the second year of the grand king Zamasp²⁸⁷, as Mar Babai occupied the Patriarch seat of the East, the tenth synod²⁸⁸ took place, and all of the Bishops gathered there from every side. But Mar Abuššta, because he was old and his year had come, was not able to go personally. Moreover he sent instead Joseph, his priest²⁸⁹, and Sidora, his notary²⁹⁰. And there it was established that every four years a gathering of bishops should take place by the Patriarch, and not every two years, like the occasion used to be.

And one year after this synod Mar ‘Abuššta departed at a venerably high age, and the Christians²⁹¹ cried for him for a long time.

And before his death, a woman wanted to bring her son to the saint of the Lord, that with it he, through the power of the cross, heal him from the high fever, which he had. But as she was bringing him, the boy fell from the triklinion, in which they were, from the higher story of the house to the lowest story. And immediately he died ...²⁹² due to the depth of his pain she lost her senses, and she began to bid God, that he wake him up through the prayers of his servant ‘Abuššta. And not yet had she completed her lament, and she saw her son stand up jovial and jubilant. And she praised God and spread this miracle throughout the land. And they all did not stop praising God due to his grace and due to his deeds and miracles, which he had given to his servant ‘Abuššta.

19. Metropolitan Joseph of Arbela (498-510 A.D.)

This father²⁹³ was from the village of Teldarra. And as he was twenty-one, he went to the schools²⁹⁴ of Nisibis. And he studied there all the holy scriptures under Mar Narsai and they validated the teachings of Mar Theodore. And since his childhood he proved signs of the godly grace, which were spread, that they should make him into a new man. And he remained there seven years, in which he suckled from the holy milk and drank from those sweet waters of Orthodoxy.

At this time there was a hefty war between the Romans and the Persians. As Kawad²⁹⁵ pursued for the second time, he moved into the lands of the Romans with a mighty army. The Roman basileus of that time, Anastasius²⁹⁶ was his name. And the Persians took many towns from the Romans, Amid, and Reš‘aina²⁹⁷. And their vision was this, that they again rein in a persecution against the Christians. But there did not come an end to the war between the two, and the Persians were forced to turn back, that with it their lands would not be laid to waste from the stong force of the Huns²⁹⁸, which had begun to fall upon them.

²⁸⁷ Zamasp, Sasanid King (496-498 A.D.) and brother of Kavād.

²⁸⁸ ܐܘܨܬܐܝܬܐ

²⁸⁹ ܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܥܝܠܐ

²⁹⁰ ܫܘܕܪܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ, Isidor the Notary; both names appear on the council acts (N° 5 and N° 38, respectively)

²⁹¹ ܥܘܕܐܝܬܐ

²⁹² Corrupted text. *Mingana* added “and as his mother descended to him, and saw that he was dead”

²⁹³ Any title of name of the new Metropolitan is missing here. Instead one must take it from the previous text or later in this section. Perhaps a bad transcription

²⁹⁴ ܕܥܘܨܬܐܝܬܐ plural

²⁹⁵ Kawād I, Sasanid King (488-496 A.D.) shortly replaced by Zamasp (496-498 A.D.) then ruled again (498-531 A.D.)

²⁹⁶ Basileus Anastasius I. of Byzantium

²⁹⁷ Resina

²⁹⁸ Here most-likely Turks, Kurds, or another steppe-people.

And then Mar Narsai the teacher died, as that legion was in Nisibis. And following in his place was Eliša of Quzbo, which is in the Marga. And also this man followed his teacher and went in his footsteps. And the church was filled with his writings. And everyone who read it was truly amazed about his godly knowledge, through which they were enlightened. At this time Mar Joseph, the bishop²⁹⁹ wished that he go into the mountains and be alone, that with it he lead there a quiet life and work for God, as it is his bidding, from his entire heart and from his entire soul and from his entire power. And he called all of his priests and deacons and explained to them this, his plan. But these men began to cry about his separation and to dissuade him from these thoughts for the good of the people and the building of the church. And as they had no success, the lot of them, a grand tumult arose in the entire hiparchy. And they wrote a common letter to Mar Šila³⁰⁰, which then held the ethnarchical key of the heavenly treasure. And through the word of the Lord he convinced him, our Mar Patriarch³⁰¹, that he return to his office. And this is the copy³⁰² of the writing, which he sent him:

To the Friend of Christ, Mar Joseph, the Metropolitan Bishop of Hedajjab, Šila, the Patriarch-Bishop, at the behest and will of God, bows before your piety and ask for your prayers.

In many ways, as your piety knows better than I, God leads the people up to heaven and bring them to a sacred end. Some of them through a reclusive life, in which they are far from all tumult and from all noise of the world. But some of them through a pure standing of evangelical honor, in which they are chained through the love of a wife and her heart is shared as she cares for her children, that they be raised in the fear of God. And some of them through the office of Bishop, in which they direct the people to the lord and lead them in the path of righteousness and in which they are strengthened off the grass of power. And even for this man the wage is promised, which is great, and the prize which is costly. The office namely and equally the teaching, he who holds it will be named great in the kingdom of heaven, according to the word of the Lord. And some through riches, and some through poverty, and others in different ways.

And your humility is convinced, that the reclusive life is not fit for the married and not for Bishops³⁰³, because it hinders the fulfillment of the requirements of their standing, which belongs to them and is right. And also you consequently, oh God's elected-one, because you are called to the great work of the office of bishop of the 10 talents³⁰⁴, it is not measured for you from the word of the Lord, that you will be a recluse and will be reprovred from the requirements of your highest office³⁰⁵. Remember more, oh Religioso, that the will of God showed you in the universal unanimity of the love of the entire people, which is under his hand, which wants you to be bishop and director³⁰⁶. And you, you know, that without your oversight this disarray will be sewn in the people and you will go against the will of God. And this

²⁹⁹ ܐܢܝܢܝܘܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܝܘܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܝܘܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܝܘܢ

³⁰⁰ Silas, Patriarch of Medinata (505-523 A.D.)

³⁰¹ ܐܘܪܝܢܝܘܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܝܘܢ

³⁰² ܐܘܪܝܢܝܘܢ = exemplar

³⁰³ ܐܘܪܝܢܝܘܢ

³⁰⁴ Matthew 25:14-19

³⁰⁵ ܐܘܪܝܢܝܘܢ = acme, highpoint

³⁰⁶ ܐܘܪܝܢܝܘܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܝܘܢ

is ignominious. Because disarray and contravention against the will of God is forbidden for us all. And who knows – also if the meaning is far from my thoughts -, if this though does not come from the angels of darkness? The enemies of humanity foster leading away men of God from the straight path through beautiful thoughts, but they are detrimental for perfection. Do we not see indeed, that every day they lead the people of cursed Mesallejane³⁰⁷ in an innumerable number from the men of God and lead them to error? Through such and similar reasons we command and verify the word of our Lord and in the power of the Holy Ghost, that you return to your earlier office and “rejoice in your people and the people will rejoice in you”. And pray for my weakness, that the Lord forgives my defects, and remain furthermore in the love of our Lord.”

And because Mar Joseph was a perfect man, who loved obedience to the laws of God and the order of the patriarch more than the victim, he complied with the order of Mar Patriarch immediately and came and returned to the Arbela. And such joy, which filled the heart of all Christians and especially the priests and deacons, as they again saw their bishop, the feather is incapable of describing.

But this joy did not last and was destroyed for a long time. Come was namely the limited time of the period of Mar Joseph. And for him was the throne, on which he waited since his youth, laid down for him. Because he departed on the forth in the month of Ilul in the twelfth year of the second rule of the grand king, Kawad.³⁰⁸

20. Metropolitan Henana of Arbela (510-544 .D.)

Also this father³⁰⁹ belonged to the students of Narsai, the teacher. But he was educated in the schools of Nisibis. And his parents were from Telnejaha, a village of Heddajab. And also he made, after he had separated from the schools, useful memres³¹⁰, which we all read with alacrity and amazement.

And in these days Eliša‘, the one from Quzbo, the teacher, and following in his place was a zealous man, a diligent worker, wise in the science of the fear of God and a researcher in the godly scriptures, Mar Abraham, a friend of Mar Narsai. This man led the school with all savvy. And it suits us, that we pray and ask of God, oh beloved Pinhes, that He increases the number of perfect teachers such as this in His church. The harvest is great, and the workers are few. But with it a man does not think of himself wiser than he is, and proudly struts and boast himself and receives arrogance, the mother of all corruptions, the lecturers and the masters of the schools gathered, and in this gathering, which they held, canons for the majordomos were laid out. And Johannan of Bet-Rabban was selected as a helper of Abraham due to the insignificance of his years. Corruption namely befell the schools due to

³⁰⁷ ܐܘܒܝܗ = dualistic heretics, Nestorians

³⁰⁸ Kawad I second rule started 498 A.D.; the death thus occurred on September 4, 510 A.D.

³⁰⁹ ܚܚܘܢܐ, like in 19. there is no name present, the name Henana is not found until later in this section.

³¹⁰ ܕܘܚܘܪܐܘܬܐ = sermon

the dishonesty in governance of their earthly tenure. And as Mar Henana³¹¹ learned of this disorder, which ruled there, “he devoured the zeal for he house of the Lord”³¹², and he went to Nisibis. And through the power of his wisdom peace came there in those great labors. And the ship of the church was calmed, and its helm was steered on the course of peace. And as he returned, he moved around and made a patrol of his entire hiparchy, in that he reproved and threatened. And after two years he came to his capital³¹³.

At this time the church of God was very crowded, not from foreigners, but rather from their members, not from outsiders, bur rather from housemates. Namely Satan, the enemy of our humanity, as he saw that the could neither conquer the Catholics with sword and dagger nor stop the fountain of their run and dispersion through the heathen kings, he found no other ploy but this, that he incite the children of the church one against the other and call forth insurrection and riot between their bishops³¹⁴.

After the death of Patriarch Šila, two synods of bishops took place. And two patriarchs were chosen, Narsai and Eliša, against all church laws. And each of them both took claim to the patriarchate for himself personally. And the enemies of the church rejoiced, and the friends thereof lamented. The lowest demon was happy, and the highest heaven was sorrowful. And this disorder remained for a long row of years.

But Mar Henana, he was grasped by sadness. And he began to solace the half-hearted and to strengthen the weak and to enliven them. And he went to Nisibis the fountain of scholarship, and filled many vacancies. And he sent for and let come Mar Paulos from Bet Nuhadra, that with it this man should direct the metropolitan seat of the hiparchy³¹⁵ in the entire time of his absence.

Now, this bishop, of sacred memory, had first chosen Narsai for the office of Patriarch. And because of this, a riot broke out in his community. And Mar Abraham, the scribe, had given Mar Henana Paulos as lecturer, that with it he found a school for children in the land of Hedajjab, that he impress Christianity in their soul and defend against the force of the heretics and the Mesallejane. And this Paulos remained with us more than thirty years, in which he fulfilled the office, which was entrusted to him by the bishops³¹⁶ of the church in all humility and fear of God. And he did not want him to leave him, if not for an order of the Catholic Mar Aba, which he compelled him through the word of the Lord, that he become bishop of Nisibis. And this happened after he had returned from Bet Huzaje, as we will see later.

(Stamp: *Bibl. Regia Berlin*)

End of the manuscript of the Prussian State Library

³¹¹ Here is the first time the name of the Metropolitan is mentioned.

³¹² Psalm 69:10

³¹³ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܘܢܐ : here “cities of the Arsacids” (*medinata aršakita*) refers to Seleucia and Ctesiphon, which was the name of the Persian capital. In this instance, it is used as a metaphor for Mar Henana’s capital city : Arbela.

³¹⁴ ܡܡܝܢܐ

³¹⁵ ܡܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

³¹⁶ ܡܡܝܢܐ