

Vardan Arewelts'i's Compilation of History

Translator's Preface

[i] Vardan Arewelts'i (the Easterner), a prominent 13th century Armenian cleric and author, is believed to have been born in 1200-1210. Biographical information about him is found in the [History of the Armenians](#) written by his classmate and friend, Kirakos Gandzakets'i, in Vardan's own works, and in the [History of the Nation of Archers](#) written by Grigor Aknerts'i. According to these sources, around 1239-1240 Vardan visited Jerusalem on a pilgrimage and then travelled to Cilician Armenia (ca. 1240-1241) where he was received very favorably by King Het'um I and the reigning [kat'oghikos](#), Constantine Bardzraberdts'i (1220-1267). It is possible that Vardan participated in the Council of Sis in 1243, called to settle Church disputes. While in Cilicia, Vardan made the acquaintance of a Syrian priest named Ishox, with whom he translated into Armenian the [Chronology](#) of Michael the Syrian. Kirakos Gandzakets'i states that the [kat'olikos](#) entrusted Vardan with an encyclical which the latter brought back to eastern Armenia for the signatures of the somewhat reluctant bishops, monks, and princes. Presumably Vardan visited most of these dignitaries in person, a journey which would have taken him from Karin/Erzerum to Ani, Kars, Bjni, Amberd, Haghbat, Sanahin, Getik, Haghartsin, Kech'aru, Hawuts' T'ar', Ayrivank' (Geghard), Yovhanhavank', Saghmosavank', Horomos, to Aghuania, to his teacher Vanakan, and to the Prince of Princes Awak Zak'arean. Vardan then sent the signed document back to the [kat'oghikos](#). In 1264/65 a merchant named Shnorhawor took Vardan to see the Mongol Il-Khan, Hulegu-Khan, and the account of his interview with Hulegu is a most valuable part of the [History](#). Vardan spent his last years at Haghbat and Xor'virap. According to Grigor Aknerts'i, he died in 1271/72, the same year as his friend Kirakos.

It is not known when the author started writing his [Compilation of History](#), a work which belongs to the genre of "universal histories" popular among medieval Armenian writers. It commences with Adam and terminates with the death of Vardan's personal friend [Kat'oghikos](#) Constantine in 1267. Sometime in 1266 the still unfinished [History](#) was stolen, however it was retrieved one and a half years later. While Vardan tends to concentrate on the history of Armenia, the early portion of his work also speaks about the rulers of Israel, Greece, Persia, and Arabia. As a result of the author's attempt to abridge so much of Middle Eastern history, his style suffers. The list-like presentations of names and the extraneous repetitions in the early section of the work make it tiresome reading. Sources for the period before his own include the Bible and Biblical traditions, the [Chronology](#) of Michael the Syrian, plus most of the same Armenian historians utilized by Kirakos Gandzakets'i. Unlike Kirakos, however, Vardan rarely cites his sources. This is a consequence not of the author's desire to conceal this information or to claim it as his own, but of the fact that these sources would have been immediately identifiable by readers. As Vardan approaches his own period, the information becomes more significant. This is especially true for his narration of 11th and 12th century events, since apparently he made use of works now lost, such as Yovhannes's Sarkawag's [History](#), believed to deal with the Saljuqs. Both Vardan and Kirakos Gandzakets'i were students of Yovhannes's Vanakan (d. 1251) whom Vardan refers to as "our glorious father", and both authors made use of Vanakan's now-lost [History](#). Vardan's information on the early Saljuqs is priceless, since he used other sources which have not survived, including a work by "Vahram, son of Tigran", and lost portions of Mxit'ar of Ani's [History](#). Vardan's [History](#) is important too from the standpoint of language. Written in a somewhat vulgar form of classical Armenian, it occasionally provides evidence on the emergence of the [um](#) ending typical of later modern eastern Armenian.

[ii] Regrettably, no critical edition of Vardan's [History](#) exists. The classical Armenian text has been published twice: by J. Emin (Moscow, 1861) and by the Venetian Mxit'arists in 1862. The latter edition is based on a manuscript made in 1307. Among the eight or nine remaining manuscripts of the [History](#), one recopied in 1631 was based on an manuscript dated 1274/75, only three years after Vardan's death. The [History](#) was translated in full into Russian by Emin (Moscow, 1861). A partial Russian translation was made by K. Patkanov (St. Petersburg, 1873). Partial French translations appeared in *Journal Asiatique* (1860 fas. II) and in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Documents arméniens I* (Paris, 1869) pp. 431-43 made by E. Dulaurier. A full English translation was made by Robert W. Thomson [[The Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i](#), *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* #43, 1989]. Thomson's valuable work includes an extensive introduction and detailed notes to the translation, indicating Vardan's likely sources.

The translation of the passages below (from the Venice, 1862 text) was made in 1976 by the present writer while assembling materials for a study of the Turco-Mongol invasions of Armenia. It includes extracts concerning the Saljuqs, Shaddadids, Zakarids, and Mongols. For a study of the Kurdish Shaddadids, see V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953). For Armenian sources on the Saljuqs, see D. Kouymjian, "Mxit'ar of Ani on the Rise of the Seljuqs," *Revue des études arméniennes*, 6 (1969) pp. 331-53. For a detailed study of the Saljuq and Mongol periods see volume five of the [Cambridge History of Iran](#) (Cambridge, 1968); for eastern Armenia in particular, see R. Bedrosian, [The Turco-Mongol Invasions and the Lords of Armenia in the 13-14th Centuries](#) (New York, 1979).

The transliteration employed here is a modification of the Library of Congress system, substituting x for the LOC's kh, for the thirteenth character of the Armenian alphabet. Otherwise we follow the new LOC system for Armenian, which eliminates diacritical marks above or below a character and substitutes the single or double quotation mark to the character's right. In the LOC romanization, the seventh character of the alphabet appears as e', the eighth as e'', the twenty-eighth as r', and the thirty-eighth, as o'.

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[A Note on Pagination](#)

The following chronological tables may be useful as accompaniments to the translation. The tables open in separate windows, for persistence. Use ALT-F4 to close, or ALT-TAB to toggle back to this page or to other documents.

Additional tables are available on another page of this site: [Chronological Tables](#).

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53.

We brought the list of caliphs down to [the time of] Caliph Jap'r, and left off there. For the reign [of the Arabs] began in the year 60 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 611], and ended in confusion in the year 350 A.E [A.D. 901]. Tyrannized over here and there their power decreased, and the Turks grew in strength. Here is how that happened. In Khurasan a certain Ishmaelite named Muhammad (Mahmut) crossed the Jahan River into the country of the T'etalats'ik' [Ephthalites], and [g93] took many captives to Khurasan, which means "East". [He] settled them apart, caused them to multiply and, once [their numbers] had increased, he made one of them emir. They gave [the emir] the crown, upon Muhammad's death. [The emir], whose name was Do'ghla-bak' [Tughril Beg] skillfully ruled over the Persians, and sat as sultan. This is according to the narration of Vahram, son of Tigran. The venerable priest Mxit'ar of Ani, who is recorded in the Book of Life, has the following account. He greatly labored to discover information regarding the sultans of the Turks. By the grace of God he did find this. That Mahmud whom we mentioned, was the son of Sbk't'an [Sebuk-Tegin] and he rose from insignificance to greatness as had Artashir the Sasanian. He did away with the rule of Muhammad's line during the time of [the caliph] Mahmat Muht'ade', the thirty-third from Muhammad, in the 246th year of their reign. He grew powerful in the city of Balkh in the country of the Kushans, and news about him travelled swiftly, to the point that the caliph was terrified and sent him gifts and the flag of authority (alam), the title of honor (laghap) Overseer of Justice (Aminadl), and styled him sultan. Receiving this honor, [Mahmud] became greater yet. And he arose and went to India at the news of the Mat'an idols--which he destroyed--then returned with booty, leaving his son Mahmat there. Then he went to Gurgan, took 400,000 dahekans from the lord of Gurgan and an army [slehs tamb miov] in the year 420 of their era. He crossed into Ray. The lord of Ray, Majd al-Daula Rustam, [g94] who had taken Dailam three days earlier, came before him to Sraw [in Azerbaijan] with a countless host including 250 elephants. When he saw him, he said: "Shah, have you prayed?" [Shah, namaz kardats'eal es. Or (minus the comma) "Have you read the Shahname?"] And [Majd al-Daula Rustam] replied: "Yes." Again he inquired: "Have you played chess (chatrkuts)?" [And again the reply was] "Yes." Then he said: "Will the king enter the king's house or not?" And [Majd al-Daula Rustam] became silent. [Mahmud] immediately had him bound and sent to Khurasan, seized his goods, and ruled Ray. He came to Tabaristan, to Tarabi and Sari, entrusting to his son Masud all of Ray, Qazvin, and Kuhistan. Leaving him at Ray, [Mahmud] came to Sraw and, taking 100,000 dinars, crossed to Nishapur (Nashawur) in the year 421 of their era. Now Masud took Hamadan and Isfahan and returned to Ray. He heard at once that his guards (shahna) at Isfahan had been killed. So he returned and killed 4,000 men, and then went back to Ray. At the same time they brought him the sad news of his father's death and that his brother Mahmat had been made sultan. Masud arose, went and blinded his brother, taking the authority and the throne. [Some time earlier it had happened that] his father, while going to the aid of a people whose chief is called Qadir-Khan Bughra-Khan (Xtrghan-Po'ghrghan), had encountered some armies of a multitude of Turks. When returning by the same route, in great triumph he captured their emir, Yabghu (Ap'aghu), brought him to Khurasan and placed him in fetters. But [Yabghu's] people came and requested him [g95] first from the father and then from the son, but they did not give him up. Enraged, they crossed the Jahan with all their armies. They fought, willing to die, and they conquered Nishapur. They also destroyed the troops of the sultan at Dandanqan (Dananghan), near Marv (Mrmn). The sultan went as a fugitive to Qazvin and thence to India. *En route* the sultan was killed, and they enthroned his blind brother at Qazvin. [The latter] lived a long while and had two sons. [Their descendants] have ruled Qazvin succeeding one another, to the present day.

Foremost among the Turks was Saljuq's (Sarch'uk') son Musa Yabghu (Museap'aghoi) who had five nephews (brother's sons). They were named Abu Salim, Daud, Chaghri Beg, Abutalip', and Tughril Beg who took the authority of the sultanate. After 15 years of enlarging [their] land, he divided the entire country of Khurasan. Coming to Ray he found two warehouses of treasure, filled with gold. Taking it, he sent it to the caliph and sought a blessing. [The caliph] greatly honored him with venerable men, gave him the flag of authority (alam) and gifts, read his name from the pulpit (mimber) and styled him Rukn al-Dola (Pillar of the Faith). From that day [Tughril] was proclaimed the world-conqueror. Alp-Arslan, Tughril's father's brother's son, succeeded him. He filled the entire world with blood. He had eight sons, of whom the good and peace-loving Malik-Shah reached the throne. After him was Sultan Mahmud. [g96] Then the senior brother, Berk-Yaruq (Bak'arux) crushed him and took the throne for five years. Alp-Arslan's son Tutush (Dudush) came against Berk-Yaruq, but the latter routed him, attacked his troops and killed Tutush. Then Sultan Mahmud, Mahmud's son, while still a youth, struck at Berk-Yaruq and took the sultanate for 13 years. Succeeding him was his son Mahmud with whom Sultan Sanjar fought. [Sanjar] destroyed him, took the rule of Iraq, placing him in Baraghay. [Sanjar] was succeeded by his son Daud who became sultan and whom the Assassins (Mihetk'n) killed. Then Sultan Tughril ruled, then Masud, then his son Arslan then Tughril succeeded by forcible means. [Tughril] ruled until the time of our historian [Mxit'ar of Ani], to whom honor from the Lord God. [g97]

54.

...In the year 470 A.E. [A.D. 1021] Tughril Beg arose and was encountered at Naxchawan by Liparit [Orbe'lean] with 5,000 cavalry. [Liparit] fled from that enormous multitude. When the Turks came to Dwin, spreading about to raid, the brave [prince] Vasak [Pahlawuni] rose against them. Displaying great bravery, [Vasak] returned to Serkeveli. Resting there for a brief nap, his head was hit by a rock thrown by some unknown person, and he died. [g98]

55.

...In this period [ca. 1044] brave Vasak's son Grigor gave Bjni to [Emperor] Monomachus, as well as Kayean and Kaydzon which he

possessed. [In exchange] he received the dukeship of Mesopotamia. He took with him Apirat, prince of Georgia, and two other magisters, then went against Brehim, the commander of Sultan Tughril-Bek. Here Liparit was captured and brought before the sultan. The sultan sent to him [urging him] to adopt his own religion. [Liparit] replied that if he could see the sultan in person, he would do as he commanded. But once he did see him, [Liparit] said: "Now that I am deemed worthy of seeing your face, I will not do as you wish, nor do I fear death. The sultan asked: "What do you want?" And [Liparit] replied: "If you are a merchant, then sell me; if an executioner, then kill me; but if you are a king, set me free with gifts." The sultan said: "I do not seek your price as a merchant nor your blood as an executioner. But I am a king, so go wherever you want." Thus he released him with gifts. Now since the emperor [g99] was seeking him, [Liparit] went to him. He received troops from him and came to Georgia where he seized King Bagrat and sent him to the emperor. Then he seized the entire country.

56.

In the same period a woman named Mam came from the Persians with her three sons and went to the glorious prince Grigor in the district of P'ar'isos. Giving their mother as a hostage, the sons took Sho't'k' and Shamiramaberd. After becoming acquainted with Xlaziz, the emir of Gandzak, they slew him, took Gandzak, and ruled it. The senior brother, Parzuan, died prematurely. The next brother, Le'shk'ari, ruled, capturing Partaw and Shamk'or from Salar. [Le'shk'ari's] younger brother named Fadlun (P'atlun) killed him at the hunt and assumed authority. When Grigor's son P'ilipe' went to him out of affection, [Fadlun] put him in fetters after his father's death. [Fadlun] took Shashuagh and Sho't'k' from him. He summoned Gagik, Hamam's son, who was the lord of Tandzik', killed him and took his country. Growing powerful in this manner, he came to rule Xach'en, Goroz, and the Sewordik'. He created enmity between Gagik, king of Dzoroyget, Kiwike', king of Aghuania, [g100] and Bagarat, king of Georgia, and he harassed them. [Fadlun] also ruled Dwin and laid a tax of 300,000 drams on the Armenians.

In a similar manner some Chaldaean folk arose from their land, came to [the district of] Gardman and told its prince: "Give us a portion of the Cross which [Emperor] Heraclius gave you, and we shall become Christians and be your servants." So was it done. When the emir of Baghdad learned what had happened, he issued great threats. [The Chaldeans] were frightened and fled to the foot of the Caucasus Mountains. But supported by Christ in whom they believed, they came to rule over all districts. One of them named Dawit' who had marriage relations with the king of Dzoroyget, even became king. They called that district Tsanark' because they recognized [tsananel] it as the place of their habitation; while the prince of Gardman called them k'orepiskopok' [suffragan bishops] in the Georgian language.

57.

After the termination of the [rule of the] Armenian kings at Ani, Alp-Arslan, Tughrul's father's brother's son came to Armenia and ruined twenty-four districts. He was the sultan's commander who after the latter's death, himself became sultan. Again he came with 100,000 [troops] and took Nor k'aghak' [New City] which the Georgians call Axal-k'alak', Samshoylde', as well as the daughter of King Kiwrike' and the daughter of the Georgian king Bagarat's sister. [Alp-Arslan] also took Ani where, some say, he slaughtered 1,000 men in a ditch and swam in their blood to avenge his own slain.

Then an ambassador arrived from the Caliph. [Tughrul] placed around his neck a gold necklace with twelve rods attached to it and he struck him in ridicule to [g101] show to what extent he obeyed his master. This happened twenty-three years after the death of King Yovhannes', in 513 A.E. [1064] [g102]...

59.

In the year 543 A.E. [1094] the emir of Gandzak, Fadlun, sent Grigor Magistros' son Vasak Pahlaw with all the troops of Ar'an to the impregnable fortresses of Baghk' and Kapan. By treachery he was able to enter, and he killed King Senek'erim the Haykid [haykazn]. The kings there were Haykids and [that line] did not cease until after the longest time when it happened that there were two sonless brothers, Smbat and Grigor. They took the Haykid lad Senek'erim, made him king and their heir. When he was killed at Fadlun's order, the torch that was there was extinguished and [thereafter] Persians ruled.

This Fadlun took Ani from Alp-Arslan, giving him paintings/images of a garden fashioned from gold. And the lord sent to the devastated city his grandson Manuch'e' who was extremely young. When he matured he added to the wall of Ani and to its fortification. He also brought to the city all the remaining princes. Indeed, he came with great ceremony to welcome into the city Grigor son of Vasak, grandson of Apirat [g103]. It is said that on the heads of the noble (azat) women were 500 venerable crowns, for he was lord of many troops and of numerous azats. [Vasak] was the brother of Barsegh who was ordained kat'oghikos at Haghbat after [kat'oghikos] Ge'org, at the command and will of Manuch'e' and all the Armenians. The city of Ani was built up, in no way lacking what it had before.

Now Alp-Arslan went to Alamud and besieged the secure fortress there. The lord of the fortress held a great celebration in his home, followed by a great lamentation. Then he descended to the sultan, as though in submission. Kissing his feet, he stabbed [Alp-Arslan]--that beast drunk on the blood of the innocent. The evil man thus died. [Alp-Arslan's] position was taken by his son Malik-Shah, a man who was merciful and well-disposed, especially so toward our people. Indeed, he had the patriarch Barsegh elevated by receiving him preceded by the cross, he honored him with gifts and a court seal (tughrayiw grov). Becoming emboldened at this [Barsegh] took the scepter and name of kat'oghikos in

Honets'--assuming them himself, beyond the conventions of the kat'oghikosate.

60.

In the year 525 A.E. [1076] the Latins [Hor'omk] killed prince Vasak, brother of kat'oghikos Vahram. He was the duke of Antioch [and was killed] in that very city, treacherously. [Vasak's] troops secured themselves into the fortress and gave the city of Philaretus (P'ilartos) who at that time had subjected many districts [inhabited by] Armenians. When [Philaretus] took the city he sought vengeance for [Vasak's] blood. This Philaretus had ordained Sargis, the sister's son of Petros kat'oghikos of Mesopotamia, a holy and modest man. [This ordination occurred] while Vahram and Ge'org were still living. Lord Vahram and Lord Barsegh who were in the East proscribed him. He was ordained at Haghbat by the kat'oghikos of Aghuania, Lord Step'annos, and King Kiwrike'. In these times Sargis, the senior priest of the court church [g104], was ordained archbishop by the two kat'oghikoi of the blessed congregation of Haghbat. [Sargis] was given dioceses from both sides. Now after the death of Lord Sargis the kat'oghikos, Philaretus had a certain T'e'odoros ordained in his place [g105]..

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61.

In the year 537 A.E. [1088] the emir Buzan, at Malik-Shah's order, took Gandzak from the Fadlunids who are called Shaddadids. Now the king of Georgia, Bagarat, returning from the Emperor, took his patrimony. His son Georgi likewise [held his patrimony]. He followed Kiwrike' to Malik-Shah in Khurasan and returned in honor. Kiwrike' was the son of Dawit' son of Gurgen son of Ashot the Merciful. His father Dawit' built Lor'e' and twelve other fortresses. [Dawit'] is buried at Sanahin. His grandsons Abas and Dawit', harassed by the Georgians went to the lord of [A]r'an and each received a fortress where he dwelled in tribulation. Sultan Malik-Shah, peace-loving and philo-Christian ruled twelve kingdoms from the Caspian to the Pontic [Black] Sea. Taking sand from the Ocean he went to Persia and threw it on his father's grave, saying: "Behold father, here is some good news for you, because the son whom [g106] you left a boy has conquered to the ends of the earth." Philaretus went to [Malik-Shah] and weakened in the faith. The great emir Buzan, at the sultan's order, took Edessa and he killed the noble and glorious princes of the Armenians who were betrayed by informers.

In these days the king of the Pechenegs came with 600,000 [troops] to Constantinople, against Alexius (Alexs). The Christians prayed for eight days and destroyed all of them, throwing fire into the wagons they had arrived in...

62.

In the year 540 A.E. [1091] kat'oghikos Po'ghos whom Philaretus had put [into office] died at Marash. The blessed and great scholar, vardapet Ge'org of Armenia, [died] and was buried at Kamrjadzor near vardapet Samue'l. Consequently, then there was just one holy throne of the patriarchate. For at this time Lord Barsegh removed kat'oghikos T'eodoros from the throne taking the [kat'oghikosal] veil from him, along with the scepter and the blessed holy symbol of Lord Petros. Moving to Caesarea he [next] went to Antioch and thence to Edessa. And there was great rejoicing everywhere.

The peace-loving sultan [Malik-Shah] was poisoned by his wife, and died in 541 A.E. [1092]. When this was learned by Emir Buzan who was at Nicaea, he went to Edessa. And Lord Barsegh went to Ani [g107]. Malik-Shah was buried at Marand, near his father Alp-Arslan. His two sons were named Berk-Yaruq (Be'kiarux) and Sap'an. Tutush (Dudush), Malik-Shah's brother, became sultan in the Byzantine parts, while Berk-Yaruq ruled over Persia and Armenia. He made hejub his mother's brother Ismael, who was very kind and well-disposed toward the Armenians. Thus the population was nurtured and thus the land became built up, monasteries and all clerics were freed [from taxation]. Now Tutush, having ruled Mesopotamia, struck at the Arab king Ibrahim (Brehim) and, taking all his camps, he grew rich. A message came to him from Berk-Yaruq's wife telling him to come to Persia, be her man, and take all her land. Rejoicing at the news, [Tutush] approached with countless troops, going to the plain of Ispahan. Berk-Yaruq sent entreaties to him that he be given Ispahan while all other places would be Tutush's. But [the latter] refused to accept this. They attacked each other and Tutush was killed. His son [Fakhr al-Mulk] Radwan (E'r'atuan) fled to Edessa and he too sat as sultan in Aleppo and its borders. Another of his relatives, named Alpirak, became sultan in the Byzantine parts, came to Edessa and tried to rule it. Curopolate T'oros poisoned him after thirty days.

In the same year the blessed kat'oghikos T'eodoros died at Honi. [He was] a man full of all virtues. He was buried near Lord Sargis.

63.

In this period, because of locusts and aridity, a severe famine occurred. At Ani there were terribly great hardships. The dead could not be buried because of the famine, and the faithful could not take communion. They say that one man whose name was Bex, to display valor and love for God, buried 6,000 bodies. Now when a wealthy man in Persia [g108] heard about such disasters there, he came to Ani with a herd of camels bearing grain, saying: "Give this only to the children." When [the people] heard this, with their tears flowing copiously they brought forth many [children] and [the man] fed and filled them. When the grain was exhausted, he called to the parents of the children for them to come and kiss their sons and daughters. When heart-breaking lamentations arose from those embracing, behold, the man exclaimed in a mild and good tongue: "Take your children, and go to your homes glorifying the giver of good things, God, in His greatness." And this is what they did.

When the famine had passed [there arrived] a Scythian people which for a long time had lurked in the area of Hyrcania. The name of their chief was Il-Ghazi (Elxazi). He came through the lands, warring, with 7,000 troops, right up to the city of Ani. There [Il-Ghazi's] brother--who resembled the giant Goliath--died because of Grigor son of Vasak grandson of Apirat. Some days later [the latter] was martyred at Kaghzuan having saved the emir of Ani, Manuch'e', from death. They took and buried him at Kech'ar'u. The brother of Lord Barsegh the kat'oghikos, Manuch'e' and the entire force of the Armenian army followed behind the body. Il-Ghazi went through Mesopotamia and took Jerusalem from the Franks, shooting an arrow into the ceiling of [the Church of] the Resurrection which remains there to the present as a mark of that deed.

In the year 544 A.E. [1095] Suk'man son of Ardux and the emir of Samosatta, Paltux son of Amir-Ghazi came against Edessa but were turned back full of shame since the Curopolate T'eodoros wisely and bravely kept the city. Even Sultan Radwan could not subdue it. In 547 A.E. [1098] [g109] Qilich-Arslan (Ghilich Aslan), sultan of the West, grandson of Qutlumush (Ddlmush) came against Melitene. But the prince of the city Gabriel (Ghavril), father-in-law of the Curopolate of Edessa, turned them back in disgrace [g110].

64.

...In this period the blessed cross of Nino came to Ani. This [was the cross] which at the time of the apostasy of Vazgen, leader of Georgia, was migrated to the caves of Mount Parxar by the holy monastic Andre'as, one of St. Sahag's students. It was kept there for seven years and then Grigor Mamikonean, son of Hmayek, was informed about it. He took it to the fortress named Kapoyt and thence it was moved to Vanand and called the Cross of Vanand. When the Mamikonean family was destroyed by the impious Suk'man, [the Cross] was brought to Ani in the patriarchate of Lord Barsegh [g111]...

65.

...In the year 549 A.E. [1100] Danishman, lord of Sebastia, whom they say was of Armenian nationality, came against Melitene. Bohemond (Pemond) and Richard (R'ajard) who were at Edessa, came against him but were captured [by Danishman] and put into jail [g112]...

...In 553 A.E. [1104] Danishman died, leaving twelve sons. The senior son Ghazi assumed authority. During the same year Sultan Berk-Yaruq also died and his brother Tap'ar took his place...

In the year 554 A.E. [1105] during confusion of rule in Persia, a Scythian emir named Qizil (Ghzil) arose and took the awan of Lo're'. He went and entered Dwin forcibly, killing Manuch'e's brother Abu Nasr (Abunaser). But Manuch'e' went and took troops from the court of the king of Persia, came back and killed Qizil upon his brother [Abu Nasr]'s grave. He gave Dwin to the Persians.

66.

In this time the patriarch Barsegh, harassed by diverse tribulations, went to his throne in Ani. Immediately a request came to him from Lord Grigoris Pahlaw, also called Vahram Vkayase'r [Martyrophile] saying: "My time has come. Come and commit me to the Lord." [Barsegh] did not delay [and set out] in the hopes of administering the last rites. However, he experienced some difficulties on the road at the fortress of Mentskert near Balu. [It came] from the Greeks there, who wanted to rob them. Stout heartedly, growing more determined, he did not let [the bandits] take as they pleased, but only what he himself permitted [g113]... Now [Barsegh] travelled a lengthy road and reached the monastery called Karmir (Red) where the Godly and great prince Vasil was. Being blessed by him and entrusting [to Barsegh] his young pupils who were his nephews (sister's sons): Grigoris who became kat'oghikos, and his brother Nerse's, the sons of Apirat, he died...and Vasil and the entire Armenian cavalry lamented over him greatly [g114]...

...In the year 559 A.E. [1110] Mamtut, spasalar of Persia, devastated the entire country of Edessa with destruction and slave-taking, and made all the Christians mourn.

In the same year, in wintertime in the darkness of night, fire fell from On High into the Sea of Vaspurakan [Lake Van]. The shrieking waters fell upon the dry lands, the sea turned the color of blood, and fish died. When day dawned [the fish] were piled up on the land like piles of lumber from the forest...[g115]

...But while Lord Barsegh was still alive, paron Vasil, the great prince of princes died. With God's support he had ruled over numerous fortresses and districts. The patriarch Barsegh looked after his House and gave the authority to a lad [named] Vasil, a pupil of the great Vasil, of the Kamsarakan line. For at that time Vasil's House was a place of assembly for royal descendants and the azats of Armenia, and the throne of the patriarchs. [g117]

67.

In the year 553 A.E. [1104] on the 12th of May, the earth trembled [and this was] accompanied by a piteous sound which came from the

mountains and the crumbling cliffs. It was a Sunday. The sound was bass. Therefore it was believed that this was the day of the End of the World. Many cities collapsed, and 40,000 individuals perished--and that includes only those who could be counted [g117]...

...In the same year [568 A.E. [1119]] Tap'ar the sultan of Persia died. [When he was close to death] he had his senior wife Gohar Khatun killed. They say that she had 80 virgins waiting on here [merely] to put the crown on her head. [Tap'ar] was the lord of many troops and he gave [Gohar] to some of them to kill secretly. "So that," he said, "she not take as a husband my brother who holds the inner land of Persia." He gave the throne and the cities of Awzkan and Xzne' (which is ninety days' journey from Isphahan) to his senior son Mahmud. He made the younger son, Melik, lord of Gandzak. The next year [1120] Alexius died. The crown then was worn by his son Porphyrogenitus (P'er'p'er'ozhe'n) who was well disposed toward the Armenians and who criticized his father for being led astray by false clergymen [who, by] performing a second baptism, crucified the Lord a second time.

68.

In this period Dawit' the king of Georgia grew mighty. [He was] the son of Ge'org, son of Bagarat. He took Tiflis from the Persians, [g118] and struck Melik, the sultan of Gandzak, with severe blows. And in the city of Tiflis he crucified 500 warriors. In those days the emir of Ani, Manuch'e, had died and his weak and cowardly son Apsuar who ruled there wanted to sell Ani for 60,000 denars to the emir of Kars. He had an expensive and tall crescent brought from Xlat' and put on the dome of the cathedral, replacing what was there before. Therefore, taking heart, the Christians called on Dawit', and gave the city of Ani into his hands. And that loathesome symbol was cast down from the roof of the cathedral. Because of our sins, [the catedral] had endured it for sixty years. And they placed the crown of adornment, the crown of Jesus, the pride of Paul, the salvation of our sun the God-receiving Cross [on the cathedral roof]. Ringing the sounding boards near the Cross, they confessed God, crucified for the salvation of Believers. Now the king left in Ani Abule't' as well as his son Iwane', and returned to his country taking along Apsuar and his sons who died [in Georgia] and never returned [to Ani]. Dawit' continued to expand the boundaries of Georgia, taking Uxt'i and its limits, and Gag, Te'runakan, Tayush, Kayean, Kaytson, Lo'r'e', Tashir, Mahganaberd, the entire principality of the Armenians Kiwrike' and Abas. He also subdued Mount Caucasus and the kingdom of the Sonk' [Suanetia], Mrachul, Chk'et, Duale't', Here't' as far as the Caspian Sea and to Haghband [Darband] and to Shapuran city. The foolish [g119] and senseless Georgian people, having selected forty lads, sent them to Greece to learn the language, to make translations, and to bring them [back to Georgia]. They did indeed accomplish this. Three of them who turned out to be very good and scholarly were to embellish that unadorned people. Dawit' in no way wavered with regard to our church and prayers. Thus many times did he place his head beneath our hands, requesting blessing. He ruled thirty-three years and died in Tiflis, and was buried at Gelat'i in the mausoleum of his fathers. His son Demetre' took the crown and similarly kept his father's rule. More, he added [to his realm] Dmanis and Xunan city [which were] taken from the Persians.

69.

Now in Khurasan in those days lived a son of Apsuar who, upon hearing what had happened to his father and brothers and about Dawit's death, came back seeking his patrimonial city, Ani. With entreaties he requested it from Apulet' and the elders of the city. Because the city was in great danger from the Turks, Apulet' gave it to him, sparing the Christians and even more so his son Iwane' so that he would not be lost in incessant fighting. Then he went to his home. Now Apsuar's son Fatlun looked after the city and its limits well and valiantly striving, he established peace. [Fatlun] also took Dwin and Gandzak and became renowned. However, because he wanted to lay hands on the blessed cathedral, after three years he became afflicted by terror caused by wounds from the fiery men who had arisen from the keys of the church which [Fatlun] had taken from the blessed attendant, Grigor. The next day [Fatlun] wanted to rob the church of its ornament [the cross] which newly adorned its heavenly nuptial couch after a period of sixty years [g120] of mourning. When he saw [the fiery men] he grew ill and terrified and besought the prayers of Gregory whom he removed from the fetters of prison. As a result of this, a few days later [Grigor] went to Virap. Returning thence to Dwin he saw a huge assembly of Turks, a teeming army. He cried out in a great voice: "Blessed be Christ God, son of God" which he was accustomed to do daily in Ani. For in jest a fellow worshiper had whispered in his ear: "Lo, this is the place to bless Christ." Therefore [the Turks] bound and took him to Fadlun. They placed him in the dungeon wanting to kill him the very night of his capture. But the Lord preserved him... [g121]

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71.

In the year 579 A.E. [1130] Xurt', son of Kuz, came to Dwin and ruled, wounding Fadlun in warfare. [The latter] secretly was strangled by some traitors, who claimed he died of the wound--though it was not a fatal wound. The emirate was then taken by Fadlun's younger brother, Xushsher, who was succeeded shortly by the senior [brother] Mahmud. And the Ani country was again plunged into misery.

Not long afterwards Iwane', Apulet's son, wanted to kill Demetre' and his brother Gorgi. [Iwane's] father Apulet', plucking out his own hair in [Iwane's] presence, arrested him. And the two men were confined in Dmanis fortress on the pretext of some duplicity among brothers. Now when Demetre' learned about this, he said to Iwane': "You would have imprisoned me, father (Georg. mam)." Iwane' repented and said: "No, king, rather I wanted to hand over to you your brother who sought to take your kingdom." [Demetre'] seized and blinded him, and then let him go [g122].

In this period the plain of Gag filled up with limitless, countless cavalry assembled from all the infidel peoples who wanted to burn the holy cross which [was erected] in the name of the general Sargis. Crazed by the Lord's wrath, they destroyed each other. When Demetre' heard about this, he went and effortlessly appropriated their goods. In the same days a lad, one of Fadlun's brothers, who had heard that his grandmother Katay of the Bagratid House was a Christian [descended] from the line of kings, having moved his soul to the love of Christ, went to the mountain of blessed Gregory and was baptized and became a cleric there [living] fifteen years in great asceticism. [He remained there] until an ineffable light was seen blazing at the entrance of [his] cell. After this he went to Drazark and passed to Christ there.

In the year 580 A.E. [1131], Iwane' son of Apulet', rebelled in Gar'ni, but his troops were struck by Xurt'. Their severed heads were boiled in a soup, and the skulls were lined up on the stone walls on the prominence of a minaret. The next year Iwane' was killed treacherously by Demetre'. His son T'irk'ash went to the amirapet Shah-Armen from whom he received Arsharunik', and he devastated Georgia with great bravery.

In the year 588 A.E. [1139] the city of Gandzak was destroyed by an earthquake.

72.

Seven years before this [1131/1132] the Shah-Armen, who was the grandson of Suk'man, ruled the Xlat' country and numerous cities. He killed his grandmother who had killed her sons and seized power. And as he grew up they wanted to strangle him as well [g123], but with God's help he escaped and came to rule over twelve cities. He was called "king of the Armenians", which is what Shah-Armen means in their language. He became the father-in-law of Saldux [the emir of Karin/Erzerum] and counselled him to do well by the land. In this time there was also Eltkuz At'abak who [behaved] in the same good way. Thus by the grace of God there were three of these philo-Christians who built up the land. This Shah-Armen went to Sasun and disported himself in a village. When the lord of the country, Vige'n, heard of this he went one evening and surrounded the house he was in. Someone said in jest: "Ay, Vige'n, where are you?" [Vige'n] at the entrance replied: "By the grace of God, I am here. Behold me." Capturing [the Shah-Armen], he was taken to the stronghold. After some days he was freed, with a vow and covenant of friendship.

In these days there arose against him the general of Persia, Eltkuz. Beaten, he departed in shame. And he took Amuk from Xetenek, and Sasun with all its monasteries from Vige'n. He preserved them in complete peace for sixty years.

In these days there was a severe famine in Mesopotamia. A priest named Awet, [a man] of Armenian nationality, loaded grain onto donkeys and took it to the mill for grinding. At the heart-breaking sight of the afflicted [folk] he divided all he had among the poor. He sold the donkeys and did the same [with the money]. He did not return home, rather he donned a goat-skin and wandered from city to village preaching Christianity. He was a brilliant speaker and the Lord had graced him with signs. Many people turned from wickedness and repented because of his words. He cared for orphans and widows, filling their needs by interceding with those able to help. His reputation grew and masses of people came to him. He went as far as Mantskert and the Shah-Armen [g124] came before him with great ceremony, requested prayers from him and honorably led him into the city. However, because he reprimanded the prostitution of the priests, they slandered him to the Shah-Armen claiming that he was a spy of the Roman king, and they had him stoned to death. For three days and three nights a divine light was seen over him. When the Shah saw this he regretted the saint's death, and ordered that his bones be venerated.

73.

...In the year 594 A.E. [1145] the emir Zangi took Edessa, and two years later Joscelin took it, he being the lord. But after seventy days he was killed by the Turks who had come and taken the city again and this brave and very philo-Armenian man died. The vardapet Ge'org, who was his father-confessor, wrote a lament about him [g125]...

74.

Now Demetre', king of Georgia, died after reigning for 32 years. The crown then was taken by his son Dawit', who was capable and benevolent. He removed from prison T'irk'ash (whom his father had jailed), making him a general. But [the latter] died after one month. Some say that [he was killed] as a result of a plot hatched by Smbat and Iwane' O'rbelean who, because T'irkash was put in their place, had made an agreement with Dawit's brother, Ge'orgi, to make them general(s). Ge'orgi took the crown in the year 605 A.E. [1156].

...In the year 610 A.E. [1161] Ge'orgi, king of Georgia, took Ani from Emir Fadlun. He replaced his brother Shatat. But fifty days later the Shah-Armen came upon the city with many troops, a city which had been beaten and polluted by the Sonk'. When Ge'orgi heard of this he turned back and struck them with the sword. It is impossible to know [g126] how many died, but 20,000 were arrested. [Ge'orgi] left prince Sadun at Ani. Now there was an opinion that [Sadun] was rebelling because he carefully fortified the city wall. When the king learned of this, he removed [Sadun] from his position. Disheartened, [Sadun] went over to Eltkuz. However [Sadun] was treacherously seized by the duke (Georgian erist'av) of Shak'i who brought him to the king, where he was executed. In his place at Ani they put the prince Sargis Zak'arean. Though Eltkuz was angered, he was unable to do anything, since 4,000 Persian [soldiers] had been lost with Sadun.

Now the king of Georgia assembled Caucasian troops and came and took Dwin, severely disgracing everyone with sword and fire, except the Christians. He took down from the minaret those skulls which had been boiled in t'an and adorned them with clothing made with golden thread. Placing them on biers, he put [the biers] on the shoulders of the mullahs (mukreats') and had them walk barefoot to his capital city of Tiflis in the year 612 A.E. [1163]. When Eltkuz heard about this he came to Dwin which had been burned and demolished. With a wounded soul and roaring like a mad beast, he went to Mren and burned the fortress there, where 4,000 people were burned to death for Christ. He turned to the plain of Gag and ordered the famous Cross [there] burned. As a result of this, because of the Lord's anger, he was punished day and night by poisonous snakes. After that, terrified of the king of Georgia, he fled, abandoning his equipage and captives there. Then [Eltkuz] invited Sultan Tsr'viz Aslan, son of Mahmud, and sent him to Ani, keeping the city in tribulation, uncultivated and uneasy, for four years. Finally Ge'orgi, king of Georgia, took pity on the city. He summoned the sultan to him and gave Ani to him, for because of the multitude of infidels, he was unable to hold it. [g127]

75.

...In the same year [1166] there was a massive earthquake, and Erzuka was destroyed.

In the same period the foreigners took the remaining keeps of Kapan, Grham, Geghi, and Kak'awaberd, because our sins had become more pronounced.

In the same period, in consolation to the Christians, the youth Yovsep', a beautiful fruit, ripe and tasteful, was martyred with torture on the 20th day of the month of Aheak. [g128] He was buried at Hawut'ar'. He was of Persian nationality, from the environs of Dwin, from the village called Norashenk'...

76.

In the year 623 A.E. [1174] Ge'orgi took Ani a second time. This occurred at the instigation of Amir spasalar Iwane', so that he could rule there and get back the Christian captives. The king took with him Emir Shahنشah [g129] and thereafter did not return [to Ani]. When all Turkestan learned of this, they assembled together, taking with them the sultan called Alp-Arslan. They came to Ani and ruined the Shirak area. Now Iwane' wanted to give the city to the Turks, but did not succeed because the city found out about it and took precautions. The sultan and his atabak departed, deeply afflicted, and both of them died the same year.

In the same period the great prince Apirat emerged from prison in Kars and came to Ani. He was the brother of the bishop of the city, Lord Barsegh, who petitioned the king of Georgia to make him the emir's successor. Thus he took [the city] and 17,000 dahekans. In that period Iwane' revealed his evil, having drawn to his side the nephew (brother's son) of their king Dimitri (Demne') and many nobles, he planned to kill the king while the latter was at Saxata, unaware. But when [the king] found out about this, he arose and fled to Tiflis, since he had few men with him. Many people assembled there with him, abandoning that evil plot. And when the king's side grew strong and wanted to go against the rebels, those at Saxata fled to their fortresses. Then they entered Lor'e, except for Liparit, who went over to the Persian side with two sons. And the king took the entire treasure of the O'rbe'leans and all of them fell at the king's feet, the nephew and others with him, including Iwane' himself. [The king] blinded him and killed his younger son, K'avt'ar, and also Liparit's son, Ine' [Iwane']. Thus the wicked plots all came

to nought in the year 626 A.E. [1177].

Now Tughril succeeded Sultan Alp-Arslan and Pahlavan (P'alhawan) succeeded Eldiguz (Eltkuz). [The latter] ruled the inner land [Iran], while Qizil-Arslan (Xizlaslan) ruled the upper land [Armenia]. They were his sons [g130]. During these same days Tsar'ak'ar was taken by thieves by order of Qaracha (Gharach'ay) the emir of Kech'ror. He sold it to Qizil-Arslan for a large quantity of gold. [The latter] settled there destructive men who did not cease bloodletting, morning or evening, to the point that they slew Christians who had sunk into a dark abyss through hunger and through the loathesome odor of those who had died before. Among [the Christians killed] were five renowned clerics who were slaughtered by knives with racking wounds made, for a joke, in the shape of crosses.

77.

...In the year 629 A.E. [1180] Ge'orgi [king of Georgia] eliminated thief and robber from the country. When all the troops were assembled he legislated that all people guilty of small and large offenses be hanged without mercy. Many of the venerable [people] were hanged. The goods which were uncovered were taken and hanged, and even animals, dogs and mice, were hanged. Awe descended upon everyone and there was great peace. [g131]

...In the year 631 A.E. [1182] Qaracha, who had taken Tsar'ak'ar and destroyed with hammers the cross known as Goroz, became afflicted with fear and suddenly quit his home, Kech'ro'r, Uxt'is, and the whole valley of the Arax, and went with his wife and sons to Dwin. He saw a frightening man who said to him: "I am the Goroz Cross which you destroyed. And lo, I shall kill you by the hands of one dear to you, the Shah-Armen." [Qaracha] related the vision. The next morning he departed, getting away by force, despite the fact that he had been confined out of terror of the vision. [People] even had locked the gates. But [Qaracha] descended the wall and went with two steeds to Manazkert (Mantskert). He went before the Shah-Armen who immediately arose and plunged a knife into his heart, slaying him.

In the same year a certain Sargis from Xach'en was in Gandzak collecting the *khara*j (tax). A certain Persian crucified him on the wall on Good Friday, saying: "Be crucified with your Christ." When the princes [of Gandzak] heard about this they brought the Persian to themselves and put him to a wicked death.

In these days a certain Yordanan, from a Tachik clan, was martyred with great ceremony in the city of Karin. They put his remains with those of his relations, Yovsep' and Sahak.

78.

In the year 633 A.E. [1184] Ge'orgi, king of Georgia, died leaving no son. [g132] Dimitri (Demna), son of Dawit' had been mutilated in eye and torso. So his daughter, T'amar, wore the crown. They brought her as a husband So'slan, son of the Russian king. He took the city of Dwin. The next year, the Shah-Armen died sonless, and destruction, the sword, and captivity increased in his land, caused by the surrounding peoples. Since the grandson of Vigen, Shahنشah, the nephew (sister's son) of the *kat'oghikos* Lord Grigor was nearby at the time of the Shah's death, he took his folk and returned to Sasun. Be'kdamur, prince of the entire House of the Shah, fell into his hands. From [Be'kdamur] [Shahنشah] took the fortress called T'ar'dzean and then released him [making him swear to this concession] with an oath. But [Be'kdamur] violated that oath when he came to rule the throne of the Shah. [T'ar'dzean] and all Sasun was taken [from Shahنشah] while the churches and monasteries were placed under taxation.

...In the year 635 A.E. [1186] the people of Ani took Tsar'ak'ar, the patrimony of Lord Barsegh. They mercilessly destroyed whomever they found there, excepting women and children. When the emir of Dwin, Alishe'r, heard about this, he pulled out his beard and dressed in black because of his wife and sons who were there and because of the destruction of his troops. The Christians, however, blessed the Holy Trinity... [g133]...

82.

In these time there lived the glorious princes Zak'are' and Iwane', sons of Sargis, son of Vahram, son of Zak'are', son of Sargis of Kurdish nationality (*i.K'urd azge*) who had emigrated to the kings of Dzoroget, who are of the Bagratid line. They accepted Christianity and were honored. Xoshorni was given to them as a place of habitation. Since they were very valiant folk they advanced daily with regard to position and honor. In the time of T'amar [co-ruler, 1179, queen of Georgia, 1184-1212] they were glorified still more and she gave them Lor'e. By their bravery, [the Zak'areans] cleared numerous fortresses and districts of Turks in a brief period: in 640 A.E. [1191] they took the land of Shirak; in 645 A.E. [1196], Anberd; in 648 A.E. [1199], Ani; in 650 A.E. [1201], Bjni; in 652 A.E. [1203], Dwin; in 655 A.E. [1206] they took the royal city of Kars, and thereafter Getabakk' and Ch'arek'. Their renown spread everywhere. However Iwane' was tricked by Queen T'amar and grew weak in the faith [i.e. became a Chalcedonian Christian], he became unsuccessful [in battle] and was taken prisoner at Xlat'. By the valiant renown of his brother [Zak'are'], Iwane' was set at liberty again. He gave his daughter in marriage to Melik' Ashraf, the lord of Xlat'. Now

Zak'are', Iwane's brother, remained [firm] in his own [Apostolic] faith. Thus he wanted to commemorate the feast of the Mother of God and of the Cross on the [proper] day of the month, and not to break vigils, not to permit clerics to eat meat, to have mass offered for the living, to offer mass in the open with a tent [with a portable church], lectors and deacons. [To get permission] for this he sent to Lewon [of Cilicia] who had been anointed king by the Franks and the Greeks [g138] who sent Lewon crowns in 646 A.E. [1197]. He was mighty, victorious, a setter of taxes and a man who placed all the surrounding peoples under his yoke. Now they delayed giving a response [to Zak'are's letter] for after [the kat'oghikos] Grigor passed to the Lord, the [patriarchal] throne was occupied by Grigoris, called Tghay, whom Lewon had seized and placed in prison after one year. The same Grigor wanted to escape from the fortress' prison by descending a rope, but he perished when the rope broke. Then Apirat occupied the [patriarchal] throne for five years [Grigor VI Apirat, 1194-1203]. He was followed by Lord Yovhanne's, who had rebelled from Lewon. Vexed at him, King Lewon installed as kat'oghikos Lord Dawit' at Ark'akaghni. Barely reaching a consensus out of that discord, they all replied in agreement to let Zak'are' do as he requested. They said: "For it is not prohibited by Scripture, and it is [within] our patrimonial bounds, and it has been upset by the ruin of the Church." However in the East [in Greater Armenia] the accomplished men held one then another meeting in Lor'e and Ani and did not accept [Zak'are's proposals] lest, they said, "in all matters we should be obliged to follow the false doctrine of the Greeks and Georgians."

Now in the days of T'amar, queen of Georgia, the Christians grew strong. Even so, she broke with her Russian husband and married the Ossete Soslan who advanced the Georgians with captives and booty from the Turks. By Soslan T'amar bore a single son and named him Lasha. She herself wore the crown for 23 years and then died. Lasha, called Ge'orgi by the troops, was enthroned in 657 A.E. [1208].

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83.

In 659 A.E. [1210] locusts ruined numerous districts and at this time the great Zak'are' destroyed the land of Persia as far as the city of Ardabil, wreaking vengeance on them for the blood of the Christians [g139], filling their houses of prayer with men and then ordering the buildings set afire, sacrificing Quran readers and mullahs for the blessed priests and princes who were [similarly] sacrificed in the churches of Naxjuan and in Baguan where the walls of the churches were dyed with their blood. Returning from that assault, [Zak'are'] died with orthodox and unblemished faith and was buried in the blessed monastery of Sanahin in 661 A.E. [1212]. He left a five-year-old son named Shahنشah, so named in honor of the lordship of Ani. Iwane's wife, Xoshak', turned him toward the false doctrine of Chalcedon.

One year later [1213], the blessed and marvellous vardapet Mxit'ar Gandzakets'i, nicknamed Gosh, died and was buried at his building in Getik which he had constructed on the command of Iwane's nephew (sister's son), the great prince K'urd, at whose order he had come from his land of Kayean to so-called Old Getik. For at that time [K'urd] held Kayean as patrimony from Hasan of Kayean, the builder of the fortress.

In the year 663 A.E. [1214] the lords of Hat'erk' gave it to Iwane' for the natural lord [of that district], Vaght'ang and his sons, had died prematurely. Meanwhile the other Vaght'ang, Sakr'eants', the son-in-law of Iwane' and lord of Inner Xach'en also died leaving two sons. They were Hasan, known affectionately as Jalaldola, and Zak'are', called Nasrdola--two sons Iwane' was caring for together with their mother, Xorishah. The latter subsequently went to Jerusalem and remained there practising great asceticism until she passed to the Lord with great eulogies. And the great Iwane', renowned for his bravery, took Ch'arek' and all its outlying areas, and then aided his relation, Vahram son of Zak'are', in the capture of Shamk'or. In 668 A.E. [1219] he took Orotn [in Tsg huk, Siwnik'] and the nearby castles, though not all of them. [g140] For when the Haykazunk' held it, there were 43 noted fortresses and 1400 villages and 48 monasteries. The start of their destruction took place in 552 A.E. [1103] on account of a youth, the cup-bearer of Sultan Malik-Shah. For when the Haykazuni king was going to submit to the sultan, [the cup-bearer] plied him greatly with wine to the point that he promised his daughter in marriage, and, having tied his girdle, showed it to the sultan, after their own custom. Now after a few days [the sultan] requested the daughter and they attacked the king with insults, saying that he was an oath-breaker and he took numerous troops and ruined the land until everything was demolished and destroyed. Later the mighty Iwane' ruled over this.

84.

During this same year Lewon, our crowned king, passed to Christ and his daughter Elisabeth succeeded him. She was called Zabel in the French (Frank) language. For two years she was married to a man named P'ilip, son of the lord of Antioch. But since he loathed the Armenian people and especially favored his own French people, he broke his oath to become Armenian in religion as well as philo-Armenian; and he sent to his father's house the honored crown and the royal treasures [of Cilician Armenia]. But the princes were unable to tolerate this and put [P'ilip] in confinement until he died. They gave the girl to Het'um, son of Kostand, a magnanimous and brilliant lad who was a personable, broad-shouldered and handsome youth. They were wed by Patriarch Kostand who had succeeded to the holy [kat'oghikosal] throne after the death of Lord Yovane's in the year 669 A.E. [1220] not by [right of] birth, honor, or riches, but [g141] rather called [to office] by favor of the Spirit and acclaimed by all tongues.

One year prior to his ordination, there was a frightful earthquake and the ornate church in Mshakakavank' [Koghbab'or district in Gugark'] collapsed on the eleventh day of January at mealtime, and four celebrants were martyred in the great slaughter. Now in the heavens a spear-shaped star was observed by everyone all night long. These two phenomena portended the transformation of the world's peace into disturbance by a spear-carrying enemy--as in fact happened in 669 A.E. [1220]. For foreign-looking and foreign-sounding people called Mughal and T'at'ar moved from the land of Ch'in and Mach'in and came to Gugark's meadowlands by way of Aghbania. There were some 20,000 of them. They destroyed everything that they found alive and then quickly turned back. Now [King] Lasha pursued them with all his forces, reaching [the Mongols] by the Kotman river. He was defeated by them and saved himself by flight, with Iwane'. Some prince had hamstrung the latter's horse such that Iwane' lost him. However Vahram, lord of the land, who was informed that the others had fled, went [in pursuit of the Mongols] as far as Gardman, displaying great bravery in the face of severe destruction.

In 671 A.E. [1222] those same [Mongols] wanted to depart. Furthermore, their scouts had found Armenia and Georgia [militarily] prepared and assembled and they so reported. [Thus] they did not dare approach but rather turned and went away. And in the same year a large army called Qipchaqs [Xwch'agh] separated from the Huns, came to Gandzak and united with them. Because our forces went against them carelessly and confidently, they were dispersed, separated, and fled. [g142] Many were killed by the sword, while others were taken alive and put into prison--including some from the glorious azats. Now among the prisoners were the prince named Grigor son of Xaghabak and his nephew (brother's son), the manly and valiant champion named Papak'. They were avenged the next year when our forces wiped out a large part of the Qipchaqs when they came to the land of Vardanashat.

85.

Now toward the end of 674 A.E. [1225] two sons of the Khwarazm-Shah, defeated and harassed by the T'at'ars, came in a body of 200,000 [troops], so they say, through the land of Atrpatakan to the ostan [capital] city of Armenia [Gandzak]. This they captured and filled the plain with wide tents. Our forces went against [the Khwarazmians] and not a few from our side were lost both by the town of Garhni and, a larger group, falling over ditches into chasms. This was God's wrath upon Iwane' in recompense for the new and alien evils worked by his wife. For when the presbyter Parkesht died, she had his body removed from the grave and burned. Then a dog was sacrificed on the place for the frequent traffic of pilgrims. God honored [Parkesht] by a descent of light over [the grave]. [The light was] visible in the renowned fortress-city of Bjni where [the cultists] had established a church, encouraged by a certain man who was a bansarku [slanderer; tempter, devil, satan]. The Lord struck him by lightning on the evening of the very day such events had transpired.

As for the sultan [Jalal al-Din Mankobirdi] he was carefree and boasting immoderately. He had invaded many places and had returned to Tabriz. After a year he came to Tiflis by way of the plains of Gag. After committing many crimes [g143] he turned on Xlat', took it, and, enriched with booty, went on to Hor'omk' [Rum, territory of the Saljuq Sultanate of Rum] against Sultan Alatin and [the Shah-Armen] Melik'-Ashraf. However he suffered a great defeat in battle and fled with a few [followers] to Mughan, that plain so suited for all human and animal needs. Then the T'at'ars--who had expelled him from his country earlier--fell upon him suddenly and thence put him to flight to Amida. Either he died inadvertently while fleeing or he fell to the T'at'ar sword or else, as is said, he was killed by one of his own people whose relative had been summarily executed was disgruntled on this account and also because of the uncomfortable movements of the army which [Jalal al-Din] was responsible for. And so vengeance was exacted for the blood of the innocent man that had been shed. Now those people called T'at'ars, who had earlier come [to Armenia] with few soldiers in 669 A.E. [1220] and wanted to return in 671 A.E. [1222] but did not dare, assembled countless multitudes. Having as a leader the general named Chormaghun (Ch'armaghan), they came to Gandzak shahastan in 674 A.E. [1225]. Chormaghun besieged Gandzak for some days and then took it, destroying mercilessly except for the young children and the women who pleased them. Gaining strength from this [victory] they entered the Georgian kingdom and divided up the notable places in the districts and the secure fortresses among the grandee princes whom they call noyin. Each of these princes then went to the castles in the districts allotted to him. These were soon betrayed into their hands, as punishment for our sins. Chaghada-noyin captured the city of Lore' and the districts in those parts. Dolada-noyin took Kayean fortress whence they removed Awag, the lord of the land. The great Chormaghun captured Ani and Kars and their environs. Ghatagha-noyin took the Charek' area, Getabak and Vardanashat. Now the fortresses in the districts [belonging to] the great prince Vahram fell lot to Moghar-noyin [g144]. First he took Shamk'or by strategem. Vahram and his son, Aghbugha, fled from place to place until they learned that the T'at'ars spared those people who voluntarily submitted to them. Then [Vahram and Aghbugha] went and received back from the T'at'ars those castles and districts they had captured, which were their sep'akan [property] from their hayrenik' [patrimony]. All of them were taken: Tawush, Katsaret', T'erunakan, Ergevank', Matsnaberd which was [the property] of Asxart'an Kiwrikan, Norberd [the property] of the royal Vasak; and the impregnable fortress of K'awazin; the renowned fortress of Gag and the district built up by King Gagik where are located the noted, blessed monastery of the Cross, and the church in the name of St. Sargis the General, blessed by St. Mesrob, vardapet and translator of the Armenians. This stands at the head of Gag and faces a broad and extensive plain. [The Mongols also took] other fortresses and villages and fields. Everything was surrendered to them in a short period with no effort or labor. For we knew that it was the hand of the Lord which before our very eyes had given over our lands as food for the foreigners.

86.

The sublime, renowned and productive man called Vanakan vardapet, who had begun his ascetic practises in a cave, was [because of these events] bothered by a lack of necessities and more so, by a lack of water [g145]. He and his students, and many other fugitives who had sought refuge with him, were suffering. In a Christian fashion Vanakan gave himself up and went as a captive, thereby freeing these people. For a while he circulated around in the army of this barbarian people, but then he was ransomed by the Christians of Gag fortress. His ransomers purchased him for 50 dahekans, acting not like the Hebrews [saving him] from a martyr's death, but like the Lord, for the freedom of glory. For the ransom of the Lord was so miserly and the price was made accessible and light, which he himself was worthy of. After this Vanakan lived on for 15 years in the glory of God and giving aid to many. Then he rested in Christ [passing] from his greatly tiring asceticisms to the altars of the illuminators of the world, in 700 A.E. [1251], the 18th of March, or on the 10th of Areg by the old system, on Saturday in Lent [on the day] of the commemoration of Ovrend and his brothers on the calendar, and according to us [on the day] of Cyril, patriarch of Jerusalem, celebrating the feast of Upper Jerusalem which hence the celebrant and the caresser was of his children, of the sons of light to the glory of his bridegroom to the immortal king, Jesus, and to his Father and to the Holy Spirit. Here on this world he left one hundred times greater the renown of knowledge to his students and in the writing of church gandz which he gathered by the grace of God and by reason of his clear, prolific intellect.

87.

Our glorious father Vanakan vardapet and our brother Kirakos vardapet [Gandzakets'i], like his father [Vanakan] have written in detail concerning what the Nation of Archers did from the year 685 A.E. [1236] to the year 714 A.E. [1265]--the point where we currently are--in the lands and principalities on this side of the great sea in Persia, Aghuania, Armenia and Georgia and in the land called Rum where Armenians, Syrians, Greeks, Arabs, and Turkmens dwell. [g146] We are not so bold as to copy or enlarge on their writings but have in abbreviated form introduced only the dates of noteworthy events and deeds with recollections in completion of our work begun long ago and left incomplete due to our respect for the venerable writers mentioned above. Nonetheless, it is impossible to delve through word and subject and to recall the plethora of our multitudinous sins, transgressions and insensitivity and not the just recompense of vengeance in God's judgement. It is never possible to fully count the recompenses and the number of our evils. The infinite mercy of God conquered and ever conquers the depths of the deep and the abyss of abysses. To whom grace and strength, glory and honor, blessing and thanks for limitless, unbounded eternity from the sum and the parts of His creations from the wise and sensible--to which "Amen" is said for inexhaustible, unlimited immortality.

Now in the year 691 A.E. [1242] Baiju-noyin replaced the authority of Chormaghun, captured the city of Karin and removed from it a venerable man named Umek, who was wealthy and fearful of the Lord, together with his relatives, the sons of paron Yohann, Step'annos, and his five brothers. In 692 A.E. [1243] [Baiju captured] the entire territory of Rum and its notable cities: first Caesarea, then Sebastia [whose population] was spared destruction because they had submitted early on, then Eznka which was mercilessly destroyed and enslaved, since it has resisted. [The Mongols also took] many lands and districts where the Armenian people were to dwell in distress. For a census was conducted in 692 A.E. [1243] by which they worked deeds worthy [g147] of lamentation and tears not merely for [the sake of] rational beings but for dumb animals, the mountains and plains which were watered with blood and tears. The same lamentation was repeated in 698 A.E. [1249] because Baiju and the other nobles got wind of the presumptuousness and rebelliousness of the king and the princes of Georgia. King Dawit' was arrested as were other grandees who were bound and sentenced to death. Though they were spared death by concern from On High, nonetheless countless numbers were killed and enslaved, villages and fields [were destroyed] and they disgraced women in Armenia, but more so in Georgia.

In 699 A.E. [1250] Awag, Iwane's son, died and was buried in Pghndzahank' with his father, a generous, prayerful warrior.

In the year 700 A.E. [1251] the great Pope of Rome created a dilemma by writing to all the Christian peoples [saying] that it was necessary to confess that the most Holy Spirit of God derived from the Father and from the Son, [a formula] which displeased Syrians, Greeks, and Georgians. However the Armenians examined the confession of earlier saints through the care of vardapet Vanakan, a man who was close to God, and found [the Papal formulation] in agreement with these prominent and glorious men: Athanasius, Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Illuminator, and other saints.

In 701 A.E. [1252] locusts came to the lands of Upper Armenia and damaged many districts.

In 703 A.E. [1254] Mongke-Khan ordered the prominent man called Arghun to take stock of the lands subject to his authority, and to levy taxes by head on men, excepting women, the very old and the very young.

In 703 A.E. [1254] the philo-Christian king of [Cilician] Armenia, [g148] Het'um, journeyed to Batu, the great king of the North, relative of Chingiz-Khan, and thence to Mongke-Khan. He was received in a fitting manner, and returned to his throne in peace after a year.

In 704 A.E. [1255] Hulegu, the brother of Mongke-Khan, came with countless troops and great authority against Persia, Asorestan, Armenia, Georgia and Aghuania. And he commanded the troops there previously to go to the land of Rum with all their belongings. These warriors thus left upper Armenia through dread; they were forced to leave. They captured all of Mijerkreayk' ["Anatolia"] to the sea, ruling over the lands which [previously] were subject to the authority of the sultans of Rum.

Now the great Hulegu, in the same year of his arrival, 704 A.E. [1255] went to the land of the Assassins [Mihedk'], to the place called Alamut, and he captured it and removed the leader. For prior to his arrival they had besieged and placed into straits the troops whose leader was called Isawur-noyin. Returning from there Hulegu summoned King Dawit' of Georgia and the grandees of the land and looked upon everyone with love and respect, especially the Christians. For Hulegu's senior wife, Dokuz-khatun (Toghuz xat'un), was a Christian of the Syrian persuasion who are the Nestorians. However [the Mongols] were not well versed in their false doctrine. Instead, with sincere love they honored all Christian peoples and besought their prayers, just as did Hulegu himself, who was called the Il-Khan. [The Mongols] took along with them a portable tent of canvas in the shape of a church. Priests and deacons constantly offer mass and the holy liturgy to the sound of bell-ringers. And there are schools and open teaching of the clergy. And there [among the Mongols] rested churchmen who had gone from all parts and in all the languages of the Christians to request peace and found yet more, and returned home with joy and gifts. [g149]

In 705 A.E. [1256] Batu, the great governor of the North died, and in that same year his son Sartakh was poisoned by his envious brothers. For the kingdom had been entrusted to Sartakh by his father and Mongke-Khan additionally. His death caused great mourning among Christians since he was a full Christian and was the cause of the salvation of many, bringing to the faith his own relations and foreigners.

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Vardan Arewelts'i's Compilation of History

91.

In 707 A.E. [1258] Hulegu the brave took Baghdad. [This occurred] 517 years after the Ishmaelite Jap'r [Caliph 'Abu Jafar al-Mansur, 754-775] had built it in the year 194 A.E. [745] by the Tigris river, so they say, a distance of a seven days' journey from old Babylon. Hulegu also killed the caliph Must'asr [al-Musta'sim, 1258] with his own hand. The Christians who dwelled there were spared by the will and intercession of the great queen Doquz.

The caliph is said to be a descendant of the line of Muhammad, who appeared in the year 60 A.E. [611] and [the institution of the caliphate] endured through successors until the year 707 A.E. [1258]. After the Il-Khan Hulegu left the sacking of Baghdad, he went and besieged Mup'arkin, the city of Martyrs [Tigranakert/Martyropolis] that same year for a period of two years. This was because the sultan there, who was of the line of the Edleank' [Ayyubids], had turned against Hulegu's son, Ismuddin, blocked off the city and moreover offered up battle, and this became a matter of God's wrath. For during the besieging of the city the people had eaten clean and unclean animals, then [they ate] the poor, then their elderly, then whomever they could. It reached the point that [g150] even the senior chief presbyter there, struck by the mad flames of gluttony and becoming crazed, ate his own relatives. He wrote down confessions on parchment which he wished us to see and [he wanted to] find mercy from the Creator's merciful nature. He gave himself up to groanings and weeping with sighing and endless lamentations until his breath ceased. According to his hope we saw that document of confession, and the hope that he finds mercy from the knower and creator of our nature who is our companion even in death. May the kind Father, from the depths of mercy and endless love have pity on him and may he be expiated by the mystery of the holy church, like all who have taken refuge in repentance may they be confided to the mercy of Christ our God. As for those encountering this [passage], may [readers] look upon it in their inner hearts, saying "Amen".

92.

In 708 A.E. [1259] Hulegu went to Mesopotamia and took cities and districts there, as [other] writers have described in detail. The patriarch of the Armenians, the kat'oghikos [Kostandin I Bardzrberdts'i, 1221-1267] went to Hulegu, blessed him, and was affectionately received by him. With [Hulegu] during the capture of the whole land of Syria was our king, Het'um. He spared the Christian clergy and laity everywhere. May the Lord requite him with a thousand pardons for sins and with long life, according to His will, from generation to generation.

Hulegu turned from the winter lodging-place in the Mughan plain to the summer camp in the district called Dar'in or, according to others, Daran-dasht, for there were caverns and rough places there surrounded by mountains which he liked, and he built structures there after his heart's desire. He decided to build a city there, as a result of which the land was oppressed, man and beast alike, by hauling there masses of wood from afar. [g151]

In 709 A.E. [1260] [the Mongols] took Martyropolis following numerous calamities and troubles, not only in the besieging of the city, but [hostilities] between the besieging army of T'at'ars and the Christians with them [who were] fighting each other within and without. [It was here that] the handsome youth Sewada Xach'ents'i, son of the great prince Grigor valiantly battled and was crowned [with the martyr's wreath] maintaining faith and piety toward God and the Il-Khan. May he receive a share of the blood of the martyrs of Christ for his faith and piety. Amen.

During the same year [1260] the army which the Il-Khan Hulegu had left guarding the land of Syria, some 20,000 men, was wiped out. This army was under the great commander called Ket-Buqa (K'it'bugha), a man of the Christian faith who had battled with the sultan of Egypt at the foot of Mt. Tabor. [The sultan had] a countless host while, since the Bughayank' [partisans of Ket-Buqa] were few in number, the latter were killed and captured. There were, however, those who dispersed, hid, and saved their lives. These came to the king of [Cilician] Armenia and received great hospitality from him, plus horses and stipends. Then, T'at'ars and Christians, they returned to their lord with thanksgiving. And because of this [gesture] the name of Christ's king, Het'um, was greatly glorified abroad and at home.

93.

In the year 700 A.E. [should be 710 A.E., 1261], the royal prince of princes Jalal died the bitter, tortured death of Christ and his martyrs because of a slanderous Tachik who accused and betrayed him to Arghun. [Jalal] was taken to Xazuin in Tachkistan and was cut to pieces there in the night time, his love of Christ being the sole reason for this; for he passed all the time to his old age fasting, praying, giving alms and [praying] standing vigils on Sundays. Therefore God enveloped him in light from On High which descended upon his severed limbs, crowning and attesting his blameless martyr's death. When the murderers saw this they were terror-struck [g152] and threw [the limbs] into a dry well. Subsequently [Jalal's] relatives came, gathered him, took and buried him at his own monastery of Gandzasar in his house's patrimonial cemetery. The same rays of light were seen by those who brought the body. Also in the same year [1261] they killed the sparapet

of Georgia, Zak'are', son of Shahنشah, at the court of the Il-Khan Hulegu. Zak'are' was in the flowering beauty of youth, very successful, renowned and recognized by everyone. He was falsely accused of withholding the stipulated tax at the time he went to court. His passing was grieved with the most piteous lamentation in all of Georgia and by [the Zak'arids'] relatives in Armenia, and most especially by the parents that bore him [who mourned] with the most bitterly constricting and racking sobs. Because of [Zak'are's death] his father, Shahنشah, died of a broken heart in these same days and dressed in the same black mourning [garments]. He was the lord of the capital city Ani, the former residence of the king who was the senior king of the Bagratid kings and [lord] of many other lands. The lord of Ani was called Shahنشah, which means king of kings.

94.

The number/date 700, which symbolises perfect peace, and the number/date 10 which is blessed [710 A.E., 1261] are like God's saints resting on God's Sabbath to be. And the noteworthy folk recorded under these dates are perfected in the prayers of all the saints [?]

95.

In 711 A.E. [1262] Lord Nerse's, the kat'oghikos of Aghuania, died with the bitter torment of dropsy, finding medicine from no doctor but from the draught of Life Eternal of Jesus our God alone, to whom [Nerse's] passed with great hope, with confession, forever as is worthy. He lived his life in meekness and with charity.

In 712 A.E. [1263] the renowned ascetic, a prominent man worthy of a respectable position and calling, Lord Yovhanne's Tuets'i, reposed in Christ. [g153] The grace of God had summoned him to the priesthood, to the position of vardapet, and to the rank of archbishop of the House of Gardman and of other fortresses and districts. He had passed three fasts eating neither bread nor water, and [he also fasted] on Friday and Wednesday. He went to Jerusalem barefoot and the days of Lent [he prayed] standing up and without food in the [church of the] Holy Resurrection. This amazed the Frank people who were there, for not only did [Yovhanne's] remain on his feet and without food, but he also kept silent. He beseeched God for visible belief about [the story of] the descent of light and the lighting of the Armenians' lamp. This [story] which is known to many people was told by the man who keeps the chapel of the Holy Sepulcher, a man [Yovhanne's said] who liked us and embraced us and so we asked him the true facts. He said: ["I was instructed to] 'Go and buy lamps. Bring them and hang them up with your own hands.' So I did, buying three lamps and I hanged them over the Holy Sepulcher with the one of the right in honor of the Franks, the one on the left in honor of the Greeks, and the one in the center for the Armenians--as they themselves are used to doing. Then we locked the door and sealed it. And they entrusted me with the [seal]-ring and the key, on Good Friday. On Holy Saturday at nine hours while we were at prayer virtually the entire city and faithful came from a distance. And they said to the keeper of the arch: 'Lord, order [the Sepulcher door] opened for the light has descended.' And I went and opened [the door], breaking the seal and in fact, without a doubt, the lamp in the center was lit and burning with an indescribable beauty." Through such miracles that man Yovhanne's was glorified and gained renown. He himself related: "I went to holy Bethlehem and saw the images of the apostles painted on the church wall there. The Tachiks, to dishonor [the pictures], had dug out the eyes. The matter saddened me, [g154] and I prayed to the holy apostles, begging them to reveal to me whether or not it pleased them to have their images painted everywhere. When I returned to Jerusalem that very night I saw in a vision two glorious men coming toward me. And I went before them and said: 'Saints of God, who are you?' And they replied: 'We are Peter and John, whom you beseeched to explain to you [our feelings] concerning our representation by the Christians. We have never liked it and we are annoyed by it. We have revealed [our displeasure] in many places, but they do not listen to us.'" The monk who accompanied [Yovhanne's] to Jerusalem said that Yovhanne's reached the place barefoot. Then one day he called me and said: "Have a look at my foot, for it hurts and distresses me." When I looked and investigated the swelling with a needle I found very sharp and thick pieces of thorn which came out with a great deal of pus. I was dumbfounded that he had not revealed it before we reached the place, valuing as nothing the smarting pain compared with the love of God and the holy places. So did Yovhanne's walk by an upward and narrow road until deep old age, when he reposed in Christ. He was buried at the well-known monastery called Nor-berd hermitage by the door of the very church that he himself had built. And he constructed many other buildings and did meritorious deeds by the command of Vasak of the royal Bagratids, and with his cooperation. His memory will not be extinguished in the catholic church [but will remain] before God, forever in sweet fragrance.

96.

In the year 713 A.E. [1264] the great Il-Khan Hulegu summoned us by means of a prominent man of the day named Shnorhawor [an individual who was] greatly esteemed by the laity and by the rulers, by Batu, the governor of the North where [Shnorhawor] went and was honored first, then by the Il-Khan Hulegu. [Shnorhawor] took us along with his merchandise and [g155] pack animals. Those accompanying me were vardapets, our brothers Sargis and Grigor, and the senior priest of Tiflis, Te'rt'e'r. We saw that great one [Hulegu] during the grand days of their [festival of] the first of the month and the first of the year in July by the Roman [calendar] and in [the month of] Arats' according to our [Armenian calendar]. Their days of celebration last a month and are called quriltai (xur'ult'ay), a time for consultations. At the quriltai the Il-Khans, relations of Chingiz-Khan consult, going to the great [khan] to see to what is necessary. [They arrive] with all their nobility. All are newly attired and each day they change to another color garment. Present with numerous and distinguished gifts were all those subservient to them, kings and sultans, as well as--seen with our own eyes--the king of [Cilician] Armenia, Het'um, the king of Georgia, Dawit', and [the] prince of Antioch and many sultans from Persia. At the audience they did not make us bow or prostrate ourselves in accordance with their custom, since Christians (Mong. ark'awunk') bow down to God alone. Wine was brought for blessing, and we performed the blessing. And then [Hulegu] spoke, declaring first: "I have summoned you to see and know me and to pray sincerely for my sake." Perhaps it is superfluous to write down everything, for he said so many things. We replied. They seated us and gave wine. And the brothers with us offered a sharakan

[Church hymn], and then the Georgians performed theirs and the Syrians and Romans performed theirs. But that day saw the arrival [of visitors] from all regions, [so many of them] that the Il-Khan observed: "I called you alone. What sort of sign is this that not a day sooner nor a day later, but on the very same day you have come [other people] have come from all parts to see and bless me?" And from the first it seemed a sign that God's heart was well-disposed toward me. [g156] We replied: "It amazes us that you summoned us." Whereupon [Hulegu] said: "I have a private matter that I would discuss with you." One day [we] went to a very deserted spot, far from the army, and by means of but two [interpreters] he spoke with us at length. "My mother," he said, "was a Christian. Though raised by a nurse (*dayeak*), when I reached maturity I loved my mother. We are no strangers to Christian love. If you have anything to tell me, say it." And he held my hand and we spoke the words which God had authored [for me], namely, that "no matter how much higher you are than other men, you are close to God. The throne of God is stable by just judgement. God has given lordship of the world to all peoples. Up until you [these rulers] were destroyers who placed a pitiful heavy burden on the poor. They died and now they weep before God. So God takes the rule and gives it to another people. As long as you are a builder and merciful toward the poor, God shall not take from you what he has given but instead shall leave it to you. Should He wish to give it to another, He shall. Right at your court set up a man who fears God and loves you such that the man who comes from a disaster with neither petition nor bribe is sent home happy and will remember you. And give overseeing the lands to the very man who sees clearly, is not blinded by bribes and will tell you the truth."

We talked at length about these matters. He said: "I shall keep your words in my heart. How is it that everything you said which was in my heart seemed easy to me? God has spoken with you and appeared to you, hasn't He?" We replied: "We are blameworthy men, although we have read the book of those men who spoke with God and [although] the hearts of kings are in God's hands, God reveals himself to you without writing." Then we said: "I have a word to say before God that He hear and you [as well] which [g157] has no falseness in it." [Hulegu] ordered me to speak and I said: "All Christians and *ark'awuns* on sea and land are well disposed toward you and pray for you." He replied: "I believe that to be so, but [as for] the *ark'awun* who are not on the path to God, what prayers do they have about me, and when they pray does God listen? Does or does not the wicked *ark'awun* bring God down from Heaven to earth? You said that they are on the path to God and that they pray. On this very account our brothers have fought with us, for we are philo-Christian and there is Christianity in our House whereas they are philo-Muslim and there is Islam in their House."

[Hulegu] then said to us: "Why are you dressed in sheepskin and not in gold?" I told him that I was neither a great man nor the lord of [some] position, but merely a monk. Then he declared: "I shall honor you with gold raiment and give a lot of gold." We responded: "Gold and soil are one to us. We want another favor which well suits your greatness [namely to show] mercy on the earth." He ordered that a very plainly sewn linen robe [be readied for me] and that a small amount of money be given, merely enough to buy incense for the church. "Otherwise," [Hulegu said] "what would the country say about how the Il-Khan treated you? And I shall do as you said and send a man to look after the land."

Now when we wanted an order to depart, [Hulegu] summoned us again and spoke. He had in his hand a *paiz* (*balish*) and two garments which he had had sewn. We reminded him: "Il-Khan, your money can be cut off and the clothing can become threadbare. We sought gifts which could not be cut off or worn down." He commanded that "Your word has been fulfilled. I have had a *yarlix* (*ar'lex*) written. Have it read out and [then] whatever more there is in your heart that too I shall have written. And [g158] I am entrusting your land and you yourself to Saxalt'u and Shahabatin. They shall do whatever you say." We expressed our thanks and came out. It may perhaps appear superfluous that we have written this, but it was to recall the benevolent and mild-mannered great Hulegu, or as an example to others coming after us. Who knows?

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Vardan Arewelts'i's Compilation of History

97.

At the beginning of the year 714 A.E. [1265] the Greatest Summons reached the great [Hulegu], and the powerful wand [of death] struck that brave and triumphant man, and the fate of the First Father came to him. For he too was a son of Adam and thus a partaker of his portion, [death], of which all have partaken and all will partake. Though it was bitter to him, he drank the bile of death--not, however, with joy like the Lord and those believing in Him. For astrologers and priests of some idols called Shakyamuni (Shakmonia) deceived him. They describe Shakyamuni as god [who reigns] for 3040 years and [continues to reign] an additional [period of] 35 tumans--a tuman being 10,000, after which, they say, another [entity] named Matreya (Mondri) will replace him. Those priests are called doyink. [The Mongols] believe them and, at their command, either go to battle or refrain from it. They say that you remain a long time in your body and when very old you receive a new body. They got [Hulegu] to build a temple to those idols, and he went there to pray, and they enchanted him however they wanted.

While we awaited another occasion and a second interview to get better acquainted to say something worthwhile to him, to speak with confidence, we remained in benevolent conduct and the loving of Christ to show to him some sign favorable to the Christians. For he was accustomed to their [astrologers' or Buddhists'] words and [g159] grew sick. They caused felt images and horses to speak and there were many among them skilled in their craft of deception and sorcery. They were abstemious in food, dress, chastity and moderate in marriage and copulation. They say that they marry at age 20 and until age 30 they approach their wife three times a week; until age 40, three times a month; until 50, three times a year; and after [age 50] they never approach, whence especially they can be tricked. And death caught up with [Hulegu] and death tramped down that lofty hill with its wide base. He was levelled to his forebears, for Scripture says that the mountain which is to fall will fall. The words of the prophet thus are true: "the entire glory of man is like a flower in the grasses." But the Lord is just and will repay him a share of the goodness which by the laws of nature he had received. He kept his patrimonial laws. The yasax is what they themselves call the prohibitions set by Chingiz-Khan: not to lie, not to steal, not to commit adultery with another's wife, to love one's own like oneself, never to use or know abusive words, to let live the land and city willing to surrender to them, to free from taxation and to honor the so-designated houses of God and those called His servants of whatever persuasion they be. Hulegu also ordered this kept, and it was kept. We recall that he said: "We command you to pray for us not to escape from death, we do not know that, but to beseech God that we do not die in the hands of our enemies." But whether that [wish] was fulfilled only God knows, for at first it was noised about that he was killed by drugs and through schemes, but later the story was covered up. However [Hulegu's Christian wife], the great queen Doquz khatun prior to announcing Hulegu's death, secretly sent to me saying: "God loved the Il-Khan and took him away. Whatever he loved here and gave to this world will be given [g160] to him in the next. Should there be a mass or not?" We responded that it was not necessary to have mass said, but rather to be merciful and lighten the taxes. For the Syrians had said that it was proper [to hold mass]. She also inquired regarding Abaqa, Hulegu's senior son. whether it was proper to enthrone him for [Hulegu] had willed this. We commanded that it is according to Scripture to appoint the senior son and that the will was in fact binding. This is precisely what happened. For their relation, Teguder, also called Il-Khan, seated Abaqa on the throne of his father and the entire army agreed with this and obeyed. But since our sins are limitless, he did not reign for a proper period. During the same year, only three months later, the Christ-loving queen Doquz khatun passed to Christ, and the discouraged, broken-hearted Christian people took to repeated mourning and sadness. For [Doquz] through her efforts had quickly started to heal the wounds caused by the Il-Khan, hoping to further glorify Christianity. Whatever the case, we believe she effected this. But since God is the cause of all goodness, it is not right for us to lose hope, for He set up in her stead another of her believing relatives, a pious woman called T'uxt'ani. Furthermore to Abaqa was brought a wife from the Byzantines, named Despina, daughter of the king called Vatatzes. She stipulated that Abaqa should be baptized, and he was. Then word spread about concerning his baptism and marriage, to the glory of Christ.

In these days, because of my sins, my writings fell into the hands of brigands along with our servants, but by the mercy of Jesus, the lads were spared. After one and a half years my book was brought to Tiflis for sale and was purchased by one of our brothers named Meler. For which the mercy of the Lord, glory to all the saints and created beings, and to the purchaser, the kindness of Christ. [g161]

98.

Now at the beginning of the year 715 A.E. [1266], the governor of the North who was named Berke (Bark'a) who held the position of Batu and Sartakh and was a Muslim, heard about the death of great Hulegu. And he came with a multitude [of troops] to the Kura River to display his forces to the troops on this side of the river, that is, to the troops of Abaqa and his brother Ismudin, to show that he was alive after the death of their father [Hulegu]. He came and trampled them with little difficulty as far as He'chn. All the Muslims there prayed joyously. Those on this side [of the river] were terrified by this [defeat] and walled off the length of the river called Shibar and kept in all readiness throughout the winter. But then Berke lost hope and returned to his place. And in the summertime he died. They say that in behavior he was not an agitator and that he loathed bloodshed.

99.

In the same year [1266] close to autumn, a bowl of bitter vinegar and the dregs of God's anger was extended to us, the descendants of Hayk. For the sultan of Egypt named Baibars (P'ntxtar) demanded those fortresses which the king of [Cilician] Armenia, Het'um, had taken with the

T'at'ars' support. Because [Het'um] did not give them up--more out of dread of the T'at'ars' [reaction]--[Baibars] flew into a rage, assembled many soldiers, and sent them to the land of Cilicia under a commander named Sim al-Mawd (Amlmot'). They entered the country unexpectedly and took the capital city of Sis, residence of the king, and burned it together with the churches in it. And they discovered the location of the underground treasury and took a great deal. For they say that in one container, there were 600,000 red [ducats]. [Baibars] continued destroying as far as Adana until [g162] he heard news of danger and thus turned back with booty and 40,000 captives, not to mention [the destruction he caused by] slaughter. Chief among [those slain], and the wound which will not heal, was the king's son, T'oros, a beautiful flower of tender age, close to sprouting a beard, acclaimed by all, faultless, completely good, preserved by chastity in the protection of the grace of God. Furthermore he appealed for the crown of blood voluntarily, for when they asked who he was, he did not give his father's name, so that by being taken alive he would not prove more of a burden to his father and to the land. The chief of our men taken captive was the first-born brother, Lewon, crowned and invited to the throne of the kingdom during his father's lifetime. [His capture] was the pitiable fire in our melancholy and heart-broken land and people, [a deed] which suffocated us and made us tremble. The hand of Him above, which had reached and struck with rage also healed them and us too with mercy, covering the gaping wound, restoring the captive [Lewon] who had been taken with others. [The Mamlukes] stayed in the country for fifteen days, filling it with disasters and leaving [the Cilicians] that destruction and leaving us with the bitter news.

100.

At the beginning of the year 716 A.E. [1267] at the end of Lent at the completion of the sixth week, on the day of the resurrection of Lazarus, on the 26th of the month of Sahmi, Lord Kostandin, patriarch of the Armenians, passed from this physical world to the spiritual one. Physically he was aged and full of years, while spiritually he was chosen from the womb by the will of God and successfully passed through all the degrees [in the clergy], liked by all and attested by all peoples and tongues. Chastely he remained uncorrupted, a rational and alert man in feelings and senses, and in all the limbs of his body. He was the sharer of grief and the fellow-mourner to many in our sinful and anger-filled age. In this time of pain and sobbing he bore it all himself and made [things] more mild as he was able, generously and unsparingly giving encouragement, advice, and treasure. [g163] Therefore he could fittingly say to his Lord: "We have crossed through the fire and water of various trials, of the burning and suffocating snares." [Kostandin] tasted the thick and bitter last dregs close to the end of his life, like the Lord; the shaking of our kingdom, the sword and captivity of his own land, where he was born and nurtured; the entry into the trials of a furnace with a fiery blaze of gehenna; and the destruction of the king's sons, whom he had nurtured. These [events] certainly brought closer his death and made his breathing more fraught, inciting a desire for dismissal from this much-afflicted existence. When Jesus and God saw this, with Lazarus they took him out of so much wretched suffering, to the unutterable [paradise]. [g164]

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