

In the year 594 A.E. [1145] a lad named T'oros escaped from Constantinople. He was one of the sons of Lewon, son of Kostandin, son of Ruben, whom they had taken in chains to Constantinople with his House and sons. [The lad] T'oros escaped and reached the confines of Vahka in the Taurus Mountains. He disguised himself so that no one recognized him; then, intelligently, little by little, he attracted to himself capable men from among the clerics and lay folk. For he was a man who was learned and versed in theological writings, and he was also very capable in warfare. Physically he was broad-shouldered, tall, handsome, curly-haired, awe inspiring, and full of grace. With the aid of God he gradually came to rule over his patrimony, taking [g164] Vahka, Amoudain, Simanagla, Ar'ewtsberd, and other districts.

[75] In the year 596 A.E. [1147] Joscelin, count of Edessa, went secretly to the confines of Edessa, taking along with him Baudoin, lord of Marash. They went at night and stole the city and entered it. But after five days the infidels massed against it, commenced battle, and retook the city, killing Baudoin, lord of Marash. Meanwhile Joscelin and others escaped by a hairsbreadth. There was great mourning among the Christians because of Baudoin[s death], since he greatly loved the Armenian people. Lord Barsegh wrote a letter of lamentation about Baudoin and sent it to his districts, so that reading it, the people would weep. He also confessed all his sins to God on Baudoin's behalf, beseeching the Lord for forgiveness. Now in the same year the impious Zengi went against Qal'at Ja'bar boastfully because of his capture of Edessa. However God Who [g165] opposes such [people] did not allow him to endure, for while he was harassing the fortress and [subsequently] had gone to sleep, one of his attending eunuchs killed him in his bed. His son, called Nur-ad-Din, took over his principality.

In the year 597 A.E. [1148] Bohemond, prince of Antioch, was killed by the forces of Nur-ad-Din, Zengi's son, due to his arrogance. In the same period the [number of] chiefs of the [European] Christians declined and others did not arrive; there was only Joscelin. And thereafter the battle against the Christians by the infidels intensified on all sides, and they were in great crisis.

In the year 598 A.E. [1149] Mas'ud, sultan of Iconium [Mas'ud I, 1116-1155], came against the city of Marash in the month of September, and, finding it empty [of defenders], he captured it. He caused much bloodshed in the country of Tell Bashir, took captives, and looted. At that time Joscelin was at Tell Bashir, but did not dare to go out against him. Thus Mas'ud returned to his own land unharmed. Now the

Armenian prince Vasil, brother of Lord Grigoris, wanted to take bread to Gargar to help the fortress [g166], and so he took as auxiliaries Joscelin's remaining troops, some 400 men and approached Gargar. Kiliġ-Arslan [Kara Arslan], lord of Handzit', fell upon them and arrested them all. Then he took them before the fortress and demanded [the surrender of] the fortress. Vasil's wife and sons, after securing an oath, gave up the fortress. The sultan sent them in great honor as far as Samosata accompanied by his trusted men, and gave the country to him as though he were a beloved brother. After this the remaining troops of Joscelin dispersed like sheep without a shepherd, for on all sides they encountered God's punishment for [their] sins. Thus as Count Joscelin was heading toward Antioch at night, he happened to turn aside from the road a while to fulfill a call of nature, while his comrades continued on. As he was pursuing them to catch up, he struck a tree and fell from his horse in pain. The horse took off and fled from him, and [Joscelin] remained sprawled out there until morning. His comrades knew nothing about this during the night. In the morning shepherds came and took him to Aleppo, where he was put into prison.

[76] In the year 599 A.E. [1150] once again Mas'ud, sultan of Iconium, came and captured Behesni [g167], which [the residents] surrendered to him without a fight. He likewise took Kesoun, Raban, and P'arzman. Thence he came to Tell Bashir and besieged it, but was unable to accomplish anything because the count's son [Joscelin III] was there with capable fighting men. So instead [Mas'ud] wrecked the country and went off with the spoil. When the blessed patriarch of the Armenians, Lord Grigoris, observed just how weakened the power of the Christians had become and when he saw that they had no fortress to take refuge in, he was frightened to remain in his fortress of Tsovk'. So they planned to go to the king of the Georgians in the East, since Ani was in his hands and perhaps there they might find peace and a true refuge from their enemies. He left behind his brother, Lord Nerse's, until he himself could go and return, and then they would go with all their kinfolk and belongings. Now as Lord Grigoris was traveling, it happened that he went to Tell Bashir where Joscelin's wife was. She inquired of the blessed patriarch the reason for his journey to the East, and he told her. But that lady prevented him from journeying, [instead] giving him the impregnable fortress of Hor'omklay as a residence. The blessed [g168] patriarch was delighted at this and so he returned to his brother, Lord Nerse's, in Tsovk' and explained to him the reason for his return, as well as the promise made by Joscelin's wife about Hor'omklay which would be the seat of the Armenian patriarchate. When Lord Nerse's and the others heard about this, they were all delighted, since they were greatly frightened by the infidels. Thus, taking all their belongings and kinfolk, they went to Hor'omklay and secured themselves from fear of the infidels. After a period of time they gave Joscelin 15,000 dahekans for the purchase of Hor'omklay. Count Joscelin gave to Lord Grigoris and to Lord Nerse's a document written in his own hand [stating] that Hor'omklay would remain the seat of the Armenian patriarchate in perpetuity. And they placed this document in a chest at the blessed see as a reminder

for the future, so that no one would come seeking after that fortress. May the Lord grant that what was established in that physical document regarding that place be confirmed spiritually as well.

#### History [from the start] of the year 600 A.E. [1151]

[77] In the year 600 A.E. [1151] on the 23rd day of the month of Nawasard, red snow mixed with ash fell. And Nur-ad-Din, the lord of Aleppo, came against Tell Bashir with his troops. Because [the residents] had no hope of aid from any quarter, they accepted a pledge from him that they would [be allowed to] go unharmed to Antioch. They gave Tell Bashir to Nur-ad-Din and went to Antioch in peace. In the same year Lewon's son, T'oros, took Mamistra and Tell Hamdun from the Romans and seized Duke T'uma. Duke Andronicus (Andronike') who was charged with protecting the land of the Cilicians by order of the Byzantine emperor, came to the city of Mamistra with 12,000 cavalry against T'oros. And he boasted, shouting out to T'oros: "Behold your father's iron chains. I will take you bound in them to Constantinople, like your father." When valiant T'oros heard this, he was unable to bear the insult. Instead, placing his trust in God, he assembled his forces, breached Mamistra's walls at night, and attacked [the Byzantine troops] like a lion, putting them to the sword. Among those who died in the great battle before the city gates was Smbat, lord of Paper'o'n. Among those captured were the lord of Lambron [g170], O'shin, the lord of Bardzrberd, Vasil, and the lord of Pr'akan, Tigran [all of whom were] on the side of the Byzantine emperor. [T'oros'] troops seized and despoiled the weak Byzantine forces and then let them go. Then did T'oros rule over Mamistra and all the other districts which he held without a care. O'shin, lord of Lambron divided the cost of his ransom, 40,000 dahekans, into two parts: he gave 20,000 dahekans [in cash], and gave his son, Het'um, as a hostage in place of the other 20,000 dahekans. And thus did he free himself and went to his own home. So Het'um came to T'oros as a hostage and was greatly liked by him, for he was attractive, aware, and composed. T'oros sent to O'shin and proposed to establish marriage relations: T'oros would give his daughter to Het'um and the 20,000 dahekans would be her dowry. O'shin agreed to this and had Het'um baptized—for up till then he had not been baptized—made him a knight, and married him to [T'oros'] daughter, all on the same day. And they rejoiced exceedingly.

[78] 602 A.E. [1153]. After this victory which T'oros had achieved, the Byzantines were furious with him. So they went to the sultan of Iconium, Mas'ud, with numerous gifts, saying: "Eliminate T'oros, his clan, and all the Armenians." Mas'ud was bribed by the many gifts. He arose and went against T'oros. Now T'oros took his troops and went into the mountains in advance of them. When the foreigners saw this, they were astounded at his boldness. The sultan then sent [a message] to T'oros saying: "I did not come to ruin [g171] your country or to make war against you, but rather so that

you listen to me and return to the Romans the territories you took from them. Then we will remain friends." When T'oros heard this he was pleased and made this reply: "We will willingly submit to you as king, since you did not envy our advancement. However, it is impossible to return those lands to them." When the sultan heard this, he did not press him. Rather he established friendship with an oath and returned to his own home.

In the year 603 A.E. [1154] once again the Byzantine emperor Manuel sought to stoke Mas'ud and he sent him twice the amount of treasure as previously, saying: "Quench the burning of my heart toward the Armenian people, destroy their fortresses, and exterminate them." So the sultan came to Anazarba with many troops, but he was unable to accomplish anything. He sent one of his grandees, named Ya'qub (Aghup), to ravage the territory of Antioch. When they had crossed [a place called] the gate [Pylae Syriae, Passus Portellae], [soldiers called] the Brothers [knights Templar], as though sent by God, swooped upon them at that place and slaughtered all of them, including their chief. When those in the sultan's army heard about this, they were horrified [g172]. This was not all, for the wrath of God was visited upon them. Their horses perished from tapax [diahorrea] and they themselves turned to flight, brother not waiting to help brother, nor comrade, comrade. They hamstrung many of the horses and fled on foot through difficult, marshy places, as though they were persecuting themselves. For at that time T'oros was not in his country. Rather, he had gone to Tsets. When he returned and saw what had unfolded everyone thanked God, for they had been defeated without the use of weapons and without a physical battle.

In the year 604 A.E. [1155] Mas'ud, the sultan of Iconium, came to T'oros' country and again encamped against Tell Hamdun. Once again God's wrath came upon them, because although it was summer, there was a great deal of thunder and lightning, and winds so fierce that trees were torn up by their roots. Terrified by this awesome display of anger, everyone took refuge in God. After three days God took pity and the heaven and earth became calm. Once again embarrassed, Sultan Mas'ud returned to his home. After this he lived another ten months and then became sick with a fatal illness. He enthroned his son, Kilij-Arslan, who was called Machat because of a deformed hand, and then Mas'ud departed this life and was buried in Iconium. He had two other sons, one being more generous than the brother who had become [g173] sultan. Because of suspicions, the sultan had him strangled. The younger brother, frightened, fled to Gangra and Ankara. [The sultan] not only killed his brother, but also those grandees whose loyalty to himself he questioned. Now Yaghi-Basan (Aghup Aslan), son of Emir Ghazi, and lord of Sebastia and the land of Aleppo, did not approve of him. He came with his troops to Lycandus and made ... [word missing] the inhabitants of his land, and kindly settled the Christians on their land. When Sultan Kilij-Arslan heard about this he came to battle with him, but through the intercession of his advisors, the Danishmands, the two groups of Muslims did not fight.

[79] In the year 605 A.E. [1156] Yaghi-Basan secretly came to the district of Jahan, [to its town of] Aplast'a, kindly removed the population from the land and took them to his own district. For this reason Kiliĵ-Arslan again came against him to fight. They encamped opposite each other. But that caliph [?the Danishmend] established friendship and peace between them, so that the two groups of Muslims would not fight.

In the year 606 A.E. [1157] T'oros' brother, Stefane', Lewon's son, motivated by his wicked nature and without his brother T'oros' knowledge, arose with his brigade of troops and started to successfully retake [certain] districts [g174]. He took Kokison and Berdus. Sultan Kiliĵ-Arslan and T'oros had friendly relations with each other and Stefane', as we said, took these [areas] without T'oros' consent. Owing to this disturbance, Kiliĵ-Arslan came to the district of Kokison and pacified everyone, in no way blaming the inhabitants. Thence he went to Berdus, while T'oros, out of affection for the sultan, tricked his brother and surrendered Berdus to the sultan, against Stefane's wishes. The sultan in turn, because of his affection for T'oros, freed the inhabitants of the fortress unharmed. Then Stefane' attempted to steal Marash, but could not. In Behesni lived a Christian-hating chief who greatly harassed the Christians. For that reason, those who had been oppressed by him wanted, in their united multitude, to kill him while he was in the bath and to give the fortress to Stefane'. Stefane' was concealed with his troops near the confines of the fortress and waited there. But one of the plotters went and revealed the matter to the chief. Roaring with anger, [the chief] ordered that all [the conspirators] be hurled down from the fortress [walls]. When the Christian inhabitants of the fortress saw this, they took refuge with Stefane'. He took all of them, with their wives and children and led them to the plain of Anazarba, settling them in Tupna where [many] died from the heat. Now it happened that Sultan Kiliĵ-Arslan had a genuine fondness for T'oros. He sent an emissary to Jerusalem and Antioch to T'oros, and again strengthened that friendship with an oath. Valiant T'oros displayed [g175] other acts of valor. The prince of Antioch, Renaud (E'r'naght) [de Chatillon], at T'oros' urging and together with T'oros himself, organized ships and sailed to the island of Cyprus. Seeing [the Cypriots] negligent and unprepared, they attacked them as though they were foreigners, ravaging cities and villages, and leaving them stripped of their belongings, and insulting them. [80] They lopped off the hands, feet, and noses of many noteworthy men and clerics and left them like that and departed. T'oros did this because of [the treatment of] his innocent father who had been taken to Constantinople in chains together with T'oros himself, his brother, Stefane', his mother, and sisters. His father had died there in prison. T'oros and his brother Stefane' had fled secretly and had come [to Cilicia] and ruled over their patrimony. [T'oros] also recalled the Armenian princes who had been deceitfully taken to Constantinople, impaled on iron spikes while still living, and hanged on the gates. He also recalled the hanging of Gagik by the sons of Mandale' and many other events [g176]. Now the

king of Jerusalem in this period gathered the Brothers [Templars] and all the ranks of Christians and went and besieged Askalon. They put [the city] into dire straits with fighting and then took it on the feast of the Assumption of the blessed Mother of God. But they did not harm the inhabitants in any way. Later, however, they uncovered some treachery directed at themselves and they destroyed them. In the same year Nur-ad-Din, lord of Aleppo, went and ruled over Damascus. He sent many treasures to the king of Jerusalem and the prince, and they made peace with each other. In the same year Nur-ad-Din came to Aintap and captured it. From there he sent emissaries to Raban and other surrounding areas for them to surrender without any fighting. But out of fear of Sultan Kilij-Arslan they did not want to give [the territories] to him. So [Nur-ad-Din] left them for a while.

In the year 607 A.E. [1158] the king of Jerusalem, [Baudoin III, 1143-1163], wishing to establish marriage relations with [the family of] the Byzantine emperor Manuel, sent envoys to him. [Manuel] gladly agreed and sent the daughter of his father's brother to him as a wife. [She was sent] in the company of trustworthy men with numerous troops and great splendor, and he promised to come to the assistance of the Christians in person, which he did without hesitation.

In the year 608 A.E. [1159] Emperor Manuel assembled as many as 800,000 troops and came to the city of Mamistra in the land of the Cilicians, where he wintered. T'oros, Lewon's son, distrusted him, so he secured his wife, sons, and treasures in the fortress of Tachikk'ar [g177], while he himself circulated around in difficult and swampy places in the depths of the Taurus Mountains where he awaited the arrival of the king of Jerusalem [thinking that the latter] would come and mediate peace between himself and the Byzantine emperor. This was because T'oros was very frightened over the damage that he and the prince of Antioch had inflicted on Cyprus. For the prince had already gone to the emperor and laid all the blame for this on T'oros. Then the king of Jerusalem and the cross-adorned Brothers [Templars] and all the Christians came to Emperor Manuel and pleaded that he reconcile himself with Lewon's son, T'oros. [81] They praised him before the king as a wise, savvy, skilled, and forceful man of war, valiant and deep, who saw to all the needs of the Christians, who was generous and full of all goodly qualities. The emperor pardoned T'oros' crimes for them and eagerly desired to see him. So they sent to T'oros [urging him] to come before the emperor. When Emperor Manuel saw him he rejoiced at his comely appearance. God gave grace to T'oros before the emperor who greatly blamed those who had slandered him. After remaining with the emperor for a few days, [Manuel] ordered him to return to his own home and quickly return to the [imperial] army. T'oros returned home, collected what provisions the troops would require—sheep, oxen, cattle, boars, and fine horses—and brought them and presented them as gifts to the emperor. The emperor was delighted [g178] with T'oros' generosity and praised him before everyone. He pardoned him in his heart for what he had done to the

Byzantines. And then the king of Jerusalem, the prince of Antioch, the sebastius T'oros, and the Templars planned to save the Christians. Setting forth in all their numbers, they came and encamped near Antioch. Although the king of Jerusalem and the other grandees encouraged the Byzantine emperor to strive for the salvation of the land of the Christians, and although he had made such a promise to them, he had done so without sincerity or conviction. For [the emperor] planned to enter Antioch not to accomplish what was right, but to satisfy his perverse and lustful desire for women. He wanted to take a wife from among the daughters of Bohemond, lord of Antioch. He went and saw that she was to his taste and did not reveal his intentions to anyone. At that time the king of Jerusalem was Baudoin who was an extremely pious giant of a man. [The emperor] gave very great gifts and crowned [Baudoin] with a royal diadem, [giving him] costly garments, and decorating a royal palace which he filled with all [sorts of] vessels of gold and silver and appropriate furnishings, and he gave it to him as a gift. He also gave very substantial gifts to his princes. One of the princes there, named Phillip, made some memorable remarks about this. For when the emperor had sent him three [large] measures of gold and expensive [g179] garments, he was grateful and praised the king, but [Phillip] remarked to those who had brought them: "Tell your king that we did not come to you for treasures and clothing, but for the salvation of the Christians. If it is your intention to effect that, then we will give our treasures and all of our troops with all of our belongings in service to you. And wherever the battle will occur you will see just what brave soldiers you have and then you [should] distribute your gold to those of your [people] who are in need. But if you do not do as we requested and as you promised to do, that is, to save the Christians, then your gold is of no use to us." Next they began to delineate how they would enter the city. They adorned the gates of the city and all of its walls and sent the royal banner and erected it at the summit of the citadel. Then they designated troops and commanders to secure the city gates and the streets, and filled the entire center of the city with troops. [82] Then the king rode in on a horse arrayed in golden royal garments and adorned with a crown whose precious stones glittered and gleamed like the stars. Troops were arranged on his right and left sides as he calmly advanced. The king of Jerusalem went before him crowned with a diadem and mounted on a horse, while the lord of Antioch, due to his lesser station, went before him on foot. And with such great ceremony did the Byzantine emperor Manuel enter the city of Antioch with Baudoin, king [g180] of Jerusalem. The emperor rode along into the city, reaching the blessed Temple and the Apostolic throne of Saint Peter where he worshipped, and then he went to his own lodgings. Now when the amirapet of Aleppo, Zengi's son Nur-ad-Din, heard about such an assemblage of Christian kings, he became frightened, and out of fear he gathered all his forces and prepared for battle. He placed military commanders everywhere and then hurriedly crossed to the other side of the Euphrates River. After a few days the emperor sent an emissary to Nur-ad-Din and wrote edicts, demanding as borders from him the districts of Antioch, and Edessa and its confines, [territories] which he had

seized from the Christians. He also demanded [the return of] those prisoners from the clans of the principal Christians who had been forced into prison. Now when the amirapet of Aleppo saw the emissary and proclamation of the emperor, his fear and dread subsided. For [Nur-ad-Din] was an astute and intelligent man and recognized the limits of [the emperor's] military power, and that he was making his demands not with sword and spear, but with parchment and ink. Consequently he replied that he would never do [as the emperor] wanted and if [the emperor] could, he should effect [his request] through force. When the emperor of the Byzantines heard this, he summoned all [his advisors] to council to determine what response to make. The king of Jerusalem and the lord of Antioch, and all the princes fell at the feet of the Byzantine emperor Manuel and said: "Oh emperor, do not transform such joy as we now have into sorrow. For the enemies of Christ are horrified at our unity. Thus if you [g181] make peace with them without a fight, the name of Christian will be completely removed from the land and, scorned by the enemy, the Christian peoples will be considered of no account and an object of ridicule." [The emperor] made significant excuses [and said]: "There is a disturbance [threatening] my throne, and therefore I want to quickly return [to Constantinople]. I can mend matters there and return [here]." Everyone was thrown into the deepest despair. They pleaded with him, saying: "Go against Aleppo for just three days, and then make peace with them, if you choose." But Manuel did not heed their entreaties nor did he want to do good to the Christians. Rather, he sent to Nur-ad-Din and made peace. When the infidels heard about this, they were stunned at the unexpected turn of events, since all of them were envisioning their own destruction. They realized that they had been spared destruction without bloodshed or battle, and in their delight they did not believe that it was true. Nor did they know what sort of response to make, since they thought that [the emissaries] had been sent for espionage purposes. [83] But the emissaries confirmed the truth of the matter. Once they had verified things, they sent to him many treasures and worthy gifts, horses and fine mules, as well as 50 of the Christian captives. And then Manuel, the goodly emperor of the Byzantines, who had come there like a powerful lion returned like a weakened fox. And he departed with such a huge multitude of cavalry like a fugitive and reached the land of Sultan Kilij-Arslan. The Turkmens fell upon [g182] those at the rear and killed some 12,000 men. Thus a great conflict arose between the emperor and the sultan, and T'oros remained at peace. Now Nur-ad-Din, the lord of Aleppo had previously given Harran to his brother, Miran. At this time he heard that [his brother] was plotting against him, and so he wanted to kill him. Thus did he send numerous treasures to the king of Jerusalem and established peace with him for four months. Then he went with his troops against his brother in Harran, which he took after two months along with Edessa and R'akka and their surrounding territories. Then he went to the country of Sultan Kilij-Arslan and took Raban and P'arzman, Kesoun, Behesni and Marash and then descended on Hor'omkla. While encamped there, news reached him from Damascus that the peace arrangement had collapsed and that the Templars and the Franks were ravaging his country. So he



arose and went to Damascus and assembled numerous troops. He wanted to fight with the king of Jerusalem. The king of Jerusalem also assembled all the military commanders of his Christian forces and remained until winter when they made peace with each other. Then both [sides] returned to their own homes. Similarly Sultan Kilij-Arslan and Yaghi-Basan made peace with each other. During the same period the son of Count [Joscelin] was taken captive to Aleppo. In the same year the lord of Xlat', Mush, To'ghutap', Mantskert, Miran, son of Emir Ibrahim, sent [g183] his son with many troops to the land of the Georgians, to Tsets. Now the forces of the Georgian king Gorge' had massed to invade the country of Xlat'. The two sides clashed in the district of Uxtik'. The Georgians were triumphant, putting [their enemy] to flight and killing some 10,000 Turks. They also seized 300 of their chiefs. However, the sparapet [commander-in-chief] of the Georgians was killed. The others returned to their land joyfully.

[84] In the year 610 A.E. [1161] Gorge', king of the Georgians, came against the city of Ani and took it in one day through battle, killing some 1000 Armenians and Turks. He left 2,000 men there as guards, and then returned to his own land. Now the lord of Xlat', the [Danishmendid] Shah-Armen, assembled 80,000 cavalrymen, brought them to Ani, and besieged it. When King Gorge' heard about this, he came against them in fury and wiped out [almost] all of them, seizing 6,000 of their principals. Out of that enormous multitude only 10,000 men were able to save their lives and escape by a hairsbreadth, empty-handed. King Gorge' loaded up with their spoil and joyfully returned to his own land. In the same year [g184] the lord of Antioch, Prince Renaud (E'r'naght), took 1,000 cavalry and infantry and came to the fortress of the Kat'oghikoi, to Tsovk' in the district of Duluk, and spread about taking captives and looting the tent-dwelling Turkmens. Now Majd-ad-Din, lord of Arewe"nd, who was Nur-ad-Din's second [in command], had previously assembled 10,000 men and concealed them in an ambush. He sprang out and killed them all. Seizing the prince and 30 cavalrymen, he took them to Aleppo with many insults. He notified Nur-ad-Din in Damascus about this, since he had massed there. As soon as [Nur-ad-Din] heard the news he ravaged all the districts of the Christians as far as Tripoli. Then he descended upon Harim. However, the king of Jerusalem and T'oros, Lewon's son, were in Antioch, and so he did not dare to remain there. Instead, he turned back. Nur-ad-Din went and took Arzghan by oath, pulling down the dwellings and taking captives to Aleppo. In the same year Sultan Kilij-Arslan came to Emperor Manuel in Constantinople, bringing along Nur-ad-Din's brother, Miran, and he made an agreement with the emperor to be friendly toward him for the rest of his life. Then he went back to his own land, laden with many gifts [g185].

[85] In the year 614 A.E. [1165] Step'ane', Lewon's son and the brother of the sebastius T'oros, was slain through the treachery of an impious Byzantine duke.

[This occurred] in front of [the fortress of] Hamus in the land of Cilicia. They had called [Step'ane'] there in friendship. Then, seizing him, they subjected him to a cruel death, crucifying him on a sycamore tree. The godless Byzantines would not spare [even] such a valiant warrior. [Step'ane'] had two sons, Ruben and Lewon. Now his brothers, T'oros and Mleh, enraged at this act of treachery, exacted a thousandfold vengeance for the shedding of his innocent blood, and that duke was responsible for [the shedding of] their blood. In the same year the Georgian king Gorge' came to Duin with his troops. [The defenders] came against him in battle, and Gorge' destroyed them causing them to flee into the city. The king's troops pursued them and destroyed all of them. [The Georgian troops] set fire to the city, completely looted it, and then departed. In that period Lewon's son, the conquering T'oros, displayed his valor and held [secure] those parts of the Taurus Mountains over which he ruled. Now his brother, Mleh, was a malicious and treacherous man, and planned to kill his brother, T'oros. Getting together some others of the same tendency, one day while they had gone out to hunt [g186] deer, Mleh wanted to slay his brother there [at a place] between Mamistra and Adana. But T'oros had been forewarned. He furiously seized Mleh and interrogated him before the troops and the princes as to what he was hoping to accomplish. They reproached Mleh in their presence and he was shamed. Then [Mleh] gave [to T'oros] much of the inventory of his authority, horses, mules, weapons, and treasures. And they removed him from his district. Thus he received nothing in exchange for his wickedness. So [Mleh] arose and went to Nur-ad-Din, lord of Aleppo, and entered into his service. [Nur-ad-Din] gave him [the city of] Cyrrhus and its district. The wife of Step'ane', whose name was Rita, was the daughter of paron Smbat, lord of Paperon, brother of O'shin, ruler of Lambron, and the sister of Bakuran, who ruled Paperon following the killing of his father Smbat by T'oros' troops, as we mentioned earlier, at the gates of Mamistra. [Rita] took her children and went to her brother, Bakuran, at Paperon, where she settled and nurtured them. She was a pious, wise, and God-fearing woman. Vasak, a brother of Bakuran, was lord of the keep of Askur'os, Lamo'so, and those parts. Bakuran, lord of Paperon, was a good and generous man, well-disposed toward everyone, a lover of God and man. May his memory be blessed. Bakuran and Vasak had another brother, named Halkam, and Vasak was the father of the senior paron [g187].

In the year 616 A.E. [1167] Lord Grigoris, who had grown extremely old and had held the patriarchate according to God's will for 54 years, as though under the influence of the Holy Spirit, [decided] to hold an assembly of bishops, vardapets, abbots of monasteries, and many [other] blessed men. [At this assembly] he ordained his renowned brother, Nerse's, to the Armenian kat'oghikosal throne. Nerse's [accepted] with great reluctance, as he had rejected the honor, regarding himself as unworthy of the divine calling. He wrote many spiritual hymns for the church and administered the patriarchal throne according to God's will. He was a blessed man adorned with all good qualities and arrangements, virtuous and filled with all manner

of learning and grace of the Holy Spirit. He resembled a river which flows with abundant streams, for none of the previous patriarchs had been like him. And none of his successors were either, up until our own time. The reputation of his learning reached the Byzantine emperor Manuel who requested from him [an account of] the confession of the Armenian church. [Nerse's] wrote this. When the emperor, the patriarch, and all the Byzantine savants saw this [document], they amiably approved of the orthodox confession of the Armenians. [The emperor] then sent a certain philosopher, named T'o'riane', to Hor'omkla [g188]. [T'o'riane' and Nerse's] spoke with each other for many days, and when [T'o'riane'] returned to the emperor he told him about the blessed man's fathomless knowledge and complete virtuousness. Roused by the account to affection for the blessed patriarch, the emperor sent again to effect friendship and unity between the two peoples who had been divided from each other through the influence of evil. However this blessed work [of uniting the churches] remained unfulfilled owing to the death of the blessed patriarch Nerse's.

[86] In the year 617 A.E. [1168] the great T'oros died. He was the son of Lewon, son of Kostandin, son of Ruben, who bravely held [his] area of the Taurus Mountains, displaying acts of bravery in numerous places and having won many battles through his wisdom. May the Lord have mercy on him. As he was dying he designated prince T'umas as an administrator for his small son, Ruben. He ruled T'oros' land for one year.

In the year 618 A.E. [1169] T'oros' brother, Mleh, took aid from Nur-ad-Din, lord of Aleppo, and came with many Turks to the country of Cilicia. He mastered the principality of his brother and the Turks took much loot and booty. Showing vengeance to those who opposed him, he pillaged and despoiled them, put them into prison and fetters, arrested the bishops, and pulled out their teeth. Wherever he suspected that gold [g189] or silver existed, he seized it. He disgraced honest, modest women and polluted with loathesome prostitution and shameless lust. He filled up with gold and silver and wallowed in the luxuries of the innocent people he had despoiled. He had a bestial mentality, [and was] wicked and merciless, and everyone hated him and wanted to get rid of him. But they did not find an opportune moment.

In the year 619 A.E [1170] on June 29th a severe earthquake occurred which caused the walls of Antioch and Aleppo to collapse. It also demolished the church named for the blessed Mother of God, and many people were killed. Now once Mleh ruled over his brother's principality, T'umas fled to Antioch. And they sent the lad T'oros to the patriarchal see at Hor'omkla, to the kat'oghikos, where he died. O'shin's son, Het'um, who was married to T'oros' daughter as we mentioned earlier, highly respected [T'oros] during his lifetime and did not dare to do anything. But after the death of his father, he sent and removed himself [from Mleh]. As a result, Melh was enraged. He went with his troops and besieged Lambron and inflicted great distress on its

inhabitants. For a long time the Rubenians and the Het'umians had held a grudge against one another. And this became yet another cause for conflict between them. Consequently [Mleh] fiercely afflicted them with warfare and famine.

[87] In the year 622 A.E. [1173] on the 16th of August the blessed illuminator patriarch, Lord Nerse's, passed to Christ leaving the Armenian churches in great mourning. He had written in his will [g190] urging the enthronement of his senior brother Vasil's son, the archbishop Lord Grigor, nicknamed Tgha. Doing as [Nerse's] had ordered, an assembly of many bishops seated him as kat'oghikos of the Armenians [Grigor IV Tgha ("the lad"), 1173-1193]. Lord Grigoris was a man of gigantic stature and awe-inspiring appearance, with a happy face and a generous soul, full of wisdom and learning and divine grace, brilliant and sagacious in speech and style, and learned in the Old and New Testaments. And with [these skills] did he adorn the blessed [kat'oghikosal] throne in the temple which was erected in the name of Saint Gregory. He adorned it and made it glitter with sacred vessels of gold and silver, and vestments sewn with gold [thread]. He made the blessed temple so resplendent that none of his successors, though they melted down the gold and silver items, were able to reduce [the majesty of the church]. He also made three crypts in the temple and placed in them the remains of the blessed patriarchs Grigoris and Nerse's and their predecessor, Grigoris Vkayase'r, which he brought from the district of Kesoun to the Red monastery. He lived in a royal manner [dispensing] great sums and generous gifts, and keeping a sumptuous table. In this year Nur-ad-Din, lord of Aleppo, died and his son, Malik Saleh, occupied his throne.

Now after five years of Mleh's rule, in the year 624 A.E. [1175], his princes hatched an impious plot. They [g191] united together and killed him in the city of Sis because of his disruptive ways. Then they sent to Paper'o'n and summoned Stefane's son, Ruben, in order to seat him on the throne of his ancestors. He immediately sent his sister's brother, Bakuran, with many gold and silver treasures. Then Ruben came and ruled his patrimony, and the Armenian princes gladly submitted to him [Ruben III, 1175-1186]. He was a young man of thirty years, benevolent, generous, and attractive, brave in battle and a skilled bowman. He began by generously giving gifts to everyone and started to distribute the treasures that Mleh had accumulated to the needy, and with a bountiful table he inclined everyone to him, heart and soul. Wherever he went with them, he bravely pushed back the bands of the enemy, thus taking Mamistra, Adana and Tarsus. At the commencement of his rule he gave very great gifts to his princes in thankful gratitude for what they had done by killing his father's brother and establishing him in the place of his ancestors. He promised further good things to those who had actually slain his uncle, if he could determine who they were. Two men, deluded by their stupidity, came forward and said: "We killed him with our own hands out of love for you." And [Ruben] was extremely thankful to them. But [later] he ordered that rocks be attached to their necks and that they secretly

be thrown into the river. Their names were Jahan and Aplgharib (who was a eunuch). Once Ruben had [g192] consolidated his rule he began to harass [the fortress of] Lambron with battle and siege for three years. And he put them into dire straits owing to the old rancor which [the Rubenids and the Het'umids] had between them. But he was unable to accomplish anything.

[88] In the year 625 A.E. [1176] Sultan Kilij-Arslan of Iconium defeated the Byzantine emperor on the other side of Iconium, before the ruined fortress called Melitene. He seized the emperor and again left him, having established friendship with him through an oath and treaty.

In the year 626 A.E. [1177] Manuel [I Comnenus, 1143-1180], emperor of the Byzantines, died and his son, Alexius [II Comnenus, 1172-1180] was seated on his throne.

In the year 627 A.E. [1178] Andronicus arose against Alexius, killed him, and ruled in his stead [Andronicus I, 1182-1183, 1183-1185].

In the year 629 A.E. [1180] Andronicus was slain and Angelus ruled [Isaac I Angelus, 1185-1195].

In the year 630 A.E. [1181] paron Ruben went to Jerusalem with much expense, took as a wife the daughter of the lord of K'arak', and then returned. His brother, Lewon, distrusting him due to the slander of some evil people who had told Ruben that [g194] Lewon was going to rise up against him, went as a fugitive to Tarsus and thence to Constantinople. Divine power protected him there and he received much honor and affection from the emperor.

In the year 631 A.E. [1182] Lewon returned from Constantinople and came to his brother, Ruben, who received him with affection and gave him the fortress of Kapan. Now Ruben occupied himself fulfilling his lascivious desires and so he went to Antioch to the prostitutes. Prince Bohemond seized him and put him into prison, while those princes who were with him escaped by a hairsbreadth and went to their own homes.

This had occurred in the year 634 A.E. [1185]. Ruben sent to his uncle Bakuran for him to send hostages to the prince in place of himself, so that he could go and get the ransom for himself. Bakuran sent his sister and Ruben's mother and others of his relations. Ruben agreed that his ransom would consist of [the surrender of] Sarvandikar, T'il, and Chker in addition to 1,000 dahekans. The prince released him, he came to his own country, delivered up what he had agreed to, and secured the release of the hostages.

[89] In the year 636 A.E. [1187] Ruben died and his brother, Lewon, ruled the principality. He was a benevolent, ingenuous man without a grudge toward anyone, who took his refuge in God and guided his principality accordingly. He was a wise, brilliant man, a skilled horseman, brave-hearted in battle, with attention to human and divine charity, energetic and happy of countenance. In this period Aleppo [g194], Damascus, and Egypt were ruled by Yusuf (Yuse'), son of Ayyub, who was called Saladin [Salah al-din]. They were two brothers from the district of Dwin, sons of a Kurdish peasant named Ayyub, one was named Yusuf and the other, 'Adil (Ye'tl). They left their country on account of drink, and went into the service of Nur-ad-Din, lord of Aleppo. He pitied them and gradually had mercy on them, and they served him devotedly. Day by day they advanced until they achieved some power. Whatever came to them they shared with everyone, food and drink, and for this reason they were liked by everyone. And they came to rule with great authority over extensive lands. Saladin was a rough and warlike man who began to grow hostile toward the Christians. He grew stronger by the day, and through his clever cunning he pulled apart and destroyed the united strength of the Christians throughout his realm. In this year Saladin went against the king of Jerusalem. The king and the Franks of the coastal areas, the count of Tripoli, and the Frères with their cross-emblazoned clothing, came together and encamped against Saladin. The Frankish troops were encamped on a hill and the infidels threatened their water [supply]. Well the God-denying [g195] count of Tripoli sent to Saladin, saying: "What will you promise to give me if I relocate the Christian army to a waterless place? You and your troops could go and encamp where you have control over the water." And [Saladin] promised him numerous treasures and confirmed it in writing. So the impious count began to advise the king and the chiefs, saying: "It is not convenient for us to remain here. Rather, let us arise and encamp in a mountainous area where we can secure our flanks." He convinced all of them to accept his devious plan. As soon as the Christians moved, the sultan encamped above the water [supply], and the Christians thereafter were unable to drink the water. They were in dire straits and in crisis and were unable to find a way out [of their difficulty]. Hopelessly they applied themselves to battle, preparing to die. Once assembled on the battlefield, the impious count of Tripoli detached his brigade from the Christians, and that broke them. Facing death they engaged in battle and, as the battle lengthened, the Christians were defeated, with man and beast prostrated from thirst. It was extremely dry and hot, and the hands of the infidels were strengthened, and they killed everyone. At that time the king and others of his forces were secured on the summit of a hill. [The king] asked the sultan that he be taken to him. [The sultan] immediately sent and had him brought forth. [90] When the [g196] king arrived in the sultan's presence, [the sultan] knelt and prostrated himself before the king, embraced and kissed him, took him by his hand and led him into the tent, seated him on a cushion, and himself sat humbly before him. [Saladin] said: "Blessed king, a thousand welcomes. You have entered the home of your brother. Be not saddened, for such is the nature of military activities, sometimes to be

defeated, and sometimes to defeat [others]. You are a just, righteous, and oath-keeping monarch, and I am pleased at your behavior. Therefore, I will not take a hair from your head, and because of you I will display great mercy and free many." While they were so engaged, Renaud, prince of Tripoli was brought before him, and the king got up when he saw him, and the sultan also arose because the king had done so. Renaud, prince of Tripoli, greeted the king and the sultan said to him: "Oh faithless one, I did not arise for your sake, but because of your king." And the prince replied: "And I am not grateful to you, but to the king." Then the king requested water, and the sultan ordered that a golden goblet be brought containing water mixed with rose water and snow. The sultan took the goblet and drank some of it first, so that it would not be suspect, and then he offered it to the king. The king took it and drank half, then gave it to the prince of Tripoli who also drank. The sultan said to the prince: "I did not give it to you to drink, rather to your king." And the prince replied to the sultan: "I do not thank you, but the king." Then the sultan said [g197] to the prince: "Faithless one, how many times have you sworn [oaths] to me and given me written assurances, and then not kept those pledges you made me? Instead, you engaged in slave-taking and killed a great multitude [of people]. You took my treasures on the road to Damascus, and caused much bloodshed in Ser'sim, and did not remember your pledge. Now what answer will you give me?" The prince responded to Sultan Saladin: "Don't bark so. I did your bidding, and I took vengeance for [events] which occurred 40 years ago when my [people's] blood was shed by the Muslims. Henceforth I will give nothing for my death." The sultan signalled his attendants and they bound [the prince] hand and foot before the sultan. He unsheathed a sword of steel, threw it onto [the prince's] back, and the attendants immediately killed him. When the king saw this, he was greatly saddened. The sultan said to him: "Be not saddened over the loss of one unfaithful to you." Then they brought in the Frères with their magister and set them before him. And the sultan said to the magister: "Oh honorable chief of your brothers, although you have killed many of our troops, I like you because of your bravery. Now, apostasize your faith and convert to our religion, and I shall give you gifts and honors, and I will rank your men, and especially you, higher than all my grandees." The magister replied: "Oh great sultan, I will gladly do your bidding, if you order that I may speak with my brothers and urge them all to comply." And [Saladin] gave such an order [g198] and told him: "If you do my bidding you shall live, but if you do not heed me, you will perish by the sword." [91] Then the magister assembled everyone and said: "Oh, brothers, lo the days of the salvation of our souls have arrived by which we shall inherit the kingdom. I beseech you to remain united and indivisible in the love of Christ. Today let us mingle our blood with His saving blood. Do not fear the killers of the body, but rather the ruler of the soul and the body, and let us, transitory beings, not obstruct our [spiritual] greatness." He said many other things to them from sacred writings, and urged them to die for the same faith. Then he went before the sultan and said: "There are those who will comply with your commands and those who are opposed. Order them brought before you." When they had come in,

[the sultan] began to question them one by one and those who did not agree [to become Muslim] he ordered killed. Then he said to the magister: "And how do you look upon our faith?" Then the magister filled his mouth and spit into the sultan's face to infuriate him and cause him to slay him immediately so that he could join his spiritual sons. [The magister] said to the sultan: "I urged all of them to choose death in order to achieve the supreme life. Why should I be the one to do your will?" So the sultan ordered that he too be killed. And when they killed him, a heavenly light descended upon them for three days, to the shame and disgrace of the unbelievers and to the pride of the believers. When this had occurred, the sultan freed the king with many gifts and also those who were with him. Then he ordered that each of the Jerusalemites [g199] give him one Egyptian dahekan, take what he needed from his home, and depart in peace. Those who wanted to remain there would provide one red dahekan. Many remained, and many arose and departed. And Saladin took control of Jerusalem and its [surrounding] district, and gradually he took the entire coastal area and the district of Antioch, and all the Christians trembled out of fear of him. In the same year a certain Turkmen named Rustom (E"r'e"stom) massed countless numbers of Turkmens and entered the land of Cilicia, threatening to eliminate the name of Christianity. He went as far as Sis and encamped opposite the city of R'awin, covering the face of the earth with his innumerable multitude. Then the divinely-strengthened Lewon fought with him with 30 men and immediately downed their leader, Rustom, while the rest took to flight. [Lewon's forces] pursued and killed them as far as Sarvandikar. They say that Saint Ge'org and Saint T'oros, physically visible to the eye, descended from the fortress of Sis and killed [the Turkmens].