

Grigor Aknerts'i's

History of the Nation of Archers

Translated from Classical Armenian
by Robert Bedrosian

To the memory of my aunt Shakeh (Charlotte) Torigian Postoian

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[Translator's Preface](#)
[A Note on Pagination](#)
[Additional Resources](#)

[Chapter 1.](#)

Concerning the Nation of Archers, where they came from and from what line they arose, and how they came to rule over many lands and districts.

[Chapter 2.](#)

Regarding their life-style, religion, laws and ruler.

[Chapter 3.](#)

The first war of the T'at'ars with the Iranians, then the Aghuans and Georgians. The [Mongols'] resistance and long lifespan. The subjugation of the Armenians and Georgians.

[Chapter 4.](#)

A comet; the renewed attack of the T'at'ars followed by an end to the destruction of the conquered lands and their division among the chiefs.

[Chapter 5.](#)

Taxation of the princes of the Georgians and Aghuans; and about Vanakan, *vardapet* of the Amenians.

[Chapter 6.](#)

The wars and destructions of Baiju *noyin* in the city of Karin and in Rum.

[Chapter 7.](#)

The council of the pious king of the Armenians, Het'um, and his payment of taxes to the T'at'ars.

[Chapter 8.](#)

The return from prison and the reign of the Georgian king's son, Dawit', by the order of the Great Khan, through the efforts of Varham.

[Chapter 9.](#)

The death of Chormaghun. Lord Kostandin, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians. *Paron* Kostandin, former king of the Armenians and Het'um's father. Dawit', king of the Georgians, is betrayed by his own princes. Vanakan *vardapet* dies.

[Chapter 10.](#)

Locusts; the census in the east; Het'um, king of the Armenians, goes to Mongke-Khan and is exalted with honor; seven sons of the seven khans; Xul the impious; the martyrdom of lord Step'annos, the abbot of Geret'ni Monastery; the illness of Xul, caused by his criminal acts; Xul's succession by his son, Mighan.

[Chapter 11.](#)

The taking of Baghdad and the capture of the Caliph (Xalip'a); also, the surrender of the city of Martyropolis, and the [discovery of] right [hand] of the blessed apostle Bartholemew.

[Chapter 12.](#)

By the order of Mongke-Khan, Hulegu is seated as khan; the disobedience and punishment of four of the seven sons of the khan; two wrestlers and their match.

[Chapter 13.](#)

The wars of Hulegu-Khan against Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem, and his death.

[Chapter 14.](#)

The death of Prince Kostandin, father of Het'um, king of the Armenians; Abagha, Hulegu's son, succeeds him; the death of Lord Kostand, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians; the attack on Het'um by P'ntuxtartar (Baibars), sultan of Egypt; the capture of Lewon, crown prince of the Armenians; the pain and sorrow of Het'um at the loss of his son.

[Chapter 15.](#)

Het'um's treaty with Baibars; Lord Yakovb, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians; the return of Lewon from captivity; the joy of Het'um, his abdication from the throne, his living in solitude and his death; and the death of Dawit' king of the Georgians.

[Chapter 16.](#)

The rebellion and devastations of Teguder (T'agudar); his imprisonment by the order of Abagha-Khan.

Lewon succeeds his father with the approval of Abagha-Khan. Lewon's course with the treacherous princes. Revelation of the remains of Nerse's the Great. End.

Translator's Preface

[i] Very little is known about the author of this work which treats the forty-four year period from 1229/30 to 1273. He is presumed to have been born in Cilicia around 1250, and his death has been placed around 1335. Nothing is known about his parents, although by his own testimony Grigor did have a brother, Mxit'ar, who had died by the time Grigor completed his work. A colophon dated 1312/13 speaks of Grigor as the abbot of Akner monastery in Cilicia, a noted center of medieval Armenian scholarship. The most detailed secondary sources on Aknerts'i are those of father Nerse's Akinean/Akinian in the journal *Hande's Amso'reay* [Nerse's Akinean, "Grigor k'ahanay Aknerts'i patmagir T'at'arats' Patmut'ean 1250-1335 (Grigor the Priest of Akner, Historian of the History of the T'at'ars)," (1948) pp. 387-403, and, in the same volume, "Akants' kam Akneri vank'e" (The Monastery of Akants' or Akner)," pp. 217-250. [Both articles are available at Internet Archive in: [Մատենագրական հետազոտություններ](#)] *Literary Investigations*, volume 5 of Nerses Akinean's six-volume collected studies.] More accessible is the introduction to the 1949 English translation of the *History of the Nation of Archers* made by Robert Blake and Richard Frye which appeared in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1949) #3-4 pp. 269-283.

The *History of the Nation of Archers* (hereafter *HNA*) differs from the works of other Armenian historians of the Mongol period. First, as the product of a Cilician author in his early 20's when the work was completed in 1273, this history lacks the immediacy found in the compilations of eastern Armenian eye-witnesses to the Mongol conquest and domination, such as those of the well-educated and polished churchmen Kirakos Gandzakets'i, Vardan Arewelts'i, and Step'annos O'rbelean. This circumstance probably accounts for some of the chronological inaccuracies committed by Grigor in the early portion of his work. For example, Grigor incorrectly dates the first appearance of the Mongols in the Caucasus to 1214, years earlier than other historians; the defeat of Ghiyath al-Din in 1244 is recorded as occurring in 1239; Arghhun's census of 1253/54 is consigned to 1251/52 by Grigor. For the post-1249 period, however, Grigor is generally accurate. A second difference between Grigor's work and the histories of Kirakos, Vardan, and Step'annos concerns the scope of his undertaking. Aknerts'i wrote a relatively short history of a forty-four year period. Far from being a universal history of the Armenians, the author focused on but two principal areas, Greater Armenia and Cilicia in the thirteenth century, devoting considerable space to the latter. A third important difference is that Grigor, clearly, was not a well-educated or deep individual. His occasional lapses into fantasy compromise the credibility of other information for which he is our only source. Despite its limitations, the *HNA* remains a valuable source for thirteenth-century Armenian and Mongol studies.

[ii] What were Aknerts'i's sources of information? Fr. Akinean observed a number of them. Apparently among the most important were oral accounts of events provided by Armenian visitors to Akner monastery such as Dawit' Bjnets'i, Kirakos Getikts'i, and king Het'um I, people who either were from the East, or had travelled there. One informant, in Akinean's opinion, had been a student of Vanakan *vardapet* (doctor of the Church). It was from such informed individuals that Grigor learned the meanings of the large number of Mongolian military and juridical terms which he incorporated into the *History*. Akinean also detected a few written sources, including the Bible, a commentary on the Names of the Hebrews, the *Chronography* of Michael the Syrian, and the lengthy colophon of Vardan Arewelts'i (1246) providing a legendary genealogy

of the Mongols, which Grigor incorporated into his own work with few alterations. It is also possible, as Akinean and Blake suggested, that Grigor may have had access to Vanakan's now-lost history.

The *HNA* is contained in ms. 32 housed at the Library of the Monastery of St. James in Jerusalem. Ms. 32 commences with the Armenian translation of the *Chronography* of Michael the Syrian (done by Vardan Arewelts'i in 1246) which concludes with the events of 1195. The *Chronography* is followed by a continuation made by the same translator or some other person which briefly comments on the period 1216-1229. This section is succeeded by a colophon of the copyist Grigor Aknerts'i, which states that the latter completed his copy of the above portions in 1273, and then adds: "by the grace of God we too shall write what is lacking from it for forty-four years." This is followed immediately by Grigor's *HNA* which the author apparently saw as a continuation of the chronologies he had been copying. At the end of the *History*, Grigor stated: "In the year 720 of the Armenian era (A.D. 1271/72) these chronographies were written by the command of the blessed, glorious father Step'annos of this retreat of Akants' with the consent of Vardan, warden of the holy retreat, and of the entire brotherhood of priests and clerics, by the hand of the miserable scribe Grigor, servant of the Word..." (Akinean, "Grigor k'ahanay," p. 390, also R. Blake, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. 281-82 n.6). All publications of the Armenian text and all translations of it prior to the issuance of R. Blake's text and English translation have incorrectly named a certain *vardapet* Maghakia as the author. Two scholars, H. Zhamkoch'yan and Nerse's Akinean, independently established Grigor of Akner as the true writer [Akinean, "Grigor k'ahanay"; Zhamkoch'yan, "The Author of the Work *HNA*" (in Arm.) *Scholarly Works of the State University of Erevan* 23 (1946) pp. 367-68]. Maghakia, it was revealed, was none other than the 17th-century *vardapet* Maghakia T'oxat'ets'i who had recopied Grigor's work and whose own colophon gave rise to this confusion.

The Armenian text of the *HNA* first was published in 1870 at Jerusalem based on the oldest extant ms. (#32 of the Patriarchal Library of St. James, Jerusalem) dated 1271, and another ms. dated 1602 [*Nshxark' hay matenagrut'ean patmut'iwn T'at'arats' Vardani patmich' haneal i dzer'agir orinakats'* (*Fragments of Armenian Literature: Vardan the Historian's History of the T'at'ars*, printed from manuscript copies (Jerusalem, 1870). Also in 1870 K. Patkanean published the Armenian text in St. Petersburg based on a Venice ms. of 1624 [*Maghak'ia Abeghayi patmut'iwn vasn azgin netoghats'* (*Maghak'ia the Monk's HNA*)]. The following year Patkanean published a Russian translation [*Istoriia Mongolov inoka Magakii* (*Maghak'ia the Monk's History of the Mongols*)]. The *History* previously had been translated into French by Brosset in 1851 [based on the Venice ms. dated 1624. *Ouvrage de Malakia-Abegha, ou Malakia-le-Moine*, in M Brosset's *Additions et éclaircissements à l'Histoire de la Géorgie* (St. Petersburg, 1851) pp. 438-67].

[iii] The Armenian text, compared with all previous editions and accompanied by an English translation made by Robert Blake and Richard Frye, was printed in vol. 12 of the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* #3-4 (1949) pp. 269-443. Appearing in the same journal was Francis Woodman Cleaves' important article, "[The Mongolian Names and Terms in the History of the Nation of the Archers by Grigor of Akanc](#)" (pp. 400-443). Subsequently, in 1954, Blake's text and translation and Cleaves' article were reprinted together in book form [*History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols) by Grigor of Akants'*, hitherto ascribed to Maghak'ia the Monk, the Armenian text edited with an English translation and notes by Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye (Cambridge, Mass., 1954)]. Blake's translation, without a doubt a great contribution to Armenian and Mongol studies, nonetheless has a sufficient number of inaccuracies to warrant a retranslation. Some of these inaccuracies are due to typographical errors, others to the scholar's unfamiliarity with certain conventions in Classical Armenian and with Armenian place names. The most serious of these mistakes have been identified in Akinean's review of the publication (*Hande's Amso'reay*, 1955, pp. 275-77). Here are three noteworthy examples among many:

Blake: *zMtsbnay berd* "the citadel of Nisibis" (ch.3 p.297).

Should Read: *zMatsnaberd* (=Matsnaberd, a fortress near Gandzak).

Blake: *zNorberdn*, "the new fortress" (ch.3 p.297)
Should Read: *zNorberdn* (=Norberd, a fortress near Tawush).

Blake: *yurdgahs*, "royal tent" (ch. 6 p. 313).
Should Read: *yurdgahs* (*ordugah*, "camp").

The present translation was made from the Classical Armenian text issued by Blake and Fry in 1949, and incorporates Akinean's corrections.

For a detailed study of the Mongol invasions 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). For Cilicia see S. Der Nersessian, "[The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia](#)" in *History of the Crusades*, K. M. Setton, ed. vol. II (Philadelphia, 1969) pp. 630-59 and Ani Atamian Bournoutian, "[Cilician Armenia](#)," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, R. G. Hovannisian, ed. vol. 1 (New York, 1997), Chapter 11, pp. 273-291. Additional bibliography is available in C. Toumanoff's article, "[Armenia and Georgia](#)," [Chapter XIV in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV, The Byzantine Empire, part I, (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 593-637]. The maps and accompanying text in R. H. Hewsen, *Armenia, A Historical Atlas* (Chicago, 2001) pp. 136-141 also are valuable. Three other Cilician Armenian sources of relevance to this period are available on other pages of this website:

King Het'um II's [Chronicle](#),
Smbat Sparapet's [Chronicle](#),
and Het'um the Historian's [The Flower of Histories of the East](#).

Robert Bedrosian
Long Branch, New Jersey, 2003

A Note on Pagination

The printed editions of these online texts show the page number at the top of the page. In the right margin the pagination of the Classical Armenian (*grabar*) text also is provided. We have made the following alterations for the online texts: the page number of the printed English editions (*Sources of the Armenian Tradition* series) appears in square brackets, in the text. For example [101] this text would be located on page 101, and [102] this text would be on page 102. The *grabar* pagination is as follows. This sentence corresponds to the information found on page 91 of the Classical Armenian text [g91] and what follows is on page 92. In other words, the Classical Armenian text delimiters [gnn] indicate **bottom** of page.

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

Some Additional Resources

Internet Archive:

Texts and studies of [Grigor Aknerts'i](#)

[Turco-Mongolica](#)
[Armenian History and Some Turco-Mongolica at Internet Archive](#)
[Studies by Speros Vryonis, Jr.](#)

[Cilician Armenia](#)
[Crusades](#)

[The Late 12th Century](#), from the *Chronicle* of Michael Rabo [Michael the Syrian].

[The Trade and Cities of Armenia After the Fall of the Bagratid Kingdom](#), by Hagop Manandian.

Wikipedia:

[12th Century](#)
[13th Century](#)
[14th Century](#)

Encyclopaedia Iranica:

[Central Asia](#), multiple topics and authors.
[Saljuqs of Rum](#), by Andrew Peacock.
[Danishmend](#), by Tahsin Yazici.

[Khwarazmshahs](#), by C. Edmund Bosworth.
[Jalal al-Din Mengubirdi](#), by C. Edmund Bosworth.

[Mongols](#), by Peter Jackson.
[The Ilkhans](#), multiple authors.
[Alamūt](#), by B. Hourcade.

[Golden Horde](#), by Peter Jackson.
[Chobanids](#), 1335-1357, by Charles Melville and ‘Abbās Zaryāb.

Maps, at Internet Archive:

Maps/Texts, by Robert H. Hewsen, at Internet Archive:

[11th-14th Centuries, Eastern Armenia](#). Eastern Armenia under the Saljuqs/Seljuks (11th-12th centuries), under the Georgians (1199-1236), Armenia according to Idrisi's map (1156), and Armenia under the Mongol Ilkhans (1256-1335).

11th-14th Centuries, Cilician Armenia, as a [Barony \(1080-1198/1199\)](#)
and a [Kingdom \(1197-1375\)](#).

in Armenian:

The Cilician Armenian State (1080-1375) (B. H. Harut'yunyan, cartographer)

[The Cilician Armenian State](#), western portion and map legends.

[The Cilician Armenian State](#), eastern portion and map legends.

from *Haykakan sovetakan hanragitaran [Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia]*, volume 5
(Erevan, 1979), between p. 424 and p. 425.

in Russian:

Armenia and Neighboring Countries at the Beginning of the 13th Century (S. T. Eremyan, cartographer)

[Western Lands and Cilicia](#)

[Eastern Lands](#) and map legend

Chronological Tables

The following modern chronological tables are attached to the pdf version of the translation:

Rulers of Armenia and of Eastern and Western Empires

Kat'oghikoi and Corresponding Secular Rulers of the Armenians

Rulers of Armenia and Iberia/Georgia

Rulers of Mongol Empires

Chronological Tables, prepared by Robert Bedrosian, at Internet Archive:

[Armenia and Neighbors](#).

Grigor of Akner's

History of the Nation of Archers

Previously Attributed to Maghak'ia the Monk

Chapter 1.

Concerning the Nation of Archers, where they came from and from what line they arose, and how they came to rule over many lands and districts.

[1] After the expulsion from paradise of Adam, the man created by God, and after the command of the lord God [that Adam] for all the days of his life should eat bread [produced] through the sweat of labor—because of the deceit of woman and the treachery of the vile snake, and all this for forgetting God's beautiful command—the nature of man was eager to occupy itself with the physical pleasures of the body. Meanwhile the slanderer Satan, because of his wicked envy, was ever teaching mankind to work inequities, such as Cain's fratricide and the impious giants, to create new sins, and to eat carrion.

When the Creator saw this, He became angry because of mankind's evil deeds and caused the Flood to destroy everyone excepting the venerable and just Noah who preserved the seed of mankind. The father of faith, the great Abraham, Tereh (T'aray)'s son, was born ten generations after Noah the just. [Abraham] was styled the "sublime father" since many peoples and tribes derived from him, due to the blessing of God. [God] told [Abraham] to "multiply in sons like stars in the sky or like sand on the seashore" [*end of grabar* (Classical Armenian) text page 284; henceforth shown as, for example, g284]. And indeed, that is what happened.

Isaac was born from Abraham's free wife. Esau and Jacob were [Isaac's] descendants. Jacob's descendants included the twelve patriarchs and the great prophet, David. The Word of God, our lord Jesus Christ, was revealed from the house and line of David.

[There were also descendants] from the hand maidens of Abraham, one of whom was named Hagar and the other Kendura (Ketura). From Ketura, Imran was born whence the Pahlaws, [a lineage which includes] brave Arshak and saint Gregory, illuminator of the Armenians. From Hagar [descended] Ishmael, which translates "the hearing of God," whence the Ishmaelites. At the birth of Ishmael, God commanded Abraham to give to him and his people the richness of the land, and to make a great people from him with his hand upon his enemies, and more successful than all other peoples with the sword and bow.

The Esavites, who are the Scythians, descended from Esau, son of Isaac. They are black, wild, and strange looking. From them descend the Boramichk' and Lekzik', who dwell in holes and traps and perpetrate many crimes.

And it is said that the Edomites, who are the Franks, also are descended from him. These three peoples, descendants of Hagar, Ketura, and Esau, mingled together and gave birth to another people, strange looking and wicked, called T'at'ar, which means sharp and light.

St. Nerse's says that [the Mongols] are the remnants of Hagar mingled with the people of Gog, who are descendants of the T'orgom who hold the Scythian part of the world. This begins at the At'l [Volga] river, by Mt. Emawon and extends as far as the Caspian Sea where [g286] thirty-three peoples dwell. They are called by the barbaric names Xuzh and Duzh. They are separate peoples. The chief of all of them is called Bushx.

Of these peoples, one is called T'ughark', which we believe are the ones called T'at'ars.

Chapter 2.

Regarding their life-style, religion, laws and ruler.

[2] As we heard from some of them, this [Mongol] people arose from their land of Turkestan and moved to some area to the east, dwelling there in extreme poverty for a long time as robbers and wild men. They had no religion except for felt images which they carried with them for witchcraft. They were in awe of the sun, as though it were a divine power.

Then suddenly they came to their senses, very straitened by their wretched and poor life. They called upon the aid of God, creator of Heaven and earth, and swore a great oath to Him to be faithful to His commands.

By the command of God, an angel in the form of an eagle with golden feathers appeared to their chief named Ch'anke"z, calling out to him in the dialect of their own language. [Chingiz] went and stood opposite the angel in the form of an eagle out in the open at a distance of an arrowshot. And then the eagle, speaking their own language, related all the commands of God.

Here are the laws of God which they call *Iasax* which were given to them [g288]: first, that they love one another; second, that they not commit adultery; not steal; not bear false witness; not betray anyone; and that they honor the aged and the poor. And should perpetrators of such crimes be found among them, they should be killed.

When the angel had so instructed [Chingiz], he called the chief by the title of *Ghayan*, whence Ch'anke"z Ghayan or Ch'anke"z khan. And the angel told him to rule over many lands and districts and to increase into an uncountable, limitless host, as in fact happened.

What had been said by the Lord [to Chingiz-Khan] was fulfilled just as God, speaking through a prophet, had threatened: "Nabugodonosr is a golden chalice in my hands and I shall give it to whomever I choose to drink" [Jer. 51.7]. In this way an alien people brought upon us not only the chalice but the dregs of bitterness because of our many and diverse sins which always angered God the Creator at our deeds. As a result, the Lord in anger roused [the Mongols] as a lesson to us for not obeying His commands.

[Translator's note: A much embellished version of Chingiz-Khan's rise to power appears elsewhere on this website. See chapters 16 and 17 of Het'um the Historian's [The Flower of Histories of the East](#).]

Chapter 3.

The first war of the T'at'ars with the Iranians, then the Aghuans and Georgians. The [Mongols'] resistance and long lifespan. The subjugation of the Armenians and Georgians.

[3] Now when this alien people realized that it was the will of God [for them] to rule over us on the earth, they massed militarily and went against the Iranians. And they seized [g290] a small city from them; but then the Iranians armed and retook what was theirs, plus some more.

Then again [the Mongols] sent word to their people, wherever the nation of archers were dwelling, and again they attacked the Iranians and defeated them, taking a city and all their possessions.

On top of all this, again they received an order from their khan, who was called Chingiz-Khan and they launched an attack on the land of the Aghuanians and Georgians.

When the kings of the Georgians heard the news about the coming of the T'at'ars, they took 60,000 cavalry and went against them in the great plain called Kotman, which lies in front of Terunakan fortress. When the battle had been joined, the lord of Manasgom, named Hamidawla, due to some grudge, hamstrung the horse of *At'abak* Iwane. This was due to the influence of satan, who is opposed to justice. For at that time the king of Georgia, Lasha, had died survived by a son, Dawit', and a daughter, Ur'uzuk'an (Rusudan). Dawit' had fallen into the hands of the sultan of Rum and was in prison. His sister, Rusudan, held the throne under the supervision of Iwane' who was named *At'abak*.

Once news of the coming of the T'at'ars arrived, as was mentioned above, Iwane' took the cavalry of the Georgian kingdom, and came to Gag, to the great and wise prince Varham, son of Plu Zak'are'. Taking him along with his troops, he went against the T'at'ars. It was at this point, when the two sides clashed, that the crime we mentioned was perpetrated by the accursed Hamidawla, when [Iwane'] had the mighty and great prince Varham in charge of the right wing while he himself commanded the left wing [g292].

Now when the nation of archers saw such discord amongst them, they grew more powerful, attacked the Georgian cavalry and mercilessly crushed them.

The great prince Varham, lord of Gag, taking the right wing, went along mercilessly cutting down the T'at'ars until evening, until the plain of Sagam was filled with dead T'at'ars. Then he himself, Varham, prince of Gag, heard about the destruction of the royal troops. Deeply saddened, he abandoned his warfare and returned to his secure fortress, called Karherdz. This occurred in 663 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1214].

After three years had passed, the T'at'ars returned and took Gandzak *shahastan*, mercilessly destroying and taking captives. Then they returned to their own country with much booty and treasure.

Let us say some more about what these first T'at'ars resembled. The first who came against our country were not like [ordinary] people. They were awful to see and impossible to describe. They had large heads, like a buffalo, narrow eyes like a chick, short noses like a cat, protruding chins like a dog, narrow waists like an ant, and short legs like a pig. They are completely beardless, possessing the strength of a lion and a screeching voice like an eagle. They appear unexpectedly. Their women have attractive hats covered with a brocade shawl on top and broad faces smeared with a deadly pine medicine. They give birth like snakes [g294], and eat like wolves. Death does not appear among them, and so they can live for three hundred years. Such were the folk who came first to the upper land. They never eat bread.

[4] Once again, receiving a command from the khan, three chiefs, named Ch'awrman, Benal, and Mular, came against the Aghuans and Georgians and took many cities and fortresses. They came against the fortresses with

countless cavalry. First they took Shamk'awr close to Gandzak which had been taken before. Then they captured Sagam, K'arherdz, and Terewen; the great royal residence the stronghold Gardman, Erk'ewank' and the fortress of Matsnaberd. By siege they took the secure stronghold of Tawush, which was the seat of the sultan, Te'runakan and Norberd. They took the cave of the great *vardapet* Vanakan, full of much wealth and took away our glorious *vardapet* himself, with his attending students. However, the entire country, united in grief, gave much treasure and gold and purchased their *vardapet* and his students.

After this, when the wise princes of the Armenians and Georgians realized that it was God Who had given them the power and victory to take our lands, they went to the T'at'ars in submission and promised to pay taxes, that is, the *mal* and *t'aghar* and to go with them wherever they went, with their own cavalry. Agreeing to this, the T'at'ars stopped ruining and destroying the land and returned to their place in the Mughan country. However, they did leave one chief, named Ghara Bugha, to pull down all the strongholds they had taken in the country. They demolished to the foundations the impregnable fortresses built at great cost by the Tachiks. This, then, is what they did [g296].

Chapter 4.

A comet; the renewed attack of the T'at'ars followed by an end to the destruction of the conquered lands and their division among the chiefs.

In these days a comet appeared for a while, then was concealed again. During the same period, the sun was darkened from the sixth to the ninth hour.

The three chiefs—whom we mentioned as having taken the lands of the Georgians and Aghuanians—returned to the Mughan country, where the grass is always green summer and winter because of the fertility of the place and the goodness of the climate. After staying there for some days they again planned to come against the Christians, regarding as nothing the destruction and slave-taking of Christians already accomplished from the lands of the Georgians and Aghuanians. They also took the renowned rock of Shmegha, killing myriads upon myriads there, such that there was no number to the slain. They took a countless multitude of children captive from all the lands, yet were not satisfied with this. So they planned to come again and universally destroy the entire country.

But the providence of omnipotent God does not ignore those who place their hopes in Him. For He overturned their unworthy, unjust plans and killed two of the three chiefs we mentioned above.

We shall briefly narrate what it was [the Mongols] had planned to do. In the evening they held a *quriltai* (*xur'ut'ay*), which is called an assembly, and planned to come against the captured country and to destroy it again. But the three were not unanimous about this, only two of them [were in agreement]. By the foresight of God, Ch'awrman expressed good counsel, saying: "The ruin and destruction of the land is enough. Let it remain cultivated [g298] and let them give us half the yield of vineyards and fields and keep half for themselves."

[5] While they were having this discussion, day turned to night, the *quriltai* was interrupted, and they went to sleep. When it became light, the two chiefs who had planned evil were found dead while the other one, named Ch'awrman, who had sought cultivation and peace for the country, was alive.

Then Ch'awrman arose and went to their leader Chingiz-Khan with witnesses to these events and narrated to him all the deliberations, both his own and the other chiefs', about their deaths, and his survival in the same night.

When the khan heard this he said to Ch'awrman in astonishment: "That which the two chiefs advised was not pleasing to God and, consequently, they died suddenly; whereas you did not die because of your goodly counsel. For it is the will of God to take the country and keep it flourishing, to impose the *yasax* and keep [the people] under our command so that they give us *tzghu*, *mal*, *t'aghar*, and *ghp'ch'ur*. However, as for those who do not obey our commands and do not pay us taxes, [it is the will of God] to kill them and wreck their places. That way others who hear and observe [the consequences of disobedience] will be afraid and not do it."

After saying this, the khan ordered Ch'arwman to go and implement the oath he had planned, which saved him from death. He gave to Ch'awrman his kindly wife Aylt'ana *khatun* (*xat'un*) and styled him Chormaghun (Ch'awrmaghan). Then Chormaghun, taking Chingiz-Khan's wife, the goodly, gracious Aylt'ana *khatun*, came and resided in [g300] Mughan, the wintering grounds of the T'at'ars, together with one hundred and ten chiefs.

Next they held a *quriltai* and great meeting by the command of Chormaghun and divided the countries among the one hundred and ten chiefs. This land was divided into three parts: one extending northward, one to the south and one through the middle of the country, which they still hold.

The names of the chiefs who remained in the middle part of the country are: Asut'u *noyin*, who was the *oskr* of the khan; Ch'aghatay, who was called khan; Sanit'ay; another lesser Ch'aghatay; Baiju (Bach'u) *noyin* whom they placed at the head of all the troops; Asar *noyin*; Xut't'u *noyin*; T'ut'tu *noyin*; Awgawt'ay *noyin*; Xojay *noyin*; Xur'umch'i *noyin*; Xunan *noyin*; T'enal *noyin*; Angurag *noyin*.

These thirteen chieftains similarly divided amongst themselves the mountains and plains of the country of the Georgians and Aghuanians. Also they brought the great house of Chormaghun to Gandzak *shahastan* which previously had been ruined, but was later rebuilt.

Chapter 5.

Taxation of the princes of the Georgians and Aghuans; and about Vanakan, vardapet of the Armenians.

The great and untaxed princes of the Georgians and Aghuanians came under taxation to [the Mongols], both those willing and those unwilling. Without obstruction they gave all the stipulated taxes which we mentioned earlier. They themselves in accordance with their strength and ability accompanied [the Mongols] on raids with their cavalry and took [g302] the cities and fortresses which had not submitted, destroying and enslaving. They mercilessly killed men, women, priests and monks, capturing deacons to serve them, fearlessly robbing Christian churches, stripping the ornaments from revered relics of the holy martyrs, from crosses and books then discarding them as worthless.

[6] What shall I write now about the disastrous events of that period: the separation of fathers and mothers from their children, the destruction of the love among loved ones and close relatives; the taking of their personal belongings; the burning in flames of beautiful palaces; the immolation of children in the arms of their mother; the enslavement of beautiful, delicate youths and virgins led away barefoot and naked.

Woe to me, a transitory [being]. I think that all of this occurred due to our sins; that our Lord and creator, Who is forgiving and broad-minded, visited this upon His flock which He redeemed with His worthy blood.

At this difficult and bitter time the holy spirit of our *vardapet* Vanakan shone forth like the sun in the eastern land [*i.e.*, Greater Armenia]. He was styled "the second Sunrise," full of the light and incomparable knowledge of the all-knowing Holy Spirit who with much effort and labor freely distributed spiritual food, that is to say, the word of the doctrine of the Spirit. [Vanakan] resembled the heavenly *vardapet*, Christ, with his meekness and modesty, silence and tolerance, loving the saints and sanctity of Cross and Church, holy places and their attendants, priests and monks. To the grandees he was terrifying, while to the poor and needy he was sweet [g304]. To the sinners he was without malice, placing upon them the lightest medicine of repentance, so that they be able to endure the yoke of repentance and once again, be renewed in spirit and body and become steadfast in the true faith as glorifiers and worshippers of the most Holy Trinity.

Similarly [Vanakan's] praiseworthy students—Vardan and Kirakos, Ar'ak'eal and Yovsep'—divided up the eastern lands in a cross shape and illuminated it with the life-giving doctrine of the Holy Spirit. In addition, they led many sons to glory, freely distributing the Lordly cruciform scepter, resembling their glorious *vardapet*, and fulfilling the Lord's command to "take freely and give freely," as Christ God forever gave His life to them for His church.

Chapter 6.

The wars and destructions of Baiju noyin in the city of Karin and in Rum.

In 688 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1239] Baiju *noyin*, the head of the T'at'ars mustered troops and came against the city of Karin [Erzerum] with a countless multitude. Besieging it for two months, [the Mongols] took it and mercilessly destroyed and ruined the goodly and beautiful city. Similarly through captive-taking and destruction they rendered uninhabited the monasteries of the country and the marvellous churches. Then the Armenian and Georgian princes took many books—heortologia and martyrologia, Apostolic works, lectionaries, Acts and Gospels of gold adorned with matchless richness for the edification and adornment [g306] of the sons of the new Zion—to the eastern land and filled up the monasteries with all these adornments of the Church. Moreover, after a year had passed the nation of Archers once again massed troops together with the Armenian and Georgian princes and came against the land of Rum with a countless multitude.

The chief of the force, Baiju *noyin*, who was successful in battle had enjoyed numerous successes wherever he encountered opposition. Yet the cause of the victory was the Armenian and Georgian princes who were at the front where they attacked the enemy with forceful blows. Then after them came the T'at'ars with bow and arrow.

[7] Once they entered the country of Rum, its sultan, Ghiyath al-Din (Xiat'adin), arose against them with one hundred thousand troops plus another sixty thousand. The son of the great Shalue' had been with the sultan for a long time. When they organized for the fight and massed against the T'at'ar army, the son of Shalue' held the left wing. Meanwhile the victorious princes of the Armenians and Georgians were ranged against the sultan on the right wing. When the battle grew fierce, the brave and renowned son of Shalue' put the T'at'ars to flight, killing many of them.

Then Aghbugha, the Georgian lord of Gag, son of the great Varham, grandson of Plu Zak'are', valiantly fought against the sultan's force together with the *azatagund* forces of the Armenians and Georgians with him and put to flight the right wing of the sultan's troops, beheading many *amirs* and grandees and causing the sultan great grief. As the day turned to evening they left off warring and encamped opposite each other in the plains between the city of Karin and Erznka [g308].

When the next day dawned, the troops of the T'at'ars combined with those of the Armenians and Georgians and went to do battle against the sultan. They went against the sultan's camp with a large multitude of troops, but when they reached the campsite they found nothing there, except for tents filled with many provisions. They found the sultan's tent adorned with numerous treasures both inside and out and wild animals—a leopard, lion, and panther—tethered to the entrance of the sultan's tent. For that night the sultan and all his troops had fled, because of the wavering of the *amirs*, who wanted to submit to the T'at'ars.

When the T'at'ars saw the sultan's flight, they cautiously placed a small number of troops as guards over the tents, saying that this might be a trick of some sort. The rest of the multitude of troops they sent after the sultan, but were unable to catch anyone since [the fugitives] had reached the strongholds of their country. Once the T'at'ars learned that the sultan of Rum had actually fled, the army of the T'at'ars returned and took all of [the sultan's] provisions and furnishings together with the very large varicolored tents which they had left when they fled in fear of the T'at'ars. The next day, in great joy, [the Mongols] launched an attack on the land of Rum, taking Erznka first and leaving a *Shahna* [governor] there. They took Caesarea and wrought much bloodletting there since [the inhabitants] did not surrender the city but opposed the T'at'ars in battle. This was because there was much cavalry dwelling in the city which was filled up with all sorts of goods. So they did not give up the city willingly. The wily army of T'at'ars, applying themselves, took [Caesarea] by deception and generally destroyed the *grandees* [g310], while the lesser folk they mercilessly took into captivity with all their belongings. Once again they took Konya (Ko'n) and Axshar with the *grandee* villages and monasteries. And then they attacked Sebastia (Sewast) and took it by siege. However, they did not destroy them but instead took their belonging as booty, conducted a census, and placed on them the *mal* and *t'aghar* taxes, according to their custom. Leaving a *Shahna* and chiefs in the country of Rum, [the Mongols] went to the eastern country, to their residence and *yurdah* with the enormous booty, treasures and captives which they had taken from the land of Rum.

Chapter 7.

The council of the pious king of the Armenians, Het'um, and his payment of taxes to the T'at'ars.

[8] Het'um, the pious, Christ-crowned king of the Armenians filled with all the wisdom of his fathers, held a council with his God-protected brothers and princes and resolved to submit to the T'at'ars and pay taxes and *xalan* so as not to allow [the Mongols] into their God-created Christian country. And they did just that. Since they previously had seen Baiju, chief of the T'at'ar troops and established [with him] a treaty of friendship and submission, subsequently they sent the king's brother, the *sparapet* [commander-in-chief] of the Armenians, *baron* Smbat to Guyuk-Khan (Sayin khan) who sat on the throne of Chingiz-Khan. With the aid of God he went and saw Guyuk-Khan, an extremely philo-Christian and goodly [ruler] [g312]. It was for these [qualities] that his people styled him Guyuk-Khan which means, in their language, the fine and good khan.

Guyuk-Khan rejoiced exceedingly upon seeing the *asparapet* of the Armenians because of his Christian faith, but even more because of the powerful and wise things that Smbat, *asparapet* of the Armenians said before him. He made him a vassal (*sghamish*) and gave him a great *yarlik* (*iar'lax*) and a golden *p'ayizay* and a T'at'ar *khatun* with headress (*pawxtaxawor*), for to them this was a sign of friendship—to give a notable woman to someone they liked and honored. Thus honoring the *sparapet* of the Armenians greatly, [the khan] sent him to his land to Het'um, the Christ-crowned king of the Armenians, ordering him to come to them in person for an interview. When Het'um, the pious king of the Armenians, saw the honor and esteem visited upon his brother *paron* Smbat by the khan, he rejoiced exceedingly and especially over arrangements about the freeing of the country, monasteries, and all Christians.

Chapter 8.

The return from prison and the reign of the Georgian king's son, Dawit', by the order of the Great Khan, through the efforts of Varham.

Now the brave and renowned Georgian troops had not had a king at their head for a long while. Ur'uzuk'an, daughter of [king] Lasha, had died and the Georgians remained without a lord, like a flock without a shepherd. Then, by the providence of God, they remembered their king's son, Dawit', in prison in Rum at the time. The Georgian princes seized some chiefs of the troops of Rum and took them to Baiju who was the head of the T'at'ars [g314], where they were interrogated under torture about the king's son, Dawit'. As is the T'at'ar custom, they made them confess, under questioning and severe caning, that [Dawit'] was in chains in a prison in Caesarea.

Then the Georgian princes, greatly rejoicing, sent the wise prince Varham, lord of Gag, by the order of Baiju *noyin* and all the other T'at'ar chiefs. And along with Varham they sent another T'at'ar chief with one hundred horsemen. They sent them to Caesarea with authority (*siasat'ov*). When they arrived, by the will of God they found the king's son, Dawit', in a great deep pit. It was the will of God which had kept him alive in the deep prison. When the troops of the T'at'ars and the great prince Varham saw this, they were astonished that he was alive; and they praised God. Dawit', son of the king of the Georgians, was tall, strong and handsome, with a black beard, and he was filled with all wisdom and the graces of God.

Removing him from the prison, they dressed him in worthy clothing, mounted him on a horse, and took him to the land of the Georgians. When he reached the city of Tiflis (Tp'xis), the Georgian princes rejoiced exceedingly. Taking an order from Baiju *noyin* and Aylt'ana *khatun*—who was the wife of Chormaghun and who then held the khanate since Chormaghun had died recently—[Dawit'] was sent to the Great Khan who was in the east accompanied by the great prince Varham and cavalry. With the aid of God they went and saw the khan and narrated what had happened to the [g316] king's son. Taking a command from the Great Khan, they brought Dawit' to Tiflis and seated him on his father's throne. The princes of the Georgians, rejoicing exceedingly, styled him Varhamul king, that is, "made king by Varham." And for a while the country of the Georgians and Aghuanians/Aghuans became peaceful because of the accession of the new king.

Chapter 9.

The death of Chormaghun. Lord Kostandin, kat'oghikos of the Armenians. Paron Kostandin, former king of the Armenians and Het'um's father. Dawit', king of the Georgians, is betrayed by his own princes. Vanakan vardapet dies.

[9] The well-disposed Chormaghun died leaving two sons from his wife, Aylt'ana *khatun*. One was named Siramun and the other, Bawra. Siramun, from his childhood on was goodly, a lover of Christians and the Church. By the will of God he was so successful in matters of warfare that because of his bravery the khans styled him the Gold pillar, after many victories and battles. But his brother, because of his wicked behavior, was slain by Hulegu-Khan.

In this period, Lord Kostandin through brilliant and virtuous behavior pleasing to God and man, together with the Christ-crowned king, Het'um, with orthodox faith and glowing arrangements illuminated all the churches of the Armenians, in the east, west, and everywhere.

The king's father, Kostandin, with God-given sons and princes, was armed against the troops of foreigners and enemies of the Cross of Christ [g318]. And they kept in constant joy the pious and Christ-crowned king of the Armenians, Het'um, together with his handsome and honorable sons Lewon and T'oros.

Now the goodly and handsome king of the Georgians, Dawit', was in his royal city of Tiflis, always in great joy and drunkenness together with his entire kingdom. One day there was a great banquet and merry-making in the king's presence and, as is the custom among the Georgians, there was constant presumption and great boasting.

Then one of the Georgian princes counted up the other princes in the king's presence and said that there were a thousand of them, some of whom had a thousand military cavalry others, five hundred. This matter became known throughout the entire kingdom while they carelessly sat eating and drinking. When they had counted and numbered the troops of the Armenians and Georgians, they said that their side could conquer the T'at'ars, and next they designated chiefs [of the troops] over themselves. Yet this was done as a joke, as they did not think or talk about it seriously. But they were feeling no pain and there was no other enemy in the eastern land except for the T'at'ars who were constantly coming and harassing the princes of the Georgians and Armenians for taxes, taking from some gold fabric, from others, falcons, or good dogs and horses. Thus did [the Mongols] harass them besides demanding [the taxes] called *mal*, *t'aghar*, and *xalan*. Thus [the princes] talked about these matters in jest and joke, but not seriously.

But one of those present, like unto Judas the betrayer, went and informed the T'at'ars claiming that what was false was true and correct, and saying that "the Georgian king and his princes were planning to attack you [g320]."

However, [the Mongols] believed the false words and turned upon the land taking as booty all the goods and flocks; but they did not kill people, lacking an order from the Great Khan. They seized the king and all the princes of the nation including Awag, son of the great prince of the Georgians, the *At'abak* Iwane'. The latter they took to the court of the chief on a litter, since at that time he was ill and could not mount a horse. Despite the fact that the princes and the king did a lot of talking, [the Mongols] did not believe their words nor did they stop taking captives and looting the land. But when they took Awag on a litter to the court of the chiefs of the T'at'ars, finally they believed what he had to say and stopped wrecking the land and made peace with the heart-broken, pitiful Christians.

In that period the senior great *vardapet*, our Vanakan, was translated to Christ leaving us in great mourning, not only we who were his students, but the whole land. May his memory be blessed and may his prayers be upon the entire land and all Christians.

Chapter 10.

Locusts; the census in the east; Het'um, king of the Armenians, goes to Manku khan and is exalted with honor; seven sons of the seven khans; Xul the impious; the martyrdom of lord Step'annos, the abbot of Geret'ni Monastery; the illness of Xul, caused by his criminal acts; Xul's succession by his son, Mighan.

[10] In that period a horde of locusts came and ate up [g322] the entire eastern land until the whole country, east and west took refuge in God, terrified with fear, with great sighing. By the mercy of God the land was freed from the dreadful wrath, and they gave glory to God the Almighty Who saved them from such a calamity. This occurred in 700 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1251].

Following this disaster a chief of the T'at'ars, named Arghun, arrived on the order of Mongke-Khan (Manku khan), and conducted a census of the eastern country for taxation. Thereafter they took taxes from the folk by the head count which had been written in the *dawt'ar*, and in this way they further wrecked the eastern land. For in one small village (*gegh*) they recorded thirty to fifty men, each [ranging] from fifteen years of age up to sixty. And from each head they counted, they took sixty *spitaks*. When [the Mongols] seized someone who had fled or hidden, they cruelly tied his arms back and with canes made of evergreen wood they beat him until the entire body was crushed and dripping with blood. At that point they mercilessly brought in their savage dogs which they had trained to eat human flesh and let them eat the defeated, impoverished Christians.

When the Christ-crowned, pious King Het'um heard of all these outrages being committed in the upper lands of the east, out of his love for the Christians and more so for his own country [he] went to Mongke-Khan with many gifts and concerned himself that his country not be exposed to such violence. When he reached the khan, by the will of God, he was honored by him [g324]. The khan treated the king of the Armenians with great honor and homage and saw to all of his concerns in accordance with [Het'um's] wishes. Then he sent the king back to his own land with great joy.

After this, when the year 706 A.E. [A.D. 1257] had come, seven of the khan's sons, each with a *duman* of cavalry—one *duman* comprising thirty thousand—arrived from the east, where the Great Khan dwelled. Here are their names: the first and greatest of them, Hulegu (Hulawu), who was the brother of Mongke-Khan; second, Xul, who styled himself the brother of God and was not ashamed; third, Balaxe'n; fourth, Tut'ar; fifth, T'agudar; sixth, Ghataghan; seventh, Bawraghan. They were disobedient toward each other, very fearless, and man-eaters. They all came and traveled about in wagons to the point that they leveled the mountains and hills of the eastern country to facilitate the movement of their wagons and carts.

Now the chief who called himself the brother of God came into the midst of the country and mercilessly trampled the miserable Christians; and they burned all the wooden crosses wherever they came upon them erected on the roads and in the mountains. Yet nothing satisfied them. Indeed, they plundered even more those monasteries they came upon in the country by eating and drinking. They mercilessly hung up the venerable priests and beat them.

[11] A chief from Xul's cavalry went to a monastery called Geret'i. Its abbot was named Step'annos, white-haired and old, very select, holy and virtuous in behavior and accomplished in good deeds. When he saw [g326] the chief of the T'at'ars coming toward him at the monastery, he took a vessel of wine and went before the T'at'ar holding *tzghu*, as is the T'at'ar custom. After this, [Step'annos] took them to the monastery and seated them together with other cavalymen who were following their chief. He slaughtered a sheep, opened other wine and satiated them all with eating and drinking to the point that [the Mongols] could barely stay on their horses. At night, drunk, they went to their dwellings, since the T'at'ars' camp was close to the monastery.

After reaching home and sleeping the night, in the morning they saw that their chief was very ill. When they asked him the cause of the sickness, the chief replied that "the priest drugged me last night." The priest was innocent of this; rather it was from their wicked, insatiable eating and drinking that he had become ill. They immediately went [to the monastery] and brought back the marvellous old father Step'annos, shackled. After much questioning and probing, [the Mongols] did not believe him. They put four wooden stakes into the ground and mercilessly tied the blameless man to them, some distance off the ground. Then they lit a fire and roasted his entire body until the marvellous old Step'annos expired. They clearly saw a sign and column of light over the venerable father Step'annos who was so innocently and pointlessly martyred, crowned among the blessed martyrs.

Now that obscene and merciless chief, aside from the pain he had, was possessed by a *dev* such that in frenzy he devoured his own vile flesh. And thus did he perish, with torments and bitter blows. Similarly, the entire army fell to the wicked illness and many of them perished from it. Although this is what happened, [the

Mongols] did not fear God but instead persisted in constantly working deeds of cruelty and bitter tears [g328]. Their great chief, Xul, the same one who immodestly claimed he was like unto and the brother of God, fell sick with gout. As a result of this illness, he committed an unmentionably evil and lamentable deed. They went and found an unbelieving Jewish doctor [*anhawat jhut mi bzhishk*] and brought him to Xul. When that impious and false doctor saw his illness, he stated the antidote: the stomach of a red-haired boy should be split open while [the boy] was still alive, and [Xul] should place his foot into the boy's stomach. [The Mongols] immediately sent horsemen into the country who entered Christian villages snatching boys off the streets then fleeing like wolves. The children's parents went after them screaming and shrieking loudly and shedding bitter, pitiful tears, but were unable to get them free. Instead, they turned back to their homes, with sorrowing hearts. If they forcibly seized their children, [the Mongols] shot arrows at the parents. Thus did this pitiful event occur by the hand of the impious Jew, until they reached the figure of thirty boys with stomachs torn open, and still he did not get better. Instead, when the impious Xul realized that he had committed such gruesome acts and nothing had helped, he then grew angry out of pity for the boys. He commanded that the Jewish *hek'im* be brought before him, have his stomach cut open and fed to the dogs. And [the Mongols] did so at once. But after this, Xul himself perished with an evil death. His son, Mighan, then sat in Xul's place [g330].

Chapter 11.

The taking of Baghdad and the capture of the Caliph (Xalip'a); also, the surrender of the city of Martyropolis, and the [discovery of] right [hand] of the blessed apostle Bartholemew.

[12] After this, [the Mongols] convened a great assembly of the old and new cavalry of the Georgians and Armenians and went against the city of Baghdad with a countless multitude. Arriving on the spot, they immediately took the great and renowned city of Baghdad filled with many people, precious treasure and gold and silver without measure. When they took it, they destroyed mercilessly and took many people captive. The cavalry loaded up with all the precious raiment and the Caliph's gold. They also seized the Caliph, the lord of Baghdad with all of his treasures and brought him, fat and stout, before Hulegu. When Hulegu saw him, he asked; "Are you the lord of Baghdad?" And [the Caliph] replied: "I am." He ordered him placed in jail for three days without bread or water. After three days he ordered him brought into his presence. Hulegu asked the Caliph: "What sort [of man] are you?" [The Caliph] responded wrathfully as though to scare Hulegu, saying: "Is keeping me hungry for three days your humanity?" For previously the Caliph had said to the residents: "Fear not. Should it happen that the T'at'ars come, I shall bring out the banner of Mahmet so that all the T'at'ar cavalry flee and we shall live." When Hulegu heard about this, he became extremely angry. Then Hulegu ordered that a plate of red gold be brought and placed before [the Caliph]. When they had brought it [g332], the Caliph asked: "What is this?" Hulegu replied: "It is gold; eat so your hunger and thirst will pass and you become full." The Caliph said: "Man does not live by gold, but by bread, meat, and wine." Then Hulegu said to the Caliph: "Since you know that man does not live by gold but by bread, meat, and wine, why did you not send so much gold to me? [Then] I would not have come and destroyed your city and captured you. [Instead] you sat eating and drinking, without a care." Then Hulegu ordered that he be given to the feet of the troops, and thus perished the Caliph of the Tachiks. They then went to their land in the east with much treasure and booty.

The next year they came against Mayyafariqin (Mup'arghin) but were unable to take it, for saint Marut'a had built the city of Martyropolis very securely and had gathered into it relics of all the saints. He walled it strongly and named it the "city of Martyrs" and, until the time of the T'at'ars, no one was able to take it without [the city's] acquiescence. The patient T'at'ar troops besieged it until all [the inhabitants] were eating

each other out of hunger. It is said that the head of an ass fetched thirty *drams*. Thus, after putting the city into straits for three years, [the Mongols] took Martyropolis. The Armenian troops which were there among the T'at'ars found many relics of the saints there and took them to their own land.

Now the great prince of the Armenians named T'agheadin, from the Bagratuni clan (*yazge'n Bagratuneats'*), seized an Assyrian priest and made him say that he had found the right [hand] of the blessed apostle Bartholomew [g334]. With great joy, [T'agheadin] took this to his land in the east and placed it in his monastery. Subsequently, forced by the great prince of the Artsrunik' named Sadun, he gave [the relic] to him. Taking it, Sadun, lord of Haghbat's great and renowned and blessed congregation, placed the blessed right [hand] of the apostle Bartholomew in the holy monastery of Haghbat. And it really is there.

Chapter 12.

By the order of Mongke-Khan, Hulegu is seated as khan; the disobedience and punishment of four of the seven sons of the khan; two wrestlers and their match.

Now the seven sons of the khan who had come and taken the city of Baghdad and had filled up with much treasure of gold and pearls, did not obey each other. On the contrary, each chief lived by his mighty sword and they ruined and trampled the eastern land, without *yasax* (*anyasax*).

[13] The great prince Hulegu, who was renowned among them, was also, as we said, Mongke-Khan's brother. He sent to his brother Mongke-Khan in the Far East and described the goings on. "With God's aid and yours, we came here, seven heads of *dumans*. We removed the old T'emaych'ik' cavalry from here, went and took the Tachik city of Baghdad and left it, carrying off much booty, with God's aid and yours. What else do you order us to do? For if we remain in this way without *yasax* and headless, the land will be ruined and Chingiz-Khan's commands will not be realized. For he ordered us to subdue and hold the land through affection, not to ruin it. But now the command is with you. We will do whatever you order us to." [Entrusted] with such words [g336], the *elch'is* (ambassadors) went from Hulegu to Mongke-Khan.

When the *elch'is* reached their destination, Mongke-Khan inquired about his brother and [the ambassadors] related what Hulegu had commanded them to say. When Mongke-Khan heard it, he ordered his *arghuch's*, that is, judges, to "Go and put my brother Hulegu [in the position of] khan of that country. Impose the *yasax* on whomever does not submit to him." By order of Mongke-Khan the *arghuch's* arrived, held a great *quriltai* (*xur'ut'ay*, assembly) and summoned all the chiefs who had followed Hulegu. They also summoned the king of the Georgians with his cavalry; they summoned Baiju with his cavalry and acquainted them with these confidential matters. Additionally, by means of great messengers, the *arghuch's* of Mongke-Khan summoned the khan's sons: Balaxe', Tut'ar, Ghataghan, Bawraghan, T'agudar, and Mighan, who was Xul's son. When all of them had assembled, the *arghuch's* revealed Mongke-Khan's orders. When the khan's sons heard that [Mongke-Khan] wanted Hulegu seated as khan, four of them grew angry and did not want to submit to Hulegu. Now T'agudar and Bawraghan submitted to Hulegu while Balaxay, Tut'ar, Ghataghan and Mighan did not. When the *arghuch's* of Mongke-Khan realized that these four would not obey but rather wanted to fight with Hulegu, they ordered that the *yasax* be imposed on Balaxe'n, Tut'ar, and Ghataghan, that is, they were strangled with a bowstring, for it is their law that a khan be killed in this manner. As for Xul's son, Mighan, who was a young boy, they seized him and put him into jail [on an island] in the sea which [g338] lies in the district of Her and Zarawand. Again the *arghuch's* of Mongke-Khan ordered the Armenian and Georgian troops as well as Hulegu's troops to go against their forces and mercilessly destroy them, which they did. They killed so many that the mountain and plain putrified from the bodies of slain T'at'ars. Now there were two chiefs one named Nuxak'awun and the other Aradamuk' who had been apprised of matters beforehand. Taking twelve thousand cavalry and as much treasure and gold, and good horses as they could,

they fled and crossed the great Kur river. They did not stop until they reached their own country, whence they had come. From their own country they got Berk'e' to aid them, [Berke] who was the brother of Guyuk-Khan; and for ten years they wrought much evil. Now the *arghuch*'s of Mongke-Khan who had come with a great *yasax* installed Hulegu with great ceremony. Then there was peace for a time, since Hulegu-Khan was extremely good, a lover of Christians and the Church and clerics. The same was true of his blessed wife, Doquz (Tawvus) *khatun* who was good in every way and merciful toward the poor and needy and very much loved all Christians, Armenian and Syrian, to the point that she circulated around with a tent church and bell-ringer and many Armenian and Syrian priests.

When Het'um, the pious king of the Armenians, heard that Hulegu had been enthroned and that he was so goodly and philo-Christian, he himself, the king of the Armenians, went to the east with many gifts and saw Hulegu-Khan. When the khan saw the king of the Armenians, he liked him a lot and honored him and again wrote [edicts granting] freedom for his kingdom and even more so for the Church and the clergy and all Christians of the country. And with such honor and great wealth [g340], he sent the king of the Armenians back to his land. Many other kings and sultans also came to him in submission with numerous gifts, and Hulegu-Khan grew greater and richer to the point that there was no counting his cavalry and troops. The same applied to all his possessions: precious stones and pearls were like the sand of the sea before him and beyond similar [gems, he possessed] a vast amount of gold, silver, horses, and flocks which could not be measured.

[14] Once Hulegu-Khan realized that God had given him the khanate, greatness and multitude of troops, cavalry and all things, he ordered a palace constructed for himself at great expense in the plain of Dar'n, a place which they called in their language Alatagh, which previously had been the summer residence of the great kings of the Armenians, that is, the Arsacids (Arshakunik'). Hulegu himself was an intelligent, learned judge, knowledgable about everything. He was quite a shedder of blood, but it was the evil people and enemies he killed, not the good and benevolent. He loved the Christians more than the foreigners. He liked the Christians so much that he took as one yearly tax from the Armenians one hundred thousand swine and sent two thousand of them to each *Tachik* city with the order that the *Tachiks* be swineherds and that every Saturday they wash the pigs with soap and, aside from their daily feeding, give them almonds and dates morning and evening. Those *Tachik* men great and small who did not eat pork were decapitated. Thus did he honor the *Tachiks*. This was as schooling for the Armenian and Georgian troops, since Hulegu liked them extremely because of the bravery they had displayed before him in all battles. Therefore he styled them *Bahaturs*. He chose the handsome and young [g342] sons of the princes of the Armenians and Georgians and set them up as his guards, calling them *k'e'sikt'oyk'* who are the guards with sword and bow. He also started to rebuild the destroyed places. They took from each cultivated (*shen*) village one householder, one from the small [villages], two or three from the large ones, and called them *Iam*. And he sent them to all the ruined places to undertake construction. They paid no tax whatever but [provided] only bread and *t'an* [a yoghurt beverage] for traveling T'at'ars. With such arrangements he established the seat of his khanate; while he himself sat eating and drinking with great joy.

During these days a man came from Mongke-Khan, a Mughal by race, and extremely frightful to look at: tall, broad shouldered, with a neck like a buffalo, and hands like a bear's paws. Every day he devoured one sheep. With him he had a document and a priceless robe from Mongke-Khan. The document stated: "This renowned strongman (*bawk'ay*) has been sent to my brother Hulegu-Khan. If there is any [local] strongman who can throw him, put the robe on him, but if my strongman throws yours, then dress him in the robe and send him to me with great messengers (*elchi*)."

Then Hulegu questioned all the chiefs of his troops, saying: "Do you know of anyone, T'at'ar, Armenian or Georgian capable of throwing him?" They searched around and did not find a T'at'ar. For anyone who saw that man was thoroughly frightened by his enormous stature and aspect. But the Armenian and Georgian princes said: "We know of a man who might do." Then the khan ordered that he be brought in haste. They

said that he was not there, but rather at his own home. [Hulegu] ordered the messengers [g344] to bring him at once, not by horse but by carriage. The man spoken about by the Armenian and Georgian princes was named Sadun, [descended] from the great Artsrunik' [clan], a grandson of Amir K'urd. He was tall and attractive, very strong from childhood, experienced and knowledgeable in that matter [of wrestling], though he had not previously fought anyone in front of the khan.

[15] When the messengers went and told [him about] the commands, Sadun saddened, since [first] he had not battled in front of a khan and also he had heard about the awesomeness and strength of his opponent. Then he commended himself to the monks to pray for him while he himself went to [the monastery of] Gag to the blessed intercessor Sargis who had been blessed by the venerable holy *vardapet* Mesrop. There he made a vow and gave an offering to the blessed symbol [of the Cross], and then, going with the messengers, he traveled to Hulegu-Khan.

Now Hulegu-Khan was really delighted when he saw Sadun with his power and his stature. He ordered the two combattants to remain together for nine days, each day eating a sheep and [drinking] a *tik* of wine. When the nine days were up, [Hulegu] ordered all the chiefs to assemble in his presence, summoned the two combattants, and ordered them to grapple with each other. When they started, it was three o'clock and they fought for three hours, until six o'clock unable to conquer each other. Then, fortified by the name of God, Sadun had a sudden burst of strength and threw Mongke-Khan's strongman to the ground before Hulegu-Khan. Sadun was exalted before the khan. In the entire country no one else was to be found with such gifts, wealth, and power [g346] in the time of the T'at'ars. Hulegu-Khan also ordered a *yarligh* (*iar'lax*) written giving [Sadun] exemptions for nine offenses (*gunah*).

Chapter 13.

The wars of Hulegu-Khan against Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem, and his death.

After this, Hulegu-Khan ordered two of every ten of his troops to assemble. He put K'it' Bugha as their chief and sent them against Aleppo and Damascus. They took Aleppo, mercilessly killing and enslaving, and filled up with much treasure. Hulegu-Khan himself had secretly followed behind the cavalry. When the Damascenes learned that [the Mongols] had taken Aleppo, they themselves willingly gave the city and the keys to the city to Hulegu-Khan.

Now from the time of Sultan Saladin (Salahatin), the city of Jerusalem and the blessed sepulcher of Christ our God had been in the hands of the Tachiks. When Hulegu-Khan heard about this, he went against the city of Jerusalem and took it. He himself entered [the church] of the blessed Resurrection and prostrated himself before the holy tomb. Then, leaving troops there, he returned to his land in the east in peace.

Now K'it' Bugha, who was chief of the T'at'ar troops, grew arrogant and went a ten days journey beyond Jerusalem. Meanwhile the doglike and impious Egyptians, realizing that the T'at'ar troops were unprepared, massed a countless host of troops and came against the T'at'ars, killing many of them, causing many to flee, and capturing many. They retook Jerusalem, Aleppo, and Damascus and this with the blessing of the Frank cavalry since at that time there was no friendship between the T'at'ars [and themselves]. And so this was the result [g348].

During this period a comet appeared, arising first on Saturday morning of the feast of Tabernacle. Day by day the comet's tail and rays grew. At first it appeared in the morning, then gradually at the time of the noon meal, and getting later and later it appeared at the eleventh hour in the evening. Its hairlike rays expanded, reaching into the midst of the country from the east, and the rays kept increasing to the point that it appeared very

awesome in all lands, since such a wondrous sign had not previously been seen on the earth. And thus, increasing its broad and huge rays, it continued until the start of the winter months. Finally, just as it had grown, gradually, day by day, it decreased until the rays of its tail were completely cut off, and it no longer was visible.

Now when Hulegu-Khan saw this, he immediately realized that this comet had appeared because of him. He prostrated himself before God because he was extremely frightened when the rays of the comet's tail started to reduce. The entire world knew that the rays of the comet extended as far as Hulegu-Khan's horse had advanced, as far as he had conquered. But then it disappeared. Hulegu-Khan lived another year; then he too departed from this world, leaving behind thirty sons. The same year that Hulegu-Khan died, his goodly wife, Doquz *khatun*, also died. Their deaths caused extreme sorrow to all Christians [g350].

Chapter 14.

The death of Prince Kostandin, father of Het'um, king of the Armenians; Abagha, Hulegu's son, succeeds him; the death of Lord Kostand, kat'oghikos of the Armenians; the attack on Het'um by P'ntuxtar (Baibars), sultan of Egypt; the capture of Lewon, crown prince of the Armenians; the pain and sorrow of Het'um at the loss of his son.

[16] In these days the white-haired and elderly *paron* Koste"ndin, father of the king of the Armenians, was translated to Christ. He left the pious king Het'um as well as all his other sons and the land of the Armenians in deep mourning, since *paron* Koste"ndin was the cause of the cultivation of the land of the Armenians as well as the foundation of the kingship of his son, Het'um. Thus did the Christ-crowned king Het'um stand and bury his father, the *paron*, with great honor. May Christ God glorify his soul and make the blessed princes participants of His kingdom.

One year after the death of Hulegu-Khan, [the Mongols] held a great *quriltai* and installed Hulegu's senior son, Abagha-Khan. Among his thirty brothers, Abagha was the best looking with the best stature. During the days of his khanate there was an abundance of everything throughout all the countries.

During this period the blessed and spotless patriarch of the Armenians, lord Koste"ndin of good name and in deep old age, also was translated to Christ. By his prayers may Christ give peace to those worshipping in His name and may He make him a colleague of the blessed patriarchs with his pious soul and love of the orthodox faith and all the orders of the church [g352], hearing the voice which says: "Come good and faithful servant and enter into the joy of your master in life everlasting."

Thus was the word of the sage fulfilled here, that "with the decrease of the good and righteous, the league of the evil increases." And so it happened to us. The impious and crazed sultan of Egypt came to Damascus with many troops. From there he sent emissaries to the king of the Armenians regarding some trifle [of land] which he demanded from the king. But the king of the Armenians did not give it, rather he responded with insults calling [the sultan] a dog and a servant, because when the T'at'ars had taken Baghdad, two of the sultan of Egypt's slaves were in Baghdad, one named Baibars and the other Sghur. Now when they learned that the T'at'ars had taken Baghdad, taking two horses they fled to Egypt. Seeing their flight, the T'at'ars went after them at a gallop. Now Baibars was [old and] bearded and had a poor horse, whereas Sghur was young and riding a good horse. When they realized that the T'at'ars wanted to catch up and seize both of them, Sghur dismounted from the *Tachik* horse, gave it to Baibars, and himself mounted the poorer horse. And he said to Baibars: "Mount the good horse and escape. I am young; if they catch me they will take me as a captive rather than kill me. When you are able, ransom me." Then the T'at'ars arrived, seized Sghur and led him off as a captive; but they were unable to catch Baibars since his horse was fine. He fled to Egypt. When he reached Egypt, the [current] sultan of Egypt died and they made Baibars the sultan of Egypt. When the king of the

Armenians learned about it, he called [Baibars] a dog and a servant, did not make peace but remained hostile and unreconciled, knowing that his father, the *paron* [g354] was alive and that his princes were united.

[17] The sultan, learning the view of the king of the Armenians, sent many cavalry against the land of the Armenians via the Mar'i road while he himself went and waited at Xarxe'. He commanded his troops that if they were able to enter the country they should mercilessly kill Christians, pull down the churches, and burn the buildings in city and village and remain in the country for fifteen days taking captive Christian women and children. And that is what they did.

Now as soon as the king of the Armenians learned about the coming of the Turks against his country, he assembled his troops and gave command of it to his sons, the crown princes *paron* Lewon and T'oros. Meanwhile he himself, with few troops, went to the T'at'ars who were encamped between Ablstin and Kokson. He remained there some days, not knowing about the dissension in his troops. When he had persuaded the chief of the T'at'ars to come and help his forces, he himself went two or three days in advance of them and then he heard [the news about] the coming of the Turks and the fragmentation of his duplicitous troops, for they had given his sons, the crown princes, into the hands of the impious wolves while they themselves fled to their stronghold, [and he heard] how his sons, the handsome *paron* T'oros, had been struck through [while seated] on his horse; and how many troops of the Turks had seized *paron* Lewon and taken him captive to Egypt.

When the wise King Het'um heard all of this, his heart broke from the extreme, impossible sorrow which suddenly gripped it, and he was unable to raise it up. So he went to the blessed and renowned congregation of monks at Akants' retreat where he was somewhat comforted by the brothers of the holy order. [Het'um] remained there for a few days until the Turks had left the country; for the impious Turkish troops executed all the orders [g356] of the sultan. They burned the city of Sis, which is the seat of the king of the Armenians; they threw wood into and burned the praiseworthy great church in Sis; and they pulled down the tombs of the kings. They killed many Christians and captured many from the country and the villages.

After some days the force of Turks, loaded down with much treasure and loot, returned to their own land, leaving the land of the Armenians half ruined. Once those who had taken *paron* Lewon knew for certain that he was the king's son, they took him with joy to the sultan who was delighted to see him but was extremely sad at T'oros' death and very angry at the killers. The killers said: "We did not know that he was the king's son for he killed and wounded many of us and when we tried [to seize him] we killed him."

After this the sultan spoke with Lewon, saying: "Your father called me 'servant' and did not establish friendship. Who is the servant now, you or I?" He arrogantly said this and many other things to the king's son, then he greatly honored him and showed him affection and comforted him, saying not to fear anything but to stay happy for some days and then he would return him to his father, the king of the Armenians. Having said this, Sultan Baibars sent *paron* Lewon to Egypt.

For the moment the pious King Het'um took no heed of all the disasters which had transpired due to the deceit and duplicity of the princes, gaining their good will with a happy heart and having by him other small sons and daughters he took comfort in them, false comfort, to gain the good will of the princes and to learn their deceitful thoughts. Those of the princes who wrote [to Het'um] about [g358] the loss of his sons bound [the letter] in black and sent it to the king. The king wrote a reply, bound the letter with red and sent it thus. Only tongue and hand moved to do this, only [the king] and God knew [the state of] his heart, just how full of fire it was. For he no longer saw his good looking, blooming sons before him, neither at night nor in the morning not eating and drinking at meals. In his mind he imagined the hapless calamities of his handsome sons: T'oros with handsome form and attractive figure from whom he had been separated by the sword of the merciless bloodthirsty infidels; and Lewon in fear and distress in captivity to the foreigners. All of this the pious king of the Armenians pondered, burning with an unbelievable fire, his insides twisted with love for the sons he did

not see. He rolled upon the ground with unconsolable mourning, but he did this secretly, in private, so that the envious, master-killing princes would not learn of it and rejoice in the king's sorrow. This occurred in the last months of summer, at the time of the feast of the blessed Mother of God.

[18] King Het'um, restraining his burning heart, waited until the feast of the blessed Apostles, concealing his sorrow from his cruel princes. Then he ordered all the princes near and far summoned to him under the pretext of [participating in the ceremony of] the blessing of the water in the city of Msis. And all the princes in his kingdom assembled in the city of Msis. When the king learned of the arrival of all the princes, he ordered them to come and sit before him. After they all came in and sat, the king ordered his attendants to call anyone missing. They replied: "Blessed king, all [g360] of them are now before you." But the king insisted that the absent princes and *parons* be summoned. However, the king's attendants were unable to fathom the king's intention. Then the princes said to the king: "Those you ordered summoned are all here and no one is absent."

Thereupon the king, his heart enraged, looked about here and there and asked in a half tone, his eyes full of tears: "If everyone is here, where are Lewon and T'oros?" The princes began to beat their heads unconsolably and with great lamentation, sighing and moaning, recalling the handsome son of the king in captivity among the foreigners, and the other son who had died by the sword of the impious. Not only the princes were sobbing and weeping so, but also the priests and *vardapets* of the church, lamenting like the prophet Jeremiah who said: "Who will make of my head a container of waters, and my eyes into springs of tears, so that seated I bewail the misfortunes of my congregation?" Thus did the *vardapets*, priests, and princes weep and there was no one among them to comfort them, rather they were in deep mourning with broken hearts.

The high-minded, high-souled king Het'um restrained his own broken heart and consoled the hearts of the princes, priests and *vardapets* saying: "All of you princes, *vardapets* and priests know that the battle of Vardanants' occurred on behalf of the Christians and that such a multitude of cavalry was martyred for the Christians and became worthy of heavenly crowns, just as my son T'oros battled for the Christians and was [g362] martyred for them. He has mingled with the band of the blessed Vardaneans and become worthy of their same haloes. Hereafter no longer mourn him but rather envy him, for Christ loved him and made him worthy of His saint's halo. He mixed his blood with the blood of the Martyrs, inheriting with them the Kingdom of Heaven which is in Jesus Christ. Lewon, my eldest son, is in captivity among the foreigners in Egypt. It is better for me that Lewon be in captivity and that T'oros gave his blood for the Christians than that I should rule over the country with your blood and sorrow, for you would not know such a misfortune would befall the country of the Armenians." The king said this and many other words of comfort and caused the princes to cease weeping and mourning. Then the well-disposed and good-willed princes of the king and the priests and *vardapets* and bishops who had assembled by the king for the feast of the blessed Resurrection were consoled by the king over the mourning for the royal sons. They, in their turn, spoke many words of comfort and restored the king's heart. Together they held the feast of the blessed Resurrection with joy, consoling the king. But the king was unable to stop his heart from sobs and sighs because of his son Lewon who was a captive in Egypt and he had not found the means of freeing him. Then the king again called the princes before him and asked them what strategem he should employ to free his son Lewon.

[19] The princes, at a loss, blamed the king, saying: "[The area of] Shih was part of our [kingdom] and because of Shih you have lost your sons and blamed us for it. Would it not have been better that this one village not be ours than [g364] that we be the story and joke of the entire world?" Now the king ordered the princes to silence their useless words and hear from him what had been conveyed to him secretly by the Armenian princes who were at the court of Abagha-Khan, [namely] that during this period Tachik *amirs* were the advisors and *bidik'ch'ik* of the khan, secretly friendly to the Egyptians and inimical toward the king of the Armenians and all Christians. The Tachik *amirs* and caretakers of the khan had secretly written to the sultan of Egypt saying: "In friendship try to acquire one village from the king of the Armenians and that will be

enough to ruin him and his country. We will speak to the khan and see to it that [he believes] that the king of the Armenians is ruining his entire domain and will send cavalry to destroy them all."

The pious king of the Armenians knew all about this from secret letters sent from the Armenian princes in the east, who were friendly and very loving toward his kingdom. For the Armenian princes had written words of comfort to pious King Het'um over his sons and country and this at the end: "Oh blessed king, from what we have heard it is better for you that one of your sons died for Christianity and the other was taken captive than that your reign be ended and your country and Christians be destroyed, for [the outcome] embarrassed the Tachik dogs who kept telling the khan daily that the king of the Armenians and the sultan of Egypt were united and of the same counsel [g366]. We Armenian princes swore in the khan's presence that 'the Tachiks are false, do not believe them', then they heard [about Het'um's misfortune] and the Tachiks were shamed while the khan's heart has improved regarding you. Had it been that you were deceived and if they heard that even one empty building had been given, not to mention the village of Shih as [the sultan] wanted, at that point your entire kingdom would have been finished and we would have been shamed." When the princes heard all of this from the king, they all were astonished and begged his pardon for not knowing all the factors in the affair.

Chapter 15.

Het'um's treaty with Baibars; Lord Yakovb, kat'oghikos of the Armenians; the return of Lewon from captivity; the joy of Het'um, his abdication from the throne, his living in solitude and his death; and the death of Dawit' king of the Georgians.

After this the king of the Armenians, seeking the advice of the princes, sent emissaries to the sultan of Egypt inquiring about his son Lewon, wondering what the sultan's will was and what he should give to buy back his son. Baibars, sultan of Egypt, though he was a Tachik, nonetheless had a good heart and humility. He kept the king's son, Lewon, very well with provisions and all sorts of goods. When he heard about the arrival of the ambassadors, he rejoiced and said: "We ought to send Lewon to his father and his kingdom. A dear comrade of mine is a prisoner with the T'at'ars. Get him back. If you request him from the T'at'ars they will not harm you. Bring [my friend] who is named Sghur and take Lewon." Hearing this [g368] from the ambassadors, the king of the Armenians forthwith amassed much treasure and precious goods and went east to Abagha-Khan. He told [Abagha] all the complaints which the Egyptian had with him and his country. He also mentioned the sultan's requests concerning his servant Sghur, but he was unable to secure his release at the time. [Het'um] came back [to Cilicia] and then sent his brother's son [east]; and with God's aid [the nephew] went and brought the captive Sghur to our country.

[20] Now during these days the sultan of Egypt came against the city of Antioch which he took and demolished to its foundations, mercilessly destroying and enslaving to the point that it is impossible to relate what the foreigners did to the believers in Christ. Once the king sent [word] to the sultan that Sghur had been retrieved, [the sultan] rejoiced exceedingly and he retrieved Lewon immediately with numerous gifts. And [the Armenians] sent Sghur on his way with numerous gifts. Now when *paron* Lewon arrived, there was immense joy for the king and the princes of the land as well as for the monks and all Christians throughout the country.

With the death of the great patriarch of the Armenians, the land of the Armenians had been without a patriarch for one year. For the king had been in despair over his sons and no one else could concern himself [about the *kat'oghikosate*] without the king. But then, the king was pressed by the princes, *vardapets* and bishops who said that it was improper for the country of the Armenians to be without a patriarch and *kat'oghikos*. The king, so pressed, held a great assembly of bishops, priests, and *vardapets* and made a

selection from them. He found a man after his own heart, extremely wise and virtuous with a meek and mild disposition, a man named Yakob, a full *vardapet*. Then with great ceremony he had him consecrated *kat'oghikos* and seated him on the throne [g370] of Saint Gregory the Illuminator. May Christ God preserve him holy, pure, without blemish, with correct faith and orthodox confession until deep old age to shepherd the new congregation of those who believe in the Holy Trinity.

When *paron* Lewon arrived, freed from captivity, the pious and blessed King Het'um immediately went to meet him. [Het'um] gave into the hand of his son, *paron* Lewon, the entire *paronut'iwn* of his kingdom. He himself retired to solitude, loving monasteries and retreats. After some days a wound suddenly appeared on his body and it bothered him greatly. He remained with his fasts and prayers and then became a monk, receiving the name Makar. After a few days, the blessed, Christ-crowned, pious king Het'um was translated to Christ. He was buried with great ceremony in the blessed and renowned monastery called Drazerk. May the Lord God glorify his soul together with the blessed kings and crown him with the same crowns that they were worthy of and glorify him with the same glory and make him worthy of the heavenly mansions where the saints reside.

Following the death of the pious king of the Armenians, the king of the Georgians, Dawit', died. I think his death occurred in the same month. During their lifetimes both were greatly loved and praiseworthy in appearance and physical beauty. May they also be so before the heavenly king, Christ our God [g372].

Chapter 16.

The rebellion and devastations of Teguder (T'agudar); his imprisonment by the order of Abagha-Khan.

[21] Earlier we wrote about the seven khan's sons. Three of them were killed, two submitted, one they put in prison on an island in the salt sea. One of [the sons] who submitted, named Teguder, grew very strong in cavalry, gold treasures and all sorts of goods. Three hundred camels and one hundred fifty wagons bore his treasure and *mal* (belongings), not to mention his countless herds of horses and flocks. He also had forty thousand renowned and very warlike cavalry who were fearless everywhere. Holding the roads at night, they destroyed the caravans in the country through robbery. And they took all the goods from the caravans going from city to city. Similarly at night in the small villages they beat [the villagers], taking all the goods and quadrupeds and mercilessly shot people with arrows. They also went to the monasteries and hanged the officiating priests upside down, pouring a mixture of salt and soot into their noses and saying: "Bring a sea of wine and a mountain of meat." They did this in many places. For they made the priests hold the tail of a dog in their mouths, in the monasteries, if the unfortunate ones did not have wine. They swore: "Either give us wine to drink and as much as we want to take along, as we have written, or take the dog's tail this way."

Thus were the eastern monasteries convulsed by the lawless (*yanasax*, "non-*yasax*") chief. Learning about this, the princes of the Armenians and Georgians united and went to Abagha-Khan. They threw down their swords before the khan and said: "Either give Teguder and his cavalry into our hands or kill us in front of you so we do not have to see such insults [g374] as they inflict on our churches and clergy." Similarly, other T'at'ar troops complained, saying: "Teguder's troops beat us in our camps and take our horses." The khan himself complained in the presence of the Armenian and Georgian princes and his own T'at'ar chiefs: "Teguder has grown mighty and rich, does not heed us, does not obey our law (*asax*), and wants to wreck his country lawlessly with his troops."

Then Abagha-Khan ordered Siramun, about whom we wrote earlier, the man styled "pillar of gold," to take one hundred thousand T'at'ar cavalry, and he gave Siramun the khan's own insignia. He also ordered the

Armenian and Georgian troops to go against Teguder with all their forces, to crush him mercilessly, take all of his belongings and bring him, Teguder, alive to [the khan]. Hearing this, the Armenian and Georgian troops were delighted [at the prospects] of freeing their country from the torments of Teguder. So they bravely organized themselves for war as did Chormaghun's son Siramun who was extremely philo-Christian. Taking the khan's insignia with one hundred thousand troops, [Siramun] unexpectedly came against Teguder, mercilessly destroyed his troops, took all his treasures, [captured Teguder] himself with seven hundred men, and brought them to the khan. When the khan saw [Teguder] he ridiculed him. He gave him a woman, a knife with the tip cut off and, with ten men as keepers, sent him off to [prison] in the middle of the Salt Sea [Lake Urmiah] which is in the district of Her and Zarawand. Thus were the words of the prophet fulfilled: "A man was in honor, and understood it not" [g376].

Chapter 17.

Lewon succeeds his father with the approval of Abagha-Khan. Lewon's course with the treacherous princes. Revelation of the remains of Nerse's the Great. End.

Paron Lewon, son of the king of the Armenians, went before Abagha-Khan and told him about the king's death. [Lewon] was greatly liked and honored by the khan; and so, receiving an order concerning ruling in his father's place, he turned around and came back to his own country. Then he held an assembly of the great princes, bishops, priests, and *vardapets* in the great, charming, and renowned city of Tarsus. He also summoned the great patriarch of the Armenians, Lord Yakob. He commanded that they gather in the great, glorious, and blessed church of st. Sophia, conduct vigils and prayers and bless him as king. This is what they did, by the will of the heavenly king, Christ. They blessed and anointed with holy oil Lewon, the king's son, as king of all the Armenians. There was rejoicing and great happiness throughout all the lands of the Armenians and renewal and new happiness among the R'ubinean *azg*.

[Inserted from the Venice manuscript:]

[22] [In 720 of the Armenian Era (A.D. 1271) [two] *vardapets* of the Armenians, Vardan [Arewelts'i] and Kirakos [Gandzakets'i] were translated to Christ. May their holy prayers be upon us and all the land.]

The king's son, King Lewon himself, was extremely perceptive and intelligent from his childhood on. He recognized all his friends and those ill-disposed toward himself but did not reveal it. Rather he kept silent until he chose to bring forth what he had conceived in pain. For among the princes of his kingdom were some of Greek ("Roman") nationality who were full of greatness, treasures, and all sorts of belongings. After three years of his rule, they plotted evil against [g378] the kingdom. And they wished to rub out the kingship of the Armenians and rule themselves, the filthy apostate nation of the Greeks, false Christians and true Chalcedonians. For they had in mind to pull down the monasteries and to preserve those accepting their heresy and to kill those who did not. Nor were they alone in these doings, since they had tricked *vardapets* and priests of the Armenians and some wavering princes to enter the treachery and to oppress the Armenians together. But the providence of God the Creator did not ignore the prayers of his servants, rather he preserved Lewon, king of the Armenians, born of a king, together with his entire kingdom steadfast and untouched by the evils they had plotted. Those who had plotted evil fell into the pit they themselves had dug. For the Christ-crowned King Lewon through his wisdom seized some of the evil-minded people and found a written document with the names of those united in the wicked plot, both Armenian and Greek. Sending forth his own trusted attendants, he apprehended them. Some he killed, some he put into prison from which there was no escape, some he took to the east, to Abaga-Khan where the *yasax* was implemented [on them]. And they gave all the other enemies into his hands and he ordered some kept and some killed.

Thus Lewon, king of the Armenians, grew stronger and triumphed over his enemies with the aid of Christ, the heavenly king. Through the prayers of all the saints may Christ God keep the kingship of Lewon, king of the Armenians with his goodly sons victorious over all his enemies. May Christ God grant him a long life for his Church.

In these days the venerable and blessed relics of Nerse's the Great, patriarch of the Armenians, were discovered [g380] in their own resting place. Through his holy prayers may Christ God grant peace to the entire land. Glory to Him, forever. Amen.

The history of forty-four years of the T'at'ars' activities is completed; but it is brief, and not all.