

The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (The Great)  
A Universal History from the Creation

Translation and Introduction by  
Matti Moosa

A publication of the Archdiocese of the  
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Dedicated to:

His Eminence Mor Cyril Aphrem Karim, Metropolitan of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch of the Eastern Part of the United States of America, for his most commendable effort in promoting and perpetuating the legacy of the Syrian Orthodox Church

And

In loving memory of my father Ishaq Moosa (d. 1960), deacon and malphono (teacher), who for decades served the Syrian Orthodox Church and the School of Mor Tuma (St. Thomas) in Mosul, Iraq

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Dr. Evelina, Malak, Samira, Ramsey, James, Mona Yunan Weig and Blair Weig.

In Memory of their parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, uncles and aunts. Elias and Jamila Johar Yunan Khbaiz Id Dayr, Rose, Yunan, Yacoub, Marcos and Mary who toiled to give their children the best available education.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK THIRTEEN .....	580
WITH THE HELP OF GOD WE COMPOSE BOOK THIRTEEN BEGINNING WITH THE YEAR 1155 OF THE GREEKS (A.D. 844), TO THE YEAR 825 (SIC) OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD; AND THE YEAR 224 OF THE KINGDOM OF THE ARABS; AND THE YEAR 6325 OF ADAM, THAT IS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE TEMPORAL WORLD.....	580
Chapter One: On the beginning of the reign of Harun (al-Wathiq), king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), and Michael (III), emperor of the Romans; and Mor Yuhanon (John), the Patriarch.....	580
Chapter Two: On the period of the Romans kings (emperors) Basil I, and Leo (IV Philosopher), and the reign of al-Muhtadi, caliph of the Arabs, and Ahmad who followed al-Mu'tamid; and the chief priests set up in our church consecutively.....	582
Chapter Three: On the commencement of the reign of Romanus, king (emperor) of the Romans. During his reign three weak Tayoye (Arab) caliphs were set up and the Romans were emboldened and seized Tayoye (Arab) towns; the establishment of two monasteries in this period.....	584
Chapter Four: On the reign of Constantine and his successors Romanus II, and Nicephorus; and on the reign of the Tayoye (Arabs) in this period of Abu Ishaq, Abu al-Qasim and Muti'; and on the patriarchate of Yuhanon (VII) Sarigta who built the Barid Monastery.....	587
Chapter Five: On the period when Tzimisces and his successors Basil and Constantine ruled the Romans. During this period, the Tayoye (Arabs) were ruled by al-Fadil, Abu Bakr and others, and the emigration of the Armenian people to Cappadocia.....	590
Chapter Six: On the period of Romanus, son of Basil, king (emperor) of the Romans and Ibn Abbas Qadir, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), and the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon Bar Abdun whom the Chalcedonians banished to Constantinople where he passed away.....	592
Chapter Seven: Concerning the end of the life of Romanus.....	598
BOOK FOURTEEN.....	599
WE DEVOTE THIS BOOK TO THE TURKOYE (TURKS) WHO BEGAN TO CONTROL THE CITIES AND COUNTRIES, AND DIVIDE IT INTO CHAPTERS .....	599
Chapter One: Concerning that the TurkoYE are the Turks themselves, and on their origin and the regions they inhabited.....	599
Chapter Two: Concerning the manners of the Turks.....	600
Chapter Three: Concerning the second invasion of the Turks and their seizure of Persia, Assyria, Beth Nahrin, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Cilicia and until the sea and Egypt.....	601
Chapter Four: On how (the Turks) began to leave their confined habitat.....	602
Chapter Five: Concerning the unity of belief between the Turks and the Arabs.....	602
BOOK FIFTEEN .....	604
IT BEGINS WITH THE YEAR 1361 (OF THE GREEKS) WHICH IS THE YEAR 1031 OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA, AND THE YEAR 430 OF THE KINGDOM OF THE TAYOYE (ARABS) IN WHICH BEGAN THE KINGDOM OF THE TURKS, WHICH IS STILL STANDING. IT IS ALSO THE YEAR 6050 FROM ADAM THAT IS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD, IN WHICH (CONSTANTINE IX) MONOMACHUS REIGNED OVER THE ROMANS AND ABU AL-ABBAS QADIR OVER THE TAYOYE (ARABS). IN THIS YEAR AROSE TUGHRUL BEG, THE FIRST TURKISH RULER IN KHURASAN, AND YUHANON (JOHN), NEPHEW OF THE HOLY YUHANON (JOHN) BAR ABDUN, WAS SET UP AS PATRIARCH FOR OUR CHURCH.....	604
Chapter One:.....	604
Chapter Two: Concerning the Turks' attack of the region of Cappadocia; on the building of the wall of Melitene, and the intensification of the conflict between the Chalcedonians and the Orthodox, and between each other.....	607
Chapter Three: On the beginning of the reign of Romanus Diogenes, king (emperor) of the Romans, his defeat and capture by the Turks; and the affairs of the church in this period.....	609
Chapter Four: The commencement of the reign of Michael, son of Constantine, king (emperor) of the Romans, and the reign of the Turks in the region of Pontus, and the disturbances which took place in the church, and on the Armenian Philaretus in this perio.....	611

## The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo

Chapter Five: On the period of the reign of Nicephorus and Alexander, kings (emperors) of the Romans, and the assumption of power by the Turks, and the bishops' opposition of Abdun.....	613
Chapter Six: On the period of the reign of Alexius, king (emperor) of the Romans, the kingdom of the Turks waxed strong, and the affairs of the church worsened .....	615
Chapter Seven: The expedition of the Franks against Jerusalem, and the visit of the Patriarch Athanasius to the caliph in Baghdad.....	617
Chapter Eight: On the Turks' rule of Melitene for the first time; the murder of Gabriel and Ibn Hetum; the beginning of the rule of Kilij Arslan; the building of the wall of Kesum, and church affairs in this period.....	620
Chapter Nine: On the second siege of Amid and the trouble in some of the region in the kingdom of the Turks during this time; and the trouble in Egypt, Syria and Armenia, and on church affairs.....	624
Chapter Ten: On this period where the affliction of Melitene intensified following the death of the Sultan (Kilij Arslan); the growth of the Franks' power, and their dissension and troubles; the rise of a new Turkish chief in Khurasan, and his coming to al-Ruha (Edessa), and the deterioration of church affairs .....	625
Chapter Eleven: On the destruction of Mar'ash (Germanicia) by earthquake; Belek the Turk and the appearance in this period of a group of Armenians like Basil the thief, and Tadrus (Theodore), Leon and Constantine. Also, on secular and ecclesiastical matters .....	628
Chapter Twelve: On the beginning of the reign of Iwani (John), son of Alexius (emperor) of the Romans; the intensification of war between the Franks and the Turks during this period; the submission of the Cumans to the Greeks, and other civil and ecclesiastical matters.....	631
Chapter Thirteen: When Belek captured the King of Jerusalem and Joscelin; the rebellion at Hisn Ziyad; the death of Belek, and other secular and ecclesiastical affairs in this period.....	635
Chapter Fourteen: We have appended this chapter at the end of this Book (XV) because we have derived it from a book in the Arabic language containing events that took place before this date for two reasons: first, Muslims use the lunar calendar; second, because we have not come across this book until these events happened. The reader should take notice of the rest of what has been written about Najm al-Din, Artukid lord of Aleppo who governed before the above-mentioned Belek. Belek, in fact, ruled Aleppo after the death of Najm al-Din.....	637
The chapter has been translated from Arabic books in Athor and Babil (Assyria and Babylon in Mesopotamia).....	637
<b>BOOK SIXTEEN.....</b>	<b>641</b>
<b>THIS BOOK IS TO BE ADDED TO THE WEB (OF THE NARRATIVE). IT BEGINS WITH THE YEAR 1442 (OF THE GREEKS) WHICH IS THE YEAR 1112 OF THE NATIVITY OF OUR SAVIOR, THE YEAR 509 OF THE ARAB STATE (HIJRA, ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 70 OF THE TURKS, AND THE YEAR 6610 FROM ADAM, THAT IS, THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD .....</b>	<b>641</b>
Chapter One: On the siege of Melitene, and on ecclesiastical and world affairs .....	641
Chapter Two: On the Franks' capturing the city of Tyre and the seacoast region from the Egyptian Arabs (Muslims), and other events that took place in the entire world in this period.....	643
Chapter Three: On the time of the death of Bohemond, lord of Antioch; the death of Athanasius, patriarch of Antioch, and other world and church matters .....	645
Chapter Four: On Zangi departing Baghdad to assume the government in Mosul; of the reign of Joscelin in Antioch; and the ordination of Patriarch Yuhanon.....	647
Chapter Five: On the time of the death of Joscelin I, and the setting up of his son Joscelin (II); and on diverse events which took place in this period in the church and among kings .....	648
Chapter Six: On the period of Bedawi's (Raymond of Poitiers) reign in Antioch; the death of Baghdwin (Baldwin), king of Jerusalem, and the assumption of government by his son-in-law Fuk (Fulk of Anjou); the death of the Turk Ghazi and the succession of his son Muhammad; the reign of (Imad al-Din) Zangi in Aleppo, and other events .....	651
Chapter Seven: On the massacre which took place in Damascus; the plot against the Arab (Muslim) sultan in Egypt; the warfare between the sultans of the Turks in Khurasan; and other events .....	653
Chapter Eight: On what took place between the kings of the world and in the church during three years.....	655
Chapter Nine: On the death of the sultan of Khurasan and the campaign of his son against Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia); the ordination of the Patriarch Mor Athanasius; and other world and church events .....	657

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Ten: On the time of the death of Malik Muhammad, and the death of Iwani (John), king (emperor) of the Greeks in the same period; the death of Sire Fulk, king of the Franks and of Jerusalem; the death of Dawud amir of Hisn Ziyad, and other world and church events which took place in this period.....	660
<b>BOOK SEVENTEEN</b> .....	663
<b>IT TREATS THE EVENTS BEGINNING WITH THE YEAR 1455 OF THE GREEKS, WHICH IS THE YEAR, A.D. 1125 AND THE YEAR 524 OF THE ARBOYE (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 83 OF THE TURKS, AND THE YEAR 6673 OF ADAM</b> .....	664
Chapter One: The period of the reign of Manuel of the Greeks; the reign of Baldwin of the Franks; the reign of Yaqub (Jacob) Arslan of the Turks, and other events that took place during this period.....	664
Chapter Two: On the calamity of Edessa the noble city of the Christians in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), which the Turks captured with the sword by the permission of (Divine) justice, and because of our iniquities.....	665
Chapter Three: On the events which took place among the kings of the earth; on the Church of the Orthodox, and on the events which took place during the calamity of Edessa.....	667
Chapter Four: On the assassination of Zangi, and other events which took place in this period.....	669
Chapter Five: on the second devastation of Edessa, and other matters.....	670
Chapter Six: On the coming forth of a great number of people from the West after receiving the deplorable news about Edessa; and the diffusion of a satanic cult among the Greeks; and some church events which took place in this period.....	673
Chapter Seven: The story of Edessa by its Metropolitan Basilius (Bar Shumanna) .....	675
Chapter Eight: On the period in which the Armenian Thoros ruled Cilicia; the different events which took place in the world; and on the Church of God.....	677
Chapter Nine: The plundering of the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum in the year 1459 (A.D. 1148) by Joscelyn (II) .....	678
Chapter Ten: On the death of Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers, lord of Antioch); on Baldwin and Ryland (Reginald), lord of Kesum; and the plundering of the oxen and the sheep of the monastery by the Turks .....	680
Chapter Eleven: On the Turks' control of the regions under the control of the Franks; on the fall of Joscelyn (II), and how the right hand of our lord Mor Barsoum was returned to the monastery .....	684
Chapter Twelve: The aftermath of the fall of Joscelyn, and the control of all regions by the Turks .....	685
Chapter Thirteen: It consists of two parts: Part one about the miracle that took place in Antioch, and the church built in it after the name of Mor Barsoum. The second part consists of a word of exhortation. ....	687
Chapter Fourteen: On the death of Daula, lord of Melitene and what happened to him and his countries; on other events that took place in this period; and the quarrel stirred up between Maphryono Ignatius and his congregation.....	689
<b>BOOK EIGHTEEN</b> .....	692
<b>WE, BY THE HELP OF GOD, WILL TREAT EVENTS FROM THE YEAR 1464, WHICH IS THE YEAR 1153 OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD, THE YEAR 531 OF THE HIJRA (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 93 OF THE TURKS AND THE YEAR 6683 OF ADAM AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION</b> .....	692
Chapter One: On the Franks' wresting Ashqalon (Ascalon) from the Egyptians, and other events that took place in this period .....	692
Chapter Two: On the time when Bohemond, son of Bidawi (Raymond of Poitiers), reigned in Antioch; and the entry of Amaury, king of Jerusalem into Egypt; the death of Jacob Arslan and the Maphryono Ignatius; the defeat of the Franks at Harim where the lord of Antioch and Tripoli was captured.....	694
Chapter Three: On the death of the sultan of Mosul and the caliph of Baghdad, and on Nur al-Din going down to Mosul, and the plundering of St. Matthew's Monastery, and the convening of the council of Mor Hananya Monastery.....	696
Chapter Four: On Nur Din's war against Mosul, and other events which took place in this period .....	697
Chapter Five :On the coming of Sultan Kilij Arslan to Melitene and his departure from it; the unanimous intention of the amirs to fight him by the instigation of Nur al-Din; the circulation of false reports about	

## BOOK THIRTEEN

WITH THE HELP OF GOD WE COMPOSE BOOK THIRTEEN BEGINNING WITH THE YEAR 1155 OF THE GREEKS (A.D. 844), TO THE YEAR 825 (SIC) OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD; AND THE YEAR 224 OF THE KINGDOM OF THE ARABS; AND THE YEAR 6325 OF ADAM, THAT IS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE TEMPORAL WORLD

### **Chapter One: On the beginning of the reign of Harun (al-Wathiq), king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), and Michael (III), emperor of the Romans; and Mor Yuhanon (John), the Patriarch**

In the year 1155 (A.D. 844), Michael, son of Theophilus, reigned over the Romans. Since he was only three years old and under age, his mother Theodora administered the affairs of the state. She appointed Immanuel as head of the army.<sup>1969</sup>

In the Arab kingdom, after the death of Abu Ishaq, that is Abu al-Abbas al-Mu'tasim, his son Harun nicknamed al-Wathiq succeeded him. The people rejoiced thinking that he would lighten their burdens imposed by his father, but he indulged in drinking, singing, amusement and in morally reprehensible actions, and left the affairs of the state in the hands of three men. The people found no relief from their oppression; on the contrary, the yoke placed upon their necks became heavier with exorbitant taxes. The three men appointed by this man, named al-Wathiq, to be responsible for the administration of the state treated the people with cruelty and injustice. Al-Wathiq knew nothing about what was happening in the country because of his indulgence in drinking wine and spending his time in whoredom day and night. His reign lasted five years and nine months during which no war occurred between the Romans and the Tayoye (Arabs).<sup>1970</sup>

After administering the state with her son for fourteen years, Queen Theodora passed away in 1168 (A.D. 859), and her son Michael reigned. During his reign, six caliphs ruled over the Tayoye (Arabs). After the death of al-Wathiq, reigned Abu Ja'far al-Mutawakkil for fourteen years (847-861), and was assassinated. Then ruled Muhammad, nicknamed al-Muntasir (861-862), but after six months and few days, he was killed by Ahmad. A great carnage took place in Baghdad because the people were divided into two factions: one followed Muhammad, and the other followed Ahmad. After three days, they (the partisans of Ahmad) hardly were able to raise Muhammad's head on a lance. Knowing that he was killed, they fled and hid. Ahmad, nicknamed al-Musta'in (862-866), ruled for three years, but the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) opposed him and killed him because of his indulgence in immoral abominations. He drank wine excessively and had people killed without mercy for no reason. He did not care for the affairs of the state. After him reigned al-Muhtadi, first in Khurasan and later in Baghdad.<sup>1971</sup>

In this time in the year 1155 (A.D. 844), was found in Constantinople a patriarch who was a sorcerer. The Chalcedonians themselves wrote against him. They said that after the death of Theophilus, his wife the queen administered the state. She ordered that icons should be venerated and was supported by some of their leaders. Dissension took place among them by means of their patriarch who said that icons should not be venerated lest the veneration of idols be revived. Because he did not agree with the queen's order, he was ejected fervidly from his see and another patriarch was set up in his place. Shortly afterwards, he was found to be a sorcerer who wrote down magic formulas on crusts of dry barley bread, and worshiped idols. He also worshiped icons and thus was ejected from his see. The Chalcedonians further said

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<sup>1969</sup> See A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1, 272-273, and George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 197-206; Tabari, 7, 317.

<sup>1970</sup> In *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III, 206, the author says that al-Wathiq was preoccupied with pleasure and left the affairs of the state to others. Tabari, 7, 318-341 does not say anything about the frivolous life of al-Wathiq. From his account, however, we gather that he was not interested in the affairs of the state and left them to others, especially the Turk, Bugha. According to Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, 4, 19 and 29, says that al-Wathiq ate and drank (wine) excessively.

<sup>1971</sup> For an account of these caliphs, see *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III, 208-222; Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, 4, 19-109; Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk*, 7, 341-493.

that they saw him behind the curtain of the altar with men of his faith chanting cantations with them and observing the defiled mysteries of paganism. For this reason, they removed the curtains from their churches. Now, if what they said is true, then how miserable they are, for their priesthood was bequeathed to them by the servants of Satan's bondage. If what they said is not true, as they have usually done in cases like these, they should then ascribe the love of leadership to their own leaders. Still, however, they are not absolved. In them is fulfilled the words the prophet, "They have abandoned the path of the truth and followed the path leading to death."<sup>1972</sup> For when they deviated from the orthodox faith, that is the faith of the blessed Apostles and the inspired fathers, they were ready to fall into everything that leads to corruption. Indeed, they could do no more than confess the deposition of the one who practiced sorcery, adored idols and set up others. However, this one too, was found having the same ideas as his predecessor, so they ejected him and banished him. He cried out and wailed saying, "Take the leadership (the patriarchate) from me for which you accuse me of worshipping idols, for I am not this way." Thus, they deposed him without compassion.

### **The Introduction of the book of Ignatius of Melitene**

Ancient, trustworthy historians like Eusebius of Caesarea, Socrates, Sozomen Zachariah (of Mitylene), John of Asia (Ephesus), Mor Jacob of Edessa, the Patriarch Dionysius Tell Mahre and others who loved to labor, wrote about ancient generations. Some of them wrote extensively on the history of the churches, and others with brevity. However, everything they have written is beneficial. They extended their historical writings to the year 1154 (A.D. 843), and from that date onward, no one appeared amongst us, the Syrians, to write down in a complete form the chronicles of kings or churches. This (deficiency) called me, I, the weak, to exert effort in writing with brevity the condition of kings. I have also related the events in simple manner in order to be read and comprehended by those who love the truth and appreciate succinctness.

I treated in this book the events from the time of Constantine the Great until our own time. I apologize for not writing down all of the events because work, like this one, requires plenty of time and extensive illustration. I have put down the sayings of some malphone (doctors) like Jacob of Edessa and Dionysius Tell Mahre without change or addition. Most of the information I found was collected in a Greek book, and I hope that no one will blame me if he found any addition or deficiency in the correct numbers of years. The reason is the delay in setting up a successor for the king (emperor) within a period of one year, a year and a half, or more or less. The same thing applies in the case of the patriarchs. For the ordination of a patriarch may delay for one year more or less and thus events become intertwined with each other. However, there is no harm in his.

The discerning (reader) should know what we have said earlier, that is, that this book begins with the time of Constantine the Great, and this is the opening of this book. We have also said that we have recorded the events of this period, that is, from the time of Constantine until that of Michael, son of Theophilus (Michael III 842-867), according to time series. Therefore, we continue the events of this period, saying that Mor Dionysius Tell Mahre died on 22 August 1156 (A.D. 845), in the time of Michael, emperor of the Romans and Harun (al-Wathiq), caliph of the Arabs. His holy body was interred at the Monastery of Qinnesrin. He served the patriarchate for twenty-seven years, ordained a hundred bishops and penned down a precise history. In the time of Michael, emperor of the Romans, we, the Orthodox had patriarch John from the Monastery of Mor Zakai near al-Raqqa. He ascended the throne of the See of Antioch, and his ordination was performed in the Monastery of Mor Shila in the province of Sarug, where the council had assembled on November 21, 1158 (A.D. 847), with the laying on of hands of Mor Habib, bishop of Tarsus. He served the patriarchate for twenty-seven years and departed to his Lord at Rish 'Ayna on Thursday, January 3, 1185 (A.D. 874). He ordained twenty-six bishops. He was buried in the Monastery of Euspholis.

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<sup>1972</sup> Cf. Proverbs 12:28.

In this time, Mor Yusuf was patriarch of Alexandria, Egypt, who is mentioned by the Patriarch Dionysius Tell Mahre at the end of his chronicle.

**Chapter Two: On the period of the Romans kings (emperors) Basil I, and Leo (IV Philosopher), and the reign of al-Muhtadi, caliph of the Arabs, and Ahmad who followed al-Mu'tamid; and the chief priests set up in our church consecutively**

After reigning for twenty-five years, Michael, emperor of the Romans, passed away without an issue in the year 1179 (A.D. 868). He was succeeded by a certain person named Basil I (867-886) of whom Ignatius (of Melitene) said that, "We did not find the number of years he reigned in Greek sources." However, we found in an Arabic book that contained a table of the years in which each emperor reigned, that Basil had reigned for two years. Accordingly, we fixed the years of his reign. He was succeeded by his son Leo (VI Philosopher, 886-912) who reigned for twenty-five years and eight months. During this period, al-Muhtadi (869-870), caliph of the Arabs, died and was succeeded by Ahmad, nicknamed al-Mu'tamid (870-892), who ruled the Tayoye (Arabs) in Baghdad for twenty-three years and two months.

Queen Theophano, wife of Basil, ruled with her son Leo for twelve years. Conflict, however, took place between them with the result that either he will be covertly killed (assassinated) or he will kill her overtly. However, God had compassion on both of them. For Theophano, renowned for chastity, mercy and excellent characteristics, fell sick and died, and her son reigned after her as sole emperor. A year later, Leo's wife died. Leo, disdaining the canons and violating the rules of his predecessors, took a second wife and thus dropped in the eyes of the public. His actions went from bad to worse as he trampled upon the law and divorced his second wife for no reason and took a third wife. No one dared to censure him. He went on disdaining God's long patience and his mysterious judgments and took a fourth wife. Therefore, he had two wives at the same time.<sup>1973</sup> In order to exonerate himself, he attempted to issue a law that would allow the Christians to marry more than one wife, even four. He even allowed the women to marry up to four men, but their patriarch ejected him from the church. Afterwards, he was afflicted with the gripe of the bowels and died. He was succeeded by Alexander (912-913) who reigned for one year and one month. He succumbed to sorcerers and diviners, and his heart completely deviated from God. When he felt the blow of divine justice and that the end of his life was nigh, he handed the kingdom to Constantine, his half-brother from his father and not from his mother. Constantine (VII Porphyrogenitus) reigned for fifty-five years. When, as a child he assumed the government, his father appointed regents to administer the affairs of the state until he had come of age.<sup>1974</sup>

During the reign of Constantine, son of Leo, the Arab kingdom was transferred to the clan of Abbas, a tribe whose origin goes back to their Prophet. Abu al-Abbas, nicknamed al-Mu'tadid, was the first, who ruled for twenty years, eight months and twenty-eight days.<sup>1975</sup>

In the time of Constantine, son of Leo, the chief of the Bulgarians, Simon went forth with an evil eye on Constantinople. He triumphed over the Greeks and imprisoned them in the capital. He also assembled a huge army and dug up a ditch from Blaquerenes (Blaqaria in the Syriac test) to the Golden Gate. A great number of Roman notables and military leaders were killed in the wars that were provoked by this man, who did not desist from fighting against the capital during the entire life of Constantine.<sup>1976</sup>

In the 23<sup>rd</sup> year of the reign of Constantine, Abu Muhammad nicknamed al-Muktafi (902-908), ruled over the Tayoye (Arabs) for six years. In the 29<sup>th</sup> year of Constantine, Abu Ja'far al-Muqtadir (908-932) ruled the Tayoye (Arabs) for twenty-four years. In the 53<sup>rd</sup> year of Constantine, Abu Mansur al-Qahir (932-943) ruled over the Tayoye (Arabs) for two years. In the 54<sup>th</sup> year of Constantine, Abu al-Abbas ruled the Tayoye (Arabs) for seven years. In the 55<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, after he fell sick and realized that his end was

<sup>1973</sup> See George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 229-231.

<sup>1974</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Ibid.* 231-233.

<sup>1975</sup> The Abbasid caliphs were during this period under the power of the Buwayhids. Al-Mu'tadid ruled between 892 and 902. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 470.

<sup>1976</sup> A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1, 315-320, and Ostrogorsky, 226-227.

nigh, Constantine designated his son-in-law, Romanus I (Lecapenus, 919-944) in his place. He and the patriarch placed the crown on his head.<sup>1977</sup> *End of the narrative of the emperors.*

In the year 1180 (A.D. 869), in the time of king Leo, fire kindled the capital Constantinople consuming houses, market places, inns and the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle of which no trace was left. Other churches were also burned down by fire, which almost consumed the entire city.

In the same year, an eclipse of the sun occurred in midday and stars appeared in the firmament. On the same day, there was severe thunder and lightning while there were no clouds in the sky. Seven days later, violent and disturbing wind blew forth destroying most of the high buildings. People were scared and it was even thought that the end of the world was at hand. In addition, in that year, fire broke out in the capital and seventy men of the royal placed were consumed by fire, not to mention the many houses, churches and other buildings burned down by fire. In other places, many people were consumed by fire at night as they were trying to extinguish it.

In this time, an earthquake of great magnitude took place in Thrace, and many villages and churches were buried in the ditch caused by the quake.

Patriarch Ignatius from the Monastery of Harbaz succeeded Patriarch Yuhanon. He was consecrated in the Monastery of Mor Zakai in Callinicus on June 2 of the year 1189 of the Greeks (A.D. 878), by the laying on of hands of Mor Timothy, bishop of Samosata. He served the patriarchate for four years and ten months. He was transported to our Lord in the town of Muraiba on Tuesday, 26 of March of Passion Week of the Savior, and was buried in the great church of Muraiba. He ordained twenty-six bishops. In the year 1180 of the Greeks (A.D. 869), Mor Tuma (Thomas the learned, prudent and holy) was ordained a bishop for Melitene. In 1200, Tuma was succeeded to the See of Melitene by another able bishop named Ezekiel.

After the death of Mor Ignatius from the Monastery of Harbaz, the church remained without a patriarch for four years. This was because there was no capable and righteous man on whom all the bishops could agree. Therefore, they were divided. For whenever someone nominated a candidate, others opposed him and maintained that other bishops were also qualified (for the patriarchal office). Thus, every two or three bishops had their own candidate. After four years of dissension, the faithful people were motivated by zeal to act. Each congregation pressured its own bishop to come to terms (on a candidate) soon. The bishops assembled in Amid and remained for many days contradicting each other. Finally, they agreed to cast a ballot on the names of certain bishops. They wrote down the names of twelve bishops and placed them on the altar before the Holy Mysteries. The ballot fell upon Mor Theodosius from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery). He was set up as patriarch on Sunday, February 5 of the year 1198 of the Greeks (A.D. 878), by the laying on of the hand of Mor Timothy, bishop of Samosata. He served the patriarchate for eight years and four months and passed away on June 1, 1207 (896), and was buried in the Monastery of Qartmin. He ordained thirty-three bishops.

In the year in which Mor Theodosius passed away, the bishops assembled in Beth Batin in Harran and conducted the election of a patriarch by lot. The winner was Dionysius, a native of the village Ashit of Sarug. He came from the Monastery of Beth Batin. He was proclaimed a patriarch on Tuesday April 3, 1208 (A.D. 897), by the laying on of hands of Mor Jacob, bishop of Homs. He served the patriarchate for thirteen years and passed away in 1220 (A.D. 919) on Tuesday, April 3 of Easter at the Monastery of Beth Batin, and was buried in the same monastery. He ordained fifty-one bishops. He was succeeded by Patriarch Yuhanon from the Pillar Monastery in Quzhil in the province of Antioch. Yuhanon was consecrated at the Monastery of Tell Safra outside Harran on Saturday 21, 1221 (A.D. 920), by the laying on of hands of Mor Yuhanon (John), bishop of Mar'ash. He served the patriarchate for twelve years and seven months, and passed away on the last Saturday of November at the Monastery of Euspholis in Rish 'Ayna. He ordained forty-one bishops.

In the year 1237 (A.D. 926), Basilius, from the Monastery of Euspholis in Rish 'Ayna, was chosen a patriarch. He was ordained a patriarch in Muraiba, a village of Rish Kipha, on Friday August 18 by the laying

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<sup>1977</sup> On Romanus Lecapenus, see Ostrogorsky, *Ibid.* 231-239.

on of hands of Mor Jacob, bishop of Anazarba. He served the patriarchate for eleven years and seven months and passed away on Wednesday of Passion Week, April 25. He was buried in the Eastern Monastery. He ordained thirty-two bishops.

In this time, Gregorius the logician (rhetorician) of the Monastery of Mor Shila was ordained as bishop for Claudia and Melitene; Cyril from the Edessa Mountain was ordained for Jerusalem; Philoxenus from the Monastery of Euspholis was ordained for Edessa; and Iyawannis from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in the province of Samosata, for Amid.

In the year 1247 (A.D. 936), Yuhanon from the Monastery of the Solitaries in the Black Mountain, was ordained a patriarch on Sunday, August 8 in the town of Tal'ada in the province of Antioch, by the laying on of hands of Mor Athanasius, bishop of Tarsus. He served the patriarchate for nineteen years and ten months. He passed away on July 3 in the same monastery. *End of the narrative of the fathers.*

### **Chapter Three: On the commencement of the reign of Romanus, king (emperor) of the Romans. During his reign three weak Tayoye (Arab) caliphs were set up and the Romans were emboldened and seized Tayoye (Arab) towns; the establishment of two monasteries in this period**

During the reign of Romanus (I Lecapenus) over the Romans, Simon the Bulgarian attacked Constantinople once more. He burned by fire the countries of Thrace and Macedonia. He laid siege against Adrianople and choked it. Its inhabitants, suffering from hunger, surrendered it to him. Romanus wanted to reconcile with him by gifts and cunning. Simon stipulated to meet the emperor first and then discuss peace. The emperor prepared a suitable place, and the two met on a boat on the sea. Both expressed perfect love. When the Romans secured the tranquility of the western front, they set their faces towards the east<sup>1978</sup> where the regions of Cappadocia, Armenia, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Syria, Palestine, Jerusalem and Antioch were subject to the Tayoye (Arabs) since they captured them in the time of Umor ibn al-Khattab, the third Arab caliph (from Muhammad), and in the time of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, that is, from the year 950 of the Greeks (A.D. 639) to 1268 (A.D. 957), a period of 368 years. As the caliphs of the Tayoye (Arabs) Abu al-Abbas and his successors were weak and cowards who engaged in dancing, entertainment and immoral practices, the Tayoye (Arab) state began to falter. For those who pursue lust will lose even their physical prowess. It is said that the soul that is defiled with evil, loses its discretion. Thus, the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) having become weak, were overwhelmed by the Romans and expelled them; the Tayoye (Arabs) could not meet them in war.

In this period, a mighty man and an experienced warrior named Cyriacus, (John Curcuas, general under Romanus) appeared among the Romans. He came to Melitene in the fertile Lesser Armenia in the province of Cappadocia. Melitene was surrounded by two walls and a moat filled with water. He laid siege against it for four years but could not capture it by military force. Distressed by hunger, the inhabitants sent an envoy to the caliph asking for help. They promised that if the caliph did not send help, they would surrender the city. The Romans gave them forty days respite. However, when the envoy left Melitene, the Romans seized him, and he, fearing death, pledged to deliver the city to them. He concocted a stratagem as follows: He carried a message in his hand and entered the city. He said (to the inhabitants), "I went to the caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs) and this is his letter. The caliph will soon send troops, and they have sent me to inform you of their departure. So, you should open the gates when they arrive, in order to enter the city, have rest and then drive the Romans out." With these words, he pacified them and pretended he would go out to bring in the Tayoye (Arab) troops. Instead, he went to the Romans and informed them of his stratagem. He led their forces, which were in arms and came at night pretending that he had come from a place very distant from the Roman camp. The Romans moved and their trumpets sounded the shouts of war. Those who were ready reached the northern gate at night. The gates opened and they entered the city and seized the gates and the walls. In the morning, the entire Roman force entered in the city, but they did not kill any Tayoye (Arabs) because they had sworn to the envoy not to do so. However, when the Tayoye

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<sup>1978</sup>For a thorough analysis of these events, see Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 231-241; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, pp. 161-162.

(Arabs) departed the city, they regretted not killing them for fear that they might come back. However, accepting a worthless counsel, they destroyed the walls of the city leaving breaches in them. They transported some Tayoye (Arabs) to Theodosiopolis in Armenia. The morale of the mighty Cyriacus was strengthened, and he seized, with his brother's help, Pesilin in the province of Kharshana (Charsianon), Hisn Mansur, Kesum and the entire region of Cilicia.<sup>1979</sup>

In this period, the Greeks controlled Antioch, all of Syria, Palestine and Jerusalem, especially since the Tayoye (Arabs) were in a state of fright. Then the Romans laid siege against Edessa and threatened it with war. During the siege, a Muslim named Ibn Hamdan<sup>1980</sup> assembled an army and came to Melitene, which was ruined, spoiled it and all of Cappadocia.

While Edessa was under siege, its inhabitants sent an envoy to Emperor Romanus saying, "If you lift the siege from the city, we will give you the precious kerchief which the Savior Jesus sent to the believing King Abgar." The emperor agreed, and when they handed him the kerchief, he removed the Romans outside the boundaries of Edessa.<sup>1981</sup> It is said that this emperor is the one who forced the Edessans to hand him the kerchief.

In this time John Curcuas, captain of the host, died and another one from the emperor race named Tzimisce, nicknamed John (969-976), was appointed in his place, and he gained great renown. Before his death, Romanus handed the kingdom to Constantine (VII Porphyrogenitus, 913-959) who was born in the purple (from the royal family) and who was his son-in-law.<sup>1982</sup>

In this period, Mor Basilius from the Monastery of Qartmin (the Monastery of Mor Gabriel), was ordained a metropolitan for Takrit and the east; Joseph from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum was ordained a metropolitan for Amid; Abraham from the Pillar Monastery or the Monastery of Tal'ada, was ordained a metropolitan for Edessa; Iyawannis for Melitene; and Jeremiah for Jerusalem.

In the year 1165 of the Greeks (A.D. 854), in the time of the Emperor Romanus, Mor Iyawannis was summoned from the Monastery of the Pillar in Qurzhil, situated on the River Afrin. He was set up as patriarch of Antioch in the town of Tal'ada on Sunday, July 16 by the laying on of hands of Jacob, bishop of al-Raqqqa. He served the patriarchate for two years and six and a half months. He ordained ten bishops and passed away on the last Friday of January, and was buried in the Monastery of Mor Solomon in Duluk (Doliche). In his time, Mor Iliyya (Elijah) from the Monastery of Zuqnin was ordained as bishop for Melitene.

In this period, Mor Dionysius from the Monastery of Qartmin was ordained a patriarch on Sunday, November 28 in the town of Tal'ada itself by the laying on of the hand Mor Jacob, bishop of al-Raqqqa. He served the patriarchate for two years and six months. He died on Sunday, June 2 and was buried at the Monastery of Qartmin. He ordained eight bishops. In his time and the time of Mor Ilyya, bishop of Melitene, the Monastery of Sergisiyya and the Monastery of Bar Jaji were established. This book contains some of their chronicles. The chronicle written by Li'azar son of the brother of rabban (monk) David from the same monastery begins from the day the Monastery of Sergisiyya was established on the confines of Jubas. It was built by a man named Gayasa, a Persian from the city of Oshnouk. He was renowned for his noble origin, good looks and piety. However, being unable to conceal his excellences in his native town, he sojourned from one place to the other until he reached the bank of the Euphrates and dwelt in a monastery near the village of Tourshana. From there he moved to the country of Claudia and built a monastery near the town of Gregoriana. Shortly afterwards, three monks came from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (the Za'faran Monastery) in Mardin. They were Noah, Sawera (Severus) and Emmanuel. They did not desire to remain there but moved to the confines of Jubas, and the natives of the country rejoiced to see them. There they found a place suitable for a monastery in which lived few men with their cattle. Since the monks liked

<sup>1979</sup> Cf. Ostrogorsky, *Ibid.* 244-246.

<sup>1980</sup> He is Sayf al-Dawla Ali ibn Abd Allah ibn Hamdan. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 1970), 457-458; Ostrogorsky, 244-245.

<sup>1981</sup> Ostrogorsky, 245-246.

<sup>1982</sup> A.A. Vasiliev, 1, 302 and Ostrogorsky, 260-264.

that spot, the natives ejected the men who were living in it and their cattle. They took Mor Gayasa to the governor, the protosaphaire (Head of the Royal Court) Mor Joseph, known as Goumaya. Joseph welcomed them, and they built a monastery. Gayasa, the monks and John who were akin to him, exerted great effort in building the monastery. When it was completed, they called it Sergisiyya in commemoration of the name of the two martyrs, Sergius and Bacchus, some of whose relics they had with them. This event was done in the time of the Patriarch Dionysius and Mor Iliyya, metropolitan of Melitene and Jubas, who was called from the Monastery of Zuqnin in the year 1269 of the Greeks (A.D. 958).

When the Monastery of Sergisiyya gained renown, Mor Yuhanon (John) the ascetic of the Edessa Mountain came to settle in it. As they (Mor Gayasa and the monks) adorned its church, which was built with bricks and wood and different ornaments, they, kindled by love, invited Mor Yuhanon, the disciple of Mor Marun, to the monastery. Mor Yuhanon had received high education at the hand of Amaqim, the son of the great Edessa Mountain. He became well versed in logic, profane knowledge, and in the Holy Scriptures. He was adorned with virtues and holiness, and when he began to teach, he gained greater reputation than all his contemporaries did and his fame spread far and wide. Then the monk-priest David, son of the aunt of Yuhanon (John) the Nazirite, and the priest Musa attended the monastery. After Gayas spent twelve years as an archimandrite, he felt that his end was nigh. He called unto him John the ascetic, John the disciple of Marun, and his disciple Iliyya (Elijah), to whom Gayasa trusted the administration of the monastery by proxy, and then departed this life in peace. He was buried in the southern portico of the church overlooking the north. After Iliyya (Elijah) became the archimandrite of the monastery, and the number of monks increased, he pulled down the church and enlarged it, furnishing it with household effects, books, gold and silver vessels. Joseph, the governor of the region, helped with donations. Later in his life, he became a monk. Iliyya (Elijah) appointed John, the ascetic, monk as his deputy. When the monastery became famous for science, knowledge, exposition of the Scriptures and the debates with John, the disciple of Marun, it was attended by many to be educated. In fact, no one was seen at the monastery without holding a book to read, and the monastery housed many books. In addition, many calligraphers flourished in this monastery. Patriarch Yuhanon (John) known as Sarigta (he of the mat, saddlecloth) came to the monastery and decided to stay in it, but the envious heretics forced him to leave.

John, the ascetic, and David, son of his aunt, became monks on the same day. Together they received the priesthood, lived in the same cell, and died in the same week. We mention this in order that, because of them, all people may praise God. Musa (Moses), the companion of John, the ascetic, lived four years after him. When he sensed that he was going to die, he dug his grave with his own hands. A day after he finished the digging, he died. Also died in the same monastery the priest David, and Iliyya (Elijah) the archimandrite who loved the wilderness, and the said John was appointed an archimandrite in his place. He took with him Mor Denha, bishop of Samosata, and went on traveling. They visited the people known for virtue in Syria, Beth Nahrin and Phoenicia. They went to Jerusalem and performed the pilgrimage. Then they went to the Egyptian wilderness and returned to Syria after two years. Bishop Denha concluded his life in the Black Mountain near Antioch. Iliyya returned to the monastery (Sergisiyya) where he passed away.

### **On the Monastery of Bar Jaji**

Eutyclus, patrician of the region, urged Yuhanon (John), the disciple of Marun, to accompany him and adorn the monastery, which he had bought and rebuilt in the region. Eutyclus, also called Kulaib, had a man from Takrit called rabban (monk, teacher) Iliyya (Elijah) Bar Jaji dwell in the monastery. But he passed away before the completion of the monastery. Then, the patrician forced Mor Yuhanon to complete the building and ornamentation of the monastery, and adorning it with his teachings. Mor Yuhanon responded and built in the monastery a church in the name of the Forty Martyrs (of Sebastea) and cells in the interior. He called it Bar Jaji after the name of Bar Jaji who had acquired it. Many monks attended the monastery, and their number increased to one hundred-twenty. They were educated by Mor Yuhanon in religious sciences. After spending twelve years in the monastery, Mor Yuhanon desired the solitary life. He departed at night, crossed the Euphrates River and went up to the place called the Blessed Mountain where Mor

Ahrun (Aaron) had built a monastery. When the brethren learned of what he did, they went to seek him, but he refused to go back to the Monastery of Bar Jaji. When the monks of the Monastery of Sergisiyya learned this, they went to bring him back to their monastery, but he refused. He remained in that monastery (of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)), for four years. Mor Yuhanon passed away at a good old age and was buried in the Blessed Mountain. His death took place in the month of June of the year 1324 (A.D. 1013) on the festival day of John the Baptist.

After organizing the students and teachers, Yuhanon, the archimandrite of the Monastery of Sergisiyya, thought of rebuilding the church. God prepared for him a monk from Harran named Emmanuel, a disciple of Maphryono Cyriacus. Emmanuel suggested that the church be built with stones and lime, a matter that pleased the archimandrite, but lime was not found in that area. Emmanuel found stones from which he extracted lime, and paid three hundred dinars for the building of the church. They fixed the dome with fired bricks, set up three altars and built a southern wing of wood in two levels made especially for the teachers and students. They plastered the church inside and outside with gypsum. Next to the wing, they built rooms for the common people, and allotted a special room for dining and a house for strangers. The entire project took three years. The opening of the church was attended by Iliyya, the first archimandrite of this monastery, John the disciple of Mor Morun who was still living, Iyawannis, bishop of Melitene and Theodosius, bishop of Mar'ash. After the opening ceremony, each one returned to his own place. After the consecration of the church, Emmanuel passed away and was buried in the western corner of the pillar in the year 1312 (A.D. 1001). In the time of the archimandrite John, son of Elisha, a merchant from Takrit, extended the ducts to conduct water to the great wing in front of the church. He also built a cistern to the east of the church to water the vegetables planted by the monks. Joshua the priest, helped archimandrite John thirty years to make the strangers comfortable. In that year, the sea of knowledge John, the disciple of Marun, was found dead in bed, yet he was never sick. He was buried under the stone slab of the altar, and was succeeded as an archimandrite by Abraham of Semando. I, Li'azar (Lazarus) entered the monastery in 1290 (A.D. 979), and recorded this narrative in brief after the passage of forty-five years. *End of narrative.*

#### **Chapter Four: On the reign of Constantine and his successors Romanus II, and Nicephorus; and on the reign of the Tayoye (Arabs) in this period of Abu Ishaq, Abu al-Qasim and Muti'; and on the patriarchate of Yuhanon (VII) Sarigta who built the Barid Monastery**

In the year 1268 (A.D. 957), Constantine (VII), son-in-law of Romanus, reigned over the Romans. He was a well-versed rhetorician, humble and praised for his virtues.

In the same year, Abu Ishaq nicknamed al-Muktafi (902-908), became caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs) for four years and two months.

In this time, King (Emperor) Constantine sent his son Basil to fight the Tayoye (Arabs), who were led by Ibn Hamdan who could not resist the Romans. The Romans attacked Samosata and seized it. In this same time, they received the report that Constantine had died and was succeeded by his son Romanus, who ruled in the year 1272 (A.D. 961). In the same year Abu Ishaq, caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs) passed away and was succeeded by Abu al-Qasim, also nicknamed al-Muktafi. He ruled six years and one month.

Romanus (II), son of Constantine, paid great honor to the counselors (Senate) and to the nobles, and he showed magnanimity to everyone. As Ibn Hamdan had been fighting the Romans in the time of Romanus, the emperor dispatched Nicephorus (Phocas), and Iwanni (John) Tzimisces and the Roman army to fight the Tayoye (Arabs). When Nicephorus arrived in Aleppo, the people surrendered it to him. The Tayoye (Arabs) were greatly grieved because of Romans' control of Aleppo in 1247 (A.D. 936). As the Romans were preparing to fight the Tayoye (Arabs), they received the news of the death of their emperor, Romanus, and withdrew. The Tayoye (Arabs) pursued them but the Romans went back and defeated them, and Ibn Hamdan fled. However, the Romans could not tarry too long because continuous reports came from the capital urging them to return and set up an emperor. When the Roman armies reached Caesarea Cappadocia, they held the same opinion as Tzimisces and proclaimed Nicephorus II Phocas (963-969)

Domesticus an emperor in 1275 (A.D. 964). He designated (John) Tzimisces his successor and sent him to fight the Tayoye (Arabs), and Nicephorus went to Constantinople and was confirmed in the kingdom.

Tzimisces marched against Cilicia, fought the Tayoye (Arabs), and defeated them, and seized Tarsus, Mopsuestia (al-Massisa). When he reached Antioch, the Tayoye (Arabs) departed it and fled, and the Romans controlled all of Syria.<sup>1983</sup>

At this time Abu al-Qasim, caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs), died and al-Fadil reigned in 1278 (A.D. 967).

After reigning for eleven years Nicephorus, emperor of the Romans, became arrogant. His wife, Queen Theophano, plotted against him for being unfaithful in marriage. She made a secret pact with Tzimisces who entered upon Nicephorus at night and killed him for the pretext that he cared no more for the wellbeing of the kingdom. Tzimisces assumed power.<sup>1984</sup>

In this time, the Chalcedonians attracted the eunuch Stephen, metropolitan of Amasia and made him a patriarch in Constantinople, but he was disdained by everyone.

When Tzimisces was on his way to ascend the throne, he went to Neocaesarea, met a solitary named Anton, and spent the night with him in the mountain. In the morning, the solitary predicted saying, "Very shortly you will assume the kingdom." When the prediction came to be true, Tzimisces built a church on that spot with no match in the entire country of the Romans. He had it built with marble and gilded with gold and silver. He fixed on top of it a huge golden cross as tall as he was. It was so enormous that even the Turks were unable to pull it down. It was called Qir (Kyrie) Anton.

After Mor Dionysius, Mor Abraham from Tar'il in the province of Aleppo was ordained a patriarch for the See of Antioch on Sunday, May 25, 1273 (A.D. 962) at Tal'ada by the laying on of hands of Mor Ayyub (Job), bishop of Zoghma. Abraham served the patriarchate for nine months and five days. Praise God's unfathomable designs. He probably hurried to transport him to himself lest he become lax by time and his firm will wane. It was said about him that he was humble and of meek heart. Even when he assumed the office of the patriarchate, he never changed his name, his vestment or his food. He never mounted a beast with a saddle, but rather went around riding a lowly donkey, and only when he felt tired along the way. He was a disciple of Mor Anastasius, archimandrite of the Monastery of Cercesium in the province of Mar'ash. He was the one who ordained his master as bishop for Aleppo. When he felt that his end was near, he went to his master and died at a place in Aleppo on May 4. His master performed his funeral in the presence of three other bishops and more than two hundred priests, monks, deacons and a large crowd of believers. The church lamented his death. He ordained seven bishops including Cyriacus whom he ordained a metropolitan for Takrit.

In the time of Nicephorus, king (emperor) of the Romans, Mor Yuhanon (John) from the Monastery of Tar'il, was ordained a patriarch on July 29 in the town of Kafr Nabu in the region of Sarug by the laying on of hands of Sergius, bishop of Sarug. He ordained forty-eight bishops, one of them Ignatius Isaac al-Sa'i. The reason he was called al-Sa'i was that he visited every day the monasteries in the Edessa Mountain and provided them with provisions. He built a monastery close to the city (of Edessa) which until this day is known as the Sa'i Monastery. He also built the great church of Melitene. It was Patriarch Yuhanon known as Sarigta, who for his excessive asceticism, moved to the region of Melitene. Therefore, we find it necessary to elaborate on him.

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<sup>1983</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 165-170, treats these events with marked details, and offers a variety of information not found in the above account.

<sup>1984</sup> Bar Hebraeus disagrees with the reason Michael Rabo gives for the murder of Nicephorus based on the authority of Metropolitan Ignatius of Melitene. He says that Nicephorus married Romanus' wife, Theophano, who had two sons from Romanus. Nicephorus decided to make the sons eunuchs in order to continue the royal line through him. Theophano decided to kill him and save her sons. When Nicephorus was deep in sleep, Theophano brought upon him Tzimisces and some men with him. They killed him in his bed and more than seventy men of the guards who kept the gate of the palace. Bar Hebraeus says that he discovered the cause of the murder of Nicephorus in accurate books, but does not mention these books. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 173. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 251.

Since the Tayoye (Arab) conquest of Syria, our patriarchs of the Orthodox Church moved between Antioch, Harran, al-Raqqa (Callinicus), and Edessa. Now, since the Romans controlled Syria, Emperor Nicephorus saw that Melitene and Hanzit were desolate, and thought to settle people in them. However, the Romans did not agree to this idea for fear of the Tayoye (Arabs). Some people advised him to settle the Syrians living in the Tayoye (Arab) regions within them, because they were used to living with the Romans and the Tayoye (Arab)s. Nicephorus summoned the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon, known as Sarigta, and pledged to him that he would reconcile him with the Chalcedonians and prevent the Chalcedonians from harming his people, if he agreed to the settling of the Syrians in Melitene, Hanzit and Qallisura. He also promised to establish a residence for him in these towns that he may not return to the Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) countries. The patriarch received the emperor's seals as a testimony of his pledges and agreed to reside in these places for two reasons: The first reason was that he wanted to be far away from the Chalcedonian patriarchs who were molesting our churches and bishops since the Romans ruled Syria. The second reason was that the patriarch believed that the emperor would fulfill his promises. The Patriarch came to Melitene and gathered people from every quarter. The city teemed with Syrians, so that churches and monasteries were rebuilt. He found a place called al-Barid (Syriac Qariro, cold), and in 1280 (A.D. 969), he began to build in it a church and a monastery. Thus, he fulfilled the emperor's desire, but the emperor reneged on his promises and was inclined to the stratagems of the Greeks. He summoned the patriarch to the capital pretending to negotiate with him, but his true intention was to decimate our Orthodox faith.

In 1280 (A.D. 969), Mor Yuhanon the patriarch arrived in the capital accompanied by Tuma, metropolitan of Jerusalem and brother of Anastasius, abbot of the Barid Monastery, Mor Constantine, bishop of Mar'ash, Sergius, bishop of Apamea and Jacob, bishop of Semando. They met with the Chalcedonian bishops headed by their eunuch patriarch and engaged in twenty-one debate sessions in two months. They were called to debate every two or three days, and each time the Chalcedonians were defeated. When the Chalcedonians realized that they could not condemn their opponents by debating them, they instigated the emperor who summoned the patriarch and his bishops and said to them harshly, "Either you submit to our faith and thus receive double honor, or be banished." They replied, "It is impossible that we will proclaim two natures of the Lord Christ, or accept the Council of Chalcedon." The emperor cast them into prison for four months until he decided their fate. During this period, Tzimisces killed Nicephorus and ruled in his place. He ordered that the prisoner be released. The patriarch, the bishops and their disciples returned from exile. The patriarch went to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in Melitene. Then he returned to the Barid Monastery, renovated it, and stayed in it for fifteen years after being saved from the men of iniquity. He died and was buried in this monastery.

In this year Agapius, the Chalcedonian patriarch, entered Antioch, and saw the great number of our faith the Orthodox (the anti-Chalcedonians) who had been well established in the city since the beginning of the rule of the Tayoye (Arabs). He went back to Constantinople, received orders from the emperor, and then returned to Antioch. At the beginning, he resorted to the method of enticement and gifts to win the (non-Chalcedonian) nobles in order to make them known to the emperor. He personally rebaptized the children of the nobles and acted as their godfather. To each one of them he sent an invitation. With such methods, he seduced the nobles and pressured others to accept the Council of Chalcedon. Those who did not consent, he expelled from the city. Like a heathen, he confiscated their homes and their possessions, and destroyed their great church. The iniquitous (Chalcedonians) threw the Gospel, and other books, the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism) and the Holy Mysteries (the Communion) into the fire. Nevertheless, God made a miracle to shame them and encourage the believers. For behold the books and the Holy Mysteries were not consumed by the fire. Despite this, they, like Pharaoh, hardened their hearts. They did not give glory to God the doer of miracles, but insisted in their blasphemy saying that this was the work of magic. In them was fulfilled the saying of the Gospel, "But whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will never be forgiven in this life or the life to come."<sup>1985</sup> Nebuchadnezzar was a heathen, but when he saw the blessed children

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<sup>1985</sup> Mark 3:29.

unharmd by fire, he confessed and glorified the name of their God.<sup>1986</sup> Then, Agapius, the heretic, blasphemed the Holy Spirit and brought out the Orthodox in the night of the festival of the Savior (Epiphany). When they came out through the gate called the Water Gate, they blessed the water and fulfilled the festival (of Epiphany) on the bank of the River Oriti, which the Arabs called Maqlub (the inverted).<sup>1987</sup> From there, they spread into other regions. Agapius, however, continued to persecute our people and the Armenians (because they were anti-Chalcedonians), and never let any of them show up in the city. Finally, the Lord afflicted him with his wrath.

**Chapter Five: On the period when Tzimisces and his successors Basil and Constantine ruled the Romans. During this period, the Tayoye (Arabs) were ruled by al-Fadil, Abu Bakr and others, and the emigration of the Armenian people to Cappadocia**

In the year 1287 (A.D. 976), John Tzimisces (976-969) ruled the Romans.<sup>1988</sup> He was experienced in military affairs, of strong body and a courageous warrior. Before he assumed power, he resided in Melitene, Hanzit and other well-known locations, which still exist to this day. When he assumed power, he showed magnanimity to everyone. He released the prisoners and built a great church in the capital (Constantinople). He was loved by the army because of his victory in wars, and for adding cities and regions to the Roman domain. Three years after coming to power, he died and was lamented by the nobles and the people.

In 1290 (A.D. 979) Basil II (975-1025) and Constantine VIII (1025-1028), sons of Romanus reigned. They were tied by a true bond of love.<sup>1989</sup> Because Basil had more prowess, he left his brother in the capital and went forth to fight the Tayoye (Arabs). He reigned for fifty-five years and was famous for his victories, and for subjugating many countries. He spent his life fighting in Greater Armenia and the western regions.

In the year 1300 (A.D. 989), the Armenians began to leave Greater Armenia to Cilicia. The Emperor Basil had taken from the Armenians the domains which had been seized by Sennacherib (king of Assyria), and instead gave them Sebastea in Cappadocia.<sup>1990</sup> There, their number multiplied and they were scattered throughout Cappadocia, Cilicia and Syria. It is said that the name of Sennacherib came to the Armenians via the Aramaeans. After the sons of Sennacherib killed their father, as it is written by Isaiah who says, "One day when Sennacherib was worshiping in the temple of his god Nisroch, his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer cut him down with a sword and they escaped to the land of Ararat."<sup>1991</sup> They escaped to the land of the Kurds, that is the Mountains of Qardu, where they were mingled with the Armenians and gained a great renown. Their tribe was called "the Sennacheribians," in Armenian, "the Sinkarimaya."

Emperor Basil II also subjugated the Bulgarians and seized their kingdom. After he administered the kingdom with serenity for fifty-five years, he passed away and the kingdom passed to his brother Constantine (VIII) in the year 1034. Constantine ruled for two years and ten months.<sup>1992</sup> He was meek, lofty-minded and prudent in his administration. Upon his death, the kingdom passed to his nephew

<sup>1986</sup> Daniel, entire Chapter 3, particularly 28-30.

<sup>1987</sup> Could this mean the Orontes which the Arabs call al-Asi?

<sup>1988</sup> This is the date of the death of John Tzimisces who actually ascended the throne in 969. The readers should realize that the dates of the Roman emperors in the ninth century offered by Ignatius of Melitene do not always harmonize with the same dates offered by modern writers on the Byzantine Empire.

<sup>1989</sup> The actual dates of Basil II, surnamed Bulgaroctonus (the Bulgar Slayer), are 976-1025, and those of his brother Constantine VIII are 976-1028. See Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: the Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, translated by E. R. A. Sewter (Routledge and Kegan Paul Press, and Yale University Press, 1953, reprinted Penguin Books, 1966), 27-27-49 on Basil II and 53-59 on Constantine VIII, hereafter Michael Psellus *Chronographia*; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I (The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 302, and Asad J. Rustam, *al-Rum ws Silatibim bi al-Arabs* II (Beirut: Dar al-Makshuf, 1956), p. 296-298 which contains a table of the Roman Emperors from 610 to 1453. The date of Basil and Constantine are on p. 297.

<sup>1990</sup> For a thorough analysis of this subject see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades: Conflict between Christendom and Islam* (Gorgias Press, 2008), 66 ff and the many sources the author consulted.

<sup>1991</sup> 2 Kings 19:37.

<sup>1992</sup> Constantine ruled for two years and ten months. The date of Constantine III as emperor was 1025-1028. See Michael Psellus, 53.

Romanus III Argyrus (1028-1034).<sup>1993</sup> In the time of these emperors, the Tayoye (Arabs) were ruled by al-Fadil for twenty-nine years, Abu Bakr for nineteen years and Abu al-Abbas for forty-two years.

In August of the year 1133 (A.D. 922), a severe earthquake occurred in Melitene followed by a violent storm. Buildings fell down and the wheat and straw were swept from the threshing floors to the River Euphrates.

In this period the Orthodox patriarch in Egypt, that is the Pope of Alexandria, was Mor Theophilus who, after his death, was succeeded by Mor Mina.

When Patriarch Yuhanon passed away at the Qariro (Barid) Monastery, the bishops assembled and elected the monk Li'azar from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun, which is the Shaghr Monastery known as the Salahi, and was called Athanasius. He was ordained on Thursday 21 of October 1298 (A.D. 987), in the village of Qattina in the province of Homs by the laying on of hands of Mor Li'azar, bishop of Anazarba. He ordained thirty-nine bishops.

In his time, Iyawannis from the Qariro (Barid) Monastery was ordained a bishop for Melitene. He was Bar Qiqi, who later turned Tayoyo (Muslim) because the devil trapped him with the snare of adultery. This outraged the Takritians who expelled the woman, but Bar Qiqi would not let her go too far. About seventy distinguished men gathered and asked him to drive her away because on her account, the people became suspicious of him, but he refused. Finally, they decided to oust him if he did not obey. Since he was summoned by the caliph, he did not hearken to them. He picked an inkpot and hit with it the head of the archdeacon, and they ejected him immediately from the church. Then he went down to Baghdad to launch a complaint against the Takritians. One of his relatives was a scribe of the caliph, but as soon as he arrived in Baghdad, he was surprised to find that his relative had died and was being carried to be buried. Thus, the prophecy was fulfilled in him that says, "Cursed the one who trusts in man, who depends on flesh for his strength and whose heart turns away from the Lord. He will be like a bush in the wasteland."<sup>1994</sup> He was frustrated. When he saw that the Takritians had come (to Baghdad), he was scared to death and found refuge with the king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), and declared his conversion to Islam as a means of vengeance against the Takritians. However, the caliph who knew this wretched man said to him, "If one of your congregation has annoyed you and you want to stay away from them, we will look into this case." However, he was scared to say before the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) that he wanted to become a Muslim because he was caught in adultery and said, "I declare my conversion to Islam after becoming sure that Christianity is wrong and Islam is true." Then the Muslims had him circumcised. After his wound healed, he went to see the caliph thinking that he would expel and destroy the Takritians. The Takritians were also sorrowful and afraid of the consequence. However, Almighty God touched the heart of the caliph with mercy, and he did not show him the same respect as he did before, but kept him waiting outside for a long time. It was then that he (Bar Qiqi) began to weep and beat his head. When he was asked the reason, he said, "When I was an infidel (Christian) I was honored. But when I became a Muslim I lost that honor." The caliph said to him, "You wretch! When we honored you, we in fact, honored your entire people and the leadership granted to you by God. Now that you have rejected the leadership by your own will, and deserted your congregation and came to us, tell me of which crowd of Muslims standing in my presence you are greater that I may single you out and honor you?" The caliph ordered that he be driven out so that he would not see his face again. Bar Qiqi lost hope and was ashamed, and the head of the believers (Takritians) was raised high. They obtained a letter from the caliph and went to the Patriarch Yuhanon who ordained for them a bishop who was Athanasius from the Monastery of the Mother of God near Melitene, well known as the Sa'i Monastery. However, that foolish Bar Qiqi, who became a Muslim, began to roam around begging for bread, and brought upon himself the curse that the devil bequeaths to his followers.

Patriarch Athanasius resided in the Qariro (Barid) Monastery where his predecessor passed away, renovated it, and beautified it. By his good administration, wisdom and knowledge, he was able to offer peace and tranquility to his Antiochian people. Even the Chalcedonian patriarch lauded his excellences

<sup>1993</sup> Romanus III, surnamed Argyropulus, 1028-1034. He was son-in-law of Constantine III. See Michael Psellus, 63.

<sup>1994</sup> Jeremiah 17:5-6.

which were only worthy of kings. He was meticulous in observing the apostolic canons and guiding the ship of the church with wisdom. He finished his life with a good old age. He served the patriarchate for sixteen years and died in the famous, priestly Monastery of Mor Barsoum in the district of Claudia, where his holy body was interred.

At this time, the number of monasteries in the region of Melitene increased. Many excellent, learned men flourished and were even begrudged by the Greek heretics in Melitene. When the Chalcedonians saw that both Patriarch Mor Athanasius and Mor Marun, the ocean of knowledge, had died, they seized Mor Iyawannis, bishop of Melitene and seven excellent learned monks, and sent them in chains to Constantinople where they were cast into prison. They ended their lives in true martyrdom. The Greeks also usurped our great church known as the Sa'i church. *End of the narrative.*

**Chapter Six: On the period of Romanus, son of Basil, king (emperor) of the Romans and Ibn Abbas Qadir, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), and the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon Bar Abdun whom the Chalcedonians banished to Constantinople where he passed away**

Romanus<sup>1995</sup> went forth to fight the Tayoye (Arabs) but was defeated and fled. The Tayoye (Arabs) entered his camp and looted plenty of gold vessels and arms. They also entered the regions under the control of the Romans. When they reached Aleppo, the Romans departed it and the Tayoye (Arabs) regained control over it. However, the tyrannical Greeks did not recall that the predecessors of this emperor (Romanus) never ceased persecuting the Christians everywhere. Today, they returned to their old habits, and banished the patriarch and the bishops. Therefore, God defeated them in the face of their enemies, and made their haters control them everywhere.<sup>1996</sup>

In the year 1348 (A.D. 1037), a severe famine took place in the inhabited world. Death devoured people, beasts, wild animals and fowl, and all people believed that the end of the world was nigh.

The Chalcedonians stirred up persecution against the Orthodox in Melitene and its environs. They seized the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon bar Abdun and the bishops and banished them by force to Constantinople without mercy, as it is written in the life-story of the holy Mor Yuhanon.<sup>1997</sup>

*Note. Here occurs a lacuna on page 563 of the Syriac manuscript followed immediately by the passage below. Since it mentions the Emperor Basil, I dare conjecture that it was a part of an account of this emperor, which for unknown reason is lost to us. Therefore, I decided to leave it where it is rather than make it an appendix.*

He became angry and commanded that they be driven out of their houses. A great number of distinguished men left and were scattered in the cities of Syria and the Jazira. In all the locations where they lived, they built magnificent monasteries and churches. Among them were the exalted notables of Melitene known as the Bnai (family of) Abu Imran who were memorable for their splendid deeds. They were, like Abraham and Job, blessed by God with abundant wealth. They spent most of their possession on the building of churches and monasteries, and on the poor and the needy. In Melitene itself, they built several churches and convents for women, and outside Melitene, they built monasteries for monks. Every Friday, from morning to midday, they distributed alms to the poor. The Shaykh Abu Salim himself distributed these alms. The sons of the family of Imran were three individuals distinguished with good conduct. Even the Roman Emperor (Basil II) begrudged them and imposed on them to mint the coin of the kingdom for a whole year. They did and the year went by. When the emperor noticed that their wealth did not diminish, he realized that it was the blessing of God who said through the prophet, "The silver is mine and the gold is mine."<sup>1998</sup> When Emperor Basil II returned from Armenia, he was overtaken by the winter in Jubas and needed gold, especially since his messengers could not get the gold for him due to the snowfall. The

<sup>1995</sup> He is Romanus III, surnamed Argyropulus, 1028-1034, son of Basil II, the Bulgar Slayer.

<sup>1996</sup> Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 66-70.

<sup>1997</sup> On Yuhanon bar Abdun see Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, I, ed. J. B. Abeloos and T. J. Lamy (Louvain, 1872), 419-431.

<sup>1998</sup> Haggai 2:8.

emperor went to (the men of the Imran family) and asked them to lend him money. When they recognized him, they fell down at his feet and gave him a hundred qantar of gold as he requested. Since he was a good man, he repaid the gold he had borrowed from them. At another time when the Turks spoiled Melitene, they seized Abu Salim as he was returning from the monastery he had built. He negotiated with them and paid five dinars from his own expense for the release of every captive. The captives numbered about fifteen thousand. This is only a tiny portion of their abundant traits.<sup>1999</sup> We mentioned them so that the readers may praise God and pray for them.

*I found this account on the margin of a folio, but could not determine its proper place, because it was deficient at the beginning.*

On Thursday 5 of July 1348 (A.D. 1037), the holy Mor Yuhanon was ordained a patriarch in the Monastery of the Mother of God in the region of Goudphi, called Bunduqa, by the laying on of hands of Mor Peter, bishop of Harran. He ordained forty-nine bishops. In his time was ordained Atonos as bishop for Melitene, who later became a Chalcedonian as shall be seen later.

Ignatius bar Qiqi, who turned Tayoyo (Muslim) as we said earlier, was ordained by Athanasius. After him, Mor Yuhanon ordained Athanasius for Takrit and the East.

### **From the life-story of Mor Yuhanon bar Abdun**

The parents of this blessed man lived in Melitene where Yuhanon was born and brought up in virtue. When he was eighteen years old, he desired the holy monastic life. He entered the Monastery of Sa'i, which was near the city and assumed the monastic habit. When his father learned of what he did, he brought him back to the city by force and wanted him to shed the monastic habit and live in the world to inherit his wealth. Following the advice of Mor Ignatius the Sa'i, the holy Yuhanon left the monastery, went to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, and prayed before the grave of the saint. In order to keep distant from his parents, he went down to the bank of the Euphrates River and dwelt in a rugged cave. He spent his time in contemplation and vigil. God granted him the grace of doing miracles, the power of healing and the spirit of prophecy. In fact, he was able to predict beforehand the questions that were presented to him. He became well known in many countries. One day, a poor man came to him asking for alms, but the blessed (Yuhanon) could not find any one of the brethren (monks) present at that time. Therefore, he poured what they had of grain in the saddlebag of the poor man, who carried it to his house. For a year and six months, he and his family ate the grain that did not run out until the famine passed from the world.

People brought him (Yuhanon) a child tormented by an evil spirit, and his mouth was crooked and his hands and legs were weak. They placed him opposite of the rock near which the blessed (Yuhanon) used to perform the ninth-hour prayer. When he saw that the child was cast into that place alone, he lamented his condition. He placed his finger on his eyes and ears and the boy was immediately healed. The boy's father was watching at a distance. He hurried and fell down at the feet of the blessed (Yuhanon) who admonished him not to tell anyone that he had healed his boy.

One day, while the blessed (Yuhanon) was walking along the bank of the Euphrates he saw the apparition of a woman following him. God had hidden from him that the apparition he was seeing was that of a demon. He said to himself, "Yuhanon, this is your day. Either you kill or be killed." He signed the cross and rushed to the river in order that the woman would not chase after him. He crossed to the other bank walking on water and did not drown, and the demon disappeared. Since then, the blessed gained another grace of walking on water as if walking on land, and the brothers with him realized this (grace) and glorified God.

In the summer, he walked the distance of one day in two days because of the severity of the heat. One day he was very thirsty and slumbered while standing. When he woke up, he found, much to his amazement, water gushing out of a rock. He heard someone saying, "Yuhanon! Glorify God and quench

<sup>1999</sup> See Aphram I Barsoum, *The Collected Historical Essays of Aphram I Barsoum*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2009), 112-114.

your thirst.” Realizing that this was not his imagination, he prayed, and signed the cross over the water and drank.

Following these wonder works, the blessed saw that his name had become popular in those countries and wanted to stay away from them. He decided to go to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum to pray, and then moved to the Black Mountain. At that time the holy Yuhanon, the disciple of Marun, was at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. One day before his arrival at the monastery, God revealed to him saying, “Tomorrow will arrive a saintly man who will become the leader of the church of God.” On the first night of his arrival, the holy Mor Barsoum appeared to him surrounded by sons of light. On the next night, a voice called him to pray. He rose up and found the door of the church shut, and heard the voices of angels chanting inside. From there he went to the Black Mountain, where, by great exertion and virtuous deeds, he overwhelmed the devils and the fantasies of darkness.

After the struggle of forty years, the Patriarch Mor Athanasius passed away. The entire group of bishops met and unanimously agreed that Yuhanon bar Abdun should be their shepherd. In a vision, the blessed (Yuhanon) saw an eagle soaring high in the sky followed by beautiful birds. They were calling him to descend and cover them by his wings, but he would not respond. He heard a voice from heaven saying, “O blessed eagle, don’t run away and descend to earth, for I have given you these birds which are seeking you. Behold, today, I have granted you a power on high and down.” When Yuhanon was sure that his call was from God, he surrendered himself. He was not even then ordained a deacon because he was too humble to accept the office of the deaconate, and because he was awed by sacerdotal ranks. However, he was ordained a deacon on July 24, a priest on July 25, and a patriarch on July 26. He was then sixty years old. His ordination was attended by Peter, bishop of Harran who ordained him by the laying on of his hands, Theodosius, bishop of Mar’ash, Tuma, bishop of Anazarba, Paul, bishop of Tarsus, Cyriacus, bishop of Jihan, and Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Semando. Despite his strict adherence to the holy canons, he had no experience in administrative matters. Therefore, he handed the administration of the dioceses to a certain monk named David and entrusted him with his complete affairs. David did tremendous harm to the churches, but the blessed Yuhanon succeeded in doing miracles.

The Roman prefect of Antioch was afflicted with leprosy. He heard that Yuhanon healed the sick by the power of God. He sent a message asking him to heal him. Yuhanon blessed some oil and sent it to the prefect who received it with faith, anointed himself with it and was cured. When the Chalcedonian patriarch heard of this miracle, he longed to see the blessed Yuhanon, and both exchanged letters. The blessed Yuhanon sent one of his garments to the Greek patriarch who put it on every festival day.

When the blessed (Yuhanon) came to Melitene, they brought him a demented and dumb child whose tongue was tied up, and he healed him. He also healed a woman afflicted with blood issue. When he witnessed her uncleanness, he blessed water and gave her to drink and she was healed while promising to repent of her sins.

The devil had planted evil thoughts in the heart of a monk, and caused him to suffer. The blessed (Yuhanon) knew through the spirit that the monk was tormented. He prayed for him and he was freed from these thoughts. Another monk, whose comrades accused him of committing a certain sin came to the blessed Yuhanon to condemn him if he was guilty. However, the blessed knew, by the spirit, that the monk was guilty. He said to him, “Confess your guilt,” but he kept resisting. The blessed said to him, “Go and don’t do this act again, or else the evil spirit will torment you.” Actually, the evil spirit did torment him, and he confessed his guilt.

The blessed Yuhanon found it necessary to build a bridge over the River Jihan, and men brought him wood over the river. While they were carrying the wood, a boy fell into the water and drowned. They brought him out and went to bury him. While they were carrying him to the grave, the blessed Yuhanon stopped them and spent all night praying. In the morning, he anointed him with oil and the boy came back to life. Yuhanon wanted to hide the miracle by telling the crowd, “Didn’t I tell you that his spirit was still in him?” Nevertheless, the people knew that it was a miracle and glorified God with tears flowing down their

eyes. In addition, they brought to him a man who was mute and deaf. He put his finger in his mouth and ears and the man began to talk and to hear.

God made many miracles like these through this holy man. Nevertheless, we should be satisfied with the miracles we have related lest we overburden the book with more than its capacity.

Now we come to the conclusion of his life and say that after twenty-one years in the sacerdotal service, Satan begrudged him, nay, begrudged the entire church of God. This happened by means of a temptation of a Greek metropolitan of Melitene named Nicephorus, who could not swallow the report of the wonder works that God made through this saint. He abandoned Melitene and went to Constantinople saying, "I cannot become a shepherd where this sorcerer is found. He has attracted the Greeks unto himself." However, the two Emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII paid no attention to him. Moreover, when Romanus who was a schoolmate of the metropolitan reigned, he urged him to address letters to the prefect Krysoborgios. Because he knew the blessed Yuhanon and trusted him, he sent letters secretly to the chiefs of Melitene asking them to transport the patriarch immediately to the Tayoye (Arab) regions. To the messengers, however, he said, "We have no idea where the Patriarch of the Jacobites is today." But before the messengers, who were disciples of the metropolitan (Nicephorus), arrived in Melitene, they gave the second Judas, Bar Gigra, a Roman, thirty pieces of silver in order to tell them where the patriarch was. They said to the prefect that they knew where the patriarch was and only asked him to provide them with armed soldiers. However, the prefect, who could not save him (Yuhanon), gave them only nine horsemen. The second Judas said, "These men are not enough and there are more than a thousand monks out there who will prevent any one to take him." Therefore, the prefect rose up and went with them. They attacked the Qariro (Barid) Monastery taking the monks and the people of the region with surprise. Within three hours on the morning of Friday, the monastery was filled with soldiers. The prefect stood at the door of the patriarchal cell. They said to the patriarch, "The prefect of Melitene is standing at the door of the cell." The patriarch tarried a little to go out to him because he and the monks were engaged in prayer. When they finished the prayer, and the blessed Yuhanon was told about the prefect, he said to his disciples, "Truly my children, we will be taken to the capital. Let the will of the Lord be done." He went out and, holding the prefect by the hand, brought him into the cell. He said to him, "Why all this concern, your highness?" The prefect said calmly, "Don't be disturbed, holy man. The emperor wanted to see you in the capital." The patriarch said, "But why did you exert yourself so much? One of your servants was enough to take me." They took him to Melitene amid the tears of the monks and the whole body of Christians. It was something that could not be forgotten by men of discernment, and the people of Melitene felt as if they were on fire. Someone bribed the leaders who hardly agreed to leave him stay during the winter. The patriarch celebrated Easter in Melitene, but the majority of people (of Melitene) determined that he should leave. They even asked him to ordain for them children as deacons thinking that no other patriarch would be set up for them. Not only our people grieved for his parting, but even more the Armenians and the Chalcedonian Greeks of the city wept and hustled each other to receive blessing from his holy hands. Everyone predicted that God's wrath would afflict the kingdom of the Romans, and this is what exactly happened.

The Patriarch Mor Yuhanon departed Melitene accompanied by six bishops. They were: Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Semando; Iyawannis, bishop of Hadath; Ignatius, bishop of Melitene; Ishaq (Isaac), bishop of Arqa; Musa, bishop of Hisn Ziyad; Dionysius, bishop of Tell Batriq; and twenty monks and priests including Yeshu, abbot of the Monastery of Bar Jaji; Basil, abbot of the Qariro (Barid) Monastery; and the disciples of the patriarch: David, Yeshu, Iyawannis and Musa and others. In the middle of June (A.D. 1028), Yuhanon, bishop of the Chalcedonian Malkites, entered Constantinople after having delayed twelve days in Chrysopolis. In the city, they found two hundred Chalcedonian bishops waiting to see the new emperor. They assembled in the church called Hagia Sophia, but the Patriarch (Mor Yuhanon) and the bishops did not attend the assembly. When they (the Chalcedonian bishops) were asked about us they said, "We know that these men are Christians, and it is inappropriate to inquire about them." They said this because they knew that the blessed Yuhanon was a man of God. However, the metropolitan of Melitene, the second Caiaphas, instructed someone to cry out in the streets that these men (patriarch Yuhanon and his

bishops), did not confess that the Virgin is the Mother of God, and other similar things. Just imagine how much they were spat at, while refuse was thrown on their heads from the rooftops. Even the choleric metropolitan (of Melitene) forced his patriarch and the bishops not to sit down and discuss the faith. However, one of our monks defeated all their bishops with his debate, as it is indicated by Yuhanon, one of their bishops.

The Chalcedonians ordered Patriarch Yuhanon (bar Abdun) and his bishops to stand before them from morning until the ninth hour. Because of their old age, the patriarch and Iliyya, bishop of Semando, were supported by others. The Chalcedonians asked them with fury, "Why do you disdain the metropolitan of Melitene?" The patriarch said, "If for this reason you brought us here, its solution is easy. It is impossible to disdain you while you are our judges and we are under your authority." Therefore, they were ashamed, but they inquired about faith. There were ready two documents containing matters of the faith, one was written in the time of the late Patriarch Mor Yuhanon, and one written recently. As they read a little, they said, "We have not brought you to learn the faith from you, but to teach you the faith. So, confess like us two natures (of Christ) after the union." The interpreter, whose name was Theodorus and a follower of the Chalcedonians of Melitene, was appointed by the metropolitan of Melitene (to interpret). The metropolitan deluded him by promises and he twisted his interpretation, but he was rebuked by Yuhanon their bishop. Then the patriarch said, "We did not say two natures and will never change the faith of our fathers." The metropolitan (of Melitene) said, "Wouldn't you accept the faith of the emperor?" The patriarch said, "We are under the authority of the holy emperor in everything. But it is impossible to change our faith." At this point, the iniquitous metropolitan stretched his hand and in great anger slapped the patriarch across the face, and the blessed turned the other cheek. Many of the leaders, who witnessed this, were grieved and wept. One of them rose up and left saying, "I cannot sit and see Christ tried and slapped across the face." Then, the rest of the leaders murmured and left. In this manner, the council ended on the first day. They (the Chalcedonians) moved the patriarch and the bishops to the Monastery of Mor Mennas and on the next day to Mor Gregorius.

The leaders did not attend the second meeting on the next day in protest of what had happened during the first meeting, especially that the (president) of the meeting did not allow the Patriarch (Yuhanon) and Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Semando, to be seated according to the canons. However, they allowed them to be seated in the second meeting. After lengthy deliberation, they asked them not to add olive oil to the *furhsono* (Sacrificial Bread), and not to sign the cross with one finger but with two, hoping to attract them gradually to their own belief, but they failed. Having thus failed, they thought of separating them from each other. They placed the patriarch and Dionysius, (bishop of Tell Batriq) in a monastery for the whole month of July, and placed each two of the others in another place.

Finally, the emperor summoned four of them. They were Ignatius, Iyawannis, Musa and Ishaq (Isaac), accompanied by the Chalcedonian metropolitan of Melitene, and Butrus (Peter) Sarfi acted as an interpreter. This one, also deluded by the metropolitan, twisted the interpretation, and like the former interpreter, God struck him dead. Three times Iyawannis told the emperor, "We will not change our faith forever. Either you have compassion on us and release us, or we are ready to die for the sake of Christ." It was then that the emperor issued an order that they should be imprisoned in Numera, where they remained from August to October under heavy torture. The emperor was wrathful against the metropolitan who was the reason for bringing them to him. This is what made him use tricks and deceive every one of them separately in order to snare some of them and gain the emperor's acceptance.

It was then that the wretched Ignatius, bishop of Melitene, Musa, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, and Ishaq, bishop of Arqa, were deceived by the devil. They believed the words of the Chalcedonian bishop of Melitene who said to them, "We are not forcing you to change your faith; but only to adore the emperor and the (Chalcedonian) patriarch. Then you may return to your dioceses." They submitted to that low man, especially when he told them that the emperor would release them. He took their signatures (of endorsement) to the emperor. He told the emperor, "If you wait a little, I will bring all of them to our way (to accept the Council of Chalcedon)." Then the emperor sent a word to the Patriarch (Bar Abdun) saying,

“We will give you the See of Antioch, if you would accept out (Chalcedonian) faith.” The blessed (Bar Abdun) replied, “I have an Apostolic See on earth and in heaven and desire nothing else. If you desire to give me a see rich with money and people in order to change my faith, you should know that even if you offered me your throne I will not change my belief.” Thus, the emperor and the Chalcedonians lost hope of converting them. The emperor said to the Chalcedonian metropolitan, “Make sure that these bishops have pledged to you their endorsement, or else, have all of them released.” The metropolitan sent secretly someone to ascertain their opinion. They said, “We cannot do anything while this old man is here (meaning the Patriarch Yuhanon Bar Abdun).” Then the metropolitan ordered that the patriarch should be taken to the interior of Constantinople within four days. They brought him out of Numera and took him to the house of the metropolitan who insulted him and disdained him immensely. He spat in his face saying, “Where are those who followed you and surrounded you in Melitene? You hypocrite, I am the one who brought you here.” He said this in order to incite the patriarch’s zeal, and he would excommunicate those bishops who became Chalcedonians. Then he would inform the emperor that the patriarch had excommunicated them and condemned our (Chalcedonian) faith. Then the emperor would issue an order for the patriarch’s death. However, filled with the Holy Spirit, the blessed patriarch said, “My Lord did not order me to curse my persecutors, but set for me the law to love my enemies. However, if your Lord has ordered you to hate and persecute, you ought to know this more than anyone else.” After reviling and abusing the patriarch immensely, he banished him on October 13 to the Monastery of Gaius (in Bulgaria).

Then the emperor instructed that accursed metropolitan to take the bishops to his home. He discussed with them many subjects hoping to deceive them and have them accept (Chalcedon). However, when Iliyya, bishop of Semando, Iyawannis, bishop of Hadath and Dionysius, bishop of Tell Batriq, did not submit to him, he returned them to Numera. The three bishops who succumbed (accepted Chalcedon); he took them to the house of Barsoum Sarfi. When they appeared before the emperor, he asked them, “Did you sign before the metropolitan by your free will?” They said, “Yes.” He rejoined, “Would you then condemn Severus (of Antioch) and Dioscorus (bishop of Alexandria)?” and they kept silent. The emperor said, “They are cheats.” The metropolitan said to them, “Why don’t you answer as you used to? Now, if you are telling lies you will die as liars.” At this point, and being afraid of death, they said, “Yes.” When the emperor witnessed their vacillation, he sent them to the (Chalcedonian) patriarch who asked them to condemn the fathers, and they did. In this manner, they fell into the snare of perdition. They were actually drawn slowly into the mockery of the devil without knowing it. The (Chalcedonian) patriarch said to them, “You should then accept to be rebaptized in order to become true Christians, and then receive the priesthood.” They said, “We are bishops, what kind of a talk is this?” They (Chalcedonians) said, “You wretched. The priesthood which you have emanated down through Severus and Dioscorus who you have already condemned, and thus, you have no more priesthood.” When they heard this, they were immensely perplexed and continued to be so from October until Easter. On Wednesday of Passion Week, the (Chalcedonian) patriarch summoned them, at the behest of the metropolitan. Pretending to adhere to the canons, he said to them, “This altar bears witness against you that you by your own will have presented yourself and not by force.” After waiting for a few days, they baptized them in water in which the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) were baptized, and they departed in disgrace like Jews.

Ignatius bar Atonos, bishop of Melitene, repented and died from grief. Musa, bishop of Hisn Ziyad and Ishaq, bishop of Arqa, escaped to Syria and ended their lives repentant.

After that holy old and learned man Mor Iliyya, bishop of Semando, refuted the (Chalcedonians), they stoned him to death in front of the royal palace. His disciple Stephen was also martyred. Iyawannis, bishop of Hadath, spent his life in prison. Dionysius, bishop of Tell Batriq, was released among the prisoners according to the general pardon following the death of the emperor, and he returned to his see in true faith.

He who desires to know the chronicle of the life of the noble Martyr Mor Yuhanon the Patriarch, his spectacular wonder works, and the divine visions which God granted him during his banishment at the monastery of the Greeks and the rest of his apostolic deeds, should consult his life story and the letters of

his disciple. He should also consult his memoirs and the letter the blessed sent to Syria concerning those who have recanted the faith, and his instruction that they should be accepted in case they repented. May his prayer and the prayer of those who remained firm in the true Orthodox faith be with us and protect us all. Amen. *End of the account.*

**Chapter Seven: Concerning the end of the life of Romanus.** *With this chapter ends Book Thirteen.*

The Emperor Romanus (III Argyropulus) died suddenly because God was displeased with the persecution he waged against the faithful (Orthodox).<sup>2000</sup> Michael (IV the Paphlogonian) reigned in the year 1354 (A.D. 1043) for eight years.<sup>2001</sup> In this period, Abu al-Abbas ruled the kingdom of the Tayoye (Arabs).

A person from the race of Michael called Calaphates, rebelled against him.<sup>2002</sup> He remained in rebellion for five years until he was captured and blinded. In the time of this same Michael, the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) surrendered Edessa to the Romans. After his death, the kingdom was administered by Zoë and Theodora, daughters of Constantine, for three months.<sup>2003</sup>

After four years of exile in a Roman monastery in the Gaius Mountain, the blessed Mor Yuhanon bar Abdun passed away on February 2, 1357 (A.D. 1046)<sup>2004</sup> on the Day of the Presentation of our Lord at the Temple. He was buried by his disciple Iyawannis, who wrote down the miracles and the visions the blessed made and saw by the power of God while in exile. The bishops assembled in the village of Tamanin in the district of Claudia and summoned Haya (Syriac for the living one) the archimandrite of the Monastery of Li'azar in the region of Jubas. They chose him as a patriarch and had him ordained in the Monastery of Mor Demit in the same region, and he was called Dionysius. When the Chalcedonians of Melitene learned of his ordination, they transported the news to Constantinople. An order was issued to arrest him and send him to the capital, but the faithful notables of Melitene informed the patriarch of the matter, and urged him to move immediately to the Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) region. He crossed the Euphrates and reached Amid accompanied by Mor Abraham, bishop of Qallisura. Mor Abraham, who ordained Haya by the laying on of his hands, had rebuilt the old church of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in the year 1335 (A.D. 1024). Since then, Amid became the residence of the See of Antioch because Haya resided in it and ordained bishops. The Greek (Roman) prefect of Melitene sent envoys and gifts to the prefect of Amid in order to execute the will of the emperor and arrest the patriarch and deliver him to the Romans. The prefect of Amid responded saying, "Our laws do not allow us to seize those who seek asylum with us and hand them to their enemies. Also, they do not allow us to force anyone to embrace any faith." The Greeks were ashamed, although they knew not what shame and rebuke is," as it is said.

As to Mor Dionysius, he spent all his life in the region under the Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) rule. Sometimes he lived in the Monastery of Mor Hananya (the Za'faran Monastery) east of Mardin, and sometimes in Amid. He served the patriarchate for ten years and passed away on March 21, 1368 (A.D. 1057), and was buried in the great church of Amid. He ordained twenty-six bishops.<sup>2005</sup>

In Egypt, the patriarch was Shenudin.

Mor Yuhanon, from the monastery of Shina in the province of Mar'ash, was ordained a bishop for Amid instead of Bar Atonos who had recanted. Patriarch Mor Dionysius ordained Yesu, the archimandrite of the Monastery of Mor Abhai, as bishop for Edessa and he was called Athanasius.

God made miracle at the hand of Dionysius, and he was renowned as one of the holy apostles.

*With the end of Book Thirteen, a period of two hundred fifty years had gone by during which twelve Roman emperors and eleven Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) caliphs were set up.*

<sup>2000</sup> For the death of Romans see Michael Psellus *Chronographia*, 81-83.

<sup>2001</sup> He reigned for seven years and eight months. See Michael Psellus, *Ibid.* 118.

<sup>2002</sup> He is considered Michael V Caliphates.

<sup>2003</sup> For Michael V, Zoe and Theodora see Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 121-162. They ruled in the year 1042.

<sup>2004</sup> According to Bar Hebraeus, Bar Abdun died on February 2, 1344 (A.D. 1033). See Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, I: 429.

<sup>2005</sup> On Haya, see Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 431-433.

## BOOK FOURTEEN

WE DEVOTE THIS BOOK TO THE TURKOYE (TURKS) WHO BEGAN TO CONTROL THE CITIES AND COUNTRIES, AND DIVIDE IT INTO CHAPTERS

### Chapter One: Concerning that the Turkoeye are the Turks themselves, and on their origin and the regions they inhabited

The Turkoeye are the Turks, who by origin, date back to Japhet. They are the children of Magog as the Prophet Moses had written that, "Magog is the son of Japhet, the son of Noah."<sup>2006</sup> From him descended this great and mighty people who scattered throughout the earth and settled in the northeastern part of it.<sup>2007</sup> The Prophet Ezekiel said about them that they shall spread throughout the earth and even unto Jerusalem. His prophecy is as follows, "Son of man, set your face against Gog, of the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal; prophesy against him and say, 'This is what the Sovereign Lord says: I am against you, O Gog, chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, I will turn you around, put hooks in your jaws and bring you out with your whole army—your horses, your horsemen fully armed, and a great horde with large and small shields, all of them brandishing their swords. Persia, Cush and Put will be with them, all with shields and helmets, also Gomer with all its troops, and Beth Togarmah from the far north with all its troops—the many nations with you. Get ready; be prepared, you and all the hordes gathered about you, and take command of them. After many days, you will be called to arms. In future years you will invade a land which has recovered from war.'<sup>2008</sup> After a while he says, "This is what the Sovereign Lord says: Are you not the one I spoke of in former days by my servants the prophets of Israel?"<sup>2009</sup> After some length he says, "Son of man, prophesy against Gog and say: 'This is what the Sovereign Lord says: I am against you, O Gog, chief prince of Meshech and Tubal. I will turn you around and drag you along. I will bring you from the far north.'<sup>2010</sup> He said many other like things, which the prophetic spirit revealed to us about this people, and he repeated this speech twice, symbolizing a double invasion. However, since the commentators mentioned through the spirit only on the first invasion, we, following their example, say that these are the people meant by the prophet. In addition, the words of Ezekiel have been confirmed by Jacob of Edessa when he discussed the Turks. He said, "These are the people of Gog and Magog who emerged in the time of Cambyses, king of Persia, (529-521 B.C.) whom the Hebrews call Nebuchadnezzar II. He dispatched his army general Hofernes, as it is written in the Book of Judith. He said to him, "Go forth and take with your men of valor, a hundred and twenty thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry, and proceed against all the land of the West, because they did not comply with the order I issued."<sup>2011</sup> As to when and in the time which king of the Turk went forth (invasion) for the first time, it is explained in the books. In fact, their first going forth precedes the Nativity of our Lord in the flesh by eight years. Since then, and until their second going forth (invasion), nothing is written about them. They were also mentioned by John of Ephesus (d. 587) who said, "In the seventh year of his reign, Justin, king of the Romans, sent ambassadors to the people of Turchois who returned to him after three years. They said that they saw the Turks innumerable people like locusts and flies, having nine kings (chiefs). When the king of the Turks saw the Roman ambassadors, he began to weep. They asked him, "Why do you weep?" He said, "We have learned from our fathers that when we receive envoys from the kings of the West, it is an indication that the time has come for us to go

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<sup>2006</sup> Genesis 10:2.

<sup>2007</sup> Bar Hebraeus quotes Michael Rabo's account that the Turks are the children of Gog and Magog, but gives no details. He is more concerned with the origin of the Seljuk Turks which he elaborates based on a Persian book called *Mulk Namab*. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 195.

<sup>2008</sup> Ezekiel 38:2-6.

<sup>2009</sup> Ezekiel 38:17.

<sup>2010</sup> Ezekiel 39:1-2.

<sup>2011</sup> Judith 2:4-6.

forth and destroy the whole earth.”<sup>2012</sup> The Turks are also mentioned in the last days of the Persian kingdom known as the Sassanid, where it is said that when Yazdagird, the last Sassanid king, was defeated by the Tayoye (Arabs), he fled and to Marw (Marv), a Turkish town. A Turkish person murdered Bar Haya as well. Again, Dionysius Tell Mahre says in the second volume of his Chronicle regarding the city of Amorium that it was attacked by Abu Ishaq (al-Mu'tasim) with four thousand Turkish fighting men.<sup>2013</sup>

## Chapter Two: Concerning the manners of the Turks

The Turks, who are the people of Gog and Magog, settled in the north eastern region. We know this not only from the prophecy but also from whom our fathers and we have heard and seen. From there they came forth and they always have come forth. The region is situated in the east where the sun rises and to the end of the north, near the western region at a distance of extreme length and width extending to the end of the northern part of the inhabited earth. It is said that this region is surrounded by rugged and uninhabited mountains. It has two outlets serving as two gates for going out and coming in. The first gate is situated in the eastern part at a distance from Persia. The second gate is situated in the north in the interior of Iberia, and contains strong and fortified buildings. The gate which is said was built by order of Alexander the Great, the Macedonian, to prevent those people from going out, is today in the hand of the Iberians. The outlet we said is situated in the east is actually a road extending for a distance of two-days distance. At the end of it were erected fortified buildings where guards were stationed to prevent the barbarians from going out. In ancient times, the guards were appointed by the kings of the east. In the time of the Arabs who succeeded them in kingship, the Turks, who emigrated from there and settled in the region of Margiane, guarded them. This is attested to by the chronicles recorded in many books. In some of these chronicles, it is said that Tiberias, king of the Romans, sent a delegation to the kings of the Turks. The Turks asked them if the Romans were subject to the Persians. They said that they were not. On the contrary, the Persians were for a long time subject to the Romans so much so that Trajan, king of the Romans, set up a statue of himself in Persia and forced them to adore it.<sup>2014</sup> When the kings of the Turks heard this, they drove the Persians out of Margiane because they deceived them. When Shapor devastated the city of Dara, he chose young women from the captives and sent them to the king of the Turks. These were the young women who threw themselves into the river in the region of Margiane. From these and other reports, it is understood that the Turks, who were known as “the spoilers of the earth,” emigrated a long time ago from the region of the rugged mountains.

What we have said about their homeland is sufficient. Concerning their barbarism and bad characters, it is said that in their interior land they had no law distinguishing the kinds of food. They ate everything that crawled on earth of animals, beasts, insects, and fowl, even stench and the placenta of women, and human corpses. If they found a stranger in their land who had no guide from them, they would kill him, roast him and eat him. This is what their neighbors, the Iberians who guarded the gates, say about them. Of their characteristics is simplicity and meekness, however, they are cunning concerning their mode of living. They forbid fornication and moral depravity but they have no law forbidding polygamy. They are ignorant and do not have any kind of knowledge or wisdom. They have never heard of Moses or any other prophet, or that Christ our God and Savior had come. It is believed that no messengers or missionaries have reached them. In addition, they do not wear cotton or silk garments, but only cloth made of sheep wool and goat hair. They especially raise animals like beast of burden, oxen and sheep, which are abundant in their region. Their manner of raising animals and beasts is astonishing. They are not used to too much talk. They confess the one god of heaven by nature, consider the firmament as god, and have never heard of anything else. In fact, they have no readiness to listen.

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<sup>2012</sup> See *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of the holy Mor John, bishop of the City of Ephesus*, III (Oxford, 1853), 395-396. The reference here is to the original Syriac copy discovered by William Cureton.

<sup>2013</sup> See above Book Twelve, Chapter Twenty.

<sup>2014</sup> *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of the holy Mor John, bishop of the City of Ephesus*, III, 396.

**Chapter Three: Concerning the second invasion of the Turks and their seizure of Persia, Assyria, Beth Nahrin, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Cilicia and until the sea and Egypt**

As the first going forth (inyasion) of the Turks took place according to the prophecy of Ezekiel, their second going forth (invasion) would have taken place according to the same prophecy. Let the reader understand that their first going forth was the command of God. For the divine revelation had inspired the prophet (Ezekiel) to prophesy about them. Their second going forth, too, was by the command of God. It was fulfilled as far as I can ascertain, in the following manner:

When the Arabs overwhelmed the pagan Persians and ended their rule, the Greeks (Romans) who were persecuting the Christians (non-Chalcedonians), fled. The Roman kingdom flourished as long as it was ruled by just kings (emperors) who did not persecute the Christians. However, after four hundred years of rule, God withdrew his help from the Greeks (Romans) who returned and controlled Syria, Palestine, Armenia and Cappadocia. Immediately, they resorted to their old bad habits and began to persecute the believers in these countries with great cruelty. God was justly wrathful against them. He provoked the Turks who went forth the second time (their second invasion) as follows:

When the Arabs that is Tayoye weakened and the Greeks (Romans) seized many countries, the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) were forced to seek the help of the Turks not as masters, but slaves, and wherever they went, these Turks returned triumphant. They became used to victory and carried the treasures of the earth to their country. They exhibited them to others to urge them to go forth with them and settle in a land abundant with those treasures. Thus, the Turks set their eyes on leaving their country and settling the countries inhabited by other people.

Some men and women here and there, especially in Edessa, went around moaning and raving like mad people down the streets saying, "Behold! Barbarous people have come from the eastern region to dwell among you. Their faces are the faces of men, but their hearts are the hearts of dogs." The Christians, however, ridiculed them. They would not hush up despite that, the governors pressured them to hush, but whatever they said was proved later to be true. The Turks came in and covered the whole earth that even the original Turks were fed up with them because the region could not accommodate all of them, and forced them to leave. As they proceeded to leave, there appeared that person who had guided the pioneer Turk émigrés in the form of a dog, and walked in the vanguard while they could not draw near him. When they proceeded to set out, he would yell, "Arise," and they would arise and walk behind him until he stopped, and they stopped. After leading them for a few days, he disappeared and would not be seen or heard of anymore. However, we cannot determine whether he was a guide directing these people to practice what was beneficial, like the Hebrews in connection with the sacrifices of sheep and oxen, or the Magians in connection with the stars. Did he appear to these people in the form of the animals of which they were used? This is what we cannot substantiate.

Nevertheless, after their guide disappeared and after reaching countries ruled by kings, the Turks saw that the region could not accommodate them. Therefore, they were divided into three groups, each one intended to proceed to a definite direction whether south, north or middle. They took three pieces of wood and hurled them above where god exists according to their belief, and they fell to the ground. Those, whose piece fell in the direction of the south, went to the elevated regions of India. They had already pledged that each tribe should adhere to the worship of the god of the people among whom they would dwell. Those who moved southward met Christians and heathens and followed their faith until this day. Today some of them are Christians and others are heathens who worship idols. Those who moved northward are now neighbors of the Greek kingdom. They are called Cumans after the name of the region. They follow the Christians whom they found there although their affairs are not in order. Those whose lot was to the west or, in the middle of the earth, mingled with the Arabs and embraced their religion. Thus, we are in a position to say that, "All of this was done by the inspiration of God who runs everything in the way he finds fit." We also say with the prophet, "The Lord does what pleases him, in the heavens and on earth in the seas

and all their depths.”<sup>2015</sup> Truly, “Great is our Lord and mighty in power,”<sup>2016</sup> and “the most High is sovereign over the kingdoms of men and gives them to anyone he wishes and sets over them the lowliest of men.”<sup>2017</sup>

#### **Chapter Four: On how (the Turks) began to leave their confined habitat**

The habitat of the Turks was confined within the mountains in the region called “the spoilers of the earth.” They had only two outlets (exits, gates) from which to leave. When kings needed them, they chose a number of them to fight their enemies and then sent them back to their country. This was how the kings of the Persians, Medes and Assyrians, who had control over that region, brought out a great number of Turks from their habitat. Upon their return, they related to their compatriots the treasures they saw in the earth. They showed them the fruits and the magnificent garments they had brought with them, and they were enticed to leave and settle in those lands of abundant treasures. In fact, they cunningly discussed with each other the course of action to be taken. Once, the Persians asked them (the Turks) to join them, and they did. After completing their mission, the Persians ordered them to return to their country. However, when they reached the region of fortresses and garrisons, they killed the Persian guides and seized the fortresses, lest the guards inside would get out and inform the king. They contacted their countrymen who were inside, and they emerged and fought the Persians who were in the fortresses and seized this outlet (gate). From there, they marched forth and captured the whole region up to Margiane where they established their state. Indeed, the nine kings of the Turks who were visited by a Roman delegation in the time of Emperor Justin were in this region, that is, outside their original homeland. They had guarded that outlet strictly in order not to let those inside leave except when they wanted them to leave. As to their going forth and their capture of the Margiane region, it seems that it was done at the end of the last Persian kingdom, one hundred years before the arrival of the Arabs, that is, sixty years before this period. It is said about them that during their passage from the east to the west, they saw an animal looking like a dog walking before them, but they did not know who it was and where it had come from. In addition, they could not draw close to it.

However, when the time came to move along, he would call to them in their own language saying, “Arise,” and they arose and followed him wherever he went, and halted wherever he stopped until they reached these countries where they settled. Then, this guide disappeared, and they did not leave that region.

#### **Chapter Five: Concerning the unity of belief between the Turks and the Arabs**

The Turks were united with the Arabs (Muslims) easily and accepted their belief for three reasons: The first reason was their belief in one deity since they were still in their homeland, although they considered the firmament to be that deity. Even to this day, if someone asked someone gullible among them about the deity, they would respond that it is “*qan tangri*.” For in their language *qan* means blue, and *tangri* means god, based on their belief that the firmament is the deity. However, when they learned that the Muslims confessed one God, they followed them. The second reason was that the first group of Turks went forth and settled in Margiane in the time of the Persians. Shortly afterwards, Muhammad appeared and was followed by the Arabs and then by the Persians. Then, the kingdom of the Arabs waxed strong and the kingdom of the Persians and other kingdoms of the East waned. Like the Persian and the Kurdish people, the Turks in Margiane followed the Arabs, and when the second group of Turks went forth and met with those of their race and language, they adopted their belief according to a former pledge between both of them. The third reason was that the Turks were united (in their belief) with the Arabs, because the Arabs hired them as mercenaries in their wars with the Greeks (Romans).<sup>2018</sup> They entered regions rich with

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<sup>2015</sup> Psalm 135:6.

<sup>2016</sup> Psalm 147:5.

<sup>2017</sup> Daniel 4:17.

<sup>2018</sup> This happened in the time of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim (833-842) who employed the Turks and even built for them the city of Samarra. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 328. Eventually, they became so powerful that the latter Abbasid caliphs were their lackeys.

## BOOK FOURTEEN

treasure, spoiled them, and carried away their spoils. They heard the Arabs iterate the words of Muhammad, who said that if they rejected the worship of idols and believed in his faith, all this good and fertile land would be given to them. Thus, they believed the words of Muhammad. They accepted circumcision, and all the ceremonies of the ancient law, and the washing of sexual members before praying. For these three reasons, the Turks accepted Muhammad, united with the Arabs, and became one with them. In turn, the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) accepted the Turks. The Turks consented to have anyone become their ruler provided that he was appointed by the caliph of the Muslims. In this and other manners, the Turks were united with the Arabs. When they entered Persia and subjugated the Persians and their cities, they wanted to set up a king of their own. Seventy men assembled, each from every noble and prominent tribe. Each one held a staff in his hand. They drew a circle on the ground and decided that the staff of the one that falls in the circle would be proclaimed a king. Each one of them hurled his staff as high in the sky as he could. All the staffs fell outside the circle except one that fell in the middle of the circle. It belonged to a man who came from a rather lowly tribe, and he was proclaimed a king. All these events took place only by the divine dispensation which is all-powerful and in control of times and periods. In fact, the assembling of these men to cast a lot and their worship of God was motivated by the finger of God who is alone worthy of glory, now and evermore. Amen. *This Book on the Turks and the beginning of their kingdom in this period is ended.*

## BOOK FIFTEEN

IT BEGINS WITH THE YEAR 1361 (OF THE GREEKS) WHICH IS THE YEAR 1031 OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA, AND THE YEAR 430 OF THE KINGDOM OF THE TAYOYE (ARABS) IN WHICH BEGAN THE KINGDOM OF THE TURKS, WHICH IS STILL STANDING. IT IS ALSO THE YEAR 6050 FROM ADAM THAT IS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD, IN WHICH (CONSTANTINE IX) MONOMACHUS REIGNED OVER THE ROMANS AND ABU AL-ABBAS QADIR OVER THE TAYOYE (ARABS). IN THIS YEAR AROSE TUGHRUL BEG, THE FIRST TURKISH RULER IN KHURASAN, AND YUHANON (JOHN), NEPHEW OF THE HOLY YUHANON (JOHN) BAR ABDUN, WAS SET UP AS PATRIARCH FOR OUR CHURCH

**Chapter One:**<sup>2019</sup> In the year 1361 of the Greeks (A.D. 1050), Constantine (IX) Monomachus reigned for twelve years (1042-1055).<sup>2020</sup> He was magnanimous and generous, but suffered from gout.<sup>2021</sup>

In the same period, Abu al-Abbas Qadir (991-1031) reigned over the Arabs. In fact, since the year 945 until 1055 when the Seljuk Tughrul captured Baghdad, the caliphs, including qadir, were under the authority of the Buwayhid Shiites.

In the same period began the kingdom of the Turks in Persia where Tughrul (Torgher in the Syriac text) Beg ruled Khurasan in the year 430 of the Arab (Islamic) Calendar (A.D. 1038). He dispatched an army to Armenia, which was subject to the Romans, and they looted, spoiled and burned by fire without mercy. He repeated this action several times without opposition. In the winter of 1369 of the Greeks (A.D. 1058), Melitene was attacked by three thousand (Turkish) soldiers, and since it had no wall because its wall had been demolished by Cyriacus, the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) captured it. The people fled to the mountains afflicted by cold and hunger.<sup>2022</sup> In fact, from the first day, the Turks slaughtered the people without mercy, but some escaped death hiding among the corpses.<sup>2023</sup> The Turks did not stay overnight in the city but camped outside it near a hillock. All night they used the candles of the church for light. On the next day, they began torturing the people to show them the places where treasures were hidden. Many of them died from torture including Peter, deacon and teacher of children who was transcribing a *fanqitho* (Service book) and writing down the passage, "The head of John (the Baptist) is like unto a cluster (of grapes) plucked by Herodia." In addition, when they found with him many books, they thought he was a leader of the Christians and ordered him to trample upon the cross. When he refused, they beat him, threw him into the fire and his hair was stuck to his head. They poured boiling tar on his head and put brands of live coal on his chest. Before he breathed his last, he saw fire stuck to his legs. He said, "Blessed are you (his two legs), for today you have become purified." Then, he gave up the soul. May his memory be a blessing.

The Turks remained in Melitene for ten days ravaging and destroying the wretched city before burning it. They destroyed all the villages they passed on their return. They destroyed the Monastery of Bar Jaji and the countryside, but then they lost their way and were faced by rugged mountains and big rivers. They camped in a valley near the mountain of the Sinisaye, but heavy snow prevented them from going forward. The Sinisaye came down and closed the outlets from all directions. Therefore, the Turks perished from hunger and cold and those left were killed by the Sinisaye; not a single Turk was rescued.

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<sup>2019</sup> The Syriac text does not mention Chapter One or its contents. The numbering is the translator's.

<sup>2020</sup> See Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 161-260. Matthew of Edessa says that Monomachus had occupied the throne of the Roman Empire for forty years. See Matthew of Edessa, *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated from the original Armenian into English by Ara Edmond Dostourian (University Press of America, 1993), p. 88, hereafter Matthew of Edessa.

<sup>2021</sup> The Anonymous Edessan, translated by Rev. Albert Abouna into Arabic under the title *Tarikh al-Ruhawi al-Majhul* (Baghdad, 1986), 63 and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 200, but both writers give no date of his reign. For an account of the admirers and detractors of Monomachus, see *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, Section 4, footnote 1 by Dostourain, on 308. For a thorough analysis of Monomachus' character, education and his administration of the state see Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 163-180.

<sup>2022</sup> The Anonymous Edessan, 63.

<sup>2023</sup> For details see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades: Conflict between Christendom and Islam* (Gorgias Press, 2008). 71-72.

The captive people of Melitene escaped the carnage and returned to the miserable city. Those who hid in the mountains also returned to the city. The monk Joseph, one of the captives, composed three odes about these events. Also, Mor Yuhanon (John) bar Shushan composed four discourses, two in the seven-syllabic meter (peculiar to St. Ephraim), and two in the five-syllabic meter (peculiar to Mor Balai), on the destruction of Melitene. When the emperor and the Senate heard of what happened to the believing city, they grieved immensely.

In this period, Emperor Monomachus died and his daughter Theodora assumed power for one year. After a reign of twelve years, Monomachus died on 11 January 1055 cursing his fate.<sup>2024</sup> In addition, Michael, the Aged, assumed power for one year.<sup>2025</sup> He was meek and made a living making spoons secretly. The Turks took advantage of his meekness and faith and ferociously harassed the Roman kingdom. When Michael saw that the Turks had reached the Pontus (Black) Sea ravaging, spoiling and burning, he felt compassion for the Christians and sent beasts and carriages to carry them, but they were plunged into the sea. Thus, the cities and villages were desolate, but the Turks continued to devastate the region of the Pontus (Black) Sea, where they found a place to settle. Many people blamed the emperor for this action. However, I say that, "This dispensation was not from the emperor but from above (God)."

After the death of the Patriarch Mor Dionysius, our church was bereft of a leader. Some bishops dared to move from one see to the other contrary to the canons. It was then that the bishops assembled in August 1360 of the Greeks (A.D. 1049), to elect a patriarch. They advanced the name of the monk Theodore from the Monastery of Bar Jaji in the province of Melitene. He was the nephew of the holy Yuhanon Bar Abdun who ended his life in exile. The bishops and the faithful unanimously approved him, but he apologized and fled to the district of Doliche (Duluk). The bishops went to Doliche, but Theodore disappeared in the fields. While they were looking for him, they sat on the river's bank and let their beasts graze. One of donkeys that was grazing reached the place where the blessed Theodore was hiding, and stood there. Theodore tried to shew him off by hurling stones at him, but the donkey would not budge and began to bray. Hearing the donkey's braying, the monks rejoiced because they thought he was lost. When Theodore saw the monks advancing toward the donkey, he stepped into the water to hide among the bushes, but the donkey followed him. The monks were so glad to have found the blessed, and taking him by force, they ordained him a patriarch in Farzaman by the laying on of hands of Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Zoghma, president of the council; and Athanasius, bishop of Karshana; Cyril, bishop of Cyrus; Basilius, bishop of Harran; Abraham, bishop of Samosata; Basilius, bishop of Hadath; Athanasius, bishop of Edessa; Philoxenus, bishop of Doliche; Athanasius, bishop of Laqbin; Iyawannis, bishop of Anazarba; and Yuhanon, bishop of Kesum. When Theodore settled in his position, he straightened out the wayward bishops and ejected those who were greatly impertinent. He ordained Zachariah as bishop for Jerusalem and after him Tuma (Thomas). He divided the diocese of Samosata into two sections. He ordained Basilius for Hisn Mansur, Dioscorus for Samosata and another Yuhanon after the name of his uncle. He also ordained thirty bishops secretly. He used to move between Amid and its villages. He served the patriarchate for fourteen years and ten months, and passed away on Saturday, May 14 and was buried in the church of the Mother of God.

In this time, Christodolous was the patriarch of Alexandria and Egypt.

After the death of Patriarch Yuhanon, nephew of Patriarch Yuhanon Bar Abdun, schism occurred in our church on account of Athanasius, bishop of Samosata. While still living, Athanasius abandoned his congregation and confined himself in the Monastery of the Butm, that is, the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron) al-Shaghr. When Patriarch Yuhanon died in Amid, the bishops of the west assembled and chose Athanasius Haya as patriarch. However, the bishops of the east suspected whether he was even a bishop since he was set up without their consent. Some of them agreed with each other and forced Yeshu, secretary of the patriarch, to accept the position of the patriarchate. Yeshu was a secretary of Yuhanon and was raised by him. He was further a learned man. Therefore, they ordained him in Amid, but since the majority of

<sup>2024</sup> Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 260. On Theodora (1055-1-56), see the same, 261-271.

<sup>2025</sup> Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 275-277. Matthew of Edessa, 88-89, says he reigned for seven months.

bishops had already approved the ordination of Athanasius Haya who had been chosen by lot, he was recognized as a patriarch. He was ordained a second time in an irregular manner because his ordination was done in the Monastery of Caris in Hisn Mansur. He was ordained by the laying on of hands of Mor Basilius, bishop of Harran. As to Yeshu Bar Shushan, he criticized Bar Haya, concentrating on his second ordination, which was the subject of the suspicion of the sons of the church because it was uncanonical. Haya and his partisans heaped up invective on Bar Shushan who consented to be ordained after Haya. Meanwhile, Bar Shushan filled the church with mockery and sarcastic letters to the extent that, overwhelmed by zeal, Haya and his partisans took this church case to the emperor. When Bar Shushan learned of this, he preferred to abandon church administration and devote himself to writing. Haya was confirmed and served the patriarchate for five and a half years and ordained twenty bishops.

The partisans of Haya, who were the majority, said that Haya's election was a testimony of his first ordination, and that he was a pious man and this was what caused Bar Shushan to step aside.

Ignatius, nephew of the patriarch, from the Butm Monastery, that is, the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron), was ordained a metropolitan for Melitene. He was ordained hastily because of the death of Mor Yuhanon, bishop of Melitene on Good Friday April 3, 1704 of the Greeks (A.D. 1093). His ordination was performed on Sunday of the same month at the Monastery of Mor Ahrun. He was in the company of the patriarch when he visited Melitene with Basilius, bishop of Tarsus, Iyawannis, bishop of Hisn Kipha, and Iyawannis, bishop of Qallisura, and they performed the ceremony of his enthronement.

In the year 1356 of the Greeks (A.D. 1054), the Armenian city of Ezanji was inundated with water by God's order. There were in it people who were Syrian by origin and Orthodox by faith from the family of Cyriacus, whose home was not inundated despite that it was engulfed by water from every direction. This was because they were merciful and philanthropists. This miracle was accomplished by the permission of God Almighty to support and encourage the believers.

In this same year, a violent earthquake took place on Friday, which followed the week of the fasting of Nineveh, and many buildings fell down.

In this time also, a deplorable thing happened in Antioch. Instigated by the devil and ambitious designs, the sons of our Orthodox Church began fighting with each other. Some of them, incensed by bitter wrath, contacted the Chalcedonian patriarch in Antioch and became heretics (turned Chalcedonian). Now, they had the opportunity to suck blood. They usurped the recently built church of the Orthodox. Consequently, many Orthodox weakened and joined the Greeks (Romans). Thus, the persecution (of the Orthodox non-Chalcedonians) was renewed, and the Chalcedonian patriarch used all kinds of stratagem to persecute those who rejected the Council of Chalcedon. For a long time, the sons of our Orthodox Church could not even see Antioch. However, the Lord, who always punishes the oppressors, struck the great church of Cassianus with lightning and burned to death the persecuting patriarch while he was offering the sacrifice (Eucharist) and the entire congregation who were in the church. This calamity took place on Sunday at the third hour, and fear gripped the persecutors who admitted that what happened was revenge for their unlawful usurpation of the church. Thus, they halted the persecution, and the Orthodox returned to their homes. Because they did not have a priest or a church in the city, they, during festival seasons, went out to the villages and partook in the divine mysteries whenever they found an Orthodox priest to celebrate the Eucharist.

In this time, Armenian robbers assaulted the monastery of Mor Barsoum.

In the year 1377 of the Greeks (A.D. 1066), a group of Armenians called the sons of Khazrij (Bazrij?), rebelled against the emperor using the pretext of the invasion of the Turks, and began to practice robbery. They were joined by three hundred iniquitous men who behaved like ravaging wolves and blood-shedders disguised under the name of Christianity. They committed ugly crimes in many places. Afterwards, they moved to the province of Melitene and hid in the mountains. They pillaged the country of Claudia and Jubas. They ravaged the Monastery of Madiq, the Monastery of Mor Asia, the Monastery of Martyrs, the Monastery of Mor Marcus and the Monastery of Mor Sergius, and cast the divine mysteries (consecrated bread and wine) and the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism) on the floor. They smashed with sticks the bones of the

martyrs Sergius and Bacchus together with the relics of the saints in the churches and monasteries, and cast them to the ground. In addition, they took the coffins (of the relics of these saints), and when they were censured for what they had done, they claimed that they had no knowledge of what they did. Of course, they were liars and heathens. What they had looted from the village of Sergius was estimated to be worth one thousand and one hundred dinars, not to mention oxen and donkeys. What they had looted from the Madiq Monastery was estimated to be worth five hundred dinars. The notables of Melitene pledged to give them a share from the countries of Claudia and Jubas. In addition, they obtained for them a decree from the emperor putting four villages of the region under their control in order to settle down and live in peace, but they waxed stronger and continued for a short while to lie to the notables and spoil the poor. Eventually, the devil enticed them to attack the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, control it, kill its monks, dwell therein, declare rebellion and make a living by spoiling the cities and the countryside. When this demonic plan was going on in the mind of these Armenian robbers, suddenly, the voice of the Turks was heard that they had captured Melitene. The people of Claudia fled to the mountain of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum accompanied by these robbers. At the beginning, only ten robbers entered the Monastery of Mor Barsoum pretending to be monastics, but the monks discovered their trick. At the monastery were strong guards from Tell Tura who seized these robbers. They killed a great number of other robbers by the sword and stoned the rest. These things happened without the knowledge of the prior of the monastery and the great number of the monks except for the administrative monk, Iyawannis, and the secular guards. When it was intimated to the robbers that their comrades had been killed, they fled. Then, Krinotes, governor of Melitene, sent some men to collect their arms. These things took place on August 9, 1377 of the Greeks (A.D. 1066), and on October 20, 1378 of the Greeks (A.D. 1067). While the monks and the captives were returning (from Melitene), they were suddenly attacked by the robbers who were in the Mountain of Claudia and in the spot called Hazourin. They exchanged arrows and ten Armenian men were killed. In addition, the monks and captives were killed whose names are as follows: David, Musa, and Iyawannis. Of the guards were killed Barsoum and Iliyya (Elijah). He who reads this let him pray for them because they killed the murderers, and were killed for the sake of the holy Monastery (of Mor Barsoum). Seven robbers were seized and taken to Melitene, but the accursed Jiri received a bribe from those who connived against the monks and killed them, and they in turn, were killed. Upon the murder of the governor of Melitene, the robbers entered the home of the accursed Jiri. They killed him, pillaged everything that was in the house, and left for Melitene which was still without a wall. May the memory of Jiri and the robbers be cursed.

In the year 1380 of the Greeks (A.D. 1069), the monks built two lofty towers. Thirty-two years later, in the year 1412 of the Greeks (A.D. 1101), a new tower was erected between these two towers. After forty-five years, in the year 1457 of the Greeks (A.D. 1146), the eighth tower was built.

## **Chapter Two: Concerning the Turks' attack of the region of Cappadocia; on the building of the wall of Melitene, and the intensification of the conflict between the Chalcedonians and the Orthodox, and between each other**

In this time while the Turks attacked the Roman territory looting, spoiling, burning and devastating, the Romans stood against each other. Isaac Comnenus (1057-1059) waged war against the capital. He marched with a great army against Nicomedia and Nicaea, the two cities of Bithynia. He reached the capital and wrested the government by force.<sup>2026</sup> Michael (VI Stratioticus 1056-1057), left for the monastery which he had built, tonsured his hair, became a monk, and spent his life at the monastery.<sup>2027</sup>

When in the year 1375 of the Greeks (A.D. 1064) Isaac assumed government, he directed his attention towards the west.<sup>2028</sup> He waged a ferocious war against the Pastiqoye (Patzinaks) and triumphed

<sup>2026</sup> Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 275-316. Matthew of Edessa, translated by Dostourian, 89-90 and George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 298-301.

<sup>2027</sup> Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 302 says that Michael died soon after his abdication a private citizen; Ostrogorsky, *Ibid.*, 299; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades A Conflict between Christendom and Islam* (Gorgias Press, 2008), 75-76.

<sup>2028</sup> This date of Isaac Comnenus cannot be correct, for Isaac reigned in the year 1057.

over them. He was mighty, arrogant and avaricious. In his time, the Turks invaded Melitene and the Roman country spoiling and pillaging unopposed. After two years of reign, Isaac died and Constantine Ducas ruled in the year 1377 of the Greeks (A.D. 1066).<sup>2029</sup> He was from the province of Paphlagonia. He rebuilt the wall of Melitene. He died nine years after coming to power. The kingdom was administrated by his wife and sons for eight months. In this period, Krinotes, governor of Melitene, his wife and sons were murdered, and since then the city saw no peace.<sup>2030</sup> *The End.*

In the year 1372 of the Greeks (A.D. 1061), Constantine (X), nicknamed Ducas (1059-1067), king (emperor) of the Romans, issued a decree that two walls and trenches be built around Melitene, and the trenches refilled with water as they had been in the past. When this decree was announced, some notables, mostly Syrian Orthodox originally from Melitene, left the capital and came to Melitene which housed the remains of their fathers. The work commenced immediately. As the emperor's decree was very urgent, artisans and engineers from the land of the Romans and Antioch joined those who were in the city. The notables who came from the capital sponsored a section of the city. In a very short time, they surprisingly rebuilt the city walls. However, because of constant wars and raids against the city, they could not add any substantial building to it, but built on its former foundations.

In this time, the patriarch of Constantinople ordered that any one of our Orthodox people or Armenian in the capital who did not accept their heresy (the Council of Chalcedon), should leave the city. He forced them to accept his heresy but they would not yield. He ordered Mari to collect the books and the mysteries found in the Syrian churches and burn them in the furnace. They did the same to the Armenians. They cast the Body and Blood and the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism) on the floor and trampled them by foot. However, the patriarch, who did these iniquities, was immediately stricken by the wrath of Divine justice. A day later, he exploded and died in bed for no apparent disease or accident. Thus, he ended up his life here (on earth) with this destiny and will await the merciless judgment kept for him there (in the world to come).

Ignatius, nephew (son of the sister) of Patriarch Haya, was ordained a metropolitan for Melitene.<sup>2031</sup> He was well versed in the Syriac and Greek languages and the Holy Scriptures, that is, the Old and the New Testaments, in addition to his proficiency in profane sciences, grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, dialectics and translation from one language to the other like Jacob of Edessa and Tuma (Thomas) Harqali. He was simple, meek, compassionate and abstinent so much so that he never kept in his cell anything to the next day.

In this period, the Chalcedonians stirred up persecution against the Orthodox, not only our people alone but also the Armenians under Roman rule. A decree was issued that they be expelled if they refused to accept their heresy. This persecution was harsher and bitterer than the one waged by the heathens against the Christians in the past. At the time the Christians were exposed to the persecution, pillaging and spoiling by the Turks from the outside, they were even more oppressed by the Chalcedonians from the inside. However, the reader should know that Divine justice did not wait too long.

Patriarch Athanasius Haya was arrested and the bishops with him and imprisoned in the Monastery of Matran outside the city.<sup>2032</sup> Five months later, they were transferred to Constantinople. When they reached 'Arqa, west of Melitene, Patriarch Athanasius died, and his body was returned for burial at the Butm (Oak) Monastery, which is the Monastery of Mor Harun (Aaron) al-Shaghr. After the death of the patriarch, the Greeks took his nephew Metropolitan Ignatius to Constantinople for questioning. He wrote down saying, I, Ignatius, Metropolitan of Melitene, suffered harsh and violent persecution." He went on to say that, "I am writing about my ordeal not for the love of vainglory, but for the information of the reader. For I do not want him to weaken in case anything like this might happen to him in the future. He should not languish in his piety because of the forthcoming distress and be deprived of eternal life." He continued

<sup>2029</sup> This date of Ducas is incorrect. Constantine X Ducas came to power in A.D. 1059 and died in 1067.

<sup>2030</sup> Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 303-304.

<sup>2031</sup> He is Ignatius III, who was ordained a bishop by his uncle Athanasius V on April 25, 1063. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 418-419.

<sup>2032</sup> The Monastery of Eubdocos of the Greeks outside Melitene.

saying, "They took us to Constantinople and we appeared before the Greek patriarch like common criminals, and he was intent to condemn us." Nicolaus, the Greek bishop of Melitene, pointed to Ignatius saying, "This is the one who will win the whole city of Melitene to his doctrine because he is learned and discerning." Then, the patriarch asked Ignatius and his colleagues to explain to him their doctrine, and they answered briefly saying:

"We believe in a Holy Trinity equal in substance, indivisible, one in power and honor, and nothing in it high or low. All of it is worthy of adoration and kingdom, and equal in position. It is beyond quality or quantity. The Father is unborn, the Son is born and the Spirit proceeds (from the Father.) One of the Trinity, God the Word, took body, that is, he was incarnated from the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, in unchangeable manner. He is one. He is the Son and Lord Jesus Christ. He is equal to the Father in divinity and equal to us, we human beings, in humanity. He is out of two: divinity and humanity both of which are ultimate perfection as the holy fathers said. We maintain One Nature of the Incarnate God the Logos and One *qnumo* (hypostasis). From these two natures is compounded the One and the Only One (Christ) without change or confusion, nay he remained without change. As it is also known, we accept three Ecumenical Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus. We do not accept those who worked out an innovation of the faith proclaiming two natures, two substances, two activities and two wills (A reference to the Council of Chalcedon). In fact, the testimonies of the holy fathers are sufficient to reveal the truth." Many other subjects were presented but we prefer not to mention them lest we deviate from the target.

Ignatius went on to say that, "Since we did not submit to them even in one matter, they condemned us and banished us to the Gaius Mountains in Macedonia. In fact, this was their intention and not the veracity of the faith. We spent three years in exile subjected to insults and harassment for no reason. However, when Emperor Constantine Ducas died (in 1067), Queen Eudocia<sup>2033</sup> ordered that all prisoners and exiles be released. In fact, many senators were also in exile for fear that they might rebel against the emperor and depose him for his cruelty. It is true that the lack of experience to do good yields such dispositions. For this reason, some advised the queen to issue this order in order to secure her control of the government. Accordingly, we were released together with other exiles. We returned to Melitene while the Chalcedonian patriarch knew nothing about us, but we did not submit to them in a great or small matter despite their enticements. We, by the help of God, preserved our Orthodox faith and never mingled with the heretics (the Chalcedonians).<sup>2034</sup> *The End*

### **Chapter Three: On the beginning of the reign of Romanus Diogenes, king (emperor) of the Romans, his defeat and capture by the Turks; and the affairs of the church in this period**

In the year 1368 of the Greeks (A.D. 1068, Romanus Diogenes ruled the Romans for three years and eight months. He was extremely harsh in his judgments.<sup>2035</sup> He waged war against Hierapolis (Mabug, Manbij), captured it and evicted the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) from it.<sup>2036</sup>

In this same year, the first king of the Turks died and Alp Arslan who was from the same tribe ascended the throne in Khurasan. He sent Sulayman, one of his relatives, to plunder and then he followed him and seized the Armenian regions. When King (Emperor) Romanus heard of this, he assembled the Roman armies and went forth to Greater Armenia and faced the Turks. He said with arrogance that he wanted to defeat the Turks, capture their king and burn him in fire. However, the king of the Turks had it in his heart that if he captured Diogenes and defeated the Romans, he would treat the king (emperor) with mercy and send him back in peace to his country. These things were revealed by a wondrous means. The Roman leaders quarreled with their emperor, and the Armenian forces rebelled because the Romans pressured them to accept their heresy (the Chalcedonian faith), and they fled and retreated. Therefore, the

<sup>2033</sup> On Eudocia see Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 345-349.

<sup>2034</sup> For this episode see Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, 436-444, Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 418-419, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 84-85.

<sup>2035</sup> For an example of his behavior, See Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 352-356.

<sup>2036</sup> Matthew of Edessa, 128-129.

united Turks defeated the Romans.<sup>2037</sup> During this war, a significant thing happened. Sulayman, the sultan's cousin, asked the Sultan (Alp Arslan), to trust to him the conduct of the battle, and that he should sit in his chair at the top of a hillock. The sultan gave him permission to handle the war. Sulayman gathered his twelve sons and gave each one of them a thousand horsemen. They put on their armor and entered the war with the Romans, and the two sided engaged in battle. Behold a man, the son of the sultan's sister standing before him, asked him his permission to enter the battle, but the sultan would not agree. However, when he kept insisting, the sultan yielded and gave him permission to enter the battle. As he was on his way to battle, he chanced to face Diogenes who was a mighty and courageous man. Diogenes was still fighting despite that most of his great men and the Armenians had fled. That man struck him and he fell to the ground. He tried to finish him, but someone told him that he was the emperor. The Turk rejoiced, held him and brought him to their king. On the road, he met another person who asked him who the captive was. He told him that he was the king of the Romans. The wretched man, desiring to have the glory for himself, stabbed to death the man (son of the sultan's sister) who captured Diogenes, by the sword. Then, he bound Diogenes in chains and brought him to the sultan. In the evening, the sultan, noticing that his sister's son did not return, sent men to search for him. They found him lying flat on the ground still alive. They brought him to (the sultan), and Diogenes recognized him, and informed the sultan of what had happened. Immediately, the sultan ordered that this imposter be executed and gave his possessions to the wronged man.

Then, the sultan asked Diogenes what he intended to do with him if he had captured him? He confessed saying, "I would have burned you by fire." The sultan said, "But I intended to treat you with compassion if I had captured you. You ought to know that God answers those who think of what is good." He sent him accompanied by soldiers to the boundaries of the Roman country and left him there. It is said that Sultan Alp Arslan was just and renowned for many good deeds. When the Romans learned that their emperor was captured, they set up Michael, son of Constantine, (Michael VII Ducas Parapinakes 1071-1078) as emperor. Michael appointed a certain Iwani (John) as heir apparent. When Iwani learned that Diogenes had been saved, he swore falsely to the emperor and departed. Then, when Diogenes arrived, he gouged out his eyes and Diogenes died a day later. Thus, without God, they (the Romans) dispensed of their affairs always.<sup>2038</sup>

### Remark

We found in the books of the Tayoye (Arabs) that the name of the sultan who defeated the Romans was Abu al-Fath, and that the war between the Romans and the Turks took place near Amid. Maybe the cognomen of Alp Arslan was given him by the caliph when designating him a sultan. *End of the account.*

The kingdom of the Turks commenced in Khurasan when Sultan Tughrul Bey assumed power. He dispatched a great company of Turks commanded by al-Basasiri.<sup>2039</sup> He reached Balish (Balis) and remained in it for one year, and then returned to Khurasan. In the year 1379 of the Greeks (A.D. 1068), he went forth again and reached Aleppo. This was the first time the Turks attacked interior Syria and the coastal country of Palestine. They captured these countries and wreaked havoc plundering and spoiling.

<sup>2037</sup> Romanus Diogenes was defeated in 1071 at the battle of Mantskert, Manzikert, Malazkird, Malasgird, north of Lake Van in Armenia. See Matthew of Edessa, 135. Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 355-356, does not mention Manzikert by name. But he attributes the defeat of Romanus on his ignorance of military sciences and bad judgment.

<sup>2038</sup> The Anonymous Edessan, translated by Albert Abouna, under the title *Tarikh al-Ruhawi al-Majbul* (Baghdad, 1986), 64-65, follows this account with slight variation. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 220-223, produces Michael Rabo's account at length and with some difference. He says that he found this history in an Arabic and Persian manuscripts. He produces a lengthy conversation between Alp Arslan and Diogenes. Alp Arslan demanded from Diogenes ten thousand dinars as ransom, and the surrender of several Roman cities. And when he sent Diogenes back to his country, he had one hundred slaves to accompany him to Constantinople. Alp Arslan rode side by side with Diogenes and they kissed each other and then separated. Also, regarding the blinding of Diogenes and his death is different from that of Michael Rabo. See Matthew of Edessa, 135.

<sup>2039</sup> Abu al-Harith Arslan al-Basasiri, the Turkish general and governor of Baghdad under the last Buwayhids. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 474.

Upon the death of the Patriarch Mor Athanasius (V in 1063), the bishops assembled in the Monastery of Mor Abhai on the bank of the Euphrates River and decided to invite Mor Yuhanon (John) Yeshu, the scribe known as Bar Shushan to assume administration of the church. He was a man of piety and learning not only in religious but also in profane and civil sciences. He was skillful in speech and very efficient in the refutation of heretics. He was adorned with excellent characteristics. He chose the path of asceticism, and when he was invited (to become a patriarch), he refused. He admitted that he regretted to have accepted (to becoming a patriarch) at the beginning. Later, however, he yielded, especially when some solitaries and holy men assured him that they had seen through the Spirit that God had chosen him to take charge of the church. He accepted the request of the people and the lawful insistence of the clergy. It was then that (the bishops) celebrated his enthronement as patriarch at Mor Abhai.

Bar Shushan issued twenty-four canons. He decided that they should be applied to him, to the bishops and to all the members of the church. When the canons were announced, pious men welcomed them while some coward bishops doubted them. He (Bar Shushan) deposed five bishops and ordained selected men known for excellent character, but he never changed his ascetic behavior. He exhausted his body with fasting and wakefulness and walking on foot on the road. If he felt tired, he would mount a donkey to receive some rest. He also asked those who traveled with him to ride donkeys in case they got tired walking, and he walked with them in great meekness. He never quit writing even during the respites they took during their travels. He filled the world with his letters, commentaries and sound directives. Every year, he assembled a council according to the canons, and carried out adjustment according to the law. He devoted specific concern to learning and writing. He specifically concentrated on the teachings of St. Ephraim and St. Isaac. In his old age, he collected them in one volume, but his life ended before he completed it. He ordained seventeen bishops. He served the patriarchate for nine years. He preferred to live in the region under the authority of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) to escape the wickedness of the Greeks (Romans). He lived in Harran, Miyafarqat, and Amid where he is laid to rest. (He died in 1072). His body was placed in a marble urn and interned in the church of the Mother of God next to the grave of Patriarch Yuhanon (John) his master who had raised him. May the memory of both of them be a blessing. May their prayers be with us. Amen.<sup>2040</sup>

#### **Chapter Four: The commencement of the reign of Michael, son of Constantine, king (emperor) of the Romans, and the reign of the Turks in the region of Pontus, and the disturbances which took place in the church, and on the Armenian Philaretus in this period**

Having been defeated by the Turks, the Romans could no more face them. Fear gripped Emperor Michael (VII Ducas Parapinakes), who assumed power in the year 1389 of the Greeks (A.D. 1078). (The correct dates of Michael are 1071-1078). He listened to worthless counsels, confined himself to the royal palace and never went forth to meet the Turks.<sup>2041</sup> He gathered the rest of the people in the Pontus region and sent them by sea. Nothing was left (in Pontus) except garrisons to guard the fortresses and the cities. When the Turks won an astounding victory and controlled Armenia, sultan Alp Arslan, also known as Abu al-Fath, nicknamed "the Just," sent his cousin Sulayman to the districts of Cappadocia and Pontus and granted him the authority to become sultan over them.<sup>2042</sup> The Romans fled before him. He occupied the cities of Nicaea and Nicomedia and settled in them, and the whole country was filled with Turks. When the caliph in Baghdad heard this, he sent (Sulayman) various gifts and proclaimed him a sultan, that is, a king

<sup>2040</sup> For a biography of Bar Shushan, see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 416-417.

<sup>2041</sup> Psellus has nothing but praise for the character of Michael VII, especially that he was an avid reader of history and literature. See Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 367-373. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 305 says that Psellus pitifully puppets Michael as a cloistered bookwork. Be that as it may, with him, the *Chronography* of Psellus comes to an end.

<sup>2042</sup> Sulayman, cousin of Alp Arslan, is founder of the Sultanate of Rum Seljuks in 1077. See Philip Hitti, *History of The Arabs*, p. 475. The Anonymous Edessan is mistaken in making Sulayman the son of Alp Arslan. See *Tarikh al-Ruhawi al-Majhul*, translated by Rev. Albert Abouna, 66.

and confirmed him in the leadership. Now, the Turks had two sultans: one in Khurasan and the other in the country of the Romans in addition to those in Margiane.

In the year 1396 (A.D. 1085), the Egyptians, although they were originally Arabs, conflicted with the first Arab state regarding leadership on account of the of the doctrinal difference between those in Egypt and those in Athor (Assyria) and Babylon (Mesopotamia). The sultan of Khurasan sent a prince from the tribe of Artuk called Aqsiz (Atsiz), who captured Damascus from the hands of the Egyptians. Then, he marched against Jerusalem and entire Palestine and Tyre and Sidon because the Romans were defeated by him and fled through the sea.<sup>2043</sup> When Sultan Sulayman, who reigned in Iconium (Konia), learned that the Romans in Antioch were weak and only few of them remained in the city, he took three thousand horsemen without their families, went through the rugged mountainous path, attacked Antioch at night and seized it by surprise. They killed a great number of its inhabitants and converted the great Church of Cassianus into a mosque.

In this same year (A.D. 1085), a prince appeared among the Turks named Tanushman (Ahmad Gümüshtigin ibn Danishmend). He attacked Cappadocia and captured Sebastea, Caesarea and other northern regions. At this juncture, the rule of the Danishmends began. While these events were taken their course, another authority suddenly appeared in the region led by a group of Armenians. They formed a gang of fifty persons, entered stealthily into region of the Turks, and began to practice robbery. At Mar'ash (Germanicia), they met an Armenian young man from the village of Shirka named Philardus (Philaretus).<sup>2044</sup> When they saw that he was strong, cunning and courageous in plundering and killing, they made him their leader and guide. Since these countries were under the Turks but without a leader, these Armenians spoiled them. Philaretus seized one fortress in Cilicia, and a group of Armenians banded together around him. Then, he went further and seized several hard to reach places in Cilicia. When the king (emperor) of the Romans heard about him, he sent him gifts. Then, Philaretus entered Constantinople and the Greeks, rejoicing, offered him arms and gold and proclaimed him a Sebastos "Augustus." He went out and ruled Tarsus and Missisa. In addition, he took possession of Mar'ash, Kesum, Ra'ban, Edessa and Anazarba. He entered Antioch and gained more power. Then, he entered into the countries of Jihan and Melitene. When his power waxed, he began to fight the Turks with Roman forces. But when he could not stand up to the Turks, this miserable man went down to Baghdad and Khurasan and denied his faith.<sup>2045</sup> He received documents from the caliph and from the sultan of the Turks to leave for him the countries already under his authority. When he returned, he found that the Turks had already controlled most of the countries under his authority. Since he had forfeited his faith for leadership, he lost hope of retaining this leadership. He went to Mar'ash and there he died. It is said that before his death, he became a Christian. This Philaretus set up Theodore, son of Hetum the Greek, as governor of Melitene. After him came Harib the Armenian, then Balatianos, then Gabriel in whose time it was ruled by Buzan.<sup>2046</sup>

### Remark

We found in other copies that Philaretus did not seize these cities from the Turks, but the Greeks themselves empowered him to take them in order to keep them protected for them. When Sulayman came to Antioch, he seized it from Philaretus. This is the truth. In the time of Sulayman, the people of our faith obtained an order to build in Antioch the two churches: one for the Mother of God and the other for Mor Georgius. The Turks took from Philaretus Kesum, Ra'ban, Jihan and other cities, and left him only Mar'ash.

<sup>2043</sup> Atsiz, a Turkish term for (horseless), son of Awq (Abeq), a vassal of the Seljukid Sultan Alp Arslan. He captured Jerusalem from the Shiite Fatimids of Egypt in 1071. See Abu Ya'la Hamza ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tariikh Dimashq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz ((Beirut, 1908), 98-99, Matthew of Edessa, 152, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 120.

<sup>2044</sup> On Philaretus see Matthew of Edessa. 137-138, 141, 147, and 151-153, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 75, 89, 90-94, 162, 344, 364 and 487.

<sup>2045</sup> Matthew of Edessa, 153.

<sup>2046</sup> Matthew of Edessa has nothing good to say about Philaretus. He calls him wicked, the offspring of Satan, tyrannical, perfidious, the abominable Anti-Christ, etc. p, 137. Buzan is Mujahid al-Din, an army commander of the Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah called Abu al-Fath by the Anonymous Edessan, 66.

After the death of Patriarch Yuhanon (John bar Shushan), some bishops stirred up trouble anew when they met in Hisn Mansur to elect a shepherd. When they could not reach an agreement on a specific person, they decided to cast a lot. At that time, there was a learned monk proficient in sciences named Abdun from the family of the holy Patriarchs Yuhanon bar Abdun and the other Yuhanon, who aspired to the position of the patriarchate. However, the bishops did not approve of him because of his impudence, as it is written, "The impudent strikes terror in the village." However, since some bishops had nominated him, they inserted his name in the ballot. Regardless, the ballot fell for the monk Basil, steward of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, but he tenaciously refused to accept the position and even shaved off his beard that they may leave him alone. Basil, being meek, serene, somehow simple, and pious and God fearing, was awed by the magnitude of this position (the patriarchate). However, the bishops would not let him go even if he had shaved off his beard. They ordained him a patriarch at Hisn Mansur in January 1385 (A.D. 1074) by the laying on of the hands of Mor Athanasius, bishop of Edessa. Basil ordained the already mentioned monk Abdun, abbot of the Monastery of Bar Jaji, a metropolitan of Semando and called him Yuhanon (John) at his ordination. He also ordained Yuhanon a metropolitan for Takrit. After his death, both of these metropolitans rebelled and disturbed the church and its order. Woe to them by God. After serving the patriarchate for one year and six months, Basil died in Miyafarqat and was buried in its church.

Some bishops who participated in the election claimed that the lot fell upon Abdun, but the president of the council and some bishops manipulated the election. The liar who related this matter to Abdun was Simon, bishop of Kesum, who the congregation of Melitene wanted as their bishop following his uncle, nicknamed the Egyptian. Then Patriarch Haya hastened to ordain his nephew Ignatius as bishop for Melitene, which made Abdun angry against Ignatius. Therefore, no one believed Simon, and since they abhorred Abdun for his harshness and arrogance, they rejected him. However, Abdun, removing the fear of God from his heart, left no stone unturned, and bribed the rulers with gold. He would not even feel ashamed despite that he was condemned by both the easterners and the westerners. He went on to force the bishops, the monks and the rest of the clergymen to proclaim him a patriarch. He gave Philaretus, the army general, plenty of gold (to support him). Philaretus seized ten bishops from the region of Melitene and other regions and imprisoned them that they may endorse Abdun. He gave each of them a hundred dinars but they would not endorse him.

Yuhanon (John), bishop of Takrit, took advantage of the riot that prevailed in the church, and he, in turn, removing the fear of God from his heart, trampled on the canons and ordained a bishop for Nisibin. Soon, however, the bishop he ordained was stricken by God's wrath and died. He ordained another bishop instead of him and controlled the country of Tur Abdin, but he was resisted by the monks of the Qartmin (Mor Gabriel) Monastery. In addition, some bishops who were partisans of Simon, namely, the bishop of Kesum, and Athanasius, bishop of Samosata, usurped sees of dioceses that do not belong to them.<sup>2047</sup>

#### **Chapter Five: On the period of the reign of Nicephorus and Alexander, kings (emperors) of the Romans, and the assumption of power by the Turks, and the bishops' opposition of Abdun**

The kingdom of the Turks extended into Beth Nahrim (Mesopotamia), Syria and Palestine, at the time when there were also here and there some Turkish amirs in the lands of the Arabs. Now the Arabs and the Turks were living as one people. The Turks were also in control of Greater and Lesser Armenia, Cappadocia, *Bithynia* and Pontus, and they always were standing in opposition of the Romans. Whenever an amir from Khurasan appeared and seized a part of the Roman country, he was confirmed as a governor of that part by the sultan in Khurasan, called Sinjar, and the caliph in Baghdad, who was their religious leader. Thus, Greater Armenia was governed by an amir from the tribe of Sukman whose name in Persian was Shahraman (Shahr Armen). Other governors were appointed to Beth Nahrin called Artukids. The family of Tunishman (Danishmends) ruled in Sebastea, Caesarea, and Pontus, while the clan of the sultan Sulayman ruled in Nicaea, Nicomedia and Iconium (Konya). Thus, the kingdom of the Turks was one with the Arabs.

<sup>2047</sup> For these lengthy episodes see Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, 449-453.

In the kingdom of the Greeks, also called Romans, Emperor Michael (VII Ducas Parapinakes) was very feeble and preferred solitary life. Nicephorus, nicknamed Botanicu (Botaneiates) rebelled against him in the year 1397 (A.D. 1086, actually, Nicephorus rose to power in 1078). He assembled an army, marched against Constantinople and sieged it for some time, then stormed it and killed the inhabitants by the sword. When he reached the royal palace, Michael went out on foot and carrying the crown in his hand, he said to him, "Take this, and withhold the sword from the people. If you had asked me, I would have given it to you without war." Nicephorus gave orders that he was to be tonsured, become a monk and spend his life in a monastery. Then Nicephorus had Michael's two sons castrated and married his wife. He was despised by everyone. Divine grace departed from him, and fear fell upon him. He sat down in the palace, and never went out to war.<sup>2048</sup>

When Alexius Comnenus, captain of the host, witnessed that Nicephorus received power unlawfully and that the affairs of the kingdom had gone into ruin, he made a secret agreement with the nobles to take over the government, and then waited for the convenient time. One day as he was with the emperor alone, his brother came to enter the palace, but the guards would not let him in, and there was commotion. Going out, Alexius learned the reason of the commotion, but feared that the emperor might know what was going on. He handed a letter to a certain person and asked him to go through the gate of the city, and then turn around and come back through another gate, and into the royal palace, as fast as he could. The messenger did what he was told. The letter was read to the emperor. It contained the information that the enemies had entered into his country. The emperor commanded the captain of the host (Alexius) to assemble an army and go forth to meet the enemies. With this false information, Alexius achieved his goal. He went with the nobles, who backed him up, to a convenient place where they proclaimed him an emperor. Immediately, they returned to the city (Constantinople) without opposition. Alexius went to the palace, and Nicephorus departed. He was rewarded according to what he had done, and he had his fill of disgrace and contempt.<sup>2049</sup>

Alexius assumed power in the year 1400 (A.D. 1089). The period of his reign was twenty-nine years and not thirty-eight years as mentioned in some sources. We have computed these years to show the correctness of the affairs we will have the occasion to refer to in the course of our relation of the historical sequence.<sup>2050</sup>

After the bishops freed themselves from Philaretus, who pressured them to accept Abdun, they met in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. They invited Li'azar, archimandrite of the monastery, but he categorically rejected (their invitation), and pronounced an excommunication of himself forty times that he would not accept becoming a patriarch. However, to forbid Abdun from taking hold of the church, the bishops overlooked the excommunication of archimandrite Li'azar and forced him to become a patriarch. He was well known to the governor and to Philaretus. Finally, and under the bishops' pressure, he yielded to become a patriarch. He was ordained on the last Friday of Lent, and the bishops asked him to consecrate the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism) on Maundy Thursday, but he could not because his right hand had withered. After his ordination, he lived only one year and ordained no bishops. He died in Hisn Mansur.

The rebel Abdun continued to stir up disturbance. The bishops, motivated by divine zeal, assembled and excommunicated him as a heretic, and circulated letters to this effect everywhere. Then the bishops chose John the solitary from the region of Kharshana, and ordained him a patriarch in the church of Mor

<sup>2048</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 226-227. Matthew of Edessa tells a different version of the story. He says that Michael was a pious and virtuous man who lived a saintly life of fasting and praying. He was so ascetic that he stopped having sex with his wife who resented him. She became sexually involved with Nicephorus Botaneiates and instigated him to rebel against Michael and take the throne from him. Nicephorus did usurp the throne and took Michael's wife as his wife. One year later, he became remorseful of the sins he committed against Michael and, like him, ended up becoming a monk. See Matthew of Edessa, 140-142, Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 307-308.

<sup>2049</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 227-228. Matthew of Edessa, 143, says that after Nicephorus, Melissenus ruled in Constantinople for four months. See Ostrogorsky, 308-309. But the inhabitants of the city rose up against him, seized his crown and placed it on the head of Alexius.

<sup>2050</sup> The above date of Alexius coming to power is incorrect. Alexius assumed power in 1081 and died in 1118. Thus, he ruled for thirty-seven years.

Jirjis (George) in Melitene in the year 1391 of the Greeks (A.D. 1080), by the laying on of the hands of Mor Ignatius, bishop of Melitene. John served the patriarchate for one and a half years and ordained five bishops. He died and was buried in the Qariro (Barid) Monastery. He was a quiet man, meek and simple.

In that year, locusts swept the region of Jihan. The patriarch and the people went out supplicating to stop it. When the patriarch saw that the poor people were wailing and the children crying, he felt compassionate for them. With sheer simplicity of his holy soul, he ordered the locusts not to ruin the planted fields, except the field in which he was standing. By the order of God who has power over everything, the locusts swarmed against that field and devoured it. This miracle took place for the glorification of God. For many years, the faithful gathered earth from that field, and wherever they threw it, a miracle took place on that spot.

At this time, Cyril was the pope of Alexandria and Egypt.

Upon the death of Mor Iyawannis, the audacious Abdun went into action. He was supported by some people who inculcated to him that his election was from the Lord. Their pretext was that the two former patriarchs were chosen, ordained and died in a very short time. Abdun wrote saying, "They have forsaken me, the spring of living water; and have dug their own cisterns, broken cisterns that cannot hold water."<sup>2051</sup> However, despite being excommunicated, Abdun had the temerity to ordain four bishops. The faithful were sorely distressed for the confusion in the church, and many lost hope for the lack of faith. *End of the narrative.*

### **Chapter Six: On the period of the reign of Alexius, king (emperor) of the Romans, the kingdom of the Turks waxed strong, and the affairs of the church worsened**

At the outset of the reign of Alexius over the Romans in the year 1400 (A.D. 1081), a Turk named Tutush Alp Arslan Taj al-Dawla, ruled Damascus and killed Aqsis (Atsiz).<sup>2052</sup>

In the same year, Mahmud ruled Aleppo after his father Salih. Both were Arabs.

In the same year Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn Munqidh usurped Shayzar (fortress) from a bishop who was appointed by the Romans.

In the year 1404 (A.D. 1085), Mahmud, son of Nasr, son of Salih died and his three sons Sabaq, Shabib and Atiyya ruled Aleppo. In this year, Muslim ibn Quraysh marched against them, and after prolonged wars, he seized it from them.

In 1414 (A.D. 1103), Sharaf al-Dawla ibn Qurush (Cyrus) marched against Harran and wrested it from the judge who was ruling it, and killed him. In this same year, Sharaf al-Dawla ibn Qurush (Cyrus), ibn Sulayman the Turk, marched against Antioch to wrest it from Sulayman ibn Kutulmish the Turk, who had wrested it earlier from Sharaf al-Dawla ibn Qurush.<sup>2053</sup>

Then Sultan Abu al-Fath went forth and captured Aleppo peacefully from Malik ibn Salim, and gave him the fortress of Ja'bar, which he had taken by the sword from Sabiq and killed him.

In this period the Turks seized Tarsus, Massisa (Mopsuestia) and Anazarba and the rest of the cities of Cilicia.

In this period, the kingdom of the Greeks (Romans) was harassed from every direction.

In this period, the Romans went forth with the Franks from Rome to oppose King (Emperor) Alexius. They fought against Constantinople in order to wrest it from the Greeks. When Alexius was locked up in the royal city and embattled by the Franks, the Arabs and the Turks began to control the regions under the authority of the Romans. In Melitene there was a governor named Gabriel, a Greek, who was appointed by Philaretus. When Philaretus died, Gabriel became the governor. When he saw that the Greeks

<sup>2051</sup> Jeremiah 2:13.

<sup>2052</sup> See Matthew of Edessa, 152..

<sup>2053</sup> Sulayman ibn Kutulmish was the founder of the Seljuk state of Rum, or Anatolia, 1077-1086. In 1085, he captured Antioch from Philaretus. See Matthew of Edessa, 147-148; The Anonymous Edessan, 67, says that Sulayman converted the great Church of St. Peter known as Cassianus into a masjid, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 162, 342 with the footnotes.

were defeated by the Turks, he sent his wife to Baghdad, and she obtained a decree from the king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) confirming him a governor of Melitene.

In Edessa, was (a governor) Theodore son of Hetum. When the Turkish al-Farij came to Melitene in the year 1406 (A.D. 1095), Gabriel treacherously took him to Edessa and administered to him poison, and he died.<sup>2054</sup> Upon his death, Gabriel deceived the Turks and took them to Melitene with the pretext that he would surrender the city to them, but left them outside and shut the gates.<sup>2055</sup> However, they set up a leader named Tawit (Armenian form of David), and spoiled the region and then descended on the city (Melitene). Afterwards arrived Tunishman (Danishmend) from Sebastea and reconciled them.

In this period, another crime was committed against the church by Mark, archimandrite of the Barid Monastery. Mark was wealthy, and money consumes even the wise. Noticing that the orders of church were in a state of great confusion created by Abdun, he gave Philaretus three thousand dinars: two from his own treasury and the other thousand from the monastery. He forcibly got hold of two bishops: one was the bishop of 'Arqa, who had usurped the diocese of Jihan unlawfully, and they set up Mark as patriarch by the order of Philaretus in order to defend him. All bishops, including Yuhanon (John), metropolitan of Takrit, renounced Mark as they did Abdun. After six years of disturbance, the bishops assembled and, by the advice of Yuhanon, metropolitan of Takrit, to whom was entrusted Nisibin, accepted Mark (as a patriarch) as a lesser evil, just to keep Abdun away. Mark was ordained a patriarch and was given the name of Dionysius. He served the patriarchate for one year and seven months, and ordained ten bishops. He passed away and was buried in the Monastery of Zarnuqa in the region of Melitene.

Abdun tried once more to usurp the patriarchate, but was rejected by the bishops. In the year 1401 (A.D. 1090), the bishops assembled in the village of Qaramis in the region of Melitene. They cast a lot (for a new patriarch) and the monk Abu al-Faraj from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum won. He was born in the city of Amid in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), but was raised and educated in Melitene, and became a monk at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. When the invitation was addressed to him, he refused to accept the new position, and the bishops suspended him from service. This situation continued for nine months. The reason he declined was because of the disturbance Abdun had created in the church. However, when the bishops saw that he insisted on not accepting the position (of a patriarch), they sought the aid of the Greek Gabriel, governor of Melitene, and he forced him to accept. He was ordained a patriarch in the Sa'i church in Melitene on the first Sunday of December 1402 (A.D. 1091), by the laying on of the hands of Timothy, bishop of Tell Batriq who also chaired the council. Timothy was assisted by Ignatius, bishop of Melitene, Iyawannis, bishop of 'Arqa, Basil, bishop of Laqbin and Iyawannis, bishop of Samosata.

Abdun went to see Gabriel (governor of Melitene), and offered him two thousand gold dirhams just not to have Athanasius (Abu al-Faraj mentioned above) accepted (as a patriarch). Since Gabriel knew that the ordination of Athanasius was performed in his own city, he repelled Abdun. He hoped that the patriarch would visit him and bring him gifts as a token of thanks. However, when the patriarch did not fulfill Gabriel's hope, he had him brought by force from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. When he arrived at the door, Gabriel went out to welcome him and receive his benediction, but the patriarch refused to respond. He told Gabriel, "You are a Greek (Chalcedonian) and we are Syrians." Gabriel became indignant and ordered the patriarch imprisoned in the house of a prostitute in order to augment his humiliation. He also ordered him to close the churches and not to ring bells until he released him. However, the faithful people collected money and paid Gabriel nine hundred dinars, and he released the patriarch, who returned to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum.

In the year 1393 (A.D. 1082), a Turk named Qaraoul ruled Melitene.

In this year, there was famine and a pound of bread was sold for one dinar and two pounds of wine for the same price. In addition, in this same year earthquake took place and eighty-six towers collapsed.

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<sup>2054</sup> He is the Sultan al-Faraj of Matthew of Edessa, 163, and the Anonymous Edessan, 67-68.

<sup>2055</sup> Matthew of Edessa, 163, does not mention the faith of Gabriel. But his translator, Ara Doutourian, says in footnote 3 that he was of the Byzantine Orthodox faith. The Anonymous Edessan, 67 and 80, says that Gabriel was a Chalcedonian who governed Melitene.

In 1396 (A.D. 1085), an earth tremor took place in Constantinople and several thousands of people drowned.

In the year 1407 (A.D. 1096), Gabriel the Greek (Roman), was appointed by the Turks as governor of Melitene. He killed the chief Abu Salim, the son-in-law of the late sons of Abu Imran and Abu Uqayal. On April 28 of the year 1408 (A.D. 1097), Gabriel killed eight prominent and believing merchants. They were Barsoum, son of the nun and his two sons, Gurgis, the bridegroom and his two sons, Basil Hawa and his son Abd Allah 'Arqi, and Sahdo, a famous deacon of Tantini. He plundered from their homes and from Abu Mansur abundant gold, silver and vessels. From the church of the Episcopus, he pillaged crosses, censers, the jar of *Mirun* (Holy Chrism), and the entire church vessels. Furthermore, he destroyed houses and constructed a citadel and a wall. *End of the narrative.*

### **The story of Phesqin**

In this time began the construction of the Phesqin Monastery in the following manner. In the Monastery of Mor Abhai were many Nazerites (ascetics), of whom was the pious monk David and his mates. They followed a virtuous life and excellent conduct that God endowed them with seeing visions and doing wonder works. They were visited by the venerable old man Plotiusa from Kharshana, who was an ascetic in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. David and his companions took him as a guide and counselor. One day, as they were deliberating a certain matter, Plotinus told them that God had revealed to him that next to the cavern on the bank of the Euphrates was a monastery known as the Monastery of the Samosatians, that it would become a home for pious solitaries. David and his companions went to the place and lived in huts. They were preoccupied with good works, fasting, and prayer day and night. By their hands, many sick were healed and anyone who asked them by faith was healed. The son of the governor of the district, a young man tormented by evil spirits, went to them, was healed, and became a monk. His mother also became a nun and in a short time attained a high degree of virtue. By her prayers, many sick people and those afflicted by evil spirits were healed. In addition, rabban (teacher, monk) Basil received the grace of healing and revelation. However, Dionysius, metropolitan of Melitene, Sa'id and his brother Abu Ghalib Sabuni, wanted to have the monks of Phesqin and the aged Plotinus excommunicated because they were followers of the heresy of the Messalinas.<sup>2056</sup> They also maintained the revelation of the old man Plotinus to the people who visited him, by saying to them, "This one committed sin and the other did this and that," was done by the influence of evil spirits that appeared to him. However, the Patriarch Athanasius disagreed with them. He said, "When Satan deceives, he destroys the soul and the body and cannot be restored. The grace with which the ancients were endowed, like the healing of bodies and souls, is from God. We, on our part, support his idea."

Rabban (monk) Habakkuk, who succeeded David as the archimandrite of the monastery, built its church. He implemented the canons laid down by David who forbade the monks from owning a vineyard, a field or a beehive. In addition, he forbade them from asking anyone for something or charity. *End of the story of Mor Demit in Gargar.* (The Monastery of Phesqin was also called the Monastery of the Canal and the Monastery of Mor Demit in Gargar.)

### **Chapter Seven: The expedition of the Franks against Jerusalem, and the visit of the Patriarch Athanasius to the caliph in Baghdad**

When the Turks dominated Syria and Palestine, they inflicted the Christians who came to worship in Jerusalem with many evils by beating and humiliating them. They imposed on them heavy tributes that they exacted at the city gate or at Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher. Moreover, they killed the Christians in one way or another especially those who came from Rome and the rest of Italy. As a result, a great number of them lost their lives. This kindled the zeal of the kings and princes in Rome who marshaled an army in those

<sup>2056</sup> For Sa'id Sabuni (d. 1095), and his brother Basilius Abu Ghalib Sabuni (d. 1129), see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 419-422.

regions and came by sea to Constantinople.<sup>2057</sup> However, when the King (Emperor) of the Greeks (Romans, Byzantine) Alexius, prevented them from passing through, they determined to occupy the city and wrest it from the Greeks. They fought the inhabitants of Constantinople from 1090 to 1097 A.D.<sup>2058</sup>

While the Franks were busy with the people of Constantinople, Antioch was rocked by an earthquake. A great temple appeared in the foundation of a ruined fortress containing huge brass statues representing the Franks mounted on horses, fully armed with lances and swords. They were all in chains. The Turkish governor Aghusin (Yaghi Siyan)<sup>2059</sup> ordered a search to establish the truth of this discovery, but no one seemed to know about it and no book has referred to it. So, the statues were considered as pagan idols. The king (governor, Yaghi Siyan) ordered that they be destroyed. However, a blind old woman said, "I have heard old people say that under one of the fortresses are laid cryptic characters belonging to the Franks to caution them not to cross the sea." When the governor heard what the woman said he felt sorry for destroying those characters. He asked the woman whether she had heard how they were made and whether it was possible to make others like them. She answered in the negative, and they killed her.<sup>2060</sup>

The Franks vowed to God that in case they occupied Jerusalem they would grant safety to all the Christian churches. In addition, they would hand over the churches and monasteries to all those who believed in Christ.<sup>2061</sup> In the meantime, Sulayman was killed by the Turks and by Alp Arslan. The Franks who reached Antioch were two kings and seven princes. The kings were Ma'mun (Bohemond I of Taranto, son of Robert Guiscard), and Tanjari (Tancred, nephew of Bohemond I). The princes were Rajil (Roger of Salerno), Baimond (Bohemond, apparently, the name is repeated), Baghdawin (Baldwin of Boulogne I, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon), Gosselin (Joscelin I, of Courtenay, first cousin of Baldwin II), Galeran (of Le Puiset), Gondofer (Godfrey of Bouillon) and Salgis, (Saint-Gilles, (Raymond of St. Gilles, count of Toulouse).<sup>2062</sup> When Theodore, son of Hetum who ruled al-Ruha (Edessa) after the murder of Buzan (Seljukid governor of Edessa 1087-1094), heard that the Franks had besieged Antioch, he promised to hand over Edessa to Duke Godfrey. The Franks rejoiced saying that as Edessa believed in Christ before Jerusalem, so did the Lord Christ hand it to us before Jerusalem.<sup>2063</sup> Godfrey sent his brother Baldwin to rule Edessa.

<sup>2057</sup> For a thorough analysis of the causes of the Crusades and the western and eastern writers on the subject, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades: Conflict between Christendom and Islam* (Gorgias Press, 2008), Chapters 1 and 2, 11-33.

<sup>2058</sup> See *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, translated into English by Rosalind Hill under the title *The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (London, Thomas Nelson, 1962), 2-4, hereafter the *Gesta Francorum*, Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, translated by Elizabeth A. Dawes (London, 1967), 249-252; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea* I translated by Emily Atwater and A. C. Krey (Columbia University Press, 1943): 110; and Steven Runciman, "The First Crusade: Constantinople to Antioch," in *A History of the Crusades I*: 280-284; and by the same author, *A History of the Crusades I*: (Harper Torch Books, 1965):115-118; L. Bréhier, *Vie et Mort de Byzance*, (Paris, 1947), 310; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la Première Croisade jusqu'à l'élection de Godefroi de Bouillon* (Paris, 1925), 76-77; René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, (Paris, 1934): 8-10.

<sup>2059</sup> Mu'ayyid al-Dawla Yaghi Siyan, Seljukid governor of Antioch 1087-1098. Bar Hebraeus calls him Gaisan. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 235. According to Matthew of Edessa, Yaghi-Siyan was a vicious, vile, invidious and savage-minded man. See Matthew of Edessa, 154.

<sup>2060</sup> This anecdote seems to be peculiar to our author. It is not found in other Syriac sources. A similar anecdote is related by Ibn al-Adim as told by al-Qadi Hasan ibn al-Mawj al-Faw'i. See Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkar, I (Damascus, 1988), 481-482, and Suhayl Zakkar, *Madkhal ila Tarikh al-Hurub al-Salibiyya* (Beirut, Dar al-Amana, 1972), 125-126, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 341-342. While our author does not give the source of this anecdote, Ibn al-Adim bases it on the word of mouth of al-Qadi Hasan ibn al-Mawj al-Faw'i. For more information on Barakat ibn Faris al-Faw'i known as al-Mujann, imprisoned, tortured and then killed by Ridwan, lord of Aleppo in 1097, see Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halb min Tarikh Halab*, in *Recueil Des Historiens Des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux* III (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1844): 585-586, and the same ed. Sami al-Dahhan, II (Damascus, 1954): 139-141; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Beirut, 1908), 135.

<sup>2061</sup> See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, and Matthew of Edessa, 165.

<sup>2062</sup> See August C. Krey, *The First Crusade*, 57; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Ierosolymotana*, translated into English by Martha Evelyn McGinty, as *Fulcher of Chartres Chronicle of The First Crusade*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941), 21-22; William of Tyre, I: 95 and 116 The Anonymous Edessan 73. Matthew of Edessa, 228, 230 and 232, Bar Hebraeus, 251, and Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 208.

<sup>2063</sup> Theodore, son of Hetum became governor of Edessa after the death of Buzan in 1094.

The Franks attacked Antioch for nine months.<sup>2064</sup> The city was ruled by the Turkish chiefs Gasian and Aghusin.<sup>2065</sup> Because of the Franks' siege of the city (Antioch), Yaghi Siyan departed it for Aleppo. On the way, he was met by a group of Armenians who cut off his head and brought it to the Franks. It also chanced that two Armenian brothers who were responsible for guarding the fortresses collaborated in delivering the city to Bohemond by night. On the same day the Franks arrived in Antioch, the Turks arrived in Baghras. The citadel was still in the Turks' hand. They besieged the city and the Franks suffered violent hunger until they ate their horses and resorted to prayer. In a dream, King Tancred saw an opening in the Church of Cassianus inside which was the nails of the Lord's cross. He made from them a cross and a Roman lance, put them on and went to fight the Turks. Indeed, God made the Franks triumphant and the ground was filled with corpses. The Franks chased the Turks a distance of one whole day. After the Franks had total control of Antioch, the Turks left Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and came to Ma'arra (Ma'arrat al-Nu'man) and Sarug, which belonged to the Bani Utayr.<sup>2066</sup>

Before the arrival of the Franks, the Egyptians had invaded Jerusalem and captured it from the Turks.<sup>2067</sup> When the Franks came, they first occupied Jaffa and then marched to Jerusalem, which was ruled by the Egyptian Fadil.<sup>2068</sup> They set up a wooden tower in the middle of the eastern gateway called Stephen's Gate and conquered it in July (1098), in the second year of their march. A great number of Arabs were slain and the ground was filled with their corpses. The Temple of Helkun, that is, the Temple of Hope was likewise filled with the slain. They (the Franks) burned the corpses by fire. Godfrey ruled the city for two years as the first king of the Franks followed by Baldwin who ruled the city for seven years.<sup>2069</sup>

Up to the time of King (Emperor) Alexius, our people had a church in Constantinople. The Armenians had also a church and each of them was ministered by a priest. They (Syrian and Armenian congregations) included a group of merchants and others. One day, a Syrian priest visited Constantinople but the Syrian priest in the capital who came from Semando, did not accept him. He was possessed by a demon and said to the Greeks, "The Syrians and the Armenians in your capital are in league with the Turks." This outraged the emperor who ordered the two churches be burned down, and expelled our priest. The Syrian congregation joined the heretics. *End of the narrative.*

In September of 1406 of the Greeks (A.D. 1095), Ignatius the writer, metropolitan of Melitene, passed away. He was succeeded by Athanasius Sa'id bar Sabuni, the learned erudite and excellent writer who was well versed in both Syriac and Greek. He was ordained a bishop on Assumption Day in the town of Qanqart in the district of Amid, and was called Yuhanon (John). His ordination was performed in

<sup>2064</sup> See Matthew of Edessa, 167. William of Tyre, I: 186-260. For a thorough analysis of the capture of Antioch by the Franks see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, entire Chapter 11, 341-380.

<sup>2065</sup> No other source mentions that Antioch was ruled by two Turkish governors. It seems that the author mixes up Gaisan and Aghusin who is one person, Yaghi Siyan, governor of Antioch 1087-1098. Bar Hebraeus calls the Turkish governor of Antioch Gaisgan while the Anonymous Edessan, 77, calls him Aksin. For other sources on Yaghi Siyan see Matti Moosa, *Ibid.*

<sup>2066</sup> In order to have a better understanding of these events, the reader is advised to read Chapters 11 and 12, 341-427 of Matti Moosa's *The Crusades*.

<sup>2067</sup> According to Ibn al-Qalanisi, in Sha'ban (July, 1097), al-Afdal, commander-in-chief of the Egyptian (Fatimid) army came to Jerusalem and encamped before the city, which then was in the hands of the Turkish amirs Sukman and Ilghazi, sons of Artuk. Al-Afdal stormed the city and occupied it and returned to Egypt. See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 135-136, Ibn al-Athir says that when the Egyptians saw the weakness of the Turks, they sent an army commanded by al-Afdal, son of Badr al-Din al-Jamali, an Armenian slave and Chief Vazir of the Fatimid caliph from 1073 to 1094, who attacked the city of Jerusalem for forty days and captured it. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C. Or., I: 197-198, Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Muiyassir, *Muntakhabat (extracts) from Tarikh Ibn Muiyassir*, in R.H.C. OR., III: 462-465; Abu al-Mudaffar Yusuf ibn Kizoghlu known as Sibte Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'at al-Zaman fi Tarikh al-A'yan*, in R.H.C., OR., III: 518-519, and Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Nujum al-Zahira*, in R.H.C., OR., III: 485-486. William of Tyre says that al-Afdal, whom he calls Amireius, was an Armenian born of Christian parents. More correctly, it is that al-Afdal's father Badr al-Jamali was an Armenian and a slave in the house of the Fatimid caliph. See William of Tyre, I: 393.

<sup>2068</sup> More correctly Sayf al-Islam Shahanshah al-Afdal, the Fatimid Vizir who was the virtual ruler of Egypt 1095-1121. See former notes.

<sup>2069</sup> Bar Hebraeus says that the Franks set up siege towers, one on the south side at a place called Sihyawn (Zion), and the other in the middle of the eastern gateway, that of St. Stephen, and killed more than seventy thousand Arabs in the Temple of Solomon. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 235-236.

compliance with the wishes of Gabriel, governor of Melitene.<sup>2070</sup> Gabriel came to Melitene when the Turks were attacking it. After he entered the city, the gates were closed because Kilij Arslan, Sultan of Iconium was investing it. Gabriel asked the bishop (Sa'id bar Sabuni) to stand next to him and watch the guards. The pious bishop took this matter seriously and began to encourage the people. Meantime, the sultan sent a deacon in his company as a messenger to negotiate with the bishop by the permission of the governor (Gabriel). The bishop received the deacon, but Gabriel was hiding listening to their conversation. The deacon said "The sultan (Kilij Arslan) says if you deliver the city to him, he is ready to grant you safety and bounty. Otherwise, he will take the city by the sword. Blood will be shed and God will take revenge of you for the shedding of blood." The bishop said to the deacon, "Have no delusion. No one has ever conquered this city and no one will ever be able to conquer it. There is enough food in it sufficient for more than ten years. "With this response, he dismissed the deacon. Turning to Gabriel the bishop said, "My Lord, you have heard what was said. It is better to deliver the city by our own will." Since then Gabriel bore a grudge against the bishop. Likewise, the Greeks (Romans) detested him, and the Franks berated him (the bishop) because he wanted to deliver the city to the Turks. They also loathed him because he offended them in his disputation with them about doctrinal matters.<sup>2071</sup>

On Friday, the bishop was conducting the service of the Third Hour at the wall of the city with the congregation repeating after him. Gabriel and the Greeks noticed how greatly the congregation was devoted to him, and decided to kill him. When he descended the wall, he was told that Gabriel ordered the killing of one of the faithful. The bishop, accompanied by a priest, hastened to intercede on behalf of the wronged man. They found the wicked Gabriel mounted on a horse between the two walls surrounded by infantrymen. The bishop implored him saying, "Blessed governor have pity on poor men. It is not appropriate to do killing inside and outside the city." However, the ignoble (Gabriel), who kept in his heart to kill the bishop, said, "But you yourself want to deliver the city to the Turks?" Outraged, he ordered a carrier of his armor to strike the bishop with a lance, but he had no courage to do it. Gabriel, then, grabbed the lance from him and struck the pious bishop on the head and he fell dead. This took place on Friday, July 4, 1406 (A.D. 1095). The priests who were present fled and scattered and the whole city was shaken, and the people congregated where the pious bishop was martyred. When the murderer Gabriel saw the crowds, he was scared and ordered that the body of the pious bishop moved to the garden to be hidden in the reeds. Two days later, they carried him to his final resting place, and he was buried in the Great Church of al-Sa'i.<sup>2072</sup>

Patriarch Athanasius, who could not administer the affairs of the church without fear because of Abdun's audacity, decided to journey to Baghdad and meet with the Caliph Abu Ja'far. He received from him letters addressed to all the Arab and Turk governors of the districts of Athor (Assyria), the Jazira, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Syria and Cappadocia, ordering them to accept Athanasius and reject the rebel Abdun. However, Abdun had already ordained four bishops: Iyawannis, bishop of Tell Hamdun who was devoured by dogs; Eupdocus, bishop of 'Arqa, who was rejected and joined the heretics; Ignatius, bishop of Mardin, who repented and was accepted; and bar Khoriza who converted to Islam in Amid.

#### **Chapter Eight: On the Turks' rule of Melitene for the first time; the murder of Gabriel and Ibn Hetum; the beginning of the rule of Kilij Arslan; the building of the wall of Kesum, and church affairs in this period**

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<sup>2070</sup> Gabriel or Khoril, Armenian, ruler of Melitene to 1103. He was a lieutenant of Philaretus, ruler in Anatolia to 1085 who succeeded Philaretus as the governor of Melitene. By faith, he was Chalcedonian.

<sup>2071</sup> The doctrinal matters here concern the doctrine of the manner of the union of the two of Christ, the human and the divine, in the Incarnation. It was basically a refutation of the new definition of faith by the Council of Chalcedon.

<sup>2072</sup> A shorter account of this gruesome incident is given by the Anonymous Edessan. He says that Satan entered this accursed (Gabriel) who maliciously murdered the bishop. Gabriel was killed and his household exterminated. See the Anonymous Edessan, 83 of the Arabic translation, and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 233, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 95-96. William of Tyre, I: 450 says that Gabriel was Armenian by birth, language, and habit, but Greek in faith, on 522 he makes him a Greek nobleman.

After Sulayman, first Turkish governor of Iconium was killed,<sup>2073</sup> he was succeeded by Kilij Arslan (1092-1106-7), who was the first to be appointed to Melitene in the time of Gabriel who had killed the bishop (Said Ibn Sabuni). When Gabriel heard of the coming of Kilij Arslan, he left Melitene and went to protect his own country. Meantime, Tunishman came from Sebastea (to Gabriel's region), and for three years devastated it, looted the crops and departed in the winter.<sup>2074</sup> However, inside Melitene, Gabriel oppressed the poor people more than the Turks. Among the persecuted was Theodore son of Hetum, *Curopalates* (guardian of the palace), who was killed by the Edessans. When the Franks seized Edessa, Gabriel tried to help them take hold of Melitene where a group of Armenians ruled some areas since the time of Pilardos (Philaretus).<sup>2075</sup> One of these was Basil (Vasil in Armenian), governor of Kesum and Ra'ban.<sup>2076</sup> In his time, the wall of Kesum, which had been ruined when the Arabs ravaged the region, was restored. There was a group of Armenians who ruled some regions of Cilicia, and were known as the sons of Rafan.<sup>2077</sup> In the time of King (Emperor) Basil, the Armenians left the region. The Turks also left in the time of Emperor Michael, who had appointed Philaretus a governor of Cilicia to resist the Turks after he had proven his capability as we have sufficiently said before. Since then the Armenians settled down in

<sup>2073</sup> Sulayman son of Kutulmish, Seljuk Sultan of Rum 1077-1086. He was killed in 1086 in the battle near Aleppo between him and Tutush, brother of the Seljuk Sultan Malikshah. See Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, ed. Sami al-Dahhan, 2 (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-Catholikiyya, 1954): 97-98, Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrrij al-Kurub fi Akhbar Bani Ayyub* I: 16. Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, 154-155, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 230; Runciman, I: 76-77.

<sup>2074</sup> The Tunishman of our author is actually Danishmend. Danishmend is a Persian term meaning "learned men" or "preachers" which indicates religious connotations. The Danishmends were *Ghazis*, or zealot Muslim dervishes determined to spread Islam into the heart of Christian Roman (Byzantine) land, but their faith was not in conformity with orthodox Islam. They were Alawis (Alevi) extreme Shiites, or propagators of other heterodox beliefs combined with Sufism. They exerted great influence on the Turkoman tribes. One of these Ghazis was the Turkoman Amir Ahmad Ghazi who established a principality in 1063 which lasted until 1174 around Sebastea (present day Siwas), Comana, Amasya and Niksar or Neocaesarea where he resided, and Gangra in Cappadocia under the suzerainty of the Seljuk Sultan Malikshah. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 229 and 236-237; Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, 170-173, and Claude Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion: The Selchukids," in *A History of the Crusades*, I:163-164. I. Melikoff, "Danismendids," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht II (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1965): 110-111, Matthew of Edessa, 176-177 the Anonymous Edessan, 74 and 80-81; William of Tyre, I: 411; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, I: 320-321, and E. Honigmann, "Malatya," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. C.E. Bosworth et al., VI (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1991):230-231, and Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 11-13.

<sup>2075</sup> Our author mentions Pilardos or Philaretus for the first time in Book XV, Chapter IV, in the context of showing how two powers, one of the Danishmends and the other of the Armenian Philaretus simultaneously emerged in 1085. He states that in this year the Turkish amir Tunishman (Danishmend), entered the region of Cappadocia and captured Sebastea (Siwas), Caesarea and other northern regions. With him began the leadership of the Danishmends. While these events were taking place, another leadership suddenly emerged in the region at the hands of a group of Armenian robbers who formed a gang of fifty men. They surreptitiously entered the region with the Turks and engaged in the acts of robbery. In the region of Mar'ash they met an Armenian young man from the village of Shirka named Pilardos. In Chapter V, we hear about Philaretus interfering in the affairs of the Syrian Church, especially in the case of the recalcitrant Bishop Abdun. In Chapter VI, the author states in passing that there was in Melitene a Greek governor named Gabriel who was appointed by Philaretus and succeeded him as governor of that city. Here in Chapter VIII, we learn that since the time of Philaretus, a group of Armenians governed some of the regions where Melitene was situated. Shortly afterwards, and in the same chapter, we learn that Mikha'il (Michael VII, Ducas 1071-1078), had appointed Philaretus a governor for Cilicia to resist the Turks. The author could not be correct because Philaretus did not recognize the authority of Michael Ducas. See Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, I: 73; Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant* (Paris, 1949), 177; Bréhier, *Vie et Mort de Byzance*, 284, Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, 153, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 229.

<sup>2076</sup> Kogh Vasil, that is Vasil the Robber, so called because he stole many fortresses of the *thughur* (northern border fortifications between Byzantine and Muslim territories extending from Syria to Armenia). See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, pp. 237 and 246 and by the same author, *Tarikh Mukhbassar al-Duwal*, ed. Anton Salihani (Beirut, al-Matba'a al-Catholikiyya, 1958), 199, Matthew of Edessa, 196, 200-201, 211, 219-220, William of Tyre, I: 304-305, and Galust Ter Grigorian Iskanderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer und ihre Beziehungen zu den armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa*, (Leipzig, 1951, published as a thesis by the University of Leipzig), 61.

<sup>2077</sup> By sons of Rafan, the author means the Rubenids, or Roupenids who are members of an Armenian dynasty in Cilicia from 1080 to 1375. Roupen was one of the men of the Armenian King Gagik II (reigned 1042-1045). About 1080 he settled in the fastness of the Taurus Mountains at Bardzrberd, or Partzapert northeast of Sis where he established an Armenian principality. See Matthew of Edessa, 166, and 174; and David Marshall Lang, *The Armenians: A People in Exile* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), 58, and Sirapie Der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 44-48.

Cilicia and Syria.<sup>2078</sup> A hundred years later, and because of the Turks' oppression of the Armenian Catholicos in Armenia, the Armenian chiefs moved his See to Cilicia. Meantime, being oppressed by Tunishman (Danishmend), Gabriel of Melitene swore three times to the Franks that he would deliver Melitene to them. He married his daughter, (Morphia), to the Edessan Count (Baldwin II, Le Bourg) who was the nephew (son of the sister) of Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, who later became a king of Jerusalem. Therefore, Bohemond (prince of Antioch) was confident that he would take hold of Melitene. However, when he reached the regions under the control of the Armenians, the Armenians betrayed him. They feared that he might evacuate them if he became a king. They secretly appealed to Danishmend (Ilghazi) for help. And so did Gabriel by secretly appealing to Il-Ghazi when the king (Bohemond) reached the town of Jafna. The accursed Gabriel would not let him enter the town. Gabriel continued to double-cross him (Bohemond) until the Danishmend had arrived. He set up ambushes against him and captured him. Thus, the Turks were able to establish more footholds through Gabriel and the Armenians. Danishmend sent Bohemond to Sebastea and then went to lay siege against Melitene. Meantime, Gabriel increased his iniquities and wickedness by plundering, ravaging and killing without mercy. Thus, two quislings delivered the city to the Turks. Danishmend entered the city on Wednesday of September 18, 1102 and spoiled it, but he did not allow the killing of any person because he considered the people his own share. He released those who long time ago were taken captive to his county and returned them to their homes. He brought bread, oxen and other necessities from his country and offered them to the people, and the people were filled and satisfied. He appointed for them a governor named Basiligh, a just and God-fearing man.<sup>2079</sup> (Divine) justice prevailed against Gabriel. The Turks tortured him violently, and some Christians took revenge against him and beat him. They reminded him of murdering the righteous bishop (Said Ibn Sabuni), subduing the chiefs and other people, and for the crimes he had committed. After they scourged him enough and made him swell bitterness, they took him to an isolated invincible fortress (The Qat'a Fortress) where his wife was confined. The Turks forced him to ask his wife to deliver the fortress to them. He tried to double-cross them by a devilish trick telling his wife, "I am sending you the boy Midas as a signal to deliver the citadel." However, the term of Midas in the Armenian language means, "Do not deliver." Discovering his deception, the Turks killed him and threw his body to the dogs that devoured him. Then Danishmend (Ilghazi) brought Bohemond to Melitene and sold him for hundred thousand dinarii.<sup>2080</sup> When Bohemond was released, he gave Antioch to his nephew (his sister's son) Tancred, and returned to his homeland. He begat a son whom he called Bohemond, after his name. Later, Bohemond (the son) became governor of Antioch. Meantime, Saint-Gilles (Raymond) marshaled an army, and after bitter fight, wrested Tripoli from the hands of the Muslims. He had earlier wrested Jerusalem from the Muslims and gave it to his children. He returned to his homeland taking with him the lance that had been discovered in Antioch. Upon his arrival in Constantinople, King (Emperor) Alexius knew about the lance and demanded to see it in order to be

<sup>2078</sup> In this very brief statement, the author touches upon one of the most important events in the history of the Middle East in the tenth and eleventh centuries, e.g the Turks' penetration and settlement of Asia Minor which came to be known as Turkey. In conjunction with the Turks' penetration of Asia Minor, the Armenians migrated to Cilicia in south-east Asia Minor where they settled and founded Armenian principalities. See Steven Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign: A History of Tenth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1929), 125-133 and 151-7, M. Canard, "Arminiya," *The Encyclopedia of Islam I* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960): 636, Matthew of Edessa, 28-33; George. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*. transl. by J. Hussey (Oxford at the University Press, 1956), 254-257; N. Iorga, *L' Arménie Cilicienne*, (Paris: J. Gambe, 1930), 87-88, Sirapie Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, 44, A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I: 355, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 66-74.

<sup>2079</sup> Il-Ghazi Ibn Danishmend captured Melitene in 1123-24. See the Anonymous Edessan, 108. Matthew of Edessa does not specifically mention the fall of Melitene into the hands of Ibn Danishmend. But he gives a detailed account of the violent assault of Melitene by the forces of Ibn Danishmend. He also says that Gabriel appealed to Bohemond for help and both Bohemond and Richard (of Salerno) went to meet the Muslim but without precaution. Their troops put aside their weapons and dressed like women appearing like captives. Their action may have been a kind of deception but they failed and were defeated by Ibn Danishmend, and Bohemond and Richard were taken captives. See Matthew of Edessa, 176-177.

<sup>2080</sup> See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 237. According to Matthew of Edessa both Bohemond and Richard were taken captives by Danishmend, lord of Sebastea. See Matthew of Edessa, 177, Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C. Or. I:203, R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, 1924), 96, and William of Tyre, I: 451, footnote 49.

blessed and then to return it to him. Because of his foolishness, Saint-Gilles sent the lance to Alexuis who made a copy of it and returned it to Saint-Gilles. This was the lance with which the Jews, out of mockery, pierced an icon in Tiberias from which issued blood and water. *End of this account. He who reads let him pray with affection for the weak and sinful Mikha'il (Michael), son of Barsoum Urbischoyo. He has written as much as his weakness can allow these events, whether deficient or complete, in the year 1909 of the Greeks (A.D. 1598) in disorder and confusion.*

During the three years in which Tunishman laid siege to Melitene, severe famine took place that one corn measure (modius, about eight quarts) of the Marzuban's (Margrave) wheat was sold for one dinar.

In the year 1414 (A.D. 1103), conflict was stirred up among the Christians of Melitene and its environs, and even in Constantinople, regarding Lent. The Syrians and Armenians fasted only eight weeks and celebrated Easter on April 13, while the Chalcedonians observe it on April 26. When the news arrived that the Light appeared on the Sepulcher in Jerusalem on April 13, the Greeks began to blaspheme the Light because it appeared, in truth, only to the Syrians and the Armenians.

In February, in the first week of Lent of the year 1414 (A.D. 1103), an earthquake took place everywhere. Some attributed it to the controversy over Lent of the year before, and regarded it a sign of (Divine) wrath.

Shortly after Patriarch Athanasius returned from Baghdad, the rebel Abdun passed away in Hisn Mansur. He gave instruction to be buried in front of the church's door in order to be trampled by the people because he had sinned against the church of God. Patriarch Mor Athanasius assembled the bishops and they participated in his funeral. The patriarch uttered the prayer of forgiveness. He said that, "Although he (Abdun) was possessed by the love of leadership and trampled upon the holy canons, yet, because he did not deviate from the Orthodox faith, we should pray for him that he, a sinner, may be forgiven."

After Sa'id Bar Sabuni, or, Metropolitan Yuhanon was murdered, and the Turks devastated the city and its environs, the patriarch ordered Dionysius, son of the Confessor, to come and he ordained him a bishop for Melitene because he was a learned man and wise. He entered Melitene on 1 December 1413 (A.D. 1002). Dionysius had become a monk in the Monastery of Bar Jaji where he studied under the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon Bar Shushan who ordained him a bishop for Jubas. However, when Jubas was ruined by the first attack of the Turks, he came to the Monastery of Abu al-Faraj, who had become a patriarch, and he ordained him a priest. In his old age, he rewarded him by giving him the see of Melitene. Seeing that the city was in want of learning, he began to teach the reading of the Holy Scriptures of both Old and New Testaments, together with the writings of learned men and dialectics and oratory. Afterwards, the patriarch ordained Abu Ghalib, brother of Sa'id Bar Sabuni who was murdered in Edessa, a bishop. Both brothers were famous in religious and profane sciences, and the Syriac and Greek languages, and disputation with the heretics. In sum, they were the exemplaries of their generation among the Orthodox. However, despite their wealth of knowledge they were wanting, as it was said, in meekness of heart, which is the source of goodness and the cause of the flourishing of virtues.

Sa'id Bar Sabuni, called Yuhanon, who was ordained a metropolitan for Melitene, was murdered by Gabriel forty days after his ordination as we have already said.<sup>2081</sup> Abu Ghalib, who was ordained a metropolitan for Edessa and called Basil, conflicted with the patriarch forty days after his ordination, and was suspended from service. This conflict disturbed the peace of the church as shall be explained later.

When the Franks seized Antioch, they kept the Greeks away from the great churches and expelled their clergy. They set up their own patriarch and ordained several bishops: one for Tarsus, a second for Massisa (Mopsuestia), a third for Edessa, a fourth for the See of Manbij in Duluk (Doliche), a fifth for Euphemia, and a sixth for Tripoli and Ladhaqiyya (Latakia, Laodicea). In addition, they set up other bishops in Gabbula, Cyrus, Mar'ash, and Harim. Their patriarch in Jerusalem ordained bishops for Bethlehem, Hebron, Samaria, Yafa (Joppa), Nazareth, Caesarea, Sidon and Beirut. When they occupied Tyre, the Patriarch of Jerusalem also ordained a bishop for it because the Patriarch of Antioch did not pay them a subsidy when they demanded it from him for the capture of the city.<sup>2082</sup>

<sup>2081</sup> See above Book Fifteen, Chapter Eight.

<sup>2082</sup> This incident caused a dispute between the Latin patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. See Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des*

The first Frankish bishop of Edessa was named Brikha (Benedict)<sup>2083</sup> who saw in a dream the relics of St. Addai (Thaddaeus) and Abgar (King Abgar V, Ukomo, the Black) of Edessa who was healed from leprosy by Thaddaeus, which were discovered inside the coffin of St. John.

**Chapter Nine: On the second siege of Amid and the trouble in some of the region in the kingdom of the Turks during this time; and the trouble in Egypt, Syria and Armenia, and on church affairs**

At this time, the Turks' rule in Khurasan was firmly established. They coexisted with the Arabs in all of Athor (Assyria, northern Iraq), al-Jazira, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), and Egypt where the Arabs governed some of these regions. When the Turks were fighting each other in Khurasan, the status of the Arabs was enhanced. In 1412 of the Greeks (A.D. 1101), the Arab Mula'ib departed Homs and occupied Afamiyah (Apamea).<sup>2084</sup> In the same year, the Arab Duqaq<sup>2085</sup> began to govern in Damascus. In Aleppo Ridwan ibn Malik Arabi ruled.<sup>2086</sup> In 1420, the Arab Umar ibn Salim took hold of Sukarah and Haburah (Khabur) with the result that warfare ensued between the Arabs and the Turks. However, in Cappadocia and Bithynia, where there were no Arabs, the warfare was between the Turks and the Greeks (Byzantines), or the Greeks with each other. Sultan Kilij Arslan waged war against Melitene, but was forced to leave it in order to protect his own country from the Franks, hoping to return and occupy it. However, Tunishman (Danishmend Ghazi) came and occupied it as we have already said. From this point on an incurable enmity began between the two (Kilij Arslan and Danishmend) which extended through their generations.

Having felt safe that the Franks would not attack (his country), and after the death of Tunishman (Malik Ilghazi ibn Danishmend in 1106) in Sebastea who ruled Melitene for two years, Sultan Kilij Arslan came to Melitene which was then ruled by Aghousin, son of Danishmend.<sup>2087</sup> He attacked the city on January 28 and a heated battle took place. He set up mounds on the circular tower in the northern part pointing toward the eastern section of the city. When the one (Aghousin) who was inside learned that its fall was at hand, he asked for a pledge and then delivered it to him. Kilij Arslan entered the city on 2, September 1106.

At this time, a conflict arose between the Turks and the Arabs in the region of Athor (Assyria, northern Iraq) for the following reason. The Sultan of Khurasan, Ghiyath al-Din<sup>2088</sup> dispatched Abu Mansur Jawli (Chavli)<sup>2089</sup> to challenge the Franks. When Jawli reached Baghdad, he diverted his attention toward Mosul, which was then ruled by Jekermish.<sup>2090</sup> When Jekermish learned that Jawli was marching against Mosul, he fortified the city, gathered his army, and went forth to fight (Jawli). Although he was too weak, yet he defeated Jawli. He seized him and brought him to Mosul in chains. Few days later Jekermish died and Jawli gained freedom. He assembled an army in the district of Haburah (Khabur) with the intention of

*Königreiches Jerusalem* 1100-1291 (Innsbruck, 1989, reprinted Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966), 184.

<sup>2083</sup> According to J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, III: 191, the first Archbishop was Benoit.

<sup>2084</sup> Sayf al-Dawla Khalaf ibn Mula'ib al-Kilabi. He was lord of Homs and then Afamiya (present day Qal'at al-Madiq on the Orontes or al-Asi River) Ibn Mula'ib was engaged in constant warfare with his Muslim neighbors especially the Banu Munqidh, lords of Shayzar. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C. Or. I: 232-234; Abu al-Fida, *al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar*, in R.H.C. Or. I: 8-9; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 149-150 of the Arabic text and 72-73 of the English translation; Ibn Taghri Birdi, *al-Nujum al-Zabira*, in R.H.C.Or. III: 594; Usama ibn Munqidh, *Kitab al-I'tibar*, 83, 125, and the English translation by Philip Hitti under the title *An Arab Syrian Warrior in the Period of the Crusades:Memoirs of Usama ibn Munqidh* (NewYork: Columbia University Press,1929), 156-157.

<sup>2085</sup> Shams al-Muluk Duqaq, son of Tutush was a Seljuk Turk and not an Arab. He ruled Damascus from 1095-1104).

<sup>2086</sup> Ridwan, a Seljuk Turk, was another son of Tutush. He ruled Aleppo from 1095 to 1131.

<sup>2087</sup> There is an apparent confusion about the name Aghousin. The author used the name of Aghousin or Aghusian earlier for Yaghi Siyan, ruler of Antioch. In this context he says that Aghousin is the son of Tunishman (Danishmend) who was ruling Melitene. The correct name must be Malik Il-Ghazi ibn Danishmend, whom the author said earlier that he had occupied Melitene in 1102. Bar Hebraeus who follows our author closely does not mention the name of Aghousin. From the context we learn that he was Malik Il-Ghazi. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 239 and The Anonymous Edessan, 63-64 and 83.

<sup>2088</sup> Muhammad Ghiyath al-Dunya wa al-Din, Abu Shuja', son of Malikshah, Seljuk sultan 1105-1118.

<sup>2089</sup> Jawli Saqawa, or Chavli Saqaveh, Turkish governor at Mosul till 1108.

<sup>2090</sup> Shams al-Dawlah Jekermish or Chükürmish, Turkish governor at Mosul, d. 1106.

returning to Mosul whose people had set up Jerkermish's son as their ruler. They were afraid that they were unable to withstand Jawli, and when they heard that Kilij Arslan was reigning in Melitene, they sent a delegation asking him to come and they would deliver the city to him. Kilij Arslan proceeded (to Mosul) and crossed the Euphrates. When the rulers of the towns of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), who were Turks from the clan of Artuk, heard of the coming of the Sultan, they were scared, and rushed to pay him homage. They were Ibn Shafik of Hisn Ziyad, Abraham (Inal) of Amid, and Ghazi (Ilghazi son of Artuk) of Mardin. Upon seeing them, Jawli did not go down to Mosul. Kilij Arslan, however, entered Mosul and ruled it and Jawli ruled in Reabout (al-Rahba). When the sultan learned this, he came with a huge army to fight Jawli. A fierce battle was fought on the bank of the River Khabur, but dissension occurred within the ranks of the sultan's force caused by the machination of enemies, and the sultan's troops deserted him and fled. He remained alone fighting with prodigious valor, and tried to cross the river but was drowned because of the heavy armor he was wearing. Then Jawli ruled Mosul and Nisibin. He persecuted his opponents severely, collected abundant wealth, and returned to Khurasan. Then Ghazi Najm al-Din (he is the same Ilghazi son of Artuk) left Mardin and seized Nisibin.<sup>2091</sup>

In the year 1417 (A.D. 1106), during the first week of Lent, a comet appeared in the west with its tail pointing to the east. It remained from the evening until the end of the night.

After they seized Palestine and expelled the Egyptians, the Franks came to Hebron, and built a magnificent church. It was revealed to some of those who fasted and prayed that the cave Abraham had bought contained tombs of three Patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob). They (Franks) ornamented it with marvelous edifices.<sup>2092</sup>

As to the cause of the disturbance that occurred in our church in this period, it was as follows: After ordaining Bar Sabuni a metropolitan for Edessa, the patriarch demanded from him and from the Edessans the copies of the Gospels that belonged to the patriarchate. However, the copies had fallen into the hands of Bar Abdun who left them in Edessa as a pawn against the money he exacted from the Edessans to bribe the rulers at that time. When the patriarch demanded to have them back, Abu Ghalib Bar Sabuni and the Edessans who were present at his ordination promised, that upon their return to Edessa, they would send the Gospels studded with gold and silver to the patriarch. Bar Sabuni wrote down in his own hand that if he did not deliver the Gospels, he would have no more authority to serve the episcopate. However, when he was ordained and went his own way, he refused to deliver them. His pretext was that the nobles of Edessa forbade him to deliver them. This was the beginning of the conflict. The patriarch suspended Bar Sabuni saying to him, "Since you have determined and wrote down in your own hand, you are suspended by God. From now on, you have no authority to serve, or be called a chief priest." Bar Sabuni apologized that there was nothing to forbid him to serve because he did not get hold of the copies of the Gospels by his own will. Moreover, the Edessans split into two groups: one group supporting the patriarch against the metropolitan (Bar Sabuni); the other group agitated the metropolitan and encouraged his recalcitrance.

### **Chapter Ten: On this period where the affliction of Melitene intensified following the death of the Sultan (Kilij Arslan); the growth of the Franks' power, and their dissension and troubles; the rise of a new Turkish chief in Khurasan, and his coming to al-Ruha (Edessa), and the deterioration of church affairs**

When the news of the death of Sultan Kilij Arslan arrived, they (his men) appointed his young son called Tughrul Arslan (a sultan) in his place in Melitene.<sup>2093</sup> In addition, they appointed as his regent an old

<sup>2091</sup> See Bar Hebraeus, *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, 197-198, and his *Chronography*, 239-241; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, in *R.H.C. Or.* I: 224-225 and 240-242, and Said Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, I (Cairo, 1963): 414-416.

<sup>2092</sup> See William of Tyre, I: 340 and II: 346.

<sup>2093</sup> According to the chronological and genealogical table of the dynasty of the Seljuk or Rum, there is an interrugnum of six years between the death of Sulayman in 1086 and 1092 the year his son Kilij Arslan Dawud assumed power. At the death of his father, Kilij Arslan was still an infant and hence the interrugnum of years just mentioned. After the death of Kilij Arslan in 1107, or in 1106, according to Stanley Lane-Poole, Kilij Arslan was succeeded by his son Malikshah I, who ruled until 1116. See Stanley Lane-Poole, *Muhammadan Dynasties Chronological and Genealogical Tables with Historical Introductions*, (New York: Ungar Publishing Co.,

man named Phazmish together with another person named Aslan. The mother of the little boy plotted with Aslan who killed Phazmish and married her. Aslan perpetrated heinous crimes against the people of the city including collecting gold with the pretext of preparing to oppose the Rum (Byzantines). When the wife (of Kilij Arslan) learned this, she plotted with her son, arrested Aslan and cast him into prison until he was thought to be dead. A year later, they brought him out and sent him to the sultan (Sultan Ghiyath al-Din in Khurasan).

Kilij Arslan had three other grown up sons: Arab, Shahanshah and Mas'ud. Arab was killed by the Amir Ghazi the Danishmend and Shahanshah was proclaimed a sultan. He had his brother Mas'ud chained and cast into prison. He went to see King (Emperor) Alexius in Constantinople. The commander of his army revolted against him, released Mas'ud, and his men and set up Ghazi, son of Danishmend, a sultan. As Shahanshah left Constantinople laden with gold, they (the sons of Danishmend) ambushed him, captured him and gouged out his eyes.<sup>2094</sup>

When the Franks saws that the Turks were fighting each other, they were emboldened, and Bohemond marched to occupy Ablastain and the district of Jihan. The entire region of Melitene was subject to him. In Edessa, huge crowds gathered to express their joy for the victory (of Bohemond). The Franks, however, quarreled for many days over the possession of the country and the division of cities. As they were quarreling, the Turks gathered to fight them, and the Franks departed while still opposing each other over the division of the regions.<sup>2095</sup> When they reached Harran, the people welcomed them and handed them the keys of the city, but Baldwin (II, of Le Bourg), governor of Edessa, did not receive the keys although Harran was part of his share. He feared that the Turks might spoil it and kill its inhabitants. Therefore, they (the Franks) departed the city. Their disagreement became more intensive because they did not enter Harran but left in it their families. When they encountered the Turks, they were defeated, and Baldwin and Joscelin were captured and sent to Mosul.<sup>2096</sup> Tancred fled to Edessa and Richard (of the Principate of Salerno, cousin of Bohemond) was appointed as its governor. These events took place in the year 1414 (A.D. 1103 (more correctly 1104) on the Balikh River which springs from Paddan Aram and pours into the River Euphrates near al-Ra'qa (Callinicus), where a masjid of the Muslims was built and called Bayt Abraham (the House of Abraham).<sup>2097</sup>

Richard afflicted bitterly the people of Edessa and then departed for Antioch without attempting to rescue Joscelin because of the conflict between him and Joscelin.<sup>2098</sup> However, people from Tell Bashir agreed with the Turks on ransom money. They entered the prison as hostages until Joscelin could go and return with the ransom money, but they readily made a hole in the house where they were imprisoned and escaped. Thus, Joscelin went without ransom while the amount of seventy thousand dinars was fixed for the ransom of Baldwin. Joscelin took thirty thousand of gold to the fortress of Ja'bar and offered himself as

1965), p. 155.

<sup>2094</sup> Bar Hebraeus offers a somehow different variant of the narrative. He mentions that when Kilij Arslan gained control of Mosul he made his son Malikshah, then a boy of eleven years old, a 'king' of that city. His mother was with him. A little later, Bar Hebraeus says that Bazmish took the wife of Kilij Arslan from Mosul and went to Melitene where he proclaimed Tughrul Arslan, the little son of Kilij Arslan, a king. We may infer from Bar Hebraeus that Bazmish took young Malikshah to Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad in Khurasan, and that the sultan sent Malikshah to Melitene and had him proclaimed "king." The sultan had dismissed Tughrul Arslan and imprisoned him with his other two brothers Mas'ud and Arab. The question is what became of Malikshah who was set up a "king" in Mosul by his father Kilij Arslan after the death of the latter in 1107? Bar Hebraeus gives no explanation. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 243.

<sup>2095</sup> The Anonymous Edessan explains lucidly the disagreement between the leaders of the Franks. See The Anonymous Edessan, 78-79 and 88.

<sup>2096</sup> See Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291* (Innsbruck, 1989, reprinted Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966), 49.

<sup>2097</sup> The Anonymous Edessan, 88-90, Matthew of Edessa, 191-193, gives a slightly different account of the conflict between the Franks and the Turks at Harran; William of Tyre I, 456-459, gives the impression that the leaders of the Franks were united in their intention of capturing Harran.

<sup>2098</sup> The Anonymous Edessan, 90-91, has nothing good to say about Richard. He says that Richard was evil, oppressor, tyrannical and greedy; Matthew of Edessa, 193, 199.

ransom for the rest, and had Baldwin released. When the sultan of Mosul (Jawli, Chavli Saqaveh) learned that Joscelin had offered himself as ransom and returned to prison, he was surprised and wanted to see him because he had not seen him before. He only heard that he was of handsome stature. Joscelin went to Mosul. When the sultan saw him he deducted ten thousand dinars from Baldwin's ransom, and Joscelin prostrated with his face to the ground. For this reason, the sultan deducted another ten thousand dinars from the ransom, and both he and Joscelin sat down to enjoy a delectable meal. In the morning, the sultan went out with his army. He took Joscelin's arms and ordered him to ride with him. When the sultan witnessed Joscelin's comeliness and bravery, he and all his people were astounded. He absolved him from the rest of Baldwin's ransom, and Joscelin returned jubilantly.<sup>2099</sup> Upon his release from captivity, Baldwin went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He arrived in the city on Wednesday of the Sha'anin (Palm Sunday Week), in the year 1117, and found that King Baldwin I (of Jerusalem) had fallen off his horse. When he realized that Baldwin was dying, he commanded that he, Baldwin II, (of Lebourg), his nephew and governor of Edessa, become a king in his place. (Baldwin I died on April 2, 1118) Indeed, since he arrived (in Jerusalem) without a previous appointment, all people believed that his choosing (as king of Jerusalem) was by God, and they rejoiced. He was proclaimed (a king) on Tuesday, April 9 of Passion Week, and he gave Edessa to the mighty Joscelin.<sup>2100</sup>

In this time, some shrewd Armenians noticed that the Turks invaded the regions of Edessa and reached its walls. They connived with them and made them enter one of the fortresses. They believed that the Turks would occupy the city in any event because it had no leader. However, God, in his mercy, brought Joscelin at this time. When he saw the Turks in the fortress, he entered it alone wearing his armor. He placed a skin of wine over his head to protect it from the stones hurled by the Turks. Upon ascending the fortress, Joscelin killed thirty men by the sword while others threw themselves down. He cut off the ladders made of linen by the sword and those who were climbing them fell down to death. Thus, Joscelin saved the city.

Prior to this time, that is in the year 1421 (A.D. 1110), a commander called Mama Dawud marched out of Khurasan at the head of a hundred thousand fighting men. He besieged Edessa for nine months but the Franks challenged them, and they fled.<sup>2101</sup>

In the year 1419 (A.D. 1108), light was seen at midnight in the country of Jihan like sunshine. It remained for three hours. On April 4 of the same year, the disc of the sun was covered by dense darkness like turbid cinder and lasted for twelve days. Its darkness intensified from the first morning hour to the third hour, then in the tenth hour, it gradually abated and a faint light appeared. In the following three hours, the disc of the sun turned into a fiery mass and never shone with light. On May 25, it was dark for three hours. On June 1, a comet was seen whose tail extended like a lance toward the east. It remained for fifteen days, and every day it moved forward. In September of that year, a violent earthquake took place, and several regions were devastated.

Bar Sabuni,<sup>2102</sup> who was still suspended from service, behaved in an insolent manner, ordaining priests and deacons. This outraged the patriarch who severely constrained him. Because of Bar Sabuni's action, the entire church and the dioceses were disturbed. Edessa was especially disturbed because its Frankish governor supported the metropolitan (Bar Sabuni). Many times the presbyters and the faithful nobles of the city, together with some Franks, sent delegations to the patriarch to pray for him (pardon him), but he did not consent. Finally, Dionysius, metropolitan of Melitene, accompanied by seventy faithful

<sup>2099</sup> The Anonymous Edessan, 91-92, Matthew of Edessa, 193, 199 and 201, Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, in R.H.C. Or.I: 261, Aliyyah Abd al-Sami al-Janzuri, *Imarat al-Ruha al-Salibiyya* (Cairo, 1975), 104-105, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 500.

<sup>2100</sup> Matthew of Edessa, p. 221 with slight difference.

<sup>2101</sup> The reference here is to Sharaf al-Din Mawdud al-Tuwayniki, atabeg of Mosul, (d. 1113), whom William of Tyre calls Menduc. He describes him as "a powerful prince of illustrious birth." See William of Tyre, I: 493, and Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291* (1966), 89, 96; The Anonymous Edessan, 93-94, Matthew of Edessa, 203-204, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 503-505.

<sup>2102</sup> The reference here is to Bishop Basilius Abu Ghalib Bar Sabuni. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 424.

men went to the patriarch at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. They fell with their faces at his feet saying, "We will not raise our faces off the ground until you have prayed for the metropolitan of Edessa." Still, the patriarch would not consent. Then the bishops assembled and presented to him an appeal. The patriarch said to them, "Come all of you in April and let (Bar Sabuni) come also, and in Easter, a council will assemble to absolve him." With this pretext, he sent them empty handed. In fact, he never assembled a council or pardoned Bar Sabuni. On the contrary, he deposed the aged, Bar Modyana (son of the confessor), for supporting Bar Sabuni. Dionysius, metropolitan of Melitene, served the episcopacy for twelve years. He taught, regulated and introduced to it sound customs. He enriched it with knowledge used until this day from generation to generation, and when the patriarch ousted him from it, he held his peace.

The reason the patriarch did not assemble a council as he had promised was this: When the patriarch rejected the bishops' appeal and they departed in despair, Dionysius, metropolitan of Melitene, Timothy, bishop of Qallisura, and Iyawannis, bishop of Jihan, determined in writing that if a council was assembled by the patriarch as he promised, they will absolve Bar Sabuni. If he did not assemble a council, Bar Sabuni would be free and exonerated. When the patriarch heard this, he was wrathful against the bishops and did not convene a council. In fact, he took (the diocese of) Melitene from Bar Modyana, (son of the confessor), metropolitan of Jubas, and ordained Elisha, archimandrite of the Barid Monastery, a bishop, and called him Iyawannis. Elisha arrived in Melitene in November 1425 (A.D. 1114). The governor demanded from him money and the city (congregation) paid him two hundred dinars, and so they accepted him. Soon, however, they rejected him when they discovered that he was a wine bibber. *End of the narrative.*

#### **Chapter Eleven: On the destruction of Mar'ash (Germanicia) by earthquake; Belek the Turk and the appearance in this period of a group of Armenians like Basil the thief, and Tadrus (Theodore), Leon and Constantine. Also, on secular and ecclesiastical matters**

We record here lucidly an account of the Armenians who in this period ruled fortified places of Cilicia and Syria.

When the Greeks (Byzantines) wrested from the Arabs some cities in Cappadocia, Armenia and Syria, they brought a great number of people from Grand Armenia, and they settled in these regions and multiplied. Some of them moved to Constantinople and others to Egypt. When the Turks left Khurasan and scattered throughout these regions, the Greeks became greatly weakened, and their kingdom vanished in Syria, Cappadocia, and Armenia. It was then that Armenians infiltrated these regions and fortified themselves in the hard to penetrate rugged mountains.

In these mountains of Cilicia were two brothers, sons of Constantine, son of Rafan (Roupen). In the mountain neighboring the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in the district of Samosata were settled Constantine, Tabtoug (Tavtoug, or Tavid (David) in Armenian), and Christopher, sons of Sabal (Sanbil) who were Syrians. When the Armenians controlled Gargar, Constantine, Michael and Wanis (Ohannes) mingled with them in Gargar, Gouti (Gavtai) and Babila (Beth Bula). In Kesum, Ra'ban and the mountains of Zubar were settled Kogh Basil (Vasil), Dgha Vasil and a woman, Kogh Basil, who was the wet nurse of the boy Dgha Vasil (adopted son of Kogh Vasil) and not his mother.<sup>2103</sup> They had a guardian named Kourtig, a wicked man who hated the Syrians.<sup>2104</sup> He was the one who exerted pressure on the wife of Kogh Basil and usurped the Red Monastery from the Syrians near Kesum, which belonged to our Syrian community for generations. They expelled the Syrian monks and gave the monastery to the Catholicos Krikor (Gregorius) and the Armenian monks. In addition, Kourtig expelled the (Syrian) monks from the five monasteries in Zubar known as the Monasteries of Beth Qinaya (The Reed Monasteries) which were populated by many monks. He evicted other monks from the fortress of 'Arnish and stationed in their place

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<sup>2103</sup> According to Matthew of Edessa, Dgha Vasil was the adopted son of Kogh Vasil. The woman referred to in this context was the widow of Kogh Vasil. See Matthew of Edessa, 211, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 511.

<sup>2104</sup> See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 246.

an army garrison. He ordered the monks to pay him two thousand dinars. He tortured them mercilessly until he annihilated all of them, and the monasteries were converted into villages.<sup>2105</sup>

King (prince) Tancred then marched from Antioch, invested Kesum for two years, and occupied it.<sup>2106</sup> Meantime, Kourtig moved among the fortresses. He had in his possession Qal'at Romiya (Roman fortress) which the Franks were unable to occupy. The Franks, however, deceived him and married him to a Frankish woman named Calamri who killed him by poison.

As to Belek,<sup>2107</sup> he was one of the Artukids who governed in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). When the Amir Tafshik died, Belek seized the citadel of Bula situated on the bank of the Arsanius River. From there he went forth and gained dominion over several regions. He won several battles and brought under his submission kings of the Franks, chiefs of the Greeks, and a number of Turks, as we shall explain later when we narrate the events of each year.

In the year 1422 (A.D. 1111), the atabeg (guardian of the palace or tutor) of the sultan of Melitene wrested the district of Jihan from the Franks. In 1424 (A.D. 1113), the wife of Kilij Arslan left Melitene and delivered her children to the atabeg or tutor. She went to Belek, amir of Bula because she had heard the sultan say, "There is none among the amirs of the Turks in these regions like Belek in power and wisdom. Therefore, she loved him (Belek) and assumed his name, which enhanced his position tremendously."<sup>2108</sup> *This narrative is completed with God's help. It is hoped than any brother who reads this book should remember me in his prayer for the sake of God, because I am sinful in everything against every man on earth.*<sup>2109</sup>

At dawn on Sunday of November 29, 1426 (A.D. 1115), "he who looks at the earth and it trembles,"<sup>2110</sup> looked at it and a violent earthquake took place. The city of Mar'ash was totally sunk. Its foundations turned upside down and buildings fell down, and it became a grave to its citizens and a frightening spectacle to those who beheld it. Because of this earthquake, the churches of St. John and of the Forty Martyrs in Kesum collapsed, but were rebuilt by the effort of Mor Dionysius, its bishop. In addition, the city of Samosata was destroyed in this earthquake and many people were suffocated. One of the victims was Constantine, lord of Gargar. Some sections of towns and villages were destroyed.

In the year 1427 (A.D. 1116), a dense fog and violent dark storm destroyed some buildings and uprooted trees. In Edessa, severe flood took place and made a breach in the dam called the dam of the Apostle St. Addai (Thaddeus). In this period, Bar Halbi drew the water fountain to Edessa.

### **The Story of the Frankish Frères (Friars, Knights Templar)**

At the beginning of the kingdom of Baldwin II (of Le Bourg), a Frankish man came from Rome to Jerusalem on pilgrimage. He had vowed that he would not return (to Rome) until after three years during which he, and the thirty knights who accompanied him, were to assist the king in his wars. Then he and his companions would enter a monastery, and he would spend the rest of his life in Jerusalem. When the king saw that they were fighting with dexterity and offering the city active assistance and service for three years, he indicated to him and his companions to enlist in the army, and should relinquish the idea of becoming a monastic. He should only think of his own salvation, and he and his companions should protect the country from highway robbers. Faya (Hugh of Paynes the First Grand Master, d. 1136), for this was his name, and the thirty knights consented.<sup>2111</sup> The king gave them the palace of Sulayman to live in and villages for their

<sup>2105</sup> According to Matthew of Edessa, Tancred attacked Kesum and encamped in its plain, but did not capture it. The Armenian prince, Vasil of Kesum, with a force of five thousand men was ready to challenge Tancred. For a number of days the two sides waited but did not engage in battle. Finally, they made peace with each other according to which Tancred handed back Ra'ban to Vasil and Vasil handed over to Tancred the district of Hisn Mansur. Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 512.

<sup>2106</sup> See Matthew of Edessa, 211; Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291* 97.

<sup>2107</sup> Nur al-Dawla Belek, Balak, or Balaq son of Bahram, son of Artuk, and nephew of Najm al-Din Il-ghazi, son of Artuk, an Artukid ruler of Aleppo, 1123-1124.

<sup>2108</sup> Bar Hebraeus who repeats this episode adds that she actually married Belek. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 245.

<sup>2109</sup> This colophon written in Arabic, appears on p. 600 of the *Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great*.

<sup>2110</sup> Cf. Psalm 97:4.

<sup>2111</sup> See William of Tyre, I: 524-525, and 2:40.

livelihood. Likewise, the patriarch gave them some villages that belonged to the church. They determined to live by monastic rules, that is, not to marry or attend public baths or own private possessions, but everything should be communal among them. Because of this kind of life, they began to gain honor and reputation far and wide. They were sought by sons of kings, leaders and common people who flocked from many places to join this spiritual fraternity. A condition was imposed on the person who desired to join them, that he should surrender his movable and immovable properties, whether villages or towns and whether small or great, to their public fund. Their number multiplied and they expanded and possessed several regions not only in Palestine but also in the vast land of Italy and Rome. They instituted laws and determined the boundaries of their fraternity. He who wanted to become a brother was placed under one year probation during which they inculcated him with their rules seven times. Each time they told him, "Look, maybe you will regret and cannot bear the burden of these rules to the end. Make a confession and return home." However, if he remained astute to the end of the year, and pledged to bear the yoke, they prayed over him and clothed him with their habit. However, if one violated his pledge, he was killed by the sword without mercy or intercession.

A condition of their order was that a member should not own any private possession whether a house, land or other things. He should not leave without the permission of the master. He should not eat bread except at their communal table. He should not lodge in any place except in his own domicile. Moreover, if he was ordered to go to any place he should not refuse even if death awaited him, but should rather perform his task with great faith until death, and in accordance with his commitment. If one of them died, they commemorated his death with forty Masses for the rest of his soul, and fed forty poor people for forty days. A Mass was also to be perpetually celebrated in their churches for his commemoration. Those who were killed in war were considered martyrs. If one was tried to conceal something from the fraternity, or something found from him after his death that he did not give to the fraternity, they would not celebrate his burial. Their vestment was a simple white dress. They were not allowed to change their clothes or unfasten their belts when they slept. Their meals were as follows: they ate meat on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. For the rest of the week they used milk, eggs and cheese, and drank wine daily with meals only. The priests and deacons among them served the churches, but the horsemen and the infantry engaged in warfare and military actions. Those who had trades engaged in their own trades. Thus, the farmer farmed in the villages and towns. Wherever the fraternity had a center, it had also a superintendent, and no member could perform a service relating to his trade without his order. Their Grand Master resided in Jerusalem and had authority over all of them, and he absolutely owned no private possession. They distributed one tenth of their income of wheat, wine and other things to the poor. In addition, one tenth of the bread baked everyday was distributed to the poor. Whatever was left from the table of the brothers was given to the poor. In addition, they distributed food and drink to the poor twice a week.

At the beginning, their task was the protection of pilgrims on the highways from robbers. Later on, however, they accompanied kings in their warfare with the Turks. Their number multiplied to a hundred thousand. They possessed citadels and built invincible fortresses in all the regions ruled by the Christians. Their possessions of gold and all kinds of properties and arms tremendously multiplied. In addition, they owned herds of sheep, cows, pigs, camels and horses more than all the kings, while they were supposed to be ascetics who owned no private possessions. They were free and bound to nothing. They were in concord with each other, and they loved all of those who worshiped the Cross. Wherever they were found, especially in Jerusalem, they built hospitals for the sick, which made it possible for a stranger who fell sick to find shelter and care. If he recovered, they paid him money and sent him away in peace; if he died, they took care of his burial. *End of this narrative.*<sup>2112</sup>

<sup>2112</sup> The story of the Frères or Knights Templar as told by Michael Rabo seems to be unique in Syriac sources. The Anonymous Edessan does not mention it and Bar Hebraeus refers to the Frères only in passing. See Bar Hebraeus, 283, *Chronography*, 288, 309, 370, 381, 389, and 396. Likewise the Frères are mentioned in passing in the Armenian *Continuation of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* by Gregory the Priest. See Dostourian's edition of Matthew of Edessa, 263, 273 and 277. In Arabic sources the name of the Templars appears as al-Dawiyya. Usama ibn Munqidh, who may be the first Arab writer to mention al-Dawiyya, states that

Bar Sabuni (Abu Ghalib) went too far in his insolent behavior, trampling upon the patriarch's order who suspended him from service because of ordaining priests and deacons. However, the patriarch reordained all of those who were ordained by Abu Ghalib Bar Sabuni. What is puzzling is that, despite knowing that Bar Sabuni was suspended from service, the wise Edessans consented to be ordained by him. Indeed, they had already willingly rejected him and appealed to the patriarch to reordain them. Even more surprising is that they had spurned and repudiated their first ordination by him. On his part, Patriarch Athanasius did something puzzling. One day a group of Edessans who had been ordained deacons and then priests by Bar Sabuni, went to the patriarch. Without investigating their ordination, the patriarch absolved them and then reordained them. Their reordination caused a conflict among those who were in the presence of the patriarch. An investigation was made about their diaconate and who ordained them deacons. When they confessed that Bar Sabuni ordained them deacons, their case became a subject of suspicion. In fact, such conflict and ill intention yield fruits loaded with suspicion. This conflict urged the patriarch to decide that they had no authority to practice the office of the priesthood except within the boundaries of what was valid for the deacons.

**Chapter Twelve: On the beginning of the reign of Iwani (John), son of Alexius (emperor) of the Romans; the intensification of war between the Franks and the Turks during this period; the submission of the Cumans to the Greeks, and other civil and ecclesiastical matters**

In the year 1425 (A.D. 1114), Tancred, lord of Antioch died,<sup>2113</sup> and was succeeded by Roger (Rogel in the Syriac text), son of his sister. In September of the same year (A.D. 1114) Roger defeated Bursuk the Turk.<sup>2114</sup>

In this same year, the Turk who was in charge of Hisn Ziyad rebelled. He spoiled the region and sold its people into slavery. Ibrahim, lord of Amid and Hisn Kipha 1105-1128) ravaged the region of 'Arqa, and Melitene swarmed with captives. Nevertheless, for their zeal, the faithful (Syrian Orthodox) ransomed them. When the Khatun (Lady or Princess, wife of Kilij Arslan), returned from her visit to Belek (Amir of Bula), she expelled *atabeg* (the tutor Kourtij) and resided with her son in the citadel, and they assumed the name of Belek. This enraged the Turk who was in charge of Hisn Ziyad and caused him to barter the Hisn with the sultan for other properties and some money. When the men of the sultan of Melitene entered the

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whenever he visited Jerusalem he went to pray in the Aqsa Mosque which was occupied by al-Dawiyya (Templars) who were his friends. One day, in the year 1144 he was praying toward the *qibla* in Makka a Frankish man from al-Dawiyya rushed to him and directed him to pray toward the east (according to the Christians' custom). See Usama ibn Muqidh, *Kitab al-I'tibar*, 163-164 of the English translation. Other writers, like Ibn al-Qalanisi, Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Wasil and Ibn Shaddad, mentions al-Dawiyya either in the context of the warfare of al-Malik al-Adil Abu al-Qasim Nur al-Din Mahmud Zangi (1146-1173), or in the context of the victory of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (Saladin) over the Franks at the battle of Hittin, July 3-4, 1187. See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 339, and 330 of the English translation together with footnote 2; and Hasan Habashi, *Nur al-Din wa al-Salibiyyun* (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 1948), 93; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh* in R.H.C. Or. I: 687-689, and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Babir fi al-Dawla al-Atabegiyya*, 41; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrrij al-Kurub fi Tarikh Bani Ayyub*, 2: 196; and al-Qadi Baha al-Din Abu al-Mahasin Yusuf ibn Rafi ibn Tamim knows as Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa al-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya* in R.H.C. Or. III: 96-97. In the Armenian account of Gregory the Priest, the author uses the term Templars when discussing the warfares of Nur al-Din Zangi with the Franks. See *The Continuation of Gregory the Priest to Matthew of Edessa*, 270-274. A final note: what is the origin of the term al-Dawiyya used by Arab writers? It may be a corruption of the Syric-Aramic term *dowaye* meaning poor, wretched, miserable. See J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford at The Clarendon Press, 1903), 85. It should be noted that the original name of the Knights Templar in Latin is *Pauperes commilitones Christi* (Poor Knights of Christ). See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 644, footnote 3. But the Syrian writers, especially Michael Rabo, used the term Frères for the Templars rather than the Syriac *dowaye*. See R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, I: 542.

<sup>2113</sup> Tancred died on December 12, 1112 and was succeeded by his nephew Roger of Salerno, regent of Antioch 1112-1119), whom Usama ibn Munqidh calls "a devil of the Franks." See Usamah ibn Munqidh, *Kitab al-I'tibar*, translated by Philip Hitti as *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 148, The Anonymous Edessan, 98; Matthew of Edessa, 212.

<sup>2114</sup> Bursuk son of Bursuk, a Turkish general, was commissioned by the Seljuk Sultan Ghiyath al-Dunya wa al-Din Muhammad in 1115 to fight the Franks, but he was defeated. He died in the following year. See Ibn al-Athir in R.H.C., Or. I: 298; Ibn al-Adim in R.H.C., Or. III: 608-609 Cf. Chabot, III, 203, and Imad al-Din Muhammad al-Isfahani, *Tarikh Dawlat Al Seljuk* (Cairo, 1900), 65.

Hisn, the son of the sultan of Khurasan (Muhammad son of Malikshah, later Seljuk Sultan of Khurasan 1104-1118), surprised them with a great army. They surrendered the Hisn without war, and peace prevailed.

On March 15, 1429 (A.D. 1118), Mangoug, amir of Qamach (Qamah), invaded the district of Melitene. The Khatun of Melitene sent (a message) to Joscelin, lord of Antioch, and made peace with him that he might come to her aid.

In August of this year, Alexius, the wise and mighty king (emperor) of the Romans died.<sup>2115</sup> By his sagacity, he rescued their city (Constantinople) from the Franks, the Cumans, the Egyptians and the refugees. He fought all of them and protected his state, which he governed with aptitude for twenty-nine years. He was succeeded by his son Iwanni (John) in 1118. John's brother, sister and mother conspired against him and he sent his brother and sister into exile and had his mother enter a convent. Then, he was established in the kingdom. In May of the year 1430 (A.D. 1119), the Amir Ghazi, son of Tunishman (Danishmend), assembled seven thousand Turks and invaded Antioch.<sup>2116</sup> They were met by Roger<sup>2117</sup> commanding a great number of foot soldiers. The Turks ambushed them and surrounded them. They killed Roger and a great number of them (Franks).<sup>2118</sup> The Turks ravaged the region, occupied invincible citadels, and killed a number of monks in the Black Mountain. They committed heinous crimes during their presence in that region until Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, arrived. The Turks placed an ambush for him but he was able to overwhelm them despite that the ambushers destroyed the rear of his army. Baldwin II chased them and annihilated them. He pursued Ghazi (Ilghazi), and some Turks fled to Aleppo, and the others remained with Ghazi. On that day, they suffered a heavy blow. As to the Franks who were saved, they restored what the Turks had taken and entered Antioch with the king (Baldwin II).<sup>2119</sup>

In that year the sultan of Melitene subjugated the region of Jihan and Ablastain, and added the region of al-Qati'a to Melitene.

On February of the same year, the Franks invaded the region of Melitene while the Turks invaded Gargar. The Greeks stood against the Turks on the seacoast for two months, but they left without a war.

The sultan of Melitene and his governor Belek invaded the country of Qamah, and Mangoug, lord of the country, fled to Trebizon and sought asylum with the Greeks accompanied by Gabras. Then, Belek and the sultan of Melitene reached a peace agreement with Ilghazi, son of Tunishman, and fought against the Greeks and defeated them. They captured Gabras and Ibn Mangoug. Gabras was sold for thirty thousand dinars, but Ibn Mangoug was rescued by Ilghazi because he was his son-in-law. For this reason, enmity ensued between the sultan and Belek with Ilghazi.

In this year Iwani king (emperor) of the Greeks seized three fortresses from the Turks.

Ghazi (Ilghazi, son of Artuk d. 1122) assembled an army, invaded the region of Edessa, and burned the crops. Facing no resistance, he entered the region of Antioch, spoiled it, and then returned to his country. Belek took hold of Hisn Ziyad and the neighboring regions of Melitene, and Melitene was subjected to his authority. He was feared by all the amirs. However, the Armenians in Gargar caused a great

<sup>2115</sup> For Alexius' illness and death see Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, 420-427.

<sup>2116</sup> Bar Hebraeus states that the blessed Mor Michael says that Ghazi, the son of Danishmend, defeated the Franks and slew Roger. In fact, it was Ilghazi and not Ghazi who did this. Bar Hebraeus further says that perhaps the mistake is due to the similarity of the names, i.e. Ghazi and Ilghazi. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 249, The Anonymous Edessan, 103; Matthew of Edessa, 223.

<sup>2117</sup> Roger of Salerno, lord of Antioch known in Arabic sources as Sirjal, Sir Roger, or Rujir.

<sup>2118</sup> Roger's fight against the Turks was motivated by his ambition to control Aleppo. See Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, in *R.H.C. Or. I*:323-325, William of Tyre, *I*: 528-531; Matthew of Edessa, 223-224; the Anonymous Edessan, 103-104, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 249, Ibn al-Qalanisi. *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 201, Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, ed. Sami al-Dahhan, *II*:187-189, and the same in *R.H.C., Or. III*: 616-620; W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, 102-106.

<sup>2119</sup> According to Matthew of Edessa, 224, the Turks ravaged the country from the Euphrates River to the Mediterranean Sea killing people and taking others into captivity. This is confirmed by Arabic sources which relate that the Muslim troops spread all over the regions of Antioch and al-Suwaydiyya and other places killing, looting and taking vanquished people into captivity. The Muslims looted so many things and animals that no Turk was left without having his hands full of booty. See Ibn al-Adim, *Ibid*, 190. Ibn al-Qalanisi praised Allah because, as a result of looting; the homes of the people (Christians) were left empty. See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 201.

deal of harm to his country by their acts of robbery. He sent a message to Michael, lord of Gargar, pledging to pay him a thousand loads of wheat every year and three villages if he would restrain the robbers. Many times Michael swore oaths to Belek, but he did not honor his word. One day at night, Michael's thieves burned two villages in Hanzit, pillaged several other villages and killed a number of Turks. They did not restrain themselves because they relied on the pledge for peace and their reception of wheat.<sup>2120</sup> When Belek knew of what happened, he was wrathful, and intended to trick the Armenians to lead them into perdition.

Belek found an opportunity in the winter, when the mountains were covered with snow, and the people of Gargar felt secure. He crossed over the ice of the Euphrates to Jubas. He deceived the people of Gargar into believing that he was going only for a certain distance. However, he made one thousand unharnessed horses march ahead of him over the rugged mountain called Qariouna (the Wax Mountain). The ice was trodden flat and his forces passed through. In one day, they reached the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. At night, they crossed the Mountain of Gargar and in the morning, they attacked and ravaged the wretched country. Belek spoiled the country on Monday the first of January of the year 1432 (A.D. 1121). No one, whether human or cattle, escaped the hands of the Turks. They seized everything and then departed, and the country became desolate. Belek, however, treated the people with great compassion.<sup>2121</sup> He had no one killed or taken captive. He protected their cattle and belongings, gave them villages and made them settle in the region of Hanzit. He exacted an oath from them that they would not return to Gargar. He threatened those who would escape and return to Gargar to make them slaves in his next invasion of the region, and this is exactly what happened. A year later, Belek came to Gargar and burned the villages, the vineyards and the olive groves, and took captive those whom he found in Gargar. Then Joscelin fell upon Belek, and he fled to the mountains, When the Franks could not overwhelm him, they retreated and Belek returned to his country.<sup>2122</sup>

In the year 1433 (A.D. 1122),<sup>2123</sup> the Sultan of Khurasan<sup>2124</sup> dispatched one hundred thousand troops to Iberia to possess it, but its king closed the gates on every side and annihilated them by the sword.

In this year, Joscelin invaded the region of Jubas. In this same year, too, John, emperor of the Greeks, destroyed the Cumans and since then they became subjects to the Greeks.

Basilius (Bar Shumanna, d. 1169), bishop of Edessa,<sup>2125</sup> who was present (in that city), wrote about the Cumans. He said, "When the Cumans came to Constantinople, King Iwani (Emperor John) pretended to be committed to peace with them, and they spread in the cities including Constantinople. Then, he issued an order for their arrest wherever they were found. About three thousand were seized in the camp of the king (emperor) apart from those who were seized in the cities. On the day they were captured, the king and his forces went to their camp, but they had barricaded their camp with wooden towers, as was their custom, and began to fight. The Greeks struggled for many days but failed to penetrate the wooden towers. Then the emperor dismounted and ordered the horsemen to dismount and fight. They engaged in a heated battle. The horsemen jumped over the barricades and massacred them. They captured their chieftains and drove them like slaves to Constantinople. With this victory the affairs of the emperor were greatly settled.

<sup>2120</sup> Bar Hebraeus says that the thieves did not abide by their oath and burned two villages in Hanzit after they received the loads of wheat. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 250.

<sup>2121</sup> Matthew of Edessa, 232, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 250.

<sup>2122</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 250; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 515-516.

<sup>2123</sup> More correctly 1121.

<sup>2124</sup> Muhammad II Mughith al-Din.

<sup>2125</sup> Abu al-Faraj Basilius who came from the noble family of Shumanna in Edessa. Thus, he is known as Bar Shumanna. His brother served as a minister of Joscelin, Count of Edessa. Abu al-Faraj was ordained a bishop for Kesum in 1129 and was transferred to Edessa in 1143. Twice he was an eye witness of the destruction of Edessa. Among his writings is a history of Edessa from the beginning of the world to his own time, which is lost to us. But it is greatly utilized by our author and by The Anonymous Edessan. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated into English by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 430-431.

The Cumans are a group of Turks who speak the Turkish language but they know no prophet whether Moses, the Lord Jesus, or Muhammad. Wherever they went, they took with them their wives and children and belongings and kept them in the wooden towers with which they barricaded their camps like a wall. They left the banks of the River Danbis (Danube) and marched to Constantinople with the intention of possessing it, but the emperor defeated them badly and they became slaves to the Greek kingdom." *End of the narrative.*<sup>2126</sup>

On the third hour of Thursday of January 1431 (A.D. 1120), a violent earthquake took place and destroyed many places. In this time, there was severe famine in Jerusalem. The Frères who are called *Dowaye* (Arabic *Dawiya*), that is, "holy brothers," (Knights Templar) distributed, as was their custom, (food) to the poor generously. However, when their stored grains became scanty, the stewards asked the chiefs and the administrators to check the granaries to see how drastic the shortage was. When they checked them, they said to one another, "What is left is not sufficient for us even if we kept away our share from the poor. Therefore, the provisions should be distributed as usual and nothing should be denied the poor. We should equally feed the poor of what is left until it is consumed and then, we and they die." They unanimously agreed to this proposition and distributed grain generously to the poor. For this reason, God, who fed thousands in the wilderness with a few loaves, visited them. For when the stewards entered the granaries, they suddenly found them flowing with wheat, barley, wine and grains. This miracle was made known everywhere for the glory of God.

At the beginning of January 1431 (A.D. 1120), fire broke out in Constantinople and destroyed ten thousand houses and shops.

In May of this year, flying locusts swept Melitene and devoured part of the fields. The people raised continuous supplications with faith, the mouths of the locusts were shut and could eat no more, and the fields were safe. Shortly afterwards, tiny locusts appeared and ate up some trees and grapevines, but immediately vanished.

In the same year, a city in Persia called Ardabil sank immediately and turned into a lake, and all its inhabitants drowned.

In the year 1432 (A.D. 1121), the winter was so severe for forty days that the Euphrates and other rivers were frozen, and people walked over them like on a dry land.

On May 30 of this same year, a full rainbow was seen, a phenomenon which has not been seen for generations. It is believed that it was a supernatural matter or beyond nature. The rainbow was seen full at night and not as usual when the sun is beneath the earth, or, as some think, it is behind the mountains that are toward the north. Indeed, this phenomenon was a marvel to anyone who contemplated it. However, everything is possible to the Almighty who does what he wills. *End of the narrative.*

Bar Sabuni (Abu Ghalib) moved from bad to worse. He complained against the holy Patriarch Mor Athanasius to the Franks' patriarch in Antioch<sup>2127</sup> accusing Mor Athanasius of vicious charges which made the (Syrian) Orthodox Church a subject of revile by others. The Latin patriarch summoned Mor Athanasius from the Aqshar Monastery in that region, and he entered Antioch against his will. They (the Latins) took him to the Great Church of St. Peter called Cassianus, and asked him to pardon Bar Sabuni, but he refused to do so. The Franks took his attitude as a pretext to punish the Syrians and the patriarch. When they brought him to their church, they treated him with decorum and said to him, "Show grace and pray over this metropolitan for the sake of our city Edessa." The Patriarch said, "He has gone too far in his offense." However, the translator misunderstood the patriarch, and said that he was asking for money. The Franks said, "This is Simony (offering church offices for money) and not in accordance with the spirit of St. Peter. It is not worthy of Christians to depose a chief priest from his office for money." But since there was no one who understood them, the Franks added, "If, according to your canons you deal with money, then consider that today you have given this church ten thousand dinars, and released from exile this one (Bar

<sup>2126</sup> We hear a great deal about the Cumans in the time of Emperor Alexius I, who tried to use them as allies in his wars with the Scythians. See Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, 200-207, and 238-247.

<sup>2127</sup> Bernard of Valence, Latin patriarch of Antioch (1100-1136). See Chabot, III, 207.

Sabuni) who has sought asylum in it." However, since the patriarch could not respond, (for he did not understand what they were saying) he said that he would pray for Bar Sabuni. They asked him to absolve him in writing. They gave him a sheet of paper and he began to write. Turning to Bar Sabuni who was near him he said to him, "Look, Abu Ghalib, to what state you have dragged me into." Bar Sabuni said insolently, "If I am Abu Ghalib, then you are Abu al-Faraj." Hearing these words, the patriarch lost his temper, threw away the piece of paper and, stretching his neck, and said, "You may cut off my head, but I will not absolve this man." The Franks ordered both of them (the patriarch and Bar Sabuni) beaten. One of their elder bishops said to their patriarch, "Although these two wretched men have behaved disdainfully and deserve to be beaten, it is improper to beat anyone inside the church." With these words, the wrath of the Franks calmed down, and let the patriarch and his companions depart. They left the Great Church and went to the Syrian church of the Mother of God in Antioch. The Franks forbade the patriarch from leaving the city until they had assembled a council. They issued summons to their bishops to attend. Mor Athanasius remained in the church (of the Mother of God) dejected and sad.

Five days later, the patriarch was in his cell with the door shut and no one was allowed to speak with him. The crowd of presbyters and lay people were afflicted with grief. The presbyters went out and brought the Chalcedonian philosopher Abd al-Masih Ibn Abi Durra of Edessa who loved the patriarch and trusted his piety. He entered into the cell of the patriarch, and both men were engaged in conversation. The patriarch approached Roger (of Salerno, 1112-1119), lord of the city (Antioch) then, and offered him expensive gifts and obtained from him a decree to leave the city. Roger said to the Frankish patriarch, "You have no authority over the Syrians."<sup>2128</sup>

### **Chapter Thirteen: When Belek captured the King of Jerusalem and Joscelin; the rebellion at Hisn Ziyad; the death of Belek, and other secular and ecclesiastical affairs in this period**

In the year 1434 (A.D. 1123), the Amir Belek entered the region of Antioch and was countered by the Franks. The two camps faced each other for four months after which they departed without fight. The wife of Joscelin I (of Courtenay) died and he married the daughter of Roger of Antioch.<sup>2129</sup> On his way to Edessa, Belek ambushed Joscelin, seized him and sent him to Bula. For this reason, Belek gained a great name among the Turks, and multitudes gathered around him and entered the region of the Franks for the second time. When the Armenian Michael of Gargar (son of Constantine, governor of Gargar) learned that the Turks had controlled the region, he gave Gargar to the king (Baldwin II, of Le Bourg) and kept for himself a plot of land in his area. The king stationed a garrison in Gargar and gathered his forces in order to evict the Turks from Hisn Mansur and Kesum. While the Franks were camping on the River Sanja (the Singas of Ptolemy "Gök-Sue" near Samosata), they were surprised by Belek's ambushers who attacked their camp, seized the king and annihilated those with him. Also was captured Joscelin and Galeran early on the Day of the Festival of the Cross.<sup>2130</sup> King Baldwin was also captured on Wednesday of the Week of White Apparel, or Whit-Wednesday of the same year.<sup>2131</sup> When the king of Jerusalem was taken captive and there was no chief or ruler to manage its (Jerusalem) affairs, the Egyptians (the Fatimids) thought that they would possess Jerusalem and the rest of the country. They marched in two armies: one on land and the other on sea, but God defeated those who came on land as they faced those (Franks) who were engaged in fasting and prayer. After seven days of fasting and praying, great multitudes rushed out of Jerusalem carrying the Cross and weeping; the Egyptians were defeated and fled before them. However, it was God and not man

<sup>2128</sup> This episode is a sheer example of the Frank's unlawful interference in the affairs of the Syrian Church. For more analysis of this subject, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 657-659.

<sup>2129</sup> The Anonymous Edessan and Bar Hebraeus say that Joscelin married the daughter of Roger in the year 1122 not in 1123, and received Azaz as a dowry. See The Anonymous Edessan, 109 and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 250. According to William of Tyre, I: 528, Joscelin married Morphia of Salerno, sister and not daughter of Roger of Antioch.

<sup>2130</sup> Joscelin and Galeran with some knights were captured on September 13, 1122. See Matthew of Edessa, 228-229, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 251 and The Anonymous Edessan, 109-110.

<sup>2131</sup> See William of Tyre, I: 540-541 who says that King Baldwin was captured in April on Whit-Wednesday, The Anonymous Edessan, 111-113 says that he was captured on Whit-Tuesday.

who defeated them. They plundered their camels and belongings and brought them to Jerusalem with great joy. They kept fasting and praying for twenty-one days. As to the other Egyptian forces, they came by ships over the sea, but were immediately captured upon their arrival at Akka (Acre). This happened because God disposed the Venetians, who arrived at that time to perform the pilgrimage. When the Venetians saw the Egyptians coming, they prepared to fight. God gave them victory and they routed and annihilated the Egyptians. Encouraged, the people of Jerusalem joined them and together they invaded Tyre.

After capturing the king (Baldwin), Belek invaded Hisn Mansur whose people surrendered it to him peacefully, but the cruel Turks took the people into captivity and burned the city and its environ. The Franks departed Gargar and the Turks entered it. Belek imprisoned Joscelin and the rest of the Franks in a pit in Hisn Ziyad. In addition, he wrested Aleppo, Harran and Tell Bashir from the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) and three more fortresses from the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) and the Franks. However, a rebellion was stirred up against him in the fortress of Hisn Ziyad. At the fortress there were Armenian artisans who were building something. When they saw that the fortress was empty except for a few soldiers, they gathered at the gate to complain about their low wages. Immediately, they leapt, seized the swords at the fortress, killed the three guards at the gate and freed Joscelin and others with him. They also killed a number of Muslims and seized the fortress. The people of the fortress of Ziyad joined forces and fought them. Joscelin stealthily departed at night accompanied by an Armenian person. He swore to the king that he would assemble an army (of Franks) and come back and stay in the fortress if they controlled it. If they failed, they would take the king with them and depart the fortress.<sup>2132</sup>

Upon Joscelin's departure, Belek set up four engines of war and caused the walls to fall down. He released the Franks after torturing and killing seventy of them. He accompanied the king (Baldwin II) and his nephew, (son of his sister) Galeran, but returned immediately because he intended to ravage the inhabited world. As he invested Mabug (Manbij), its inhabitants sent a message to Joscelin asking him to save them from Belek. They offered to pay Joscelin a tribute in return. Joscelin responded and engaged Belek in battle that lasted from morn to dusk during which Geofry, lord of Kesum, was slain. Geofry was a monk who had left Rome for Jerusalem.<sup>2133</sup> He exhibited extraordinary courage and thus was appointed a general of the army. The king brought him with him when he came to protect the region and offered him Kesum, Ra'ban and Mar'ash. His career ended when he was killed in this battle.

In the morning, Belek came to the wall to select a position for an engine of war. He was shot by an arrow from within the wall and fell dead (May 6, 1124). His army fled to Aleppo and set his cousin (Timurtash son of Ilghazi) as their leader. He (Timurtash) was the one who liberated King Baldwin (II) for a hundred thousand dinars, and the king returned to Jerusalem. Some Turks under Sulayman, chief of the Artukid tribe, returned to Hisn Ziyad.<sup>2134</sup>

On January 28, 1433 (A.D. 1122), the earth shook four times at night and four times during the day. The rocks in the region of Semha on the Euphrates bank, cleft and several regions sank and became graves for their inhabitants.

In the year 1134 (A.D. 1123), there was scarcity of rain everywhere and severe famine resulted, especially in the east. In this same year, fire broke out in Constantinople, and many people and beasts perished in addition to houses, churches and monasteries.

In the year 1434 (A.D. 1123), there was a ferocious warfare and animosity among the birds in the sky. Some of them triumphed while others were defeated. How this thing happened and why, no one exactly knows. However, the omniscient one (God) knows the truth of what happened. The warfare was as follows:

<sup>2132</sup> Bar Hebraeus *Chronography*, 251 Matthew of Edessa, 230, The Anonymous Edessan, 113-116, Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, ed. Sami al-Dahhan, II: 213, and the same in *R.H.C.*, III: 637, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 514-519.

<sup>2133</sup> He is Geofry the Monk, lord of Mar'ash, regent of Edessa 1122-1123. He was in charge of the Franks' forces which protected their territories, primarily Jerusalem, Antioch and Edessa from the Turks. Matthew of Edessa says he was a brave and mighty man and a most fervent Christian. See Matthew of Edessa, 230, and The Anonymous Edessan, 117.

<sup>2134</sup> For further analysis, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 519-520.

The birds of *Abu al-Hojouje* (Arabic, Abu Hudayj, storks) and cranes suddenly congregated from every direction and formed two camps over the River Tellakoum. They continued congregating for several days. Those who saw them testified that the birds sent delegations from one camp to the other for fifteen days. Suddenly, however, they began to cry with loud voices and fight each other. Some of them fell to the ground and died. A great number of carcasses of the dead storks and cranes were piled up. The battle lasted until the ninth hour of the day, and finally the storks were defeated. Most of them died and the rest fled, but they were pursued by the cranes to their nests that killed their chicks.<sup>2135</sup> *End of the account of the war of birds. He who reads let him pray for the weak and sinner Mikha'il (Michael of Urbish) who copied these lines.*

On April 26 of the year 1431 (A.D. 1121), Dionysius Bar Modyana (son of the Confessor) died and was buried in the church of Melitene. He served the chief priesthood for fifty years of which thirty-two years as a bishop, twelve years as the metropolitan of Melitene, and six years afterwards, it was taken from him.

After he left Antioch angry, Patriarch Athanasius (VI) refused to stay in the Frankish region and went to the city of Amid in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) which was a private patriarchal diocese. He resided in the Monastery of Qanqart.<sup>2136</sup> He tightened his stranglehold on Edessa because of Bar Sabuni (Abu Ghalib). He closed its church and forbade the ringing of its bells, which caused more trouble in the church of Edessa. As a result, some priests rebelled and quarreled with each other. The congregation left the church, and some of them attended the churches of other doctrines (meaning Chalcedonian churches). Since then the Edessans (Syrian Orthodox) used to have their children baptized in the churches of the Franks, but all this did not excite the conscience of the pastors. It should be truly said that the Orthodox Church suffered grave damages because of the disturbance among its pastors.

When Mor Athanasius remained long in Amid, he had another problem as a result of (his) intransigence and stubbornness. A dispute ensued between the family of the patriarch known as Kamra and some dignitaries from the family of Qarya who lived in the town of Qanqart. When the patriarch settled in the Monastery of Qanqart, these dignitaries contested with him regarding the houses and fields they owned in the region. They slandered him to the governor, and in turn, the patriarch excommunicated the deacon Ishaq (Isaac) Qarya. The dispute intensified and disturbance spread with the result that a great harm inflicted Amid and the entire diocese of the patriarch. The affairs of the patriarch himself were in turmoil, as we shall explain later.

**Chapter Fourteen: We have appended this chapter at the end of this Book (XV) because we have derived it from a book in the Arabic language containing events that took place before this date for two reasons: first, Muslims use the lunar calendar; second, because we have not come across this book until these events happened. The reader should take notice of the rest of what has been written about Najm al-Din, Artukid lord of Aleppo who governed before the above-mentioned Belek. Belek, in fact, ruled Aleppo after the death of Najm al-Din. The chapter has been translated from Arabic books in Athor and Babil (Assyria and Babylon in Mesopotamia).**

In the year 500 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar, 1106 A.D.), in the time of al-Mustazhir, caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs) of Baghdad (1094-1118) and Giyath al-Din, sultan of Khurasan,<sup>2137</sup> the Ismai'lis (of whom were the notorious assassins) massacred his Vizier (minister) called (Fakhr al-Muluk) Abu al-Muzaffar. They also killed in this year Kosdegin, one of the sultan's great men. For this reason, Sultan

<sup>2135</sup> Matthew of Edessa, 231.

<sup>2136</sup> A monastery built after the name of the Prophet Elijah in the town of Qanqart few miles away from Amid (present day Diyarbakir). It was first mentioned in the year 1050. Today it is in ruins. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 567-568.

<sup>2137</sup> Sultan Muhammad Giyath al-Dunya wa al-Din (d.1118), son of Jalal al-Dawla Malikshah whose seat of government was in Isfahan. He is always referred to in Arabic sources as Muhammad.

Ghiyath al-Din became furious and annihilated the Isma'ilis found in the lands of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims).

Although the Isma'ilis were considered Arabs, they were a peculiar tribe that belonged neither to the Arabs nor to the Turks, in religious doctrine or traditions. Concerning Christ, they said that although he was the one about whom the prophets prophesied, yet he was not the savior. This was why the Jews intended to kill him but he fled to heaven from whence he would return to accomplish redemption. They have always vilified Muhammad and do not accept his book (the Quran). They resort to assassination as revenge against their antagonists for the hope of receiving salvation in the world to come.

In this same year 500 of the Tayoye (500 of the Islamic Calendar, A.D. 1106), Sayf al-Dawla Sadaqa ibn Dubays, king of the Arabs,<sup>2138</sup> seized Takrit with the following pretext. In Takrit there was a wicked and iniquitous Daylamite person named Qiyadh ibn Hedharesb. He destroyed the grand mosque of the Muslims in the neighborhood of the citadel, which agitated the Muslims against him. In the year 1433<sup>2139</sup> (A.D. 1122), he (Sadaqa ibn Dubays) usurped the great church of the Christians known as al-Khadra (the Green) including the houses and shops which belonged to it and gave it to the Muslims.<sup>2140</sup>

When the conflict between Christians and the Tayoye (Muslims) intensified, Sultan Ghiyath al-Din sent an amir named Aksungur (Bursuki)<sup>2141</sup> who waged war against Takrit for seven months. Its ruler was forced to deliver it to Sadaqa, king of the Arabs, and then abandoned it. He died fourteen days later. When Sultan Ghiyath al-Din heard that Sadaqa ibn Dubays had governed Takrit and rebelled against him, he marshaled an army of Turks to challenge him. Sadaqa, too, reassembled an army of Arabs and a battle ensued between the two on the bank of the Quni or Qani River. The Arabs were defeated and their king Sadaqa was killed. With this the kingdom of the Arabs ended in the year 500 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar) which the year 1433 of the Greeks (A.D. 1122).<sup>2142</sup>

In the year 502 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar, 1108 A.D.), three years after the departure (defeat) of the Turks, an amir named Mawdud<sup>2143</sup> was charged by Sultan Ghiyath al-Din to march against the Franks. He gave him Mosul, al-Jazira and Nisibin, and ordered the other amirs to accompany him, but when he reached Mosul, Jawli refused to surrender the city. Mawdud set engines of war against Mosul and attacked it ferociously. On Friday while the Muslims were praying, Mawdud's men climbed the wall to create confusion. Jawli and his men were fortified in the citadel, and Mawdud swore to them solemn oaths. Jawli and his men departed and went to Najm al-Din ibn Artuk in Mardin. They assembled an army to fight the Franks in order to gain the favor of the great sultan. Mawdud did not fight the Franks but returned to the sultan. Joscelin, lord of Edessa, allied himself to Jawli because Jawli had treated him graciously in Mosul. In

<sup>2138</sup> See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 534-535 with the footnotes.

<sup>2139</sup> This date must be of the Greeks.

<sup>2140</sup> Al-Khadra Church was dedicated to the Syrian peripatetic philosopher and theologian Mor Ahudemeh (d. 575). See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 433. Chabot gives the name of the church as the Kurrath Church. See Chabot, III:214.

<sup>2141</sup> Sayf al-Dawla Aksungur al-Bursuki to whom Seljuk Sultan Mughith al-Dunya wa al-Din Mahmud allotted in 1221 the governorship of Mosul, al-Jazira, Sinjar, Nisibin and other lands. He was murdered in 1226 by a batini (Ismaili) partisan. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C., I:341-342, and 364-365 and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Babir*, 24 and 31; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, 197-198, and 208-217; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, ed. Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal, 28-30; Abu al-Fida, *al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Basbar* in R.H.C., I: 14.

<sup>2142</sup> The reference here is to Sayf al-Dawla Sadaqa, son of Baha al-Dawla Mansur, son of Mazyad al-Asadi. Sadaqa belongs to the Banu Mazyad, an Arab tribe whose domain extended from Baghdad to Hit in north-west Iraq and to Basrah in the south of the country. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Seljuk state, Sadaqa controlled most of the southern part of Iraq and founded the city of al-Hilla in 1102 as the seat of his government. He waxed powerful and endeavored to establish a state in southern Iraq, independent of the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad. He assumed the title of Sayf al-Dawla (Sword of the State). Like our author, Ibn al-Athir calls him Malik al-Arab (King of the Arabs). He also calls him Amir al-Arab (Ruler of the Arabs). He was killed in the conflict between him and the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad in 1108. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C., I: 247, and 271; and Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 146-147, 156, 159, and 160 where he praises the character of Sadaqa saying that the Arabs had no one to match him in his charity and noble character.; and Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Abd al-Wahhab al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-Arab fi Funun al-Adab*, MS. Jami'at al-Duwal al-Arabiyya, Vol. 25, fol. 27, quoted by Said Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, I:115.

<sup>2143</sup> Sharaf al-Din Mawdud ibn Altuntash or Altuntakin, atabeg of Mosul, d. 1131.

addition, Ridwan of Aleppo allied himself to that king (Tancred of Antioch) and they defeated Jawli and Joscelin.<sup>2144</sup>

In the year 500 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar (1106 A.D.)), the Franks wrested Tripoli on the seashore from Abu Ali ibn Imram<sup>2145</sup> after fierce battle. They killed soldiers, carried into captivity the people of the entire region and sold them as slaves.<sup>2146</sup> In this year Ilbazzmish, son of Artuk, fell of his horse and died. The Franks took hold of Houtarib (Atharb), killed two thousands, then came to Manbij, and plundered it. Then they marched to Balish and burned it by fire.

When Ibn Ridwan returned from Baghdad and realized that he could not challenge the Franks, he sent them thirty-two thousand dinars, twenty mules and forty satin garments. The atabeg of Damascus, Tughtikin,<sup>2147</sup> sent them ten thousand dinars, the lord of Hamah,<sup>2148</sup> two thousand dinars, and the lord of Ashqalun (Ascalon, Asqalan)<sup>2149</sup> four thousands dinars, and they concluded peace.

In the year 505 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar (A.D. 1111)), Sultan Ghiyath al-Dunya wa al-Din dispatched an army with Mawdud to fight the Franks. When they reached Shabakhtan, they seized many fortresses but failed to capture Edessa. They attacked Tell Basher but failed to occupy it. Then they came to Aleppo but the inhabitants would not permit them to enter it. Sukman (al-Qutbi), lord of Khilat, (and Miyafarqin 1100-1110), fell sick and they took him to be treated but he died on the way. Three times in one day, Mawdud became engaged in a fight with the Franks. He triumphed the first time but was defeated afterwards and fled to Damascus. While he was taking a walk after the Friday prayer holding onto his companion's hand, he was surprised by an Isma'ili (Assassin) who attacked him and smote him to death with a knife (September 1113). In that year Ridwan, ruler of Aleppo, was slain and was succeeded by his son al-Akhras (the Mute).

In the year 508 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar (A.D. 1114)), the army of Sultan Ghiyath al-Dunya wa al-Din, commanded by his son Abu al-Fath Mas'ud (1134-1150) and Qasim al-Dawla ibn Aksungur<sup>2150</sup> set out to fight the Franks. When they reached Mosul, they were received by the men of Imad al-Din Zangi, son of Qasim al-Dawlah Aksungur and Tamirek, ruler of Sinjar.<sup>2151</sup> Then, they came to al-Jazira whose governor was appointed by Mawdud. He delivered (al-Jazira) to them, and they were joined by the people of Nisibin. In Mardin, Najm al-Din Ilghazi welcomed the son of the sultan and dispatched with him Ayaz at the head of three hundred horsemen. After passing Shabakhtan, Najm al-Din sent an envoy to encourage the Franks. When he learned of this, the sultan had the son of Najm al-Din seized, bound him in chains, and plundered his region and then marched against Dara. Najm al-Din moved to Shahrzur where he assembled a great number of troops and came to Rukn al-Din, cousin of the governor of Hisn Kipha and his other brother Belek Barham (Bahram) to liberate his son. They reached Qurdis near Dara without

<sup>2144</sup> An explanation is needed here. We have seen earlier that Jawli was expelled from Mosul in 1108 by Mawdud Altuntash al-Tuwayniki and went to al-Jazira to rally allies against the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad. To strengthen his position, Baldwin released Baldwin II, of Le Bourg at Maksin and discussed peaceful relations with him. To show good will, Baldwin released one hundred and sixty Muslim captives mostly from Aleppo and had them clothed. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C. Or. I:262. Jawli also supported Baldwin and Joscelin I in their fight against Tancred. According to Matthew of Edessa, Baldwin and Joscelin made war on Tancred, count of Antioch, because he refused to return the lands he had taken from them when they were in captivity. See Matthew of Edessa, 201. Ibn al-Athir, *Ibid*, Harold S. Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States, 1118-1144," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin (Kenneth Setton, General Editor), I: 393-394.

<sup>2145</sup> More correctly Fakhr al-Mulk ibn Ammar. See al-Qalanisi, 148

<sup>2146</sup> Actually Tripoli was captured on July 12, 1109, corresponding to the year 502 of the Islamic calendar. See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 163, and 89 of the English translation.

<sup>2147</sup> Zahir al-Din Tughtikin, Turkish atabeg of Damascus 1104-1128.

<sup>2148</sup> Ali Kurd, Kurdish chief at Hamah in 1104.

<sup>2149</sup> Shams al-Khilafa, Fatimid governor of Ascalon in 1111.

<sup>2150</sup> This cannot be correct because Qasim al-Dawla Aksungur known as al-Hajib died in 1094. In this context, Aksungur is Aksungur al-Bursuki and not ibn, i.e., son of Aksungur.

<sup>2151</sup> See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C., I:292 and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 4-8, and 15, Ibn Wasil, *Mufarriq al-Kurub*, I:11; Ibn al-Qalanisi, 119, 126-130; Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkar, IV (Damascus, 1988):1954-1962; and by the same author, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, ed. Sami al-Dahhan, II:177 and 241, footnote 2, and Suhayl Zakkar, *Madkhal ila Tarikh al-Hurub al-Salibiyya*, 286-276.

knowing that one of the armies of the son of the sultan was there. They saw some horsemen among whom was Tamirek, lord of Sinjar, the lord of Nisibin and the lord of Maksin, and captured them. When the son of the sultan learned of the defeat of his army, he left Dara and fled to Nisibin. Najm al-Din plundered the tent and everything therein.

Ibn Najm al-Din took advantage of their confusion and waited for darkness to fall when no friend would take care of his own friend. Although he was riding while bound in iron fetters, he threw himself off the mule and hid in a synagogue of the Jews. A certain Kurd informed his father about Najm al-Din, who sent ten men to carry him, and there was a great joy among the Banu Artuk. As to the son of the sultan, he returned to his father and complained against Najm al-Din. The sultan threatened Najm al-Din for his contempt of the authority of the Turks. Najm al-Din, on his part, allied himself to the Franks and with the atabeg of Damascus (Tughtikin). They swore to help each other. Then everyone returned to his own country and Najm al-Din remained alone. At night, the ruler of Homs<sup>2152</sup> found him dead drunk. He carried him to Homs and informed the sultan about him. When a response from the sultan delayed, the ruler of Homs released him on bail and kept his son Ayaz as hostage. Najm al-Din, however, assembled an army and pressured the ruler of Homs to release his son. The ruler of Homs asked the sultan to send troops, which he did. They concluded peace and Najm al-Din's son was released. The sultan's forces attacked the land of the Franks, but the Franks resisted and massacred them. It is said that three thousand of them were committed to fire.

In the year 513 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar (A.D. 1119)), the ruler of Aleppo<sup>2153</sup> surrendered the city to Najm al-Din because the Franks had exhausted it. In the same year, Ilghazi Najm al-Din occupied Nisibin and then departed to Aleppo to conclude peace with the Franks, but they refused. He assembled a great number of supporting Turks including a thousand amirs. When the two groups faced each other, the Lord of Antioch (Roger of Salerno) did not wait for the arrival of the king (Baldwin II, of Le Bourg on June 28, 1119). For this reason, he (Roger) was defeated and Najm al-Din triumphed. When he returned to Mardin, Najm al-Din heard that the people of Aleppo had revolted, and hastened to annihilate the rebels. Upon returning to Miyafarqat, he died on the way and instructed that his son Husam al-Din Timurtash should succeed him because his other son Sulayman was in his company and away from Mardin. His army brought him to Miyafarqat where he was buried. Timurtash became the lord of Mardin in the year 516 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar (A.D. 1122)).

*Note. This chapter should have preceded the previous chapters because Belek assumed government in Aleppo after Najm al-Din.*

*Here ends Book XV which treated the events of the eighty year period during which ten kings (emperors) ruled in the kingdom of the Romans, four Arab caliphs in Baghdad, three Turkish sultans in Khurasan, four sultans in Bithynia, two amirs in Cappadocia and three Frankish kings in Jerusalem. Glory and honor to the omniscient Lord of all forever and ever. Yes and Amen.*

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<sup>2152</sup> Kirkhan son of Kiraja, Turkish chief at Homs in 1104.

<sup>2153</sup> Sultanshah the Mute, son of Ridwan Seljukid ruler of Aleppo. Sultanshah was removed by the Artukids as a ruler of Aleppo. See Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, in R.H.C. III: 645.

## BOOK SIXTEEN

THIS BOOK IS TO BE ADDED TO THE WEB (OF THE NARRATIVE). IT BEGINS WITH THE YEAR 1442 (OF THE GREEKS) WHICH IS THE YEAR 1112 OF THE NATIVITY OF OUR SAVIOR, THE YEAR 509 OF THE ARAB STATE (HIJRA, ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 70 OF THE TURKS, AND THE YEAR 6610 FROM ADAM, THAT IS, THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD

### **Chapter One: On the siege of Melitene, and on ecclesiastical and world affairs**

At the beginning of this Book, we shall discuss the siege of Melitene because the web of events in the previous Book extended to the death of Belek, in whose name the son of the sultan protected Melitene, whereas the cities controlled by Belek were distributed among several rulers. Husam al-Din Timurtash took Aleppo, Sulayman took Hisn Ziyad and the sultan of Melitene took Masara and Gargar. As a result, a dispute ensued between the lord of Hisn Ziyad and the lord of Melitene, which paved the way for the amir Ghazi son of Danishmend lord of Sebastea to control Melitene and ally himself to Mas'ud, his son-in-law. Ghazi assembled a great number of troops and attacked Melitene on Friday June 13, 1436 (A.D. 1125).<sup>2154</sup> They besieged the city for a month and then plundered the whole region. Ghazi returned and left his son Muhammad and the army in the village of Saman near the city. He commanded them to strike the city every day, especially its gates to prevent anyone from going in or coming out. The people became stricken sorely by famine, and the measure of wheat was sold for thirty-six dinars. Finally, the food supply was completely exhausted. People began to eat tree leaves, and moist bark, they even ate cats and donkeys, whether alive or dead, and even licked the blood. They chewed untanned hide and plate armors made of hide. The poor city was smitten by three blows. From the outside, they were cut down by the sword, which destroyed everyone who fled the city. From the inside, they were stricken by the unbearable famine and the tyrannical rulers who oppressed them by throwing them into prison to exact money from them. Truly, it was a frightening spectacle to see children dying from hunger in front of their parents who were unable to help them, or even weep for them, or bury them. Old men and women were thrown down the streets like stones. They died while their bodies bloated and their voices became hoarse, for no one could offer them aid not even a cup of water. Could anyone relate what had happened without being choked by tears?

The lord of Melitene went out at night and hired the Franks for thirty thousand (dinars). The Franks who assured him of coming to his aid failed to show up. Their excuse was that they were busy besieging Aleppo. Meantime, the mother of the sultan, the second Jezebel<sup>2155</sup> cast into prison the freemen and everyone thought to own possessions. They were tortured mercilessly and their possessions looted. Then the rulers determined to obliterate all the Christians by the sword and leave the city empty in order that the Turks would abandon it. The believers (Christians) lost hope for rescue, but God shined his light upon them and had mercy on that small number of believers.

In the evening of Wednesday, December 10 of the year 1436 (A.D. 1125), fear fell suddenly upon the Turks, and the Khatun, her son and the Turkish followers abandoned the city. The Amir Ghazi entered the city and saw that it was desolate from inhabitants except for a few people. They looked as if they had just come out of the grave. He encouraged them and offered freedom to those who would return to the city. He gave the farmers wheat to plant and brought herds of cows, oxen and sheep and the city began to prosper.

In this year died Sulayman in Miyafarqat, and he was succeeded by his brother Husam al-Din Timurtash, ruler of Mardin. However, while Hisn Ziyad was under the rule of Sulayman, known as Shams al-Dawla, the Amir Ghazi tried to subjugate it. However, the Amir Dawud from the clan of the Artukids overpowered him, which instigated the Amir Ghazi to invade the region of Hanzit and drive its people

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<sup>2154</sup> According to The Anonymous Edessan, 108, this took place in 1223-1224.

<sup>2155</sup> Bar Hebraeus, 252. For Jezebel, see I Kings 16:31-34 and 18:14-40.

captive to the region of Melitene. Again, he attacked the region and took into captivity the remnant of the people. He then seized the citadel of Masara, and Dawud came to fight him. When Dawud realized that he was unable to challenge him, he escaped and set the villages in his region on fire.

In that same year (1125), the Caliph al-Mustazhir in Baghdad died and was succeeded by his son al-Mustarshid.<sup>2156</sup>

The Arab Amir Sadaqa (ibn Dubays) united himself to the Artukids. When the caliph of Baghdad entered the palace of his father, he expelled the musicians and burned their musical instruments at the door. In addition, he expelled three thousand songstresses who drank wine with his father. This incident provoked clamor among the Tayoye (Arab, Muslims) who said, "Those entrusted with the faith live dissolute life secretly, and this is the mystery of the vanishing of the Arab kingdom." Taking revenge, the Amir Sadaqa waged war against the caliph while the caliph accused him of immorality. The Turks stood with the caliph against Dubays ibn Sadaqa who became angry, deserted the Muslims and took refuge with the Franks. He brought them to Aleppo to seize the city and deliver it to him. Al-Bursuki<sup>2157</sup> gathered an army to fight the Franks, but they had already returned to their region. This encouraged al-Bursuki to occupy Aleppo believing that the Franks had been defeated because of him. When he went to capture Azaz, the king of Jerusalem marshaled a Frankish army, fought al-Bursuki, and destroyed most of his forces. Al-Bursuki, with a few men, escaped to Aleppo.<sup>2158</sup> *End of the narrative.*

The affairs of our Orthodox Church during this period were tranquil. The reason was that the Chalcedonian Greeks were confined to the Sea of Pontus (the Black Sea), and the sons of Magog<sup>2159</sup> assumed the government by order from above (heaven) which kept them busy from persecuting the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians), as they were used to and corrupting them with their heresy.<sup>2160</sup> While confined to the sea as we have said, they corresponded with the people who held their doctrine in Syria in order to take care of anyone who might join them. Our pastors and priests, however, were not molested by the Franks who controlled Antioch and Jerusalem. The Franks, as has been said earlier, had chief priests in the regions under their influence. Although they agreed with the Greeks concerning the doctrine of Two Natures, they differed with them on many points of faith, and mostly with respect to traditions, as we shall explain later in the proper place. What we would like to state here is that when the Franks controlled Palestine and Syria, they had chief priests in their churches, but did not oppress other denominations concerning doctrine. To them, all those people who spoke different languages and worshiped the Cross were Christian without question or argument. As to the Turks who extended their hegemony on many countries, they knew nothing about the mysteries of Christianity. On the contrary, in their view, Christianity was but an error. Nevertheless, they did not issue a law to punish those who were religiously different, or permit the persecution of any man on account of his belief, as did the heretical and wicked Greeks (Romans or Byzantines).

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<sup>2156</sup> The author seems to be mistaken about this year which he fixes for the death and succession of these caliphs. The Abbasid Caliph al-Mustazhir died in 1118 and his son al-Mustarshid died in 1135. In his comment on this discrepancy of these dates, Bar Hebraeus says that "The blessed Mor Michael says concerning this year, that the Caliph al-Mustazhir died and his son al-Mustarshid succeeded him. It is possible that he made a mistake because of the inequality in the course of the lunar years of the Arabs and the solar years of the Greeks." See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 252.

<sup>2157</sup> Aksungur al-Bursuki, ruler of Mosul.

<sup>2158</sup> There is apparent confusion of Sadaqa with his son Dubays. See Ibn al-Athir, in *R.H.C.*, I: 247-252. Cf. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, I:522-523; Matthew of Edessa, 234, and The Anonymous Edessan, 122, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 520-521.

<sup>2159</sup> The Sons of Magog are the Turks. The author makes this clear in Book IV, Chapter I, when he states that the Turks are the descendants of Japheth, one of his sons was Magog (Genesis 10:2). He cites the Prophet Ezekiel that Magog is the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal. Ezekiel 38:2. He goes on to say that this was confirmed by the Syriac writer Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) when he discussed the Turkish people.

<sup>2160</sup> The author attributes the Turks' triumph over the Byzantines and capturing their land to divine retribution because of their persecution of the Syrian Orthodox. He is thinking of the doctrinal controversy created by the Council of Chalcedon (541).

## Chapter Two: On the Franks' capturing the city of Tyre and the seacoast region from the Egyptian Arabs (Muslims), and other events that took place in the entire world in this period.

Upon their triumph over the Egyptians, the Venetians led by Ducas came to Akka (Acre) by sea and besieged Tyre situated in the heart of the sea. They attacked it by the instigation of the Frankish patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>2161</sup> Meanwhile, King Baldwin was released from captivity by the Turks for a ransom of a hundred thousand dinars.<sup>2162</sup> In this same year 1126 (A.D. 1126), the Franks killed the lord of Hamah at Kafartab.<sup>2163</sup> In addition, they wrested Jabalah from Ibn Ammar. King (Baldwin) came to the aid of the Venetians against Tyre. The Egyptians delivered the city to Tughtikin, atabeg of Damascus,<sup>2164</sup> and he fought the Franks. The two forces met at Marj Sufar (Brass Meadow) and he (Tughtikin) was defeated and fled to Damascus with the remaining few men. They (Franks) set their eyes on Tyre, which they besieged on both land and sea using all kinds of arms, and occupied it in that year. In this same year, al-Bursuki (Aksungur) fought the Franks for the second time and was defeated and fled. He fought the Franks for the third time but Baldwin, king of Edessa, came and annihilated twelve thousand (Turks) by the help of God.

After Amir Ghazi, (son of Danishmend) occupied Melitene (1124), Malik Arab assembled thirty thousand men and went to fight against his brother Mas'ud for declining to help his (other) brother in Melitene. Mas'ud fled to Constantinople and found refuge with the Emperor John (II, 1118-1143). Malik Arab marched against Iconium, capital of his brother Mas'ud. Emperor John welcomed Mas'ud warmly and offered him abundant money.<sup>2165</sup> Mas'ud departed (Constantinople) and came to Amir Ghazi and both fought King Arab who sought refuge with the Armenian Thoros in Cilicia. In the summer of 1138 (A.D. 1127), Arab set ambushers of Turks and Armenian and captured Muhammad, son of Ghazi. Meantime, the Amir Yunus<sup>2166</sup> marched against Arab who fled and was captured. Then, he challenged Ghazi and caused him to flee at the beginning, but Ghazi climbed a mound where he pitched his tent and ordered that the trumpets of victory be blown to give the impression that Malik Arab was defeated. When the trumpets were blown and the soldiers saw his tent, they reassembled, but darkness fell and Malik Arab forces dispersed. Ghazi pursued them and looted their tents and horses. He reached Cumana and Angora (Ankara) and attacked them with ferocity, occupied them and freed his son Muhammad who was detained there. Malik Arab, however, managed to marshal an army and began to occupy and oppress several regions. In a fortress that he seized, he found one of the sons of Ghazi called Yagan and killed him. Ghazi was enraged and marched with his army against Malik Arab, who fled. Malik Arab, however, reassembled (his forces) and marched against the Amir Ghazi, but was defeated. The Amir Ghazi devastated villages and towns without mercy. Malik Arab returned with a force against the Amir Ghazi, but was again defeated. He fled to seek refuge with the Greeks, but perished. These events took place between the Turks who, because they hated each other, took refuge with the Christians.

In this same year of 1138 (A.D. 1127), Bohemond II, son of Bohemond, came from Rome and reigned in Antioch.<sup>2167</sup> His father and his namesake (Bohemond I), was one of the early men who assumed

<sup>2161</sup> By Ducas is meant here Dominico Michieli, Doge of Venice (1117-1128), who in response to a written appeal from Baldwin of Le Bourg, and approved by the Pope, led a sea force of three hundred ships to help the Crusaders. See Chabot, III:222, footnote 5; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant I* (Leipzig, 1935):142-143. The Anonymous Edessan gives a full account of the Venetian sea expedition against the coast of Palestine especially their siege of Tyre; see The Anonymous Edessan, 118 and Matthew of Edessa, 233-234.

<sup>2162</sup> See Mathew of Edessa, 229 and 347; The Anonymous Edessan, 112-113; Ibn al-Athir in *R.H.C.*, I:352-353; Ibn al-Adim in *R.H.C.*, III:635-636, and 643; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, II, 171-172, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 515-517.

<sup>2163</sup> The year 1126 is incorrect. Baldwin was captured in 1123. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 252.

<sup>2164</sup> Sayf al-Islam Zahir al-Din Tughtikin, atabeg of Damascus 1104-1128.

<sup>2165</sup> Malik Arab, Mas'ud and Tughrul Arslan are the sons of Kilij Arslan, Seljuk Sultan of, Iconium (Konya). See Runciman, II, 207-211; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la Premiere Croisade*, 77-91.

<sup>2166</sup> Son of Muhammad, lord of Masara. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 267.

<sup>2167</sup> Bohemond II, prince of Antioch 1126-1130. Usamah ibn Munqidh relates that while he and his uncle were at al-Suwaydiyyah, the sea port of Antioch, (late 1126), in the company of King Baldwin, a ship docked at al-Suwaydiyyah carrying a lad in rags. The lad presented himself before Baldwin and introduced himself as Bohemond (ibn Maymun). See Usamah ibn Munqidh, *Kitab al-I'tibar*, 121 and 150 of the English translation; Fulcher of Charters, 481-483, and 485; the Anonymous Edessan, 125; Chabot,

government in these countries.<sup>2168</sup> Because he was arrogant, Bohemond II, tried to control all the Franks, and caused schism and warfare among them.<sup>2169</sup> Joscelin took this opportunity and spoiled whatever he could find in the region of Antioch except the people. This enraged their Patriarch (Bernard) who closed the churches and forbade the celebration of Masses (the Eucharist), prayers and the tolling of bells. In addition, he ordered that the dead should not be buried.<sup>2170</sup> Things were disturbed which forced the Franks to reconcile, and Joscelin gave back what he had looted.<sup>2170</sup>

In the year 1439 (A.D. 1128), the Turks and the Franks assembled to fight each other on the plain of Aleppo. However, fearing the Franks, the Turks concluded peace with the Franks and pledged to pay Joscelin twelve thousand dinars a year. The Turks, however, incited some people of Azaz who administered poison to Joscelin and six of his horsemen. The horsemen died, but God's providence and the treatment of physicians saved Joscelin. Joscelin killed those who administered poison to him with their children.<sup>2171</sup>

In the same year, John, emperor of the Greeks, entered the country of the Hungarians and subjugated them. In this year, too, Sultan (Sulayman) who for a time ruled in Melitene, attacked some outer parts of the regions of the country (Melitene) and pillaged them, but then departed, and was not seen again.<sup>2172</sup> In August, the cruel Turks plundered the region of Melitene, but were chased away by Dawud, governor of Hisn Ziyad who administered a blow to them and retrieved the captives. In the same year the great Sultan Ghiyath al-Din died. He was distinguished by comeliness, justice and victories. In his time peace prevailed in his country. He was succeeded by his brother Sinjar, son of Malikshah and his son Mahmud.<sup>2173</sup>

In the year 1440 (A.D. 1129), Joscelin invaded the region of Amid and massacred the Turks and the Kurds in the Ashuma Mountain. He pillaged the villages until the gates of the city (Melitene). When the Turks entered Edessa in the company of Joscelin, his forces entered Amid, which at that time was ruled by Husam al-Din, governor of Mardin.<sup>2174</sup> There was at that time in the custody of Husam al-Din two famous Frankish knights, one called Bar Nul, the other Galeran.<sup>2175</sup> He did not want to kill them. However, al-Bursuki (Aksungur) threatened to destroy his country if he did not kill them, so he (Husam al-Din) killed them. Then a report arrived that an Isma'ili (assassin) had stabbed al-Bursuki with a knife while he was praying at the masjid on Friday. However, the knife did not penetrate his body because he was wearing armor. Upon his arrest, the Isma'ili yelled to two of his accomplices to stab al-Bursuki in his lower abdomen. They did and he died. Husam al-Din regretted that he killed the two Franks.<sup>2176</sup>

III:224, ft. 4, and Runciman, II, 175-176.

<sup>2168</sup> Matthew of Edessa, 237.

<sup>2169</sup> He was also detested by the Muslims. Usamah ibn Munqidh says about Bohemond II, "That devil, the son of Bohemond, proved a terrible calamity to our people." See Usamah Ibn Munqidh, *Ibid.*

<sup>2170</sup> The disturbance was caused by the vehement jealousy between Bohemond and Joscelin over districts which Joscelin had obtained by a truce with al-Bursuki. There was also a conflict about the town of Azaz given as a dowry by Roger of Antioch to his daughter Morphia upon her marriage to Joscelin. See Grousset, *Hist. des Croisade*, I:651; Runcima, II, 181-182, and Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C., I:387.

<sup>2171</sup> Bar Hebraeus who relates the same anecdote says that the Turks of Aleppo bribed the Frankish cook of Joscelin with gold who made Joscelin and his six horsemen drink poison. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 253.

<sup>2172</sup> According to Bar Hebraeus, Tughrul Arslan from whom Melitene had been taken, invaded the country of Melitene, and seized some of the outer frontiers and departed, and was not seen again. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 253.

<sup>2173</sup> There is some mix-up in dates here. Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad, son of Malikshah died in April, 1118. He was succeeded by his fourteen-year old son, Mahmud, who was interested more in pleasure than in governing. He left the government to his ministers, and especially to his powerful uncle Sinjar, who became the virtual sultan. Mahmud died in 1131 a young man of twenty-seven. See Ibn al-Athir, in R.H.C., I:392-393. This was the beginning of the decline of the Seljuk Sultanate. See Grousset, *His. des Croisade*, I:522-523.

<sup>2174</sup> Husam al-Din Timurtash, son of Ilghazi, Artukid ruler of Mardin 1124-1152. Originally, he was the governor of Aleppo but spent most of the time in Mardin awaiting the death of his brother Sulayman to assume rule of Mardin. See Ibn al-Athir, I:356; Ibn al-Adim, in R.H.C., 634.

<sup>2175</sup> Chabot speculates that Bar Nul is either Renault or Arnault. See Chabot, III, 225, ft. 6.

<sup>2176</sup> The accounts of the death of al-Bursuki differ in both substance and details. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 252; Matthew of Edessa, 236; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C. Or., III, 365, Ibn al-Adim, R.H.C., III, 654. Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh*

In the year 1438 (A.D. 1127) the winter was very severe, and beasts and animals perished. In February, earthquakes took place.

In November 1439 (A.D. 1128), two earth tremors took place in the day and two at night. The earth continued to tremble for forty days and forty nights. A luminous star on appeared in the eighth hour of the day, and then became like smoke and fell down. In January, March and April, of the year 1440 (A.D. 1129), fire appeared in the northern part (of the firmament) from which issued fire like pillars pointing toward the south.

Although the wicked Greeks (Chalcedonians) had no opportunity to oppress the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians) as they did before, yet they did not desist from their evil. In Antioch, Egypt and the countries (under the rule of the Muslims), they always set up a patriarch for their own people. They always stirred up trouble for the Syrians, Copts and Armenians, like a snake whose head was smashed but it kept moving its tail. In Syria, Palestine, Armenia and Egypt, the Greek and Chalcedonian bishops always agitated, whenever they could, against the patriarchs and bishops of our three peoples, the Syrians, the Copts and the Armenians, and even against the Nubians and the Ethiopians. As the Nestorians in Persia and Athor (north Iraq) waged war against the Orthodox, so it was in Antioch and Jerusalem that iniquitous Greeks agitated the Frankish chief priests against the Orthodox without distinction. However, the church, in the regions under the authority of the Turks, was somewhat relaxed for being free from the harm of the Chalcedonians. Still, however, some kind of harm afflicted them. Moreover, faith was weakened because of the conflict between the patriarch and Bar Sabuni (Abu Ghalib) and three other elderly bishops: Bar Modyana whom the patriarch transferred to Melitene, the Bishop of Qallisura and the Bishop of Tur Abdin. He suspended them from service not because of heresy or violation of church canons, but because of disrespecting him. The patriarch rejected all of the intercessions on their behalf, and they died unabsolved. *End of the narrative.*

### **Chapter Three: On the time of the death of Bohemond, lord of Antioch; the death of Athanasius, patriarch of Antioch, and other world and church matters**

In the year 1441 (A.D. 1130), the Franks invaded Damascus upon the death of Tughtikin of praiseworthy qualities, governor of Damascus, and his son Taj al-Muluk Buri who succeeded him.<sup>2177</sup> The reason for the invasion of Damascus by the Franks was Buri's attempt to annihilate the Batinis who had allied themselves to the Franks and were threatening his domain.<sup>2178</sup> Its governor warned the people of Qallisura<sup>2179</sup> not to offer provisions to the Franks. The Franks had sent a thousand infantry men with horses to fetch their need of provisions. The Turks ambushed them en route and annihilated them. The Franks were forced to demand from the governor of Damascus the payment of twenty thousand dinars. They concluded peace with him and returned to their country provided he paid this tribute annually.

In that year the Armenian Thoros, governor of Cilicia died.<sup>2180</sup> He was succeeded by his brother Leon<sup>2181</sup> with whom Bohemond, lord of Antioch quarreled.<sup>2182</sup>

After the Amir Ghazi (son of Danishmend, lord of Sebastea) triumphed over the Turks in Cappadocia and became titular ruler, he departed to a coastal region governed by a Greek named Casianus.<sup>2183</sup> Casianus went out voluntarily to meet Ghazi and transferred to him all the coastal fortresses of the Pontus (Black) Sea. Ghazi gave him a region in his own country and enlisted him in his army.

*Dimashq*, 117. Fulcher of Chartres, William of Tyre says that the wicked Bursuki, the son of perdition, was stabbed to death by his servants and members of his household. By his own act he brought upon himself the natural consequences of his evil and harvested the fruit of his impiety. See William of Tyre, II:32; W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusades in the East* (Cambridge), 1907, 118.

<sup>2177</sup> Zahir al-Din Tughtikin, atabeg of Damascus, died in February 1128

<sup>2178</sup> See Ibn al-Qalanisi. *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 221-227; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C. Or. 367 and 383-387.

<sup>2179</sup> A town in the vicinity of Melitene today in ruins.

<sup>2180</sup> Thoros I, son of Constantine, Roupenid ruler of Partzapert 1100-1129. Bar Hebraeus says that Thoros died in 1130. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255.

<sup>2181</sup> Leon, or Levon I, son of Constantine, Roupenid prince in Cilicia 1129-1137.

<sup>2182</sup> Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 529.

<sup>2183</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid*, 255, calls him a satrap of the Greeks.

As the power of Ghazi increased and he heard of the death of Thoros at that time, he dispatched his army to attack Cilicia. Meantime, the Turks came from one side and the Franks from the other side without knowing of the presence of each other. Both of them targeted the Armenians, each one on its own side. When the Turks reached 'Ayn Zarba (Anazarba) they met Bohemond,<sup>2184</sup> who had only few horsemen; they recognized him and engaged in battle with him. After many warriors were killed, the Franks became worn out and climbed a high hill, but the Turks surrounded them from all directions and massacred all of them, including Bohemond, because they did not know who he was.<sup>2185</sup> They severed his head, took the arms of the Franks, and departed.<sup>2186</sup> Meantime, Leon captured Qallisura and massacred a great number of Franks. The Turks took Bohemond's head to the Amir Ghazi who skinned it and sent it with all kinds of arms and horses to the caliph in Baghdad. The caliph honored him with many gifts.

In that year (1130), the sultan of Khurasan gave Mosul to the son of al-Bursuki.<sup>2187</sup> It is said about him that he was proficient in sciences and knowledge, and had experience in fabrics and construction. He was also a valiant warrior, mighty and courageous in warfare. However, he did not succeed because success and victory come from above (God). His ruled lasted only for three months, and when he reached Rahbut (al-Rahba), he died. It is believed that he was killed by poison.<sup>2188</sup> Then Mas'ud, (Izz al-Din), son of Aksungur (al-Bursuki) attacked Rahbut (al-Rahba) and waged a ferocious war against it. He also died from poison.

Joscelin captured Rish 'Ayna (Ras al-'Ayn) and massacred a great number of Tayoye (Muslims); most of them died from drowning. He took the rest of the men and women captive.

In that year (1130), quadruplets were born ten days late, however, all of them died on the same day and at the same time.

The governor (of Amid) forbade the Patriarch (Athanasius VI) to leave Amid because he requested him many times to pray for (absolve) Ishaq bar Qarya, whom he suspended from service. In fact, the governor went personally to the Monastery of Qanqart asking the patriarch to pardon Ishaq (bar Qarya), but he would not consent. The patriarch, however, assuaged the governor's anger by offering him gold. The deacon Ishaq advised the governor to prevent the patriarch from leaving Amid. He said to him, "This patriarch is an old man who will soon die, and then you can take his possessions." The patriarch remained in Amid like a prisoner. He sent a message to Joscelin, lord of Edessa, asking him to intercede with the governor of Amid on his behalf. Joscelin sent a message to the governor of Amid threatening to destroy his country if he did not release the patriarch. The governor yielded and permitted the patriarch to leave. The patriarch left Amid and went to offer greetings to Joscelin, and then he went to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. While he was offering the Holy Eucharist on the Sunday of Pentecost and reciting the prayer of the "convocation of the Holy Spirit" (to descend on the Elements of the Bread and the Wine and sanctify them), the color of his face changed and he became unconscious. They seated him on a chair, and the bishop of Gargar continued the service. Momentarily, he regained strength and ordained a bishop for Sijistan. He remained ill for seven days and then died on the third hour of Saturday of June 1140 (A.D. 1129), and was buried at the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum).<sup>2189</sup>

<sup>2184</sup> Bohemond II, son of Bohemond I, and prince of Antioch 1126-1130.

<sup>2185</sup> See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255.

<sup>2186</sup> Cf. Reinhold Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291* (Innsbruck, 1989, reprinted Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966), Reinhold Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291*, 188; The Anonymous Edessan, 102, (Arabic, 126-127). and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 529.

<sup>2187</sup> Izz al-Din Mas'ud, son of Aksungur al-Bursuki. See Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 182.

<sup>2188</sup> Actually he died in July, 1127.

<sup>2189</sup> See The Anonymous Edessan, 430-341. However, unlike our author he sets the date of the death of the patriarch in 1130, and not in 1129, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 659-660.

#### Chapter Four: On Zangi departing Baghdad to assume the government in Mosul; of the reign of Joscelin in Antioch; and the ordination of Patriarch Yuhanon

Upon the death of Mas'ud, son of al-Bursuki, who was governor of Mosul, there was a governor (prefect) in the city at that time called Jawli (Chavli Saqaveh), a servant (officer) of the great sultan. Some people advised Jawli to pillage the treasury of the governor of Mosul, and he took abundant money from it and sent it to the sultan with the Judge Baha al-Din of Shahrzur who was accompanied by Salah al-Din Mahmud ibn Ayyub. He also addressed a letter to the sultan saying, "I am here in Mosul more beneficial to you because I am one of your slaves." When the messengers arrived in Baghdad, and before appearing before the sultan, they were met by a prominent man named Nasir al-Din Jur (more correctly Jaqar) ibn Yaqub, a fellow countryman of Salah al-Din. When they revealed to him their mission, he advised them to ask for Imad al-Din Zangi as an atabeg (governor) of Mosul because he was a relative of the sultan, close to him, and worthy of being a governor. They (Judge Baha al-Din and Salah al-Din Mahmud) accepted his counsel and met with Zangi. Zangi swore that he would do whatever they want him to do. The judge requested that the judgeship of Mosul should be allotted to him and his descendants so long as the government of the atabegs (the Zangids) existed. In addition, he requested that the judges in all the regions who would be under his authority should be subject to him and his sons. Zangi swore to him to fulfill his request and confirmed his oath in writing. On his part, Salah al-Din asked him (Nasir al-Din Jur ibn Yaqub) to be his private governor of Mosul, and that his orders be effective in all the province (of Mosul). After they lavished the retinue of the sultan with gifts, they appeared before the sultan. The sultan and the caliph (Abbasid Caliph) offered Zangi the governorship (of Mosul), and Zangi left guarded by a detachment of troops. As he approached Mosul, Judge Baha al-Din and the Amir Salah al-Din preceded him to the city. They went to Jawli and told him, "We have not been able to obtain the governorship of these regions (Mosul) for you, but we have only been able to obtain an order for your appointment as a governor of this citadel (the citadel of Mosul), and your authority will be effective in all the regions. Moreover, the sultan has decreed that atabeg Zangi should be a commander of your army." Jawli consented. Then, the gates of the city and the citadel (of Mosul) were opened for Zangi who entered the city and assumed its government in 1442 (A.D. 1131). He went forth and occupied al-Jazira (Jazirat ibn Umar, north of Mosul) and his authority gradually expanded according to the chronology of each time. Zangi fulfilled his covenant in full with Salah al-Din, Nasir al-Din and Zayn al-Din.<sup>2190</sup>

In that year after Bohemond, lord of Antioch was killed, the King (Fulk of Jerusalem 1131-1143), came from Jerusalem to Antioch.<sup>2191</sup> In addition, Joscelin (II) came from Edessa to Antioch to control the city, but the inhabitants (of Antioch) shut the gates and left them outside the city. However, after several days of discussion, they agreed to hand the city over to Joscelin to protect it until he had married the daughter of Bohemond, and then he would become the ruler of the city.<sup>2192</sup>

While the Franks were at the gate of Antioch, (Imad al-Din) Zangi, lord of Mosul, came forth and attacked Tell Bashir (Turbessel) and Antioch. He killed the Turks whom he could find, entered their country, annihilated many and captured two fortresses.

In that year Iwani (John), emperor of the Romans went forth to fight against the Turks. He built a city on the seacoast. As he was prepared to fight the Turks, his brother and some nobles connived against him. He discovered them and wanted to arrest them, but his brother fled to the Amir Ghazi who welcomed him, honored him immensely and sent him to Gabras in Trebizond. Then, the emperor returned to Constantinople and banished those who conspired against him.

Amir Ghazi (Ilghazi ibn Danishmend) marched against Semando, which was under the hegemony of his sister and wrested it from her. He then went to Cilicia to fight Leon, the Armenian (1123-1135), and captured two fortresses. Humbled, Leon swore on oath that he would not enter the regions under Ghazi's

<sup>2190</sup> Ibn al-Athir records this account of the governorship of Mosul with slight difference. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in *R.H.C. Or.* 337-377, and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir fi al-Dawla al-Atabegiyya*, 32-35; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, I: 31-32.

<sup>2191</sup> The Anonymous Edessan, 129.

<sup>2192</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255.

authority or send robbers to plunder them.<sup>2193</sup> He pledged to pay Ghazi an annual tribute. Ghazi believed him, left him to his own and departed. Leon, however, reneged on his pledge and paid nothing. Then Amir Ghazi came to Melitene. He was visited by his son-in-law Sultan Mas'ud and Isaac, brother of the Greek emperor who had returned from Gabras, and they spent the winter there. Isaac went to Leon, and Leon gave his daughter to his son as wife, and gave him the two cities of Massisa and Adana. Afterwards, they quarreled with each other, and Leon took from the Greeks all their belongings. Isaac and his son fled to Mas'ud (lord of Iconium) for refuge.<sup>2194</sup>

Macarius, pope of Alexandria, died in the same year in which Patriarch Athanasius died. When the news of the patriarch's death reached Edessa, the priests gathered as usual to perform his funeral. While Bar Sabuni was participating in the prayer, he fell down and lost consciousness. They carried him to his cell and he regained his senses. When the council was meeting in Kesum, Bar Sabuni came to Samosata in order to attend the council. He fell off his horse and was carried to Edessa. He died without being restored to his (sacerdotal) service.

The president of the council, then, was Dionysius, bishop of Kesum. When the bishops assembled and cast a lot, it fell to Yuhanon the Confessor, archimandrite of the Dawa'ir Monastery in the vicinity of Antioch. Two bishops went to fetch the elected one. Momentarily, Dionysius, bishop of Kesum, passed away and the aged Maphryono (prelate) Dionysius became the president of the council. He and the entire number of bishops went to Tell Bashir by effort of Joscelin who was their agent. They ordained Mor Yuhanon the Confessor and archimandrite as patriarch on Monday the 17<sup>th</sup> of February, the second week of Lent with the laying on of hands of Maphryono Dionysius in the Great Church of the Franks. Joscelin and his notable men were standing to serve.<sup>2195</sup>

By the intercession of Joscelin, the patriarch and the council issued a decree to absolve Bar Sabuni and the bishop of Sijistan whom the patriarch had excommunicated for abandoning his diocese. He decreed that he should not be accepted by the church. After he was absolved, Bar Sabuni was given the empty See of Semando. Shortly afterwards, he was evicted from Semando and remained without a diocese throughout the life of Mor Yuhanon. After the death of the patriarch, they (the bishops) gave him the See of Arsamosata and Semha during the ordination of Mor Yuhanon's successor. Soon afterwards, he was ejected and began to move from one place to the other until he reached Jerusalem, but he did not stay in our monastery except for a short period. He then joined the Frankish Friars known as Templars. Finally, he fell in the oven and burned, and became a lesson for those who despise the canons of the holy church, and act audaciously while they are condemned. In fact, the patriarch once said to him, "If you abandoned the diocese of Sijistan, you do not deserve to be buried."<sup>2196</sup>

In November of the year 1442 (A.D. 1131), were seen in the northern part (of the sky) fires like mountains burning, which then turned into pillars. At the same time, a colossal and frightful star shot causing a tremendous sound like an earthquake.

#### **Chapter Five: On the time of the death of Joscelin I, and the setting up of his son Joscelin (II); and on diverse events which took place in this period in the church and among kings**

Joscelin went to a fortress situated between Aleppo and Mabug (Manbij inhabited by Tayoye (Arab Muslim) robbers.<sup>2197</sup> When they started digging underneath the fortress (to make it collapse), Joscelin went in to witness the digging operation. The ceiling of the fortress collapsed and buried him. They dug him up, found that he was still alive, and took him to Tell Bashir. While Joscelin was at Tell Bashir, Amir Ghazi (Ilghazi) assembled the Turks in his region, and Joscelin assembled the Franks. They carried him in a litter and went forth to challenge the Turks. Joscelin died on the road. When Ghazi heard of Joscelin's death, he

<sup>2193</sup> Cf. The Anonymous Edessan, 126; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255.

<sup>2194</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255.

<sup>2195</sup> The Anonymous Edessan, 342.

<sup>2196</sup> The Anonymous Edessan, 303-304, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 660.

<sup>2197</sup> According to the Anonymous Edessan, 128, this fortress is called Arran.

displayed magnanimity by not continuing the war. He sent men to offer condolences to the Franks, and wrote to them saying, "I will not fight you today lest it shall be said that I have defeated you because your king is dead. You may go ahead to put your affairs in proper order slowly, set up a leader for you according to your laws and dispose of your affairs in peace without taking heed of me or my army."<sup>2198</sup>

The Greek king (emperor) went forth angrily against the Turks and the Armenians. He killed many Turks at the seashore, and captured two fortresses.<sup>2199</sup> His great men conspired once more against him. They sent after his brother to make him their emperor, and he returned with haste.

The Turks managed to reach Sozopolis, but they could not capture it because of starvation and plundered the neighboring regions. They returned (to their country). Amir Ghazi took with him the Sultan Mas'ud and penetrated the seacoast. They invested a fortress called Zinin but failed to capture it, but they exacted four thousand dinars from the Romans in it, and concluded peace.

In this time, the caliph of Baghdad and the sultan of Khurasan addressed a letter to Ghazi authorizing him to be a Malik (king) of the north. Thus, he was called Malik (King) Ghazi.

As to Joscelin II, the Franks connived against him and prepared to arrest him. Sedition took place among them, but when the conflict between Joscelin and the Franks was set aside for a while, the sedition was renewed because of Joscelin's desire to rule Antioch in place of his father. The natives of Antioch and their patriarch would not agree because they wanted to leave the city for Bohemond's daughter (Constance).<sup>2200</sup>

In the year 1444 (A.D. 1133), the troops of Zangi (Imad al-Din), lord of Mosul, marched against Edessa, but the Franks defeated them and caused them to flee.

In this time, a certain Artukid Amir named Muhammad Shams al-Hojub (al-Hajib), who hated the Christians, asked Husam al-Din, lord of Mardin, to give him Shabakhtan in order to fight the Franks. He was accustomed to attacking the region of Edessa and spoiling it. However, six hundred Frankish horsemen challenged him and killed one thousand Turks. They seized him and burned him by fire at the gate of Edessa. Then, Joscelin captured the fortress of Shabakhtan and destroyed it.

While the Turks were gathering in the region of Aleppo, Joscelin surprised them. They stealthily retreated, attacked the country of Tell Bashir, and spoiled it. Seventy Frankish horsemen who left to guard the region confronted them, but the Turks ambushed them and captured them. They penetrated the country of the Franks and spoiled it, and no one was found to resist them because the Franks were divided against each other.<sup>2201</sup>

Iwani (John II, 1143-1181), king of the Greeks (Romans), went forth and took Castamone peacefully. However, he seized the citadels in its neighborhood by war and destroyed them.

Malik Ghazi captured the fortress of the Greeks, called Albara, by war, burned it by fire and made its people slaves.

In the year 1445 (A.D. 1134), the Turks attacked the country of Antioch, but were confronted by Joscelin who killed most of them and then they reconciled with each other. In December of the same year, the lord of Antioch attacked the fortress of Ba'rin but was surrounded by the Turks; he could hardly save himself and enter the fortress, but the Turks spoiled the country up to Mount Lebanon and attacked the fortress. The Franks inside it were afflicted by hunger and thirst. Meantime, the king of Jerusalem arrived and the Turks fled. The king attacked the fortress of Qusir in the vicinity of Antioch and seized it by war. From there he passed through the region of 'Imm where the Turks were swarming like flies.<sup>2202</sup> The king

<sup>2198</sup> William of Tyre, 2: 51-52. The Anonymous Edessan, 128, gives this account but without the letter of condolences. He also says that Joscelin died in Duluk (Doliche) and was buried in its church; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255; Robert Lawrence Nicholson, *Joscelin I, Prince of Edessa* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 91.

<sup>2199</sup> For John's campaign against the Turks, see A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 2, 415-416.

<sup>2200</sup> William of Tyre, 2: 51-52; Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291*, 203; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255; Robert Lawrence Nicholson, *Joscelin I, Prince of Edessa*, 88-89; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2:184, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 530.

<sup>2201</sup> Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291*, 197-198.

<sup>2202</sup> Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 198.

was scared and sent a message to Joscelin (for help), who was afraid to face him. However, when he came, Joscelin encouraged the king and prepared for battle. The Franks began to run before the Turks trying to lead them out to the plain. When they were ready for battle, the king and Joscelin dismounted their horses and asked each other forgiveness for the conflict that had taken place between them. Then, the Lord fought with them, and they struck the Turks with a great blow and chased after them to the fortress. When the king returned from battle and the trumpets sounded, he asked for Joscelin but could not find him. Then the king and the entire assembly of people cried out with a loud voice and Joscelin showed up at midnight.

Malik Ghaze returned to Castamone, seized it by war, and killed all the Greeks therein. For this, King (emperor) Iwani (John) was immensely grieved, and went forth with great determination but to no avail. He had received the news of the death of his wife and the illness of his son and his successor, and thus returned to his city (Constantinople).

After the ordination of the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon, the bishops began to quarrel at the council. The Maphryono Dionysius wanted to extend his authority, but was opposed by the bishops. He left angrily and went to Amid threatening to set up another patriarch and depose the one who had been recently elected. However, the Lord who always cares for his church and thwarts the thoughts of the iniquitous stirred up for him another problem with the lord of Amid, who resolved to arrest him. He hardly escaped from him, so he returned to his diocese and never brought up the subject of conflict again.

In the See of Alexandria and Egypt, Cyril was succeeded by Macarius. When Macarius passed away in the same year in which Mor Athanasius died, (A.D. 1129), Theodore was ordained but was later found to be a heretic and a partisan of the wretched Julian the Phantasiast. He was deposed and Michael was ordained a patriarch for the See of Egypt. He was succeeded by Gabriel, a learned and competent man and well versed in the Arabic language and calligraphy. When he saw that the Egyptian people (Copts) spoke Arabic and used its script since the Arabs control of Egypt, he made an effort to have the Old and the New Testaments and the sacerdotal service books translated into Arabic in order for the people to understand the readings from the Bible.

Patriarch Yuhanon (John) assembled a council in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. He condemned Metropolitan Yuhanon Bar Andrew because he did not welcome him when he passed through his diocese, but all the people said that the metropolitan's behavior should not be a reason for condemnation. Rather, it should be done by counsel and not by arrows.

In the year 1443 (A.D. 1132), a rainbow was seen at night. In this same year, dogs in many countries became rabid causing a great harm to people and animals. Astronomers say that when dogs see the shadow of the star known as "Sirius" the brightest star in the constellation (Canis Major), they become more rabid. Physicians say that this malady is caused by the black bile.

In this time, a Persian man in Melitene snatched a cross from the hands of a Christian and placed it irreverently on his lower abdomen (close to his genitals). Urged by commendable zeal, the Christians informed the governor of this incident. The governor issued an order to seize the Persian. He was seized and handed over to the Christians to do with him as they wanted. They blackened his face, had him ride a donkey, and paraded him through the streets. Finally, Ghazi learned of this story and the Persian was beaten and expelled from his domain.

On February 3, 1144 (A.D. 1133), an earthquake took place at night. On August 2, the sun was eclipsed. In September, an earthquake took place in the daytime, and a thunderbolt occurred in the evening. After this, a frightful sign like fire appeared. Later, there was a shortage of rain and famine, especially on the Island of Cyprus. Because of famine, the Christians were allowed to eat bread during Lent. At the time when the sun eclipsed, forty knights of Friars (Templars), four hundred other Christians, and the deacon Bar Qarya were killed.

In the same year quadruplets were born: three males and one female. The males died and the female survived.

In that month a small pig was born with two bodies and one head, and it died on the same day

In this time, four hundred Christian merchants went out of Constantinople. Most of them died in the snow on the festival day of Mor Theodore. *End of the narrative.*

**Chapter Six: On the period of Bedawi's (Raymond of Poitiers) reign in Antioch; the death of Baghdwin (Baldwin), king of Jerusalem, and the assumption of government by his son-in-law Fuk (Fulk of Anjou); the death of the Turk Ghazi and the succession of his son Muhammad; the reign of (Imad al-Din) Zangi in Aleppo, and other events**

In the year 1446 (A.D. 1135), a Frank named Bedawi left Italy and married the daughter of Bohemond who was killed, and became the lord of Antioch.<sup>2203</sup> In that year Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, died and his daughter (Melisend) was married to Fuk (Fulk) of Anjou, who became the king of Jerusalem.<sup>2204</sup>

In that year (Imad al-Din) Zangi, lord of Mosul came to Syria and besieged Aleppo, and its Muslim governor shut its gates. However, the inhabitants of Aleppo knew Zangi's father, the Amir (Qasim al-Dawla) Aksunkur, who had ruled them and who was distinguished by justice. They also knew (Imad al-Din) Zangi because he was born and raised in Aleppo. They rushed with avid determination, opened the gates, and let him in. The governor fled to the citadel for refuge, but Zangi seized it by force. He gouged the eyes of the governor and sent him to Mosul. Zangi treated the inhabitants well, signed peace with the Franks and returned to Mosul because of the conflict between him and the Artukid amirs.<sup>2205</sup>

In that year, the caliph of Baghdad (he must be al-Rashid, 1135-1136) and the sultan of Khurasan sent to the Amir Ghazi, lord of Melitene, messengers accompanied by four battalions of black men to play music before him as a king. The caliph also ordered that he wear a golden necklace and carry a golden staff to show that the kingdom was confirmed for him and his sons after him. However, when the messengers arrived, they found him indisposed and waited for the result (of his recovery). Ghazi died and the leadership was given to his son Muhammad. The messengers endorsed him and he was proclaimed a king (amir).

Ghazi was a blood shedder and depraved. He had many wives. He even took a woman to wife a few days before his death. He ordered the inhabitants of Melitene to decorate the streets and other places (for this occasion). Even so, he was also courageous, mighty and smart. He conquered the country of the Romans, killed the rebellious Turks who were there, and peace prevailed in his country. He was greatly feared by thieves and highway robbers, and loved by soldiers. When he was in the throes of death, he roared like a lion. When his son assumed power, he observed the law of the Tayoye (Arab, Islamic Shari'a). He did not drink wine. He honored the Muslims and ruled with justice. He was prudent and very cautious, but he demolished the churches and began the rebuilding of Caesarea Cappadocia, which was in ruins for a long time. In rebuilding a special part of the city, he used the marble taken from the magnificent churches that were demolished and dwelt in it.

In November of the year 1444 (A.D. 1133), Malik Muhammad came to Melitene. The inhabitants expected him to relieve them from the heavy taxes imposed by his father. In November, he did lighten their taxes and departed. He left hastily because he was disturbed by what Sultan Mahmaud (of Iconium) informed him of the king (emperor) of the Romans. Still, he did not treat the natives of Melitene graciously but took alone with him some of their free sons as hostages.

In this year (Rukn al-Dawla) Ibn Dawud (David), Arslan Doghmish, rebelled in Hisn Ziyad, and his father seized him and bound him in fetters. Also, his brothers Yagan and Daula rebelled against Malik Muhammad. Yagan was killed and Daula plundered the region of Melitene.

<sup>2203</sup> By Bedawi here is meant Raymond of Poitu (Poitiers) who arrived in Antioch from Italy and married Constance, the youngest daughter of King Bohemond II, at the recommendation of King Fulk of Anjou and became the lord of Antioch 1136-1149. See William of Tyre, 2:59-60 and 77-79; Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 203; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 529-532.

<sup>2204</sup> Fulk married Melisend on June, 1129. They were crowned in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on October 14, 1131. See William of Tyre, 2:51-52, and Moosa, *The Crusades*, 530-531.

<sup>2205</sup> See Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 2:244-245; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Qulub*, 1:37-38; Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, 1:565 and Moosa, *The Crusades*, 541.

In this year, (Imad al-Din) Zangi wrested Atharb and Zaranda from the Franks after giving them a pledge,<sup>2206</sup> but he reneged on his pledge and forced the inhabitants of 'Ayn Zarba (Anazarba) to embrace Islam. When they refused, he killed all of them and married the daughter of the lord of the fortress (Ziyad). However, he (Zangi) fled when the Romans arrived.

In this same year, the Turks of Melitene attacked the region of the Romans and spoiled it, and then returned to their domain. *End of the narrative.*

In the year 1445 (A.D. 1134), swarms of locusts swept Edessa and its region and the Christians took refuge with the chosen Mor Barsoum. They sent (a message) asking for his right hand.<sup>2207</sup> When it arrived, a miracle took place immediately. The locusts left and did not harm the country at all. The Greeks burned with envy and with detestable contumely, claimed that the coffin was empty. They instigated the Bishop of the Franks (Papios) to open it. The monks, however, said that the coffin should not be opened lest the wrath of God fall upon the region. The Greeks kept scoffing and saying that there was nothing in the coffin. The monks found no alternative but to open it. When they opened it in the church of the Franks, immediately there was a violent peal of thunder and dark clouds covered the sky. Heavy hailstones fell and filled the streets. All the people began to weep saying, "Lord have mercy. O Saint Mor Barsoum have compassion." The clergy of the Franks, the people and the bishop fell before the coffin weeping, and the Greeks fled and hid themselves. When the hail stopped, the people gathered and raised supplication for three days. Upon hearing of this miracle, the Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) inhabitants of Harran asked the monks to come to their city, but they did not, and returned to their monastery. The people of Melitene carried the coffin, and everyone went out to meet it with prayers and supplications. Then, the mouths of the locust were shut and they did no harm to the planted fields. They moved to the unplanted fields to devour the grass. The people of all tongues praised God when they witnessed this miracle, and God was glorified in his saints. The people continued to offer prayers and charity in abundance, and many returned from the wide road (which leads to perdition) to the way of righteousness. The Lord then made another miracle. The locusts invaded the fields of cotton and sesame, but did not touch them, and only ate the leaves and husks.<sup>2208</sup>

Bar Andrew, bishop of Mabug (Manbij), was a learned man and well versed in our Syriac and the Armenian languages. In truth, we may say that he was a good example for his generation, but he did not maintain the required respect for the patriarch and rather disdained his meekness. For this reason, many justly blamed him. He did not even ask (the patriarch) for forgiveness, but considered himself as the only spokesman for the sons of the church in his generation, especially, in matters of disputation with the Armenians and the Greeks. Indeed, there was no one else equal to him as a powerful speaker and extemporizer. He believed that if he was separated from his congregation, or removed from his office of leadership, the entire congregation, the sons of the church, and even the patriarch, would appeal to him to return to his congregation if they were stumped by their disputants. But the patriarch, being simple and under the influence of slanderers, removed Bar Andrew and set up Bar Turki in his place for three years. Finally, the two sides (the patriarch and Bar Andrew) regretted what happened, especially when the patriarch realized that Bar Turki was of bad conduct. Moreover, when Bar Andrew found out that no one cared for him or interceded to the patriarch on his behalf, he repented. The patriarch welcomed him and restored him to his diocese.

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<sup>2206</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 245; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 404; Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 256-257.

<sup>2207</sup> According to Syriac tradition, Mar Barsoum was a distinguished saint. When he died the monks of the monastery which carried his name, severed his right hand and kept it in a coffin. It is believed that the hand became a source of miracles.

<sup>2208</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 257-258.

**Chapter Seven: On the massacre which took place in Damascus; the plot against the Arab (Muslim) sultan in Egypt; the warfare between the sultans of the Turks in Khurasan; and other events**

In this time, Damascus was ruled by a governor named Taj al-Muluk Buri Tughtikin. He had a vizier named Abu Ali of the Isma'ili sect. Through Abu Ali, the Isma'ilis owned a house in Damascus known as Dar al-Qarya. They were fortified in this house and anyone who entered it and agreed with them was exempt from taxes. Thus, they attained sublime status. The administrator of this Dar was a certain man from Qadmus also named Abu Ali whom they nicknamed al-Shaykh. It happened that one of the prominent men of the city named Sujin al-Dawla Ibn Sufi (more correctly, Buri's son Baha al-Din Siwinj) killed him at the behest of the amir, and the Isma'ilis became furious. Fired by zeal, they gathered in their Dar (home) and unsheathed their swords killing and slaying, but were confronted by the citizens of the city. On that day seventy thousand Muslims were slain and the Isma'ilis were almost annihilated. Then the Isma'ilis sneaked in stealthily and slaughtered the Amir Buri.<sup>2209</sup>

In this period in which an Arab was ruling Damascus, another Arab was ruling Egypt whose son conspired to kill him and rule in his place. When he saw that the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) followed his son, he appealed to the Armenians who were in Egypt to help him. These Armenians had settled in Egypt since their immigration to Syria. When their number multiplied, they set up bishops and a catholicos for them. The catholicos had a brother named Bahram who became a leader of the Armenians. When they responded to the king (ruler), they waged war against the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) who supported his son and killed thousands of them. They seized the son of the king (ruler) and slaughtered him by the consent of his father.

In this period Imad al-Din Zangi, lord of Mosul, defied Timurtash and Dawud, the Artukid amirs of Mardin and Hisn Kipha. When Timurtash Husam al-Din was in the region of Sarja between Dara and Nisibin, his cousin Rukn al-Din joined him and both attacked Zangi, who could not challenge them. Zangi was scared and asked each of his soldiers to wear the shield, unsheathe his sword and stand at the door of his tent. The soldiers appeared like an iron wall. They remained in this position from morning to sunset. Suddenly, however, a rift took place between Husam al-Din and his cousin, who took his troops to the mountain where many of them were scattered. Emboldened, Zangi pursued Husam al-Din, whose horsemen fled to Mardin while many of the infantry perished. Finally, both signed peace by means of envoys. Zangi signed this peace because he wanted to go to Syria to seize Sayf al-Dawla Dubays ibn Sadaqa, who was the only remaining amir of an Arab origin. He captured him in Palestine, brought him to Mosul, and placed him under guard.<sup>2210</sup>

The Caliph al-Mustarshid bi Allah (1118-1135) asked Zangi to send him Dubays in order to kill him because he hated him immensely, but Zangi refused to deliver him. The caliph assembled an army and the two sides collided with each other. Zangi was defeated and fled. The caliph's forces pursued him until the wall of Takrit, but some men lowered him down with ropes at night and he escaped to Mosul. He released the amir Dubays, gave him money and sent him to assemble the Arabs, while he, Zangi, assembled the Turks to fight the caliph. When Dubays and Zangi assembled their forces, the caliph also assembled his own forces. After many skirmishes, Zangi was defeated and fled to Mosul. The Arab Ibn Dubays, fearing that Zangi might imprison him again, fled to the sultan of Khurasan. The caliph (al-Mustarshid) marched against Mosul to evict Zangi from the kingdom, but Zangi fortified the city. Nasir al-Din withstood (the caliph) admirably.<sup>2211</sup> Failing to overwhelm them (Zangi and Nasir al-Din), the caliph retreated.

While Caliph al-Mustarshid was resting at midday in his tent in the camp of Mas'ud, sultan of Khurasan, at the entrance of the city of Marga, he was suddenly attacked by ten men and was killed.<sup>2212</sup> He was succeeded by al-Rashid.

<sup>2209</sup> See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 386-387, and 388-389; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dbayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 228; Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat*, 2:245-246 and 254; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 1:42-43, and Moosa, *The Crusades*, 542-543.

<sup>2210</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 389-390, and Moosa, *The Crusades*, 543.

<sup>2211</sup> Nasir al-Din was Zangi's deputy in Mosul. See The Anonymous Edessan, 154-155.

<sup>2212</sup> Bar Hebraeus says that this happened on November 16, 1134, and that fifteen men killed the caliph. See Bar Hebraeus,

The Amir Dubays, while staying with the sultan of Khurasan, felt that they wanted to kill him. He tried to escape but could not. He sadly said, "Till when shall I keep on chasing and be chased? Nothing is better than death." One day, after eating bread at the table of the sultan, the sultan went into the interior chamber. A eunuch came out and told Dubays, "The sultan commands you not to leave. Sit down and read these letters." When he began to read what was written concerning him, one of those standing behind him struck him to death.<sup>2213</sup>

Afterwards, sultan Mas'ud of Hamadan betrothed his daughter Humyan to Sultan Dawud. When the caliph heard that they had agreed with each other, he was frightened and worked to separate them secretly. Then the caliph went forth to fight Mas'ud. When Dawud, his son-in-law, did not come to his aid, he realized that the caliph had promised him the kingdom. Thus, Mas'ud waged war against the caliph and defeated him. He seized him and bound him in iron fetters. Here was fulfilled what had been written that, "The caliph was killed in the military camp of Mas'ud at the gate of Marga." He was succeeded by the Caliph al-Rashid (1135-1136). Then Mas'ud pursued Dawud who had fled to Armenia. He spoiled and then went back to Zangi in Mosul. Since the atabeg Zangi opposed Mas'ud, he defended Dawud. He took him to Baghdad and sent word to the caliph to offer the kingdom to Dawud. The caliph, who feared Mas'ud, procrastinated for ten months. Mas'ud and Dawud were enraged and spoiled the western part of Baghdad. Then the caliph yielded and offered the kingdom to Dawud. Mas'ud heard of this and departed. The caliph left Baghdad and came with Zangi to Mosul. When they arrived in the city, they heard that the governor of Nisibin rebelled against Zangi and joined Husam al-Din, lord of Mardin. Zangi went forth to Nisibin with the caliph of Baghdad and Sultan Dawud. He effected peace in Nisibin and then returned to Mosul. The caliph went to Baghdad and reconciled with Mas'ud through the exchange of envoys. Then, Caliph al-Rashid went to Khurasan and became subject of the Turks. The kingdom of the Arabs completely ceased.  
*End of the narrative.*

At the beginning of July 1446 (A.D. 1135), a violent earth tremor took place. At midnight in the middle of the month was seen a star moving with great speed. It reached the moon and looked as if it had penetrated it. On August 2, two stars shot down, and the same thing happened on September 23. It was followed by heavy rain, and lightning burned down seven oxen and a boy.

In Semando, lightning struck down a Turkish person, but the Turks would not bury him, saying that God had burned him down, and therefore, he did not deserve to be buried.

In that year, an earthquake took place in Great Armenia and the city of Doghodaph collapsed. In that year winter was very harsh. In the region of Melitene, red snow fell which was a sign of another miracle.

In May locusts swarmed but did not cause harm.

In the middle of the night of July 21, a light like a candle appeared in the north to the south. It obscured the light of the moon and the stars, and it remained until dawn.

In this month, while the Muslims were praying as usual on Friday in the Great Mosque of the city of Kashkar in Khurasan, a tremor took place. The earth was cleft and they went down to Gehanna (the place of torment) alive. More than ten thousand persons perished.

The winter of the year 1447 (A.D. 1136), was moderate. Quail and other birds entered the houses, which excited people's astonishment.

In January 26, the winter was very severe. The Euphrates and other rivers were frozen and snow fell in abundance.

In Amid birds and other animals like deer began to enter the houses. The governor ordered that they should not be harmed but rather fed until April. It is said that the animals, which were fed in the cities and villages, perished in their abodes as they were trying to leave for the mountains. This is a testimony that every decision for the punishment of anyone (man or beast) is from above (God), and no one can prevent it from happening. *End of the narrative.*

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*Chronography*, 260.

<sup>2213</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 261.

In this time Basilius Bar Shumanna, bishop of Kesum, having been offended by the deposition of Bar Andrews, abandoned his congregation, protesting that the affairs of the church were not conducted according to the canons. He retreated to the Monastery of Phesqin (the Canal Monastery) of the solitaires situated on the bank of the Euphrates. Some people advised the patriarch to make Kesum a patriarchal residence instead of Amid because it was situated within the region of the Christians. Five years after Kesum became the residence of the patriarch, the patriarch ordained Basilius Bar Shumanna as metropolitan for Amid. Upon the restoration of Bar Andrew to his diocese, Basilius Bar Shumanna was also restored to his diocese. Meantime, Basil, archdeacon of Edessa, was ordained a bishop for this city and was called Athanasius. After serving for seven years, he passed away in 1474 (A.D. 1163).

In this same year Iyawannis Elisha, metropolitan of Melitene, died. A conflict was stirred up among the clergy concerning the election of a shepherd for Melitene. Basilius, bishop of Jihan, a very crafty man who frequented the patriarchal office to take care of administrative matters and church affairs, worked against the election of a metropolitan for Melitene. Being greedy, his intention was to take advantage of the simplicity of the holy patriarch and annex Melitene to his own diocese. He slandered any candidate whose name was presented to the patriarch, and the meek patriarch believed him. Thus, the diocese of Melitene was vacant for three years. Then the congregation of Melitene decided to have as their metropolitan the deacon Yeshue Bar Qatra of Melitene. They addressed to him a letter containing their unanimous approval. However, the bishop of Jihan wrote a letter in the name of the patriarch containing a grave anathema of Yeshu. *End of the narrative. He who reads let him pray.*

### **Chapter Eight: On what took place between the kings of the world and in the church during three years**

In the year 1447 (A.D. 1136), a conflict was stirred up between the Armenians and the Franks. In this time, the Armenian King Michael after abandoning the fortress of Gargar in the time of Belek, came back after the murder of Belek and settled in it. However, the people of the denomination called Sebarerb confronted him because he plundered their villages, and they plundered his villages. One day, the Turks surrounded him from every side in the district of Zizona on the bank of the Euphrates. When he found no way to escape to safety, he cast himself from the precipice to the river. As he was wearing plate armor and a shield in his hand, he sank and then floated. Finally, he found a ford through which he escaped with his life. He then gave Gargar to Joscelin and took Sopharos. Joscelin sold Gargar to Basil, brother of the Armenian catholicos, for five hundred dinars. Michael repented and thought to go back to Gargar. When Joscelin refused to hand it over to him, Michael marshaled an army and invaded the district of Kesum.<sup>2214</sup> The Franks confronted him and he was accidentally killed.

When the Franks evicted Basil from Gargar, he went to the Armenian Leon in Cilicia and became his son-in-law. He gathered a group of Armenians, went forth to fight the Franks in Farzman, and killed many of them.<sup>2215</sup> When the Turks witnessed that the Armenians and the Franks were fighting each other, they sent a certain cruel person named Afshin to invade the region of Kesum. When he found no resistance, he invaded Antioch. He then marched against Laodicea and took many captives. They returned to the River Orontes (al-'Asi), caught fish and ate them. Immediately, many of them died for some (mysterious) reason, or as a blow from the Most High. The rest, fearing death, fled and left the captives behind.<sup>2216</sup>

In the year 1448 (A.D. 1138), King of the Greeks (Emperor of the Romans) Iwani (John Comnenus II) ferociously attacked Leon the Armenian in Cilicia. He captured the cities of Tarsus, Adana, al-Missisa and others.<sup>2217</sup> After subjecting the entire region, he seized Leon, his wife and sons, and sent them to

<sup>2214</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 261.

<sup>2215</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 261, calls it Kafar Zaman.

<sup>2216</sup> Cf. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 189-190 and 204.

<sup>2217</sup> William of Tyre, 2: 83-84; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 275; The Anonymous Edessan, , 133-135; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 2:415-417; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 545.

Constantinople. Leon died in the city but his sons and his wife returned later and controlled the region (of Cilicia) once more.

After Iwani, John, king of the Greeks (emperor of the Romans) took control of Cilicia and sent Leon to Constantinople, he marched against Antioch but failed to capture it. Joscelin approached him and signed an agreement with him on condition that King John would give the regions of Syria, meaning Aleppo and others, to the Franks. In addition, the Franks would give him Antioch according to the pledge they made to his father Alexius (Comnenus). With this, Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers), lord of Antioch, went out to meet him and King (emperor) John entered Antioch. However, when he realized that they (the Franks) wanted to deceive him, he became suspicious and returned to Cilicia. The Franks went after him and renewed their agreement with him. Then, the emperor accompanied them to Aleppo. He took Biz'a (Baza'a, Buza'a) and stationed fighting men in Shayzar.<sup>2218</sup>

Then, Sultan Mas'ud of Iconium marched against Cilicia and captured Adana by war. He spoiled the entire country and took its inhabitants and the bishops captive to Melitene.<sup>2219</sup> When the emperor learned of this, he burned down the engines of war and returned to Cilicia. He signed peace with the sultan and then entered Constantinople.

In that year (A.D. 1138), Bazwash, captain of the host, rebelled against his master Shihab al-Din in Damascus. He gathered an army and marched against Tripoli. Its lord, Ibn Sanjil (Count Pons, son of Bertram, and grandson of Raymond of Saint Gilles of the First Crusade), went forth but the Turks ambushed him, killed all the Franks including Ibn Sanjil, and burned upper Tripoli with fire.<sup>2220</sup> They spoiled the entire region. Then they moved to Tiberias and plundered it, and then reached Nabulus (Samaria) and pillaged it and devastated it. In the light of these calamities, the king of Jerusalem (Fulk) went out to Zephania to see what happened and to drive the Turks out who were fighting against it. Suddenly, (Imad al-Din) Zangi attacked the king's camp at night and killed a great number of the infantry. The king and the horsemen fled to the fortress. The fighting lasted forty days. The queen sent an appeal to Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers), lord of Tripoli, and Joscelin (for help). However, when Zangi heard that they (the Franks) were ready to assault him, he signed peace with the king and retreated.<sup>2221</sup>

In this time, King Muhammad expelled his brother Daula and took from him Ablastain and the region of Jihan. Daula went to Hanzit, then to Amid and to Joscelin as he kept moving from one place to another.

In the year 1449 (A.D. 1138), Edessa under the Turks was like a prison, and its inhabitants could not go in and out with ease. Four thousand men of Samosata, among whom were three hundred Frankish Knights, carried food to the inhabitants of Edessa. Among them was the physician, philosopher, deacon Abu Sa'd. As they were passing by, the Turk ambushers led by Husam al-Din, lord of Mardin, attacked them at night and killed most of them and took the rest captive, including Abu Sa'd and Michael Bar Shumanna and his son. Abu Sa'd who was well versed in astronomy, could not find out what was determined to happen to them on that day. Finally, Husam al-Din Timurtash took the fortress of Kissos from the Franks.

In this time, Sultan Mahmud entered the region of Kesum. He spoiled, plundered, and then went back. Witnessing that its inhabitants had fled, he returned once more, burned the villages with fire, and left them as ashes. From there he moved to Mar'ash and did the same thing. *End of the narrative.*

When the letter of suspending the deacon Yeshu from service, which was written by the instigation of the metropolitan of Jihan, reached Melitene and was read at the pulpit, the virtuous deacon Yeshu of

<sup>2218</sup> The available sources offer a different perspective of these events. It was Raymond of Poitiers who could not expect help from King Fulk of Jerusalem, who was busy with Imad al-Din Zangi in Ba'rin, signed an agreement with Emperor John Comnenus. See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 546-547 and the sources he consulted.

<sup>2219</sup> At this time, the citizens of Adana were predominantly Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites). See The Anonymous Edessan, 135.

<sup>2220</sup> Pons fled to the hills of Lebanon. He was captured by the inhabitants and killed. See Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 414-416; Stevenson, *The Crusades*, 137; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 1:573-574; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 544.

<sup>2221</sup> The available sources offer a different analysis of these events. See William of Tyre, 2:83-86; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 421; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 264; The Anonymous Edessan, 133-125, Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 205-206; Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 2: 415-417; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 544-546.

imposing old age picked it up and placed it over his head. When Patriarch Yuhanon learned of this, he praised the deacon for his meekness and his discerning, and pardoned him. However, the affairs of Melitene remained as such until the death of the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon in September 1448 (A.D. 1137) at the Monastery of al-Dawa'ir, where his holy body was buried. The metropolitan of Jihan, who was the patriarch's syncellus as we have already said, unlawfully wrote a document stamped by the seal of the patriarch stating that before his death, the patriarch had confirmed Melitene to be for Basilius, bishop of Jihan. Accordingly, Basilius entered Melitene forcibly assisted by the governor. He ordained presbyters and deacons and consecrated the Holy *Miron* (Chrism) when the church still had no patriarch. As Basilius became the metropolitan of Melitene, he retained the diocese of Jihan also. The bishops and the majority of the laymen were suspicious of the actions of the metropolitan and had no idea how he had done such a stratagem. Some bishops went on blaming the patriarch for the actions of the metropolitan. Others blamed not the late patriarch but the metropolitan of Jihan himself. Still others were of the opinion that the metropolitan did all this by a divine zeal for the consolidation of the church of God. *Here ends the narrative about the fathers.*

At this time grave harm happened to the Monastery of Mor Abhai, also called the Monastery of Ladders for a reason like this. Some men of Armenian origin were in control of the fortress of Sebaberk (Samkat). Their ancestor, Boghosag, had gone to Baghdad during the Turks first invasion, and then to Khurasan. He proclaimed his conversion to Islam and obtained pledges from the great sultan and from the caliph that the fortress of Sebaberk would be under his control and his sons after him. Thus, these Armenians were Muslims throughout their generations. At that time, the fortress was governed by an amir called Isa from the Boghosag family. He was wicked and immensely hated the Christians. He especially hated the Armenian Michael and Constantine who were in Gargar. They invested his region and caused havoc to it. He, in turn, ravaged and spoiled Gargar. When he saw that the Franks had become weaker, he gathered the Turks and invaded and pillaged all the country in order to secure for the Turks sufficient provisions and treasures, especially since the country was in ruins, but what he found was not enough. Then, he fixed his eyes on the churches and monasteries to exact from them his needs. First, he came to the Monastery of Mor Abhai. When he could not enter the monastery from the Euphrates side, he climbed a precipice and lowered down his men by ropes. They hurled huge stones at the monastery until they destroyed the corner of its church. Fearing him, the monks went out to welcome him. When he gained full control of the monastery, he plundered all of its belongings including silver vessels of chalices, patens, crosses and other objects, which had been deposited at the monastery since the time of Mor Yuhanon Bar Abdun. He also pillaged the Monastery of Phesqin and expelled the solitary monks Rabban Dawud and his companions from the Monastery of Shira. No one remained in that monastery except Abu Ghalib. *End of the narrative.*

### **Chapter Nine: On the death of the sultan of Khurasan and the campaign of his son against Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia); the ordination of the Patriarch Mor Athanasius; and other world and church events**

After the death of Mahmud, sultan of Khurasan, his brother the cruel Mas'ud reigned. Immediately after assuming power, he marched to Assyria passing through Azarbayjan to Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). Upon arriving in Dara, he camped near Hawarta.

In the year 1450 (A.D. 1139), Malik Mahmud (lord of Melitene) marched with his army to the region of Cilicia, and wrested from the Greeks (the fortresses) of Bahgai and Ganbopirath. He also invaded the region of Casianus, which is on the Sea of Pontus (the Black Sea). He plundered and made slaves of all the people and sold them into slavery.<sup>2222</sup>

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<sup>2222</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 266.

In that year, (Imad al-Din) Zangi marched against Damascus and beleaguered it. Its governor appealed to the king of Jerusalem for help and lavished on him huge largess. The king came to help and Zangi fled.

In October of the year 1452 (A.D. 1141), the Turks of Melitene attacked the monasteries of Beth Zabar, that is of Beth Qinaya (The Reeds), plundered and went away unresisted.

In May, the Franks came to take revenge of the people of Melitene who spoiled the monasteries. They came to Zubatra and 'Arqa and carried off the possessions of the Christians, but did not meet Turks at all. After they left, the Turks came on their heels, looted, and then left. Thus, the Christians became a subject of extortion by both sides.<sup>2223</sup> The Franks attacked the region of Ablastain and pillaged the possessions of the Christians. They killed some Turks and took the rest slaves. The Turks went forth with great determination from Hanzit to the country of the Franks. They met about twenty men, one of whom was the holy Bishop of Mesora, who was crossing the Abdahar Mountain. Because of their vehement anger against the Christians, they beat the bishop and those with him with cruelty and tied them up in order to kill them. Suddenly the terrifying sound (of the Franks) fell upon them, they left them tied up and fled. Therefore, the bishop and those with him were saved.<sup>2224</sup> When the Franks marched against that region, they killed all the Turks by the sword. They were successful in those days because they were united.

In the year 1452 (A.D. 1141), Iwani, king (emperor) of the Greeks, went forth to fight the Turks. Malik Muhammad confronted him, and both their camps faced each other for six months. When the king (Iwani) attempted to get close to Neocaesarea, the Turks' animosity toward the Christians who were under their authority increased so much that anyone who mentioned the name of the emperor, even unwittingly, was slain and his sons, daughters and members of his household were taken captive. In this same manner in Melitene and other countries, they (the Turks) did the same. Suddenly, however, the emperor returned to his country without fighting or signing peace. As to Malik Muhammad, he marched against Mar'ash plundering and spoiling.<sup>2225</sup>

In that year, Zangi, lord of Mosul, signed peace with Husam al-Din, lord of Mardin. The two men then met in Sarja. Zangi and Husam al-Din dismounted their horses and made an alliance to confirm the peace. They were prepared to fight against Dawud, lord of Hisn Kipha. They pursued him and caught up with him at the wall of Amid. Realizing that he was pursued, Dawud sought refuge in the wall of the city, but Zangi and Husam al-Din attacked the city from the southern side, and the battle continued from morning to the afternoon. In the evening, Dawud was defeated and fled. Some of his troops were killed, other were captured and still others fled. Zangi captured Sulayman, son of Dawud and handed him over to Husam al-Din, who in turn, sent him to Mardin. The two lords (Zangi and Husam al-Din) returned through the gate of Amid and descended upon the fortress of Sora in the neighborhood of Mardin which belonged to Dawud. They directed three engines of war against it, caused a breach in the wall, and continued the war. The fighting men inside trembled with fear and asked for a pledge for their lives. However, the lords refused and captured the fortress, the governor and Dawud's men. They divided the region into four sections. Zangi gave the fortress to Husam al-Din, and added to it Sarja, Dhu al-Qarnayn and Sakan. Then they moved to the (fortress of) Bar'ia. When the governor of Bar'ia learned that Zangi and Husam al-Din were marching against him, he was gripped with fear and delivered it to the lord of Mardin. However, when (Zangi and Husam al-Din) saw that the fortress was fortified, they departed and marched against Amid. They threatened that they would destroy the entire region if the fortress was not delivered to them. When the lord of Amid felt that he was totally at a loss, he delivered the fortress to Husam al-Din, and everyone returned to his place.

Our church, we Orthodox, remained without a general leader (patriarch) for one year and six months. During this period, the bishops were writing to each other urging for the assembling of a council to set up a patriarch. Four old metropolitans of Gargar, Semha, Claudia and Jihan, who had moved to

<sup>2223</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 266, says that the Franks killed many Turks and took their children and women prisoners.

<sup>2224</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*

<sup>2225</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 266.

Melitene, met alone and cast a lot on three persons as usual. One of them was the old deacon Yesu Bar Qatra, mentioned earlier, whose name appeared as a winner. They sent two bishops to fetch him. The deacon asked them on oath whether he was truly chosen. When he was sure of his choice, he accompanied them to the Monastery of Maqrana where he was invested with the monastic habit. They were told that the Maphryono (Dionysius) had arrived in the neighborhood of Amid and that the governor desired to have the meeting (of bishops) in his city. At the Monastery of Gargar, the bishop of Gargar ordained the deacon Yesu Bar Qatra a priest. On Sunday, 4<sup>th</sup> of December (1139) at the festival of Barbara the martyr, he was ordained a Patriarch of Antioch by the laying on of hands of Maphryono Dionysius assisted by twelve bishops and presbyters and monks and a great number of deacons. He was called Athanasius at his ordination. On the day of his ordination, the governor of Amid, Mawdud Ibn Nisan the Muslim, held a dinner banquet for the members of the council. Also, Jacob, brother of the deacon Abu Ishaq, who had formerly quarreled with the Patriarch Mor Athanasius, spent lavishly on this council. On the next day, the patriarch ordered the metropolitan of Jihan to return to his diocese. He sent Basilius from Amid to Qal'at Ja'bar in order that Amid would be the patriarchal residence as was in the past. Hence began the problems of the church. Basilius, metropolitan of Jihan, said to the patriarch, "You were not elected by a true but a false ballot. The bishop of Gargar cheated me swearing on oath that I should stay in Melitene. In fact, he put down one name (of a candidate) on the three ballots." The words of the metropolitan provoked the suspicions of the people. In addition, the metropolitans of the regions west of the Euphrates did not recognize the patriarch because they were not present at his election and ordination. They were ready to set up another patriarch. Other metropolitans maintained that Basilius, metropolitan of Jihan, said what he said because the patriarch ousted him from Melitene. They cursed the metropolitan for stirring up suspicion. However, the metropolitan did not quit and went to Melitene. He assembled the presbyters and the lay people and showed them the document he had written and returned to Jihan. Then, the patriarch left Amid and went to the Monastery of Mar Barsoum. He ordained his nephew (his sister's son) Theodore, a metropolitan for Melitene on Pentecost Sunday of that year and called him Ignatius. In October 1451 (A.D. 1140), he ordained Romanus, a native of Melitene and from the Monastery of Jerusalem, a bishop for Jerusalem and called him Ignatius.

In the year 1452 (A.D. 1141), the metropolitans of the west met with Bar Andrew and Bar Shumanna and the rest of metropolitans in Hisn Mansur. They issued a number of canons and delivered them to the patriarch. They pledged that they would offer him homage if he endorsed them. The patriarch did endorse them and the metropolitans signed his *systatikon* (document of his election) a patriarch, and peace prevailed.

In October of the year 1450 (A.D. 1139), appeared a red sign (body) in the northern side of heaven. In that month, an earthquake took place and destroyed the towers of Biza'a (Buza'a).

In Aleppo, the winter was very severe from the beginning of December until February. The Euphrates was frozen and people crossed on it by foot, and domestic and wild animals and birds perished.

While forty men were passing through the wilderness of al-Raqqa (Callinicus), the earth cleft and swallowed them with the exception of one who went to relieve himself. The cry of men for help and the noise of beasts were heard for a long time.

During this tremor, Tarib (Atharb?) collapsed, and the church of Harim was destroyed. The village of Azrab in the neighborhood of the Mountain of Cyrus (Qurush) was split in the middle. It collapsed after the inhabitants had left it.

In that year there was scarcity of rain until the middle of May, but when rain began to fall, the produce of crops was late.

On Pentecost Sunday, a violent lightning took place killing two women in Melitene, one of whom was on the rooftop and the other in the market place. Also, two storks (birds) were killed in the ninth hour.

In the night of June 22, what looked like fiery lances in the northern part of heaven was seen and then moved toward the southern part.

On October 29, 1452 (A.D. 1141), another earthquake took place. On the tenth of this month the moon eclipsed and plague spread in Melitene and began by killing birds; children died from small pox.

At the festival of Mor Barsoum in May, violent hailstones fell in Hanzit and Hisn Ziyad that destroyed trees and vineyards. On that same day, lightning burned a boy and a mule. In June of that year, a tremor occurred which shook the bank of the lake of the city of Lesser Cilicia called Khaling and other places in that country and all over the seacoast. *This account is completed by the help of Almighty God. To him be the glory.* This passage is written in Arabic and in red ink.

**Chapter Ten: On the time of the death of Malik Muhammad, and the death of Iwani (John), king (emperor) of the Greeks in the same period; the death of Sire Fulk, king of the Franks and of Jerusalem; the death of Dawud amir of Hisn Ziyad, and other world and church events which took place in this period**

In the year 1452 (A.D. 1142), (Joscelin) went to Jerusalem to pray. The Turks went forth and invaded the country, destroyed it and burned it including the village of Harim.

In that year, the governor of Qamih died, and Malik Mahmud ruled it.

On December 6 of the year 1454 (A.D. 1143), Malik Muhammad died in Caesarea and ordered his son Dhu al-Nun to rule after him. However, his wife married her husband's brother, Yaqub Arslan, and made him a ruler of Sebastea. Dhu al-Nun fled to Semando (where he ruled), and Caesarea and Melitene were added later to his rule. Dhu al-Nun's other brother, Daula, made a covenant with Yunus, lord of Masara, and both of them attacked Melitene, but the inhabitants would not open the gates for them. Because they had no force to fight, they returned to 'Arqa. It was then that the wife of Malik Muhammad dispatched two thousand men to protect Melitene. When the inhabitants (of Melitene) realized that these men carried an order to evict them and their children from their homes and move them to Sebastea that they may take possession of their homes, they were agitated. They armed themselves, withdrew their swords and roamed through the streets. Gripped by terrible fear, the Christians of the city hid in cisterns underground not knowing the reason for what was happening. It was Wednesday, February 17 of the first week of Lent. The Turks of the city gathered in front of the citadel and demanded from the governor the keys of the gates in order to get out and challenge the men who marched against the city. However, the governor did not give them the keys. Then all of them, mounting and armed, went forth to the citadel called Baridanye. They were headed by a person named Buri who smashed the lock of the door with an axe while the others stood as guards. On that day, they went and brought Daula, and the men of Sebastea fled. The lord of the city offered Daula respect, and Daula entered the city and peace prevailed. Afterwards, Daula went to his brother Yaqub Arslan and both made a covenant with each other. Dawla received Ablastain and ruled over Jihan.<sup>2226</sup>

When Sultan (Mas'ud of Iconium), heard of what had happened, he was angry with Yaqub Arslan. Yaqub, scared, fled to the mountains. The Sultan attacked Sebastea, destroyed it, and returned to his country. He sent a message to Daula to pay him homage, and that he would expand his region. Daula sent his wife, the sister of the sultan's brother, but the sultan would not listen to her appeal. He besieged Melitene on June 17, but as he set up engines of war against it, he became awed and stopped fighting it. It was said that he was bewitched. He continued to besiege the city for three months while Daula, (who was inside the city) plundered the people, especially the nobles, and offered the booty to the soldiers. At dawn on the day of the Feast of the Cross in the month of September, the sultan suddenly burned his engines of war and departed, and the people of Melitene heaved a sigh of relief.<sup>2227</sup>

<sup>2226</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 267.

<sup>2227</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*, 267.

## BOOK SIXTEEN

In April of this same year, Iwani (John II Comnenus), king of the Greeks, went hunting in Cilicia, as was his custom. He took a poisoned arrow to shoot a wild boar, but instead, the arrow hit his hand. The poison spread through his body and he died.<sup>2228</sup>

Shortly afterward, the king of the Franks of Jerusalem went out hunting. He chased a rabbit. His attendants went to look for him and found him fallen off his horse dead and his head receded into his body.<sup>2229</sup>

In this time, Dawud, lord of Hisn Ziyad, died. These four lords, the king of the Greeks, the king of the Franks, Malik Muhammad and Dawud, died in the same year (1143).

In the middle of August and until September of the year 1452 (A.D. 1141), brilliant lights were seen in the northern part (of heaven). On the night of September 2, a light like sunrays appeared in the northwestern part (of Heaven).

In the year 1453 (A.D. 1142), hailstones covered the entire region of Semha.

In the year 1454 (A.D. 1143), the pope of Rome sent one of his twelve-membered conclave<sup>2230</sup> to Jerusalem to set in order the churches, monasteries, chief priests and the rest of the cities, etc. However, no sooner he began his investigation than he passed away. It is said that he was poisoned to death. The pope became angry and sent one of his four distinguished legates, each one of whom was his personal representative, and the legate straightened out many matters.<sup>2231</sup> He deposed the (Latin) patriarch of Antioch and appointed another. He succeeded in his mission.

The wicked Greeks, who were wont to do evil, slandered us (the Syrians) and the Armenians to the legate saying, "These people are heretics." Therefore, they filled his heart with anger. He came to Duluk (Doliche) and met with Gregorius, the Armenian catholicos, and led him to Jerusalem by force. He held a council on the Monday of White<sup>2232</sup> (in the year 1140) attended by the Patriarch's legate, the bishops of the Franks, the Armenian catholicos, bishops and Armenian doctors (learned men). It was also attended by the metropolitan of Jerusalem, the monks, Joscelin and the rest of the leaders. The Greeks were summoned to the council three times. They were told, "You have said that the Syrians and the Armenians are heretics. You should explain to us their heresy." They said, "We will not attend a council which is not attended by our king." Thus, their false accusation was exposed for everyone. Then the Armenians and the Syrians submitted their own documents of faith, which were translated into Italian. The council proclaimed that their belief was orthodox. The Franks asked the Armenians and the Syrians not to change their doctrine. The Syrians agreed rejoicing, but the Armenians rejected it and thus, were branded as Phantasiasts and Simonites. *This narrative is ended. Let him who reads pray for the weak writer (copyist).* This colophon is written in Arabic and in red ink.

In the year 1453 (A.D. 1141), Mor Gabriel, the patriarch of Egypt died and Mor Iyawannis was ordained (in his place).

The Patriarch Mor Athanasius came to Melitene and met with Malik Muhammad. He resided at the church of Mama. He consecrated the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism) in the Great Church and demanded the (restoration) of the Monastery of Mor Ahron (Aaron) al-Shaghr (the Monastery of Butn, Oak). He entrusted the administration of Amid to the metropolitan of Miyafarqat, and the administration of Antioch to the metropolitan of Tarsus.

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<sup>2228</sup> See George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 337.

<sup>2229</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 267-268.

<sup>2230</sup> This legate is Pierre, archbishop of Lyon, (d. May, 1139). See J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, III:255, footnote 3.

<sup>2231</sup> This legate is Alberic, bishop of Ostie. See Chabot, *Ibid*, footnote 4.

<sup>2232</sup> The White, in Syriac *Heworo*, is a week which extends from Easter Sunday to the New or Low Sunday. In the west it is known as Whitsunday. According to an old practice of the church, the catechumen intending to embrace Christianity usually went through a period of preparation and meditation, after which they were baptized on the Thursday of Passion Week (Maundy Thursday) and anointed with the holy oil shortly after the consecration of the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism), which took place on the same day. During the whole week following the Sunday of Easter, the catechumen received daily the Holy Eucharist while attired in white robes. Hence is the name of The Week of the White.

In the same year, Maphryono Dionysius went down to Baghdad for treatment and died there. The Takritians carried his body to the church of Takrit.

In the same year, the Muslims strangled the metropolitan of Homs. In addition, the congregation of Tur Abdin expelled their metropolitan. The metropolitan of the Jazira was seized by the sultan by means of gold (money). The metropolitan of Damascus quarreled with his congregation and the patriarch reconciled them.

In the year 1454 (A.D. 1143), Li'azar, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya and a native of 'Abra, who had studied in Melitene, was ordained a Maphryono of Takrit. He was ordained in the Monastery of Mor Ahron (Aaron) and was called Ignatius (at his ordination). He was renowned within the circles of the church.

In that year, Patriarch Athanasius returned to Melitene as its lord Daula, son of Ghazi, was in it when Sultan Mas'ud besieged it.

Later some people went to Count Joscelin and told him, "This patriarch was set up illegally." Joscelin commanded that the patriarch's name not be proclaimed in the country under his rule. He did this perhaps because the patriarch did not visit him and extend to him greetings. He then summoned Timothy, metropolitan of Gargar, to Samosata and received from him the truth of how the election of the patriarch was conducted. At Samosata, the metropolitan did not support the claim of the bishop of Jihan and others. The patriarch, however, left Melitene for the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. When he learned that Joscelin had transferred Basilius Abu al-Faraj Bar Shumanna to Edessa, he confirmed Edessa for Bar Shumanna and ordained Iliyya (Elijah), the learned and chaste, a bishop for Kesum, and called him Iyawannis. He was of great renown in the church. *This narrative is ended. Let him who reads pray for its writer (copyist) the sinner.* This colophon is written in Arabic and in red ink.

*With the end of Book Sixteen, our discussion of the events that took place during thirteen years comes also to an end. During this period, ten Greek, Frankish and Turkish kings were set up.*

In view of the effort shown by what the two following metropolitans of what they had written, we shall append the Introduction of the books of each of them

### **Iyawannis, metropolitan of Kesum**

In his Introduction, he wrote, "Seeing that time has become miserable, and our generation reached a great degree of weakness and degeneration, especially in our case we, the Syrians, who have almost reached the point of extinction, we were prompted to record only a smattering of what has taken place in the years in which we live and those which follow. Therefore, we made an effort to compile this book of history. We have collected profane chronicles from many different sources and left them as a memorial for those who come after us. We did this in order that each one will know his own self and remember that life is transient, and that many people have already passed away. He, like them, should settle the debt that cannot be overlooked. He who contemplates those who went before him will discover that man gains fame in this life according to his achievements. How much more then, he will inherit the recompense in the life to come?"

### **Dionysius, metropolitan of Amid**

He wrote thus in the Introduction of his book, "Ears in this tumultuous age are prone to hear unpalatable and worthless accounts. It is a matter that overwhelmed many because of the ever-existing disturbances and commotions which took place in not so short a time. Because fear of the law has disappeared, illegality has spread, and knowledge, whose function is to educate the novices and guide them to the true path, is rejected. Having contemplated these matters, I, the wretched and weak Dionysius Jacob, decided to write down a small portion that will help those who are concerned with the vicissitudes of time. I believe that knowing these heavenly chastisements, which afflict people, serve as a tremendous deterrent for those who were not tested by temptations. Furthermore, they should take into account that the axe is

## BOOK SIXTEEN

already at the root of the tree<sup>2233</sup> and may not be carried away by futile and irrational reports which have no basis of truth, but are worthless raving. In addition, since I have entertained such an idea for a long time, men of discerning urged me not to neglect it or do nothing to implement it. Therefore, I consulted what had been written by former chroniclers, and chose what is appropriate and neglected the rest. After accomplishing this task and selecting what ancient ecclesiastical chroniclers had written, I chose what is suitable for my work. I decided to collect and compile what had been written in different generations gradually until our own tumultuous age in which we live considering it the first stage in this compilation. I explained the persecutions and the calamities that afflicted the Christians in order that, when these bitter reports have touched the ears of many people, they will be deterred from what we have mentioned earlier.

Since we have overlooked the idea whose objective was to collect the former chronicles together with ecclesiastical chronicles, and extract from them a watercourse which overflows with benefits for the inquirers, we resolved to write down what has taken place in our own time as succinctly as possible.”

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<sup>2233</sup> Matthew 3:10.

## BOOK SEVENTEEN

IT TREATS THE EVENTS BEGINNING WITH THE YEAR 1455 OF THE GREEKS, WHICH IS THE YEAR, A.D. 1125 AND THE YEAR 524 OF THE ARBOYE (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 83 OF THE TURKS, AND THE YEAR 6673 OF ADAM.<sup>2234</sup>

### **Chapter One: The period of the reign of Manuel of the Greeks; the reign of Baldwin of the Franks; the reign of Yaqub (Jacob) Arslan of the Turks, and other events that took place during this period**

When Iwani (John), king of the Greeks (emperor of the Romans) was in Cilicia and felt that his end was near, he commanded that his younger son (Manuel) should reign because his elder son was in the capital. Manuel began to reign in April 1455 of the Greeks (A.D. 1144). When he entered the capital his brother welcomed him and paid homage to him, and he was confirmed in the kingdom.

In that year, the king of Jerusalem (Fulk of Anjou) passed away and was succeeded by his son Baldwin. Because he was very young, his mother (Melisend) managed the affairs of the kingdom.<sup>2235</sup>

In the same year died Dawud, lord of Hisn Ziyad, who was succeeded by his younger son, Kara Arslan, because his elder son (Toghmish) was with (Imad al-Din) Zangi. Zangi came, accompanied by Arslan Toghmish, son of Dawud, and captured Hani. In addition, Sultan Mahmud sieged Ablastain and the entire country of Jihan. Then he besieged Melitene, and Kara Arslan, son of Dawud, was in his company. Kara Arslan asked the sultan to help him against Zangi. The sultan gave him twenty thousand horsemen. He took them and marched against Zangi who retreated and went back to his country. Kara Arslan regained control of the region that was usurped from him. As to the Sultan (Mas'ud), he came and besieged Melitene for three months but without fight, and then departed.<sup>2236</sup> In the middle of August on the night of the festival of the Assumption of the Mother of God, he commanded his forces to take whatever was necessary for their need and depart after they had spoiled the region.<sup>2237</sup>

During the sultan's siege of Melitene, Joscelin (II) went to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum pretending to pray. He met there the men of Claudia who had fled before the sultan. Have heard from them about his huge army, he returned immediately to his country.

In the early morning of Friday November 26, an earthquake took place in the city of Brusa near the capital Constantinople and caused immense damage to the people and possessions. The river that ran through the city dried up. Three days later, the tremor was repeated when what remained of the population was praying, and the river began to flow as before.

On April 23 of that year which was Maundy Thursday, a terrible sign like a lance was seen after sunset in the east. It remained for seven days, three hours every day. It is said that the sign symbolized blood.

After Basilius Bar Shumanna was blamed for transgressing the canons by moving from Kesum to Edessa by order of the governor, he defended himself in a document containing false testimonies. The patriarch and the council asserted his transgression of the canons, but he did not yield to the governor or the Edessan. The Edessans were in conflict with the patriarch and would not proclaim his name (in their churches) until he confirmed Metropolitan Basilius as their leader. Choosing the lesser evil, the patriarch confirmed Bar Shumanna as a metropolitan for Edessa and thus, won the Edessan people. Upon his return from Jerusalem where he attended the coronation of a new king, the Patriarch (Yeshu Bar Qatra) visited Joscelin in Tell Bashir. Joscelin reconciled with the patriarch and gave him back the church vessels and the jar of *Mirum* (Holy Chrism) he had snatched in a fit of outrage from the patriarchal treasury in the Monastery

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<sup>2234</sup> Obviously the year A.D. 1125 is a copyist error. it should be A.D. 1144.

<sup>2235</sup> William of Tyre, 2:51.

<sup>2236</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 268.

<sup>2237</sup> Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 216 and 226.

of Mor Barsoum. Joscelin had refused to give back these objects when the patriarch visited him the first time.<sup>2238</sup>

**Chapter Two: On the calamity of Edessa the noble city of the Christians in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), which the Turks captured with the sword by the permission of (Divine) justice, and because of our iniquities**

The first calamity of Edessa when the Turks captured it from the Franks was as follows. For a long time the inhabitants of Edessa were prisoners of the Turks, and the affairs of the city deteriorated in every direction. Then suddenly, Joscelin (II), lord of the city, collided with (Imad al-Din) Zangi, lord of Mosul. The reason was that Zangi was chasing after the lord of Hisn Ziyad, who found refuge with Joscelin and offered him the fortress of Beth Bula for helping him against Zangi, same as he received help from Sultan Mas'ud. Joscelin sent an army to help Kara Arslan without realizing that it was not in his interest to antagonize the Turks. Zangi saw this as a pretext to fight Joscelin. At this time, Joscelin was away in Antioch. The people of Harran informed Zangi that there were no troops in Edessa. Zangi marshaled an enormous army on Tuesday November 28, 1456 (A.D. 1145), and marched against Edessa. They encamped by the Gate of al-Sa'at close to the Church of the Confessors. He sent a messenger to the people saying, "Surrender or perish. You have no one to save you." Now Papiois, the Latin archbishop was in Edessa. Relying on the envoys sent to Antioch and Jerusalem asking them to rush to the aid of the beleaguered city, he and the people said that they would not surrender. Then Zangi began the war against the city at the beginning of December using different arms. He set up seven engines of war to hurl stones, while the troops were shooting arrows like drops of rain. The natives of the city, old and young, men, women and the monks of the mountains were standing on the wall fighting. When Zangi saw the people were fighting with vigor, he ordered his men to dig under the wall. They dug up deep trenches and reached the wall. The people of the city also dug up underground and went forth against those who were outside. However, when they did not succeed in this manner, they build up a wall before the part that was breached, while those outside dug under two other towers and supported them with posts of wood. Meantime, Atabeg Zangi sent a message saying, "We will send you two men as hostages and you send two men of yours so that they may see that the towers are about to fall. Surrender the city before you perish by the sword. I do not want you to perish." But the inhabitants, confident in the wall they had built and hoping that the Franks would come to their help, did not surrender but scoffed at Zangi and made fun of him. Then the Turks set fire to the posts of wood that supported the towers. In the morning, the battle intensified. The sky was covered with smoke, the hearts trembled, the knees shuddered at the fearful sound of the trumpets, the sight of the soldiers and the cries of the people, and the wall and the two towers collapsed. When the Turks saw the new inside wall they were astonished and did not know what to do. Then they found a breach between the old and the new walls and began to go through it. Meantime, the people of the city, Papios and the bishops tried to prevent them from coming in. The breach was filled with piles of the slain of those who were inside and those who were outside.

As all the people were huddled together in the breach, and the wall remained empty (of combatants), the Turks placed ladders in position and climbed up. A certain Kurd climbed up first and began to hurl stones at the people. When they saw him, they were frightened and turned around and fled to the citadel. From that moment:

What tongue could speak, and what finger would not tremble if it tried to relate the calamity that befell Edessa on the third hour of the Sabbath, 3 of December. The Turks with rattling swords and lances entered the city to drink the blood of old men and children, of women and men, of priests and deacons, of monks and anchorites, of nuns and virgins, of children of tender years, and of bridegrooms and brides. The Assyrian pig has gained control and crushed with the foot the delicious grapes. What a painful story! The city of Abgar, the friend of Christ, was trodden because of our sins. The priests were killed and the deacons

<sup>2238</sup> For full details of this account about Joscelin II, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 664-667.

slaughtered, the servants (sub-deacons) mangled, the churches looted and the altars destroyed. What a calamity! Fathers deserted their own children and mothers lost compassion for their children. The sword continued to kill. Some fled to the mountain, while others gathered their children like a hen and her chicks, waiting to die or be taken captive. Some older priests carried with them coffins containing relics of saints and martyrs. When they saw this affliction, they repeated the word of the Prophet (Micah 7:9), "I will bear the indignation of the Lord because I have sinned against him." They did not escape but kept praying until they were silenced by the sword. Their bodies were found later stained with their own blood while their hands clung to the coffins of the relics of the saints.<sup>2239</sup>

Many fled to the Citadel because the Franks did not open the gate for them. Papios had ordered that the gate should not be opened until they saw his face. When he did not flee and join the first fugitives, thousands were suffocated in the crush and were heaped up at the gate. When finally Papios arrived, he could not enter in because of the piles of dead bodies on the ground. However, as he struggled to get in, he fell among the corpses and was shot to death by a Turk.

When Zangi saw the horrible sight, he ordered the killing to stop. Then, he found Metropolitan Basilius (Bar Shumanna) naked and dragged along (by the Turks) with a rope. When Zangi saw that he was an old man with shaven head, he asked who he was, and he was told that he was a metropolitan. Zangi began to scold him because he did not surrender the city. However, the metropolitan replied with courage, "Whatever happened is good and great." The amir (Zangi) said, "And how is that?" The metropolitan said, "As far as you are concerned, you ought to be proud because you have taken us by the power of the sword. As to us, it will be a point of respect when you realize that we did not violate our covenant with the Franks and that we will keep the covenant with you, especially, that God Almighty has decreed that we would become your slaves." When Zangi saw that the metropolitan was sensible and spoke with reason in the Arabic language, he was pleased and commanded that he be clothed and brought to his tent. He asked the metropolitan his counsel of rebuilding the city. A crier went out alerting those who escaped the sword to return to their homes. After two days, those who were in the Citadel were given amnesty for their lives, and they surrendered the Citadel. Those of our people (the Syrians) and the Armenians who were spared the sword, were left alive. However, whenever they (the Turks) found a Frank, they killed him.

Now it is not for someone like me to relate the history of this calamity, but for the Prophet Jeremiah and those who are like unto him. Let them call the lamenting women to sing the dirges and the mournful songs they have composed for this pitiful people.<sup>2240</sup>

In the year 1455 (A.D. 1144), the bishop of the diocese of Laqbin in the province of Melitene, was accused of adultery. He was ejected and excommunicated by the patriarch who ordained another bishop in his place. Shortly afterwards, this bishop whose name was Basilius, repented and appealed to the patriarch for forgiveness. The patriarch absolved him and gave him the monasteries of Zabbar. Soon afterwards, he was expelled from that place for the same reason. Again, however, the patriarch felt compassion for him and gave him the diocese of Sebaberck. Three years later, he was ejected for the same reason. However, the patriarch and some people said that he was ejected unjustly. No one knows the truth except God.

When Zangi attacked Edessa and took it by the sword, Metropolitan Basilius (Bar Shumanna) who had usurped the See of Edessa was saved from being killed. Zangi met him and respected him for his courage and speaking the Arabic language. He entrusted him with the affairs of the city in order to bring the inhabitants back to it. In this manner many people were saved, and the metropolitan occupied a distinct position (in the city) during the entire period of Zangi's reign and until he was murdered.

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<sup>2239</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 268-269; The Anonymous Edessan, 149-150; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 552-556, especially 556; Gregory the Priest in *Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, translated by Ara Dostourian, 242-244; Cf. Otto, bishop of Freising, *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of the Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.* Translated by Charles Christopher Mierow (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 439-440.

<sup>2240</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 269-270. For a comprehensive coverage of the capture of Edessa by Imad al-Din Zangi in 1144 based on Arabic, Syriac, Armenian and Latin sources, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 549-560.

During the first calamity of Edessa, among the people killed was the holy Basilius Bar Abbas. He was the bishop of Mardin but then abandoned it and lived in the Edessa Mountain where he was martyred. Another dignitary was Mor Yuhanon who was ordained (a bishop) for Mardin in the time of Athanasius Abu al-Faraj in the year 1436 (A.D. 1125). He was of keen mind, orthodox course and sublime characteristics. He was well versed in the Scriptures and natural sciences because of studying them. He developed a science that was known to many people, especially kings. He was successful in studying the science of survey to divert the course of rivers and tributaries from one place to the other. For this, he gained great honor by the king and all the governors of the regions of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and Athor (Assyria). He was very generous to the poor and the needy.

When Zangi, lord of Mosul, captured Edessa and its people were under bondage, the metropolitan (Basilius Bar Shumanna) had compassion on them. Whenever he could, he bought many of them and delivered them from bondage. Furthermore, he travelled throughout his diocese urging its members to deliver the Christians from bondage. With such noble actions, he was exalted by everyone. He gained fame in many countries and among many people who were of conflicting faith. He also gained fame among the Muslims, and was immensely exalted by kings.

### **Chapter Three: On the events which took place among the kings of the earth; on the Church of the Orthodox, and on the events which took place during the calamity of Edessa**

In the time when Edessa was captured, there was a certain person named Babek appointed by Zangi as governor of Nisibin. For some reason he was apprehensive that Zangi might take revenge on him, especially that, by capturing Edessa, Zangi had become very powerful. Babek feared that Zangi might march against his own country. So, he ordered that any fortresses in his country which could be defended to be demolished. He demolished the fortresses of Hour Ebar, of Tell Besme known as that of Tuma (Thomas), the fortress of Tell Shih, and the fortress of Qal'at al-Imra'a (the woman's fortress) near the Monastery of Mor Hananya (The Za'faran Monastery). They also tried to demolish Sarja in the neighborhood of Nisibin, but could not because its old construction was very firm. However, they demolished only the new construction that they had built and left the fortress empty.

In this time, there was an invincible fortress called Hattack, which did not fall into the hands of the Turks, but was in the hands of person from the clan of Marwan who had a name, power and position in Miyafarqat. However, conflict, quarrel and warfare ensued between its rulers. When Husam al-Din (Timurtash, son of Ilghazi) noticed that the Kurds had no one to support them, and that they were fighting each other, he invested (Miyafarqat) for one year and four months. Ahmad asked him for a pledge of peace, and Timurtash gave him gold, went to his country, and took the fortress (of Hattack). The Kurd regretted what he did and appealed to the lord of Amid to help him restore the fortress to him, but could not.<sup>2241</sup>

After Edessa was seized, Kara Arslan, son of Dawud,<sup>2242</sup> who was in the company of Zangi, went forth and encamped against Tell Arsanius. He demanded that the inhabitants should surrender it. They refused because their sons were hostages in Hisn Ziyad. They did not seem to understand what had happened to the sons of Edessa when they acted obstinately while having no one to support them. They thought that they could save the remnant few not to become slaves, but eventually all of them became slaves. Indeed, the amir (Kara Arslan) was furious against them and ordered that all of them should be taken slaves. It was said that they numbered about fifteen thousand. Some of them came from the outside (other parts of the country), together with their Bishop Timothy, became slaves.<sup>2243</sup>

In this time the Franks were preparing to go forth and help Edessa, they heard that the city had been destroyed, and were immensely saddened. Then they went to Tal'ada, but the Turks surrounded them and prevented the provisions to reach them. They were distressed from hunger and fled. It was then that the people of Sarug abandoned the city and fled, and the Turks captured it.

<sup>2241</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 270.

<sup>2242</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*, calls him Arslan Toghmesh, son of Dawud, lord of Hisn Ziyad.

<sup>2243</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 270.

Zangi went and encamped against al-Bira, while Joscelin went to Jerusalem to recruit troops.<sup>2244</sup>

In Mosul, trouble was stirred up and the people brought out the young son of the sultan who was imprisoned in the city, and killed Zangi's deputy, Nasr al-Din.<sup>2245</sup> When Zangi heard of this, he left al-Bira and went to Aleppo. He made peace with the Franks and al-Bira was saved from him. Then Zangi sent his captain of the host Zayn al-Din and he restored peace to Mosul. He reimprisoned the sultan's son, and Zangi regained power.

### A discourse of Mor Dionysius of Amid on Edessa

Some people of hot temperament, who measure things according to their own perspective, say that, "Why is Edessa stricken with the Assyrian rod of wrath more than any other place? And why does she sit alone, sorrowful with the exclusion of other colleague cities? The Scriptures answer these people saying, "How great are you works, O Lord, how profound your thoughts!" (Psalm 92:5). Not all his works could be comprehended, but he reveals sometimes his mysteries to his servants. However, misfortunes and calamities do not come spontaneously, as heathens maintain, but as a result of becoming distant from God. Sometimes, Almighty God gives foes a free hand, and even encourages them against those who deviate from his paths and from keeping his commandments, and they spoil and pillage. Even this does not occur always because of iniquities. Quite often, the righteous suffer from the reproach of the wicked. And when he who knows everything (God) sees that they are about to move out of the boundaries of propriety, he rebukes them as a father who has compassion on his children. He does this because he does not want to see them deviate from the truth.

Sometimes, God rewards those who are his own in order that others may learn a lesson and say, "If the sons have suffered so much from simple things, how much more the impudent who are always inclined to evil suffer? And what punishment would they deserve, and what blow is about to strike them? It is very difficult to comprehend such designs. There is no one amongst us who can fathom the depth and reveal the mysteries in order that he may explain for us the reason for which Edessa has suffered and was destroyed without mercy. It is our duty to investigate the Holy Scriptures to find the different reasons that lead to the devastation of cities and the spoiling of countries. At this point, we should stop searching these matters."

This what Dionysius had written when he was a deacon in Melitene. Then he penned a book on Divine Providence, and composed two odes in the twelve meters about the calamity of Edessa. He also wrote two *memres* (odes) according to the melody of Mor Jacob (of Edessa). In addition, Basilius (Bar Shumanna), bishop of Edessa, composed three lengthy odes in the twelve meters because he was present in the city during the two times (of its devastation). He wrote at length as an eyewitness. He who wishes, let him read these five odes. *This narrative is ended with the other one beyond. This colophon is written in Arabic script in red ink.*

In this period, conflict was stirred up in our church concerning the question whether these temptations, woes and painful events happened by the will of God or not. Such questioning was generated by Mor Yuhanna (John), bishop of Mardin, who had attained a great fame in all quarters, especially among the Orthodox. He preached that he was one of the remnants of the blessed Orthodox people. However, since he received no education in his childhood, he tried, in his old age, to delve into the divine treasures that were buried in the books in order to enrich himself. He maintained that it was inappropriate to ascribe calamities and disciplinary matters to God. He said this in answer to those who maintained such opinion. He discussed this subject with Timothy, bishop of Gargar, and the solitary Abu Ghalib, who could not convince him of this idea despite that they engaged in heated argument. Thus, the subject was closed.

<sup>2244</sup> Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 236.

<sup>2245</sup> He is Nasir al-Din Chaqar. See Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Tawarikh Al Seljuk*, abridged by al-Fath ibn Ali al-Bundari, edited by M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1899), 205; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 446 and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 71, Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbar al-Dawlatayn* 1 (Cairo, 1870-1871), 41; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 1: 95-96; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 561.

After Edessa was afflicted with this calamitous blow, the Christians began to murmur asking, "Why did God permit the priests and holy solitaries to be killed, and virgins violated, etc." It was then that Mor Yuhanon began to write a discourse saying, "It is not from God the order was issued that the Turks will capture Edessa and Tell Arsanius, or that he allowed such merciless atrocities to take place. Now if the forces of the Franks had arrived in time, Zangi would have never been able to capture them." Yuhanon composed a lengthy discourse containing quotations from books and natural testimonies to support his idea. However, he did not quote the verses of the Holy Scriptures in their correct connotation. He interpreted the words of the Lord, spoken by the Prophet, "I take no pleasure in the death of the wicked;" (Ezekiel 33:11) to mean that the sinner does not die by (God) leaving him to his own devices.

#### **Chapter Four: On the assassination of Zangi, and other events which took place in this period**

When, in the year 1457 (A.D. 1146), the Franks realized that they had become very weak, Bedawi (Baldwin), lord of Antioch, went to see King (Emperor) Manuel of the Greeks in Constantinople. He asked his forgiveness for the sin he committed against his father, especially that he heard that his father had instructed him to take revenge of the Franks. For his obeisance, Manuel honored Baldwin and offered him generous gifts of money and other objects if he should assist the Christians; and he was sent back to his city.

Zangi (Imad al-Din) came to Edessa and spent two days encouraging the Syrians in it. With all his might, he showed compassion toward the Christians of the city. When he went to Qal'at Ja'bar (the fortress of Ja'bar) situated on the Euphrates, he was overtaken by the wrath of God and his incomprehensible judgments. One of his leading military men betrayed him and connived with two eunuchs of his private guards. When Zangi was greatly intoxicated by wine and fell asleep, the two eunuchs jumped out and killed him on Sunday night September 15, (1146), and his life ended in this manner.<sup>2246</sup>

Zangi ruled Mosul and other regions for nineteen years including one year and ten months in Edessa. One of his assassins fled to Qal'at Ja'bar and was safe; the other assassin fled to Callinicus (al-Raqqa). Zangi's army was scattered, and each of his sons went into different directions. Mahmud, called Nur al-Din, reigned in Aleppo, and Ghazi Sayf al-Din ruled Mosul. Meantime, things became chaotic, and the Turkish robbers spread throughout Zangi's domain plundering everything without mercy. In this time, the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery) was pillaged and four of its monks killed. Kara Arslan, lord of Hisn Kipha, attacked the region of Tur Abdin, which at one time was owned by his father and then captured by Zangi. Later, Kara Arslan took it back from Zangi after many people were killed. In Mosul, some people endeavored to have the son of the sultan who was imprisoned in it, to become its ruler, but were opposed by Zayn al-Din (Chaqar, Zangi's deputy) who fought them, defeated them and killed a great number of them. He sent back the son of the sultan to prison and made Zangi's son Ghazi Sayf al-Din the ruler of Mosul.<sup>2247</sup> *End of the narrative.*

On Thursday of Konon, 1456 (A.D. 1145), in the month in which Edessa was captured (Edessa was captured on September 15, 1144), fire broke out in the Monastery of Qarrit in the region of Kharshamna, and destroyed everything. In addition, one of its old monks was consumed by fire but the rest of the monks were safe.

On that day, a village was burned down in the country of Mar'ash.

On Friday of that month, fire broke out in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and consumed three cells (rooms) only, while the rest were safe.

<sup>2246</sup> According to The Anonymous Edessan, 163, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 271, says that the two eunuchs brought a bowl made of gold to Zangi for inspection. As he was inspecting it, one of them smote him with the sword and cut off his head. Zangi was assassinated on Saturday night of September 14. For other sources of Zangi's assassination, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 564-565.

<sup>2247</sup> See Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Tawarikh Al Seljuk*, 209; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 455-456; and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 76; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 109-110; The Anonymous Edessan, 164; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 271-273; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, 272-275; William of Tyre, , 2:147-148; Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 1:46-50; Marshall W. Baldwin, "The Latin States Under Baldwin III and Amalric 1, 1143-1177, in Baldwin. ed. *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 531; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 566.

At the beginning of May, and exactly at the eleventh hour in the evening, a comet was seen pointing southward, and remained thus for seven days. Then it was seen in the west for seven more days.

On May 24, which is the Festival of the Ascension, a violent earthquake took place.

In this time, the Frank Baldwin, lord of Kesum, began to build its wall with stone and lime instead of bricks and clay. He heavily hardened the yoke on the Christians that he even made some priests his slaves. However, he was killed having finished only half of the wall, and the work was suspended. *This narrative is ended by the help of God, the creator of all, on Wednesday of Passion Week 12 of the blessed April. I beg anyone who reads it to pray for me.*<sup>2248</sup> This colophon s written in Arabic script in red ink

When the letter of Yuhanon, bishop of Mardin, which contained absolute denial that the destruction of Edessa was done by the will of God, was made known, he was answered by Iyawannis, bishop of Kesum and Bar Andrew. Each one of them composed a discourse refuting the metropolitan of Mardin. When the discourse of the metropolitan of Mardin reached Melitene, it was substantiated by the presbyter Saliba surnamed Qarija, a prominent man of letters in his time. Saliba maintained that the idea of Mor Yuhanon, who relied on the books of trustworthy fathers, is correct. Nevertheless, some did criticize the contents of Yuhanon's discourse and those who refuted him. Saliba said that, "By completely denying that misfortunes that afflict the righteous have nothing to do with the will of God, Mor Yuhanon, has in fact, denied the power of God's providence in everything. Others, by insisting that all misfortunes and woes take place by the will of God, have actually negated God's mercy and care for man. Therefore, we should understand that 'will' has different connotations. It could be understood in the form of command, or the form of permission. This, however, requires more evidence based on the testimonies of the fathers in order to reveal the truth. Since our primary objective in this book is not to tackle such matters, but only to explain what took place in every generation, we do not want to confuse the reader as he moves from one event to the other. We advise anyone who desires to know the truth of this matter, to read the book of Dionysius Jacob Bar Salibi (d. 1172), metropolitan of Amid, who compiled it from the books of proficient fathers. He presented in it these matters in a lucid and correct form according to the ideas of the holy fathers.

#### **Chapter Five: on the second devastation of Edessa, and other matters**

When in the year 1458 (A.D. 1147), the Franks heard that Zangi (Imad al-Din) was assassinated, Joscelin II, and Baldwin, lord of Kesum, marched against Edessa in November. At night, the men climbed the ladders to the two towers assisted by the Armenian guards and the Turks fled to the Citadel. In the morning, the water gates were opened and Joscelin entered in. The Turks sent messengers to Aleppo and Mosul for help. The Franks entered in on Monday, October 26. They remained for six days thinking of how to attack the Citadel. However, the Turks gathered from every direction like locusts. When the Franks saw them they were gripped with fear thinking that the Lord has deserted them, and they were given over to a depraved mind.<sup>2249</sup> They gathered the entire inhabitants of the city (Edessa) and forced them to join them thinking that they could escape the hands of the huge crowds of the Turks who encircled them. However, they did not realize that while they were inside the wall, they could not fight them, and how much more if they met them on the plain? Nevertheless, their hearts were hardened like the heart of Pharaoh. They dragged the unarmed people (out of their homes) and left at the second hour of the night to build fires in the square (of the city). The people began to cry and envy those who died during the first calamity (of Edessa) because they saw how the fire the Franks kindled was consuming their homes and possessions, while the sword of the Turks was drawn against them. When the people reached the gate of the city, they and the Frankish soldiers began to press against each other. Many people and beasts were killed in a greater number than those who were killed during the first calamity. Those who sought refuge in the churches or in other places, or those who could not move because of old age, sickness or other reason, the Turks

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<sup>2248</sup> This colophon is written in Arabic and in red ink.

<sup>2249</sup> Romans 1:28.

descended upon from the Citadel and killed them without mercy. Those who escaped suffocation in the crowd and left with the Franks, the Turks showered them with lances and arrows.<sup>2250</sup>

O cloud of wrath, the day void of mercy, and the heavy and multiple afflictions of the sons of Edessa. O night of death and the morn of hell and the day of desolation that stunned the sons of the wretched city. Who can speak or hear of what happened without shedding tears? The mother and her nursing child whom she carried on her shoulder were struck together by one arrow, and no one could repel it. The hooves of the persecutors' horses tread upon them unexpectedly. They were squeezed in the press of wrath. Arrows fell upon them at night like rain, and in the morning, it was even denser because of the number of arrows and lances that massacred them while they walked through the path of blood. The Frankish cavalry escaped because they could not defend the people, and their infantry took refuge in a nearby abandoned fortress. The earth cried out because of the enormity of the calamity that befell the Christians. The corpses of priests, deacons, monks, dignitaries, and poor people were piled up. Those who died were luckier than those who remained alive. Those who were still alive suffered incredible torment. They fell into the midst of the fire of the Turks' wrath. The Turks made them take off their clothes and shoes. They tied their hands behind them, beating them and forcing them, men and women, to walk naked alongside their horses. The Turks flayed the bellies of those who fell because of fatigue and torture, then left them dead to stink and become food for birds of prey. The air was foul with the stench of corpses and Athor (north Iraq) was crowded with captives.<sup>2251</sup>

Most of the Frankish horsemen were killed. Baldwin, lord of Kesum, was killed and his body could not be found. The wicked Joscelin fled to Samosata. In addition, Metropolitan Basilius (Bar Shumanna) fled. The governor of the Armenians and many with him together with a few Franks were seized and reached the ruined fortress called Kawkab. There they defended themselves against the Turks who pursued them. However, as the night approached, the Turks turned round to the nearby place where treasures of gold and similar things were stored for years in the afflicted city, to loot. Their owners carried them and departed, but because of the sword drawn over their heads, they abandoned everything. After the Turks retreated, those who were in the ruined fortress sneaked out at night and fled to Samosata for safety.

In the two calamities of Edessa in (1144 and 1146), some thirty thousands were killed and sixteen thousands were taken captive. Only one thousand men made it to safety. No women or children were saved. Some were killed, and others were scattered through many countries. Desolate Edessa, was like an example of horror. It was clothed in black and intoxicated with blood. It was filled with the stench of the corpses of its sons and daughters who were left to predators. It became the abode of Jackals, and no one entered it except those who searched for its treasures. Its enemies, the people of Harran and others, ransacked its churches and the homes of its leading citizens. They gloated over its destruction shouting, "Bravo, bravo! Our eyes have seen it."<sup>2252</sup>

<sup>2250</sup> See The Anonymous Edessan, 172-174; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 273; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dmashq*, 288; trans. Gibb, 275; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 475; Ibn Wasil, *Muffarij al-Kurub*, 110-111; William of Tyre, *History*, 2:160-161; William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. and trans. Richard Howlett as *Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, 1 (London: Kraus, 1964), 58-59; Gregory the Priest in *Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, 244-275; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 566-572.

<sup>2251</sup> See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 273-274 with some difference; Aliyya Abd al-Sami' al-Januzuri, *Imarat al-Ruba al-Salibiyya* (Cairo, 1975), 384-385 who gives an Arabic translation of this passage, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 571-572.

<sup>2252</sup> Several contemporary Muslim writers justify the atrocities Nur al-Din Zangi and his Turkish men had done to Edessa. See Hasan Habashi, *Nur al-Din wa al-Salibiyyun* (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 1948), 74-76; Husayn Mu'nis, *Nur al-Din Mahmud: Sirat Mujahid Sadiq* (Cairo, 205; Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya: Safha Mushriqa fi Tarikh al-Jihad al-Arabi fi al-Usur al-Wusta*, 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo-Misriyya, 1963), 613-614. Aliyya al-Januzuri, *Imarat al-Ruba al-Salibiyya*, 359-371, seems to be more moderate and objective than the above mentioned Muslim writers.

**Word of exhortation written by the venerable Dionysius, metropolitan of Amid, concerning the devastation of Edessa**

Annihilation and extinction were decreed for her (Edessa). The outsiders did not start it but the Christians did it first. I wonder what the inquisitives would say. Who began this chastisement and what were its reasons? If they claim that its source is the Lord, we say that this is not possible because he does not wish to destroy his created beings. In fact, the enemies are the ones who started to plunder, kill, violate the virgins and did other things. And if they say that the enemies vanquished them without the intervention or the support of the Lord, we say that this is profanity. For the Lord does not neglect his servants. However, he permits that we become defeated by our outward and inward enemies if we stray from his paths. Here, we should contemplate the blow as a reprimand, and that punishment is issued according to the enormity of the straying. We should not forget, however, that we are responsible for everything that happens to us whether good or bad. If we desire good and work for it, the Lord will help us to achieve it. However, if we turn to evil by our own will, Satan is the one who encourages us to achieve it. The Lord himself allows temptations to afflict us because of our aberration. This is what happened to the people of Edessa whose end has become worse than their first.<sup>2253</sup> For a second time an awful calamity afflicted them and fear which the tongue cannot describe.

Therefore, you people, do not believe that these calamities happen by the mere sins of a certain people, but because of the multitude of sins committed everywhere and in every town. Let those who have not yet comprehended the chastisement of the Creator, learn a lesson from Achor who alone sinned, but the chastisement extended to all Israel.<sup>2254</sup> In addition, because of the iniquities of the sons of Eli, calamity extended to all Israel.<sup>2255</sup> If those who have sinned are few but the punishment extended to the entire people, how much more they will be punished in our own wicked time in which the entire people have aberrated from justice, and are immersed in abominations, and have deserted chastity and cherished wickedness? Do not some people and countries deserve chastisement because of their common sins, which are more than the hair of their heads?

Let us then, brothers, fear God and cast away gluttony and the bonds of sin. Let us understand ourselves and do not put all our intention on them lest the wrath, from which there is no escape, overtake us if we fall on our backs and wallow in the mire of sin. This should be sufficient for the time being.

**Commemoration of the Rabban (monk, teacher) and solitary Tuma (Thomas), and of the Bishop Abda**

The holy solitary Rabban Tuma and his teacher, the blessed Bishop (Abda), lived in this time in the Mountain of Zabar. We desire to include their life-stories in the middle of the table of the chief priests of the church. We say that this Rabban Tuma was from a fortress called Hisn Shamrin in the district of Sawad in the neighborhood of Melitene. When famine intensified in the time of Buzan the Turk, young Tuma came to the Monastery of Zabar to be with his uncle who was a monk. When he observed the life style of the holy monk, he desired to imitate it forgetting his parents and his kin. At this time, there were in the monastery venerable men, one of whom was Mor Abda Iyawannis, bishop of Kharshana. Abda was a venerable old man, who, since childhood, attained excellent conduct, studied under pious men and was educated by them. Thus, he cherished the strict solitary life until his old age. Then, he advanced to the dignity of the episcopate after vehement insistence and pressure by the Holy Spirit at the hands of the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon Abdun. However, shortly afterwards, he handed with tears the diocese over to the patriarch, and the patriarch ordained another bishop for it. As to Abda, he retreated to a solitary life. When he saw Tuma and contemplated him carefully with the eye of the Spirit, he encouraged him and fired within him his holy desire. Tuma became his disciple and surrendered to the yoke of the monastic order. He abandoned contact with people and retreated to a distant hamlet, which he built for himself. The holy

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<sup>2253</sup> Cf. Luke 11:26.

<sup>2254</sup> Joshua Chapter 7.

<sup>2255</sup> See 1 Samuel, Chapter 4.

Bishop (Abda) frequently visited him and taught him the Psalms and the practices of monasticism. Then the devils began to fight him, and the holy bishop encouraged him to confront them like the fertile earth, which receives the good seeds that yield good fruits, that is, the characters that please God. After serving his venerable master (the bishop) until he departed this life, Rabban Tuma continued living in the same place for sixty-four years. In the summer, he went up the mountain, took care of the grape vines, and made raisins out of their fruits. By doing this, he gained two spiritual things: first, his monastic life flourished more because he did not eat from their fruits; second, he bartered some of their yield with wheat in order to satisfy his bodily needs without becoming a burden to anyone. In the winter, he made for himself a protected place at the foot of the mountain.

This old man, (Rabban Tuma), attained a high degree of perfection. The Lord granted him the power to heal the sick people who sought him with faith, and to reveal veritable epiphanies. I Michael, (Michael Rabo), heard personally the testimonies of two bishops, who are my uncle Athanasius, metropolitan of Anazarab (Ayn Zarba), and Mor Iyawannis, bishop of Kesum, who testified that, when Zangi came to capture Edessa, Rabban Tuma said that, "God has delivered Edessa to the hands of the Turks." The metropolitans said to him, "Rabban, have compassion for us and do not say such a thing." However, the Rabban repeated the same words and said, "Verily, verily, O metropolitans, the Lord has delivered Edessa and many Christian people will perish." And when Edessa was captured the first time, I (Michael) heard from the mouth of my uncle the metropolitan say to the crowd that, "Rabban Tuma said to me that after two years Edessa will drink a cup more bitter than the first, and the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and other monasteries of Zabar will be pillaged." Those present said to him, "What then remains of Edessa?" He said, "I don't know." This is what Rabban Tuma said, and this is what I heard from the metropolitan. In addition, when this (the calamity of Edessa) took place, whatever Rabban Tuma said was, to many, the truth. All the revelations he saw and the healings performed by him are from God. Old Tuma was martyred by the sword when the Turks entered into the Monastery of Zabar on Wednesday, November 27, which was the festival day of Mor Jacob. May his memory be a blessing and may his prayer be with us. Amen.

### **Chapter Six: On the coming forth of a great number of people from the West after receiving the deplorable news about Edessa; and the diffusion of a satanic cult among the Greeks; and some church events which took place in this period**

In the year 1458 (A.D. 1147), Timurtash, lord of Mardin, marched against Dara and seized it, while Ghazi, son of Zangi, invaded the region of Mardin. The two men prepared for battle and determined that the city would be the portion of who wins. Some of their judges interceded between the two men, and the lord of Mosul gave back what he had plundered and took the city (Mosul). Then, the Turks gained strength and marched against the countries of the Franks from every direction. Kilij Arslan, son of Sultan Mas'ud, marched against Mar'ash via Jihan and spoiled it. The Turks advanced to the region of Kesum, and Rynald who ruled Kesum after the murder of his brother Baldwin, went out to receive them. Meantime, Manuel, king of the Greeks, went out to challenge Sultan Mas'ud, but the sultan called the Turkish amirs and their armies from Baghdad, Khurasan, and the rest of the countries. When the two camps were about to engage in battle, the sound of the Franks scared both of them and they signed peace. The king of the Greeks returned to his country to protect it, and the sultan returned to his country.

### **An account (about the Second Crusade)**

When the kings of Italy learned about the lamentable calamity that befell Edessa, innumerable people including two kings and a great number of Counts rushed forth (to the East). The King of the Aleman (Allemagne)(Conrad III of Germany) had with him nine hundred thousand men, and the King of France (Louis VII) had with him five hundred thousand, and many other people of different tongues. The king (emperor) of the Greeks was scared that, in case they crossed the sea and established themselves, they

might put an end to the Greek kingdom. He connived with the Turks and delayed the Franks for two years using different stratagems.

In the year 1459 (A.D. 1148), they (the German and French kings) marched against Constantinople to devastate it. Then, the king (emperor) of the Greeks (Manuel I Comnenus) offered them gold and swore to them by the Cross and the Holy Eucharist that he would guide them to the way (to the East) without deception. They believed him and signed peace with him, but he reneged on his oath and sent them deceitful guides who mislead them and guided them through very rugged mountains. After five days of marching without water, the guides abandoned them to be tormented, and many of them died from hunger and thirst. When they (the Franks) realized that they were deceived, they turned against the Greeks with wrath. When the Turks saw that the Franks were in total confusion, they attacked many groups of them who were wandering aimlessly and killed them by the sword. They killed so many of them until they became tired and could kill no more. The countries of the Turks were filled with the garments of the Franks, with silver until the price of silver in Melitene became the same as that of lead, and were shipped to Persia.

The Greeks mixed lime with wheat and sold it to those who returned to the seacoast (of Pontus). Upon eating it, they dropped dead, amassed in piles.<sup>2256</sup> To decimate an innumerable people without fight for a mere wicked treachery is something that provokes astonishment and deserves to be recorded for future generations. When they came back with fury, the Franks seized one fortress of the Greeks and killed everyone in it.

The king of Rome fell sick and died. The German king and three judges (Counts) reached Jerusalem but were also betrayed in that city. While they made an alliance with the king and the Franks in Jerusalem, and marched together against Damascus, the citizens of Damascus sent a dispatch secretly to the king of Jerusalem telling him, "Don't be deceived by this mighty king. If he ruled, he will never let you control the city. We are better to you than these three. Accept our money and send these men to the sea in order that your kingdom will remain for you." They promised to give him two hundred thousand dinars and to the lord Tiberias one hundred thousand dinars. They took the money and returned to Jerusalem. However, when they examined it, they found that it was copper plated with gold, and they were disappointed.<sup>2257</sup> When the king of the Germans realized that he was deceived by the Greeks and the Franks, he returned to his own country dejected. To such end were met those who went forth to avenge Edessa without the command of God.<sup>2258</sup>

After Edessa was totally destroyed, its Bishop Basilius (Bar Shumanna) went to Samosata. Some men from Edessa betrayed him to Joscelin II because he was plotting with the Turks. They told Joscelin "He (Basilius) cherishes the rule of the Turks. In case he felt oppressed by you, he will go back to them. Therefore, it is imperative that he should die." Joscelin arrested Basilius and imprisoned him in the fortress of Romaita (The Roman Fortress) alongside Muslim captives where he remained for three years. Basilius wrote discourses about these events. He also refuted those who claimed that our Lord's blessing of King Abgar had been invalidated. After leaving prison, he went about collecting charity to ransom his own people who had been taken captive by the Turks. He went to Antioch and then Jerusalem, where King (Baldwin III) and the Frankish (Latin) patriarch welcomed him. Next, he traveled to Mosul, where he met Zayn al-Din, who was administering the affairs of the state with Zangi's son. They honored him and appropriated a stipend for his living expenses. Shortly afterwards, he went to Amid to see Patriarch Athanasius (Bar Qatra) who assigned him the diocese of Sebaberik and the northern region, then under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Edessa. (Basilius Bar Shumanna died in 1169).<sup>2259</sup>

<sup>2256</sup> See the Greek Chronicler Niketas Choniates, *Annals of Niketas Choniates*. Translated by Harry J. Magouilas as *O City of Byzantium* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 39; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 274; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 625.

<sup>2257</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 274, says that he had read through five different Arabic manuscripts but not found this story in them. It is only the blessed Mor Mikha'il (Michael Rabo) who had recorded it in writing.

<sup>2258</sup> There seems to be no evidence that the Byzantines actually betrayed the Crusaders, although some sources say that the emperor minted debased money and offered it to the Italian soldiers to pay for their needs. See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 626, and the different sources he quotes in footnote 35.

<sup>2259</sup> See Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, the biography of Athanasius Yeshu Bar Qatra, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 664.

On January 25, a comet was seen in the sky pointing westward.

On February 15, another comet was seen in the east and remained for five days. There was no rain and water springs dried up.

In this year, a servant maid in Constantinople gave birth to a child with eyes, mouth, teeth and a tail in his rump, something contrary to nature.

In this year emerged a repugnant heresy in Constantinople whose partisans were called Pogolimos. It was adopted by many monks and lay people and even by their patriarch (of Constantinople) who was deposed and another patriarch replaced him. Then, the new patriarch was found to be of the same heresy. The partisans of this heresy maintained that Christ was an ordinary and simple man and that the constancy of this world was in the hands of demons, and that the demons explained to them the mysteries and promised them wealth and power. They had an aversion to the adoration of the cross. As to the Chalcedonians, the saying of the divine Prophet (Paul) is fulfilled in them, "Although they claimed to be wise, they became fools."<sup>2260</sup> They have deviated from the truth and fell into the mud pit of Nestorius. They exchanged truth with iniquity to dupe the simple and thus they were neglected by God and fumbled in their error. The city of Constantine that triumphed over demons became a stage of the worship of demons. This error spread to the extent that even their leader fell into the pit. The words of the Prophet Isaiah are fulfilled in them who said, "From the sole of your foot to the top of your head there is no soundness."<sup>2261</sup>

### **Chapter Seven: The story of Edessa by its Metropolitan Basilius (Bar Shumanna)**

After the Flood that took place in the time of Noah, King Nimrod, one of the sons of Canaan built Urhoi (Orhoi) and called it Ur that is a town in which the Chaldeans dwelt. The Chaldeans added to it the word "hoi" to give the connotation that it was the town of the Chaldeans just as we say Ur Salem (Jerusalem), to mean the city of peace. Urhoi flourished for a long time and then was ruined.

### **Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) on the destruction (of Edessa)**

Jacob said that we did not find the name of the person who destroyed it. However, it is thought that it was destroyed in the time of Sennacherib who marched against Jerusalem and Urhoi became desolate until the time of Alexander. His Macedonian companions rebuilt it and called Edessa, that is, "the Beloved" after the name of their own city in Macedonia. For this reason, they added unto it the name of Sodomacedonos. (This term is most likely Soromacedonos, meaning the Syrian Macedonia). Accordingly, it followed the calendar that began with Seleucus Nicator because it was built in his time. Three hundred years later, it was ruled by Abgar, son of Ma'no who believed in Christ. After Abgar and his sons, Edessa was subject to the Roman emperors who were still heathens worshipping idols. It remained under their authority for three hundred more years. During this period were martyred the victorious Confessors Shamuna, Guria, Habib, Cosmas, and Damian.<sup>2262</sup> In the time of Constantine (the Great), Christianity flourished in it and magnificent churches were built in it. When Julian the heathen (Julian the Apostate 361-363) reigned, he could not dominate it nor could Valens the heretic (364-378). Afterwards, the Christians enjoyed peace until the time of Marcian the heretic (450-457). When the persecution intensified in the time of Justin and his successors, and the Arabs emerged in the time of Heraclius (610-641), Edessa was under Arab rule from the time of Umar ibn al-Khattab (644-654) until the rise of the Turks, that is, after four hundred years. Under the Tayoye (Arabs), its strong wall, which was built in the time of Seleucus and praised by St. Ephraim (d. 373), was destroyed.

The reason of the destruction of its wall was as follows. When Mansur Dawaniqi<sup>2263</sup> brought Edessa under his control, he built a palace in al-Raqqqa. He demanded from the Edessans small, marble columns of

<sup>2260</sup> Romans 1:22.

<sup>2261</sup> Isaiah 1:6.

<sup>2262</sup> For the martyrdom of Habib, Gurya and Shamuna see *Ancient Syriac Documents*, translated and annotated by William Cureton (London, 1864, reprinted Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967), 72-96 covering Habib and 96-106 covering Shamuna and Guria.

<sup>2263</sup> The Abbasid Caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur (754-775). He was called Dawaniqi because he loved and collected the ancient coin

the Great Church. They refused and he became angry. They, in turn, rebelled against him. He invested the city and destroyed the church of Mor Sergius. However, some treacherous men went out to meet Mansur secretly and pledged to surrender the city to him if he swore not to do harm to anyone. He pledged not to kill, take captives, change anything, or take anything except a white horse and kill it as a sign of revenge. However, they did not understand what he meant by a white horse until he entered the city and brought it under his control. He explained to them that what he meant by the horse was the wall of the city. Therefore, he destroyed that miraculous wall and left nothing of it except one fortress through which ran the waters to operate the mills. Forty years later in the time of al-Ma'mun (d. 833), it was rebuilt by the old man Abu Shaykh Gondia (al-Kindi) who rebelled against the Caliph al-Ma'mun. Afterwards, the Greeks controlled the city. This was done through a man named Salmon who deceived the amir (governor) and delivered the upper citadel, where guards were stationed by an Armenian named Manig. When the Arabs who were in it carried their children to flee, the Christians also carried their children to leave with them because they had an affinity with them concerning language and writing. They also had an aversion toward the Greeks because of their heresy and wickedness. After the Tayoye (Arabs) and the Christians left the city, a certain Tayoye (Arab) cast fire and burned down the houses and the churches. The city remained in the hands of the Greeks but was desolate of people. However, few people (Christians) returned to it but the rest were scattered and reached Takrit.

Shortly afterwards, a God fearing prefect from the kingdom of the Greeks named Abu Kan'ab, arose in Edessa. He requested the Patriarch Mor Dionysius to ordain Athanasius Yeshu, the archimandrite of the Monastery of Mor Abhai also called the Monastery of the Ladders, as metropolitan for Edessa. He did and the city flourished under him because of the support of the prefect. In fact, he gathered many people from all directions and brought them to the city. The metropolitan went to Armenia where the Euphrates streamed out, and brought wood and built the two churches of the Mother of God and of Mor Theodore. Then, Philaretus ruled the city.<sup>2264</sup>

At this time, the Turks gained strength. Philaretus went to the sultan of Khurasan and *bagar* (converted) to Islam. When the people of Edessa learned that he had *bagar* (become a Muslim) at the hands of the sultan of Khurasan, they killed the governor of the city named Pargimas. Then it was ruled by (Mujahid al-Din) Buzan.<sup>2265</sup> When Tutush killed Buzan, the city was ruled by the *curopalates* (Guardian of the Palace) Thoros, son of Hetum, for two years in the time of the Metropolitan Athanasius Bar Ishai (Jesse).<sup>2266</sup> When Thoros realized that could not protect it, he delivered it to the Franks. The first Frank to govern it was Count Baldwin who killed the son of Hetum. When his brother, Godfrey, king of Jerusalem died, he went to Jerusalem and became king in his place. In Edessa, ruled another Baldwin (Le Bourg), nephew of the first Baldwin. When Baldwin was dying, he commanded that his nephew Baldwin (Le Bourg) be set up as king in his place. Edessa was given to the mighty Joscelyn. After his death, he was succeeded by his son Joscelyn II, from whom Zangi (Imad al-Din) captured Edessa. After the assassination of Zangi in 1458 (A.D. 1147), it was totally ruined.<sup>2267</sup>

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of dawaniq. For dawaniq see Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. Milton Cowan (Cornell University Press, 1961), 269.

<sup>2264</sup> For Philaretus' career and his control of Edessa, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 89-94, 162, 344, 364, and 487.

<sup>2265</sup> Mujahid al-Din Buzan was captain of the host of the Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah. See *Matthew of Edessa*, translated Ara Edmond Doustorian (University Press of America, 1993), 154; The Anonymous Edessan, 66-67; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 327-328.

<sup>2266</sup> Tutush, brother of Malik Shah, had Buzan beheaded in 1094 for his support of his nephew Berkyaruk and appointed Thoros as Edessa's ruler. See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (1908), 127; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 15; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 1, 27; *Matthew of Edessa*, 154-155; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 327-328. Tutush was finally killed by the men of Berkyaruk, son of Malik Shah. See *Matthew of Edessa*, 161-162.

<sup>2267</sup> The author has condensed a myriad of events in this short passage. For a full coverage of the two Baldwins as lords of Edessa and then King of Jerusalem, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, entire Chapter 10, pp. 299-340, Chapter 13, pp. 462-476, Chapter 14, pp. 477-531, Chapter 15, pp. 533-566, and the numerous different sources used.

**Chapter Eight: On the period in which the Armenian Thoros ruled Cilicia; the different events which took place in the world; and on the Church of God**

When Iwani (John), king (emperor) of the Greeks, seized Leon the Armenian and brought him to Constantinople, as has been discussed earlier, Cilicia was divided. Some parts of it remained under the authority of the Greeks, and some under the Turks. After the death of Iwani and of Leon in Constantinople, one of Leon's sons, Thoros,<sup>2268</sup> managed to flee. Because he had no possessions, he left Constantinople secretly on foot and went to Mor Athanasius, metropolitan of the region whom he trusted since the time of his father. Therefore, he asked him to pray to God in order to restore to him the land of his forefathers. The holy metropolitan blessed him with tears and gave him the price of a horse. When he acquired a mount, twelve (Armenian) men followed him, and they went to the Fortress of Amuda (Pillar). When the men inside the fortress saw that he was the son of their master, they seized the Greeks who were in it and delivered the fortress to Thoros. When this matter became known, fear fell upon the Greeks and the Turks. Within a short time, Thoros captured many regions, and a great number of Armenians and Franks joined him.<sup>2269</sup> When Thoros went to Ra'ban to ask its lord Simon, the Frank, the hand of his daughter to wife, the Turks, on that very day spoiled the region. Thoros challenged them and killed about three thousand of them. He released the captives, saved the whole country and won great honor. When he returned to Cilicia, the Greeks and the Turks abandoned the cities and fled before him. Therefore, he ruled Anazarba and the rest of the cities of Cilicia.

In the year 1459 (A.D. 1148), when Thoros gained control, Nur al-Din (Zangi) attacked the country of Antioch much to Joscelin's joy, who resented Bedawi (Raymond I of Poitiers), lord of Antioch, because he did not come to his aid during the calamity of Edessa. When Nur al-Din lord of Aleppo, learned of this matter, he became very happy and send messengers to Joscelin to sign peace with him. Joscelin and Nur al-Din met in a place between Aleppo and Azaz and swore an oath confirming their peace agreement. Then the Franks mingled with the Turks, drank, and dined with joy, but this became a reason for their fall.

In this year, the king of the Island of Sicily (Roger) was angry with the king (emperor) of the Greeks because he treacherously annihilated the Franks. He fought against the city of Thebes, destroyed it and killed the Greeks, and captured Adrianople and Philippopolis. Manuel, king of the Greeks, went forth to take revenge of the Romans. When he besieged one of the fortresses, the king of Sicily sent a great number of soldiers on board ships and played havoc with the Greeks until they reached Constantinople. They advanced to the palace (fortress) overlooking the sea and showered it with arrows. The king of the Greeks abandoned the fortress and retreated. However, the Franks and the Greeks met face to face and a ferocious battle took place on the sea. Many soldiers of both sides perished. Finally, the Franks returned to their own country, and the Greeks and their king (emperor) returned to Constantinople.

In the year 1459 (1148), there was a drought. Waters of the springs decreased and people were in distress, and many places were ruined and became desolate. In the following year until the middle of December, rain never fell and autumn looked like summer. Because of thirst, people, animals and birds were in a great distress. Then, the Lord had compassion and rain began to fall and watered the earth. The winter was pleasant and fruitful like the spring.

In this year (1148), the Patriarch Mor Athanasius, made Amid a patriarchal center and sat there. However, Yuhanon (John) Bar Andrew changed his diocese illegally and in a disorderly manner. Prior to this, the patriarch and the bishops were assembled in Tell Bashir to solve the conflict between Bar Andrew and Timothy, bishop of Kharshana, who also came to Tell Bashir. After a lengthy discussion between the two, they exchanged their dioceses. Bar Andrew took Kharshana, Timothy took Tell Bashir, and the patriarch returned to Amid. Then, Bar Andrew quarreled with Philaretus, an Armenian by race, and a Frank by characteristics and a Greek by heretical ideas. Bar Andrew was obliged to abandon the diocese of Kharshana. He went to a monastery of solitary monks on the Euphrates to become a solitary (monk). Meantime, the metropolitan of Kharshana returned to his former position (office). *End of the narrative.*

<sup>2268</sup> He is Thoros II, the fifth ruler from the Roupunid dynasty.

<sup>2269</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 275.

**Chapter Nine: The plundering of the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum in the year 1459 (A.D. 1148) by Joscelin (II)**

Joscelin II (Count of Edessa 1131-1150), entered the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum) on Saturday, June 18, 1459 (A.D. 1148). On Monday, he expelled the monks, and on Tuesday they arrived in Hisn Mansur. The news of his action spread and the people were shocked and scared. Two of his companions told him that the monastery should not be left empty of people lest the Turks seize it. For this reason, he ordered the monks to give him ten thousand dinars and he would deliver the monastery to them. Some of them brought the coffin that contained the right hand of the saint (Mor Barsoum) and the vessels of the four monasteries, which were deposited in the monastery as a trust. They were the Monastery of Mor Abhai, the Monastery of Sergisiyya, the Monastery of Madiq and the Monastery of Harsafta. Some monks and attendants remained in the monastery (of Mor Barsoum). They were headed by a superintendent (abbot) an old man named Abraham Maud'al. Joscelin stationed twenty Armenian soldiers and others in the upper Citadel. They pillaged without mercy everything they found in the monastery of wheat, oil, honey, garments and vessels. They carried the relics of the saint (Mor Barsoum) and took the monks to Tell Bashir, where they were ransomed with gold by some Franks, Syrians and Armenians. However, Joscelin left in his camp some monks and three elders who were David, Jacob and Sergius, while the rest returned to the monastery and expelled the Armenians from it. They were headed by the elder Li'azar and with him Constantine. They also took along with them Mor Iyawannis, bishop of Kesum. When they entered the church, they saw the Holy Table (on which were placed the elements) turned upside down and the altar desecrated. They and the people began to weep bitterly all day long. The soldiers, who numbered one hundred fifty, asked the monks to swear not to close the door in the face of Joscelin or his son if they came to the monastery. Being coerced, the monks swore an oath (not to shut the door). The Armenian and Frankish soldiers remained about seventy days in the monastery during which no Eucharist or other service was celebrated. They (the monks) wrote to the patriarch who instructed the bishop of Kesum to conduct the prayers for the cleansing of the holy places, which was accomplished according to the law. The bishop of Kesum was also instructed to appoint Li'azar as prior for the monastery. Furthermore, he appointed a sextant and administrator for the services of the church according to the traditions of the monastery and its rules, which had been practiced for generations. The monks and the attendants donated all the money they had just to rescue this holy place.

Accordingly, and as stated earlier, whatever happened was not without the knowledge of the Divine power, which dwelt in the right hand of our lord Mor Barsoum. Nay, it was done by his permission for our chastisement and for putting an end to the tyranny of Joscelin, like the tyrant heathen Belshazzar who desecrated the holy vessels and was stricken by an indication of the hand (fingers of a human hand) which appeared (on the plaster of the wall) miraculously.<sup>2270</sup> Thus, this one (Joscelin) perished by this violent blow as shall be said later, God willing. Whatever is said here about the spoiling of the monastery of saint (Mor Barsoum) is sufficient.

**We should also explain what happened in the City of Melitene in this time because of this incident**

At that time Amir Ghazi, father of the Turk Daula who ruled Melitene, imposed taxes on the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum). When Daula learned that Joscelin had controlled the monastery, he thought that the monks had delivered the Citadel to him in order to avoid paying the taxes which were doubled unjustly, and which they resented. For this reason, the amir poured his wrath upon the Christians of Melitene and said to them, "I will take revenge of you because your coreligionists handed over the Citadel to Joscelin." However, the people of Melitene, who were already saddened for the pillaging of the monastery, had to suffer another blow from Daula. The services were suspended and the church bell did not peal for three days. When Daula was sure that the monks had not delivered the Citadel to Joscelin and that he entered it by deception, he stopped persecuting the people of Melitene. He gathered an army and prepared

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<sup>2270</sup> See Daniel 5:1-6.

to oust the Franks and take over the Citadel. By Divine dispensation, twelve monks and about fifty monastics from the country of Claudia took oxen and vessels and went to Melitene to seek refuge until their destiny was determined. The coming of these men was a great help to assuage the wrath of the amir Daula. Among them was a God-fearing old man called Abraham, nicknamed "Sorodim." He went to see the amir and said to him, "Your coming will cause you a great loss because you cannot occupy the region by military force, and the method of robbery will not succeed. Therefore, have patience and we will draw a plan for the capture of the region." Daula appreciated this talk, and lavished gifts on those who came to seek his protection. At the end, he helped the monastery and dropped the tribute imposed on the monks for that year. Then, he asked the monks to swear oaths, which they did. Afterwards, the monks appealed to the patriarch in Amid who absolved them from the oath they had sworn to Joscelin under coercion.

Joscelin sent a word to the amir Daula saying, "You have usurped the monasteries of Zabar which belong to me and destroyed them. I have taken the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, the most eminent among other invincible citadels which is like an eagle among birds, and here I have returned it to you." By seeking peace with the amir, he had rescinded the oath he had imposed on the monks. Daula replied saying, "Since you have asked for peace which we also cherish, tell me in what manner you can now guarantee for us peace after proving that you have no faith. The Muslims swear by their book; the Christians swear by the Gospel and the Cross. You, however, have dishonored the Gospel and shattered the Cross. Therefore, you have no faith in Christ. Explain to me your faith whether you are a Jew or a heathen in order, on the basis of your faith, we may establish peace." With such words, the barbarian Turk shamed the false Christian (Joscelin). Afterwards, Joscelin fell and the monks returned to the Monastery of the saint (Mor Barsoum).<sup>2271</sup> By Divine providence, the affairs between the two sides were set straight. *This grievous account of the plundering of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum is ended.*

Therefore beloved, no one who comes across this episode should doubt the power of God that dwells in his saints. He should not wonder how he who committed divine miracles could become lax toward the hypocrites and allow them to act as they did. But, as Christians, you should believe that nothing takes place, or will take place, without the knowledge of God which examines everything, whether it is by his will or by his command. Indeed, everything that occurs for the benefit of the common wealth is accomplished by the unfathomable word of God and his incomprehensible judgments. Let us then learn and comprehend that he let Pharaoh of Egypt be hardened because of Pharaoh's love for cruelty, as it is written, "But the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart in order to perish in the great sea when he expelled the loyal people (of Israel);"<sup>2272</sup> and, the chosen people were enslaved by Nebuchadnezzar at different times because they cherished the sins of the people (Gentiles), the Lord had omniscience of all these things. Thus, we can comprehend today in this time many of our different conditions. There are two things denoting the reasons that led to the spoiling of this holy place (Monastery of Mor Barsoum) in our time. First, was it due to the sins of its inmates who went astray and walked through the wide road that leads to perdition? The saint (Mor Barsoum) abandoned them, nay God who dwelt in him (abandoned them), in order to suffer. Second, was it that Joscelin, like Solomon, son of David, abandoned Christ the God of his fathers and delivered himself to the service of demons and repulsive lusts? Since he did not desist despite the admonishment of the Divine providence, God abandoned him to the hardening of his heart like Pharaoh, disdaining the mighty power that dwelt in the saint (Mor Barsoum), and so he was given over to a depraved mind. He did not divulge his satanic mind to the leaders in his company, lest they inform the monks who were Christians, of what went through his head so they would have knowledge of his evil thoughts. However, he gathered his troops and pretended that he was marching to the land of the Turks to spoil and take captives. On the contrary, he came to Harran and three days later, he went up the Mountain of Hawra and camped at the fountain of Iza in the upper part of Claudia. The people learned what he did and fled. He did all this in order to accuse the monks that they had cheated him by making the people flee.

<sup>2271</sup> For the entire episode of Joscelin and the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and his deplorable end, see, The Anonymous Edessan, 177-179; Bar Hebraeus *Chronography*, 276-277, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 664-671 and the sources quoted.

<sup>2272</sup> Exodus 10:20-27, etc.

When Joscelin II learned that the natives had fled, he told the people in his company, "Since we have lost our way, let us go to the nearest monastery to pray and then return." On the morning of Saturday, June 18, (1148), he suddenly entered the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum). The monks were joyful thinking that he had come to pray. Soon, however, the chosen ones fell into the trap of the love of money that is idolatry, as the divine Prophet said.<sup>2273</sup> Joscelin thought that he would find plenty of gold, while the monks thought that he had come to them carrying gold. They went forth to the south gate (to welcome him) raising the Cross and the Gospel. When he saw the Cross, he dismounted and showed pretentious humility. He entered in and took a seat. Then he disclosed his treachery to some of his soldiers who countenanced his deception. He sent them to explore the Citadel. Some people in the monastery knew that there was a ruse but they could not foil it. Five men went up to the Citadel and found in it an old monk and two monastics, and brought them out. Then, they gathered all the monks and locked them up in the church. Joscelin called the elders and rebuked them. He accused them of informing the Turks that he and his men were on their way to Melitene, which made them flee. They assured him that they had no knowledge of this matter. He said to them, "If you truly had no knowledge of this matter, or you did not help the Turks, then give me all the possessions gathered from the lands of the Turks which are hidden in the monastery. I have heard that they left with you abundant money. It is proper that this money should be given to the Christians in order to gain more strength and take revenge of the Turks who have plundered the monasteries of Zabar." They said to him, "If we do this, how can we anymore live in this place?" Joscelin, excited like a beast, brought the monks out of the church and detained them in the house of Saba, called Kano (the base). He sent Frankish presbyters to the church (of the monastery) and took all the patens, chalices, incense bowls, censors, crosses, candles, fans (rounded, with bells and portraits of Cherubim and Seraphim), gospels and books. They searched the cells and took everything they found in them of gold, silver and even denuded the altar of its furniture. Some Friars (Knights Templar) told Joscelin, "We joined you to fight the Turks and help the Christians, not to plunder the churches and monasteries." They left without eating or drinking.<sup>2274</sup>

However, the wretched (Joscelin), having been abandoned by God, and his conscience blinded, never realized that his fall was nigh. He and his men spent all Saturday plundering. They searched the place meticulously and carried away whatever they could. On Sunday evening, Joscelin brought the monks and all the people out and forced them to remain with him that night in a vineyard called "the Elephant" on the bank of the river. The wretched (Joscelin and his men) left a garrison in the monastery of wicked Franks and Armenians. In the morning and by permission and the knowledge of Satan, he returned to the afflicted monastery and gave full freedom to the plunderers and the searchers to inspect the cells of the monks. In addition, they went up to the (wine) press. They entered into the attendants' cells and plundered everything they found in them. They loaded on camels and mules the furniture of the church and copper and other objects including a golden cross, which the tyrant (Joscelin) broke down and distributed in pieces to his companions. He seized the twelve mules of the monastery and took with him the fifty monks who had returned to the monastery. He reached Ghoti (Gakhtai) on Monday. *End of the narrative. Anyone who reads this book, let him remember me in his prayer because I am a sinner and weak.*<sup>2275</sup>

#### **Chapter Ten: On the death of Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers, lord of Antioch); on Baldwin and Ryland (Reginald), lord of Kesum; and the plundering of the oxen and the sheep of the monastery by the Turks**

In January of the year 1460 (A.D. 1149), Nur al-Din (Zangi), lord of Aleppo, attacked the region of Antioch and spoiled it completely. Also, he laid siege to Yaghra while its lord Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers) was absent. When Bedawi learned of what happened, he returned quickly to Antioch but did not enter the city and only passed by it. He was accompanied by the Bedouin (Arab) Hashishi who had a conflict with

<sup>2273</sup> Colossians 3:5.

<sup>2274</sup> See The Anonymous Edessan, 177-180.

<sup>2275</sup> This colophon is written in red ink in Arabic.

Nur al-Din, and with his army greatly aided the Franks, defeated the Turks who fled naked and frightened.<sup>2276</sup>

In this time Kara Arslan, lord of Hisn Ziyad, attacked the region of Amid. He connived with some of its citizens to deliver it to him. When he did not succeed, he took captive the people of the region. After driving them with him for a whole day, they became tormented by the snow and ice. He felt sorry for them saying, "These people did not commit sin against us," and sent them back to their homes.

Joscelin II gathered troops, invaded the countries of Edessa and Harran, and spoiled them. However, the Turks came back and invaded his own country. They placed ambushes and killed a great number of his troops.

Motivated by deep-seated malice, Nur al-Din, lord of Aleppo, resorted to treachery and gathered troops. However, the Franks, because of their negligence, arrogance or their belief that God had abandoned them because of their evil deeds, not only did not fortify their country when they heard that the Turks had swarmed like flies, but also made the invasion easy for the Turks. They left their villages like vineyards without fences, and like houses without doors. They (the Franks) marched against the regions of the Arabs like a gazelle rushing toward the trap, and like the deer that receives the arrow into his heart. In their company was Hashishi the Arab (Ali ibn Wafa) who noticed that they had penetrated into the middle of their enemies without sound reasoning. He said to Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers, lord of Antioch), "O king! Where are you going while your enemies surround you from every direction? Remain in your country and protect your boundaries until they disperse. But if they come to attack your country, then you should encounter them." Bedawi despised Hashishi and would not accept his counsel. Without proper thinking, he plunged himself into the midst of the Turks. At midnight, the Turks surrounded the miserable Frank (Raymond of Poitiers) from every direction. Hashishi drew near him and said, "We have fallen because you did not hearken to me. Nevertheless, listen to me now and let us escape. Hopefully, only few of us will be saved because a huge army has encircled us. When the morning comes and we are still here, all of us will perish." Still, the hapless Raymond would not listen. When the morning dawned, and before the first rays of the sun appeared, the Turks fell upon them like a mountain and slaughtered all of them great and small. They cut them down like trees. Prince Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers), the mighty lion and lord of Antioch, was killed. In addition, Ryland (Reginald), the lion's cub and the lord of Kesum fell dead.<sup>2277</sup> In brief, no one of them came out alive, not only one to relate the news. All that great crowd (of Franks) turned into heaps of corpses.

On that day, the blow against the Christians was decisive. The people of Antioch did not realize the catastrophe until the Turks had swept the entire region and took its people captive. Nur al-Din descended upon the city and sent the head of Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers) to Baghdad.<sup>2278</sup> Meanwhile, dissension took place among the citizens of Antioch. Some of them were inclined toward the Turks, while others sought refuge with the king of Jerusalem (Baldwin III) who protected the small group that remained and appointed their patriarch as their leader.

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<sup>2276</sup> Hashishi here is not a proper name; it means Hashash, (Assassin). In fact, this person whom Michael Rabo calls Hashishi is Ali ibn Wafa, chief of the Assassins of Masyaf, who bore a grudge against Nur al-Din Zangi and collaborated with the Franks. See The Anonymous Edessan, 180, and A. R. Gibb, "The Career of Nur al-Din," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. M. W. Baldwin (Madison University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 1:515, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 643. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, 302-305, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 275.

<sup>2277</sup> Matthew of Edessa, 245, The Anonymous Edessan, 180-181, A. R. Gibb, "The Career of Nur al-Din," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. M. W. Baldwin (Madison University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 1:515, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 643-644. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, 302-305, and Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1:71, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 275.

<sup>2278</sup> See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 305, Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Tarikh al-Dawlatayn*, 1:57-58, Gregory the Priest, *Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. Dostourian, 257, Runcima, *A History of the Crusades*, 2:326; Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, 2:638, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 645.

When Joscelin heard that the lord of Kesum was killed, he, the wicked, did not bother thinking that Kesum would become the possession of his daughter who was the wife of the killed (Reginald, lord of Kesum and Mar'ash). Therefore, he went to possess Kesum and Beth Hesne.

At this time, Joscelin's foolishness was manifest in dealing with Kara Arslan, son of Mas'ud, lord of Ablastain and its region. Mas'ud was in his father's company when they attacked Mar'ash after ravaging the region. When they tightened their grip against the city, the inhabitants asked a pledge for their safety, and the sultan ruled over Mar'ash.<sup>2279</sup> Based on his pledge, he allowed the Franks in the city with the bishop and the clergy to leave for Antioch. In the meantime, he sent Turks who killed them on the road. During the capture of Mar'ash, the furnishings of the church such as the jars of *Mirun* (Holy Chrism), patens, chalices, silver censers, altar drapes and curtains were lost because of the rebellion of the clergymen against their bishop.

In this same year (A.D. 1149), the amir Kara Arslan, lord of Hisn Ziyad, noticed that from every direction the Turks were entering the countries of the Franks who were deserted by the Lord because they deserted him. Kara Arslan sent his troops and captured Babula on the bank of the Euphrates River. The inhabitants of Gargar were scared and fled for safety to the Mountain of Mor Barsoum, the area around the monastery was crowded with men, women and children, and Kara Arslan took them captive. Then, many God-fearing monks clamored and murmured but would not drive away the refugees (hand them over to Kara Arslan) because some of them were their relatives.<sup>2280</sup>

When the Turks entered the region of Gargar, they witnessed that the villages were desolate and they heard that the inhabitants had sought asylum in the Mountain of Mor Barsoum. Therefore, they went forth to the mountain. On Sunday, August 15, they set ambushes in three places. In the morning, they attacked and plundered the possessions and the oxen. They killed three men who were worshipping, but they lost two of their men. Then, they sent (messengers) saying that, "We honor this saint (Mor Barsoum) and offer him vows. We have not come to do the monastery harm but we have come because of the people of Gargar who came to the monastery for safety. If you hand them over to us, we will restore to you everything we have taken. We will not make them slaves but only restore them to their villages." The inhabitants of the monastery split into two groups. One group consented to have the people of Gargar handed over to the Turks; the other group shouted not to hand them over. Both groups were about to fight each other if it were not for a venerable elder who reconciled them by his wisdom. He said to the Turks, "If, as you say, you will not drive the people into slavery, let some of your leaders come with us to the sultan at Hisn Ziyad. Then, we will write down such a pledge." However, the Turks were exposed, and became known that they were insincere because they were intent to drive the people into slavery. When this was revealed, the entire inhabitants of the monastery cried out with one voice, "We are one soul and have determined not to hand to you anyone even if all of us will perish." It was then that the Turks burned down everything outside the monastery including houses, wine presses, and the hedges of the vineyards. They seized the sheep, oxen, captives, and departed, and the monks went to Hisn Ziyad. Through the honorable believers there, they met with the amir (Kara Arslan). With God's help, and the prayer of the saint (Mor Barsoum), God put his mercy into the heart of the amir Kara Arslan, and he restored to them everything: people, sheep and oxen. There was joy for everyone and everywhere. Everyone praised God and every tongue lauded the saint.<sup>2281</sup>

Although Saint Mor Barsoum permitted his monastery to be plundered because of our sins, he did not neglect us or let us perish, neither did he overlook the tyrant (Joscelin) that he may repent and live. He appeared in a dream to three of Joscelin's soldiers to be witnesses because, "At the mouth of two or three witnesses shall the matter be established."<sup>2282</sup> These men saw the monastery of the saint shining with light and the saint standing at the highest point in it in an indescribable glory. He said to them, "Go and tell your

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<sup>2279</sup> See Gregory the Priest, *Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, 257-258.

<sup>2280</sup> Gregory the Priest, *Continuation*, 258, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 647-648.

<sup>2281</sup> For a thorough analyses of these events, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 648-649.

<sup>2282</sup> Deuteronomy 19:15.

king that I am angry at my monks because they sinned and enraged my master. I have delivered them into your hand to pressure them in order to repent and return (to the monastery). Now, I am ordering you to let them return to the monastery.” One of them woke up and realized that what he saw was true and not merely a false dream. He went to the other two who had seen the vision, and all of them related to each other that they had seen the same vision and that it was true. They cast away their fear and, being encouraged, went to see the wretched Joscelin. They told him what they had seen and heard. The “second Pharaoh” listened to them and promised to send the monks back to the monastery, but he hardened his heart, reneged on his promise and sent back no one. On the contrary, he pressured them to pay the rest of the amount of five thousand (dinars) which he had already received. However, God’s patience called him once more to repent through members of his household who saw the coffin that contained the right hand of Mor Barsoum shining as bright as the sun with a drawn sword of fire in its grip. He heard a voice saying, “Joscelin! If you don’t leave me and my monks alone, I will destroy you and your country with this sword.” When the members of his household informed him of this, he released the elder monks David and Jacob to go to the monastery on September 5, 1460 (A.D. 1149), but kept the coffin that contained the right hand of the saint Mor Barsoum and deposited it in his church in Tell Bashir. He was expecting the monks to pay him five thousand gold pieces more as he had imposed on them. In the end, the rod of justice was set upon him by the Turkish troops, as shall be said at the beginning of the narratives which we shall relate below. These narratives will concern the kings of the earth and how the people went forth and surrounded (the monastery), and how they were scattered by a great miracle which could only be done by the Almighty and Infinite God. He alone can reactivate the bones and the remains of his beloved ones and saints whenever he wills as it is fitting for the salvation of every soul.

In this time Ahrun (Aaron) of Sijistan, bishop of Haditha, converted to Islam. He had left his country and lived in St. Matthew’s Monastery (near Mosul, Iraq). He was ordained bishop by the Maphryono Ignatius for that Persian diocese (Sijistan). He was deceived by Satan and became a Muslim. Later, he repented and returned (to Christianity) but his diocese would not accept him. Neither was he given back the rank of the episcopate. He went to Constantinople, became a Chalcedonian, and sank in that mud pit which accepts any pig that wallows in it. However, he repented again. Patriarch Ignatius said, “Although he is not worthy of the priesthood, it is improper to reject anyone who comes to repentance.” He accepted him and allowed him to read the *busoyo* (supplicatory prayer of penance). This caused a controversy between the maphryono and the patriarch. The maphryono blamed the patriarch for receiving (Aaron) before fulfilling the canons of repentance. The patriarch accused the maphryono of ordaining him before examining him. The maphryono retreated from his position but still blamed the patriarch because he committed the same mistake as he did. Shortly afterwards, (Aaron) reverted once more to Islam, and remained in the company of Muslim jurists for a few months. He repented again and went to Jerusalem, but was not accepted by the sons of our church. Then, he went to the Maronites of the Mountain of Lebanon and died there.

In the year 1460 (A.D. 1149) what looked like a long lance was seen in the northern part of the sky. However, it disappeared in the second hour of the evening.

In the western part of the sky, a sign in the form of a cross was seen but disappeared in a short time.

On Wednesday prior to the festival of the Ascension, heavy rain fell in Jerusalem mixed with drops of blood. This symbolized the drops of blood that were shed in the regions of the Franks in that year. This took place in the month of May. Instead of being refreshing dew, it was actually a blood symbolizing the horrible massacres and blood shedding. *He who reads this book let him remember me in his prayers.*<sup>2283</sup>

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<sup>2283</sup> This is written in Arabic and in red ink.

**Chapter Eleven: On the Turks' control of the regions under the control of the Franks; on the fall of Joscelin (II), and how the right hand of our lord Mor Barsoum was returned to the monastery**

In this period, (Divine) justice urged Sultan Mas'ud (1116-1155) and he gathered thousands of Turkish troops and attacked the countries of the wicked Franks. The Franks, one of whom caused a thousand men to flee, now trembled from the rustling of a tree leaf. Indeed, the Scripture's curse was fulfilled in them. Moreover, all the people cried out with one voice, "It is by the wrath of God that the Turks have gathered to annihilate the Christians who dared to attack Mor Barsoum." When Joscelin found himself surrounded from every direction by the Turks so that he was confined in Tell Bashir, he confessed that this was a blow by God and with his permission. He promised to repent, and resorted to Mor Barsoum. Then the Lord who brought the sultan, also had him soften the heart and made peace with him, and Joscelin pledged submission to him.<sup>2284</sup>

All of this judgment was from above (heaven). It was then that the sultan returned to his own country and Joscelin delivered the right hand of Mor Barsoum to the latter's monastery.

Afterwards, Joscelin reverted to his wicked deeds like a dog which returns to its vomit. However, (Divine) justice was not too patient with him. His end came at the hands of the Turks to whom he submitted as a punishment for his iniquity. Nur al-Din (Zangi), lord of Aleppo, with whom Joscelin was allied with pledge and oath, invaded his region and spoiled it, took many people captives and seized two fortresses. In the year 1461 (A.D. 1150), Kara Arslan, lord of Hisn Ziyad, sent one of his great commanders named Aldi<sup>2285</sup> and descended upon Gargar. On one night, they attacked the fortress near the monastery called Tegenkar, captured it by military force and took five hundred men captive. They also found in the fortress many items and vestments taken from the monastery when Joscelin ravaged it. Indeed, every discerning person was sure that this wrath was by God's command.<sup>2286</sup>

The Greeks and the Franks collaborated to rescue those who were in Gargar. They met with Basil, lord of Hisn Mansur and Kesum. In addition, from Ghoti (Gakhtai) and other places, about five hundred horsemen and a great number of infantry assembled and had with them a thousand loads of wheat in order to venture into the fortress of Gargar. When they drew near the fortress and noticed that the Turks had no knowledge of their coming but were camping in peace, they foolishly thought that they could leave their loads outside the fortress and go down to strike against the camp of the Turks, thinking that they would defeat them. However, God routed them before the Turks who outnumbered them. Most of them perished, and Basil, lord of Gargar, Krikor, lord of Ghoti, and Mahi (Mahuis), lord of Kesum, were captured. No one of the horsemen was saved and the loads of wheat were seized. After this resounding victory, Kara Arslan arrived, and with great magnanimity, released all the captives and sent them back to their homes. He gave the rulers of the country places in his own country. After surrendering to him Gargar, he gave Abdaher to Basil and the region of Semha. After Krikor surrendered to him Ghoti, he gave him Saghman. Thus, the Turks possessed Gargar, Ghoti and Hisn Mansur.

Joscelin went forth (from Tell Bashir) to Antioch with two hundred horsemen thinking that with them, he could challenge thousands. As they passed by Azaz by night, they met a few Turks, and the Franks trembled at the mere sound and fled because the mighty power of God had deserted them. As Joscelin began to flee, he imagined that he saw a tree in his way. He hit it and stumbled to the ground. In fact, many men with him testified that there was no tree in that place. Regardless, he fell down. A Turkoman saw him who did not recognize him but wanted to sell him to the Christians. He carried him to a nearby Muslim village and met a Jew who told them that he was Joscelin. Joyful, the Turkoman carried him to Aleppo, and Nur al-Din, lord of Aleppo, bought him from the Turkoman for one thousand dinars. He bound him in fetters and imprisoned him, and he ended his life there in torment. Upon entering Aleppo, a great joy overwhelmed the Muslims. Joscelin remained in prison for nine years. Although the Muslims constantly

<sup>2284</sup> Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 263.

<sup>2285</sup> According to Ibn al-Athir he is Abu Bakr ibn al-Daya, Nur al-Din's deputy in Aleppo. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 481.

<sup>2286</sup> See Gregory the Priest, *Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, 258 who gives a different account of these events, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 649.

urged him with gifts and threats to embrace Islam, he never yielded. They tortured him but he was never frightened and persisted in his faith. He confessed saying, "It is because of my sins that I am punished." He sent a message to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and the rest of the Christian churches asking them to pray for him that God may accept him among the penitent Christians. When his end was near while he was in the pit, he asked for the bishop of the city. They brought the bishop to him who received his confession and administered to him the Holy Sacraments. When he passed away, the Christians carried him and buried him in the church. A great crowd of Christians and Muslims attended his funeral, and were astonished at what had happened to him.<sup>2287</sup>

After Joscelin allowed the monks to return to the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum), he retained the right hand of the saint, and the wrath of God doubled against him. The Lord brought from the north the sons of Gog (the Turks) who besieged Tell Bashir. The Franks, Syrians and the Armenians cried out with one voice, and the wicked Joscelin trembled. He ordered the right hand of the saint be brought up to the wall. The people went up the wall with bare heads and tears and celebrated it in sight of the camp of the Turks. Joscelin promised before the people to return the hand to the monastery if the Turks lifted the siege. He further promised that he would not demand the payment of the rest of the money, but would return everything that he had taken from the monastery. At that moment, his repentance was accepted like Zacchaeus the tax collector,<sup>2288</sup> and he could rightfully say, "The discipline of the Lord opened my ear, and commanded (me) to return from iniquity."<sup>2289</sup> For he who thinks deeply, will realize that nothing great or small happens except by the finger of God. In the light of the insistence of the crowd, the tyrant (Joscelin) yielded to seek forgiveness. And God, who accepted the repentance of Pharaoh by the intercession of Moses, and lightened his chastisement in order to test his obedience, himself shook the camp of the Turks and had them depart and flee the city. Therefore, the Christians were saved by this great miracle, and everyone confessed that the finger of God was behind the coming and the departure of the Turks. It was then that Joscelin sent a message to the monastery asking for forgiveness. The elder monks went and brought back the (hand) of the saint. In every village or city they passed through, the crowds welcomed it with pomp and joy, chanting, torches and censoring, until they reached the monastery on January 1, which was the Festival of the Malphone (doctors) the saints. *End of the narrative.*

### **Chapter Twelve: The aftermath of the fall of Joscelin, and the control of all regions by the Turks**

When Sultan Mas'ud (of Iconium) heard of Joscelin's fall, he attacked Kesum on Sunday of Pentecost. Kesum was ruled by a Frank named Rangad (Rynald, Reginald). In Tell Bashir reigned the infant Joscelin III, son of Joscelin II. When the inhabitants of Kesum saw the multitudes of Turkish troops, they fled. They sent Metropolitan Iyawannis to the fortress, who received from the sultan a pledge on oath to permit the Franks to depart to Aintab, and they received what they wanted. The sultan ruled over Kesum and Beth Hesne, Ra'ban and Farzman. He invested Tell Bashir. Then, Nur al-Din (Zangi) came to him and the sultan gave him his daughter (as wife). She was engaged to the son of the brother of the king (emperor) of the Greeks. He also gave him Tell Bashir and returned to his own country. After his departure, the king of Jerusalem came and brought out of Tell Bashir Joscelin's wife and children, all the Franks and took them to Jerusalem. He set up in Tell Bashir certain men of the king of the Greeks, who, when settled down, also captured Tell Bashir, Aintab and Azaz. Afterwards, the Turks (Nur al-Din) descended upon them and distressed them immensely. When they became beset by famine, they handed all these places to Nur al-Din peacefully. The lord of Aleppo (Nur al-Din) ruled over Tell Bashir, Aintab, Azaz and all the countries in between. To the sultan were left Mar'ash, Ra'ban, Farzman, Kesum, and Beth Hesne. The lot of Kara Arslan

<sup>2287</sup> See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 276-277; Gregory the Priest, *Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, 258, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 669.

<sup>2288</sup> Luke 19:1-10.

<sup>2289</sup> Job 36:10.

included Babula, Gargar, Ghoti and Hisn Mansur. Timurtash, lord of Mardin, took Birah, Samosata, Khuris and Kafartuta. Thus, the Turks had established their control entirely over these regions.<sup>2290</sup>

Now Joscelin had appointed to the fortress of Romaita (Romania) an Armenian named Michael. When Michael heard of Joscelin's fall, he sent his wife who was still in Tell Bashir to ask the Catholicos Krikor (Gregory), who was in Dzov, that is, the Lake, to come to the fortress and stay with him. When he went to the fortress, the catholicos acted treacherously towards him. He seized him, tormented him, took all his possessions and expelled him, and Catholicos Krikor then controlled the fortress (of Romaita).<sup>2291</sup>

In the year 1462 (A.D. 1151), Agoub Arslan invaded the land of the Greeks called Fabra (Papara) and took what he wanted and then departed.

In the meantime, Manuel, king (emperor) of the Greeks, was defeated by the Franks and fled, and hardly made it to Constantinople.

In this same year, the daughter of the lord of the Armenian Izange strangled her father with a bowstring. She brought his brother from the region of Dibarige, and he married her and became king.<sup>2292</sup>

At the Monastery of Sarika of the Greeks in the region of Pontus, there was a great gold cross wherein was a piece of the wood of the Crucifixion, and many miracles in that country were made by it. The governor decided to own the cross.<sup>2293</sup> However, a certain Greek, according to his willful mind, took the cross by trick and rebelled in that country. Then the governor came and took the cross and everything else he found. He evicted the monks and settled Turks in the monastery. Some of his noblemen who held the monastery with great respect, appealed to him to restore the monastery to the monks. He did after imposing on them the payment of sheep, gold and an annual tribute. The monks returned to the monastery.

What would the blasphemous Greeks say about this? They rejoiced when Joscelin plundered the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum. Like the Jews, they scoffed at and profaned our Lord (Christ). Now, what would they say after the monastery was restored to the monks and its triumph was known to all people? In fact, seven fold of what had been looted from it were given back, and joy overwhelmed the faithful (Orthodox) everywhere like the joy of the apostles for the resurrection of the Lord. It is therefore proper to say to them in this case, "Shut your tongues which profane the saints and confess that, if it were not for our sins, nothing would have happened to the monastery like what the wicked Joscelin had done. And as (Divine) justice willed to direct that blow against us, it did the same thing mocking the adored cross in the Monastery of Sarika."

In this period, some of our bishops fell (from grace), of whom was Ahrun (Aaron) of Sijistan, already mentioned. He was ordained a bishop for Haditha by the Maphryono, and then he converted to Islam. He repented and joined the Greeks and then the Maronites.

Another bishop from Hisn Ziyad was called "son of the Turks." He was ordained by the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon as bishop for the diocese of Tell Bashir after evicting from it Bar Andrew. When Bar Andrew was restored to his position, the "son of the Turks" was sent to Semando. There at Semando, his deception was exposed, evicted and was sent to the country of Habura. At Habura, he did not desist from his immoral behavior and fornication, and was expelled and went to Greater Armenia. He shed his outer (clerical) vestment and put on the uniform of a soldier, and began to serve one of the great leaders. Then he found a prostitute to live with him. However, when he realized that, as a soldier, he could not feed himself or the prostitute who adopted him, he realized as the Holy Scriptures say, "He longed to fill his stomach with the pods that the pigs were eating, but no one gave him anything."<sup>2294</sup> He did not return to the compassionate Father (God) but was entangled by one evil after the other. He put on the sacred clerical habit and traversed through places whose people did not know him. He collected alms in the name of monasteries and saints.

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<sup>2290</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 277.

<sup>2291</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*

<sup>2292</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 278, says the one who strangled the lord of Izange was his wife, and not his daughter.

<sup>2293</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 278, says a certain Turkish amir wanted to own the cross.

<sup>2294</sup> Luke 15:16.

Whatever he collected, he and the prostitute swallowed it gluttonously. Finally, he was exposed and killed by some zealous men, and such was his end.

Another person was a bishop from Mar'ash called Gabriel, nicknamed Zhamagir, meaning (Breviary, Book of Prayer). He was ordained by Mor Athanasius as bishop for Sarug. It was said that he was defiled by fornication. The patriarch treated him graciously and with a spirit slow to anger. However, he wallowed more in abominable evil as shall be said later.

On December 29, 1461 (A.D. 1150), an earth tremor took place. On March 15, an eclipse took place, which lasted from midnight until dawn. On August 23, heavy rain fell, and flooding took place in many regions, especially Hisn Ziyad where a young boy, two mules and a donkey were drowned.

In this period, an old man was ordained as patriarch for the Chalcedonians. He was ordained a bishop when he was still young and lived a solitary life. However, when he became a candidate for the office of the patriarchate, he was ensnared by the love of leadership and did not reveal that he was a bishop. Shortly after he was ordained the second time, his true affair was made known, and he was banished disdainfully with those who ordained him.

In the year 1462 (A.D. 1151), the winter was very severe and snow fell heavily. It actually fell from the gates of heaven over regions that had never seen snow before. It was two feet high. In March red snow fell. Natural scientists explain this (phenomenon) saying that when vapors and winds become red, then a red dust rises up to the clouds. And when the dust becomes red, its color appears like blood. Thus, when the winds raise a red dust to the clouds, it spreads a fine drizzle. All these things take place for our chastisement.

In March, snow fell in such abundance in Melitene the like of which no one has seen or heard of before. On the 23 of the same month, a fiery sign was seen in the northern part of the sky. In the same year, a huge rock fell off a mountain on the village of Qallisura and destroyed it with the people and animals. In the same year, the rain everywhere was so heavy that it ruined the fields and crops, especially on the banks of rivers where everything planted was destroyed.

**Chapter Thirteen: It consists of two parts: Part one about the miracle that took place in Antioch, and the church built in it after the name of Mor Barsoum. The second part consists of a word of exhortation.**

The story of the miracle made by the holy Mor Barsoum in the region of Antioch in 1462 (A.D. 1151):

A boy who was the son of a Frankish leader climbed a fig tree, which grew in abundance in the city like in paradise. It happened that he fell off and broke his anklebone. The physicians treated him but without avail, and he became handicapped. His parents grieved over his condition, especially that he was their only child and that they were of royal origin. Thus, they extended to him greater care and spent on him abundant money to have his broken bone restored to normalcy. After much toil and money lost, they did not benefit a thing.

It was then that the name of the blessed Mor Barsoum became well known because of the fall of Joscelin. Everywhere the miracles that God made in his (Mor Barsoum) name were told by many people, and by the responses of those who appealed for his help. The mother of the boy, with prayers, tears and vows, constantly asked the blessed (Mor Barsoum) to heal him. It happened that a monk from the monastery arrived carrying as usual the portrait of the saint. They invited him to their home and received a blessing by the portrait. A day later, the saint appeared to the woman (mother of the boy) in a vision like a king with great glory. She asked who may this king be, and was told by the crowd that he was Mor Barsoum. Then, she heard the blessed Mor Barsoum say, "I want you to build a church for me here." The monk, whom we mentioned earlier, also saw the saint saying to him, "Arise and go to the house of the Frank Harari (Henri) and build a church in his garden." He showed him three altars. The vision was repeated with a threat. The monk, whose name was Saliba, was frightened and astonished. He informed Basilius (Bar Shumanna), metropolitan of Edessa, who was then in Antioch of his vision. While both of them were skeptical, the boy's parents came and told them about what his mother had seen. Then the monk took the

metropolitan and the portrait of the saint with him and went to the house of those Franks. They stood praying over the boy who was lying down while his parents were supplicating and asking for his recovery. Then the sick boy slumbered and slept. Suddenly, however, he cried out with a loud voice and jumped to his feet. His parents and the entire household were shaken and frightened. They saw the hand of the boy stretched out, as if someone was holding it, and he was looking upward. They realized that he has seen a vision. They asked him questions but he did not answer.

For a while he remained with his right hand stretched out and looking upward with joy. His parents hurriedly prepared torches and incense, and a great crowd congregated. Then, the boy turned and said to them, "The blessed Mor Barsoum appeared to me holding in his hand a great, gold cross shining like the sun, and filled the whole house. With him was a group of monks. He held me by the hand and bid me rise up, saying 'Arise and do not be afraid. It is for the faith and the supplication of your mother that I have come.'" I said to him, "How can I rise while my anklebone is broken?" He touched the broken ankle and it was made whole as if it had not been broken.

After this actually happened, who can doubt that our Lord Christ, who healed the mother-in-law of Peter,<sup>2295</sup> was dwelling in our lord Mor Barsoum? He fulfilled in him what he had said, "He who keeps my commandments will do what I have been doing. He will do even greater things than these."<sup>2296</sup> Indeed, God dwells in his saints, and he does appropriately whatever he wills and however he wills.

The boy's parents, followed by the crowd, took him with joy to the Great Church, and then went to see the queen (Melisend). A great throng of Franks, Armenians and Syrians went with the queen to the place where the miracle took place. When the boy pointed to the spot where the saint appeared to him, the queen prostrated to the ground weeping. The crowds picked dust from the spot for blessing. Wherever that dust was taken, God healed those who believed. Then, they began to build a church, and monk Saliba pledged to supervise its construction. The number of miracles that took place because of its construction cannot be recorded in this narrative. Then, we, (Michael Rabo who was then Abbot of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum) together with the elder monks of the monastery, went to consecrate the church on Sunday, December 9, 1486 (A.D. 1157), in the time of Reginald (of Châtillon), lord of Antioch, Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, their Patriarch (Aimry, Amaury Latin Patriarch of Antioch 1142-1187), and our Patriarch Athanasius (Bar Qatra). Also, was present the benefactor Thoros (II), lord of Cilicia, Henri and his wife Elizabeth (Isabel), and all the Frankish, Armenian, and Syrian leaders, together with a host of our Syrian priests and deacons and Frankish and Armenian monks. The hateful Greeks "died from anger,"<sup>2297</sup> and God was glorified in his saints. To him is the glory, and on us his mercy forever and ever. Amen.

#### **Word of exhortation (derived) from the Book of Metropolitan Dionysius (Bar Salibi, d. 1172)**

Quite often, many people try to explore without any legitimate claim, the judgments of God which are beyond exploration. They question why God did not have mercy on a people called by his name and save them from the invaders. They further say that for a long time they were overburdened by the yoke of the Assyrians that many of them rejected their faith because of distress. We answer these people, with brevity, that things do not run according to your own desire.

There are many things considered as negative by people at the beginning, but in the end, they turn out to be for their own good. Does the clay say to the potter, what are you making properly, as it is written?<sup>2298</sup> We should then admit that the incomprehensible knowledge of God makes everything good. We should use our reason and realize that if it were not for our sins, we would have not been delivered to the hands of strange people. Who would have not seen a father become angry with his son who deviated from his commandments after having delivered to him his possessions and granted him the power over his

<sup>2295</sup> Luke 4:38-39.

<sup>2296</sup> John 14:12.

<sup>2297</sup> See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 674-676, and Bulus Behnam, "Dayr Mor Barsoum Qurb Malatya," (The Monastery of Mor Barsoum Near Melitene), *Lisan al-Mashriq*, nos. 4-6 (Mosul, Iraq), 1951:153-208, especially 162-163.

<sup>2298</sup> Isaiah 45:9, Romans 9:20-21.

servants? As long as the son is committed to his father's order, he is the master of his possessions. But if he violated the commandments according to which the possessions were handed to him, not only will he be deprived of the inheritance, but will be delivered to the servants to scourge him, and annihilate his life by the evil which he entertained in order to understand first his rise and his later fall.

To those who succumbed to bondage and followed heathen customs contradictory to the law, we say that Divine Providence which comprehends everything before it is done will soon save them at the time suitable to God's designs, and the appropriate time of his dispensation, if they stood firm in the faith of their fathers and yielded fruits worthy of the kingdom. For it is written, "I will bring them from Bashan; I will bring them from the depth of the sea."<sup>2299</sup> However, if they do not abide by the deeds of those who instructed them, but went on practicing evil from childhood to old age, and delivered themselves to the bondage of lust like the people who have no law, and under the skin of the lion, they conceal their foxlike deeds, they will then be delivered to a depraved mind which they wanted for themselves, and for whose sake, they were prepared to submit their necks to the yoke of its bondage. Let us end this now.

We may add by blaming ourselves concerning the priesthood, which became a subject of ridicule and disdain as was already discussed in the case of Ahrun (Aaron) of Sijistan and others. After they were exposed, they became more immersed in iniquity. It is then necessary that we should not offer the holy services without examination to blameworthy men. We should not place the sword of the Spirit in the hand of suspects and the devious lest they disturb the souls instead of decimating evil, as had happened, "Our salt has become corrupt, and there is no wax in Gilead; and everyone does what he pleases."<sup>2300</sup> Therefore, we are in dire need for Moses and Samuel to intercede on our behalf that God may return and shine his face upon us and heal our overt and covert blows. What kinds of hypocrisy, I wonder, did not enter the church? And what kind of forbidden things have not been perpetrated in it? Greed and bribery are flourishing, and malice and arrogance are increased. However, the chaste and the meek are vilified while the voice of the deceivers and slanderers has risen loudly. God alone who has compassion for his own people will rebuild David's fallen tent.<sup>2301</sup>

#### **Chapter Fourteen: On the death of Daula, lord of Melitene and what happened to him and his countries; on other events that took place in this period; and the quarrel stirred up between Maphryono Ignatius and his congregation**

In this year 1463 (A.D. 1152), the Franks came forth from Rome for the second time angry against the Greeks and intending to take revenge on them because of what they did to their brothers. They plundered, destroyed, reached the gate of Constantinople, and burned it down. They caused immense damages to the Greek Kingdom and then departed. Some of them reached Palestine. They wanted to take revenge of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) but could not agree with each other because they had no leader. However, they killed by the sword some of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) whom they found in Ascalan (Ascalon) and burned few villages. Then they sailed to Egypt, burned down its western cities with their inhabitants, and returned to their country.

On Thursday, June 12 of the same year, Daula, lord of Melitene died. He was succeeded by his son Dhu al-Qarnayn. The Christians were gripped by fear and their harassment increased, but it was an incentive for repentance. At the end of the mourning session held by Daula's brother Yaqub (Jacob) Arslan, he sent condolences to Daula's son and his wife asking them not to retain the city and not submit to the Sultan (Mas'ud, son of Kilij Arslan). They relied on him and sent their cattle to his region. When the sultan learned that they decided to disobey him, he marched with wrath against Jacob Arslan. When Jacob saw the sultan's huge force, he obeyed immediately and promised not to support his brother's son. On July 24, the sultan came to Melitene. The multitudes of Turks and other people destroyed by fire the entire splendid surrounding villages of the city. While the forces of the sultan were destroying everything on the outside, the

<sup>2299</sup> Psalm 68:22.

<sup>2300</sup> Cf. Jeremiah 8:22.

<sup>2301</sup> Acts 15:16.

governors and their troops were torturing the people without mercy on the inside. The faithful (the Syrians) were caught up between two beasts and began to remember some of their sins. They particularly realized that the cup was mixed, the sword drawn, and they began to pray and supplicate. Immediately, the salvation of the Lord came so fast to those who aspired for mercy and affection. As consolation came to Samaria by the prayer of Elishah, thus by the intercession of the Mother of the Lord of Eishah,<sup>2302</sup> peace prevailed on the festival of her Assumption. Peace was achieved in the following manner: The youth who ruled the city was actually the son of the daughter of the sultan's brother. His mother threw herself at the feet of the sultan who felt compassion for her. The sultan said that if the young man would come forth, prostrate himself to him and become his slave, he would leave him in the city. The young man did come forth, and the sultan kissed him and confirmed his rule over the city.<sup>2303</sup>

When the sultan (Mas'ud, son of Kiliġ Arslan) was besieging Melitene, the Turks in his company went to ravage the country of Claudia. They took captive the monks and men servants of the Monastery of Beth Hanish. The monks went to the sultan (to implore him), and he repatriated them (to the monastery). On their way back, they were confronted at the Hazourin Mountain by highway robbers who fought them. As a result, three robbers were killed, and a young servant (novice) and the rest (of the monks) reached the monastery.

When Melitene was saved but with no expectation, the mother of the youth (Dhu al-Qarnayn) began to reign. She tormented the Christians rich and poor without mercy, imposing on them land-tax and different tributes. The Muslims were also oppressed, and no one could intercede on their behalf. She claimed that the city was her own possession and did not belong to her son. She further claimed that the city was saved not because the sultan accepted her supplication, but it was saved by magicians and soothsayers. She gathered around her a group of sorcerers and women of ill repute who predicted for her a long life and that she would reign like Dalminius (Julian) in his time. She contemplated killing her son in order that the power would remain hers alone. However, God hearkened to the cries of the poor, and the Divine wrath extended to the second Jezebel. Her plan was discovered and she was driven away (by the nobles). She departed on foot accompanied by the ill-reputed women who anticipated good luck for her. The words of the prophet who censured the iniquitous applied to them, saying, "Keep on, then, with your magic spells and with your plenty of sorceries at which you have labored. Perhaps you will succeed. All the counsel you have received has only worn you out."<sup>2304</sup> <sup>2305</sup> After remaining for a few days at the gate of the city, she was finally driven out naked and barefoot. Her son was established in the leadership (of the state) and killed the entire company of magicians and sorcerers whom she had gathered around her. He confiscated their possessions and pillaged their homes. He issued a decree that anyone of this kind of people should be burned and should not appear before him. He assured the inhabitants of the city of peace and safety, and abolished the exorbitant taxes. All the Christians rejoiced and enjoyed salvation. When he was told that some of the noblemen were plotting with his mother to kill him, he expelled them one after the other and confiscated their possessions lest no one should attempt to conspire against his sovereignty.

Patriarch Athanasius departed Amid for Hisn Ziyad, whose bishop had passed away and the patriarch remained in it for three years. He ordained his secretary Sergius a bishop for it and called him Iyawannis (at his ordination). He sent him to Amid to look after its congregation on his behalf. When the patriarch was at Hisn Ziyad, he was visited by Maphryono Ignatius, chief of the entire bishops of the East for the following reason.

The Easterners had a tradition according to which the Maphryono of Takrit was the one who ordained a bishop for Nineveh and Mosul. After his nomination and ordination as bishop for that great diocese, he would not come under the jurisdiction of the maphryono like the rest of the bishops, but would become equal (in authority) to the maphryono. Such tradition was, in fact, deleterious to the orderly

<sup>2302</sup> A reference to Mary Mother of God.

<sup>2303</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 279, says that the young man was sent forth carrying a sword and a shroud.

<sup>2304</sup> Isaiah 47:12-13.

<sup>2305</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 279.

## BOOK SEVENTEEN

regulation of the church. It created constant controversies in the East as mentioned in the history of Dionysius Tell Mahre. This tradition began in the time of Patriarch Cyriacus. However, when the diocese of Takrit had declined and the diocese of Nineveh kept flourishing, the maphryono of Takrit wanted the diocese of Nineveh to be united with his own diocese. For this reason, Maphryono Ignatius went to visit Patriarch Athanasius at Hisn Ziyad. The patriarch did not agree with him and the maphryono departed for Melitene and then to the Monastery of Sergisiyya. When the patriarch left Hisn Ziyad for the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, the maphryono came again to convince him of the idea of uniting the diocese of Mosul with the diocese of Takrit under his jurisdiction. He spent all summer in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum but did not obtain the patriarch's approval. In November, he returned to his diocese without giving up his idea, and waited for the right opportunity to accomplish his desire as shall be said later. As for the patriarch, he spent the rest of his life in our monastery, that is, the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum, although this provoked the malice of some people.

On a night of October 1463 (A.D. 1152), heavy rain fell and swept the threshing floors and the plains. Many people and animals were drowned in the inundation, especially in Hisn Ziyad and Semha. In addition, the torrents washed away plenty of earth and huge rocks, even millstones fell into the valley situated between the villages of Abdahar and Tarshana. They formed a dam in the middle part of the River Euphrates and blocked its flowing for three hours. I, (Michael Rabo), saw the place and the people who picked the fish from that spot until the waters became forceful and washed away the earth and the rocks, and opened a watercourse at the foot of Claudia Mountain and rushed through it.

In this period, an Armenian priest named Joseph from the village of Bargish (Prosidin according to Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 279), in the region of Hanzit, built a church, embellished it, and plastered it with white color on the outside. One day the amir Kara Arslan went out for a stroll as was the custom of kings, and saw the church shining brightly and became greatly wrathful. His fiery wrath was stirred up even more by Turks who hated the priest. By demonic influence they slandered the priest to Kara Arslan saying that, "Whenever a new church is built, the ruler of that region in which it is built dies." Kara Arslan issued an order to demolish the church at the foundation, and the wronged priest was imprisoned. The Christians of Hisn Ziyad gathered to intercede for him, but the amir issued an order to execute him. The execution was carried out on September 14, the Festival of the Cross. Since that time, an order was issued forbidding the construction of a new church or renovating an old one in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), and the Christians were immensely distressed. However, after the death of Kara Arslan, the Christians gave his son plenty of money, and he issued an order permitting the renovation of old churches. Everywhere the Christians heaved a sigh of relief.

*Here ends this Book (Seventeen). It consisted of fourteen chapters covering a period of ten years during which were set up two kings for the Greeks and the Franks, two kings for the Turks and one king for the Arabs.*

## BOOK EIGHTEEN

WE, BY THE HELP OF GOD, WILL TREAT EVENTS FROM THE YEAR 1464, WHICH IS THE YEAR 1153 OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD, THE YEAR 531 OF THE HIJRA (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 93 OF THE TURKS AND THE YEAR 6683 OF ADAM AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION

### **Chapter One: On the Franks' wresting Ashqalon (Ascalon) from the Egyptians, and other events that took place in this period**

In the year 1464 (A.D. 1153), King Baldwin (III) of the Franks in Jerusalem was still a young man, and his mother (Melisend) administered the state. However, when he reached the legal age, he wanted to be the sole ruler ...lacuna...

In this period, the prince of Caesarea Cappadocia issued an order to demolish all the churches. Because of this the priests ...lacuna...

In this period Jacob the rhetorician of Melitene, already mentioned, was ordained a bishop for Mar'ash. The reason for his ordination was ...lacuna...

*Note: The copy of the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of The Chronicle of Michael Rabo, published by Gorgias Press, 2009, contains only the above passages at the beginning of Book Eighteen, Chapter One, followed regrettably by a lacuna from page 659 to page 679. The text then resumes on page 680, only to be followed by a second lacuna from page 683 to page 698. In his French translation of the Chronicle of Michael, Rev. J.B. Chabot filled in these lacunas from Bar Hebraeus' Chronography and his Ecclesiastical History, in order to give the work continuity and maintain a coherent series of events. However, he admits that what he filled from Bar Hebraeus was mere résumé and, to an extent, conjecture. I have personally decided to adhere to the original text by adding nothing to it. In addition, since most of the chapters of Book Eighteen, the title and some chapters of Book Nineteen are missing, and the remaining chapters are not numbered, I thought it necessary to number them for the benefit of the reader. (Trans.)*

...lacuna... he opened his storehouses in Antioch and fed the people from the beginning of March until June. *End of the narrative.*

... he set up mangonels (engines of war) and built towers supported by iron. They never kept still all day long, and a great number of people perished. A Turkish prince from the clan of Ataturkians was in the city (Amid). He had a shrewd Vizir named Ibn Nisan Kalam al-Din who had placed everything including gates, walls, army, city dwellers, villagers, and money under his authority. Amir Jamal al-Din was a meek old man and subject to Ibn Nisan, from whom he received bread to eat. With established determination and cunning, he overwhelmed the power of the army that surrounded the city. He urged the people in the inside with honey-like words and promises of gifts, in order to protect the wall and fight the enemy. Meantime, he prepared arrow-throwers and operators of mangonels (engines of war) on the inside more than on the outside. Three times at night, he sent three groups of men to burn down the armaments of those outside. They destroyed the towers where the fighting was carried out with huge rocks. In the meantime, he strengthened on the inside the huge stone columns with lime both in length and width. While he was engaged in constant fighting, he sent delegations to all amirs to make them enemies of his enemies, and he succeeded in what he wanted.

He made Jacob Arslan, lord of Cappadocia, his ally although he was the father-in-law of Kara Arslan. In fact, the letters he received from Amid and the oaths that the people would be subject to him, made him turn against Kara Arslan and save Amid from his grip, as a revenge for what he did to him in the case of Melitene. When he attacked his region pillaging and spoiling, Kara Arslan departed Amid brokenhearted after having endured (adversity) for five months and after spending abundant money, and went to Hisn Ziyad in his own country. Then, Jacob Arslan invited him to make peace with him, but he refused. In turn, he ravaged Kizan, Kharsan and Tell Batriq, and captured by military force the fortress of

## BOOK EIGHTEEN

Shumushki and evicted from it a thousand men, women and children and animals. Among those evicted was Ignatius, bishop of Tella, situated on the River Arsanus. He also captured Qamah and returned to Melitene. He seized the bishop of the fortress, but released him after two days.<sup>2306</sup> *End of the narrative. He who reads let him pray for the weak and sinful Michael Urbish who transcribed (this book).*

For many years, even Muslim Turks, Kurds, and people from other nations visited the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, especially on his commemoration, which extended for several days. They came to seek the grace of healing, and many received it. However, scarcity of water caused them some distress. Water was brought from a far distance to the monastery on the backs of mules. The metropolitan of Mardin, who was an expert in land survey, and had the ability to extend aqueducts with facility wherever the monks wished, wanted to perpetuate his name in that holy place. However, the monks refused on the pretext that a gigantic work like that could not be accomplished while the Turks were surrounding the monastery from every side. They also could not believe that water ducts could be extended through caverns and rocky places to the top of the mountain. They reasoned that, "Ancient people were wiser and more intelligent than us, and yet could not carry out such work, how can we ourselves then do it?" Days passed by, and I, the weak Michael (Rabo), was called to be the archimandrite of this monastery. God, whose power is manifested in weakness, strengthened my feebleness. I addressed a letter to the Metropolitan Mor Yuhanon who responded to my appeal with alacrity. Upon exploring the spot, he was convinced that he could draw water to the monastery. The work began by digging the ground and making ready the necessary tools. When the winter overtook the workers, the metropolitan returned to his diocese hoping to return to the work in April. Here, I would like to keep silent over the complaints and harassment of the brother monks caused by Satan who wishes the people no good, corporeal or spiritual, and who has instigated them, old and young, to murmur against my weakness saying that I am squandering money and mistrust those around me. Thus, the entire (monks) unanimously maintained that the monastery was heading toward ruin. Nevertheless, I endured all of this with magnanimity while seeking help by the prayers of Saint Mor Barsoum. While receiving these stings, I tried to convince some by words in order to mitigate the vehemence of their hot zeal, and win others by praying instead of insults with the intention to shame them.

Finally, spring arrived and the venerable metropolitan returned according to his promise. Instead of the malice, which we were expecting from the neighboring governors, we received encouragement and support from both Christians and Muslims. Emboldened, the monks endorsed the project by the power of our lord Mor Barsoum, who triumphed over the hatred of the devil. Each one of them rushed to work trying to be in the vanguard. They did this especially when some of them saw visions at night or during work indicating the interest of the saint in this work, although this may sound strange. Those who consider visions sheer fantasies should not disdain these visions. In fact, Mor Barsoum appeared to some monks and servants who opposed this idea and tried to hinder the work waving a string in his hand and saying, "I would like to draw water to this place."

During the work, the following incident took place. While the digging went on, a huge rock obstructed the work and the workers tried to move it. Because of the intensity of rolling it, the foot of one of the workers slid, and he fell under the rock, which rolled over him. I do not say it was a mountain that rolled over him, but a rock. The people rushed to see whether any bones of that young man, whose name was Barsoum, were left intact. When they got to him, they saw that he was caught between two small stones, and he was alive and wholesome without bodily scratch. All of us witnessed this incident with our own eyes and touched him with our hands.

If some were, then, skeptical about this contrary-to-nature miracle mentioned in the life story of the saint (Mor Barsoum), concerning the young man under whose belly iron was crushed but he was kept alive, this incident confirms the miracle of the young man who was caught between two stones. Indeed, the power that enlivened the former young man is itself what kept this young man alive. How long the speech may be, it remains incapable of absorbing of all the miracles that took place during this work. I have, in fact,

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<sup>2306</sup> Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 287.

recorded only a small amount of them. Nevertheless, I should relate briefly the miracle that took place at the end of this work.

We were disappointed when a big rock obstructed the flow of water to the monastery, and there was no means of breaking it or setting up something to dam it. Saint Barsoum appeared to a monk, who was a stranger, and said to him, "Go and tell the laborers and the archimandrite of the monastery not be frustrated, and they will find the course of the water in such and such place." When the monk revealed his vision, no one believed him because the spot he indicated in the mountain was a massive rock. Nevertheless, the monk dug up the spot by himself and discovered a cleavage in the mountain five hundred paces long, no more and no less. Those present were astonished and praised God. Some of them said that the cleavage was old, while others said that the Lord has recently split it. I, (Michael) say that, "Whether the cleavage is old or new, it is the power of God which is in the Saint Mor Barsoum confirming that it is of God's work and not of ours. I hope no one will entertain bad thoughts thinking that I have written untrue events among those, which I have compiled in this book. In fact, I decided to record many events in order not to discuss them at length. I also hope that no one will believe that I count myself among the combatants. This is why I did not mention what I have suffered except a smattering. I only recorded very little. I do not overlook my weakness. And what I have written I did so to obtain the prayers of the venerable people who read this (narrative) and learn that the work ended on August 24, 1474 (A.D. 1163)."

**Chapter Two: On the time when Bohemond, son of Bidawi (Raymond of Poitiers), reigned in Antioch; and the entry of Amaury, king of Jerusalem into Egypt; the death of Jacob Arslan and the Maphryono Ignatius; the defeat of the Franks at Harim where the lord of Antioch and Tripoli was captured**

When Rangad (Reginald of Châtillon) was captured by the Turks in Aleppo,<sup>2307</sup> his wife claimed that she was the heiress of her father in the principality of Antioch. Therefore, she was given its administration. She had a son, who had come of age, but she did not allow him to assume power. She became subject of the skepticism of the leaders ...lacuna...

Because of his acute illness and suffering, the Maphryono Ignatius wanted to come to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. Some of his disciples carried his books and possessions and reached the village of Hil in the province of Nisibin ...lacuna...

In 1476 (A.D. 1165), wheat was very scarce, especially in the regions of Antioch and Cilicia where the price of one-half measure was one dinar. Finally, it vanished completely.

In the same year, the Vizir Jamal al-Din of Persian origin who was in Mosul was assassinated. He had delegated the maphryono to the king of the Iberians. Zangi had appointed him an administrator in Mosul and gave him one tenth of its revenues. He became wealthy and of prominent position. He represented ...lacuna...

*Here follows a lacuna of fifteen pages. The narrative resumes on p. 698*

... let us fear brothers, let us fear. If an earth tremor can cause fear of such magnitude, who will then be able to endure the forthcoming judgment on that awful day?

As we were standing at the altar of the Monastery of Mor Hananya (The Za'faran Monastery), we fell with our faces before the Table (of Life) and held onto it while we were vacillating from here to there. We supplicated God heartily to make us worthy of the end (the life to come). After a long while, we returned to ourselves, bewildered, as if we had come back from the grave without hope. Tears flowed down

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<sup>2307</sup> Reginald of Châtillon was captured by Nur al-Din Zangi at Harim in 1164 along with Raymond III of Tripoli, and were taken in chains to Aleppo and imprisoned. See William of Tyre, *History*, 2:299; Ibn Kamil *al-Tawarikh*, 1:537-540; Ibn Wasil, *Musfarrij al-Kurub*, 1:144-145; Yahya Ibn Abi Tayy in Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 1:239; the Anonymous Edessan, 188-189; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 288; Röhrich, *Geschichte*, 318-319; Marshall W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripoli and the Fall of Jerusalem*, 1140-1187. Princeton University Press, 1936, Reprint. New York: AMS, 1978, 13, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 740.

## BOOK EIGHTEEN

our eyes, our tongues engaged in praise, and we were like one who had just woken from sleep. We were especially composed when we were sure that the monastery and we were safe from harm. We thanked God even more when we heard of the reports of the calamities that took place in some regions and cities. The tremor had destroyed the city of Berea, which is Aleppo, where abominable things multiplied like in Sodom and Gomorrah. We have seen with our own eyes the reprehensible deeds committed in it. Thousands of Christians were not allowed to leave their homes except for attending the church on Sundays while their necks and feet were bound in fetters, and their cries ripped the clouds. What tongue can discuss, or what ear can endure to hear the kinds of torment suffered by the captives? If a hand wanted to write down some of these calamities, it would need several volumes. Perhaps the atmosphere of that city has become foul because of the reprehensible stench of the abomination of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) in it.

Many, witnessing these abominations, began to profane saying that the grace of God did not extend to this place. However, by this chastisement, Divine Justice has been merciful to prevent them from committing vile deeds like those committed by the people in the days of Noah before the Flood. Those who said that God could not save the captives from their hands, their bodies have become piled up because of the tremor. Their walls and homes were demolished, and the water and the air were fouled by the great number of those drowned. The city was cleft and many cleavages and subterranean vaults appeared. It was blackened and became a mound of rubble. What confirms even more that the sword of wrath was drawn upon it, is that some of its environs were saved from this calamity. The wall of Antioch on the seashore collapsed. The Great Church of the Greeks collapsed, as well as the altar of the Great Church of St. Peter. Some houses and other churches also tumbled down, and fifty souls perished in Antioch. Gabbula was entirely demolished and so a great part of Tripoli including the Great Church. The seacoast cities, Damascus, Homs, Hama and other cities and villages, suffered damage from this tremor. However, what happened to Aleppo happened nowhere else. Its prince took the tonsure and put on sacking cloth, gathered the people and went to up to Qusayr. He asked their (Latin) patriarch for forgiveness and appealed to him to enter the city. However, (the patriarch) said to them, "Unless you drive out the Greek patriarch, I will never enter the city." When they tried to drive him out, they found him bruised by the tremor. They carried him while he had still breath of life outside the city but he passed away on the road. Then Amaury (the Latin king) entered Antioch and rebuilt its walls and church. Meantime, Nur al-Din (Zangi) rebuilt the wall of Aleppo, and the lord of Samosata rebuilt its wall too. In fact, every Frankish and Turkish governor rebuilt his own domain.

As to us (Syrians), the tiny band in all the cities, God extended to us great help perhaps because we had no king or wealthy man (to protect us). In Aleppo while the entire city tumbled down, our church was saved and not one of its stones was lost. Also was saved the church of Mor Barsoum. In Gabula, our church was saved. In Antioch, three of our churches were saved: the Church of the Mother of God, the Church of Mor Gurgis (Jirjis), and the Church of Mor Barsoum. In Tripoli and Latakia, our churches remained intact. This was because of the glory of God and the courage of our small Orthodox flock. *End of the narrative.*

...the gold, which they were accustomed to deliver at times, and they paid a ransom as a guarantee for their delivering of money every year, he took it and returned to Jerusalem much to the chagrin of the Greeks. A great number of them perished because of the winter, and some of them hardly went back to their country.

In the same year, the foolish young lord of Melitene was carried away by detestable lusts. He attached himself to a sorceress prostitute who incited him to commit all kinds of abominations against the sons of his city and his Turkish troops, much to the displeasure of his nobles. However, he indulged more in his frivolity and laid hand on all the treasures of his fathers. He, accompanied by the prostitute and his companions, departed the city perplexed. When the nobles learned of what the wicked Mahmud had done, they set up his brother the young man Abu al-Qasim as leader. Peace prevailed in the city when he assumed the reins of government. His brother (Mahmud) moved from one house to the other, and we will mention his end later.

When the king of Jerusalem (Amaury (Amalric) 1, 1163-1174), heard that Malih<sup>2308</sup> was mistreating the Christians in many ways and everywhere, he went forth to fight against him. Malih asked the Turks to help him. They did, and the battle between the two began. By the help of God, the king triumphed, the Turks fled and Malih took refuge in his fortress. The king besieged the fortress and fought against him. Malih repented, apologized, and pledged allegiance to the king.<sup>2309</sup>

In this year Izz al-Dawla, governor of the fortress of Agel, died and was succeeded by his son Asad al-Din. Conflict, however, arose between him and his uncle, the lord of Amid, and both of them took farmers captive and sold them as slaves.

...and the region. (The eunuch Amin al-Din, governor of Mardin) usurped our church of Mardin and gave it to the Tayoye (Muslims) who added it to their mosque, a thing that broke our hearts. Some of our people impudently profaned the saints instead of blaming themselves or us because God had forsaken us for our sins and permitted the nations to strike us with this just blow for our sins. Therefore, and with utmost truth, the saints say to us that, "God's name is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you. Woe to that servant whose master is disdained because of him."<sup>2310</sup> On the next day, that eunuch fell off his beast. He repented and wanted to return the church (of the Christians) but was afraid of the Tayoye (Muslims).

In the year in which the metropolitan of Samosata died, Joseph, who was set up as bishop of Tell Arsanius without being worthy, also died. The faithful heaved a sigh of relief because they did not trust him.  
*End of the narrative.*

### **Chapter Three: On the death of the sultan of Mosul and the caliph of Baghdad, and on Nur al-Din going down to Mosul, and the plundering of St. Matthew's Monastery, and the convening of the council of Mor Hananya Monastery**

In August of the year 1482 (A.D. 1171), Qutb al-Din, lord of Mosul and all of Athor, died.<sup>2311</sup> His brother (Nur al-Din), who was lord of Aleppo, gathered troops at once and seized Nisibin without war. The Tayoye (Muslim) jurists rejoiced because he honored them abundantly. Like them, he observed the rules of the law (Shari'a). He drank no wine and never neglected the time of prayer. The Muslims considered him a prophet. As much as he was magnanimous to the Tayoye (Muslims), he oppressed the Christians. He ordered that any new building of a church or monastery should be demolished. They (Muslims) demolished the foundation of the Great Church of Mor Jacob in Nisibin, which the Nestorians had usurped since the time of Barsoum, the heretic.<sup>2312</sup> They plundered its vessels and thousands of its books. They did the same to many other places. Nur al-Din appointed a relative jurist named Ibn 'Asrun as a judge and sent him to travel around and destroy any renovation of the churches built since the time of his father and his brother, in order to win God's favor. However, wherever the callous 'Asrun went, the people bribed him, and he swore that the renovation they did was old. When he was not offered a bribe that blinds the eyes, he went ahead destroying and ravaging. When Nur al-Din heard of his actions, he dismissed him.<sup>2313</sup>

Then Nur al-Din moved from Nisibin to Sinjar and captured it without resistance. In December of the same year 1482 (A.D. 1171), he besieged Mosul.

In that year the (Abbasid) Caliph al-Mustanjid (1160-1170) died and was succeeded by his son al-Mustad'i (1170-1180), who mitigated Nur al-Din's hatred of the Christians for reasons which shall be explained in the tables of years.

<sup>2308</sup> Malih was son of the Armenian Leo 1, Roupenid lord of Cilicia, 1173-1175.

<sup>2309</sup> On Malih, see Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1: 566-589; and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 169; Nicolas Iorga, *L'Arménie Cilicienne* (Paris, 1930), 98; K. I. Astarjian, *Tarikh al-Umma al-Armaniyya* (Mosul, 1951), 214-215; William of Tyre, *History*, 2:386-387; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 292, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 682-684.

<sup>2310</sup> Romans 2:24; Isaiah 52:5 and Ezekiel 36:22. For the second verse Cf. Isaiah 45:9.

<sup>2311</sup> Qutb al-Din is brother of Nur al-Din Zangi, atabeg of Mosul, 1149-1170.

<sup>2312</sup> Barsoum of Nisibin, a champion of Nestorianism, died toward the end of the fifth century.

<sup>2313</sup> For the career of Nur al-Din, his warfares and inveterate hatred of the Christians, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 681-691 and the many different sources used.

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