

# Kirakos Ganjackets'i

## *History of the Armenians*

*Translated from Classical Armenian  
by Robert Bedrosian*

### *Source 1*

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[31] After the blessed Yovsep', lord Giwt occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for fifteen years. He requested from Dawit' the Philosopher [the work] *Bardzrats'uts'ek'*. The next *kat'oghikos* was Yovhan Mandakuni, who reigned for twelve years. He introduced many regulations in the Church, including the preachings for Lent and the prayers to be said at the third, sixth, and ninth hours of that feast, prayers to be said at the establishment of churches, in case of misfortune, over the chalice and plate, books, at baptisms, when blessing the Cross, and at marriages. He introduced all of these [regulations]. Furthermore, he dared to confess Christ before King Peroz, not fearing [g35] the king's threats to entice him to deny Christ and communion with the Byzantines. Perfect in all virtues, Yovhan passed to Christ.

After Marcian, the Byzantine Leo [I, 457-74] the Great ruled, and the Iranian king Peroz made Mangnos *marzpan* of Armenia, for twenty years. In these days, Movses *K'ert'ogahayr* came upon the scene. At the same time, the holy father T'at'ul illuminated the land with marvelous ascetic conduct, with his brother Varos and his pupil T'uma. After Yovhan Mandakuni, lord Babgen occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for five [32] years, in the days of Emperor Zeno [474-91].

Zeno anathematized the Council of Chalcedon and instituted twelve books of anathemas against it. They say that he frequently ate meat and that one day, from eating so much, the food in his stomach became sour. Sick of it, he made a law [to the effect that] cheese and not meat be eaten for a two week holiday, which is called *Panruta* to this day. It is said that Julian, having come to Constantinople, ordered that all the foods sold be mixed with the blood of sacrificial animals. The blessed T'eodoros informed the Christians, and they said: "It is not lawful for us to eat meat these two [g36] weeks, but we must eat cheese instead." Thus *panrutek'* remained the same. In these days the venerable Garhnik found the remains of Saint Gregory in Maneay cave, and they buried him in T'ordan.

After Babgen, lord Samuel occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for five years. In this period there shined forth blessed Simeon the Stylite of Alexandria and Timothy the priest, a scholar of orthodox faith who wrote very technical books, collecting all the sayings of holy men

against the heretics. But the Iranian king Peroz had a very ferocious nature, for which he [33] was slain by the Hephthalites. Then his brother Valash [(Vagharsh) 484-88] ruled. He made Vahan Mamikonean, Hmayeak's son, the *marzpan*. This Vahan garlanded the Church with rights and he checked [the advance of] the Alans. In his day lived the rhetorician and historian Ghazar P'arbets'i. After Samuel, lord Mushegh occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for eight years.

After Emperor Zeno, Anastasius [(Anastas) 491-518] ruled the kingdom. Together with Zeno [Anastasius] was considered orthodox, since he wanted to assemble a council against the illegal Council of Chalcedon, to strengthen orthodoxy. But he was poisoned to death. Following him Justin [(Yustinos) 518-27] ruled, an ignorant and godless man who filled the country with the blood of the orthodox; for he rekindled Chalcedon and [g37] he destroyed with persecution those who professed that the Corporeal Word had one nature.

After the Iranian king Valash, Kawad wore the crown [488-97], then Zhamasp, and again Kawad [499-531].

After Mushe, lord Sahak occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for five years, then lord K'ristop'or for five years; after him, lord Ghewond for two years. In these times the sun [34] completely dimmed, and there was a severe famine. Then lord Nerses ruled for nine years. In this period lived Ezras Angeghats'i, a student of bishop Movses of Bagrewand, who increased the ranks of the rhetoricians. Movses' brother, Mampre, also returned to Armenia. They say that he was the third to write philosophy [in Armenian].

After Justin, his sister's son, Justinian [(Yustinianos) 527-65], wore the crown. His wife was the orthodox Theodora. She beseeched her husband to establish orthodoxy. Although he wanted to, he did not dare out of fear of the diophysites who threatened [him with] death.

A malevolent Jew came to Justinian, saying: "Candlemas-day ought to be celebrated on Christmas, as the Greeks do and not on Epiphany (the sixth of January)," for until that time all Christians held to the apostolic system, celebrating [g38] it on the fourteenth of February. The emperor accepted the impious man's words and sent [an order] to Jerusalem that it be so done. But the Jerusalemites did not agree to change the traditions of the holy Fathers, which until then had been observed.

Then the emperor ordered his general to forcibly make them switch and to kill anyone resisting. For the sake of [35] Truth, everyone turned to death; yet compassionate God did not disappoint those who believed in Him. Instead, He terrified the brazen ones with awesome wonders: the divine Right Hand appeared in the holy chapel and a bloody, awesome, luminous sign appeared in the sky. Frightened by this, they ceased their demanding. However, the next year the same agitation was stirred up, for [the emperor] ordered that resisters be severely crushed. But people chose death to life with guilty

consciences. When benevolent God saw the faith of mankind, He visited His flock. The most blessed Mother of God appeared on a purple column holding in Her arms the infant Jesus. Water gushed forth from that column and all who washed with it were healed of their pains. And thus they stopped their futile demand [g39].

In the time of Justinian, the sun darkened for eighteen months, providing light for three hours a day and then nothing either day or night. In that year fruit did not ripen and it was as though the entire country was suffering from a long illness. There was an untimely pestilence, the likes of which had never occurred previously. First it began in Constantinople. On the first day, 5,000 people died; on the second day, 10,000; on the third day, 15,000; on the fourth day, 18,000; and so on until 300,000 were dying in one day. Carbuncles would appear on the hands of the stricken, and they would die [36] forthwith. A man would enter a house and see everyone dead. The pestilence spread throughout the entire country and many cities became uninhabited as a result. Only Hems survived, for its residents had taken refuge in the power of the head of John the Baptist which was located there. Justinian and Xosrov, king of Iran, became reconciled with one another and the covenant of all Christians flourished throughout the world.

Now Vahan Mamikonean passed in peace. After him his brother, Vard, ruled for three years and after him were Iranian *marzpan*s for three years. Then Mezhezh Gnuni [518-548] ruled for thirty-four years [g40].

After Nerses, lord Yovhannes occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for fifteen years. In this period the plague became severe, starting in the west. And in the capital of Armenia (*yostanin Hayots'*) a miraculous sign was seen, for a blazing fire burned the home of the Iranian *hamakar* who was the overseer of the land. Once they were unable to quench it, they took refuge in the cross of Christ and beseeched the deacons to quickly take the cross there. As soon as the redeeming symbol was taken near, the flame at once was extinguished. Seen by [37] everyone, they glorified the savior Christ and praised the Christian faith, in which the venerable Maxozh believed, a man who underwent martyrdom for Christ.

After Yovhannes, lord Movses occupied the *kat'oghikosate* In his first year, the blessed Manachir, who was named Grigor, a Syrian (*razhik*), underwent martyrdom. And in his third year, the 553rd anniversary of the birth of Christ occurred, and the two hundred canons (which the learned Andreas, brother of bishop Mangnos arranged at the order of Emperor Constantine) were compiled, to complete the feast [g41] of Easter and other feasts. For after two hundred years, Easter fell on March 25th, while originally it was on April 4th. They could not go back to the beginning [in this method of computing] for after March 25th was April 13th, and there were nine discrepant days among them. For that reason, the feast days of the different calendars began to be confused.

Patriarch Movses convened the wise men of that period (among them At'anas from the monastery of Saint Karapet (the Precursor)), and they established the Armenian Era, by

which they corrected the days for Easter of our Lord, [38] as well as other feasts. However, they were unable to correctly arrange the ninth year. Now in the tenth year a certain Eas the Alexandrian, a strong and learned man, spoke out about the confusion which existed in all the churches. He called to himself the wise men from all peoples: Adde from Cappadocia, Gigan from Syria, Elogs from Greece, Phineas from Judea, John from Arabia, and thirty-six other men like himself and a multitude besides. Continuing [g42] the work of Andreas, they made it the same 532-year calendar. And they established an example beyond doubt, which was called Five Hundred, brilliant and faultless. They put at the beginning April 4th, so that as soon as the year 532 ended, the new cycle would be the same. Then they began to correct all the feasts and miracle-days of the calendar.

But they did not invite a certain Ironius, the court-priest of Justinian, and as a result, contempt for the meeting consumed him. As soon as the scholar Elogs took a copy of the calendar to the king, Ironius began to examine the fifth and sixth parts which had never been, since of the fifth and sixth parts, one was solar and the other, lunar. But Ironius made it the opposite, so that April 17th became the 16th, the 6th became the 7th. That 16 did not bring anything ill, [39] but the 6th being 95, Sunday reached us (?) While their 5th day, Saturday according to the workings of Ironius taking Easter after the Jewish calendar, and at the holy Council of Nicea they anathematized those who decreed not to celebrate Easter after the crucifixion [g43].

Now we [Armenians] commemorate it on the next Sunday, and so we were not corrupted by the anathema, since the Armenians being under the rule of the Iranians at the time, did not accept the erroneous version or the Council of Chalcedon. For after eight years, the corruption of the deed became manifest.

After Mezhezh, Iranian *marzpan*s ruled Armenia, for thirty-six years. During those years, the bishop of the Georgians died; coming to lord Movses, they asked him to give them a bishop. So he ordained a certain warden of his church named Kiwrion and gave him to them, trusting him to keep love and unity with the throne of Saint Gregory—for to that time, the Georgians received ordination from the Armenians.

After the death of Movses, this Kiwrion separated from the orthodox Church of Jesus and confessed the Chalcedonian doctrine, which heresy he had fermented in [40] from childhood, being on Greek land. He kept this evil in secret, the way fire is hidden under straw, but he did not dare reveal it during the lifetime of Movses.

After occupying the patriarchate for thirty years, lord Movses died, entrusting stewardship of the throne to Vrt'anes K'ertogh. As soon as Movses, bishop of Ts'urtaw, saw Kiwrion's depravity, he informed Vrt'anes, so that he might somehow help the deviant Kiwrion. He wrote many times, beseechingly, to stay clear of that ill-advised heresy. But Kiwrion not only did not accept what was written to him, but even persecuted bishop Movses. As soon as lord Abraham succeeded to the throne of

the *kat'oghikosate* of the Armenians, after Movses, he also wrote letters reminding him of the error, two and three times. Kiwrion pretended that he thought the same way they did, and claimed that Movses was slandering him. Yet as soon as it was proposed to hold a meeting to examine and investigate this matter, Kiwrion openly confessed the Chalcedonian heresy.

Then, when Abraham saw that nothing helped matters, but that Kiwrion had become even more shameless, he wrote a circulating letter to his diocese that they not commune with [g45] the Georgians, either in Church, oath or marriage or in any [41] other spiritual matters, except in trade, as if they were pagans and so that spiritual harm not befall [the Armenians] through physical acquaintance. From that time forth, Georgian ordination which had been from the Armenians ended, since they started to follow the Greeks.

Bishop Uxtanes has accurately disclosed this to you, for he wrote about it in full—including the letters and replies and the bold words of bishop Petros who was a messenger from lord Abraham to Kiwrion, whom the Georgians called Gayl (Wolf) on account of his boldness.

After Emperor Justinian, another Justin [II, 565-78] ruled, an evil, obscene man responsible for killing many of the orthodox. He and the patriarch John were possessed and so strayed, and thus were killed. Then Tiberius ruled [II, 578-82], and after him Maurice [582-602].

Some say that the latter was from the village of Oshakan in Armenia; others say that he was from Taron. Because of poverty, he went to Constantinople, where, through a lucky accident, he became king. This is what happened [g46].

When Emperor Tiberius died, the nobles fought with one another, and would not be pacified. There was great [42] warfare amongst them, [since they thought that] the victor would be emperor. Now the patriarch went among them and convinced them to cast lots. Whoever won would have the kingdom and rule over the others. They [agreed to this] with oaths and written pledges. [The agreement was] that at daybreak they would open the great gate of the city, and the man who happened to appear (even if he was very humble) they would take to the royal palace. Then the princes would sit together and whomever he crowned would have the kingdom. All agreed to this, and the agitation ended.

When the appointed hour arrived, they opened the gate of the city and saw Maurice at the door, holding some sort of straw to sell, to satisfy his needs. The army seized him and took him to the bath, where they washed and dressed him in noble attire, and took him to the court. As soon as [g47] they told him why he was called, he demanded of them papers and oaths that those who had lost [in the contest for] the crown, not slay him. And they swore vehemently to him that he should remain unconcerned about that.

They all sat there filled with vain hopes, and each said to himself: "It might be me." There was the throne with the crown [suspended] above it, and there were the [43] [imperial red] shoes nearby. Then Maurice came among them and took the crown in his hands, and began to circulate among those seated. As soon as he came to the first he rejoiced, but the second one was saddened as soon as he walked past him, while his companion rejoiced. Thus did Maurice circulate among them two or three times, delighting then depressing them. Suddenly, Maurice went and sat on the throne and placed the crown on his own head. When everyone saw this they were astonished. But since they had sworn to obey anyone on whose head he placed the crown, they let it be. The patriarch came forward and put the shoes on his feet and prostrated himself, as did all the nobles, and they exclaimed: "Long live Emperor Maurice" [g48].

He convened a council of inquiry regarding the Chalcedonian heresy, and summoned the *vardapets* of Armenia. Vrt'anes and Grigor and other *vardapets* went, but in no way did they aid [align with] the Byzantines, and they returned anathematizing them. Armenian *naxarars*, escaping from the rule of the Iranians, came to Maurice seeking refuge. But Maurice, revealing his inhuman disposition, did not give them any largess. Instead he abolished the stipends which had been established for them by previous kings.

[44] It is said that he sent for his father to come to him and to enjoy his royal glory with him, or, if [he could] not [come], to send him advice by which he would be able to rule the kingdom.

When the messengers went to the father they found him tending his garden and told him the king's command. He replied: "I am not fit to be a king's father." And he began to uproot the largest cabbage heads in the garden, tearing the heads and covering them with earth; yet he nursed and cultivated the small ones. When the men saw this they assumed that he was daft and left him. But the men did not understand what he had done. When they went to the emperor, they told him everything and described the foolishness that had transpired in the garden.

As soon as Maurice heard it, he laughed and said nothing [g49]; but gathering those nobles he believed were plotting against his rule, he killed them all, so there would be no conspiracies against him, and he put lesser men in their positions. Calling those men he had sent to his father, he said to them: "This is my father's advice, which he gave in the garden and which you did not understand."

Some say that he was from the village of Arabisos (Arp'sus) in Cappadocia, which general Tiberius later made into a city.

[45] Maurice, together with his family and sons, died a miserable death, because of the severity of his ways. His troops, led by Phocas (which translates "fire") fell on him and killed him. Phocas ruled in his stead [602-610].

After Ormizd, king of Iran, Xosrov ruled with the aid of Maurice. During this period, Smbat Bagratuni organized many battles, displaying extreme bravery against Xosrov's foes, for which Xosrov honored him and gave him the *marzpanate* of Hyrcania. Smbat went and discovered there in Sagastan people [g50] who had been taken captive from Armenia who had forgotten their [native] language and literature, which Smbat restored. He had the *kat'oghikos* ordain a certain Habel as bishop and he founded a diocese of the throne of Saint Gregory there.

In the tenth year of lord Abraham and the thirty-seventh year of the Armenian Era [588], Syrians came to Armenia, eloquent men, who sought to implant the Nestorian heresy. They were anathematized and persecuted, but some people accepted [their creed]. They translated their false books: *Gortosak*, *Kirakosak*, the *Vision of Paul*, the *Repentance of Adam*, *Diat'ek*, the *Infancy of the Lord*, *Sebios*, the *Grapes of Blessing*, the *Unconcealable Writings*, and Mani's *Interpretation of the Gospel*. [46] Whoever believes them is anathematized by the orthodox.

After lord Abraham, the *kat'oghikosate* was occupied by lord Yovhannes from Bagaran village in Kogovit, for twenty-six years. Some historians say that both Abraham and Yovhannes died on the same day, while others deny it [g51].

Now when the Iranian king Xosrov learned of Maurice's death [d. 602], he sought to avenge him, for they were allies. He ruined many Byzantine districts. He sent his general Xorhian to Palestine to besiege the holy city of Jerusalem. He captured it and killed its inhabitants, and also captured the Cross of Christ, taking it to Iran. He went against Emperor Heraclius with many troops and placed the royal city of Constantinople in great straits.

But Emperor Heraclius, with the assistance of the Khazar king, the Xak'an, went to Iran, killed Xosrov, and returned the holy Cross to Jerusalem.

The residents of Tiflis ridiculed this Xak'an by taking a pumpkin and drawing a picture of the Xak'an on it as if blind, since their eyes are narrow and small. They then [47] placed the pumpkin on a wall facing him and began shooting arrows at it. When the Xak'an saw this he grew extremely angry but since it was wintertime he was unable to retaliate. However, upon the arrival of spring, he came and besieged Tiflis, captured it, and ordered that men, women, and children be killed. Then he wasted it, took the inhabitants' belongings, and went to his own city [g52].

Now after the slaying of the *marzpan*s Chihr Burzen, Chihr Vshnasp Suhen, Chihr Vghon Mihran and others by the people from Tachkastan [the Arabs], Dawit' Saharhuni was the *marzpan* for thirty years. In his day, in the year 62 A.E. [613], the cathedral of Mren was constructed.

After lord Yovhannes, lord Komitas held the *kat'oghikosate* for eight years. Komitas built the beautiful and marvellous martyrrium of the blessed lady Hrip'sime, for the prior structure was cramped. In [the old structure] he found relics of the saints' bones, sealed with the rings of saints Gregory and Sahak. He did not dare open it, but instead sealed it with his own ring and buried it there. He wrote a *sharakan* [hymn] to the saints, each line in the order of the Armenian alphabet, which begins: "People devoted to the love of Christ" [g53].

[48] After King Xosrov of Iran, Kawad [II, Sheroe, 628] held the kingship. Kawad released from captivity the *kat'oghikos* of Aghbania/Aghuania, Viro, whom his father Xosrov had placed in prison. After Kawad, Artashir ruled, then Xorheam, at Heraclius' command. Then Born and Zarmanduxt—they were all short-lived—then Yazkert [III, 632-36/52].

After lord Komitas, lord K'ristap'or occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for two years, followed by Ezr for ten years.

Now Emperor Heraclius came to the city of Karin and held a council to which he summoned Ezr, the *kat'oghikos* of Armenia. However, Ezr did not take along very learned men (such as *vardapet* Yovhan Mayravanets'i who was extremely well-versed in Scripture). Ezr went and accepted the doctrine of Chalcedon. And the emperor gave him as a gift, a third of [the district] of Koghb, and all its salt [mines]. Then Ezr returned to Armenia and changed all the orthodox arrangements of the Church, and instead of readings from James and Cyril, he instituted readings from Artemon. The blessed *vardapet* Yovhan upbraided Ezr, saying: "Why did you ignorantly accept it, and alter the good arrangements of Saint Gregory which had been preserved among the Armenian people until today?" But Ezr, rather than regretting what he had done [g54] [49] persecuted the blessed man with insults, labelling him *Mayragomets'i*.

Now one of Yovhan's pupils named Sargis, brought forth a heresy, and Ezr aired it about that Yovhan was a heretic and had made [heretical] writings. Ezr anathematized him along with the other heretics, attributing to him the deeds of his student. Let no one dare to slander this holy man.

Yovhan went and selected for his dwelling a quiet place in the area around Getabak fortress; and he remained there, ever communing with God.

God produced a great miracle as a testimony of his holiness. For Yovhannes had a donkey which served his needs. A bear encountered the donkey and ate it. As soon as they informed Yovhannes of the event, he went and said to the bear: "Because you killed our servant, you should serve us in his place." And the bear went and served in all obedience, hauling things and doing all else for many years. Afterwards hunters chanced upon and slew the bear, thinking it wild [g55]. As soon as the brothers of the monastery saw what had happened, they threw the bear's body into a hollow.



[50] To this day, residents of various places go and take soil from the spot where the bear was buried. Through the prayers of Yovhannes, this soil is medicine for all pains inflicted by animals. Similarly the tomb of the saint is a curative for all pains, and works against dangers, for those who take refuge in the saint with faithful prayers.

**After Dawit' Saharhuni, T'eodoros Rshtuni was the *marzpan* of Armenia for twenty-five years. Following Emperor Heraclius, his son Constantine [III, 613-41] ruled.**

Now upon the completion of the year 618, reckoned from the birth of Christ, or 67 of the Armenian Era, a certain false prophet of the pagans appeared, corrupted by the heresy of Kerint'os and by the Arians. His name was Mahmet, an Ishmaelite, one of the sons of Hagar. When Mahmet went to Egypt to conduct business, he met in the Sinai desert a hermit named Sergis Bxiray, an Arian heretic. This Sergis taught Mahmet a false knowledge of God, praising before him the old laws given by Moses, and saying: "If you heed my words [g56], you will become leader and legislator of your people."

Mahmet was going on his way when suddenly an impure spirit entered him and he fell down frothing at the mouth [51]. Seeing this, his companions stood by him until he came to his senses somewhat, and then they raised him up. Asked the reason for such frenzy, Mahmet replied: "It was delirium caused by a holy angel," and they dispatched him as a messenger to his people. Going to his native city he began to preach whatever the false Christian had taught him.

[Muhammad] had uncles who were chiefs. They persecuted him, threatening him to the point of death if they heard any more such words from him. Mahmet went to his house and sat there in sadness. Then Ali, his uncle's son and Mahmet's own brother-in-law entered and inquired as to the causes of Mahmet's sadness. And he answered: "Because I preached to them about God they threatened me unto death." Ali said: "Come, let us go and preach again. If they turn against us, let us put them to the sword." For Ali was a military man and he had military men with him. As soon as they began to preach, there was great agitation and war. Mahmet's side [g57] was defeated. Fleeing, they went to lesser Madiam where 12,000 Jews were assembled, [people] who had been persecuted by Emperor Constantine. Taking them, Mahmet went against those who had persecuted him and he destroyed them. Once the Jews saw this successful deed, they set Mahmet up as their leader. Other Madinites joined them and they became a large army. [52] They went against Palestine and beat the Byzantine army which had been stealing items from the commodities they traded.

As soon as they experienced victory, they went against the Iranian lordship and killed the Iranian king Yazkert. Thus ended the kingdom of the Iranian Sasanians. In this period, half the sun darkened from the fall month of Areg [the eighth month of the moveable Armenian calendar] to the summer month of K'aghots' [the fifth month of the calendar]. Then [the Muslims] released armies in three directions: one to Byzantium, under a

certain Yaz and an advisor Yovel (who destroyed 70,000 Byzantines). The emir Uthman (Ot'man) and the general Mu'awiya (Mawie) were sent toward Iran. They defeated [g58] Mihrdat's 20,000 and Mushegh, the *sparapet* of Armenia with his brigades, and they ruled the entire territory of Armenia, Iran and Syria, Egypt, Media and Parthia. They began to propagate their faith, but were not accepted.

Now the people of Medina and their coreligionists requested laws from Mahmet and he gave them laws, disgraceful ones. He said that the Kingdom above the earth is corporeal, with food for the belly and marriage after resurrection and constant copulation with women who remained virgins. Mahmet taught laws contrary to the legislation of the Old and New [53] Testaments, to know the unworthy and to speak to the deviant. With special derision, he disgraced the covenant of God which Abraham had taken. For it is written: "Circumcise all of your male children on the eighth day." Now Mahmet decreed that people might circumcise whenever it suited them, irrespective of age, and not just men, but even women. And instead of a luminous baptism, which our Lord Jesus Christ prescribed: "If someone is not born of water and fire, he will not enter the kingdom of God." Mahmet now said: "Work evil constantly and merely rinse with water, and dry." Mahmet, who was a prophet-legislator for seven years, said many other worthless, fanatical, heretical and ridiculous things, [59], and they destroyed Bznunik', Aghiovit, and Taron [translator's note: some mss. lack "and they destroyed..."].

Mahmet prohibited the use of the sword, and instead subjected the greater part of the world through words of counsel. And with an unbreakable oath, he sealed a written contract with Armenia that the land enjoy Christianity fearlessly; and he sold them their faith, from each house taking four *dram* and three *mot' xorbal*, which is wheat, a saddlebag, a hair rope and pair of gloves. Now from the priests, *azats*, and cavalry he did not order the tax collected. Those [54] governing the lands were called *amirmumnik'*. After the twentieth year of Mahmet, Abu Bakr (Abubakr), Uthman (Ot'man), and Amr held the kingdom of the Ishmaelites for thirty-eight years.

After Ezr, lord Nerses occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for twenty years. He built the martyrium of Saint Sargis which is in Dwin. During the destruction of 20,000 people in the city of Dwin by the Ishmaelites, the holy altar and basin were covered with the blood of those cut down, while [g60] more than 35,000 others were taken into slavery. The patriarch gathered the bones of the slain into the same chapel. He constructed the place of Saint Gregory[*'s imprisonment*], Virap, and likewise built [the church of] Saint Gregory, which astonished those who saw it. This place was later ruined by the Tachiks.

Orthodox Syrians came to *kat'oghikos* Nerses requesting a bishop [ordained] by him. He demanded of them in writing a confession of the faith and the Syrians gave him [the following confession]: "We believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. In the Father, Whose paternity is unreachable, in the Son Whose birth is indivisible and in the Holy Spirit, Which is of the Father and through the Father and the Son It is worshipped and glorified"—a confession which is recited to this day in the service of the Armenian

Church on the day of the Revelation of the Lord (*Chragaluts'i*). [55] Nerses ordained Abdisoy bishop [for them].

He chanced to be in Baguan with the multitude assembled for the feast of the Transfiguration (*Vartavarh*). The *sharakans* had so multiplied in the churches of Armenia, until what was sung in one district was not known in another. [In one district] they sang *sharakans* about the Transfiguration while another group of clerics could not adapt them. They substituted many *sharakans*, but these too were not known [g61]. Therefore, the patriarch Nerses, with the approval of all the attendees, selected the appropriate and useful from the *sharakans*, so that in every church of Armenia on every day, the service would be synchronized. They selected learned men to circulate throughout all of Armenia and establish this same order which is observed until today.

**After T'eodoros the *marzpan* of Armenia was Hamazasp, for seven years. After Nerses, lord Anastas occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for six years [661-67].** Anastas summoned to himself the great *vardapet* Anania from the district of Shirak (a learned and brilliant man, and very knowledgeable in all the calendrical systems) to establish an immovable Armenian calendar, as other peoples had. Anania worked on this with great effort, until they were ready to adopt it through an assembly. But just then, the holy Anastas died. Those succeeding him [56] as *kat'oghikos* neglected the matter and so they continued according to the former systems. In the fifth year of Anastas, a cathedral was built in the *awan* of Aruch. It was constructed by Grigor Patrik [Patrician], and was the church in which Dawit', the martyr of Christ, was baptised. Dawit', of Iranian origin, who was previously called Surhan, was hanged in Dwin for attesting Christ [g62].

**After Hamazasp, the *marzpan* of Armenia was Grigor Mamikonean, for ten years. He was slain by the Khazars.** Then Nerseh Shirakats'i was prince for three years.

After Anastas, lord Israyel was *kat'oghikos* for six years then lord Sahak [Dzorop'orets'i] for twenty-six years [677-703]. Sahak went as an emissary to the Ishmaelite general Mahmet [ibn Okba] who was coming to destroy the Armenian people because of their rebellion from the Arabs. Sahak reached Harran (Xarhan), where he fell sick and died. But even before Mahmet came to Harran, Sahak had written a letter of entreaty, saying: "I have come before you to beseech you on behalf of my people, however it has not come to pass that I will see you, for the Supreme Master of all life has summoned me. Now I swear to you, vowing by God, by Abraham and your father Ishmael, that you must do no evil to my people; rather, let [57] them pay taxes to you. If you heed my supplication, my blessings shall be upon you. But if you do not listen [g63] you will be cursed, and may God so turn the hearts of your soldiers that they not obey you. Choose one of these two."

Now when Mahmet came to Harran they told him everything and gave him the letter. When he had read it, he inquired "Where is his grave?" And they showed him the place [where Sahak lay], for he had just died and was not yet buried. Going there quickly, in accordance with their religion, [Mahmet] saluted the dead man as though he were alive.

And they say that the dead body replied, receiving his greeting like a living man. Mahmet said: "From your writing I recognized you, oh man of God. I shall do all that you command." At once the hostility passed, and Mahmet sent *ostikans* to Armenia to lay taxes on them, while he himself returned to his own land. After Sahak, lord Eghia [703-717] occupied the *kat'oghikosate*.

Now after Heraclius, his son Constantine wore the crown. In his day the Ishmaelites attacked all lands. After Constantine, his homonymous son ruled. As for the principality of Ishmael, Mu'awiya took it after Abubak'r and Ot'man and Amr [g64].

[58] Now after Nerseh, Ashot (who was slain by the Arabs) held the office of *marzpan* for three years. Then Nerseh Kamsarakan, for three years; after him Smbat Bagratuni Biwratean, for twenty years. He warred with the armies of the foreigners in the Vardanakert *awan* and courageously defeated them in the district of Bagrewand. In the thirteenth year of Mu'awiya, Mahmet released the waters of the Gegham sea and then took Sewan. In the sixteenth year of Mu'awiya's reign, Kasim *amir* destroyed the princes of Vaspurakan.

After Emperor Constantine, Justinian [II, Rhinotmetus, 685-95] ruled. His lords pounced upon him and cut off his nose. The emperor fled to the Khazars. Taking a wife from there, and also many troops, he returned and became emperor again. Then Leontius (Lewon, 695-98), then [Tiberius III] Apsimar (Ap'simeros, 698-705), then Justinian wore the crown for a second time [705-711], followed by Philippicus Bardanes [P'ilikos Vardan, 711-13], Theodosius [III (T'eodoros) 715-17], and Leo [III, the Isaurian (Lewon), 717-41].

After Mu'awiya, rule over the Ishmaelites was held by Yazid (Izid), then by Marwan (Plrvan) and then by 'Abd al-Malik (Abdilmelik'). It was this 'Abd al-Malik who immolated the [59] Armenian princes inside the churches of Naxchawan. Then his son Walid (Vlit'), and then Sulaiman (Suleman) ruled. The latter took Darband and ordered that the Gate there be pulled down. While they were pulling it down, they discovered a stone on which was written: "I Emperor Mankwon built this city's [g65] towers from my own treasury. In the last days this will be pulled down by the sons of Ishmael, and will be rebuilt at their expense." And when they saw this stone, they stopped their demolition and started to rebuild.

After Sulaiman, 'Umar (Omarh) held the lordship. It was 'Umar who wrote to the emperor Leo to get information about Christian doctrine. The emperor wrote an extremely learned reply, ridiculing 'Umar's faith. As soon as 'Umar read this, he was greatly embarrassed, and began to remove some of the loathsome things in their religion. Although he did not make bold to annul all the iniquities, nonetheless he righted many things in their disorder, and thereafter was well-disposed toward all Christians and especially toward the Armenian people. ['Umar] ordered that those who had been taken into captivity be repatriated to Armenia. At this time, lord Vahan of Goght'n was

returned from captivity. He was martyred in the days of Sham Hisham (Hesham); after 'Umar, Yazid (Izit) took power, then Sham, then Walid (Vlit'), followed by Marwan [II, 744-50] [g66].