

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Translated from Classical Armenian
by Robert Bedrosian

To the memory of Matti Moosa, visionary historian

Sources of the Armenian Tradition (Long Branch, N.J., 2017)

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Maps:

Two collections of maps appear as attachments to this document. Cartographers include: Robert H. Hewsen, B. H. Harut'yunyan, William R. Shepherd, Ramsey Muir, and H. W. Hazard.

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Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 1

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[1050-1060](#)

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[Liparit](#) Orbelean is captured by the Saljuqs and taken to Sultan Tughril; nomads, including the [Pechenegs](#), attack Constantinople in 1050-1051; [slanderers](#) arouse the Byzantines against the Armenian princes of Paghin.

Part 2

1050-1060

Introductory remarks. The author will begin to describe his own period.

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Constantine Ducas' attempts to manipulate the Armenian *kat'oghikosate*

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In 1062-1063 Saljuqs attack the district of Paghin; the mercy of the emir of Amida, Said ad-Daulah, son of Nasir ad-Daulah.

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Sultan Alp-Arslan invades Asia Minor in 1064-1065, and attacks the Aghuans; Kiwrike, king of the Aghuans, agrees to marry his daughter to Alp-Arslan.

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Murder of Prince [Vasak Pahlawuni](#) by Byzantine assassins. Philaretus takes Antioch and avenges

Vasak's death.

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The Saljuq sultan of Rum, [Sulaiman ibn Kutlumish](#), captures Antioch [1084-1085].

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Part 3

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Bohemond is ransomed from Danishmand, through the efforts of the Armenian prince Gogh Vasil.

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1136-1162

[1136-1140](#)

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Wikipedia entries:

[List of Byzantine Emperors](#)

[Dynasty of the Saljuqs/Seljuqs](#)

[List of Caliphs](#)

[Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia](#)

[Crusades](#)

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

Rulers of Armenia and Iberia/Georgia

Medieval Rulers of Antioch, Cyprus and Jerusalem

Kat'oghikoi and Corresponding Secular Rulers of the Armenians

Heads of the Syrian, Armenian, Nestorian, and Roman Catholic Churches to c. 1500

Rulers of Mongol Empires

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

[Armenia and Neighbors](#).



Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Translator's Preface

The *Chronicle* of Matthew of Edessa translated below is a valuable source for the history of the Middle East in the 10th-12th centuries. Matthew's work describes the period from 952 to 1129. Appended to it is a continuation by Gregory the Priest, which describes events from 1137 to 1162. Western scholars have used the *Chronicle* primarily for its unique information on the Crusades. It contains, additionally, invaluable information on Byzantium, the Arabs, Saljuqs, Persians, and especially the Armenians, both secular and clerical, both lords and louts. Along with this, Matthew describes such diverse phenomena as urban mobs, siege warfare, and confessional disputes, and he presents a welter of remarkable material of interest to many disciplines, including folklore and anthropology. Curiously, the *Chronicle* also may be of some value to the history of astronomy, as it seems to describe, under different dates, the social impact of the supernova of 1054. This astounding phenomenon, which was visible for two years, was the background for a series of prophecies related by our author.

Matthew wrote his work in three parts, over many years. Part One was written during an eight-year period (1102-1110), and Part Two was written during a fifteen-year period (1110-1125). Then, for ten years, Matthew wrote nothing, expecting that others would continue the work. Seeing that this did not happen, he wrote Part Three, probably during 1136-1137. Part One covers the period from 952 to 1052; Part Two, from 1053 to 1102; and Part Three, from 1102 to 1129.

Nothing certain is known about Matthew's life. Only in one place does he speak of himself, as "I, Matthew, a priest from Edessa." From his worldview it is clear that he was a God-fearing Christian (that is, an anti-Chalcedonian, eastern Orthodox Christian). He is not unswervingly loyal to any individual, and criticizes secular and clerical folk, Christians and Muslims of different persuasions. Acts of noteworthy cruelty and kindness are recorded by him without particular bias.

The city of Edessa (Ur'ha/Urfa), whose medieval history is an important focus of Matthew's *Chronicle*, played a major role in the development of Armenian literary culture. It was a cosmopolitan center of Syrian, Armenian, and Jewish culture from remote antiquity, and later was influenced somewhat by Greek Hellenism. To the north was the city of Melitene/Malatya, and to the west was Tsop'k' (Soplene), cradles of Armenian culture. While it is conventional to regard Armenian settlement in and around Cilicia—which Matthew describes—as a specifically *medieval* phenomenon, this is not the case. An Armenian population has been documented as residing in the area from at least the fourth century. In fact, the renowned historian of fourth-century Armenian events, P'awstos Buzand himself, probably hailed from Faustinopolos or Podandus/Bozanti, just north of the Cilician Gates.

[ii] Events of the 10th-12th centuries vastly increased the Armenian population in this area. There were several causes for this. First, since the early 10th century, the Byzantine empire had been following a policy of annexing the lands of Armenian grandees in eastern Asia Minor. Armenian kings and nobles were coaxed

or compelled to leave, and received, in exchange, territories in western areas, that is, in Cappadocia, northern Syria, Cilicia, and also in northern Mesopotamia. The Saljuq raids and invasions of Asia Minor, beginning in the 1020s, were a second important stimulus for Armenian emigration to Cilicia. Many prominent lords, with their gentry and their bishops, left the area. The bulk of the population, however, could not or would not leave, and so remained. Matthew chronicles all this: the Byzantine annexations, the movement of Armenian population, the Saljuq invasions, the Byzantine reactions, the Crusades, the Cilician Armenian kingdoms and regional statelets. He describes events in the Caucasus, among the Georgians and Aghuans, and mentions the Armenian statelets by the Caspian Sea.

At the time Matthew was writing—as well as before and after—Armenians of various faiths and speaking numerous languages, lived in a vast stretch of territory, from Georgia in the north, through eastern, central, and western Asia Minor, western Persia, northern Mesopotamia, the Levant, and Egypt. They were Christians and Muslims of various persuasions, some pre-Christian and non-Christian elements (such as pagans, sun-worshippers, Zoroastrians, and Jews), as well as "heretics" or sectarians (such as the Paulicians and Tondrakians), some of the latter with ties to other radical movements of the day. At the time Matthew was writing—as well as before and after—large Armenian noble families, "dynastic condominiums" Cyril Toumanoff calls them, functioned in place of (or alongside) political states. Some, like the Pahlawunids (and the Bagratids before them), controlled territories and enterprises throughout the Middle East as well as the *kat'oghikosate* of the Armenian Church. The Church itself often served as a surrogate or ghost state among the Armenians, in the absence of political states. Matthew speaks of the "House of the Armenians" throughout his work (as he collectively styles these *Christian* communities). In addition, he is an invaluable source for the *Muslim* Armenians, whose descendants continue to live in the same areas occupied by their Christian and non-Christian ancestors.

Unfortunately, no critical edition of Matthew's *Chronicle* exists, as yet. The preferred edition of the Classical Armenian text was published in Vagharshapat/Ejmiatsin in 1898, based on six manuscripts [Matt'eos Ur'hayets'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, M. Me'lik'-Adamean and N. Te'r-Mik'aye'lean, editors]. This is the text we have translated below, minus two lengthy sections mostly of doctrinal interest. Prior to the publication of the 1898 edition, Matthew's *Chronicle* already had been translated into French (1858) by Edouard Dulaurier. Since then, the *Chronicle* also has been translated into Turkish (1962), and modern Armenian (1991). The first full English translation was Ara Dostourian's *Armenia and the Crusades: Tenth to Twelfth Centuries. The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Belmont, MA., 1993). Regrettably, this publication's reliability is compromised by a fair number of errors in translation. For example:

I. p. 29. Ashot, *shahnshah of the illustrious Armenians* should be Ashot, *shahnshah of Greater Armenia* [*Hayots' metsats'* is a geographical term]

I. p. 32. **for seven years** should be **for seven months**

I. p. 32. We **chased** him and defeated...should be "we **would have** chased and defeated"

III. p. 199: "Then the sultan Kilij Arslan collected troops from the East and marched forth" should be "Then Kilij-Arslan, sultan of the West, massed troops and went"

[iii] Beyond such errors in translation, there are some questionable techniques employed, such as translating the same word variously. For example, Dostourian sometimes translates Armenian *k'aghak'* ("city"), as "town," even though Matthew uses one and the same word. Again, though *aylasgi* ("foreigner") and *ano're'n* ("impious") usually refer to Muslims, and *Tachik* usually refers to "Arabs" and/or "Muslims" in Matthew's work and elsewhere in the Armenian sources, this is not *always* the case, especially at the beginning of the invasions. Furthermore, the presence of Armenians of different persuasions, often on multiple sides of the various conflicts, also makes automatic equations of this nature dubious. For such reasons, we prefer to be literal in our translation. Otherwise, the translator is adding a layer of possible misunderstanding, where it

does not exist in the original text.

Our decision to translate Matthew was not, primarily, related to correcting errors. Rather, there were several additional reasons. For one, we want to have copyright-free, searchable versions of the Armenian historical sources online. Considering that for some periods, these Armenian sources are almost the only contemporary sources for the history of neighboring countries as well, having them online and searchable is a good way to more thoroughly integrate their information into the study of World history. Our second and principal reason for translating Matthew is personal: we enjoy this activity greatly. Each of the Armenian sources has its own luster, like a radiant, magical gem. They are enchanting, and if you hold them up and turn them, you will see different and unexpected facets each time. Matthew, although he disparages his own abilities, is a fine stylist. His *grabar* is straightforward, his prose is graceful and pleasurable to read, at times seeming almost like modern Armenian. Thus, a personal enjoyment of historical literature—enjoyment of a work's composition, style, and vocabulary—is involved. A third reason is our enthusiasm for the challenges involved in putting such material online: how to display it in useful, attractive ways, how to create books in an exciting new medium. We enjoy designing clickable Table of Contents pages for enhanced navigation, making scrollable chronological tables, and directing Google's search engine to search a particular translation, or a noteworthy website. Such techniques can transform online books into wonderful platforms for study, far superior to hardbound books.

In 2009 an important publication appeared: *Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa, with a Discussion of Computer-Aided Methods Used to Edit the Text*, by Tara L. Andrews (Oxford, 2009). This outstanding work (the author's Ph.D. dissertation) is the best available in a Western language describing many aspects of the *Chronicle* and its continuation, including a history of the manuscript tradition and an insightful discussion of Matthew's themes. The author's aim is to describe and demonstrate a methodological framework for creating a critical edition (there are some 35 known manuscripts of Matthew's *Chronicle*). She has modified and created computer software to help with this daunting task, and tests the method with translations of four excerpts: the First prophecy of Yovhanna's Kozer'n, (1029/30); the Second prophecy of Yovhanna's Kozer'n (1036/7); the Author's prologue to Book Two; and the Author's prologue to Book Three. Andrews' approach and virtuoso computer skills augur well for philology in general and for Armenian studies in particular. Her important work is available for reading online and/or downloading in various formats from Internet Archive: [Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa](#).

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[iv] Readers who like human duplicity with a medieval patina will find much to savor in Matthew's compilation. One need only change the clothing styles, the types of weapons, and the declared motives, and the general historical processes chronicled by Matthew could be transferred to our own day. Even the places and the peoples are the same. Those interested in studying this period would do well to begin with the 12th-century *Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo*, the great patriarch of the Asori/Assyrians or Syriacs/Syrians, translated into English by our colleague, Dr. Matti Moosa (Teaneck, NJ, 2014). Event by event, Moosa, in his detailed footnotes, describes other sources (including Matthew) and how they agree and disagree. An extract, covering the same period as Matthew's *Chronicle*, may be read online and/or downloaded from Internet Archive (archive.org) in various formats here: [The 10th-12th Centuries from Michael Rabo's Chronicle](#), and also: [The Late 12th Century from Michael Rabo's Chronicle](#). Our own website has an English translation of the medieval Armenian versions of Michael, [The Chronicle of Michael the Great, Patriarch of the Syrians](#). Another valuable Armenian primary source for the 11th century is Aristake's Lastivertts'i's [History](#), which describes the Saljuq invasions and the dislocations they caused. A third Armenian source of particular interest is the 13th-century [Chronicle](#) of Smbat Sparapet. Smbat actually used Matthew's *Chronicle* extensively in the early part of his own compilation, and made corrections to it—providing us with a rare example of medieval Armenian philology.

Some important secondary sources for the study of Matthew's *Chronicle* and references for this Preface follow:

For early Armenian settlement on route to Cilicia, see: [a pdf download] [Le peuplement arménien aux frontières de la Cilicie aux IVe-Ve siècles](#), by Gérard Dédéyan, from *Armenian Studies in Memoriam Haig Berberian* (Lisbon, 1986), Dickran Kouymjian, editor, pp. 215-227, in 14 pdf pages.

Available for reading online at the website of OpenEdition books is the same author's article in *L'Arménie et Byzance* (Paris, 1996) from the series *Byzantina Sorbonensia*, pp. 79-88: [Les princes Arméniens de l'Euphratèse et l'Empire byzantin \(fin xie - milieu xiie s.\)](#).

For Cilicia: Sirarpie Der Nersessian's excellent study "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," from *A History of the Crusades* (Philadelphia, 1962), K. M. Setton, Editor-in-Chief, vol. II. Chapter XVIII, is available for reading online and downloading on another page of this site: [The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia](#).

See also:

[Armenian Noble Houses](#)
[Historical Geography](#)
[Eastern Byzantium](#)

For aspects of the Saljuq invasions and domination, see parts of our Ph.D. dissertation: *The Turco-Mongol Invasions and the Lords of Armenia in the 13-14th Centuries* (New York, 1979):

[The Saljuq Invasions and Domination](#)
[The Muslim Armenians and the Armenians of Georgia](#)
[Supplementary Notes on the 11-13th Century Naxarars](#)

See also: [Turkica and Turco-Mongolica](#)

For the Muslim Armenians and a view of the complex texture of medieval Middle Eastern culture, see the important works of Seta B. Dadoyan: *The Fatimid Armenians, Cultural & Political Interaction in the Near East* (N.Y., 1997) and her magisterial three-volume work *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World, Paradigms of Interaction in the Seventh to Fourteenth Centuries* (New Brunswick, New Jersey): Volume 1 (7th-11th Centuries) (2011); Volume 2 (7th-14th Centuries) (2013); Volume 3 (13th-14th Centuries) (2014).

For studies of the Syrian and Armenian communities in the 10th-12th centuries, see another page of this website: [Selected Writings of Matti Moosa](#).

Internet Archive (archive.org) is a rich source for many relevant topics, including:

[Cilicia](#)
[Syria](#)
[Folklore of Asia Minor](#)

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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 (ր) as **r'**, and the thirty-eighth (օ), as **o'**.

Robert Bedrosian
Long Branch, New Jersey, 2017

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.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 1

In those days, in 401 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 952], there was severe famine in many places. However, in the land to the south, in the country of the Tachiks (Arabs), there was great suffering—more than in all the rest of Mesopotamia. With the worsening of the famine came turmoil and agitation in many areas, especially in the renowned metropolis of Edessa (Ur'hay), which had been constructed [or, "built up"] by Tigran, king of the Armenians. Famine lasted in that land for seven years, and those who died from it were without number. There was great mortality also in the land of the Tachiks and countless Christians died from the wrath of the famine [*end of grabar* (Classical Armenian) text page 1; henceforth shown as, for example, g1]. Two years later locusts—as many of them as the sands of the sea—came to that district and polluted the country. Meanwhile, the famine grew even more devastating. Many [people] became enraged and, mercilessly, like beasts, attacked, [slaughtered,] and devoured one another. As for the princes and grandees, they dined on legumes and fruit. [The area] became devoid of animals, and many villages and districts became depopulated. Nor have [these places] been [re]built to the present day.

In 407 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 958] the nation of the Arabs massed troops at Edessa and throughout the land of Edessa and, with an enormous multitude, they crossed the great Euphrates River and came against the fortified city named Samosata. There arose against them in battle the military commander of the Byzantines ("Romans") who was called [the] *Paracoemomenus*, a brave and powerful man. [The two armies] clashed with each other at the city gate and, on that day, the Tachiks beat the Byzantine troops and there was great killing by the city gate. After some days the city of Samosata, which is close to the city of Edessa, was taken.

In 408 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 959] Romanus, emperor ("king") of the Byzantines, massed troops and then came against the Tachiks. Crossing the vast Ocean Sea [the Mediterranean] he went by ship to the great island named Crete. After a fierce battle [g2], he took it from the forces of Egypt, for all the islands [in those parts] and the land of the coast had been held by the nation of the Arabs for four hundred years. In the same year, the forces of the Armenians defeated Hamdun, the military commander of the Tachiks.

In 410 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 961] the Arabs took Anazarba (Anawarza) and Aleppo from the king of Egypt and made a countless slaughter, more of Christians than of their own people.

In the same year the military commander of the Armenians convened an assembly of 45,000 valiant men of the *marzpetakan* brigade, separate from the royal brigade. And all the princes of the Houses of the land of the Armenians assembled by the blessed patriarch Anania [*Kat'oghikos* Anania I Mokats'i, 946-968] to anoint to the kingship Gagik, son of Ashot, in accordance with the earlier anointing of his fathers. For up to this time [Gagik] had not sat on the throne of the kingdom of the House of the Armenians, and a crown had not been placed on his head.

[2] Of necessity they invited the most praiseworthy Lord Yovhanna's, *kat'oghikos* of the land of the Aghuans, and forty bishops with him. With magnificent splendor they invited P'illipos, king of the [g3] Aghuans, a

spiritual and blessed man. [P'illipos] was the son of Goghazgak, son of Vach'agan, [from a line] which had been kings of the land of the Aghuans. On that day an enormous, massive assembly took place in the city of Ani, which was then the royal city of the Armenians. And it was in this same year that Gagik, son of Ashot, was anointed with the same anointing as his fathers and sat upon the throne of the first kings of the Armenian people. There was great rejoicing throughout all the House of the Armenians, since they were seeing renewed the throne of the kingdom of the land of the Armenians, as it was under the first fathers. They were made even happier by the valor of Gagik, for he was a capable, military man. On that day he conducted a review of his troops—100,000 select armed men, renowned for their martial abilities, robust and brave. They resembled lion cubs or eaglets roused into a force for combat. When all the surrounding [folk], and all the kings of the [neighboring] peoples—the Abkhazes, Byzantines, Babylonians, and Persians—heard about [the coronation of Gagik] they sent their affection and money, including precious gifts, to glorify the Armenian kingdom. Then [the Armenian court] sent home to the land of the Aghuans with very magnificent presents and great affection P'ilippe', king of the Aghuans, and the *kat'oghikos*, Lord Yovhanna's, the bishops and troops which had accompanied the king and the patriarch. [Aghuania] was the throne of the blessed Apostles Thaddeus and [g4] Bartholomew, who also were the first [Christian] patriarchs of Greater Armenia.

Two years later, the elderly Emperor Romanus of the Byzantines died [A.D. 963] leaving two sons: Basil and Constantine. In 412 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 963], Nicephorus [II, Phocas 963-969] ruled over the House of the Byzantines. He was a good man, holy and pious, full of all virtues and justice, triumphant and valiant in all battles, merciful toward all believers in Christ, a visitor of widows and captives, a comforter of orphans and the poor. He massed troops and, with an enormous multitude, crossed the great Ocean Sea [the Mediterranean] and came against the Tachiks, growling like a lion [anticipating a] great battle. First [Nicephorus] went to the land of Cilicia and, in great triumph, took the renowned city of Tarsus. Then he went and took Adana and Mamistra (Msis), and the famous Anazarba, inflicting massive and severe destruction on the nation of Tachiks as far as the gate of the city of Antioch. Then Emperor Nicephorus returned to the city of Constantinople, the royal residence, in great triumph, with numberless captives and much booty. As for the sons of Romanus, Basil and Constantine, [Nicephorus] kept them with him at the palace in great honor and glory [g5].

In 418 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 969] there was a certain man named Tzimisces, who had been condemned to death and was living on an island. The impious and obscene empress secretly sent to him—as though it was at the emperor's order—and had him removed from the island and brought to Constantinople. [This was done] without the emperor's knowledge. She secretly made a pact with him to slay Emperor Nicephorus, and she promised to become his wife and seat him on the imperial throne. [Tzimisces] agreed to effect the wicked empress' command. And so it came about that while the blessed Emperor Nicephorus was seated on his throne one evening, reading the Bible by candlelight, the empress came in and embraced him. [At the same time she secretly] secured the strap holding the sword which was close to him [to prevent him from defending himself later on]. Then she went to her wicked co-conspirator and, with her own hands, gave him the fatal sword with which he was to shed the blood of this innocent man. Tzimisces came and secretly ran into the emperor's chamber. When the emperor saw him, he cried out: "What do you want here, you mad dog?" The emperor, bravely getting up, reached for his sword and saw that it was firmly bound. And then Tzimisces attacked the emperor and mercilessly, like a wild beast, stabbed this most goodly [g6] monarch, cutting him into three parts. Thus did the blessed emperor surrender his soul to Christ, dying a bitter death, covered with his own blood. With the blood of this man of God splattered and glistening on their faces, the murderers saw that the emperor was wearing a goat's hair shirt against his skin, concealed under the [imperial] purple [garments]. They buried his body in a worthy cemetery, close to the [other] blessed emperors. Then the impious Tzimisces sat on the throne of the Byzantine empire. He ruled Constantinople and put under his sway all the borders of the land of the Romans. As for the sons of Emperor Romanus, [Tzimisces] had them removed from the wicked empress. [The sons,] Basil and Constantine, were evacuated to Vasakawan in the district of Handzit', to [the care of] Spramik, mother of the great Mxit'ar, so that the empress would not poison and kill them. Because of this unjust murder [of Nicephorus], Emperor Tzimisces lived in great sorrow, his

soul wounded and uneasy.

[3] At the end of the year 420 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 971], King Gagik died a peaceful death. There was discord and a great clamor between the two sons of King Gagik, Yovhanne's and Ashot. Although Yovhanne's was Ashot's senior, wise and very brilliant, physically he was unsteady and weak, cowardly in battle and [g7] unschooled [in military matters]. Meanwhile, though his junior, Ashot was brave, courageous, and powerful, triumphant and unbeatable in battle. Nonetheless, Yovhanne's forcibly took the throne of the kingdom of the Armenians. Ashot circulated around with the troops, looting many places and harassing the city of Ani. Then he went to Senek'erim, king of Vaspurakan, to the son of Apusahl, son of Ashot, son of Derenik, son of Gagik of the Ardruni line, who were descendants of Adramelik', king of Assyria.

Getting troops from him, [Ashot] continued on to Gurge'n, king of the Andzewats'is, advancing with his forces to Mount Varag. There he entered the monastery of Surb Nshan (the Holy Cross) of Christ, and prostrated himself before the Cross which had received Christ and the picture of the blessed Mother of God. He also gave as a gift to [the monastery of] Surb Nshan 30,000 *dahekans* of Arab gold, which the caliph had bestowed on him in Baghdad. Ashot also had a reliquary made for the [fragment of the] Holy Cross, and adorned it with gems and pearls. Then, with many troops, he went to the city of Ani, the royal residence. Now as soon as Yovhanne's heard about the coming of his brother Ashot, he ordered that the trumpets of war be sounded—though he himself remained immovably seated on the throne, as he was unskilled in battle. The city of Ani was roused to fight against Ashot, with 40,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry. At this juncture, a certain prince from the forces of the king [g8] of Iberia/Georgia had come on an embassy to King Yovhanne's. For the mother of Yovhanne's and Ashot was Queen Katramide', daughter of the Georgian King Ge'org [George I, 1014-1027]. The Georgian prince said to King Yovhanne's: "O, King Yovhanne's, just order them to point out to me Ashot and I shall arrest him and bring him before you in fetters." For [the speaker] was a brave man, invincible in battle. But King Yovhanne's said to that man: "Behold, Ashot is mighty. How can you lead him before me?" And the Georgian prince said: "I shall take him from his horse, living." Yovhanne's responded: "Don't judge a lion's cub until you've seen it." Now when [the two sides] were drawn up for battle with one another, the prince, who was [an] Abkhaz, called out in a loud voice, like an eagle's, seeking Ashot: "Who is Ashot? Let him come forward." When Ashot heard this, he became as furious as a leopard. Having thus antagonized one another, they approached each other. The Georgian prince threw a lance at Ashot who, quick as lightning, ducked. [Ashot] struck him on the helmet with a steel sword and cleaved [the man's] armor-clad body down to the chest, and it fell to the ground with the entrails. There was a fierce battle on that day and the city [forces] were put to flight—to the point that those fleeing did not have time to reach the city. Rather [g9], they fell into the Axurean River. And Ashot turned back in great glory. After some days there conferred together the Bagratunis, Pahlavunis, and all troops of the Armenian nobility in order to make peace between Yovhanne's and Ashot. And then the blessed patriarch Petros [I Getadardz, 1019-1058] and all the princes arose and went to Ashot and, with a solemn vow, seated Ashot as king of all the House of the Armenians outside the gates [of Ani], while Yovhanne's would sit as king in the city of Ani. Should Yovhanne's die, Ashot would become king over the entire House of the Armenians. Then there was peace throughout the land of the Armenians.

[4] In that period Abas [I, 984-1029] sat in Kars enjoying royal authority by order of his clan head (*azgapet*) Gagik, king of the Armenians, and Gurge'n was [ruling in] the land of the Aghuans. They belonged to the line of the Armenian kings and stood in obedience to the House of Shirak. As for Ashot, he never managed to enter the city of Ani until the day of his death.

Now in these days there lived a certain man named Apirat, son of Hasan, who was a great prince of the Armenians. He was afraid of King Yovhanne's because of his own earlier alliance with Ashot. And so he rebelled and fled from him, going to Apusuar, general of the Persians, in the city of Dvin, and taking 12,000 cavalry along with him. Apusuar exalted him for many days. Then some slanderers approached Apusuar [g10] and said: "Such a victorious and powerful man has come to you with many troops. He will work harm against you and against the entire House of the Tachiks." Then [desire for] vengeance took hold of the emir's heart.

Unbeknownst to the other troops, [Apusuar] called Apirat to him, as though for a friendly chat, and then secretly did away with this man, who was so brave, mighty, and renowned throughout all the land of the Armenians.

Now there was a certain prince named Sari, who was general to the great Prince Apirat. [Sari] took [Apirat's] wife and children and the cavalry force, and went to the city of Ani. King Yovhanne's greatly lamented the unjust death of Apirat, prince of the Armenians, and the Armenian king gave districts and authority to his sons, Apljahap and Vasak, as well as to Sari and all the troops.

In this period the king of the Daylamites/Daylemites (Delumk') massed troops and unexpectedly arrived in the Nik district of Armenia, close to the fortress of Bjni. Now it happened that Vasak, *asparapet* of the Armenians, was seated in great merriment [in Bjni] with his beloved son, Grigor, and other glorious nobles. Vasak chanced to look out over the rocky road when, behold, he saw a man approaching on foot in a great hurry. Seeing him, Vasak said: "That man is bringing bad news." When the man reached the gate of the fortress of Bjni, he cried out loudly: "The entire district of Nig has been taken captive." Then the brave General Vasak roared like a lion [g11] and rose up, donning his iron coat of mail. Seven nobles also did so, and other cavalry began arriving. The nobles ranged themselves behind Vasak. Then the brave and illustrious P'ilippe' flew to his side, as did Gorg and Ch'ortuane'l and some others. These men were brave and triumphant in battle. However, Vasak could not restrain his heart until the troops arrived, for he had under his hand some 5,000 men [altogether]. Through pride in the strength of 500 of his men [who were with him at the time], he advanced to the district of Nig, like a lion. He entrusted his House and the fortress of Bjni to his son, Grigor. When Vasak reached a monastery, he and all his troops took communion and confessed their sins, with a goodly confession in Jesus Christ. *En route* they came upon a village and saw how the foreigners had destroyed that village completely. Moreover, the foreigners' troops had surrounded a church and mercilessly were killing with their swords the believers who were inside. When the brave Vasak observed this, he roared like a lion and attacked the force of the foreigners, killing three hundred of them. The rest were put to flight, fleeing back to the [main] army of the foreigners. Moving forward, the multitude of the Armenian army came upon the troops of the foreigners and saw [g12] the uncountable, limitless multitude of the foreigners' troops. At the sight of this, [the Armenians] together chose death before life and began to take courage for the battle, like a wolf among goats or like an eagle among a flock of chicks. Thus did they bravely go into battle and pierced and felled many of them. At that point there arose from the troops of the foreigners a champion, a dark-skinned Qipchaq, a brave man whom they called Seven Wolves. He was so called because he did more [damage] in warfare among the [enemy] troops than did seven wolves attacking a flock of sheep. And behold, the Qipchaq approached like a thundering black cloud, with sparks flashing on his coat of mail, and he called out, seeking Vasak by name. The brave Emran, seeing the man approaching like a turbulent mountain, turned to Vasak and said: "Behold this invincible and valiant man, the likes of which this world has never seen." Vasak replied: "O you brave lion, Emran, why are you terrified at the sight of him? Now watch how I will rise up against him and give him the kinds of gifts that David gave to Goliath, who had cursed God." And then that beast-like man arrived and hurled a projectile at brave Vasak, intending to pierce him with his lance. But Vasak [g13] quickly ducked down. Then, with a steel sword, he struck the crest of his [opponent's] helmet and sliced that brave Qipchaq into two parts which fell to the ground. And thus [the Armenians] were fortified for battle by this unbelievable feat. As the battle grew fiercer and the number pierced by swords grew greater, the brave Emran was not present, since the ranks of *azats* had strayed from each other in the immense and impossible battle and were not able to see one another's deaths.

[5] Then brave Vasak, who had become isolated, turned about and, like an enraged lion, cut through the midst of the foreigners' troops. [Vasak] had wearied from the great battle and went up onto the mountain named Serkeweli, where he sat himself down under the protection of some rocks, suffering from the many harassments of warfare. Some peasants (*shinakans*) who had been put to flight saw him. Then one of them, like the murderer of Cain, came up and saw him sleeping, [exhausted] from his wounds. He struck him forcefully and threw him down from a high rock. Thus perished the brave Vasak Pahlawuni.

This next [event] occurred in 421 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 972]. [In that year] the military commander of the Byzantines, the *domesticus* who was called Mleh, arose with many troops and came against the Tachiks. And here [g14] and there he defeated them, with the aid of Christ. [Mleh] arrived at the city of Melitene and harassed the city with numerous torments, preventing [the entrance] of bread and water. Thereby did he manage to convince the city of Melitene [to surrender]. Then [Mleh] arose and went with great joy to descend upon the city of Tigranakert, which was called Amida, [situated] on the banks of the Tigris River. The forces of the Tachiks arose to do battle with the Byzantines, and there occurred a fierce battle close to the gates of the city of Amida. The troops of the Tachiks, after sustaining many casualties, turned and took to flight before the troops of the Byzantines, and were able to enter the city. Then the Byzantine troops encamped by the banks of the river at a place called Awsal, [just] two arrow shots distant from the city. After a few days, Divine Wrath came down from Heaven for, behold, a violent windstorm arose of such severity that the ground shook from the sound it made and—from the violence of the wind—the soil itself swirled into the air and dispersed upon the troops of the Christians. Thick dust covered man and beast and all their baggage, which ended up in the river. The dust darkened everything, blinding man and beast. It was from Divine Wrath that the dust clogged and darkened every eye, cutting off the light. All the Byzantine troops thus were besieged and were unable to extricate themselves. And then, when the troops of the foreigners saw the angry destruction so visited upon [g15] the Christians and realized that it was God who was warring against them, the foreigners one and all fell on the Christian troops and mercilessly put them to the sword.

They had been [an army] of some 50,000 men, but very few of them managed to escape the sword. The majority of those troops perished. Then the general, the *domesticus*, and forty other grandee and renowned princes of Byzantium were arrested and taken into the city of Amida. Now when the foreign princes saw the destruction of the Byzantine troops, they were exceedingly frightened and said: "All the blood which we shed from the House of the Byzantines will not benefit us. Rather, the Byzantines will come and enter the House of the Tachiks. Come, let us make friendship and unity with the Byzantine military commander and princes, secure an oath from them, and release them in peace to their own land." While they were so conferring, news came of the murder of the emperor of the Byzantines, Nicephorus. At that point, the princes of the foreigners sent the 40 Christian princes to the caliph [al-Muti, 946-974] in Baghdad. All of them died there. [Prior to this] the *domesticus* had written a letter to Constantinople which contained hurtful curses in this vein: "We are unworthy to enter the blessed cemetery for believing Christians, rather, we shall be inheritors of a cemetery for criminals where the ground is accursed. Behold, we do not know you who sits on the throne of the blessed [g16] Byzantine empire. But if you do not wreak vengeance on the city of Amida, Christ our God on Judgment Day shall hold you accountable for our death and blood which was shed at the gates of the city of Amida, and our death in a foreign land." When this letter reached Emperor Tzimisces in Constantinople and when he heard its contents, he was transported into a furious rage. That same year he assembled troops from all the Western lands and, so armed, came like a blazing fire to attack the Tachiks, wanting to enter the land of the Armenians.

[6] Then all the royal offspring of the Armenians, the *azats*, princes, and all the grandees of the lands of the House of the East assembled by the king of the Armenians, Ashot Bagratuni. [This included] the king of Kapan, P'ilippe', and the king of the Aghuans, Gurge'n; Abas, lord of Kars; Senek'erim, lord of Vaspurakan; Gurge'n, lord of Andzewats'ik', and everyone from the House of Sasun. In the district of Hark' they assembled an army of some 80,000 men. Then emissaries of the Byzantine emperor came to them and observed the preparedness of the entire House of the Armenians, assembled in one place. They went back and related this to Emperor Tzimisces [g17]. Following after the Byzantine envoys were [a group of] Armenian princes [including] the philosopher Lewon, Prince Stat Tor'net'si, as well as others, bishops and *vardapets*, and they established friendship and peace between the emperor of the Byzantines and Ashot, king of the Armenians. Then Emperor Tzimisces advanced with an awesome multitude and arrived in the Armenian district of Taron, descending on Mush in front of Aytseats' fortress. On the first night the Byzantine troops endured numerous harassments from the infantry troops of Sasan. Then Armenian princes and *vardapets* arrived by the Byzantine emperor and showed him a letter from Vahan [I, Siwnets'i, 968-969], *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians.

The emperor took and read it and greatly exalted both the letter and its bearers. He confirmed an oath of friendship with the Armenians and requested from Ashot troops which would come to assist him. Ashot provided some 10,000 armed fighters, and [when the emperor] requested stipends for [their] food, Ashot gave that and everything else [requested]. Then [the emperor] sent the Armenian *vardapet* Ghewond, the bishops, and princes back to Ashot, king of the Armenians, with grand gifts.

Tzimisces, whom they called Kyr John (Kiwr'zhan), then turned to warfare against the Tachiks with great triumph and in anger, filling up the entire country with killings, and blood. He demolished to their foundations many cities and secure fortresses—some 300 of them—as far as the borders of Baghdad. But [g18] he did not destroy Edessa, because of some 12,000 clerics who dwelled on the mountain there and throughout all the [city's] borders. [Tzimisces] arrived at the city of Amida in great anger. However, the lord of the city of Amida was a woman, who was the sister of Hamdan, emir of the Tachiks. Now in previous times the emperor sinfully had commingled with her and, therefore, he did not make a stratagem to capture the city of Amida. The woman went up onto the city wall and said to the emperor: "Do you come in battle against a woman and not consider it an insult?" The emperor replied: "I have sworn to demolish the walls of your city, to free the people." The woman of the city responded: "Descend and pull down the bridge which spans the Tigris River, and thereby you will fulfill your oath." And that is what the emperor did. Thus, after taking much gold and silver treasure, he left Amida because of its woman and also because Tzimisces was from the district of Khozan, from the place now called Ch'mshkatsak and the woman was from the same area. For in that period the Tachiks ruled over many places. Behold, the emperor of the Byzantines went through the land of the Tachiks shedding blood as far as the borders of the city of Baghdad. Then he turned through the interior of the land and went to the city of Jerusalem.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 1

Emperor Tzimisces wrote a letter to Ashot, king of the Armenians, with this content:

"To Ashot, *shahnshah* of Greater Armenia, and my spiritual son. Hear and learn just what kinds of marvels [g19] and amazing victories God has given us. Knowing about them it is impossible to comprehend the sweetness of God and His great love for humanity and the astounding benevolence in making friendship among His inheritance. We should like to inform you about what we were able to accomplish during this year, O glorious Ashot Bagratuni, my son. I shall make you aware of it as you are a Christian and faithful to our beloved empire, to make you happy and so that you glorify the awesome greatness of Christ our God and realize the extent to which God always helps the Christians. For He made tributary to our empire the entire Persian East. [You shall learn also] how we removed the relics of the blessed patriarch James of Nisibis from a Tachik city and extracted our tribute from the Tachiks; how we took from them our captives and arose and departed. Now it happened that [the caliph, or Commander of the Faithful, the] *Amir al-Muminin* [who was named al-Mu'izz (A.D. 953-975)]—prince of the [Fatimid] Africans, whom the Arabs call Maghrebis—in his arrogance and pride arose and came against us with many troops. And for a while he put our troops in danger, but then we conquered them with the great strength and assistance of God. As our other enemies [had done], they also turned back in disgrace.

After this, we took the interior portion [g20] of their land, putting many districts to the sword. Then we quickly turned and exited. We made our winter quarters and paid stipends to all our cavalry. At the beginning of the month of April, we applied ourselves to the land of the Phoenicians and Palestinians and avenged ourselves on the impious Africans, who had come to the district of Syria. Then, arriving with all our troops, we went on to Antioch, subduing and adding all these districts to our empire. Taking great tribute and countless captives, we went as far as the city of Homs. Those who were of the districts tributary to us, arose and received us well. Then we reached Baalbek, which is called Heliopolis, with is Areg (Sun) City. This had noteworthy and daunting fortifications and was very large and rich. They arose before us in battle. But the multitude of our troops put them to flight and put them to the edge of the sword. After a few days, we besieged Sun City. Our forces took many captives, boys and girls, and treasures of gold and silver as well as many animals.

After this we arose and advanced to the large city of Damascus. We also wanted to besiege it. However, the mayor of the city (*k'aghak'apet*) was an old [g21] and wise man. He sent many gifts to our majesty and beseeched us not to enslave them or lead them into servitude as had happened to the residents of Baalbek, and not to ruin their districts as [we did] with the others. They brought many valuable gifts and numerous excellent horses and mules and beautifully

wrought creations of gold and silver and taxes from the Arabs amounting to 40,000 *dahekans*. They received generals from us and gave a document [confirming] that they would eternally be subject to our realm from generation to generation. We set up there as general a certain glorious man from Baghdad, who was named Turk'. He came to us in service with 500 cavalry, and believed in Christ. Formerly, he had served our empire. The Damascenes wrote an oath that they would pay taxes unimpeded and also praised our realm and [vowed that they] would fight against our enemies. Then we left them without a siege.

[8] From there we arose and went to the Sea of Tiberias, where our Lord Jesus Christ had performed a miracle with 153 fish. Now we also wanted to besiege that city. However, they came out in submission to our realm and brought us many gifts, as the Damascenes had done, and 30,000 *dahekans* in taxes along with other gifts. They requested military commanders from us and gave us a document expressing submission, as had the Damascenes, [confirming] that they would remain obedient [g22] to us forever and pay our tax without hindrance. Thus we left them without taking captives, did not destroy the city or the district, or plunder them. For this place was a patrimonial home of holy Apostles. [We had respect] here and also for Nazareth, where the Mother of God, the blessed Virgin Mary, heard glad tidings from the angels. Then we went to Mt. Tabor and ascended to the place where Christ our God was transfigured.

While we were there, [people] came to us from Ramla and Jerusalem to beseech our majesty and to find mercy from us. They also requested a general, became tributary, and pledged to remain our subjects—all of which [requests] we granted. We also wanted to free from Tachik captivity the Sepulcher of Christ our God. We designated generals in all the themes which submitted and became tributary to our empire: Baisan (Penida), also called Decapolis, Genesareth, and Acre, also called Ptolemais. In writing, they agreed to pay taxes yearly and without impediment, and to be in service to us. We advanced as far as Caesarea, located on the shore of the Ocean Sea [Mediterranean]. They submitted and came under our rule. Furthermore, if the loathsome Africans had not fled to the coastal fortresses and holed up there out of fear of us, with the aid of God we would have gone on to the holy city of Jerusalem to pray in the holy places of God [g23]. When we heard that the coastal population had fled, we brought into obedience the upper part of the land, placing them under Byzantine sovereignty. We established a general there and also brought over to our side by siege and warfare those who had not submitted. After taking them, we went via the coastal route, which leads directly to the prominent, renowned, and very well-walled city of Vr'iton, which is now called Beirut. Engaging in fierce battle, we also took that [city] and arrested a thousand Africans, including Nasir [the general] of the Amir al-Mu'min and others of the best princes. We put a general in that city and wished to go thence to Sidon.

When the people of Sidon heard about this, they sent their city elders to us. [The elders] came and beseeched our majesty and, in great fear, asked to become tributary to us and to be and remain in our service. When we heard their requests, we assented to them, taking taxes from them and giving them generals. Then we arose from there and went to the old fortress of Byblos [Jubail], which we also seized in battle, taking its residents into captivity. With a great amount of booty and captives, we went through all the coastal cities via a difficult and narrow road, by which route other cavalry had never passed due to its narrowness and difficulty. We found there flourishing and lovely cities and fortified strongholds. In them were [g24] Tachik guards. We besieged all of them, destroyed them to their foundations, and led their inhabitants into captivity. Before we reached Tripoli, we sent both thematic and garrison cavalry to the pass called *K'areres* ("Stone Face"), since we had learned that the loathsome Africans were occupying that pass. We ordered that an ambushade be set there, creating a deadly trap for them. What we ordered was implemented. Two thousand of their [fighters] arose from their concealment and fell upon our troops. Many of [the enemy] were killed, while many others were taken captive and brought

before our imperial majesty. Moreover, wherever others of them were encountered, they were put to flight. We completely destroyed the entire land of Tripoli, cutting down their vineyards, olive groves, and gardens, and generally wrecking and ruining all districts, and pulling them up by the roots. The Africans who were there dared to arise against us in battle. Then did we attack and generally destroy all of them.

[9] Next we took the great city called Chue'l, which is called Jabala, and also Valania, and Saone, and even the renowned Burzuya. And thus there remained no place of either sea or land between Ramla and Caesarea which had not submitted to our majesty, by the power of the Uncreated God. Indeed, we made obedient to our empire [territory] as far as Babylon and made them our servants [g25]. For it was seven months that our imperial majesty circulated around with many troops in that land. We emptied cities and districts, while [the Commander of the Faithful], the Amir al-Muminin did not dare to issue forth from Baghdad against us nor to send his cavalry to aid his own troops. Moreover, had it not been for the great heat and the waterless route from there to the environs of Babylon—as your highness himself knows—our royal majesty then would have gone on to Babylon. Indeed, through the grace of God Who enthroned us, we would have chased him to the country of the Egyptians and completely conquered him.

We now have freed from servitude to the Tachiks all of Phoenicia, Palestine, and Syria, and convinced them to enter under Byzantine rule. Furthermore, we subjected to our rule the great Mount Lebanon and all the Tachiks who were there. We took a great number of captives and divided them among our cavalry. Mildly and humanely, we shepherded Asorestan, removing therefrom some 20,000 souls and settling them in Jabala. Behold, and realize that God gave to the Christians such a victory as had never occurred before. Beyond this, we discovered in that city of Jabala the blessed sandals of Christ our God which He wore as he walked the earth, and an image of our Savior which subsequently the Jews had pierced and [from which hole] immediately flowed blood and [g26] water. The hole made [in the picture] from the lance also [was visible]. In the same city we also found venerable hairs from the head of John, [known as] the Precursor and the Baptist. We took them for safety to our God-preserved city. Then, with the assent of God, in the month of September, we returned our God-supported troops to Antioch. We inform your majesty about what was accomplished at our direction, so that you admire these achievements and also glorify God's great love for humanity, and how much goodness was accomplished here and how enlarged and extended the realm of the holy Cross of Christ has become, and how far the name of God is praised and glorified. Our kingdom has grown rich with renown, and praise for the glory of benevolent God is on our lips. It was God Who subdued those who were brought under our control. Blessed be the Lord, God of Israel, forever.

From a report of Lewon, *protospatharius* of Derjan and military commander of Taron, we have received saltations and joy in the Lord.

[10] [Moreover, in that report] we have learned that you have not given up Aytseats' fortress, which you took for your own. Now we have written to our generals not to take that fortress nor to take the grain you provisioned there, since at present we have no need of it. But as regards the 40,000 *sovo'lo'n(s)* we sent [to you], have them taken to our general for him to send to our kingdom. For your crops and cereals [g27] you shall receive equal value, good for good."

[Tzimisces] also wrote to the Armenian *vardapet* Ghewond, as follows:

Greetings to you, *Pandaleon*, great philosopher, dear and beloved to our blessed and agreeable kingdom. We command that when we have returned from the Tachiks, we find you [present] in our blessed city, or at Slesin. [Be there] when you have come from [seeing] *Shahnshah* Ashot, our spiritual son, and have deflected all his anger [against us], and after you have taken Bagrat to

Pap Andzewats'i, as well as Smbat T'or'nets'i, the *protospatharius*. Endeavor that I find you in our God-protected city and there we shall celebrate a great festival for the [discovery of the] sandals of Christ our God, and for the blessed hair of John the Baptist. Moreover, it would please us if you confer with our sages and philosophers, so that we may rejoice in you and so that God [may rejoice] in us and in you, and so that Lord Jesus [may rejoice] in his servants."

Now when the Armenian *vardapet* Ghewond heard this, he arose and went to Constantinople. They held a marvelous celebration in honor of the sandals of [Christ] God and the hair of the blessed Precursor. That was a day of great rejoicing in Constantinople. And the *vardapet* of the Armenians spoke in the emperor's presence with all the Byzantine philosophers, and revealed himself as invincible among the *vardapets* of the House of the Byzantines [g28], since all his responses to their questions were agreeable. They lauded him and his teacher with much praise and the emperor bestowed on him great, noteworthy, and valuable gifts. Then [*vardapet* Ghewond] returned with great joy to the great House of Shirak in the land of the Armenians.

Now after many battles and victories which Emperor Tzimisces had pursued, there fell upon him the fear of death and dire dread of God's judgment, and he recalled the unjust death of Emperor Nicephorus and his innocent blood. He lamented, sighing and weeping. He thought to lead a virtuous life so that perhaps, through repentance, he might wipe away the blood which had been wrongfully shed. He occupied the throne of the empire of the Byzantines for only five years. While he was pondering all these things, he came up with a good plan which was in accordance with God's will: he sent to Vasakawan in the district of Andzit' and had retrieved Basil and Kostandin, sons of Emperor Romanus. He had caused them to flee to [the woman] Spram, out of fear of the impious empress who was extremely malicious. As soon as Basil had been brought to Constantinople, an assembly was convened of all the grandee princes of the House of the Byzantines, and an imposing ceremony took place in the imperial palace. Then, with his own hands, Emperor Tzimisces removed the crown from his head, and placed it on the head of Basil, and seated him on the throne of his kingdom [g29]. Then [Tzimisces] prostrated himself before Basil and entrusted to him the entire kingdom of the House of the Byzantines. He gave to Basil his own patrimonial throne, while he himself went to a retreat. [Tzimisces] became a cleric and went and resided in a monastery. Behold the man who was king on the previous evening and who, today, sits among the poor in voluntary poverty. [This was done] so that he might inherit the joy of the blessed Gospel and pay off [his] debt for the innocent blood of Nicephorus [which he had shed].

[11] At the beginning of the year 424 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 975/976], Basil reigned as the father of all [Basil II Bulgaroctonus, 960-963; 963-976; 976-1025]. He was the son of the old Romanus, son of Constantine, emperor of the Romans, of a good lineage among the Byzantines. This Basil, the brother of Kostand, was a very noteworthy man. He ruled over the royal throne of the Byzantines, subduing many rebels, and acquiring a goodly reputation among all creation, [being] merciful to widows and captives and just toward the dispossessed.

In this period there took place a destruction of Armenian troops in the district of Andzewats'ik'. [This occurred] from the army of the brave [commander] Aplgharip [who acquired] the name of a traitor. The king of Andzewats'ik', whose name was Derenik, had removed the mighty and valiant Aplgharip from the [position of] commander-in-chief of his forces. In his place [Derenik] put a certain noble (*azat*) named Sargis. The mighty Aplgharip was greatly wounded by this [g30]. He began acting as a spy for the powerful foreigners, informing them about everything, and saying: "I shall not come out in battle against you. Now arise and come against our army in the nighttime. Let my tent be a sign for you [to avoid]: it is red and pitched on a hill, and my troops will be with me." The troops of the foreigners thus came against [Derenik's troops] at an unexpected hour, while the king and his soldiers were making merry. The foreigners' troops fell upon the Armenian troops in the night and wrought a great slaughter. Many noteworthy and brave combatants died. It was regrettable that the battle had occurred at an unsuitable hour. King Derenik was arrested, while no one dared to come near Aplgharip's tent, since his troops were there and were prepared. Derenik was taken to the city of Her.

On that day [the monastery of] Varag and all the monks invoked painful and severe curses on Aplgharip. Monks and cenobites were so roused against him that they excommunicated him from the faith and expelled him from the Church of God. As for Aplgharip—when he came to his senses—he wept, since he was a man of faith and fearful of God. He greatly regretted the shedding of the blood of the braves from the Armenian forces. And then he made inquiries about the king, [asking] in what [g31] fortress he was being kept at Her. Furthermore, they told him that Emir Aplhach had released Derenik from fetters and was always taking him outside the city of Her to a *maytan* for playing ball. When Aplgharip heard this, he was overjoyed and secretly sent to King Derenik, saying: "Behold, I will be at that spot at such and such a time. Ready yourself and be completely prepared. Mount a choice and swift steed and try to encounter me."

[12] Now as it happened, on a certain day Aplhach went out to play ball, accompanied by many of his *azats*. There were a thousand armed men around him. Meanwhile, Aplgharip was hiding in an ambushade with fifty men. Derenik asked one of the senior *parons* to give him his swift horse, and [the man] gave it to him, all equipped. Then Derenik struck the ball and raced in pursuit of it to the very place where Aplgharip was concealed in the densely forested gardens of Her. Then Derenik forcefully spurred his horse, leaving the group behind, and escaping. When Emir Aplhach and his troops saw this, they pursued in great wrath. The king, trusting in God, bravely advanced to Aplgharip. Now among the forces of the foreigners was a certain black (*xap'shik*), a strong and brave man who charged forward, coming against Aplgharip. Aplgharip roared like a lion, rode against him, and struck him savagely, splitting the man in half, from his head to his waist. When the foreigners saw this [g32] they turned in flight. Aplgharip shouted to his brave men and pursued them, reaching Emir Aplhach, whom he wanted to unhorse. [Aplgharip] continued, chasing after him as far as the city gates. But the emir, like a streak of lightning, passed through the gates of Her city. Then Aplgharip struck the iron gates of the city with his steel ax, piercing through the iron to the other side. This ax has remained there to this day, firmly held in, like a bolt. In this fashion did brave Aplgharip remove King Derenik from captivity. This occurred in the Chuash district of the land of the Armenians, bordering on Vaspurakan, at the village called Bak.

At the beginning of the year 425 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 976], the call came from God to the blessed patriarch of the Armenians, Anania [Anania I Mokats'i, 946-968]. With a great throng, [clerics] ordained to the throne of the *kat'oghikosate* of the Armenians the venerable and goodly Vahan [Vahan I Siwnets'i, 968-969]. At the head of the assembly was Lord Yovhannes's, *kat'oghikos* of the Aghuans. And so it came about that in this year, by order of Anania, and the Armenian kings Yovhannes's and Ashot, Lord Vahan was seated on the throne of the patriarchate of the House of the Armenians, in [the city of] great Argina.

In this period a certain impious prince who was called Scelerus rebelled against the Byzantine emperor Basil. [Scelerus] mustered troops [g33] in a multitude of unjust and impious men and put the land of the Byzantines to the sword. With many troops [Scelerus, this man] alienated from God, came and entered the land of the Armenians. Then the troops of the Armenians went against him and defeated that impious prince with great triumph, and made him flee because of his casualties. [Scelerus], not daring to return to the country of the Byzantines, placed his hopes on the Tachik nation. That impious man went and entered the city of Baghdad. After three years he emerged and came to his own folk on Byzantine territory, where he died.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 1

In 432 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 983] Vahan, the blessed patriarch of the Armenians, died having occupied the throne of Saint Gregory for five years [Vahan I Siwnets'i, 968-969]. They ordained to the throne of the *kat'oghikosate* of the Armenians Lord Step'annos, a man clothed in divinity, adorned with all goodly virtues in Jesus Christ [Step'annos III Sewants'i, 969-972]. They seated him as patriarch of the Armenians by order of, and with the blessings of, Lord Vahan. The head of the assembly was Lord Yovhanne's of the Aghuans. This took place during the time of Basil, emperor of the Byzantines, and of Yovhanne's and Ashot, kings of the Armenians, and of Senek'erim, son of Apusahl, son of Ashot, son of Derenik, son of Gagik Artsrunik', of the line of Sanasar.

In these days Mamlan, the impious and loathsome tyrant of the Persians, mustered troops. [Mamlan] was the chief emir [g34] of the impious ones, a venomous beast who resembled a bloodthirsty dragon. He came forth attacking the believers in Christ, and planned a great destruction against the land of the Armenians. He came with an enormous, countless multitude, filling up the mountains and the plains with his troops, while the entire country trembled with fear from this impious man. With sword and with fire he enslaved many places. He set fire to churches, obstructing their blessings and hurling many insults to the heavens, to Him On High. One could see there the great and frightful destruction of Christians wrought by that wicked beast, for the wrath of his wicked poison was spewed forth over the faithful like venomous bile. With such an enormous mob he advanced to the district of Apahunik', to the country of Dawit' the *curopalate*, prince of the Iberians/Georgians. And he wrote a letter with this content to that God-loving and blessed man of God, Dawit' the *curopalate*, threatening him with very wicked words:

"Don't let anyone fool you, O Dawit', you who are filthy, stinking, and rotting in your old age. For behold, if you don't quickly send me ten years' worth of taxes, as well as the sons of your *azats* as hostages, and a document [indicating] your submission to me, I shall come against you with my great forces. And then who will save you from my clutches? For I shall subject you to very wicked and bitter suffering, O you loathsome and bitter old man [g35]."

With many such threats did [Mamlan] thunder against [Dawit']. Now when Dawit' read this letter from the impious Prince Mamlan, he threw it out because of its very bitterness and then he began to weep, beseeching God and saying: "Arouse your strength, Lord, and recall what you did to Rabshakeh and to Sennacherib, the impious king of the Assyrians, who also spoke similar words of impiety. My Lord Jesus Christ, do not ignore those who believe in Your blessed name."

Then [Dawit'] ordered a muster of his troops, the *azats* and all his cavalry, Vach'e' and Tewdat and P'eron and other troops from the land of the Armenians. [Included were] 3,000 infantry bowmen and 2,500 horsemen. Meanwhile, the impious Mamlan had encamped in Apahunik' at the village called Xo'so'ns with 200,000 men. Dawit' arose and went against that wicked beast Mamlan, while he also exhorted the entire land to greatly beseech God with prayers, entreaties, and supplications. Dawit' advanced, descending to the borders of

Apahunik'. He designated that valiant man, Karmrake'l [Gamrakel], as a night watchman with 700 horsemen. Dawit' himself passed the entire night praying to God. In the morning there approached a certain man from the infidels' forces with a thousand horsemen. This man [g36] was a guard of [Mamlan's] forces.

[14] That night [the two armies] clashed with each other. Now the moonlight was intense and some rain had fallen on the mountains, making them glisten like the flames of a fire. When the troops of the foreigners saw this; they thought that there was a huge multitude of Christian troops present, and they turned to flee, one and all. When Karmrake'l saw that they had turned to flight, he attacked them—wielding his sword as though it were a pine tree cut from a forest—and mercilessly killed them. He captured Mamlan's wife and his war horse, sending [them] quickly to Dawit' along with the glad tidings that "we have defeated Mamlan." [Dawit'] was still praying to God. When he heard [the news], he marvelled. Meanwhile, all the troops pursued and made a great slaughter of the fleeing impious troops. They also took an innumerable number of captives as well as an inestimable amount of gold and silver booty. The impious Mamlan went to his land in disgrace. [This man], who had been so arrogant toward God, never looked to Heaven, and never offered his worthless prayers to God.

Now it happened that after some years, [some conspirators] hatched a wicked plan to slay the blessed and righteous Prince Dawit'. [These were] his princes, who resembled Cain and other murderers. Joining their plot was the archbishop of the land of the Iberians/Georgians, Ilarion [g37]. This Ilarion crucified God a second time, for he mixed a deadly poison into the life-giving body and blood of Christ [into the communion chalice], thus turning the bringer of life into a bringer of death. Following his murderous liturgy, [Ilarion] placed a piece of the sacrament mixed with deadly poison into the mouth of the blessed prince, right there in the church, in the presence of God. Now the God-loving Prince Dawit' was aware of this, but uttered not a word. Rather, he took medicine to reduce the pain in his body. However, the impious bishop Ilarion, further inflamed by his evil plan, entered the chamber where the pious Dawit' was sleeping peacefully. Then [Ilarion] took the pillow by his head, put it over Dawit's mouth, forcefully hurled himself on [Dawit'] and wickedly smothered the pious *curopalate* Dawit'. After a few years, Emperor Basil seized that wicked bishop Ilarion, tied a large rock to his neck and threw him into the ocean, along with the other *azats* who were involved. So perished these accursed men, for Dawit' the *curopalate* had been called "father" by Emperor Basil, and thus he killed them.

[15] In 434 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 985] the patriarch of the Armenians, Lord Step'annos, died [Step'annos III Sewants'i, 969-972]. They ordained to his position the venerable Lord Xach'ik [Xach'ik I Arsharunets'i, 973-992], a glorious man well versed in [g38] Divine Scripture. A letter came to him from the Byzantine patriarch, T'e'odoros, who resided in the monastic complex at Melitene, since [Xach'ik] was a man competent and knowledgeable in sacred writings. The Armenian *vardapet* Samue'l wrote a refutation of it, [skillfully] replying in appealing and appropriate words, to the point that the letter was pleasing to everyone hearing it. [Samue'l] was even more honored by T'e'odoros, patriarch of the Byzantines, and by Xach'ik, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians.

Now in the year 435 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 986], a certain prince rebelled against Emperor Basil. [The rebel was] the Byzantine prince Bardas Phocas (*Mo'ravard*, "Black Rose") and he ruined a large part of the Byzantine land, circulating through the country with the sword and taking captives. Byzantine troops assembled against him, chasing him to the land of the Tachiks. He returned a year later and was killed by Emperor Basil.

In the year 437 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 988] a severe earthquake occurred throughout all creation and the blessed [church of Hagia] Sophia collapsed in Constantinople. In this same year Emperor Basil sought to make the land of the Bulgars subject to his realm. [Basil] sent to Ali O'sman, king of the Bulgars, and to all the princes of the land to come and prostrate themselves before his imperial majesty. However [g39], they did not come as Emperor Basil had ordered.

Then Emperor Basil mustered troops from all the lands in his realm and, in great anger, attacked the land of

the Bulgars, polluting the country with the sword and with captive-taking. Now the king of the Bulgars, Ali O'sman, mustered his forces and came against Basil with many troops. Fierce fighting took place between them. The king of the Bulgars defeated Basil and put all his troops to flight as far as Constantinople. [The Bulgars] took a great amount of booty and captives from Basil's troops, while Basil, full of shame, entered Constantinople. Two years later Emperor Basil again assembled troops and went against the king of the Bulgars, seeking vengeance. Encountering the Bulgar forces, [Basil] put them to flight before him. He harassed the land of the Bulgars with the sword, famine, and captive-taking. Then he turned back and entered Constantinople in great joy.

At the start of 440 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 991/992] there died the *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, Lord Xach'ik, who had occupied the patriarchate of the Armenians for six years [Xach'ik I Arsharunet'si, 973-992]. He ordained Lord Sargis [Sargis I Sewants'i, 992-1019] to his position. [Sargis was] a man skilled in the knowledge of divine precepts, pleasing to God and to man [g40], schooled in virtuous conduct, who adorned the Church of God with his radiant doctrine.

In this year the forces of Egypt, called Maghrib Arabs [Fatimids], entered the territory of the city of Antioch and filled the entire district with extensive destruction. The forces of the Byzantines massed against them in battle. When they encountered one another, the Byzantine troops were put to flight and their grandee princes were captured and taken to Egypt. Two years later, the great House of the Byzantines arose and came with many troops against the land of the Armenians. With sword and captive-taking they mercilessly attacked the believers in Christ. With bestial killings they advanced, like a poisonous snake, appearing no different from unbelieving peoples. When they entered the land of the Armenians, troops of the Armenian *azats* massed against them. They clashed savagely, with brave after brave from both sides fighting undefeated. One could see there great destruction on both sides. When the great battle grew even fiercer, the forces of the Byzantines were defeated before the forces of the Armenians. They turned to flight shamefacedly, back to their own land, escaping by a hairsbreadth.

In the same year the emir of the Tachiks, who was styled "Long Hand" arose and came with many troops [g41] subjecting the land of the Edessans to destruction and captive-taking and occasioning the greatest sorrow for Edessa. [Long Hand] crossed the great Euphrates River and enslaved that side of the borders of the land of the Armenians before turning back in great triumph to the land of the Africans.

At the beginning of the year 446 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 997-998] a comet arose in the heavens and was visible with a dreadful, awesome, astounding illumination.

In the year 449 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1000] friendship and great unity developed between Emperor Basil and Senek'erim, [a] king of the Armenians. In the same year there died Sahak, *marzpan* and lord of the Varazhnunik'.

[16] In 455 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1006] Emperor Basil mustered troops from all the lands of his realm and advanced against the land of the Bulgars. [He] spent a great deal of time in that land engaged in extensive warfare. In this period a great disturbance erupted in the city of Constantinople and in the entire land of the Byzantines. This was because [the Chalcedonians] had deviated from [the correct observance of] the day of the great feast of the Resurrection, Easter. All the [Chalcedonian] Byzantine doctors of the Church had wrongly ignored the true precepts of Scripture and had adopted the false and fraudulent calendar of the contrarian Irion. The accurate calendar of the great [g42] Andrew they did not accept. Instead, they moved the day of the full moon of Easter from Sunday to Saturday and celebrated Easter on the next day, despite the fact that it should have been celebrated eight days later. The entire House of the Byzantines deviated from Holy Easter, and great sorrow descended upon the blessed Church of Constantinople and more so on the holy and God-built city of Jerusalem, since with their stiff-necked arrogance, [the Byzantines] celebrated Easter on Palm Sunday. Thus [the Byzantine reformers] went contrary to all peoples in the House of the Byzantines and more so against Christ, for this home of philosophers warred against the Holy Spirit. On that [erroneous]

Easter, the light of the lamps did not [self-]ignite in the holy Sepulcher, which contained God, in the city of Jerusalem. [This was because] they were wrong, impiously celebrating their Easter. On that day, once the nation of the impious [Muslims] who were in the city of Jerusalem, saw Easter being celebrated by Christians [on the wrong day] in the holy [church of the] Resurrection, they put all the Christians to the sword, some 10,000 people. Thus the holy Sepulcher of Christ was filled with the blood of those worshipping. To this day their bones may be seen there in a cave on the western side of the city of Jerusalem. They are presently called Relics of the Children (*mankants' nshxark'*). This was what was brought about by those genius philosophers of the Greeks.

Now once Emperor Basil had defeated and taken the realm of the Bulgars, he returned to Constantinople in great joy. When he heard [g43] about all the destruction which had occurred over holy Easter, he summoned all the savants of the Byzantines and asked the reason. Willfully they began giving numerous irrelevant explanations to mislead the emperor. But the emperor recognized their distorted replies and that they were false and devious. Now previously, the emperor had heard about the Armenian *vardapets* who were triumphant and competent in [explaining] the precepts of Scripture. By name he was familiar with Yovsep', the abbot of E"ntsayuts' [Monastery] and with Yovhanne's, who was nicknamed Kozer'n. Then he wrote to Yovhanne's, king of the Armenians, so that [the two *vardapets*] would be sent to him in Constantinople, so that he would learn from them the true cause [of the problem] and the correct [day for celebrating] Easter. Now [the *vardapets*] did not consent to go. Rather, in beautifully composed letters they informed the emperor [about these issues] with a thorough investigation. However, the contrarian [Byzantine] clergy did not accept the [veracity of the contents of the] letter until once more Emperor Basil sent to the Armenians, to Yovhanne's *shahnshah* and to Lord Sargis, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, greatly requesting that they send to him the Armenian *vardapet* Samue'l. [Samue'l] was a skilled and triumphant [scholar] who could be seated at a session to speak with the Greek doctors of the Church. The Byzantine savants mustered against Samue'l all the writings of the House of the Byzantines, but they were unable to move [Samue'l] from the truth. Samue'l began [his discourse] with the first [g44] day of Creation and progressed to recent times, adducing as evidence and support all the reliable blessed savants of earlier times. The emperor was pleased with all his words. Then the Byzantine philosophers said to the king: "O Lord Emperor, command that the great doctor of the Hebrews be brought here. He lives on the island of Cyprus and is a man skilled and learned in the calendar and all the sciences, from his childhood." The emperor sent to Cyprus and had Muse, *vardapet* of the Hebrews brought to him. [The latter] came to the tribunal in the presence of the emperor Basil. [Muse] was an eloquent and powerful man. He commenced discoursing about calendrical science and put to shame all the savants in the House of the Greeks, proving them wrong, while praising the words of Samue'l, the Armenian *vardapet*. The emperor was very angry with the Byzantine *vardapets* and removed many of them from their ecclesiastical honors, deposing them from their glory. As for the Armenian *vardapet*, [Basil] sent him back to the land of the Armenians with great gifts.

[17] Also in the days of Basil, emperor of the Byzantines, in the year 452 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1003-1004], a fiery star appeared in the sky, a sign of [divine] anger toward created beings as well as a sign of the end of the world. There was also a severe earthquake throughout all the countries, to the point that many believed that the Last Days, the end of the world, had arrived. As had happened at the time of the Flood [g45], all creatures were shaking and many, from fear of such wrath, fell down and died. Moreover, an ailment descended upon the country. It was called *xovik* and spread through many districts, reaching as far as Sebastia. The disease clearly manifested itself on the body, and from its intensity, [the afflicted] had no time for confession or communion. People and animals diminished in the country, while the surviving quadrupeds wandered around the country without masters.

Now in 460 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1011], Emperor Basil mustered troops and went against the land of the Bulgars. He conquered their kingdom and, in great wrath, put many districts to the sword. He subjected the entire western [areas] to the sword and to captive-taking, and obliterated the entire realm of the Bulgars. He also forced that brave man, Ali O'sman, king of the Bulgars, to drink poison, thereby removing him from

life. Then [Basil] took [Ali O'sman's] wife and sons and brought them to Constantinople.

When 467 of the Armenian Era arrived [A.D. 1018-1019], divine anger was unleashed against all Christian peoples and worshippers of the Holy Cross. For there awoke a dragon with death-bringing breath and fire, which struck at believers in the Holy Trinity. In this year the foundations of the apostles [g46] and the prophets were shaken, for winged snakes arrived and wanted to penetrate all the lands of the believers in Christ. This was the first emergence of these bloodthirsty beasts. During those days, the barbarous infidel people called Turks massed troops and reached as far as Vaspurakan district in the land of the Armenians, which they entered, and put to the sword the believers in Christ.

[18] News of what had occurred reached King Senek'erim. His senior son, Dawit', mustered troops from the *azats* and went against the Turks' army. They violently clashed with each other in a frightful battle. Until then, [the Armenians] had never seen the Turkish cavalry, which now appeared to them as a strange [phenomenon]: archers with [long] hair, like women. The Armenian troops were not then accustomed to or prepared for arrows and, unsheathing their swords, attacked the foreigners valiantly, killing many of them. However, the foreigners struck and wounded with their arrows many Armenian troops. Now when Shapuh saw this, he said to Dawit': "King, turn back from the enemy, because most of our troops have been wounded by arrows. Let us go and [g47] prepare [armored] garments to resist the arrows which we see them fighting with." However, Dawit', mindful of his greatness, pridefully, and with great indignation, did not heed Dawit's [advice] to withdraw from the battle. Then Shapuh angrily applied himself to Dawit', and, hitting him on the side with his fist, forcibly compelled him to turn. Shapuh was a brave, martial man who had nourished and raised Dawit' and for that reason had no fear of him. Thus he got Dawit' and his troops to turn back. They went to the city of Ostan and related to King Senek'erim what had transpired and about the appearance of the foreigners. When Senek'erim heard this, he was deeply disturbed, and neither ate nor drank. Rather, he was plunged into deep thought full of sorrow and passed the entire night sleepless, seated and examining the chronicles and sayings of divinely-inspired prophets, the holy *vardapets*. He found in those writings mention of the time of the emergence of Turkish troops and forces. He recognized the ruin and destruction of the entire country, which he found described as follows:

"In that time, [people] will flee from East to West, from North to South, and will find no rest upon the earth, for the plains and the mountains will be covered with blood, just as Isaiah said, "The hooves of their horses do not falter." [Isaiah 5.28]

It was then that [King Senek'erim] thought to give his patrimonial land [g48] to the Byzantine emperor Basil, and to receive [in exchange] Sebastia. He immediately wrote to the emperor. As soon as Emperor Basil heard about this, he was delighted and gave Sebastia to him. Senek'erim handed over the land of Vaspurakan [including] 72 regional fortresses, and 4,400 villages. However, he did not give 115 monasteries, which he kept so that they would offer prayers for him. He gave all this to Basil in writing. Emperor Basil sent to Senek'erim for him [also] to send Dawit', in royal splendor. And so, [Senek'erim] sent his son and with him, the sons of *azats* and bishop Lord Eghishe', 300 pack mules laden with treasure and various goods, as well as 1,000 Arabian horses. With such glory did Dawit' enter Constantinople. The city reverberated and everyone came out before him; the streets and mansions were decorated and [the residents] showered much money on him. Emperor Basil greatly rejoiced at the sight of Dawit', taking him to Saint Sophia, adopting him, and honoring him as a monarch's son. The emperor gave him many gifts and then sent him back to his father, giving him Sebastia with many districts. Senek'erim arose with his entire family and troops and came to Sebastia. And thus did the land of the Armenians become masterless, without kings or princes.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 1

In 470 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1021-1022], Basil arose and went to the East with countless troops. He demanded Ani and Kars from the Armenian king. [King] Yovhanna's, son of Gagik, thought to give them [to Basil] because of the weakness of his own heart. Meanwhile, Basil returned to his own land and wrote to Gorgi, king of the Georgians, to come forth to him in submission. [King Georgi I, 1014-1027] neither accepted this [g49], nor undertook to comply with it. Then Basil came against him militarily. The troops of the Georgians [which] went against him [included] the brave men R'at and Zoyat, who were brothers of Liparit. Basil forcefully struck the troops of the Georgians until R'at was slain. For his horse had become stuck in a muddy spot and he was killed there. At that, the troops of the Georgians turned in flight, with Basil's forces pursuing and killing them. Basil remained there for three months, until he had subdued them. Then he wintered in Trebizond. Lord Petros, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, and the blessed Armenian *vardapet*, Yovhanna's Kozer'n, went to Emperor Basil with many [church] vessels and the emperor received them with great honor. When the day for [celebrating] the great [feast-]day of the baptism of our Lord arrived, the emperor honored Lord Petros and the Armenian *vardapet* by having them placed above the Byzantine prelates, and he ordered Lord Petros to bless the waters first. When [Petros] had cast the chrism of holy oil on the water and then struck the water with the blessed cross, an intense fire appeared blazing over the water and the river froze up for a moment, motionless. When the emperor and the troops saw this, they were terrified. The emperor, bowing down, had Lord Petros sprinkle the holy water on his head. Then Lord Petros returned to the land of the Armenians with great gifts. After some time, Basil went to Antioch secretly with three trusted men, where he visited Black Mountain at a place named Paghacdziak. And there he received a Christian baptism from the abbot and director. Thereafter [Basil] became like a father to the land of the Armenians...[lacuna].

In the year 471 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1022], Lord Sargis [g50], *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, died [Sargis I Sewants'i, 992-1019], and the patriarch Lord Petros was established on his throne [Petros I Getadardz, 1019-1058]. In the same year a certain powerful prince from the House of the Byzantines, who was named Nicephorus [Xiphias] Tsr'viz [Crooked Neck], arose against Basil and summoned to join him Georgi, king of the Georgians, and his son, Gagik. Out of fear of him, Dawit' went to him with Armenian troops. And great fear engulfed Basil. Basil sent to Dawit', beseeching him to find some way of ruining [Nicephorus]. Meanwhile, Tsr'viz [Nicephorus] liked Dawit' a lot and promised to install him on the throne of the kingdom of the Armenians. However, Dawit' did not want to dissolve [his] alliance with Basil. One day Dawit' went to his home because of some disturbance. Nicephorus, alone, arose and embraced him, begging him to return. But Dawit' signalled to his men and they immediately killed Tsr'viz, while his forces split asunder and fled. When Basil learned about this, he was overjoyed and gave to Dawit' as gifts Caesarea, Tsamndaw, and Xawatane'k', with their borders. Basil, in a great rage, went against Georgi, king of the Georgians, with many troops. They had a great battle before Dzio'nk' fortress. Dawit' [was defeated and] fled into this secure fortress, enrolling himself as a vassal of Basil and giving his son as a hostage. After this, Basil went on to the land of the Persians and encamped at the gates of the city of Her. It was summertime, but one

day a violent snowstorm fell upon the camp and they did not know what to do. They turned and fled in great panic. The ground became flooded like a sea from the volume of water. They were trapped at one place and unable to cross, because of the mud [g51]. Gathered there, they did not know what to do. Then the emperor ordered that some men from the infantry should be killed—they killed some 13,000 of them—and filled [their bodies] into that place. And then the troops crossed over them and came and wintered in Melitene.

[20] In the year 471 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1022-1023], during the reign of Basil, emperor of the Byzantines, an awesome and terrifying sign appeared in the heavens and [divine] wrath fell upon all created beings. On the third day of the month of October, at the third hour of the day, the upper firmament of the heavens was rent asunder from east to west, and the blue sky was torn in two. A bright light fell upon the earth from the northern part [of the sky], and the entire country was convulsed with a great earthquake. Before the light was reduced, a frightful roaring and exploding [sound was heard] by all living creatures. The sun became dark, and the stars appeared as though in the middle of night. The entire country dressed in mourning and, with bitter tears, all peoples beseeched God. After three days, all the princes and *azats* assembled at the command of Yovhanne's, king of the Armenians, and went before the blessed *vardapet* Yovhanne's Kozer'n. [He was] a man clothed in divinity, with an angelic faith, full of the knowledge of apostolic and prophetic literature.

When the Armenian princes came to ask him and learn about the amazing appearance and sign, they found the blessed *vardapet* Yovhanne's down on his knees with sorrow, and weeping bitterly. At their inquiries, he replied with bitter grief and piteous sighs, saying: "O my sons, hear me. Woe and disaster has come to all mankind. For behold, today marks the 1000th year [g52] of Satan's bondage. Our Lord Jesus Christ bound him through His crucifixion and especially by His blessed baptism in the Jordan River. Now Satan has been freed from his bonds according to the testimony in the Revelation of the Evangelist John, just as the angel of God told him that Satan will be bound for 1000 years and then released from those bonds [compare Revelation 20.1 ff.]. Now behold, today Satan has been freed from the thousand years of his bondage. This is the year 478 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1029-1030]. Add to that the first 552 years, for [a sum of] 1030 years. When you subtract 30 years for the period prior to Christ's baptism, you arrive at 1000 years for the present [date]. The rending of the heavens was due to this. Hereafter no one will be able to remain firm in the faith of Christ and [faithful] to God's commands—neither patriarch nor *vardapet*, neither bishop nor priest, neither abbot nor cleric, neither prince nor commoner. Princes will join with thieves, robbers, and plunderers. Judges will take bribes and produce unjust verdicts. Clerics will leave their retreats and places of solitude and, engaging in worldly pursuits, will wander about the streets among women. They will hate praying and abandon their priestly orders. They will love the ways of the world and pursue the praises of men. They will delight in diabolical songs and will boast to their comrades, saying: "I am the one who knows about harmony and melody, not you." And thus will they pollute the order of the churches. Many will hate scholarship, be lazy, idle, grumblers and accusers. Nowhere will the truth show itself among men, for they will be stubborn [g53], selfish, haters of friends, slanderers, informers, liars, prideful, seekers of glory, boastful, vainglorious, greedy, drunkards and lechers. My sons, hereafter the glorification of God by mankind will be obstructed and truth will not manifest itself among mankind. Moreover, loathsome and diseased priests will be emboldened and will stray [from the truth]. They will abandon their concern for building homes and the success of their works, and will turn to constant, endless drunkenness for the love of that foul desire and disease. Patriarchs, bishops, priests, and clerics will love silver more than God. My sons, behold, henceforth the will of Satan will be fulfilled by the sons of man, more so than the will of God. The unworthy celebrants who shall come forth from now on will draw God's wrath upon creation and even more so upon those who offer mass to Him. For the unworthy shall offer mass to Christ and shall distribute [communion] to the unworthy. Our Lord Jesus Christ will be more wounded by such worthless priests than by the torments and crucifixion of the Jews. For after 1000 years, Satan has been set free from the bonds with which Christ bound him. My sons, I tell you this with a heart that sighs, weeps, and mourns, for many will be pulled away from the faith and will boast of denying Christ. Because of this, darkness has covered all creation."

[21] Thus did the blessed *vardapet* of the Armenians speak concerning the sign of wrath which had occurred. He also said many other things about what would befall the faithful. And indeed all of them were brought about one by one by the crazed, dog-like nation of Turks, the impious [g54] and filthy sons of Ham.

In the same year as the frightening [astronomical] sign [A.D. 1022-1023], the blessed emperor of the Byzantines, Basil, died after reigning for 58 years [Basil II Bulgaroctonus, 976-1025]. Before he died, he summoned his brother, Constantine, to him, placed the crown on his brother's head, seated him on the throne of his kingdom, and prostrated himself before him. [Basil] entrusted his entire realm to him and got him to remain constant regarding the land of the Armenians, such that he would protect that people with a father's love. [Basil] also entrusted to him the sons of Senek'erim, Dawit', Atom, Abusahl, and Constantine, and all the princes of the House of the Armenians, enjoining him always to be well-disposed toward the Christian faithful. Basil, who ruled over the Byzantines for 58 years, led a holy and chaste life and reposed in Jesus Christ with a goodly confession. They buried him along with the other blessed emperors of good memory.

In the same year, Senek'erim, king of the Armenians, died [Senek'erim-Hovhannes, 1003-1021, d. 1027]. They took him to the mausoleum of his fathers in Varag, at the monastery of the Holy Cross, where the first kings of the Armenians were buried. And they buried Senek'erim there among his fathers. The royal authority of the House of the Armenians was confirmed on his senior son, Dawit', as he was a glorious, honorable, and awesome man in the country [g55].

In this year Gorgi [George I, 1014-1027], king of the Georgians, died and they seated on his throne his son, Bagrat [Bagrat IV, 1027-1072], to rule over the entire land of the Georgians.

Now in this year Basil's brother, Constantine, ruled over the entire land of the Byzantines. Constantine [Constantine VIII, 1025-1028] was a good, pious man, merciful toward widows and captives, and lenient to all transgressors. For he released from fetters all those imprisoned, and he commanded that a prison which Basil had built should be burned down. Basil had filled this place with Byzantine princes. It was out of fear for his rule that [Basil] secretly had the Byzantine magnates strangled and their bodies, still clothed, were there hanging by the necks from iron hooks. Now when Constantine saw this, he wept and ordered that they should be buried, and he said that the prison should be burned down. He blamed his brother, saying: "When one faces death, why must it be such a cruel death to a life which [itself] is physical and transitory?" As for Constantine himself, he peacefully occupied the throne of the Byzantine kingdom, benevolently shepherding all believers in God. He occupied the throne of the realm for four years, dying with a good confession in Jesus Christ and, leaving behind a good memory, he went among his fathers. There was great mourning in the land [g56], deprived as it was of such a king. Now while Constantine was still living he had given his daughter, Zoe (Kurazoyan) as a wife to the great prince Romanus, since they had no son. Then Romanus sat on the throne of the Byzantines and the entire country came to him in submission [Romanus III Argyrus, 1028-1034].

[22] In the year 479 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1030] Romanus, emperor of the Romans, massed all the troops of the land of the Greeks and advanced with this multitude against the land of the Tachiks. [The Byzantines] came and encamped near the secure fortress called Azaz, close to the city of Aleppo. The troops of the Tachiks assembled in a countless multitude and came against Emperor Romanus. The emperor was terrified and did not dare to fight with the Tachiks. He was frightened since he was a coward, weak, and very malicious, and one who greatly cursed the Orthodox faith [*i.e.*, the anti-Chalcedonians]. For these reasons, the troops were not at one with him and planned to abandon him in the midst of the Tachik troops during battle, while they themselves would turn from the fight, and thereby the impious emperor would be killed. Now it happened that one of the princes of his troops, who was called Apuk'ap, and who previously had been the guard of the tent of *Curopolate* Dawit' of Georgia, notified the emperor about the treachery in his army. When the emperor heard about this, he was greatly frightened. Arising, he fled at night [g57] with his grandees. When the troops of the Tachiks learned of this, they went after the Byzantine troops, attacking them and causing severe destruction, killing some 20,000 men. Thus the Byzantine troops divided and scattered throughout the land. Fourteen days later, a certain peasant (*shinakan*) from the city of Cyrrhus

discovered Emperor Romanus fallen among some trees and numb from the cold, as though dead. [The peasant] left off his work and took him to his own home where he cured him and brought him back to life, not knowing who he was. After some days, [the peasant] released [Romanus] and sent him off accompanied by some men. [Romanus] reached the city of Marash where the remainder of his troops assembled by him and took him to Constantinople. After some days had passed, Romanus summoned that man [who had saved him] and made him lord of all the districts around Cyrrhus. Then [Romanus] sent him to his home with grand gifts and great thanks.

At the beginning of the year 480 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1031], the emir of the city of Edessa, who was called Shabal (She'bl), died. In that period two emirs sat in Edessa, Shabal and Utrayr. The city of Edessa had three fortresses, of which two fortresses and two sections of the city belongs to Shabal, while one fortress and one section of the city were Utrayr's. Each [man] had the intention of ruining the other. Now one day Utrayr invited Shabal to dinner, taking him outside the city [g58] to the monastery called Archich, where there stood a stone pillar, opposite the fortress. Unbeknownst to the other, each man had placed his troops in an ambush. Now when Shabal signalled his troops to kill Utrayr, suddenly Utrayr's troops arrived and killed Shabal. Then Utrayr assembled [his troops] against Shabal's senior fortress and wanted to take it through fighting. It happened that a certain Salman was fortress-keeper at the upper citadel, and Utrayr put him into dire straits with fierce warfare. Having no other recourse, Salman sent to Nasir ad-Daulah (Nsrtol'), the great emir of the Tachiks, who resided in Mup'arghin [Mayyafariqin], and gave the citadel of Edessa to him. Nasir ad-Daula sent the commander (*rais*) Baye'l with a thousand cavalry and he brought to him Salman with his wife and children, giving him great gifts. As for Utrayr, he was unable to accomplish anything. Rather, he treacherously united with Baye'l—though planning to kill him secretly. When Baye'l learned about this, when they were drinking outside the city, he killed the emir Utrayr and ruled over the entire city of Edessa. Now when Utrayr's wife saw that Utrayr had been killed, she boldly arose against Baye'l, raised the black flag, and appealed to all the Arab peoples, saying: "The nation of Turks [or, *Kurds*] have come and taken a patrimonial city of the Arabs and have killed my husband, Emir Utrayr." In this manner [g59] she assembled many men, arose and went against Baye'l. When Nasir ad-Daulah heard about this, he came against the Arabs with many troops. Utrayr's wife went against Nasir and, through fierce fighting, put him to flight. She herself came and descended against Baye'l *rais*, making frightful warfare against the citadel. Baye'l could find no way out of the situation, and so he sent to Nasir, familiarizing him with his danger and saying: "I and all Kurdistan are in dire straits." Nasir, also without options, sent Salman to the citadel of Edessa and took Baye'l to his city, Mup'arghin.

[23] Meanwhile, Utrayr's wife did not stop daily warfare against Salman. Growing weary of her, Salman sent to Samosata, to the Byzantine prince Maniakes/Maniaces (Maniak), who was called Ge'org. Salman wrote to him, saying: "I will give Edessa to you if you can obtain from the Byzantine emperor [in exchange] authority and a district." When Maniakes heard this he was overjoyed and promised [Nasir] with a great vow that everything he requested would be granted by the Byzantine emperor, and that a patrimony and authority would be given to him and to his sons. Then Salman summoned Maniakes and gave the citadel of Edessa to him. Maniakes arrived with four hundred men and at night secretly came to the door of the citadel and notified Salman to come forth to Maniakes. Salman took the keys [g60] to the citadel, arose and went to Maniakes, prostrated himself before him, and gave the citadel to him. That same night [Salman] took his wife and children and went to Samosata. When the Tachik people heard about Maniakes' arrival, they stirred up many difficult battles against him and assembled against Edessa countless hosts. The Tachiks struck at Edessa, and [the Tachiks inside the city] arose and departed. As for the Assyrians (Asorik'n), they fortified themselves into the great church of Saint Sophia. Because of their women and the large amount of gold and silver, they did not dare enter the citadel, so they would not be ravished by them. But after a few days, many of them were burned in fire and all their possessions [were lost]. The survivors fled to Maniakes in the citadel and were saved. For the Tachiks offered a great battle against the church of St. Sophia. On the northern side they placed a [battering] machine and forcefully struck at the church until it collapsed on its foundation. Then they threw fire inside and burned many. Countless belongings and goods of the entire multitude of the city

were burned.

And then the entire House of the Tachiks was roused and came against Maniakes. Maniakes was there in the citadel of Edessa, with 400 men, anticipating great martyrdom, while the grandee emirs from all their cities arrived at Edessa—Egypt and all the lands of the Babylonians. Even Shabal of Harran came [g61], the man who had been wounded by Uzar', one of Maniakes' servants. [Uzar'] had been able to approach [Shabal] without suspicion as an emissary, but when he got close he threw himself on the emir, striking the man's shoulder with an axe. Then, with the speed of an eagle, he flew to the city's moat, but his horse perished from its many wounds.

[Among the arriving Muslim combatants were:]

Saleh, emir of Aleppo;
Memit, from Damascus;
Me'hme't, from Hems;
Aziz, from Egypt;
Ali, from Manbij;
Abola, from Baghdad;
Xure'sh, from Mosul;
Nsrtol, from Mup'arghin;
Ali, from Amida;
Pshara, from Jazira;
Ahmat, from Xlat';
Zura, from Balish;
Huse'n, from Her;
Kutan, from Saghmast;
Ahi, from Arzan;
Ahvar, from Ctesiphon;
Ahlu, from Basra;
Vre'ayn, from Kerkeser;
Shahvar, from Nisibis;
and forty other emirs.

[24] They massed against Edessa and, for the entire summer, harassed the citadel with great warfare.

After many days, the Tachiks wanted to burn the entire city with fire, and depart. But the residents of the city—with great entreaties and bribes—prevented its burning, saying that the Byzantines would be unable to hold their city, in the midst of the Muslims and that, in a short time, they would leave it and flee, and all would return to their own homes. This seemed agreeable to all the Tachik grandees who heard it [g62]. Thus, after much harassment and warfare, all the troops of the Tachiks returned to their districts. And then Maniakes was involved in ceaseless warfare in Edessa's citadel, while the people of the district did not stop fighting against Maniakes, day and night. Maniakes and all the men with him were in dire straits, since food supplies to the citadel had been cut off, and they had to enter houses in the city [proper] to find their meals.

Then the emperor sent and took Salman and his sons and made them glorious princes, giving districts to them. And they became Christians. Every year the emperor sent troops to Edessa and he also built a fortress in his name, called Romanopolis. However, the districts of the Arabs greatly harassed the Byzantine troops travelling from Samosata to Edessa, and every year an innumerable, unrelatable number of Christians were killed, to the point that the bones of the fallen were heaped up in piles, like rocks. Maniakes was in great danger. Following this, Emperor Romanus decided to send bread to the city, on the backs of men. At night, 60,000 Byzantine provision-bearers crossed the Euphrates River and approached Edessa. There was no other habitation in the district of Edessa, besides Ltar. When [the Byzantines] reached [g63] Parsur, Shipip fell

upon them and killed the 60,000 provision-bearers as far as Desnadzor. Edessa was in such straits until the city strengthened, conquered the enemies, and the emperor established friendship with them. Then the persecutions against Christians stopped. All this occurred during the reign of Ashot Bagratuni [Ashot IV, 1021-1039] and in the patriarchate of Lord Petros, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians [Petros I Getadardz, 1019-1058]. Now in the days of Tughril, sultan of the Persian kingdom, the city of Edessa was taken by the Tachiks. After all these events, harassments, and torments which brave Maniakes bore, Romanus replaced him and gave [the rule of] Edessa to Apuk'ap, the tent-guard of Dawit' the *curopalate*.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 1

At the beginning of 481 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1032-1033] there was a severe famine throughout the entire country and many people starved to death. Many sold their women and children because of the need for bread. Because of the severity of these deprivations, people would give up the ghost, just [from the effort of] speaking. Thus was the country worn out from famine.

Again, in the year 484 of our dating [A.D. 1035], Emperor Romanus died through a treacherous plot of his queen. This impious woman had the emperor drink poison [g64] and he died. Then Michael [Michael IV, the Paphlagonian, 1034-1041] sat on the throne of the Byzantine realm, by order of his queen [Zoe], who was the daughter of Constantine [Constantine VIII, 1025-1028].

In this period there died King Dawit', son of Senek'erim, [a] king of the Armenians. He gave his patrimonial principality to his brother, Atom. Atom was full of virtue and righteousness and saintly conduct in Jesus Christ. He was also full of mildness and sweetness, merciful to the afflicted, a healer of the poor, beloved of clerics, a builder of churches and someone who increased the monasteries.

Now in 484 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1035], the Tachiks advanced with many troops, coming against Edessa. They crossed to the other side of the great Euphrates River, subjecting the entire country to slave-taking and the sword. Many Christians were led into captivity to the land of the Tachiks. They destroyed Alar and Sewerak and filled all their fountains and irrigation channels with blood. The destruction was so severe that the country flowed with the blood of Christians. In this year the forces of the Byzantines assembled and came against the Tachiks. Their general was the brother of Michael, emperor of the Byzantines. With a multitude of cavalry he reached the city of Melitene [g65]. However, he became terrified and would not go forth in battle against the Tachik troops. When the Tachik troops heard about this, they returned to their own land. The Byzantine troops did likewise: they did not dare to enter the land of the Tachiks; rather, they returned in peace to their own land. During that return, they looted the Christians' [wealth] more than the troops of the Tachiks had done.

In 485 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1036-1037] the sun darkened, presenting an awesome, terrifying aspect. For just as it had grown dark at Christ's crucifixion, similarly, the sun's light was hidden and it was covered in darkness. The [celestial] luminaries turned the land dark and black, and the whole arc of the heavens went black. The sun was black at midday, while all the stars appeared as though in the middle of night. The gloom and darkness increased and all creatures cried out, with all the mountains and hills resounding. The mountains and all the rocks trembled, while the great Ocean sea [the Mediterranean], billowed as it moved back and forth. All the children of man wept and mourned at this spectacle, and were seized with terror. Then did the son weep for his father, and the father, for his son. Terrified children fell into their parents' embrace. Mothers, consumed [g66] with dread as though by fire, wept over their children. Thus all creation was terrified and beset by fear and could find no way out. Horrified by this dreadful omen, everyone was amazed and frightened. Then Lord Petros, patriarch of the Armenians, and King Yovhanne's sent some eminent men to the

blessed *vardapet* of the Armenians, Yovhanne's who was called Kozer'n, so that they might receive from him an explanation of the great sign. For [Kozer'n] was a holy man, adorned with marvellous asceticism, an interpreter of God's Old and New Testaments, filled with *vardapetal* graces. Those who were sent to this *vardapet* of the Armenians—Grigor Magistros, son of Vasak, great Sargis the Haykid and others from the *azats* of the House of the Armenians and others from the clergy—were sent to learn about this dreadful second occurrence.

[26] And it happened that when they went to the *vardapet* of the Armenians they found him, again, on the floor on his face in deep sorrow, and the floor was wet with his tears. No words issued from his mouth due to the severity of his tears and his bitter sighs. [The visitors] did not dare to ask him anything because they could see the depth of his sorrow and frightful grief. [Kozer'n] was ceaselessly crying and beating his breast. Then the Armenian princes sat down near the *vardapet* [g67] Yovhanne's and until the sixth hour of the day they did not dare to speak or ask [him] anything about the dreadful sign. Rather, all those who had arrived wept with him.

Then, when the *vardapet* of the Armenians discerned the lamentation of all the visitors, he opened his mouth and commenced speaking with sighs and many tears, and began weeping for all the nations of believers. He wept too for the orders of clerics, for the corruption of the sanctity of the holy sacrament. [He wept also] for the Church of God and for the dissolution of the divine precepts which had been preserved by the Church. Then he began to speak to the Armenian princes as follows:

"O, my glorious sons, listen to these words of the wounded and grieving Yovhanne's. For behold, today completes the thousand years from the [time of the] torments of the crucifixion of Christ, and the freeing of Belial, whom the Savior had bound in the Jordan River. This is what was revealed to us forty years ago by that first omen, as we said then. Now, again, it has reoccurred as first the heavens were torn apart and the world darkened. Behold, in this year the luminaries became dark as did all creation, and henceforth all the nations of believers in Christ will go about in darkness. Hereafter the blessed orders of the Church of Christ will be darkened among all the nations of believers. They will grow lazy about fasting and prayers, belief in a future life will be reduced, fear of God's judgment will be scorned, and true faith will disappear from all the nations. Piety will grow weak [g68].

[People] will loathe the precepts of God and turn away from the words of the blessed Gospel of Christ. Everyone will be found in opposition to the holy commandments of God. They will scorn the words of the blessed *vardapets* and will ignore the canons of the blessed patriarchs, and thereby many will fall from the heights of faith and loathe the doors of the blessed Church. Through laziness [in keeping] the fasts and prayer they will become blind to the worship of God. Many will fall under the yoke of curses, since they do not heed the advice of the divine words of the holy leaders. Sons will be cursed by their parents for lack of submission, and parents will be tormented by their children. The mercy of loving friendship between fathers and sons will dry up.

Behold, hereafter many heretics will enter the Church of God from the laziness of the patriarchs, because they grow feeble and weak and will not examine the faith. They will become as fools. They will abandon the faith for love of silver, and prayers will diminish from the House of God. The fear and dread of the terrible judgment of God on that fearful [Day of Judgment] which is to come will vanish and be blocked out of every mind. They will forget the recompense of the righteous and the sinners, because they will become lovers of sin and desirous of the path of evil. With longing, they will go to the assembly houses of sin, for the country will be polluted by kings, princes, and prelates.

[27] Prelates and princes will become lovers of bribes, liars, and oath-breakers. Through bribes [g69] they will pervert their judgments of the rights due to the poor. Therefore God will become

even angrier at them as they conduct their prelacies and principalities willfully and not according to God. They rule like princes over their dioceses, not shepherding and teaching through fear of God, as the blessed apostle Paul commanded. Princes and judges will love prostitutes more than God and will become haters of holy matrimony. They will closet themselves with the disease of prostitution and will enjoy the ruination of people like themselves. They will honor traitors and thieves and unjustly ravish the belongings of workers and be merciless when making judgment.

My sons, henceforth, because of conflicts among prelates, the church doors will be closed while the ranks of holiness will disappear from all nations. Through the love of silver they will ordain many unworthy people and all manner of abominable [folk] will be brought into the ranks of the priesthood. Then the divine liturgy of Christ will be conducted by unworthy priests and many will take communion from them unworthily—not for the salvation of their souls but with the result of damnation and loss of them. In some places, among diverse peoples, there still will be found true celebrants of the holy Mystery of Christ and, through them, God will have mercy on the land.

My sons, the saintly and virtuous will be wounded and the pure will be turned away from the priesthood, for lack of silver and [the unjust clerics] will not ordain them [g70]. As we said 14 years ago when the other sign appeared, many will fall from their faith in divine worship because many priests and clerics will grow slack in their worship. They will become lecherous, people who desire disease, and people who delight in diabolical songs. Clerics will flee from the desert [retreats], loathe the blessed flock of ascetics and, hating the conduct of the first clerics, will disrespect their ways. They will become obstructers of the orders and of religion. They will flee from the sound of the singing of psalms to God.

All this will come to pass, my sons, because the spiritual leaders of the land will be filled with the love of silver. They will promote all those fallen and separated from the grace of the Son of God, and will bring them into the priestly order. All the rejected ones they will establish as heads and prelates over the people of God. Nor will they know what it is they are doing, since they will be blinded by the strength of [their] love of silver. Furthermore, let me say this: behold, Christ will be pierced by a great wound by the unworthy priests even more so than by His crucifixion and suffering at the hands of the Jews. What [the Jews] omitted will be supplied by these [unworthy priests]. And one will hear: 'Friend, why have you come to this wedding?' Then binding [that person] hand and foot, they will remove him to the outer darkness, and that which he gathered will be heaped up on him for his destruction. My sons, behold, all this will come to pass in the latter times. For Satan has been released from [his] thousand years' [g71] bondage, [he] whom Christ bound with His Cross.

Nonetheless, true believers in Christ will appear to battle against him [Satan] since [Satan] must war against saints who are preserved by the commandments of God and stand in the ranks of the true confession of Christ our God and who exist in different nations. Hereafter there will occur invasions of foreigners—the loathsome troops of the accursed Turks, sons of Ham—[who will come] against the Christian nations and put all countries to the sword. With sword and slave-taking they will pass through all nations believing in Christ. They will depopulate many districts. The might of the saints will be removed from the country. They will demolish to the foundations many churches. The mystery of Christ's Cross will be suppressed. In extending their impious [religion], they will suppress celebrations of the feast-days of the saints. They will incite son against father; fathers will hate their own sons; brothers will rise up against each other; and, with killing and shedding of blood, they will try to destroy one another. They will forget kindness and brotherly love, and the blood of their brotherhood will dry up. Through such deeds they will become equal to the impious [invaders]. They ground itself will become harmed by the nations of invaders, as a dew of blood will clothe the plants and for 60 years the earth will be desolated through the sword and captive-taking.

[28] Then a nation of braves will arise, who are the Franks. With a multitude of troops they will take the blessed city of Jerusalem [g72] and free from captivity the holy Sepulcher which held God. After this the country will be in crisis for 50 years, from the sword of the Persian troops and captive-taking, while believers will suffer seven times more than before. All the nations of believers in Christ will be terrified. From the multitude of tribulations, the troops of the Byzantines will despair and will suffer much death and destruction from the Persian nation. The most select and choice fighters will be pierced with the sword and led into captivity, until the Byzantine forces despair of salvation. After 50 years they will gradually strengthen and remnants of former troops all over will advance and establish themselves as rulers of lands and districts.

Then, as though awakening from sleep, the emperor of the Byzantines will advance like an eagle against the Persian forces with a frightening multitude [as numerous] as sand on the seashore. He will arise like a blazing fire and, from fear of him, all creatures will tremble, while the Persians and all troops of the foreigners will flee to the other side of the great Jahun River. Then the emperor of the Byzantines will rule over all lands for many years. The entire country will be renewed and a foundation for building will be laid. Things will be renewed just like after the Flood [g73]. Births will increase among humankind and animals. Fountains will gush forth water. Fields will yield more than before. Then famine will fall upon the land of the Persians for many years until [the people] attack and devour one another. From fear of the power of the Byzantine emperor, many Persian princes will arise from their cities and districts and flee to the other side of the Jahun River without battle. All their stores of gold and silver, accumulated over many years, and the entire multitude of their treasures, heaped up like earth or stones without number, will be taken from the land of the Persians and taken to the land of the Byzantines. All their boys and girls and women will be taken in captivity to the land of the Byzantines. The House of the Persians will be ruined and depopulated by the Byzantine troops, while rule over the entire world will be under the hand of the Byzantine emperor."

Thus spoke the blessed *vardapet* Yovhanna's. In peace he released and put on their way the Armenian princes, who returned to their own land.

In this period the Armenian prince Gandzi mustered troops and went and took from the Persians the city of Berkri in the East. He generally destroyed the entire city and put the Tachik troops to the sword. For many days he fought over the citadel, putting [the Tachiks] in great danger [g74]. Many perished in the water. Given this sort of fighting, the Armenian troops became careless and were in a state of great drunkenness. Xtrik, who was the emir of the city of Berkri, observed the unpreparedness of the Armenian troops and wrote to his citizens to come to his aid. The foreigners massed, arrived, and found them thus unprepared. At dawn they attacked the Christian troops and destroyed them severely. On that day there died the great prince of the Armenians, Gandzi. His son, Tachat, remained in his patrimonial House. And so it came about that Gandzi and all his troops died in the city of Berkri.

[29] At the beginning of the year 486 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1037] Lord Petros, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, arose from his throne and secretly went to Vaspurakan because of the commotion, for the king and all the *naxarars* and the *azatagund* troops of the Armenians did not heed the divine commandments. Lord Petros was in Vaspurakan for four months, staying at Dzoroy monastery, which had been built by the blessed patriarch Nerse's. There was immeasurable sorrow in the land of the Armenians at [Petros'] leaving his patriarchal throne. Then King Yovhanna's and all the *naxarars* of the Armenians wrote a deceitful letter to Lord Petros saying that they would be obedient [g75] to his commands and heedful of all his radiant teachings. They wrote this with very great vows and they also designated as intermediaries [some] Byzantine princes, who had come as lieutenants. Lord Petros heeded their false oaths and returned to his throne. By order of King Yovhanna's, as soon as he entered the city of Ani, they arrested Lord Petros [and held him] for one year and five months. Then the king sent to Sanahin monastery and had the abbot, the great De'oskoros, brought [to Ani]. When he arrived, they established him in opposition to Lord Petros, seating him as

kat'oghikos on the throne of the patriarchate of the Armenians for one year and two months, not in accordance with God's commands. Behold, the great rhetorician, De'oskoros, was greatly tricked and lost the great respect which he had [commanded]. Nor did anyone accept as valid his ordination to the blessed throne. Nor did they mention his name with the other patriarchs during the church service, since they considered him unworthy of that honor. And thus great mourning descended on the House of the Armenians. At his ordination, bishops, priests, and patriarchs did not assemble. He, in turn, willfully ordained many unworthy [men] to the episcopacy, including those who had previously been rejected from their thrones by earlier patriarchs due to clear transgressions [g76]. [De'oskoros] called all of them back.

The bishops and *vardapets* of the land of the Armenians excommunicated the king and all the Armenian *naxarars* for the contention which had developed in the Church. It was then that the king and princes of the Armenians, terrified from fear of the anathemas, wanted to return Lord Petros to his throne. However, [Lord Petros] for many days did not agree to this. Everyone sought forgiveness from him, though he remained firm [in his refusal]. Then the king and all the princes of the Armenians wrote a letter to Aghuania, and called upon the *kat'oghikos* of the land of the Aghuans, Lord Yovse'p', so that he come and intercede and [re]establish Lord Petros in the city of Ani.

Now in 487 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1038] there convened a great assembly of some 4,000 bishops, patriarchs, clerics, and *vardapets*, *azats* and princes in the city of Ani. The head of this gathering was the aged Yovse'p', *kat'oghikos* of the Aghuans. They brought much grief upon De'oskoros and greatly condemned him. They rejected him from the honor [of the position of *kat'oghikos*] and deposed him from the throne of the patriarchate, anathematizing all who had been ordained by him, so that none of them might be called to the ranks of the priesthood. They [re]established Lord Petros on the throne of his patriarchate [g77] and there was peace in the blessed Church of the land of Armenia. De'oskoros went to his monastery of Sanahin, greatly ashamed of his deeds.

In the year 489 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1040] a comet appeared, looking like a torch. It appeared in the western part of the sky in the evening and crept along backwards. It struck the Pleiades and the moon, turned to the west, and disappeared.

In this same year the Bulgars arose against the Byzantines. The Byzantine emperor Michael massed an innumerable multitude of troops from all the Byzantine lands and went against the Bulgars. With great anger he looted many districts and took captives and killed, as far as the kingdom of the Bulgars. The troops of the Bulgars massed against the Byzantine empire. There was a great slaughter on that day when the forces of the Bulgars defeated the Byzantine forces, putting them to flight before them, and pursuing them with the sword. On that day the entire face of the plain was covered with blood, while Emperor Michael fled to Constantinople. The Bulgars grew stronger against the Byzantines and took [g78] all of their land, freeing themselves from service to them. And great peace came over the Bulgar nation.

[30] In this year there died Ashot Bagratuni, king of the Armenians, son of Gagik and brother of Yovhanne's. He was survived by his fifteen-year-old son, named Gagik. Ashot [s body] was brought to the city of Ani, where they buried him in the mausoleum of the first kings of the Armenians. It happened that during his lifetime, until his death, Ashot did not enter the city of Ani, since Yovhanne's greatly feared Ashot, because he was a brave and powerful man. After Ashot's death, the Armenian troops grew lazy and hated the art of warfare. They went under the yoke of servitude to the Byzantine nation and sat in drunkenness, enjoying the *barbut* [lute] and *gusan* [minstrel] songs. They distanced themselves from the unity they [once] had for each other, and no longer came to each other's aid. As for the country, which was being put to the sword, they just wept over it and wept over what they did to one another, meanwhile betraying one another to the swords of the House of the Byzantines. They became the destroyers of their own relatives and turned to the side of their opponents.

In this period the great emir of the Persians, Apusuar [Abu'l-Uswar, Kurdish emir of Dvin] massed troops

from the impious peoples—some 150,000 troops—and came against the Christians, attacking with bitter [g79] anger the land of the Aghuans, and occasioning much grief in the district of Dawit' *Anhoghin* [the Landless]. Dawit', who was frightened by the multitude of the troops of the foreigners, did not go forth to battle. Meanwhile, the impious Apusuar seized many districts and 400 fortresses. For a year he remained there, making a large part of the land obedient to him. Then he wanted to go against Dawit'. Dawit', with no other recourse, sent to King Yovhanne's, who sat in Ani, saying: "Apusuar has taken all the districts of the lands of the Armenians, and [now] is coming against me. If you do not help me, I will obediently submit to him. Then I will become his guide and ruin your district of Shirak." When Yovhanne's heard this, he sent 4,000 men to Dawit' and likewise sent 2,000 men to the king of Kapan. The king of the Abkhaz, threatened by this example, also sent 4,000 men to Dawit's assistance.

Then Dawit' gathered his own forces, some 10,000 men, and sent to the *kat'oghikos* of the Aghuans, saying: "This nation of impious people is coming against us because of our Christian faith. They want to destroy the laws of our Cross-worshipping people and to exterminate the faith of believers in Christ. It is fitting and proper for all the faithful to go against them [g80] and to die for the Christian faith. Now gather up all your bishops from the land of the Armenians who are among the Aghuans and come here to the army, so that they die along with us." Lord Yovse'p' did that and went to the Christian army with 200 bishops. Furthermore, he wrote to the abbots of the monasteries to come along with all the clerics to the forces of the faithful. He gathered up all the priests and deacons of the land of the Aghuans and proclaimed through all the districts, saying: "If there is any man or woman who seeks a martyr's death, behold, this year it has come upon us. Let those who love Christ immediately come to us." Hearing this, fathers with their sons and mothers with their daughters came to the army of the faithful. The plain filled up with an uncountable multitude, like flocks with their lambs.

[31] Now when Apusuar heard about this, he laughed and approached the Christian forces. Then Dawit' ordered the bishops, monks, and priests to preach so that each one take a cross in hand as a weapon of war and, with only the Gospel of Christ, go against the enemies' swords. Then did the entire army turn to the Cross and the Gospel. The troops of the impious approached and [g81] the multitude of priests were opposite them. Then Dawit', with 20,000 brave men, came against the foreigners. When the armies clashed, the priestly orders in unison raised their voices to God, weeping, while the land resounded with the noise. They cried: "Arise, Lord, help us and save us for Your holy name." The troops of the believers plunged into the midst of the army of the impious as though into a sea. They were, in fact, covered by them. Then the priestly orders, united, raised the blessed Christian symbol [the cross] and attacked the enemy. A strong flame blazed forth from them and struck the troops of the foreigners. One and all [the enemy] turned to flight. The Armenian troops, sword in hand, pursued them for five days and killed the enemy forces so severely that the plains and mountains were covered with blood. They took innumerable treasures of gold and silver and much booty. The troops of the Persians, naked and barefoot, escaped to their own land by a hairsbreadth. The land of the Aghuans stank from their foul corpses. In three days Dawit' ruled over all the districts which the foreigners had seized. With grand gifts he sent home all the troops which had come to his aid. He divided up many goods from the loot, giving them to the bishops, priests, and to all who had come to him. Then he released them, and there was peace.

In this same year a certain impious and wicked prince [g82] from the *azats* of Senek'erim [Artsruni] went to the emperor of the Byzantines and maliciously betrayed Atom and Apusahl, Senek'erim's sons, saying: "They want to rebel against you and bring grief and trouble upon you." When Emperor Michael heard this, he believed these lying words and sent his *acolyth* [commander of the imperial bodyguards] to Sebastia with 15,000 men to bring them to him, so that they would not flee. The *acolyth* arrived at the city of Sebastia with his troops. When the sons of Senek'erim heard about this, they were astonished and frightened. They saw that the *acolyth's* wisdom was not equal to their own, and they were afraid to accompany him.

Then Prince Shapuh said to Atom and Apusahl: "Would you like me to scatter the Byzantine troops all over the face of the plain?" And he took seven layers of armor and struck it with his sword, causing small

fragments of iron to break off. The sons of the Armenian king replied: "No. We shall go in answer to the summons." After giving many gifts to the military commander, they went with him to Constantinople. Entering the city, they went to the tomb of the emperor Basil in tears and appealed to it, throwing on it a letter [containing an oath] which had been given to them. And they said: "You brought us into the land of the Byzantines. Behold, now they threaten us with death. O, our father, vindicate us before our accuser." When such wisdom was heard by [g83] Emperor Michael, he was greatly surprised and commanded that their accuser should be destroyed.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 1

In 490 of the Armenian era [A.D. 1041], the king of the Armenians, Yovhanne's, of the Bagratid line, died. He was the brother of Ashot, son of Gagik, son of Ashot, son of Smbat, son of [Ashot, who was called] the Iron. They buried him in the city of Ani, in the mausoleum of the first kings of the Armenians. As soon as word of this reached the Byzantine nation, Michael, emperor of the Byzantines, assembled troops. He reached the land of the Armenians and subjected the House of the Armenians to the sword and to captive-taking. This was because Yovhanne's, during his lifetime, had given a document to the Byzantines [stating that] "after my death Ani shall be [the property] of the Byzantines." In return for this [promise, Yovhanne's] had received gifts and authority from the Byzantines for 15 years. Following Yovhanne's death, a certain individual who was one of the princes of the House of the Armenians, a treacherous man named *Azat* Sargis Haykazn, informed the Byzantines that he was giving the land of the Armenians to them as a gift. He ravished the treasury of the first kings of the Armenians and took it to Abkhazia, and he himself holed up in a fortress. He brought many hamlets under his control and wanted to rule as king over the Armenians. However, the line of the Bagratids did not accept him because he was a Haykid [descendant of the line of Hayk].

In this year Dawit' *Anhoghin*, a relative of [the late] Yovhanne's, king of the Armenians, brought much travail to the House of the Armenians. He arose against [g84] the Armenian kingdom and subjected many districts to the sword and to captive-taking by coming to the land of the Armenians with many troops. He left the land of the Aghuans and came against the land of the Armenians. His forces caused much hardship and started many fires. Then [Dawit'] returned to his home, in the land of the Aghuans.

In this year the Byzantines again arose against the land of the Armenians and, since there was no head of the Armenian forces, many places accepted the Byzantines and, therefore, great destruction was visited on the land of the Armenians. Then some 100,000 Byzantine troops massed against the royal capital of Ani and encamped before its gates. Then the remaining troops of the Armenians assembled by the great *sparapet* Vahram Pahlawuni and sought to battle against the Byzantine forces, for the Byzantine troops had come against them in warfare with great insults and curses. Filled with great anger and rage, the Armenian troops were like frenzied animals. Some 30,000 infantry and cavalry arose to fight. They passed through the gate called the Tsaghots' Gate, and fell upon the Byzantine troops like lightning. They put to flight those troops which had been so proud and insulting [g85], mercilessly pursuing and putting them to the sword. The Axurean River, which flowed there, became red with blood. The fugitives were unable to escape from the sounds of the frenzied Armenian troops, but remained stupefied and were betrayed to the sword. [The results of that] great and awful day could be seen there as it was visited upon the Byzantine troops, for out of 20,000 [troops], only 100 survived. Then Vahram Pahlawuni, the great *sparapet*, who had been raised in holiness, interceded and through many entreaties and messengers sent to the Armenian forces, was barely able to convince them to leave alone the few surviving Byzantine soldiers they were pursuing. Thereafter the Byzantine forces did not seek [to rule over] Ani. Rather, in disgrace, they returned to Michael in Constantinople.

[33] In this period there arose a lad of eighteen years, named Gagik. [He was] from the same Bagratid line: the son of King Ashot, son of Gagik, son of Ashot, son of Abas, son of Smbat, son of [Ashot] the Iron. This youth, Gagik, was extremely wise, devout, and pious. All the *naxarars* of the Armenians assembled near the patriarch, Lord Petros, and anointed Gagik king over the entire House of the Armenians. [This was] by the grace of the Holy Spirit and by order of the great prince [Grigor Magistros], who anointed him [g86]. [Grigor Magistros] was of the Haykazean line and Pahlawuni by descent [from whom came] the blessed [*kat'oghikoi*] of great Egypt. He was named Gregory after his ancestor and was descended from the line of Saint Gregory. He appeared as a second Samuel, who had anointed David over the House of Israel. [Grigor Magistros, who] enthroned Gagik as king over the House of the Armenians, was an extremely devout and pious man, and invincible among the ranks of the philosophers. Through his wisdom he tried to establish on a firm basis the throne of the kingdom of the Armenian nation, looking to God to help him and the Pahlawunid line.

At this time Gagik with his troops seized Sargis and subjected him to various tortures until—against his will—[King Gagik] came to rule over the fortresses, districts, and his entire patrimonial treasury, which [Sargis] had seized. At the same time, through the will of benevolent God, the Byzantine troops had become pacified and no longer sought the city of Ani, nor did they stir up warfare against the Armenians. And thus, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, two years of Gagik's reign as king passed successfully. Then King Gagik assembled troops and went throughout the land of his ancestors, bringing all the disobedient [elements] into obedience and, in great anger, turning back all his enemies. He went with a multitude of troops and encamped in the Ayraratean district, taking vengeance on the nation of the South [g87]. Then the great prince Grigor, son of Vasak Pahlawuni, arrived and went with his troops [to an area] close to the great fortress of Bjni. He encamped by the Huraztan River. Then the troops of the foreigners came against the Armenian troops, and a fierce battle ensued. The Armenian forces defeated the Persian forces, making a great slaughter by the Huraztan River. They arrested the Turkish princes, while the survivors fled to the Persians.

At that time, through the influence of the Evil one, once more the Byzantines made a move. This was through the treachery and falseness of that fake Christian, Dawit' *Anhoghin*. Indeed, we should change his name to Abyss [a word play], since he drove the Christian people to the pit of perdition. He himself, spiritually tortured by Satan, betrayed himself to the eternal torments of that pit of perdition.

In this year Michael, emperor of the Byzantines, massed troops from the entire realm of the Byzantines, including Armenian troops who were under Byzantine rule—from Sebastia, Taro'n, and all of Vaspurakan. With an uncountable multitude, Emperor Michael moved westward, enslaving the entire land of the Goths. He brought the rebels into submission, made obedient to himself the entire land [g88], and then returned to Constantinople. Soon thereafter, Emperor Michael died [Michael IV, the Paphlagonian, 1034-1041].

Then, in [Michael's] stead, his sister's son [Michael V, the Calfat, 1041-1042], who was a Caesar, ruled over the Byzantines. He ruled for four months, and no more. This was because he had evil intentions and prepared a snare that he himself got caught in, as is said: "He who digs a pit for his friend, falls into it himself" [Proverbs 26.27; 28.10]. He became so arrogant that he himself did not realize what he was doing. He dared to cut off the hair of Zoe, daughter of Constantine, as though she were a whore, and then exiled her to an island, in chains. He seized the patriarch of Constantinople and placed him in jail, in fetters. This was because [Michael] wanted to bequeath the throne of the realm to his own family. They were a foul, impious people, and polluters of the land. But after some days aid came to the patriarch from God. [The patriarch] escaped from the bonds of prison, disguised himself, and fled to [the church of] Saint Sophia. Then the entire city of Constantinople moved against this Caesar, and there was a frightful battle inside the city of Constantinople. On that day there was a fierce battle with killings on both sides. Blood flowed throughout the city, including inside Saint Sophia. The patriarch[']s partisans] defeated the Caesar. They seized [Michael V] and [g89] blinded him, completely destroyed his family, and returned the [former] empress Zoe to Constantinople in great glory.

[34] In this year in the district of Vaspurakan there died the great prince of the Armenians, Xach'ik, and his

young son. [Fighters had] assembled from the districts of Her and Salmast and raided the district of T'or'newan. News reached Xach'ik that "the troops of the foreigners have entered your district." Now [Xach'ik] was a brave man, successful in warfare, and from a line of lions. However, he had grown old and had left off the business of warfare. [Now] he was sighing and lamenting that his sons with their troops—the senior son, Hasan, as well as Chnchghuk—had gone west with Emperor Michael. Xach'ik, prince of the Armenians, was unable to restrain his heart, and went against the foreigners with 70 men. Meanwhile, he had confined to the house his son Ishxan, who was a fifteen-year-old boy. When Xach'ik reached the foreigners, he saw their many troops. He called out to his men and entered battle, fiercely striking at [the enemy] and felling them to the ground. But then, behold [g90], he spotted his son, who had escaped his confinement, and had entered the battle. When Xach'ik saw his handsome young son there, his heart broke. Ishxan, like a lion's cub, came and vehemently joined the battle. Xach'ik reached him, seized him, and sent him home. But [Ishxan] got free and reentered the fray, bravely, but foolishly. When [the enemy] learned that he was the son of brave Xach'ik, they surrounded, seized, and killed him. Seeing this, Xach'ik lost his strength, and the sword fell from his hand. When the troops of the foreigners saw this, they moved against him, seized, and killed him. The survivors fled to their homes.

After some days Xach'ik's sons came back from the west. Hearing about the deaths of their father and young brother, they came back wearing black mourning clothes and weeping profusely. Then [Xach'ik's son] Hasan called upon a Kurdish chief who was their neighbor. [Hasan] gave him 1,000 *dahekans* and said: "Go to Her and Salmast and say: 'T'or'nawan and the whole land is depopulated. Why are you sitting idle? Many flocks of sheep and servants are wandering about.'" The chief did this. The foreigners assembled 15,000 men, came, and entered that very area. The [Kurdish] chief came and explained [what was happening] to Hasan and Chnchghuk. Hasan assembled some 5,000 of his men and, in great rage, like a [g91] wounded beast went against the army of the foreigners. Hasan gave an anguished cry, addressed to the brigade of foreigners: "Where is the man who killed my father, Xach'ik? Let him come forth." Then, behold, a man emerged from the foreigners, dark and strong, and called out: "I am he who killed the lion Xach'ik, and here are his war horse, garment, standard, and sword, which I have with me." When [Xach'ik's] son, Hasan, saw this, he wept. Then, unsheathing his sword, he advanced through the foreigners like a lion, struck [the man] and cleaved him into two parts, which fell to the ground. Then he took the horse and standard and emerged unharmed. Following the same example, Hasan's [brother,] Chnchghuk, cried out: "Who is the one who killed my brother, Ishxan? Let him come forth that I may see him." Then a brave Persian, shouted out: "I am he who killed the one named Ishxan. Behold, here are his white horse, standard, and sword." Chnchghuk advanced on him like lightning, killing him, and, taking the horse and standard, went back to Hasan. Then Hasan signalled to his troops, which valiantly entered the battle, turning [the enemy] to flight and killing 4,000 of them. Then [Hasan and Chnchghuk] turned back in peace with great joy, and changed out of their black [mourning] clothes.

[35] Now at the start of the year 492 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1043], Monomachus ruled over the Byzantines [g92]. He was also called Constantine [Constantine IX Monomachus, 1042-1055]. In this year there was a severe war among the Byzantines. This was due to Maniakes, the one who previously had captured the city of Edessa. [Maniakes] massed troops against Monomachus, put a crown on his own head, and assembled the entire West, and he also had support from [other parts of] the Byzantine realm. Out of fear and dread of him, [Maniakes] assembled by him the entire West, since he was victorious and brave in combat. Then Emperor Monomachus massed all the Byzantine troops and other troops from the land of the Armenians. He arose and went to the western lands against Maniakes who, through his bravery, sought the throne of the realm. There was great fear of him among the Byzantine forces. However, before they even massed for battle, the wrath of God struck the western troops and the triumphant Maniakes died suddenly. And thus this evil man was removed from their midst and great peace reigned. All the rebels fled and some were brought to submission. Then the emperor returned to Constantinople.

In this period the impious Sargis [Vest Sargis of Siwnik'] started to bring forth his treachery. He notified

Monomachus, saying: "Summon Gagik to you in Constantinople on the pretext of friendship and then take the city of Ani from him by trickery." When Emperor Monomachus heard this, he was greatly pleased [g93], while in his heart an evil plant had taken root—to eliminate the kingdom of the Armenians. He wrote a letter to Gagik, king of the Armenians, with great vows [for his safety] and, so much had [Monomachus] strayed that he sent to the Armenians the Christian Gospel and a relic of the holy Cross of Christ to serve as an intermediary and guarantee. And thus did [Monomachus] summon the king of the Armenians in friendship for an interview. When Gagik heard about this, he did not agree to follow after falseness, since he knew about the treachery of the Byzantines. Then the traitor Sargis and others from the *azats* who had encouraged Monomachus, came forth and urged [Gagik] to go, saying: "O king, why do you fear and why do you not go after such an oath—confirmed by the sending of the Gospel and the blessed relic of Christ—has been given? Fear not for us, for we will die for you." As an intermediary they designated Lord Petros, and on that day they swore a strong oath. The holy sacrament of the body and blood of the Son of God was brought forth and a pen was dipped into the life-giving blood [wine]. The patriarch and all the princes of the Armenians signed this written oath. Then Gagik, king of the Armenians, went to Emperor Monomachus in Constantinople. The entire city arose and in great glory came before Gagik, king of the Armenians, and took him to the emperor [g94] as was fitting for a king, and Monomachus exalted him for a few days. Then, the apostate traitors who swore a solemn oath with the blood of God, sent 40 keys of the city of Ani to Emperor Monomachus, with a letter that said: "The city of Ani and the entire East belongs to you."

[36] The emperor summoned Gagik and placed before him the keys and the letter and said to Gagik: "You have given Ani and all the East into my hand." Then Gagik realized the treachery of the deed. In tears he said: "Let Christ judge between me and my traitors." Then Gagik said to Monomachus: "I am lord and king over the House of the Armenians. Behold, I do not give the Armenians into your hand. For you brought me to Constantinople by treachery." For 30 days [the Byzantines kept] insisting, but Gagik would not agree. However, when he could find no way out, he gave Ani over to the Byzantines. Monomachus gave to Gagik [the areas of] Kalon-Peghat and Pizu [in Cappadocia], but he did not send Gagik back to the city of Ani; and he had his family brought to Byzantine land. And thus was [Gagik] an exile among the cruel and evil nation of the Greeks. However, wherever Gagik went, he brought great treachery and various disgraces upon the nation of the Greeks since, as a king, he was regarded with awe among the Byzantines. However, he nurtured an intense sorrow in his heart because of his paternal [g95] throne, which the apostate and treacherous nation of heretics had ravished from him.

At the start of the year 493 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1044], Emperor Monomachus massed troops from the entire realm of the Byzantines. He sent this enormous multitude to the East to demand the city of Ani. [Monomachus] designated as their military commander [a] *parakoimomenos* [chamberlain, secretary] [named Nicholas], who was a eunuch. He arrived at the gates of Ani with many troops. [Monomachus] wanted to install this eunuch as a defender of the land of the Armenians, in place of the mighty and brave Gagik. As for Gagik, [Monomachus] did not allow him to return to the East. Now the Armenian people in Ani did not agree to give over the city. Rather, they longed for their own king and insulted the entire nation of Byzantines with swears. The entire city, united, arose to fight at the gates of the city of Ani, turning the Byzantine troops to flight, killing and pursuing [fugitives]. The Armenian troops destroyed the entire [Byzantine] army and then returned in great triumph to the city of Ani. The Byzantine troops returned to their own land in disgrace, while the *parakoimomenos* wintered in Aght'ik'. When the Armenian troops realized that the king of the Armenians would not be returning to the East, and when they learned [g96] about the treachery of the Armenian lords, the entire city assembled near the mausoleum of the first kings and wept over the lordless nation of the Armenians. They also wept over the throne of their kingdom and, especially, they mourned for their king, Gagik. They wept for the entire line of the Bagratids and severely cursed Gagik's traitors. When the city and the entire army accepted the fact that there was no [other] way out, they wrote to the Byzantine military commander, to the *parakoimomenos*, and, with an oath [of safety], called him to the city of Ani, and gave the city into the hands of the Byzantines. Thus did the lordship of the Bagratids, pulled apart in this way, collapse.

Also [occurring] in the year 494 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1045], the great wrath of God fell upon [all] creatures. For the Lord God looked upon his creations in anger, and a frightful, terrifying earthquake occurred. The entire universe shook, just as the words of the prophet put it: "He looks upon the earth and makes it tremble" [Psalms 114.7]. It was just in this manner that all creation was rocked. Many churches collapsed to their foundations in the district of Ekegheats', while the city called Erznka completely collapsed [g97]. Men and women sank into the depths of the abyss, and in many districts the sound of their cries, coming from the depths, could be heard for many days. It was summertime, and every day that year the earth shook. I am unable to narrate the anger and disturbance that God visited upon us creatures because of our sins. During the summer there was darkness and dimness over the earth, to the point that the sun and the moon had a bloody appearance, yet when the vault of the sky appeared, it was clear.

[37] During the autumn of that year Byzantine troops advanced against the city of Dvin. When they massed for battle, the wrath of God fell upon the Byzantine troops. They were defeated by the foreigners and fled. There was a great destruction of Christians: many of the Byzantine soldiers were taken captive or fell to the sword, including the great *sparapet* of the Armenians, Vahram, along with his son, Grigor, who were killed in the great battle at the city of Dvin.

In the same year, great anger arose and moved from the House of the Persians. Three men from the divan of Sultan Tughril—Po'ghi, Puki, and Anazughli—arose and came with many troops to the land of the Tachiks. Taking countless captives, they came and camped by the river Arean, by the borders of Mosul. Then [g98] the military commander of Mosul, whom they called Xure'sh, lord of Mosul, assembled troops and came against them with Arab troops. A fierce battle was waged by both sides. Then the Turks triumphed over the Arab troops, putting them to flight and taking into captivity their women and children. At this point Xure'sh, the emir of the Tachiks, put a black sign [of mourning] on himself and went as a bringer of bad news among the Arabs. He assembled a large force and went against the Turks. He conquered them in a severe battle and took back his captives and captured others [of the Turks]. The Turks fled as far as Paghin [Paghnatun] and wrought much destruction in many places. In the district of T'lmux there was a great shedding of Christian blood. And thus, with innumerable captives, did the Turkish troops head for the land of the Persians, reaching the Armenian city of Archesh. Located there was a Byzantine general named Step'an the *catapan* [captain]. The Persian emirs sent [messages] to this Byzantine general for many days, so that he allow them to pass and go on to their own land. He, however, pridefully arose to battle the Turkish troops. The Turks conquered the Byzantine troops. There was a great killing and [the Turks] seized the *catapan* Step'an and took him to the city of Her. After many torments, he died at the hands of the impious ones. They flayed the skin from his body, filled it with straw, and hanged it from the gate [g99]. When his family heard about this, they came and purchased his body and skin for 10,000 *dahekans*.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 1

In the year 495 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1046], Monomachus, emperor of the Byzantines, assembled troops and appointed as their military commander a great Byzantine prince, [who was also] a *telarches* [commander of a regiment] and a eunuch. He came against the city of Dvin with an enormous and uncountable multitude of troops. He camped by the city's gates. Now it was wintertime and, because of the severity of the cold and the downpouring of abundant rain, he was unable to accomplish anything. Rather, withdrawing without a triumph, he turned back to Byzantine territory.

At the start of the year 496 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1047], the *telarches* again arrived with many troops and descended on the city of Dvin. He wrought many evils and disasters in that district and, with the sword and by taking captives, polluted the entire nation of Tachiks. Then he peacefully returned to the land of the Byzantines.

In the same year, a certain Armenian patrician named T'or'nik [Leo Tornices] rebelled against Monomachus. [T'or'nik] was from the city of Adrianopolis, a brave, mighty, and martial man. He had massed troops from the entire western territories and from the Goths and, with an enormous [g100] multitude, came against Constantinople. He put that city into a grave crisis and dire straits.

Now the emperor did not dare to go forth to battle. The city of Constantinople had so wearied of warfare that they blocked the city's gate with stones. T'or'nik pursued the fight with such fury, that he completely demolished the [church of the] blessed Anargyri, which was located outside the city, and then threw all the stones of this great church of the holy martyrs into the Ocean. Now Emperor Monomachus and all the princes of the city of Constantinople were terrified and could not find any way out, nor were they able to resist T'or'nik's bravery. It was then that the patriarch, all the princes, and the emperor hatched a wicked plot against T'or'nik. They wrote powerful oaths that were also false and treacherous, swearing that T'or'nik would be made a *Caesar* and that after Monomachus' death, T'or'nik would be emperor. Thus did they write to him and by oath confirmed their treachery, saying: "We have found in books that after Monomachus' death you shall be seated on the throne of the realm."

The patriarch went before T'or'nik, and [with] the priests and princes they confirmed the oath in T'or'nik's presence. Then there was friendship and peace, and they brought him into Constantinople in unity. However, after a few days they violated their oath and betrayed God's intercession, as is the custom of the nation of [g101] the Romans—to ruin all the grandees of the land through [false] oaths. Then they blinded the eyes of that brave man, T'or'nik.

[39] In 498 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1049-1050] in the days [of the reign] of Emperor Monomachus—who treacherously and by a [false] oath took the kingdom of the Armenians from the line of the Bagratids—during the patriarchate of Lord Petros, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, divine wrath was aroused from the House of the Persians by order of Sultan Tughril. Two military commanders, named Ibrahim (Abre'im) and Qutlumush

(Gt'lmush), arose with many troops from the divan there. With a countless multitude of troops they came to the land of the Armenians, since they knew that the entire land of the Armenians was lordless and undefended by the actions of the Byzantines. This was because the Byzantines had removed from the East brave and mighty men and, employing eunuch military commanders, tried to hold the land of the Armenians and the entire House of the East with them. Behold, in this year the troops of the impious reached the renowned and populous city called Artsn. They found the city unwalled and filled with an innumerable multitude of men and women and countless quantities of gold and silver. When the citizens saw the troops of the foreigners, they arose in unison and went to fight. A fierce and dreadful battle took place on the outskirts of the city [g102]. Until the sixth hour of the day [the two forces] struck at one another and they filled the plain with blood, for there was nowhere to flee and no aid. Their only hope was death.

After being worn out by the multitude of the impious ones, the forces from the city turned and fled. The foreigners turned upon the city with their swords and wrought a severe destruction, putting the entire city to the sword, some 150,000 people. It is superfluous to mention the quantities of gold, silver, and brocades [they seized], because it cannot be estimated. However, we did hear this many times from many people concerning [the great wealth of] the *chorepiscopus* Dawt'uk, when Ibrahim seized his treasury: that it took 40 camels and 800 oxen [yoked] in groups of six to bear the treasure away from his home. At the time [of the raid] there were 800 active churches. Thus was the glorious and lovely city of Artsn put to the sword with such bitter acts and wicked slaughter. In tears, how can I relate the deaths of princes and priests who remained unburied and the food for beasts; or the glorious women with their children who were led into slavery to the land of the Persians. Behold, this was the start of the destruction of the Armenians. Listen and heed what transpired and [an account of] the destruction of the East which took place year after year. For [Artsn] was the first city which was taken by the sword and the enslavement of the Armenians.

Now when Emperor Monomachus heard this wicked news [g103], he sent troops to the East, designating as military commanders Cecaumenus (Kamen), Grigor, son of Vasak, and Liparit, brother of that brave man, R'at. With many troops they reached the land of the Armenians to fight against the Persian forces.

In this same year Monomachus, emperor of the Byzantines, wrote a letter to Lord Petros, the patriarch of the Armenians so that [Petros] come to him in Constantinople. As it happened, Lord Petros was quite willing to go. However, he thought to himself: "Perhaps afterwards the Byzantines will not allow me to return to the East." Therefore, he named the most praiseworthy Lord Xach'ik [as *locum tenens*] to his patriarchal throne. In the same way [Petros] considered the matter of the chrism (*miwr'on*), the holy oil used for consecration in the rites of the Armenians. He stored the chrism in the Ahurian River in iron vessels weighing as much as 400 *ltrs*, so that it would not fall into Byzantine hands. To this day it is preserved there. Now [Petros] did this at night. [The hiding place was] close to the gates of the city of Ani.

[40] Then he himself [set out on his journey to Constantinople] accompanied by *azats* from his household: 300 glorious armed men, one hundred *vardapets*, bishops, musicians, monastics, and priests, mounted on splendid mules, as well as 200 domestics on foot. Accompanying Lord Petros were [the following persons]: First and best was [g104] *Vardapet* Bulghar; then the most praiseworthy Xach'atur, the chief scribe; and T'ade'os, who was invincible in writing; Ge'org K'arneghets'i, and Yovhanne's K'arneghets'i, and Matt'e'os Haghbatats'i, and Mxit'ar Bnayrets'i, and Tiranun and the philosopher Kapanets'i, Mxit'arik, Vardan Sanahnets'i, Barsegh Bashxatats'i, and the universally revered and magnificent Lord Eghise' and his brother, Barsegh, Ge'org Julahakdzag and Lord Ep'rem and Lord Anane' and Lord Xach'ik. All these men were *vardapets* and philosophers and well-versed in the Old and New Testaments of God. The most praiseworthy Lord Petros, accompanied by them on his journey, arrived in Constantinople.

When [the residents of Constantinople] heard about his arrival, the entire city was motivated to come out before Lord Petros and, with grandees in attendance and in stunning splendor, they took him to Saint Sophia. There he was met by the emperor and the patriarch [of Constantinople, Michael I Cerularius (1043-1058)] and then he was taken to a glorious residence. The emperor ordered that Lord Petros should be given a

stipend for expenses. On the first day, they gave one *kentenarion*. On the second day, Lord Petros went to the palace, to the emperor. When the emperor heard of his arrival, he arose and went before him and ordered that Lord Petros be seated on a golden throne. At the time of departure, Lord [g105] Eghise' took [the throne]. Now the emperor's attendants tried to take it from him, but he, forcefully, would not give it up. When the emperor saw this, he asked the reason for not giving it. Then Lord Eghise' responded, saying: "O Emperor, it is [now become] a patriarchal chair and no one is worthy of sitting on it except for Lord Petros." When the emperor heard this, he thought that what Lord Eghise' said had merit, and he said: "Let the apostolic throne remain with him." Then the emperor said to Lord Eghise': "That chair is worth 1,000 *dahekans*. Keep it for your lord, so that no one else may sit on it."

In such glory did Lord Petros stay in Constantinople among the Byzantines for four years, daily increasing in grandeur and honor. Whenever he went to the palace, the patriarchal scepter was carried before him. Whenever the emperor saw him, he would kneel before him and the emperor also ordered his grandees to arise and go before Lord Petros. After four years, the emperor and the patriarch had given to Lord Petros numerous gifts: treasures and brocades [woven with] gold and silver, as well as diverse types of ornaments. [The emperor] gave authority to [Petros'] *azats* and also made a *syncellus* of his sister's son, Lord Anane'. All sorts of venerable garments were given to the patriarch [g106] of the Armenians, and they sent him off in peace with very magnificent gifts. However, he did not go to the city of Ani. Rather, he went to dwell in the city of Sebastia in great glory, by the family of Senek'erim.

[41] Now when the Byzantine forces reached the East, Cecaumenus, Aaron, and Grigor, Vasak's son, called for the Georgian prince, Liparit, to join them. They reached the fortress called Kaputr'u in the place called Arjovit. When the Turks heard about this, they halted, while the Byzantine forces camped in Arjovit. Then the troops of the foreigners came against that valiant man, Liparit. He had removed his sister's son, Ch'ortuanel', a mighty and martial man, as night watchman, and it was then that the troops of the foreigners began to fight, at night. Battle cries reached Liparit, saying: "Hurry, the troops of the foreigners have surrounded us." Liparit replied: "It is unlawful for us Georgians to go to battle on Saturday." At that moment Ch'ortuanel', like a lion, struck at the front [brigade] of foreigners in the night. As he was putting them to flight, an arrow hit him in the mouth and emerged from the back of his neck. Thus did that brave and mighty man, Ch'ortuanel', die. When Liparit heard about Ch'ortuanel's death, he went to battle, like a crazed beast, and drove all the foreigners across the face of the plain, turning it into a bloody swamp [g107].

Now when the Byzantine troops observed the bravery of Liparit, they departed and abandoned him in the midst of the foreigners, and they fled—so that he would not attain a name for valor. When the forces of the foreigners saw this, they unitedly turned to battle the Georgian troops. When the battle grew more fierce, Liparit roared like a lion amidst the impious ones, and then someone from the Georgian troops, who had remained behind, cut Liparit's horse's tendons. When Liparit realized this, he quickly turned around and killed [the perpetrator]. Then Liparit himself dismounted and went and sat on his shield by the banks of the river and shouted: "I am Liparit." Then many of the Georgian troops were killed and others fled. [The Saljuqs] took Liparit captive and took him to Sultan Tughril in Khurasan. For [Tughril] previously had heard his name and knew about all his valorous deeds. [Liparit] remained near the sultan for two years, performing brave deeds here and there. Now there was a mighty and valiant Qipchaq [at Tughril's court]. The two of them were brought before the sultan to fight. Liparit defeated and killed that foreign Qipchaq. And then the sultan freed him and sent him to the Byzantines with grand gifts. When Liparit arrived in Constantinople and Emperor Monomachus saw him, he was delighted. With very great gifts [Monomachus] sent him to his home, to his wife [g108] and children. This Liparit was the brother of R'at and Zoyat, of Georgian nationality [*i.e.*, of Chalcedonian confession], and from a vigorous line [the Orbeleans].

Again in the year 499 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1050-1051], there were severe disturbances in the House of the Byzantines, and many districts were put to the sword. These were bitter days full of major events brought on by the rapacious, impious, and filthy Pecheneg people, those evil and bloodthirsty beasts. For the nation of serpents arose and struck the Xarte'shk' ["fair-haired"; Magyars?]. The latter, in turn, arose and struck at the

Uzes and Pechenegs and, all together, they were aroused against the House of the Byzantines and brought many tribulations upon Constantinople. Glorious princes were taken captive. I am unable to relate the sorrowful disasters which the House of the Byzantines was subjected to during that year. Like merciless wild beasts [the invaders] enslaved the nation of the Byzantines. The terrified emperor did not dare go out to battle, since the troops of enemies were innumerable and countless. After remaining there for many days, they returned to their own land. After that there was peace in the land of the Byzantines.

[42] At the end of the year 500 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1051], some poisonous people with lying tongues went before Emperor Monomachus and spoke evil words about the glorious princes of the Armenians who dwelled in the district of Paghnatun. They said: "They disobey your orders and want to rebel from you." [Monomachus] sent a military commander with troops to Paghin [g109] who unjustly spewed his venom on the innocent. In fury this man, whose name was Per'os, began to pollute the entire district, and to deprive the princes of their glories, since he was a loathsome and evil man, and Satan's military commander. He wanted to arrest the great princes, the four brothers who were Abel's sons: the brave and mighty Harpik, Dawit', Lewon, and Kostand. He also wanted to do the same to the other princes. Then the princes secretly made a plan that all of them would keep to their own fortresses until the emperor could be informed about the destruction of the district by the impious Per'os. They made an oath of unity that on Saturday morning each of them would [begin to] remain in his own fortress.

And then one of the conferees, who was named T'orosak, the lord of T'lpagh [Til Paghin, or Paghnatun], broke his oath and notified the impious Per'os that "all the princes have united to not respond to your summons." Harpik's sons knew nothing about this [betrayal]. As previously decided, on Saturday they took the great fortress called Arkina, which was close to the district of T'lkhum. Meanwhile, all the other [princes], united, went to Per'os' summons. When [Per'os] heard what Abel's sons had done, he massed numerous troops by Arkina fortress. However, when he observed the fortification [g110] of the stronghold, he was greatly astonished and was unable to fight, since it was very lofty and unassailable by enemies. He was unable to approach it. Then he conceived a wicked plan and said: "Should someone bring Harpik's head to me, he will receive a treasure of gold, much silver, as well as authority and greatness from the emperor."

When [Harpik's] childhood friends and those close to him, who were with him in the fortress, heard this, they came up with an impious plan [resembling those] of Judas and the fratricidal Cain. Near the fortress, and facing it, was a place that Harpik had gone to guard, taking some men with him. For three days he did not dare to sleep at all. The traitors said to him: "Our lord, why don't you sleep? Behold, today we would die for you." Believing them, he slept, since he was extremely weary. While he was deeply asleep, one of his relatives arose and cut off the head of Harpik, that mighty and valiant man. That same night he took the head to the *catepan* Per'os. But the killers did not profit at all from this. All they received were curses.

Per'os ordered that Harpik's head be stuck on a pole and taken opposite the entrance to the fortress. At daybreak, his brothers saw and recognized it. They immediately opened the gate and, throwing dirt on their own heads and crying, the three brothers came and fell down before Harpik's severed head. So much did they mourn him, that all the troops in the army also wept. And in such a fashion [g111] did Per'os come to rule over the secure fortress of Arkina. He took Harpik's brothers, Abel's sons, to Emperor Monomachus in Constantinople. When the emperor and the entire House of the Byzantines saw them, they were astounded at their formidable and awesome appearance, for they were taller and had broader shoulders than all the Greeks. Because of their good looks, [the emperor] ignored the advice [of the Byzantines to kill them] and instead commanded that they should be taken to an island—these brave, mighty, and prominent princes of the Armenians.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 2

Up to this point, through diligent and laborious investigation, we found and wrote down this historical work of [the events covering some] 100 years, having considered these materials for a long time. [It was possible to do this using] the accounts of people born in olden days, who were eyewitnesses [to the events] or heard about them. [Our account also was based] on our reading of earlier historians, who themselves, as witnesses, heard about all the events and frightful tribulations which the House of the Armenians bore because of our sins. Many times I myself had considered writing about the bitter events of these latter days of ours, about the terrible wrath which [g112] the Armenian people bore from the long-haired and loathsome nation of Edomites—the Turks—and from their brothers, the Byzantines. Therefore it seemed necessary, as I thought about it constantly, that I should complete what I considered a big undertaking. And so, I mustered my forces and wrote about what had transpired up till this [present] point, regarding these three peoples [the Armenians, Turks, and Byzantines], and about the patriarchs and the various other peoples and kings whom we spoke of earlier, at the beginning of what we [already] accomplished and about whom we may, perhaps, subsequently narrate. [We shall tell about] what transpired in the days of our own fathers, what they had seen many times with their own eyes. Such was my plan and for eight years I was engaged in unceasing research. I was eager to put this [account of mine] into writing, so that all this [information] would not be lost and forgotten in these wicked and bitter times. Therefore I, Matt'e'os Ur'hayets'i, a monk, regarded the labor of such an undertaking as nothing. Rather, I have left it as a memorial for those who love chronicles, so that, when inquiring about past events, they will easily find the dates and times [here in my work]. [They also will find here information about] the divine anger experienced in these times and they may reflect on it and remember that the divine wrath which we received from God, the Righteous Judge, was a penalty for our sins. They will learn that, because of it, in various places, there was destruction of believers [g113], and they will learn about other punishments which our lord God visited upon us by means of an unbelieving people. Behold, we do not want God's warnings and advice to us to be forgotten. Now it is fitting to always and ever heed the counsel of our God, since again we find ourselves punished for the same sins, punishment which was a just recompense for those sins. And now we shall present [a narration covering] 80 years, from the work of abbot Matt'e'os Ur'hayets'i.

In the year 502 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1053-1054] an awesome and terrifying omen occurred in the great city of Antioch, as a sign of God's great wrath. These awe-inspiring and chilling wonders appeared as a terrible and amazing sign for eyewitnesses and for all believers in Christ who were thrown into panic. It was to them that God now displayed what His frightening final judgment would be like, with wrathful threats. The cause of [God's] anger was as follows. The Assyrian (Asori) people, who were numerous in the city of Antioch, were wealthy in gold and silver and full of grandeur. Their children, when going to their church, rode on 500 mules. The nation of Byzantines were evilly and wickedly envious. Now it came about that there was a certain prince of Assyrian nationality who had many people in bondage. For this reason, the Byzantine patriarch initiated a great legal case against him and [to elude it, that prince] willingly [g114] was converted to [the patriarch's] faith [Chalcedonianism]. They baptized him as a Roman with this prince's own consent, and

he left his faith and became opposed to the great Assyrian people.

[44] Then the Assyrian people were subjected to great difficulties as they were [obliged] to start constant examinations of [their] faith. The Byzantines became so insolent that they were unable to understand what they were doing. The patriarch [of the Byzantines] ordered that the Christian Gospel [in Syriac] should be burned in fire. Now when they put the Gospel of God into the fire, a sound arose from the Gospel and it was ejected from the fire. They put the Gospel into the fire a second time, and again it emerged from the flames. Enraged, they insolently put the Gospel into the fire a third time, but it emerged unharmed. When they repeated this a fourth time, then the Holy Gospel was consumed by the fire. And thus was the Gospel of Christ our God burned in the city of Antioch by the [Chalcedonian] Byzantine people. Now it happened that when the patriarch returned to [their] church with all the crowd from the place where the burning had occurred, they were filled with joy—as though they had triumphed over a wicked enemy. As soon as they had entered the church of Saint Peter, the entire church resounded with a frightful sound, and there was a strong earthquake which caused the whole city of the Antiochians to tremble. On the next day, fire fell from the sky [g115] onto the church of Saint Peter, and the entire church from its foundations was consumed by the flames, like a lamp. The stone burned like a pile of wood and the rising flames reached up to the sky. The altar was torn apart, the table of the [divine] Mystery [of the mass] collapsed into a pit. [In addition,] the luminous gem which the great Constantine had placed there in [the church of] Saint Peter along with 200,000 pieces of gold—which always had been kept on the holy altar to illuminate the night—was swallowed by the earth, and they were unable to find it.

There were 40 other churches which were burned with heavenly fire along with the blessed Saint Peter, however, the Armenian and Syriac churches were not harmed at all. While all this was unfolding, the entire city of the Antiochians was terrified, trembling with fear. Then all of them, the whole city, began to pray to God, weeping and beseeching God with many sighs. Then the patriarch [of the Byzantines] arose with priests, deacons, and clerics, as well as many men and women, old and young, and for hours they circulated around the city with all sorts of ornaments and all the glorious Church vessels. Now when they had reached the Byzantine square, where there is a small bridge over the waters coursing down from the mountains, suddenly the whole ground shrieked and there was an earthquake, which lasted from midday until the sixth hour [g116]. At that hour the ground was torn asunder, it opened its mouth and carried into the abyss the patriarch and the entire multitude of priests and people—more than 10,000 of them. For 15 days, sounds of their cries came from the depths of the abyss. Finally they suffocated, since the earth closed over them. They are there to this day. Thus, because of their many sins, residents of the city of Antioch bore [these disasters] delivered by God, the Righteous Judge.

It is not worth recalling the wicked acts of impiety which the clerics and the entire ranks of the Byzantine faithful wrought in the city of Antioch. Indeed, the smoke of their evil deeds rose higher than that of Sodom and Gomorrah, and their fate shows that they were repaid for their deeds. There [in Sodom and Gomorrah], fire fell upon [the people] and killed them because of their evil deeds, while in this case, in the sinful city of Antioch, the same malefactors were killed by fire and the opening of abysses. But the residents of this city persisted in their impious beliefs. Behold, unbelievers and impious people performed these deeds, [professing] piety. For they were inflamed with disgusting deeds, which would weary the listener and would be revolting to narrate. What shall I say about the perpetrators? If the Savior wrote that just looking at a woman was bad, what shall I say about [their] homosexuality? Thus did the Lord himself requite the city of Antioch [g117].

[45] In the year 503 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1054-1055] a bitter and deadly wind came over the land of the Armenians, for the sultan of the Persians, Tughril, stirred from his throne and came and reached the land of the Armenians with a multitude of troops as vast as the sands of the sea. He descended on the city named Berkri and took it in battle, bringing bitter death [to the inhabitants]. Then, arising like a fiery black cloud with its deadly hail, he came and surrounded the city called Archesh. He waged a fierce battle against the city for eight days. The residents, wearied by the bitter warfare from such a multitude of troops then came forth in submission with great entreaties, bringing along many gifts of gold and silver, and horses and mules. With

great entreaties they began to be friendly, saying: "O, world-ruling sultan, go and take the city of Manzikert. Then we, and the entire land of the Armenians will submit to you." When Sultan Tughril heard all these words, they pleased him. He arose with his multitude of troops and reached the city of Manzikert. [He was] like a snake, filled with all kinds of evil. He encamped, surrounding the city, and [himself] spent the night at a place called K'arglux [g118].

When day dawned, [the sultan] ordered that war trumpets should be sounded. Behold, there one could see a frightful and bitter day for Christians, when [the Saljuqs] invested the city of Manzikert. For when the noise and sounds of the combatants' trumpets were heard along with the sounds of the fighters' troops, the wall began to shake. Now what shall I say about the city's Christians? The entire multitude of the city fought bravely, united, like martyrs in the endless battles. The military commander of the city was the Byzantine prince Basil, son of Apukap, a good and pious man. He strengthened the entire city and the brave men and women, and promised all kinds of glory and authority from the emperor. Day and night he did not stop encouraging and supporting the entire city. Now the troops of the foreigners did not stop fighting for many days, and they also dug a tunnel so that they might take the city that way. When the troops of the city learned about this, they also dug opposite them and seized all the [enemy] diggers, among them the sultan's father-in-law, who was called Osketsam [Armenian, "Golden-haired"]. They put [the captives] on the wall and killed them. Seeing this, the sultan was deeply wounded.

Then he sent to Baghesh and had the catapult brought to him. [The catapult, which] had been built by Emperor Basil for [the defense of] Her, [weighed] [g119] some 15 *atils*, and was an astonishing and frightful thing. When the impious catapult was set up, the whole city trembled. The first [people] hit by it were three guards and another sentry, who were hurled into the city. Then a priest appeared in the city and quickly made a machine to counter the other one. The very first stone that was hurled struck the catapult and broke its tie beams. And then the city gained strength, for it had been beset by fear. Now after some days, the foreigners strengthened their catapult and attempted to make it inaccessible on all sides. Then they began striking the wall with very large rocks, and the entire city trembled and shook with fear.

Then Basil called upon the whole city, saying: "Whoever is able to go and burn down that catapult shall receive from me gifts of much gold, silver, horses, and mules, and shall receive glory and authority from the emperor. Should he be killed by the impious ones, his family or son shall receive all of it." Then a Frank came forth and said: "I will go and set fire to that catapult, and today I will shed my blood for all Christians. For I am alone, having neither wife nor children who would mourn for me." He asked for a strong and valiant horse, donned his coat of mail, and put his helmet on his head. Then he took a letter and tied it to the end of his lance and concealed three bottles of oil in his breast and came forth in the guise of a messenger delivering a letter. Receiving the prayers of all the Christians and the aid of God, he went forth [g120] toward the troops of the foreigners. When the troops of the impious ones saw that letter, they considered him to be a courier and said nothing about it. It was midday and extremely hot, and everyone was asleep in their tents. The Frank came before the catapult and halted, while [the Saljuqs] thought that he had stopped and was amazed by the size of the catapult. At the same moment, he removed one bottle and threw it at the catapult. Then, like an eagle, he [quickly] circled around the catapult and threw another bottle at it. Then he came around and hurled the third bottle at the catapult, which blazed with an awesome fire. Then the Frank turned and fled.

[46] What he had done was seen by the entire multitude of the troops of the foreigners, and they pursued him. The Frank reached the city unharmed, while the catapult burned furiously. There was great joy among all the faithful and the Frank was glorified with gifts from all the citizens. Emperor Monomachus heard about this and had that man brought before him, where he was given authority. Meanwhile, the sultan was flabbergasted by the Frank's deed and requested him from Basil, to see the man who had displayed such bravery, in order to give him gifts. However, the Frank did not agree to go. The sultan became enraged and started digging again to make the wall collapse. But the city's residents now had taken heart against him, and regarded all his machines as nothing. They made iron hooks and [g121], with them, pulled out all the sappers and killed them. When the sultan saw this, he grew silent and stopped [that operation] and was greatly shamed.

The citizens then took a pig, placed it on the catapult, and hurled it into the sultan's camp. Meanwhile, the entire city was shouting: "Take this, sultan, for your wife, and we shall give you Manzikert for a dowry." When the sultan heard this, he was infuriated and beheaded those people who had brought him to Manzikert. Then he returned to the land of the Persians, in great shame. By the mercy of God, the city of Manzikert was saved from the hands of the abominable nation of Turks.

Also in the year 504 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1055], Monomachus, emperor of the Byzantines, died. He had occupied the throne of the Byzantine realm for 14 years. His wife's sister, *Kyra* Theodora, ruled in his place. She had the nickname *Elexto'r'* [Greek, "Merciful"], and was the sister of *Kyra* Zoe, and was a blessed virgin and very virtuous. She ordered everyone to behave peaceably, [especially toward] widows and captives, and she restored [the property and] rights of all who had been deprived, and commanded that all those jailed should be freed. It was she who removed from prison the Armenian princes, the sons of Abel, Harpik's brothers. She removed them from the island and, with great glory, released them to return to their patrimonial land, to the fortress of Arkina, ordering them not to do anything blameworthy again. In the same year they replaced the *catapan* Per'os with Melisanos, a good man [g122] and someone who was renowned. He was merciful toward widows and captives, and a builder of the land who also was adorned with all that is glorious. *Kyra* Theodora occupied the throne of the realm for two years and three months, and then passed to Christ with a good confession [Theodora Porphyrogenneta, 1055-1056]. Then the elderly Michael sat on the throne of the realm for eight months [Michael VI Stratioticus, 1056-1057].

In his day there arose a certain prince from the House of the Byzantines whose name was Comnenus. With an enormous multitude he arose and came against Constantinople. He pitched camp by the banks of the Ocean Sea [the Mediterranean] on this [Asiatic] side and, with great violence, sought the throne of the Byzantine empire. This transpired in 505 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1056-1057]. Then Emperor Michael massed troops from all the lands of the West and transported the entire multitude of his troops across the Ocean to Chrysopolis, to go against Comnenus. On that day there occurred a great and frightful battle affecting Christians, since both sides struck each other, causing heavy casualties and the blood of many of the faithful was spilled on the ground. Then Comnenus roared like a lion in great rage and advanced, breaking [the resistance] of the men [fighting for] the Byzantine empire and, by the sword, generally putting all of them to flight. [Comnenus] mercilessly killed all the Byzantine troops with the sword, trapping [the survivors] by the shores of the great Ocean Sea. Like locusts carried by the wind [g123], the Byzantine troops became numb from the fierce warfare, piled into the sea, and perished. There were also many who died by the bitter sword. On that day some 115,000 warring men of the Byzantine troops died. [Comnenus] generally took captive all the princes and seized control of the kingdom.

[47] Now when the princes at the palace saw all the destruction of anger and the shedding of so much blood, they thought to give the throne of the realm to Comnenus, who had plunged the entire nation of the Byzantines into mourning. Then the patriarch and all the princes of Constantinople arose and went to Comnenus, offered many pledges to him, and took and seated him on the throne of the Byzantine empire. Then there was peace in the land of the Byzantines. However, in that year the country experienced much destruction and ravaging, since the partisans of Comnenus and those of Michael engaged in ruining each other, and great devastation was wrought until Comnenus was established on the imperial throne. Then he issued a decree throughout the entire country and brought peace to the land. Comnenus honored more those who had loyally remained with Michael than those who had been martyred fighting for himself. Prior to this, [two] princes of the Byzantines, Pizsho'nit and Liparit, were coming to the aid of Michael. Now when they reached [the town of] Gergetha (Chercher) and heard that Comnenus had been enthroned [g124], they all fled in the night, saying to one another: "We found our error at Gergetha." After some days they went to the emperor and he exalted them even more. Emperor Comnenus commanded that coins be minted with his name on them and [with an image of] a sword raised above his shoulders and with this caption: "I took the throne of the empire by the sword." [People] were displeased by these words and by a variety of treacherous deeds that Comnenus wrought against Christians.

After some days [Comnenus] massed a frightful multitude and wanted to stir up war with the nation of Pechenegs. He went and crossed the great Danube River, advancing and intending to pollute the entire West. Wherever he reached, he growled like an evil beast, from the wickedness in his own heart. And wherever he passed through, he caused much blood to be shed. There was a great mourning throughout the West and especially in the land of the Bulgars. Now it was summertime and divine wrath—which was deserved—came upon the troops of Comnenus [in a manner] which is difficult to put into writing properly. For behold, a cloud arose from the West and came against Comnenus' army. The cloud was black and of frightening appearance, [to the point] that no one dared to look at it. There were [the sounds of] explosions and thunder and flashes of lightning appeared and then enormous pieces of hail started to fall and violently hit and kill the camp and [g125] all the troops. One by one, all the soldiers fled, not being able to find a way out. When the emperor saw this he was filled with rage and, against his will, turned to flight like a fugitive. All the troops were completely scattered throughout the mountains and plains. There one could see the great disaster they had sustained from the many blows they had received. Countless folk were lost: fathers lost sons; sons lost fathers; brothers lost brothers. The emperor himself lost his way with three men, until he reached the Danube River and was found. When he reviewed his troops, most of them had been killed by anger from On High. It is superfluous to mention [the loss of] horses and mules, gold and silver, baggage and all the war materiel. Following this, Comnenus realized that all this divine anger was punishment for his own sins, taken out upon the Christians, since he had angered God through his sins. When he reached Constantinople he fell [on his knees] before God begging forgiveness for the sins he had committed. After this he sought to leave the throne of the realm and enter the life of a penitent, with fasts and tears.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 2

In 507 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1058-1059], Comnenus enthroned Ducas [in his place], for he knew that because of his own deeds, which we have described earlier, God was displeased with his reign because of the innocent blood of the faithful [g126] which he had shed. Then it happened that one side of his body became paralyzed. When [Comnenus] saw the divine wrath so visited upon himself, he wanted to don the clothing of a cleric and to become a monk in a monastery. Then he sent to the Tachik area, to the city of Edessa, and had brought to him the *dux* (duke) of the city of Edessa, whose name was Ducas, since he was of a grandee line. Taking the crown, [Comnenus] placed it on Ducas' head, prostrated himself before him, and seated him on the throne of the realm [Constantine X Ducas, 1059-1067]. He himself went to a retreat and became a monastic. Ducas tyrannized over the empire of the Byzantines and led all those who were unfaithful [to him] into acceptance. Consequently, because of Ducas, there was joy throughout the entire House of the Byzantines.

In this year the most praiseworthy *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, Lord Petros, died. He was the head on the body of the Armenians and the [protecting] wall of the blessed Church. He occupied the throne of the patriarchate for 42 years [Petros I Getadardz, 1019-1058], and then was gathered to his fathers. They ordained to the throne of the patriarchate Lord Xach'ik [Xach'ik II Anets'i, 1058-1065], who was [Petros'] sister's son. He was a man filled with every pious virtue and someone with a reputation for goodness, adorned with the grace of apostles or prophets. They buried Lord Petros in the city named [g127] Sebastia, in the monastery of the Holy Cross, [a funeral attended by] a multitude [of mourners].

In the same year, the nation of infidels repeated their attacks on the Christian faithful. A certain great and powerful emir, named Dinar, arrived from the state of Persia. Accompanied by many troops and bitter violence and a treacherous heart, he arrived unexpectedly, concealing his evil. He crossed over many places unharmed and arrived at the renowned city called Melitene [Malatya]. This was because for a long time it had been known to the Persians that its wealth was unlimited when it came to gold, silver, precious stones, pearls, and brocades. Moreover, the city lacked a wall. *Enroute* Dinar had captured Hasane'ar' (? Hisankar) and put everyone to the sword. Then he advanced to Melitene. The leader of the infidels' troops was the son of Liparit, who had united with them. It was wintertime and the beginning of Lent when [Dinar] surrounded the city of Melitene, because of its renown and its reputation for beauty, which had spread throughout the entire land of the Persians. Like a black cloud he surrounded the whole city.

When the residents saw the dread wrath [awaiting them], one and all, man and woman, old and young, they turned to flight. However, there was no place they could flee to [g128]. Then love for friends and hope for life quit all their thoughts and, from the bitter wrath, father forgot son, and son, father; mothers wept over daughters, and daughters over mothers; brothers over brothers, and loved ones over their loved ones. Then fleeing over the broad fields surrounding the city, the multitude came into the midst of the enemy. When the infidels saw them, for a moment they stopped and marvelled over the multitude of the city, for they were as countless as the sands of the sea. The infidels did not dare to do anything until the residents had begun to flee.

Then they attacked with their swords, and all their swords were engaged in shedding blood. In a short while, the entire city was filled with blood. Melitene, from one end to the other, billowed with blood. Nor was there anyone to pity the old or the young. There one could see the bodies of glorious and distinguished [people] fallen and drenched in blood; children cut to pieces in the arms of their mothers, with blood and milk flowing together. Who can put into writing the divine wrath which the city of Melitene bore on that day? All the green plants of the fields were covered with blood, instead of sweet dew. After so much shedding of blood and captive-taking [g129], they led before them into slavery beautiful and distinguished women, boys and girls, with an inestimable amount of gold and silver. [Dinar] happily led them off toward the land of the Persians. Crossing the Euphrates River, he wintered in Andzit'. A force of Byzantines pursued the Turks, but when they reached them, [the Byzantines] did not dare to battle with them. Rather, they returned peacefully to Byzantine [territory].

[49] Now when springtime arrived, the forces of the infidels went to the district of Tar'on and encamped at the foot of the Taurus Mountains, near Sasun. Now when this became known to T'ornik, Mushegh's son, a prince of the Armenians, a general and a valiant man, he massed troops from all of Sasun and went against the troops of the infidels. Then the troops of the infidels sounded their war trumpets and unitedly arose to fight. That day was a great and awesome one, since the two sides clashed like packs of lions. Then the brave T'ornik shouted and signalled to his right flank and reached the left flank of the infidels and broke it with a great victory. [T'ornik] turned and gazed at the monastery of Saint Karapet and cried out fervently: "Glak Monastery, Saint Karapet, come to our aid and make this day an illustrious one for the faithful [g130]." Unitedly calling one another, [the Armenians] attacked the infidels and took loot and booty and retrieved all the captives. The remainder of the infidels escaped by a hairsbreadth and returned to the land of the Persians in disgrace. Brave T'ornik, with great joy, returned to Sasun, thanking God for having freed such a countless multitude [of people] from the city of Melitene from service to the impious nation of the Persians.

In this same year, during the same winter, there appeared an awesome, wondrous, and dreadful omen of the great wrath [waiting] to fall on the Christians. This was to be a prediction of the death of believers in Christ. Just as a loathsome odor betrays a decaying corpse, similarly, a bitter wind from the south, preceded the evil omens [about to fall] on the earth. Lo and behold, one day at daybreak when everyone emerged from their homes, they saw in clear daylight that red snow had fallen on the ground and covered the four directions of the land: east, west, north, and south. [White] snow had begun to fall on a Monday and it continued without let up for 60 days. It fell during the nighttime and during the daytime it drifted over the country. However, the red snow fell [only] on one day. In this same year there occurred the deaths of [almost] all quadrupeds [g131]—animals, beasts, as well as birds. From the great wrath, they were unable to find their food. Generally, they all headed to cultivated settlements, to take refuge with their enemies. At that point everyone mercilessly and ruthlessly killed them. For the animals were in bands and the birds in flocks in the streets and they entered homes. There one could see a dreadful destruction of animals and birds, all for the sins of the sons of mankind. Now there were those who were compassionate and fed [the animals] in their own homes, every day of winter, and let them go in peace [in springtime]. These folk were motivated by their compassion for the animals. There was a great emir [named] Nasr ad-Daulah (Nsrtol) who resided in the city of Mufarghin [Mayyafariqin]. He commanded that 40 *k'or'* of wheat, barley, millet, and all sorts of grains should be scattered over the fields and mountains for the birds, and a huge quantity of hay and straw for the animals. In such a fashion many animals and birds were able to survive because of the plenty [found there].

[50] In the same year a severe famine enveloped the country. Many died a wicked and bitter death due to this famine. This was because, due to the severity of the winter, rain had not fallen, and so there were no crops and many fertile areas dried up. On the other hand, at the beginning of the next year there was plenitude and abundance of all food stuffs. In fact, a single *mod* of [sown] grain yielded a hundredfold when harvested [g132].

At the start of the year 508 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1059-1060], disasters and deadly events descended upon the Christian faithful. I am unable to narrate [adequately] what occurred during that year of dreadful

bitterness. For the entire House of the Persians arose and came against the faithful in the House of the Armenians. They came with an enormous multitude of men, as uncountable as the sands of the sea. Many districts were put to the sword and enslaved by three impious beasts, emirs of Sultan Tughril, who had come from the divan: Samux, Amr-Kafur (Amrk'ap'r), and Kijaziz (Gichachich), evil men who were more bloodthirsty than beasts. They came against the populous and notable city of Sebastia with troops wearing black and [carrying] death-bringing [battle] standards. They growled and thundered and wanted to vent their violent rage upon the believers in Christ.

They particularly had planned to arrest the sons of Senek'erim, king of the Armenians, Atom and Apusahl. Now it happened that [Atom and Apusahl] had heard about [the arrival of] the infidel troops and had fled to Gabadonia (Xawane'k'), and many other princes had gone with them. On the day before the fast for [the feast of] *Vardavar'* [Transfiguration], a multitude of infidel troops had surrounded and completely blockaded the city [g133]. All the soldiers put their swords to work and an uncountable number of bodies, wickedly pierced, fell on the ground, while flowing blood covered the ground, which would have horrified a beholder. This was because the bodies of illustrious people were stacked up on the ground like wood [cut] in a forest, while the soil itself was covered with blood from the multitude of corpses.

Now since the city of Sebastia was not walled, the infidels at first did not dare to enter the city. This was because when they saw the multitude of churches, white and domed, they thought they were seeing the tents of the [defending] soldiers. It was when they realized [their mistake] that divine wrath descended upon the Christians. [The infidels] mercilessly and ruthlessly cut down a vast multitude of the city. A vast, inestimable amount of loot and slaves—men, women, boys, and girls—were led into captivity. Moreover, as [the city] had been the home of the Armenian kings, there was a limitless quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, pearls, and brocades there, which were ravished from Sebastia. That day was a bitter, wicked one for the residents of the city since, in a short time, the city and the plain became filled with blood. As for the river which flowed through the city, instead of running clear, its water had acquired the color of blood. There were also many people who had been burned with fire. And behold, there lay fatally wounded on the ground many great and glorious princes. [They lay there] covered with blood, in the midst of pure [g134] and venerable corpses and, because of the whiteness of their bodies, they gleamed like stars. What shall I say about the priests and deacons there, all put to the sword, or about the 600 churches. Many virgins, brides, and glorious women were led into captivity to the land of the Persians. In an hour, Sebastia became like a burned-out hut. The infidel troops remained in Sebastia for eight days and then went to the land of the Persians with an immense, inestimable number of captives.

Who is capable of narrating one by one the losses [caused by divine] anger and the weeping of our penitent House of the Armenians? [These were losses] inflicted by the impious, bestial troops of Turks and endured by [the Armenians who were] lordless, [undefended] by their false defenders—the weak, cowardly, and evil nation of Byzantines. For one by one [the Byzantines] pulled apart and removed the brave forces of the House of the Armenians from their homes and districts. They overthrew and eliminated the throne of the Armenian kingdom. They pulled apart the network of protection [which had been provided] by the troops and generals. The Byzantines transformed their own boasts of bravery into [a story of] irrevocable flight. They resembled the bad shepherd who, at the sight of a wolf, runs away. Moreover, as for the defending walls, the Byzantines had tried [g135] to pull down and demolish them. They brought on the attack of the sword-wielding Persians and all the victories [of the Persians, the Byzantines] regarded as their own triumphs. Furthermore, they shamelessly tried to protect the Armenians with castrated generals and eunuch troops. The Persians looked and saw the entire East undefended.

[51] At that point, the foreigners became much stronger, such that within one year they had reached the gates of Constantinople and had taken the entire land of the Byzantines, the coastal cities and their islands, confining the Byzantine people inside Constantinople, like prisoners. When [the Persians] took Armenia from the Greeks, all the wickedness that the Greeks had practised on the Armenian people was stopped. And yet, after this [defeat], [the Byzantines] came up with other means of making war against the Armenian people.

They sat and began to examine the Armenians' [religious beliefs] and thereby, scorning warfare, battles, and combats, they tried to introduce discord into the Church of God. They gladly fled from warfare with the Persians, while they sought to destroy and corrupt the faith of the true believers in Christ. For whenever they found a brave fighting man, they would blind him or drown him in the sea. The desire that motivated them was to remove all the princes and brave generals of the Armenians from the East and bring and settle them among the Byzantines [g136]. They transformed brave youths into eunuchs and, instead of [wearing] the tightly-constructed coats of mail which brave men use, they wore loosely hanging garments, wide and long. Instead of steel helmets, they put on *pe'lewtar's*; instead of iron coverings for the shoulders, they used wide neckerchiefs. Like women, they spoke in low tones and meekly. They were always worried about the loss of brave young men. Because of [the Byzantines], all the faithful [Christians] were betrayed into slavery in the land of the Persians.

In this period the emperor Ducas [Constantine X Ducas, 1059-1067] conceived an evil plan. He wanted to confound and eliminate the throne of the patriarchate of Saint Gregory in the House of the Armenians. Consequently, as we have said, he stirred up persecutions and initiated various inquiries into the faith of the Armenian people. This was especially so upon the death of Lord Petros [d. 1058]. At this point, the Byzantines attacked the blessed See and wanted to destroy it, and, generally, they wanted to turn the faith of the Armenians to the impious [doctrine of the] Chalcedonians. The Byzantines sought after the great wealth of gold and silver possessed by the Armenian *kat'oghikos*, Lord Petros, and they tortured many people in Sebastia [to acquire it]. Furthermore, the one who had been ordained to the patriarchal throne, Lord Xach'ik, was taken to Constantinople along with [his] bishops [g137], as well as the most praiseworthy Lord Eghise'. They were kept there in exile for three years. In those days many dangers threatened the faith of the Armenians. Then it happened that the kings and princes of the Armenians—Gagik of Ani, Atom and Apusahl, the sons of Senek'erim—expended effort and barely were able to remove [the clerics from Constantinople]. Following all these events, they seated Lord Xach'ik on the throne of the patriarchate, at T'awblur. [Following this ceremony, Xach'ik] occupied the patriarchal throne for three years, for a total of six years altogether.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 2

Now at the beginning of the year 511 of our Armenian Era [A.D. 1062-1063] a wicked blow accompanied by an evil wind assaulted the believers in Christ. It was autumn, in the month of Areg, when [divine] anger caused three grandee and prominent men to come [here] from the divan of the court of the Persians, from Sultan Tughril. [Their names were] Slar-Xorasan [a title meaning "general of Khorasan"], Chmchm, and Isulv, and they came against the Christians with great shedding of blood. They arrived with many troops at the district named Paghin, and shed much Christian blood with their angry swords. They led the entire district of Paghin into slavery. Then they arose like poisonous snakes and came against the district of T'lkhum at Arkni fortress. They found the entire district unprepared [g138].

When they saw that the entire country and all the districts were not fortified, they were overjoyed. Like bloodthirsty wolves or mad dogs, they mercilessly attacked with their swords and generally wrecked all the districts. [Before the attacks] the entire country was completely cultivated, full of people and animals, and all the districts were heavily populated. On the fourth day of the month of Areg on a Saturday, at the eighth hour, the broad plain filled up with blood, slave-taking, and merciless destruction, which I am incapable of narrating. There were very many, countless, people who were burned in the fire. In all the districts there was no one able to save himself from the edge of the sword. On that day many achieved martyrdom.

After the enslavement or death of so many countless [folk], let me speak about those true priests of God, K'ristap'or and his sons, T'oros and Step'anos, who were martyred along with all the other people. For when [K'ristap'or] saw the multitude of the troops of foreigners, he assembled all the village inside the church—men, women, and their children. Then he started to celebrate the divine liturgy of Christ and gave communion to all the people. The troops of the infidels surrounded the church while the ranks of the faithful who had communed, one by one [g139] emerged [from the church] where these believers in Christ were stabbed and killed by the bloody beasts. When the only ones left [in the church] were [K'ristap'or] and his sons, they knelt before God, thanking Him, and kissed one another. Then they emerged and received the death of martyrs with a good confession in Jesus Christ.

Now when the emir of the city of Amida, [Said ad-Daulah,] who was the son of Nasir ad-Daulah (Nse"rto'lay), heard about the consequences of this evil wrath, he wrote to Slar-Khorasan and established friendship with him. He ordered that all the captives should be sold in his own district, for he was good and merciful toward Christians. He promulgated an edict throughout the entire country that all the captives should be purchased, and they did [do this]. [Yet] when [captives] were brought to Amida for sale, many were martyred at the city gate. A light with a fiery appearance was seen to descend upon them from the sky.

[53] Who can narrate the events and destructions in the House of the Armenians? For all creation became covered with blood, while the hooves of [the invaders'] horses wore down mountains and hills. From the multitude of corpses, the country stank; while the entire House of the Persians filled up with the multitude of captives. The entire nation of wild beasts drank blood. All the sons of man who believed in Christ sat weeping

and mourning, for God the Creator had turned His angry face away from us. This happened because of our sins and evil ways. He betrayed us to the impious and wicked and bestial [g140] nation of Turks. This was in accordance with the words of the prophet: "God, You rejected and ruined us and grew more angry [at us] and had no pity for us. You did not go forth with our armies, You made us turn back from our enemies while those who hate us have plundered us. You have given us as sheep to be slaughtered, and have scattered us among the pagans" [compare Psalms 44. 9-11].

After so much rage and [such] developments, [the infidels] led the multitude of captives to the land of the Persians, leading them like flocks of birds. When the nation of foreigners saw them, they were astonished, and asked the captives: "How did you become captives through such a lack of preparedness? How is it that you were not informed in advance by word or sign to flee?" [The captives] replied: "We were unable to know anything." The foreigners' women remarked: "Behold this was the sign of your [coming] destruction: when your cock crowed in the nighttime and your cattle and sheep squatted down to defecate—such was the omen of your destruction." The nation of slaves responded: "That happened many times in our land, yet we were unable to realize that it was a sign of [divine] anger against us."

After all these examples of [divine] [g141] anger we have described, the wicked news [of them] reached Emperor Ducas. [Ducas] massed troops and appointed as general the great prince who was named Frankopolos (P'r'angapo'l). [Ducas] sent him to the district of T'lzum with many troops. And the duke of Edessa also gathered troops. His name was Dawatanos and he was a brave and mighty man of war, renowned throughout the country. He raised troops from Edessa, Karkar', and Hisn-Mansur and then moved against the Tachiks, to exact vengeance for the Christian blood they had shed. [Dawatanos] went with many troops and pitched camp in the plain of T'lzum. All the troops wept when they saw the multitude of dead [bodies] there. Meanwhile, when the troops of Turks heard about the arrival of the Byzantine troops, they fled to the land of the Persians. Then Dawatanos roared like a lion at the Tachiks and went to do battle against the city of Amida. This was especially the case since on that day the residents had poisoned and killed the great emir [of their city], Sayid, son of Nasir-ad-Daulah. Now when the residents became aware of the Byzantine troops, they secretly sent 10,000 *dahekans* to Frankopolos. Then Frankopolos secretly established friendship with the Tachiks. When Dawatanos heard about this he greatly loathed Frankopolos. When they arrived at the gates of the city of Amida, at the place [g142] called "Gate of the Romans," all the troops of the foreigners arose to fight. But as for Frankopolos, he deceitfully turned the fighting over to Dawatanos while he, with all his troops—including 60,000 cavalry—remained in the rear, avoiding battle. When the battle was under way, a certain brave man from among the foreigners named He'chn-Pshara, wreaked great havoc upon the Byzantine troops. Like a [swift] eagle, he broke through Dawatanos' front line and repeated his destruction from inside. When Dawatanos saw this he called for his horse, saying: "Bring Kamam to me." Now when Pshara arose and advanced, Dawatanos, like a lion, attacked him and, with his lance, pierced his heart, with the spear splitting through the iron [armor] and emerging from the other side of his body. Both [combatants] fell from their horses. Meanwhile, as the two sides were clashing, Dawatanos was killed in that same area while Pshara lay dead with the spear in him. When the residents of the city heard that Dawatanos had died, they arose, emerged [from the city] and struck. Then a certain man from Dawatanos' troops, whose name was Tavar', went to Frankopolos and accused him of [responsibility for] Dawatanos' death. When Frankopolos heard this, he attacked the foreigners and wrought severe damage—killing 15,000 at the city gates. Then he returned to Byzantium [g143].

[54] In this same year a certain man named Yehnuq massed troops and went with 5,000 men against the Kurds in the district of Amida, at the place called Chep-Shahar. Having seized an inestimable amount of sheep, cattle, horses, servants, and much other booty, he went to the fortress named Sewerak. Now it happened that the senior [man] among the Kurds, whose name was Khalid (Xalt'), along with his three sons, caught up with [the invaders]. When Yehnuq and his troops saw this, they turned to flight. It was then that divine anger poured down upon them, for [defending] forces from Amida arrived, wrought much killing, and freed all the men and captives.

In this year Frankopolos went to the city of Karin. There he encountered Turkish troops who were destroying the district of T'lxum. The two sides clashed in battle. Frankopolos defeated them, killed all the troops of the Turks, including the emir of the foreigners, named Yusuf (Isup'), taking inestimable booty, and freeing an inestimable number of captives from them. Now when Emperor Ducas learned about the death of Dawatanos, which had happened through Frankopolos' treachery, [Ducas] summoned him to Constantinople and had him drowned—he had a rock tied to his neck and then he was thrown into the Ocean [Mediterranean Sea].

Again in the year 513 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1064-1065], the king of the Persians, Sultan Alp-Arslan (Apo'lan) [g144] [A.D. 1063-1072], brother of Sultan Tughril, who sat on the throne of the realm after his brother's death, assembled forces from the Persians, the nation of Turks, and the whole territory from Khuzastan to Sagastan. With great anger and innumerable troops, he surged ahead like the waves in a river stirred up by the wrath of a storm, or like a wild beast whose bloodthirsty nature is aroused. Thus did [Sultan Alp-Arslan] come to the land of Armenia with countless troops, entering the land of the Aghuans, subjecting them to the sword and taking them as slaves. The number of slain Christians was countless, so many that no one can relate the calamitous bitter destruction that the believers in Christ suffered from the poisonous nation of Turks. All the plains were covered with the multitude of their troops and all places of refuge were blocked. In this place the words of the Savior were fulfilled, [words] which said: "Woe to those who are pregnant or nursing" [compare Luke 21.33]. Many priests, clerics, patriarchs, and glorious princes experienced bitter deaths and became food for animals and birds.

After such rage, the sultan sent to Kiwrike [Gurgen II Kiwrike, 1046-1081/89], king of the Aghuans, requesting his daughter in marriage. She was given [to him], out of fear. And then the sultan made friendship and eternal peace with him, and sent Kiwrike, king of the Aghuans, son of Dawit' *Anhoghin* [989-1046/48] [g145], back to his city of Lo'r'e' with great honor and many gifts. From there, the sultan arose and with his great multitude entered the land of the Georgians. With great wrath he subjected them to the sword and captivity. Then he descended, and encamped in the district which is called Jawaxk' (Jawali) and enveloped the city named Axalts'ixe (Alax) with great warfare. Then he took the city of Axalts'ixe with unbridled force. Generally, the entire city was put to the sword, men and women mercilessly [killed], and all the priests and clerics and princes pierced with weapons. The entire city filled up with blood. They took countless boys and girls to the Persians in slavery, as well as such treasures of gold, silver, precious gems and pearls, that there was no counting them.

[55] In this year the sultan, that wicked dragon of Persia, arose in his triumph and entered the land of the Armenians. Then did divine wrath pour down upon the House of the East and the entire Armenian nation drank bitter bile, while the flames of death spread all over the believers in Christ. The entire House of the Armenians filled up with blood, the sword, and slave-taking. [The sultan] arose and came like a lowering black cloud which descended upon the royal city of Ani, surrounding it like a wicked dragon [g146].

When the multitude of the city saw this, though they all trembled, they prepared to battle against the Persians with fierce determination. Meanwhile, the troops of the infidels attacked the city of Ani like wild beasts in great rage, striking at the Byzantine troops and forcing them back into the city. The city was placed into dire straights from the frightful warfare. Then did the entire nation of believers tremble and shake from fear of that wicked beast. Fathers began to weep over their sons, and sons, over their fathers; mothers for their daughters, and daughters, for their mothers; brother for brother; dear one for dear one. Behold, the entire multitude of the city of Ani was in great danger, while the battle grew ever fiercer and the city shook. When the battle prolonged, the entire city began praying and fasting, weeping and crying out together to God to save them from the evil beast. For Ani was a populous city, filled with myriad upon myriad of men and women, old and young—[so full of people] that a viewer was astonished and [the enemies'] troops would have thought that a large part of the land of Armenia was [resident] there.

On that day there were 1000 churches in Ani offering mass. The city was built on steep rocks which rose on all sides and was surrounded by the Akhurian River. Only on one side, [a spot] about the distance of an

arrowshot, was it accessible and the foreigners had demolished [this access] with their catapult [g147]. They battled for many days but were unable to enter the city, and then they became weakened from fighting. Now the impious princes of the Byzantines whom the emperor had set up as guardians of the House of the Armenians—Bagrat, Smbat's father, and Grigor Bakuran's son—who were Georgian by nationality [*i.e.*, of Chalcedonian confession] began to fortify themselves in the upper and inner citadel. On that same day the sultan and all the Persian troops drew back and wanted to go to Persia. When the residents saw the apostate defenders fortifying themselves, they fractured and all of them turned to flight without any reason at all. The entire city filled up with dust [as they broke ranks], while the city's grandees went in tears and fell upon the tombs of the first kings of the Armenians, sobbing and weeping hard and saying: "Come see your patrimonial home."

[56] Now when the troops of foreigners observed this, they went and informed the sultan, but he did not believe it. When the troops of the foreigners saw the walls undefended, they all entered the city. Taking a child from its mother, they brought him before the sultan and said: "Let this be a sign for you that we have taken the city of Ani." The sultan heard this and was dumbfounded. He said: "Today their God has delivered the impregnable city of Ani into our hands." Then he turned with his multitude of troops and entered the city of Ani. All the troops of the impious ones had sharp daggers [g148], one in each of their two hands, and one held between their teeth. In this manner they generally began to destroy the city mercilessly, [cutting down] such a multitude of people in the city that it was as though they were mowing green grass, piling up bodies one on top the other, as though they were throwing rocks onto a heap. In a moment the entire city billowed in blood. All the grandee princes of the House of the Armenians and the ranks of the *azats* stood before the sultan in iron chains. Beautiful and powerful women from glorious Houses were led to the Persians in captivity. Countless, numberless, bright-faced boys and charming girls were taken, along with their mothers. Many blessed priests were buried alive, while others had the skin flayed from their bodies from head to toe [dying from] evil wounds, horrifying beholders.

A certain man from among that wicked people went up onto the heights of the blessed cathedral church and threw down to the ground the very heavy cross which was on the dome. Then he entered the church via a door in the dome, and threw down the crystal chandelier, where it broke into pieces. [This chandelier] which Smbat the Conqueror [Smbat II, 977-989] had brought from India with myriad other treasures, weighed and could bear 12 *ltrs*. At the same moment that the cross was thrown down from the dome, violent thundering and heavy rains occurred, causing all the corpses of the slain to fill into the Akhurian River, while the whole city was washed clean of blood. Now when [g149] the sultan learned that the matchless crystal chandelier had been smashed, he was very upset. As for the silver cross—the size of a man—which they had thrown down, they took and put it under the threshold of the door of the mosque in the city of Naxchuan [to be stepped on], where it remains to this day.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 2

In this period Gagik, son of Abas *shahnshah* was [ruling] in Kars. The sultan sent an envoy to him for him to come forth in obeisance. Now Gagik was a wise and smart man, and he came up with a means of peacefully freeing himself from the sultan. He donned mourning garb and sat himself upon a black cushion. When the sultan's envoy saw [Gagik], he questioned him, wanting to know the reason [and saying]: "Why are you dressed in black, you, a man who is king?" [Gagik] replied: "From the very day when my friend—Sultan Tughril, brother of Alp-Arslan—died, I have worn these black mourning clothes." That man was astonished and went and told the sultan. [The sultan] was really astounded by this. He arose with his entire army and came to Gagik in Kars, making friendship with him, [displaying] great joy, and dressing him in royal apparel. Gagik made a feast for the sultan. We have heard that 1,000 *dahekans* were spent on the table provided to the sultan and all his troops. Thus did [Gagik] peacefully free himself [g150].

After some days Gagik left Kars and went to the Byzantines. Emperor Ducas gave [the city of] Tsamndaw to him. That is where Gagik went, with his *azats*, leaving behind his patrimonial House. In this manner the House of the Armenians was enslaved and the entire land was completely filled with blood, like a sea, billowing [with blood] from side to side. Our patrimonial House was pulled apart, corrupted, and seized from us. The foundation of our Armenian dwelling place collapsed, nor was there any hope of deliverance anywhere. We were betrayed into servitude to impious peoples and foreign beasts. Behold, those words of the prophet David were fulfilled upon us: "You have sold your people for a trifle, and there is no number for our cries. You have made us an object of scorn among the heathens, and of ridicule and contempt of those living around us. Because of these things we cry out and say 'Turn toward us, our God and Savior, and turn Your anger away from us.'" Such was the end of our House of the Armenians.

In the year 514 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1065] during the reign of Ducas, emperor of the Byzantines, a great war started in the western lands by the Uz people. Emperor Ducas massed troops from the entire Byzantine nation and troops from the land of the Armenians. [Ducas] designated as their military commander the great Byzantine prince, Basil son of Apuk'ap. [Basil] advanced with many [g151] troops, went and encamped by the great river, called the Don. There was a fierce battle when the two sides clashed by the banks of the river, with many fatalities on both sides. There one could observe a very violent conflict with each side hacking at the other most of the day. They were like flocks of sheep. When the battle became more ferocious, the troops of the Byzantines were defeated and fled. The Uz troops pursued, attacking and killing many with their swords. They seized Basil, the military commander of the Byzantines and took him to their land as a captive. Moreover, [the Uz] seized the entire camp of the Byzantines, with its multitude of gold and silver and much other booty besides. They took captive all the grandee princes of the Byzantines. Basil remained captive for many days in the land of the Uz. [The Byzantines] were unable to pay his ransom, since [the Uz] wanted an exorbitant amount. But then it came about that one of the foreigners' soldiers plotted with Basil so that [Basil] would be abducted. In exchange, [Basil] promised that man much wealth and that he would receive [some] authority from the emperor. After a few days, [this man] with some friends abducted

Basil and speedily got him to Emperor Ducas. The entire House of the Byzantines rejoiced, while the emperor gave many gifts to those who had brought him. Then Basil went to Apukap [g152], his father, in Edessa. And his father and his entire clan were overjoyed.

[58] In this year there died the most praiseworthy Lord Xach'ik, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians. He had occupied the throne of the patriarchate for six years in a foreign land [Xach'ik II Anets'i, 1058-1065], exiled under the rule of the Byzantines. Throughout his entire life he was filled with virtuous activity. He bore much grief and injustice from the unjust and fanatical nation of Byzantines in Constantinople. There they subjected him to various torments because of his faith. We have heard that they [even] tried him with fire and that he emerged from the flames unharmed. This enraged [his tormentors] who lamented [his salvation]. In this manner Lord Xach'ik mourned within his heart. For he also recalled the destruction of the patriarchal throne of the House of the Armenians, and also the overthrowing of the throne of the kingdom of the line of the Bagratids, and coming to serve the evil-minded nation of Byzantines, as well as the poverty now embracing the throne of Saint Gregory, illuminator of the Armenians. For, [by contrast,] when Lord Petros sat on the throne of the patriarchate and when it was [located] in the land of the Armenians, it had the patriarchal properties given to it by the Armenian kings: 500 renowned large villages with very profitable revenues [g153], 500 glorious bishops and district heads (*gawar'apets*), who administered 700 dioceses without interruption. [At that time there were] 12 bishops and four *vardapets* in the house of the patriarch, as well as 60 priests and 500 members of the laity. Indeed, the throne of the patriarchate was not inferior to the throne of the kingdom of the Armenians. Furthermore, the churches and the House of the patriarch were filled with countless, innumerable, marvellous adornments, which the first kings had permanently given to the first patriarchs, and which had been handed down to Lord Petros. But after him, they were broken apart and melted down. Lord Xach'ik, reflecting on all this, and seeing the overturning of the patriarchal throne of the Armenians, became profoundly depressed.

Now when the blessed patriarch Lord Xach'ik passed from this world, those remaining of the royalty and princes of the Armenians sought to find a worthy individual to seat upon the throne of the patriarchate of Saint Gregory the Illuminator. They found a youth from the line of the Pahlawunids, named Vahram. He was a son of Grigor Magistros, a great prince of the Armenians. [Vahram] was filled with virtues. Having taken a wife, after the ways of this world, he held himself [celibate] in holiness and purity. Then he separated from his wife [g154] and entered the ranks of the clergy, occupying himself with study and practice of divine grace with great eagerness and desire, until he had a deep understanding of God's Old and New Testaments.

In this year there was seated on the throne of the *kat'oghikosate* of our Armenian people the most praiseworthy Lord Grigoris, also called Vahram, son of Grigor Magistros, son of Vasak Bjnets'ik', of the Pahlawuni line. Lord Gregory sat upon the throne of the patriarchate at the order of Gagik *shahnshah*, son of Abas Karnets'i, since after the death of Lord Xach'ik they saw him [Gregory] as deserving of the blessed throne. For Gregory was much more renowned [than the other candidates], filled with holiness, righteousness, and the most glorious virtue. Beyond this, he had achieved renown as a wise rhetorician, informed of all the Old and New Testaments of God. Thus, he was able to aid the flock of Christ in every way. It was this man whom the Holy Spirit revealed as the one to sit on the throne of the blessed Gregory the Illuminator—who was his ancestor. Thus it was that [g155] they saw him as someone adorned with modesty and righteousness—someone appearing as the second renowned Gregory. He had forsaken the love of this world and ardently pursued the life eternal. He illuminated the land of the Armenians with many diverse commentaries translated from [the languages of] many peoples, and he filled the Church of God with all sorts of divine testaments. He made to gleam the ranks of the clergy among the Armenian people and with these [activities] renewed the throne of Saint Gregory the Illuminator in the land of Armenia. For he himself glowed with holiness and all modesty and also occupied himself with fasting and prayer.

[59] In this year, once again, the impious prince of the Persians, the impious Slar-Khorasan [the "General of Khorasan"] massed troops for a second time and came against T'lxum fortress. For many days he put it into dire straits through warfare, but was unable to capture it. Arising with many troops, he came to the Edessa

country, reaching the fortress named Sewerak. [Located there] was a Frankish force of 200 cavalry who were guards. It went into battle against the Turks and killed or put to flight the first [attackers]. However, when the troops of the foreigners increased, they put the Franks to flight, killing 15 of them. Then did the troops of the infidels make attacks [g156] in the district of Sewerak and in Nisibis. The entire district was so full of men and women and flocks of sheep that it seemed to be an ocean billowing with their multitude. [The infidels] fell upon them with their swords like wild beasts and mercilessly killed, filling the country with blood. The women and children were led into slavery along with inestimable booty. After a few days, [the General of Khorasan] arrived at the district of Edessa, pitched camp by the renowned fortress of T'or'ich, and looted the entire district. Half the troops descended upon the citadel known as Nshenek and captured it after a fierce battle.

Now it happened that in Edessa at this time was one of the brave Armenian military men, named Pext [*vestris*, "supervisor"]. He was also duke in the city of Antioch. He alerted his troops to go and attack the Turks. The duke of the city [of Edessa], whose name was Pegonites, gave the city's troops to his *proximus* and bade him follow them, to kill the *vestris*. This was to prevent [the *vestris*] from displaying any bravery or gaining renown for his military activities. Now the *vestris* reached Nshenek at nighttime, while the Turks, without a care, had lit a fire and were preparing to make soup. The malevolent *proximus*, who harbored in his heart a treachery aimed at killing the *vestris*, sounded his war trumpet from a distance, thereby alerting the Turks. He himself went off in a different direction with his troops. At that point, the Armenian prince realized [g157] the treachery of the Byzantine nation and shouted to his *azats* and attacked the Turks. When he reached them, he wrought many deaths and caused others to flee. He also secured the fortress. When the number of infidels increased, the *vestris*, unharmed, entered the fortress which was close to Tsulman. Then he asked: "Where are the city's Frankish troops?" They told him: "The *proximus* with all his troops has gone to Lord Ko'zma." Then the *vestris* said: "O, you apostate Byzantines, have you wrought your treachery here, too?" The *vestris* returned to Edessa and, after some days, went to Antioch. He wrote down a description of all this, familiarizing Emperor Ducas with [these developments]. The emperor had the *proximus* brought and flayed alive, stuffing his skin with straw. Then [the body] was sent to Edessa. However, the *vestris* was deprived of his honor.

In this same year, once more that impious, bloodthirsty beast, the General of Khorasan came to the district of Edessa, where he descended on Jalap. There he wrought a big slaughter in many places, killing all the inhabitants. With numerous captives he descended on the fortress named Te'p and took it after a fierce battle. Generally, he killed the entire population. Then he arose and went to dwell at a place called K'so's. Meanwhile, the Byzantine troops in the city of Edessa, infantry and cavalry, some 4,000 men, went against the Turks [g158], arriving at T'lak, near K'so's. When the General of Khorasan observed this, he notified his troops and engaged in battle. Prior to the battle, the Byzantine troops fled. Two brothers from the Armenian infantry forces secured a bridge and stopped all the Turks [from crossing it] for a while, until they themselves were slain in a fierce battle. The Byzantine troops fled and the Turks pursued with their swords. Then one Frank turned upon the Turks. He roared like a lion, wounding, killing, and stopping them, until those fleeing had distanced themselves. But then he died valiantly, his horse having sustained many wounds. [The Turks] advanced, right up to the city's moat, wreaking a great slaughter and filling the plain with blood. Many princes were killed.

[60] In this same year the General of Khorasan again came to the district of Edessa, to the place called Kupin. He caused a frightful slaughter and remained there for many days, enslaving the entire district. Then he departed for the land of the Persians, taking along inestimable booty and many slaves. He died there.

In this year Ducas, emperor of the Romans, together with the patriarch, all the clerics, and all the ranks of eunuchs joined in a vile, filthy, and benighted plan [g159]. [The plan] was hatched by the impious emperor and all the grandee princes of the Byzantines, all of whom supported it. This was because the emperor with his associates wanted to eliminate the confessional faith of the Armenians and planned to corrupt the doctrines of the blessed Illuminator, Gregory. He wanted to establish their diabolical, confused, and defective [Byzantine Chalcedonian] doctrines in Armenia. [This was despite the Armenians having] a faith which had

long ago become established in the land of Armenia, built on a foundation of diamond-like rocks, and through the works and deaths of the blessed Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew, through the many diverse tortures of Saint Gregory the Illuminator—[a faith] which exists and will remain unshaken for eternity. Beguiled by demons, [the emperor] wanted to resemble an enemy who sows tares among the clean grain. As [such people are] described in the blessed Gospel, [the emperor] also wanted to dim our luminous faith and bind the truth with falsehood—as is the custom of the Greeks. He wanted to demolish the tower of our faith, which had grown so tall. But he was unable to effect his wicked plan.

Emperor Ducas sent to the city of Sebastia and summoned to Constantinople Atom and Apusahl, the sons of the Armenian kings. They, somewhat familiar with [Ducas'] evil intention [g160], took along with them to Constantinople the most renowned *vardapet* Yakobos of K'arap'in, a man skilled in Scripture. At first, the emperor received the sons of the Armenian king nicely, but after a few days he began to reveal the wicked plan in his mind and said: "It is the command of our majesty that you and all the princes of the land of the Armenians receive baptism according to the faith of the Roman nation." At that point, Atom and Apusahl—who were located there among the Byzantines—had grave doubts [about refusing] and so they replied to the emperor: "We cannot do anything without [the approval of] Gagik, Ashot's son, for he is a brave man, the king, and our in-law. Send and summon him here. For if we do something [like this] without him, he will burn us with fire in our own district." Now when the emperor heard this response, he did not want Gagik to come there for [Gagik] was a mighty man among the philosophers and invincible in responding to questions. Moreover, [Gagik] had even [at one time] sat in the pulpit of Saint Sophia, among all the Byzantine doctors of the Church. At this point Atom and Apusahl secretly sent to Gagik in [the city of] Kalon-Peghat, notifying him.

[61] Now Emperor Ducas began an inquiry into the [Armenians'] faith, in his presence. *Vardapet* Yakobos, who was called Sanahinets'i, refuted many of the Byzantine positions; however, he did somewhat incline toward the diophysitic [g161] conception of Christ's nature, [that is], to the Byzantine side. The emperor was satisfied with all the articles of the faith [so professed] and commanded that based on it a document of unity between the Armenians and the Byzantines should be written. Then Yakobos, *vardapet* of the Armenians, wrote that document of unity between the Armenians and the Byzantines. The emperor, pleased with this profession of faith, ordered that it should be placed in Saint Sophia, so that thereafter the Armenians and Byzantines would be [doctrinally] united.

At that very moment, like a soaring eagle, Gagik arrived in Constantinople. When the emperor heard about this, he was truly delighted. [Ducas], when the king had entered his presence, commanded that the document of union should be brought forth. Gagik took and read it and, when he had familiarized himself with what Yakobos had written, he tore it in two in front of the emperor and cast it to the ground. The emperor, seeing this, was greatly embarrassed. Then Gagik spoke to the emperor about that *vardapet*, saying: "Behold this man is [just] a cleric. There are many like him [in rank] in the land of the Armenians, who do not accept [what he wrote], nor will anyone accept this document. We do not accept him as one of the accomplished *vardapets* of the Armenians."

And then and there, right in front of the emperor, [King Gagik] upbraided Yakobos, saying: "How could you dare to do such a thing, to engage in such nonsense, and you a cleric?" Then Gagik said to emperor Ducas: "Behold, I am a king, a son of kings of the Armenians. All Armenians are subject to my commands, [moreover] I am knowledgeable in all the books of the Old and New Testaments. All Armenians will testify to my words [g162], since they accept me as equal to the *vardapets*. Now today I shall speak among the Byzantines about the faith of the Armenian nation."

Then did Gagik write this profession of the faith with his own hand and gave it to the emperor and to the patriarch. The document had this content:

[We omit the profession of the faith, which appears on pp. 163-178, and resume near the bottom of page

[62] ...Thus did Gagik, king of the Armenians, discourse opposite Emperor Ducas among all the rhetorician-*vardapets* of the House of the Byzantines in the city of Constantinople. Emperor Ducas and all the sages who sate in the [examining] college/academy (*chemaran*) were greatly pleased and marvelled at the forcefulness of his words and the strength of his intellect. Then they established friendship and peace with the sons of the kings of the Armenians. They abandoned their frivolous discourse, and all those who wished ill to the Armenians were shamed. This was because none of the Byzantine *vardapets* was able [end of *grabar* page g178] to find the merest trace of heresy or contradiction in this profession of the faith delivered [orally] and in writing by Gagik, king of the Armenians. He also mentioned many other matters using invincible dialog which he mustered to counter and upbraid the House of the Byzantines. When the emperor saw this, he was delighted since all of [Gagik's] words were fully orthodox and a true confession of Jesus Christ. Then Emperor Ducas accepted and established friendship with Gagik, Atom, Apusahl, and the other princes and bestowed many gifts on them. Gagik's name was glorified among all the *vardapets* of the House of the Armenians who were the luminaries of that period. Here are the names of those *vardapets*:

Tiran Kapanets'i,
 Saylahan, also called Lastiverts'i,
 Atom Andzewats'i,
 Anane' and Grigor Narekats'i,
 Sargis Sewanats'i,
 Yovse'p' E"ntsayets'i,
 Ge'org Urtsets'i,
 De'oskoros Sanahnets'i,
 Anane' Haghbatats'i,
 Yakobos, son of K'arahat,
 Anto'n and Timot'e'os,
 Yovhanne's, who was called Kozer'n,
 Po'ghos and Yovse'p',
 [and] G'eorg *vardapet* Ewt'amr'ets'i,
 Parichak,

and other invincible [clerics] of this sort who were filled with the grace of God and who, in this period, graced the land of the Armenians. King Gagik resembled them in their graces [g179].

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 2

Then Gagik arose from the emperor's presence and, in great glory, [he and the princes] headed for their own lands. *Shahnshah* Gagik reached the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia. As he was furious with the Byzantines already, in the greatest rage he [decided to] attack the metropolitan of Caesarea, whose name was Markos. The impious Markos was a big, evil, and loathsome heretic, so vile that he had named his own dog "Armen." Earlier, Gagik, king of the Armenians, had heard all about this and was really seething. However, because he himself was among the Byzantines, he was unable to do anything. Moreover, the metropolitan was great, renowned, and formidable throughout the entire House of the Byzantines. Yet he greatly cursed the Armenians, calling all dogs "Armen." Beyond this, [Markos] had brought indescribable mourning upon the Armenian people when he heard that the emperor wanted to [re]baptize the sons of [Armenian] kings as Romans [Chalcedonians]. At all the lodging places where Gagik arrived, he ordered all the Armenian troops to disgrace the glorious Byzantine women. He so insulted them, since he never again planned to enter Constantinople. Rather, he thought to go to Alp-Arslan, sultan of the Persians, and to rule over the throne of the kingdom of the House of the Armenians. For the sultan had summoned Gagik many times, but the latter's Christian faith had blocked this.

Now when Gagik was near the metropolitan[*'s residence*], he wanted [g180] to lodge with him. [Gagik's] chief messengers went and told the heretic Markos: "Gagik, king of the Armenians, wants to lodge with you today." When Kyr Markos heard this, he was happy and commanded that his entire house should be decorated. Then, unwillingly, he went out before Gagik with priests and, with great grandeur, brought him into his house. Markos made a great feast. However, Gagik was extremely angry that entire day. When they began to gladden themselves with wine, Gagik said to Kyr Markos: "I have heard that you have a very powerful dog and I would like to see it." Markos thought that [Gagik] wanted to make that dog his own, and so he spoke on other matters. However, when Gagik repeated his words, they called the dog. But it did not come, since they did not dare to call our "Armen."

Then Gagik said: "Call him by his own name, so he comes." Then Markos, overcome by drink called to the dog: "Armen, Armen." And the dog bounded over, like a lion. Seeing this, Gagik inquired: "You call this dog Armen?" Vastly embarrassed, Markos replied: "We call him Armen because he is brave." Gagik responded: "Now we shall see who is the brave one, Armen or the Roman." It happened that [the Armenians] had prepared a large sack and, at this point, Gagik signaled with his eyes and his attendants [g181] surrounded the dog. With great labor they got it into the sack. Kyr Markos, seeing this, thought that they wanted to take the dog away with them. He started to get angry and to lambaste the retainers. At that moment, Gagik made a hand gesture to the attendants who surrounded the impious Markos on four sides, seized him, and, with great force and violence, threw him into the sack with Armen. And Gagik said: "Let's see who is more vigorous and ferocious, the Byzantine metropolitan or the dog he calls Armen."

[64] At this point Gagik commanded that they should violently beat the dog. [The dog,] enraged, attacked

Markos, biting him with its teeth. In this manner, for much of the day, they beat the dog which, furiously shed the blood of the loathsome heretic Markos, who emitted many loud screams and shouts. In this fashion, a frightful battle took place at the bottom of that sack, accompanied by the gnashing of teeth and piteous groans. Thus did [Markos] perish wickedly—he who had been a wicked, foul curser [of Armenians] became dog food. Then Gagik ordered that his entire home be looted, as [Markos] had been wealthy and quite renowned. An inestimable treasure of gold and silver was taken, along with 6,000 sheep, 40 pair of yoked buffalo, and 20 [pairs of] oxen. [Gagik] gathered all this up and went to his own home, with a multitude of horses and [g182] mules. This is what Gagik did among the Byzantines—something no one had dared to do, not before or after. He never again entered Constantinople or responded to Byzantine summonses.

In those days, [among the noteworthy intellectuals were] King Gagik, son of Abas of Kars, a sage full of all the graces of philosophers and the arts of rhetorician. He [even] discoursed with the Byzantine doctors of the Church and, when he went to Constantinople, sat in the pulpit of Saint Sophia. [Gagik] was thoroughly familiar with the Old and New Testaments of God and was extremely eloquent. Another [luminary] was Grigor Pahlawuni, Vasak's son, full of invincible graces and marvellous in all retorts countering the Byzantines. He was truly well-educated and someone who had pursued all [kinds of] learning and had a thorough knowledge of the Old and New Testaments of God. [Grigor] also sat in Saint Sophia's pulpit among the philosophers and discoursed among the Byzantine *vardapets* and was ranked among [the great] *vardapets* of the Armenians.

[Another luminary in that period was] Atrnerse'h, from the district of Bagrewand, a prince of the Armenians. He, too, was a very competent, brilliant and sagacious philosopher who had studied at the great [center of learning in] Argina, where he mastered all the graces of the divine Testaments [g183]. Moreover, he could hold his own refuting all the Byzantine philosophers with his mighty knowledge and astounding debating skills. [Atrnerse'h] resembled Gagik and the other Armenian philosophers about whom we have written.

During the days of Gagik *shahnshah*, son of Ashot, king of the Armenians, an awesome and wondrous sign from God occurred regarding the holy communion. [This miracle took place] in the monastery called Pizu, which King Gagik had built. Now it happened on the day of Pentecost, while the blessed Mystery was being offered in this church of God, that the celebrant dropped a piece of the holy wafer in front of the sacred altar. Three days later, two meritorious hermits came to that place of prayer ahead of the [church] fathers. The first one said: "In a night vision I saw that the lamp—which is in the dome of the temple—fell down in front of the altar of God, and that an inextinguishable light remained in it." Then the other [hermit] said: "I, too, had a vision: [in which] behold, a large and wondrous star fell from the heavens, right in front of the altar of God, and an even brighter light blazed forth from it." All were astounded by the vision. Then the abbot of the monastery, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, said: "Let us see if a fragment of the divine wafer fell there." Right away they lit candles and, censuring incense, approached the altar. Now the church had not been swept since the day [the wafer fell]. When they got up on the *bema*, they discovered the uncontaminated fragment of the divine Mystery right in front of the blessed [g184] altar of God. Taking it, they thanked our God, Lord Jesus Christ. [As a result,] many were strengthened in our orthodox faith and, from that day forth, they realized that this sacrament was heavenly and divine, and truly a part of the body of the Son of God.

At the beginning of the year 515 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1066-1067], a comet appeared in the east and moved westward. It remained [visible] for one month, and then vanished. After many days it appeared again in the west, and many who saw it said that it was the same comet which had appeared in the east. In this period the foreigners arose, polluting and ruining the entire land of the Armenians and subjecting all believers to the sword and captivity.

[65] In these times the emir of the Persians, who was called Afshin (O'she'n) massed troops and ruined many districts, drowning in blood the believers in Christ. Because of this impious man, much mourning and darkness spread over the country. He came with a multitude of troops and wintered at Black Mountain, shedding a vast amount of blood and causing great destruction throughout the district. Many individuals from

the ranks of the blessed clerics were put to the sword, burned in fire, and became food for wild beasts and birds. They remained unburied forever, never covered with soil [g185]. Many monasteries and villages were burned with fire and are visible [in that condition] to this day. Black Mountain and the entire district from one end to the other was filled with the blood of clerics and priests, men and women, old and young, just as the prophet wrote, that "Fire will devour their young men, nor will anyone mourn for their maidens. Their priests will fall to the sword, nor will anyone weep for their widows." And also: "Their blood will flow like water around Jerusalem, nor will there be anyone to bury them." Such was the rage that the wicked and impious beast Afshin let loose on believers, that it cannot be narrated.

In this same year a great and mighty emir arose from the court of Alp-Arslan. His name was Gumush-Tegin, and he was [Alp-Arslan's] *hejub* ("chamberlain"). He arose with a formidable army of champions and came against the Christians, shedding torrents of the blood of the faithful. Resembling an enraged beast that had been wounded many times, [Gumush-Tegin] poured his wrath upon the district of T'lxum, causing frightful casualties among the survivors of the previous anger. With great warfare he captured the fortress called T'le'tut', mercilessly putting everyone to the sword. Then, with a countless number of captives, he arrived at the district of Edessa, descending on the fortress called Nisibis. Though he battled against it for some days, he was unable to capture it. Then [Gumush-Tegin] forded the Euphrates River [g186] and fell upon the district of Hisn-Mansur with the sword. As an instrument of divine wrath, [Gumush-Tegin] put such a magnificent district to the sword and spewed out the bile of his wicked bitterness upon the entire district. Like hailstones accompanied by flashing lightning, he came upon all the inhabitants of the country, bringing frightful destruction and burning everything with fire. [The invaders] wounded with the sword and killed all the princes of the district of Hisn-Mansur and led into captivity their glorious women, with their comely sons and daughters. There one could observe the divine wrath visited upon believers in Christ, since the grandees and the poor, generally, experienced the same bitterness from the merciless beasts, the vile nation of Turks. Generally, that beautiful district was put to the sword and, for three days nonstop, Christians were killed.

In the face of such wrath and bitter destruction, a certain prince who was in the fortress of Nisibis, called Sibar city, quickly sent to the city of Edessa and notified the duke named Aruandanos, saying: "The emir of the Persians is here by the banks of the Euphrates River with [only] a hundred men. Come and attack them and arrest him." [Aruandanos] delayed and procrastinated but eventually came against Emir Gumush-Tegin with many troops. Now when the emir learned about this, he sent to Hisn-Mansur to have his troops sent to him. Meanwhile [g187], Aruandanos and his troops reached the renowned fortress called O'she'n. [He had with him] 1,500 cavalry and 20,000 infantry. [The two sides] encountered one another in battle, and Aruandanos pounced on the Turks like a lion, for he was a brave and martial man, while the place was narrow and difficult. But then the Turks began to increase [in numbers] and Aruandanos told his troops: "Let's turn back a bit so that the Turks pursue us. Then we shall [turn around and] attack, and they will be unable to escape." Now it came about that when [the Byzantines] had retreated somewhat, [Aruandanos] saw that all the Byzantine troops had turned to flight, abandoning Aruandanos in the midst of the troops of the foreigners.

[66] That day turned out to be a great and horrible one, with a frightful destruction of Christians. The entire plain filled with blood and the taking of captives. Indeed, Aruandanos and all the Christian princes were led into captivity, while the remainder fled into the fortress called O'she'n and were saved. Some 11,000 men died on that day. The emir put an ox's yoke on Aruandanos' neck and led him captive, bringing him in this manner to the gates of the city of Edessa, where he was sold for 40,000 *dahekans*. [Aruandanos] gave his own son as a surety for 20,000 *dahekans* of that amount, and he remains in Persia to this day. The other princes, one by one, were ransomed for gold and silver. Then Gumush-Tegin, in great triumph [g188], with many captives and an inestimable amount of booty, went to the land of the Persians where, in the sultan's presence, he offered as slaves some 2,000 comely boys and girls.

Also in the year 516 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1067], Emperor Ducas died [Constantine X Ducas, 1059-1067], leaving a young son named Michael. The imperial throne remained unoccupied for one year with the empress, Eudocia, acting as regent [Eudocia Macrembolitissa, 1067-1068].

In 518 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1069], Eudocia secretly brought into her bedroom a certain prince named Romanus, styled Diogenes, and married him. She kept him in her chamber until she summoned Ducas' brother, the *caesar*, and tested him, saying: "What shall we do? The throne of the realm is without a lord, and Michael is still a lad." With such provocative words, she tried to destroy him. However, the *caesar* responded to the empress, saying: "What concern is that to me? For behold, I and my sons are your servants. Give the throne of the empire to whomever you please." The empress was astonished and pleased at his words, and thus [the *caesar*] was spared the evil [of execution]. At that point the empress said to him: "Come, enter the chamber and kneel before the emperor." The *caesar* was dumbfounded and astounded and thanked God that he had not misspoken. Then he went in and prostrated himself before the emperor. The following day they took Diogenes to Saint Sophia, while the entire city of Constantinople voiced its praise. Then they placed the crown on his head [Romanus IV Diogenes, 1068-1071] [g189].

In this period the blessed patriarch of the Armenians [was] Lord Vahram, who was called Lord Grigoris [Grigor II *Vkayase'r* (Martyrophile), 1066-1105], son of Grigor, son of Vasak Pahlawuni. There came into his heart a love for the solitary life, [a longing] to be a cenobite praying to God. In this, he resembled Elias and John the Baptist. Having adopted for himself the lifestyle of Saint Anthony, [Kat'oghikos Grigor] truly longed to dwell on the summit of a mountain. He thought to leave the great honor of occupying the throne of the patriarchate. In this [desire for the hermits' life] he was joined by his own secretary, Ge'org *vardapet* and they vowed to go together on the path to a solitary life. Now it happened that this matter became known. When the king and princes of the Armenians learned about their plan, they blocked him with great authority. Despite this, [Kat'oghikos Grigor] became even more insistent in his undertaking and told them: "I have a plan to go to Rome and [also] to visit all the retreats in Egypt." However, they did not want to allow him [to leave]. Then [Kat'oghikos Grigor] said to the king of the Armenians: "Put anyone you please as *kat'oghikos*. Don't block me from the path of righteousness." When they saw his determination, they selected Ge'org *vardapet*, who was his secretary, and, unbeknownst to [Kat'oghikos Grigor], they convinced Ge'org to occupy the throne of the patriarchate of the House of the Armenians. Now Lord Grigoris had no inkling of this. When they brought forth Ge'org to ordain him *kat'oghikos*, and when Lord Grigoris saw him, he was flabbergasted [g190]. But, willy-nilly, he ordained him *kat'oghikos*, [to occupy] the throne of the patriarchate of the Armenians. However, [Grigoris] held a grudge against him and regarded him as an adversary, for [Ge'org] had forgotten the oath he had made [for both of them] to travel the spiritual path together. From that day on, there was contention between those two patriarchs, Grigoris and Ge'org. Then Lord Grigoris went in pursuit of his spiritual journey—to dwell in the mountains among the cenobites of Christ, practicing asceticism and [observing] an austere diet.

[67] In the same year Emperor Diogenes conducted a great muster of troops from all the lands of the Byzantines as far as the borders of the Romans, as well as from all parts of the eastern areas. With this enormous multitude he came against the land of the Tachiks. He encamped opposite the renowned city named Manbij, close to Aleppo, a famous city of the Tachiks. There was a fierce battle, and the city of Manbij was put in danger by the barbarian troops and the countless soldiers. After [putting the city into] such straits, the emperor ordered that catapults and other rock-hurling devices be set up against the city, since it was walled with all security. Now it happened that when the wall was hit with very large rocks, a part of it gave way [g191], creating an entrance into the city. At that point the entire multitude in the city trembled [with fear], and, one and all, they took in their hands [objects having] the shape of a cross and went out to the emperor. All the grandees fell before the feet of the emperor with great gifts, and became tributary [to Byzantium], and thus saved themselves from death. The emperor showed mercy to the city, placing them under taxation. Then a letter arrived from the empress to Emperor Diogenes, [telling him] to quickly return to Constantinople. When the emperor heard this, he speedily returned.

In this same year a young emir named Ktrich wanted to clandestinely rebel from the Persians and go to the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople. He was from the line of Sultan Alp-Arslan. [Ktrich] arrived in Sebastia with many troops and [in response,] a *curopalate* arose and came from Constantinople, to wage war. They

encountered one another near Sebastia, where the Byzantines were defeated and took to flight. The following day, the Turks turned in battle against the Byzantines, expelling them and putting them to flight. They also captured the *curopalate*. Now the Byzantine troops, having been blinded by the dust, fled toward a rocky location known as Makr'it where, plunging headlong, they perished. Some days later, the king of the Armenians, the princes, and all the *naxarars* established friendship and unity with the young emir [g192] while he, taking the *curopalate* and the other captives—some 3,000 men—secretly went to the emperor of the Byzantines in Constantinople. The emperor received him with great honor and glory. That emir was a benevolent man.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 2

In the year 519 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1070-1071], a comet appeared in the heavens. It was seen by many, who said: "This is the same omen that appeared previously—and was followed by bloodshed." Then, once again, it appeared one night [with such brightness] that it seemed as though all the stars in the heavens were pouring down on the earth. All peoples and nations were frightened, shivering and trembling with dread because of the terrible omen. [This was] because, previously, they had never seen such an omen, nor had they heard tell about it from their forebears. And so they thought that [the omen] was what the Savior had referred to when He said in the blessed Gospel: "In the end times, there will be movements of the sun, the moon, and stars, and dread" [compare Luke 21.25]. Now this [omen] occurred [as though to mark] the beginning of the second destruction of our land by the impious troops of the Turks. It was due to the oceanic increase in our sins, since "All sinned and have diminished from the glory of God" [compare Romans 3.23], and "None was just, not a single one" [compare Romans 3.10]. All grew accustomed to the path of impiety, loving sin more than righteousness, nor would they ever deviate from evil to good. Thus did we anger God Who does not anger [easily] and enrage Him Whose nature is always mild, through our deviant path. Although He admonished us many times and dealt with us harshly as with a foolish people—even this did not turn us from our path. This is because the mind of the sons [g193] of man is based on serving evil. Therefore, like a whirlwind, calamity and destruction have fallen upon us, while the stormy winds of the evil bandit sons of Ishmael have increased upon us and have given us no rest. But, [eventually,] the Lord Himself will look [again] with mildness upon the creations of His own hands. Amen.

In this same year, Sultan Alp-Arslan, the brother [nephew] of Sultan Tughril, arose like a river and moved with a countless multitude. Like a lowering black cloud full of impiety, he arrived in the land of the Armenians, bringing along great destruction and bloodshed. He descended on Manazkert/Manzikert and took that city in a single day because of the absence of the city's Byzantine garrison troops. Those Byzantine guards had fled. [Alp-Arslan] wrought destruction in the city due to the insult sustained by his brother [uncle] Tughril during the previous [assault on the city], [an insult] which had not been avenged before his death.

Then Sultan Alp-Arslan arose with his countless barbarian peoples, arrived at the city called Amida, and happily encamped by the city gates. It was at this camp that [Alp-Arslan's] wife gave birth to a son, whom he named Tutush. From there he arose and came to the district of T'lxum. Here he surrounded the city [named T'lxum] and put it into dire straits, battling against it with all resources. For many days he was unable to capture the fortified city of T'lxum. Initially he was friendly, seeking [only] taxes. Then the inhabitants became lazy and careless and left the walls unguarded. When the troops of the foreigners saw their [g194] lack of preparation, they turned the entire army on the city, without the sultan's consent. Surrounding it with a fierce battle, they captured the city, killing many and taking a countless number into captivity. When the sultan heard about this, he was astonished and regretted the slain, since he had [made] an oath with them. Then the sultan arose and came with his enormous multitude, reaching the district of Edessa. He raided the entire land right up to the gates of the city. He encamped opposite the renowned fortress called T'lt'oraw,

close to Sewerak. He took the fortress of T'lt'oraw and Ar'iwtsat'il, waging frightful warfare, causing extensive deaths, and filling up their boundaries with blood. With much loot and many captives he came against the city of Edessa. He surrounded the entire city, filling the area with his troops from one end to the other. This [occurred] in wintertime, on the 10th day of the month of Mareri [May 18th], at a time when the duke in the city of Edessa was Basil, son of the Bulghar king, Alusianus. When the citizens saw the countless multitude of the foreigners' troops, the entire mass of the [Christian] faithful quaked with fear, since the multitude of the sultan's troops filled the plain and [even up to] the summits of the mountains. The city trembled with fear of that foul-breathed dragon, that vicious beast, since he was a bloodthirsty man. [Alp-Arslan] remained for eight days without giving battle, while [the residents] were senseless [with fear] and [g195] unprepared.

[69] Then someone from the sultan's troops—seeing the heedlessness of the residents—secretly communicated with them, saying: "Have you lost your senses? Fortify your walls and saddle your horses." When they heard this they began to shield the walls and organize all kinds of defenses, and every man was encouraged to fight. Basil, duke of the city, who was a brave and martial man, began to strengthen [the defenses] of the entire city. When the sultan saw this, he became furious and ordered that the battle horns be sounded and, like a beast, he turned to battle. All the troops of the foreigners were stirred up and surrounded the entire city of Edessa. That was a day full of great and fierce fighting: the entire city filled up with arrows, while the entire class of [Christian] faithful were weeping and lamenting and praying to God to free them from this evil beast. Now for a large part of the day, all the troops of the House of the Persians battled against the city of Edessa, but were unable to accomplish anything, since the Lord conquered and shamed them. After this, [the sultan] erected catapults and [other] war machines opposite the walls. [He also] cut down all the orchards and vineyards and filled the city's moat with them. He erected a wooden fortress [supported] on ten wagons in order to capture the city of Edessa. However, when they moved the carts to bring [the fortress on them] close to the walls, suddenly [g196] that wooden fortress collapsed and was ruined. Moreover, [defenders] from the city dug underground and emerged on the eastern side of the moat, whence they got all that wood into the city, setting fire to the remainder. Then the foreigners started in, digging seven pits under the moat to make the walls collapse. But then the residents of the city dug opposite those holes, seizing and killing the foreigners' sappers. The Lord fortified the city against the foreigners.

For 50 days the sultan remained [battling] against Edessa with fierce warfare, but was unable to accomplish anything. The sultan promised treasure and authority to anyone able to remove a stone from the wall, for him to take back to Persia as a souvenir. Apu'l-Uswar (Apuswar), the emir of Dvin, said to him: "Nearby us is the altar of a church which no one has attacked." They tried but failed to remove a stone from the eastern side of the altar of [the church of] Saint Sargis. When the sultan saw this, he was thoroughly mortified.

Then Quraysh, a senior emir of the Arabs, took Sultan Alp-Arslan and the entire multitude of the troops of the Persians, and went against the city of Aleppo. On that day, great joy enveloped the city of Edessa, for it had escaped from that wicked beast.

Now when the emperor of the Byzantines, Diogenes, heard news of that [divine] wrath, he growled like a lion and ordered the entire multitude of his troops to assemble. Edicts were issued and heralds [were dispatched] [g197] throughout all the western lands. It was a large muster and an awesome multitude [drawn from] all the lands of the Goths, all the nation of Bulghars, and all the distant islands, and from Cappadocia and all Bithynia, from Cilicia and Antioch, Trabizond, and those left of the brave military from the entire House of the Armenians. [The emperor] also brought other troops of foreigners from Khuzistan. [Indeed,] Diogenes assembled an enormous multitude, as many [troops] as the sands of the sea. This occurred in 520 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1071-1072].

[70] He came like a thundering hail-bearing cloud and reached the city of Sebastia. Atom and Apusahl, the sons of the Armenian kings, went before him with great pomp. Then [some people of] the Byzantine nation betrayed and slandered the inhabitants of Sebastia and the entire nation of the Armenians, saying: "When Emir Ktrich struck at us, the Armenian nation destroyed us more than the Turks." Now Emperor Diogenes

believed these false words of the Byzantines and threatened with a fearsome oath that "When I return from fighting the Persians I will eliminate the Armenians' [anti-Chalcedonian] faith." At the same time he ordered that the whole city of Sebastia should be given over to all the Byzantine troops, for looting. And they pillaged and killed many people due to the false judgments of the impious Emperor Diogenes. He banned from his presence Atom and Apusahl, the Armenian kings' sons, and cast Sebastia into great mourning. At that point [some] grandee princes of the Byzantines, and the *shahnshah* Gagik, son of Ashot, and Emir Ktrich, who had seized [g198] the *curopalates*, said to Emperor Diogenes: "Do not heed the false words of your own nationals, since they lie in all their words. Moreover, those [Armenians] who survived the battle with the Turks aided you." When the emperor heard this, he made peace, but he threatened that when he returned, he would do away with the faith of the Armenians. Now when the monks heard this, they invoked frightful curses on his trip, that he would not return from where he was going; and, rather, that the Lord would destroy him as He had destroyed the impious [Byzantine emperor] Julian [the Apostate, 361-363], who had been cursed by the blessed Basil.

Then Diogenes arose with all his multitude and went to the East, to the land of the Armenians. He descended on the city of Manzikert, which he captured. The troops of the sultan, who were in the city, fled. [Diogenes] killed those he caught.

News of this reached the sultan [who was] at the city of Aleppo. He turned to the East, for they said that the Byzantine emperor was heading to the land of the Persians with a formidable multitude. Now during the wintertime the sultan had been battling against Aleppo, but had been unable to take it due to the multitude of troops in the city. Even though the entire wall had been punctured with holes, he was in no way able to capture the city. Thus when springtime arrived, and the sultan heard about the coming of Emperor Diogenes, he quit Aleppo and quickly arrived at Edessa. The duke who was in the city prepared horses, mules, and victuals for him. Taking these, the sultan passed unharmed through its borders, arriving in the East, at a mountain called [g199] Lesun. A countless number of horses and camels died through the speed of his travel, since he drove his troops as though they were fleeing—as he wanted to get to the Persians. At that moment, letters reached the sultan from traitorous Byzantines, from within Diogenes' army, urging him: "Don't flee, for most of our troops are on your side." When the sultan heard this, he halted. Then the sultan wrote an agreeable letter to Emperor Diogenes, to establish friendship, unity and peace between them, not to forever be harming one another; but rather, that there should be friendship with Christian people and eternal friendship and unity between Persians and Byzantines. But then Diogenes grew haughty and did not agree to the sultan's words. Instead, he became even more stirred up to fight. Wicked traitors approached Diogenes and said: "O, Emperor, there is no one who can resist the multitude of your troops. Let them go into the countryside, detachment by detachment and live off the country, so they not be hungry before the day of battle."

[71] Then [Diogenes] returned Emir Ktrich to Constantinople and turned Tarxaniat upon Xlat', and he sent 30,000 troops to Abkhazia—and in this manner all the troops were dispersed by the emperor. The sultan was informed of all these acts of treachery. When the sultan saw Diogenes' implacable resolution [g200], he attacked the Byzantine troops. Like a lion's cub he led all the troops of Khorasan. Now when Diogenes heard that the Persians' troops were coming against him, he ordered the battle horn sounded and organized all the Byzantines' troops, detachment by detachment. He designated as military commanders of his troops the Armenian princes Xatap and Vasilak, brave and martial men, and there was fierce fighting for much of that day. The troops of the Byzantines were defeated, and Xatap and Vasilak were killed. All the Byzantine troops fled to the emperor's camp. When Diogenes saw this, he ordered all his troops to assemble. However, no one came to his summons, since Tarxanat and the other Byzantine troops had gone to Constantinople with their soldiers. When the emperor observed this, he realized the treachery of his own Byzantine nation. Behold, the next day the [expanded] war commenced. At dawn the battle horn was sounded. Heralds circulated around, delivering the orders of Emperor Diogenes, [promising] glory and power, [rule over] cities and districts, so that [his troops] would valiantly fight against the Persian troops.

Then the sultan arrived with awesome preparation to fight against the Byzantine troops. Next, Emperor Diogenes arrived at the place of battle, called Toghatap', close to Manzikert. He arranged the Uz and Pecheneg [troops] to his right and left, and other troops at the front [g201] and sides. When the battle became intense, the Uz and Pecheneg [troops defected and] passed over to the sultan's side. At that point, all the Byzantine troops were defeated and all of them turned to flight. There were countless deaths among the multitude of Byzantine troops. Emperor Diogenes was arrested and they took him, in fetters, before the sultan along with many other Byzantine princes. In addition there were innumerable captives. After a few days the sultan made peace and friendship with the emperor of the Byzantines, and made him his blood brother. [This was confirmed] with oath to God. [The sultan] confirmed with a solemn vow that there would be eternal friendship and unity between Persians and Byzantines.

Then, with great glory, [Sultan Alp-Arslan] sent the emperor back to his throne in Constantinople. [Diogenes] reached Sebastia. But then news reached Diogenes that Ducas' son, Michael [Michael VII Parapinaces, 1071-1078], had been enthroned. After this, all [Diogenes'] troops deserted him and fled. Diogenes went as a fugitive to the city called Adana. Troops of Emperor Michael massed against him. In this crisis of his, Diogenes donned a monk's garb and went before the Byzantines' military commander, who was Ducas' brother. [Diogenes] said: "You need no longer bother about me, since, hereafter, I wish to live in a monastery with clerics. Let Michael be your emperor, and may God be with him." On that day the Byzantine nation [g202] crucified God a second time, as had the Jews, for they gouged out the eyes of Diogenes, that royal figure, who died from the severity of the pain. When the sultan heard about this, he wept and lamented the loss of Diogenes, saying: "The nation of Byzantines has no God. Behold, today the oath of friendship and unity sworn between Persians and Byzantines has been voided. Henceforth I shall put to the sword the entire nation of Cross-worshippers and enslave the entire land of the Christians." Remembering Diogenes, the sultan sighed heavily and regretted matters, as did the entire nation of Persians. Then the sultan spoke to the entire nation of Khorasan, saying: "From now on you all should be like the cubs of lions and the young of eagles. Go through the entire country, day and night, mercilessly killing the nation of Christians and Byzantines." And then, in great triumph, the sultan returned to the land of the Persians.

In this period Sultan Alp-Arslan mustered all the troops of the Persians and crossed the great Jihon or Gehon River [the Oxus]. With a multitude of troops he entered the land of Samarkhand, wanting to rule over that land. With great force he descended [g203] on the secure and renowned fortress of Hama and encamped opposite it. Now it happened that the lord of the fortress was a brave man, though beast-like and malicious. The sultan harassed that fortress for many days with great warfare. He summoned the fortress-master to come out to him in submission, and [in exchange] to rule over his patrimony in perpetuity.

[72] After many days of harassment, the lord of the fortress thought to emerge and go to prostrate himself in front of the sultan. And he came up with a frightfully evil and dreadful plot. He spent that entire day in joy and delight with his wife and sons, with minstrels and drums and artistic songs, happily eating and drinking with them. But in the middle of the night, with his own hands, he sacrificed his wife and three sons, like a beast, so that they would not fall into the sultan's hands and become his servants.

The next morning he arose and went to the sultan, concealing on himself two very sharp daggers—the same ones he had killed his own sons with. When the sultan saw that he had arrived, he ordered that he should be brought before him. [The lord of the fortress] came and prostrated himself. But when he approached, he attacked the sultan, removing the two daggers from his shoes. Those [attendants]—who were bringing him—fled, while he savagely advanced on the sultan, stabbing him with the two daggers. At that moment, [the sultan's] guards killed him [g204], but in front of them they could see the sultan [who had been] stabbed in three places.

The sultan was in great danger and the sharp pain of the wounds tormented him. He ordered that the troops should leave the borders [of that place] so that the land would not be aware [of the attempted assassination]. Five days later, tormented by pains, [Sultan Alp-Arslan] commanded that the grandee princes of the Persians

and the *hajjib* (*xochap*) of his troops should be summoned. He placed his young son, Malik-Shah, before them and said: "Behold, today I shall die from these wounds. Let my son be your king and let him sit on the throne of my realm." Removing the royal garments from his own person, [Alp-Arslan] had them placed on his son, Malik-Shah, prostrated himself before him, and, weeping, entrusted him to God and to all the emirs of the Persians. On that very day Sultan Alp-Arslan died from [the wounds caused by] that inglorious and evil man. Then Malik-Shah [A.D. 1072-1092] ruled over the House of the Persians. He was a good, merciful man, and very mild toward the Christian faithful. He went to the seat of his patrimony, taking [the body of] his father Alp-Arslan and burying it in the tomb of his fathers in the city of Marand. God made his kingdom succeed. [Malik-Shah] ruled over the entire country and made peace throughout the entire land of the Armenians.

In 521 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1072] there was contention between [the *kat'oghikoi*] Lord Grigoris and Lord Ge'org. Lord Grigoris sent and deposed Lord [g205] Ge'org from the throne of the patriarchate, taking the veil from his head. Wounded, Ge'org went to the city of Tarsus and died there. Then Lord Grigoris came and dwelled in Mutar'asun, near Gurgen's son, Gagik.

[73] In this period the impious and most wicked Philaretus began to tyrannize. Indeed, he was Satan's senior son. When Diogenes fell from power, [Philaretus] tyrannized over the country. He was a man with a foul breath, the precursor of the abominable Antichrist, and a person of diabolical, uncouth, and most wicked behavior. He started to battle against believers in Christ, since he himself was a faithless Christian, not recognized [as Christian] either by Armenians or Byzantines—though he had the customs and creed of the Byzantines. He was Armenian both on his father's and mother's sides. As a boy he had stayed with his father's brother, in the monastery called Zo'rvei-Kozer'n in the district of Hisn-Mansur. Emerging from the [desert] retreat, he turned everything into a foul desert. He ruled over many lands and cities, mercilessly ruined many grandee princes, and then came and settled at Mshar.

Then he sent and summoned the valiant T'or'nik, lord of Sasun, to come and submit to him. When T'or'nik, Mushegh's son, heard this, he laughed at the foolish order and said: "Behold, I have never even seen his face." Philaretus' heralds replied to T'or'nik, saying: "Behold, he will come against you with many troops [g206], and will wreck and ruin your districts." Then T'or'nik inquired: "How many troops does Philaretus have?" The man replied: "Some 20,000." T'or'nik said: "I have 1,000 cavalry, who always commune in the body and blood of the Son of God, and I know that Philaretus and all his troops are devoid and lacking in any faith in Christ and are full of all kinds of evils." They went and related all this to Philaretus.

Then Philaretus summoned Lord Grigoris and said to him: "T'or'nik is your son-in-law. Go and summon him [to come] to me in submission." Now Lord Vahram [Grigoris], because of Philaretus' evil nature, unwillingly went to T'or'nik and never saw Philaretus' face again. When [the *kat'oghikos*] explained to T'or'nik the reason for his coming, T'or'nik was amazed and said: "How is it that this impious man, in his supreme insolence, is not ashamed to send you to me as an emissary with false oaths?" When Philaretus realized that T'or'nik did not want to come at his call, he massed troops and went against T'or'nik. Now T'or'nik did not know about Philaretus' coming against him, but when he heard about it, he alerted his troops and raised from all of Sasun 50,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry and went to Chapaghjur. [But] not believing that Philaretus was coming, he disbanded [g207] the infantry and he himself, along with 1,000 cavalry, went to Ashmushat, a city of the Armenians.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 2

In this period the impious Philaretus sent [a message] and summoned Lord Grigoris [to return] to the throne of his patriarchate. But [the latter] did not come at his call, as he was terrified of this venomous beast. Once again Philaretus wrote to the blessed patriarch, saying: "It is not proper that the patriarchal throne should be without the patriarch." However, [the *kat'oghikos*] did not dare to go [back]. Instead, Lord Grigoris wrote to Philaretus, saying: "Seat on the throne of your patriarchate—by my order—Lord Sargis, Lord Petros' sister's son." Then Lord Grigoris sent to Lord Sargis the veil, scepter, and holy cross of Lord Petros. When Philaretus saw all this, he realized the Lord Grigoris would not return to his patriarchal throne. Then Philaretus ordered that there be convened an assembly of bishops, abbots of monasteries, and clerics. They ordained Lord Sargis to [occupy] the throne of the *kat'oghikosate* of the Armenians, in the city named Honi in Jahan district, since he was a holy man with a marvellous mien, noted for his virtue and in every way adorned with all piety and true confession in [g210] Jesus Christ. Moreover, he was a perfect helper for the flock of Christ. Then Lord Grigoris went to the capital city of the Armenians, named Ani, and ordained there as bishop his sister's son, Barsegh, son of Vasak, son of Apirat, son of Hasan, who later occupied the throne of the patriarchate of the House of the Armenians.

In 523 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1074], after these [events] Lord Grigoris went to Constantinople and then to Rome. Then he went to Egypt and visited the retreats of all the first holy Fathers, thereby fulfilling all the desires of his heart. It was there that he established his patriarchal throne. Remaining there, he renewed all the orders of the blessed Church. Lord Grigoris received much glory and greatness from the king of Egypt [Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir, 1036-1094], more than from the king of the Romans. Many Armenians gathered in Egypt, some 30,000 people. After some time, Lord Grigoris ordained as *kat'oghikos* Lord Grigor, his sister's son. Then he arose and went to the land of the Armenians, since his mother was still living.

It was in this period that Ducas' son, Michael, ruled as emperor of the Byzantines [Michael VII Parapinaces, c. 1060-1067; 1067-1068; 1068-1071; 1071-1078]. He occupied the throne of the realm for four years, being a good, pious man, adorned with all virtue and [g211] radiant holiness, in every way resembling the first emperors, glowing with orthodox faith in Jesus Christ. [Michael] was a father to orphans and a defender of widows. At his order *dahekans* were minted in unlimited quantities, like soil or like sands of the sea. It also retained its value and helped the land, since it was minted in the name of God. God's grace descended on him always, and the entire land was filled with his treasure. [Michael] began [his reign] with fasting and prayers, and conducted his life in all radiant holiness, a holiness which embittered his empress against him, since he did not [sexually] couple with her in marriage. The empress satisfied her lust with a certain Byzantine prince and, through his foul conduct, motivated him to rise up against Michael, tyrannically seeking the throne of the realm from him. When Emperor Michael observed all this and saw that the man, whose name was Botaniates, had stirred up all Constantinople against him, he did not resist him at all. Instead, he openly cursed that most foul empress, left the imperial throne, went and lived in a monastery with monks, donning [g212] a hairshirt, and embarking on a clerical life—something he had long since desired to do. And thus he left his imperial

throne and crown.

[75] In 525 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1076-1077], Botaniates ruled over the Byzantines [Nichephorus III Botaniates, 1078-1081]. He took for his wife the wife of Michael—she, who was also the daughter of the king of the Georgians, Gurge'n [George II, 1072-1089]—and they had each other through loathsome prostitution.

In this period there was slain Vasak, prince of the Armenians, son of Grigor *Magistros*, and brother of [the *kat'oghikos*] Lord Grigoris. He had been the duke of the city of Antioch. He was killed on a street in the marketplace of Antioch by a treacherous Byzantine. As he was going along the street, two of the *hastatus* [Latin, "spearman"] prostrated themselves before Vasak, proffering up to him a false document of some sort. As he stooped to take the document from them, they suddenly struck him between the eyes with a hatchet. And thus was the great Vasak slain by these worthless and foul men. His troops gathered in Antioch's citadel and Vasak's *azatazo'rk'* [troops of gentry] summoned Philaretus and gave Antioch to him. Philaretus, after a few days, held an assembly of all the Byzantine traitors and spearmen—some 7,000 men—claiming that he would go somewhere [g213] to fight. He led them to a village named Ap'shun, and there he killed all the spearmen. Then Philaretus took over Antioch and also avenged the great Vasak Pahlawuni's blood.

In this period was slain the *epeiktes* [Greek, "overseer"], a prince of the Armenians, a brave and martial man from the House of Shirak. Because of his bravery, the emperor of the Byzantines forced him to be baptized into the Byzantine [Chalcedonian] faith. However, [the prince] secretly followed his patrimonial faith and revered Saint Gregory. [The prince] became ill in the fortress called Andriun [located near Aleppo]. Now the emperor had given him a Byzantine monk to guide him in their false creed, and had designated him as his father confessor. One day this impious and vile guide entered the chamber of the *epeiktes* and saw him peacefully sleeping in his bed. The criminal and loathsome Byzantine monk savagely attacked him, taking a pillow and putting it over his mouth and forcibly holding it down, thus wickedly suffocating that brave and mighty man. When [the *epeiktes*] troops learned of the treacherous death of this brave man, with great anger they tortured that impious heretic. After torturing him, they threw the vile monk down a cliff [g214] of the fortress where the wicked man died a wicked death, and was lost.

Now Emperor Botaniates, after occupying the throne of the realm for a year, no longer wanted it. This was because he was considered [the emperor] through prostitution and not at God's command, having foully taken [the rightful emperor] Michael's wife as his own—not at God's command—and ruled illegitimately. His conscience bothered him greatly and he said to himself: "The one who was emperor and the [rightful] lord of this throne, left it and became a monk. How could I resist him with my maliciousness? [Besides which,] death will come at the end. Then he left the imperial throne, since he had betrayed the blessed emperor with his great crimes. Subsequently, Botaniates became a monk.

At this time they seated on the throne of the Byzantine empire Melissenus. This was in 526 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1077].

In the same year the most praiseworthy patriarch of the Armenians, Lord Sargis, died. He was the sister's son of Lord Petros, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians. At his command they seated on the throne of the Armenian *kat'oghikosate*, Lord Toros, who was the court bishop of Lord Sargis, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians. He was [g215] a great choral musician, who was nicknamed Alaxo'sik. [This took place] in the city named Honi in the district of Jahan.

[76] In these times, at Philaretus' order, Basil, son of Apuk'ap—who previously had been the tent guard of David the *curopalate*—assembled cavalry troops and came against the city of Edessa. For six months he harassed the city with much fighting. In the same year Basil built the walls of the fortress called Romanopolis, which had been built by the Byzantine emperor Romanus. After this he harassed the city of Edessa. Then the residents turned against their duke, who was called Lewon and was the brother of Dawatanos. Lewon fled into the fortress' citadel, while his *proximus* fled into the church named after the blessed Mother of God. He

entered and embraced the edges of the holy altar. The citizens also entered the church and savagely slew him before the blessed altar of God. On that very day they gave Edessa into the hands of Basil, Apuk'ap's son. He was a good, pious man, merciful toward widows and orphans, peace loving, and a builder of the land. Previously his father, Apuk'ap, had been [duke] in the city of Edessa and had built up and fortified the entire district. This transpired in 526 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1077].

In this period Emperor Melissenus had reigned [g216] in Constantinople for four months. Then the entire multitude of the city collectively arose against Melissenus, fought against him, and seized from him the crown and the throne of the empire. They placed the crown on the head of a certain prince named Alex, who was the brother's son of Emperor [Isaac I] Comnenus. Alex [Alexius I Comnenus, 1081-1118] was a good, pious man, who was also valiant in warfare. From that moment there was peace in the House of the Byzantines.

At the beginning of the year 528 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1079-1080] a severe famine occurred throughout all lands of the Cross-worshippers on this side of the Ocean Sea [the Mediterranean], for the bloodthirsty and bestial nation of Turks had spread over the entire face of the country and there was not a single district at peace. Rather, the entire House of the Christians was betrayed to the sword and captivity. Farmers' crops were interrupted, grain for bread was cut off, laborers and cultivators were reduced by the sword and captivity and, generally, [famine] spread throughout all the land. Many districts became depopulated and the House of the East was pulled apart; the land of the Byzantines turned into a ruin, bread could not be found anywhere nor was there any place to rest except in Edessa and all its borders. There was no rest for people in Antioch and the entire land of Cilicia as far as Tarsus and the entire land of Marash, to Tluk' and all their surrounding lands [g217]. [This was because] all creation fled and came in a mass to these lands in countless multitudes, thousands upon thousands, myriads upon myriads. Humanity billowed upon the earth, covering these lands of ours the way locusts cover the ground in their multitude. I can say beyond this that there were seven times more people than Moses led through the [Red] Sea, more than the quails in the Sinai Desert [compare Exodus 16.13]. Thus was the country filled up with an enormous multitude. Grandees and glorious men, *azats* and princes and illustrious women wandered about, begging. We saw all this with our own eyes. From famine and [the harshness of an] exile's life [many] died throughout the entire country. [Grave-diggers] became exhausted burying them and the country filled up with their corpses. Beasts and birds even wearied of eating them. The ground stank from the innumerable multitude of their decaying unburied bodies. Glorious priests and clerics died in exile and became food for beasts and birds. This became the start of the destruction and dissolution of the House of the East and of the Byzantines. It was because of our sins that we were punished by God, the Righteous Judge, according to what the Savior said, that "Every tree which does not produce good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire."

In this year was slain Gagik the *shahnshah*, son of Ashot, son of Gagik son of [g218] Smbat, son of [Ashot] the Iron of the Bagratid line. Now it came about that Gagik, king of the Armenians, was leading a brigade of his troops and descended on the city of Tarsus to visit [the city's Byzantine governor] Aplgharib, prince of the Armenians. [Aplgharib] was the son of Hasan, son of Xul Xach'ik, a brave man from the district of Vaspurakan. [Gagik] went to Aplgharib on a matter of friendship since Aplgharib had called Gagik about an alliance. For some reason the matter of alliance did not take place and, [angered], Gagik turned back, roaring like a lion. He was a great, mighty, and valiant man. He had seized all the princes of the district and was leading them before him in iron chains. He came with a thousand men to the plain of Ar'zhaxas, to the fortress called Kizistra. The fortress keepers were three brothers, princes of the Byzantines, sons of Mandale'. Gagik left his troops on the other side of the road while he, with three men, went to meet them. [The latter], meanwhile, prepared in advance, had placed 50 men in an ambush, waiting for Gagik. When Gagik approached the fortress, the three brothers came out and prostrated themselves before him. When Gagik saw them, he called them to embrace him. But when they got close, the three of them together wrapped themselves around Gagik's neck, and threw him from his horse. The men who were with him fled, while those in the ambush seized him. When [Gagik's] troops heard about this, they dispersed [g219]. [The ambushers] brought Gagik into the fortress.

[77] Eight days later there assembled against the fortress the entire [armed forces] of the House of the Armenians: Gagik, son of Abas and the entire clan of Senek'erim, Atom and Apusahl, and besides them all the princes of the Armenians. For some days they battled against the fortress, but were unable to accomplish anything since it was extremely secure. As for those who had seized Gagik, they did not dare to release him out of fear of him. Then the impious Philaretus sent to them, saying: "How could you dare to do that to a royal man? Whether you release him or not, your actions will bring about your own destruction." Then the God-killing nation of Byzantines strangled the king of the Armenians with a bowstring and hanged his body from the wall for a day. Then they removed it and buried it outside the fortress. Six months later a man named Banik came from his city and stole the body of King Gagik, removing it from the grave at night and taking it to his city and family. Then the entire nation of the Armenians conducted a great mourning over him and buried him in his monastery of Pizu. [Gagik's] senior son, Yovhann's, survived him. From that day the kingdom ended in the House of the Armenians and in the line of the Bagratids. And there was fulfilled the prophecy of Saint Nerse's, the Armenian *kat'oghikos*, who said: "Kingship will completely end in the House of the Armenians."

Also occurring in 530 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1081-1082] [g220] Lord Barsegh, the archbishop of Shirak, who was in the city of Ani, arose and went to that part of the land of the Armenians in the district of Aghuan to the city of Lor'e' to the king of the Armenians Kiwrike' [Gurgen II-Kiwrike, 1046-1081/89], son of Dawit' *Anhoghin*, and asked to be ordained [a] *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians. King Kiwrike' assembled the bishops of the land of the Aghuans and also brought Lord Step'annos, *kat'oghikos* of the Aghuans, to the monastery named Haghbat. [There] they ordained Lord Barsegh *kat'oghikos* to [occupy] the throne of Saint Gregory over the entire land of the Armenians. [This was done] by the order of King Kiwrike' and Lord Step'annos who held the throne of the blessed Apostle Thaddeus. Thus, in this period, the throne of Saint Gregory was renewed in the city of Ani where, for a long time, it had been obstructed by the envious treachery of the wicked and embittered nation of Byzantines. Then Barsegh, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, arose and came to the city of Ani, the royal residence, and the entire House of Shirak arose and came before him. And behold, there came Lord Barsegh's father, Vasak, and his brothers Hasan, Grigor, and Apljapak, brave and valiant men, with the bishops, and seated Lord Barsegh on the throne of Lord Petros. That was a great a joyous day for the entire House of the Armenians [g221], since they saw the throne of the patriarchate restored in the city of Ani.

[78] In this period a certain emir by the name of Xosrov came with many troops from the land of the Persians. He reached the district of Edessa, wrecking places here and there. In these days there was warfare around the Euphrates River at a place called Mknik, close to the fortress called Ltar. This was because the fortress garrisons of that district had assembled to fight him [Emir Xosrov]. On that day the Turks were victorious and killed many Christians. After some days Emir Xosrov arose and went raiding the country of the Tachiks, from Harran to Mutepe'r. For two days they were on their horses and then came to the gates of the city of Harran with much booty. In that city was an emir of the Arabs named Shure'h-he'chm, son of Quraysh, who was known as She're'p'n-To'l. In these days Emir Shure'h was in Harran with Arab troops, and he arose in battle against the Persian troops with 2,000 cavalry. The Turks had 10,000 men. When they clashed with each other, the Turks were put to flight and sustained severe casualties as they were pursued, disgorging all their booty and captives. The entire district of Edessa filled up with slaves from the Turks. Under every bush and stone troops of the Turks were found where they had fallen, trying to escape.

In 532 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1083-1084] there died [g222] Basil, son of Apuk'ap, lord of Edessa. They buried him at [the monastery of] Saint Ge'org *Ko'tewor*. He was a good, pious man, good to the whole land, merciful towards orphans and widows, a builder of the land and a bringer of peace. There was great mourning throughout the land of Edessa and in all its districts, since he was like a father and a parent to great and small. Having arisen with a good reputation, he departed this world and went to Christ. The entire city held an assembly in the blessed [church of] Sophia and they gave the city of Edessa into the hands of Smbat. [Smbat] was a brave and valiant warrior against the Persians. Smbat occupied the throne of the duchy of Edessa for

six months.

A certain one of the city's grandees, who was called Ishxan ("Prince"), attempted to take the throne of the duchy from the Armenian people. He was from the clan called Arjk't'onk'. [Ishxan] rebelled and went to Philaretus, for he had lots of family and grandee clan members in the city of Edessa. [Ishxan] moved Philaretus, brought him to Edessa, and they gave the city over to Philaretus. After a few days, Philaretus arrested Ishxan and his entire clan, as well as Smbat. He demolished their residences from top to bottom and took vengeance on all the grandee princes of the Armenians in the city of Edessa. He killed the Arjuk prince with torture [g223] and took the rest to the city of Marash. He blinded that brave man, Smbat, as well as Ishxan and his brother, Theodoric. As for the other princes, [Philaretus] kept them in chains in the city of Marash, because of his wickedness.

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Also in the year 533 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1084-1085] the city of Antioch was taken from the Christians. This happened because of [the activities of] a certain emir [named] Sulaiman ibn Qutlumush/Kutlumish [1077-1086] who lived in the city of Nicaea in the land of the Bithynians, which borders the Ocean Sea. [Qutlumush] arose secretly and, travelling via a remote route, secretly arrived at the city of Antioch. Finding the city of Antioch unprepared, he stole it in the night, [attacking] from the side facing Aleppo. Now Philaretus then was in the city of Edessa and at the time had no cavalry with him in the city. Sulaiman entered the city of Antioch with [only] 300 men. The next morning, when the residents saw what had happened, they were horrified, since they had no military men among them. Rather, they resembled weak women. One and all they gathered in the citadel while, day by day, the troops of the Turks increased. [Sulaiman] took the city and did not harm anyone. He harassed the citadel for many days with hunger and thirst. After all this, [those in the citadel] requested an oath from the emir. Sulaiman gave all [assurances] and there was peace [g224], and every man returned unharmed to his home.

Now when Philaretus heard about all this he was unable to do a thing except sigh and bitterly regret what had happened. Thus it came about that Sulaiman ruled over Antioch and the entire land of the Cilicians. In this manner was the populous city of Antioch taken from the weak and loathsome people called Pelitik', who said that they were Roman by confession, though by language and deeds they were simply Tachiks and cursers of orthodox faith, haters of saintly life, and persecutors of the faith of the Armenians. They resembled sick and weak women who sit in the streets and babble.

Now let me tell you about an astonishing event which occurred in Antioch 20 years previously, which we ourselves heard from the residents, [demonstrating] how evil and hate-filled the Antiochenes were toward the Armenians. Whenever they seized a foreigner, they cut off his beard and expelled him through the city gates. Now it happened that one day they had seized a certain glorious personage from Ani, cut off his beard, took all his goods, and expelled him from the city. Injured, he went and got a force of 500 Turks who came and enslaved all the district of Antioch and burned down twelve [g225] villages belonging to the duke. Then he brought many captives to the city gates, killed them, threw their bodies into the river, and shouted to the city: "I am Gorg of Shirak, he whose beard you cut off. Was one beard worth this or not?" Then he departed with an inestimable amount of booty.

Similarly [marvellous was an event] which occurred during the days of [the feast of] *Barekendan* of the same year. A caravan had arrived at the city of Antioch from the East, bringing a cargo of *tarex* [salmon] fish. The men [who were part of the caravan] were in the midst of the marketplace, drunk. When the citizens heard the sound of their dancing, all the men of the city came upon them, beating them with sticks, and began to expel them from the city. Now there were 80 men [of the caravan] with truncheons, who had been selected for their bravery. When their leaders called out to them, together, in their drunken state, they attacked the citizens and put all the men of the city to flight from the gate of Sewoti to [the church of] Lord Peter, breaking the skulls

and legs of many of them. Then [the Antiochenes] swore by the Cross and the Gospel that they would no longer bother them. And then peace was established and they returned to their own place.

[80] Also in 534 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1085-1086] there died the *vardapet* of the Armenians, Yakobos K'arabnets'i, who was also called Sanahnets'i, a mighty and capable man. He was accomplished in [scholarship of] the Old and New Testaments of God, [a man] who had studied and mastered philosophical rhetoric, and was deeply knowledgeable in all philosophical learning. He was a student [g226] of the great De'oskoros, abbot of Sanahin. It was this Yakobos who spoke in Constantinople among the Byzantine philosophers during the reign of Emperor Ducas, when he went there along with Senek'erim's sons. He discoursed on the faith of the Armenians and the entire House of the Byzantines was satisfied with his words. In this period he was an old man, and was residing in the city of Edessa. [It was believed that] he died through some plot or treachery, since they found him dead in his bed without any suffering or pain. All those who liked and were close to him wept for him. The entire city of Edessa gathered and, with great solemnity, they buried him by the door of his blessed church in the northern part of the city, the distance of a bowshot from the wall.

In this year the ruler of the Arabs was Quraysh's son, who was called Sharaf ad-Daulah. He was a good man and so kind to the Christian faithful that pen cannot record the many acts of goodness shown to the Cross-worshipping peoples. Indeed, for the sake of [protecting] the believers in Christ, he subjected many of his own people to severe chastisements, punishments, and even death. [Sharaf ad-Daulah] assembled some 100,000 Arab troops and went and took the city of Aleppo, marrying the daughter of the lord of the city. Then he angrily attacked the city of Antioch. Sulaiman, the emir of Antioch, came against him with many troops at a place [g227] called Pzah, where the two sides engaged in a fierce battle. It was at that point that the Arab troops began to betray their ruler ("king") and, one and all, turned to flight. As they were going, the ruler of the Arabs was slain by his own troops, and thus died the goodly ruler Sharaf ad-Daulah, son of Quraysh. Three days later they found his body and buried it there by the road. In great triumph Sulaiman returned to Antioch, and at that moment a son was born to him. [Sulaiman] named his son Kilij-Arslan.

In this year a certain emir named Po'lch'tachi took the district of Jahan from Philaretus. The *kat'oghikos*, Lord T'eodoros, thus passed under his jurisdiction. Philaretus summoned [the *kat'oghikos*] to come to him in the city of Marash, but he was unable to do so because he was under the rule of the Turks. Thus Philaretus became embittered with Lord T'e'o'doros and thought to establish [yet] another *kat'oghikos*. This was because of [Philaretus'] unjust and evil nature. Therefore he summoned Lord Yovhannes', archbishop of [the monastery of] the blessed icon of the Virgin Mary, exalting him. However, [Lord Yovhannes'] did not acquiesce in this, since he was a formidable, glorious, and highly virtuous man. Then Philaretus summoned Lord Po'ghos, abbot of [the monastery of the] Holy Cross of Varag. [Philaretus] convened an assembly of bishops and fathers and had Po'ghos ordained [g228] to the *kat'oghikosate* in the city of Marash. This was done at Philaretus' order and by his will, and not God's. None of this was acceptable to God or to the believers in Christ. When Po'ghos observed this, after a few days he left the throne, since he was a blessed, virtuous man who realized that [the enthronement] was wrong and unorthodox.

[81] In this period there was great noise and disturbance regarding the throne of Saint Gregory the Illuminator. This was because at the time governance of the blessed See was not done at God's command or by worthiness [of the candidates], but rather by force, opportunity, and [the will of] those with great authority. Things were not done by the revelation of the Holy Spirit, but rather by opportunism and success bought by gold and silver. Behold, in these days, the class of blessed and virtuous folk turned away through embarrassment, while those who had fallen from the grace of Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God, pressed forward. Here was the beginning of the fulfillment of the vision of Saint Sahak Part'ew, wherein he spoke of the destruction of characters written in gold and their replacement by characters written in black ink. For behold, in this period the throne of Saint Gregory was divided into four parts: Lord Vahram was [a *kat'oghikos*] in Egypt; Lord T'eodoros was in Honi; Lord Barsegh was in the royal residential city of the Armenians, in Ani; and Lord Po'ghos was in the city of Marash. Moreover, each of them [g229] was

ordaining bishops and blessing the holy chrism, while [the bishops] were ordaining priests who performed the mass, [and conducted] baptisms, and weddings. All this brought great mourning upon the Church of God, since one flock of sheep was divided among four shepherds, while wolves became the guardians of Christ's flock. Behold, in these times the rational sheep wore the nature of dogs and acquired the hearts of beasts and dared to bark at the faces of pastors and patriarchs. Fathers hated their children; children cursed and hated their parents. All these things were precursors of the Antichrist and the beginning of the end of the world, the destruction of faith and piety. [They also were] the fulfillment of prophesies written in the sacred books and which Saint Nerse's and his son, Saint Sahak, described and which, in our time, were spoken about by the blessed *vardapet* Yovhanne's, called Kozer'n. [The latter] spoke many prophetic words about these times and about the destruction of piety in everyone's minds and the weakening of faith—[matters] which also had been described in the same earlier works.

Now all this commotion and these signs of [divine] anger were not able to enter the land of the Aghuans, which is called the inner land of the Armenians, and where the see of the blessed Apostle Thaddeus is located. All this [confusion] did not bring about a division of the holy see there. Rather, [the church in Aghuania] remained unshaken and secure, with its patriarchate and [g230] monarchy to the present. [The Aghuanian patriarchs] sat on the apostolic see in the Armenian city of Partaw, called P'aytakaran, which borders the expansive [Caspian] Sea. Now when the Persians [under the Saljuqs] had grown strong, the throne of the [Aghuanian] patriarchate was moved to Gandzak. The *kat'oghikoi* of the Aghuans who are encountered in this book of ours are: Lord Yovhanne's and Lord Ge'org, Lord Yovse'p', Lord Markos and Lord Step'annos. The kings of the Aghuans are Gagik, Dawit', and Kiwrike', who presently sit in the city of Lo'r'e' of the Armenians. There were, besides, other kings of the Armenians in the land of Darband which is called Kapank', which borders the Ossetes and Aghuans, who are pure and of blessed faith and who are mentioned in the holy mass along with other pious and blessed kings. They are named Vajagan and his son, Goshaktak; Goshaktak's son, P'ilipe'; P'ilipe's son, Goshaktak; P'ilipe's son, Sewada; Senek'erim, son of Sewada; Grigor, son of Senekerim, who is still alive while we write this book of ours. In this period there were six *kat'oghikoi* of the Armenians: two in Egypt, and four in all the lands of the Armenians as we have previously described. Moreover, Lord Po'ghos sat as *kat'oghikos* in Marash by order of Philaretus, and not at the command of God.

Now we shall return to [events of] the date [where we left off], having described the [jurisdictional] confusion which descended over the land of the Armenians [g231].

[82] In 534 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1085-1086] the sultan of Damascus, who was named Tutush, came with many troops and started a war against the emir of Antioch, Sulaiman. There was fierce warfare between the two sides in the area between Aleppo and Antioch, where they struck at each other with astonishing vehemence. The two warring antagonists both were Turks and they mercilessly killed [each other's troops] in this area. As the fighting intensified, the sultan's troops defeated Sulaiman's troops and put him to flight. Sulaiman, emir of Antioch, was killed by the troops of Sultan Tutush. Sulaiman was buried close to the grave of Quraysh's son, Sharaf ad-Daulah. In this year Antioch and all its land were taken by Tutush. Tutush was the son of Sultan Alp-Arslan and the brother of Sultan Malik-Shah. Six years earlier he had come with many troops and taken the city of Damascus and killed the great Emir Atsiz, prince of the Persians, who ruled Damascus and all the coastal lands. Atsiz was a Turk, a brave and martial man. He had defeated Egypt and beaten the king [Fatimid caliph] of Egypt, [who was named] Aziz, expelling him from this district. He also took from Egypt the holy city of Jerusalem, Damascus, and all the coastal cities. [Emir Atsiz] terrified the entire House of Egypt until there arose against him [g232] a servant of Aziz, king of Egypt, a man of Armenian nationality who had been brought to him [Aziz] as a slave. [Aziz] [had] named him Amir al-Juyush ("Commander of the Armies"). [This man, Nasir ad-Daulah al-Juyushi,] organized a brigade of Armenian soldiers [from Egypt] against Atsiz and came and fought against him. Then there was peace in the House of Egypt.

At the beginning of the year 535 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1086] the impious Philaretus arose and went to pay homage to Malik-Shah, the conquering sultan. This was to request from him kindness and peace for all

the believers in Christ. [Philaretus] left in charge of his city the great prince of the Byzantines who was called [the] *Paracoemomenus*, a eunuch. He was a good, pious man, and [Philaretus] gave [rule over] Edessa into his hands. Then Philaretus took much treasure of gold and silver, choice horses and mules, and beautiful resplendent garments, and went to the sultan in the land of the Persians. Then a certain one of Philaretus' princes, named Parsama, took some wicked co-conspirators from among the city's princes and, with them, implemented the work of Cain and Judas the killer of God. With his evil colleagues, Parsama went to the chief citadel on a Sunday and entered [the chamber] where the *paracoemomenus* was located. It was the hour of prayer for the latter, and he was praying in the church where the great chapel of Saint Toros is located. And then, like wild animals, they attacked the *paracoemomenus* and killed him while [g233] he was praying in the church. They wickedly killed this good and merciful man. The citizens put on the throne of the dukedom of Edessa his murderer, Parsama.

When Sultan Malik-Shah in Persia heard about all this, he removed Philaretus from his presence and his glory. Then it was that Philaretus, disappointed at every turn, arose to do battle against his own Christianity. He apostatized the Christian faith, which he had held impurely. He thought, by so doing, that he would be glorified by the Persians. But they did not glorify him. All that this denial of Christ gave him was that he became hated by God and by man.

In this same year the world-conquering sultan of the Persians, Malik-Shah—who was of the line of Askanaz—arose with a huge number of troops and entered the Byzantine lands in the West, to rule over those lands. His heart was filled with mildness, gentleness, and mercy to the Christians and he displayed a fatherly mercy to the entire land. Without warfare he came to rule over many cities and districts. In this year the sultan ruled over the entire land of the Armenians and Byzantines. He came against the great city of Antioch, ruling over that land and Aleppo, and thus came to rule from the Caspian Sea to the Ocean [Mediterranean] Sea. Generally he convinced all kingdoms to accept his rule—those on this side of the Mediterranean [g234]—and there remained no land which did not submit to his authority. Twelve lines of kings were tributary to him and obeyed him.

[83] After mastering Antioch, [Malik-Shah] descended to the shore of the Mediterranean Sea at a place called Sewoti [as-Suwaidiyah/Saint Simon]. There the sultan saw the great sea and he thanked and blessed God Who had enlarged his kingdom [to an extent] greater than the kingdom of his father, Alp-Arslan. Then he entered the Ocean astride his horse, drew his sword, struck the water three times with it and exclaimed: "Behold, God has given me to rule from the Persian [Caspian] Sea to this sea." Then he removed garments, spread them on the ground, and prayed to Lord God, blessing the benevolent mercy of God. He commanded his servants to take sand from the seashore, which he carried to Persia and put on the grave of his father, Alp-Arslan, saying: "My father, Alp-Arslan, behold I have glad tidings for you. The small son whom you left [by your death] has come to rule the far corners of the world." Then the sultan placed [as ruler] in Antioch an emir called Yaghi-Siyan (Aghsian), an evil dog of a man, a savage-minded disruptor. He also put in the city of Aleppo [as ruler] Aksungur (Axsngoyr), a good and pacific man, benevolent to all and a builder of the land.

In this year a certain emir by the name of Buzan (Pizan), at the order of the world-conquering sultan Malik-Shah, came with many troops against the city of Edessa. He descended and encamped [g235] by the gates of the city and fought against it for three months. One day the sultan himself arrived with few troops and circled the city and left it unharmed, since he had descended with countless troops on the plain of Harran. From there he departed in peace to the Persians.

Now Buzan came with great warfare against the city of Edessa. He harassed them with hunger for many days. In the face of such anger there was no one to help or save them from any quarter. At that point the entire city grumbled against their duke, Parsama, and the entire multitude of the city rose up against him. [Duke Parsama], in desperation, tried to flee to Buzan. However, he broke his back descending from the walls. They came and took him to Buzan, where he died a few days later. The princes of the city came to Buzan and gave Edessa into his hands. This occurred on the first day of Nawasard in 536 of the Armenian Era [February 26,

1087 - February 26, 1088]. Then great peace descended upon Edessa and all its borders and the city of Edessa filled with every joy. Buzan designated as overseer and protector of the city of Edessa a general (*salar*) named Xulux. Then slanderers [g236] from among the Assyrians went in to Buzan and bad-mouthed the Armenian princes in the city, wickedly slandering them. [This was especially done] by one named Ask'ar and some others. They had those Armenian princes—those twelve great, glorious, and prominent men—killed by the sword. However, Buzan regretted their deaths, since previously he had sworn [not to harm them]. However, due to this malicious betrayal, he did kill them. Then Buzan himself went to the land of the Persians with his troops.

In this year the sultan went with a multitude of troops and encamped against the city called Gandzak in the land of the Armenians. He waged fierce battle against the city of Gandzak, assembling all the Persians against it. Through a sustained attack, they dug up and made to collapse one of the [defense] towers and, through such fighting, they seized the city of Gandzak. They destroyed a small part of the city. [The commander] Buzan ordered that they sheath their swords, and he made peace. At that time Lord Step'annos, *kat'oghikos* of the Aghuans was there in the city. He escaped peacefully by the aid of God, since he was protected by the Armenian troops who were with Buzan.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 2

In these times, during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Alexius [Alexius I Comnenus, 1081-1118] there were disturbances in the western lands on the far side of the great Danube River. Fierce warfare broke out between the Pecheneg people and [g237] the emperor of the Byzantines, Alexius. The king of the Pechenegs conquered the Byzantine troops, driving them before him and killing them severely and mercilessly. As for Emperor Alexius, with a few men he [escaped and] landed in Constantinople. After a few days he opened his treasury and issued edicts throughout all the countries of his realm. He held a great and awesome muster—larger than the previous one—while the king of the Pechenegs, with all his people, was coming against Constantinople so that he might take the Byzantine empire for himself. He came against [Alexius] with 600,000 troops, together with their families and children. Now when Alexius heard about this, he prayed for eight days along with the entire host of the faithful. It was in the year 538 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1089-1090] that Emperor Alexius attacked the Pecheneg troops with his troops, comprising 300,000 Byzantine, Roman, Armenian, and Bulghar [soldiers]. On that day, the two monarchs encountered each other and fought an awesome, ferocious battle against each other. The Pechenegs, generally, were archers, fighting upon carts with tremendous and extraordinary ability. Then, when Emperor Alexius gave the signal, [the Byzantines] set fire to the carts [g238] and burned them. By this tactic Emperor Alexius defeated the Pecheneg troops, putting all of them to flight and severely killing with the sword. [Alexius] killed the king of the Pechenegs and exterminated all their troops. He killed their children and women with the sword, and then, with much booty and captives, he returned to Constantinople.

In this period there appeared in Constantinople a certain evil and filthy heretic. He was a Byzantine monk who worshiped Satan as his god, went around with a dog and offered prayers to it. In the God-worshipping city of Constantinople he corrupted many men and women with such a heresy [which, although comprising] a small portion of the city [included] at the top the mother of Emperor Alexius. The emperor's mother was so emboldened with this evil heresy that she concealed a fragment of the blessed Cross of Christ in the sole of the emperor's shoe, so that the emperor would step on it. When God revealed this filthy heresy to His faithful, the emperor was informed. When pious Emperor Alexius heard about this, he burned the heresiarch in fire and drowned in the Ocean Sea some 10,000 people. He cast his mother from favor and removed her from his presence. Then there was peace [g239].

[85] Also [occurring] in 539 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1090], the patriarch of the Armenians, Lord Barsegh, arose and went to the world-conquering sultan, Malik-Shah. [This visit was] because [Lord Barsegh] had seen that the Christian faithful were being harassed in various places and that taxes were being demanded from the churches of God and all their clergy, and that the monks and bishops were being tormented by taxes. Seeing all this harassment, the *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, Lord Barsegh, decided to go to the good and mild king of the Persians [who also was king] of all believers in Christ, to acquaint him with all of it. Taking along as gifts for the sultan very large amounts of gold, silver, and brocades, [Lord Barsegh, accompanied by] *azats*, bishops, priests, and *vardapets*, went to the pious sultan in Persia. When the sultan saw Lord Barsegh, he

exalted him greatly and granted all his requests, freeing all the churches, monasteries, and priests [from harassment]. He also gave [Lord Barsegh] written [confirmation] of this freedom, and edicts, and then released the patriarch of the Armenians with exaltation. Lord Barsegh, arising with the royal orders, departed in great joy, having glorious men from the sultan[’s court] accompanying him. He arrived at the district of Jahan and rose against Lord T’e’odoros, who had been seated as *kat’oghikos* in Honi by Philaretus. Lord Barsegh deposed [g240] Lord T’e’odoros from his throne, taking from him the veil, scepter, and blessed Cross of Lord Petros. Thus did [Lord Barsegh] unify his patriarchate. From there he went to the city of Edessa. Now it is not blameworthy that the patriarch went to a foreign king and made peace for the blessed Church. It was for peace that Saint Basil had gone to the impious Emperor Julian; and Saint Nerse’s went to the apostate emperor of the Byzantines, Valens; and the blessed Marutha went to Yazdgird; and *vardapet* Nanan went to the king of the Chaldeans; and Christ went to the Jewish nation. Now it was the beginning of the year 540 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1091] when Lord Barsegh went to the great city of Caesarea in Cappadocia and then turned to Antioch, and there was great joy throughout the land among those who saw him. Then once again he returned to Edessa.

In this year, during September, there was an earthquake throughout the entire country, and all creatures under heaven shook with fear. There was great destruction in the city of Antioch and many towers collapsed to their foundations. A large part of Antioch’s wall collapsed and many men and women died under their own dwellings.

In the year 541 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1092] a frightful mortality descended upon all creation and, because of the multitude of the dead, the priests were unable to [g241] bury them. Sounds of weeping and mourning arose from all the houses and mortality increased so much that many trembled more at the fear of death than those who had succumbed. There was incalculable destruction in the land from these deaths.

In this year the blessed Cross of Varag and the icon of the holy Mother of God were brought to the city of Edessa. And there was joy in the House of Abgar. The entire city, stirred [by the event] and overjoyed, went out before [the holy relics] and led them into the city with great solemnity. [A] prince of the land of Edessa used the occasion as an opportunity [for a procession celebrating] those who had come accompanying the blessed bishop, Lord Po’ghos and the other fathers. They deposited the blessed Cross in the church, with splendor. However, after a few years the holy [items] were unjustly ravished and taken from them.

[86] In this year Buzan massed all the troops of Persia and took along with him the great emirs and the lords of Antioch and Aleppo—Yaghi-Siyan and Aksungur. With countless troops he advanced to the land of the Byzantines, descending against the renowned city known as Nicaea. He foolishly and delusionally planned to pass from there to capture the city of Constantinople—[a city] protected and fortified from On High. With his fanatical nature, [Buzan] had determined to take this unassailable city. He remained there for several days, but was unable to accomplish anything [g242].

In this year the great world-conqueror, Sultan Malik-Shah, died. He was a father and parent to everyone, being a good and merciful man and [a person] mild toward all [people] in the land. He died in the city of Baghdad through a treacherous plot hatched by his own wife, the daughter of the sultan of Samarqand. She had the good man drink poison and thus took the life of this very great king. And then there was great and deep mourning throughout the entire world. When Buzan learned about the sultan’s death, he returned to the city of Edessa, while Yaghi-Siyan went to Antioch and Aksungur went to the city of Aleppo. As it happened, Lord Barsegh was in the city of Edessa. Like a fugitive he went off to the city of Ani and occupied his see there.

In the same year there was severe killing and bloodshed in the House of the Armenians, since the troops of the Turks attacked and killed many people. The sultan died and the nation of Turks enslaved many people. They took the sultan and buried him close to the grave of his father, Alp-Arslan, in the city of Marand. [Malik-Shah] left two sons: the senior, called Berk-Yaruq, was born from the daughter of the great emir Argun

(Akut'), Alp-Arslan's relation; the other son, named Sap'ar, was born from the daughter of the sultan of Samargand, who resided in the city of Uzgand (O'zkan) and in Ghazni (Xzne'). They placed the senior son, Berk-Yaruq, on the throne of his father, Malik-Shah, and established him as sultan of all Persia. Emir Ismayil, son [g243] of Argun, [Berk-Yaruq's] maternal uncle, they made regent over the entire land of Persia, as he was a good and very merciful man and a builder of the land. This Ismayil ruled like a king over the entire land of the Armenians, where he started to build it up and kept all the monasteries free from the evils of the Persians.

Also in the year 542 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1093] there died Lord Poghos, he whom Philaretus had seated on the throne of the *kat'oghikosate* of the Armenians in the city of Marash. He had come along with the blessed Cross of Christ and died in this year in the city of Edessa. He was buried with great solemnity by the door of the holy church, close to the tomb of the *vardapet*.

Also in the same year there died Ge'org *vardapet* of the Armenians, who was called Ur'chets'i. He was an illuminator of our House of the Armenians, a source of inexhaustible springs [of knowledge], [a man] with a fiery tongue. With his knowledge, learning, and divine graces, he equaled the first divinely-inspired blessed *vardapets* of the Byzantines—I refer to Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, Basil, and others like them. He led a life of wondrous deportment and lived to one hundred. He was buried at the great retreat of Karmnjadzor, close to the grave(s) of *vardapets* Samue'l and Xach'ik, who was a musician of choral music. There was mourning among all [g244] God-fearing people who had been deprived of such a radiant *vardapet*.

In this year troops were assembled by the sultan of Damascus, who was called Tutush, and who was the son of Alp-Arslan and the brother of Malik-Shah. [Tutush] wanted to arise and go to the land of the Persians with many troops and take the throne of the realm from his brother, Malik-Shah. He arrived at the city of Antioch where its emir came forth to do obeisance to the sultan. From there [Tutush] passed on to Aleppo, where emir Aksungur emerged to pay homage to him. With countless troops [Tutush] went on to the land of the Persians.

[87] In this year there took place a huge massing of countless troops—some 400,000 of them—in the House of the Arabs, and all Babylon went to the Mosul district. The king of the Arab troops was Ibrahim [Nasir ad-Daulah Ibrahim], son of Quraysh and brother of Sharaf ad-Daulah. Then Sultan Tutush arrived at the city called Nisibis—which is Mtsbin—and took it after great warfare. He looted the entire city. The Armenian troops who were with the sultan killed some 10,000 Tachiks. Then the Arab army came and reached the confines of Mtsbin, descending at a place called Hermez. At this, the sultan sent to Edessa and, with a great oath, had Emir Buzan brought to him with many troops. Then [Buzan] came and [Tutush] went to war against the king of the Tachiks. The two kings encountered one another in the plain of Mtsbin, causing many deaths. After a fierce [g245] battle, the sultan turned back the troops of the Arabs and put them to flight. He pursued them with the sword and seized Ibrahim, king of the Arabs. [Ibrahim's] head had been pierced by an arrow, which had penetrated his steel helmet and gone deeply inside, causing his death. [Tutush's forces] took as booty their women, children, flocks, and the entire multitude of their horses. Then, in great triumph, Sultan Tutush went on to the land of the Persians. The multitude of his army had increased and they covered the plains and hills of the East.

Now when all this was known to Berk-Yaruq, sultan of the Persians, who was Tutush's nephew (brother's son), he arose with an inestimable multitude of troops and went to make war against his uncle. When Tutush heard about Berk-Yaruq's coming, he prepared to go against him. It was at this point that Buzan and Xnkur and their troops rebelled against Tutush during the night and went over to Berk-Yaruq. When Tutush learned about their treachery, he did not dare to go to war. Rather, he turned around and went to his land and entered the city of Damascus. Then he went to Tripoli and subdued it and all the coastal cities. He remained in those lands for six months.

In 543 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1094] Berk-Yaruq's [rule over the] realm was succeeding. He designated over the Persian troops as *asparapet* [commander-in-chief] the prominent [g246] and glorious Emir Ismayil,

son of Akut', his mother's brother, since he had ruled the entire land of the Armenians [competently]. In every way [Ismayil] was mild, merciful and good, caring, benevolent, a peace-maker, and a builder of the entire land of the Armenians. [In addition, he was] an embellisher of monasteries, and a comforter of clerics. He protected the [Christian] faithful from all the evils of the Persians. During his day, everyone ruled over his own patrimony, and all the Armenians were filled with joy. Now Berk-Yaruq designated him as lord of the gates of the land, while he himself sat upon the throne of his realm in peace. And then, behold, the great Emir Ismayil came with many troops and circulated throughout the land of the Persians. Buzan and Aksungur were with him. They arrived at a place called Jaghts'adzor in the land of the Persians, where Buzan and Aksungur began to work treachery against the great emir Ismayil. One day they emerged from the army and took him away from the troops, on the pretext of having a discussion, [just] the three of them. They attacked Ismayil, threw him down from his horse, put a cord around his neck, and strangled that good king. Then they themselves fled from Sultan Berk-Yaruq and each went to his own city: Buzan to Edessa, and Aksungur to Aleppo. When the great sultan [Berk-Yaruq] heard about the death of the great Ismayil, he deeply regretted it.

[88] In this same year Sultan Tutush with many troops, a countless multitude [g247] came against Aleppo. Aksungur and Buzan assembled and went to war against the sultan. The sultan conquered the forces of Aksungur and Buzan and put them to flight. On that day Aksungur and Buzan were killed and [Tutush] captured Aleppo. The head of the great emir Buzan was affixed to a pole and brought to Edessa, and [Tutush] took the city of Edessa. Tutush ruled over all their districts. Then the sultan came to Edessa and established as chief of the city the Byzantine prince T'oros, whom they said was Het'um's son. Then the sultan himself went to Persia, to war against Berk-Yaruq. Now Tutush's military commander, who was named Yaghi-Siyan (Aghusian), lord of Antioch, descended with many troops on the renowned fortress called Zarinak [or, Zo'rinak] in the land of the Armenians. He took it after great fighting and killed countless Christians. At this juncture, a letter arrived for the sultan [Tutush] from his brother's wife [urging him] to go there quickly so that she could make him her husband. When the sultan heard this, he hastened to Persia where he encamped on the plain of Isfahan. Berk-Yaruq sent entreaties to Tutush, [saying]: "Give me [only] the city of Isfahan, and everything else shall be yours." However, [Tutush] would not heed his pleas. Then the two sides attacked each other, each having countless, innumerable multitudes [of troops]. Then the banner of Malik-Shah was unfurled and was seen by the Persian troops—at which, a great majority of the troops went over to [g248] Berk-Yaruq's side. There was a severe slaughter. As for the impious Yaghi-Siyan, he was then [concealed] with many troops in an ambush. He fled without fighting. Seeing this, Tutush's troops fled, one and all. It was one [significant] day for the Persian troops, as thousands and tens of thousands of them fled across the face of the country. At the same time Tutush was surrounded. They wounded his horse, which threw him to the ground, where he sat surrounded by troops. Yet no one dared to approach him, since he was a royal personage, and the brother of Malik-Shah. However, a certain emir from the troops of Berk-Yaruq approached with a sword and cut off his head. They took and buried him near the grave of his father.

Ridvan (R'atuan), who was Tutush's son, along with Yaghi-Siyan and all the other fugitives came to the city of Edessa. *Curopolate* T'oros, who was in Edessa, and was an eloquent and very capable man, received them [although] he wanted to arrest them so that he could take Edessa's citadel. However, the other princes did not consider this prudent, and so [the fugitives] peaceably went, each to his own city. Then *Curopolate* T'oros tried with many stratagems to rule over the city and save the faithful from the foreigners. He started to build walls opposite the citadel and fortified the walls on one part of the city, as the citadel was outside the walls. In it were Turkish guards as well as a brigade of Armenian troops which Tutush had set there [g249]. When the military commander (*aspasalar*) who was in Maniakes' fortress saw that the *curopolate* had fortified the city and had isolated the citadel from the city, he wrote a letter notifying the nearby emirs about what *Curopolate* T'oros had done. He said that "from the sea gate to [the church of] Saint Theodore he has walled the city, erected 25 towers, taken the inner citadel and ruled the entire city of Edessa."

In the year 544 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1095], Suqman, son of Artuq, and the emir of Samosata, Baldux,

son of Amir-Ghazi, gathered cavalry and came against Edessa at harvest time. *Curopolate* T'oros, lord of Edessa, who was full of all wisdom, began to fortify the city on all sides. [The attackers] erected catapults and other [siege] machines and mercilessly hit the city walls. The Turks stayed there for many days waging ceaseless war, but were unable to capture the city. After 65 days they breached the city's walls in two places, entered, and fought inside the city, but were unable to conquer it. At this point the sultan of Aleppo, called Ridvan, son of Tutush, and Yaghi Siyan [g250], lord of Antioch, descended on Edessa with 40,000 [troops]. Suqman and Baldux fled from the sultan. When the citizens saw the troops, they were horrified. However, the *curopolate* T'oros, like a lion, encouraged the entire city of Edessa and gave a countless amount of treasure for the city's needs. For many days [the attackers] conducted fierce warfare against the city but, by the aid of God, they were unable to accomplish anything, since the whole city had become lion-hearted and resisted the foreigners. Despite the intense warfare the troops of the foreigners departed in disgrace, unable to do anything. And then one of the sultan's troops, who was named Mxit'ar and who was Christian, planned with his men to give the citadel to *Curopolate* T'oros. The patrician Mxit'ar, with thirty men, did what was necessary during the night and gave the senior fortress of Maniakes to the *curopolate* T'oros. Then there was peace in the city of Edessa. T'oros sent troops to a fortress of Edessa called T'rsich to make the country obedient to himself. Baldux, the emir of Samosata, arrived accompanied by all the troops of the district. They fought in the confines of T'rsich fortress and put to flight the troops of Edessa. [The attackers] reached the village called Andr'anos, killing 150 people there and arresting others [g251].

[89] In this year Sultan al-Faraj (Alp'irak), of the line of Qutlumush, was brought to Edessa at T'oros' order. T'oros gave Edessa into his hands in order to take vengeance on his enemies. However, al-Faraj planned to kill him and loot the entire city. When *Curopolate* T'oros learned about all this treachery, he gave him poison to drink, quickly sent him to the baths where, during the same hour, he died. When all of [al-Faraj's] troops heard about this, they fled. Then, once more, *Curopolate* T'oros ruled over Edessa. The rule of al-Faraj, who had been brought to Edessa, lasted 33 days.

In this year there died the great musician and pillar of the Church, Lord T'e'odoros, [a] *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians. He was buried in Honi, near Lord Sargis.

Also [occurring] in 545 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1096], the sultan of the West—who was called Kilij-Arslan, the son of Sulaiman, son of Qutlumush—came with a countless multitude against the city of Melitene. They filled the entire plain and waged ferocious warfare against the city of Melitene, harassing the city with catapults. Now the prince of the city—who was called Xo'ril and was the father-in-law of *Curopolate* T'oros—resisted the sultan valiantly and fortified the city on all sides. The sultan remained there for many days but was unable to do anything, and so he went back to his own land in disgrace [g252].

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 2

In these times there was fulfilled the prophecy which had been told to the *naxarars* and princes of the Armenians by the blessed Nerse's, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, about the rise of the Romans [Westerners]. What that blessed and wonder-working man of God, Nerse's the Great, had prophesied at the time of his death in days gone by [was realized] in these present times and witnessed with our own eyes. It was the [same] vision seen by the blessed Daniel in Babylon, where he saw the form of a strange beast which he clearly saw and revealed [details] about its eating, chewing, and trampling the remainder [compare Daniel 7.7].

In this period the rise of the Romans occurred and the gates of the nation of the Latins was opened. [This was because] the Lord wanted, through their agency, to war against the House of the Persians. The Lord turned from his anger, according to the words of the prophet Daniel, who said: "Arise, why do you sleep, O Lord, arise and do not reject us forever," and "The Lord arose from sleep like a strong man who puts aside his wine. He threw back his enemies and made them accursed forever." So it came about in this year that [many nations] were on the move: all Italy and Spain to Africa and the distant nation of the Franks swarmed in a countless and immense multitude like locusts which cannot be counted or like the sands of the sea which the mind cannot reckon. In awesome grandeur and high-ranking leadership there arose [g253] and came princes of the Franks, each with his own troops, coming to the aid of Christians and to save the holy city of Jerusalem from the foreigners and to free from the Tachiks the blessed Sepulcher which had received God in it.

They were glorious men and kings, adorned with faith and all piety, nourished in good deeds. Here are their names: Godfrey (Kondop're'), a mighty man, from the line of kings of the Romans and his brother, Baldwin (Paghtin). It was this Godfrey who possessed and had with him the sword and crown of the emperor Vespasian, with which he had destroyed Jerusalem. Also [arriving were] the great count named Bohemond (Pemund) and his sister's son, Tancred (Tangri); the count named Saint Gilles (Znchil), an awesome, glorious man; Robert, count of Normandy; and also another Baldwin. Subsequently there arrived the count named Joscelin (Cho'slin) a mighty and valiant man. Such mighty and martial men as these came with an immense multitude, as numerous as the stars in the sky. Along with them came many bishops, priests, and deacons, With much labor they travelled through the distant land of the Romans and, with wicked trouble, they passed through the land of the Hungarians, through the narrow and difficult passes of their mountains. They arrived at the borders of the Bulgars, which was under the rule of Alexius, emperor of the Byzantines. With such travelling they reached Constantinople, the great [city].

[91] When Emperor Alexius heard of their coming [g254], he sent troops against them in warfare. There was frightful killing on both sides. The Franks put to flight the Byzantine troops. There was much bloodshed on that day. In this fashion, wherever [the Franks] travelled, the entire land came against them in battle and harassed them with many evils. When Emperor Alexius heard about all this, he sheathed his sword and did not offer any further warfare against them. One and all the entire army [of Europeans] came and descended

upon the gates of Constantinople and sought passage across the Ocean Sea [Mediterranean]. Emperor Alexius made peace and alliance with all the princes of the Franks and took them to [the church of] Saint Sophia. He gave them many gifts of gold and silver. They vowed to him that all the districts which previously had belonged to the Byzantines and which they would take from the Persians would be given to Emperor Alexius. As for the lands of the Persians and Arabs, those would belong to the Frankish nation. This understanding they sealed with Cross and Gospel as an unbreakable vow. Taking troops and princes from the emperor, they sailed across the great Ocean and arrived with a multitudinous army at the city called Nicaea which borders the Ocean Sea.

All the troops of the Persians massed against the troops of the Franks which were encamped in those borders. They made war against the troops of the Franks. On this occasion the troops of the Franks conquered the troops of the Persians and [g255] put them to flight. They pursued and attacked them with the sword and filled the land with blood. They fought against the city of Nicaea, took it with the sword, and killed all the unbelievers. Then [Muslims] went wailing to Sultan Kilij-Arslan who, at the time, was warring against the city of Melitene, and they informed him about all this. He massed a countless multitude and came against the Frankish troops in the district of Nicaea. There was a fierce battle between the two sides in which they mercilessly and valiantly attacked one another, savagely hitting the front lines. Driven on by the flashing of helmets, the clanging of coats of mail, and the crackling noise of bows, the entire mass of the foreigners' troops was forced to concentrate. Indeed, the ground itself shook from the din of battle and even the horses trembled from the whizzing of arrows. The brave, select warriors arose against their foes, brave against brave and, like lion cubs, mercilessly struck at each other. That day of the first battle turned out to be a great and significant one, since the sultan fought against the nation of Franks with 600,000 men. The Frankish troops triumphed against so many Persian combatants, putting them to flight with fearsome and severe casualties. The bodies of the dead covered the plain, while [the Franks] took myriad upon myriad of captives and immense loot. There was no counting the gold and silver which they took from the Persians [g256]. Three days later the sultan again massed troops and, with an enormous multitude, came against the Frankish troops. They fought a battle more frightful and intense than before. The troops of the Franks hurled the same fury at the Persian troops and, with great killing and captive-taking, they removed them from that land. The Frankish forces gave Nicaea into the hands of Alexius, emperor of the Byzantines.

In 546 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1097], during the days of the patriarchs of the Armenians, Lord Vahram and Lord Barsegh, and during the reign of Alexius, emperor of the Byzantines, the army of the Westerners ("Romans") went on the move with an awesome multitude of some 500,000 men. The prince of Edessa, Toros, was informed about this by letter, as was the great prince of the Armenians, Kostand, son of R'uben. [The latter] held the Taurus Mountains in the land of Kopitar in Marapa and also ruled over many other districts. He [had been] one of Gagik's troops. The Frankish forces in their great multitude took to the road, going through the land of Bithynia and, with their vast army, passed through the borders of Cappadocia, reaching the difficult places in the Taurus Mountains. The multitude of the army went through the narrow passes and came through Cilicia. They passed through Trovarda, which is Anawarza, and reached the city of Antioch. This enormous force encamped opposite it and filled its broad [g257] plain, confining in the city Yaghi-Siyan, military commander of the Persians and his troops. With fierce fighting [the Franks] besieged the city for ten months. When this was known by the Persians of the neighboring lands, they came to war against the Frankish troops, with great preparation. However, the latter put all their enemies to shameful flight. In these days the foreigners held a muster. Coming in a countless multitude against the troops of the Franks were Damascus, all the Africans together with all the coastal areas to Jerusalem, and all the adjacent areas of Egypt, Aleppo, Homs, as far as the great Euphrates River. When [the Franks] learned about the coming of the foreigners, they encouraged their troops and arose against them. Bohemond, a brave and martial man, and Saint Gilles were like lions—with 10,000 [men] they attacked 100,000 in the borders of Antioch. In massive triumph they put to flight and severely killed the Persian troops.

[92] Now it came about that Emir Suqman, son of Artuq, a brave and martial man, together with the lord of

Damascus, both glorious grandee emirs, gathered the Turkish troops of Mosul and of the entire land of the Babylonians, some 30,000 [men] and came against the Frankish army. The great Duke Godfrey with 7,000 [troops] went against the foreigners in the borders of Aleppo and waged intense warfare. The emir of Damascus, who was named Tugh-Tegin went opposite Godfrey [g258], that brave man, and unhorsed him. But [Tugh-Tegin] was unable to puncture the iron mail [armor], and [Godfrey] departed unharmed. At that point [the Franks] put the foreigners to flight and then the Franks pursued, putting their swords to work. They put the foreigners to flight and returned to their own camp with great triumph. Now due to the multitude of troops, danger came upon them from a lack of bread and food. However, the princes who dwelled in the Taurus Mountains—Kostand, son of Ruben, the second prince, Bazuni, and the third prince, O'shin—sent to the military commander of the Franks all the victuals needed. Similarly, the monks on Black Mountain helped them with food, while all the nations of believers showed them friendship. Despite this, due to the [continued] lack of [sufficient] food, death and affliction descended on the army of Franks. One in five of them perished, and the rest felt themselves in exile. However, the mercy of God did not abandon them, but rather shepherded them with a father's love, like [He helped] the army of the sons of Israel in the desert.

In this year a comet arose in the western part [of the sky] in the month of Areg, its tail casting little light. It remained for 15 days and then became invisible [g259].

In this year an awesome and astonishing sign appeared in the northern part of the sky. No one, previously, had seen such a wondrous omen. For in the month of Mareri the face of the Heavens blazed, flaring up with fire and, from its [normal] transparency [the sky] turned an intense red. The firmament clumped itself into hills and blazed with color. They arose and glided across the face of the Heavens going east, and accumulated here and there, [eventually] covering the greater part of the sky. An extremely red and astonishing color reached up to the vault of the firmament. Wise and clever people, when they became acquainted with this, said: "It is an omen of bloodshed." And, indeed, there were wicked killings and disasters [about to take place], which we shall briefly describe in this book of ours.

Now it happened in 547 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1098] that a count named Baldwin came with 100 horsemen and captured the city named Tell Bashar. When the Byzantine prince T'oros, who was in the city of Edessa, heard about this, he was filled with great joy. He sent to the count of the Franks in Tell Bashar and called him to help him against his enemies, the nearby emirs, who were harassing him. Count Baldwin came to Edessa with 60 cavalry. The multitude of the city arose, went before him, and, with great delight, led him inside the city. All the faithful rejoiced. *Curopolate* T'oros established great friendship and alliance with him and gave him many gifts. Then there came the prince of the Armenians from Gargar, who was called Kostandin, and, after a few days, the *curopolate* [T'oros] took them [g260] to fight against Emir Baldukh in Samosata. Troops from the city accompanied the Franks, and all the district's troops went as infantry. They went to Samosata with many troops and looted the buildings outside the gates, while the Turks did not dare to come out to fight. Then all the Christian troops, unitedly, began to loot everything. Now when the Turks saw that, 300 of their cavalry arose against them, defeating all the troops, and putting to flight the Franks and all the district troops. From Samosata to Tell [Tell Hamdun] there was a severe slaughter of some 1,000 men. Kostand and the count reached *Curopolate* T'oros in the city of Edessa. This occurred during the second week of Lent.

[93] Now it came about that when Count Baldwin arrived at Edessa, some treacherous and malicious men united with the count to slay *Curopolate* T'oros. This was something not commensurate with his meritorious deeds—since it was due to his astuteness, inventiveness, and native strength that Edessa had been freed from taxation and service to the wicked and embittered nation of Tachiks. And so it happened during these days that 40 men joined together in a Judas-like plot. During the night they went to Count Baldwin, who was the brother of Count Godfrey, and joined him to their evil scheme, promising to give Edessa into his hands. He approved of their wicked conspiracy. They also got to join them the prince of the Armenians, Kostand. During the fifth week [g261] of Lent they motivated the entire multitude of the city against *Curopolate* T'oros. On Sunday they looted all the homes of his princes and seized the upper citadel. On Monday they assembled at

the inner citadel where [T'oros] was, and ferociously battled against him. Then he quickly sought an oath [of security] from them, that they would not blame him and [in return] he would give over to them the citadel and the city, while he and his wife would depart to the city of Melitene. Then the count [acquiesced], displaying before them the Holy Cross of Varaga and of Mak'elik' and, swearing by them in the blessed Church of the Apostles that he would not blame him, [Count Baldwin] also swore by the angels, the archangels, the prophets, the chiefs, by the blessed apostles, the holy patriarchs, and the ranks of all the martyrs—which vows were written in a letter from the count to T'oros. [Baldwin] swore to all this by the saints, and then T'oros gave the citadel to him and Baldwin and the other princes of the city entered the citadel. On Tuesday, on the feast day of the Holy *K'ar'asunk'*, the citizens held a violent gathering against him and, with swords and clubs, threw him down from the walls into a tumultuous mob which, unitedly, set upon him and put him to a wicked death, stabbed repeatedly by their swords. They committed a very grave sin before God. They tied a rope around his feet and dragged him through the midst of the city with insults. On that day they violated the oath they had sworn. After this they gave Edessa to Count Baldwin [g262].

In this year the *spasalar* of the Persian sultan Berk-Yaruq, who was named Kerbogha (Kurapaghat) [the emir of Mosul], came with many troops. Advancing with an enormous multitude to make war against the troops of the Franks, he came and camped at the gates of Edessa. He remained there with numerous soldiers until harvest time, eating up all the produce and making war against the city. A multitude of troops massed by him. Forty days later, there came to Kerbogha the son of Yaghi-Siyan, emir of Antioch who, falling at Kerbogha's feet, begged him to come to help them. He told [Kerbogha] about the [condition of the] Frankish army, how it was few in number and starving.

Indeed, it was in this very year [that aid was sent], as all Khorasan in the East, to Media and Babylon in the West, went on the move. [This included] Byzantium and the Eastern areas of the land, Damascus and all the sea coast and Egypt as far as the desert. There assembled 800,000 [cavalry] and 300,000 infantry which went along boastfully, filling up the plains and the heights. With frightful boldness did they advance upon the Frankish troops at the gates of Antioch. Yet God did not want to destroy the few Christian troops. Instead, He shepherded and preserved them as [He protected] the army of the children of Israel. And so it came about that while the troops of the foreigners were out in the open, a certain one of the princes of the city during the nighttime sent a man to Bohemond and to the other Frankish princes requesting [that he take over] his patrimony [g263]. Taking an oath from them, [this prince] secretly, at night, gave the city of Antioch into Bohemond's hands. Opening the citadel gates, the entire army of the Franks entered. At dawn, in unison, all the troops blew their [battle] horns. When all the troops of the foreigners heard that, they were massed but, from fright, did not know [what to do, whether or not] to flee. The Franks put their swords to work and made a severe slaughter of them. Emir Yaghi-Siyan fled the city and was slain by peasants [who] cut off his head with a sickle. In this fashion they took the city of Antioch, which was taken from the Armenian people. Meanwhile, the remaining foreigners gathered in the citadel and fought with the Franks. Three days later the army of the Persians arrived. It was more than seven times the size of the Franks' army. They made a fierce assault on the Franks and harassed them. Then great danger of famine descended upon them because, previously, bread had been cut off from the city. With no choice, they thought to obtain an oath [of safe-keeping] from Kerbogha—to give the city to him and they would go [back] to the land of the Franks.

[94] When God saw the great danger, He did not give [Antioch] into the hands [of the foreigners]. [He] pitied and had mercy on them. He appeared to them at night in a great vision. Behold, the blessed Apostle Peter appeared to a pious Frank during the nighttime and said: "On the left-hand side of this church [you will find secured] in a reliquary the weapon by which Christ's [g264] undefiled side was pierced by the godless Jewish people. It is [buried] right in front of the altar. Retrieve it, and go into battle with it, and through it you shall defeat your enemies, as Christ [defeated] Satan." The same vision was repeated a second and a third time, and they told of it to Godfrey, Bohemond, and all the princes. They started praying and then opened the place which had been indicated [in the vision] and came upon the Lance of Christ in the church named [after] Saint Peter.

At the same time, a messenger came from the army of the foreigners, demanding battle. The troops of the Franks were delighted. Then Bohemond and the other princes replied to Kerbogha, saying: "Tomorrow at daybreak we will arise to fight you." Now [by this time] the troops of the Franks had become depleted. Bohemond arranged their battle fronts with 15,000 cavalry and 150,000 infantry. With them he arose to battle, having the Lance of Christ led before them, on high. The troops of foreigners completely filled the broad plain, fifteen ranks deep. [The crusader] Saint Gilles came and erected the Lance of Christ across from Kerbogha's standards. Kerbogha was there with his innumerable troops, like a mountain. The lion-visaged Tancred led the left wing; the right wing was led by Count Robert of Normandy; while Godfrey and Bohemond faced the countless troops of the army of the Turks. Calling upon God to help them, together, like a fire [g265] which falls from the sky and burns the mountains, the troops of the Christians poured down upon the foreigners and put the entire army to flight. With great anger and severe slaughter they pursued the foreigners for the greater part of the day. Their swords drank the blood of those foreigners, while the entire plain was filled with their corpses. [The Franks] subjected the infantry troops to Divine anger, burning 30,000 of them, and the entire country reeked from this. With great joy, the troops of the Franks returned to the city of Antioch with much loot and captives. That was one day of great happiness for the believers in Christ.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 2

In this year, for the second time, an omen appeared in the northern part of the sky. In the fourth hour of the night, the sky was enflamed—more than the previous time. It turned an intense red color. This began in the evening and continued through the fourth hour of the night, and it was an awesome omen never seen before. [The color] rose up like a tree with veins [of color] filling up the northern part and ascending to the heights of the firmament, while all the stars took on the color of flame. Behold such is an omen of [coming] anger and destruction.

In the year 548 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1099-1100] a normal eclipse of the moon occurred, which [also] had that intense red hue and which lasted from the first watch until the fourth hour. Then it turned a black color while viewers also could see the bloody red [background]. Because of the intensity of the blackness, all creation was darkened [g266]. Savants said that there would be bloodshed from the Persian nation, as the moon above them showed, according to their books.

In this year the army of the Franks went against the holy city of Jerusalem, in fulfillment of the prophecy of Nerse's, the Armenian patriarch [A.D. 353-373], who had said: "The salvation of Jerusalem will come from the nation of the Franks, yet due to their sins it once more will fall into the hands of foreigners." Now it happened that when they were *en route*, an army of foreigners came to war upon them—just as the Amalekites went before the children of Israel [in battle]. When [the crusaders] reached the city named Arqah, a fierce battle with the foreigners took place there, and the troops of the Franks defeated it in great triumph. The army of the Franks advanced peacefully and reached the gates of Jerusalem, where they engaged in many battles. At that time Lord Vahram, patriarch of the Armenians, was in Jerusalem. The troops of the foreigners wanted to kill him, but the Lord preserved him from their clutches. After much warfare, [the Franks] erected wooden towers and brought them close to the city walls. With great violence, the sword, and power, they captured the holy city of Jerusalem. It was then that Godfrey took the sword of Emperor Vespasian and attacked the foreigners with all his might, killing 65,000 of them in the Temple [al-Aqsa mosque], and [also killing] other residents of the city. In such a fashion was the holy city of Jerusalem taken and the Sepulcher of Christ our God freed from taxation to the Tachiks [g267].

And behold, this was the third time since the crucifixion of the Lord that Vespasian's sword had broken Jerusalem.

In this year there took place an enormous assembly [of troops]—from Egypt to Scythia [*Scythiaca regio*, southwest of Alexandria], [including] Nubians and [extending] as far as the borders of the Indians—some 300,000 of them came against Jerusalem in great preparedness. When the troops of the Franks learned about this they shook with fear and did not dare to remain [to be trapped] in the city. Rather, they arose and went against them in battle. Here is what they had in mind: if they were not able to fight, they would return to their own land. The two [antagonists] encountered each other close to the broad [Mediterranean] Sea. When the king [Fatimid ruler] of Egypt saw the Frankish troops coming, he signaled to his troops and attacked. The

Frankish forces all turned to the battle at hand and assumed battle formation. When the troops of the Franks attacked the Egyptian troops, the latter turned and fled *en masse*. For it was not [the Franks] who were making war, but God fighting against the Egyptians in their place—just as [God fought against] Pharaoh at the Red Sea, [protecting] the children of Israel. As the battle intensified, some 100,000 men were thrown into the sea and perished there, while others were slain as they fled. The troops of the Franks returned to the city of Jerusalem with great triumph and much booty.

[96] In this year Grigor, the *curopalate* of the East, and brother of Lord Barsegh, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, massed troops and went against the Turkish army [g268] in the district of Ashornik'. He was a brave man and a mighty warrior. Going with his troops to the village called Kagheghuan and reaching the Turks, he beat them in battle and put them to flight, killing many of them with the sword. He was returning to the city of Ani when someone from the Turkish forces, waiting in ambush in a tree, shot an arrow which struck him in the mouth. From the severity of the injury, [Grigor] fell from his horse and gave up the ghost. Then there was great mourning in Shirak and throughout the entire House of the Armenians. In such a fashion died the great military man and great believer [in Christ], Grigor, son of Vasak, son of Apirat, son of Hasan, from the line of brave and martial military men, from the Pahlawuni line.

In this year Count Saint Gilles went [back] to the Franks, taking the Lance of Christ which they had found in Antioch and which he gave to Alexius, emperor of the Byzantines. He himself went to the [country of the] Franks.

In this year there died the great prince of the Armenians, Kostandin, son of R'uben, leaving two sons: T'oros and Lewon. [Kostandin] had ruled over many cities and districts and also controlled most of the Taurus Mountains, which he had taken from the troops of the Persians by his own bravery. He had been of the troops of Gagik Bagratuni, son of Ashot. [Kostandin] died in this period, and there had been an omen in his House, foretelling his death. One day, when he was still alive, a flash of lightning struck the fortress named Vahka, hitting within the servants' residence some silver plates, and in one place penetrating [g269] through five of them. Savants said that this would be Kostandin's final year. Indeed, he died in this very year and was buried at the monastery called Kastagho'n.

In the same year, for the third time, a fiery omen colored the Heavens an intense red. This lasted for six hours at night in the northern region and then went to the east, before it turned black. They said that this omen presaged the shedding of Christian blood, as in fact happened. From the day the nation of the Franks arose, an omen of goodness or joy never appeared. Rather [the omens foreshadowed] anger, destruction, wrecking, and pulling apart of the land, [accompanied by] death, ruination, famine, and catastrophe.

In this year there was a severe famine throughout the entire land of Mesopotamia. The city of Edessa was in dire straits, for it had been an entire year without rain falling on the fields. Dew stopped coming from the sky, the ground dried up from lack of water, orchards and vineyards became desiccated, springs went dry, and many in Edessa starved to death. What we heard had happened in Samaria in the time of the prophet Isaiah, also happened here in the city of Edessa. A woman of the Roman faith cooked and ate her child, and similarly, a certain foreigner, who was dying of hunger, ate his wife. God had shut off the power of bread [to ease hunger], so that [people] ate and were not satiated. Many said that this was God's judgment for the unjust death [g270] of the *curopalate* T'oros to whom they had vowed by the Cross and the Gospels and then turned around and broke that oath. They put him to a wicked death, put his head on a pike with many insults, then threw [his body] in front of the church named Surb P'rkich' (Holy Savior) which the blessed Apostle Thaddeus had built. For this reason the Lord God brought such affliction upon the House of Abgar. Year after year the anger of God against the city of Edessa did not cease.

[97] At the beginning of the year 549 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1100], there was plenitude of bread for all. In Edessa there was such an abundance of wheat and barley that the prior difficulty was forgotten, for one *mod* produced 100 *mod*, the trees and all fruit-bearers were full of fruit, the streams gushed forth their waters,

and man and beast were satiated. In this year Kostandin, son of R'uben, died.

In this same year Godfrey, duke of the Franks, went with his troops to the city named Caesarea Phillipi [which borders] on the Ocean Sea. Then it came about that princes of the Tachiks came to him [ostensibly] out of friendship. They brought along food and placed a table before him. [Godfrey] took and ate without any precaution, that food which was poisoned with lethal drugs. A few days later Duke Godfrey died and forty of his men with him. They buried him in the city of Jerusalem, opposite Holy Golgotha, since during these days he was there. Then they sent a request to his brother, Baldwin, who was in the city of Edessa, and had him brought [to them] and gave the blessed city [g271] of Jerusalem to Baldwin. Then Tacerd arose and went to the city of Antioch, to Bohemond, count of the Franks, since [Baldwin] was his mother's brother.

In these times the military commander of the Byzantines, the Prince of Princes, was in the city of Marash. [Marash] then was under the control of the Byzantine emperor, Alexius. The previous year the princes of the Franks had given [Marash] to Alexius, but they now broke that pledge and would not abide by it. The great count of the Franks, Bohemond, and his sister's son, Richard, arose, assembled Frankish troops, and came against the city of Marash to battle against the Prince of Princes, who was named T'at'ul. They demanded the city of Marash from him, encamping there and offering many fights against him. Now the Prince of Princes regarded as nothing all the warfare, for he was a brave and martial man and was in the city of Marash with many *azats*. Meanwhile, Bohemond was encamped in the plain of Marash and had pacified its district.

In this year, the emir of the Persians, who was named Danishmand, came against the city of Melitene with a multitude of cavalry. [He was] the lord of Sevast and all the Byzantine lands [in that area]. He offered fierce battle against [Melitene]. Now it happened that the prince of the city, who was named Xoril, sent to Bohemond and called on him to help the city, [in exchange for which] he promised to deliver Melitene into Bohemond's hands. Then Bohemond and Richard arose with troops and [g272] came against Danishmand. When Danishmand heard about this, he sent troops against the troops of the Franks in the plain of Melitene and put ambushes in many places. He himself took many troops and went before them. Then, behold, Bohemond and Richard foolishly came with no preparation. Their troops, moreover, were without fighting swords and they came dressed in cloaks like women in a funeral procession, while their weapons of war were with their officials. These fighters without their weapons might have been captives. Suddenly Danishmand's troops poured down upon the Franks' troops and there was a frightful battle on that day. All the troops of the Franks and the Armenians were destroyed. Bohemond and Richard were taken captive. Two bishops of the Armenians were killed in this battle: Kiprianos, bishop of Antioch, and Grigoris, bishop of Marash. They had been with Bohemond, who had greatly exalted them. Hearing news about this [defeat], the entire House of the Christians quaked with fear, while the entire nation of the Persians rejoiced. For they knew [Bohemond's] name as the name of the king of the Franks and at [the mention of] that name, the entire House of Khurasan quaked. Now when Baldwin, count of Edessa, and the whole nation of the Franks at Antioch heard about this, they went in pursuit of Danishmand. But as for Danishmand, he took Bohemond and Richard [g273] to Nikisar [Neocaesarea] in iron fetters. When Baldwin heard about this, he returned to Edessa and gave Edessa to another Baldwin, who was called Le Bourg (Tpo'rk), who previously had been a vassal (*chort*) of Bohemond. [Baldwin Le Bourg] tormented Edessa. Taking much treasure of gold and silver, he went to Jerusalem, to the throne of his brother Godfrey, and ruled as king over Jerusalem. Tancred went to Antioch as we said earlier.

[98] Now these things befell the Frankish troops because of [their] sinful deeds. For they had departed from God's straight road, and started to travel on the road of sinfulness, [doing deeds] which God had not commanded them to do. With all their injustice and debauched ways, they forgot the commandments of the Lord. They craved what God did not want for them. Consequently, God withdrew from them His former assistance and victory, just as He had withdrawn [them] from the army of the children of Israel. This was the first destruction for the Frankish troops. Bear in mind [such consequences] and do not tire of recalling them.

In this year the emir of the Persians, Suqman, son of Artuq, massed troops. He was a brave, bloodthirsty man.

He came with many troops to the city called Saruj, and raided the entire country. When this became known by Count Baldwin Le Bourg, and the count of Saruj, who was named Fulcher (P'uch'er), they went against the Turks. They were defeated because of their lack of preparation. Through intense warfare the Turks conquered the Franks, severely killing the troops of the Franks and the Armenians who were with them. The count of Saruj [g274], Fulcher, was slain. He had been a brave and mighty man and blessed toward the sins of the flesh. Count Baldwin, with three men, managed to get into Edessa's citadel and stayed there in a pitiful condition. Then the princes of the city came and brought him down into the city and took him to his throne. After three days he arose and went to Antioch in search of troops. The army of the foreigners fought against the citadel of Saruj, since all the Christians had taken refuge there. Also present [in the citadel] was the bishop (*papios*) of Edessa. Then the city of Saruj made an agreement with the Turks. However, after 25 days, Baldwin arrived with 600 cavalry and 700 infantry. They put to flight the impious army of the Persians. The city of Saruj did not make an agreement with them [to surrender]. Then the Franks turned upon the city of Saruj and destroyed the entire multitude of the city with the sword. Generally, they looted the entire city. Countless boys, girls, and women they brought to the city of Edessa, while Antioch and the House of the Franks filled up with captives. The entire city [of Saruj] filled with blood.

In this year the fourth red omen appeared in the northern part [of the sky]—a sight even more awesome and astounding than before. [The sky] was the color of blood which, again, turned black. This fourth omen occurred during the waning of the moon and it was a sign of the wrath [about] to descend upon Christians. As the prophet Isaiah said: "His anger will flare up from the northern portion" [Jeremiah 4.6; 6.11; 46.20]. This uncontainable rage did indeed come [upon us].

[99] In 550 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1101-1102], an astonishing and miraculous omen occurred in the blessed city of Jerusalem [g275]. The customary [miraculous] lighting of the light at the holy Golgotha [Sepulcher] of Christ, our God, was blocked, for on Saturday, [the lamp] was not lit. Rather, the lanterns remained unlit until Sunday, when they lit [themselves] at the ninth hour. All Christians were dumbfounded. This occurred because the nation of Franks had strayed onto an evil path. They had abandoned the natural boulevard of the way of goodness and shared the sins contained in the cup of perdition, a cup which is filled with bitter dregs. [Partakers] even included officials of the holy Church, who wallowed in the mud and were not satiated [by the drink]. With such conduct, they did not draw back from any sin and, moreover, they even designated women servitors for the blessed Golgotha of God, and for all the monasteries in Jerusalem. All these [measures] were [considered] the greatest of sins before God. They expelled Armenians, Byzantines, Syriacs, and Georgians from all the monasteries. When the nation of Franks saw this terrible omen of reproach [in the failure of the lamp to light spontaneously], they rejected having women servitors in the blessed monasteries in Jerusalem, and [re]established all the nations in their [respective] monasteries. Then five nations of [Christian] faithful started to pray, and God listened to their prayers. The lamp [spontaneously] lit on a Sunday in the blessed Golgotha of God, [something] no one had ever heard of [happening] before. It was always on Saturday at the eleventh hour of the day that this had happened [g276].

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 3

To the year 550 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1101], we collected and wrote down [information about] the events covering 150 years [in the preceding section]. At that point we halted our investigation, to allow some other [writers] to pursue this scholarly and challenging endeavor. [We did this] in accordance with the words of the blessed apostle Paul, that "If a revelation is made to another sitting by, let the first be silent" [1 Corinthians 14.30], [in the hope that] smarter, wiser, and more polished [authors] would write [about historical events]. We completed this preceding account in the patriarchate of the House of the Armenians of Lord Grigoris and Lord Barsegh. Currently, we are [writing] in the patriarchate of Nicholas [III, Grammaticus, 1084-1111] of the Byzantines in Constantinople; in the patriarchate of John in Antioch; of Simeon in Jerusalem; of John in Alexandria; and in the patriarchate of Atanas, of the House of the Syrians. From Adam [to our time] 6,610 years have elapsed. For ten years we did nothing [further] with our chronicle and did not engage in such literary activity. However, [we decided to resume] when we observed the constant divine anger pouring down on the Christians, and that year by year the strength of the troops of the faithful was being diminished; and we observed that no one had it in mind to inquire about or write about [such events]. These events and tribulations [needed to be recorded] as memorials for brighter days, when the Lord God will fulfill His promise of old [g277] and give to the faithful a time full of every joy. And then, we were greatly pleased that God, as it were, commanded us to write it all down and leave it as a memorial to the future. [We wrote this] despite the fact that it is not adorned with spiritual wisdom, [literary] art, or any particular virtue. Rather, [it records] the chastisement of the Lord which, because of our many sins, moved the Lord God to anger against us and sent that punishment upon us with His staff.

Now it is necessary and proper that our contemporaries not forget, but rather write down and leave a remembrance for those yet to be born, [to allow them] to see the fruit of [our present] sins, [which were] sown by our fathers and [are now being] reaped sevenfold. It was for this reason that I, Matt'eos, [a person] unworthy of God's mercy, have composed [this account] up to here, after many years of difficult research and intellectual labor, in the city of Edessa in Mesopotamia. [The history] of some 30 [or, 36] years remains to be written.

Now this [task of writing] should be the work of *vardapets* and capable scholars, not [left to] someone of our feebleness and limited intellect. However, such is God's custom: to require some useful work of those weak and lacking. When we observe a swarm of bees, we marvel at their organization. For despite their small and light bodies, they are able to satisfy all the children of humanity with their honey. They also fulfill the needs of holy people and are glorified before them [g278] and even before kings. [As another example] consider the dead [silk]worm which comes back to life and, through its labors, decorates kings and princes with multicolored [silken] garments, as well as all the churches which are enriched by diverse [silken] adornments. So we, in our weakness, have plucked up our courage and narrated this [*Chronicle*] before potent rhetoricians and philosophers, before profound savants and well-educated investigators.

[101] We have taken the initiative to present our writing to them, so that they cast it into a crucible and examine it. We are not opposed to them, nor are we in condition to resist them. We resemble that frail bird called the sparrow which, by its [loud] chirping, is able to oppose many, but because of its bodily weakness [cannot actually fight them]. [The swallow] resembles us in the amazing construction of its dwelling place. For it builds its nest out of [almost] nothing, carrying mud and bits of straw in its beak. [It builds this] on an elevated place, without a [level] foundation, [but the nest] has the greatest firmness and strength and [the swallow] bequeaths this to its young like a legacy. There are other birds which are large of limb, which are unable to build such [a nest]. I speak of eagles and their kind. Such fast-flying birds can accomplish feats of great bravery and strength, but cannot do this particular work which a frail bird can do. With such examples in mind, [we assert] that the brilliant and the scholars can profoundly examine the Old and New Testaments of God and display awesome and radiant analyses. But I tell you, truly and unequivocally [g279], that this [book of ours] was composed after much thought and reflection. Moreover, no one else could be found to assemble the history of nations, kings, patriarchs, and princes in synchronous chronological order [as I have done]. Furthermore, those who were eyewitnesses to all the earlier events have died. No one was able to do what we have done. We have spent 15 years in constant inquiry, writing this. We have read and found the dates of events in the colophons of books and from asking old folk. All this we gathered and have written in this book.

Now I, Matt'e'os, wanted to return to writing [this *Chronicle*] by the same road. In this [I resembled] someone who has spent many years travelling the great Mediterranean Sea and, driven crazy by many difficulties and tempests, returned safely to his home. But who, thinking of the great profit [received], forgets his past tribulations, and, ignoring all the goods previously lost at sea, soon and enthusiastically wants to resume his maritime travels. Behold, in this same way we return to the place where we left off this writing and resume at the year 550 [of the Armenian Era (A.D. 1101/1102)]. We began to compose [an account of] the events of the next 25 years. An additional [account of] 30 years will conclude our book since, as the calendar years advance, more and more disasters have been unfolding. [To events occurring] in the patriarchate of Lord Grigoris, and in the reign [g280] of the Byzantines of Alexius, we eagerly turn our attention and have begun to narrate what occurred and the tribulations of this wicked period. We did not do this from any need for vainglory, as some may think. Rather, [we wrote] as a memorial for, and [also] an admonition to, future times. We did not think about the weakness of our intellect, and lack of ability in scholarly investigation. [We know that there exist] people who have perfected their knowledge of the Old and New Testaments of God, who are able to correct [my] grammatical errors and all the misused words and [are able to] clarify [the writing] according to their God-given graces. As for us, with our limited knowledge, we have examined this [source material and events] cleanly and have made use of many manuscripts which we found regarding these difficult times, which we found in different places. They had been left [by their authors] as a remembrance, [as we intend] what we carefully have gathered [to be]. We also have listened to certain other respected folk who lived through these times and troubles and without error had reckoned the times and dates. We also had conversations and interviews with elderly [folk] who were informed about past years, as the prophet said: "Ask your fathers, and they will tell you; your elders, and they will narrate to you" [compare Deut. 32.7]. It is in this fashion that I have been uneasy and completely occupied. We left aside all our other cares and ignored our needs and constantly had a struggle going on in our head, that we should resume the work of [g281] this *History* of ours [and do so] in accordance with [the words of] the venerable Doctor of the Church, Gregory of Nyssa, [who] said: "I am an old man who resumes my career." The same applies to us, [since] we saw that everyone else declined to investigate. Indeed, we have seen time passing, and the dispersals [of people], dissolutions, and disappearance of what exists. These show us that there is no tarrying for humanity in this world, and [there is] transition from this world to the world to come. For years and times are transitory. Transitory, too, are what gives birth to them. What are eternal are what [exist in] the future, and what gave birth to them. Blessed are they who have encountered such joys. Fortunate are those who dine on the food of the Kingdom of God.

[102] In this year, which is 550 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1101-1102], the count named Saint Gilles returned

to the Franks. For when they captured the holy city of Jerusalem from the Turks, [Saint Gilles] took the Lance of Christ and went to the land of the Franks. When [people] heard this and that the Lance of Christ was with him, all creation was stirred to follow him [back to the Levant]. The same year he returned and went against the city of Tripoli. He had with him a military force of 100,000. They [first] went to Constantinople. Emperor Alexius gave many gifts to him and got them across the Ocean [Mediterranean]. However, [Alexius] committed the crime of Judas against them, for he commanded that all the countryside should be burned before they passed through it. Then [the Byzantines] led [g282] the Franks through these places and also via uninhabited places. [The Byzantine emperor] also prevented bread from reaching them and made them starve. [The Franks], having no way out, ate their own horses. [The emperor] sent troops of Turks and made an enormous massing of them. Then Sultan Kilij-Arslan came and waged intensive warfare against them within the border of the city of Nicaea. Countless [Franks] were killed, some 100,000 of them. Saint Gilles, with 300 men, fled and landed in the city of Antioch. The entire remaining multitude of the Frankish troops were put to the sword, while their women and children were led off to Persia as captives. All this happened because of sinfulness, for, generally, they liked the path of sinfulness and did not accept God. Then the count of Antioch, Tancred, seized Saint Gilles, the count of the Franks, [and his party], put them in iron fetters, and confined them in the city called Saruandaw. After some days, the patriarch of the Franks in Antioch, and other priests interceded with Tancred and he released him. Then Saint Gilles went and massed against the city of Tripoli and invested it with a great siege, [even] constructing a fortress opposite it.

In these same times the great count of the Franks of Poitou [William IX, count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine], came with many troops. Passing through the land of the Romans and Greeks with 300,000 cavalry troops, he arrived at Constantinople in great strength. With [this] great power and, arrogantly, he spoke to the emperor of the Byzantines, styling him an *eparch* [g283] and not calling him a king, even though [the count] was only about 20 years of age. Emperor Alexius and the entire House of the Byzantines were terrified by him. Emperor Alexius sent to the count of Poitou all the princes of the Byzantines and, with great entreaties, the emperor had him brought into Constantinople. [There, the emperor] gave him a grand reception and gave him limitless gifts of treasure and also held costly spectacles in the hippodrome in his presence. Then, with many gifts, he sent him across the great Ocean to the land of Cappadocia, additionally providing Byzantine troops to follow him. It was in this place that the treachery of the Byzantine emperor started: he ordered his military commanders to lead the Frankish troops through uninhabited, desert areas for 15 days. [During this time] they found nothing except dry desert and difficult mountain areas. The water in these places was white, like lime, and salty. Furthermore, Emperor Alexius had ordered that lime should be mixed with the bread and given to them to eat. That was the greatest of sins before God. Thus for many days the Frankish troops were starving and exhausted, and fell to disease. Emperor Alexius had done this for revenge against them, for breaking the oath they previously had sworn to but had not implemented. God, because of [the Byzantines'] deprivation, injustice, and impious cruelty [g284] shown toward Christians, allowed the nation of infidels to come against them and punish them for their sins.

It was at this point that the sultan of the West, Kilij-Arslan, having heard about the arrival of Frankish troops, wrote to Danishmand, the emir of Nikisar, and to other emirs. Assembling an enormous multitude, he came against the Frankish troops. They clashed with each other in the plain called O'lo'si and fought a frightful battle for most of the day. The field filled up with blood. The Frankish troops were in dire straits there in a foreign land, and were unable to find a way out. Gathering together, they wandered about like animals. That was a significant and terrible day for the Christians. Then the general of the Byzantines fled. When [the count of] Poitou saw the destruction of his forces, he went up onto a mountain. The foreigners surrounded the foot of the mountain. There one could hear the crackling [sound] of bows, the tramping of horses' hooves, and the mountains [themselves] reverberating [with the sounds of battle]. When [the count of] Poitou saw the destruction of his troops, he wept bitterly. As the warfare became even more intense and as matters were hopeless on every front, [the count] fled with 400 cavalry. The other troops, generally, were killed—some 300,000 of them. Poitou, count of the Franks, reached the city of Antioch, where he took refuge with Tancred. From there he arose and went to the blessed city of Jerusalem. Then, after some days, he returned to

the land of the Franks, whence he had come. He furiously vowed to return and go against the Persians, to seek revenge against them and against the emperor of the Byzantines. For all Persia had filled up with captives from the count of Poitou [g285].

[103] In this year all Egypt went on the move. Massing an enormous multitude [of troops], they came against the holy city of Jerusalem. At the time, Baldwin, who was king of Jerusalem, came out in battle against them with few troops, and [the Egyptians] put the Frankish troops to flight. Baldwin fled [back] into Jerusalem for refuge. On that day the count of Duluk, William (Kulel) Sandzawe'l, was killed. Now before King Baldwin had taken refuge in Jerusalem, he had fled to the city of Baalbek whence he returned to Jerusalem. The foreigners returned to their own city of Askelon in great triumph.

In the year 551 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1102-1103] great confusion and frightful disturbance [concerning the] faith took place. [The cause was that] ten nations of the faithful were led astray over [which day was the correct one to celebrate] holy Easter. Only the Armenians and the Syriacs remained fixed [on the correct date], while the Romans and Franks followed after the wicked seeds sown by the loathsome heretic, Irion. [It was Irion] who designated April 5th to be [the start of the Easter season], thereby making the Feast of Lazarus to coincide with the full moon, and Saturday. [Meanwhile] the Armenians, Syriacs, and Hebrews had [traditionally] fixed April 6th [as the start of the Easter/Paschal season], coinciding with Palm Sunday. The philosopher Irion, who was a Roman, deliberately falsified the copy of the calendar. When the group of [calendar] specialists created an exemplar based on 19 [correct] cycles, [these specialists] had not invited him [to participate]. For this reason he held a deep-seated grudge against them [g286]. [For vengeance, Irion] secretly came and took the writings, substituting 5 for what had been 6, and putting the last numbers first, a circumstance which caused an erroneous [date for] Easter every 95 years. Consequently, the Byzantine and Romans went astray every 95 years. Irion, who was a Roman, so ordained this. It created a great conflict between the Byzantines and the Armenians. Now it happened that the nation of the Franks had no concerns with the Armenians about the confusion [of dates]. But only the Byzantines had a great argument and contention with the Armenians over holy Easter. Antioch, all Cilicia, and Edessa had intense battles with the Byzantines over the faith. This was because [the Byzantines] attempted to convert the Armenians to [adopting] their unstable calendar. Yet despite the efforts and trouble expended on the Armenian nation, [the Byzantines] were unable to move them. Now since the Syriacs in Edessa were terrified, they went over to the Byzantine side and renounced the agreement they had with the Armenians.

Previously the Byzantines had made a similar error over holy Easter and [as a result] the lamps had not [spontaneously] lit in Jerusalem. Then the foreigners had put to the sword all the faithful in their prayer houses. That had happened in the days of [the Byzantine emperor] Basil, in the year 455 [of the Armenian Era (A.D. 1006)]. Thus this is the second occurrence in this book of ours of the deviation of the Byzantines [regarding Easter]. And then a group of priest who were in the city of Edessa notified by letter the *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, Lord Grigoris, who dwelled in the renowned retreat named Areg on Black Mountain [g287]. With his own hand he wrote to them to remain steadfast in the orthodox faith.

Here follows a copy of that letter which he wrote to Edessa:

We omit the translation of the letter [pp. 288-292 of the *grabar* text], which concerns doctrinal matters, and resume on g292.

[104] Now when this letter reached Edessa, they were strengthened in the truth. When Easter arrived, the Jerusalemites fraudulently, without righteousness, lit the lamps. and fooled their own people, for they lit the divine lamps with an unholy fire. Meanwhile, on Armenian Easter [the lamps] correctly lit [themselves]. This is attested by all the faithful who were [eye]witnesses [to it] in the holy city of Jerusalem. Then was the entire nation of the Byzantines disgraced, since they had celebrated Easter on Palm Sunday.

In this year the king[s] of Egypt and Damascus again massed [troops] and they came against the holy city of Jerusalem with a countless multitude. Baldwin, the king of Jerusalem, arose and went against them in battle. The Egyptians put the Franks to flight with intense warfare. [But] at that very moment, many Frankish troops disembarked [from their ships] in the sea, conquering the Egyptian troops and making fugitives of them, with much killing. Then Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, was going to his city of Acre, when a certain Tachik Ethiopian [Et'ovpats'i] secretly was hiding in ambush [concealed] in some shrubbery. He struck the king of Jerusalem in the side with a spear. The Ethiopian was killed, but the wound to the body of the king remained unhealthy until the day of [g292] his death. Then Jerusalem was filled with mourning and sadness for their king. This [misfortune] happened due to the unrighteous celebration of holy Easter. For the same brazen behavior was attempted by the nation of the Byzantines in the days of Emperor Basil, and [similarly] the lamp did not light and the foreigners destroyed all those praying inside [the church] of the Holy Resurrection at the door of the Sepulcher of Christ Our God.

At the start of the year 552 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1103-1104], the great wrath of God came upon the city of Edessa in the form of severe rains on Little Thursday. [What transpired] resembled what is written about the first Flood. [The moisture] accumulated in the upper air and the thundering clouds, flashing with lightning, moved across the sky—to the point that some thought that the Last Days were being visited upon the city. For an astounding [amount of] rain mixed with hail fell from the sky [starting] in the early morning. When the sun began to rise, a flood also arose in the western part and, billowing forward, hit the city's wall. It broke through, flooding and ruining part of the city. It caused many homes to collapse and it killed many animals. However, no humans fell into its clutches, since this had happened when it was light [outdoors] and [people] fled from the evil.

[105] In this year they ransomed Bohemond, count of the Franks, from Danishmand, for 100,000 *dahekans*. [This was done] through the mediation of and help from the great prince of the Armenians, called Gogh Vasil [Basil the Thief]. [The latter] himself gave 10,000 *dahekans* toward the payment, while the count of Antioch [g293], Tacred, gave nothing at all. Then all the funds were collected near Vasil. He exerted great authority and [eventually] had them brought to the boundaries of his land. He gave the sum of 100,000 *dahekans* and had Bohemond brought to him. Then [Vasil] went out before him and, with great honor, settled him into his own home. [Vasil] gave many gifts to Bohemond and to all who had brought him, which totaled some 20,000 *dahekans*. After some days Bohemond went to his city of Antioch and, with a great vow, became the adopted son of the prince of the Armenians, Gogh Vasil. As for Richard, Bohemond's sister's son, Danishmand gave him to the Byzantine emperor Alexius, in exchange for much treasure.

In this year Baldwin, count of Edessa, massed troops and went against the Turks in the border of Mardin [located] in a district of the Tachiks. He killed many of them and captured their emir, who was named Ulugh-Salar, as well as his women and children who were taken into captivity. [Baldwin] led to the city of Edessa countless herds of sheep, thousands of horses, cattle, and camels. This entire mass was brought to the city of Edessa.

In this year the patriarch of the Armenians, Lord Barsegh, left the city of Ani, with all his servitors, *azats*, bishops and priests, and came to the city of Edessa. Baldwin, count of the Franks, exalted him exceedingly as befitted a patriarch. He gifted him villages and made other grants, and greatly loved the patriarch of the Armenians [g294].

In this year Lord Step'annos, *kat'oghikos* of the Aghuans, died. Lord Barsegh, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, sent an Armenian bishop and convened an assembly of bishops of the land of the Aghuans. They ordained Lord Step'annos' brother to the throne of [the *kat'oghikosate* of] the House of the Aghuans in the city called Gandzak. Subsequently, he was deemed unworthy of the throne of the patriarchate, and Lord Barsegh excommunicated and deposed him from the throne and dignity of the patriarchate. This happened because of his deviant behavior.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 3

In 553 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1104], Baldwin, count of Edessa, and Joscelin levied troops and went against the city named Harran. He sent to Antioch and called the great count of the Franks, Bohemond and Tancred and all the Armenian troops besides, and they gathered by him in a great assembly. Then they descended on Harran and severely besieged it, putting the city in dire straits for food. Now it came about that one of the Franks did a deed which displeased God: he cut open a loaf of bread, defecated into it, then deposited it near the city gates. When the residents saw this, one of them, despite the danger, dared to retrieve it to eat. When he saw the excrement, he was nauseated and took and showed [the loaf] to the residents. When wise men saw this, they said: "Behold, this is a very sinful deed. God will not tolerate this act and will not give the victory to them. They committed this sin in the bread, and we have not heard of such a sin before."

Then troops of [g295] Persians came against them in an enormous multitude. [They were headed by] Chokurmish, the emir of Mosul, and Suqman, son of Artuq. When the princes of the Franks heard about this, they went against the Persian troops with great joy. They [had advanced] a two-days' march from the city to a place named O'shut. The count of Edessa and Joscelin had grown arrogant in their thinking and had positioned Bohemond and Tancred far distant from their own troops, saying: "Let us go first and take the name of victors." Now it happened that when Baldwin and Joscelin encountered the troops of the Turks there was a ferocious and intense battle, in the foreign land of the Tachiks. The troops of the Persians conquered the troops of the Franks, and divine wrath fell upon the Christians. For the entire country was filled with corpses and covered with blood—more than 30,000 believers—and the districts became depopulated. [The Persians] seized Baldwin, count of Edessa, and Joscelin, and took them into captivity. The others [who had been stationed in the rear] survived, with all their troops. [These troops] took the [Frankish] tyrants and fled to the city of Edessa for refuge.

Then there was great mourning in the city of Edessa, because the residents of Harran had seized the brigade of remaining soldiers and closed the mountains and the plain, killing all the fugitives, some 10,000 men. They caused a great loss of Christian faithful, more than the Turks had. There was much sobbing and deep misery in Edessa. On that day Edessa mourned and with it, all the land [g296] of the Christians were in deep mourning. Then they took Count Baldwin to the Tachik city of Mosul, while Joscelin was taken to Hisn Kaifa, to Artuq's son, Suqman. It was Chokurmish who took Baldwin.

As for Bohemond, he planned to go to the land of the Franks to raise troops. He gave [rule over] Edessa and Antioch to Tancred, his sister's son. Now it happened that when Bohemond reached the land of the Franks, a certain extremely wealthy woman—who had been the wife of Count Stepan Blois, of a noble line and a tyrant—had Bohemond brought to her. She said to him: "Take me for your wife, for my husband is dead while my country is leaderless as are my cavalry." But Bohemond did not consent to this, saying: "With many vows I came here for troops, so that I might quickly go back to aid the remaining Christian forces which are in the

midst of the impious people of Persia." However, the woman pressed him with great vehemence. Still he refused to heed her. Then she had him placed in iron fetters and put in prison. [Bohemond] remained in prison for some days, after which he consented and took her as his wife. She bore him two sons. Five years later Bohemond, the great count of the Franks, died in his own land, never managing to return to this part of the world.

[107] In this year the great emir of the Roman lands, Danishmand, died. He was of Armenian nationality, a good man and a builder of the land who demonstrated great mercy toward believers in Christ. There was great mourning among the faithful under his rule. He left 12 sons. The land was taken [g297] by his senior son, named Ghazi, who secretly had his other brothers killed.

In this year Suqman, son of Artuq, died. He had held the premier holy city of Jerusalem. Indeed, there was a visible sign of Artuq[*'s military campaign*] in the blessed [Church of the] Resurrection of God, since three of the arrows he shot are [lodged] in the church's ceiling to this day. He died there and was buried on the road to Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. His own son, [named] Suqman, was an evil, bloodthirsty beast. Now he massed Persian troops and was going to the aid of the city of Tripoli, against the Frankish forces. However, he died *en route* and his troops fled back to their own land.

In this year there died the king of the Persians, Berk-Yaruq [1094-1105], son of Malik-Shah, son of Alp-Arslan. Then [Berk-Yaruq's] brother sat on the Persian throne. He was called Tapar [Muhammad Tapar, 1105-1118], and was born of that Qipchaq (Xp'ch'ax) woman who had poisoned and killed the world-conquering Malik-Shah in the city of Baghdad.

In this year the city of Marash was taken from the Greeks. Its [ruler], [the] Prince of Princes [who was named T'at'ul], arose and left, giving the city to Joscelin. He sold an icon of the Mother of God for much gold to the great prince of the Armenians, T'oros, son of Kostand, son of R'uben. Then he went off to Constantinople.

Also dying in the year 554 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1105-1106] was the blessed patriarch Lord Grigoris [Grigor II *Vkayase'r* (Martyrophile), 1066-1105], who was also called Lord Vahram. He was the son of Grigor, son of Vasak, of the Pahlawuni line. In this year [g298] there fell a pillar of the faith of the Armenians and a wall [protecting] the blessed Church in the House of the Armenians of the East. For he was a wonder worker among the Armenians. With his shining virtue he occupied his entire life with ascetic practices, abstinence, fasting, and praying, and unceasingly serving God with the singing of psalms. He renewed the order of the faith of the Armenians, and was occupied with constant translating. All the absent testaments of God he took pains to translate from Greek and Syriac and to adorn us completely [thereby]. With great solicitude and clarity he filled the Church of Armenia with sacred Scripture. He himself was of modest deportment and had a humble heart. Beyond all this, he was extremely pious and [religiously] observant and was able to help the flock of Christ in everything, since he was well-versed and capable with regard to writings of divine grace. He resembled the first of the sages of the Armenians, I refer to Movse's and Dawit', for he had the head of an Athenian and a fiery tongue, and was able to make easy [understanding] the difficult pages of the Old and New Testaments of God. He was able to open the gates of divinely-inspired sources and direct the flow of the Holy Spirit into the ears of the believing people. He was an example to the orders of clergy, surpassing everyone with his educated virtue. He occupied the throne of the patriarchate for 40 years. At the time of his death, he was to be found near the great prince of the Armenians, Gogh Vasil, who was a mighty [g299] and martial man, since it was near [Vasil] that the remaining brigade of the Armenians had gathered.

[108] In this period there appeared a certain young lad named Grigoris who was the son of Lord Vahram's sister. In an assembly, [the sitting *kat'oghikos*] Lord Grigoris designated him to become the [future] *kat'oghikos* of the House of the Armenians, after the death of Lord Barsegh. As an intercessor for this, [Lord Grigoris] designated the prince of the Armenians, Vasil, lord of Kesoun and all its [surrounding] lands. Lord Barsegh was obedient to all Lord Grigoris' commands. From that day forth [Barsegh] kept with him Apirat's

son, Grigoris, the designated *kat'oghikos*. The blessed patriarch Lord Grigoris died during the first week of the summer Lent, on a Saturday, in the month of Tre'. He was buried with great ceremony at Karmir vank' (Red Monastery), close to Kesoun. Lord Step'annos, the monastery's abbot, convened an assemblage of clerics and priests over his grave and, by the patriarch's order, sent him among the saints. Vasil, prince of the Armenians, and others from the brigade of the Armenian *azats* mourned him greatly. With bitter tears they all wept over him, as they were deprived of such a blessed patriarch. And in remembering him they also wept for the House of the Armenians, for their lordless condition in a foreign land, and their departure from the House of their fathers.

In this year also died the great wonder-working hermit Markos the Solitary. For 65 years he was a vegetarian, for he ate no bread or anything resembling bread during the time of his religious [g300] life. Indeed, he possessed the spiritual intuition of the blessed prophets. Many testified that he saw the Holy Spirit on a daily basis. He dwelled on a waterless mountain in Mokka' district, called Kongr'nak, which the Assyrians call Xarsinakk', close to the land of the city of Marash. Through his prayers he caused water to appear in two [dry] places in those parts. Furthermore, when the Franks had taken the blessed city of Jerusalem, [the hermit Markos] prophesied that the nation of Persians would become strong again and that they would come with the sword as far as the shore of the Ocean [Mediterranean] Sea, something which even we saw. [Markos] said about the priests and the people that they would grow weak in the faith, that piety would disappear from the land, that the faithful would be reduced, and that the doors of the blessed Church would be closed. Good works would dim, [the people] would forget the precepts of the blessed Gospel of Christ. Sins and evils would billow forth across the country and the children of Man would navigate through sins as though swimming in the sea. All the nations of the faithful would forget to do righteousness. This blessed hermit [Markos] died in this year and was buried in the monastery called Kastagho'n, close to the secure fortress named Vahka, in the Taurus Mountains.

In this year Chokurmish, the emir of Mosul and Nisibis (Mtsbin) massed troops and came and descended with them to the gates of the city of Edessa at harvest time. The military commander of the Frankish troops, who was named Richard [of Salerno, regent of Edessa 1104-1108], had been designated by Tancred as defender of the city. [Richard] took the city's troops and thoughtlessly [g301] emerged with infantry to fight against the brave and martial Persian troops. When they saw the lack of preparedness of the Frankish troops, they struck [and killed] them and filled the city's moat [with their bodies]. All the Persian troops, unitedly, entered the city gates through the moat. They killed some 450 men. Beheading [the bodies], they took all the heads to the Persians. On that day there was great mourning in Edessa, as there was mourning and the sound of weeping in every house, and all places in the city of Edessa were smeared with blood. Chokurmish, in great triumph, turned and went back to his own land.

In this year Saint Gilles, the Frankish count, died. He [had] ruled over the city of Tripoli. He gave to his sister's son, Bertram (Pet'ran), the outer part of the city, which he had built, and also his troops. [Bertram] was a brave and martial man. Now this man Saint Gilles was the one who took and gave the Lance of Christ to the Byzantine emperor Alexius in Constantinople.

[109] In this year the city called Aplast'an in the district of Jahan endured frightful harassment, grief, and danger from the troops of the Franks. Because of their intense anger at [the Franks] [the residents of Aplast'an] planned to do them harm, placing their hopes on the foreigners. They secretly sent a man [as an emissary] and the Armenian people brought in the cavalry troops which had been stationed opposite, uniting together. Then they [all] went against the citadel, saying to the military commander of the Franks: "Now come, gather up your people and depart, and God be with you." When the military commander [of the Franks] heard this, he became furious, like [g302] a wicked beast and arose to battle against the citizens. However, then the residents of the city conquered them completely. Not a single one was left. Some 300 [Franks] died on that day. Indeed, the Lord considered that this was justice for them, for all the evils to which the faithful had been subjected by them. For they ruined the land and depopulated it, making it bear thistles. The country became a desert before them. Vineyards and orchards dried up. The surface of the ground

became covered with thistles, and fountains dried up. Friendship and joy among friends ended, while betrayal and hatred spread over the country. Traffic to the church was cut due to the evils [of the Franks], and the doors of the temple of God were shut. Light fell away from the [sacred] lanterns, while the blessings of God were obstructed in the temple of the Lord. Priests were betrayed into their evil service and into jail. [The Franks] demolished and wrecked the altars and basins of the blessed church. The mystery of the Cross was covered, the fragrance of incense was forgotten, and the entire glorification of God was prevented throughout all of the district of Aplast'an. In other places they pulled down chapels, [orthodox] priests were insulted, study of the holy faith was eliminated, truth was persecuted, justice was rejected, piety was proscribed, and all of them forgot the judgment of Christ's awful tribunal. This was wrought by the fanatical nation of Franks, since [the supply of] their glorious princes and chiefs had ended. Furthermore, their power had fallen into the hands of unworthy, uncaring [people] [g303]. Consequently, persecutions and torments were stirred up against Christ's [orthodox] faithful because of their intense love of silver.

In this year [the church of] Saint Sophia in the city of Edessa collapsed, when a large part of the church on the western side fell down.

In this year appeared a comet large and wondrous and frightening to observers. [It appeared] in the southwestern part of the heavens, where its tail filled the greater portion of the sky. This happened on February 13th in the evening of the Feast of the Purification (*Tear'ne'ndar'aj*), and [the phenomenon] lasted for 50 days. All creation looking upon it was astounded, since its tail resembled the flowing of a river. No one had ever heard tell of such a wondrous sight. The savants and wise folk said that it was a kingly star [which foretold] that a king would be born in that year who would come to rule over all creation, and whose realm would extend from sea to sea, as had the realm of the great Alexander of Macedon.

In this year a multitude of troops of Arabs and from the land of the Arabs arrived and wanted to rule over Aleppo and all the land of the Tachiks. There were some 30,000 of them. Then Tacred, count of Antioch, the valiant general of God, arose and went against them. He put them to flight and returned to the city of Antioch with countless loot.

It also happened in 555 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1106-1107] that Chokurmish, the emir of Mosul, died at the hands of Chavli (Joli), emir of the Persians. For there had been a fierce battle [g304] between the two sides and Chavli defeated Chokurmish's troops. They hit him with an arrow, causing a deadly wound from which, after a few days, that wicked beast perished. [Chavli] gave all of that land to Sultan Kilij-Arslan and he also gave into his hands Baldwin, count of Edessa, since he had Baldwin as his servant. Then Kilij-Arslan, sultan of the West, massed troops. He went and took Mosul, Jazira[t-ibn-'Umar], and all [of Chokurmish's] land.

[110] During the same year, before this, Kilij-Arslan came with many troops against the city of Edessa. He remained there for some days fighting many battles. However, since he was unable to accomplish anything, he arose and went, and took the city called Harran. He put all its lands under his control and then returned to his own land.

In 556 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1107] there was fierce fighting in the district of Mosul in the land of the Tachiks. Kilij-Arslan and Emir Chavli clashed with each other with their many troops. There was great bloodletting on both sides, but Chavli defeated the sultan's forces, while his remaining troops fled to the city of Melitene as fugitives. In the great battle Sultan Kilij-Arslan was killed. At his death there was great mourning among Christians, for he was a good man and mild toward the Christians on all sides. The four sons who survived him ruled over his districts.

In this year the nation of the Persians massed 12,000 troops. They crossed the Taurus Mountains [g305] descending into the district called Anazarba, and looting the entire country of T'oros, R'uben's [grand]son. Then he crossed the plain of the city of Marash and arrived with a countless multitude at a spot in Gogh

Vasil's country called Berdus, in the confines of Nuirakan. When Vasil, prince of the Armenians, heard about this, he assembled the brigade of the Armenians and their troops. Like eagles or lion cubs they rushed against the foreigners. They fought an intense and awful battle and, with great triumph, put the Turks to flight. They pursued them, unitedly, killing countless numbers, seizing many, and taking all their booty and captives. Then Vasil, prince of the Armenians, and the entire brigade of the Armenian gentry (*azatagundn Hayots'*) came to their city of Kesoun in great joy and gave thanks to God Who shamed the enemies of the Cross of Christ.

At the start of the year 557 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1108-1109] again the nation of Persians massed twice the troops [as on the previous occasion], and with 6,000 select men, together with their sultan, came to the land of the prince of the Armenians, Vasil. They were seeking vengeance for the prior destruction inflicted on them at Berdus by Prince Vasil. Like wild beasts they arrived at the borders of the city named Hisn-Mansur. It was the time of harvesting of crops. They killed farmers and turned back with their captives, descending to the fortress [g306] named Hart'an. When Gogh Vasil, prince of the Armenians, heard about the arrival of the foreigners, he rushed upon them with his forces of 500 men. They made fierce and enthusiastic warfare against the troops of the Turks, those valiant brigades of the Armenians and the gentry encouraging each other. Aplasat', who was from a line of gentry, attacked the foreigners with his troops. Petros, the sister's son of Gogh Vasil, fought bravely along with his *azats*. A certain Vasil, called Tghay ("Lad"), who was an *azat* on his mother's side, shattered the flanks of the Persian troops [as did] the brave Tiran, son of nobility, from the grandees of the Armenians. The brigade of Armenian braves waged a frightful battle and, with great triumph, defeated the troops of the foreigners. They killed many of them and also seized their sultan and many other princes of the Persians, leading them before them into captivity. Then did Vasil, prince of the Armenians, turn back in great triumph, coming to his city of Kesoun with much booty. He had rescued all those whom the foreigners had taken captive, and there was rejoicing for the [Christian] faithful.

[111] In this year Joscelin ransomed Baldwin, count of Edessa, from Chavli, for 30,000 *dahekans*. He brought him to the prince of the Armenians, Vasil, who held a great reception for them and gave them many gifts. Then Baldwin went and gathered cavalry from Vasil's city of Raban, wanting to go [to war] against that pious man, Tancred. Baldwin and [g307] Joscelin wrought this impious deed which was not pleasing to God. They sent to the Persian emir Chavli and brought [from him] for their aid 5,000 cavalry. Then they waged a fierce battle against Tancred, count of Antioch. [The cause was] their districts which Tancred had taken while they were in captivity, but did not return to them. Tancred wanted them to become his vassals, but [Baldwin and Joscelin] would not consent to this. Vasil massed 800 men for them as well as other troops of Pechenegs from the Byzantine emperor's forces which were in the city of Msis (Mamistra). Many [troops] had assembled. Then Tancred, that soldier of Christ, came with a thousand cavalry and other infantry troops. There was a fierce battle in the confines of Tell Bashir between Baldwin and Tancred, who fought each other with frightful and astonishing [vigor]. [First,] the troops of the Persians made an intense killing of the Frankish infantry forces from Tancred's brigade. However, as the battle progressed, Tancred's troops defeated Baldwin's troops, and put them to flight. Then [Tancred] turned upon Chavli with great rage and, putting swords to work, wrought a severe killing of them. Some 2,000 souls from the ranks of the Christians died on that day. Tancred, in great triumph, turned back and went to his own city of Antioch. Baldwin went as a fugitive and took refuge in the fortress named Ravendan (Areve"ndan), while Joscelin saved himself by holing up at his fortress at Tell Bashir [g308].

When they heard about this in the city of Edessa, one and all went into mourning and grieved for Baldwin, for they thought he was dead. They held a meeting about unity in the Church of Saint John with the bishop of the Franks, because they feared that again the city would fall to Tancred, who then would give us into the hands of Richard. For when [Richard] previously held the city of Edessa, he had ruined many people. When the citizens assembled in one place, they discussed [the matter and] said to the bishop: "Let your people and ours guard the city's citadel, until it becomes clear who our lord is."

Now it happened that a day later Joscelin and Baldwin arrived and entered the city of Edessa. They held an investigation over that discussion and regarded it as punishable, and bent [the participants'] words to make

their intent seem malicious. [As a result] they ruined many people and blinded the eyes of innocent people. On that day they wickedly punished the Christians, since the nation of the Franks easily listened to all the evil betrayals, and enthusiastically shed the blood of innocent and righteous people. They even dared to try to blind the bishop of the Armenians, Lord Step'annos. However, since the citizens knew him to be innocent, they ransomed him for 100,000 *dahekans*.

In this year the winter was bitter and beastly. From the severity of the cold in many places animals and birds perished and were lost throughout the entire country. In the land of the Persians, black snow fell [g309] which became a frightening omen for the nation of Persians, and which the sages of the Persians could not understand.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 3

In this year severe warfare took place in Arabia, at the place called Basra, which [city] was the home of Job. The nations of the Arabs and of the Turks assembled and fought a frightful battle against each other. At that [encounter] the troops of the Arabs valiantly and fiercely fought against the troops of the Persians, striking them in great triumph, killing, and putting them to flight. Then the military commander of the Turks massed troops again. He came against the Arab forces and, through valiant battle, put them to flight. Fifty thousand men from the Arab troops came to the district of the city of Aleppo, wanting to be under the control of Tancred, count of Antioch. After remaining there a few days, they returned to their own land.

Now in the year 558 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1109] Baldwin, count of Edessa, and Joscelin, count of Tell Bashir, massed troops and went against the city of Harran to seize the produce of their fields. Among them was an Armenian *azat* from Vasil's troops, the son of Tachat, prince of Taro'n, named Aplasat'. He was a brave and choice fighter. He had left Vasil over some agitation and had come to Edessa. When they reached the gates of the city of Harran, and the Edessans began to seize the harvest, the forces of the Turks arrived—some 1,500 cavalry—and attacked them, and killed [g310] 150 of the Edessans. Since the troops of the Franks were few in number, they wanted to flee to Edessa. At this point Aplasat' roared like a lion, signaled to his troops, and, with them, broke the front of the troops of the foreigners. The Franks turned back and kept the Turks back. The Franks turned to Edessa and the Turks pursued, battling them. The Franks entered Edessa unharmed. Aplasat' was not pleased with the activities of the Franks and [re]turned to Vasil['s service]. He had been wounded in the forearm, but the wound was not fatal since his iron [armor] took the blow.

In this year [crusaders] captured the coastal city of Tripoli after a siege lasting 11 years. [The residents] were in dire straits from the fighting and from the lengthy blockade. This was because the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin, and Bertram, a relative of the great count Saint Gilles, had put them in a bind. Then the residents of Tripoli called upon Tancred, count of Antioch, and gave Tripoli to him. At this, the king of Jerusalem and Bertram stirred up a war against Tancred, since they were besieging the city. Then the patriarch and their bishops interceded between them and made peace between the two sides, and Tancred returned to Antioch. Then the king of Jerusalem massed troops against Tripoli from all the coastal cities, surrounding the city by land and by sea and waging a frightful assault on it. The city was put to the sword [g311] and, generally, the whole city was wiped out and filled with blood. The Frankish troops took countless treasures of gold and silver, and numberless servants, and took them to the land of the Franks.

[113] At the start of the year 559 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1110], the count of Edessa wanted to stir up warfare against Tancred for the second time. It was then that Baldwin and Joscelin, through their brazen natures, conceived a plan unworthy of believers. They sent to the city of Mosul and called to their aid the *spasalar* of the Persians, who was named [Sharaf ad-Din] Maudud, a mighty and savage warrior. When [Maudud] heard about this, he enthusiastically accepted. He massed by him the entire House of the Turks and

came to the borders of the city of Harran with an enormous multitude. He summoned the count of Edessa to come to him; however, [the latter] was terrified and did not dare go to the foreigners. Then Maudud realized that he had been deceived by him and turned against Edessa in battle. When Baldwin saw this, he sent Joscelin to see about [more] troops and sent to the king of Jerusalem so that he would send help to the city of Edessa. [The king] was encamped with all the Frankish troops against the city called Beirut, by the Ocean [Mediterranean] Sea. Meanwhile Emir Maudud arrived with an inestimable number of troops, filling the broad plain of Edessa, generally surrounding the entire city, and covering hills and mountains. The entire East assembled by him, while [g312] the entire district fled and [the countryside] became depopulated while the entire city was terrified by the intense fighting. Edessa was in the direst straits for 100 days, with doubts on all sides and it was worn out from the endless warfare. Then [the residents] began to experience the danger of famine, since the multitude of troops blocked entrance or exit, and they killed whomever they seized. Places around the city filled up with corpses, and the entire district, generally, was set on fire. Not a single cultivated spot remained. All this was done at the command of Sulaiman, emir of the East. Generally, all the orchards outside the city were destroyed. All the monasteries in the mountains were razed to the ground. Such examples show the grave situation that Edessa was in. After all this, Beirut was taken from the Tachiks, through the aid of God. Generally, the whole city was put to the sword and the troops of the Franks filled up with a large amount of booty. Joscelin was there at the taking of the city of Beirut and displayed awesome valor.

Following all this, all the [Frankish] troops came to the aid of the city of Edessa. The king of Jerusalem and Bertram, count of Tripoli, came with all their troops to Tancred in the city of Antioch. With great entreaties they convinced him to go to the aid of the city of Edessa. Then they came with all their troops to Vasil, prince of the Armenians. [Vasil] brought forth all his troops and [g313] advanced to Samosata. Following behind them was the prince of the Armenians, Aplgharip, with his troops, [he] who sat in the city named Pir. With all the multitude of their troops [the allies] advanced to the borders of the city of Edessa. When Maudud, *spasalar* of the Turks heard about this, he moved his army and descended upon his own city of Harran. The troops of the Franks reached the gates of the city of Edessa and pitched camp there. At dawn on the third day they organized and unitedly prepared to go into battle. They took the blessed Cross of Varaga, affixed it to a lance, and led it before the troops. The Turks went to the opposite side of the city of Harran [hoping] in their treachery to draw [their enemies] into unknown territory. They also placed many troops in Harran in ambushes. Meanwhile, the military commanders of the Franks learned about the treacherous [plans] of the Turkish forces and turned and encamped at the secure fortress named She'nawi at the border of the Tachiks' [lands] and made ferocious warfare against it. At this point Tancred heard an evil rumor aimed at himself by the other military commanders, and so he took his troops and reached Samosata, descending to the banks of the Euphrates. All the troops of the Franks turned and followed him. When residents of the city and the district who were in the city of Edessa learned about this, one and all they emerged and followed after the Frankish troops, including mothers with their children.

[114] Two Franks committed an impious deed: they went to Maudud, apostatized the Christian faith, and told Maudud that the entire army of Franks had departed and fled. When Maudud heard about this, he went in pursuit [g314] of the Frankish troops and filled with blood [the area] from the gates of the city of Edessa to the banks of the Euphrates River, including [the blood of] the residents of the city and of the district. Maudud reached the banks of the Euphrates and wrought a killing of countless residents of the district and also took [many captives] with all their belongings. The Franks had completely crossed to the far side of the river. The Turks killed off the believers who were encamped there like flocks of sheep, pouring divine wrath [that was directed] upon them and, in fact, turning the Euphrates to blood. There were also many who drowned in the water. Those who could swim entered the water and attempted to swim across, but failed. There were also many more who got into boats and drowned when five or six boats full of people sank, since everyone had tried to get on board. On that day the entire district of Edessa was ruined and depopulated. It was just as the early wise men had said: "Alas for the House of Abgar." As for the Franks' troops who were on the other side of the Euphrates River, when they saw all that the Christians underwent, they wept bitterly since they could

do nothing to help. Then Maudud turned back in great triumph and went to Harran and, from there, he went on to his own land with captives and inestimable booty.

Now the great emir of the East, Sulaiman, seized Emir Balak [Nur ad-Daulah Balik], put him in iron fetters, and took and deposited him in a jail in Taro'n's Aytseats' fortress. The troops of the Franks went to their own places, full of disgrace since, instead of saving [people] they had been responsible for [g315] the deaths of the faithful. Meanwhile Tancred, that brave warrior of Christ, gathered [troops] and went to the land around the city of Aleppo. He descended on the fortress-city named al-Atharib (T'erep) and was there for many days. Through intense warfare he took it, not harming anyone.

In this year the troops of the Turks massed and entered the land of Anazarba and ruined the entire land as well as Marpa. The great prince of the Armenians, T'oros, son of Kostand, son of R'uben, viewing the multitude of the troops of the Persians, did not dare to emerge and fight. The troops of the Turks returned to their own land with countless captives and inestimable loot.

In this year there were many destructions in this district. In the same year, in wintertime, there occurred a frightful and terrifying omen in the land of the Armenians in the district of Vaspurakan. For on one day, in the dark of night, fire cut through the heavenly firmament, fell, and struck the sea of Vaspurakan [Lake Van]. That sea roared violently [from the impact] and [its waters] hit the [surrounding] land. The sea and the land shook with frightful violence, while the sea turned from its [usual] color to blood red. That fire tore the firmament apart. The following day [people] observed that a multitude of the sea's fish had perished and that the fish were heaped up on the shores of the sea like piles of lumber [g316]. The place [came to] stink from the great mass [of dead fish]. Moreover, they saw that the earth had been torn apart in many places to an incredible depth. Everyone hearing about this was astonished.

Also [occurring] in the year 560 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1111], Maudud came with a multitude of Turkish troops and went against the secure fortress called T'lkuran. He battled against it and the residents of the fortress, because of the danger, gave the fortress into Maudud's hands. Forty Franks were in that fortress, whom [Maudud] seized and killed with the sword. Then he captured Go'te't'il and then came and descended on She'naw by the emir of the Arabs, who was named Mni. Then [Maudud] arose and descended on the district of Edessa, on the fortress called Julman. A large mass [of troops] assembled by him. Coming to him were: the great emir named Ahmadil [who was] an important emir with many troops, and Sulaiman, emir of the East, [who came] with his son Bursuq. They arrived and went against Edessa together. After remaining there for a few days, they went against the city named Saruj, and crossed the Euphrates River, going in unison against the fortress of Tell Bashir. At this time Joscelin, a brave and mighty military man, was located in that very fortress. Meanwhile, the multitude of Turkish troops in many fighting brigades attacked the fortress, but were unable to accomplish anything. Then Ahmad, [an] emir of the Persians, who previously had heard about Joscelin's bravery, made peace with him and they became each other's brothers. Emir Mahdud arose with all the troops of the Persians and went against [g317] Antioch, descending on a place called Shaizar (Shizar). Tancred assembled the entire Frankish nation. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, and Bertram, count of Tripoli, and Baldwin, count of Edessa, came to him. The two armies descended on Shaizar and faced each other. However, they did not fight. Maudud secretly turned about and went to his own land, while the troops of the Franks peacefully went to their own lands.

[115] In this period Sulaiman, emir of the East, perished suddenly while on the road. It was a fitting death caused by the Lord, since [Sulaiman] had wrought much destruction and killing in the district of Edessa.

In this year God avenged the innocent blood of Gagik, the *shahnshah*, son of Ashot Bagratuni, by means of the great and mighty prince of the Armenians, T'oros, son of Kostand, son of R'uben. Now it came about that in T'oros' day the murderers of Gagik, king of the Armenians, were located in the fortress named Kndr'o'sakan, which was a lofty fortress with terrific security, impregnable on all sides. [The murderers] were the sons of Mandale', three brothers, who were still alive. One of them had an alliance with T'oros based on

[marriage] ties. For this reason they had promised to give the fortress to T'oros, since it bordered on his district, close to the country called Dzknjur, in the mountains of the land of Cappadocia. In this year the prince of the Armenians arose and, with a few troops, went to [visit] them out of friendship. He descended [g318] into those parts and sent to them, notifying them of his arrival. Then one of the murderers took gifts and came to T'oros, who exalted him. [One of the murderers] brought forth and gave to T'oros an expensive knife and garment. Then they ate and drank, during which time T'oros said to him: "Give me the fortress which you promised and I will give you whichever place you choose, within all my districts." [This man], lying about what had been spoken of previously, told the prince of the Armenians that: "I cannot give that fortress, since it is our patrimony and family property." At this point, T'oros, when he realized that he had been deceived by them, had the gifts given to him brought forth and said, furiously: "Take [these gifts] and go to your home, and from here on watch out for me." Then that God-killing [son of Mandale'] returned to his home, while T'oros [appeared to] depart for his own home. However, as soon as the murderers had departed and were no longer visible, T'oros turned back with his troops during the night and reached [that] fortress. Here he placed his infantry troops in ambushes and took his cavalry off into the fields, as he wanted to raid the country. When dawn broke the following day, the residents of the fortress ventured out and encountered an ambush. Seeing it, they fled. Then T'oros' troops pursued them up toward the fortress. When the residents of the fortress saw this, they closed the gates. However, [T'oros' men] seized the gates from the outside and began to fight. They hurled fire at the roof of the fortress, which blazed ferociously. When the residents saw this [g319], they opened [another] gate on the other side [of the fortress] and emerged to flee. T'oros' troops captured the fortress and seized the fugitives. Then they reached T'oros and relayed the news to him. He was greatly astonished and came back to the fortress at Kondr'o'skawis in delight. Now when he entered the fortress he started to make inquiries about their treasury, since all the district's gold and silver were collected and stored there. T'oros told the sons of Mandale': "Bring me the sword and dress of Gagik, king of the Armenians." They brought them and, seeing them, T'oros wept bitterly, as did all the troops. Then T'oros ordered [the sons of Mandale'] to show their treasury. However, they stubbornly refused to comply. Then [T'oros] began to torture them. At that point, one of the brothers pleaded with the soldiers that he be taken to the escarpment in order to urinate. When they had taken him [there] he hurled himself down from the rocky heights and wickedly perished. Then the other brother began to threaten T'oros, saying to him with a brazen face: "You are an Armenian man, while we are Byzantine princes. What answer would you have us give to the Byzantine emperor, you who would judge Byzantines?" And then T'oros became infuriated and the color of his face changed. He seized a club and savagely attacked them, saying: "Who were you to kill the mighty king of the Armenians who was consecrated by God? And what reply will you give to the Armenian people?" Weeping, [T'oros] began to wickedly attack them until they died very bitter deaths. Then [g320] he thanked God Who took vengeance for the blood of Gagik, king of the Armenians—for [T'oros'] father's father, R'uben, had served in Gagik's army. [T'oros] seized all [the wealth] in their home: much treasure, brocades, enormous silver crosses, and icons made of gold and silver, and took this to Vahka. He also took one [surviving] brother along with him and placed his own troops as guards of the fortress.

[116] In the year 561 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1112] once again the wicked and bloodthirsty beast Maudud came against the city of Edessa. At the time, the city had no expectation [of his arrival]. He suddenly came upon the city on the Day of the Dead, following Easter, at the beginning of the month of Sahmi. [Maudud] came and descended on Kupin and, arising from there with his entire multitude, descended upon the gates of the city of Edessa. After remaining there for eight days, he transferred to the mountain of Sasun. From there he came and descended on [the monastery of] the Blessed Martyrs, which was close to the wall.

It was then that Count Joscelin, the victorious soldier of Christ took 100 cavalry and 100 infantry and came and entered the city of Saruj. At this point 1,500 cavalry of the Turks invaded Saruj on the Saturday of Elijah [June 15, 1112]. Joscelin arose and fell upon the Turks, killing 150 of them. He seized five of their principal people and took all their equipage. The remainder fled to Maudud in the city of Edessa. When Maudud heard about this, he went with his forces [g321] against Joscelin in the city of Saruj. Simultaneously, Joscelin secretly arose and came to Edessa and entered the city. Now Maudud stayed for seven days in the city of

Saruj and then returned to Edessa. Some treacherous men intercepted him on the road and said: "Have mercy on us, and today we will place Edessa into your hands." [Maudud], with great delight, did as they proposed. [The people] were straitened from such hunger and the danger of it that they did not know what they were doing. During the night they brought Maudud and five of his men and gave the populous city of Edessa into the hands of the Turks. They also gave [to Maudud's forces] one of the towers which was taller than all the others in the eastern part of the city. One hundred men were placed in control of it. They took two other towers and increased in their numbers. Now God, Who does not want the destruction of the faithful, earlier had brought Joscelin, count of the Franks, to the aid of the blessed city of Edessa. When this brave soldier of God heard about these [developments], he took Baldwin, count of Edessa, along with other Frankish troops and came to the wall to fight the troops of the Turks. Valiantly and manfully did he battle against that tower until, due to the severity of the fighting, the entire multitude of the troops of the Turks fell down from the wall. Thus did the [would-be] givers [of the city] and the takers [of the city] perish together. On that day, through the bravery of Joscelin and all the other troops of the residents, the city of Edessa became devoid of Turks. At this point, Count Joscelin, because of the anger in his heart and because of malicious [g322] tongues, caused great bloodshed of innocent folk among the residents—killing and burning them with fire, and torturing them, which was displeasing to God. Then Maudud arose, went and captured T'lmo'z and then, full of shame and in great disgrace, he went to Khorasan.

In this year Tancred, count of Antioch, massed troops and went to Vasil, prince of the Armenians. He stirred up war against [the city of] Raban. After intense fighting he took the city of Raban from Vasil. Then he took his troops and went against Kesoun, descending at the head of the plain below the fountain at T'il. Then Vasil massed some 5,000 troops. They waited a few days without fighting, and instead made friendship between the two sides. [Tancred] returned Raban to Vasil, while Vasil gave to Tancred the district of Hisn-Mansur, as well as T'ore'sh and Uremn. [Previously], Vasil had captured from the Franks this district of Hisn-Mansur, along with P'ersin *tsatsk'*, Raghtip, Hart'an, T'ore'sh, and Uremn. Now he returned them to the nation of the Franks. Then Tancred went peacefully back to his own city of Antioch.

[117] In this year on the 24th day of the month of Areg, the great prince of the Armenians, who was called Gogh Vasil, died. There was deep mourning throughout the entire House of the Armenians. For it was near him that the remainder of the troops of the Armenians had clustered, as well as the entire line of Bagratunis and Pahlawunis and the descendants of the Armenian kings. The entire line of the Pahlawunis and the *azatagund* troops of the Armenians were near him and [were treated] with great glory [g323]. Moreover, the throne of the patriarch of the Armenians had been established near [Vasil] since he ruled over many districts with his might. All the flocks of clerics, bishops, fathers, and *vardapets* had gathered by him and, generally, were in great happiness. Vasil, prince of the Armenians, died and was buried at Karmir vank' (Red Monastery). His spiritual advisor and spiritual confessor was Lord Barsegh, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians. He gave for the burial site 1,000 *dahekans* [and designated] more than 150 [memorial] masses, and countless [memorial] meals (*matagh*). Many gifts were taken to Tancred from the house of Vasil, much treasure and brocades, horses, and mules. They also took the crown of Vasil's wife and gave it to Tancred's wife. Vasil bequeathed many gifts to the other princes of the districts and many goods to the poor. They gave Vasil's principality to the lad Vasil, who was of Kamsarakan [lineage] on his mother's side. [The boy] had been raised and nourished in Vasil's home like a son in his father's embrace. He was attractive and had the aspect of a lion, successful, intelligent, and a brave and martial man, 25 years of age. They seated him on the throne of the great prince Vasil and all the troops gave allegiance to him, for he was very freehanded and generous and beloved by all the soldiers. Lord Barsegh convened a united assembly and handed over the entire principality to the young Vasil. And there was joy throughout the entire House of the Armenians [g324].

In this year there died on the 18th day of the month of Mareri, that great believer in God, Tancred, count of Antioch. He was a blessed, pious, merciful man with a fine disposition. He watched over all of Christ's faithful, was extremely humble toward everyone, and judicious in all legal and spiritual matters. [Tancred] died in the city of Antioch and was buried in Saint Peter's, in the great church of Antioch, which had been

founded by the holy Apostles Peter and Paul. By Tancred's command they placed on his throne his sister's son, named Roger, a brave man and a valiant warrior. Then the patriarch and all the princes of the Franks placed Roger on Tancred's throne and gave Antioch into his hands. Earlier in the same year Tigran and Aplasat', two great princes who had been in Vasil's army, were killed by Turkish troops in the country of Lewon, R'uben's son.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 3

In 562 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1113] once again the impious, bloodthirsty beast Emir Maudud *spasalar* (general) of the Persians went against the Franks with countless troops. He reached the Tachik city of Harran. At that time Baldwin, count of Edessa, was located in the city of Tell Bashir with his troops. It was then that two evil, duplicitous, treasonous Franks got before the count, claiming that "Many are united and want to give the city of Edessa to the Turks." As it happened, [Baldwin] believed these false slanders [g325] issuing from their impious and evil mouths. As a result [Baldwin] made a wicked decision. He quickly sent Payens, the count of Saruj, [to Edessa] ordering him to remove all the inhabitants of Edessa, so that no one at all would remain in the city. On that day, however, the loathsome nation [of Franks] plotted and wanted to kill off the entire city, generally, and were eager to shed the blood of the blameless and innocent who had committed no crimes. It was through the characteristic evil in the souls of their [Frankish] people, that they regarded everyone as guilty.

On a Sunday in the month of Sahmi, at mealtime, the wicked disaster of bitterness descended on Edessa, [a disaster so severe] that fathers and sons disavowed each other. Wailing, mourning, and cries were heard everywhere in the city. [Sounds of] crying, grief, and sorrow issued from every house. For [the Franks] threw people out of their homes throughout the city and ordered that those still left in their homes should be burned. No one remained but for 80 men who, on that evening, had assembled in the church of Saint T'oros in the citadel and were kept by soldiers. On that day, because of the nation of Franks, great mourning descended on the city of Edessa. For everyone lamented the damage done to themselves. Nor was there any form of bestiality that the nation of Franks did not inflict on the city of Edessa. Here was realized what former seers had said [in prophecy]: "Woe [g326] to the House of Abgar." All the men of the city went to Samosata, and the capital city of Edessa was empty, sitting like a widow. [Edessa], which previously had been a mother to all creation and had gathered to herself all the land's dispersed [people]. [Edessa] which previously had gone before the Franks [carrying] crosses when [the Franks] had come begging to them. Now behold, in return for such goodness, they did these things to them and brought evil to all the faithful.

Then the forces of the Turks who were in Harran came and crossed the Euphrates River, advancing with all their multitude to the blessed city of Jerusalem, against all the nation of the Franks. When Baldwin heard about this development—that Maudud was on the move and had descended on the city of Jerusalem—he was ashamed of his duplicitous deed. And so, he sent a letter to Edessa that the citizens be returned. Three days later, everyone returned to their homes.

Then the troops of the foreigners descended and encamped upon the city called Tiberius (Tapar), close to the Sea of Tiberius. The king of Jerusalem sent to Antioch and called [to his assistance] Roger, count of the Franks, with all his Frankish troops, as well as the count of Tripoli, who was the son of Saint Gilles. They went to his summons unitedly. Now it happened that the troops in Jerusalem had grown proud [of their abilities] and emerged in advance to fight the troops of the Turks. This was so that the coming Antiochenes

would not snatch [from them] the reputation for valor. However, God was not pleased with their arrogant plan and therefore [g327] shamed them for their pridefulness. For when they attacked each other in battle, the forces of the Turks defeated the forces of the Franks and turned them to flight. Some glorious men were killed on the Frankish side, while all the infantry were slain. Now one brave man from the Turkish forces reached the king of Jerusalem and struck him on the shoulder with an iron mace. However, the Lord helped and saved him, for at that moment the troops of the Antiochenes and [troops] from Tripoli arrived. When Roger, count of Antioch, saw this, he roared like a lion, speedily arrived at that spot, and turned the forces of the Turks to flight. And he saved the king and all the troops of Jerusalem. Then the troops of the foreigners encamped on one side of the mountain between Tiberias and Jericho, while the troops of the Franks encamped on the other side of that mountain. Nor did they do further battle with each other. After remaining there a few days, Maudud turned and entered the city of Damascus, while the troops of the Franks each went off to their own cities.

[119] Now when Emir Maudud entered the city of Damascus, he intended to destroy the emir of Damascus, Tugh-Tegin, and take the city. This treacherous plot was revealed to the emir. Then Tugh-Tegin removed from his prison a Persian man who had been condemned to death. [Tugh-Tegin] promised him freedom and glory and gave him 500 *dahekans* if he would kill Maudud. Now it happened that when Maudud emerged from his house of prayer and stood standing [g328] by the Red Column in that mosque, the Persian came and suddenly thrust a knife into his left side, killing that impious, wicked beast, Maudud. The impious Persian [assassin] also was killed wickedly on the spot. As for Maudud's troops, they fled to their own land.

In this same year on the fifth day of the month of Tre', the patriarch of the Armenians, Lord Barsegh, died. This happened to him due to some evil power. For on one day he had gone up onto the roof [of a house] in the village called Vardaheri [located] in an unfamiliar area, close to the borders of Behesne. He was there [on the roof] praying with students, priests, and bishops when, suddenly, the house collapsed. The only person injured was Lord Barsegh, since his spine struck against the wall of the house and broke. He lived for three days, having himself transported to his monastery, which was named Shughr. While still alive, he gave the throne and veil of his patriarchate to Lord Grigoris, son of Apirat. [Grigoris] was the sister's son of Lord Vahram. Lord Barsegh died and was placed into his grave at Shughr with great ceremony and patriarchal glory.

In this year Lord Grigoris was seated on the throne of the patriarchate of the Armenians [Grigor III Pahlavuni, 1113-1166]. He was the son of Apirat, from the line of Grigor Magistros, son of Vasak [g329] Pahlavuni. For after the death of Lord Barsegh there was [convened] an assembly of bishops and fathers [of the monasteries] at Karmir vank', close to Kesoun district and, by the order of the Spirit, they ordained Lord Grigoris as bishop over the entire House of the Armenians. On the same day they had him ordained as *kat'oghikos* over the see of Saint Gregory. They seated him on the patriarchal throne while he was still a youth, before his beard had begun to grow. He was tall, good-looking, and of very humble deportment.

Now in the year 563 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1114] Tapar, sultan of the Persians and son of Malik-Shah, massed troops. He appointed as *spasalar* (general) over the troops the great emir named [Aq-Sonqur al-]Bursuqi. Taking along with him the son of the sultan, who was a boy, he advanced with the multitude of troops against the city of Edessa. On the 24th day of the month of Sahmi, a Friday, he descended upon the gates of the city of Edessa. After remaining there for 30 days engaged in great warfare, he turned and descended upon the Euphrates River, destroying the entire district by the banks of the river. After that he descended upon the city called Bira, [located] on the banks of the Euphrates River. All the troops of the Franks assembled on the far side of the Euphrates River. However, they did not dare to cross the river. Bursuqi turned back to the city of Edessa and then went on to Nisibis, a city of the Tachiks. Then it happened that through a big battle, the emir Xazi [II-Ghazi] and Palak [Nur ad-Daulah Balik] defeated Bursuqi and put him to flight. They also seized the son of the sultan, though subsequently they released him [g330].

[120] In this period divine wrath was visited upon all creation. This was because God Himself in His omnipotent power looked with great anger upon His creations. For all the sons of Man had strayed from the

path of righteousness, according to the words of the prophet, who said: "In these times there will be neither prince, prophet, nor leader, not a single person who will do good." In just this fashion, everyone loved the sinful path of impiety and loathed all the commandments and laws of God. For no one remained rightly in the work of God, neither princes, military men, laity, not the leaders, priests, nor clerics. Rather, they ran after the physical desires of the flesh and worldly [desires]. God regarded this as very sinful, just as the prophet said: "Behold, He looked upon the earth and made it tremble." Indeed, God looked upon His creations in anger and, from terror at the power of the Lord, all creation gave itself over to destruction.

Here is what happened. On a Sunday, on the 12th day of the month of Mareri on the feast-day of the Discovery of the Cross, tremendous destruction was visited upon the world [of a magnitude] that no similar manifestation of wrath had been heard about previously on in the present day or in Scripture. As we slept deeply there occurred a sudden explosion and a terrifying bang. All creation resounded [g331] [from the noise]. Severe shaking and trembling were felt, which moved land and mountains. Boulders and even hills were torn asunder. From the severity of the frightful [divine] rage, the mountains and hills roared and echoed with sounds, shrieking like terrified animals. It sounded like the din made by a multitudinous army. From fear of the power of the Lord God, all creation shook and trembled like a churning sea. All the plains and mountains resounded like the clanging of bronze, shaking and moving about and tossing about like trees in a hurricane. Like a person sick for a long time, all creation produced cries and groans as, with great dread, they were expecting their destruction. Like a dejected fugitive, the country was in great terror. Like a condemned person, it emitted sounds of lamentation and tearful weeping. After the earthquake, for an hour into the night those sounds could be heard. From fear of the sounds of this wrath, everyone despaired of life and said: "The Final Day, our Judgment Day, has arrived." That was the aspect that day produced. It was a Sunday. The noise [produced] was intense, the moon was waning and all appearances were [fitting] for the Final Day. [The people] were terrified and despondent. They were like dead people. During this night many cities and districts were ruined. As it happened, all [the places] destroyed were in the districts of the Franks. Other districts or other peoples were not harmed in any way. So it was that during this night [g332] the cities of Samosata, Hisn-Mansur, Kesoun, and Raban were destroyed. The city of Marash was terribly destroyed and some 40,000 souls perished, as it was a populous city. Not a single one of them remained [alive]. Similarly, the city of Mamistra (Msis) was destroyed with countless men and women. Moreover, many other villages and monasteries were destroyed with innumerable men, women, and children in their thousands and tens of thousands. On Black Mountain, at a famous retreat named Barsegheants', there had assembled holy clerics and *vardapets* of the Armenians to consecrate a church. They were worshipping God when the church collapsed on them. Thirty clerics and two *vardapets* died under it and [their remains] are there to this day. Similarly, close to Marash, at the great retreat called Yesuants', the monastery fell and was destroyed as were all the ranks of the clergy. Now when the earthquake stopped, snow started to fall and it covered the entire land. The great and glorious *vardapet* of the Armenians, Grigor called *Mashkewor*, died in that same place. Thus, in this manner, the faithful experienced many calamities and [divine] wrath. This occurred because of sins. For each man departed from the normal road of God's commandments. They pursued the path of deviance and were inflamed by it, they left the commandments of Scripture and became crazed. It was just as in the days of Noah: they ate and drank until they were destroyed by their deeds. Thus were they engaged in merriment until [g333] the wrath of the Lord God was visited upon them. It killed the workers of evil, for they had committed very grave offenses.

[121] In this year there died Ge'org, *vardapet* of the Armenians, who was styled *Meghrik* [ca. 1044-1114/1115]. He was a marvellous, wondrous ascetic. He passed the first part of his [clerical] life, some 50 years, as a monastic, and died at age 70. Abstemious and ascetic in conduct, eating dry food throughout his life, he equalled the first saints in all his ways and observances. Throughout his life he practised standing vigils on Sundays. He was from the land of the Armenians, from the district of Vaspurakan, and from the large village named Analiwr. He had become a cleric in his youth, and became renowned for his wondrous conduct. He became an example for many and a father confessor for all the Armenians. He turned everyone to the path of light, and, through repentance, presented all of them to the Heavenly Father for adoption. He died

with a goodly confession in Christ and was buried at the great monastery named Drazark, which T'oros, the great prince of the Armenians, had renovated.

Also [occurring] in the year 564 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1115], an awesome and wondrous omen took place in the Tachik city named Amida. It was due to the increase in impiety in their wicked [g334] and loathsome people, that suddenly fire fell from the sky at night upon their senior mosque (*chemaran*). The fire from the sky intensified and flared with great rage, voraciously burning the stones in the walls as though they were made of wood. All the men of the city raced to it, but were unable to put out that unquenchable fire. Rather, the blazing flames rose up to the sky, polluting and burning their house of prayer and corrupting their place of solemn assembly. This occurred in the city of Amida which Tigran [Tigranes II B.C. 95-55], king of the Armenians, built [or, built up].

In this year once again the *spasalar* of the Persians, Emir Bursuqi, massed troops and came, arriving at the gates of Edessa. After remaining there for a few days, he crossed the Euphrates River, going to the city of Aleppo, and from there he went and captured the Tachik city of Shaizar, wanting to raid Tell Bashir and the whole district of Antioch. Then did the entire nation of Franks assemble at Antioch by Count Roger. Moreover, the king of Jerusalem came, as did Baldwin, count of Edessa, and [they] united in the district of Shaizar. At that point, there also came [to ally with] the army of the Franks, the great emir of the Persians, Ghazi, called the son of Artuq. He came to Roger with many troops because of his great animosity toward Bursuqi. Another [Muslim ruler] who came to them was the emir of Damascus, called Tugh-tegin, and they united with the nation of the Franks. Making a treaty and friendship with one another [g335] were Ghazi and Tugh-tegin [and this was done] with a very strong oath. Similarly, the emir of Aleppo united with the troops of the Franks. The troops of the foreigners and the troops of the Franks faced each other for four months. Meanwhile, the troops of the Turks did not dare to engage in battle. Secretly, Bursuqi turned about and quit the place cunningly, [deceiving] the troops of the Franks. Now when the Franks saw that Bursuqi had turned away, the king of Jerusalem, and [the count] of Tripoli, emirs Ghazi and Tugh-tegin and [the emirs] of Aleppo went back to their own districts. Once Bursuqi knew that the Frankish troops had departed, he turned to Antioch and wanted to ravage the [surrounding] district. When the count of Edessa—who was in Antioch—heard about this [development], he took Roger with 700 cavalry and caught up with Bursuqi in the district of Aleppo. Coming upon him unprepared, they attacked him. With great force [the Franks] defeated them and put them to flight. [The Franks] seized some glorious personages and took much loot and booty. Generally, they sacked the entire camp, while the remnants [of Bursuqi's forces] left in disgrace.

In this year Baldwin, count of Edessa, stirred up war against Vasil, prince of the Armenians—he who held the principality of Gogh Vasil.

[122] In these days Baldwin went with his forces against [g336] the secure fortress-town of Raban. For many days [he fought] against it, but was unable to accomplish anything, though he was besieging it.

Then Vasil went to the great prince of the Armenians, who was named Lewon and was the son of Kostand, son of R'uben, and brother of T'oros, and took his daughter as a wife. However, Lewon's brother, T'oros, summoned Vasil *tghay* and treacherously seized him, giving him to Baldwin, count of Edessa. He viciously tortured that brave and mighty warrior and by force took from him all [his] districts and destroyed the principality of the Armenians in that land. Then Vasil went to his father-in-law Lewon, and from there he arose and went to Constantinople. The emperor of the Byzantines gave him and all his troops a grand reception.

In 566 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1117] Baldwin, count of Edessa, and Galaran, count of Saruj, massed troops and went against the prince of the Armenians named Aplgharib, who was Likos' brother—[they] were sons of Vasak, and were brave and martial men. They had taken Tell Bashir from its former lord who resided in Nisibis, and also, through their bravery, had taken many districts from the Persians. They forcibly took the city of Bira and made their own dwelling there, for they were brave and renowned warriors, with 1,000 men

[in their army]. Now when [g337] the count [Baldwin] observed [Aplgharib's] districts, his heart filled with envy and he was unable to hide his wicked jealousy. He massed troops and went against Bira, doing more harm to the Christians than the Turks [had]. For a year he besieged the prince of the Armenians, Aplgharib, with a variety of wicked harassments. Because of the danger and the grief, Aplgharib had no recourse but to give Bira and all the [surrounding] district to Baldwin, while he himself went to Anazarba, to the prince of the Armenians, to R'uben's son, T'oros. The count gave Bira and its entire district to Galaran, [a man] of the Franks.

Thus, one by one, [Baldwin] pulled apart all the princes of the Armenians successively, more than had the House of the Persians. In this manner did he chase off the princes of the Armenians, those who had remained [secure] from the ferocious nation of the Turks. Through great harassment, [Baldwin] made all of them go into exile, pulled apart the whole principality of Gogh Vasil, and put the entire class of the *azats* to flight, to Constantinople. [Baldwin] ruined another prince of the Armenians, the valiant man Bagrat, ravishing his entire district. [Bagrat] had resided at Ravendan (Arewe"ndan), near Cyrrhus (Kuris). [Baldwin] also killed Kostand, lord of Gargar, who died in fetters in the fortress at Samosata. During an evening earthquake they found his body by the banks of the Euphrates River. It had been cast down from above—still affixed to the beam [g388] as it had been in prison. And so did he die. Bohemond, too, went after the great prince of the Byzantines, the prince of princes, who resided in the city of Marash. He and many other goodly princes died in prison under torture and in fetters. Many others had their eyes put out, their hands, noses and testicles cut off and were put to the stake. They ordered that innocent children [should be punished] because of their parents. Such innumerable and unnarratable deeds did they work. Always after treasure, they unjustly tortured [people] and wrecked and ruined the country. All the while they were occupied with nothing other than sitting and planning [further] wickedness. They loved all the pathways of evil, having forgotten any goodness and gratitude. We wanted to write [in greater detail] about all their many injustices, but we do not dare to do so, because we are [living] under their rule.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 3

Now in the year 567 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1118] Baldwin Le Bourg, count of Edessa, went to pray in the holy city of Jerusalem. As it was the season of holy Lent, the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin, who was Godfrey's brother, massed troops and headed toward the land of the Egypt. He wanted to bring to submission that nation of barbarians. However, when he found that the entire land had fled [before his advance], he turned his face back toward the city of Jerusalem. Now as he was travelling, an ailment [g339] came upon him and he died on route. While still living, he ordered that they should say: "Send to Edessa and bring Count Baldwin and make him *locum tenens* in the city of Jerusalem until my brother arrives from the Franks. Then make [my brother] your king." They brought [the deceased] king to Jerusalem in a coffin, and buried him at Golgotha, among the first saints. He was a good man with a humble heart, and a lover of the saints.

Now it happened that they discovered that Baldwin was [already present] in Jerusalem at the time—[a circumstance] which greatly astonished them and made them jubilant, since they reasoned that the call [to Jerusalem] had been effected by God. As the king had requested, before his return to Jerusalem, they gave the position of *locum tenens* of Jerusalem to Baldwin. However, he did not consent to this, but [immediately] sought the throne of the kingdom. [Baldwin] made this condition, that for one year he would not place the crown on his head. Should the king's brother not appear, he would wear the crown. The entire House of the Franks agreed with his declaration. On Palm Sunday they took the count of Edessa to the Temple of Solomon and seated him on the throne of the kingdom of Jerusalem. At the end of a year, they placed the crown on Baldwin's head [Baldwin (Baudoin) II of Le Bourg, 1118-1131]. This Baldwin was from one of the grandee Houses of the Franks, a brave and martial man, physically a lover of saints and a hater of sins, mild and humble in behavior. He was good at raiding, an insatiable looter, voracious when it came to treasure and booty, and not one inclined to give gifts. In faith, he was extremely orthodox with a very dependable morality and nature. Behold [g340], these were two monarchs who arose from Edessa, and both were named Baldwin.

In this year there died Malik-Shah's son, Tapar, sultan of the Persians, a man with the mind of a beast. At the time of his death he wrought an astonishing deed, never heard of previously. When he knew that he was dying, he did the following, for his sons: he sent and summoned to the palace his wife, Gohar *khatun*, who was the daughter of Emir Ismayel. Unknown to his troops, he ordered that she should be killed in his presence, so that—he said to himself—she not remarry and remove his sons from [succession to] the throne, and from [inheriting] his patrimony.

[Tapar] came from a great clan, and was lord of many troops. From all the different [subject] peoples he gathered beautiful girls—400 virgins—who stood before him beautifully attired and wearing beautiful ornaments of precious stones, pearls, and Arab gold, wearing crowns on their heads, their braids adorned with gold and every marvellous, varicolored ornament. They glittered before him. He killed that great queen of his in his presence, so that she would not marry his brother. [The brother] sat as sultan deep in the land of the Persians in the city of Uzgand and Ghazni, a three months' march from Ispahan. After this, Tapar placed on

his throne his senior son, Mahmud [Mahmud II, 1105-1131], and gave all Persia [g341] to him. He put his younger son, Malik', as sultan in Gandzak, city of the Armenians, and gave the entire East to him. [Tapar] also had two other sons, but no sons from Gohar *khatun*.

[124] In this year there died the caliph of the Persians, [al-Mustazhir, 1094-1118], who sat on the throne of Muhammad in the city of Baghdad.

In this year the great count of the Franks, Roger, lord of Antioch, massed troops and went against a city of the Tachiks named Azaz, close to the city of Aleppo. Coming to him was the prince of the Armenians, Lewon, son of Kostande', son of R'uben. [Lewon] came with his troops against the foreigners. Roger battled against the district of Azaz for thirty days; however, [the Franks] were unable to get their troops inside the city. After this, Roger gave the battle over to the Armenian troops. He summoned Lewon and said: "Tomorrow arise with your forces and go into battle and test the Armenian troops." Then the great prince of the Armenians notified all the Armenian troops in his army. All the troops of the Armenians gathered around that valiant warrior of Christ, Lewon, while he encouraged all of them, one by one. The next morning, the troops of the foreigners arose against the troops of the Franks. Lewon, prince of the Armenians, led the troops of Armenians against the troops of the Tachiks. [Lewon] shouted to the troops and went against the troops of the foreigners. He roared out like a lion and clashed against them with his troops, putting [the foreigners] to flight. He pursued them with the sword to the gates of the city, killing them and making them [g342] shut-ins. Nor did [the foreigners] emerge through the city gates to fight [further]. On that day Lewon, prince of the Armenians, gained renown for valor and was praised among the Frankish troops. Moreover, from that day, Roger became fond of the Armenian troops. With such fighting did [Roger] harass the city of Azaz and, through intense warfare, he convinced them [to surrender] and then took [the city] peacefully. He did not blame a single person, but let the residents go in peace. It was then that great animosity developed between Emir Ghazi and Roger. Before this, they were very good friends and dear to each other. However, from this moment they became enemies, since Aleppo and Azaz [had been the possessions of] Ghazi, emir of the Turks, son of Artuq. In his heart, Ghazi was seething with rage.

Now at the beginning of the year 568 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1119], Emir Ghazi, Artuq's son, massed a frightful multitude of troops, since he was regarded as [something of] a patriarch among the nation of Turks due to his family—and for that reason they assembled at his call. In this year [Ghazi] moved with many troops against Roger, the count of Antioch, going against the nation of Franks with 80,000 men. With such a multitude did [Ghazi] arrive at the gates of the city of Edessa. For four days he remained there but did no damage. Then he crossed the Euphrates River [moving quickly] like a panting, galloping horse, and ruining many places on route. This was because all the districts of the Franks were [militarily] unprepared. [Ghazi] took fortresses, farms, and [g343] monasteries, generally killing everyone, [including] the elderly and children. Then he came to Buza and encamped there. Now Roger, count of Antioch, was a big and proud man, and for that reason he did not make advance preparations. [Instead], he boasted of his strength. With his people's native arrogance, he regarded the troops of the Turks as nothing. He did not prepare or strategize, and did not gather his troops together. Nor did he call other Frankish troops to his aid. Rather, he went thoughtlessly into battle against the Turkish troops with 600 Frankish cavalry and 500 Armenian cavalry and 400 infantry, and [a mob of] some 10,000 mixed and various [fighters]. As for the troops of the Turks, they availed themselves of every preparation, and set ambushes in many places. This occurred within the confines of the city named al-Atharib (Terap). A horrible, frightful battle took place. And then, by the multitude of the troops of the Persians, all the troops of the Christians were trapped between the Turkish forces and were unable to find a means of escape. Generally, the entire nation of the [Christian] faithful was stabbed and killed by the sword. Roger, the great count of the Franks, was killed along with his troops. Only a few were saved. Then the entire land from the Euphrates River to the Ocean [Mediterranean] Sea was ravaged and all the districts filled up with blood and captives, while the army of the Franks was put to the sword. This occurred on the sixth day of the month of K'aghots' on a Saturday of the [feast of the] Transfiguration (*Vardavar'*) [g344]. Then, on Sunday of the Transfiguration, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem,

arrived at the city of Antioch. He massed the remaining troops of Franks and went against the forces of Turks, on the 25th of the month of Arats', which is August the 16th. The battle was joined in the same place. Many were killed from the forces of the Turks. Both sides turned and fled and no one was either victor or vanquished, since the forces of both sides had been reduced. Some 5,000 of the foreigners died—not only by the sword, but from the suffocating heat. Ghazi went to his own land, trounced by the king of the Franks; while all the troops of the Franks went to their land; and King Baldwin went to his city, Jerusalem.

[125] In this year there died the emperor of the Byzantines, Alek's [Alexius I Comnenus, 1081-1118], a good and wise man, militarily strong, and extremely merciful toward Christ's faithful. However, toward our Armenian people, he showed strong animosity. He wrought deeds that were not in accordance with the will of God. He ordered that [Monophysites] take a second baptism and insulted the Nicaean baptism, while establishing the Chalcedonian regime. This shameless man [would] [re]baptize the entire nation of the Armenians and not dread [the anger of] the Holy Spirit which had illuminated holy baptism. Nor did he recall the commands of the blessed Apostle Paul, who said: "Those of you who have been baptized in Christ, have been clothed in Christ" [*Letter to the Galatians* 3.27], and "Those who have been baptized once, are [thereafter] baptized [g345]. Repeating [baptism] would be [re]crucifying the Son of God, a deadly deed" [compare *Letter to the Hebrews* 6.1]. Well, [Alexius] died in this year and his son, who was styled Porphyrogenitus, sat on the throne of his realm [John II Calojennes, 1118-1143]. [John] was a brave and martial man of modest and pleasant disposition. He accepted the nation of Armenians and lifted the wrath of unworthy [second] baptism, [re]establishing [correct] spiritual [baptism] and correcting [his father's] mistakes.

In this year Baldwin [II], king of Jerusalem, gave Edessa and Tell Bashir to Count Joscelin and sent him back to the city of Edessa. At the time of Tancred's death, [Joscelin] had been removed from his home and district and [the previous king, Baldwin I of Boulogne] had ravished the entire country from Joscelin and had held it wrongfully. [Baldwin I] had imprisoned this brave and mighty man and kept him hungry in jail. Then [Baldwin I] forcibly expelled [Joscelin] as though a criminal, and made him flee to serve in foreign lands. The former king of Jerusalem [later] called him back and, with great honor, gave the city of Tiberias (Tapar) to Joscelin, establishing him as lord of that district. [Joscelin], with great triumph, resisted the enemies of the Cross of Christ. For when [Baldwin I] died and the other Baldwin—of Le Bourg—reigned as king, he returned Joscelin to Edessa and set him against the warriors of the Persians. [This was] because he was a valiant and mighty warrior, renowned in the entire House of the Franks, while the entire House of the Persians trembled at his bravery. [Joscelin] turned to [showing] merciful kindness to the city of Edessa, abandoning the vicious behavior [g346] he had previously displayed. Then Baldwin ruled over Antioch and the entire land of the Cilicians, Jerusalem and all its territory, as far as Egypt.

At the start of the year 569 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1120], once again Emir Ghazi massed troops and organized the brigades of his forces—some 133,000 men—and went against the nation of the Franks. He quickly arrived at the gates of the city of Edessa, generally filling the entire plain with his troops. He remained there for four days and his troops polluted all the fields. Then [Ghazi] up and went to Saruj. He secretly conveyed the greater part of his troops across the Euphrates River. Generally, from Tell Bashir to Kesoun he enslaved men and women, killing with the merciless sword, burning all the children in flames, mercilessly roasting a countless multitude.

[126] Now when Ghazi, with the multitude [of troops and captives] crossed the Euphrates, he put to the sword many villages, killing priests and clerics with sword and fire. It was at this juncture that Count Joscelin was located in the borders of the city-fortress of Raban. Going to Kesoun and Behesne, he massed troops. At daybreak he went after the Turks and fell upon them. He killed a thousand of them. Emir Ghazi turned with his troops and descended close to Azaz. Then the king of Jerusalem, with all the troops of the Franks, reached Azaz to fight with [g347] the troops of the Turks. Joscelin went to Antioch with his troops, to the king. The troops of the Turks and those of the Franks faced each other for many days but did not fight. Then Ghazi turned his troops around and went to the [place] called Karmian, in the land of Melitene, while the king returned to Jerusalem and Joscelin returned to his city of Jerusalem.

This [following] matter also transpired in the year 570 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1121]. There was a certain emir from the land of Gandzak, who was named Ghazi and who was a bloodthirsty, shameless, and deceitful man. He had a border with the land of the Georgians and [had been] a friend of, and obedient to, the king of the Georgians, David [III, the Builder, *Aghmashenebeli*, 1089-1125]. During this year [Ghazi] hatched an evil scheme. Ghazi took 30,000 troops of the Turks, entered the land of the Georgians, took captive a portion [of the residents], quit the land of the Georgians, then went and encamped in his own territory. When King David of the Georgians heard about this, he sent the troops of the land of the Georgians, who went and stealthily fell upon the troops of the Turks. He killed 30,000 of them and took into captivity to Georgia all their women and children, and their countless herds of sheep, along with an immense amount of booty. Then the remnants of the troops of the Turks who had escaped the slaughter, tore their garments and threw soil on their heads and, wearing black garments, and bare-headed, they went wailing to their sultan in the city of Gandzak [g348], to Melik, son of Tapar. They raised a cry of protest before him, bewailing their losses. Others, who arrived at the land of Karmian in the district of the Arabs, wept profusely in the presence of Emir Ghazi, son of Artuq, to whom they related the losses they had sustained. [Emir Ghazi, confident], in his strength and [being] arrogant, ordered that a multitude of his troops be assembled, from the entire nation of Turks, from the land of the Greeks to the East, and including all of Karmian. He assembled a mass of 150,000 troops. Moreover, he sent to the southern areas in the land of the barbarians, and summoned to him the king of the Arabs, who was called Sadaqah (Sagha), son of Dubays. [Sadaqah] came to him with 10,000 men. He was a brave and martial man who had led the city of Baghdad into slavery and had fought three wars against Tapar, sultan of the Persians, conquering and being conquered. [Sadaqah] was of the line of Rawwadi, and was a great curser of Muhammad and his entire family. [During his career] he had pitched his tents among the Ethiopians and the Indians. At this time he had come to become a son-in-law of Ghazi, sultan of the Persians. In this year Ghazi went on the move with the multitude of his troops, arriving at the land of Gandzak to go against the land of the Georgians.

Additionally, [joining him] was Melik, sultan of Gandzak with 400,000 brave cavalry. With this enormous multitude they entered the land of the Georgians by the side of the city of Tp'xis [Tiflis/Tbilisi], on the mountain named Dekor. When this [development] was learned by David, king of the Georgians, son of Bagrat, son of Gorge', he went into battle [g349] against the forces of the Turks, with 40,000 competent and brave men, seasoned in fighting. He also had other troops—15,000 brave and select men from the Qipchaq king; 500 from the Alans; and 100 from the Franks. On the 13th day of the month of August, a Thursday, during the fast for the Mother of God, there occurred a fierce battle [in the area] between two mountains. From the frightful clash of the troops, the mountains themselves resounded. And then, God's assistance came to the troops of the Georgians. When the battle was joined, all the troops of the Turks turned to flight. On that day there was a severe and dreadful destruction of the troops of the Turks. The rivers filled with corpses, while the valleys and all the crevices of the mountains were covered [with the slain]. The number of slain Turks was 400,000; 30,000 men were arrested; while the bodies of horses and the weapons of the fallen covered the whole face of the fields. The troops of the Qipchaqs and the Georgians pursued [the fleeing invaders] as far as the borders of the city of Ani. Melik, sultan of the Persians, and Ghazi returned in great disgrace to their own lands, escaping by a hairsbreadth. Not one hundred out of a thousand survived.

[127] In this year David, king of the Georgians took the city of Tiflis from the Persians. He wrought a fierce slaughter and impaled on pikes and wickedly tortured to death 500 men.

In this year, in the month of August, fire fell [g350] from the sky and burned the senior mosque in the city of Baghdad. This mosque had been erected by Tughril, sultan of the Persians, brother of Alp-Arslan. It was built with wondrous, marvellous workmanship. For when he had taken the land of the Persians, for twenty years he had waged war against the nations of the Persians. However, then he pacified them and ruled over the entire land of the Persians. Then, when he came to the city of Baghdad, he commanded that this house of prayer be erected for the nation of the Turks—so that the nation of the Turks not enter the Arabs' prayer house. It was in this year that fire fell [from the sky] and burned this mosque of the Turks, their filthy place of assembly.

In the year 571 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1122] Ghazi, *spasalar* of the Persians, once again massed troops and went against the troops of the Franks, descending on the city of Aleppo. From there he went and pitched camp in the Tachik city of Shaizar. Then Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, arrived. Joscelin, count of Edessa, came to him and together they went and encamped opposite the troops of the Turks. For the entire summer they did not battle. Rather, they remained quiet, facing each other. In the month of September, without fighting, the two sides withdrew, with each [commander] returning to his own city. Emir Ghazi entered Aleppo and the emir Balak (Palak)—who was Ghazi's sister's son—a brave and competent military man, stealthily turned about and returned to his district of Andzit'. When Joscelin and Galaran heard this, they led their troops after Balak, catching up with him in the district of Edessa, at the village which [g351] is named Tap't'il, going against him with a hundred cavalry. Balak had encamped with 800 cavalry in a spot through which a river flowed, and which was greatly surrounded by marshland. He was fortified in there with his troops. The Franks, being heedless and foolish, attacked them. However, they were unable to penetrate. Balak, with all his troops, was there opposite them and wounded all their horses with arrows, and put to flight all the troops of the Franks. [Balak and his forces] arrested the two Frankish counts, Joscelin and Galaran, and destroyed all the Franks [with them]. Then they took [the counts] in chains to Kharberd and put them in prison there. They took 25 [other captured] Franks to [the district of] Palu. All these [events] occasioned great mourning among all the faithful, who were terrified and shaking with fear. This transpired on the 13th day of September.

In these days there died the great Emir Ghazi, son of Artuq. He gave all his land to his sister's son, to Emir Balak, and also entrusted to Balak his House and his sons, Sulaiman and Temur-Tash. Ghazi was brought in a casket from Aleppo to Harran, and from there they took and buried him in his city, Mayyafariqin (Mup'arkin). Then Emir Balak ruled over many districts.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 3

Also occurring in the year 572 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1123] [was the following]: Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, massed troops and wanted to war against Emir Balak over the two Frankish princes, Joscelin and Galaran, who had been thrown into jail. The king, with [g352] all the troops of the Franks, advanced to the city of Raban. Balak, previously, had gone near that district in order to loot and takes captive that country. The two sides did not [initially] know about [the presence of] the other. The king arrived with few troops at Shnje' bridge and crossed the river, wanting to descend on the place called Shnjrik. Now it happened that Balak was close by, in an ambush with many troops. After [the Franks] had pitched the king's tent, the king wanted to go hunting with a falcon. At that point, unexpectedly, Balak attacked him with all his troops. [Balak] killed some mighty men and also captured the king of Jerusalem and the king's sister's son. This happened in the month of Hor'i, four days after holy Easter. Balak took the king to the gates of Kar'kar' and [the king] gave Kar'kar' over to Balak. Then they took the king and his nephew to Kharberd and put them in a deep dungeon, in iron fetters. This is [the same place] where Joscelin and Galaran were [being kept].

In this year, five months following this [development], an astonishing event occurred which resulted in disaster. Fifteen men united in the secure fortress of Behesne and planned a valiant and deathless deed. These men arose and went to the district of Handzit' where they surveyed that secure fortress of Kharberd where the king of the Franks and Joscelin and Galaran were shut up. Observing that the fortress guards were few and careless, they went up to the gates, presenting [g353] the aspect of complainants seeking [legal] judgment. There was, in addition, another individual, inside the fortress [allied with them]. After a few hours they had managed to enter and bravely made their way to the jail. [First,] they killed those whom they found [as guards] at the gates. Then they closed the gates and, with a great clamor, reached the fortress where the king, Joscelin, Galaran, and other princes were confined. With great joy they removed them from prison, and they also removed from fetters many men and women from among the locals [who had been imprisoned] for many days. The king emerged with all the captives. They seized that fortress and ruled over the entire House of Balak. Now when the troops of the foreigners who were in that district heard about this [development], they fled elsewhere. At dawn on a Wednesday, two nights later, Joscelin arose with some infantry and secretly went to Kesoun. From there they went on to Antioch in order to mass troops to come to the aid of the king and the other [former] captives. At this time the military commander of the troops of the Franks was Count Geoffrey—a brave and mighty man and a great champion of the [Christian] faithful. With great diligence, and by all means possible, he valiantly worked to keep from the Turks all the districts of the Franks, [including] Jerusalem, Antioch, and Edessa.

Now it happened that when this [event] had transpired, Balak, emir of the Turks, was in the city of Aleppo. When he heard about all this, that [the Franks] had taken Kharberd by stratagem, he arose like a [swift] eagle and, in fifteen days [g354] had arrived there. He initiated a fierce battle against the fortress. He erected [war] machines and dug [into the ground] causing a wooden tower of the great fortress to collapse, thereby terrifying them. In great fear, Count Galeran emerged and went to Balak, and gave Kharberd into his hands.

On that day Balak killed all the captives—some 65 men and 80 beautiful women—by throwing them down from the heights of the fortress. And then, once more, with great anger, [Emir Balak] placed the king, Galeran, and the king's sister's son in iron fetters and put them in prison. It came about that Joscelin was on route with the troops of the Franks, [bringing] assistance. When Joscelin and Geoffrey heard about [this development] they were deeply distressed and, in great sorrow, returned to their own district. As for the king, he remained in prison with his nephew and Galeran.

[129] In this year in the district of Melitene a war of the birds took place. Storks, cranes, and bustards assembled and fought each other. The cranes defeated the storks and exterminated them [there] and wherever they found them.

In this year there died the great philosopher of the Armenians, Po'ghos *vardapet*. He was a marvellous man, knowledgeable in the Old and New Testaments, [resembling] the first blessed *vardapets*. He appeared like a second illuminator in the House of the Armenians and stood as a diamond-like rock against the heretics. He was a grand champion of the orthodox, and stood resolutely [g355] against the heretics throughout his life. [Po'ghos], from the district of Taro'n, died this year and was buried at Ghazaru *vank'* (monastery), close to Sasun.

In this year David, king of the Georgians, destroyed 60,000 [troops of the] Persians. [This happened] because the sultan of Gandzak went with many troops [against Georgia], building a bridge over the Kur River [made] of boats tied together. Sixty thousand [troops] crossed into the country of the Abkhaz [over the pontoon bridge]. Now when the king of the Georgians heard about this, he sent troops and demolished the bridge and [also] killed all those who had crossed over it. The sultan fled and went as a fugitive to the Persians, entering the city of Uzkand [to be] near his father's brother.

This King David was a valiant and mighty warrior, fighting against the Persians in battle. Many times he defeated the troops of the foreigners and destroyed all their strength. By the sword and through force, he took from the Persians many renowned districts: Tp'xis and the city of Dmanis, Shirwan (Shr'uan), Shak'i, and Shamk'or, and many other districts besides. King David was a blessed, virtuous man, adorned with all piety and good judgment. In addition, he showed himself as one who took in and loved the Armenian people. The remaining troops of the [eastern] Armenians assembled near him. He constructed a city for the Armenians in the land of the Georgians and established many churches and monasteries. He named that city Go'r'a [Gori], and received the Armenians with great joy and delight. King David had a legitimate [g356] son, who was called Demetre', [born] of an Armenian woman. The king's brother was named T'o'to'rme'.

Also [occurring] in the year 573 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1124], Emir Balak massed troops and went against the troops of the Franks. He arrived at the city of Aleppo and, a few days later, went against Manbij, a city of the Tachiks. He erected catapults opposite the citadel and, through intense warfare, placed the residents in dire straits. Then the emir who was inside the fortress sent a request for aid to the Frankish counts Joscelin and Geoffrey, promising to give that city to Joscelin. [Joscelin] gathered the remaining troops of the Franks, and the two counts reached him. Also, Mahuis, count of Duluk, Aintab, and Raban arrived [to participate]. When Balak heard about this, he went on the attack against them, close to the city of Manbij. There was a fierce battle. The troops of the foreigners were many, while those of the Franks were few. However, the troops of the Franks defeated the troops of the Turks and, on one side, put them to flight. Joscelin, meanwhile, pursued and killed another wing of the troops of the Turks. However, on another front, [the troops of the Turks] trapped the count of Marash and [he] and many others of Joscelin's brave cavalry were killed, martyred by the sword. When Joscelin learned about this, he turned and fled, spending the night in the place where the battle [had started]. Early the next day he entered his own city of Tell Bashir [g357]. On that day many princes of the Frankish nation were killed. It was a major and horrible day for the [Christian] faithful. This occurred on the tenth day of the month of Sahmi, which is the fourth of May.

[130] Then Balak turned back in great triumph and descended on the city of Manbij, signaling to his troops to

[start] fighting. With great joy [Balak] removed his iron armor. It was at that moment that a certain Sun-worshiper (*arewabasht*) in the citadel let fly his arrow, which pierced [Balak's] side, delivering a fatal wound. [Balak] called Temur-Tash, Ghazi's son, entrusting to him all his sovereignty and his district. And then he perished. When [Balak's] troops learned this, they dispersed. [Balak's] loss brought joy to the entire Frankish territory. However, within his own districts there was great mourning, sadness, and loss—for [Balak] was merciful toward the Armenian people under his rule.

At this time, the king, [and] Galeran, and the king's sister's son were located in the city of Antioch. Now Count Joscelin and the queen made a treaty with Temur-Tash to ransom the king. They gave hostages [including] the king's daughter, Joscelin's son, and fifteen other hostages, in addition to [the payment of] 100,000 *dahekans*. During the month of September, King Baldwin emerged from captivity to the Turks and arrived at the city of Antioch. On that day there was joy for all of Christ's faithful. As for Count Galeran and the king's nephew, they remained with Temur-Tash and [g358] were killed there. This was the second captivity which, through the efforts of Joscelin, Baldwin had emerged from.

In this year, through the aid of God, Gargar was taken from the Turks. Prince Michael, the lord of Gargar and the son of Kostand, assembled 50 men and, with great labor, went against [the city], putting into dire straits the Turks who were inside the fortress. Nor was there anybody to come to the aid of the fortress. With no recourse [the Turks] came to an agreement and gave Gargar to Michael. In the same manner and circumstances the fortress of Bibol was taken from the Turks. And there was great joy among Christ's faithful.

In this year David, king of the Georgians, again severely destroyed the troops of the Persians—some 20,000 of them—and took Ani, the residential city of Armenian kings. [David] removed the son of [the Muslim ruler] Manuche' from Ani and took him to Tp'xis. Thus was Ani, the residential city of kings of the Armenians, freed from a servitude which it had been in for 60 years. The marvellous and grand church of Ani, the blessed cathedral which [Muslims] had made into a mosque, is where [now] there assembled bishops, priests, and clerics of the land of the Armenians. They blessed the holy Cathedral with great ceremony. And there was joy throughout the entire House of the Armenians because they saw the blessed Cathedral freed from captivity.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Part 3

In this year a certain duke [Domenigo Michieli (1117-1128), *doge* of Venice] came with many troops from the land of the Franks and descended with his army on the city named Tyre (Sur) by the shore of the Ocean Sea. He went against it [g359] for many days and, through intense warfare, put the city of Tyre into dire straits. With ships, he blocked [access to] the surrounding sea, while he also had many troops on land, and thereby blockaded [the city] on all sides. He erected wooden towers opposite the city as well as catapults and other war machines. In this way he harassed and subjected the city of Tyre to danger for many days, through hunger and warfare. Finally the citizens, having no other recourse, came to an agreement with the military commander of the Franks, by which they gave the city of Tyre to the duke and they themselves would arise and go to Damascus. After a few days [the Franks] gave the city of Tyre to the Sepulcher of Christ [as income]. The duke turned around with his troops and went to the land of the Franks.

[131] In this year Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, and Joscelin massed all the troops of the Franks and went against the city of Aleppo. Coming to Joscelin [as an ally] was the king of the Arabs, Sadaqah (Sale'), son of Dubays, who had become the son-in-law of Ghazi. He made friendship with Joscelin and united with him, bringing his troops in assistance. Also coming to Joscelin was the grandson of Sultan Tutush and the son of Kilij-Arslan, the sultan of Melitene. Thus there was a great assemblage gathered against the city of Aleppo, and they placed the city in dire straits for many days, through hunger and fighting. Then the residents of the city sent to *spasalar* Bursuqi in the city of Mosul to come to help them. He massed [g360] many troops and reached Aleppo six months later. He drove off the Franks and the city, thereby, was spared. All the troops of the Franks departed unharmed to their own places. The king of the Arabs [Sadaqah] went and raided Mosul and all of Bursuqi's country. Meanwhile Bursuqi, who was in Aleppo with few troops, went to Damascus and made an alliance with Tugh-Tegin, emir of Damascus.

In this year Ghazi, emir of Sewast, son of Danishmand, went against Melitene. Through intense warfare he besieged the city for six months, putting it in very dire straits. Then severe famine affected the city and many died from hunger as the famine got worse. [Eventually] the residents were forced to leave and go to the camp [of Ghazi], since there was no food. Thus, because there was no way out of the great difficulties, they gave the city to Ghazi. The wife of Kilij-Arslan, who was the lord of the city, quit it and went to Mshar.

In 574 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1125], Bursuqi, *spasalar* of the Persians, came with many troops [including] Tugh-Tegin and 40,000 men with them. [These men] were the most select of all the troops of the Persians. [Bursuqi] came with this great force and descended opposite the secure fortress of the Franks called Azaz. He waged intense warfare against it and boasted about taking it with all his might. He ridiculed the strength of the Franks. He erected twelve [g361] catapults opposite it. Digging, they collapsed two of its walls. Azaz was in grave danger and its defenders within had given up hope.

Now when the king of Jerusalem learned that Bursuqi had returned to Aleppo, he arose immediately and went to Antioch. He notified the troops of the Franks, and Count Joscelin went to the king with great enthusiasm.

[Also arriving were] the count of Tripoli, the son of Saint Gilles, and the count of Duluk, Mahuis. The assemblage of troops of the Franks contained 1,300 cavalry, and 500 [cavalry] from the Armenians, as well as 4,000 infantry. The king of Jerusalem came and descended on Cyrrhus. When the *spasalar* of the Persians heard about this, he went with his troops and encamped close to Aleppo. Then the troops of the Franks left all their baggage at Cyrrhus and went to Azaz in full preparedness. They saw that Azaz had been wrecked and [almost] demolished to its foundations. And [Bursuqi and his forces] were close to taking it. Then the troops of the Persians turned upon the troops of the Franks and surrounded them for three days. [Those trapped] were in the gravest danger and despair and, having abandoned hope, placed their hopes in death. The troops of the Turks, surrounding them, were shouting and boasting. With shrill cries, like an eagle swooping down on a flock of doves, the troops of foreigners, one and all, applied themselves to the troops of the Franks.

[132] On all sides the troops of the Christians were without recourse and terrified and longed for death, and had reached [g362] their last breath. While matters were in this fraught condition, the king came up with an excellent plan. He told the princes of his troops: "Come, let us turn toward al-Atharib (T'erep) and have the troops of the Turks believe that we have fled. That way, those in the ambushes will come forth and chase after us. At that point we will turn on them in battle and we shall see what Christ will do with us." He ordered those in the citadel of Azaz: "When [you see that] they are pursuing and are close behind us, emit a smoke signal over the fortress." Then the king took all his troops and headed for al-Atharib. Now when general Bursuqi learned that [the king] had fled, he signalled all his troops to unite in pursuit of them, and they went after them like wolves chasing sheep. And so doing, they raised great frightening shouts and went after the troops of the Franks. When the troops of the foreigners had gone two miles (*mghons erkus*) and reached the troops of the Christians, the smoke signal was issued at Azaz. Seeing it, the king of Jerusalem and all the military commanders cried out to God for aid. Weeping and bitterly lamenting, they hurled heavenward their requests for God's aid—that He deliver aid to His small flock. Then the king commanded that the war trumpet be sounded and the troops of the Christians unitedly applied themselves to [fighting] the foreigners. Calling on God for aid, they fought valiantly [g363]. The Lord heard their pleas and they put the Turks to flight, with great anger. Then the troops of the [Christian] faithful put their swords to work and scattered them here and there over the face of the fields. Count Joscelin, in great rage, like a ferocious lion roaring at the oxen it pursues, pursued the troops of foreigners, satiating himself with the unbelievers' blood. Similarly, the king and all the troops of Christ pursued the impious ones and unsparingly destroyed them as far as the city of Aleppo. The number of the slain was 7,000.

Then the *spasalar* of the Persians and Tugh-Tegin departed full of shame, since fifteen emirs had been killed in the fighting. The troops of Christians returned with great joy and with inestimable loot. That was a day of joy for all the believers in Christ. This occurred on the 24th day of the month of Tre', on a Thursday. A few days later Bursuqi took the king's daughter and the son of Joscelin and put them in Qalat Jubar (Xlad-Chapar) while he himself went to Mosul. A year later [Bursuqi] was killed by his own people, [by a group] known as *hachi* ["pilgrims", perhaps *hashishi*, "assassins"]. Dressed in the garb of people of prayer, they entered his house and killed him with a dagger. Then [Bursuqi's] officials killed them as well as others they found in the city similarly attired, some 80 men.

In this year the military head of the Persians massed a countless number of troops. He was the emir of the East named Ibrahim, son of Sulaiman, and [with him were] the emir of Handzit' [g364] who was named Dawit', son of Suqman, son of Artuq. Many other emirs and many troops [also] went to the land of the Georgians. The king of the Georgians went after them and put them to flight with a severe slaughter. He broke them more than on the previous occasion. For five days he pursued [the fugitives] covering the fields and mountains with blood. The entire country stank from the corpses of the fallen.

[133] In this year the pious and blessed King David of the Georgians died. They seated on his throne his son Demetre', a brave and God-loving man, like his father David in all benevolent deeds. He returned to the city of Ani the [grand]son of Manuch'e' and, through many oaths, made them his servants and obedient to him for all the days of their lives. And he gave Ani to them. For Ani, upon David's death, had endured much

discomfort from the troops of the Persians. Moreover, Demetre', king of the Georgians who was born of an Armenian mother, had other concerns of a military nature and [also regarding administration] of the districts. Besides these [concerns], the [grand]sons of Manuch'e' had sworn a very powerful oath [by which] the blessed Cathedral in Ani would always belong to Armenians, and that neither Tachik nor Muslim (*Msiman*) would be allowed to enter.

In 575 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1126] Robert's [grand]son Bohemond, named Bohemond after his father, came to the city of Antioch with troops from the Franks. He married the daughter of the king of Jerusalem. The king promised to give him the royal throne after his own death [g365]. [For now,] the king gave to Bohemond Antioch and the entire land of the Cilicians. Then Bohemond, son of Bohemond, forcibly and with a powerful military, made submissive and obedient to himself the entire nation of the Franks, [including] Joscelin, count of Edessa, and the son of Saint Gilles. [Bohemond] himself was quite young, twenty years old and without a beard. He was a brave man and a powerful fighter, tall, with a lion-like visage and very blond hair. Many sons of prominent people came with him from Rome.

In 576 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1127] the blessed *vardapet* of the Armenians, called Kiwros, died. He resembled the first saints, well-versed in the testaments of God, and accomplished in penetrating analysis. He was fully developed in [understanding] the Old and New Testaments of God. He was a friend of Ge'org *vardapet*, called Meghrik. [Kiwros] died and was buried at the monastery called Drazark, a monastery known as the "Cemetery of the blessed *vardapets*." The Armenian *vardapet* called Meghrik also was buried there. He had gathered there all the orders of the hermits of Christ and had established there the order and faith of the first holy Fathers.

In the year 577 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1128] the emir and *spasalar* of the Persians, called Zangi—son of Aq-Sonqur [Bursuqi], the one who previously held the city of Aleppo—came and descended with his troops on the borders of Edessa. He established friendship with Joscelin, count of the Franks, and went unharmed to the city of Aleppo. He sought to establish [g366] friendship and peace with Bohemond, the great count of the Franks, and lord of Antioch, designating Joscelin as intermediary. After staying there for a few days he went to Damascus with all his troops, because the emir of Damascus, who was named Tugh-Tegin, had died and his son had the city.

In this year there died the sultan of the Persians, who was named Mahmud [Mahmud II, d. 1131], son of Tapar. His brother, named Melik', sat on his throne. [This is the man] who previously resided in Gandzak, and whom David, king of the Georgians, had crushed and made to flee to Persia [g367].

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Continuation by Gregory the Priest

At the start of the year 585 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1136], Sultan Mahmud, son of Amir-Ghazi, son of Danishmand, arrived with many troops. He came to the land of Marash and descended on the city of Kesoun, burning down buildings in the villages and monasteries. This was during the grape harvest. He sat there opposite the city for six days. However, he did not erect bulwarks or [siege]-machines, or even shoot arrows. Rather, he remained there quietly, cutting off water from the river, burning down orchards, raiding and accumulating booty here and there. As for those inside the city, on a daily basis they imagined the disturbances, bloodshed and capture of the city and became so despondent that on one night they abandoned [defense of] the outer wall.

However, encouraged by the leading men of the city and their priests, they were encouraged to address their supplications to God and to prefer death to falling into the hands of the impious [besiegers] and becoming an object of ridicule [g367] to the pagans. As individuals or as families [holding] hooded crosses, with their arms spread in prayer, they offered up mass day and night. Now merciful and benevolent God did not wish to betray us into the hands of the enemy because of our sins. Rather, he pitied us who had been ransomed by the blood of His beloved Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ. He did not give a command to the troops to take the city through battle. Rather, on a Friday, which was the day of Our Savior's torments, the city of Kesoun was freed. [The enemy] burned down Karmir vank' (Red Monastery), the chapel, the monks' cells, smashed those crosses made of stone or wood and took into captivity those [crosses] made of iron and copper, razing to the ground the altar of the holy communion. [They also] smashed to pieces the beautifully wrought carved door. What remained [of value] they took with them to their own land to display to their concubines and common folk, like the Babylonians had done. Here were fulfilled [the words]: "I have forsaken the daughter of Zion as a tent in the midst of vineyards or as a booth in the orchards," or like a mourning dove left alone by its mate or like a foul-looking crow seated on a monument.

Mahmud quickly departed on a Friday, as we mentioned, for news had reached him regarding the emperor of the Byzantines [that] he was coming to the aid of the besieged city of Kesoun. [The emperor] had been called upon by our prince named Baldwin, who was pleading at his feet. It happened that on that day the emperor of the Byzantines was close by at Antioch, wrecking Tachkastan [g368]. He had also destroyed the principality of our prince, named Lewon, having captured the cities and secure fortresses. Furthermore, [the emperor had] seized and taken [Lewon] to the land of the Byzantines on the far side of the sea, on the borders of [the district of] Asia.

At the start of the year 586 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1137], Porphyrogenitus [John II Comnenus, 1118-1143], emperor of the Byzantines, son of Alexius, came with great anger to the city of Anazarba. It was summertime, in the month of July. He besieged the city for 35 days and also harassed it with catapults. Because of the danger, [the residents] gave the city to Emperor Porphyrogenitus. He took everything to Constantinople [including] Lewon, prince of the Armenians and his sons and wife, and also the holy icon of the Mother of God. The great prince of the Armenians, Lewon, son of Kostand, son of R'uben, died there.

Then the emperor in person came to the fortress of Buzaah and took it by force. Tricking him, the nation of the Franks took him to the city named Shaizar, from which he went on to Antioch.

[135] [At this time] Melik-Mahmat [Nasir ad-Din Muhammad, Danishmendid emir, c. 1134-1140] went to the fortress of Shuplsa and fought many battles and discharged countless arrows, but was unable to take the fortress. Thus, going via the crests of the mountains called Kula, he returned to his own land, while we thanked God Who saved us from the flames of besiegement and freed us from our enemies. After winter passed, the emperor went against Buzaah, a fortress of the Tachiks [g369]. After holy Easter, Baldwin, lord of the city of Kesoun, went to him with his troops and cavalry. Similarly, the residents of the city [left], and the city remained devoid of men. Households with their children were frightened and quit the city, some going to Behesne, some to Raban, some to Hromkla. Kesoun remained without men, only a few princes remained to guard the place with infantry. [Those remaining included] the duke of the city, who was named Vahram. I, too, the lowly priest Gregory [remained and] exhorted them to see to the defense of the city, so that [enemies] would not come and set fire to our city—something which did [ultimately] happen.

Now it came about that when the emperor of the Byzantines turned and left, Dawut's son, named Qara-Arslan, who had come back from Tachkistan with many troops, went to the city of Raban, as though fleeing from the emperor. Now the men who were in the city of Kesoun were terrified, thinking that it was Melik-Muhammad [approaching], and quit the city, emerging at nighttime. The next morning [Qara-Arslan] came with few Turks and crossed the mountainous area. They seized a certain man and were informed by him that no one was [left] in the city. Then they came with some 30 men, entered the city of Kesoun, and burned it with its gates. They saw the multi-story palace which had been built by the great prince of the Armenians, Gogh Vasil, as well as other structures, even taller. Then they themselves went as fugitives and rejoined their other comrades. As for the men of the city, the next day they returned to their own homes.

In the year 589 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1140], a certain soldier named Simon, from the line of Sir Mahuis, harboring some grudge, seized Aintab from the count of Edessa [g370], and held it for one year. Then, through the intercession of the prince of Antioch [Raymond of Poitiers, 1136-1149], he returned Aintab to the count [Joscelin II, of Courtenay, 1131-1150].

In 591 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1142], Porphyrogenitus, emperor of the Byzantine, arrived and tried to purchase the city of Antioch from [its] prince. [The prince] took the treasure and brocades [offered] and [the emperor] quietly entered the city.

In 592 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1143], Porphyrogenitus, emperor of the Byzantines, son of Alexius, passed from this life around Easter at the beginning of April. He had established his son, Kyr Manuel [Manuel I, 1143-1180] on the throne of his realm.

In this same year the king of Jerusalem [Fulk, king of Jerusalem, 1131-1143] died. The deaths of these two kings—one of the Franks, and the other of the Byzantines—caused great amazement. For the Byzantine [ruler] died during a hunt, a wild boar being the cause of his death. And in the same year the king of the Franks also met his death during a hunt, a rabbit being the cause of his death. His son, who was named Baldwin, was seated on his throne in the blessed city of Jerusalem [Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, 1143-1163]. Now it happened that during the same year. Amir-Ghazi's son, Melik-Muhammad, also died. In this year an omen appeared in the sky in the northern section. It appeared as a column of light, on the day of Holy Thursday [Maundy Thursday, the Thursday before Easter] and remained [visible] for eight days. It was following this [omen] that the three kings died. At the end of the year, on the 23rd day of December, on a Tuesday, on the feast of the blessed Protomartyr Stephen, Zengi, the son of Aq-Sonqur, took Edessa by the sword. They mercilessly killed many for their faith in Christ. May Christ crown them among His saints. Amen.

[136] Now at the start of the year 593 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1144] [g371], the lordship of Antioch was occupied by Baldwin's son, [who was named Baldwin], son of [the count of] Poitou. Although he was still just

a lad, nonetheless, he was mighty and forceful—though not skilled in the knowledge of ruling as Baldwin, who was lord of Kesoun and Marash and their districts, holding sovereignty from Melitene to the gates of Antioch. He was a boy in years, but an old man in sagacity, pleasing to God in all acts of valor. [This transpired] also during the countship of Joscelin, the young son of that great and brave warrior, Joscelin, and during the patriarchate of Lord Gregori, overseer of the Armenians of the House of T'orgom. During this period, at the time of the feast of the holy Protomartyr Stephen, the sweet will of the Creator ignored the city of Edessa, [for] it was forcibly taken by the sons of Hagar, whose chief was named Zengi. [Zengi] shed much blood and did so mercilessly, not sparing the revered elders, nor pitying the innocent lamb-like children. The residents of the city, terrified by the sword, fled to their place of safety, called the citadel of Maniakes. Brother did not concern himself with brother, nor father with his sons, nor mother with her daughters, nor did friends concern themselves with [folk] who were close to them. Because of the heavy and bitter [nature] of that day, those who had fled did not succeed in entering their stronghold. Some 2,000 souls suffocated [from the stampede] at the gates of that fortress. [This included] the bishop (*papios*) of the Franks, who suffocated from the [press of the] mob there.

When the tyrant [Zengi] saw this, he regretted in his mind and ordered that the [killing] swords should be sheathed. [They had been] relentlessly and without mercy killing people in the streets there, as though [g372] [killing] animals. As for the Franks whom they seized, [Zengi] ordered that they be killed in his presence and that their women and children be led into captivity. As for the Christians who had fled and managed to enter the citadel, they did not last for many days, since they had no water. [Zengi and his forces] took them also, through friendship and oath. That impious one wanted to further pacify the city and so he ordered it declared that no further grief should be visited on the Christians. For all of them [by that time] had been satiated by [shedding] blood and [seizing] treasures.

Again [Zengi] boasted to himself that he had won a great victory which, for a long time prior to that, had not been achieved by any of the very great [military commanders], that is, to forcibly conquer this city, which had been blessed by the Lord. [The Lord], with His truthful voice, had so ordered during His human lifespan, what He had written in His letter to King Abgar, [namely] that "Famine and the sword shall not enter your city, if it holds to My commandments." However, [the residents], like the Israelites, subsequently forgot the injunction of the Creator. [Like the Israelites], after accepting many blessings from God, they again quickly forgot the God-given gifts which cost them no effort. Rather, sighing [with longing] they recalled the onions and garlic of Egypt during their bitter servitude, until God, Who is slow to anger, was provoked to fury [by their behavior] and did not allow them to see the Promised Land. In this same fashion, the residents of this city, having forgotten God's promise, worked unworthy deeds against the will of merciful Christ, and received the recompense for their thoughtlessness [g373].

After this blood shedding, Zengi massed troops and came to Qalat Jabar (Xlat'-chapar) and put into dire straits those who were inside. However, after a year, [Zengi] was killed by his eunuch during the night, and thus was not worthy of enjoying the great name [he had acquired]. Edessa, a city without equal, was taken in the days of the younger Joscelin. As long as he still [obeyed] the will of God, he was mighty and triumphant against the Christ-haters, as his father had been. [The father], during the days of his rule, had been glorified by God but not by people, and had not allowed the Christians to be killed.

[137] After two years had passed, Joscelin, who was the Frankish count of the city of Edessa, massed troops. Taking along the great prince Baldwin—who was lord of two lands, Germanica (Marash) and Kesoun—[Joscelin] came to the city of Edessa and by a stratagem [he and his forces] seized the city at night. Though he succeeded [in taking the city], the matter did not end well, since the God-haters massed and, after five days, took [Edessa] by force. Baldwin, that great and victorious warrior of Christ, who had displayed great valor, fell in battle. This left his land in deep mourning, since he liked the Armenian people more than [he liked] the Franks. In this same period the *kat'oghikosate* was divided into four [heads]: Lord Vahram and Lord Grigor were in Egypt; Lord Barsegh was in Ani; Lord Po'ghos, the abbot of Varag, was in Marash; and Lord Toros was in Honi. Thus the throne of Saint Gregory at Ani [g374] was divided into four parts. Baldwin's

father-confessor had been the blessed and venerable *vardapet* Barsegh. [Barsegh] was divinely-gifted and very logical, God-fearing, and virtuous in fasting and praying. He was knowledgeable in the Old and New Testaments of God, an intercessor and helper for all those deprived. He wrote [the following] eulogy on the death of [Baldwin] as counsel to all readers, and as an eternal memorial.

[We omit the lengthy oration which appears of pp. 375-415, and resume on p. 415.]

At the beginning of 598 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1149/1150], the prince—who was lord of Antioch and the foolish brother of Baldwin—was killed. [His death] was caused by the arrogance of his own people who conceitedly wanted to wage war against the enemy but declined to unite with the [other] Christian forces who were present there at the time. Not only were they themselves lost and their chiefs killed, but also many Christians.

On the same day Zengi's son, who was named Nur ad-Din by their own people meaning, according to their delusions, "Light of the Faith," put some of the delicate princes of the blood-built city of Aleppo to the sword and took other captive.

In this same year no one was illustrious as head of the Christians but Count Joscelin. During his reign once again dread of the violence of the unbelievers against the holy Church increased. The king of the Ishmaelites [g395], who was named Masud [1119-1155, son of Sultan Kilij-Arslan], came forth on the feast of the Holy Cross and captured the city of Marash quickly, as there were no troops in the fortress. He raided the country of Til Aweteats', which today is called Tell Bashir, and put all [in] its borders to the sword. There were many Christians who, through a deceitful vow made in the name of God the Great, were brought down from the fortresses. All of them were taken captive. The lord of the country, Joscelin, was then to be found in the city of Tell Bashir. He was unable to go against them. Then [Masud] departed to his own land, taking along the captives. Once again, the count [Joscelin] was unconcerned about the enemy, not paying attention to his cavalry, or that any of his people had [already] been conquered. He sent the remainder of his troops with supplies after the great and pious Prince Vasil, who was brother to the *kat'oghikos* and lord of Gargar. The nation of the Ishmaelites learned about this in advance. Their leader—who was named Qara-Arslan and was lord of the land of Handzit' and many other districts—fell upon the Christians troops, capturing all of them, some 4,000 souls. They also seized Vasil, brother of the *kat'oghikos*, and took him before the great stronghold of Gargar, since Vasil's wife and children were there. They made an honest oath with that fortress regarding the Christian troops they had seized, that they should be peacefully taken to their own country, with no duplicity visited upon them. The tyrant [Masud] because of his desire [to possess] that great *awan* [g396], did not hesitate to keep his oath. He sent all of them to Samosata under [the protection] of troops trusted by him. He took Prince Vasil with him to his own country in great splendor, and giving him lands as though [Vasil] were his own beloved brother.

[138] Following this, troops which had been dispersed and defeated moved from Samosata to Kesoun. For behold, everyone was hearing the news that Joscelin—who [had been] head of the Christians in those days—[had been captured]. He had gone to Antioch over some plan, perhaps thinking that he could secure aid from somewhere, when he was smitten by divine anger: he alone of his troops was taken captive. [This event] resembled [the episode] in ancient times when David's son, who had fled from his father because of his own wicked willfulness, was smitten by the command of God, and whose hair became the vehicle for revenge against David, a man who pleased God. His hair got caught in a branch of a tree and he remained hanging there until his enemies reached him and cut off the head of this disobedient son with a sword. The same sort of thing happened to that count [Joscelin] who behaved in ways outside the will of God. He was taken captive by the hideous and bestial haters of Christ. He was taken to the city of Aleppo. The nation of Tachiks, both near and far, were filled with indescribable joy [at this development], which greatly wounded our Christian country, since [the Christians] had no [military] head who could rally and support his remaining troops.

Now it happened that a year before this, on the 30th of the month of January at dawn on a Monday, there was

frightful thunder, and [g397] lightning fell from the sky and the very elements changed their customary ways. The Cross which had born God, burned like fire. [This is the fragment of the Cross] which that great and invincible champion of Christ, the *sebastus* Vasil, had erected during his reign on the dome of [the church of] the Resurrection at Karmir vank'. This was the fifth omen relating to this glorious Cross. To wise people this did not seem to be a good omen, but rather one presaging the ruin and destruction of Christians, as it turned out to be.

In the same year, on the day of the great Pentecost, when all were awaiting the arrival of the Spirit of God, the aforementioned Sultan Masud arrived with a countless multitude. The sultan made all of us seeing this in the city of Kesoun shake with fear, through the clamor of the ringing of bells, the flashing of swords, and the clanging of many lances. Out of fright, they immediately gave up the city of Kesoun, after receiving an oath from him and his son. Eight days later the inaccessible and impregnable [city of] Behesne [surrendered], and four days after that, the celebrated Raban. Then [Masud] went to the Tell Bashir country, which he had pulled apart and ruined the previous year. He remained there for many days, but was unable to conquer them. This was because the count's son was there in the city holding it firmly with his father's troops. Moreover, the residents of the place united with him, greatly taking courage from their faith, even though the foreigners fought using diverse types of [war] machines. Finally, [Masud] returned to his country weakened and saddened, as he was unable to take the city [g398]. [Lands which Masud] had taken from the Christians, he handed over to his son named Kilij-Arslan, who was to succeed to the throne of his sultanate.

In 600 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1151] red[-colored] snow fell on the Jahan country. This happened on the 23rd day of the month of Nawasard. On the same day that the red snow fell, white snow mixed with ashes fell on the country of the Christians, as had happened during the previous year.

After one and a half years of patience in enduring [attacks], the troops and residents of Tell Bashir found themselves in dire straits. Hearing about this, Zengi's son [Nur ad-Din], who was then in Aleppo, came against them with his troops. Since they had no aid from any quarter, [the residents of Tell Bashir] received and accepted a firm oath by which they voluntarily gave up the fortress of Tell Bashir and [as a provision of the oath] the Christians there, whether Frank or Armenian, who wanted to depart to Antioch or to other places, would be taken thence unharmed, by the order of Nur ad-Din. And that is what happened. Sultan Masud and his son, Melik, did this out of love for [acquiring] the territory which they easily took from the Christians. [It was not done] out of love for Christians or for their faith.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Continuation by Gregory the Priest

In these days of the younger Joscelin, a certain youth named T'oros (T'e'odoros) appeared. He had no aid from any quarter, except for the strength [he received] from the solicitous Creator. [God] mercifully provides for humanity from century to century in accordance with His own will as stated by His apostle [Paul]: "I have mercy on those whom I choose, and destroy those whom I choose." In this way [God] had called upon the blessed Paul from On High to serve Him in mind and deed [g399]. [In the same way God] dealt with this man [T'oros]. For [T'oros]—in a short period, not after a long time—came to rule over his patrimony. [This occurred] because [God], Who observed [T'oros'] hopes and efforts, does not stint in giving His mercy to anyone [He chooses]. [T'oros] was the son of the *sebastus* Lewon, the grand and able son of Kostand, son of R'uben. He was capable and brave in battle. Not only did he take for himself his own patrimony, but he ruled over more fortresses and cities than his forebears had. Now when a certain man named Andronicus [(Andronike') Comnenus], of Byzantine nationality, observed this, he was wickedly jealous and did not even want to hear the name of the Armenian prince. He had been sent by the emperor Kyr Manuel [Manuel I Comnenus, 1143-1180] as a lieutenant of the great city of Tarsus and of Mamistra (Msis). From that time on he did not stop hating and harassing the Armenians who, through God's providence, had gathered together near this man T'oros, for support. [Andronicus] went against them militarily and harassed them. However, [the Armenians] did not dare to do battle with him, through friendship for and fear of the great emperor of the Byzantines. Rather, constantly and in a friendly manner, they begged to remain his subjects. But he would not hear of it. Instead, in arrogance, he came and descended on the city of Mamistra. T'oros beseeched him with many entreaties, saying: "I am a vassal (*chort*) of the emperor and of you. Do not be angry." Those [Byzantines] inside the city shouted [to T'oros, taunting him]: "We still have the irons your father was taken and held in, and we will use them on you, too." This robust man [T'oros] was unable to bear such insolence [g400] and arrogance from [Andronicus]. Consequently, [T'oros] placed his faith in the power of Christ—Who had elevated him from nothing to someone [prominent]. At nighttime he penetrated the wall of the city of Mamistra. When the sun rose, [T'oros] took his troops and went to war against them. He struck them and defeated them, putting all to flight, some 12,000 men. He destroyed them with the sword and, in the twinkling of an eye, they all became corpses on the ground.

During this great battle, [T'oros' forces] captured O'shin, the lord of Lambron, and Vasil, the lord of Bardzraberd and the brother of Tigran. There were also many others of the cowardly Byzantine troops whom they captured, disarmed, and let go. I feel sorry for them. Much blood was shed in the fight. [T'oros] tranquilly ruled over the city of Mamistra, having taken it by force from the woman-like [Andronicus]. [T'oros] was seeking vengeance for [the treatment of] his father, who had been removed from his patrimony—exiled to the West with his House and children.

Now it came about that [Andronicus Comnenus], that malicious man, unable to endure the grief of this insult and the calamity of the loss of great princes and other troops, went as a fugitive to the Byzantine emperor, greatly protesting about the troops of the Armenians, and what he had endured from his own stupidity. Meanwhile, the great T'oros, taking the captured princes and the other captives, peacefully entered his city.

[T'oros now] had with him a countless amount of gold and silver and very many other types of goods and war materiel, which he had taken from Byzantine troops, not to mention many horses and mules.

[140] After such a great triumph and enrichment [g401], the slanderous Satan moved the grandees against the Armenian forces. For the Byzantines did not stop searching for means to avenge the person of their *caesar*: they sent much treasure to Sultan Masud, who was the head of all the Muslims. [Masud], deceived by the many Byzantine gifts, came with an innumerable multitude of troops, going first through his own country, terrifying them. However, the troops of the Armenians were strengthened thanks to Christ. They went to the mountain which separated them from the borders [of the foreigners]. [The forces of T'oros] were on this side of the mountain within their own borders, unconcerned about the mass of foreigners [on the other side]. [Masud's troops], seeing such boldness from the brigade of Christians, were astonished and astounded and said: "Who are these men who would challenge death and come to fight against us?" Now it happened that while they were having such thoughts, suddenly, moved by Providence from On High, the sultan of the Turks sent a messenger to T'oros, general of the Armenians, saying: "I did not come to your country to ruin it. Rather, come to us in submission and take [rule over] your country. What you have taken by force, return to the emperor of the Byzantines, and be our beloved son." When [T'oros' side] heard this, they were filled with great joy and glorified the Almighty Who had so softened the imperious and angry words that it seemed as though [Masud's side was] seeking a treaty with the very best of friends, [now] with the Armenian forces. [The Armenians] who had kept the messengers for many days released them and sent after them an emissary, saying: "We voluntarily undertake to submit to you as though [g402] to a king, since you did not envy our advancement and you have not ruined our country. Now come and separate us from the Byzantines. It is impossible [for us to stay with them]." When the sultan heard this, he did not blame them. Rather, he had written a treaty of friendship and peace, confirmed with an oath, and had it delivered to the Armenian troops by his emissary. He ridiculed the emperor of the Byzantines and his treasure. Then he returned to his own country without harming anyone. This took place in 602 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1153].

Now after this, when 603 [A.D. 1154] rolled around, the emperor sent the sultan diverse gifts of gold and silver, more than previously, and saying: "Go and soothe the wrath and rage I have in my heart toward the nation of the Armenians. Wreck their fortresses, bomb their churches and order that all of them be burned in fire, so that my angry heart will be calmed." Consequently, [the sultan], taking this mass of treasure, once more came with an innumerable multitude [of troops]—more than before. He came against Mamistra and from there [went] to Anazarba. Not being able to do as he wished there, he came to Tell Hamdun. He remained there for many days but was unable to harm them in any way. And so he sent a certain malicious and wicked person named Yaqub (Aghup)—one of the grandees of his son Melik—with a multitude of some 3,000 troops to raid the Antioch country. As they were passing the place called Dur' [the Gate], troops of those Christ-loving Brothers [Frères, Knight Templars] [g403], under the military command of Step'ane', suddenly fell upon them and generally killed all of them. Their leader, Yaqub, died when a spear penetrated his liver, and he gave up the ghost wailing bitterly. When the army heard about this, they were terrified. And then, through power from On High, a disease infected their horses, [a disease] which they themselves call *tapax*. More of them died than remained alive. When the grandees of the Turks saw this, all of them turned to flight. No one remained [to care], not comrade for comrade nor brother for brother. Many of them cut the tendons of their horses and mules, throwing aside weapons as they fled. [They fled] through swampy and difficult terrain, losing their way. Grandee *hejubs* and many *salars* (generals) went on foot, through fear of the Almighty, for they [surely] had no fear of men.

[141] Now it happened that the troops of the Armenians, which had gone raiding into the country of the foreigners, now returned to their own land with much booty. They arrived and saw this unexpected blessing, which awe of the power of God had put them to flight a second time and disgracefully defeated them as a weak fox [is defeated] by a royal lion. Thus did they go, shaking with fear and thinking that many cavalry troops were pursuing them [and causing] much bloodshed. Something like this had occurred near the city of Nisibis (Mtsbin) when Kawad, grandson of the Persian king Yazdikert (Yazkert), forgetting the treaty of

friendship with Christians [made] by his ancestors, angrily came [g404] with Persian troops to raid that country. After many days, using [war] machines, they destroyed the secure walls of Nisibis. When the troops wanted to enter [the city], suddenly, they saw the blessed patriarch Jacob, who was walking upon the walls of the city like a king dressed in [imperial] purple [garments]. Closely surrounding him were heavenly troops, placing on his head a plank from Noah's ark. [This fragment of the ark] had been given to him by an angel for his labors ascending a road on the mountain to view the ark. The angel did not allow [Jacob to go any farther up the mountain]. Rather [the angel] caused this saint of God to return to his own country peacefully giving him, as a token of love, that plank. Now when the Persian troops saw this they were terrified, and no longer dared to approach the walls of the city—walls which they had [already] destroyed. As it happened, in place of this [conquest of the city], punishment came upon them [from On High]. Wasps, flies, and horse-flies attacked their horses, causing them to lunge forward uncontrollably and break their restraints. Thus such a calamity was visited upon them from On High by means of tiny [insects]. The same thing had happened when the mighty right hand of God struck Egypt over the Israelites. In the same manner the king of the Persians turned back disgracefully defeated, through the influence of Christ and the prayers of the blessed patriarch Jacob. For the Lord implements the will of those who fear Him. This [incident from the past] in no way differs from what was wrought here now, and which we saw with our own eyes. Twice, all Turkastan [g405] came upon T'oros and his troops. Yet they were unable to do anything [damaging] to [Armenian] churches, despite the numerous instructions from the emperor of the Byzantines to turn to ashes the Cross and Church [of the Armenians] which they contemptuously ridiculed. If aid had not come from that mighty right hand [of God] which showed itself upon the Cross, the orders of heretics to destroy the blessed Church and the country from top to bottom would have been implemented. [The Armenians] remained in peace while [their attackers] departed, fleeing in great disgrace, as we mentioned earlier.

After this, when their evil plans had not been realized, they entered into peace, [especially] Kiliġ-Arslan, the great sultan, who had been established on the throne of his melikdom by his father, the great sultan. Thus, for a while, [the Christians] lived in peace and joy, glorifying the most holy Trinity along with clean and ascetic bishops, holy priests, and monks always praying. At first, when the Christ-haters came into T'oros' country and assembled against Tell [Hamdun], on the 16th of [the month of Tre'], a frightful wind arose with loud noise and many trees were torn up from their roots. Hail fell in various places, striking [and damaging] the [crops of] grains and vineyards. Again, on the 25th day of the same month of Tre', other terrifying and severe phenomena [were visible] throughout the entire country for three nights. It resembled what the people of Nineveh had experienced. It began at the first watch of the night and lasted until dawn. Unlike the usual [weather] [g406] at this season, there was complete darkness, similar to the obscuring darkness experienced in Egypt. The crashing thunderous sounds of clouds hitting each other resembled the clashing of mountains made, as it were, of hard diamond. Flashes of lightning filled all the firmament of Heaven, and there was no place in the sky without lightning mixed with strong winds. Who, indeed, could observe such awful unceasing explosions? Thus did people remain terrified by this scene for three days. All of them, men and women, old and young raced to the House of God with many groans, bitter tears, and great sighs [seeking] the intercession of the Mother of God and all the saints. At last, merciful God pitied His creations and stopped this threatened destruction from sin and reduced faith. This disaster took place in 603 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1154]. What we have recounted to this point we saw with our own eyes and heard with our own ears.

[142] Following this, when the sultan of the Turks had returned to his own country in disgrace, he lived [only] another ten months. This was because the clamor of those [people who had been] innocently killed and the captives who did not return, reached the ear of the Lord of Hosts. When [Sultan Masud] grew sick, he summoned his son named Kiliġ-Arslan, and then arose from his seat and prostrated himself before his son in the presence of his grandees. He put his crown on his [son's] head and then passed from this life, leaving all his greatness to his sons. This occurred in the year 604 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1155]. Now [Sultan Masud] had two other sons [g407]. One of them was generous to all and of a more cheerful mien than his brother who became sultan. [The new sultan] considered that, perhaps, [his brother] would not obey him, and he feared him, [especially since the brother] was physically stronger. This brother was strangled during the

night as a result of the encouragement of some during their drinking and feasting. As for the younger brother, even though he had submitted to [the sultan] like a beloved son, out of fear he fled from him to his secure hamlet in Gangra and Ancyra/Ankara (Ankiwr'ia) and did not see him again. [This was] because [the sultan] had killed others of his grandees and emirs, and his father's great prince, who was named Paghtayn and his father's *qadi* (judge). When this was observed by the great emir Yaqub-Aslan, the son of Emir Ghazi, lord of Sebastia and the land of Cappadocia, he did not accept him. He massed troops and with a multitude of cavalry came to the Lycandus country and happily took the Christians [to safety] in his country. He also seized the secure Larissa [territory] and other places. He did this for his brother's son, who had enmity toward [the sultan].

Now when Kilij-Arslan learned about this, he assembled his father's forces and an additional multitude of cavalry troops and went against him. They faced off against each other. For a long while intercessors from their deviant faith [tried to mediate] so that they would not fight one another. Temporarily, and superficially, they made peace and then returned to their own lands. This situation—neither a peace treaty nor warfare—lasted for two years [or, for two months]. Afterwards, Yaqub-Aslan secretly [g408] came to the capital city of Aplastan in the Jahan country. As a person's tendency to work evil is established from childhood [so it was with Kilij-Arslan], who had forgotten the mercy of his sultan father's reign. When Sultan [Kilij-Arslan] heard about [the new developments] he enthusiastically and arrogantly came to avenge the country of his birth. Now when Yaqub-Aslan learned about his arrival, he took the entire willing [population of] the country—some 70,000 people—and transported them to his country. The sultan was unable to catch up with them in his own country since [Yaqub-Aslan] had taken the Christians via an indirect route. Then the sultan entered the Lycandus country where the people, weary of his frightening and cruel behavior, voluntarily arose and followed after the sultan, with an oath [obtained] that those going along with him would not [subsequently] be taken away [to fight elsewhere]. Yaqub-Aslan, after securing the people he had transported in his own country, came [back] and encamped opposite the sultan, brigade facing brigade. Their [religious] leaders [again] went between them to prevent warfare. Then, after many days, the sultan, furious, came against them with great force. Once more their leaders fell at the sultan's feet, imploring him and saying: "Don't make the House of the Muslims devoid of men." Bowing to their entreaties he made peace, article by article, [in an agreement] which did not stipulate the return of the Christians who had been taken [by Yaqub-Aslan].

[143] Now the sultan agreed to this for the following [additional] reason: a man named Step'ane', the brother of T'oros the *sebastus*, had arisen. Since he was motivated by stupidity and treachery, his attempts to take from the foreigners the territories of the Christians did not comport with God's will or with the assistance of his brother [g409]. This was because [Step'ane'] had killed many Christians and completely robbed them of their belongings and properties, in no way like a Christian, who, as we are taught in Scripture should care for other [Christians]. For this reason, the sultan was obliged to go to the Kesoun area, which his father had captured. When the defenseless Christians learned about his arrival, they fled to sparsely-populated places. [The sultan] came and again conquered the country, peacefully making it obedient to his command. He also made peace with the king of Jerusalem [Baldwin III], with the lord of Antioch, and with the triumphant T'oros. Then he himself peacefully returned to his throne.

Now at the beginning of August in the year 606 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1157], [Sultan Kilij-Arslan] came to Berdous which Step'ane' had forcibly and treacherously taken without [the consent of] his brother T'oros. [T'oros] out of goodwill gave this to the sultan ignoring his brother's wishes. All the cavalry and infantry in the fortress were freed [by the sultan], for T'oros' obedience and the giving of the fortress.

Now prior to this, on October 26th of the previous year of 605 [A.D. 1156] earthquakes began [occurring] throughout the country. Many cities of the Tachiks by the borders of Arabia, near Aleppo, were destroyed to their foundations. The Lord has preserved the Christian peoples until now, though the tremors continued, uncountably, for fourteen months, until the year changed.

Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle

Continuation by Gregory the Priest

On November 2nd of the year 606 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1157] a strong wind arose mixed with rain [g410] causing much damage to vineyards and to the grapes which had been set out to dry.

Now I shall relate a bit more about Behesne, that great and impregnable hamlet. For upon the arrival of Step'ane' in the Kesoun country—without the support of effective troops and against his brother's will—there united with him certain men who called themselves Qarmatians. [They] had advised the *sebastus* [T'oros] not to undertake the capture of the fortress. We do not know if this was through God's providence or from dislike of his brother. In any case, the lord of the fortress—a cruel and despotic person whose name I will not record—departed from the advice of their sultan who had looked benevolently on the Christians. [This lord of the fortress], instead, put into dire straits first the venerable priests and deacons, [and then] the goodly heads of households and other Christians generally, tormenting them and increasing the rate of taxation of the residents of the renowned Behesne. No one should blame them when, because of this despot, they risked their lives and called in Step'ane'. Perhaps [they reasoned] he would somehow ensnare the vile tyrant. However, they were unable to bring this good plan to fruition. [This was] because one of the Christians treacherously broke the vow he had sworn with the others, and went and warned the unjust [lord of the fortress] not to go to the baths where an assassination was waiting. [The lord of the fortress] believed the man advising him, who thus saved his miserable life. He did not go out. Subsequently, roaring [g411] like an enraged animal thirsty for the blood of innocent [folk] he ordered bound hand and foot those close by and then had them thrown over a steep cliff. When the Christians saw this evil deed he had wrought, they recalled the great disaster visited on the city of Edessa, applied to the one who had come to their aid [Step'ane', who was] opposite the fortress with this troops, seeing what would develop.

As it happened, the general [Step'ane'] gathered up everyone, men and women, old and young, who voluntarily left behind their goods and belongings and their patrimonial inheritance which of old and recently they had held and did hold, born, reared, and kept by pious princes as though cherishing a beloved son, took them—these folk accustomed to a comfortable life—and settled them in an unappealing and disturbed country. [The sultan] at last, in keeping with his wise nature, recalling the destruction of the divinely-protected fortress of Behesne and the afflictions of the Christians, changed the destructive [ruler] of that hamlet. Then, gradually, the residents of the place began to return, due to the sultan's mildness, and the entire city returned to life.

What should I say about the city of Kesoun, [a name] which translates "lovely?" Here, the lord of the city, who had been appointed by the emperor as overseer and lieutenant was unable to emerge and repel those who had come against him. He and all those with him hatched an evil plan and removed from the city the revered priests and the glorious and needful householders (*tanute'rk'*) and, generally, all the men until there was no one left inside the city except women and children [g412]. The only good [deed done] by this prince was that he protected the families emerging from the city properly and safely. As for those emerging, instead of living in their lofty mansions and homes, now they dwelled in villages and monasteries. Those who were not able to

leave, sat under the shade of trees and walls, idle and without work, expecting death or enslavement and, through such fears, they forgot their exile and uneasy life. This horrible calamity lasted from the month of Mareri until the month of July, when the great sultan came to Berdous. Then the country became peaceful and people dwelled in their own homes. It was then that the great T'oros ordered that Berdous should be given to the sultan out of friendship. This was against the will of Step'ane', who had forcibly taken it from the Turk who was a wicked man and a hater of Christians, and who was killed by Step'ane'.

[145] After all this the sultan went to his throne, consulting with his grandees at court about the establishment of friendship with the Franks and the Armenians. After they had accepted the sultan['s proposals], he again sent his loyal [envoys] to Jerusalem, to Antioch, and to T'oros to make inviolable the treaty of friendship which both sides wanted. This [move] was not due to any inclination [for peace] in the heart of the sultan. Indeed, what could Christ and Belial have in common? Rather, the reason was as follows. It concerned [Nur ad-Din], the son of Zengi, who was lord of Aleppo [g413] and was his brother-in-law, [that is, he was] married to Sultan Kilij-Arslan's sister. Following the death of Sultan Masud, he scorned his son who had been seated on the throne of his father's realm, and tyrannized over the country's Christians, violating the borders established by Sultan Masud. He seized what he could, [including] the impregnable Aintab (Ant'ap') and P'arzman and all the [nearby] villages. Sultan Kilij-Arslan many times wrote to his in-law: "Do not work injustice. Return my lands which my father had established as a border between us." However, [Nur ad-Din] did not want to listen and was more arrogant and insulting to this brave people than to the ruler of Persia. While such great uncertainty was confusing the king of Jerusalem and Reginald (E'r'aghan), lord of Antioch, God [intervened]. [God], Whose power and strength is greater than Heaven [itself] and Who does not totally ignore the rod which He uses against sinners when the righteous are in despair, [acted] suddenly from His most pure and just laws. God issued the command and struck [Nur ad-Din] with a severe and very painful ailment. None of the doctors, assembled from all the wise folk, was able to find a cure. Rather, day by day, the wrath of God intensified against him. For it was [Nur ad-Din] who once had been allied with Count Joscelin by treaty and a great sworn oath of friendship [but Nur ad-Din betrayed him] in a manner so merciless and inhuman that it had never been heard of anywhere in past times. [Nur ad-Din] did not capture his friend [Joscelin] in warfare, but [imprisoned him] through the plots of others. He kept him in chains for nine months, and then blinded the eyes [g414] of this glorious man who had been invincible in many battles and was lord of many lands. Blessings and thanks and praise [should be] on the lips of everyone for the goodly and most holy judgments of God.

Let us turn back [somewhat and include] what we forgot. In the year 602 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1153], [Baldwin III] was the 18-year-old king ruling in Jerusalem. [He was] the son of the count of Anjou (Kont'ancho'), king of the Franks. Almighty God took him by the hand and gave him a great triumph—rule over the unassailable, impregnable, unChristian hamlet of Ascalon. The brave nation of the Franks and their good and blessed king spent a year of much patient labor [taking the city] during which many of them earned the crowns of martyrs, including not a few of the Freres [Frères, Brothers, the Knights Templars]. After such hardships, the Mother of God, the hope of Christians, interceded with Our Lord Jesus Christ to secure the victory after such patient endurance and to give the city into the hands of the great king and the Freres. [This happened] on the day of the Feast of the Assumption of the blessed Mother of God and was through her intercession.

After this, the benevolent king discovered some treachery among the godless nation of Scythians [*i.e.*, the Turks] and he killed innumerable numbers of them [in retaliation] for the blood of Christians they had shed. Others of them, [King Baldwin] removed from the city and settled them there [outside]. And then, instead of unChristian noises, the sounds of the life-giving Gospel were heard everywhere. They erected the Cross of salvation on all the tall mansions, [the Cross,] which had been denigrated and scorned by the criminal [Muslim] people in their shameful and losing faith [g415] and which now was the pride and joy of us believers.

[146] After this great and wonderful triumph, [the victors] rested a bit. Then they began to find a way to take

the city of Damascus. For at the beginning of the year 603 [A.D. 1154], [Nur ad-Din], Zengi's son, who was lord of Aleppo had arrived [in the area] and wanted to take rule over Damascus by trickery. However, the residents of the city did not want that, out of fear for [the safety of] their children who had been given as hostages in Jerusalem to gain the king's approval. [Nonetheless, Zengi's son] did enter and rule over Damascus through treachery.

At the beginning of the year 604 [A.D. 1155], [Nur ad-Din] gave much treasure to the king of Jerusalem and to the lord of Antioch and established friendship with them, to incline them to his wicked plans, and to allow him to come into the territories of the Christians, which previously had been ruled by the Franks. [Zengi's son] arrived at the renowned and great city of Aintab with a multitude of troops and, without delay, began demolishing the walls. He entered [the city] and killed many foreigners as well as Christians. Some were killed, others were taken captive. Then he sent envoys to the governor of the Raban and Kesoun area requesting that the country be given to him peaceably. They did not consent to this, out of fear of the sultan. But then news reached him that the king of Jerusalem and the lord of Antioch had put aside that oath of friendship they had with him and were invading and wrecking his territory. [Nur ad-Din] quickly went to Aleppo and Damascus. This disturbance was prolonged [g416] since he was not then strong enough to fight the Franks. Meanwhile the Franks, through their raids, were unable to rule over the city of Damascus.

Then the king of Jerusalem took some advice and established marriage relations with [the family of] the emperor of the Byzantines who was named Manuel [Manuel I Comnenus, 1143-1180]. [The latter] enthusiastically agreed and sent the daughter of his father's brother to the city of Jerusalem accompanied by people loyal to him, with cavalry troops, and much gold and silver. Moreover, the Byzantine emperor also promised to personally come to the aid of Jerusalem and all the Christians. Nor did he delay. Rather, quickly, during the same year, in 608 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1159], the emperor of the Byzantines came to the land of T'oros, to territories which he had forcibly taken from the Byzantine lieutenant in Mamistra. [Emperor Manuel] had with him 5,000 [or, 500,000] troops. When T'oros first learned about the arrival of the emperor, he fled to his own country taking along his wife, most of his treasury, his princes with their wives, children, and belongings. He came and entered a rock[y area] called Tachik which, from the old days, no one had dared to inhabit or find refuge in. [T'oros] had forgotten the sage advice, "Do not contend with those above you."

[T'oros] with his cavalry circulated around, not stopping in any one place. Rather, he moved about in difficult, swampy areas, hoping for mercy from On High and also [hoping] that the king of Jerusalem would serve as an intercessor between himself and the Byzantine emperor. [T'oros had similar expectations] from the lord of Antioch [g417], who had been appointed as lieutenant. A greater reason for fearing the Byzantines was this: earlier, the prince of Antioch had been incited by T'oros to invade the island of Cyprus by ship, and T'oros had accompanied him. Finding [the inhabitants] unconcerned and unprepared, they ruled over them as though they were foreigners, wrecking the cities and villages, looting their homes and belongings, punishing many of the Byzantine clergy, and cutting off their noses and ears. When the emperor and his grandees were informed, they were greatly angered over these deeds, though at the time they were unable to do anything. Now it was the beginning of November when the emperor arrived at Mamistra and the entire area. He did no harm to any of the inhabitants of the country. The king of Jerusalem refrained from coming and consulting [with the emperor] about a fitting way of defeating the non-Christian peoples and freeing the Church, though he never had it in mind to [try to] free those captured.

[147] After this [however, there arrived] at the emperor's camp the king of Jerusalem and the Freres, those soldiers of Christ, along with the lord of Antioch. The latter had earlier gone before [the emperor] to explain his innocence regarding the Cyprus invasion. A group of Christians assembled before the emperor of the Byzantines and greatly entreated him to mollify his anger toward T'oros. [The Byzantines] hated the Armenians, who were innocent. As intercessors and guarantors were the king of Jerusalem and the Freres. Now when T'oros finally went before the emperor of the Byzantines, he arrived empty-handed and was excluded from the [imperial] table. However, through the solicitude of God [g418], [T'oros] seemed pleasing in the eyes of the Byzantine emperor and he greatly blamed those who were slandering him.

After staying there with him for a few days, [T'oros] wanted to go to his own home. The emperor gave the order for him to go and then quickly return to the army. [T'oros], in accordance with his wisdom and knowing the needs of the army, brought along with him when he returned many sheep, cattle, buffalo, and Arab horses. [T'oros] again returned to the emperor and, at an appropriate moment, led his gifts before him. The emperor was greatly surprised at the multitude of the provisions and he strongly praised [T'oros'] wisdom in the presence of the Byzantine grandees and those who hated him. Then [the emperor] gave him treasures of gold and silver and clothing befitting a monarch, and truly forgave [T'oros] for all his disobedience and contrariness. [T'oros], for his part, promised to remain completely obedient to the emperor's commands. And he did.

After this a goodly plan was thought up and adopted by the emperor, the invincible forces of the Freres, the lord of Antioch and T'oros—and one which all the Christian peoples unitedly and fervently supported—namely, either to die or to free the forsaken captives who had been for a long time in the blood-built cities of Aleppo and Damascus. [The emperor] came to Antioch with his entire multitude and entered the city like he was entering his own home [g419]. Yet he did not know whether [the residents] would accept the Byzantine emperor so quickly. The emperor also demanded the sons of the resident grandees as a surety. [The city's residents] implemented everything quickly, willingly, and obediently, otherwise the captives might never be freed and they might violate the oath made at the tomb of the Redeemer and the promise made to the king of Jerusalem when he allied with the emperor by becoming his son-in-law. He arose with an incalculable multitude of troops, growling with rage like angry lions and vying with each other like soaring eagles swooping down on a flock of partridges. Thus did these brave-hearted men raid the lands of the Scythians, reaching the place named Palana, which is located a day's journey from the borders of Aleppo. All Christians, near and far, were overjoyed when they heard about the unity of the faithful for destroying the foreigners, freeing from the wicked and heavy yoke of servitude the Church of Christ, which was redeemed by His holy and revered blood.

Now it came about that when the impious ones heard news about this and about the arrival [of the Christian forces] close to the borders of Tachkastan, they all were horrified and gave way out of fear of the emperor. Nur ad-Din, the lord of Aleppo and Damascus, sent emissaries to the emperor and promised to give up some 10,000 Christian captives whom he had mercilessly mistreated. But first he planned to wash and dress them to cover the signs of their mistreatment. [He planned] to send them to the kings, seeking to become as one of their vassals. However [g420], [these rulers] did not accept this [proposal], replying through emissaries that either he could up and leave that land and go with their consent or else, if he resisted, [the Christian forces] would put all of them to the sword, including suckling babes. Thus, proud and happy, the troops of the believers were like [people] at a wedding.

While they were in these great deliberations, suddenly, through the influence of the Evil One, a message arrived from the imperial city [claiming] that there was some disturbance over the throne and [stating that] other bewitched events were unfolding, though we were unable to verify this, as it was Satan's work. Nonetheless, [receipt of] this news was the reason that [the emperor] reconciled with the prince [of Antioch] and [why they emperor] returned to T'oros the lands he had seized. He considered [his accomplishments thus far] as sufficient victory. We know from [accounts of] earlier times and from the chronicles of historians that the Byzantine emperors did nothing for the salvation of Christians. They took or seized districts and, thanks to their deeds, the Armenians arose from their country while the foreigners grew strong and came and ruled over everything. First they took the city of Artsn, then [the cities of] Melitene and Sewast, and the royal residential city of Ani, and went up to the imperial city of Constantinople. All this [territory] was forcibly held by the impious nation of the Turks. For a third time the brave nation of the Franks arose to save the Christians, however, through the treachery and perfidy of the Byzantine emperor, they were destroyed and defeated by the Turks. These are things we saw with our own eyes. If [the emperor] had come for [aiding] the Christians, there was no need for him to spend seven months in Mamistra. His father, similarly, had practised the same [destructive behavior] [g421] when he carried off *paron* Lewon and the other Armenians. What we have

[already] narrated is sufficient [evidence]—for those who are intelligent—about the deeds of Byzantine emperors, and the extent of the hatred they had toward our Armenian people. And now, this cowardly and woman-like nation of Byzantines consulted among themselves and told their emperor: "Do not listen to the Franks and the Armenians. Hurry back to your throne. You can return here whenever you please."

[148] When the orthodox [Christians] heard about this, instead of the joy they had been expecting, they experienced inconsolable grief over their [coming] departure. Many times they begged the emperor but were unable to change [his decision] about leaving. They begged for just three days' [delay] before [leaving] Aleppo. [The emperor,] however, did not want to listen to their good advice and [instead] sent emissaries to the lord of Aleppo who[se adherents] were [in a state of terror] on fire with fear, to make a treaty of friendship and peace. When [the besieged] heard about this, they were so astounded and happy that [at first] they were unable to give an answer, thinking that [the messengers] had come to spy. However, when they had confirmed it, they promised to implement the emperor's command with their lying vows. They sent 50 captives who were eminent among the Franks, whom the evil emperor only had requested for appeasement. [The Byzantines] abandoned countless [captives] whom Christ had [almost] delivered into their hands. They [the Byzantines] whose worship is defective, and who slander and judge us by their envious and evil attitudes [did these deeds]. Without killing a single Muslim, this enormous multitude turned back. [The Byzantine army turned back], not like a mighty lion but like a weak fox. They went, like fugitives, and reached the country of Sultan Kilij-Arslan [g422]. [The latter,] though not an instrument of Christ's vengeance, [almost seemed to be avenging] the insults and curses, the destruction of orthodox clergy, the lack of aid to the Church and the captives [caused by the Byzantine actions]. The evil and undistinguished nation of the Turkmens pursued them as though they were fugitives and killed 12,000 Byzantines, among them the emperor's father-in-law, and took 20,000 horses and mules. As a result, there was much agitation between the emperor of the Byzantines and Sultan Kilij-Arslan. Now it seems to my weak and feeble mind that nothing accounts for the departure of the [hope of] salvation which [the arrival of the Byzantines had brought] except for the [Byzantines'] hatred toward us [anti-Chalcedonian Christians] and the prophecy of that holy man of God, the great Nerse's our illuminator. [Nerse's], inspired from On High, wrote with a spiritual eye in his clear history about the Byzantine emperors who after a short while no longer cared about fighting, but only about taxation and about investigations into doctrine.

After these developments, when [the emperor] had shamefully departed, the *pansebastus* T'oros remained on his patrimonial lands with the emperor's command and good will, in peace and tranquility. As for the lord of Aleppo, who had become the light of his people, he had now escaped from the threat of a frightful war [induced] by the Greek nation through the influence of his evil brother and co-religionists. [The lord of Aleppo, Nur ad-Din,] sent to the king of Jerusalem and requested from him a treaty of friendship for four months. [Nur ad-Din] came to Harran, which previously had been given to his brother [g423] Mihran. Subsequently, slanderers arose and claimed that "when you were ill he wanted to kill you." [Nur ad-Din] believed these plotters and went to Harran with a multitude. He stayed there for two months, taking it by force. [He also took] other bordering territories [including] Raqqa and Edessa, as well as all the areas which had shaken off his yoke. He went to the Rabban country which at the time [was controlled by] the sultan, took it by force, and then went to Marash, and captured it, too. The emir who was lord of Kesoun, seeing the triumph of this tyrant, feared that his own city might be captured. He therefore turned his allegiance from the sultan, submitted [to Nur ad-Din] and went to him at Rabban. Then, united, they went against Marash and Behesne. [The inhabitants of these towns] were terrified, and they had no assistance. [Consequently, Nur ad-Din] took them and destroyed the walls. The cause of the destruction of these districts was as follows: [Nur ad-Din] had established friendship with [Baldwin III,] the king of Jerusalem, and tricked him like a child. Now it happened that when [Nur ad-Din] was at Behesne, bad tidings reached him that when the treaty of friendship had expired, Franks from the forces of the Freres had arrived to wreck his country. Thus he went to Aleppo and Damascus, assembled a very large multitude of troops, and wanted to war against the king of Jerusalem.

[149] At the beginning of the year 609 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1160] all the nation of the Turks gathered by Zengi's son [Nur ad-Din] in Damascus. Meanwhile the [troops of the] nation of the Franks assembled near the king of Jerusalem [and the two sides] were preparing to fight. Things remained in this condition, without warfare, until the beginning of winter. Then [an agreement] of friendship was made for two years [g424] and [the two sides] dispersed and went to their own places. Similarly, Kiliġ-Arslan and Yaghi-Arslan established friendship with each other, with [Kiliġ-Arslan] giving to him the city and [surrounding] districts of Aplast'an which, previously, had belonged to him and to his father, and which he wanted [back] during the conflict. During this same year they captured the son of the count and took him to Aleppo.

In the same year, in the month of October, a certain emir named Mihran, who was the son of Emir Ibrahim, son of Suġman—who was lord of many cities and districts [including] Xlat', Arche'sh, Mush, To'ghatap', and Mantskert—sent his father-in-law, Atratin to the country of the Georgians with many troops. Meanwhile, troops of the king of the Georgians, Gorgi [Gorge', George III, 1156-1184], and his people wanted to go raiding into the country of the Turks. [The two sides] encountered one another in the district named O'xti'. There was a fierce battle between them. The Georgians triumphed, putting [their opponents] to flight, killing many and arresting 300 of the principal people of the Turks. However, [the Turks] had wounded in the hand with an arrow the head of the Georgian cavalry. [The latter] got off his horse and sat [on the ground] and they put medicine on the wound. It happened that some of those remaining from the troops of the Turks—the sons of Mrwan, who were from Georgia and who had gone near the Turks behind the apostate Georgian [named] Vasak—had become leaders of the forces of the Turks. They unexpectedly chanced upon [the wounded Georgian] who had dismounted. They seized him and carried him off to the emir known as [the] Shahi-Armen. He was [g425] the sole Georgian captive, the head of the Georgians, named Kagh.

In 610 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1161] the king of the Georgians, Gorgi, son of Demetre', son of Dawit', came against the great royal residential city of Ani. This was on a Monday, during the summertime. After only one day [of fighting], [Gorgi] took the city by force at dawn, killing a thousand men of the Christians and of the foreigners. He left 2,000 choice men as guards over the city and then he returned to his own realm in great triumph. Now the lord of Xlat', who was called [the] Shahi-Armen, assembled 80,000 troops and came and besieged the city of Ani. When the king of the Georgians learned about this he came against them and killed [many], putting [others] to flight. On that day [the king of the Georgians] killed 7,000 [men] and took 2,500 captive of which 150 were their chiefs, their grandee emirs. [King Gorgi] also captured countless horses, mules, camels, tents, swords and other weapons in innumerable amounts, and many sheep. The city of Ani filled up with all this wealth, such that what [the city] had lost to the Georgians during its capture was returned twofold, to the point that a choice sword was sold for [only] two *danks*. After many days, people from the city of Ani went [out] to the place of battle, where they found a great deal of armor [abandoned] in the grass. They gathered this up and brought it [back]. Now the king did the following good deed for the city of Ani [g426]: when he took it, he gave 40,000 *dahekans* for the purchase of those Christians and foreigners of Ani who had been captured by the cavalry. This occurred during the fast of Saint Gregory, which is in the middle of the summer fasting period. It was then that [King Gorgi] took the city of Ani. It was in the month of August that they destroyed [the forces of] Emir Mihran, who was [the] Shahi-Armen. Three days later, the moon darkened, during which it turned a bloody shade, from evening until midnight. At this time the moon was in the 14th day of its cycle.

[150] In this year the lord and prince of Antioch, who was named Sir Reginald, came in autumn and descended into the Tluk' country [going] as far as the fortress of the *kat'oghikos*, known as Tsov. He spread around, raiding the surrounding country, looting and capturing the Turkmens he found there. He had with him a thousand troops composed of cavalry, mule drivers, and infantry.

It happened that Majd ad-Din, Nur ad-Din's second [in command] previously had assembled 10,000 men and put them into an ambush in front. Then he came fully prepared against [Reginald's forces] capturing or killing all of them. He captured the prince, too, the lord of Antioch and thirty horsemen. He killed four hundred people that day and then turned back in great joy and delight and entered Aleppo, bringing the

captives with him. He led the prince into Aleppo, with many insults and curses. Then [Majd ad-Din] sent news of these glad tidings to Nur ad-Din. [The latter] at the time was in Damascus, gathering many cavalry to battle against the king of Jerusalem [g427]. When [Nur ad-Din] heard about this, he turned to looting and took captive all the territory as far as Tripoli, bringing this [booty] to Aleppo. Then again he went against Harim, but was unable to accomplish much because of the abundance of rain. He also was fearful of the king of Jerusalem since, at the time, [the king] himself had come to Antioch, along with T'oros, the son of R'uben, and other troops of the Romans. As soon as the king went back to Jerusalem and all the others [had departed], each to his own place, Nur ad-Din went and took the impregnable fortress of Artsxan. With a [false] oath he took the city, then demolished and ruined it, taking captive the remaining Christians. He brought them to Aleppo.

In this year Sultan Kilij-Arslan went to the emperor of the Byzantines, Kyr Manuel [Manuel I Comnenus, 1143-1180], taking along with him Emir Mihran, the brother of Nur ad-Din. [The sultan] returned from there with many presents. They made a sworn oath with each other, that [Sultan Kilij-Arslan] would be obedient to the emperor until the day of his death. After receiving from [the emperor] many treasures of gold and silver, he came to his own city.

At the start of our year 611 [A.D. 1162] the most praiseworthy *vardapet* Barsegh died. He was buried at the monastery of Drazark, where the graves of similar blessed *vardapets* are located. Our narration ends here, with the beginning of this year.

In this year Step'ane', brother of the great *sebastus* T'oros and the son of Lewon, was killed. This was through the treachery and plotting of the impious duke who had such a brave and prominent Christian warrior strangled. His brothers exacted blood vengeance a thousandfold from the Byzantine nation, who were responsible before God for that murderous duke [g428].

In this year the renowned city of Dvin was taken by force by Gorgi, king of the Georgians. He entered the city after the fleeing troops of foreigners, who had emerged from the city to fight him. He killed them and drove others back into the city, [the two groups] entering through the city gates together. He mercilessly killed all of them, took [others] captive, and burned their dwellings. Then he returned to his own land with great booty and captives [g429].

End