

Aṛak‘el of Tabriz

Book of History

(Aṛak‘el Dawrizhets‘i, Girk‘ patmut‘eants‘)

Introduction and Annotated Translation
from Critical Text
by

George A. Bournoutian

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To my classmates and friends at UCLA (1969-1976)

ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστὶ φίλος, ἔφη, “μία ψυχὴ δύο σώμασιν ἐνοικούσα.”

Diogenes Laertius

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Abbreviated Titles

- A:** *Girk' patmut'eants' sharadreal Vardapetin Arak'el Dawrēzhets'woy*, Amsterdam, 1669.
- B:** *Girk' patmut'eants'*, Matenadaran Archives, MS 1772 (1666).
- C:** *Girk' patmut'eants'*, Matenadaran Archives, MS 1773 (1663).
- D:** *Girk' patmut'eants'*, Vienna Mekhitarist Library, MS 137 (old number 83, 1665), written in Erevan by the priest Awetis, under the supervision of Arak'el, microfilm no. 678 at the Matenadaran.
- E:** *Girk' patmut'eants'*, Matenadaran Archives, MS 7296 (1666).
- F:** *Patmut'iwn Arak'el Vardapeti Dawrīzhets'woy*, Vagharshapat, 1896.
- AA:** Eskandar Beg Monshi, *History of Shah 'Abbas the Great*, 2 vols. Trans. R. Savory (Boulder, 1978).
- BID:** Bidlisi, Sharaf-khan ibn Shamsaddin, *Sharaf-name*, vol. II (Moscow, 1976).
- BIR:** Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Biruni, *Kitab al-jamahir fi ma'rifat al-jawahir* (Beirut, 1978).
- CHI:** *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vols. V-VI (Cambridge, 1968, 1986).
- ERZ:** "The Chronicle of Amiras Erznkats'i," Matenadaran Archives, MS 10200.
- GD:** Grigor Daranaghts'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn Grigori Vardapet Kamakhets'woy kam Daranaghets'woy* (Jerusalem, 1915).
- HP:** H. D. P'ap'azyan, *Matenadarani Parskeren Vaveragrērê*, vol. II (Erevan, 1959).
- JER:** MS 3701 at the Library of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

- KG:** Kirakos Gandzakets‘i, *Patmut‘iwn hayots‘* (Erevan, 1961).
- KH:** L. A. Khanlarian (Khanlaryan), ed./trans. Arakel Davrizhetsi, *Kniga istorii* (Moscow, 1973).
- KHcr:** L. A. Khanlaryan, ed. Arak‘el Dawrizhetsi, *Girk‘ Patmut‘eants‘* (Erevan, 1990).
- MB:** M. Brosset, “Livres d‘histoires composé par le vartabied Arakel de Tauriz,” in *Collection d‘historiens arméniens*, vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1874).
- MU:** Matt‘ēos Urhayets‘i, *Zhamanakagrut‘iwn* (Vagharshapat, 1898).
- MZH:** V. Hakobyan, ed. *Manr zhamanakagrut‘yunner, 13-18rd dd.* 2 vols. (Erevan, 1951, 1956).
- PAT:** K. Patkanov, *Dragotsennye kamni, ikh nazvaniia i svoistva po poniatiiam armian v XVII v.* (St. Petersburg, 1873).
- SA:** Samuēl Anets‘i, *Hawak‘munk‘ i grots‘ patmagrats‘* (Vagharshapat, 1893).
- SP:** G. Bournoutian, trans. *The Travel Accounts of Simēon of Poland* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 2007).
- SUR:** A. Syurmeyan, *Patmut‘iwn Halēbi hayots‘* (Paris, 1950).
- TER:** H. Tēr-Ghewondean, “Bararan Gohar-K‘areru,” *Pazmaveb* CLV-CLVII (1997-1999).
- TM:** T‘ovma Metsop‘ets‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Lank-T‘amuray* (Paris, 1860).
- VA:** Vardan Arewelts‘i, *Hawak‘umn patmut‘ean* (Moscow, 1861).
- VB:** Vakhushti Bagrationi, *Istoriia Tsarstva Gruzinskogo* (Tbilisi, 1976).
- ZK:** G. Bournoutian, trans. *The Chronicle of Zak‘aria of K‘anak‘er* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 2004).

Transliteration, Dating, and Place Names

Armenian, Arabic, Persian and Turkish terms, with minor deviations, are transliterated according to the Library of Congress tables. However, commonly used terms, place names, and anglicized forms are not transliterated (e.g. agha, khan, mirza, pasha, shah, sheikh, sultan, vizier, *Kizilbash*, Erevan, Sevan, Dvin, Nakhichevan, Erevan, Ganje, Isfahan, Tiflis, Shirvan, Shamakhi, Mustafa, Abdullah, Ibrahim, Qajars, Safavids, etc.). The Persian spelling of Agha, Aḥmad, Ḥasan, Hosein, Moḥammad, Soleimān, Amīr and Beg are used when referring to Persian rulers or officials; while Aḡa, Muhammad, Ahmed, Hasan, Husein, Mehmed, Süleyman, Emir and Bek are the preferred spelling for Ottoman rulers and officials.

The Armenian Church calendar used by Aṙak'el reckoned the year from the autumnal equinox of the year 552. It is, therefore, 551 years behind that of the West. In addition, during this period, the Armenians followed the Julian calendar, which in the seventeenth century was ten days behind that of the Gregorian calendar. Moreover, since the Armenian New Year moved between September 20 and December 20, it is difficult to determine the exact day that the old year expired and the New Year began. Thus, unless Aṙak'el included the exact date of an event, the year could be either 550 or 551 years behind that of the West. Brosset, in his translation, has sometimes included the day each year changed; for example, the year 892 began on Saturday, November 30. Although Aṙak'el does not mention a specific day for that particular event, Brosset has it as having occurred in the year 1442 instead of 1443. To simplify matters, I have just added 551 to the Armenian year mentioned in the text. The Persians and the Ottomans used the Muslim lunar calendar (354 days beginning in AD 622).

Aṙak'el does not always follow a uniform spelling for proper and place names. Correct spellings and current place names, when known, are placed in parentheses when they first appear and are then, for the most part, used throughout the text in their corrected versions. I have cross-referenced them in the index to assist the reader. Foreign terms are explained in the footnotes and generally appear unchanged in the text. A glossary of all such terms is provided, however, to assist the reader.

Translator's Introduction

Between the late fourteenth and the start of the sixteenth century, historic Armenia was ravaged by the dynastic struggle among various Muslim dynasties, the invasions of Timur, and the wars between the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu. As a result, original historical and literary works were few and far between. With the exception of T'ovma Metsop'ets'i (1376/9-1447), who wrote his *History of Timur*¹ in the fifteenth century, Armenian scholars, almost all of them clerics, spent their time copying earlier works in various monasteries and writing valuable colophons about the socio-economic conditions in their respective regions and eras.² The devastation of monasteries wrought by successive invasions threatened the libraries of these hermitages; preserving history, therefore, was a higher priority than chronicling current events.

The emergence of the theocratic Safavid Shi'i state in Persia, at the start of the sixteenth century, challenged the religious and political leadership of the Sunni Ottomans, who saw themselves and were viewed by most Muslims as the caliphs. The spread of Safavid ideology into the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire [western Armenia] and the capture of Baghdad in 1508 did not meet much resistance. The sons of Sultan Bayazid II feuded over succession, and Twelver Shi'i propaganda found many adherents among the Turkmen living in historic Armenia. However, the Ottomans could not ignore the threat of being attacked from Mesopotamia or Armenia for long. After prevailing over his brothers, the new sultan, Selim I, therefore, decided to challenge the leader of the Persian Shi'ites, Shah Ismā'īl I, who called Imam 'Alī a manifestation of God and himself a descendant of 'Alī and Fatima.

The battle of Chaldiran on August 23, 1514 witnessed the total defeat of the Persian forces. Two weeks later, Selim took Tabriz, the capital of Ismā'īl, but had to withdraw a week later, when his officers refused to winter in Tabriz.

The next Safavid Shah, Tahmāsp I, had to face the great Ottoman sultan, Süleyman II, who began a new campaign against Persia in

¹ T'ovma Metsop'ets'i, *Patmut'iwn Lank-T'amuray* (Paris, 1860).

² Many of these colophons have been edited and published. See L. Kha-ch'ikyan, *XIV dari hayeren dzeragreri hishatakaranner* (Erevan, 1950); and his *XV dari hayeren dzeragreri hishatakaranner*, 3 vols. (Erevan, 1955-1967).

1534, occupied Tabriz and recaptured Baghdad. Once again, the Ottoman withdrawal allowed the Safavids to retake much of the lost territory. In 1548, Süleyman, encouraged by the defection of Ṭahmāsp's brother, Alqāṣ Mirza, attacked once again, captured Tabriz, but could not stay long in the region. Following his withdrawal to Aleppo, Ṭahmāsp laid waste to the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

The vulnerable position of Tabriz forced Ṭahmāsp to move his capital to Qazvin in 1548. This move could not have been timelier, for, in 1554, Süleyman began his third war with Persia. This time, the Ottomans reached the Arax River in Karabagh, that is, they captured most of eastern Armenia. After much looting, the Turks withdrew to Erzurum and an armistice was negotiated. The peace of Amasya (May 29, 1555) brought more than two decades of peace.

Meanwhile, Ṭahmāsp gave refuge to the Moghul Emperor Babur's successor, Humayun, and helped him to return to his domain. The shah also invaded Georgia four times and placed David, the brother of King Simon I, and a convert to Islam, as his *vali* (viceroy) in Tiflis.

The reign of the incompetent Shah Mohammad Khodābandeh (1578-1587) encouraged the Ottomans to start a new war. The Ottoman commander, Lala Pasha, captured Erevan, Tabriz, Shirvan, Karabagh, Ganja, as well as parts of Georgia, Kurdistan, Khuzistan and Luristan.

The new shah, 'Abbās I, (1587-1629), accepted the losses and negotiated the peace of Istanbul (March 21, 1590). He moved the capital to Isfahan and then began to form new military units (*qullār*, *ḡulam*, *ghulām-e khāṣṣ-ye shārīf*) composed of Christian converts, mostly Georgians, Circassians and Armenians, whose parents were prisoners of war who had settled in Persia. Their first commander (*qullār-āqāsī*) was Allahvardi Khan. In addition, the shah increased the corps of musketeers (*tofangchī*), to include Persians, Arabs and Turkmen, in addition to Christian converts. Finally he formed an artillery corps (*tūpchī*). After defeating the Uzbeks and retaking Khorasan and Herat, the shah recaptured Qandahar from the Moghul emperor Akbar.

In 1603, Shah 'Abbās, taking advantage of the *Celali*¹ revolts, began a war against the Ottomans and by 1604 had recaptured Azar-

¹ See Chapter 7.

baijan¹ and eastern Armenia and had restored much of the Persian territory that was lost in the previous century. Learning of the approach of the Ottoman army, under the command of Sinan Pasha, the shah drove the Armenian population from the war-zone into the interior of Persia. The shah depopulated numerous districts and settlements, including Nakhichevan, Eghegnadzor, Gegham, Lori, Nig, Kars, Kağizman, Alashkert, Maku, Aghbak, Salmas, Khoy, Urmiye, Erevan, Plain of Ararat, Tsaghkunadzor, Kotayk', Erzurum, Manzikert, Basen, Khnus and Van. He resettled the Armenians in Ardabil, Ahar, Qazvin, Hamadan, Shiraz, Golpayegan, Kerman, Isfahan, Khunsar, P'eria and other districts of Persia.²

Although a peace agreement was drawn up in 1612, the Ottomans tried to regain their losses and continued hostilities (1615-1618) without any success. The death of Shah 'Abbās and the young age of his successor, Shah Ṣafī (1629-1642), encouraged Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640) to start a new war. Erevan was taken on August 8, 1635, but was retaken on April 1, 1636, after a six-month siege. Baghdad fell to the Ottomans on December 25, 1638. Finally tired of constant warfare, both sides entered into serious peace negotiations, which resulted in the peace of Zohab of May 17, 1639, ratified in Constantinople in September of that year.³ The peace lasted until the first quarter of the eighteenth century, which enabled eastern Armenia to rebuild its economic and social infrastructure.

The reign of Shah 'Abbās II (1642-1666) witnessed the consolidation of the royal power and the increase of royal estates. His magnanimity towards the Christians (especially those who had recently converted to Islam) enabled them to obtain high offices. Georgia remained a trouble spot until the shah installed a convert, Shahnavaz, to pacify the region. In order to stop Russian or Ottoman incursions into Daghestan, the Persians quelled any revolts on the part of the khans there. Finally, the reign of Shah 'Abbās II witnessed the major activities of the European trading companies and Catholic missionaries in Persia.

¹ Text reads At'rpatakan. All references to Azerbaijan refer to the Persian province of Āzarbāijān, located south of the Arax River. The current republic of Azerbaijan was created in the 20th century by combining the territories of the former khanates of Transcaucasia. See page 39, note 4.

² See Chapters 4-5. Their descendants continue to live in parts of Iran to this day.

³ For more details on the Safavids and the Perso-Ottoman wars, see *CHI*, VI, 189-350.

Thus, it is only in the seventeenth century, especially after the conclusion of the peace of Zohab, that historic Armenia finally experienced a long period of calm and Armenian chroniclers once again began to write original works. Among them are: Zak'aria of Agulis (1630-ca.1691),¹ Deacon Zak'aria of K'anak'er (1627-ca.1699),² Grigor Daranaghts'i (also known as Kamakhets'i, 1576-1643),³ Simēon Lehats'i (ca. 1584-?),⁴ and Aṛak'el of Tabriz (d.1670). The most honored place among this group of historians belongs to Aṛak'el of Tabriz, whom the great twentieth-century Armenian historian, Leo, called "a star of the first magnitude."⁵ In fact, all future Armenian and non-Armenian historians have cited Aṛak'el's *Book of History* in their respective works.

The biographical information about Aṛak'el is scant. The exact date of his birth is unknown. Scholars assume that he was born in the last decade of the sixteenth century. He himself writes that he started the task of writing the *Book of History* not in the years of youthful vigor, but when was already old, very ill, with poor eyesight and trembling hands.⁶ Since he died in 1670, it is safe to conclude that he was then about eighty years old. His name, Arak'el of Tabriz, indicates that he was born in the Persian city of Tabriz, in the province of Azarbaijān. He spent most of his life in the Holy See of Ējmiatsin,⁷ where, according to him, he was reared and educated. He became a pupil of Kat'oghikos⁸ P'ilippos (1634-1655) and received the rank of

¹ G. Bournoutian, trans. *The Journal of Zak'aria of Agulis* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 2003).

² G. Bournoutian, trans. *The Chronicle of Deacon Zak'aria of K'anak'er* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 2004), abbreviated as *ZK*.

³ Grigor Daranaghts'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn Grigori Vardapet Kamakhets'woy kam Daranaghets'woy* (Jerusalem, 1915), abbreviated as *GD*.

⁴ G. Bournoutian, trans. *The Travel Accounts of Simēon of Poland* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 2007), abbreviated as *SP*.

⁵ Leo, *Hayots' patmut'yun*, III (Erevan, 1947), 362.

⁶ See Chapter 58.

⁷ The seat and residence of the Supreme Patriarch of All Armenians, Ējmiatsin, also spelled Etchmiadzin, (located some 15 miles southwest of Erevan), once again became the Holy See after 1441 and remains so to this day.

⁸ The Supreme Patriarch of the Armenian Church is called *kat'oghikos* (also spelled *catholicos*).

*vardapet*¹ sometime before 1636. Thanks to Deacon Zak'aria of K'anak'er, we know that Aṙak'el was, for one year (1636), the abbot of the famed Hovhannavank' monastery, from where he returned to Ējmiatsin.² P'ilippos also sent him on various missions as the *nuirak*³ of Ējmiatsin. It was during his travels that he must have gathered some of the information for his *Book of History*. Aṙak'el visited numerous Armenian communities, including those in Amasya, Sebastia, Urfa, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Athens, and Isfahan. He examined colophons, gathered stories, and observed life in the towns and villages of eastern and western Armenia.

Upon approaching the age of sixty, Aṙak'el hoped to spend his later years in peaceful contemplation. His wish was interrupted when his mentor, Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, asked him to record the decline of the Holy See, the collapse of the religious and economic life in eastern Armenia, and the contemporary situation of the Armenian communities in Persia, Ottoman Empire, and Europe. Aṙak'el declined for a long time, for he knew the difficulties of writing about such complicated events. He sent messages begging that the Supreme Patriarch find someone else for the task. Finally, in 1651, the kat'oghikos gave a "strict order" and Aṙak'el was forced to begin his *Book of History*, a good part of which he wrote prior to P'ilippos' death.

Following the death of P'ilippos, Aṙak'el halted his work and resumed it three years later, when Kat'oghikos Hakob of Julfa (1655-1680), who also saw the need for such a work, summoned Aṙak'el and reminded him of his duty. Aṙak'el resumed the writing of his *Book of History* in 1658 and completed it in 1662. He thus spent a total of nine years working on what many consider the most important primary source on the history of the Armenian people and the Armenian Church during the seventeenth century.

Aṙak'el died in 1670 in Ējmiatsin and was buried, according to his wishes, in the cemetery of the brotherhood at the monastery of Ējmiatsin.

¹ A *vardapet* is a celibate priest of the Armenian Church; one who has completed his theological studies (in modern times it refers to one who has written a thesis on a theological subject approved by his superiors). He is a member of the Church hierarchy and participates in the election of bishops and kat'oghikoi.

² ZK, 298.

³ *Nuirak vardapets* were nuncios sent from Ējmiatsin to the Armenian communities all over the world to collect gifts and dues for the Holy See.

Aṛak'el was one of the first Armenian historians in the modern sense of the term. Unlike his predecessors, Aṛak'el did not include the entire sweep of Armenian history, but focused his efforts on describing a 60-year period (1602-1662), beginning with Shah 'Abbās' deportation of thousands of Armenians to Persia, and the decline of the Holy See of Ējmiatsin. He describes the terrible invasions, which not only destroyed churches and monasteries, but also contributed to the decline of learning among the clergy. In addition, he blames a number of kat'oghikoi for the absence of discipline among the higher clergy and the deterioration of religious rules. Aṛak'el, however, witnessed the revival of the Church under the leadership of Kat'oghikoi Movsēs and P'ilippos. He devotes an entire chapter to the restoration of the Cathedral of Ējmiatsin by Kat'oghikos Movsēs,¹ and another chapter to the restoration of the great churches of St. Hrip'simē and St. Gayanē by Kat'oghikos P'ilippos.² In addition, Aṛak'el is the main source on the revival of learning among Armenian *vardapets* and the establishment of new centers of learning in Amrdolu and the Grand Hermitage in Siwnik' by *Vardapets* Barsegh, Pōghos, Sargis and Kirakos.³ He describes the life of other learned *vardapets*, such as Simēon Jughayets'i, Step'anos Lehats'i and Melk'isēt' of Vzhan.⁴ The religious fervor among the Armenians is demonstrated by the martyrdom of an Armenian *k'ahana* Andreas in Nakhichevan⁵ and the martyrdom of a number of lay Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, who preferred to die rather than renounce their faith.⁶

Aṛak'el notes that a historian must construct his history on a chronological foundation. He adds that he made every effort to attach a date to each particular event.⁷ He checked and confirmed most of his facts, sought eyewitnesses, and is considered a reliable source by other historians, both in his period and later.⁸ His chronicle not

¹ See Chapter 24.

² See Chapter 25.

³ See Chapters 21-23 and 29.

⁴ See Chapter 29.

⁵ See Chapter 27.

⁶ See Chapters 44-48.

⁷ See page 30 in the text.

⁸ Zak'aria of K'anak'er repeatedly refers to Aṛak'el's work and states that during the one year that Aṛak'el was the abbot of the Hovhannavank' monastery (1636), Zak'aria asked him many questions having to do with the history of the region, *ZK*, 298. Petrushevskii considers him a primary

only describes events in parts of historic Armenia, but also has significant information on the reigns of Shah 'Abbās the Great, Shah Šaftī and Shah 'Abbās II. There are also some interesting chapters on the history of the Ottoman Empire and Georgia.

Since Aṛak'el was, after all, a *vardapet*, his work, not surprisingly, contains accounts of miracles that demonstrate the power of Christianity over Islam. It is also important to add that all the calamities faced by the Armenians are described as a penance for their sins. In addition, prior to each crisis, such as a death of a king or a revolt, Aṛak'el observes the occurrence of some unusual natural event, such as an eclipse or an earthquake.

The amount of material in Aṛak'el's *Book of History*¹ is staggering indeed. His information on the Armenian Church, the establishment of important monastic schools, the list of *vardapets*, the biographies and martyrdom of various Armenian clerics, the list of the Ottoman and Safavid monarchs, the names and properties of gemstones, the various earthquakes and eclipses, and the other material discussed separately below, make his work, albeit disjointed,² one of the most valuable historical sources in any language on the region in the seventeenth century.

As noted, Aṛak'el gathered his material from many sources, oral and written. However, he acknowledges that certain chapters are the work of separate individuals and are included because of their historical importance or for the general interest of the reader. Aṛak'el also included these, not to display his great knowledge, but to save them for posterity. Undoubtedly, the Perso-Ottoman wars and the destruction of Armenian monasteries and libraries, to which he refers repeatedly, must have been still fresh in his mind.³

source on the socioeconomic history of Armenia, Persia and the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the seventeenth century, I. P. Petrushevskii, *Ocherki po istorii feodalnykh otnoshenii v Azerbaidzhane i Armenii v XVI-nachale XIX vv.* (Leningrad, 1949), 48-50.

¹ Some sources refer to it as *The Book of Histories*.

² Aṛak'el uses different forms of historiography: collection of oral accounts about individual incidents; various narratives about a city or a region; books on gemology; and traditional annalistic accounts of rulers and *kat'oghikoi* in chronological order.

³ Fortunately future conflicts, which took place in the region from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, did not damage Ējmiatsin's library and archives and they were eventually transferred to the safety of the Matenadaran Archives in Erevan.

For example, the information on the fire that burned parts of Constantinople in 1660 was sent to Ējmiatsin by *Vardapet* Step'anos of Meghri, who lived in Constantinople and was an eyewitness to the catastrophe.¹ The first part of the information on the names and attributes of gemstones was supplied by *k'ahana* Sargis of Aleppo. According to Aṛak'el, part two came from an old original work, possibly the well-known book on gems by al-Biruni.² The history of the land of Aghuank' was composed by *Vardapet* Hovhannēs Tsarets'i.³

The information on Sabbatai's messianic movement (see below) must have been sent to Ējmiatsin by an Armenian cleric in Constantinople or Smyrna.⁴ The list of the various *vardapets* belonging to monasteries outside Ējmiatsin was compiled by *Vardapet* Karapet Baghishets'i.⁵ Finally, information from a dozen chronicles and chronologies are used for the lengthy untitled chapter on important dates in Armenian history.⁶

Aṛak'el's *Book of History* is a primary source on the succession of the Armenian kat'oghikoi, beginning with St. Nersēs Shnorhali (1166-1173) and ending with Hakob of Julfa (1655-1680), the kat'oghikos who persuaded Aṛak'el to finish his work and who was instrumental in its printing. Aṛak'el correctly observes that, although the succession of the first sixty-three kat'oghikoi was known to all, the names of those who came after St. Nersēs had not appeared anywhere together at the time of the writing of the work.⁷ In fact, Aṛak'el devotes an entire chapter to this important chronology.⁸ He adds that he gathered the information from earlier chronicles, cartularies of various monasteries, and colophons in manuscripts written during the reign of the various kat'oghikoi. Later historians, such as Mikayēl Ch'amch'ean⁹ and Maghakia Ormanean¹⁰ relied heavily on Aṛak'el's chronology for their own works.

¹ See Chapter 50.

² See Chapters 53-54.

³ See Chapter 55.

⁴ See Chapter 57.

⁵ See Chapter 32.

⁶ See Chapter 56.

⁷ See Chapter 31.

⁸ See Chapter 31.

⁹ M. Ch'amch'ean, *Patmut'iwn hayots'*, vols. II-III (Venice, 1785-1786).

¹⁰ M. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, vols. I-III (Constantinople and Jerusalem, 1913-1927).

The most interesting part of Aṙak'el's chronology is the order of succession of the kat'oghikoi—after the return of the Holy See to Ējmiatsin—from Kirakos of Khor Virap (elected 1441) to Hakob of Julfa (elected 1655). This period witnessed the practice of appointing coadjutors or co-kat'oghikoi. Krikor Maksoudian, in his study on the election of the kat'oghikoi, devotes an entire section to this rather confusing period.¹ According to Maksoudian, the view of both Ch'amch'ean and Ormanean that the co-kat'oghikoi were chosen by the incumbent and ordained in advance as successors is “a simple way of explaining a complex situation.”² Some of these co-kat'oghikoi, after consecration, became anti-kat'oghikoi; yet others were usurpers, who through bribery or other means received recognition.³ In his list, Aṙak'el includes all the co-kat'oghikoi, but adds that he could “not discern who came first and who came later; who was the absolute ruler and who was the subordinate or silent [kat'oghikos].”⁴

As noted before, Armenia, from the mid-fifteenth century until the third decade of the seventeenth century, was a battleground between various dynasties and tribal confederations. During this chaotic period the authority of the kat'oghikoi was, at times, usurped by ambitious clerics, some of who not only ended up as co-kat'oghikoi, but acted as the *de facto* heads of the Armenian Church as well. Aṙak'el describes two such occurrences: one in the late fifteenth and the other in the early seventeenth century. The first involves the kat'oghikos of Aght'amar, Zak'aria, and the second describes the struggle between Kat'oghikos Dawit' IV and his coadjutors, Melk'isēt' and Srap'ion.⁵

Such scandals must have prompted the Armenian leaders to finally end the chaotic conditions at the Holy See. Aṙak'el's work clearly indicates that the next Kat'oghikos, Movsēs, was elected by a large number of clergy and Armenian notables from Julfa, led by

¹ K. Maksoudian, *Chosen of God: The Election of the Catholicos of All Armenians From the Fourth Century to the Present* (New York, 1995), 76-81.

² *Ibid.*, 76.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See page 339 in the text. See also Appendix.

⁵ See Chapters 1-3.

Khoja Nazar. Movsēs did not appoint a coadjutor and, after his death, the practice was abandoned altogether.¹

Aṛak'el devotes two chapters to the Jewish communities living in the Persian and Ottoman empires. The first deals with the Jews of Isfahan and other cities of Persia.² The second chapter is far more important. It concerns the messianic movement of Sabbatai Ṣevi, which manifested fully in 1666, and appears in an addendum attached by Aṛak'el, at a later time to the manuscript copied in 1663.³ Aṛak'el's material is a rare Armenian source on this very significant event in Jewish history.

One of the most important and lengthiest chapters in Aṛak'el's *Book of History* is a chronology of significant events which occurred in Armenia from AD 561 to 1668.⁴ Aṛak'el himself informs the reader that he compiled the chronology from various histories, chronicles, colophons, and other chronologies. He gathered his information from manuscripts and colophons at Ējmiatsin and various other monasteries in Armenia, Ottoman Empire and Persia. Aṛak'el, however, adds significant dates and events which had occurred in his own lifetime, and which appear in the earlier chapters of his *Book of History*.⁵ In addition to a dozen minor chronologies, Aṛak'el utilized the work of the few Armenian historians who had lived during the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, as well as two other important

¹ See Chapter 20. It is important to note that the election process was not always smooth, later on. The Armenians of the Ottoman Empire opposed the election of Hakob of Julfa. In 1664 they consecrated Patriarch Eghiazar of Jerusalem as a rival kat'oghikos. To end the schism, the bishops at Ējmiatsin elected Eghiazar in 1682 as the Kat'oghikos two years following the death of Hakob; Ormanean, II, 1808. Another conflict occurred when Kat'oghikos Dawit' V of Enēgēt', with the approval of the Persians, imprisoned Kat'oghikos Daniēl of Surmaṛi (1807-1808) and usurped the Holy See from 1801 to 1807; see G. Bournoutian, *The Khanate of Erevan under Qajar Rule, 1795-1828* (New York, 1992), 75-78, and Bournoutian, *Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 1998), 514-515.

² See Chapter 34.

³ See Chapter 57.

⁴ See Chapter 56. The chronology originally ended in the year 1662, but was later extended to the year 1668.

⁵ Aṛak'el rarely indicates the various sources of his detailed chronology. Khanlaryan had to search the numerous chronicles and chronologies, which, fortunately, were included in the two volumes edited by Vazgen Hakobyan, *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner, XIII-XVIII dd.* 2 vols. (Erevan, 1951, 1956), abbreviated as *MZH*.

manuscripts of the period, one presently at the Matenadaran Archives, the other at the library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem.¹

Aṙak'el is the main Armenian source on the *Celali* rebellions. His work is used by the Russian historian Tveritina² and by the Armenian historian Zulalyan in their respective works on the *Celalis*.³ The *Celali* uprisings, which occurred after the death of Süleyman II (1520-1566), are considered one of the earliest signs of the decline of the Ottoman Empire. In order to understand the revolt one has to understand the Ottoman military system.⁴ After the capture of Adrianople in 1361, Sultan Murad I (1360-1389) created a standing army made up of Christian prisoners of war. This corps was named the "new troops" (*yeniçeri*) and was the beginning of the famed Janissary Corps. They were given firearms, served as the private army of the sultans and were referred to as *ğul* (from the Arabic *ghulam*) or "slaves." The terms *yeniçeri* and *ğul* became synonymous. They were commanded by *ğullar-ağasis* or *yeniçer-ağasis*. The original cavalry (*sipahi*), who held small military fiefs, known as *timar*, and who continued to use the bow and arrow, sword and shield, and which regarded itself as the true military class, considered the use of firearms unbecoming to their sense of chivalry. Faced with European units armed with firearms, the sultans soon began to increase the number of Janissaries by instituting the *devşirme* system; that is, the forcible collection of Christian youth. By the fifteenth century there were 16,000 Janissaries; at the start of the seventeenth century, their number had increased to 37,000. Meanwhile the number of the *sipahis* declined from 87,000 to 8,000. In the seventeenth century, so many native Turks were enrolled in the Janissaries that the *devşirme* system more or less died out. In addition, salaried troops, called *sarıca* (irregular militia) and *sıkban* (musketeer infantry), were recruited from the landless Turkish peasants, and taught the use of firearms. Provincial governors began to use them as their personal

¹ MS 10200 [abbreviated as *ERZ*] and MS 3701 [abbreviated as *JER*].

² A. S. Tveritina, *Vosstanie Kara-laydzhi-Deli Khasana v Turtsii* (Moscow, 1946).

³ M. G. Zulalyan, *Jalalineri sharzhumê ew Hay zhoghovrdi vichakê Osmanyan kaysrut'yan mej, 16-17-rd darer* (Erevan, 1966).

⁴ The following information is derived from H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600* (London, 1973), 41-52 and "Devshirme," *EI* (New Edition), II, 210-213.

retinues. The *sipahi* and the *yaya* (foot soldiers) were then either disbanded or assigned to building roads and fortifications. Unlike the *sipahis*, who held fiefs, the Janissaries received monthly wages, while the *sarıca* and *sıkban* collected daily wages. In order to pay these troops, the government decided to rescind most of the *timar* grants of their *sipahi* holders. However, some of these were granted to palace or government officials instead, while others were converted to *waqfs* (charitable trust). By the mid-sixteenth century, the treasury faced a permanent deficit and resorted to debasing the coin of the realm in order to meet the financial needs of the state.

Meanwhile, the arrival of Mexican silver caused great inflation in the Ottoman Empire. The abundance of Spanish *reals* made the Ottoman *akçe* and *kuruş* worthless. Interest rates soared and counterfeit coins appeared. The remaining *sipahis* abandoned their fiefs and refused to go on campaigns. The Janissaries and militias mutinied. To remedy this, the government permitted local governors to raise local taxes in order to pay the *sıkban* and *sarıca* units. As a result, military commanders began to operate independently and plundered the countryside. Furthermore, when the state was unable to pay troops or discharged them from service, bands of them would roam the countryside, collecting provisions and money. *Sipahis* who had lost their fiefs also joined these brigands.

The Ottoman government called these brigands *Celalis* (rebels against the state). In order to stop the chaos, the state at first allowed the people to form their own militias, but the economic conditions were so bad that most of these militias joined the *Celalis* as well. By the end of the sixteenth century, the rebels, under the leadership of Kara Yazıcı, numbered 20,000 in central Asia Minor and threatened Constantinople. The government finally had to dispatch a large army that defeated Kara Yazıcı in 1602. Bands of *Celalis* continued, however, to wreak havoc in the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire, that is, historic Armenia, until 1610, when Canbulat-oğlu, the leader of the *Celalis* in the east, was defeated and many of his brigands were slaughtered.

The Janissaries were now stationed in the provinces, in both large and small towns. As their numbers increased, they allied with the mullahs, the guilds and the merchants, and became one of the most influential classes in the provinces. The new privileges of the Janissaries angered the *sarıcas* and the *sıkban*s, who had lost their power. Some joined the ranks of the Janissaries; others gathered around rebellious leaders and attacked the Janissaries. One such commander,

Abaza Pasha, controlled all of the eastern provinces from 1623 to 1628.¹

Aṛak'el devotes a large part of his *Book of History* to Shah 'Abbās' campaign against the Ottomans in Tabriz, Erevan, Nakhichevan, Ganja and Shamakhi (1603-1607) and his deportation of thousands of Armenians to Persia.² The main Persian source on this event claims that the shah's motive was to move the Armenians to safer areas where they would be protected from the Ottomans.³ Aṛak'el, however, states that although the Armenians were told that their move was temporary and was done for their protection, the shah had planned to deport the Christian population and to destroy the land of Armenia for a long time. The scorched earth policy was not only to stop the Ottomans, but also to discourage the Armenians from returning home.⁴

Aṛak'el totally contradicts the European accounts which portray the shah as a benevolent father to his people, especially the Armenians.⁵ He calls the shah "the destroyer of Armenia," "the haven of the devil," "the incarnation of Satan," "an insidious snake," "the wily and shrewd enemy of Christians," and "the new Shapur [II]."⁶ Aṛak'el states that the shah "turned the beneficent and fertile land of Armenia into an empty wilderness."⁷ Unlike the European travelers, Aṛak'el had visited the affected areas and states, "Today, I can still see the abandoned fertile lands, fields and meadows, the ruins of numerous villages and depopulated settlements."⁸

Aṛak'el interviewed people who were part of the deportations, and his account reads like an eyewitness. His description of the deportations of the Armenians to Persia (1604-1605), which he calls the great *sürgün* or exile, is more detailed than the Persian or Euro-

¹ Aṛak'el mentions Abaza, Kara Yazıcı and Canbulat-oğlu. See Chapter 7; also Chapters 51, 56.

² See Chapters 3-8.

³ The main Persian source available to most scholars is Eskandar Beg's *Tārīkh-e 'Ālamārā-ye 'Abbāsī*, abbreviated as AA in this translation, 859.

⁴ See Chapter 5.

⁵ For an excellent analysis, see E. M. Herzig, "The Deportation of the Armenians in 1604-1605 and Europe's myth of Shāh 'Abbās I," *Pembroke Papers*, 1 (Cambridge, 1990), 59-71.

⁶ Refers to the Sasanid ruler, Shapur II, who ravaged Armenia in the 4th century.

⁷ See page 68 in the text.

⁸ Ibid.

pean sources. According to Aṛak'el, the Armenians had to leave without any warning; some were killed or maimed to terrorize the rest. Many drowned while crossing the Arax River, for, as Aṛak'el states, there was no Moses to part the waters and save them from the second Pharaoh.¹ The main Persian source only mentions that many Erevani Armenians died from the cold in Tabriz.² According to Aṛak'el, the Armenians, like the Jews, "were driven to captivity by the second Babylonians."³

Much has been written about the wealthy Armenians of Julfa.⁴ The main Persian source states that the Armenian population of Julfa was moved to Isfahan in order to protect their lives and property. There they were allotted land along the banks of the Zayandeh-rud River, and houses with small gardens were built in what became New Julfa. The Armenians, exempt from extraordinary taxes and safe from attacks, soon forgot their former homes in [Old] Julfa.⁵ According to Aṛak'el, the population of the wealthy town of Julfa, although treated somewhat better, also suffered terribly during the deportations. Upon arrival in New Julfa, however, some Armenians prospered. The most noted among them was *Khoja* Nazar and his family, who was instrumental in saving Ējmiatsin from demolition, as well as in rescuing major relics of the Church and returning them to the Holy See.⁶ Although Aṛak'el, in a rare pronouncement, states that the shah was a friend of the Armenians, especially the Julfans,⁷ he is quick to credit this, however, not to the shah's kindness, but to his political acumen and as a way to keep the Armenians in Persia. He adds that the shah told his Muslim clerics, "Do not be angry over my fleeting and empty love toward them. Do not blame me, for I have brought them by force to our land. I have used much money, effort, and ploys, not for their benefit, but for ours."⁸

¹ See page 61 in the text.

² AA, 861.

³ See page 61 in the text.

⁴ V. A. Baiburtian [Bayburṭyan], *Armianskaia koloniia Novoi Dzhul'fy v XVII v.* (Erevan, 1969); V. Ghougassian, *The Emergence of the Armenian Diocese of New Julfa in the Seventeenth Century* (Atlanta, 1998); and Herzig's study cited below.

⁵ AA, 859-860.

⁶ See Chapter 17.

⁷ See page 75 in the text.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 76. In fact, the Armenian merchants of New Julfa were extremely beneficial for the economy of Safavid Persia in the 17th century. For

Aṛak'el also blames Shah 'Abbās for other misdeeds against the Armenians,¹ especially the bringing of the stones from the main altar of Ējmiatsin, as well as the right arm of St. Gregory the Illuminator to Isfahan. Years later, Aṛak'el saw these stones and counted them during his trip to Isfahan.²

Aṛak'el's comments on the Armenians in Persia during the reign of Shah 'Abbās II are contradictory. First, he states that Shah 'Abbās II did not concern himself with the Armenians and did not take care of them. The main goal of his officials was to convert the Armenians, by whatever means possible, to Islam.³ He devotes an entire chapter to the forcible removal of those Armenians who lived in the center of Isfahan, on the order of Shah 'Abbās II.⁴ Later on, however, he states that Shah 'Abbās II displayed great care toward the Armenian people.⁵

Aṛak'el devotes a lengthy chapter to the Armenian community in Lvov, Poland.⁶ He praises the Polish kings for their benevolent policies towards the Armenians.⁷ Although Aṛak'el blames Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' and Bishop Nikōlayos (Nikol), the Armenian prelate of Lvov, for the decline of the Armenian community of Poland, the Polish government's policy during the Counter-Reformation was also responsible for the decline.⁸ A closer reading of Aṛak'el's account indicates that Nikōlayos may have tried to placate the Jesuits in Poland, while also swearing allegiance to Ējmiatsin. Moreover,

a detailed account, see E. M. Herzig, "The Armenian Merchants of New Julfa, Isfahan: A Study in pre-modern Asian trade," Ph.D. Dissertation, St. Anthony's College, 1991.

¹ See Chapter 14.

² See Chapter 17. The right arm was later returned to Ējmiatsin, thanks to Kat'oghikos P'ilippos' pleas to Shah Šafī. See Chapter 25.

³ See Chapter 3.

⁴ See Chapter 33.

⁵ See page 546 in the text.

⁶ See Chapter 28.

⁷ The Armenians in the cities of Lvov and Kamenets-Podolsk were permitted to elect their own officials and judges, and operate their own courts. They used the late 13th-century law code of Mkhit'ar Gosh; see M. Olés, *The Armenian Law in the Polish Kingdom [1356-1519]* (Rome, 1966); V. Grigoryan, *Kamenets'-Podolsk k'aghak'i haykakan datarani ardzanagrut'yunnerê [xvi d.]*, (Erevan, 1963).

⁸ See A. Alt'unean, *Teghegrut'iwn hayots' kaght'akanut'ean ork' i Moldo-Valak'io, Hungaria ew i Lehastan* (Fokshan, 1877).

Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt's reprehensive behavior may have swayed the Polish Armenian leaders to eventually abandon their allegiance to Ējmiatsin.¹ Finally, the triumph of Catholicism was as a result of establishing a seminary in Lvov, which began to train Armenian Catholic priests. Since Armenian clerics from Ējmiatsin were now barred from Poland, the young Catholic priests replaced the elderly Armenian *k'ahana*. Armenians, who had started speaking Polish or Kipchak,² soon forgot their native speech. Aṛak'el's chapter ends in 1660; he could not predict the eventual demise of the Armenian community of Poland, which, by 1690, during the tenure of another prelate, named Vardan, officially severed its relations with Ējmiatsin and accepted the supremacy of the pope.³

Aṛak'el mentions the activities of Catholics as well. Missionaries of the Dominican order had come to Persia during the Il-Khanid period and had established a number of centers in northwestern Persia around 1300. Their preaching and pious life attracted some Armenian *vardapets*, and an Armenian Catholic community soon grew around the monastery of K'rna in the Ernjak valley of Nakhichevan. These Armenian Catholic priests eventually formed a branch of the Dominicans known as the *Fratres Unitores*. The Armenian Catholic order spread rapidly and an archdiocese was established in Nakhichevan.⁴

Shah 'Abbās' friendly diplomatic relations with Europe encouraged the arrival of numerous European envoys and merchants to Isfahan, as well as Carmelite, Augustinian, Capuchin and Dominican missionaries. The disorders in the Armenian Church, especially during Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt's period, emboldened some Catholic missionaries. Aṛak'el describes the removal of relics by Catholic priests.⁵ He also accuses the Greeks of trying to steal the relics of another Armenian saint.⁶ Aṛak'el, understandably, is extremely anti-

¹ See Chapters 16-19, 28.

² *SP*, 286.

³ See A. G. Abrahamyan, *Hamaṛod urvagits Hay gaght'avayreri patmut'yan* (Erevan, 1964), 197-233.

⁴ See A. Atamian, "The Archdiocese of Naxjewan in the Seventeenth Century," Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1984.

⁵ See Chapter 16.

⁶ See Chapter 36.

Catholic¹ and anti-Greek, and accuses the latter of observing Easter on the wrong week.²

Aṙak'el devotes four chapters to Georgia.³ His account of Shah 'Abbās' treatment of the Georgian kings does not differ greatly from that given by Georgian historians. Calling the shah malicious and perfidious, he blames him for the capture, imprisonment, or death of Georgian kings and princes.⁴ The Persian kings held Georgian princes as hostages at court, converted some of them, and placed them on the throne after the death of their father. Aṙak'el demonstrates that most of these co-called conversions were superficial and the princes renounced Islam when they returned home and rebelled against the Persians. Aṙak'el's work makes it clear that the Persians treated the Georgians far worse than the Armenians. Despite having a large number of Georgians in their armed units, the Persians never trusted the Georgians. The Persians, overall, trusted the Armenians more than any other minority. The Armenians had no military leaders or armed men, did not rebel, submitted, cooperated, and paid the heavy taxes imposed on them.

Aṙak'el's monumental *Book of History* ends just prior to the death of Shah 'Abbās II and the decline of the Safavids as well as of the Armenian community of Isfahan and New Julfa.

The publication history of Aṙak'el's immense work is interesting indeed. The work was completed in 1662 and was printed in 1669 by Oskan (Voskan) of Erevan, the publisher of the first Armenian Bible, in Amsterdam.⁵ According to most sources, Aṙak'el was the first Armenian historian to have his work printed in his lifetime.

Some scholars assert that Oskan had either a rough draft of Aṙak'el's *Book of History* or was not careful in typesetting the manuscript in book form. For, the first edition contains numerous grammatical errors. In addition, Oskan omitted certain sections, combined or rephrased others, and made stylistic changes, to bring Aṙak'el's style into conformity with Classical Armenian. Further-

¹ Aṙak'el, however, praises a Catholic bishop in Isfahan for helping the Armenians to pay their loans and to remain Christian, See pages 139-140 in the text.

² See Chapter 56.

³ See Chapters 9-12.

⁴ The most painful account is the martyrdom of the Georgian queen, K'et'evan, who died under terrible torture rather than renounce her faith. See Chapter 12.

⁵ *Girk' patmut'eants'* (Amsterdam 1669).

more, he added two chapters written by himself: an autobiography and a philosophical piece.¹

Aṙak'el's book aroused controversy the moment it appeared. His book detailed events, which were still fresh in the memory of the people. It also painted a very unflattering picture of some individuals who were still living. His attacks on the efforts of the Catholic Church to convert the Armenians of Poland resulted in the immediate suppression of his book by the Roman Church. It is also probable that his extremely unfavorable portrayal of Shah 'Abbās I, the great ancestor of the Safavid shahs, a dynasty that still ruled Persia and was instrumental in the approval of any candidate for the patriarchal throne of the Holy See at Ējmiatsin, stopped the dissemination of the work by the Armenian Church as well.

In any case, by the second half of the nineteenth century, Aṙak'el's *Book of History* became exceptionally rare. Ironically the first new edition of the work appeared not in Armenian, but in a French translation by M. F. Brosset.² Although he was a noted scholar of Georgian and Armenian histories, his translation followed Oskan's poorly prepared text and added mistakes and omissions of his own.

In 1884, the Holy Synod at Ējmiatsin decided to prepare a new Armenian edition. It corrected the Amsterdam edition by using two manuscripts composed during Aṙak'el's lifetime and presumably supervised by him.³ This second Armenian edition was soon out of print.⁴ A third edition, ordered by Kat'oghikos Mkṙtich' (Khrimian) of Van (1892-1908), was printed in 1896.⁵

By the second half of the twentieth century, all of the above editions were out of print and rare. A new edition was sorely needed. Paradoxically, such an edition, when it appeared, was published in Russian in Moscow.⁶ The translation, by L. A. Khanlaryan, relied on the 1896 edition.⁷ His introduction, annotations, bibliography and

¹ Not included in this translation.

² "Livre d'histoires compose par le vartabied Arakel de Tauriz," in *Collection d'histoires arméniens*. I (St. Petersburg, 1874), 267-608.

³ Matenadaran Archives, MS 1773 (1663) and MS 1772 (1666).

⁴ *Patmut' iwn Aṙak'el vardapeti Dawrzhets' woy* (Vagharshapat, 1884).

⁵ *Patmut' iwn Aṙak'el vardapeti Dawrzhets' woy* (Vagharshapat, 1896).

⁶ Arakel Davrzhetsi, *Kniga Istorii* (Moscow, 1973).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

index made this edition the most scholarly version to date. Several years later, a Polish translation appeared in Warsaw.¹

To make Arak'el's important work accessible to the general Armenian public, a version in modern eastern Armenian was prepared by Varaz Arak'elyan and printed in Erevan in 1988.² Finally, in 1990, Khanlaryan decided to publish a critical edition in Armenian. He used the three most reliable manuscripts available in Armenia and one in Vienna,³ as well as the printed editions of 1669 and 1896.⁴ Khanlaryan's critical edition not only contains thousands of footnotes on the different philological, orthographic and textual variations and omissions among the above six versions, but includes a lengthy introduction, glossary, as well as an extensive bibliography.

The present edition is based on Khanlaryan's critical edition. The French and Russian translations, as well as the modern eastern Armenian version and the Vagharshapat editions, were also examined. My wife's grandfather, Dr. Armenak Alikhanian, had a copy of the original Amsterdam edition. The book, now donated to NAASR (at the George and Ani Bournoutian Library), was consulted to check and correct some of Khanlaryan's notes. Brosset's notes are credited to him. Most of the explanatory footnotes are Khanlaryan's, but I have also added a good number of relevant notes as well. Although

¹ Arakel z Tebryzu, *Księga dziejów* (Warsaw, 1981).

² Arak'el Dawrizhets'i, *Patmut'yun* (Erevan, 1988).

³ Matenadaran Archives, MS 1773 and MS 1772, both are in good condition. The first, written in 1663 by the scribe At'anas in the village of Karbi in the Araratian region of eastern Armenia, is considered the best preserved and the most valuable. The second, prepared by the priest Awetis in 1666, was copied in the church of St. Kat'oghike in Erevan. Matenadaran Archives MS 7296 (1666) is in good condition except for some of the last folios. It lacks the name of the scribe or other significant information except the date of 1666, which appears on folio 217r. Mkhitarist Congregation Library in Vienna, MS 137 (1665), [microfilm copy available in Matenadaran under number 678], copied in Erevan by the priest Awetis on the order of Vardapet Arak'el. Its first folio is missing. Khanlaryan examined other manuscripts at the Matenadaran as well: MS 5025, written in the second half of the 17th century, is in poor condition, with numerous deletions; MSS 5959 and 4998, copied in 1682 and 1725 respectively, have missing folios. Finally, he checked a copy of the Amsterdam edition (Matenadaran MS 5081), having belonged to Karapet Ezyan. It has major corrections in the margins, and was used to prepare the 1884 and 1896 editions.

⁴ Arak'el Dawrizhets'i, *Girk' patmut'eants'* (Erevan, 1990).

Khanlaryan explains many of the Persian and Turkish terms, I have explained others left out by him. Material that serves to clarify Aṛak'el's ideas is placed in brackets. The majority of over 8000 notes in the critical edition, which explain the minute differences in spelling or the inclusion/exclusion of a particular word in one manuscript versus the others, are not included here. They do not alter the meaning of the text or present additional information, and are not helpful in a translation. They are useful only for those who wish to compare the various Armenian texts and manuscripts. However, those notes that present a different meaning are included. Aṛak'el uses Constantinople and Istanbul; redheads, Persians and *Kizilbash*; shah, sultan and king; kat'oghikos and patriarch; and Kurds and *Mar* interchangeably. He also employs the term *Tajik/Tachik* when referring to Muslims, Persians, Turks, or Arabs. I have retained much of Aṛak'el's repetitiveness and verbosity to convey the flavor of the original, while trying to make the translation readable. For uniformity's sake, I have altered some of Aṛak'el's capitalization and have, for the most part, followed the system in the latest edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Because of the numerous foreign terms and the repeated reference to various dates and rulers, I have foot-noted them more than once to help the reader.

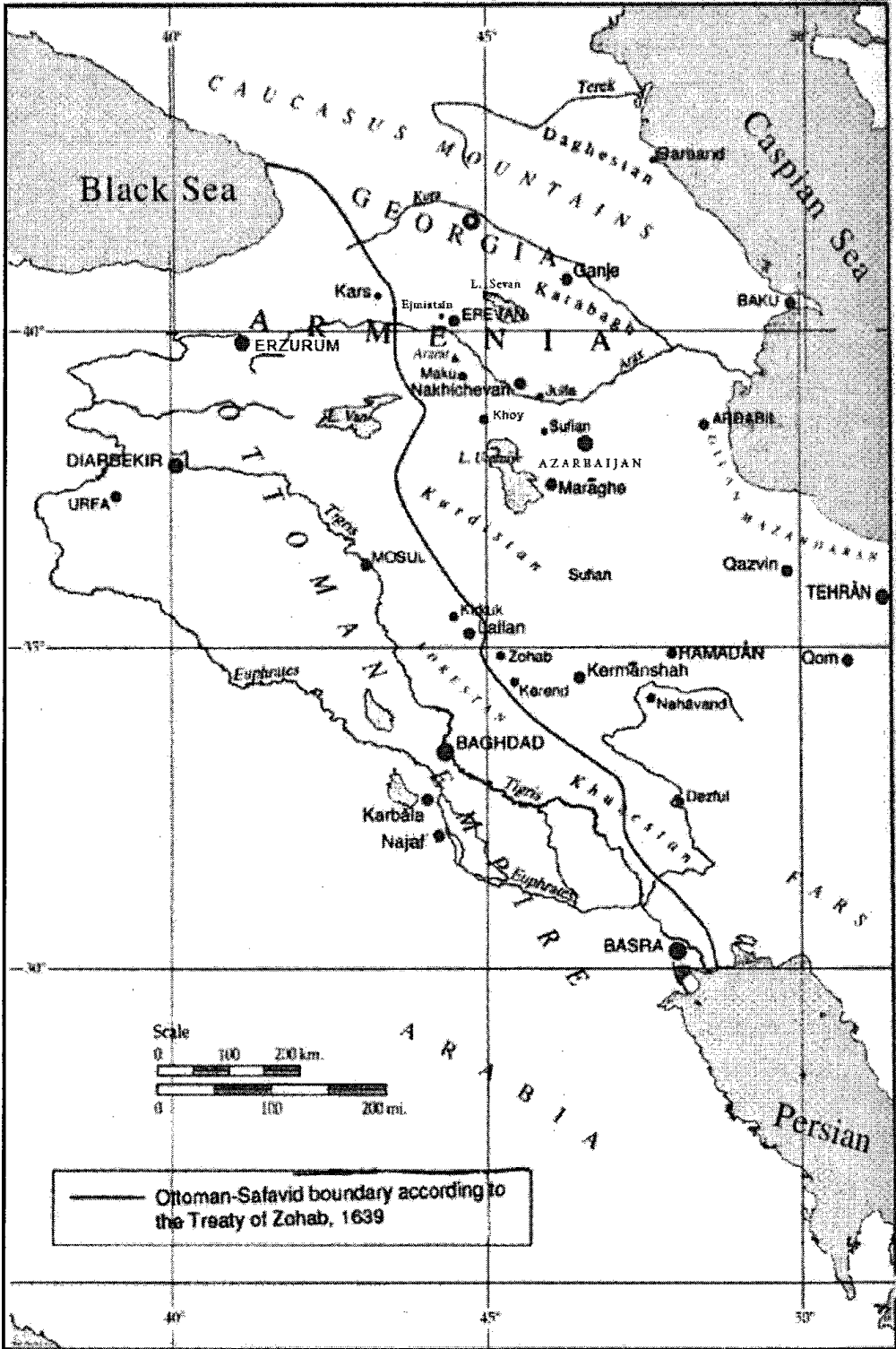
My first translation, in two volumes, under a slightly different title, is now out of print. It is hoped that this completely revised and corrected one-volume edition will continue to make Aṛak'el's unique *Book of History* accessible to a wider scholarly audience.

The present edition owes much to Aris Sevag, who once again meticulously performed the difficult task of copy-editing. I am, of course, responsible for the flaws that remain.

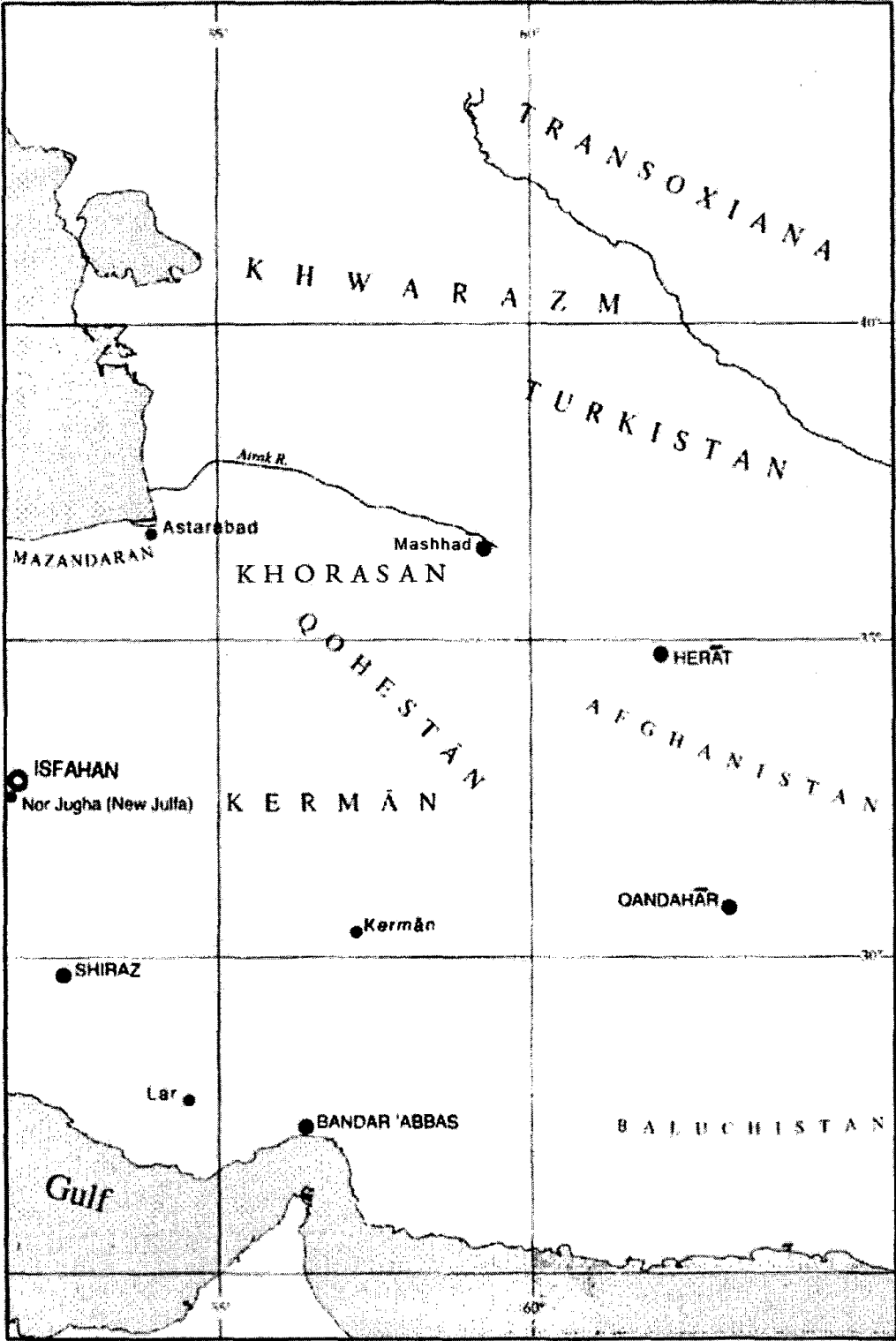
George Bournoutian
Professor of History
Iona College, New York

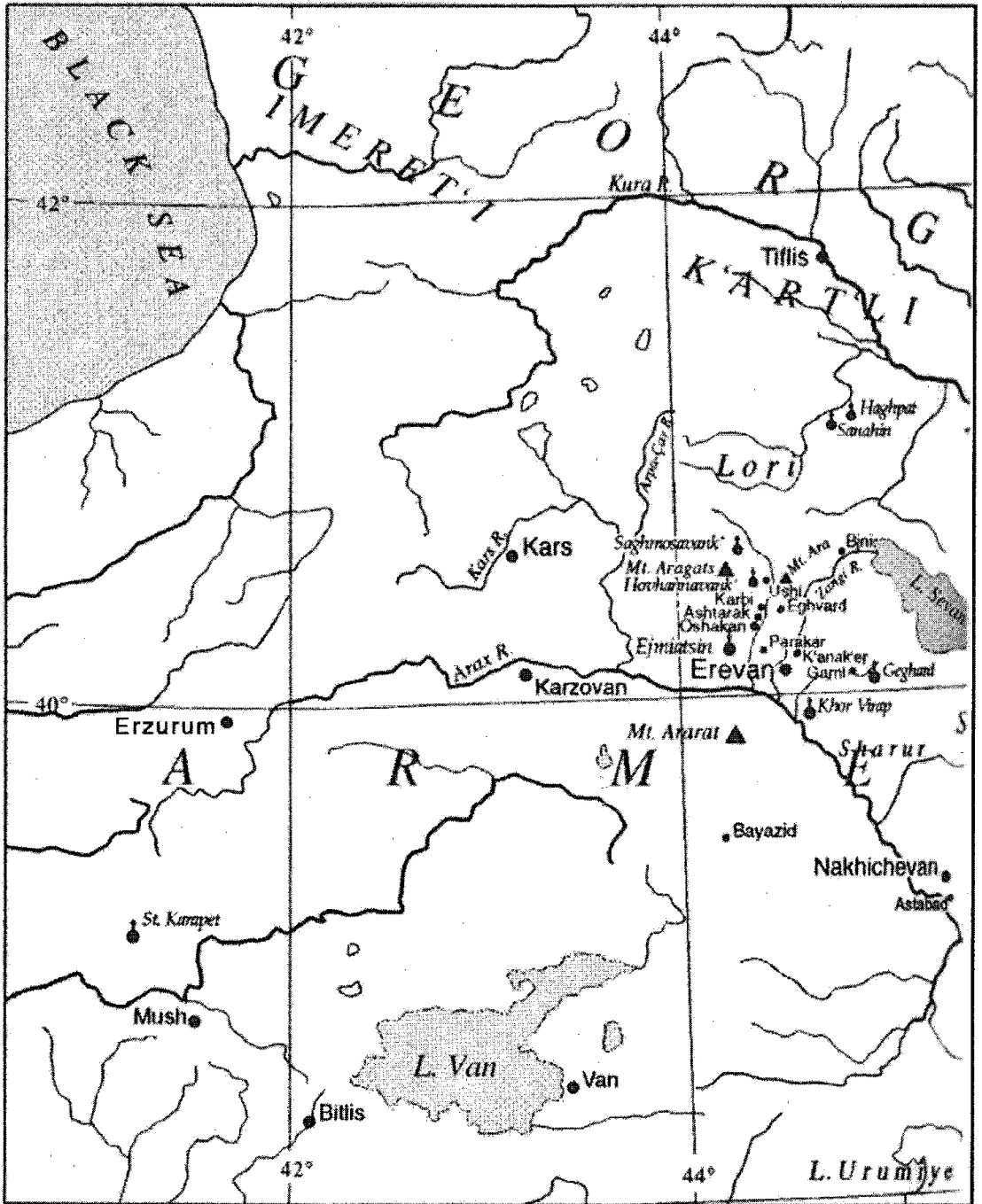


Arak'el's Circular Chart of the Ottoman Sultans(See Chapter 51)

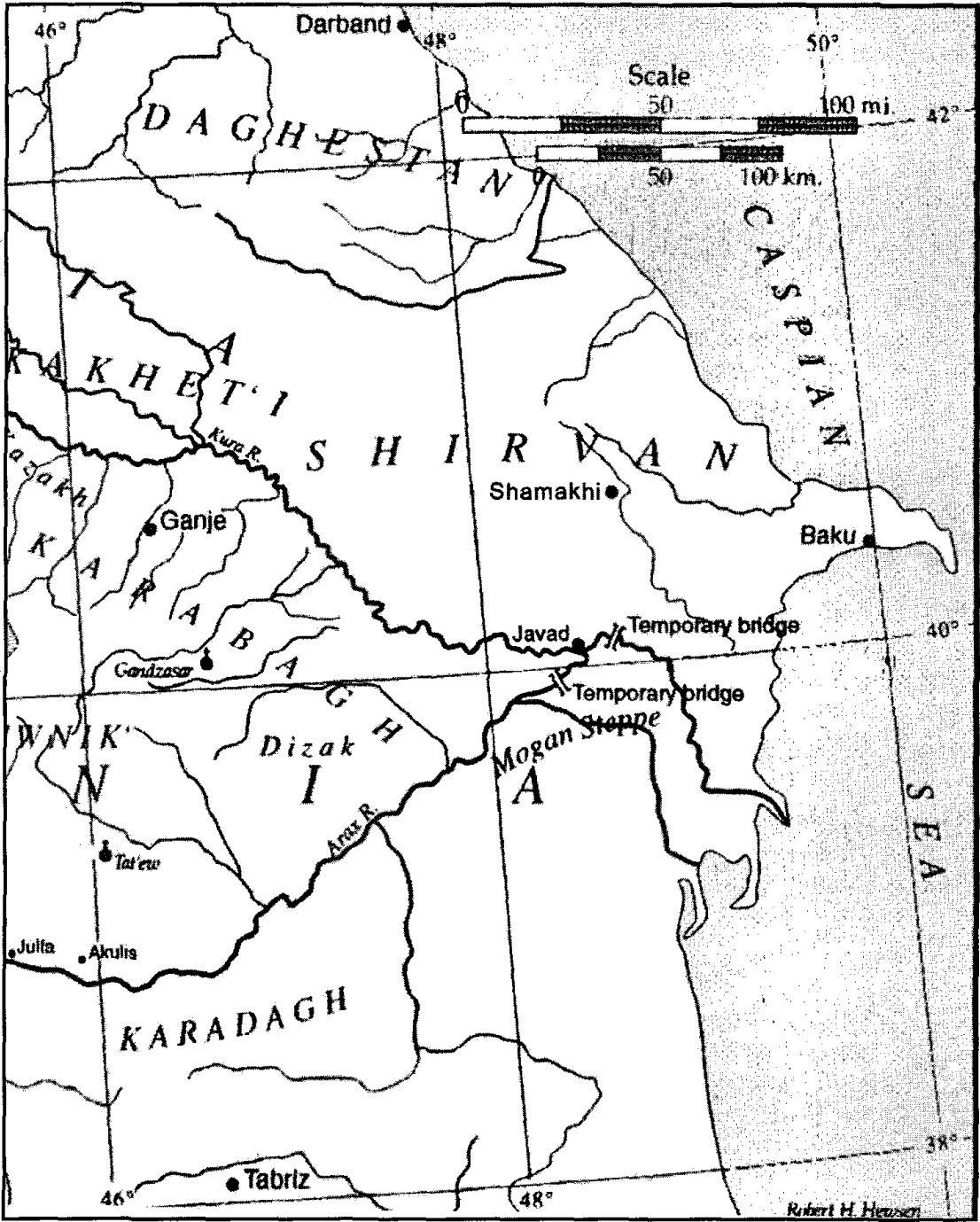


Map 1. Persia in the Seventeenth Century.





Map 2. Geographical Locations Mentioned in the Text.



Book of History

[*Vardapet*]¹ Aṙak‘el of Tabriz

*About the events which occurred in Armenia, in the
gawars² of Ararat and part of the gawar of Goght‘n, from the year
1051 (1602) to the year 1111 (1662)³
of the Armenian calendar⁴*

¹ “Vardapet,” is absent from **A, B, C, D,** and **E**. All material absent from various MSS or texts is indicated in italics.

² Aṙak‘el uses the term *gawar* for county, province, region, or district interchangeably. The term *gawar* will, therefore, appear as is.

³ Brosset and the 1884 Vagharshapat edition read, “1054 to 1112.”

⁴ The entire sub-heading is absent from **A, B, C, D,** and **E**.

*Help us God our Savior, for the sake of the glory of thy name. Not for us Lord, not for our sake, but for thy name and glory, for the sake of thy mercy and truth. Let thy Holy Spirit descend upon us and enlighten us. May it complete the message that has begun in our midst for the glory and the praise of the Holy Trinity! Amen.*¹

[3]² *Introduction to this Book of History*

The present history describes the events and sufferings endured lately by the land of Armenia at the hands of the king, named Shah ‘Abbās, and his people, the Persians. It also explains the decline of the glorious Holy See of Ējmiatsin and its kat‘oghikoi, as well as the distortion of the faith *and rituals*³ of our Christian religion. You will also find here other historical events, arranged into chapters and in chronological order, which occurred in the towns and *gawars* during the reign of [various] kings, princes (governors),⁴ kat‘oghikoi and others.

*It is also common knowledge that,*⁵ according to the general practice of historians, *it is necessary that*⁶ I construct the historical edifice on a chronological foundation. However, since our people, due to invaders, bandits and tax collectors, have been dispersed and scattered, have been tortured⁸ and bound, and, as told in the psalm, are [at present] in poverty and irons,⁹ with each one barely managing

¹ Absent from A. All material absent from the various MSS or texts is indicated in italics.

² The pagination [in brackets] and paragraph breaks are, for the most part, according to F.

³ Absent from A.

⁴ Aṙak‘el uses the Armenian term *ishkhan* (prince) when referring to governors or nobles. Unless the text indicates a true royal prince, the term will be translated (to suit the context) as “notable, governor, grandee, or nobleman.”

⁵ Absent from A.

⁶ Ibid. It reads, “according to the common practice of historians, I should construct.”

⁷ Aṙak‘el uses the first person plural (we) instead of the singular when referring to himself. The first person singular will be used here instead.

⁸ Absent from A.

⁹ Psalm 107.10: “Some sat in darkness and in gloom, prisoners of misery and in irons.”

to get his daily sustenance, I could not find a learned man, knowledgeable both in history and chronology. Therefore, [with] great effort, I searched, and wherever I found a date attached to a historical event, I included it; wherever I did not *find*¹ [a date] I wrote my account without including a date. Do not blame me, reader; accept my work as is, and remember the person who labored on it in your prayers.

¹ Absent from A.

[5] Chapter 1

*On the taxes demanded from the kat'oghikoi by foreign aggressors, and the sufferings that they caused*¹

In the recent past, the people who believed in the Christian faith became weaker and those who followed the Muslim faith became stronger—in the east, the Persians, and in the west, the Ottomans, who, in the year 902 (1453)² of the Armenian calendar,³ took the magnificent city of Constantinople from the Romans.⁴

After taking Constantinople, the Ottomans multiplied and became even stronger. Their domain stretched to the east and reached Tabriz. Ottoman pashas sat in Tabriz, Erevan, Ganje, Shamakhi and Damurghap'u⁵, [6] and controlled all the land up to Khudafryn.⁶ They [also] took Georgia and subjected it to taxation.⁷

At that time, the kat'oghikos of the Holy See of Ējmiatsin was *tēr*⁸ Aṛak'el,⁹ from the same village of Ējmiatsin.¹⁰ He was a virtu-

¹ A, B, and E read, "The history of the time of a certain *vardapet*, named Aṛak'el, on whom God had Mercy."

² Tuesday, May 29, 1453.

³ The Armenian calendar was formed at the Council of Dvin (Dvin) in 552 (officially adopted in 574, thanks to the efforts of Kat'oghikos Movsēs II of Eghivard, 574-604) and was thus 551 years behind that of the West. The Armenian Church calendar was changed to a permanent calendar in 1774 by Kat'oghikos Simēon of Erevan (1763-1780).

⁴ That is, the Greeks, or the Eastern Roman Empire.

⁵ From the Turkish Demir Kapısı ("Iron Gates"); that is, Darband.

⁶ The Khoda-afarin Bridge was over the Arax River, near the Bargushat River in the Dizak district of Karabagh.

⁷ It refers to the Turko-Persian War of 1578-1590. Sultan Murad III began the conflict when he broke the Peace of Amasya (1555). The Ottomans took Georgia, Shirvan, eastern Armenia, and even occupied Tabriz; see *CHI*, VI, 257-258.

⁸ *Tēr* has various meanings: God, owner, and reverend father; it will thus remain as is. Aṛak'el uses both the upper and lower case when joining the term with the names of the various kat'oghikoi. In practice, the upper case is reserved for God. The term will appear here in the lower case only.

⁹ Aṛak'el, together with T'adēos, served as coadjutors during the reign of Grigor XII of Vagharshapat (1576-1590). The former was named coadjutor in 1584 and died in 1586.

¹⁰ The village was also called Vagharshapat (present-day town of Ējmiatsin), which contained the Holy See of Ējmiatsin.

ous, pious, humble, and fine-looking man in all aspects—action, speech, and dress. He ruled the See during his lifetime and then appeared before God.

After him, *tēr* Dawit'¹ became the kat'oghikos at holy Ējmiatsin. He was also born in the village of Ējmiatsin. He ruled for several years and [performed his duties] as best as the circumstances permitted. But, during his lifetime, he consecrated another kat'oghikos, named Melk'isēt' from the *gawaṙ* of Garni,² and the village called Aghjots'-vank'.³ The kat'oghikos consecrated him, hoping that he would be his assistant, but the latter became, as shall be noted below, an obstacle and his enemy. They say there were two reasons why Kat'oghikos Dawit' consecrated⁴ Melk'isēt' as [co-] kat'oghikos. Some say he consecrated him so that he would become his assistant and associate, because the taxes imposed by the foreigners (Muslims)⁵ were a heavy burden on the Christians. The Muslims not only impoverished the people, but also demanded large levies from the kat'oghikos. He gave it when he could and when he could not he would escape and hide from the tax collectors. He lived in that way for some time, pursued like a thief, and became weary of such a tortured life, being forced to constantly run [7] and hide. He [therefore] decided to find a partner, so that they would assist each other, give each other solace in misfortune, and, perhaps, travel together, one here, the other there, and raise the necessary funds for the needs of the kat'oghikosate. They say that is why Dawit' consecrated Melk'isēt' as [coadjutor] kat'oghikos, so that he would become his helper.

However, some *others*⁶ say that Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' was a vain man and subordinate to the [Muslim] government. He gave generous gifts (bribes) to all *and won their hearts*,⁷ as Absalom had

¹ Dawit' IV of Vagharshapat (1590-1629).

² He was the coadjutor from 1593 to 1627.

³ It is also known as Aghjokots'-vank'. It is a cloister near the Geghard monastery, in the Garni mountains, located in a ravine by the Azat River. According to Armenian tradition, three of St. Hrip'simē's maidens sought refuge there. See Gh. Alishan, *Ayrarat* (Venice, 1890), 352.

⁴ A reads "ordained."

⁵ Text reads *aylazgeats'*. The Armenian term *aylazg* means foreign, stranger, heathen, pagan, different people, etc. Aṙak'el uses the term to refer to the Muslims; hence "Muslim" will be used throughout the text.

⁶ Absent from A.

⁷ Ibid.

done.¹ He befriended everyone; thus, they helped him and agreed that he should be consecrated as [co-] kat'oghikos. The local governor, after receiving bribes, forced Kat'oghikos Dawit' to consecrate Melk'isēt'. Having no choice, Dawit', willingly or unwillingly, consecrated Melk'isēt' as [co-] kat'oghikos. *This is what some say.*² Thus, in one way, or another, there were two kat'oghikoi on the throne at the same time.³

¹ Refers to the revolt of Absalom against his father David, Samuel II: 15.6: "So Absalom stole the hearts of the people of Israel."

² Absent from A.

³ The practice of appointing a co-kat'oghikos was begun in 1465 and continued until 1628. At times there were as many as three or four kat'oghikoi at Ējmiatsin. See Chapter 31.

[8] Chapter 2

On the arrival of Vardapet Srap'ion to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin and how he became the kat'oghikos

Although, as I have stated, in order to lighten the debts [of Ējmiatsin], there were two kat'oghikoi, [nevertheless] the debts increased. For, up to then there was one kat'oghikos—hence, one person spending; there were now two kat'oghikoi and, therefore, two persons spending. Thus, either because of their squandering, or because of the taxes of the time, or for some other reason, the debts of the Holy See of Ējmiatsin piled up during their administration. The debt, *therefore*,¹ grew and *increased*,² and they say that it reached 50,000 *ghurush*,³ and that they [the kat'oghikoi] could not pay it. When creditors came and demanded their money, or *when*⁴ the tax collectors of the king or governor [9] *came*⁵ to demand the government taxes, the kat'oghikoi, *because of their poverty*,⁶ had nothing to give. Therefore, they were constantly in flight and in hiding. They could not stay more than two or three days in one place. They had to move from one village to another, not during the day, but at night. Their life at that time, according to eyewitnesses, was on the brink of squalor; because of the terrible and burdensome taxes, they were in a hopeless situation. They were constantly in a state of wretchedness and hoped that perhaps they could find a way out of their predicament. They reflected for a long time on how to resolve their problem. *Afterwards*,⁷ the two kat'oghikoi, of their own will and on the advice of their advisors, made the following decision in order to accomplish their goal. They wrote a letter of admiration, *love, and greeting*⁸ to the great Vardapet Srap'ion, the prelate of the city of

¹ Absent from A.

² Ibid.

³ Refers to *kuruş*, a small Ottoman silver coin; a *piaster* (equal to 1/100 of a gold pound). Since the Holy See was, at this time, periodically under Ottoman control, Aṛak'el has indicated the debt in Ottoman currency, rather than in Persian *dinārs*.

⁴ Absent from A.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

Tigranakert,¹ and asked him to come and pay their debts. The letter read, “We will voluntarily give up our position, if you come and pay our debts. The throne and the title of kat'oghikos shall be yours.”

Vardapet Srap'ion was from the city of Urha (Urfa).² He was the son of pious and very wealthy parents. After the death of his parents, he³ inherited a great deal of property and income. Desiring a saintly and chaste life, he turned to reading holy books and became a pupil of the great *Vardapet* Ghukas of Keghets',⁴ [10] who was the leader of all the *vardapets* at the time. After studying with him, Srap'ion became a man of great learning and gained complete knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. *Vardapet* Ghukas realized his merit and, since all⁵ the people trusted him as well, on February 20, in the year 1035 of our calendar (1586), *Vardapet* Ghukas gave Srap'ion the title of *vardapet* in the city of Tigranakert, that is, Amida,⁶ in order that he preach the word of God, and, like a stream, satisfy the thirst of the parishioners' souls. All who came were satisfied and gladly accepted him as the prelate of their town. Following the words of the apostle, he glorified his ministry;⁷ for his liturgies were consistently beautiful in their appropriate use of songs, music, melodies, hymns,⁸ and hal-lujahs, and resembled a heavenly celebration. He did not slacken;

¹ See below.

² It is also known as Edessa.

³ B, C D, E, F read, *the vardapet*.

⁴ Ghukas was a student of *Vardapet* Hovhannēs of Shirak, who was known for his studies on church calendars. Ghukas became an expert of the Greek calendar and produced a written version in 1557. According to Al-boyajejan, he died in 1602. See A. Alboyajejan, *Patmut' iwn hay kesarioy*, II (Cairo, 1937), 1860. Keghets' or Keghes was one of the 12 villages around the monastery of St. Karapet in Mush (also known as Glaka-vank').

⁵ Absent from A.

⁶ Numerous Armenian sources have confused Tigranakert with Amida. Although the exact location of the ancient Armenian capital of Tigranakert is unknown, it is considered to have been somewhere around Farghin and not Amida. See E. H. K'asuni, *Amid (Diarbēk'ir) Tigranakert (Farghin) shpot' ē hay patmagrut'yan mēj* (Beirut, 1968); H. Nalbandyan, ed., *Ara-bakan aghbyurnerē hayastani ev harevan erkrneri masin* (Erevan, 1965), 123.

⁷ Romans 11.13: “Now I am speaking to you Gentiles. Inasmuch then as I am an apostle to the Gentiles, I glorify my ministry...”

⁸ Text reads *gandz* (melismatic hymns) and *t'ahawork'*, which are specific hymns, originating from the 12th century, found at the end of the evening services.

he preached and sermonized daily, and made it his customary occupation. He led the life of an ascetic, through abstinence and fasting. The fame of his wisdom and good deeds spread everywhere. Therefore, those who yearned to learn the services of the Armenian Church or¹ to study the Holy Scriptures came to him from every province. Like water from a life-giving stream, he quenched the thirst of everyone. He founded a school and taught all those who became his disciples. Many of his pupils became famous and glorious men. [11] Among them was *Vardapet* Grigor of Kayseri,² a man learned in religious as well as secular sciences, who was triumphant over the enemies of truth among our people, as well as among foreigners. The magnanimous *Vardapet* Barsegh, who, after *Vardapet* Srap'ion, became the prelate of Tigranakert, that is, Amida,³ was also his student, as were *Vardapet* Hovhannēs of Urfa, who became the prelate of Urfa, and who was a great expert in astronomy and mathematical sciences;⁴ *Vardapet* Aristakēs of Taron, who perfectly knew songs and hymns; *Vardapets* Hovsēp' and Hovhannēs of Hzu⁵, as well as another *Vardapet* Hovhannēs from K'ajberun, that is, Arjēsh;⁶ and Kat'oghikos Movsēs, from the province of Siwnik', who became the illuminator of the eastern part of our land, and the renovator of holy Ējmiatsin, the history of whose services I shall recount below.

Is there any need to continue [his praises]? The saintly *Vardapet* Srap'ion was famous and celebrated in everyone's eyes, not only among Armenians, but also among Romans [Greeks], Syrians, and Muslims. He succeeded in whatever worldly affair he undertook, for he would not tolerate failure. That is why the two kat'oghikoi wrote him a letter of greeting and love, which read, "We are exhausted and are in no condition to repay our numerous debts which have stran-

¹ Absent from A.

² He was the teacher of Kat'oghikos Movsēs III of Tat'ew.

³ See above.

⁴ Brosset lists the books on abstract metaphysics, cosmic theories and other non-religious subjects available at that time in his translation of the work of the 13th-century Armenian churchman, Mkhit'ar of Ayrivank' (Geghard). See Mekhithar de Aïrivank, *Histoire chronologique du XIIIe siècle* (St. Petersburg, 1869).

⁵ Hzu (Hsin) was a small town near Diarbekir.

⁶ Erchish/Erjish or Arjēsh, also called Agants and Adilcevaz, was in Greater Armenia in the Turuberan province, in the Agiovit district located north of Lake Van.

gled us. That is why we voluntarily renounce our position as kat'oghikoi and rulers of the Holy See. We give it all to you—the kat'oghikosate and the throne, [12], for you deserve it. We now ask you to come without delay to save us, and more importantly, for the sake of the restoration of your spiritual mother, the Holy See of Ējmiatsin.”

The moment *Vardapet* Srap'ion heard about [the troubles] of holy Ējmiatsin, he agreed to go. He did not do this for the sake of glory or for the post of kat'oghikos, but because he was blessed by God and esteemed by the populace. He wanted to save the radiant See, for, as a true son of an aged parent, his soul suffered for it. Leaving Tigranakert, he traveled via the city of Van and reached the northernmost province of Armenia and the city of [Old] Julfa,¹ which was a prosperous *dwelling place*² in the eastern part of our land and well known to everyone, as its inhabitants had not, *at that time*,³ yet been driven into Persia. He arrived in Julfa and remained there. Rumor of his arrival spread everywhere. Hearing this, the two kat'oghikoi took some of their confidants—Manuēl, the bishop of Hawuts' T'ar,⁴ and another Manuēl, the bishop of Khor Virap,⁵ and Astuatsatur, the bishop of Geghard,⁶ and a number of their lay fol-

¹ Arak'el uses Jugha (Julfa) for both the “Old” and the “New” Julfa. All references to Julfa in the next several chapters refer to Old Julfa. Old Julfa is located on the banks of the Arax River in lower Nakhichevan, across from the present-day Iranian border crossing station of Jolfa. New Julfa is located across the Zayandeh-rud River in Isfahan. Since Shah 'Abbās destroyed Old Julfa, Armenians and Persians, as well as most sources, refer to New Julfa as Julfa. I have indicated the correct site in brackets.

² Absent from A.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ A, B, D, E read, “Khor Virap.” The monastery is also known as Hayots' T'ar, or the All Savior monastery. It is located on the banks of the Azat River near Garni. Its name comes from a village (no longer in existence) near the monastery. The monastery was built in the 11th century.

⁵ A, B, D, E read, “Hawuts' T'ar.” The monastery of Khor Virap, or Virap, is connected with Gregory the Illuminator. According to Armenian tradition, King Trdat III threw Gregory into a pit there, where he spent 13 years. He survived through the kindness of a widow who threw food into the pit daily. See Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians* (Albany, 1976), 137.

⁶ The monastery of Geghard (“lance”), also known as Ayri-vank' (the grotto monastery), is carved into the cliffs, near the Azat River. The monastery probably existed since the 4th century. It was totally destroyed by the

lowers—and came to the town of Julfa, to the home of *Vardapet* Srap'ion. After a few days, they [the kat'oghikoi] began to discuss the matter for which they had summoned the *vardapet*. During their talks, while the affair was progressing, the enemy of justice and truth, the tempter [Satan], who constantly sowed discord in the Church of Christ, stirred an unexpected feud in their hearts. The attendants of the kat'oghikoi did not like some of the *vardapet*'s admonishments. They [13] raised havoc and caused a commotion. Thus, Bishop Manuēl of Hawuts' T'ar, without authorization, got up during the meeting and, in a loud voice, announced the disagreement between them, without permitting others to speak or listen [to the argument]. His foolish behavior troubled everyone present. When it became clear that the two parties disliked each other, they *dropped everything in disgust and*¹ went their own way.

The kat'oghikoi and their followers left there and went to the Tat'ew monastery,² which is in the *gawar* of Siwnik'. *Vardapet* Srap'ion stayed a few days in Julfa, and, like the eloquent evangelist of the new Zion, continually instructed and enlightened everyone with his illuminating sermons. The sermons greatly delighted and comforted the inhabitants of Julfa and all the eastern [Armenians], who, in their joy, sent blessings to the Almighty.

They dispatched the *vardapet* to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin and summoned the entire population of the land, clerics and laymen alike. A great synod was assembled and it solemnly consecrated *Vardapet* Srap'ion as the Kat'oghikos of All Armenians and the holy father of the Holy See of Ējmiatsin, on August 14, in the year 1052 of our calendar (1603). On the day of his consecration, they named him after St. Gregory the Illuminator,³ hoping that his prayers from the heart would, like the earlier prayers [of Gregory], illuminate the Armenian people. Their intention and ideas became a reality in our time.

Arabs in the 9th century and rebuilt in the 12th-13th centuries. It is famous for having housed the Holy Lance—the spear that pierced Christ's side when he was on the cross, which is presently found in the Ējmiatsin museum.

¹ Absent from A.

² One of the most famous of Armenian monasteries, it is located in the mountains of Zangezur. Beginning in the 9th century, it became a center of Armenian learning and continued as such throughout the medieval period.

³ Gregory the Illuminator is credited with the conversion of Armenia to Christianity in the early 4th century.

[14] Chapter 3

On how the Persian ruler, Shah 'Abbās, came to Armenia, conquered all, and how Vardapet Srap'ion returned to his home

The two kat'oghikoi, Dawit' and Melk'isēt', and their followers, realizing that there was no agreement between them and *Vardapet Srap'ion*, and that, in fact, there was actually discord, left Julfa and went to the Tat'ew monastery. They stayed there some ten days, conferred, deliberated, and tried to determine a way not to lose the rank of kat'oghikos, to keep the kat'oghikosate in their hands, but yet to evade their creditors. They reflected, but not with God, as it is told in the Scriptures,¹ but rather for their own demise, for the destruction and upheaval of [their] land, and for the extermination of their people. They firmly decided [15] among themselves to go to Isfahan, to the Persian king, *who was named Shah 'Abbās*.²

The reason for their trip *to the shah*³ was the following: They knew without a doubt that the shah was preparing to invade Armenia. Prior to this, many Muslim and Christian governors and noblemen from the land of At'rpatakan (Azarbaijan)⁴ had gone to the

¹ Isaiah 30.1: "Oh, rebellious children, says the Lord, who carry out a plan, but not mine; who make an alliance, but against my will, adding sin to sin..."

² Absent from A.

³ Ibid.

⁴ As noted, Arak'el refers to the Persian province of Azarbaijan, or the region situated south of the Arax River. The modern-day republic of Azerbaijan (in eastern Transcaucasia) is a twentieth-century creation. Prior to that, it was divided into various khanates ruled by semi-autonomous Muslim khans or Armenian *meliks* (petty princes), who were under nominal Persian suzerainty. Following the Russian conquest of the region in the nineteenth century, eastern Transcaucasia encompassed one, two, and, at times, three provinces and its Turkic population was called Tatars or Turco-Tatars. Arak'el follows the Persian administrative divisions of the late Safavid period, which divided Persia into seven major provinces, each governed by a *beglerbegi*, who had overall authority over the khans within his province. The seven provinces were: Northwest (Azarbaijan and Transcaucasia); that is, the current province of Persian Azarbaijan, and the khanates of Erevan, Nakhichevan, Karabagh, Ganje, and greater Shirvan (the current republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan); East: Khorasan; North: Caspian provinces; Southeast: Kerman; Central: 'Araq-e 'Ajam; West: Kurdistan and Luristan; South and Southwest: Fars and Khuzistan. Georgia

Persian shah, for the Ottomans were treating them very harshly and looting their belongings; they were oppressing them with heavy taxes, ravaging their land, mocking their religion and inflicting other similar torments. [This was done] not only to the Armenian people but also to the Georgians and Muslims. Because of this oppression, they went to the Persian shah, hoping to receive his aid and find a way to free themselves from the Ottoman yoke.

A certain Ghazi Khan (Beg),¹ a Kurd, who was a grand nobleman and the ruler of the land of the Mar (Kurds),² was pursued by the Ottomans; for the Ottomans wanted to kill him and rule over his principality. *He, therefore,*³ sent a loyal man named Khan Avdal ('Abdal) to the shah, requesting that he come and save him. He promised to be on the shah's side [in any ensuing conflict].⁴

Another Kurdish grandee, named Ulama-oghli ('Olamā-oghli) Haybat' Beg, did not send envoys, but came himself to the shah. The Georgian kings also wanted the Persians to rule their land, for they were outraged to the depth of their souls [16] by the Ottomans, not as much for their oppression, as, especially, for the capture of their ruler, Simon Khan the Great.⁵ The Ottomans had seized him, taken him to Istanbul and killed him there. They also tricked his grandson, took him to Istanbul and killed him as well. Furthermore, there were many hostages of the Georgian kings at the Persian court: for example, the daughter and son of the above-mentioned Simon Khan of Tiflis; the son of King Alexander of Kakhet'i, who was named Con-

(eastern Georgia) had a special status and was ruled by a Georgian prince who bore the title of *vali* (viceroy). For more details, see V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk: A Manual of Safavid Administration* (London, 1943), 164-173.

¹ According to Eskandar Beg, Ghāzī Beg was the governor of Salmas and Khoy; see AA, 833. See also below.

² In ancient times, Armenians called the Medes "the Mar." Medieval Armenian sources use the term "Mar" for the Kurds. Some historians believe that the Medes are the ancestors of the present-day Kurds.

³ Absent from A.

⁴ According to Eskandar Beg, Ghāzī Beg was a descendant of Shah-qoli Balīlān. He rebelled against the Ottoman governor of Tabriz. He sent his son 'Abdāl Khan to seek aid from Shah 'Abbās. He told the shah that he had a golden opportunity to attack Tabriz while the Ottoman governor was absent campaigning against the Kurds, AA, 827.

⁵ King Simon (1558-1600) was the ruler of K'art'li. He was defeated by the Ottomans and taken prisoner by Ja'far Pasha. He was sent to Istanbul and, despite negotiations for his release, died there. See more below.

stantine; and the brother of the *atabeg*¹ of Somkhet'i, named Ṭahmāsp-qoli.² Many other Georgian hostages were in the hands of the Persian kings, as well.

From the land of Aghuank',³ from among the Armenians, came Sarukhan Beg and his brother Nazar, from the village of Voskanapat, the priest⁴ Oghlan and his brother Ghalabegi from the village of Hat'erk', Jalal Beg and his nephews from Khach'en, Melik⁵ Sujum from Dizak, Melik P'ashik from the village of K'och'iz, Melik Babē from the village of Britis, Bishop Melk'isēt' from the village of Melikzada of Upper Zakam, and Melik Haykaz from the village of Khanatsakh in the land of K'shtagh (K'ashatagh). Moreover, all the inhabitants of four villages in Dizak left together and went to Persia. The shah settled them in the city of Isfahan. In addition,⁶ a third of the inhabitants of the small town called Dasht,⁷ which is located in the Goght'n *gawar*, near Agulis, immigrated to Persia and the shah settled them in the city of Isfahan *as well*.⁸ The reasons for the departure of the people of Dizak and Dasht were the heavy taxes, extortion, destruction, and the violent and pitiless extermination of Christians [by the Ottomans].

¹ It is a Seljuk Turkish word for a high military or feudal dignitary. The term changed in Georgia to *atabagi*. See W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (New York, 1971), 261.

² He is also referred to as Hanis Ṭahmāsp-qoli. See Chapter 5.

³ Arak'el does not refer to Caucasian Albania, which, following the first partition of Armenia, was located east of the Kur River. Rather, he refers to the lands west of that river, known as Artsakh and Utik' (Karabagh-Ganje). The name Aghuank', however, continued to be used by Armenian historians for the region west of the Kur. See G. Bournoutian, trans. *A Brief History of the Aghuank' Region* by Kat'oghikos Esayi Hasan Jalaleants' (Costa Mesa, 2009).

⁴ Text reads *keshish* (from the Persian *keshīsh*, priest).

⁵ The term *melik'* (hereinafter *melik*) is from the Arabic *malik* (king or prince; also head of town or village). In this case the term refers to the semi-autonomous Armenian petty princes of Karabagh, Zangezur, and other regions of eastern Armenia.

⁶ MS C has the words "and the reason for," which appear a few lines later, inserted here.

⁷ It refers to one of the quarters of Agulis, also known as Nerk'in Tagh (Lower Quarter). See G. Bournoutian, *The Journal of Zak'aria of Agulis* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 2003), 185.

⁸ Absent from A.

[17] They were all poverty-stricken, in debt, and without a way out; that is why they escaped to Persia. The men, whose names we have mentioned, were all notable men. They, as well as many other such persons, had gone to the shah, and the kat'oghikoi knew this. Moreover, it was clear to them that the shah would certainly come to the land of the Armenians. That is why they wished to go to him, *to display their friendship to the shah and maybe*¹ *to also*² gain his support and aid against oppression and their debts.

After concluding all their meetings, Kat'oghikos Dawit' and Bishop Manuēl of Khor Virap remained in Armenia. Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', Bishop Manuēl of Hawuts' T'ar, and Bishop Astuatsatur of Geghard left Tat'ew and traveled to Persia on some pretext. Once they crossed the borders of Persia, they continued their journey, without lingering, and traveled until they reached Isfahan. They appeared before Shah 'Abbās and told him of their intentions. The moment the shah heard and learned this, he was delighted in his soul and rejoiced in his mind. He cheered up physically and his happiness in those days was the greatest [happiness] he experienced throughout the rest of his life. As was characteristic of his insidious disposition, Shah 'Abbās began to extol them, gave them lavish gifts and offerings and invited them into his presence every day. He conversed with them about their goals and won their hearts. Feigning loyalty and friendship, [18] he promised them great prosperity, and, with empty words, insidious and cunning ways, portrayed himself as a true friend. He thus managed to obtain all [their] secret thoughts. He learned of the ways into and out of their lands and [the names of] the men who were in charge. Realizing that their mouths spoke what was in their hearts, the shah ordered his military commanders to prepare the army to march. His order was immediately carried out. After that, the entire army moved in the direction of Tabriz against the Ottoman forces, which had positioned their camp there, and were occupying Tabriz and its *gawars*.³

The shah left Isfahan to go to Tabriz. He took all the notable men with him. They departed Isfahan on swift horses and reached Tabriz after several days. The Ottoman army was not prepared for the arrival of the Persians, for the latter did not take long to reach Tabriz, but arrived within a few days. When Shah 'Abbās came to Tabriz,

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ For more details, see AA, 830-833.

luck was with him. The governor of Tabriz, named 'Ali Pasha,¹ who was the commander of all the Ottoman forces guarding the region, had gathered all his 20,000 men and had marched to the Salmast (Salmas)² *gawaṛ* against the aforementioned Kurdish lord, Ghazi Khan, for the Ottomans had learned the latter had severed his union with the Ottomans, had come to an agreement with the Persians, and had sent his confidant, 'Abdal Khan, to the shah. That [19] is why the Ottoman troops had gathered and had gone to Salmas against Ghazi Beg. But, Ghazi Beg, prior to the arrival of the Ottoman army, had left Salmas, gone to the Urmiye *gawaṛ*, and entered the impregnable fortress called Gogarch'in Ghalasi (Qal'e),³ located in the middle of Lake Urmiye, and fortified his position there. When 'Ali Pasha and the Ottoman army arrived in Salmas and saw that Ghazi Beg had left for Urmiye, he did not march on Urmiye, for he wanted to subdue the Salmas region and its fort first and then march to Urmiye against Ghazi Beg. Since there was only one strong fort, called Gharniea-rukh (Qarnī-yarūq) in Salmas,⁴ the Ottomans prepared to besiege it. The Ottoman army remained there for almost three months; they attacked the fort but could not take it.⁵

While the Ottomans were attacking the fort of Qarnī-yarūq, the shah arrived in Tabriz. He left the city and moved against the Ottoman army. The Ottomans found out about the arrival of the Persians and when they ascertained that it was the shah himself who had come—for, prior to that, they thought it was just a general—they immediately abandoned their attack on the fort and moved toward the village of Sofian (Şufiān). There, on the field of Şufiān, the two armies met each other in open battle. 'Olama-oğli Haybat' Beg demonstrated the greatest of bravery in this battle. He brought twenty

¹ A and D have the following words inserted here, "had a war council, took his 20,000, and went to the *gawaṛ* of Salmast."

² Armenians refer to Salmas as Salmast; therefore, Salmas will be used when referring to the town, while Salmast, when referring to Armenians from Salmast.

³ According to Brosset, the Arab geographer Yaqūt mentions only one fort on the island within Lake Urmiye. He calls it Kabu-khan and states that it was built by Hülegü, *MB*, 277.

⁴ The fort was near Salmas. See *AA*, 827.

⁵ Eskandar Beg has a different account: Ghazi Beg remained in Salmas and was negotiating the surrender of the Qarnī-yarūq fort when the shah's army arrived in the region and forced the Ottomans to engage in battle, *AA*, 829.

[severed] heads to the shah. Like a ferocious and insatiable beast, he returned to the field and added more [victims]. Due to the long rides and [20] *great effort*,¹ his horse became exhausted; the Ottoman warriors surrounded him, fired at him, and killed him. Witnessing this, the Persian troops were frightened and faltered. For a moment it appeared as if the Persians were defeated. But the shah immediately called the great khan, Zêlfighar (Zu'l-Faqār),² roused him and sent him into battle. Inspired by the shah's encouragement, he *fiercely*³ dashed into the fray and, with a mighty attack, shattered the Ottoman forces. Witnessing this, the Persian army descended from every side, cut [the Ottomans] with sharp swords and scattered them throughout the field. The rest were saved by flight.

Witnessing the defeat of his forces, and realizing that the leader was indeed the shah, 'Ali Pasha took his son and appeared before him. He prostrated himself by the shah's feet and begged him to grant his freedom. The shah received him favorably and kindly, kept him by his side with great honor, and [eventually] took him to Isfahan with him.

Gaining a victory in battle, the shah returned to Tabriz, took the city,⁴ and conquered the entire *gawar*. He totally destroyed the fort in the city [Tabriz], leveling it to the ground. The shah spend a few days there, conquered all the land [of Azarbaijan] and appointed governors and administrators throughout its borders.⁵

The rest of the Ottoman army, that is, those who had fled from the city of [21] Tabriz, and those who had fled the battle, went to Nakhichevan and gathered there. They conferred with the troops in Nakhichevan and said, "The Persian king has come here specifically for this land. In the end he shall take it one way or another. Let us destroy the land prior to his arrival; seize and loot whatever we can from the villages in this region and leave."⁶ The Christians of the *gawar*, especially those of Julfa, learned of this, for this plan was intended mainly for Julfa. Therefore all the inhabitants left their

¹ Absent from A.

² He was the governor of Ardabil; see AA, 830.

³ Absent from A, D and F.

⁴ In 1602; see AA, 832.

⁵ Zu'l-Faqār was appointed governor of Azarbaijan; Jamshīd Soltān Donbolī was made governor of Marand; Ghāzi Beg was given Khoy and Salmas; Sheikh Ḥaidar was given Marāghe; see AA. 832-833.

⁶ The next 40 lines, including "the Ottomans may hit you with their guns," are absent from E.

homes, ran away from the town, climbed the mountains, cliffs, and other rocky terrain, and waited to see how all this would end.

The news of this reached the shah in Tabriz. That is why he appointed Chragh Sultan (Cherāgh Solṭān)¹ as the commander and dispatched him with a large army to protect the inhabitants of the Nakhichevan province. He went and reached Julfa. Seeing this, the Ottomans gave up their idea. Thus, even though it was not much, they managed to take some loot from nearby villages, destroyed and emptied them, and gathered in [the town of] Nakhichevan.

The inhabitants of Nakhichevan, the soldiers, as well as the common folk, learning of the fall of Tabriz, the expulsion of the [Ottoman] troops from there, as well as the news that the Persians were preparing to march on them, scattered like spring streams throughout the land, with dejected hearts and limp arms. The Ottoman troops, who had escaped from Tabriz and had come to Nakhichevan, could not stay there and fight the Persians. Stricken by great terror, which reached deep into their hearts, they left Nakhichevan in panic and alarm and went to the city of Erevan. On the southern [22] side of the Erevan fortress, by its wall, they made a fence and built yet another fortress. There, together with their military equipment, they locked themselves in.

In those terrible days, the Ottomans who had given loans to kat'oghikoi Dawit' and Melk'isēt', detained Kat'oghikos Srap'ion and demanded that he repay their loans. They said, "The debt is the responsibility of the holy throne. You are now the successor and the kat'oghikos and thus have to pay us." Although he replied truthfully and *completely*² to their questions, they did not listen to him.³ They even wanted to take him into the fortress with them, but God's grace helped him. Srap'ion gave some a great deal of money, others a small amount, and managed to slip away from them, so that they did not take him into the fortress, and he remained in the *gawaṛ* [of Ējmiatsin] until the shah came to Erevan.

Prior to leaving Tabriz, Shah 'Abbās dispatched Zu'l-Faqār Khan to Nakhichevan to create a base and govern the city, before his arrival. Zu'l-Faqār did as ordered. He arrived there and set up camp near the fortress of Nakhichevan, so near that one could reach it by firing a musket. Therefore, Zu'l-Faqār Khan's friends told him, "Be care-

¹ He was named Cherāgh Solṭān Gerāmpā Ostājalū; see AA, 833-834.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Absent from A.

ful. The Ottomans may hit you with their guns.”¹ Zū'l-Faqār Khan replied, while smiling and belittling the Ottomans, “Let their bullet hit me right in the eye.” On the second day he sent an envoy to the governor of the town, informing him, “Do not use your guns or bows for I, together with some men, am coming to you [23] to honestly and openly confer about various matters [surrender of the fort].” He took twenty men, left the camp, and went on foot to the town. When he reached the gates, he sat there and, when all the town's notables gathered around him, Zū'l-Faqār Khan said to them, “What are you hoping and waiting for by staying here? For it is not I, or some other khan, who has come to do battle with you, but the mighty sovereign, who is coming with a large army to retake the lands of his fathers. What kind of force do you have to resist him and do battle with him? That is why I am telling you in a friendly manner, for I think it will be better for you. If you agree with me, come out now, and leave in peace, together with your families and possessions. Do not resist and do not fight, for it is very probable that you shall not win and shall suffer defeat. They will then kill you, enslave your families, and loot your belongings.”

The Ottoman population accepted the commander's proposal and asked him to set a date for exiting the town, which the khan did. After that, all the Ottoman population began to leave the town of Nakhichevan and camp not far from town, until everyone gathered there. While the Ottomans were exiting the town, soldiers from the *Kizilbash*² (Persian) army *immediately*³ came and stood by the city gates. They only took away the guns from among the weapons of the Ottomans, and nothing else. The Ottomans took all their possessions and arms, save the guns, and departed. Many of the soldiers from the city came to Zū'l-Faqār Khan [24] and said, “Those who are preparing to leave are not the native population of this town. As for us, we are natives of this town and do not wish to leave. Up to now, the town belonged to the *khondk'ar*⁴ and we served him, but since the power has shifted to Shah 'Abbās, we wish to remain here and serve him.” The khan liked their pronouncement, received them kindly and

¹ Text reads *t'fank'*, from the Persian *tofang* (musket).

² Text reads *Gzêlbash* (Persian *Qezelbāsh*). The followers of the Sa-favids wore a red headgear; hence the Ottoman, Armenian, and Russian sources at times refer to the Persians as the *Kizilbash* and Persia as the land of the *Kizilbash*.

³ Absent from **A** and **D**.

⁴ The Persian term (*khondgār*) refers to the Ottoman sultan.

graciously, and ordered it to be so. The soldiers, who had come to the khan, swiftly took off their Ottoman uniforms, cut off their long beards, put on *Kizilbash* uniforms and began to resemble the regular *Kizilbash*. After that, the khan ordered the town crier to go and announce loudly in town that the shah's power *and rule*¹ was thereafter restored in the town. Anyone who wished the shah well could remain in peace; anyone who wished to leave could go peacefully on his way. All the remaining men thus stayed in town until the shah arrived in Nakhichevan.

The shah was still in Tabriz. He swiftly completed all local affairs and immediately ordered his cavalry commanders to march straight on to Nakhichevan.

On the way, when they reached the small town of Julfa, the large and diverse population of the town, who had prepared themselves earlier, came out to greet the shah, as befitting a king, while the youth, dressed and [25] equipped, robed in magnificent garments of golden cloth,² walked in a procession to greet the shah. Young lads carried sweet and precious wine in golden cups. With lit candles, frankincense and incense, and singing fine hymns, *k'ahana*³ walked in front and sang with beautiful voices. The shah's path was decorated: from the bank of the river [Arax] to the mansion of *Khoja*⁴ Khach'ik, the road was covered with carpets and expensive and magnificent brocades,⁵ upon which the shah marched to the house of *Khoja* Khach'ik. In his house, *Khoja* Khach'ik handed his son a golden tray, full of golden coins, which was presented to the shah. All the notables of Julfa also brought gifts, befitting a king. The shah remained there for three days and the Julfans entertained him with magnificent, refined victuals and fragrant wines.

¹ Absent from **B** and **E**.

² It was known as *zarbaf*.

³ Armenian priests have different names: the parish priests (married, widowed, or celibate) are known as *k'ahana* (L. *sacerdos*), *erëts'* (Gr. *ier-eus*), or *abegha* (Gr. *monakhos*, L. *monachus*, the lowest rank of celibate priest in the Armenian Church). Since Arak'el makes a distinction between them, they shall not be translated as "priest" but will remain in their original form. In addition, *abegha*, *k'ahana*, and *erëts'* will appear as singular nouns.

⁴ The Armenian term *khoja* is from the Persian *khwaja*, and refers to Armenian non-religious leaders, usually wealthy merchants.

⁵ Text reads *kumash*, from the Persian *qomāsh*, a fine dyed cotton cloth. See W. Floor, *The Persian Textile Industry* (Paris, 1999), 166.

Shah 'Abbās, that snake¹ from the underworld, who from the earliest times was filled with a viper's hatred toward Christians, was envious of such wealth and well being among Christians. He began to think of a way and an opportune moment to betray them. However, for the moment, he kept his poison hidden and outwardly acted very content.

Three days later, he left Julfa and went to Nakhichevan. Entering the town, he took possession of it without a struggle and without using any force. He stayed there for several days and appointed notables and administrators to govern throughout its borders.

[Then] the shah, together with his entire army, [26] marched on the city of Erevan. When he reached Erevan, he surrounded it and besieged the fortress without any difficulty or force. He laid siege and remained there, for the surrounding lands, occupied on his order, were very productive and had food in abundance. The Persian army had its fill of both animals and people [for labor]. Thus, he settled down and waited calmly. At times he ordered fierce battles and, at other times, he would retreat and fade away. From time to time he would send men to the fortress with proposals of peaceful negotiations. With false oaths and insidious speeches, he asked them to give up the fortress and go peacefully to their homeland with their belongings. But the Ottoman troops did not pay heed to the shah's words, and continued to hope that perhaps help would arrive from somewhere.

In the meantime, the shah ordered the Persian troops to go throughout the Ararat province and its surrounding *gawars* and gather men, called *radat'*,² from all quarters, be they Christian, Muslims, or from other groups,³ and to bring them to the Persian camp so that they could join in battles together with the Persians, to march ahead of the cavalry⁴ and to help the Persian army. Thus, during battle, when there was an attack or when the cavalry advanced, they would drive the Christians ahead and place them under fire and sword, so that the Armenian people would be massacred from both sides: the Ottomans in front and the Persians from behind.

¹Text reads *vishap* (dragon, large snake).

² The word should be *ra'iyat* (subjects, peasants, plebian). Brosset's assumption of road-guards is incorrect, *MB*, 281.

³Absent from **A** and **D**.

⁴Text reads *sibay*, from *sipah/sipahi* (army, cavalry).

[27] After the taking of Tabriz, while the shah was still there, he sent Amir Gūna Khan¹ from there to Ganje, with orders that he stay there and block the route of the Ottoman army [stationed in the region], so that they could not attack unexpectedly and inflict losses on the Persian army. He went to Ganje, stayed there for two months, and when he realized that the Ottomans were powerless and in no condition to take Ganje, he put the entire Ganje province to fire and sword without mercy. He slaughtered some of the inhabitants, ravaged others and drove them with their goods and families as prisoners to Erevan, for the satiation and amusement of the Persian army.

During the time that the shah had besieged the Erevan fortress and done battle there, he gave the Erevan province to Amir Gūna Khan and appointed him the governor of that province.

When the shah arrived in Erevan, all the inhabitants of that region came, bowed and greeted the sovereign. They brought gifts according to their means. Kat'oghikos Srap'ion also came with gifts and was presented to the shah. When the shah asked him who he was and where he had come from, he replied that he was the kat'oghikos of the Armenians and that he came from Amida. The shah disregarded him and did not converse with him, for he did not recognize him [as kat'oghikos]. He wanted to appoint Melk'isēt' as kat'oghikos, who was by his side *and who pretended to be a shahsavan*.² Seeing that the shah did not recognize him, Srap'ion left Erevan and went to Julfa, intending to return to his home [Amida].

In those tempting days, Shah 'Abbās, with insidious intentions, summoned Kat'oghikos Dawit' [28] and Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' and said, "As you know, it is a custom and a law of kings, that since the land was previously in the hands of the Ottomans and is now in ours, all their property and income, which is now without an owner, should revert to our treasury, that is, the *mirimali*."³ You are now in

¹ He was one of the military commanders of Shah 'Abbās I. In 1605, he was appointed as the governor (beglarbeg) of the Erevan province, a post he held for twenty years until his death in 1625.

² Absent from A. The term comes from *shahīsavānī*, "those loyal to the king" or "the royalists." It became popular during the reign of Shah 'Abbās I as *shāhīsavānī kardan* (Let him who loves the shah present himself at such and such a place). Some sources claim that Shah 'Abbās polarized the *Kizilbash* by detaching the royalist groups into separate units. See *CHI*, VI, 264-265.

³ From the Arabic term *mīri-māl* (crown property).

possession of a great deal of wealth, which, since you borrowed it from them [the Ottomans], you have to repay to us without any excuses. This debt has to be paid to the State treasury since it was the property of the Ottomans. Since we have seized their land, all that belonged to them has to go to the *mirimali*. When you pay the debt to the royal treasury, I shall issue a decree, which will release you from the *divan*¹ and the court. The note will state that I have received all the money loaned to you by them [the Ottomans]. Let no one demand anything from you, for you have paid it to me.”

The kat'oghikoi had avoided the debts, they had counted on the shah, and had hoped that perhaps the shah would save them from the creditors, but now the shah himself was demanding the debt from them. Such was the aid from the shah in which they had put their trust! The kat'oghikoi realized that they could not slip away from his grasp, for they knew his greed. Willingly or unwillingly, they paid the entire debt they owed former creditors to Shah 'Abbās. Kat'oghikos Srap'ion was remembered in this affair as well. The shah told the kat'oghikoi, “I shall now dispatch one of my servants, such and such a man, after that kat'oghikos. You, in turn, equip someone to go with my messenger, find him, and [29] bring him as befits him.” That is why the kat'oghikoi sent one of their men with the shah's servant after Kat'oghikos Srap'ion. They went to Julfa, found Kat'oghikos Srap'ion, detained him, put him under guard, and demanded a large sum of money from him. He gave as much as he could, but it was not enough, and displaying their inhumanity and wild temper, they subjected Srap'ion to terrible tortures: they beat him with rods and whips; they humiliated the honorable man in every possible way, even to the point of hanging him by his feet in the square and beating him severely with clubs for many days in view of everyone. Realizing that there was no escape from them, Srap'ion borrowed a large sum and gave it to them; then, like Judas, they were content with money and bribes, and they let him go. He tore himself like a lamb from the wolf's lair, left Julfa, and barely escaped from them. With an unhappy spirit and melancholy heart, with inconsolable and bitter moans, he went to the city of Van and, from there, to the city of Amida. He stayed there a year, and in the second [year] he died and went to God. His death occurred on April 23 in the year 1055 (1606) of our calendar. He was buried in the

¹ From the Arabic term *diwan* has various meanings (chancery, tribunal, assizes, council of state). The term will thus remain as is.

cemetery of the city of Amida. May his memory be blessed and may God forgive us through his prayers, Amen.

The shah, however, was still fighting and, while besieging the fortress of Erevan [1603], continued to ruin the land and drive the Armenians into captivity. He dispatched his commanders [30] with a large army toward Erzurum. They went, destroyed the regions of Basen and Khnus,¹ and reached Erzurum and its environs. Wherever they went they destroyed, ruined, burned, and defiled the land and the settlements, plundered the goods and property, killed the men, enslaved the women and children, and brought them to their camp in Erevan.

Troops were also sent to the Arjēsh region. Arriving there, they, like those mentioned above, destroyed the settlements, enslaved and defiled the Armenian population during the winter [1603-1604].

At that time, while the shah was doing battle and besieging the Erevan fortress, Allahverdi Khan² came from Shiraz to the shah. His arrival was of great value to the Persians. The shah dispatched Allahverdi Khan to the town of Artskē.³ The reason he was sent to Artskē was the following:

In the year 1049 (1600) of the Armenian calendar, the Georgian ruler, Simon Khan the Great, rebelled against Ottoman rule and massacred the Ottoman garrisons in Georgia. That is why the Ottoman sultan,⁴ Mehmed Sultan,⁵ ordered the governor of Tabriz, Ja'far Pasha, to gather a large army and march against Simon Khan. With a large army, Ja'far Pasha marched against Simon Khan by the order of the sultan. It came to pass that Simon Khan fell into the hands of the Ottomans. Ja'far Pasha entrusted Simon Khan to another pasha, named Mehmed Pasha, to take him to the sultan in Constantinople. When Mehmed Pasha brought Simon Khan to the sultan, the sultan

¹ It refers to present-day Hınıs.

² Allahverdi Khan was one of the military commanders of Shah 'Abbās the Great. He came from the *ğulams* (*ghulām*) and was Armenian or Georgian in origin.

³ It refers to present-day Adilcevaz.

⁴ Text reads *khondk'ar*.

⁵ It refers to the Ottoman sultan, Muhammad III (1595-1603). Arak'el uses a variety of spellings for Muhammad. Modern Turkish spelling is Mehmed. To avoid confusion, Mehmed will be used to identify Ottoman officials and Muhammad for sultans.

gave him [Mehmed Pasha] as *khila*¹ the *pashalik*² of Erzurum, as well as the [31] *arpalêgh*³ of the *pashalik* of Van. Leaving for Erzurum by the sultan's order, Mehmed Pasha began to govern the *pashalik*. The [inhabitants of the] city of Van and its surrounding *ghasabē*⁴ did not like this, for they could not tolerate the idea that the city of Van with its forts had become so weak as to become an *arpalik* of [subject to] Erzurum. Hence they did not wish to submit to Mehmed Pasha. Mehmed Pasha left Erzurum, went to Van, and submitted it to his will. He thus left to force the surrounding *qaşabe* to his will as well. He traveled around and put everything in order, until he reached Artskē. But the governor of Artskē, also named Mehmed Pasha, did not wish to submit, and learning of his approach, gathered a large army, took refuge in the fort, fortified it, and could not be conquered, for the fort was unassailable. Mehmed Pasha besieged the fort and began a courageous battle. The other Mehmed Pasha, who was inside the fort, in order to avoid war, and on the advice of his followers, dispatched loyal men to secretly go to the shah, who was, at that time, in the vicinity of the fortress of Erevan and was doing battle there. The men came to the shah and said, "Sovereign, may you live forever! Mehmed Pasha, who is in the fort of Artskē, wishes to become a *shahsavan* and surrender the fort to the shah. But the pasha of Van does not want this. He has come, has surrounded the fort, and wants to conquer it. That is why Mehmed Pasha has sent us to Your Highness and begs you to send him an army for his rescue. He shall surrender the land and the fort to your commander."

[32] The skillful and crafty Shah 'Abbās ordered Allahverdi Khan to take a large army and take the field. He told him, "If they hand you the land and the fort freely, you shall rule over the land and settle in the fort, but if they try to trick you, you must cause great harm to the land, take captives, and return here." Allahverdi Khan left Er-

¹ The term is from the Arabic and Persian *khal'at*, which were gifts such as horses, decorated saddles or expensive robes, given by a ruler to his subordinates.

² The Turkish *pashalik* is the same as the Persian *khanate*; that is, a province or region.

³ The term is from the Turkish *arpalik* (a kind of fiefdom), hereinafter *arpalik*.

⁴ The term is from the Arabic and Persian *qaşabe* (borough, small town), hereinafter *qaşabe*. Brosset has misinterpreted it as properties belonging to Begg, *MB*, 283.

evan and went toward Artskē. Mehmed Pasha, who had besieged the fort, hearing of the approach of the khan, left it and departed for the Mush province. The khan approached Artskē and waited for [the other] Mehmed Pasha, who was inside the fort, to appear and keep his promise. The latter did not appear and did not surrender the fort. In fact, he prepared to make war on the khan. The khan then commenced to attack the fort. The pasha and his troops came out of the citadel and in the first battle put the khan's army to flight. The khan, wishing a second battle, commenced to besiege the fort. He gave the following instructions to the troops that had besieged the fort, "You stay hidden in your positions. We shall attack the fort and when the defenders come out we shall feign a flight and shall go farther away from the citadel. You shall then get behind them, while we will face them. We shall thus surround and annihilate them." When they did this, that is, surrounded and annihilated those soldiers who had exited the fort, the remaining troops inside the fort closed the gates and did not surrender it to the khan.

Witnessing the strong resolve of the defenders of the fort, the khan left the fort and fell [33] on the *gawars* of that province and razed the land of Artskē to the ground; they burned it, massacred its male population, looted their belongings and took their sons, daughters and wives as captives. He left there and went to Arjēsh, Berkri,¹ and Van, and did the same in all those places. He roamed throughout the land as if he was its ruler and governor, without any fear or thought. He destroyed and burned the land through which he passed. He did not stay long in any one place, for there was no one who offered him any resistance. He did everything he wished and could. He gathered prisoners, herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, and herds of horses, drove them and gathered them into a huge wild stream [of people and beasts] and brought them to Erevan to strengthen the Persian army. That was the reason for Allahverdi Khan's journey to Artskē, during which so many Christians were taken prisoner, that their number, apart from the dead, they say, reached 23,000.

The Ottoman troops, who were in the fortress of Erevan, and who were led by Sayit Pasha² and the son of Khêtr (Khatir) Pasha, Süleyman Pasha,³ bravely blocked the route of the shah and the Per-

¹ Also called Bargiri, it was a city in Greater Armenia in the Vaspurakan province in the Ariberan district, 77 km north of Lake Van. It had 2,100 Armenian inhabitants prior to the 1915 Genocide.

² Eskandar Beg has Šerîf Pasha, AA, 846.

³ Eskandar Beg has Muhammad Pasha, AA, 846.

sian army and remained under siege for eight months. In the ninth month, however, realizing their hopeless situation, they surrendered the fortress. For the Ottomans came to the conclusion that they could not expect help from anywhere, not from the nearby towns and not from the court of their king; for their ruler's court was torn by troubles. The *khondk'ar*, Sultan Muhammad, died that year¹ and [34] his son, Sultan Ahmed,² who ascended the throne, was a youth of twelve. The [new] sultan was inexperienced and just a boy. In addition, there was no love or devotion to the royal family among the nobles. Furthermore, there were numerous attacks by the Jalali (*Celali*)³ in the interior of the country. They destroyed the cities and the state lands, and all the notables were busy [fighting against the *Celali*] and could not help the troops in Erevan. We will mention the names of these *Celali* below, in the chapter devoted to them. When you read that chapter, you shall know who the *Celali* were. Because of these events and other numerous difficulties endured by the Ottoman troops, who were *thus*⁴ besieged in the Erevan fortress, the hard-pressed Ottomans, having no hope of aid or deliverance, *therefore*,⁵ surrendered the fortress to the Persian army.⁶

¹ Sultan Muhammad died on December 22, 1603 (18 Rajab, 1012 AH).

² Sultan Ahmed reigned from 1603 to 1617.

³ The last decades of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth centuries were, to say the least, difficult times for the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire. The inflation that was caused by the infusion of large amounts of American silver in the form of European coins into the Ottoman Empire caused huge price increases in the 1580s. The Janissaries often mutinied and the *sipahis* (cavalry) abandoned their fiefs (*timar*) rather than go on long campaigns. Currency devaluated and direct and indirect taxes increased fivefold. Soon various commanders, accompanied by bands of troops, who had not been paid or had been discharged by the state, began to plunder the population. Christians and Muslims suffered equally. The government called these brigands *Celali*, or "rebels against the state." By 1598 the rebels were united under the leadership of Kara Yazıcı, who commanded some 20,000 men. In 1602 the government finally defeated him, but the brigands now dispersed throughout historic Armenia. Bands of *Celali*, led by pashas, continued to pose a threat to the countryside throughout the seventeenth century. See the Introduction and Chapter 7.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

⁵ Absent from A.

⁶ According to Eskandar Beg, Erevan surrendered on the eve of 9 Muḥarram 1013 AH (7 June 1604), AA, 846.

After taking the fortress, the shah ordered the criers to announce the following message throughout the Persian and Ottoman lands: "The great sovereign, Shah 'Abbās, announces that all who love the shah and his country and who wish to remain, can remain with God, and through their service shall be rewarded and raised to high positions by the shah; those who wish to depart to their lands and tribes can take their possessions and leave in peace." Sayit Pasha became a *shahsavan* and solicited the governorship of Imamuruz (Mashhad)¹; his request was granted and he departed for Khorasan to rule over Mashhad.² Süleyman Pasha asked the shah's permission to return to his people and the shah agreed to his departure.³ He gathered his belongings and left together with [35] 5,000 of his troops, as well as a large number of people. A number of devilish Persian regiments followed them, and quietly overtook their separate groups. They pounced on them, killing some; they forced others to flee. They thus robbed them of their possessions and returned to their own domain.⁴

The Persian shah did all this. The Ottoman population and their sultan sitting in Constantinople heard of this. They conferred and decided to come out into battle in order to crush the enemy. They appointed a certain Sinan Pasha, nicknamed Jghal-oghli (Ceğal-

¹ That is, Imam Reza, whose shrine, one of the most revered for the Shi'a, is in the city of Mashhad in Khorasan.

² According to Eskandar Beg, Sayit (Şerif) Pasha was an Isfahani by birth, "who now professed his innate Shi'ism and declared his wish to end his days at Mashhad, near the shrine of the Eighth Imam. To achieve this, he was prepared to cut himself off from his family and property in Anatolia. The shah granted his wish, and he set off for Mashhad with about one hundred men. Such was the shah's magnanimity that he granted him an annual pension of three hundred Iraqi tomān in cash, and an allowance of five hundred camel *kharvārs* of grain," AA, 846-847.

³ Aṛak'el's account is close to that of the Turkish sources, except that Sayit Pasha is named Şerif Pasha. See A. Safrastyan, *Turk'akan aghbyurnere hayastani, hayeri, ev andrkovkasi myus joghovurdneri masin*, I (Erevan, 1961), 55.

⁴ Eskandar Beg has a different account. He states that in order to prevent their being attacked and plundered by brigands, they were escorted by Sharaf-qoli Beg Cheganī and a detachment of *qūrchi* (royal household troops) and by 'Ali Khan Beg Rūmlū, an *eshik-āghāsī* (staff bearer or usher at court) as far as the fortress of Kars. The former returned safely, while the latter was held in custody until the arrival of Sinan Pasha, AA, 847.

oğlu), as the *sardar*.¹ He gathered a large army, left Constantinople, and headed east, towards our region.

After taking the fortress, the shah ordered that they seek all the wanderers and outsiders within the Erevan province, no matter how many they were, and drive them into Persia. This included all the prisoners, Christians, Muslims, and Jews, which the khans had driven from all over during their campaigns for loot. Amir Gūna Khan drove out the people from the Ganje province and Allahverdi Khan from Artskē, Arjēsh, Berki and Van. Other khans drove out people from Arjēsh, Manazkert,² Alashkert and Maku. Still other khans drove the people from Kars, Kağizman, Basen, Erzurum, and Khnus, as well as other people wherever they resided. [36] The order was carried out immediately: All such people, no matter how many they were, were driven into the land of the Persians.

After the shah took Tabriz and while he was still there, he had ordered to drive out all the foreigners who were there into Persia, an order that was carried out.

When he left Tabriz and came to Erevan via Nakhichevan, the aliens (Ottoman subjects) in Nakhichevan, learning that the shah had driven the aliens of Tabriz to Persia, decided that it was to their advantage to send a delegation to Erevan, to appear before the shah, and to announce that they were also *shahsavans* and wished to settle in the land of the Persians. In order to oblige them and to fool similar simpletons, the shah ordered that they be given *khal'ats* and they were given five *khal'ats*. The shah then appointed guards, who escorted them into Persia.

All of this occurred in a period of two years: the arrival of Kat'oghikos Srap'ion in Ējmiatsin; his election to the office of kat'oghikos; the arrival of the shah in that period and his capture of Tabriz, Nakhichevan, and Erevan; the return of Srap'ion to his home; and everything else which I have narrated in this chapter—all of this happened within two years, that is, in the years 1052 and 1053 (1603-1604) of our calendar.

¹ *Sardar* translates as commander-in-chief. Sinan Pasha (also known as Jeghal-oghli), hereinafter Ceğal-oğlu, was an Italian (Genoese) by descent, who had converted to Islam. He gained a number of victories against the Persians and Austrians.

² It is also known as Malazgerd or Manzikert.

[37] Chapter 4

*On the first invasion of the Ceğal-oğlu, which led the shah to
deport the entire population of the land of Ararat and its
surrounding regions*

After accomplishing all the tasks and undertakings that he had begun, the shah, together with his entire army, left Erevan and advanced toward Kars in order to capture it as well. When he reached the *gawar* of Shirakawan,¹ *the spies he had dispatched*² brought him continual news about the movements of Ceğal-oğlu. Other spies came and informed him of Ceğal-oğlu's reputation and deeds and said that Ceğal-oğlu has already arrived in the province of Karin, that is Erzurum. Hearing this news, the shah turned around and [38] went to the former [city of] Ervandakert, which is now called Aghjaghala (Ağça-kala).³

There, he informed his confidants about a plan that he had had in mind for a long time: to deport the Christian population and to destroy the land of Armenia. For, deep down in his mind, he knew that he could not wage war against Sinan Pasha, that is, *Sardar* Ceğal-oğlu. That is why he ordered the deportation of all the inhabitants of Armenia, whether Christian, Jew or Muslim, into Persia, so that when the Ottomans arrived they would find the land uninhabited. The Ottoman army would thus find no provisions or rations for themselves or their animals, and would weaken. Furthermore, the deported population would not be able to return and, for generations, would remain slaves and tax-paying peasants attached to the land. While the shah was sounding out this plan, he heard that Ceğal-oğlu had left Karin [Erzurum]. The shah then called all the notables of the land of Armenia to his presence and, pretending to be sympathetic to the Armenians, said to the elders and notables, "We have heard that Ceğal-oğlu has arrived and has already entered your country with countless troops. Our army is also innumerable. As you know, in such times there appear, on both sides, many men who have bile in their hearts: thugs, bandits, and scoundrels. We do not know who they are and where they come from. It is possible that some of these,

¹ It refers to the region between the city of Ani and the Akhurian River.

² Absent from A and D.

³ It is by the confluence of the Akhurian and Arax rivers.

who¹ have little regard for their own lives, might disobey the order of their commanders, and unexpectedly attack part of your land, capture your goods and your loved ones, and disperse. Your people [39] might well suffer great losses, become captives and die. But I am sympathetic toward you and wish to save you through the following means: Let the inhabitants of your land leave their homes and travel for several days, while we halt the march of the Ottomans and do battle with them. If the Lord grants us success, you shall return to your homes and will be our subjects, but if the Lord grants them victory, we shall leave and you shall return to your homes and will become their subjects.” This is what the shah told the Armenian notables, whose leader *was*² named *tēr* Hovanēs [Hovhannēs], and whom they honored by the title of Agha *tēr-tēr*. But they [the notables] guessed the treacherous plot and did not agree to the proposal. They sought a pretext, appeared before a high-ranking *nakharar* (courtier)³ of the shah, and said, “As you know, it is autumn now—for it was after the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross⁴ when they began the deportations—and not everyone is ready to travel. Not all have beasts of burden to transport their belongings and their children, for although the healthy and the strong can travel on foot, the elderly and the young cannot. We beg that the shah have pity on us now, we shall carry out his command in springtime.” They said this to gain time.

But the ravager of countries and the destroyer of Christians, the shelter of the devil,⁵ Shah ‘Abbās, did not heed the Armenian petitions. He called his commanders to his presence and from among them appointed overseers and guards for the local population. Each commander [40] was to take his troops and drive out the population of one *gawar*.

The population of the city of Erevan, the region of Ararat, and its surrounding *gawars* was [entrusted to] Amir Gūna Khan. The shah ordered, under the fear of imprisonment and death, to deport the en-

¹ Absent from A.

² Absent from F.

³ The main Armenian feudal lords of the Arsacid period were called *nakharars*. Arak'el uses this term frequently when referring to the main grandees of the Persian, Georgian or Ottoman courts.

⁴ Celebrated on the closest Sunday to September 14th; making it a variable date from September 11-17. According to Brosset it occurred on September 16, 1604, *MB*, 287.

⁵ Text reads *nesar*, from the Hebrew *ne'sār'* (Satan).

tire population from wherever they could. Not one soul was to be left behind, be he a Christian or a Muslim, willing to leave or not.

After receiving such a fatal and cruel order from the shah, each commander went with his troops to the *gawars* of Armenia to which they were assigned. Like flames spreading through reeds, they drove the frightened and alarmed inhabitants of the *gawars* out of their homes and forcibly evacuated them like a huge swarming herd *and brought them*¹ to the Ararat province, where they covered the entire plain from side to side. The width [of the refugee camp] covered from the slopes of the Garni mountains to the banks of the large Arax River, while the length I shall leave to you [the reader], but will only say that it was a day's journey. However, I have seen in another source that it was a five-day journey. The old year had just ended and the new year of 1054 (1604-1605) of the Armenian calendar had begun. It was the first Armenian month of Nawasard when they drove [41] the population of the land.² The Persian troops dispatched to drive the people forced them out and drove them from villages and towns; they set the places on fire, burning all the houses and dwellings without pity. The hay and straw, the wheat and barley, and other supplies stored by the people were all destroyed and burned as well.

The Persians thus ruined and depopulated the land before the Ottoman army; they left no provisions for the invaders and thus put them [the Ottomans] in danger. They also did this, so that the hearts of the refugees would be so shattered that they would not think of returning. While the Persian army, which was in charge of escorting the population, drove them into the plain of Ējmiatsin, and Shah 'Abbās was in Ağča-kala, the Ottoman *sardar*, Ceğal-oğlu, reached Kars with his army. Shah 'Abbās knew that he could not halt the Ottomans in open battle. Fearing their superior numbers, he, *therefore*,³ turned around and, with his army, followed the throng of people into Persia. The Ottoman army followed the Persian troops. Three groups emerged: the large and extremely numerous gathering of the people, the Persian army, and the Ottoman army. Hence, when the mass of the population decamped, their place was taken by Shah 'Abbās and the Persian army, and when they left, Ceğal-oğlu and the Ottoman

¹ Absent from A.

² Refers to autumn of 1605. This pre-Christian Armenian month began on 11 August and ended on 9 September; however in Arak'el's time it referred to the beginning of the fall equinox (September 21 to December 21).

³ Absent from A and D.

army arrived behind them. They thus tracked each other, following each other's footsteps until the people and the Persians reached the small town of Julfa and the Ottomans reached Nakhichevan. It was [42] then that the Persians, not giving the people time to catch their breath even for an hour, began with extreme harshness to drive them [the Armenians], striking them with mortal blows, and cutting off noses and ears of some, while cutting the heads of others. Thus, they cut the head of the brother of Kat'oghikos Arak'el,¹ who was named Hohanjan, as well as the heads of others by the banks of the Arax, and stuck them on poles. The Persians tormented the people with similar, and even more brutal, tortures to scare and terrorize them and those who witnessed such, in order to force them to cross the [Arax] river quickly. The insidious Persians subjected the population to such ordeals because they feared the Ottoman army at their heels. For the Persians looked at the throng of people and their own army and saw that it was huge in numbers. It would take many days to transfer such a large mass across the river. The Persians feared that during that time the Ottoman army would suddenly attack the Persian army, inflict casualties *on them*,² or repel the people and return them [to their homes] which would defeat their [own] perfidious plan. That is why they hurried the people to cross the river. The numbers of people were great and there were not enough boats and rafts. Although they secured extra boats from somewhere and many rafts were constructed right there, due to the immense number of people and Persian troops, all of that was not enough. The Persian guards, [43] who escorted the people, surrounded them so that no one would escape. They hit them with clubs, hacked and beat them and drove them into the water, thus adding danger and sorrow to their plight.

The unfortunate people, faced with the wide river that resembled a drowning sea and hacking Persian swords, could not find a way out. Amidst universal cries of lamentation and a great shedding of tears, they gave birth to a second Arax. Cries and groans, screams and moans, laments and grief united into a single and loud outcry, but there was no mercy or escape.

Here, our people truly needed the ancient Moses, or his disciple Joshua, so that they could save the new Israel from the clutches of

¹ As noted, Arak'el of Vagharshapat was coadjutor kat'oghikos at Eĵmiatsin from 1575 to 1579.

² Absent from A and D.

the second Pharaoh,¹ or to stop the flow of the wide and great river; but they were not present, for the weight of our sins had shut the doors of God's mercy to us.

The pitiless Persian soldiers drove the people and forced them to enter the water. When they waded into the river, fear made them wail and scream louder and louder. They began to cross, some grabbing a corner of a boat, others holding to rafts, others to the tails of horses, bulls, and oxen, and yet others by swimming. Those who could not swim or were weak, namely old men and women, boys, girls, and children, were all over the river, [44] which seized and swept them like straw in a spring deluge. The river was full of people, who were swept by the current. Although some managed to swim across, many others perished by drowning.

Some horsemen, from among the Persian troops, darted in and out among the Christians. They were bold and strong and rode mighty horses. They scrutinized and watched the sons and daughters of the Christians, and if anyone caught their fancy, be it a woman, maiden, *or*² youth, they would fool their parents by saying, "Give them to me and I shall take them to the other bank." Once they got there they refused to release them and would take them anywhere they wished. Others would secretly seize and carry them off. Still others would take them by force from their parents³ or would kill the parents and carry off the young people. The unbearable calamity that hung over the people forced many mothers to drop *and abandon*⁴ their children on the road. Others left, abandoning their sick relatives. Thus, I repeat, our people suffered terrible horror and untold misery. I do not have the power to describe the mournful lament and grief over the death of the Armenian people who managed to endure such a disaster. For when our people, like those of ancient Israel, were driven to captivity by the second Babylonians, there was no second Jeremiah to admonish them, or a second Ezekiel to enlighten them, nor was there a [second] Joshua or Zorobab to guide them back home.⁵ Rather, they resembled a dispersed herd without a shepherd, who were chased by the fangs of wolves and other predatory

¹ Exodus 14-18.

² Absent from B and C.

³ Text reads "masters," in this case the adult male members of the family.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

⁵ See Jeremiah 1.14-16; Ezekiel 18. 1-24; Joshua 4.1-24.

beasts [45] running after them. They went along weeping and some carried seeds.¹

What followed after, that is, the saying, "they shall return home in joy," did not apply here,² for the Armenians did not return and there was no joy. They remained there where they were kept and resettled, that is, in the land of the Persians.

It came to pass that all the [Armenian] people crossed the river and, mingled with the Persian army, continued their journey. Up until then, Amir Gūna Khan drove the population onward. Now, Shah 'Abbās ordered him to depart with his troops. He appointed Elias Solṭān Khalifala³ as escort and ordered him to drive the people further away from the Ottoman army swiftly and take them into Persia. The shah, together with the entire Persian army, took the *jadah*,⁴ that is, the royal highway, and went to the city of Tabriz. They took the [Armenian] people to Tabriz, but not by the royal road, for they feared that the Ottomans would catch up and take the Armenians from the Persians. The shah ordered Elias Solṭān to take the Armenians through ravines, secret passages and difficult routes, through which the Ottoman army could not follow. He led the people and took them to the ravine through which flows the channel of the Arax River, through difficult mountain precipices and slopes, through gorges and narrow paths. After suffering many misadventures, they got through the mountain passes. Being led through difficult-to-pass places, the people were brought to the land called [46] T'arumkhalkhal (Ṭārum-Khalkhal),⁵ as well as to Ahar, Mushkun (Mushkān)⁶ and their environs and settled there for several months, because the great winter frost hampered their movements.

With the approach of the benevolent springtime,⁷ another commander was appointed over the [Armenian] population. He was named Abū Torāb Beg⁸ and once again he drove the people on until he brought them to Isfahan. The townspeople were separated and re-

¹ Refers to Psalm 126.6.

² Ibid.: "Shall come home with shouts of joy, carrying their sheaves."

³ He was also known as Elias Khalife Karādaghlu.

⁴ From the Arabic *jādat*: a highway, a straight or beaten path.

⁵ It refers to a district in Azarbaijan, which is situated on both banks of the Kizil Uzun River. It is among the ravines and narrow valleys, which run down from the mountains to the river.

⁶ Village located in Mahabad, Azarbaijan.

⁷ This occurred in 1605.

⁸ He was the cousin of Tokhmāq Moḥammad Ostajalu, khan of Erevan.

settled in that city [Isfahan]. The villagers and peasants were resettled in the environs of the city of Isfahan: in Lnjan (Linjān),¹ Alnjan (Alinjan), Gandiman (Geandiman) Jghakhoṛ (Bakhtīyār), P'eria (Faridan), and Burwari.² They settled down there³ and live there to this day. For the elders, who had come there from Armenia and who knew the beauty of Armenia, had died there [in Persia], and those who were born there [in Persia], were reared and educated there and were accustomed to that land. They learned to love it and got used to it; and since they were trained like that, they thus remained there and live there to this day.

From among the Armenians who were resettled in Isfahan, 500 households were separated and left in Isfahan. Five hundred households were taken to the Shiraz province and resettled there. Since the Armenians were obedient and loyal, the governor of Shiraz, Allah-verdi Khan, had asked Shah 'Abbās to give him a part of the Armenian population, so that they would be his subjects. The shah complied with his request, and he [the khan] moved them and settled them in the Shiraz province.

[Let us now] return to the beginning of our narrative. When, by the shah's order, [47] Amir Gūna Khan prepared to drive out the [population] of the Ararat province, he sent a part of his troops to the *gawaṛ* of Garni to remove and to take [the inhabitants] and to join them to the other refugees. The troops came and, first of all, entered the village of Garni, where, contrary to the orders of the shah, they seized, like bandits and robbers, the property and the children of the Christians. Seeing this, the villagers made a pact and attacked them in a great throng, [armed] with swords and hoes, stones and clubs. They killed and decapitated many and put the Persians to flight. They, themselves, remained carefree in their village, as in the time of [Emperor] Maurice.⁴

¹ Missing from Brosset, *MB*, 291.

² There were 12 Armenian villages. Some of them are in the district of Chehār Maḥal, southwest of Isfahan; others are close to Golpayegan. For more details, see V. Ghougassian, *The Emergence of the Armenian Diocese of New Julfa in the Seventeenth Century* (Atlanta, 1998), 36-37.

³ A and D read, "stayed there."

⁴ This refers to the short-lived calm after the second partition of Armenia in 591 between the Byzantine emperor, Maurice, and the Sasanid king, Khosrow-Parviz (Khosrow II). Erevan and Garni became part of Byzantine territory. The reigns of Maurice (582-602) and Phocas (602-610) were actu-

They did not flee from there, *or*¹ go to the khan to inform him of the excesses [committed by the Persian troops]. Meanwhile, the defeated troops appeared before Amir Gūna Khan, falsely accused the Christians and blamed them for everything. Infuriated over this, [the khan] arrived in a great rage with his army at the *gawaṛ* of Gaṛni. He first seized the men of the Gaṛni village and subjected them to painful tortures: they were beaten with rods (*bastinado*) and their limbs were cut off. He immediately drove them out and ordered his commanders to include them in the large group of refugees. They drove them out [and] combined them with the other exiles, together with whom they set out on the road to the land of the Persians. While in [the village of] Gaṛni, they [the commanders] informed Amir Gūna Khan that in the *gawaṛ* of Gaṛni there were inhabitants in some of its villages who had fortified themselves in ravines and [mountain] crevices. In particular, they named Bishop Manuēl of the Hawuts' T'aṛ monastery and Bishop Astuatsatur of the Geghard monastery, who had hid in such ravines and who had made fortifications there. The two bishops, learning about the depopulation of the land, stocked [48] the most necessary items of food and drink, and taking some of their close associates, clerics and laymen, went to the Geghard ravine and fortified themselves in one of its caves—for the gorge of Geghard has had, from time immemorial, numerous hollow crevices and strongholds. Learning *of*² this, Amir Gūna Khan arrived with the army at his disposal *and*³ came before the Geghard gorge, where the two bishops had sought refuge. He began to shout and tried to convince them to submit peacefully to the shah's order. But they [the bishops] uttered loud and disgraceful profanities [and] abuse, *and*⁴ insulted *his dignity*,⁵ threw stones and shot arrows at him. Realizing that he could not achieve his aim peacefully, the khan ordered his troops to fulfill his command by whatever means possible. A number of rock climbers from among his troops climbed on top of the mountain in which the cave was located, and, holding to the ledge, descended by the winding path to the opening [of the cave]. One of the rock climbers, a Muslim, reached the cave where

ally not peaceful, but witnessed major upheavals in Armenia. See Kirakos of Gandzak, *Patmut'yun hayots'* (Erevan, 1961), 46-50.

¹ Absent from A and F.

² Absent from A.

³ Absent from A, B, and C.

⁴ Absent from A.

⁵ Absent from F.

Bishop Manuēl was located. He entered and looked inside. Seeing the bishop sitting there, he at first addressed him in his own [Muslim's] language. The bishop, in his astonishment,¹ could not even respond. The Muslim took heart from this. He entered the cave, drew the sword from his belt, struck the bishop and killed him instantly. He cut off his head and threw it down by the khan's feet. Then, the other [49] Persian soldiers took heart, hurriedly ascended the ravine and seized the bishop's followers. They brought them down to the khan and killed all of them there and then. After that, the Persians conducted a thorough search throughout the ravine and found all the refugees who had hidden in the crevices. They brought them down and seized their property. They killed some and drove the rest to join the other exiles.

Here God's just judgment manifested itself—for it strikes until the division of breath, spirit and joints—² in regard to these two bishops who had gone to Isfahan and brought the Persians who destroyed Armenia.³ He deprived them of life, thought *and*⁴ breath. They died by the sword, for those whom the bishops trusted became their killers. According to what is written in the Scriptures: "one is punished by the very things one sins."⁵ They did not gain anything from their empty offer and their dishonest deeds. They received their punishment in front of the just tribunal of the Lord for the destruction of the land of Armenia, the massacre of its inhabitants, the death of innocent people, the shedding of blood, the destruction of sacred churches, and so forth, *as well as*⁶ many other misfortunes suffered by our people. In the end, they [the bishops] also perished under Persian swords.

Accomplishing this, the khan gathered all his army and went against the other refugees in the *gawar* of Gaṛni. They left those whom they could not catch; [50] they robbed and slaughtered those whom they caught. They drove the rest out and took them as far as a wide plain, called K'oradara (Valley of K'or). Although there were

¹ A and F read, "was astonished."

² Hebrews 4.12: "Indeed the word of God is living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing until it divides soul from spirit, joints from marrow; it is able to judge the thoughts and intentions of the heart."

³ See Chapter 3.

⁴ Absent from B, C, and F.

⁵ Wisdom of Solomon 11.16: "So that they may learn that one is punished by the very things by which one sins."

⁶ Absent from A, B, D, and F.

many caves and crevices in that gorge, where Christians had hid, the Persians ignored them and concentrated their efforts on the cave called Eakhêshkhan. For, hearing of its impregnability, many Christian men and women, some 1,000 souls, had sought refuge there. The Christians carefully guarded the route to the cave and, although the Persian troops, armed with arrows and guns,¹ fought for several hours, they did not succeed, for the cave was located high and deep within the rocks. The crafty Persians then thought of another way. They separated 200 men from their main force, who left the ravine and climbed on top of the cliff. The cliffs and rocks of the ravine were situated on top of each other in layers. Attaching their waistbands to each other, the Persians *thus*² began to descend *from one waistband to another*,³ until they reached the ledge below which the said cave was located. There they dressed four of their men in metal armor, covering them in metal from head to toe, tied four or five sabers to the waist of each man—so that if one broke, another would be available—gave them each a naked sword, and tied them with two or three ropes—so that if one broke, the other would hold them. They then lowered them from that high elevation. They [51] reached the cave, entered it, fell on the men and women with drawn swords and began to mercilessly cut them to pieces, like a wolf that attacks an enclosed herd and devours the animals without mercy. The Christians, witnessing the merciless Persian swords which cut them down, began to scream, wail sorrowfully, moan *loudly*⁴ and shed tears for the death of their loved ones. Like waves in a stormy sea, they collided into each other *and*⁵ ran in panic throughout the cave, seeking a way out, but there was no escape. The men, who guarded the route to the entrance of the cave, heard the commotion and realized what had occurred. They abandoned their posts and, worrying about *their*⁶ relatives, rushed into the cave to save them. Seeing that the defenders had left, the Persians below immediately entered the cave and began to kill the Christians with deadly swords. They started from the entrance of the cave and went to its remotest corners. They slaughtered everyone and threw their bodies down to the ground like animal fodder. Since all the men for whom they had no use and all

¹ Text reads *t'fank'ov*.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Absent from D.

⁵ Absent from C, D, and E.

⁶ Absent from A and D.

the old people were killed, the floor of the cave was covered with a sea of Christian blood and all the stones were stained with blood. They tore suckling infants from the breasts of their mothers and threw them down from the cave. Some of the women, young men and girls, who had escaped the massacre, realizing that they had fallen into the hands of dishonorable beasts in human form, who would take them captive, subject them to vileness and destroy their purity, decided to join death in a saintly manner [52] rather *than*¹ live longer in a state of sin and calamity. Many of them covered their faces with their clothes and scarves, threw themselves down from the high cliff and perished. Since there was a dense forest at the bottom of the ravine, some of those who threw themselves from the cave got caught on the tree branches and stuck there; others were *also*² ripped through from their stomach to their sacrum; still others were split from their heart to their shoulders. They too died a terrible and bitter death. The rest were taken prisoner and driven [to Persia]. Their belongings were scattered and seized by the Persians to enrich themselves. The Persian soldiers, together with the prisoners, left there and joined the main Persian army.

When I hear and write about all this, my heart grieves, my insides shudder, and my eyes shed streams of tears for the suffering of our people. I cannot decide by what example or in what manner I should bemoan here the destruction of our land and people, against whom came the fatal order from the mouth of the second Sabioros,³ from whose nostrils spewed the fiery breath that burned the cedars of Lebanon.⁴ He ['Abbās] turned the beneficent and fertile land of Armenia into an empty wilderness. During the migration, he did not drive out the population of only one or two *gawars* to Persia, but of many: starting from the [53] borders of Nakhichevan, through Eghegnadzor to the shores of Geghama Sea (Lake Sevan), the Lori and Hamzach'iman *gawars*, Aparan, Sharabkhana, Shirakawan, Zarishat and some of the villages of Kars, the entire ravine of Kaghzvan (Kağizman), the entire region of Alashkert, the villages in Maku and the land of Aghbak,⁵ Salmas, Khoy and Urmiye, and all the foreign-

¹ Absent from A.

² Absent from B, D, and E.

³ It refers to Shapur II (309-379), the Sasanid Persian king, who conquered Armenia and persecuted Christians.

⁴ Judges 9.15: "Let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon."

⁵ It is on the road between Tabriz and Van.

ers and aliens [i.e. the Turks], who resided in the city and villages [around] Tabriz, the entire plain of Ararat, the city of Erevan, the land of Kırk-Bulagh, the Tsaghkunk' valley, the Garni valley and Urtsadzor.¹ Prior to that, they had robbed, captured and driven the population of the *gawars* of Karin (Erzurum), Basen, Khnus, Manzikert, Artskē, Arjēsh, Berkri, and Van—and had taken the captives and their belongings to Erevan and had then driven them further with the others.

Thus, the shah ordered the deportation of the entire population of these *gawars*, as well as others, to resettle them in the land of the Persians. He turned the magnificent land of Armenia into ruins and wilderness.

Today, I can still see abandoned fertile lands, fields and meadows, the ruins of numerous villages and depopulated settlements; in addition, the smashed and broken clumps of impregnable rock-hewn castles and sturdy and invincible forts.

Furthermore, famed and glorious monasteries, places of pilgrimage and rest places of our saints are [in ruins as well]. Armenian churches, with their arches built from cut hard stones that reach the sky, [are abandoned as well]. Inside [the churches] are detailed paintings, [54] magnificent decorations and figures of flowers and animals, expertly carved in stone. Churches, whose architecture contains all the secrets of its builders, beautifully sculpted columns, capitals, doorways, windows and vaults [remain in ruins].

The sweet clear water still rushes cheerfully in the springs. The clear murmuring streams that flow from the snow-covered highlands descend to the plains and irrigate them.

[Finally], there is the fragrant and healthy air and wind [of my homeland]. The heart stands still when faced with all this goodness. I shed tears, lament and cry out for our magnificent and abundant land, which has turned into a wilderness. Our race and our people are severed from relatives, are separated from their paternal heritage and from their benevolent land. A land full of the relics of saints, irrigated by the blood of saints and martyrs, and consecrated by the propagation of the holy apostles.² Our people have been driven out and resettled in a foreign land. They are among those who speak another tongue, are their enemies in spirit and faith, and are thirsty for

¹ It is near the present-day Abovian district.

² It refers to the preaching of the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew in Armenia.

their blood. The number of Armenians is reduced daily through natural death and killings, as well as through apostasy, for some of them accept the wrong faith of the impious man of the desert.¹

What can I say about the divine churches? They are in gloom and [55] are abandoned. They are empty of their adornments and, as told by the prophet Isaiah, have become houses for wild animals and ostriches.² They are lairs of foxes and rabbits; enclosures for cattle and other animals; nests for birds and owls, and a home for owlets. Instead of being renovated daily, our churches are destroyed and demolished, and daily turned into ruins. Instead of being full of perfumed incense, they are full of cries, the voices praising God are silent, and the annual feasts, liturgies and sacred offerings are no longer there.

We need the ancient Jeremiah to bemoan the fate of the new Israel (Armenia), for, according to the lament of Movsēs,³ the father of narrators,⁴ the bridegroom shall never return to us. He has gone forever and shall not return. Hence we shall call our people *vayk'abovt'*,⁵ for, according to the old saying, they have taken the mantle of Israel.

Let us return once more to our previous narrative in which we had brought Ceğal-oğlu to Nakhichevan, and the shah to Tabriz. The shah thus went to Tabriz and spent the winter there with the Persian army, for his fear of the Ottomans had vanished.

But Ceğal-oğlu, who had followed the Persian army, reached Nakhichevan and learned that the shah had taken the [Armenian] population across the Arax River to Persia. Moreover, he had driven all the Julfans out and had set their homes on fire. He was shocked and amazed at the speed with which the Persians, in a few days, had managed to accomplish such great deeds. He, therefore, dispatched

¹ It refers to the prophet Muhammad.

² Isaiah 13.21: "But wild animals will lie down there, and its houses will be full of howling creatures; ostriches will live there, and goat-demons will dance there." Another passage from Jeremiah 50.39 echoes the same: "Therefore wild animals shall live with hyenas in Babylon, and ostriches shall inhabit her; she shall never again be peopled or inhabited for all generations."

³ Moses of Khoren's lament is in Bk. III, Chapter 68 of his *History of the Armenians*. See Thomson, 350-354.

⁴ Arak'el, like most Armenians, considers Moses of Khoren the father of Armenian historians.

⁵ It comes from a Hebrew word meaning "unfortunate or inglorious."

two scouts and ordered them to go to Julfa to ascertain the truth and to bring him [56] accurate news. The scouts went to Julfa and saw that all was over: the buildings in Julfa were burned and smoke continued to rise from the burning pieces of wood. They returned and informed Ceğal-oğlu of the truth of the rumors. Ceğal-oğlu decided then and there not to go by the Julfa road, cross the Arax River, and follow the Persians. First of all, he feared and suspected a Persian ruse, *of*¹ suddenly turning and striking a blow against the Ottomans, caught between the Arax and the ravines. Secondly, the population had been taken by a difficult route, which the Ottomans, even if they wished, could not traverse. Third, because their traditional day of [seasonal] return called Ghasum Giwni was approaching.² He thought of all of this and thus he did not march on Tabriz; he left Nakhichevan, crossed the Arax by the village of Astapat and went with his *entire*³ army to the city of Van, where he spent the winter until the arrival of spring.

¹ Absent from A, B, D, and E.

² The end of the summer military operations and the start of the winter season are referred to as *Kasım-günü* (Qasim in Ottoman Turkish) in contemporary Ottoman sources. According to the modern Turkish calendar, it began on November 8 and ended on May 5. Brosset begins it on October 20. *MB*, 296; Khanlaryan has October 26 to April 23, *KHcr*, 507.

³ Absent from F.

[57] Chapter 5

On the exile of the population of the wealthiest town of Julfa to Persia

I have already recounted all that was done by Shah 'Abbās to the Armenian land and people during their expulsion to Persia. It is now time to tell about the large and glorious town of Julfa. For, the bitter poison and envy concealed for a long time in the shah's heart against Julfa had the opportunity to emerge now. He followed the example of his predecessor, Sabioṙos (Shapur). As I already mentioned in the previous chapter, the shah appointed guards from among the Persian army and dispatched them throughout the land of Armenia. They expelled the Armenians and did the same in Julfa.

[58] The shah summoned Hanis Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg, whom we mentioned at the very beginning.¹ He was the brother of the *atabeg*. He had been a Georgian hostage of the Persian kings, had been reared by them and had renounced his faith. The shah now summoned this Ṭahmāsp-qoli to his presence, wrote a *nomos*,² that is, a decree, gave it to him and ordered him to go to Julfa to expel its entire population and to leave not a single inhabitant there. Ṭahmāsp-qoli left the shah, rushed straight to Julfa, summoned its notables, and with great fury threatened them with harsh and torturous death if they did not immediately carry out the shah's order. They assembled all the people and read the shah's decree, in which it was written, "His Majesty orders you, the inhabitants of Julfa, to leave your homes and to go to the land of the Persians."

After that, Ṭahmāsp-qoli ordered the *jarch'i*, that is, the town crier, to announce [the following] in every quarter of the town of Julfa, "The great king, Shah 'Abbās, orders you to leave and move to the land of the Persians. If you move within three days, we shall treat you leniently. Those who are found here after three days will be killed, their families will become captives, and their belongings confiscated. If anyone flees or hides, his property shall be given to the person who points to his hiding place and his head will be sent to the shah." The town crier shouted this order everywhere and scared eve-

¹ See Chapter 3. He was the son of the Armenian *melik* of Somkhet'i and belonged to one of the six major *tavadi* families. He converted to Islam and became part of the *ḡulams*, hence Ṭahmāsp-qoli (slave of Ṭahmāsp).

² The term is from the Greek word *nomos* (law or ordinance).

ryone. The Julfans, fearing death, did not linger at all. The shah's order [59] was immediately carried out and they went on their way. But since they had to leave in a hurry and could not make advance preparations, people could not find beasts of burden. They were anxious, for although all their belongings were scattered in front of them, they could not load and take anything because of the lack of oxen. Those who managed to take items took only some; those who did not buried them in hiding-places and dugouts. Most of their belongings were lost and plundered, because not only did the troops, who had arrived with Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg, rush the inhabitants to leave in a hurry, but also the Muslims, who had gathered there from surrounding villages, as well as the Persian troops who were in front of the main army and who had joined the soldiers of Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg, pressed them. The number of Persians in Julfa increased daily. Thus, Muslims, in groups of ten, twenty or thirty, entered the houses of Christians and with harsh beatings forced them to prepare to leave. They looted their belongings, took everything they fancied and scattered the rest for others to take. The possessions of the Christians were thus looted and destroyed.

Witnessing the inhumanity and the villainy of the Persians, the killings, the looting and the violence, all the inhabitants of Julfa despaired and involuntarily gathered to leave. Although the strong and those who were well off went on their way, the weak, the poor, widows and the old [60] could not go. They sighed pitifully, mourned, wailed and shed bitter tears; some for their homes and family, some for their belongings and patrimony, some for their churches, some for the graves and tombs of their ancestors, and others because of the weakness of their bodies and their inability to move. Their eyes shed great torrent of tears, but there was no one to pity them and help them, for the doors of God's mercy were closed to them.

The *k'ahana* took the keys to the church, called Upper Kat'an, went out by the gate of the town of Julfa, and made their way to the church called Astuatsatsin (Mother of God), built outside the walls of Julfa. They stopped and looked at the church. Many of the Christians, who had also brought the keys to their houses, came and joined the *k'ahana*, and all together they let out a mournful wail. With their hearts breaking to pieces and their eyes full of tears, they moaned and cried, and loudly called on the Mother of God, saying, "O Holy Mother of God, we entrust to you the keys of our holy church and our houses. Bring us back from the foreign land where they are taking us." After making this prayer, they threw the keys in the river.

They cried and wailed continuously for many hours and they then continued on their way.

Hence, the citizens of Julfa, rich and poor, got up and went to the banks of the Arax River in order to cross it. They halted there and settled within the camp, until the inhabitants of all the villages gathered by the banks of the river. When all the population had gathered, the Persians ordered them to cross the river. [61] At that time, Shah 'Abbās came to Julfa and stopped by the banks of the Arax River. Then, as if out of sympathy for the Julfans and to aid them, Shah 'Abbās told his commanders to order that their troops help the Julfans cross to the other bank of river on horses and camels [provided by the army]. When the Persian horsemen took the Christians across, they took whoever and whatever pleased them—women, girls, or young men, as well as material goods—and went on their way. The owners and relatives could not follow them. They fell into captivity and perished. Those who were weak fell into the water, floundered and screamed, and were carried away by the current of the river. Many drowned and died. Bodies and corpses of the drowned lay on both sides of the river. With such tortures the people crossed the Arax River. They traveled a little further and they then set up camp until everyone gathered in that camp.¹

During those troubled times, the experienced and crafty Shah 'Abbās thought of new calamities for the Julfans. He summoned the same Hanis Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg and asked, "Did you burn all the structures of Julfa and expel its people?" He replied that since the shah had not ordered it he had not burned them. The shah cursed him for a long time and ordered him to return right away with a large force and burn all the buildings and structures. They immediately went to Julfa with large bands, carrying burning torches, reeds and lamps full of *nafta*, and began to set fire to everything. They pulled down roofs and houses built of stone. [62] Not a single structure remained standing; everything was destroyed and ruined. After accomplishing their evil deed they returned, went to the camp, approached the shah and told him that they had carried out everything he had ordered.

After that, the shah ordered Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg not to give any more rest to the Julfans but to drive them fast to Tabriz. He went and

¹ For further details see Avgostinos Bajets'i, "Patmut'iwn t'agaworats'n hayots'" in *Nshkhark' matenagrut'ean hayots'*, ed. K'. Patkanean (St. Petersburg, 1884), 5-7.

immediately pulled up the Julfans, who had set camp. On that same day and hour, when the people were just lifting their burdens, the sky and winds fell on the Christians. The clouds gathered, winds rose, the sky darkened, strong blizzards blew, loud thunder struck, and rain, mixed with snow, began to fall on the sorrow of the Christians. Those who were strong in body, or who had oxen, went on their way. The weak caught up to them after several days, suffering great torments at the hands of the Persians until they reached the city of *Tavrezh*, that is,¹ Tabriz.

In Tabriz, some impious men, due to the evil that was stored in their hearts, spewed insidious words about Julfa to the perfidious Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg. They remembered that there were still people left in Julfa, for; many had run into the mountains and ravines, others feigned weakness, old age, poverty, or gave other excuses and did not move, but stayed behind and were living there at present. When Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg heard this, he [63] was seized by a terrible rage, but he could not harm the Julfans [who had remained] for he had no power over them. They left them there until spring. At the beginning of spring,² Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg armed a noted man from among his men, a certain Hamdan Agha. Then he gave the shah's decree and order, and together with a large army sent him to Julfa to bring the rest of the population. Hamdan Agha arrived in Julfa with *his*³ troops, gathered the remaining inhabitants and, in a harsh and cruel voice, said, "You must obey the order of the king. Gather your families and belongings and accompany us. If you do not come, your men and the strong among you shall be put to the sword, and your families and possessions will become captives." The Persians also climbed into the mountains and ravines, found hidden refugees, and brought them back to Julfa. On Monday, in the second week of the fiftieth day, they left Julfa for Tabriz. Moving through Tabriz, they joined them to the first group of exiles who were in the city of Qazvin. Because of the winter cold, *they could not go any further*.⁴ They were all settled in the city of Qazvin and the surrounding villages. The moment the winds of spring⁵ appeared, they roused them once more and drove them on until they reached the city of Isfahan. They settled them there and provided them with land parcels for construc-

¹ Absent from F.

² This occurred in the spring of 1605.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ This occurred in the spring of 1606.

tion. The Julfans built their homes and living quarters with magnificent structures, vaulted trade arcades, pavilions with extensions, summer houses, high living quarters [64] decorated with beautiful golden and azure colors. They also built marvelously decorated churches, worthy of God's Glory, with heaven-like chapels and sublime cupolas, enriched with many colors, with gold and azure, depicting the mysteries of the Lord and the images of the saints. On top of the cupola of each church stood the holy cross, the symbol of the Eternal Church and the pride of every Christian.

There were many reasons why the inhabitants of Julfa and other Armenians were settled in the city of Isfahan. Shah 'Abbās, being a wise and clever administrator, sought ways to keep the Armenians in the land of Persia. For, without his effort, they would not stay there. First of all, Shah 'Abbās was a friend of the Armenians and respected them,¹ especially the Julfans, whose leader was named *Khoja* Safar, his brother *Khoja* Nazar, and their sons Melik Agha, Sult'anum, and Sarfraz (Safraz).² He personally and constantly visited their homes, and drank and ate *their food*³ without hesitation—for it is customary among the Persians to be squeamish with Christians [considering them unclean].⁴ He also invited them to his home and his table and honored them as his own notables. He also ordered his grandees to behave in the same manner. Second, at the request of the Christians, he abolished the [poll] tax paid by the Christians [in Julfa] to the royal treasury. Third, if there were any arguments or litigations [65] between Christians and Muslims—major or minor—he vindicated the Christians and condemned the Muslims. Fourth, when he drove the Christians [out of Armenia] and settled them in

¹ The above statement may appear inconsistent with Arak'el's previous pronouncements. However, the text makes it clear that the shah mainly favored the wealthy Julfans, who enriched his treasury through their silk monopoly.

² *Khoja* Safar and *Khoja* Nazar were the sons of the wealthy *Khoja* Khach'ik, who had greeted Shah 'Abbās in his home at Old Julfa with a golden tray full of gold coins (see Chapter 3). This merchant dynasty was respected by the shah because of their great trade connections in the West and played a major role in the Perso-European trade. For more details, see H. K'iwrtēan, *Jughayets'i khoja Nazar ew iwr gerdastanē* (Boston, 1943). See also Chapter 16.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ The Persian term is *najes*. Observant Muslims, like Orthodox Jews, consider outsiders as unclean.

Isfahan and the surrounding villages, many Muslims were evicted from their homes. Their houses and fields were given to the Christians. Fifth, he, on his own volition, ordered the construction of churches all over [New] Julfa and its environs; and a grand and tall church inside the walls of Isfahan. He favored the Christians and personally ordered them to build churches. During the major holidays—Easter, Ascension, and others—he came to church and celebrated together with the Christians. Sixth, the Christians openly observed all their religious traditions and rituals—rang bells, called people to prayer, and observed, with great ceremony, the Feast of Theophany.¹ The shah sometimes came to the Feast of Theophany and participated in the celebration. When they took the dead out of the city for burial, they walked amidst a loud choir of *sharakans*, through the [main] market, and not one Persian uttered an insulting or mocking word. Thus, by such manner, the shah gained the favor of the Christians. The shah gave the Christians such freedom that, if there were any arguments between Christians and Muslims in the market or the main square, they [the Armenians] would argue and beat the other [the Persians] without fear. This insulted the Persians, especially their [66] religious leaders, to the point where they asked the shah, “Why have you allowed the Christians to become so daring and why haven’t you led them from their false faith to the true faith of Muhammad?”²

The shah, witnessing their spiritual unhappiness, told them his inner secret and said, “Do not be angry over my fleeting and empty love toward them. Do not blame me, for I have brought them by force to our land. I have spent much money, effort, and ploys, not for their benefit, but for ours. They shall benefit our land and shall increase our population. If you kill the Christians who were driven from their land into ours, none will accept our faith. It would only make them fear us and secretly escape, one by one, to their own land. Thus, all our efforts will be wasted. By showering them with my love, they will stay in our land. The old men, who were born in

¹ The term is Armenian *jrawrhnik'* or *jrorhnek'*. The Armenians celebrate the Nativity of Christ and Theophany (Christ's Baptism by St. John the Baptist) on the same day (January 6). They reenact the Baptism by dipping the cross and blessing the waters (usually in a river). The feast is an 8-day (octave) celebration. The feast is called Epiphany in the West.

² It refers to the text in the second *Surah* of the Qur'an (*Sūrat al-Baqara*).

Armenia and who were brought *here*,¹ will all die, but their descendants, who are born in our land, shall, willingly and *without our encouragement*,² convert to our religion. Thus, if you care about the welfare of our people, you will imitate me." They accepted the words of the shah, extolled his wisdom and returned home.

The words uttered by Shah 'Abbās to his notables have all come true. [67] Today, in our time, the old men, born in Armenia and driven from there to Persia, *they*³ are all dead, and although they wished to return to their land, they could not, because of all the circumstances described above and because the Persians did not allow them. Their descendants, those born in Persia, were nurtured there, fell in love with the land, and, therefore, live there. Although some of them are honest and devout people, and wish to go to Armenia, the Persians do not permit their departure. Some of the children of the Christians, because of their apostasy, cheating and debauchery, have abandoned the brilliant light of Christianity and have accepted, *from that day*⁴ to the present, the false faith of Muhammad. They have joined the Persians and are persecuting the Christians. In particular, there are those [Christians] who give bribes to the Muslims and use them as witnesses against [other] Christians, dragging them in front of Muslim judges and demanding anything they can imagine. From some they demand [money], saying, "You owe me, pay me my debt." From others they claim, "I am your relative. All your property and possessions are mine. Return them to me," and other similar slanders, anything they can imagine. The judges, according to their impious law, accept the words of the apostate, citing the law that, since he has converted to Islam, all the property of his relatives should revert to him.⁵ Thus, they rob the poor Christians, grab all their possessions and hand them to the apostates. They take not just minor possessions, but houses worth 500 [68] *tumāns*.⁶ Using this impious law, they took the inheritance of one Christian and gave it to

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Absent from A.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ Absent from A.

⁵ This so-called Imam Ja'fari law is covered in detail in H. P'ap'azyan, "Sefyan Irani asimilyatorakan k'aghak'anut'yan harts'i shurjê," in *Banber Matenadarani*, 3 (1956), 85-99. See also G. A. Ezov, *Snosheniia Petra Velikogo s armianskim narodom* (St. Petersburg, 1898), XII.

⁶ A *tūman* was 10,000 *dīnārs*. According to Brosset, it equaled 60 French francs in the 17th century.

an apostate. I saw this with my own eyes. Moreover, some apostates, who were relatives of dead Christians, *themselves*¹ took over the homes and possessions of the dead Christians and ruled over the sons, daughters and servants of the dead [men]. Although the Julfans petitioned the state officials for a long time, vainly trying to save the children, nothing came of it, for, since they [the officials] were Muslims, everyone defended the apostates. You [the reader], by reading these two incidents, recorded by me as an example for you, will understand the danger that the Christians faced [while living] among the crafty Persian people.

As is written in the Holy Scriptures, "Joseph died, and all his brothers, and that whole generation... Now a new king arose over Egypt, who did not know Joseph. He said to his people... Let us deal shrewdly with the people of Israel."² The same thing happened to our people. For Shah 'Abbās knew through what hardship the Armenian people had migrated to Persia and all the suffering that he himself had brought upon the Armenian nation. Therefore, he felt pity for the Armenians and showed love; even though it was false, vain and untrue, it was love nevertheless. He, all the notables and the men of that time, passed away.

After Shah 'Abbās, his grandson, [69] Shah Şafī came to the throne. He treated the Christians tolerably, for a number of the grandees of Shah 'Abbās were still alive, and they reminded him of Shah 'Abbās' behavior toward the Armenians and the well wishing of the Armenians toward him. The Armenians, thus, bore the calamity lightly. After that, Shah Şafī and all the elders died. After Shah Şafī, his son, whom they named Shah 'Abbās [II], after his ancestor, ascended the throne. I will, therefore, call him Shah 'Abbās the Second. Although this man had heard the events regarding the Armenians, he had not witnessed them with his own eyes. The same was true of his notables, who governed the state. Therefore, they did not concern themselves with the Armenians. They did not take care of them, nor did they pity them. Their one goal was to turn the Armenians, by whatever mean possible, to the Muslim faith. Therefore, they set bloodthirsty, impious, lewd and dissolute men against the Christians—men who gained sensual gratification, joy and happiness from going against Christians; some were Armenian renegades, others were native Persians. They oppressed, enslaved and defiled the

¹ "Themselves" was added by another hand in C and D.

² Exodus 1. 6-10.

Christians and treated them harshly.¹ If they were attracted to the children of the Christians—boys, girls, or brides—they would kidnap them,² take them to the shah's palace, and calling them royal servants (*ġulams*),³ would not return them to their families and would turn them from the Christian faith to the Muslim faith. First, for their own vile purposes; second, to increase [70] the number of royal *ġulams* and the Persian population; third,⁴ so that, in time, the children, who had been abducted, would seize and empty the homes and property of their remaining Christian family members.

Until today, in our times, the Julfans, as well as all those Armenians who live in the land of the Persians, do not know the snake poison-like perfidy of the Persians towards them. Those who realize it, groan sigh, languish, and suffer to free themselves and to secretly return to Armenia, but they cannot. For, the Persians do not permit them to leave their country, [just] like the Egyptians who [did not allow] the people of Israel to leave.⁵ Maybe the prayers of the great patriarchs, the prophet, Moses, and our illuminator, Saint Gregory, as well as the Almighty and All-powerful Hand of God, will lead them out of here as it did those [Jews] from there.

¹ Ironically, Zak'aria of K'anak'er, another contemporary Armenian cleric, refers to Shah 'Abbās II as a great friend of the Armenians, *ZK*, 146.

² The kidnapping is also confirmed by Zak'aria of K'anak'er, *ZK*, 256, but he blames it on a group of Uzbeks who had converted to Shi'ism and had come to Persia.

³ The term "servant" does not truly explain the position of the Georgian, Armenian, and Circassian male slaves/prisoners who had converted to Islam. The shah, in order to counterbalance the power of the *Kizilbash*, created a group of additional men, the *qullār*, *ġulam*, or *ghulāmān-e khaṣṣe-ye sharīf*. These royal squires served as a new cavalry corps and as palace officials; see *CHI*, VI, 265. For more details, see W. Floor, *Safavid Government Institutions*, 166-176. The term "servant" will thus be replaced by *ġulam* wherever appropriate.

⁴ F reads "second."

⁵ Exodus 8.1-2.

[71] Chapter 6

On Sardar Ceğal-oğlū's second invasion, his defeat and retreat

The moment Sardar Ceğal-oğlū reached Van, he camped there with his army and ordered that they be quartered among the inhabitants for the winter.¹ The army was quartered in the Van province and throughout its surrounding *gawars*. The troops who were quartered in the province for the winter behaved like beasts in the Book of Daniel, devouring, smashing and stamping what was left with their feet.² Instead of bringing prosperity to the land, they pillaged, ravaged and destroyed it mercilessly, reducing it to a state of misery.

Seeing that the shah had returned from the Erevan province to Tabriz, and that the Erevan province was left without a ruler, Ceğal-oğlū appointed one of the noted men, named [72] 'Omar Agha, as commander, and dispatched him with a large army to the Erevan province to conquer it. The latter arrived, camped in Nakhichevan and began to rule the land. The shah, who was in Tabriz, heard of this and dispatched Amir Gūna Khan with a large army against 'Omar Agha. He [Amir Gūna Khan] came, engaged in battle with 'Omar Agha, killed him, crushed his army and took many captives alive. He dispatched those captured alive and the heads of the dead to the shah in Tabriz. He then fortified his position, took the place of 'Omar Agha in Nakhichevan and ruled the land according to the wishes of the shah.

Ceğal-oğlū spent a frosty winter season in the city of Van. The moment spring arrived, he led the horses of the entire army to the green pastures so that they could be revived by the spring [grass]. Meanwhile, Shah 'Abbās, who had a prolific and crafty mind, and who was in Tabriz at the time, entrusted Allahverdi Khan with a large army and sent him to Van to grab the *sardar's* horses, as well as to do anything else [damage] he could. Allahverdi left Tabriz and suddenly and unexpectedly emerged in the *gawar* of Vaspurakan, that is, Van. He first attacked the herds of the Ottoman horses, captured those without bridles and drove them to his camp. Those horses that were chained and tied up were all slashed and speared. He fortified his camp and settled down in the region.

¹ See Chapter 4.

² Daniel 7.7.

When Ceğal-oğlū saw that Allahverdi Khan came and did all this, he prepared and armed [73] a large army and appointed the pasha of Van as its commander. When the day of battle arrived, they both came out to face each other in the field in front of the fortress of Van. Ceğal-oğlū, sitting by the wall *of the fortress*,¹ followed the movement of the troops, for the plain of the battlefield was not far from the fortress. When the two sides clashed, there began a fierce and terrible battle. The corpses of men covered the battlefield like dirt and stones. The Ottoman side was defeated, while the Persian side was victorious; it put the Ottoman army to flight and chased them to the gates of the Van fortress. Two Persians closely chased the Ottomans and kept up with them. When the latter reached the gates and entered it, the Persians followed them inside. There, in the space between the two walls, which is called *sirhach*,² the Ottomans seized one of the Persians and took him away. The other Persian killed an Ottoman then and there and cut off his head. Then, the Persian threw his kerchief up to the sky, grabbed his sword and, in full view of the Ottoman army and Ceğal-oğlū, cut it in two. Ceğal-oğlū saw this with his own eyes, for he was sitting by the wall not far from there. Seeing this, Ceğal-oğlū raised his handkerchief to his eyes, tears flowed from his eyes, and he cried, for in his heart he felt the destruction of his people and the success of the Persians. The Persians, who had cut the kerchief with his sword, came out of the wall and joined his corps within the Persian army.

[74] Allahverdi Khan, having forced out the Ottoman army, went throughout the land to pillage and devastate it, following the words of the Lord, "First tie up the strong man and then plunder his house."³ He did this. All the stores of wheat, other produce, straw, hay, and living quarters were all put to the flame. *All*⁴ the inhabitants of the *gawars*, which the Persians entered into, were driven out: the men were killed and the rest were taken captive. They gathered a large army of people and animals and drove them to Tabriz to increase the size of the Persian population.

Ceğal-oğlū, witnessing such a great defeat, left Van. He boarded a boat and left by sea [Lake Van] to Artskē; from there he went to

¹ Absent from A.

² It is from the Arabic term *şir* (side, quarter, row); also *şiraṭ* (path).

³ Mark 3.27: "But no one can enter a strong man's house and plunder his property without first tying up the strong man; then indeed the house can be plundered."

⁴ Absent from A and D.

Khnus, and then to Erzurum, and stayed there. He then summoned all the great notables from the surrounding *gawaṙs*, as well as from the Georgian and Kurdish provinces. Among them was the great nobleman of the Kurds, whom they named Mirsharaf [Mir Sharaf]. He ordered all the commanders of the provinces and adjacent lands to gather in the city of Karin, that is, Erzurum. He ordered that each one assemble and fully prepare and arm his troops, march toward Van and join Ceğal-oğlū, when he arrived there, to go to Tabriz and fight the Persians.

After that, Ceğal-oğlū left Karin and went to Tigranakert, that is, Amida [Diarbekir]. He halted there to prepare and to gather an army from all the central provinces of Asia and Mesopotamia.¹

[75] The great and well-known pasha of the time, named Nasif Pasha, a native of the city of Beria, that is, Aleppo, also came to Amida and joined Ceğal-oğlū. They both prepared for war, for Nasif was equal to Ceğal-oğlū. These two gathered all the troops of the Ottoman Empire, left Tigranakert, and came once again to Van. There they also gathered the troops from Kurdistan and Erzurum. A huge and innumerable army was formed.² They left Van and marched to Tabriz. They reached the borders of that city, near a settlement called Şufiān.³ The battle took place on the field of Şufiān and the Ottoman army suffered a defeat.

The much-experienced Shah 'Abbās divided the Persian army into four corps: he entrusted the first group to Allahverdi Khan and ordered him to advance overtly and openly against the Ottoman army. He entrusted the remaining three [corps] to his three notables: the first, to Gharch'ghay (Qarchaqāy) Khan;⁴ the second, to Zu'l-Faqār Khan; and the third, to Pīrbudagh (Pīr Būdāq) Khan. He ordered that they hide and ambush the Ottomans from three sides. The shah, hidden with his *ğulams*, remained on top of a far-away mountain.

¹ Text reads *amenayn mijerkreay gawaṙats'*. Aṙak'el refers to the historical provinces of western Armenia and Greater Syria, which included Baghdad.

² Ceğal-oğlū had even asked the *Celali* to join his army. He hoped that they would be of use or, in the least, they would leave the Ottoman lands and cause havoc inside eastern Armenia; see next chapter.

³ It is presently a scattered village (elevation 4,150 feet) of some 400 houses with many large gardens, irrigated by the Siavan River.

⁴ He was the *amīr al-omarā* (commander) of Azarbaijan.

When the day of the battle arrived, Allahverdi Khan came out with his troops and appeared before the Ottoman army. Seeing them, the Ottomans thought that the Persian army consisted of what they saw in front of them. They, therefore, eagerly attacked and began to fight. The Persians then, as previously agreed upon, [76] gave a smoke signal. Seeing the smoke, those Persians that were hiding in ambush, rushed out, fell on the Ottomans, surrounded them on four sides and began the slaughter. They cut them to pieces and filled the field with corpses. It was a great disaster and a sad day [for the Ottomans].

The *sardar* remained in his camp, but he was in great sorrow, and, like a woman in childbirth with birth pangs, could not find rest or quiet anywhere. With a disturbed heart he glanced at the road leading to the battle, awaiting someone to bring him good news. But no one came.

The great *paron*, the Kurd Mir Sharaf, whom we mentioned earlier, was at the side of the *sardar*. In his soul, he sensed that the *sardar*'s side was defeated. That was why there was no news. He tried to find an excuse to leave the *sardar* and flee. He, therefore, uttered these false words of consolation, "I beg your excellency to order me to take the battlefield. Perhaps I will meet the shah and fight him [challenge him]." Responding to his numerous requests, the *sardar* ordered him to go into battle. Mir Sharaf, however, left the camp and turned directly toward his domain without even looking back.

The Persian troops were victorious over the Ottoman army and put them to flight toward the Ottoman camp. They followed on their heels, killing them and pushing them right to the camp. The Persians entered the camp and began to kill the Ottomans there as well. Qarchaqāy Khan came near the tent of the *sardar* [77], struck it with his sword, cut it and went through it, but none of the Ottomans came against him. The bloodletting continued until nightfall: the Persians killed some, put others to flight, captured others and threw them down by the shah's feet. They claim that thirty-four famous notables were captured: pashas, *k'ehias*, *ğullar-ağasis*, *sancak-beys*,¹ and many others.

The battle thus ended. Ceğal-oğlu, realizing that his army had suffered a defeat, that he could not gather his troops and continue the

¹ Refers to *kadkhodās* (village elders), Janissary commanders, and district governors.

battle, and also that his remaining troops were scattering and quietly leaving the field, thought of a way to escape being captured by the Persians. He decided to immediately return to the city of Van. That night, the *sardar* and his entire army turned around and everyone tried to save his own life, to flee hurriedly and faster than their companions, so that the Persians would not suddenly catch up and end their life. Because of their haste, they left all their belongings: equipment, baggage, camels, cattle, provisions, treasures in chests and baskets.¹ They even left the torches lit, tents erect; *they abandoned everything*.² They left everything they possessed and turned around and fled. By daylight there was no one left in the camp. At sunrise the Persian troops found out about the flight of the Ottomans. When [78] they informed Shah 'Abbās, he ordered the Persian army to enter the Ottoman camp and to pillage it. They immediately grabbed everything and happily, with great loot, returned to Tabriz and remained there with the shah. The *sardar* abandoned Şufiān and fled until he reached Van. From there he took a boat, crossed the sea [Lake Van] and went to Amida, where he died. The battle took place on October 25 [1606]³ and he went to Amida and died on February 6.⁴ Some say that he took poison due to the shame of the defeat.

Thus, the *sardar* Ceğal-oğlu had two expeditions. He came the first time at the beginning of the year 1054 (1605), at the start of the month of Nawasard. He came to Nakhichevan and from there he went to the city of Van. His second was when he came to Şufiān, was defeated and left. That occurred in the year 1055 (1606), in the beginning of the [Armenian] New Year, during early autumn.

Our land was desolated and ruined during the campaigns of these two world conquerors, both during their attacks and retreats: the *sardar*, from the west and the shah from the east. They suffered an overwhelming burden in taxes and requisitions, as well as the *surusat*,⁵ which they forced the people to perform for the army and to

¹ Text reads *sundkov ev sabatov*, from the Persian *şanduc* (trunk, chest) and *sabad* (basket).

² Absent from A and D.

³ Arak'el's date is based on the Armenian calendar, which was 10 days behind and thus does not correspond to the Persian primary source by Eskandar Beg, who has Sunday 24 Jomādā II, 1014 AH (November 6, 1605), AA, 888.

⁴ Brosset puts the date as December 2, 1605, MB, 306.

⁵ Refers to obligations imposed on the *ra'iyat* during wartime to provide grain and other provisions for the upkeep of the army. The population had

keep the horses in *qeshlaq*¹ during the winter. I do not have the strength to enumerate the destruction of homes, orchards, the damage to the fields, the plundering of *anbars* of wheat and other grain, the obliteration [79] and plunder of goods and property, the abduction of sons and daughters, the open and secret massacre of innocent people, and all other calamities which befell our land; [only] He Who can count the stars and Who has created men to be sacrificed to such inhuman and pitiless beasts [can do so].

to bring these provisions on their own beasts of burden to the military camps. See Petrushevskii, 276-277; P'ap'azyan, 237. For a detailed explanation of the *surusat*, see W. Floor, *A Fiscal History of Iran in the Safavid and Qajar Periods, 1500-1925* (New York, 1998), 194-196, 432-434.

¹ Winter camp; winter quarters.

Chapter 7

On the appearance of the Celali, the terrible famine and the man-eating wolves,¹ as well as other calamities which befell our land

The land of Ararat thus lay empty between the two invaders, that is, the shah and Ceğal-oğlu. The shah went to Tabriz and was not within reach, while the Ottoman *sardar* died. The Ottomans fought among themselves and were not united. That is why some arrogant notables,² [*Celali* leaders] relying on their own strength, came and took over the Ararat province, that is, Erevan. Thus, a notable by the name of Mehmed K'anak'rlu³ came and began to rule the land.

[80] After him, another *Celali* pasha, whom they named Topal Osman Pasha, the son of Zial Pasha, came, clashed with Mehmed K'anak'rlu near the village of Arij in the Kotayk' *gawaṛ*, which, at present, is called Kırk-bulagh, and drove Mehmed K'anak'rlu away. Osman Pasha himself gathered a large number of idle people, created an army of some 1,000 men, made the village of Karbi⁴ his headquarters, and camped and wintered there. From there, he sent armed men to the surrounding *gawaṛs* and villages to get provisions for him and fodder for his horses. The men he sent to the villages were not satisfied with the necessary items, but took other things as well. They seized men and hung them—some by their feet, others by their hands, and yet others by both—and beat them mercilessly with rods until they became breathless and resembled corpses; some even died from the torture. They cut some people's ears, while they punished others by piercing their noses with arrows. Through similar tortures they forced the people to reveal the stores of wheat, barley, and the hidden places of their belongings and riches. They would dig the floor inside the houses and other buildings, to unearth goods; they destroyed walls and roofs of homes and searched for treasure. They thus caused great destruction in the land. They did this, first of all, in the village of Karbi, where they took a certain man, a native of the village, and kept him chained in a cave, demanded some treasure and tortured him in various ways; subsequently they killed him, cut him

¹ Zak'aria of K'anak'er also mentions the man-eating wolves. See *ZK*, Bk. I, Chapter XXXII.

² Text reads *paronayk'*.

³ He was from K'anak'er, a town north of Erevan.

⁴ It refers to a village and district north of Eĵmiatsin.

into two and hung his remains on the gate of the main road to frighten and terrorize the inhabitants of that land.

A number of these *Celali* went to the magnificent [81] monastery of Hovhannavank'.¹ Seeing them, all the inhabitants of the monastery ran away, but [the *Celali*] caught a certain sick and feeble monk and began to demand that he show them the hidden cache. They hung him by his hands and beat him for three days. When he did not reveal any hidden places, the *Celali* became enraged like mad beasts, tied his hands, hung him from his genitals, and tortured him horribly. In despair, he showed them the hidden cache. They entered inside the place, looted and seized everything. They then killed the monk and threw his body inside one of the basements of the monastery. Many items were taken out of the depository: valuable cloth, brass utensils, vessels, crosses, chalices, chasubles, censers and books. The books were all rare and full of instructions written or copied by venerable *vardapets*. The cache also included the relics of the monastery: the veil that covered the face of Christ, a piece of Christ's crown of thorns, the right hand of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, as well as items from various saints and other relics. The *Celali* grabbed it all, took it, and lost it. The leader of these *Celali* was named Abdurêzman ('Abd al-Rahman) Musalim.²

In the village of Oshakan,³ they (*Celali*) seized another man and hung him by his genitals. They tortured him for two days to reveal his hidden cache. Seeing this, the other settlements took their families and fled to the *gawar* of Geghark'uni. The *Celali* behaved in a similar fashion in all the surrounding villages: in the *gawar* of Karbi, in the Aparan region, in the region of Kirk-bulagh, in the region of Tsaghkunadzor, in the ravine of Gar̄ni, in the ravine of Urtsa, and on the other side of the Arax River, in the land of Sahat' (Sa'd)⁴—Kogh̄b and Ağça-kala.⁵

Some of these *Celali* went to [82] the *gawar* of Gar̄ni, where they found the man-made cave, in which many Christians, fleeing from fear, had hidden. This large cave was dug from the earth and had only one entrance. There were no other openings, no air holes and no

¹ Text reads "Hohanay vank'."

² The term is from the Ottoman *müsellim*; an official under the *vali*, a lieutenant.

³ It is a village northeast of Ējmiatsin.

⁴ Chukhur-e Sa'd or Vale of Sa'd.

⁵ Refers to Kulb, which is the present-day Tuzluca, and Ağça-kala, by the Karasu and Akhurian rivers.

crevices. Rulers had dug the cave long ago for their own special use, and common folk, fearing the *Celali*, now hid in it. When the *Celali* came and found them, they fought for many days but could not take over the cave. They then did the following: they set a large bonfire by the entrance of the cave, so that the smoke from the bonfire would seep into the cave and smoke out those who were inside. They threw a foul-smelling cadaver on the fire and its smell penetrated the cave. There were many people in the cave, some 500 or more. Because the cave was dark, torches had been lit. The foul smell of the corpse, which was thrown into the fire, filled the cave, began to pollute the air and extinguish the torches; they all were soon extinguished. The bodies of the people began to swell and were covered with welts that oozed yellow liquid. The people began to choke [from the foul smoke], grew faint and weak, fell unconscious and gave up their soul. All the men, women, the old, the young and the children died *together*;¹ none came out of the cave. The *Celali* who guarded the entrance thought that the people hiding inside did not wish to surrender and *that they*² were [83] undecided and anxious. They, therefore, seized a certain man, a native of the *gawar*, and began to force him to show them their hidden cache. The latter, fearing death, said, "Come with me to K'oradara³ and I shall show you the cache." They [*Celali*] went [with him]; and then with God's help several men, who had previously left the cave to conduct their own affairs, returned and began to peek from a distance at the entrance of the cave to see if anyone was there. They then approached the entrance of the cave, saw what had occurred there, swiftly put out the fire, lit the torches and entered into the cave. They saw that everyone inside appeared dead; they resembled sheep gathered in a pen. Among the dead were fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, brothers, all embracing each other in death. The [aforementioned men] immediately began to drag the people out of the cave. They first dragged out everyone they could. Those who they took out and to whom they administered first aid—dousing them with water and rubbing their bodies with snow—were revived with God's help. Many who were brought out from the cave were thus spared a terrible death; those who they did not bring out suffered such a death. Those who came out from the refuge could not stay there too long,

¹ Absent from A.

² Absent from A and D.

³ See Chapter 4.

for they feared the *Celali*. They thus left swiftly and ran in different directions to save themselves. In this manner, the *Celali* destroyed and ravaged all the villages of the Ararat [province], emptying it of all grain and cereals, as well as inhabitants.

After that the *Celali* decided to go to the land of Gegham, that is, Geghark'uni,¹ for they knew that there were great *anbars* of wheat and barley, as well as plenty of sheep [84] and livestock, there. That is why many of the *Celali* troops gathered, went to the Gegham province, plundered and destroyed many villages. Finding the stores of wheat and barley, they forced the same villagers to load them on the villagers' own livestock, and made them act as the overseers, that is *kor*,² and as conductors and drivers of the beasts of burden upon which they carried their grain and goods. They [the *Celali*] took the wives and children of the people as well, so that their relatives would bring silver and gold as ransom for the return of the captives. They did everything their hearts desired. They thus took the women and children with the help of the inhabitants who were appointed as drivers; they loaded their goods, as well as all sorts of treasure, on beasts of burden belonging to the inhabitants. They also took numerous animals—herds of sheep, goats, and horses—and drove them away. After two days' journey—this occurred in the winter, and that year the winter was severe with plenty of snow—the beasts of burden were tired and got stuck en route; for due to the depth and³ the abundance of the snow they could not go further. The load that was on the animals was divided among the people and put on the shoulders of the men, women and children. They thus transported it on their backs across the mountain and reached the village of Karbi. What a bitter sorrow this was for those people! Some of them had frostbitten hands, feet, and noses, which fell off. Others, frozen from the bitter⁴ icy winds, [85] remained on the road and died.⁵ They said that women, loaded with grain, who were tired of the heavy load and who were worn out from the cold and hunger,⁶ sat with their burden on the snow and died. Thus, some died on route; those who survived were impelled to go on and were taken to Karbi. There, some were sold for silver and the rest were kept as servants. The *Celali* thus re-

¹ It refers to the region east of Lake Sevan.

² It refers to a type of corvée.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ The next sentence is absent from A and D.

⁶ Absent from A, C, and F.

mained in Armenia until the spring,¹ and [the Feast of the] Ascension.² After that they left there and went to the Akhaltsikhe province, where they behaved in the same manner.

Such behavior was not limited to these *Celali*; there were also other *Celali*, whether many or few, who made their own dens in various places and committed the same acts. In addition, some Christians who did not fear God, witnessing the behavior of the unbelievers, began to behave in the same manner. For, they observed everything with their own eyes and it appealed to them. They plundered openly and stole secretly, for the land was without protection and was emptied due to the acts of the ruler-thieves. Everyone did as they wished. Thus, as eyewitnesses and contemporary sources testify, there was not even a scintilla of good deeds in those days; only sorrow, as I have related and shall relate. The ruler of the east, Shah 'Abbās, with the Persian army, ruined the eastern [86] provinces of our land. The *Celali* plundered and destroyed part of the eastern provinces even more. The Ottoman *sardar*, with his army, destroyed all the central provinces, from the outskirts of Constantinople up to the city of Erevan. The *Celali*, who had risen in the various parts of the Ottoman land, were more destructive [in the central provinces] than the Ottomans. They [the *Celali* leaders] were well-known and victorious men, brave and undefeated *antagonists*.³ Since the *Celali* were many, I think that I should enumerate their names so that you [the reader] will know the men who caused all the calamities in the land. I have recorded how many they were and everything I heard from eyewitnesses.

First was Ghara Eazich'i (Kara-Yazıcı),⁴ who, with many horsemen, came to the city of Urfa in the year 1047 (1598), rebelled against the ruler,⁵ took the [Urfa] fortress and strengthened his position there. The sultan ordered the *sardar* to go against him. The *sardar* set out with 40,000 men but could not defeat him and re-

¹ 1606.

² Forty days after Easter on a Thursday. It occurred on May 29, 1606, according to Brosset, *MB*, 310.

³ Absent from A.

⁴ As noted in the introduction, Arak'el's History is a primary source on the *Celali* revolts. See also M. Zulalyan, *Jalalineri sharzhumê ev hay zhoghovrdi vichakê Osmanyan kaysrut'yan mēj: XVI-XVII dd.* (Erevan, 1966) and A. S. Tveritinova, *Vosstanie Kara Iazydzhi-Deli Khasana v Turtsii* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1946).

⁵ It refers to Sultan Muhammad III.

turned empty-handed. After that, Yazıcı left the fortress, gathered an even larger army and began to plunder the land; first of all, the city of Urfa and then other towns: Tokat,¹ Sebastia, Bursa, Ankiwra,² and every other place to which he went. Yazıcı collected the two years' arrears of the *kharaj*,³ which was always collected by the ruler from the population, and divided it among his troops.

[The following other men rebelled]:

Husein Pasha rebelled against the sultan in the year 1048 (1599).

K'osa (Köse) Safar rebelled in the year 1048 (1599).

Ahmed Pasha rebelled in the year 1050 (1601).

[87] Injaghan (Incekan) rebelled in the year 1053 (1604).

Yurlarghêsti rebelled in the year 1054 (1605).⁴

T'awul (Tavil), together with 12,000 men, rebelled in the year 1052 (1603).⁵

The brother of Tavil, whose name I could not determine, [rebelled as well].

Mehmed Pasha, together with 20,000 men [also rebelled].

Man-oğli and Janp'olat-oghli (Canbulat-oğli) 'Ali Pasha [also rebelled].

His brother, whose name I could not determine, [also rebelled].

[Among the rebels was K'or-oghli (Kör-oğli)—this is the same Kör-oğli who composed many songs, which are now sung by *ashughs* (minstrels).⁶

¹ Zak'aria of Agulis mentions a certain Sayyid Ahmed Pasha who, in 1656, extorted money from the citizens of Tokat, *Journal*, 57.

² Refers to Angora or Ancyra (Ankara).

³ The Ottomans used the term to denote the tribute tax paid by non-Muslims or tax upon effects paid by everyone.

⁴ Brosset suggests it may be Yular-Kapdi, *MB*, 311.

⁵ Khanlaryan's Russian version has 1042 (1593), *KH*, 94.

⁶ Brosset translated this as "l'auteur même de beaucoup de mauvais tours, chantés par les romanciers," [The same person about whom minstrels sing naughty songs.], *MB*, 311. Petrushevskii follows Brosset and states, "The same Kör-oğli about whom many songs, sung today by *ashugs*, were composed." I. P. Petrushevskii, *Azerbaidzhan v XVI-XVII vv. - Sbornik statei po istorii Azerbaidzhana*, I (Baku, 1949), 283. Whereas the text indicates that he was the author of the songs; see L. Daneghyan, *Aṛak'el Dawrizerherts'u erkê vorpes Sefyan Irani XVII dari patmut'yan skzbnaghbyur* (Erevan, 1978), 124. Kör-oğli ("son of the blind man") was a soldier-bard from the region of Bolu, who took part in the *Celali* activities in Transcaucasia in the 1580s. His heroic exploits became legendary and an epic-romantic cycle of songs by him or about him was circulated by minstrels in

Gzir-oğlı Mustafa Bek, along with 1,000 of his men [also rebelled]. He was a friend of Kör-oğlı, who mentions him in many of his songs.

Another [rebel] was Mustafa Bek.

Gharaghash (Karakaş), Deli-Nasib, Eola Sêghmaz (Yola Sıkmaz), T'angri T'anımaz (Tanrı-Tanımaz), Gokapakhan Ch'êp'lakh (Gökaba-khan Çeplak), K'easak'eas (Kıyasıyas), K'rlu (Kırlu), Gharasahit' (Kara Sa'id), and Aghajanpiri (Ağa Canpiri) were all *Celalis* who revolted against the ruler. They did not settle down in one place, but were marauders and ravaged the land. Whenever they heard of a settlement, they would hurry to reach it, plunder it, empty it and put to flames what could not be demolished.

From the outskirts of Constantinople to the city of Erevan, from Baghdad to Damur-ghap'u (Darband), and from the White Sea (Mediterranean) to the Black Sea, throughout the limits of these borders that I have mentioned, the rebels plundered and ravaged the land.

That is why the farmers and the cultivators, wherever they were, would flee out of fear and terror and would seek refuge in fortresses, castles and high mountain ravines, and could not engage in farming. Therefore, all sowing and reaping, threshing and harvesting were halted and a shortage of bread and all sorts of other foodstuffs began. One could not find anything [to eat], and even if one found something somewhere, the prices were extremely high. At this time of scarcity, locusts attacked all the [88] central provinces of the land. They ravaged the entire land, eating the grass, vegetation and everything else that grew. After that, a great famine began and there was no bread or any other food at all.

The Armenians then dispersed; everyone went in a different direction, to a place where they could save themselves and live. Some went to Rumeli,¹ others to Bughdan,² some to Lēh,³ others to Kaffa,⁴ some to the coast of Pontos,⁵ others to Tabriz and Ardabil and their

Turkish-speaking communities, as well as among the Armenians, Kurds, Georgians, and Tajiks. For more details, see *Encyclopædia of Islam* (New Edition), V, 270.

¹ Refers generally to European Turkey; lands west of the European side of the Bosphorus.

² Refers to Moldavia.

³ Refers to Poland.

⁴ Refers to the important port in the Crimea.

⁵ Refers to the region of Pontus by the Black Sea.

surrounding *gawars*. All the Armenians who presently live in the above-mentioned *gawars* migrated there during that time and for the above-mentioned reasons. A *large*¹ number of the Armenians, who were driven by Shah 'Abbās [from the above regions] and resettled in the environs of Isfahan and Farahabad, all settled down after the shah moved them there.

As I have already stated, during the famine, some dispersed and left. The rest of the inhabitants of the central provinces, due to the lack of bread, began to eat animals—cows and sheep. When the clean² animals disappeared, the famine forced the people to eat foul creatures: horses, mules, donkeys and other impure animals including cats and dogs, and whatever else they could catch. When the famine intensified, they began eating the dead. They would not bury them anymore, but ate them, for the famine reigned throughout the land. In some places they would often seize people and eat them alive.

I was told that in the Ararat province, in the village called Oshakan, a certain man dug a cellar in his house. He would entice [89] strangers, kill them, place them in the cellar and gradually eat them every day. Later, the inhabitants of the village learned about this and drove him out of their settlement.

Travelers saw smoke rising from [the chimney] of a house in the village called Bjni. Observing it, they entered it and saw three women cooking food in a cauldron hanging over the fire. When they lifted the cover, they saw hands and other human parts, which the women were cooking to eat. They then compelled the women to speak and they said, "We are forced to do so because of the famine. We have nothing to eat, so we deceive people *who pass by*,³ kill them, cook and eat them."

The same exact tale, told to me by eyewitnesses, happened in the city of Erzurum. Four women got together and settled in a certain house. One or two of them would go out every day for a stroll and would entice men with false words, bring them home, kill them, cook and eat them. It so happened that one day they brought a certain man home, but by the time they were ready to seize him, he realized their intention, jumped swiftly, slipped through their hands and ran out of that house. He went to the pasha, the governor of that

¹ Absent from A.

² Sanctioned by the Church—text reads *surb*.

³ Absent from A and D.

town, and told him everything. The governor ordered his guards to go with that man and seize the women. The guards went and arrested [90] the women. Then they began to search the house, and when they entered the innermost room, they saw the heads of twenty-four men who had been killed and already eaten. The guards questioned the women and forced them to tell the truth about their action. They said that they had been tormented by hunger and therefore they had cunningly enticed the men, killed them and eaten them. The women were taken under guard to the pasha, who ordered that all four to be put to death; *and it was done so*.¹

Near the land of Basen² there is a *gawaṛ* called Khalieazi.³ The said *gawaṛ* is at present uninhabited. An honest and knowledgeable native told me, "During that famine two youths lived with us, for we had some wheat for our sustenance. One day I saw that the youths had disappeared. I began to suspect that they had fallen into the hands of cannibals, who had eaten them. Fearing the cannibals, I took two men, for I was afraid to go alone, and went to their house, where, as I had suspected, many hungry people, both men and women suspected of cannibalism, had gathered. I entered the house and began to question them, but they refused to answer. The *tonir*⁴ was lit and over it hung a cauldron, in which food was being cooked. I lifted the cover, looked into the cauldron and saw a foot of a youth. The brother of the young man entered and said, 'They butchered my brother and ate him, and this is his foot.' We grieved for a long time and then I took the youth back home and he survived." The same man also recalled, "I saw how two old women seized a small girl, choked and ate her. I told this to a man named Sargis [91] and he killed both old women." Many behaved in a similar fashion in numerous places: they seized people and ate them.

Men and women ate not only strangers, but also their own children. I heard that someone in the Sebastia province allegedly ate his own children. In another province a woman ate two of her sons and her daughter.

Others, forced by hunger, went out and wandered throughout the village. When they were out of strength, worn out, thin and exhausted from hunger, they could not proceed further; they would fall

¹ Absent from A and D.

² A district near Erzurum.

³ The term is from the Arabic/Persian/Ottoman *khālī*; modern Turkish *hālī* (empty, uninhabited, vacant, unoccupied).

⁴ From the Persian *tanūr* (oven, clay oven; Indian *tandur*).

in the middle of the village on the road or by the walls and die mumbling, and crying *and groaning*.¹

Certain strangers gathered in groups of ten, twenty or thirty men, went throughout the land, *from village to village*,² from region to region, in search of something edible, but could not find anything anywhere, for the famine, as if carrying out God's retribution, was all over the land, and as the prophet said, "[God] summoned famine against the land and broke every staff of bread."³ In the end, some managed to get to a populated place, while others just died *on the road*.⁴

Predatory beasts and wild animals, especially wolves, devoured the corpses. Having eaten the dead, they began to eat the living. They were called man-eating wolves. The wolves became so bold and so used to eating humans that they tore living men to pieces and ate them. Fear of the man-eating wolves stopped all movement on regular roads. The wolves became so daring [92] and fearless of people that they came into the villages, entered homes, and wherever they found a child sleeping in bed, in a cradle, or in the arms of the mother, they fell on them in their cradles or their mothers' arms, *took them*,⁵ ran, and devoured them. There are *many*⁶ people who saw this with their own eyes. They told me everything they saw—amazing and terrible tales. Today many of those who were seized by wolves in those days as children are alive; they became grownup men and elders. They have visible marks made by the wolf's fangs on their head, face and other parts of the body. When I asked them about the scars, they answered, "The wolf seized and dragged me in order to devour me, but many people gathered and together they saved me from the wolf's mouth."⁷

The famine spread between the two great seas, *that is, the White (Mediterranean) Sea and the Black Sea*,⁸ from the *gawars* close to Constantinople up to the *gawars* around Tabriz, from Baghdad to Damur-ghap'u (Darband). The famine reigned throughout these lands. It was so fierce that people, *as I have already stated, began to*

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Absent from B.

³ Psalm 105.16.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Absent from A.

⁷ See ZK, Bk. I, chapters XXXII-XXXIII.

⁸ Absent from D and E.

*eat cats and dogs, other foul animals and people's flesh.*¹ The famine began in the year 1055 (1606). The famine was not strong and cruel that year; it became much stronger at the beginning of the year 1056 (1607) and during the year 1057 (1608). It subsided once the year 1058 (1609) began and ended during the year 1059 (1610), thanks to the All-Benevolent God, Who does not keep anger toward His creation and does not keep His resentment forever. Eternal Glory to Him! Amen.

¹ Absent from A and D.

[93] Chapter 8

On the capture of the cities of Ganje and Shamakhi

In winter, after the second invasion and retreat of *Sardar* Ceğal-oğlu, when he came to Şufiān, fought with the Persians, was defeated and returned to Amida, where he died, the Persian ruler, Shah 'Abbās, was in the city of Tabriz with his entire army. In the springtime, when the southern winds began to blow, he gathered all his troops and marched against the Ottoman army that was still in the city of Gandzak, that is, Ganje. This occurred in our year of 1055 (1606). The moment he got there, he surrounded and besieged the citadel. He subjected the entire land under his control and ruled it in peace. He ordered his troops not to bother or harass the inhabitants of the land, for they fulfilled [94] all the needs [of the army], in men and animals. The shah himself was occupied with military matters: he wished to capture the citadel at whatever cost. [The Persians] would sometimes attack by getting to the top of the *sibay*.¹ Other times they would dig underground tunnels under the walls, fill them with gunpowder,² light it and blow [a section of] the wall to smithereens. At times, the shah would send false promises and peace proposals to the citadel, saying, "Come out with all your families and belongings and go home and we shall not harm anyone as long as you surrender the citadel to us." But the Ottoman troops would not surrender the citadel. They waited patiently and defended it bravely. The Persian army did not suffer from the lack of provisions, the cold, the surrounding hostile forces or anything else. They lived without any needs and continued to fight uninterruptedly. When the shah realized that the siege was taking too long, he ordered [his men] to fill two enormous cannons, with great destructive powers, whose fire would crush the wall of the citadel. Thus, he caused great anxiety among the Ottomans. Finally, after all the attacks, the Ottoman troops inside the citadel, realized that they could not expect help from anywhere, neither from the surrounding towns, nor from the court of their own ruler, for the *Celali*, whose names I listed in the previous chapter, were all over the Ottoman land, and the government was busy fighting them. When the pasha of Ganje, named Zênjilghran 'Ali Pasha,³

¹ From the Turkish term *siba* (a place surrounded with walls).

² Text reads *barut'* (from the Persian *bārūt*, gunpowder).

³ Turkish sources refer to him as Mehmed Pasha, Safrastyan, I, 55.

fell in battle and the great cannons made a hole in the wall, the *Ottomans*,¹ attacked from all sides, gave up the citadel² to the Persians.³ The shah captured the citadel of Ganje, became the ruler of all that land [95], and appointed a man named Aksak (Aqsāq) Moḥammad Khan⁴ as the governor [of Ganje].

Up to now, the shah had kept T'eimuraz [I],⁵ the grandson of King Alexander of Kakhet'i, as a hostage. He now released him to go back home and gave him a decree to rule over his homeland and take over the affairs of his hereditary kingdom on the condition that he remain friendly and submissive to the Persian kingdom. T'eimuraz went to Kakhet'i, to his native land, ruled that kingdom and remained loyal to the Persians.

They say that after the shah took Ganje, there still lived in the Ganje province a Muslim tribe called Jēkirlu. They followed the religion and customs of the Ottomans, called the Sunni. The shah ordered that they all be gathered in a certain place carved out by a river and accessed only by a narrow pass guarded by the Persians. The ravine widened farther away from the narrow pass and was surrounded by high cliffs; one could not get climb or escape from it. The shah then ordered all of them killed: men and women, old people and children. Even the infants were cut and slaughtered with sharp swords.

Shah 'Abbās, however, after taking the citadel of Ganje and spreading his reign over the entire region, went on to Georgia, to the city of Tiflis. He took along the rest of his army and the Ottoman population that had remained in the citadel after the massacre. He deceived them with shrewd speeches and gave them [96] hope by stating, "Follow my army so that the bandits will not hurt you. I shall appoint guards to protect you until you reach the borders of your own land." Through such deceit [the shah] took them with him and when they reached the *gawar* of Akhstew (Akstafa), the army camped by the (Akstafa) river in the ravine called Injay Valley.

¹ Absent from A, B, D, and F; reads "they" instead.

² Turkish sources write that the *beglerbegi* of Ganje, Mehmed Pasha, resisted for seven months. Giving up hope of receiving aid, he asked for *amān* (mercy, quarter, safety) and surrendered the fortress; see Safrastyan, I, 55. It is possible that he replaced 'Ali Pasha after the latter's death.

³ According to Eskandar Beg, this occurred on July 5, 1606, AA, 906.

⁴ Probably refers to Moḥammad Khan Ziyādoğlu Qajar.

⁵ Text reads T'amraz. The correct Georgian spelling "T'eimuraz" will be used throughout this translation.

There, he ordered the Persian troops to cut down the rest of the Ottomans, to plunder their goods and belongings and enslave their women and children. The shah's order was carried out.

After that, Shah 'Abbās moved with all his army from the land of Injay and went to the city of Tiflis.¹ He entered it in peace and left there in peace, for there was an agreement between the Persians and the Georgians.

After leaving Tiflis, the shah went on to the Gegham province and his army set up camp there. The shah himself stayed at the village of Mazra in the house of a native of that village, Melik Shahnazar. Melik Shahnazar was an Armenian by birth and a Christian by faith. He was a glorious and powerful nobleman. He showed the shah hospitality befitting a sovereign. He was a friend and a close acquaintance of the shah, and enjoyed the shah's respect. That is why the shah extolled him and presented him with respectable and noble *khal'at* and made him the *melik*² of that *gawar*. He also gave him and his brothers other titles and villages. He wrote a trustworthy decree, sealed it with the royal seal and gave the region to them as *patrimonial estates*, which would belong to them [97] and their sons, and their sons, forever, from generation to generation.

Leaving there, the shah moved with his entire army and reached Tabriz. He waited until the arrival of the next year, which was the year 1056 of our calendar (1607). He then gathered all his army, marched on Shamakhi, and surrounded and besieged its citadel. Fighting Shamakhi in the same manner as I described the campaign against Ganje, he captured it from the Ottomans.³ He put the Ottoman army to the sword, plundered their belongings and took their families. He appointed Zu'l-faqār Khan as their governor and returned with his army to Tabriz. At the beginning of the year 1057 (1608), the shah departed for the city of Isfahan.

¹ According to Brosset, Georgian sources do not mention the shah's visit to Tiflis in that year, *MB*, 316; Eskandar Beg's account, however, agrees with Aṛak'el, *AA*, 910.

² For more details on the Shahnazarians, see G. Bournoutian, *Two Chronicles on the History of Karabagh* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 2004), 55.

³ Aṛak'el's account agrees with Turkish historians; see Safrastyan, I, 55.

[98] Chapter 9***On the pretext by which Shah 'Abbās summoned the Georgian kings and how he deceived them*¹**

During his reign as the ruler of Persia, Shah Ṭahmāsp² became very powerful and extended his domination over other people who were his neighbors. He conquered the Georgian people and took hostages from their kingdoms: from the great Simon Khan, the ruler of Tiflis (K'art'li), his daughter and her brother;³ and from Alexander,⁴ the ruler of Kakhet'i, his son, named Constantine. King Alexander also had two other sons: David and Giorgi. These two stayed with their father. But Constantine, who was given as a hostage to the Persian king, Shah Ṭahmāsp, stayed there (in Persia), was reared by the [99] shah and became a distinguished notable at the Persian court, for they turned him from his Christian religion into the religion of the false prophet. Shah Ṭahmāsp died [and] his son Shah Isma'il⁵ ruled for a year and a half, but they [the nobles] soon killed him. After him, his brother Shah Khodābandeh ruled for nine years.⁶ After him, his son, the destroyer of the world, Shah 'Abbās, became the ruler. This Constantine was still alive during the reign of Shah 'Abbās. When the shah came to Tabriz, Nakhichevan and Erevan and subdued them to his will, the said Constantine was at his side.

During the days when the crafty and malicious Shah 'Abbās was around Erevan and was battling the Ottomans, who had come out of the Erevan fortress,⁷ he wanted to call the Georgian rulers to help him.⁸ Therefore, he sent the remaining [Georgian] hostages to them.

¹ For more details on this and the next two chapters, see M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, II/1 (St. Petersburg, 1856), 423-445.

² Refers to Shah Ṭahmāsp I (1524-1576).

³ In Chapter 3, it reads "daughter and son."

⁴ Alexander II of the Kakhet'i Bagratid line (1574-1605) was the son of Levan. He followed the policy of his grandfather, Alexander I (1476-1511), and became a vassal of the Persians.

⁵ Shah Isma'il II (1576-1577).

⁶ Refers to Moḥammad Khodābandeh (1578-1587), father of Shah 'Abbās I.

⁷ According to Turkish historians, the siege of Erevan continued for nine months and 10 days; see Safrastyan, I, 54-55.

⁸ Turkish sources state that Levan, son of Alexander I, and Simon, son of Luarsab I, went to help the shah; *ibid.*, I, 54.

One of them was the same Constantine, whom the shah sent to invite his [Constantine's] own father, Alexander.¹ He dispatched the aforementioned Hanis Ṭahmāsp-qoli,² the brother of the *atabeg* [of Somkhet'i] to invite Giorgi, the ruler of Tiflis.³ King Giorgi, the son of the great Simon Khan, was named the ruler after the capture of his father [by the Ottomans]. The shah sent invitations to the Georgian rulers, reminding them and saying, "If you are loyal to your agreements which our ancestors made with you, then you have to make the effort and come to our help, for we are fighting the enemy."

But the kings of Georgia were [100] confused by this order, for they did not wish to go. After long deliberations and hesitations they promised to come, but they did this involuntarily, because they had no other choice. They were not independent and they could not resist both the Ottomans and the Persians. They were weak and without power and had to accept the rule of one or the other. Prior to this, in the days of Shah Ṭahmāsp, they were under the rule of the Persians; later the Ottoman *sardar*, Lala Pasha, came, seized the Georgian cities, constructed citadels there, installed Janissaries there and forced the flight of Simon Khan.⁴ After that, another Ottoman commander, Ja'far Pasha, came, captured Simon Khan⁵ and sent him to the *khondk'ar in Constantinople*,⁶ where they killed both Simon Khan and his grandson.⁷ That is why the Georgians lost their independence. Now, the shah demanded their loyalty, because of an agreement made by their ancestors. They decided to acquiesce to the shah's demand, but not because of any past agreement, ignorance or goodwill, but because they had no other choice. For, they feared that once the shah concluded his war with the Ottomans he would then turn on Georgia. They decided to satisfy the shah and live in peace. They did not know that soon they and their people would be killed and destroyed by the shah's hand.

Thus, the two Georgian kings, Alexander and Giorgi, came to Erivan to the shah's presence. The shah, with his characteristic [101] cunningness, greeted them with great love and respect, honored them

¹ See *VB*, 141-143.

² See Chapters 3 and 5.

³ King Giorgi X of K'art'li Bagratid line (1600-1605).

⁴ Aṛak'el's account is verified by Georgian historians; see *VB*, 42-43.

⁵ For details, see *VB*, 47-48.

⁶ Absent from *A* and *D*.

⁷ See Chapter 3. According to Brosset, the Georgian sources do not mention the grandson; *MB*, 317.

with *khal'ats* and gifts to satisfy them and all onlookers and peacefully kept them by his side until he took the fortress of Erevan.¹

After that, due to his evil and dark nature, he gave King Giorgi some kind of poisoned potion, so that the latter would die after several days. For a while, King Giorgi did not suspect the shah's devious behavior against him. Shortly after that, the shah, with kindness and gifts, released Giorgi to go home. He left Erevan and went to his city of Tiflis. He lived for several days and died according to the will and wish of the shah.² The people and the nobles put Giorgi's son, Luarsab,³ who was an adolescent, in his place. Thus the shah's action ended the days of King Giorgi.⁴

The shah, however, kept King Alexander with him and did not release him. He took Alexander with him and forced him to wander [with the shah] here and there and demanded hostages from him. That is why Alexander, in despair, involuntarily brought his grandson, T'eimuraz, who was still a child, and gave him as a hostage to the shah. Then the shah permitted him to leave. Alexander, released by the shah, went back home, but his grandson, T'eimuraz,⁵ remained at the shah's court. This T'eimuraz was the son of David [I], the son of Alexander [I].

¹ According to Vakhushti, the Georgian troops entered Erevan first and captured it. After that, the shah and his troops entered the city, *VB*, 49.

² *A* reads, "He returned and died; and Tiflis, his city, fell into the shah's desires."

³ Armenian text has Lawasap'. Luarsab II (1605-1614) ascended the throne at age 14, with the shah's permission. Luarsab will replace Lawasap' throughout this translation.

⁴ Vakhushti details Shah 'Abbās' malevolence toward Georgia and its people, but says nothing about the poisoning of Giorgi, *VB*, 42-49.

⁵ T'eimuraz I of the Kakhet'i Bagratid line, ruled off and on from 1606-1616, 1623-1632, 1634-1648.

[102] Chapter 10

Another account of Shah 'Abbās' deception of the Georgian kings

The above-mentioned King Alexander of Kakhet'i gave his reign up voluntarily¹ to his son David,² and David ruled over the land. The other son of Alexander, Giorgi, became incensed and killed his brother, David, to become the ruler. But their father, Alexander, was still alive and did not hand over the reign to Giorgi; he occupied the throne himself and ruled over the kingdom.³

Meanwhile, the crafty and perfidious Shah 'Abbās thought of new ways to harm Christians and instigate discord in their kingdoms. He summoned the aforementioned renegade, Constantine, the son of Alexander, who was at his court, and, to his [Constantine's] delight, spoke to him about what was dearest to his heart. He said to him, "Take with you [103] as many soldiers from our army as necessary; I entrust them to you. Return to your homeland. Find a way to kill your father, Alexander, and your brother, Giorgi, so that you can become the ruler instead of your father and rule over your ancestral kingdom."⁴

"In the meantime, do not talk with our people or the Georgians about *the reason for*⁵ your trip. Just say that you are returning to your native land. As to the pretext of your arrival [with troops], repeat to everyone that the shah is sending you with troops to march on Shamakhi and capture it. Once you arrive in your homeland, you will do whichever will be more successful: either you will kill your father and your brother, or you will capture Shamakhi."⁶

Receiving such instructions, the snake in the grass marched out with troops and went to Kakhet'i, to his father Alexander. But, at that time, he could not carry out his intrigues, for, because of his past iniquitous deeds, the Georgians were suspicious of him. That is why,

¹ Brosset states that it was not voluntarily; see *MB*, 318.

² Georgian sources maintain that David usurped the Georgian throne; *VB*, 142.

³ Georgian sources maintain that although David's brother wanted to take over the throne, he did not kill David, who died from natural causes six months after assuming the throne; *VB*, 142.

⁴ For more details, see *VB*, 143.

⁵ Absent from *A*.

⁶ The above conversation obviously took place prior to the shah's capture of Shamakhi in 1607. See Chapter 8.

at that time, he was obliged to disguise his intentions. To demonstrate his loyalty and truthfulness and in order to convince the Georgians, he took a large number of Georgian warriors from his father's army and marched on Shamakhi. The Georgians greatly wished his death. Therefore, during the battles, they would hold back and did not fight bravely, hoping that the Ottomans would kill him during the attacks. The cunning Constantine grasped the situation and realized that he could not defeat the Ottomans with his Persian troops. Thus, while the troops were engaged in fighting [104] the Ottomans, he left the field of battle, fled straight to Persia and appeared before the shah. The Ottomans surrounded the remaining Persian troops, destroyed them completely and plundered all his [Constantine's] baggage.

The shah gave additional troops to Constantine—some 30,000 men—and sent him for the second time to his homeland with the same intention. When Constantine reached his homeland, he pretended that he had repented his apostasy and wished to return to the Christian faith. To display his heartfelt sincerity he decided to visit the churches and monasteries of Georgia. He thus gathered a large number of church utensils: crosses, chalices, censers, and other items, everything he wished. He then took all the items, and gave them [in lieu of] salary to his Persian troops, who had accompanied him. Seeing this, the Georgians were deeply hurt in their hearts and wanted to end his life immediately. They conferred with his father, Alexander, and decided to kill him. But Alexander kept on postponing the execution of the decision and reflecting on the said deed. While Alexander was meditating, Constantine found out about the decision. He, therefore, rushed to prevent it; he killed his father, Alexander, his brother, Giorgi, and seized the throne.¹

After that, Constantine once again gathered his [Persian] army and the army of the Georgian people and marched out toward Shamakhi. After several days of marching, the Georgian troops, having come to an agreement on the way, fell on Constantine and cut him to pieces; [105] they wiped and uprooted this evil from the earth.² The Persian troops, who had come with Constantine, were angered by this and wanted to start a war with the Georgian army. The Georgian soldiers then showed a decree, which ordered them to commit the deed, and claimed that the shah had sent it. They thus

¹ This occurred in 1605, see *VB*, 143.

² *Ibid.*, 144,

claimed that the shah had sanctioned their action. The Persian side then quieted down and did not engage them in battle. They separated from each other, dispersed and went back to their own people. The first and second invasion of Constantine and his death occurred in *the year*¹ 1054 (1605) of our calendar.²

The rule of the land of Kakhet'i was taken over by the daughter-in-law of Alexander, the wife of David. This happened for two reasons: First: this was the wish of the nobility of the land, for she was the wife of David, to whom Alexander had entrusted his kingdom. Second: Because she was the mother of T'eimuraz, the heir to the kingdom, and she had to guard the throne for her son, who was still a hostage of the shah.³ As stated earlier, the shah, after the taking of the citadel of Ganje,⁴ sent T'eimuraz to Kakhet'i; he arrived and sat on the throne of his ancestors.

This was the reason that he [the shah] sent T'eimuraz to Kakhet'i: when Shah 'Abbās, through various ploys, killed T'eimuraz's grandfather and his three sons by the hands of their own countrymen, the throne was left unoccupied and the hostage T'eimuraz became the heir. That is why the shah dispatched him [to Georgia]. In addition, the shah knew perfectly well that if he dispatched some Persian to rule over Kakhet'i, the Kakhet'ian nobility would not accept him. Therefore, he sent T'eimuraz.⁵

¹ Absent from A and D.

² According to Brosset, Constantine died in the spring of 1605; *MB*, 319.

³ The ruler at this time was Queen K'et'evan, who reigned from Gremi; *VB*, 144.

⁴ This occurred in 1606; see Chapter 8.

⁵ For more details, see Chapters 8-9.

[106] Chapter 11

On the history and the causes of the devastation of the land of Georgia and the death of their ruler, Luarsab, at the hand of Shah 'Abbās I

When the Georgian ruler, Giorgi, returned from Erevan to Tiflis, he did not live long and died soon after, since, as I have mentioned above, Shah 'Abbās had poisoned him. The Georgian nobles put his son, an adolescent, in his place. His name was Luarsab.

It so happened that by the order of this King Luarsab, a certain man was appointed as the *mouravi*,¹ which is now called *darughe*,² of the city of Tiflis. The man, who was appointed as the *mouravi*, was eloquent, shrewd, experienced in his duties, very tall and very brave.³ He was a bellicose and invincible [107] warrior.⁴ Whichever side he joined, it defeated the opposing side. He mowed his adversaries like grass and covered the field with them. His bravery will be noted many times below, from where you shall ascertain the truth. This same *mouravi* was not of noble birth, was not the son of a nobleman or the scion of a famous family, but came from a common and low family, who the Georgian people call *glekhi*.⁵ The *mouravi* had a sister, a young maiden, charming and beautiful, comely and imposing, tall and shapely.⁶

King Luarsab grew and reached his fifteenth year. Then somewhere between the age of fifteen and sixteen,⁷ an age when certain appetites exercise their force over a man and take over his will, King Luarsab became attracted to the *mouravi*'s sister. He fell passionately and frightfully in love with her and met her secretly. They did

¹ A *mouravi* refers to a governor of a settlement, city or district.

² The *dārūgheh* was the main officer of a city or district.

³ The *mouravi* mentioned above is the famed Giorgi Saakadze. It is interesting that Aṛak'el does not mention him by name, as if he does not know him. Saakadze, together with his father and brothers, were important courtiers in Georgia.

⁴ This is also confirmed by Vakhushti, *VB*, 50.

⁵ Some sources translate the term as serfs or peasants. See Allen, *History*, 232. Aṛak'el is wrong. The Saakadze were neither *glekhi* nor *tavadi*, but *aznauri* (petty nobles, landowners, or warriors) in the royal service and were very powerful. See also *VB*, 49-50.

⁶ This is also confirmed by Vakhushti, *VB*, 51.

⁷ He was born in 1595—hence the above took place in the year 1610.

not copulate, however, but remained virgins, both the girl and Luarsab. Although this affair remained secret for some time, it was soon revealed, for, as the Lord said, "Nothing is covered up that will not be uncovered."¹ Eventually, news of this reached the ears of the *mouravi*. Some of those who envied and hated the *mouravi*, themselves being the progeny of evil and agents of wrath, mentioned the affair to the *mouravi* and reproached him for it. The *mouravi* was hurt to the bottom of his heart. He was full of mourning and wished for death, but could not find it. After the *mouravi* lamented² long and secretly, he spoke about it openly and boldly in front of all [108] and announced, "I will kill Luarsab, because I cannot endure the insults flung at my face. My shame has become the talk of the land." The nobles and those close to King Luarsab heard the words of the *mouravi*, became frightened and began to avoid him, for they knew that he could turn his words into action. That is why, at an opportune and appropriate time, they humbly and convincingly encouraged Luarsab to drop the liaison, for it did not befit his royal rank. They also related the threats of the *mouravi*, which could become a reality. After the many entreaties of his friends, Luarsab replied, "I cannot renounce the girl, for I love her with all my heart. But since you ask me, you know well that I have had no wife, and she has had no husband. Ask her hand in marriage, according to custom, engage us and celebrate a wedding. Then you shall have nothing to worry about."³ The nobles, as well as the *mouravi*, agreed to Luarsab's proposal. They were happy and thanked God that he resolved the quarrel. On the basis of his words, they wooed the girl to become Luarsab's wife.⁴ The brother of the girl, the *mouravi*, was extremely happy and grateful to Luarsab. He called himself his slave and servant, saying, "I shall give my fortune and my life to serve him, for he not only does not despise me for my low birth—for they called me the son of a *glekhi*—but honors me so much that he takes my sister as his wife and queen."

But the stubborn, arrogant and proud people of Georgia, [109] who rely on the background and genealogy of their ancestors and ex-

¹ Matthew 10.26. "So have no fear of them; for nothing is covered up that will not be uncovered, and nothing secret that will not become known."

² Absent from A and D.

³ For more details, see VB, 51-52.

⁴ According to Vakhushti, Saakadze's sister became the wife of Luarsab. A few months later, the Georgian nobles, led by Shadiman Barat'ashvili, convinced the king to divorce her, VB, 52.

amine it carefully, did not like this. The wives of the nobles, grantees and *t'awats* (*tavadi*),¹ who were previously the daughters of courtiers and were now the mothers and wives of nobles, as well as some men, were not at all pleased with this. They did not agree to this marriage. Notable women told their husbands and sons, "Is it right for us, the daughters of such courtiers, and the mothers and wives of such nobles, to bow to and to congratulate *some girl*,² the daughter of a *glekhi*? We cannot do this. If you wish this, reject us, your wives, and take other wives." This commotion and discord created a great and irreconcilable agitation among the Georgian peoples which continued for some time. No matter how they tried, the group of supporters could not convince the group of opponents. Therefore, having no choice, those who wanted harmony bowed at the feet of Luarsab and begged him to somehow resolve the argument peacefully. Having no other solution, he said, "Do the right thing." The nobles sent men to the land of the Dadiani³ and asked that the daughter of the ruler of the Dadiani become the wife of Luarsab.⁴ Luarsab, thus, refused the sister of the *mouravi*.

Even without this episode, a demon was previously inside the *mouravi*. Now, the demon inside the *mouravi* gathered seven, even more evil, demons. The latter were angrier [110] than the previous. Therefore, he neighed like a warhorse, roared like a lion and spewed fire like a dragon against Luarsab. He wished to kill him for two reasons: First: for the previous dishonoring of his sister; and second: for his own humiliation. He thus sought to find a way to kill Luarsab.

But the nobles, the friends of the ruler and those who wished him well, guarded Luarsab and warned him to avoid the *mouravi*. They also pressed him to kill the *mouravi*.⁵ Thus, the nobles and Luarsab decided to kill the *mouravi*. With that goal, during a drinking party they got the *mouravi* very drunk, to weaken him, so that it would be easier to kill him. When the appointed time arrived, the king left, and those nobles who were in the know left one by one as well. They summoned a certain executioner to Luarsab so that he would order him to enter and kill the *mouravi*. While Luarsab was talking to the

¹ The term *tavadi* translates as headman, leader, or chief; see Allen, *History*, 246.

² Absent from F.

³ That is, Mingrelia, the ancient Greek Colchis.

⁴ According to Brosset, Luarsab married the sister of Levan II of Mingrelia; *MB*, 321.

⁵ This is also confirmed by Vakhushti, *VB*, 52.

executioner, one of the *mouravi*'s servants, a runner who walked before him and whom they call a *shatter*,¹ heard [their conversation]. He flew like a bird into the room where the *mouravi* was and said, "Here they come to kill you, for the king has ordered it."² When the *mouravi* heard this, his drunken stupor disappeared from great fear, as if he was never drunk at all. He was, at that time, sitting unbelted and without a headgear. In his hurry, he jumped from his seat as he was, barefooted, unbelted and without headgear, and dashed to the king's stable, [111] which was nearby, and where there were horses. Since the *mouravi* knew, from personal experience, which one of the horses was the swiftest, he threw the bridle into the horse's mouth and mounted it right there in the stable. With just the horse's blanket³ and without a saddle, fearing that they would catch and kill him, he jumped on the horse and flew out of the stable. He slackened the bridle and spurred the horse so that it would gallop off with him. The winged horse, like a bird in the sky, galloped with him, as if it moved not on the ground but in the air. Although many of Luarsab's soldiers jumped on horses and chased him, none managed to reach [the *mouravi*], except for two. The *mouravi* convinced them to wait for a moment. When they halted, the *mouravi* began to beg them to let him go. He persuaded and argued with them for a long time, until their hearts were filled with sorrow and mercy. Instead of seizing him, they let him go.⁴ He went to the city of Tiflis and entered it at nighttime. He left it the same night and took a certain interpreter with him, for he did not know any foreign languages. He went to the Akstafa *gawar*, to the soltān of Ghazakh, the governor of that province. He told him everything that had occurred and asked him to send him to Shah 'Abbās. With indescribable joy, they gathered a force and took him to the shah, who was, at that time, in a small town called Ghêzlaghach (Kizilağaç), located in the province of Shamakhi.

The troops from Ghazakh brought the *mouravi* before Shah 'Abbās'. The shah spoke with the *mouravi*, asked him who he was, where he came from, and why [112] he had come. The *mouravi* answered all the questions appropriately and said, "If you accept me

¹ The term is from the Arabic *shātīr* (speedy courier, runner, or footman).

² Georgian sources refer to him as the *pareshtukh* (from the Persian *paresh*—flight) and call him Kakhaber Kherkheulidze.

³ Text has *jlov*, from *jal*, covering for a horse.

⁴ This is also confirmed by Vakhushti, *VB*, 52.

under Your Highness' protection and into your service, I shall be of use to you in many ways and things." The shah remained with his troops there for some time and then moved from there to Isfahan, taking the *mouravi* with him. Traveling slowly, they eventually reached Isfahan. The moment the shah had any free time, he conferred with the *mouravi* and inquired about the condition of the Georgian land and its people: the strength of the land, the wisdom of its kings and princes, the number of its inhabitants, the bravery of its army, and whatever else he desired. The *mouravi* thus stayed in Isfahan. That year passed and the second year dawned.¹ The shah told the *mouravi*, "Many days have passed. What pretense can we find, so that we can gather our troops and go against the Georgian people?"

The *mouravi* wished, in every way possible, to take vengeance on Luarsab for dishonoring and humiliating his sister, and for the events that caused him to end up there [in Persia]. He spoke out, therefore. He bowed before Shah 'Abbās and said, "Luarsab has a sister, a princess, who is a young maiden, charming and beautiful, worthy in every way.² No one but you, my liege deserves to rule over her. Ask for her hand, and when she arrives here, demand that her mother come as well, to be at her daughter's side. With their help it should not be difficult for you to seize and kill Luarsab. If [113] this succeeds, so much the better, for it will be easy and convenient. If it does not, and they refuse to give the girl to you, then their refusal will serve as a provocation to war against them."³

The indispensable pleaser of Satan, that second Sabiros, Shah 'Abbās, having received such advice from the *mouravi*, wrote a message to Luarsab and his mother, which was full of love and respect regarding Luarsab's sister. His letter was full of life, but in reality it was a call for death. The essence of the message was the following:

"We sincerely wish that our and your kingdom become joined firmly and unshakably, through the love and accord of both peoples—Persian and Georgian. We shall entrust you with the rule over all the governors and lands of that *gawar*, so that you can take care of and be the ruler of the northern part, while we shall look after the other parts [of the empire]. As a symbol of and the reason for our

¹ It refers to the year 1610.

² He refers to P'ari, one of Luarsab's sisters. See below.

³ Vakhushti has added the following, "After that the *mouravi* incited the shah to seize K'art'li, for the shah had planned to seize K'art'li and convert it to Islam," *VB*, 52.

agreement you shall bring the maiden, your daughter, to me. First, so that she would become the symbol of this arrangement and our unity, joining the two people together; second, so that she would become our queen and the mistress of the entire Aryan nation." Thus, the shah sent a letter, written in this fashion, to the land of the Georgians, to the city of Tiflis, addressed to Luarsab and his mother.

When the latter read the message, they realized that its contents were treacherous and the work of the informer and their enemy, the *mouravi*. They themselves did not wish to appear [before the shah], nor did they want to hand over the girl. The [following] answer was [114] sent by Luarsab's mother: "When you were engaged in battle in Erevan, you summoned us in friendship and we came with open arms, as sincere friends of the shah. But you behaved as an enemy, for you poisoned my husband with a potion and dishonored me. Now that we have witnessed your behavior, how can we, once again, convince ourselves to come to you? If, as you claim, you really wish to strengthen the union and the peace between us, do not oppress us. Do not alarm us and do not disturb our peace. Leave us in peace, for we are content with our small principality and it meets all our needs. Good health to you!" The answer was sent to Shah 'Abbās, while he was still in Isfahan and where he, together with the *mouravi*, spent entire days reflecting and deliberating ways to destroy the Georgian land and to overthrow their monarchy. The message, initially sent by the shah, was dispatched twice and thrice again to Luarsab and his mother, in order to get hold of Luarsab, his mother, or sister, but he [the shah] did not succeed in this.

After the messengers had gone thrice and had returned and when neither Luarsab, nor his mother or sister appeared, the shah prepared to march on the land of the Georgians.¹ He gathered his army and left Isfahan. He had the insidious and the all-destructive *mouravi* as his advisor by his side. They left Isfahan and, moving slowly and calmly, they reached the land of Karabagh and the city of Ganje. They camped there and waited through the summer.² The shah said to the *mouravi*, "A great deal of time has passed, when will [115] you lead us to Georgia?" The *mouravi* replied, "Wait a little more. The time has not yet come. When it does, I shall tell you myself and we shall go there." The *mouravi* said the time was not right, because with the passing of summer and the arrival of winter the trees in the

¹ According to Eskandar Beg, it occurred in 1613, AA, 1081-1083.

² This occurred in the summer of 1614.

forest would become bare and the Persian army, mounted on horses, could move easily into the land of the Georgians.¹ Moreover, the Georgian defenders—those who were concealed and fortified in strongholds, ravines and difficult-to-reach places in the land—had to endure severe winter frost and snow. They would be exhausted from hunger and would not remain in their strongholds, but would have to return to their abodes, which would be easily accessible to the horses. Then, the Persian army, which was composed of looters and thieves, would approach on horseback and rob them. In the end everything he had envisioned became a reality.

The Georgians, learning of the shah's march on them, began to look for a solution. They decided to form a pact between their two kings, Luarsab, the ruler of Tiflis and K'art'li, and T'eimuraz, the ruler of Kakhet'i and Grim (Gremi),² so that by aiding each other they could resist the Persians. That is why Luarsab and his retainers invited T'eimuraz to Tiflis to conclude an agreement. Having numerous times experienced the harmful effects of disunity and discord, and having been subjected repeatedly to the sorrow and hostility caused by the Persians, T'eimuraz wanted the union with all his heart. Therefore, he got up and went to Tiflis. His arrival was [116] an indescribable joy for Luarsab and his entourage. They made a vow and concluded an agreement to remain united, to be friends, to sacrifice oneself for the sake of the other, and to die in the name of Christ.³

During the time that T'eimuraz was in Tiflis, the shah's spies returned and informed *Shah 'Abbās*⁴ of what they had seen and heard. The willing servant of Lucifer, Shah 'Abbās, inspired by the former, thought of new ways to spread ruin and discord in the Christian kingdom. Therefore, while he was still in Ganje with his army, he started to send letters [full] of flattery and deceit. As earlier, from Isfahan, he now wrote [letters], which contained words of greeting, love and peace, but which, in reality, were [full of] flattery, deceit and insidiousness, so that he would at least succeed in grabbing one of the three: Luarsab, his mother, or his sister. But he could not.

Then he formed a new idea: together with the official notes, which he sent overtly, he wrote secret letters separately to Luarsab

¹ This is also confirmed by Vakhushti, *VB*, 53.

² A royal town of the Kakhet'i Bagratids, located northeast of the Alazani River.

³ This is also confirmed by Vakhushti, *VB*, 53.

⁴ A, B, D, and E read "the shah."

and T'eimuraz containing concealed and crafty intentions. He wrote to Luarsab, "Do not trust T'eimuraz and do not come to an agreement with him, for he is your enemy and wants, under the pretext of friendship, to deceive and kill you and rule over your land. This is his intention, which has been related to me. Kill him yourself immediately, before he kills you. You shall thus rule over your and his land. I will help you if you need troops or money, for I give my consent [117] for you to rule over his domain." He wrote exactly the same letter, in the same style, to T'eimuraz, without Luarsab's knowledge, stating, "Kill Luarsab and you shall reign over both *gawars*." He sent them these letters thrice—both the overt and the secret ones. But neither Luarsab nor his mother came, nor did they send the girl.

Luarsab and T'eimuraz hid the secret dispatches sent to them from each other and kept them while trying to ascertain whether they were true or false. Thanks to God's care, the two kings informed each other of the secret and showed each other the letters written to them by the shah. Seeing the letters, they fully understood the shah's enmity toward them. Instead of enmity, they strengthened the inviolable and indissoluble friendship between them. Since T'eimuraz's wife had died,¹ Luarsab gave his sister, who the shah coveted, to him in marriage. Then and there they celebrated the wedding of T'eimuraz and Luarsab's sister, who was named P'ari.² After the wedding Luarsab and T'eimuraz went to Mtskhet'a,³ where the seat of their patriarch is located. There they once again took an oath to live in peace and agreed to fight the Persians.

¹ His first wife was Anna, who had died in 1610.

² Luarsab had a number of sisters. One was named Khoreshan. She was to marry the son of the great Eristavi of Aragvi, Nugzar, whose daughter was married to Giorgi Saakadze. As a result of this marriage, Nugzar and Saakadze went to Persia and joined Shah 'Abbās. According to Vakhushhti, Luarsab's other sister (P'ari) became the wife of T'eimuraz. A third sister, T'inat'in, was a wife of Shah 'Abbās, *VB*, 49, 52-53. Chardin writes that Luarsab's sister's baptismal name was Darejan, but the Persians called her Perri, J. Chardin, *Les voyages de Ms. le Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, II (Paris, 1811), 52-53. *Pari* means "fairy" in Persian. It is another way of calling a woman very beautiful. Brosset claims that P'ari married Shah 'Abbās, converted and took the name of Leyla Patman-Soltān. After the death of her brother, the shah gave her to Peykār Khan. He has Khoreshan marrying T'eimuraz, *MB*, 326. Arak'el's version agrees with Vakhushhti.

³ Mtskhet'a is one of the oldest cities in Georgia; it was, for a time, its capital and later became its religious center.

After all of this occurred, the Persian envoys, both the ones who had come openly, as well as the secret spies, left and informed the shah. The latter was deeply hurt, for he had repeatedly asked for the girl and had come with such a large army for her sake. They had not given her to him, but had given her to T'eimuraz.

[118] *The shah*¹ called the *mouravi* and said, "You brought me here with all my army, but the girl about whom you told me was given, as you see, not to me, but to my enemy, who barely measures up to my servants. You have made a fool and a laughing stock of me in front of the entire world. If you do not take me into the land of the Georgians and do not conquer their land for me, know that you shall not remain alive and your body will be cut into pieces." The *mouravi* replied, "You can do that if I do not lead you to that land. What will you do if I lead you there?" The shah said to him, "You shall become the absolute head of all my advisors and *nakharars* and will be preferred over and above them all." On the *mouravi*'s advice they waited until the month of December, until the great holidays,² until the winter season arrived, frost took hold, and the snow covered the mountaintops and blocked the escape routes. The cold forced the people hiding in their [mountain] strongholds to descend into their villages and settlements. The leaves fell from the trees and everything became clearly visible. Then the *mouravi* told the shah, "We shall now go into the land of the Georgians, for it is time." They moved from the city of Ganje and came to the border of Kakhet'i, the land of T'eimuraz.

The road to Kakhet'i went through a ravine, from which one could enter into the kingdom, but it was a very narrow gorge and difficult to pass. There were tall and rocky cliffs on both sides of the ravine, covered with thickets and forests, through which neither man nor horse could [119] traverse. T'eimuraz and Luarsab, together with a large army, came and occupied the exit from the ravine. They built large walls of stone and wood and prepared a place for battle behind the barrier, from where, remaining inside, they could do battle with the enemy, who would be outside the wall.

The Persian army camped in the open area across the ravine. The moment the Persians realized that the Georgians had occupied the passage, they were seized with despair and confusion. The shah again summoned the *mouravi* and began to threaten him with death,

¹ Absent from F; reads "he."

² This occurred in December of 1614.

but the *mouravi* did not know what to do. After two days, the *mouravi* told the shah, "I have reflected and I have found a way, but it is two-day journey from here. We will also need men with axes, shovels and hammers to cut down the forest and convert a difficult passage into an easy one." The moment the shah heard this, he rejoiced and ordered his troops to take many axes, shovels, and other tools, go where necessary and cut out a route. They went, cut down the forest, created easy roads from inaccessible ones and opened a route. Accomplishing this, they informed the shah that his order was carried out.

The shah ordered his military units to keep the camp as is: the tents up; the camels and beasts of burden in place; the *ortu-bazarch'i*¹ and all the rest, to remain in their places, so that the Georgians would assume that the Persian army was still there; so that the Persian fighting units, together with their supplies and horses, could move quietly and secretly by the opened route into Kakhet'i. The Persian military units moved [120] and, by the opened route, entered the domain of T'eimuraz, reached the villages and settlements and began to mercilessly slaughter the Georgian population. T'eimuraz and Luarsab, who, together with their army, were at the entrance of the ravine, were not aware of the actions of the Persians, until unexpectedly they saw a wounded man, covered with blood from head to foot, who had escaped the Persians and had arrived as a mournful messenger to inform of the Persian invasion and their arrival in Georgia. Hearing this, T'eimuraz, Luarsab and everyone who was with them were dumbfounded and could not think of anything to do; to save their belongings and goods or anything else. Each one took their family and their close relatives. They barely had time to mount a horse and hurriedly flee in panic and terror, in order not to fall into the hands of the Persians. That was the reason that Luarsab and T'eimuraz fled from there to Tiflis and from there to Gori. They could not remain there either and, via the Koghb road, crossed Mount Caucasus, that is, Elburz, and went to the land of the Pashiach'ukhi,² for Luarsab's mother was the daughter of the ruler of Pashiach'ukhi. That is why T'eimuraz, his wife, Luarsab, and his

¹ Purveyor, cook; see Floor, *Safavid Government Institutions*, 252-254.

² It refers to Imeret'i, the domain of King Giorgi III (1605-1639). In 1615 Luarsab and T'eimuraz escaped to Kutaisi. Shah 'Abbās asked Giorgi for their return through his envoy. See *VB*, 243.

mother, together with members of their families, fled to Pashiach'ukhi and were saved from the Persians.

The Persian army, coming from the other side, entered the country of T'eimuraz, reached the entrance of the ravine blocked by the Georgians, destroyed the barrier and opened a wide and spacious road, through which the Persian warriors passed and entered T'eimuraz's domain. [121] The army set up camp and remained there for fifty days¹ and did not leave the country. What did they not do during their stay! Neither one's mouth, nor one's tongue can describe it! You can imagine how many innocent Christian folk were put to the sword, and were either wounded or killed! Innocent people were taken into captivity and dishonored; their belongings and goods were looted, and their structures burned. Churches were pillaged and burned; holy altars and crosses were overturned. They kept the prisoners with them and tortured them with cold and nakedness, hunger and thirst, and in many other ways.

Shah 'Abbās entered Kakhet'i and realized that T'eimuraz and Luarsab had fled, and the land and the people were in his hands. Experienced in perfidious ideas, he then set novel and most destructive snares. He ordered that criers be sent to all the *gawars* and villages of Kakhet'i, so that they would travel for many days and loudly announce the following, "By the order of the benevolent and peace-loving almighty sovereign, Shah 'Abbās, all the population of Kakhet'i—nobles, knights, artisans, common folk, and all those who have left to their fortifications in the mountains and forests, forts or other strongholds—should return to their settlements and their homes. They should come in peace and not fear the Persian army, for the shah has ordered that no inhabitant of the land should be harassed or molested. No harm will come to those who become *shahsavans* [122] and they shall live in peace. The shah's order does not apply to those who remain obstinate. The shah will send a large army that will capture them, destroy their strongholds, kill them, seize and enslave their families, and plunder their belongings. Therefore, come out from your fortifications, submit, become *shahsavans* and live in peace. The shah will grant glory, respect, numerous gifts and the title of nobleman to whoever of the nobles or grandees comes sooner."

When the people of Kakhet'i heard the words, which were announced by the criers, some were fooled, believed them, came and

¹ That is, until February 1615.

became *shahsavans*; others, fearing death and captivity, came and became *shahsavans*; the third group came and became *shahsavans* because they had spent many years in the land of the Persians and had despaired. Others, seeing that the Persians were capturing fortress after fortress, slaughtering and enslaving the population of the forts, were frightened and terrified that this might happen to them as well. They, therefore, came out from their strongholds, came down and became *shahsavans*.

The shah also ordered that those who became *shahsavans* be settled all over in villages and other places. They [the Persians] were to converse with them, to assure and comfort them with great kindness, and to record and maintain on paper the names of the men, women, sons, and daughters and all the members of their families. They also appointed guards from among the Persian army everywhere, [123] so that no one could escape anywhere. They fooled them by saying, "We have put guards around you so that no one from among the Persian troops will molest you or plunder your goods." All those who came and became *shahsavans* were treated in the same manner that I have described.

As far as those who did not come but remained in their strongholds are concerned, the Persians marched against their forts, fought many days with them until they were victorious, seized them, put them to the sword and killed them mercilessly; as if, according to God's testimony, they venerated God [by doing so].¹ After that they robbed them, plundered their goods and belongings, captured the remaining women and children and brought them to their camp. As I already stated, after their fifty-day stay, there remained no fortified place that they did not devastate. They utterly emptied and defiled the abundant, fertile and densely populated lands of Kakhet'i and Gremi.

The shah ordered not to destroy the utensils, crosses, holy chalices, gospels, censers, chasubles, other vessels and holy items from the churches of Kakhet'i and Gremi,² as well as the magnificent and valuable religious decorations with rare stones and pearls, but to transport them to the city of Isfahan to the royal treasury.³ They all remain there to this day, in the treasury. Many of our Armenians

¹ The Wisdom of Solomon 1.6-11; the text explains how the ungodly will not escape punishment.

² Absent from A and D.

³ According to Brosset, many relics were from Mtskheta; some found their way to the Kremlin treasury; *MB*, 329.

have testified that they have seen these holy items. They also transported, among other religious items, the seamless garment of Christ [124], which is located at present in the same treasury in the city of Isfahan, in front of which they light a lamp to this date. People who had seen it with their own eyes and can be trusted told me about this.

After the repeated plunder of the land, the shah left and, reaching the border of the two countries, Kakhet'i and K'art'li, settled down there. He ordered his soldiers not to molest or harass any of the inhabitants of K'art'li, and if there was anything necessary for the Persian troops, or if they needed something—men or beasts—they had to buy it from the inhabitants of the *gawar* and pay the price asked by the seller. The shah also ordered the criers to go throughout the province of K'art'li and announce, "The great and peaceful monarch, Shah 'Abbās, has ordered that K'art'li, with all its inhabitants, nobles and common folk, live in peace and tranquility. Let all those who have gone up into the strongholds and forts from fear of the Persian army cease to be afraid. Let them not fear anything and come down to their homes. Let them resume their work. There shall be amity and peace between the Georgian and the Persian peoples. Since I count K'art'li as my own country, for my own sake, as well as that of King Luarsab, I shall not destroy it, for I count him as my son, my brother and my friend. The moment he returns, I shall return his homeland to him and I shall return to my home. This I shall do, if King Luarsab agrees to return. If he does not come, the *mouravi* here is a native of K'art'li and a Georgian by birth. He is with us now. I shall give K'art'li to him and shall return to my own country."

[125] The shah instructed the *mouravi* to also send his own servants throughout the land, so that they would announce the same [message] to all the inhabitants of the *gawars*, in order to convince them. The vain and perfidious inspiration gave hope. He even fooled the *mouravi* by saying, "Regardless if Luarsab comes or not, I shall hand you the rule over K'art'li." He ordered the *mouravi's* servants to spread the same message among the people. Thus, through false and insidious words, all the inhabitants were fooled. Therefore, without war or chaos, but through amity and peace they convinced all the inhabitants and forced them down from their strongholds to settle back in their villages. The needs of the Persian army—both in men and animals—were, therefore, fulfilled. The Persian army did not fear anything. They lived in peace and harmony in every way.

However, the inhabitants of K'art'li were scared: what if Luarsab did not return and the shah, in revenge, ordered his troops to plunder

and enslave the land belonging to Luarsab? The Persian warriors told them the same thing and added, "Come and also become *shahsavans*, so that you will not be taken captive, like the inhabitants of Kakhet'i, where those who became *shahsavans* were not driven into captivity." For that reason, many K'art'lians came and registered as *shahsavans*. The Persians recorded the names of those who became *shahsavans*, as well as their families, on lists and kept them. Those who relied on the great benevolence and peace, and had registered as *shahsavans*, were sent all over [the land—as administrators].

[126] The shah, who still remained on the border of the two countries, thought of a new ruse: he appointed one of his advisors, the grandest commander and famed *nakharar*, named Khwaja¹ Saru as an envoy of peace, and with a letter filled with amity dispatched him to Luarsab in Pashiach'ukhi. The letter contained the following:

"The ruler of the Aryans, Shah 'Abbās, with great affection sends greetings to Luarsab, the ruler of the Georgians. We have written to you with affection numerous times, professing our heartfelt friendship to you, but you did not heed or trust our word. Know this and believe it: As you see I have ruined the land of T'eimuraz, but have kept yours intact and unharmed for you, awaiting your return. Do not hesitate! Come! Do not listen to foolish and stupid admonitions. Do not give up your kingdom. I have no malice or perfidy against you in my heart, for you have done me no harm. I solicit your arrival, for I wish that, as there was harmony between our two peoples in the time of our ancestors, so be it in our time. We shall give the entire northern part, what is north of the Arax River, so that you will be the head and ruler over all the governors of those lands and guard the *gawars*, while we will calmly guard the other *gawars* and resist the enemy. Good health to you!" He wrote this letter, gave it to Khwaja Saru, but verbally instructed him to do many other things and set insidious snares, which were in his [the shah's] heart, so that the latter would somehow convince Luarsab to appear before [127] the shah. Khwaja Saru went to Pashiach'ukhi, appeared before Luarsab and presented him with the greetings and the letter. When they, Luarsab, his mother, his sister and T'eimuraz read the letter, they realized that all the words were lies and did not believe them. Although Khwaja Saru spent many days trying to cajole Luarsab, he was not convinced.

After several days, they gave the following response to the shah's message: "If what you have written is true and you sincerely wish

¹ It refers to Mohammad Reza Khwaja, the vizier of Azarbaijan.

that there be friendship between us, then, as a sign of your amity and tranquility, you shall leave our land whole and unharmed and our people intact everywhere. You shall leave us one of your deputies, in your place, so that in his presence we can prove our friendship, agreement and union with you, which is what you desire. You shall leave our land and we will return and rule over our land and will remain amicable and in accord with you. Good health to you!" After many sly speeches, when Khwaja Saru realized that they did not believe him, he took Luarsab's letter and went to the shah. He related their words and their strong resolve.

Hearing the content of the response, Shah 'Abbās moved, with his entire army, and went to the road leading to Pashiach'ukhi, [which was] above Gori, and set up camp there. He set up his camp there specifically so that if any of the Georgians, nobles or common folk, wished to flee to Pashiach'ukhi, they could not pass.

From here, the shah dispatched Khwaja Saru [128] for the second time with a proposal and a letter to Luarsab in order that the latter would be fooled and come, but he did not come.

The same Khwaja Saru was dispatched for the third time to Luarsab, but he did not come.

Luarsab and those close to him were fed up with the repeated comings and goings of envoys. During the last visit they did something degrading to Khwaja Saru so that the shah would not dispatch another envoy to them. These degrading actions consisted of pilfering all his goods, leaving him totally naked, stealing all his adornments and weapons, clothes and horses, so that even the mule that he rode on was taken. They let him go on foot and instructed him with great severity; as if to say, do not come here any more. Thus Khwaja Saru returned embarrassed to the shah. Meanwhile, the shah awaited him impatiently and thought of evil, perfidious and knavish deeds against Luarsab and T'eimuraz.

While the shah remained in such a state and could not find a way out of the situation, a certain man from Tiflis,¹ a servant of evil and the progeny of hell, prompted by demons and taught by Satan, left Tiflis and came to the shah's camp. He asked, "Does Your Highness wish that I bring Luarsab? If you really wish it and will not cause [him] harm, I shall go and bring him to you." The shah was extremely surprised by this man's words and asked him, "How will you bring him to me?" The man said, "I am a [129] relative of Luar-

¹ Text refers to Shadiman Barat'ashvili.

sab; he is my godson and we trust each other a great deal. That is why I am sure he will believe my words." The shah, hearing these words, was filled with an indescribable joy, since that which he had worried and suffered for without any result; that, which he wanted for so long and could not obtain, could easily be realized. He promised the man great riches and numerous gifts, as well as immeasurable fame, if he brought Luarsab.

The crafty and insidious man, he who became the cause of the destruction of a Christian kingdom, went to Pashiach'ukhi to Luarsab and T'eimuraz. He spent many days reciting convincing and mollifying speeches to Luarsab, until he broke the firmness of his resolve. But T'eimuraz, Luarsab's mother and sister, and all their confidants not only did not approve of that man's words, but abhorred them; for they knew well that they were the shah's witchlike intrigues. But the man, who was possessed by the demon, like the snake that seduced Eve, convinced Luarsab to appear before the shah. Luarsab's mother and sister, T'eimuraz, the nobles, and all his friends shed tears, grieved and said, "Do not give yourself into the hands of your enemy, for he is your enemy, not your friend, and wants to kill you." T'eimuraz said, "Do not trust this impious and crafty beast, for he is trying to destroy us." Luarsab's mind, however, was more inclined toward the words of the stooge of evil than that of his friends. He answered everyone thusly, "The shah has come and is living in our country. He asks me to conclude a peace; if I do not go to him, he will destroy [130] and ravage the entire land, destroy the churches, and kill and capture Christians.¹ I will be the cause of all of that. Instead of being long tormented by pangs of conscience and be answerable to so many people, would it not be better if I appeared before the shah and help out the entire country? Putting my trust in God, I shall go openly to him; whatever happens to me there, life or death, it will be God's blessed will."

Thus, deprived of reason, Luarsab did not listen to his friends, but believed the words and vows of the shah. He left Pashiach'ukhi and went to the shah.² When they brought the news of his arrival, the shah's heart rejoiced without end.

¹ This is also confirmed by Vakhushti, *VB*, 54.

² The *mouravi*, Giorgi Saakadze, came to K'art'li with Shah 'Abbās in 1614. His enemies, fearing Saakadze's power, were worried. One of them, Luarsab's courtier, Shadiman Barat'ashvili, an enemy of Saakadze, convinced Luarsab to leave Imeret'i and to return home; *VB*, 53-54.

When Luarsab came near the Persian camp, the shah, together with all his nobles and knights, came out to greet him. Seeing each other, they greeted one another with amity, happiness and great honor. As far as the shah was concerned, he was happy in his heart and soul. This was a greater day for him than any other day in his life, for his evil will was fulfilled and he accomplished what he desired for so long. As was the custom of the cunning and insidious Persians and especially of this shah, the clever *vishap*, he first received Luarsab with great love and respect. According to plan, he continuously recited false, empty and crafty speeches, until the rumor began throughout the land that the shah had sought Luarsab for no other reason than his love for him and his desire to form an alliance with him.

After that, the shah moved with his army from there and went to Tiflis. He took Luarsab with him and treated [131] him as an equal and, showing his devotion constantly, conversed with and amused him about affairs that interested Luarsab.¹

Several years after Luarsab had ascended the throne, which was four or five years prior to the shah's invasion, it so happened that, during a conversation, men talked about the life of Luarsab's grandfather, Simon Khan, whom the Ottomans had deceived, seized, taken to Istanbul, killed and buried.² Luarsab's blood was stirred. He dreamed of bringing the remains of his grandfather, Simon Khan, to bury them in his family vault, together with his other ancestors and relatives. After making inquiries from certain men, who were familiar with the place in Constantinople, he learned where the remains of Simon Khan were buried. He immediately dispatched those well-informed men to bring the remains of Simon Khan. They went to Constantinople, exhumed his remains and brought them to Tiflis. It so happened that when the men came with the remains of Simon Khan, the shah was in Tiflis, and, therefore, learned that they had brought them. He, who was full of Satan's insidious ideas, whose hostility toward Christians was such that he thirsted after their blood, began now to demonstrate his enmity to the bones of the dead as well. He, therefore, gave a strict and stern order to immediately bring

¹ This is also confirmed by Vakhushiti, *VB*, 54.

² Georgian sources state that he was captured during a rash reconnaissance. Ja'far Pasha took him to Istanbul where he was held at the Seven Towers, which look over the Thracian plain. He died after eleven years of imprisonment in 1600. See Allen, *History*, 160. Brosset states that he died in 1611; see *Histoire de la Géorgie*, II, 42-43.

the remains to him. When his order was carried out, he said, "I shall accord them more honor and fame than you would, for you do not know the honor deserved by kings. I wish to send the remains to Mashhad,¹ so that people will revere them with [the remains] of our ancestor kings and sovereigns." Thus, with such bewitching words [132] he sent the bones of Simon Khan to Persia and did not permit them to be buried in the land of Georgia. No one found out what was done with them, or where were they taken. They thus disappeared without a trace.²

During the time when the shah was in Georgia, he subjugated the entire land to his will. As to the land of T'eimuraz, the shah made sure that it became clear to everyone that it was under Persian rule, as if he had conquered it by his sword. With this aim, he sent troops from the Persian army, who erected forts in the land of T'eimuraz and placed Persian troops in them. He appointed Sēlim (Salim) Khan,³ P'ekar (Peykār) Khan,⁴ and Bek'dash (Bektāsh) Khan⁵ as the governors and commanders there to safeguard Persian rule in that land.

He destroyed the population of Kakhet'i and Gremi through captivity and murder. He ordered those who remained and who became *shahsavans* to be driven out of their land into Persia. He appointed those governors and warriors, who possessed the lists and decrees in which the names [of the Georgian *shahsavans*] were recorded, to this task. Armed with the lists, they began to look for all their relatives and began to exile them with all the *shahsavans*' families and belongings. All the deportees were brought to the banks of the Kur River, to a small town called Ghazbin (Qabrin),⁶ for the [Persian] camp was pitched there. They continued this until they had exiled all the recorded *shahsavans*. When the deportation of those listed was completed, they moved the exiles from there [Qabrin] and, after checking the same registers, drove them to Persia and took them to

¹ Text reads "Imamruz."

² According to Khanlaryan, his remains are in Mtskhet'a, *KHcr*, 510.

³ Text refers to Salīm Khan Shams al-Dīnlū, governor of Lori.

⁴ Text refers to Peykār Soltān (Khan) Īgīrmī-dört, governor of Kakhet'i.

⁵ Text may refer to Bektāsh Khan Ostājalu.

⁶ A, B, C, D, and E read Ghabrin (Qabrin in Persian); F reads Ghazbin. Khanlaryan has ignored all the manuscripts and has chosen Ghazbin, *KH*, 137, *KHcr*, 510. Brosset also incorrectly thought it might have been "by the Khodā-āfarīn Bridge on the bank of the Arax;" *MB*, 333. The settlement of Qabrin was actually by the Kur and Qabri rivers; see *AA*, 353.

the city of Qazvin. From there they moved them to the city of Fara-
bad (Farahabad).¹ When they brought them to Farahabad, they
settled some of them—Georgians, [133] Armenians, Muslims, and
Jews—in the city of Farahabad. Many others were settled in villages,
where they were given plots of land for homes, as well as orchards
and fields. In such a manner the shah ruined the land of Georgia,
Kakhet'i and Gremi, drove out the people and resettled them in the
land of Farahabad.

However, these exiles did not multiply in that land, for they were
unaccustomed to the humid, severe, suffocating and stinking climate.
They were also not used to the food, drink or the way of life of that
land. Therefore they began to perish and die. After a short time, so
many died that only one out of ten remained alive. Soon, those who
remained became so weak, thin and consumed by illness and disease
that they could not perform any physical work to make a living. In
addition, because of their forced exodus, they had become poor and
destitute. They sold and ate everything they possessed. Because of
poverty, the Georgians sent a petition to the shah in Farahabad, in
which they complained about the need and hunger. The shah replied,
“Give up your faith, accept the Muslim religion, and I shall then
provide you with great wealth, so that you can live and sustain your-
self.” Compelled by hunger, they carried out the shah's order and
became Muslims. The shah did not give them many goods, as he had
promised. He lied and fooled them. He gave each, old and young, a
dahekan (*dahgānī*)² and sent them home.

[134] Thus, if anyone praises that ruler, saying that he loved the
Christians and was a philanthropic and peace-loving sovereign, here
is an example of his love for Christians: he destroyed the entire
Christian world, Armenia and Georgia, exterminated all by the
sword, hunger and captivity, and drove the rest out to Farahabad and
Isfahan, where they are extirpated day after day through various
means. He, who wishes to extol him, should first take notice of his
actions against the Christians, and then praise him.

I described [above] how the shah behaved toward those who were
listed as *shahsavans* in the land of T'eimuraz. He behaved in the ex-
act same manner toward those who had listed themselves as
shahsavans in the land of Luarsab. Over them, he appointed soldiers

¹ According to Khanlaryan, the shah twice deported parts of the popula-
tion of Kakhet'i, the first time in 1614 and the second time in 1616, *KHcr*,
510. Farahabad was the shah's summer residence in Mazandaran.

² It was a gold coin of unspecified value.

and commanders, who after completing the recording of registers, gathered them and drove them into Persia. The inhabitants of K'art'li, however, were not taken to Farahabad, but to Isfahan. They were settled in the mountain villages of Isfahan, where the Persians had also settled the Armenians. At the time that I am writing this history, in the year 1107 (1658) of our calendar, all these Georgians have already given up their faith and have accepted the Muslim religion. They are now so ruthless and inhuman toward Christians that when we greet them on the road, they do not answer our greetings, for they consider it a sin to respond to [a Christian's] greetings. Moreover, they curse and defame their fathers and ancestors, saying that they were infidels who died as unbelievers; in addition, they praise God for their new faith, [135] saying that the religion they now practice is the true religion. Furthermore, at the time when the Georgians were deported to Isfahan, some of them were driven further, to the land of Shiraz and the land called Asup'as.¹ These [Georgians] were also destroyed by various means, and those remaining *from that time on*² turned to the false faith of Muhammad. While the shah was still in Tiflis and kept Luarsab with him, he rejoiced, cheered and amused himself, for he had caught him [Luarsab] in his snare. But he was distressed because of T'eimuraz, for he could not catch him. Like a fierce Behemoth,³ he pondered deep in his soul about him [T'eimuraz] and how to kill him.

He thought of the following snare: he convinced a man and dispatched him to Pashiach'ukhi with strict instructions and every conceivable plot to, openly or secretly, kill T'eimuraz in whatever way possible. He sent the man who was to kill T'eimuraz without the knowledge of any of his *nakharars*, so that no one would know of it. The latter went and reached Pashiach'ukhi. For several days he entered and exited T'eimuraz's residence and observed everything: the path and place where T'eimuraz slept in the night—the place was located in a room at the top, where they ascended and descended by a wooden ladder. One day, that man kept himself hidden and stayed

¹ It refers to the village of Auspas; see W. Floor, "The Bandar 'Abbas-Isfahan Route in the Late Safavid Era (1617-1717)," *Iran* XXXVII (1999), 67-94.

² Absent from A and D.

³ It refers to Job 40.15. Behemoth is a mythical symbol of chaos and evil. In the Book of Job, the Lord says: "Which I made just as I made you," that is, man (in this case, the shah) can be (was) as evil as a behemoth.

awake the entire night. He was not observed by anyone and tried to find an opportune moment to kill T'eimuraz.

At [136] midnight, thinking that all were asleep, including the night guards, that is, the *keshikchi*, he came out, unobserved by anyone, and quietly ascended the wooden ladder into the upper room where T'eimuraz slept. He saw two people sleeping in a bed in one corner of the room, and two others sleeping in a bed in another corner. Those who slept in one of the beds, in the upper room, were T'eimuraz and his wife. The other bed belonged to the two maids, who served them, and who slept there in the other bed. The man, who had come to kill T'eimuraz, did not know which bed contained his victim. *Therefore, he did not dare to kill someone else instead of T'eimuraz.*¹ He decided to leave, to find out more and then strike the blow and kill him without error. God put this idea in the heart of that man and averted his hand, so that he would not kill the Christian king. In addition, it exposed the shah's insidious evil and shameful act. Having decided on his new plan, the man came out of the room and began to descend the *same*² wooden ladder by which he had ascended. At that moment, the saber, which hung at his belt, got caught on the ladder and made a sound. The sound woke up the dog of the *keshikchi* and it began to bark at him. The guards were awakened by the barking, saw the man, surrounded him and seized him. All those who saw him were full of dread. The next day, T'eimuraz and the nobles summoned that man and interrogated him; he confessed candidly to everything, saying that the shah had sent him to kill T'eimuraz.

[137] Then T'eimuraz sighed from the inner depths of his soul and said, "You see, my brothers, the shah took both of my sons from me and castrated them. He took my mother and threw her in a chasm in Persia.³ He has now totally destroyed my land and has driven all my people into captivity. I alone have escaped and live in a foreign land. Nevertheless, not satisfied with all that, he is trying to kill me. If he is trying so hard to kill me, what can I rely on if I voluntarily go to him?" All who witnessed the shah's actions and heard T'eimuraz's words agreed with his assessment. T'eimuraz pitied that man [the assassin], did not kill him, but let him go his own way. Fearing that the shah would think of other snares against him, he de-

¹ Absent from F.

² Absent from A and F.

³ See next chapter.

cided also not to stay in Pashiach'ukhi. He left there and went [further] from the shah, to the land of the Dadiani.¹

I cannot describe the details of all the fatal deeds committed by the shah in the land of Georgia, for there are no words to describe them. He spent an entire year with his Persian army there, in Georgia. After a year, he decided to leave Georgia and return to Persia.

Meanwhile, the shah was tired and perturbed in his heart trying to find a way to kill Luarsab. He, therefore, instructed his *nakharars* to tell Luarsab the following, "Since you have, with God's help, successfully met with the shah, and amity and agreement have been established between you, you should [138] strengthen your amicable and peaceful union, and as is customary, when the shah leaves your country, it would be nice if you would travel with him as *his*² escort for some three or four days until you reach the borders of your kingdom. After that you will return to your own throne." The shah himself, during conversation, said the same words to Luarsab. Since Luarsab, as a Christian, did not possess any hypocrisy or cunningness in his heart, he agreed to do what the shah wanted.

When the shah left the city of Tiflis, he took Luarsab with him, as was agreed between them.

After traveling three or four days, the shah instructed his *nakharars* to tell Luarsab something else, "Since you have traveled for so many days and it has been so pleasant, we beg you to ignore *your*³ fatigue and travel a little more until we reach the city of Ganje, for the shah has decided to call all the local notables of Shamakhi and Erevan and wants to subject them to your rule. He wants to appoint you as the ruler and commander-in-chief over all, so that all will obey you orders." This pleased Luarsab's heart as well, and he traveled with the shah to Ganje. In Ganje, after many days, when there were no signs of that which the shah's *nakharars had spoken*,⁴ much less any evidence of his freedom to leave, Luarsab realized in his heart that they had snatched him and he had been fooled into leaving his homeland to which they would not [139] let him return. Luarsab,

¹ T'eimuraz's mother and son, Alexander, were sent to the shah in Ganje in 1614. Although Brosset claims that Arak'el has confused some of the dates; *MB*, 335-336, Eskandar Beg and Vakhushti confirm most of Arak'el's information.

² Absent from *A* and *D*.

³ Absent from *A*.

⁴ Absent from *D*.

therefore, fell into a deep sorrow and was grief-stricken. Despite all his reflections he could not find a way out.¹

In his insidious soul, the much-experienced and cunning Shah 'Abbās thought of a convenient moment to kidnap Luarsab, by day or night. In connection with this, he thought of a new trap, which was as follows: the shah presented a *jgha* (*jighah*),² which the notables wore on their head, to Luarsab. It was very elegant and rare, beautiful and expensive. Presenting the *jighah*, the shah lovingly said, "It should be on your head whenever you come to our presence." Luarsab wore it whenever he came to see the shah.

After several days the shah ordered his thieves, whom he always kept by his side—for the shah kept many expert thieves by his side to carry out various plans, as he did now—to secretly and quietly enter Luarsab's tent during the night and steal the said *jighah* and other items. They did as the shah had ordered: they stole the *jighah* and many other things belonging to Luarsab. After that, when they summoned Luarsab, as usual, to the shah's presence, he came and sat down, but the *jighah* was not on his head as before. Seeing this, the shah, feigning ignorance, asked, "Why didn't you wear the *jighah* on your head?" Hearing that they had stolen it, the shah apologized and, pretending to be a friend and sympathizer, began to express his regrets. [140] After that, he addressed his words to the *nakharars* present there. Enraged and abusive, he began to threaten them with death and said, "Why don't you serve him with the appropriate devotion and solicitousness? Your neglect and carelessness is such that even thieves enter his tent and steal things, especially such a magnificent and expensive item." He was speaking about the *jighah*. He then said, "Maybe because of your carelessness the thieves will come and next time steal something else of his and put us to shame again. Arm brave and sensible men right away; let them serve as guards and act as night patrols around his tent every night, so that he may not suffer even the minutest harm, or else I shall kill you all." Receiving such a severe order, the *nakharars* henceforward placed guards around him day and night to watch carefully over him.

The shah devised such a ruse and put guards around Luarsab, so that he would not flee. He took him, accompanied by the said guards, to Tabriz. After that he took him to Qazvin, Farahabad, Isfahan, and

¹ This is also confirmed by Vakhushti, *VB*, 54.

² From the Persian *jaghe/jighah* (a crest or adornment worn in the headgear of rulers).

from there he sent him to Shiraz, in order to keep him a prisoner. There too, he appointed guards to watch him continuously.¹

It so happened that after many years envoys of the Russian ruler came in order to affirm Russia's friendship and agreements [with Persia].² In those days the shah had gone to the Isfahan *gawar* and resided by the river, called Avik'uran (Abi-Kuran), the flow of which he wanted to divert and unite with the river of Isfahan³ (Zayandeh-rud), for there was little water in Isfahan.⁴ Most of the artisans and [141] laborers worked on that waterway, and because of that the shah himself settled and lived there. The Russian envoys came⁵ there to visit⁶ the shah, and among their many requests they also petitioned that Luarsab be returned to his own land and to continue to serve the shah as his vassal. Shah 'Abbās, in his cunning way, heard their requests with kindness. He favorably and willingly agreed to their request to send Luarsab back to his homeland. In this way he gratified the envoys and sent them back to their land.

After that, the shah summoned the notable who was in charge of guarding Luarsab, and said, "You deserve to die by execution. Why have you kept Luarsab alive for so long, so that now these men have come and asked for his freedom? If you do not return soon and bring news of his death, you and all your relatives shall be killed." The notable, receiving his order, rushed to the city of Shiraz and behaved amicably toward Luarsab.

One day, Luarsab and the notable went out for a stroll by the river and started to fish there. The Persian notable first took the net, in order to level it, throw it into the water, and catch fish. He leveled it poorly on purpose and threw it crookedly and askew into the water, acting as if he could not manage at all. Luarsab, not suspecting anything, took the net from the hands of the notable, so that he could

¹ The shah sent Luarsab to Shiraz and imprisoned him in the Golab-qal'e fort, *VB*, 54.

² The Russian envoys, Tikhonov and Bukharov, were sent by Tsar Michael Feodorovich to affirm friendship; see S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, I (Moscow, 1961), 67.

³ The Russian translation incorrectly reads "Isfahan River."

⁴ A tax, called the Abi-Kuran, was collected from the population, including those living in eastern Armenia for that purpose; see T'. Avdalebeyan, "Ab-i-K'uran jrants'k'ê Parskastanum ev hamanun abik'uran harkê," *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 1 (1958), 190-193.

⁵ Absent from A, B, C, and F.

⁶ Absent from F.

cast it correctly into the river. While he lowered his head and [142] bent over the net, smoothing it, the Persian notable drew out a saber from his belt and unexpectedly struck Luarsab on the neck. The blow separated Luarsab's head and it flew to one side.¹ The Persian notable took Luarsab's head and brought it to the Persian camp in the small town, called Abi-Kuran, which we noted above, and presented it to the shah. The shah saw the head and realized that it was that of Luarsab. Shah 'Abbās, in his hard-heartedness, fell into a rage and was irritated by the sight of the head. He defamed and abused it and scornfully kicked and rolled it here and there. Spending many hours with the head in such a spiritual rage, he then took the head by the ear and cast it aside. The head rotated and rolled down, for the settlement was on top of a slope. Such was the end of the life of Luarsab, the ruler of Tiflis. The wily Shah 'Abbās killed him in this fashion. He [also] seized his country and brought it under his control.

¹ According to Vakhushti, Luarsab was killed in 1622 in the fort of Golab-qal'e in Shiraz, *VB*, 54. According to Khanlaryan's Russian translation, he was strangled by a bowstring on the shah's order, *KH*, 520. According to Brosset, his martyrdom is commemorated on June 21; *MB*, 338.

[143] Chapter 12

On the martyrdom of the mother of T'eimuraz, King of Kakhet'i, by the [order of the] same Shah 'Abbās

When King T'eimuraz still lived in his own homeland in Kakhet'i, he ruled the country peacefully and obeyed the Persians, for the shah had not yet come to Georgia, had not forced its kings to flee, and had not plundered the land, all about which I wrote in the previous chapter. T'eimuraz lived in his country, and the shah in Persia. The shah sent [envoys] to T'eimuraz and demanded a hostage. The latter sent one of his sons. The shah demanded another hostage, and T'eimuraz sent him his second son. The shah demanded a hostage for the third time, and T'eimuraz sent his mother.¹ The shah castrated both of T'eimuraz's sons, so that they could not have sons and heirs.² The shah sent T'eimuraz's mother into the farthest depths of Persia, to the city of Shiraz, to Imam-qoli Khan,³ so that the latter would keep her under guard. Because of Shah 'Abbās' order, the mother of T'eimuraz, whose name was Mariam,⁴ lived under [144] guard. Later, she suffered martyrdom because of her belief in the divinity of Christ and for her Christian faith. She died as a martyr by the hands of the same Shah 'Abbās in the following way: There were other women from among the Georgian nobility who were captives of the Persians, and who lived in Persia. Their sons, taken prisoners and appointed as *ġulams* of the great sovereign Shah 'Abbās the First, lived there as well, for, because of their noble origins, they were always appointed among those who served the shah's person. Once, the shah was conversing about something with these *ġulams*, and during their discussions he asked them, "Why do you permit your mothers to remain in the Christian faith, the end of which is perdition? Why don't you convert them to the Muslim faith, the end of which is paradise?" The *ġulams* replied, "We have told them numer-

¹ In 1615, T'eimuraz sent his mother, together with his youngest son, to the shah as hostages; *VB*, 146.

² This occurred in 1620. Prince Alexander died from the castration and Prince Levan was said to have gone mad and died soon after; *VB*, 149.

³ Imam-qoli Khan was the *beglarbegi* of Fars. Several years later he captured Hormuz from the Portuguese. See *AA*, 1200-1204. Also see Chapter 56. He should not be confused with Imam-qoli Khan Qajar, the *beglarbegi* of Azarbaijan, and governor of Ganje and Karabagh.

⁴ Her name was actually K'et'evan; see *VB*, 148.

ous times, but they have not converted to the Muslim faith." The sovereign asked, "Why don't they convert?" The *ḡulams*, out of ¹ fear and despair, could not think of a reason or an answer. One of them [finally] said, "It is not because of wisdom, but due to ignorance. When we tell our mothers to become Muslims, they tell us: 'T'eimuraz's mother has remained Christian, why should we become Muslims?'"

The insidious Shah 'Abbas took these words to heart. After several days he sent one of his noblemen and ordered that either the *didop'ali* (*dedopali*) ² became a Muslim or she would suffer a terrible death. ³ [145] The nobleman rode to the city of Shiraz and went to the house where the *dedopali* was kept. Not being able to see her face to face, ⁴ he spoke with her through the door and said:

"It is imperative that you become a Muslim; that is the shah's order. If you agree, all is well; if you do not agree, *say one word [pretend to be one of us]*, ⁵ but keep your faith inside your heart. In front of people act as if you have turned to the faith of Muhammad, but secretly follow your own faith; that way you shall release me from the pangs of conscience, for [what I otherwise will have to do to] you."⁶ The nobleman uttered these words and shed tears like Herod's executioner who had gone to behead John the Baptist.

The *dedopali* replied from her room, "My brother and my son, why are you speaking from behind the door? Come and tell me everything to my face, for I am a daughter of a king, a wife of a ruler, a mother of a sovereign, and, until my son became of age, I ruled the kingdom following the death of my husband. Grandeur in this world is transient and vain; if your king became the ruler of the entire universe and gave me his kingdom, I would not renounce Christ, my Lord, and betray the love that I have for him. Do as you wish."

Two Georgian priests and other servants and maids lived with the *dedopali*. The *dedopali* turned to them and said, "Even if they tear

¹ Absent from A and D.

² From the Georgian word *dedopali* (queen).

³ Confirmed by Vakhushti, *VB*, 150.

⁴ F reads "face," instead of "face to face." Christian women, like their Muslim counterparts, would also not show their faces to strange men. Her position as queen also demanded such decorum.

⁵ Absent from A.

⁶ Khanlaryan, citing Georgian sources, notes that Imam-qoli Khan treated the Georgian queen with great respect and tried to ease her confinement; *KHcr*, 511.

me to pieces, my love for Christ will not weaken and I shall not renounce my faith. You decide what is good for you.” [146] They cried loudly, remorseful for having abandoned their glorious Lord.

After that, the nobleman spent a long time trying to convince and cajole [the queen], but seeing her firm resolution, he ordered that her body be pierced with iron hooks and be wounded. She continued to praise God and with tears [in her eyes] begged the Lord to be able to endure the torture.

After that, they heated a brass helmet and placed it on her head, but this did not alter her resolve either.

Following that, they brought an iron spade, used to plow the earth. They heated it until it was red hot and placed it between the breasts of the *dedopali*, on her bosom and heart. With that she gave up her soul to God.

One of the priests was also martyred with her, then and there; the rest scattered [here and there].

The *dedopali* had earlier ordered: “After they kill me, do not cast out my body so that it will be seen by the common folk.” But later, she changed her mind and said, “When I suffer a martyr’s death because of my belief in Christ, let them do whatever they wish with my corpse.” When they killed her, they threw the saintly remains of her body to dogs and wild beasts. But God glorified her with a heavenly sign, so that the European *paters*,¹ who were in the city, stole her remains, wrapped half of them in pure cloth with incense and myrrh and sent them to Europe,² where they are revered and [enjoy] great glory. They wrapped the other half in pure cloth with incense and myrrh and took it to Georgia, to her son, T’eimuraz, who, with inexpressible joy and great gratitude, gave thanks to Christ, Our Lord, [147] for honoring his mother with a martyr’s death. He said, “Because of her intercession God shall continue to safeguard our kingdom.” He respectfully handed her remains to his Church. May her memory be blessed and may the Lord pity all Christians, thanks to her prayers. The martyrdom of the *dedopali* occurred in the year 1074 (1625) of our calendar.³

¹ Text reads *Frank patrikk'n* (European *paters*). Carmelites, Capuchins, Dominicans and Augustinians were present in Isfahan at this time. Brosset identifies the above as Augustinian fathers; *MB*, 339.

² Text reads *Frankistan*.

³ She died on September 12, 1624, after spending nine years in captivity; *VB*, 150. According to Khanlaryan, T’eimuraz in his memorial book states that she spent ten years in confinement, *KHcr*, 511.

*Amen.*¹

Glory to Christ Our Lord! *Blessed be he forever.*²

*Amen.*³

¹ Absent from **A**.

² Absent from **D**.

³ "Blessed Be He Forever. Amen," is absent from **A**.

Chapter 13

On the persecutions that the Armenian people suffered at the hands of Shah 'Abbās I

The Armenian nation blinded itself with its very own fingers, for it lost its kingdom due to its lack of discipline and disobedience. It trampled it underfoot and it became the slave and captive of foreign tribes and kings; thus, when a calamity appeared and when it found itself without hope, it did not receive any help from anywhere, but became a refugee and dispersed in all directions.

Therefore, because of this, as well as the great famine and the *Cekali* [raids], about which I have written above, the entire Armenian people became exiles. They departed from their native homes and lands and went as far as the eye can see. The Armenians scattered and settled all over the world: Cyprus, Constantinople and the cities that surrounded it, Rumeli, Bughdan (Moldavia), the land of the Lakh (Poland),¹ and the island of [148] Kaffa (Crimea) on the shores of the Pontus (Black Sea). Many lived in the land of Azarbaijan, in Tabriz and Ardawil (Ardabil), and in Erevan and Ganje and their surrounding *gawars*.

The Persian ruler, the great Shah 'Abbās the First, drove out all those Armenians who had settled in Azarbaijan, and transported them en masse into the interior of Persia:² half to Farahabad, and [the other] to Isfahan and its surrounding *gawars*. The emigration and transportation of the Armenian people did not happen once, twice or three times, but continued. I looked for many trusted men, who themselves were exiled, questioned them and became informed. I also learned from memoirs, which I read, that [the shah] exiled and drove out [the Armenians] seven or eight times in a row. Many of those inhabitants, who were settled in Isfahan, live, to this day, in the *p'ut'k*,³ that is, in a caravansary, which is called the Gēch'guni Caravansary. The people did not come here all together. That is why

¹ The Armenian word for Poland is the same as the Persian, "Land of the Lehs or Lahs (*Lehastan/Lahestān*)."

² The province of Azarbaijan, throughout most of the 16th century, was under Ottoman suzerainty; hence Arak'el, at times, does not consider it part of Persia proper. Following the Persian reconquest of Azarbaijan, its governor held sway over the khans of Erevan, Nakhichevan, Ganje and Karabagh.

³ The term is probably from the Syriac *putka* (caravansary).

there were two groups: the shah appointed a leader, a *melik*, a man from among them whose name was Murad, and who was from the Ghêrkhealan family.¹ The *melik* of the second group was a certain man, named Hovsêp', whose surname was Gharabash-melik.²

The entire Armenian population in Isfahan, except for the Julfans and Erevanis, became impoverished, for, as everyone knows, everything in Isfahan, food, clothing and everything else was expensive. Since [149] the newly arrived people sold everything they had to feed themselves, they became poor. The people of the aforementioned two groups were especially impoverished.

Because of their poverty and hunger, they scattered all over and told everyone they met about their poverty. They especially told this repeatedly to the Persian nobleman, who was appointed to look after them and to his troops. For the shah had appointed one of his noblemen over them, so that he would be informed of everything that occurred there, and in order that the Armenians would not leave Isfahan and return to Azarbaijan or go somewhere else.

Word of their misery reached the shah through the noblemen appointed to oversee them—the eldest of whom was named Agha Shahab, the other, Ughurlu (Oghurlu) Beg—whom the Christians had begged to inform the shah about their poverty and to ask him to help them to obtain some needed supplies. The noblemen informed [him] of this. The shah then summoned the *meliks* of the two groups, as well as other [Armenians], and told them, "I am giving you money and stock from the state treasury, so that you can eat and survive, but I am placing conditions and am giving you the money under the following terms: everything I give you, I give as a loan for three years. After three years you shall return everything you have received. I give you the loan without interest, not for gain or profit; but rather, so that you will begin trade with the help of these funds and make a profit, all of which [profit] you can keep, so that you will not remain in this difficult situation. The money will be used for trade and you shall live off the profits. After three years, you shall return the original loan to the royal [150] treasury, for this money belongs to the king and not a penny³ of it must be lost. After paying the

¹ From the Turkish *kırk* (forty) and *alan* (fields).

² From the Turkish *kara* (black) and *baş* (head).

³ Text reads *pogh*, the Persian *pūl*; a copper coin of very low value.

debt in full, you shall receive the certificate of discharge and repayment, that is, the *ghabs*.”¹

“Thus, everyone who has taken the king’s money will be free when he returns the sum, handing it over to the state treasury. He who does not return it, but consumes it, squanders it, or loses it, and has nothing to return in exchange for the loan, will give up his religion and convert to the Muslim faith, or give his son or daughter to the service of the king.” He also announced their value: the sons were worth four *tumāns*, the daughters, three *tumāns*; so that in case they could not repay [the loan], they would hand over a son instead of four *tumāns* and a daughter in place of three *tumāns*.

On these terms, the shah loaned the men in the two groups 400 *tumāns*, so that they would trade, live, and profit for three years, and after three years return the money to the state treasury.

The drunk, dishonorable, reckless and brutish Armenians did not think, neither at the start, nor the end, what would result from this affair. Like mute and soulless cattle, they went and took the king’s money, which, like the snake’s poison, became the cause of their own perdition. They did not think that the treasure was as fatal as a snake’s bite. The two *meliks* and their people took the king’s money: the people of Melik Gharabash [151] took 300 *tumāns*; the people of Melik Ghêrkhealan took 100 *tumāns*. They considered it useful and a godsend for their situation.

When the shah gave the money to the Armenians, it was the year 1057 (1608) of our calendar. When the year 1062 (1613) arrived,² the shah, who invariably stored evil in his inner mind, remembered the debt and demanded that they return the money. The men, who had borrowed the money, not only had not made any profit, but had spent the capital as well. Some, because of poverty, others due to lack of experience, yet others with no knowledge of how to trade in the city, had consumed and squandered, spent and lost the money borrowed from the shah.

The shah again appointed Oghurlu Beg as the guardian of this people, in order to collect the money from them and hand it to the state treasury. Oghurlu Beg, together with troops, went and put pres-

¹ From the Arabic *qabz* (receipt, voucher, or discharge note). Brosset has misread it as *qabāle* (deed, grant, bill of sale), *MB*, 341.

² This indicates that five years had passed. This means that the loan was for five years, instead of the aforementioned three; it was extended, or, more likely, the shah had forgotten about it.

sure on the people, and harshly demanded the money. The people replied, "We do not have it, fear of hunger made us buy food and squander it."

The nobleman, together with his soldiers, constantly oppressed the people, tortured, hung, beat¹ and jailed them. The people were in great sorrow, and although they had nothing, they spent whatever they had left on the soldiers: part [of the money] they gave secretly as bribes, part they gave openly as *mulhat*,² another part they gave to feed the troops and their horses, and spending on other things as well, they ended up even more destitute and miserable.

When Oghurlu Beg realized that he could not collect [152] anything from the Armenians, he informed the king about the poverty of the people. The shah then summoned the Armenians, conversed with them, and said, "Do not blame me and do not think that I demand money from you because of my power and royal rank. I am speaking of justice and fairness, for I gave you the money as a loan and I now demand the return of the money I loaned you, and nothing else. I demand what I gave you as a loan, without any extras or interest, just the capital. Therefore, if you consider these words fair, return the money you took; if not, there are courts and judges in this city. Let us go together to the court and judges, and whatever the judges order, you and I will accept." Whatever the decision, the Armenian side would inevitably come out the loser.

The Armenians, for many days, sent mediators via the noblemen, who, with petitions³ and entreaties, begged the king to pity the torments of the poor and miserable people, and to forgive and forget their debt, but he did not want to forgive it.

The Armenian side, the weaker, was subdued. The people gathered all their sons and daughters, brought them to the king and said, "Since we do not have money to repay the loan taken from the king, we give our sons and daughters as previously agreed." Together with the sons and daughters, brought by their fathers, came all their relatives to express their sympathy and their sorrow: mothers, brothers, and others. [153] They all stood together, weeping bitterly and la-

¹ Text refers to the beatings known as the *falak* or *falakeh* (bastinado). The offender was lifted up by a wooden instrument and his feet and soles were struck by poles.

² From the Arabic *muhlat* (delay, putting off, or deferment of a payment).

³ Text reads *arzay*, from the Arabic 'arḏ (a petition, request, or written representation).

menting loudly. The hearts of everyone present were deeply moved and they were shaken to the core. Witnessing such a lament and moaning, the king refused the children *and did not take them. They say that there were two reasons for this—that is, the reason the king did not take the children: some say that witnessing the tears of the people, the shah feared God, and that is why he did not take them; others say that he did not take the children so that he could turn the entire [Armenian] population to Islam. The latter opinion seems more accurate to me for two reasons: first, because¹ the shah became angry with Oghurlu Beg for bringing them, and said, “What is the point of bringing the children, when I want to convert all of them to Islam?” The second, because he made a decision and said,² “If they pay the entire sum, then all is well³ and they are free; if they do not, let them give up their religion and convert to the religion of Muhammad. I shall then not only forgive them the money they have borrowed, but will also give them expensive gifts.” He said this, and, following this decision, he demanded the repayment of the loan. It is clear that the second opinion is more accurate.⁴*

The soldiers, receiving such an order from the king, began to angrily demand the loan from the Christians. They hung and beat them, took them under guard and harassed them under various pretexts, hoping that fear and force would make them denounce their faith. But [154] the people suffered, endured all pain, and did not give up their faith. Later, the poor Armenians, together with their sons and family members, went through the city streets and squares, weeping and lamenting in front of everyone, hoping that perhaps some sort of help would appear, and someone would give them the money as a loan or as a benevolent act.

Moving throughout the town, they thus reached the monasteries of the Franks (Catholics)⁵ situated in the city of Isfahan. A certain bishop of the Franks had come to Isfahan and was living in the monastery of the Franks, called Husēniay (Ḥoseyniye).⁶ The bishop was

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Absent from A. Instead it reads, “He added.”

³ Absent from D.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

⁵ Arak'el uses the term Frank for Catholics. According to H. Tēr Hovhaneants', by the mid-17th century there were four Catholic monasteries in New Julfa belonging to the Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustinians, and Capuchins, See *Patmut'iwn Nor Jughayu*, II (New Julfa, 1881), 280, 282.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 265.

a well-known and wealthy man, whom the shah had invited many times, with whom he had conversed, and toward whom he bore goodwill. When the bishop witnessed the tears of the Armenians, he inquired about it and learned everything. He discussed the matter with them, reassured them, and said, "Do not fear, remain strong in your Christian faith and I shall give you everything I have, not as a loan, but for the love of Christ and for your faith in him. Return, pay your debt to the shah and do not renounce your faith." The Armenians tearfully blessed God and the bishop and thanked him in gratitude, for help had finally appeared to alleviate their unbearable sorrow.

The bishop, as promised, gave money to the people of the two groups. He gave to Melik Gharabash 200 *tumāns* in pure silver [coins] for his group. To the other group, which was led by Melik Ghêrkhealan, as well as a *k'ahana* named Baghdasar, who was a wise, far-sighted man, steadfast in truth and his faith in Christ, he gave fifty *tumāns* in pure [155] silver [coins]. The people of both groups took [the money] and gave it to the nobleman in payment of their loan. They asked for a few days' delay for the repayment of the remainder of the loan, hoping that they could somehow obtain the money from somewhere and repay it.

Just like the betrayer of Christ, Judas, who was severed and separated from the group of the Twelve [Apostles], two Armenian men, from among the group of Melik Gharabash, one named Baghdasar, the other Akhijan, became the servants of Satan. As vessels of evil, they became the enemies of Christians and said, "If you give us each ten *tumāns* from the money you received from the bishop of the Franks, we shall not say anything; if you do not, we shall appear before the nobleman and even before the shah and say, 'They went and became Franks, that is why the bishop gave them money that they have brought to you.'" The others begged them and said, "Have mercy on us, for we are giving this money to repay the king's loan. You see with your own eyes that they are now demanding it with all severity. Later, we will gather money from among our entire group and give it to you, if you so wish." But they did not want to wait and did not pay heed to their supplications. They got up and went to the Muslim nobleman, slandered the Armenians, and said that the Armenians had gone to the Franks, had converted to their faith, had taken the money, and had come to repay it. Furthermore, the two traitors, together with their families, converted to the religion of Mu-

hammad, strictly observed that faith, and all their [male] members were circumcised.

[156] Their words terribly angered the Muslims. They repeated them to each other until the news reached the king's ears. He considered the news extremely unpleasant and bitter. He summoned the *meliks*. They sought them the same day and first brought Melik Gharabash, whom the king admonished and accused by saying, "O you ungrateful and evil people. You deserve to be totally exterminated! Pitying you, I gave you a great deal of money and [forgave] many years' interest; I also promised to give you more if you converted to our faith. You said that you would not turn away from your faith for money. Why have you now turned to the faith of the Franks and taken money from them? If you turn from one religion to another for money, what is wrong with our religion that you do not turn to it?" The *melik* and his friends replied, "O great and all powerful sovereign, God preserve us if we renounce our faith; we have not renounced it, but remain, as before, in our faith. Whoever has made such accusations against us to Your Highness has lied. We took the money from the Franks on credit, so that we could come and give it to you as part of our loan." The king replied, "Your words regarding a loan are false, a mere pretext, for if this was truly a loan, why did you take it from the Franks and not from any other people?"

Although [the Armenians], for many days, tried to persuade him in various ways, the king, nevertheless, did not pay any heed to their words. He continued as before and then said, "If you turn to our religion, then all is well, for I shall grant you all that you owe me; in addition, I will present you with many other [157] donations and apportionments. If you do not convert, I will subject you to unbearable tortures, so that, exhausted by torment, your souls will be driven out and you will die instantly." Then and there he handed them over to executioners, to torture them uninterruptedly and mercilessly, until they either converted or died.

After that, a grimy mist and pitch darkness descended over the people, for the impious executioners went swiftly and searched for all the men who lived there. They seized them and began to beat them ruthlessly, inflicted wounds, raised them on gallows, threw them on their backs to the ground, beat them with chains and logs, tortured them in jail, and kept them hungry and thirsty under guard for many days. The screams of the people, the crying and sobbing of the men and women mixed together and reached the heavens.

They hung Melik Gharabash head down and beat him with clubs so long that his nails came off his feet; his entire body was covered in blood and he became lifeless like a corpse. They beat him severely to scare the other captured Christians. His family was taken and thrown into a dungeon.¹ The Persian troops, who were in charge of torturing, spread the rumor that Melik Gharabash had become a Muslim, in order to deceive the population.

The Persians, who had brought all these calamities on the heads of the Armenians, saw their inner resolve and realized that they would rather die than convert to the Muslim faith. Then, they violently threw them to the ground, circumcised them, and forced them to recite the dogmas of the Muslim faith. But many Christians bribed the guards and the circumcisers and escaped being circumcised.

They [the guards] then went and told the shah, [158] "Melik Gharabash and his people have fulfilled the king's order: they have been circumcised, they profess our faith, and have become Muslims."

The shah was then happy and ordered, "All those who have turned to the correct religion are excused from their original debt, which they were liable to repay, for I make them a present of it. Give them new gifts as well, to console the sorrow that has befallen them." As a result of this order of the king, all the Armenians were freed from prison and each household received three *tumāns*, as compensation for what they [the Persians] had done. They returned to their homes for the day was turning to night.

After that, it was the turn of Melik Ghêrkhealan and his group. That same night, the executioners came, seized Melik Ghêrkhealan, and took him away. The king ordered him, "Convert to the faith of Muhammad and you shall receive gifts, a high position, and the prerogatives of command. Do not give yourself recklessly to torment and to the mercy of lions and dogs." They kept the beasts tied up and ready. Melik Ghêrkhealan, either from fear and shame in front of the king's *divan*, from terror of torture, or because of false promises, agreed to fulfill the king's command. Right then they forced him to turn to Muhammad's faith and he became a Muslim. The nobles and other Muslims began to praise him and said, "You did well to convert to the true faith. You also have to convert your people to this faith." But Melik Ghêrkhealan began to speak incoherently and jab-

¹ Text reads *p'ayin*, from the Persian *pā'in*, "below," "the place beneath."

ber nonsense. While jabbering, he betrayed *tēr* Baghdasar, [159] for he said, "I think the people will convert and will not resist. But, the *erēts'*, Baghdasar, would definitely be against it; if he converts, the entire group will follow."

That same night, the woeful rumor and news that beckoned death reached the ears of *erēts'* Baghdasar and the people; fear brought them to the doors of hell.

That night *k'ahana* Baghdasar, holding steadfast and firm, relied on hope and faith. He gathered all the Christian population in the house of prayer, built by them in the caravansary, and began to preach to the people. He told them all he knew about God's love of man, his compassion and mercy, and convinced the people to ask the lenient and all-forgiving God through prayers, pitiful wails, mournful laments, and by shedding streams of tears, to turn the malevolent wrath in the king's heart to compassion and mercy toward them. All the people remained there in prayer, prayed, and begged God for compassion and mercy.

The *k'ahana*, Baghdasar, began to conduct an evening Mass, singing midnight psalms, and, shortly thereafter, offered the Divine Liturgy and distributed communion, the body and blood of the Son of God. Early in the morning, at sunrise, before the light separated from darkness, the entire solemn ceremony was concluded.

At sunrise, when it became light, soldiers and officers galloped on horseback and, like ferocious beasts, surrounded *tēr* Baghdasar, [160] dragged him out and shoved him forward, so that they could push him swiftly ahead of the horses and take him to the king's *divan*. When they reached the king's palace, beasts held by men surrounded him, snapped their teeth, and with menacing howls tried to tear his flesh.

When the king took his seat in the *divan*, they brought *tēr* Baghdasar to his presence. The king spoke to him about renouncing his Christian faith and said to him, "If you do not agree, you shall be food for the dogs and wolves." In order to scare him, they had the beasts available there.

Here, unexpectedly, appeared the indisputable promise of our Lord, Jesus Christ, who said, "When they take you to judges and kings, do not worry and do not think about what you have to say, for you shall have the words and the wisdom at that time; for it is not you who shall speak, but the spirit of your Heavenly Father who will

speak through you.”¹ Replying to the king, *k'ahana* Baghdasar said, “If you ask me to voluntarily renounce my faith, I shall not renounce it voluntarily; if you force me to renounce it, the laws of your religion do not permit you to do that. If you speak of your debt and demand it, we have returned most of it; we shall repay what remains before the arrival of the next sunrise.” And, like freezing water, which, when poured into a boiling cauldron, instantly stops the boiling, the words of *tēr* Baghdasar tamed the king’s anger. Therefore, the sovereign did not utter a word, except to say the following, “Go and pay the rest of your debt.”

[161] Thus, as Christ the Lord said, “For where two or three are gathered in my name, I am there among them.”² He [Christ] turned his glance on their gathering, on their tearful midnight prayer, and calmed the king’s wrath. *Tēr* Baghdasar and the people, therefore, escaped two calamities: torture and renouncing their faith. After that they paid the remainder of their debt to the king, took the writ of freedom and continued to live in peace, praising the Lord.

After all this befell the Armenian people, and part of them, with their *meliks*, turned to the Muslim faith, the aforementioned bishop of the Franks came to Shah ‘Abbās and said, “I wish to admonish you. Since you demanded the money loaned to the Armenians, and they did not have it, I, for the sake of the Christian faith, gave them money so that they could repay their debt to you and remain Christian. They took the money, gave it to you, and repaid their debt. After taking the money, you did not leave them in their Christian faith, but turned them to your religion. Since you behaved so, the laws of justice prescribe that the money given by me has to be returned to me. I, therefore, ask the sovereign to return my money to me.” The king, after reflection, realized that the bishop was telling the truth. He paid the bishop and returned 200 *tumāns* to him.

As to what concerns Melik Gharabash and his people, who were forcibly converted to the Muslim religion, they, right there in the *divan*, retracted their belief in Islam. After that they remained in the Christian creed, and because of pangs of conscience, tied to their

¹ Matthew 10.18-20: “and you will be dragged before governors and kings because of me, as a testimony to them and the Gentiles. When they hand you over, do not worry about how you are to speak or what you are to say; for what you are to say will be given to you at that time; for it is not you who speak, but the spirit of your Father speaking through you.” Similar passages are found in Mark 13.11 and Luke 12.11-12.

² Matthew 18.20.

apostasy, *became even firmer in their Christian faith [162] than before.*¹ They baptized the young, buried the old with the presence of the *k'ahana*, constantly visited churches, prayed, and received communion after confession. The Muslims did not hinder these activities at all. The offspring of the above two groups are presently all Christians and live among Christians.

Melik Ghêrkhealan's conscience, however, tormented and reproached him. After several years, he took a wife, and under the pretext of going to Tabriz, passed through it and went to Jerusalem. There, he visited all the Stations of the Cross. He and his wife remained there, and since his profession was that of a mason, he worked without pay, for the sake of holy Jerusalem, putting his hopes in God's compensation. In this manner they lived the rest of their lives, *until the end.*² They died in the city of Jerusalem and were buried there—both Melik Ghêrkhealan and his wife, whom our Lord, Christ, thanks to his inexhaustible mercy, forgave and released from their sins. Amen.

¹ The above is torn off in E.

² Absent from A.

[163] Chapter 14

Another account of the persecutions that the Armenian people suffered at the hands¹ of Shah 'Abbās

It so happened that in the year 1059 (1610) of our calendar, the great ruler, Shah 'Abbās the First, left the city of Isfahan and went to the region of P'aria (P'eria) and Burwari, where the Armenians had been settled.

Shah 'Abbās had the habit of sometimes disguising himself as a simple soldier and going about his business, and he did so again this time. Thus, alone, together with his footman, who ran ahead of him, he went, ahead of all his army, to the first village of the P'eria region, called Darbni.² The shah met a certain woman from that village. The woman did not know that he was the shah. The shah spoke to the woman and said, "If you have a hen for sale, bring it, and I shall buy it." When the woman brought the hen, the shah tried to test the woman. He posed questions about the hen for some time, talked nonsense, [164] and formed an insidious plan. During the conversation, the shah said, "I will give you ten [copper] coins³ for the hen. Give it to me for the love of the shah." The woman said, "What good and what kindness have we witnessed from the shah, to hand you the hen for the love of him?" The shah said, "What other good does the shah has to do for you? He has settled you in such a good and comfortable land, secured you from all misfortune, and is ruling over your people with leniency and kindness." The woman said, "I wish to God that he had not exiled us, for he made us refugees. He exiled us from our ancient land, from our sown fields and our patrimonial estates, drove us here to a foreign land, and settled us as aliens."

The words of the woman plunged into the shah's heart like a double-edged sword. For, they appeared extremely harsh and bitter to him. The shah, wounded in his heart by the excessive wrath, stood motionless and did not say anything. At that moment, the shah's most famous and well-known *nakharars*, Spandiar (Esfandiār) Beg⁴

¹ The title is torn off up to this point in E.

² Refers to the village of the blacksmith.

³ Text reads *pogh*.

⁴ Esfandiār Beg Evchībāshī 'Arabgīrlū was the head of the young pages in the service of the king. See AA, 1105.

and others, caught up with him. Seeing him in such a frantic and wild state, they did not say anything and stood quietly at a distance.

Just then, the *erēts'* of that village, named *tēr* Awetis, was passing by. He was returning home after farming. When the shah saw him, he summoned him and asked, "Who are you?" The *erēts'* replied, "I am an Armenian." The shah said, "Why do you have a long beard?" The *erēts'* said, "I am the *erēts'* of this village." The shah said, "Become a Muslim." The *erēts'* said, "I am a common man, and, moreover, I am old and would not be able to perform the Muslim rites." With this [reply] he intensified the rage and frenzy of the king. The shah could not bear it any longer. Insanely he [165] grabbed the axe, that is, the *najakh*,¹ from the hands of his footman, and struck a strong blow to the head of the *erēts'*, cutting it deeply. Unable to bear such a blow and wound, the *erēts'* lost his senses *and reason*² and fell without breathing, like a dead man. The shah, in a terrible frenzy, immediately ordered those present to circumcise the *erēts'*. They circumcised him right away, even though he lay there like a corpse, unconscious. Leaving the *erēts'* in that condition, the shah left for his camp and his tent.

After that, the king's heart was devoid of pity and mercy toward the Armenians. He summoned his vizier and the *sheikh*,³ named Mir Abdullah, and ordered them to go with troops to that district and to convert everyone to Islam and circumcise them. If any converted voluntarily and freely, so much the better; but those who did not, were to be circumcised and converted to the false religion by force and torture. After ordering and threatening them to carry out all his directives, the shah left P'eria and returned to the city of Isfahan.

The shah's order initiated a great hunt for Armenians. They left their homes, families, and goods and scattered all over: mountains, deserts, and places where the human voice was not heard. Many went to far-away *gawars*, changed their names, clothes, and lived there without anyone knowing. Others, hungry and dying from hunger, spent many days in the mountains from fear of the king and dread of being circumcised. [166] They did not dare to enter their villages or to be seen by anyone.

¹ From the modern Turkish *nacak* and the Ottoman Turkish *najaq*.

² Absent from A and D.

³ In this case, it probably refers to the *sheikh al-Islam* (the highest religious authority among the Shi'a).

The notables in charge of circumcision entered the *gawar*, and whomever they found—laymen, as well as clergy—they circumcised forcibly and with great torture.

Behaving in the manner I have written, the Persians reached the village of P'arch'ish. Completing their godless task, they left there and wanted to go to the village of P'ahran. The *tanutēr*¹ of the village of P'ahran, named Nurijan, said to his fellow villagers, "Let us arm and together attack the foreign circumcisers and not let them enter our village." But the villagers did not agree and did not become his confederates. They fled and hid in the mountains. Nurijan, on his own, grabbed a sword, took bow and arrows, went halfway [outside the village], and climbed on top of a small round hill by the main road. The circumcisers left P'arch'ish and went to P'ahran. When they came near the slope of the hill, Nurijan began to shout loudly from his place of ambush and shower arrows from his bow on the enemy. He impeded their march and stopped them. He then came out of his place of ambush, chased them, constantly shooting arrows, and forced the Persians to return to the village of P'arch'ish. He chased them into the village and returned to his own village of P'ahran.

The circumcisers returned to P'arch'ish, waited for the night and then sent a spy to determine the whereabouts of Nurijan. The spy returned and said that he was in his house. Then, during the night, [167] all the Persians marched armed toward P'ahran. They surrounded Nurijan's house, seized him, tied him up, and in the morning, when it became light, they threw him on his back and began beating him with clubs. They beat him so much that not a single place remained intact in his body and he resembled a corpse. The Persians then circumcised him then and there and left. After three days, a woman of the village took him and hid him in a crypt. Nurijan suffered from pain, stayed in bed for four months and could not get up.

Thus the circumcising notables went through the *gawars* of P'eria and Burwari, and whomever they found—lay or cleric—they circumcised. After concluding their mission, they returned to the city of Isfahan and informed the shah. The shah ordered that each circumcised clergyman be given forty sheep from the state treasury. It was done. The shah gave the sheep to the clergy, so that some of them, thirsty for kindness, would be comforted by the gift and would not induce their people to renounce Islam, while others, after eating and

¹ The elder; same as the Persian *kadkhodā*.

squandering [the animals], would fear an obligation to replace [the animals], and would remain in the Muslim faith.

After this, the shah, in order to fulfill his satanic ideas, dispatched the notables and soldiers once again. He ordered them to go to the two *gawars*, travel through them, seize all the clergy, frighten them, and under threat, have them pledge that they would not keep even one of their [sacred] books. If anyone kept a [sacred] book and was denounced, his head would be [168] forfeited to the shah, while his family and all his property would go to the denouncer. Receiving this order, the troops went through the two *gawars*. They found books and church vessels, took them by force from the Christians, transported them to the city of Isfahan, and presented them to the shah. The shah ordered the troops to hide everything.

After that, the shah sent many Persian mullahs to P'eria and Burwari. They were to remain there and teach the religion of Muhammad to the Armenians. They were to gather the Armenians every day, take them to the mosque for prayers, and force the youth to read Persian. The mullahs came and spread out among the villages of the *gawars*: in some two, in some three. They forced the Christians to visit mosques and to accept the faith of the false [prophet] Muhammad. The Christians were oppressed, but did not give in. They resisted and entered into verbal arguments. Arguments and talk flared up every day, until three or four mullahs were killed. Witnessing this, the other mullahs were scared to death, fled and returned to their homes. The poor Christians lived in the two *gawars* for two years, persecuted and tortured under Persian rule.

There was a certain Christian, named Grigor, who previously lived in the village of Arpa in Vayots' Dzor, which is also called Eghegnadzor, and now lived in the P'eria *gawar*, in the village called Lower Khoyikan. He was a robust man, steadfast in judgment and reason, sensible, and passionate in his faith and his love of Christ. The said Grigor got up, went through the villages of the region, swayed and stirred the entire population, and became its head and leader. He took seven men and went [169] to the city of Isfahan. Upon arrival he took money on credit, bribed the shah's notables and persuaded them to put in a kind word to the shah about them [the Armenians] at an opportune moment.

He then wrote a petition¹ with supplications, and handed it to the king, not once or twice, but five or six times. He continued to speak

¹ Text reads *arz* ('*arz*).

in the king's presence and in the *divan* until the king became weary and said, "I leave you to your own judgment. Go and worship your own faith." But Grigor [continued] to beg and implore, fell to his knees, and tearfully beseeched the shah, saying, "Put down on paper with just one finger [seal], that which you have granted us orally."

*They say that*¹ one day when the shah left his palace and went to the Hazarajrip (Hezār-Jarīb) Orchard, Grigor appeared five times before him and continued to ask him for the same decree. The shah, who was tired of the unceasing requests, wrote a decree with the royal seal and gave it to Grigor, stating that he granted all the Christians living in the *gawars* of P'eria and Burwari permission to openly follow their Christian faith.

After that, Grigor asked the shah to extend his clemency, to take pity on them, and to return their books, which had been confiscated and taken [to Isfahan]. The king gave them [the books]. Grigor and his associates took the decree and the books, and returned joyously to their homes and their people.

In exchange, however, Shah 'Abbās imposed a penalty on the Christians, which said, "Since you did not follow the royal order, you [170] have to pay the *divan* a fine of 1,000 *tumāns*." He designated one of his notables, a warden named Khosrov Sult'an (Khosrow Solṭān), to collect the money from the people and hand it over to the royal treasury. Khosrow Solṭān, together with many soldiers, came and executed the king's order.

The poor Christians, for the sake of their Christian faith, gave and paid all: the 1,000 *tumāns*, the debt, which Grigor and his friends had borrowed in Isfahan, as well as the expenses incurred by them there [in Isfahan]. They became very poor and destitute, but were joyous in their Christian faith and praised the Lord God.

As for Grigor, he became stronger each day in his faith, in his good deeds, and fortified others in the Christian faith. He became an even more devout adherent of the Christian religion, for which the bloodthirsty Muslims were fiercely inflamed with hatred [toward him], slandered him, and sentenced Grigor to death. They themselves killed a certain Muslim, a fellow tribesman. They dragged him secretly and threw him in Grigor's field. The judges came and brought false witnesses, testifying that the corpse was the work of Grigor. They seized him and took him to their unjust court with their judges, where they passed a sentence stating that, since he had com-

¹ Absent from A and D.

mitted that crime, he had to renounce [Christianity] or face death. Judging him with the help of libels, they killed the Christ-loving Grigor. Many attested that God honored him with a sign of heavenly light. May Christ grant him mercy and give him a place in his promised Kingdom of Heaven and grant us all fellowship with his saints. Amen.

[171] Chapter 15

On why there was no kodaw¹ tax on sheep in the land called Araghstan²

Shah 'Abbās the First fell greatly in love with the city of Farahabad. Therefore, he gathered people from many lands and settled them there to enlarge the city. When he did not fear the attack of enemies, he went and spent the winter season there. Once, when Shah 'Abbās, in his usual manner, went to Farahabad, he reached the borders of the city of Qazvin and stopped at a village called Khoramapad (Khoramabad) in the *gawar* of T'arim, where he set up camp with the royal army.

Shah 'Abbās had the habit of disguising himself as one of his soldiers and going among the men and the people to learn and to find out things. He did so this time as well. Dressed as a cavalryman, he, together with his footman, came to the village of Khoramabad, prior to the arrival of his troops. [172] He saw the elders of the village. Standing in the square, they, together with the officials—tax collectors—were busy discussing the demands of the king and other notables. The shah spoke with them and said, “We are few: just my horse, my footman, and I. We shall not trouble you. I ask you, for the love of the shah, to give us shelter for tonight.” But the men of the village did not pay any attention to his words, for they were extremely occupied with the king's reception.

Then, a certain woman from that village, who was very old, told the shah, “Come, my son, let us go to our house. Be our guest.” The women took him to her house. The shah remained there until the evening. The old woman's entire family had died. She had only one son, named Lala, who, because of his poverty, was employed as a shepherd in that village. In the evening, Lala brought the herd to the village and began, as usual, to collect one loaf of bread from each household. He gathered fifteen loaves, carried them in his hands and came home. Seeing a guest in the house, he put all the bread in front

¹ Same as the *choban-begi* (*chupan-begi*) tax on sheep and goats collected from tribes. See A. D. Papazian, *Agrarnye otnosheniia v Vostochnoi Armenii v XVI-XVII vekakh* (Erevan, 1972), 236; Floor, *Fiscal History*, 170-173. The term *kodaw* is probably from the Arabic *qot*--a flock of sheep.

² Refers to Persian Iraq ('*Araq-e 'Ajam*); that is, the central provinces of Persia.

of the guest, who was the shah himself. The old woman opened the *tonir*, took out a pot of cracked wheat soup,¹ which they now call *vros*, and the shah ate his dinner with the bread, conversed with them and questioned them for a long time. At night, when it became dark, he got up and went [to his camp].

Leaving the village, the shah went to Farahabad. Upon returning from Farahabad, when he reached [173] that village, the shah once again disguised himself and asked for a night's lodging from the peasants, but they refused. The old woman appeared again and said to him, "You, my son, are our acquaintance and guest, come right now to our house." The shah went to the old woman's house and she fed him in the same manner as I mentioned above. The shah stayed there until nightfall and asked them many things he had on his mind.

The shah then told them, "I want to ask you something. If you love the king, answer me truthfully. Here is your house, where we sit, and its rooms—wide, spacious, and sumptuous; *all this demonstrates, together with your behavior,*² and your speech and manners, that you were prosperous [before this]. I see that now you are very poor and your house is completely empty. Tell me the true reason for this."

The old woman took a deep sigh and recounted with moans and groans, "You see, my son, everything you say is true: our house and our rooms appear sumptuous. We were prosperous and wealthy, and many poor people and strangers lived on the patronage of this house. Thanks to us, poor and destitute people became owners of property and goods. We had 1,500 heads of choice sheep, a herd of mares, and much livestock—for draught and for milking. We had fields and orchards, a watermill, gold and silver, and many household goods and vessels. They took it all from us; everything disappeared and nothing was left. For [174] we sold part of it to pay taxes to the treasury, we sold the other part to pay the creditors, and we sold the last part to meet our [daily] needs. In the end, we became poor. After that, my husband, his brothers, other members of the family and their sons, all died. *At present,*³ I am alone with my son, who will be thirty years old soon, and, because of poverty, I cannot [even] find a wife for him. We cannot find a solution; hence, I made my son the village shepherd. Every night he collects his pay—bread—brings it [home]

¹Text reads *korkotapur*.

²Absent from A and D.

³Absent from A.

and, as you have seen, we sustain ourselves [with it]. That is how I pass my days waiting for death. Maybe it will free me from this torment.”

The words of the old woman amazed the shah and he said, “That which you said about your husband and your entire family—that is, their death—is in God’s hands, for he safeguards and destroys. That which concerns your property, which, as you said, you lost and thus became poor; what was the reason for that?”

The old woman said, “The *kodaw* from sheep. The king’s tax collectors take the *kodaw* from sheep. Moreover, the *kodaw* became heavier each year. It increased so much that even after selling all our sheep we could not pay the *kodaw* and save ourselves. We borrowed from others,¹ paid [part of] the *kodaw*, and then gradually sold our possessions and goods—partly to pay the [remaining] *kodaw*, and partly to repay the creditors. We had nothing left, for the *kodaw* is a very heavy tax. The king and his *nakharars* are not aware of all this. They inscribe the total sum [175] of the *kodaw* and hand it to the soldiers. They come, forcibly assemble all the peasants, willingly or unwillingly, and say, ‘The *divan*’s decree prescribes it, that is why we demand this much and not less, for if we collect less they shall demand the deficiency from us, claiming that we stole it.’ For this reason, as you have seen, we have become poor, and not only us, but this has happened to many with sumptuous houses, some in our village, and others in villages throughout our *gawar*.” The old woman began to recite their names.

The shah asked, “Why do the experienced and eloquent men of your land not go and inform the shah [of this]? I know that if the shah learns of this, he would change the burden of this tax, for the shah is a well-wishing sovereign and does not want to disenfranchise anyone.” The old woman said, “They went many times and complained, but they could not erase the *kodaw* tax from the *divan*’s [tax] rolls.”

The shah remained in the old woman’s house until daybreak. Early in the morning, in darkness, he got up and went to his tent. After several days, he sent investigators to that land to clarify the exact situation in the region. They went, observed, and, upon their return, *told*² the shah that the population of that region, due to various reasons, but especially the *kodaw*, was in an extremely difficult

¹ Absent from A and F.

² Absent from A and D.

situation. It became clear to that same shah that the words of the old woman were absolutely true. This was the reason that pity and kindness kindled the soul of Shah 'Abbās. Therefore he rescinded not only the *kodaw* in the Qazvin district, but also in the entire province of Araghstan. Today, the *kodaw* does not exist in [176] the land known as Araghstan.

In addition, the shah sent a notable to Khoramabad to kill the men who had not given him shelter, and to bring the old woman and her son Lala to him. The notable went and did as the shah had ordered: he killed three men from the village, took Lala and his mother, and brought them to the shah. The shah granted honors and glory to them; he appointed Lala a commander of the state and made him a high-ranking and trusty *nakharar* in his court and thereafter he was named Lala Beg.¹ Subsequently, his sons were loyal and well known [notables] at the Persian court. The Shah elevated one of his [Lala's] sons, named Mahmatkuli Beg (Moḥammad-qoli), to the rank of *khan*, named him Moḥammad-qoli Khan and sent him to the city of Erevan. He went there and ruled the land for a number of years.²

The narrative about this Lala Beg goes on, for some of the notables of Shah 'Abbās were envious and slandered Lala Beg in front of the shah. The shah decided to ruin him and to reduce him to his previous poverty. Coming to Lala Beg's house, the shah himself began to list all of his goods, and to confiscate them. During the inventory he saw a locked chest on which hung a golden lock. Lala Beg was ordered to open it, but he did not and begged the shah, "Everything you have recorded and everything else you will add to the list, all of that is yours and not mine. But this is mine, for I brought it from my house. I, therefore, beg that when you take what is yours, you give me what is mine." They then forced him to open the chest and saw that there was nothing in it except a pair of [177] worn and torn *trekh*, also called *ch'arukh*,³ and some old and tattered laces. Everyone was amazed and asked what it meant. Lala Beg said, "These are the *trekh* which I wore in my father's house. I have now put them here. I come here all the time, look at them, and remind myself, 'you are the one who had only these. The shah elevated you from such poverty to your present grandeur. Therefore, be careful that treachery

¹ Probably refers to Moḥebb 'Ali Beg, the guardian (*lala*) of the *ḡulams*; see AA, 1170.

² He was the governor of Erevan from the end of 1653 to the beginning of 1656.

³ From the Persian *chārugh* or *chāruq*, a kind of rustic shoe.

against the shah does not find its way into your heart. Do not become like other slanderers and do not forget his goodness. Otherwise, all this will turn to disgrace and you will lose face in front of God and the people." Hearing and seeing this, the shah realized that they had slandered him from envy. He not only did not take his property, but also gave him more from his own goods. He favored him with great honor, extolled him, and kept him throughout his life above all others in his court, as his chief confidant.¹

¹ Similar accounts of incognito visits by Shah 'Abbās can be found in *ZK*, Bk. I, Chapters XIII and XV.

[178] Chapter 16

*On the relics of the saintly virgin, Hrip'simē;
how the Franks found and excavated them and how they took them
to the city of Isfahan*

During the pontificate of Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt'¹ following the great *surgun*,² [two] Catholic *paters* arrived in Armenia from the land of the Franks. They entered the province of Ararat and began to go around the Armenian monasteries situated in the province. The simple-minded Armenians did not realize what their intentions were. They [the *paters*], with their flattery, obsequiousness and cunning manners, fooled everyone. They met with Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' and presented him with a petition and gold coins, so that he would not pursue any inquiries about the deed that they planned to carry out.

The *paters* had a book in their possession [written] in their own language and in their own characters, which resembled a geographical map. It accurately and without error showed the location of the Armenian monasteries, [179] the graves and the burial sites of saints, the structure of chapels and the location of their doors and windows. During their excursions through the monasteries, they planned to find the relics of saints with the help of that book. They planned to give something to the inhabitants of the monastery and remove the relics.

Wandering thus, they came to the village of Karenis³ and stayed in the Monastery of the Apostles, which was built in a valley.⁴ With the help of that book, they found the head of apostle Andrew. Up to that time, the inhabitants of the monastery, as well as the entire population of the province, did not know the location of the tombs of the apostles. Sons had only heard stories from their fathers and their predecessors that the graves of the evangelist, Saint Matthew, and the apostle, Andrew, were there. But they did not know the location.

¹ E has inserted "the deputy [kat'oghikos] in Erevan" here.

² From the Turkish *sürgün* (exile). It refers to the forced deportation of Armenians by Shah 'Abbās; see Chapters 4-5.

³ A village in the district of Nor Bayazit in the Ararat province.

⁴ The monastery of the Apostles in the village of Karenis, near the Hrazdan River, is named after St. Andrew and St. Matthew. Some relics of the two Apostles are buried there. See Gh. Alishan, *Ayrarat* (Venice, 1890), 288; S. Ēp'rikean, *Patkerazard bnashkharhik baṛaran*, I (Venice, 1902), 297-298.

When the *paters* entered the monastery and dug a small pit under the elevation of the altar, in the place noted in their book, they saw the head of the apostle Andrew, clearly visible, exactly as described in the book. When they were taking the head, fear overtook the *paters* and they shook. The moment they took out the head, the bishop of the monastery grabbed it from their hands, refused to give it to them, and drove them away from the monastery empty-handed. The saintly head of the apostle Andrew is at present found in that monastery and I have gone numerous times to bow before it and kiss it.

After wandering for some time, the *paters* came to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin, stayed there, and lived there many days. With their flatery and ploys they made us, [180] the inhabitants of the monastery and the villagers, fond of them. Every day the *paters* went to the churches of the saintly virgins Gayanē and Hṙip'simē and returned. They destroyed, plundered, demolished and profaned all three churches—Ējmiatsin, Gayanē, and Hṙip'simē—like “a tent of a gardener in a vineyard and like a cabin in a garden,” according to the prophet Isaiah.¹ At the time, there lived only a few members of the brotherhood in Ējmiatsin, and they were very ignorant and coarse. The churches of Gayanē and Hṙip'simē were without inhabitants and fences. The churches had no doors and no altars; the exteriors of the roofs and walls had crumbled, and the foundations were shaken and dug up. The altars and the floor inside the church were pitted; the churches and altars were all full of manure, since, both in summer and winter, livestock—cows and sheep—were driven into the churches. The entire roof of the church of Gayanē had collapsed, only the walls were standing, there was nothing else.

The *paters* continually and freely entered and exited the church of the saintly virgin Hṙip'simē. The chapel over the tomb of Hṙisp'simē was built deep under ground, under the main elevated altar. Its altar was under the main altar in the chapel. The door and the window of the chapel were not visible to anyone, for they were hidden. The builder of the church and chapel completed his assignment wisely, so that the door and the path to the chapel were on the side, to the north of the altar. The width and length of the door [181] of the chapel was sealed by a large stone, which could not be moved, and was fixed to the chapel door as a covering. This was so well planned that no one could guess that there was a door there and that the stone covered it.

¹ Isaiah 1.8: “And the Daughter of Zion is left like a booth in a vineyard, like a shelter in a cucumber field, like a besieged city.”

They would think that the stone was one of the stones that covered the wall. No one from among us Armenians knew about this, neither about the chapel, nor about the door. But the Catholic *paters*, with the help of their book, found the door of the chapel. They labored and tried very hard to open the stone covering, but could not. After much work, reflection and consideration, they came to the conclusion that they could not open the door. They then left the door, got on top of the elevated altar over the inner altar, and continued to dig from the top and through the niches marked in their book as being the passage and the place to the entrance, until they cut through the ceiling of the door's entrance and descended into the entrance. After that, they labored for a long time from the inside and outside until they moved the door from its place and threw aside the stone covering of the northern altar.

They then descended into the chapel over the tomb, rolled away the gravestone and began to dig the grave of H̄rip'simē the Virgin, until they unearthed the large reliquary box, where the saintly relics of H̄rip'simē were placed. They dug much longer until they moved the shrine with the relics from its former hiding place. They then took out the box, full of [182] relics, from the chapel into the main church and decided to steal the relics.

Through God's care and mercy and the prayers of St. Illuminator, on that same day and hour, two bishops from St. Ējmiatsin, one named Grigor, the other Vardan, had gone for a walk. Strolling, they reached the church of St. H̄risp'simē and reached the *paters* just as they had brought the box with the relics into the church and planned on stealing the relics. The bishops questioned the *paters* about what were they doing. Although they thought of something and muttered a reply, it did not make sense. The bishops went around the church and saw all—the hole on top, the door at the side, the chapel, the tombstone that was cast aside, and the looted grave. They became indignant and angry. They approached the *paters* and began to quarrel with them, swearing and fighting, to the point that they began to strike each other and suffered wounds. The *paters* struck Bishop Vardan on the head and wounded him, for there were three *paters* and two bishops. He showed me the scar, the place of the wound, and told me the story to which he was an eyewitness. May God have mercy on him and forgive his sins. At that time, the bishops did not allow the *paters* to take even a small part of the relics. After the struggle and fight, the two bishops reclaimed the box full of relics, and took it to Ējmiatsin; the *paters* also followed them to Ējmiatsin.

The bishops placed the box full of relics [183] in the middle of the square. Members of the brotherhood, as well as the villagers, and even Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', learned of this and gathered around the relics. All those who came, heard and saw were amazed and said, "We, our fathers and ancestors, who were born and reared here, did not know, all this time, about this *place*.¹ How could they [the *paters*], newly arrived people and, more so, foreigners, find the relics and accomplish such a task?" The bishops and the brotherhood of the monastery, in a terrible anger and frenzy about what had occurred, began arguing, cursing and brawling with the *paters*. They relied on the kat'oghikos, hoping that he would condemn the *paters* and take vengeance. But, the latter, whose mind and eyes could be purchased with gold, received gold coins from the *paters*, did not seek retribution, and was totally indifferent to them.

The *paters* had with them an old bag made of oilskin,² that is, a *mushamba*.³ Encouraged by the lax behavior of the kat'oghikos, the *paters* approached the box with the relics, opened the bag, and one of the *paters*, with a clean kerchief, took some bones and put them in the bag. They wanted to take all the relics. Seeing this, the bishops became filled with rage and anger, fell on and beat the *paters*, drove them from there and did not permit them to take any more relics. The box was still full of relics. The *paters* had taken the head, but the bishop took it back and put it in the shrine. The aforementioned Bishop Vardan recounted [184] that until [living] hands touched the relics, the bones were white-colored, but the moment hands touched them, they turned yellow.

The bishops began to cry and grieve for all that had happened, expressing their displeasure to the kat'oghikos and blaming him by saying, "The just God will punish you for the relics of the saint. For, from the time of the holy Illuminator until our days, the relics of this saint were not moved and dispersed, here and there. They were the beginning and the foundation of the faith of the Armenians; they were the wealth and the blessing of the land and you dispersed them today." The bishops, crying and grieving, lifted the box with the remaining relics, took it once again to the church of Saint Hrip'simē, took it down into the chapel, dug a very deep grave, placed the shrine with the relics in the grave, fastened it with earth and lime on

¹ Absent from A.

² Text reads *momlat'*, from Persian *mom* (wax, a wax-candle).

³ Turkish *muşamba*, oilcloth, wax cloth, tarpaulin.

all sides, immured and covered the grave, and placed a gravestone on it. They did not block the door of the chapel, but left it open, as it is visible to this day. They closed the holes on top of the raised altar, and although they repaired it, it is visible to the curious from the aisle below, for the stones placed on the hole are even now lighter in color.

The *paters* took the bag with the relics of Saint Hrip'simē [those they had managed to take], went to the city of Erevan and began to think how to transport them to their own land. Fearing the Ottomans, they could not travel through the land of the Romans,¹ for there was great enmity and a bitter [185] war between the Ottomans and the Franks.² *For that reason they could not go through the land of the Ottomans.*³

The *paters*, therefore, took the relics, left Erevan and came to the Catholic village of Aparaner⁴ in the Ernjak district of the province of Nakhichevan. There they divided the relics into three parts: the *paters* took two parts of the relics and remained there; they sent the third part, via trusted people, to the Catholic monastery called Hōseiniye,⁵ in the city of Isfahan, for there are three Catholic monasteries in the city of Isfahan. Those who took the relics came and handed them to the Catholic monastery of Hōseiniye. The Catholics hid them in a chest in some house, and waited for a convenient time to grab them and take them via Bandar⁶ to the city of Gua (Goa) in

¹ The territory of the Eastern Roman/Byzantine Empire was still referred to as Rome (Rum) by the Turks and Persians.

² Arak'el refers to the war of 1593-1606 between the Ottomans and the Austrians, which ended with the peace of Zsitvartorok. Although the peace lasted for twenty months, its significance is that, for the first time, a treaty was drawn up as a settlement on equal terms between two sovereign powers. Some historians consider this the start of the decline of the Ottoman Empire. See L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (New York, 1966), 161.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ Aparaner (Aparan) or Bananear, according to Alishan, had replaced Nakhichevan as the main center of Armenian Catholics. It had a bishopric and a thriving economy, *Sisakan* (Venice, 1893), 369; Ēp'rikian, I, 230-231. For a detailed description of the Armenian Catholic community in Nakhichevan, see A. Atamian, "The Archdiocese of Naxijevan in the 17th Century" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1984).

⁵ See Chapter 13.

⁶ Refers to Bandar 'Abbas, the main Persian port on the Persian Gulf.

the land of the Portuguese,¹ so that from there the said relics could then be taken by ship to the land of the Franks.

Kat'oghikos Dawit' was not aware of all these events, for he lived in the city of Isfahan at that time. There was a loyal Armenian man, named Grigor, who served Kat'oghikos Dawit' at that time. He was experienced and cautious in his service and duty. That man knew the language of the Franks, and therefore visited the Catholic churches and waited on the Franks to earn money. Once, by the grace of God, while drinking wine, a Catholic layman, who had brought the relics, told the attendant [186] Grigor, in passing, "We went to your land, saw your Holy See at Ējmiatsin, removed the relics of the virgin Saint Hṙip'simē, from there, and brought them here. They are now in a chest in my house and we want to take them to the land of the Portuguese, so that we can then take them to Frankistan."

This smart and right-thinking man immediately concealed those words in his heart and agreed with the narrator, but on the second day he went to Kat'oghikos Dawit' and informed him of what he had heard from the Frank.

There were many Christian Armenians who were from the Ararat province, and especially from the city of Erevan, and who now lived in the city of Isfahan. The kat'oghikos summoned some of them—trustworthy and noted men—and informed them of this. They were very distressed and decided to retaliate harshly. The kat'oghikos, together with them, went to the Julfans, to *Khoja* Safar, who was the former head of the Julfans, and not only the Julfans, but of all the Armenians living within the borders of the Persian kingdom—for, *Khoja* Safar and his brother *Khoja* Nazar were greatly respected by the Persian shah and his notables—² and informed *Khoja* Safar of this. *Khoja* Safar, the kat'oghikos, and the head of the Erevanis, Agha Tērtēr,³ went together to the governor of the city, named Mirza Moḥammad, who was appointed as the governor of Isfahan by the shah, for, the shah, at that time, was not in Isfahan, but in Tabriz. *Khoja* Nazar was also with the shah at that time. Informing the city governor, and taking guards from him, they unexpectedly appeared in the monastery [187] of the Franks, opened the door of the aforementioned house, and found the chest with the relics. They took it

¹ The Indian port of Goa was the center of the Portuguese Empire in the East, as well as the center of Catholic missionaries in the 16th century.

² For more details on *Khoja* Nazar, see the study by K'iwrtēan. See also Chapter 5.

³ Tērtēr is the colloquial for parish priest.

and brought it to the city governor. He sealed it with his seal and gave the chest in trust to Safar, so that he would guard it until the shah arrived and demanded it.

Khoja Safar and Kat'oghikos Dawit' informed *Khoja* Nazar, who was in Tabriz, of everything that had taken place. *Khoja* Nazar, who was not afraid and who openly spoke with the shah, informed him of everything and asked the shah to send his royal servant to the *paters* who had hunted for the bones, with an order to seize and to bring them to the presence of the sovereign. The king fulfilled all the wishes of *Khoja* Nazar. It so happened that the royal *ḡulam*, who was sent there, was an Armenian by descent and one who [still] observed the Armenian religion. His real name was Awetik', but they had given him another name, Alt'un. *Khoja* Nazar entrusted Alt'un with all the details of the proper execution of the task. The said Alt'un went and reached the Nakhichevan province, entered the Catholic village of Aparaner, and immediately seized and tied the bishop, the priests and the leaders of the Franks. He locked them under guard and demanded that they identify the *paters* who had stolen the relics, but they did not wish to do so. Alt'un then hung them [upside down] and beat them with clubs and they involuntarily revealed the names of the priests who had stolen the relics. Their names were Fathers Gl̄lum (Guilherme) and Ark'anjēli (Archangeli).¹ He then began to insist that they return the relics, but they did not want to reveal the place [of hiding]. Alt'un hung them and beat them severely with clubs, [188] tormented them terribly, and questioned them. He tortured them for many days without pity, for they refused to say where the relics were.

One day they hung one of the priests of that village and beat him for many hours. The priest had a nephew, a small boy, who stood beside him and cried bitterly. The boy asked the people who were standing there why they had hung and were beating the priest, his uncle. The people told the child that holy relics were brought to the village and their location was being sought. "We do not know where they are; therefore, they have suspended your uncle and are beating

¹ Aṛak'el refers to Father Guilherme de Santo Agostinho and his interpreter, a Syrian Catholic, Father Augustinho d'Abreu. Another priest, called Belchior, was also with them. Aṛak'el calls him Melk'ior and mentions him further down. For more details, see R. Gulbenkian, *L'Ambassade en Perse de Luis Pereira de Lacerda et des Peres Portugias de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin, Belchior dos Anjos et Guilherme de Santo Agostinho* (Lisbon, 1972), 49-56.

him." The boy told them, "Is that what is in the remote room [of our house], in front of which they light a lamp every day?" Up until that moment, Alt'un had not spoken a word in Armenian and had not revealed that he was an Armenian. He had, however, stood among the men when the boy uttered those words. When Alt'un heard the boy's words, he immediately turned to him, began to converse gently with him, and asked, "What did you say, my son? Say it again." The boy repeated his words once more. Alt'un then asked the boy, "If you show me what you spoke of, I shall free your [uncle] priest and let him go. I shall also present you and your uncle with a *kapa*;¹ if not, I shall continue to beat your priest so that² he bursts and dies." Then, Alt'un himself took the boy by the hand and said, "Son, let's go to your house. Show me what you were talking about." Reaching the house, they went from room to room, until they came to the farthest room where the relics were located. Alt'un saw that they lay in [189] an elevated spot, covered with clean vestments, and a lamp was lit in front of them. Alt'un removed all the covering and saw that they were indeed relics. He removed them and took them away. As he had promised the boy, he released the priest and gave the priest and the boy *qabas*.

After that, Alt'un began to harshly question the other prisoners, especially the *paters*, who had taken the relics. They could not endure the heavy torments and said, "There are no more relics, except those hidden by us in the mountains. Wait until dark, for it cannot be done now; in the evening we shall go to the place, remove them and give them to you." The inhabitants of that place called the mountain, where they had hidden the relics, Bolu. It is located near the village of Aparaner; it is a high mountain covered with many caves. That night, when the *paters* went up the mountain, Alt'un went with them. When they had buried the relics, they had marked the location by the Northern Star; they now moved in the direction of the Northern Star. They continued to go back and forth until they came to the exact place where the relics were buried. They then ordered the servants to dig. When the digging was complete, a silver cup, full of relics, was revealed. They took it and gave it to Alt'un. Alt'un took the relics and, together with the *paters*, returned to the village of Aparaner. Once again, he demanded more relics. They fell before him, shed tears, and swore with sincere oaths that there were no more relics.

¹ From the Persian *qabā* (a tunic worn by men).

² A reads "until."

Alt'un himself was a native of the village of Astapat [190] and his home was located there. Leaving the village of Aparaner, he took the relics, the *paters*, and came to the village of Astapat.

It so happened that the saintly *Vardapet* Pōghos was in the village of Astapat at that time—I shall tell the story of this *vardapet* later in this narrative.¹ Alt'un went to him, brought him all the relics, and offered the *vardapet* to take his share. The *vardapet* took a small part, the size of a finger. Alt'un kept the rest hidden. Alt'un then said, "If you shall not reproach me about the *paters*, I shall leave their bodies here, cut their heads, and take them to the king." The saintly *vardapet* pitied the *paters*, for they were also Christians, and did not allow Alt'un to do what he had stated.

The *vardapet* took part of the relics, and several years later, went to a small settlement called K'ult'ap'a (Göl-tapa), near the city of Nakhichevan. Up to that time there had been no church in that village. Laying the foundation, he placed the relics and began to erect a church on it. Upon completion, he called the church St. Hrip'simē. There are, at present, several Christian families, of Armenian descent, living around the church in that village.

Alt'un left Astapat, took the *paters* and the relics with him, reached Tabriz, and handed them to *Khoja* Nazar. *Khoja* Nazar informed the shah and, as a request, said, "Your luck is great, sovereign, [191] for it did not permit these relics to go to Frankistan. If they had succeeded, all the Armenian people would follow them, since all the Armenians, especially the Julfans and the inhabitants of the Goght'n province, many of whom are now in Frankistan for trading purposes, would not return to this country. We request of the shah that not a single part of these relics be separated. If the Franks have taken anything, take it away from them and return it to us." *Khoja* Nazar told this to the shah repeatedly until the day of the court inquiry arrived. The shah replied, "Since this is the desire of the people of Julfa, to comply with their wish, and because I favor you, I shall do as you say."

On the day when the shah began the court of inquiry, Alt'un brought the *paters* and the relics to the shah's presence. The shah questioned *all of*² them, learned all the details, and released *the paters*³ without punishment—since the shah and the Frankish king had

¹ See Chapters 21 and 23.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Absent from A.

concluded a peace treaty at that time, he, for his benefit, did not punish the *paters*, but released them without penalty. The *paters*, witnessing the kindness of the shah, became bold and said, "Since we have suffered great hardship and torment for the sake of the relics, we ask the king to make us a present of a part of the relics." The shah replied with amazement and reproach, "From where can I take it and what should I give you? The relics you ask for belong to the Armenians. What law [192] will permit me to take them freely and give them to you?" The shah then ordered that all the relics be given to *Khoja* Nazar, and it was so done.

The shah then ordered that all the relics be taken to the city of Isfahan. He also made his intentions known to *Khoja* Nazar and the latter agreed with them. After that, the shah wrote a letter to *Khoja* Safar in Isfahan, stating, "Because of my affection for you and fulfilling your heart's desire, I have taken the relics of your saint from the Franks, have given them to you, and are now sending them to you to guard them. Receive them, hide them, and bring them to me when I ask for them." *Khoja* Safar received the relics, prepared a proper place in his house, placed them there, and as befits saints, worshipped them daily with perfumed incense and bright candles, as long as he and his sons were alive. His grandchildren continue to do it today. They remain there to this day.

That is how the relics of St. Hrip'simē were taken away from the Franks and that is how they ended up in the city of Isfahan.

The *paters*, who were released by the shah, minus the relics, left Tabriz and went once again to Nakhichevan, in order that they would again go to the Ararat province from there and seek saintly relics.

While the *paters* were in the Nakhichevan province, they had the opportunity to meet with the governor of the Nakhichevan province and its environs, Makhsud-soltan.¹ During conversation, while talking about religion, the soltan told the *paters*, "Is it true that you do not accept and do not consider our [193] Muhammad a prophet?" There was a dog sitting there at that time. One of the *paters* lifted his hand toward the dog and said, "Who is Muhammad, that we should honor him? There is no difference between Muhammad and this dog." These words deeply wounded and insulted Maqṣūd Solṭān, and all his people and servants, but, for the moment, they hid their indignation in their hearts and did not reveal it in their faces.

¹ Refers to Maqṣūd Solṭān Kangarlū; see AA, 859.

After some days, the *paters* left Nakhichevan, went to Erevan, and left there to go to Geghark'uni. When they reached the mountain, called Mt. Sulēyman, five men from the *Kizilbash* group, who had gone after them, overtook the *paters* and rode with them for some time. Shortly after, they struck them with their sabers and killed both of the *paters* who had stolen the relics of St. Hrip'simē.

A layman from the Catholic village of Aprakunis,¹ named Aghamir, who was their servant, was with them. While they were killing the *paters*, that man fled into the ravine, but one of the *Kizilbash* soldiers pursued him and wounded him on the head, neck, shoulder and elbow with his saber. The wounded man fell to the ground and pretended to be dead. The soldiers decided that the man was indeed dead; one kicked him, threw him off the edge of the cliff, and went back to his companions. Accomplishing this, the soldiers took from among the items [of the *paters*] whatever pleased them and went to wherever their hearts desired.

[194] They said that the *Kizilbash* warriors, who killed the *paters*, were the soldiers of Maqṣūd Solṭān who were secretly dispatched by him; for the latter had insulted Muhammad and had said that he and the dog were both worth the same; thus the soldiers had come and had done the deed. Others said that the soldiers who had killed the *paters* belonged to the governor of the Ējmiatsin province, Amir Gūna Khan,² and were dispatched by him to kill the *paters* for two reasons: first, to punish them for the relics of St. Hrip'simē, because the relics were taken out of the territory of Amir Gūna Khan and whisked somewhere else; second, they said that it seems that Amir Gūna Khan had heard that the *paters* had a large treasure chest—full of gold and silver—and had sent soldiers to kill them and to take the said treasure. Thus, either by the order of Maqṣūd Solṭān, Amir Gūna Khan, or maybe someone else, the soldiers came, killed the *paters*, wounded the servant of the *paters*, and threw him down the cliff.

During my travels for writing this history, I went to the Nakhichevan province, to the district of Ernjak, and to the village of Aparaner. I met with the man Aghamir and saw evidence of his wounds. He told me this story and added, "When they threw me

¹ The village is the Nakhichevan region, also spelled Aprakunik.

² Amir Gūna Khan, as noted, was the governor of the Erevan Province, which included Ējmiatsin.

down the cliff, I fell into the river waters, *the river which is called*¹ the Kot'ay-get. The waters of the river enveloped me, took and threw me in front of some crag. That crag [195] stopped me and held me until the arrival of evening darkness and the appearance of the stars. All this happened to me and I remained alive by the grace of God.² I was conscious of everything that had happened to me and did not drown, thanks to God's grace. After nightfall I came out of the river and went on, not knowing where. During my walk I noticed a well-worn path and decided to stay on it. It so happened that by daylight, some people appeared, Armenians by birth, who were taking their livestock to some village. Seeing them, I approached them; they saw what had happened to me, put me on a horse and took me to some village where I told the villagers everything. Some of the villagers went to the place of the murder, and saw the dead, all their books, papers and clothes, scattered all over the plain. Right there, by the road, they dug a pit and covered them with earth. I remained in the village until my wounds healed. I then left it and returned to my house." Aghamir, who witnessed everything that had occurred, recounted this story. The affair of the Nakhichevan *paters* ends here.

What I now describe, written below, was told to me by a bishop named Martiros, who had witnessed it with his own eyes. He said that another father, named Melk'ior (Belchior), arrived from the land of the Franks. He met with the shah, who was in Tabriz at that time. The shah, together with his entire army, marched from [196] Tabriz and went to the Gegham province. Father Belchior came with him, for he pretended to have come as an envoy and was, therefore, respected by the shah. He was a distinguished and famous man and the shah conversed frequently with him. Once, during a conversation, Belchior told the shah, "Prior to this, our *paters* visited here, but bandits killed them. They are buried in the mountains and I would like to find their bones and take them to the cemetery of their predecessors." The shah, being a pagan by birth and by race, and not knowing the importance of the bones of the dead, replied, "Do as you wish." Then, Belchior sent some people there; they dug out the bones of Glēlum (Guilherme) and his companion, and brought them to him. He took them with him, as relics of martyrs, to his homeland, in Frankistan. That is what happened.

¹ Absent from A and D.

² C reads "Christ" instead of "God."

At this present time of my life, in the year 1107 (1658) of the Armenian calendar, when I write this history, I had the occasion to visit the magnificent city of Isfahan, for the wise, sublime and glorious Patriarch of All Armenians, the kat'oghikos of holy Ējmiatsin, Patriarch Hakob,¹ went there to visit the flock of Christ entrusted to him, to collect the *nuirak*² for holy Ējmiatsin, and to arrange temporal affairs at the royal court. Many of us were sent to serve him there. We went to the house of *Khoja* Safar for a pilgrimage and to pay homage to the relics of St. Hrip'simē and many other relics, which are kept there. We opened the relics, saw all, said Mass, and became worthy of the blessings [197] of the saints. One of the notables of [New] Julfa told us another account. Here is the narrative:³

Some time after the events mentioned above, the shah came to Isfahan, and, as usual, went to the house of *Khoja* Safar. A number of Catholic *paters*, from the same order as the aforementioned Father Glēlum (Guilherme), happened to be there as well. During conversation they spoke about the relics of St. Hrip'simē and all the relics were brought to the shah, to be seen by everyone. When they opened the [box containing the] relics, the *paters* found an opportune moment and asked the shah to give them, as a gift, a part of the relics. The shah himself took one of the bones, cut it in half with a knife, threw one half back among the remaining relics, and gave the *paters* the other half. They took it and hid it. The shah ordered *Khoja* Safar to take the rest and hide them. They were taken and put back in the place where they were before and remain there to this day. As for the piece that the *paters* received at that time, they took it to the land of Bandar, to the city called Goa, built a monastery in that city, and put the piece in the foundation of that monastery. The monastery, at present, is a convent, where many nuns live. *Thus God is blessed every hour.*⁴

¹ Refers to Kat'oghikos Hakob of Julfa (1655-1680).

² Also called *nwirak*, it refers to church dues collected every three years by the Patriarch or a *vardapet*, who as nuncio was dispatched to collect the dues for Ējmiatsin.

³ Only one story is related in the text.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

[198] Chapter 17

*On how and on what occasion the [relic of the] right arm of
St. Gregory, Our Illuminator, and the stones of the Cathedral
of Ējmiatsin were taken to Isfahan*

The great king of the Persians, Shah 'Abbās the First, exiled the Armenian people from their native Armenia and drove them to Persia with the intention of emptying Armenia and rebuilding the land of the Persians, reducing the number of inhabitants in Armenia and increasing that of Persia. Since Shah 'Abbās himself was a cautious and prudent man, he always continually thought and reflected on how to prevent the Armenian population from going back to their homeland, and to keep them in the land of the Persians—for, those Armenians who were born in Armenia wished passionately to return to Armenia. In order to determine how to prevent this, Shah 'Abbās would act humble, would come down from his exalted position, and would converse with the Armenians that he met, rich and poor, as if they were distinguished men. He would make the men talk, [199] while he listened attentively and seriously to their words, and gathered spite in his heart.

As I have mentioned earlier, the shah would disguise himself and roam about the squares and streets, to hear what the people were talking about. He went from house to house, and, when possible, would mix in the conversation, make speeches in the name of the shah, or in the name of the *riat'*,¹ saying, "The shah is peace-loving and just. He does not permit the notables to molest the *ra'iyats*. He specially favors the Armenian people and resolves all their affairs and needs according to their wishes. Why is it that the Armenian people do not remain happily in the Isfahan province? This province is rich and located in the interior,² while the land of the Armenians is on the border,³ within the jaws of the enemy, which is doomed to ruin and captivity."

In reply, he heard numerous times that Armenia is a land of abundance, fertility and low prices, while everything is less [abundant] and expensive here. The graves of their fathers and ancestors are there. There are the monasteries and places of pilgrimage, where

¹ From the Arabic term *ra'iyat* (subject, peasant, plebian).

² Text reads *ich'ēli*, should read *ich'ēri*, from the Turkish *içeri* (interior).

³ Text reads *sahrad*, from the Persian *sarhadd*.

the graves of saints are located, and especially the glorious Holy See of Ējmiatsin, where rests the [relic of the] right arm of Gregory the Illuminator, which blesses the holy *meron*,¹ and from where it is sent to the Armenians around the world, wherever they may be. That is why the entire Armenian people submit to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin and its kat'oghikos, who resides there. These words were spoken not only by ignorant and insignificant men, but also by noted and learned men. Moreover, I heard from someone, that it was also said that if the shah wants the Armenians to stay in Persia forever, he must bring the right arm of St. Gregory the Illuminator to Isfahan, [200] built a New Ējmiatsin there to consecrate the *meron* and to have the kat'oghikos preside there. Then the Armenian people would settle down and remain there, for all of the Armenian people are attached to the right arm and to Ējmiatsin.

Thus the insidious snake and the shrewd enemy of Christian life, soul and faith, which always and incessantly exercised its wits against the Armenians, now heard from them the true solution to his problem. Henceforth, he firmly and invariably decided to destroy holy Ējmiatsin, cut short its former kat'oghikosate, bring the right arm of the Illuminator and the stones of Ējmiatsin to Isfahan and create a New Ējmiatsin there, so that the kat'oghikos would reside there and the *meron* would be distributed [from there] throughout the world; in order that the Armenian population would remain in Persia, and so that the [Church] income from around the world would flow to the city and to his people. Therefore, he designated and set aside a place in Isfahan where he planned to build [the new] Ējmiatsin. The place was located near an orchard. The Persians called *the orchard*² Baghizrishk.³ The place was behind it and was adjacent to its western side.

One day the shah went to the designated place. *Khoja* Nazar and some other Armenians were with him. The shah said to *Khoja* Nazar, "For your sake I shall build Ējmiatsin here, so that your heart will not ache from yearning for the other Ējmiatsin. I have ordered a convoy of many camels, mules and carts to go, demolish the other Ējmiatsin, bring the stones and the dirt here, and build an Ējmiatsin here from the same stones and dirt, so that your hearts will be attached, without question, to [201] the newly constructed [church]."

¹ Refers to the holy chrism.

² Absent from A and D.

³ From the Persian *bāgh-e zereshk* (barberry orchard).

Cunningly, he [the shah] wished to demolish holy Ējmiatsin in this manner. Since *Khoja* Nazar did not wish to see holy Ējmiatsin demolished, for his soul pined for it, he replied, in order to change the shah's decision, "May God grant you. O king, a long life! If you wish to build a beautiful and durable Ējmiatsin, you can build it from gold or silver, not to mention from stone. But what is the need to expend so much labor for the sake of stones and dirt and such expense in transporting stones and dirt from afar, from a foreign land? We have plenty of stones and dirt here. Build it from them if you wish, and we shall agree to it [help you do it]."

The All-Powerful God, whose reign is forever, and who surpasses men, kings, peoples, and nations in wisdom; and of whom it is written, "The Lord brings the counsel of the nations to nothing; he frustrates the plans of peoples. The counsel of the Lord stands forever, the thoughts of his heart to all generations,"¹ did not wish the shah's idea to bear fruit. Although he [the shah] remained steadfast in his heart, his plan was averted, because he was preparing to march against Georgia, against its ruler and people. He left Isfahan with a large army and, with great planning, marched on the land of the Georgians.² He first moved on Kakhet'i, forced the king of Kakhet'i, T'eimuraz, to flee, and ravaged the land. He then marched on [202] K'art'li, set up camp above the town of Gori, on the road to Pashiach'uki, waited and sought a way to somehow forcibly seize the Georgian ruler.³ *For, although the king of Kakhet'i, T'eimuraz, and Luarsab, the king of Tiflis, had both escaped to Pashiach'uki, T'eimuraz was not fooled and did not appear before the shah. Luarsab, however, was tricked; he trusted the shah, appeared before him, and he [the shah] took him to Persia,*⁴ and as I have accounted previously, killed him there.⁵ This is what happened to them. I shall now write about the discord between the kat'oghikoi, for their dissension served as one of the reasons for taking the stones of Ējmiatsin and the right arm of the Illuminator to Isfahan.

During the time when the shah forced the great exodus⁶ and resettled the Armenians in Isfahan, Kat'oghikos Dawit' also went with them and remained in Isfahan. Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' was also ex-

¹ Psalm 33.10-11.

² See Chapter 11.

³ See Chapter 5.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

⁵ See Chapter 11.

⁶ Text reads *surgun*.

iled during the great migration, but he returned, went to Ējmiatsin, and began to administer the kat'oghikosate. Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', however, did not care at all for the welfare, buildings, or the liturgy in Ējmiatsin. He chose as his residence the cathedral in the city of Erevan,¹ gathered his family and friends there, and lived a dissolute and easy life with them on the revenues and profits of the Holy See of Ējmiatsin.

There lived in holy Ējmiatsin, in those days, bishops, natives of the village of Ējmiatsin [Vagharshapat], who [203] were named Karapet, Martiros and Hohan, together with other bishops and *abegha*. They were concerned about Ējmiatsin; they constantly grieved about the loss of its former glory, its desolation, and were indignant about Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt''s behavior. Many times, with entreaties, grumbles and indignation, they would say, "Do not leave the See in such a desolate and decadent state. Sit on the throne; live as your heart desires, as long as you are here; that will be enough for us and for the See." But Melk'isēt', strutting and boasting about the prerogatives of his power, scorned them and rejected their entreaties. The bishops, weary of the decadence and the sorry state of Ējmiatsin, and the disdain toward their pleas, complained, in unison, to the governor of the land, Amir Gūna Khan, who, following their denunciation, detained Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' and took a sixty-*tumān* fine from him. Irritated by this, the kat'oghikos got up and went to Georgia on the pretext that the khan had offended him. The notables and the friends of the khan blamed him for the kat'oghikos' departure. Therefore, the khan sent some men after Melk'isēt', asking him to return, vowing to treat him with respect and to comply with all his wishes. Melk'isēt' then returned to Erevan, and the khan, to coax Melk'isēt', detained the bishops and fined them. Then, Bishop Karapet quit the world, went to a monastery, and became a monk—this is the same Bishop Karapet about whom I wrote in the chapter on the Great Hermitage;² he settled on the island of Sevan.³ As for Bishop Martiros, Kat'oghikos *Melk'isēt'*⁴ asked the khan to exile him from the [204] Ararat province. The khan did so. He ap-

¹ The church, known as Kat'oghike, named after Virgin Mary. There was a courtyard in which representatives of Ējmiatsin lived. A number of kat'oghikoi lived there as well. A copy of Arak'el's history was copied there by the priest Awetis.

² See Chapter 21.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

pointed some soldier to act as Bishop Martiros' escort. The soldier escorted him to Old Julfa, took him to the other side of the Arax River, and then returned.

Since Bishop Martiros was not detained anywhere, he went to Isfahan and appeared before Kat'oghikos Dawit', attached himself to him, and day after day, at opportune and inopportune times, told him about the acts of Melk'isēt' and the ruin and decadence of Ējmiatsin. He said the same things to the [New] Julfans and the Erevanis [in Isfahan]. The behavior of Melk'isēt' and the desolation of Ējmiatsin greatly distressed the Julfans and the Erevanis. They gathered at the residence of Kat'oghikos Dawit', induced him to go to Ējmiatsin, to govern it and provide for its prosperity, and said, "We shall help you in all your labors and deeds." Kat'oghikos Dawit', together with Bishop Martiros, left Isfahan and went to the city of Erevan and Ējmiatsin. During the time when the shah had set up camp and lived in Gori, Kat'oghikos Dawit' and Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' were both at holy Ējmiatsin; because of this, an intense and great envy, hatred and enmity rose between them.

For, Kat'oghikos Dawit' was the predecessor and had begun to rule earlier than Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt'. He was also older and grayer; in addition, Dawit' had elevated Melk'isēt' to the rank of kat'oghikos, so that the latter would be his companion and coadjutor, but he became an obstacle [for him]. After several years, when Melk'isēt' flourished in the title and duties of the kat'oghikos, he completely usurped the authority of the kat'oghikos, ruled alone, [205] pushed Dawit' aside, and removed him from power. As far as Dawit' was concerned, he told Melk'isēt', "Although you have deprived me of the authority of a kat'oghikos, [at least] give my daily needs, food, clothing, and the necessary items for me to live out my old age; do not make my old age stressful." But Melk'isēt', grown stout, proud and conceited by authority, did not want to hear Dawit', and behaved like the Lord's parable about the man and the unjust judge.¹ Whenever Dawit' spoke, Melk'isēt' ridiculed him. Moreover, those close to Melk'isēt', both advisors and servants, did not treat Dawit' decently; they behaved with disdain toward him, taunted him, used abusive and contemptuous words—not surreptitiously, but openly, to his face—and constantly tormented him for his very insignificant needs and requests. Their continual harsh behavior grieved Dawit' greatly and his heart was wounded deeply. With a

¹ Luke 18.1-2.

sorrowful heart, he then left and went to Gori, to the shah's camp, in order to go before the shah and to complain about Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt'. The shah, at that time, was still in Georgia. He had settled down near the town of Gori and lived there. The shah personally knew the two kat'oghikoi very well, but recognized [the authority of] Dawit' more than Melk'isēt', for, when the shah was conducting the great migration, both kat'oghikoi accompanied [206] the exodus. But when they reached the districts called Ahar and Mushkun, Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', without the shah's consent, returned from there to Erevan, to Ējmiatsin, and ruled the kat'oghikosate without the shah's permission. Kat'oghikos Dawit' continued on with the migration to Isfahan, and met the shah numerous times in Isfahan. The Shah spoke with him kindly and with familiarity, to the point that he even called him father—he either feigned it or he meant it. The return of Melk'isēt' to Erevan *did not please him*,¹ while the coming of Dawit' to Isfahan did please the shah. That is why the shah sooner accepted Dawit' [than Melk'isēt']. Kat'oghikos Dawit' [therefore] left, arrived at the shah's camp, and, one day, managed to meet the shah. Seeing him, the shah, as in the past, spoke to him with kindness and sympathy, and asked him how he fared, whether or not he was happy and content. In reply, Dawit' said, "May you live long, sovereign! Although I am full of grief and unhappiness, seeing your pleasant face and hearing your kind words have dispersed and erased them." The shah asked, "Who is the person that causes you chagrin?" Dawit' replied in the language of the foreigner,² "*Smuk sat'an khalifa*," which means, "*The caliph*³ who sells bones." Saying "*smuk sat'an*," he began to complain about Melk'isēt' and reminded the shah of his behavior, of how, for a bribe, he had allowed the Franks to take the relics of St. Hrip'simē. It is even said that Dawit' [207] said to the shah, "If they had not taken the right arm of the Illuminator and the stones of Ējmiatsin to Isfahan, it would be impossible to keep the Armenian people in Isfahan." The shah listened to the account of the sale of the relics, became interested, and learned about all the details. He then became gloomy, incensed, furious, and resolved to punish and torment Melk'isēt'.

¹ Absent from A, B, C, and E read "shah" instead of "him."

² In this case he spoke the Turkish dialect of Persian Azarbaijan, a language used by Shah 'Abbās and many of his court officials.

³ Absent from A and D. The Persian rulers considered the kat'oghikos as the Armenian caliph.

While the shah was still in Georgia, he had invited Amir Gūna Khan to his presence, saying, "Come and take part with us in fighting our enemies." The latter had gone to Georgia and stayed in the shah's camp. To succeed him, [the khan], the shah had sent Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan,¹ the son of Amir Gūna Khan, to the city of Erevan. He had entered the fortress, acted as governor, and guarded the land.

In a great rage, the shah now ordered that a decree be written with a royal command to Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg and be dispatched to Erevan. The writ contained the following: "It is ordered that you, Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg, seize Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', severely torture him, and even cut him and make him eat his own flesh. After that, send the right arm of the Illuminator of the Armenian people and Melk'isēt' in chains here." The letter was given to one of the notables, named Naghdi Beg,² who took it speedily to Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg in Erevan. Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg immediately fulfilled the order, seized Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', began to torture him, and forcibly demanded the right hand of St. Gregory, our Illuminator, from him. The kat'oghikos and his confidants despaired and could not find a way out, for Ṭahmāsp-qoli [208] subjected them to terrible torments. They, therefore, brought the right arm of St. Illuminator to Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg. They also brought an invaluable gospel in a golden frame and a silver cross. Ṭahmāsp-qoli took all of this, as well as Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', and went [back] to the city of Erevan.

They then took Melk'isēt' into the Erevan fortress, threw him to the ground, spread him, fastened his hands and feet to [iron] rings, took a *k'albat'in*,³ or pincers, tore out flesh from the muscle of his arm with it, and put the torn-out flesh into his mouth. Standing on both sides, with sticks in their hands, they beat him and kept saying, "Chew and swallow it!" Melk'isēt', against his wishes, but in despair and from fear, chewed and swallowed it. After that, the public crier announced that the shah's order regarding the caliph was carried out: he had eaten and swallowed his own flesh. This torment and torture

¹ Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg Qajar was the son of Amir Gūna Khan. He was promoted to the rank of khan in 1625. It is possible that Aṙak'el referred to him as "khan" before that time so as not to confuse him with (Hanis) Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg, a *ḡulam* and a close companion (*moqarrab*) of the shah, AA, 839.

² It could refer to Naqdi Solṭān of the Nelqās tribe.

³ From the Arabic *kalbatāni* and Persian *kalbitān*, a blacksmith's or farrier's forceps, with which hot iron is held or nails are pulled out.

was inflicted on Melk'isēt' during the days of the Assumption of the Mother of God.¹

After that, Tahmāsp-qoli Beg chose soldiers under the command of Najirlu Ghubat' (Qobād) Agha and handed over the chained Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', as well as the right arm of the Illuminator, the gospel and the cross, to them. They set out on their way, reached the shah's camp, and informed him. He ordered to bring everything to him. The envoys presented the right arm, the gospel, and the cross to the shah. The shah took them one by one, the gospel, the cross, and then the right arm, and asked if it was truly *the arm of the Illuminator*. They replied that it was.² He then kissed the right arm and put it back in its place. As to Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', the shah reiterated his wish: to kill him. But Amir Gūna Khan [209] greatly sympathized with Melk'isēt', for he was his friend. He, therefore, thought of sending three of his sons, youths, to the shah, who was at that time in the camp. The youths slung swords on their necks. Seeing this and questioning them, the shah realized that they were begging for Melk'isēt''s life. He also realized that this was Amir Gūna Khan's idea. That is why he relinquished his wish to kill [the kat'oghikos]. Amir Gūna Khan's act [on behalf of the kat'oghikos] began many days prior to the bringing of the kat'oghikos to the king's presence. Therefore, when the kat'oghikos and the objects of worship were presented to the king, the shah did not give the order to kill or torture Melk'isēt'. Rather, observing the objects of worship, the shah turned to Melk'isēt' with wrath and fury and reproved him for a long time. In conclusion, he said, "Judgment will not be passed on you here, for your sin is great. You have to go to Isfahan now and stay there until I arrive there and pass judgment on you."

Here we should be frightened at the retribution carried out on Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', first of all, because he scorned divine assistance and relied on man. He disdained the divine words that say, "Cursed are those who trust in mere mortals."³ Secondly, because he had scorned Vardapet Srap'ion, who had come from Amida to pay the debt of the Holy See of Ējmiatsin and to restore it. Rather, he relied totally [210] on the shah, put his trust entirely in him, and went to Isfahan, in the hope of receiving many favors from him. *He*

¹ The feast of the Assumption is on August 15. Arak'el refers to the days of the fast prior to the feast.

² Absent from F.

³ Jeremiah 17.5.

brought him from there [Isfahan] to Armenia, where he [the shah] had ruined the entire land, ravaged it from one side to the other, and made it uninhabitable.¹ Now, as I have related and shall relate later, he received from the shah the torments and “rewards” for his services and expectations. Thus, the inscription comes to fruition, “One is punished by the very things by which one sins,”² or, “Do not rely on princes or men, for they shall not save you.”³

The shah's long-term wishes become clear here, for he desired, thought, and planned for a long time how to destroy holy Ējmiatsin, abolish the existing kat'oghikosate, build an Ējmiatsin in Isfahan, and establish the kat'oghikosate there. He now found an excuse that matched his wish. He dispatched Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' to Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan in Erevan with the following instructions,⁴ “Ṭahmāsp-qoli, we are returning Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', together with the right arm of the Illuminator, the gospel, and the cross to you. You are to go to Ējmiatsin, demolish it [the cathedral], extract the splendid stones of Ējmiatsin, take those stones, the right arm of the Illuminator, the gospel, and the cross, and all together, with Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', [211] dispatch them to the city of Isfahan.” The moment the shah's order reached Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan, he happily prepared to carry out everything without exception, for he wished to prove himself a good servant of the shah.

Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan wanted first, even before [he touched] the stones of Ējmiatsin, to send the right arm of the Illuminator [to Isfahan]. For he thought and figured that *by the time*⁵ they demolished the walls and prepared all the necessary equipment for their [the stones] transport, many days would pass and there would be a delay. In addition, the transfer of the stones would be done slowly and with difficulty. Therefore, he wanted to send the right arm first. He thus equipped soldiers so that they would take the right arm to Isfahan. Furthermore, Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan ordered a *k'ahana*,⁶ named Hovhannēs, a native of the same village of Ējmiatsin, a man wise and well-versed in words and deeds, to accompany the soldiers and

¹ Absent from A and D.

² The Wisdom of Solomon 11.16.

³ Psalm 118.8-9: “It is better to take refuge in the Lord than to put confidence in mortals. It is better to take refuge in the Lord than to put confidence in princes.”

⁴ Absent from A and D.

⁵ Absent from A, D, and F.

⁶ Text reads *k'ahana ashkharhik*.

attend the right arm. Thus, the chosen soldiers and *tēr* Hovhannēs took the right arm of the Illuminator, the gospel in its golden frame, and the silver cross. They took all the three sacred items, left Erevan, and journeyed *until they reached*¹ the city of Isfahan. When they neared Isfahan, the entire Armenian population of Isfahan came out, on the shah's order, to welcome the right arm of the Illuminator. Carrying banners, gospels, incense and candles, and singing hymns, they brought it [the right arm] with great respect to the house of *Khoja* Safar and placed it, together with the relics of the saintly virgin Hrip'simē and other relics that were there. This was how the right arm of our [212] Illuminator, St. Gregory, ended up in Isfahan.

After sending the right arm of the Illuminator, Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan became seriously occupied with the sending of the stones. He, together with many troops, went to Ējmiatsin. They broke the structure and took the blessed stones. Here is what they took: the holy altar, upon which the holy Mass is celebrated; the column of this altar; the stone of the place of Christ's descent; the baptismal basin; one stone from the southern steps of the altar and one stone from the northern steps of the altar—for the main altar has steps from both sides—northern and southern; four stones from the four corners of the exterior of the church; two stone candleholders, in which they placed and burned large candles during Mass; and three other stones from the polished stones of the elevated altar—fifteen stones altogether. They removed these stones from the cathedral of Ējmiatsin, wrapped them in leather and sewed them up. After that, they equipped troops under the command of Naghdi (Naqdi) Beg.² Meanwhile, *tēr* Hovhannēs, who had been sent to accompany the right arm of the Illuminator, had already returned from Isfahan. He was now asked to accompany the stones as an escort. They then prepared carts, as many as were needed for the stones, *loaded them on carts with harnessed oxen*,³ and pulled them *until they reached*⁴ the city of Isfahan. But they did not take them into the city. Outside the city, near the T'okhch'i Gate,⁵ there was a Muslim village called Bat'un. They brought the stones to this village and placed them under a dome, erected near the village.

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Nagi Beg in F.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Text reads *darvazin*, from the Persian *darvāzeh* (gate).

When they approached the village with the stones, all the Armenians [213] who lived in the city of Isfahan came out by the order of the city governor to meet the stones with crosses, gospels, incense and candles. They sang hymns and accompanied them *until*¹ they brought them into the village of Bat'un and placed them under the dome.

The stones remained there under the dome, *some say two years, others,*² seven years, and yet others more or less. The inhabitants of the Bat'un village petitioned the shah, stating, "We ask the king to remove the stones of Ējmiatsin from our village and take them somewhere else. Men from the village have begun to die and our harvest is not as plentiful as before." The shah, therefore, ordered that the stones be removed from there and given to the Julfans. It was *so*³ done. When they approached [New] Julfa, as before, all the clergy and lay people, carrying crosses and gospels, incense and candles, and singing religious songs, brought the stones and put them in the church of Khojents', where they are to this day. They removed the stones from Ējmiatsin and sent them to Isfahan in the year 1063 (1614) of our calendar. The stones reached Isfahan at the start of the year 1064 (1615). I saw the stones with my own eyes, I counted them, and, after that, I wrote this account

The troops selected by Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan to escort Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', which were led by Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg,⁴ brought him to the city of Isfahan. The shah thought that the moment Melk'isēt' arrived in Isfahan he would be thrown into a dungeon and be kept under guard, but he remained free and ruled as the Kat'oghikos of the Armenians of the Christian faith, [214] who lived in Isfahan and all its surrounding districts. Thus, I have established and recorded the year in which they took the stones. However, I have not ascertained and hence, not written, the year when they took the right arm of the Illuminator and Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt'. That is how these events occurred.

¹ Absent from A.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Ibid.

⁴ It is clear that Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan refers to the son of Amir Gūna Khan, and Ṭahmāsp-qoli Beg is the Hanis Ṭahmāsp-qoli mentioned earlier.

Chapter 18

*On the mughada¹ of one hundred tūmans imposed by the Shah on
Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt'*

As I already stated, Kat'oghikos Dawit' went to the shah's court and denounced Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt'. The shah became irritated at Melk'isēt', removed him from the patriarchal seat, and sent him to Isfahan. Kat'oghikos Dawit' remained at the shah's camp. Amir Gūna Khan, the chief and ruler of the entire *gawar* of Ararat and holy Ējmiatsin, was there as well.

One day the shah gave a banquet and presided at the feast. All the *nakharars* and his notables stood before him. Amir Gūna Khan and Kat'oghikos Dawit' were also present at the feast. The shah spoke kindly to Kat'oghikos Dawit' and said, "We have given you the authority of kat'oghikos at Ējmiatsin. Go and sit [215] in Ējmiatsin and minister the kat'oghikosate." Dawit' made the following request to the shah, "My sovereign, give me [the guarantee] of the khan's protection,² *give me the khan's protection.*"³ The shah then turned to Amir Gūna Khan, entrusted Kat'oghikos Dawit' to him and said, "Respect and guard the caliph, our father, well." Amir Gūna Khan bowed to the waist, put his hand on his head and replied to the shah's words, "His repose is on my head."⁴

As long as the shah was in Georgia, the kat'oghikos and Amir Gūna Khan stayed with him. When the shah left for Persia, Amir Gūna Khan and the kat'oghikos returned to Erevan: the khan to his khanate, and the kat'oghikos to his kat'oghikosate. While the shah was in the nearby towns and districts, in the province of Azarbaijan, Amir Gūna Khan, fearing the shah, honored the kat'oghikos and treated him kindly. When the shah moved away, fear left the khan's heart and he began to treat the kat'oghikos rudely. He did not honor him and did not converse with him. When he did speak, he talked

¹ From the Arabic *muqata'a* (farming of revenue or apportioned land). In Persia and the Ottoman Empire it also meant tax or rent paid for cultivated land turned into buildings or gardens.

² Text reads *amanat'ē*, from the Arabic *amānat* (protection, safe-conduct, security).

³ Absent from A.

⁴ A Persian and Armenian saying meaning, "I will take care of him above anything else." It is generally said to important guests and visitors as a compliment.

coarsely, for he did not wish for Dawit' to remain in Ējmiatsin, but wanted Melk'isēt'. That is why the khan behaved morosely and spoke coldly with Dawit'. They said that the khan even wished to secretly kill Dawit'. Some said that the reason for this discord was the secret activities of Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt'; that although he was in Isfahan, he did not leave the khan without letters or messages of friendship, which he constantly sent to him. In addition, Melk'isēt' as a kat'oghikos was [216] more generous with money and other gifts to the notables, soldiers and their followers [than Dawit']. That is why the khan and all others wanted Melk'isēt' and not Dawit'.

During the time when the Ottoman *sardar*, named Ok'uz-Ahmed Pasha,¹ attacked the Erevan fortress, the shah, in order to support the fortress, came to Erevan and camped in the Gaṙni mountains. When the *sardar* left Erevan and returned to Erzurum, the shah remained in the mountainous district. Kat'oghikos Dawit', who was afraid that the khan may secretly kill him, and was desperate from fear, went to the shah once again, without the khan's consent, and appeared before him. When the shah asked Dawit' how he was, Dawit' replied in the foreign language, "*P'at'shahum, zankich'-ayindan mana bir ich'um su vērmatilar.*"² Zangi is the large river in Erevan that flows by the fortress. From this accusation, the Shah realized that Amir Gūna Khan did not leave Dawit' in peace and did not recognize him as kat'oghikos. He also realized that the khan did not recognize Dawit' because of Melk'isēt'. That is why the shah was not angry with the khan and, in fact, showed him preference. But he flared up in anger against Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', for he also learned that Melk'isēt' was free in Isfahan and was leading the [Armenian] people as their kat'oghikos, without the shah's permission. Therefore, he ordered that troops be armed and sent to Isfahan, in order for them to seize Melk'isēt' and bring him bound to the shah. They immediately dispatched a government servant, named Ch'ark'az (Cherkes) Ibrahim, who went to the city of Isfahan, but did not find Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', [217] for the latter had gone to the Gandiman district. Cherkes Ibrahim also went to Gandiman and found the kat'oghikos in the village of K'at'ak. He seized and bound him, brought him to

¹ He was actually the grand vizier Öküz Mehmed Pasha, AA, 1119.

² The language spoken is once again the Turkish dialect of Persian Azarbaijan. It translates as, "My Sovereign, they did not even give me a drop of water from the Zangi River." As noted, the Safavid kings and many of the Persian officers spoke both Persian and the above Turkic dialect.

Isfahan, and from there, to the shah, who was at that time in Vayots' Dzor, that is, Eghegnadzor.¹ Cherkes Ibrahim brought Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' to the shah's camp and presented him to the shah. The shah, however, did not judge Melk'isēt', but left him in shackles and went from Vayots' Dzor to Nakhichevan.

Until the arrival of Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', Kat'oghikos Dawit' was at the shah's camp, but when Kat'oghikos Dawit' saw that the shah neglected Melk'isēt' and left him in shackles, he realized in his heart that *the great disdain*² would last for many days; he therefore decided to give up the rank of kat'oghikos and go to Isfahan. He went to the shah and asked his permission to go to Isfahan. The shah gave his consent, and Kat'oghikos Dawit' went to Isfahan and lived there in solitude, for the shah had granted him the village of Fr̄ngikan in the district of Jghakhor for his livelihood and he enjoyed the income from that village and prayed for the shah's long life. He thus went to Isfahan and lived there, while Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' remained shackled in chains in the shah's camp.

Leaving Nakhichevan, the shah went to the town of Agulis. There he ordered a martyr's death for the *k'ahana tēr* Andrēas,³ arrested and bound Vardapet Movsēs [218] and Vardapet Pōghos, *took them both*,⁴ bound them, and demanded a fine of 300 *tumāns*. They paid the fine and were freed.⁵

In the same manner that the shah had arrested *vardapets* Movsēs and Pōghos and had taken 300 *tumāns* in fines, he also kept Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' and demanded 300 *tumāns* in fines for the following three major offenses. First: for the relics of the saintly maiden Hrip'simē, which the Franks had removed with Melk'isēt''s permission; many said that they had bribed him and *Melk'isēt'*⁶ had agreed. Second: for his return after the great exile; since he had returned to Ējmiatsin without the shah's permission. He had also ruled the kat'oghikosate without the shah's permission. Third: when the shah deprived Melk'isēt' of the rank of kat'oghikos and sent him to Isfahan, he ordered that Melk'isēt' remain under house arrest, but Melk'isēt' remained free and administered the kat'oghikosate, also

¹ Refers to the region above Nakhichevan and Siwnik'.

² Absent from A.

³ See Chapter 27.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

without the shah's permission. Because of these crimes, the shah seized Melk'isēt' and wanted to kill him, but due to Amir Gūna Khan's intercession he spared him and did not kill him. But he demanded 300 *tumāns* and thus kept him tied in iron shackles until he paid it; then he could go somewhere else, to compose himself, and to keep away from the kat'oghikosate.

Leaving Agulis, the shah went to Danghi. From Nakhichevan until Isfahan, Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' was bound [219] and thus traveled along with the sovereign's entourage. Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' wrote two or three 'arz (petitions) to the shah, where he described his torments, saying that he found himself in a terrible state, and begged the king to end his suffering, and *either*¹ kill him or forgive him. The shah replied, through Esfandiār Beg, "I shall not kill or release him, but keep him in this state until he dies and is freed from this state, or he gives 300 *tumāns*, as I have ordered, and buys his freedom."

It was then that distinguished men and counselors at the court, as well as foreigners, such as Esfandiār Beg, Oghurlu Beg, and many others, together with Christian notables, who were *Khoja* Nazar, *Khoja* Sult'anum, Mirveli (Mir Veli), Melik Haykaz, and many others, told Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', "Your situation has become untenable; therefore, you have to give the money and rid yourself from him [the shah]."

Thus the whole thing revolved around a *muqata'a* of 100 *tumāns*. Up to now my account was from a single version. That is why I wrote without wavering. Now the story splits into two versions and the widening of the account causes me problems. Since there is no one who can verify it, I have to write both versions. Some of the chroniclers—and there were many of them—say that Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' was an enemy of Kat'oghikos Dawit' and perpetually opposed him. He competed with him and tried to seize Dawit''s authority. He did not permit him to live [220] peacefully and quietly. That is why he took the heavy tax upon himself, so that Kat'oghikos Dawit', because of the large tax [imposed on the Church], would not continue to act as the primary patriarch, but would get upset and resign. After his resignation, Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' could then begin to rule the kat'oghikosate without hindrance. That is why Melk'isēt' wrote an 'arz to the shah, stating, "If the sovereign would honor us with his beneficence, and would grant us the rank of kat'oghikos, we shall give 100 *tumāns* annually to the *divan* for the salary of the

¹ Absent from A and D.

royal *ḡulams*.” The shah, seeing a great deal of profit, accepted Melk'isēt's proposal. He carried out his wish and gave him the authority of a kat'oghikos, with a royal decree affixed with the royal seal. Melk'isēt thus traveled throughout the land and reigned as the kat'oghikos of all the Armenian people, while Kat'oghikos Dawit remained on the side, hated by his rival, and like a beast locked in a cage, waited and wished for an opportune moment.

Thus, as I stated previously, our narrative splits into two versions. What I have written is one version, which was recounted to me by certain people, and there were many of them. Other men said that the shah imposed the fine of 300 *tumāns* on Melk'isēt and that Melk'isēt could not pay it. Seeing himself in an untenable position, he was forced, willingly or unwillingly, to agree to pay it. He, therefore, wrote and sent a document, which stated:

“Your Highness has ordered that I pay 300 *tumāns*. I must pay [221] 300 *tumāns*, but I shall pay the sum in three years—I shall pay 100 *tumāns* every year for three years and pay it in full, for I cannot pay it in one year.” The shah took the writ of Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt, released him, and gave him a decree and the rank of kat'oghikos. But in the main *daftar* (ledger) of the *divan*, the shah did not record what was in the kat'oghikos' document, that is, “I shall pay 300 *tumāns* and not a penny more,” but the following, “Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt asked for the rank of kat'oghikos of Ējmiatsin and promised to pay a *muqata'a* of 100 *tumāns* to the royal *divan*. We therefore granted him the rank of kat'oghikos, so that he would rule as such.” No one knew that the shah had written this, neither the kat'oghikos, nor anyone among the Armenians. When they found out, no one could do anything about it, for it was impossible to destroy the decree of such a great king or to erase from the rolls of the *divan's* *daftar*s that which was recorded there. This part is what was related to me by the second group, which was confided [to me] by certain men. You, the reader, believe the version you like, or one of the accounts that is acceptable to your mind.

Thus, in this way or that, a *muqata'a* of 100 *tumāns* was definitely imposed on Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt, which he paid year after year. Because of him, a *muqata'a* was imposed on the Holy See of Ējmiatsin and the See fell into bondage. This was unjust and unwarranted and was a difficult time, an unbearable and permanent yoke for the Holy See of Ējmiatsin [222] as well as an inconsolable sorrow and an uncontrollable grief for all Armenians—clergy and laymen.

After obtaining his freedom from bondage and receiving the authority of a Kat'oghikos, Melk'isēt' spent a great deal of energy to rid himself from the promised tax and tried to pay it. He began to travel all over Armenian lands, with the intention of collecting [the money]. He first went to Tiflis, from there to Tabriz, and then to Isfahan.

When a year passed, the shah remembered and did not forget about it [the money]. Therefore, he sent four of his commanders from among his servants to Melk'isēt'. They were Zial [Zal] Beg, Asat' [Asad] Beg, Chragh [Cherāḡ] Beg and Bahram Beg,¹ who asked for the *muqata'a*, which was promised to be paid to the *divan* for the salary of the shah's *ḡulams*. This was a calamity, a great misfortune, and an inescapable yoke for the kat'oghikos, for the already heavy burden became heavier. There was no ready cash on hand to pay the *ḡulams*; therefore, the *ḡulams*, together with their servants and animals, became a burden to the kat'oghikos, and took everything they needed from him—provisions and other necessities.

Because of the king's *muqata'a*, and due to the demands of the *ḡulams*, the kat'oghikos traveled throughout the Armenian lands. Wherever the kat'oghikos went, the *ḡulams* followed and burdened the people with various demands for themselves and their animals. They always wanted wine on the table [223], and the cost for maintaining them was not low, and they had plenty of time to get intoxicated.

During the wanderings of the kat'oghikos throughout the land, wherever he was entitled an income by law, he took it, and when it was not enough to cover his expenses as well as those of the *ḡulams* and the *muqata'a*, he then seized innocent people, who were totally without guilt or sin, be they bishops, *abegha*, *erēts'*, or layman. He denounced them, took money from them, and handed them over to the soldier-*ḡulams*, who then hanged them from their feet and beat them with rods [see *falak*] before taking, as they intended, money from them and then releasing them.

In this manner he introduced all sorts of disorders and illegal acts among the Armenians. Unworthy bishops and *k'ahana* were ordained by giving bribes. Bribes caused the removal of the jurisdiction of one monastery and the transfer of it to another. Minors, sinners, those separated, and those with a wife were permitted to openly marry. The kat'oghikos and his bishops committed many

¹ It may refer to Zāl Beg Gorji, Asad Beg Tabrizi, and Cherāḡh Solṭān.

similar outrages. They tried with all their strength to gather, legally or illegally, funds to at least cover their own expenses and those of the *ğulams*, and to pay the *muqata'a*. But their plan did not succeed, for they thought to accomplish their task not with the help of God, but with the aid of man's reason. It was, therefore, not accomplished. For, according to the psalm, "Unless the Lord builds the house, those who build it labor in vain."¹

Nevertheless the kat'oghikos did not tire and did not cease [224] his wanderings, so that he could somehow pay the promised sum. He therefore left Isfahan, went to Farahabad, from there to Nakhichevan, and then returned to Isfahan again. After that, since he had many troubles, for the *ğulams* pestered the kat'oghikos and demanded money from him, he informed the shah through a petition about his sorrows. But the shah scorned the words of the kat'oghikos so that he fell into despair and frenzy. He then went, prostrated himself by the shah's stable² and informed the shah that he had already paid 800 *tumāns* and could not pay any more. The shah said, "I shall not forgo even one penny from the 100-*tumān muqata'a*. I would seek it even if only one old [Armenian] widow remained." Melk'isēt' then left Isfahan and went to Erevan and Ējmiatsin. The shah's *ğulams* accompanied the kat'oghikos. They demanded their *tonlugh*,³ which, by the shah's order, had to be paid to them from the 100-*tumān muqata'a*. The *ğulams* accompanied the kat'oghikos wherever he went. They harassed the people with their demands and needs; their squandering and extravagance destroyed the people's property. This was a great calamity for the people, for they [the *ğulams*] lived a wasteful and licentious life. Everyone became fed up and distanced the kat'oghikos and his followers from their hearts. For, they illegally and without any reason, with the help of a foreign power, like tax-farmers, had oppressed the people and had robbed and ravaged the public illegally. No matter how they gathered the money—legally or by robbing—it was not [225] enough to cover their expenses. Therefore, to cover the most necessary needs, as well as the demands of the *ğulams*, they were forced to go to moneylenders and take money from them at high interest rates. More often they

¹ Psalm 127.1.

² Text reads *t'avlē*, from the Persian *ṭavile*.

³ From the Turkish *donluk* (money given to soldiers for clothing and provisions).

took from foreigners, rather than Christians, for the Christians did not trust them and did not lend them money.

Hence, the sums borrowed began to grow from both ends; first from the 100 *tumāns* for the *muqata'a*, which they could not repay and which grew year after year and reached 600 *tumāns*. Second, from the money borrowed from moneylenders for their own needs as well as the needs of the *ḡulams*.

Thus, because of the growing debt and other misfortunes, which the kat'oghikos endured, as well as the lack of recognition on the part of the Armenian people, he decided to give up his rank and transfer his authority, as well as the debt, to someone else. Therefore, he told *Vardapet Movsēs*, who at that time lived in Erevan, by the tomb of the holy apostle Anania, which is on the outskirts of town, "You see that the Armenian people, old and young, have turned away from me; they love and recognize you. Moreover, *I am*¹ old and am in arrears to the treasury and it increases daily. I entrust the Holy See of *Ējmiatsin* and the *kat'oghikosate*² to you. Rule over the *kat'oghikosate* from now on, for you have earned it. Give me an annual allowance and let me go to one of your monasteries to live the rest of my days in solitude." But *Vardapet Movsēs* did not agree and refused the offer.

Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' had a nephew, [226] named Sahak, whom he had consecrated a bishop and who served at his side. Sahak said the following to Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', "The *kat'oghikosate* belongs to you; if you want to rule over it, continue to do so. If you do not want to, why are you handing it to someone else, and not me, your heir and son?" These words and [pressure from] his friends convinced the Kat'oghikos. Melk'isēt' bowed to the persuasion of Sahak and his friends, took Sahak to *Ējmiatsin*, and on Sunday of the holy Archangels,³ blessed him as kat'oghikos.⁴ He took him to Ere-

¹ Absent from F.

² Absent from A and D.

³ The holiday of the Holy Archangels Gabriel and Michael is celebrated on a Saturday in November. According to Brosset, it fell between November 5-11, on the perpetual Armenian calendar, *MB*, 378.

⁴ He was another co-kat'oghikos and not listed among the official kat'oghikoi of *Ējmiatsin*. Brosset, *MB* 378, citing *Shahkhat'üneants*, gives 1624 as the date of Sahak's consecration, H. *Shahkhat'üneants*, *Storagrut'iwn kat'oghike Ējmiatsni ew hing gawaṙats'n Araratia*, 2 vols. (Vagharshapat, 1842).

van and informed all the people of this. He also wrote a *kondak*,¹ gave it to Kat'oghikos Sahak and proclaimed, "Let it be known to all the Armenian people that I am old and feeble; hence I have resigned from the patriarchal seat, have blessed my son Sahak as the kat'oghikos, and have installed him on the throne of the Holy See of Ējmiatsin. Thus, anyone who is obedient to us and desires our benediction must graciously obey his orders." In this manner Melk'isēt' proclaimed Sahak as the kat'oghikos before all the Armenian people, in front of the *vardapets* and bishops. He also took him to Amir Gūna Khan, presented him and said that he had given him the rank of kat'oghikos. The khan agreed as well, and the kat'oghikos asked the khan to write to the shah, so that the shah would affirm his rank as kat'oghikos. Melk'isēt' himself wrote a letter petitioning the shah and saying that he was old [227] and was not able to administer the kat'oghikosate. He added that this was his son and requested that the shah affirm his rank.

After all this *was accomplished*,² Sahak was confirmed as kat'oghikos, received the decree from Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' and Amir Gūna Khan and began to run the kat'oghikosate. The shah's *ḡulams* now gathered around Kat'oghikos Sahak and traveled along with him.

After several days, Sahak took the decrees of Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' and Amir Gūna Khan and traveled to the court of the shah to receive the royal confirmation of his rank.

Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' remained in Ējmiatsin. The creditors stringently demanded that he return the loans. They came every day, warned him, bothered him and demanded the money, but he did not have anything to give, no one to trust him or to pay the interest, and nothing to rely on. That is why he took and pawned all the remaining utensils at holy Ējmiatsin, whatever there was, as well as the right arm of Patriarch Aristakēs, the son of St. Gregory, our Illuminator, and the right arm of St. Step'anos from the cloister of Aghjots'-vank'. Everything that I have written he took and pawned to the foreign Muslims. He took the money and gave it to the creditors and sent them away in this manner.

After that, Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' began to fear that other creditors might come and demand their money. He was also concerned about the royal *muqaṭa'a*—for in his heart he knew that he could not

¹ Refers to an encyclical.

² Absent from D.

pay it. Due to *other*¹ unpleasantness [228] hanging over him, he decided to secretly escape somewhere. Therefore, one evening, under the pretext of going to Erevan, together with one servant, he left Ējmiatsin and when he had gone halfway, turned the horse around straight to the land of [Chukhur] Sa'd, which was located on the other side of the Arax River in the direction of Koghb. From there he went to Kağizman and from there to Erzurum. In this secret manner and by out-of-the-way roads, Melk'isēt' escaped to one of the provinces of the land of the Ottomans. He left the city of Karin [Erzurum], traveled slowly and reached the great city of Constantinople. But the population and the *vardapets* there for some reason did not recognize him either. He then left there and went to the city of Ilov (Lvov).² The people of the city of Lvov received him honorably and with great solemnity. He did not remain there long and joined his forefathers in the year 1075 (1626)³ of our calendar and was interned there.⁴ But while he was alive he consecrated as bishop a man named Nikol, a native of the same city of Lvov. Sometime later, this Nikol caused many problems for the people,⁵ the details of which you shall learn from the narrative that I will relate later.⁶

¹ Absent from A and D.

² The city is also known as Lemberg, capital of Austrian/Polish Galicia.

³ In Chapter 28 Arak'el states that he died on the day of the remembrance of the raising of Lazarus (Saturday prior to Palm Sunday) which he records as April 1, 1626.

⁴ Brosset writes that the date should read 1077 (1628), for both M. Ch'amch'ean, *Patmut'iwn hayots'*, III (Venice, 1786), 599 and Shahkhat' - uneants' have recorded that date, *MB*, 379.

⁵ Pingiryan blames Melk'isēt' for the destruction of the Armenian communities in that region. See G. P. Pingiryan, "'Istoriia' Arakela Davrizhetsi i ee istochniki ob antiunitanskom dvizhenii v armianskikh koloniiakh na Ukraine v 20-50-kh gg. XVII v." in *Sbornik: Istoricheskie sviazi i družba ukrainskogo i armianskogo narodov* (Erevan, 1971).

⁶ See Chapters 28-29.

[229] Chapter 19

On the history of the reign and flight of Kat'oghikos Sahak

As I mentioned above, Sahak received the rank of kat'oghikos, together with the petitions of Melk'isēt' and Amir Gūna Khan to the shah. Amir Gūna Khan wrote an additional letter to his son Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan, who was always at the side of the shah, for he was the *mohrdār*¹ of the shah. This was the same Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan, who by the shah's order removed the stones of Ējmiatsin and sent them to Isfahan. At that time he was in the service of the shah. Amir Gūna Khan wrote to him, asking him to present Sahak to the king, inform the shah about his request and ask the sovereign to grant him the rank of kat'oghikos. Sahak took these letters and went to Farahabad, for the shah was there at that time. When saw Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan, he was reassured by him, and was told [230] "Do not worry, whatever you ask the king will be granted." Several days later, Sahak was presented to the shah. The shah inquired about him, read the decrees of Amir Gūna Khan and Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', and also learned that Sahak was Melk'isēt''s nephew. In addition, Sahak, in accordance with his means, gave some gifts to the shah, including a noble horse. When they brought Sahak's offerings, the king asked if Sahak would take upon himself the remaining part of the debt, which Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' had yet to pay. Sahak agreed to pay it and the king was thus pleased, agreed to his request and made him the kat'oghikos. He said, "I congratulate you on your rank of patriarch." He also gave Sahak the horse and the gifts brought by the latter. The shah ordered that a *raqam* be written and it was written, but he did not have time to seal and record it,² for the king and his *karkhane*³ had left Farahabad and gone to Qazvin. At

¹ Refers to the "Keeper of the Seal." In Shah 'Abbās' time there were two such officials. One kept the great, the other the small seal. Ṭahmāsp-qoli held the latter post. According to Floor, the increased use of the *raqam*, affixed with the royal seal, reduced the importance of the *mohrdārs*, although they kept the right to put their seal on the backside of the document and collect a fee; Floor, *Safavid Government Institutions*, 69-70.

² Text reads *safi* from the Arabic *zabt* (treasurer); that is, record it with the treasurer. The term later applied to the government registry.

³ Could refer to the Persian *karkh-khāne* (house of habitation, household), or the Persian *kār-khāne* (royal workshop or royal baggage train). See Floor, *Persian Textile Industry*, 83.

that time Sahak began to collect the *nuirak* dues and Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan told Sahak, "Give me the *raqam*, I shall take it and have the seal affixed to it. You stay in Farahabad and collect your dues. Come later and I shall give you [the *raqam*]." Sahak did as asked and remained in Farahabad. Ṭahmāsp-qoli took the *raqam* with him to Qazvin. But the shah, together with his entourage, had gone to Soltāniye, then to Ardabil, and from there, once again back to Soltāniye. Even before Sahak gathered the dues in [231] Farahabad and went to Soltāniye, Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan went on to Erevan, for Amir Gūna Khan had fallen sick from the wound he had received in his battle with the Georgians.¹ That is why Ṭahmāsp-qoli was dispatched to Erevan to rule the land. After the departure of Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan, Sahak arrived in Soltāniye and, not finding Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan, began to inquire of his servants specifically about the *raqam*, but they replied that they knew nothing about it.

Kat'oghikos Sahak was in an untenable situation because of the *raqam*. He was forced by misfortune to once again present a petition to the shah. Using an excuse he said, "I was sick and I lost the decree." But the shah said, "Go to the *divan-begi*."² The *divan-begi* was a mercenary and responded rudely to Sahak until he satisfied his mercenary appetite; he then wrote a new *raqam* but did not put a seal on it. While all this was taking place, the king once again gathered his troops and went to Baghdad.³ Sahak followed him and, since the high officials did not carry out Sahak's request, he was forced to, once more, present a petition to the shah. The shah said, "I have already given you the caliphate *raqam*." Sahak replied, "Yes, sovereign, you gave it, but the *raqam* is not valid. They demand a great deal of money, but I have no means to pay it. They tarry and do not affix the seal or register it." The shah then called one of his staff-holding⁴ servants and said, "Today you shall finish the entire affair dealing with the *raqam* and hand it to him tomorrow." By the king's order the soldier took care of all the necessary items dealing with the decree and gave the *raqam* to Kat'oghikos Sahak. Sahak took the decree and went [232] to the Julfans in Isfahan, but the Julfans did

¹ Refers to the battle of Gumeshlu (Marabda), which occurred on June 30, 1625. Amir Gūna Khan died soon after and his son Ṭahmāsp-qoli was named khan and the governor of Erevan (1625-1635). See ZK, 43-44.

² Refers to the head of the *divan*.

³ The shah went to Baghdad in 1623 and returned in 1625.

⁴ Text reads *p'aytakal tsaray*, the *eli-aghachli* (staff bearers).

not recognize him; they not only refused to give the *nuirak* dues, but also refused to accord him any respect.

Kat'oghikos Dawit' was in Isfahan at that time. The Julfans told him, "We do not wish that Sahak be the kat'oghikos, we want you. Go to the shah's court and get the rank of kat'oghikos. We shall pay all the expenses." Kat'oghikos Dawit' yielded and prepared to go to the shah's court in Baghdad. Kat'oghikos Sahak learned of this and also prepared to go to the shah's court, to witness the resolution of this affair. Sahak spoke about this with Dawit' and asked why he was spreading opposition and ill will. Dawit' thought of a pretext and said, "I am going not because of a disagreement with you, but for my own affairs. From the *ch'ut'luk*¹ (*çiftlik*),² which was given to me by the shah, a certain powerful man is forcibly collecting taxes for himself; that is why I am going to the shah's court, to receive a decree to free the *çiftlik*."

When they reached Baghdad, Sahak went and presented himself to the shah first. When the shah inquired what he wanted, Sahak said, "They did not recognize the shah's decree." The shah asked, "Who?" Fear prevented Sahak from mentioning the name, but he said, "The king knows who he is." The shah understood that it was *Khoja* Nazar. He therefore said, "I know. It is the despondent³ one." The shah called *Khoja* Nazar in this manner. A few days later, Kat'oghikos Dawit' presented himself to the shah, but he did not mention a word about the rank of kat'oghikos, for deep in his heart he felt [233] that nothing would come of it; *he therefore did not say anything about it*.⁴ He spoke about the *çiftlik* and received a decree for its control and its exemption from state taxes. After that,

¹ Upper case in F. Khanlaryan, who primarily used F for the Russian translation, assumed it was a name of a village, *KH*, 195.

² The term is formed from the Persian *juft* (pair) and the Turkish suffix of *lik*. It was a unit of agricultural land (originally the amount of land that could be ploughed by two oxen) given to the *ra'iyats*, on which they paid the *'ushr* tax. *Çiftlik*s were also given to the military commanders who took possession of them and collected taxes from the peasants. The *çiftlik* in question was on *waqf* (religious endowment) land belonging to the Armenian Church. For more details, see *Encyclopædia of Islam* (New Edition), II (Leiden, 1983), 32-33.

³ Text read *k'or*, "blind" in Armenian. There is no record that *Khoja* Nazar was blind. It is more probable that the term refers to the Persian *khwār* (contemptible, wretched, friendless).

⁴ Absent from A and D.

Kat'oghikos Sahak and Kat'oghikos Dawit' left Baghdad and once again arrived in Isfahan. But the Julfans did not recognize Kat'oghikos Sahak this time either. Following the departure of both kat'oghikoi from Baghdad, the shah, after several days, moved from Baghdad and went to Farahabad.

A year earlier the shah had summoned *Vardapet* Movsēs to Baghdad,¹ had questioned him and learned about bleaching wax. After that, he assigned three of his servants to study with him and ordered, "Go to Isfahan, teach your knowledge to my servants, and bring them back to me wherever I may be." *Vardapet* Movsēs went to Isfahan, taught the servants, and bleached much wax to its whitest color. When he heard that the shah had gone to Farahabad, he went there, taking with him the white wax and the trained servants, and presented them to the king.² When the king saw the whitened wax, so clear and pleasant, and noticed how easily it flowed too, he was greatly pleased and most content. He was especially happy and rejoiced animatedly that his servants had learned the art.

After several days, it was the great holiday of the Nativity of Christ,³ our Lord. In those days *Khoja* Nazar of Julfa [234] was also in Farahabad. The shah ordered *Khoja* Nazar to instruct the *vardapet* to prepare the blessing of the water with great care, so that everything would be solemn and festive. The day of the feast, when *Vardapet* Movsēs came to the river to bless the water, he wore a suitable robe and conducted the ceremony in a perfect manner. Everything pleased the king greatly and he was delighted with Movsēs. We have to know that all of this took place thanks to God the Almighty, who holds the hearts of all kings in his hand, and was not because of Movsēs' delightful ceremony. In addition, *Khoja* Nazar also told the shah many good things about *Vardapet* Movsēs. The shah asked *Khoja* Nazar, "What is the *vardapet's* most inner wish, so that we can fulfill it? Is it gold, silver, or something else? [I shall give him] whatever he wants." But the *vardapet* did not want anything and said, "I have no needs in this worldly life, for my God provides it daily."

After several days *Khoja* Nazar told the king, "It would be very nice if you make him the sacristan of Ējmiatsin, for he has asked for

¹ This occurred in 1623.

² According to Khanlaryan, Movsēs created a candle-making plant in Isfahan in 1624, *KHcr*, 511.

³ In the year of 1625.

it himself as well." With God's assistance the king granted that wish, wrote a *raqam*¹ and gave it to *Vardapet Movsēs*. *Vardapet Movsēs* left Farahabad and went to *Ējmiatsin*.²

Kat'oghikos Sahak,³ however, was in Isfahan. He heard that *Vardapet Movsēs* had become the sacristan of *Ējmiatsin*. He left there and went to the shah's court at Farahabad. He presented himself to [235] the *divan-begi*, told him about his apprehensions, and said, "You have done an injustice to me by handing *Ējmiatsin* over to *Movsēs*." The *divan-begi* replied, "Although we gave him *Ējmiatsin*, we made him a sexton and not a *kat'oghikos*; the rank of *kat'oghikos* belongs to you and the duties of a sacristan to him; you manage yours and he his." *Sahak* went to the doors of many notables but did not accomplish anything. Realizing that there was no help, he left Farahabad and went to Tabriz. The shah's *ġulams*, who demanded the 100 *tumāns* of the *muqata'a*, also came with *Sahak*. He left Tabriz with them and went to the province of *Khoy*.

Sahak reflected and realized that the entire Armenian people had drawn away from him and thus the throne of *Ējmiatsin* was handed over to *Vardapet Movsēs*. The *muqata'a* of 100 *tumāns* remained in arrears year after year until it had reached 800 *tumāns* and continued to increase daily. *Sahak* knew well that there was no way out except flight. That is why he came to *Khoy*, for he wanted to secretly escape from the *ġulams* to the land of the Ottomans, to the city of *Van*, which was under the Ottoman rule.

While *Sahak* reflected about this plan and ways to implement it, some of his old friends, such as Bishop *Manuēl* of *Khor Virap* and Bishop *Mkṛtich'* from *Hawuts' T'ar*, and other inhabitants, who lived in the *Erevan* province, sent a reassuring letter to *Sahak* in *Khoy*, telling him, "Do not be afraid, come to the city of *Erevan*, for *Tahmāsp-qoli Khan* is favorably disposed towards you, and we all think like you. Therefore, come [236] here to us and we shall decide what to do." Inspired by these reassuring words, *Kat'oghikos Sahak* did not flee, but went to *Erevan*. The shah's *ġulams* went with him. While he was traversing the country, going here and there, no one recognized him as *kat'oghikos* and did not look at his face, to the

¹ The *raqam*, dated *Jomādā I*, 1036 (January 18-February 16, 1627), was kept in the archives of the *kat'oghikosate* at *Ējmiatsin* and was later transferred to the *Matenadaran Archives*; see *HP*, doc. 18.

² This occurred in the year 1627.

³ Absent from **A** and **D**.

point that he was even refused superficial hospitality. The *ḡulams* harassed him constantly, saying, "Pay the king's debt and give us our *donluk*." Realizing that he had nothing, he despaired of everything and became gloomy. That is why he seriously thought of a way to save himself and flee.

The feast of Epiphany was approaching,¹ a feast which *Vardapet Movsēs* observed annually with many people and with a great and magnificent ceremony. *Vardapet Movsēs*, *Kat'oghikos Sahak*, and the shah's *ḡulams* were all in the city of Erevan. *Sahak* came to the *ḡulams* and said, "The khan has ordered the observance of the feast of blessing the waters with all possible solemnity. That is why *Vardapet Movsēs* has ordered me to go to *Ējmiatsin* and bring the appropriate and ancient vessels, which we have hidden in secret places, to observe the feast." He said this and convinced them to permit him to depart. They believed him and let him go.

But *Sahak*, who had a superb horse, a gift from the shah, mounted it and led it to the *Ējmiatsin* road, as if he was going to *Ējmiatsin* to bring the utensils. When he reached midway, he changed into the clothes [237] of a soldier, turned the horse around and went to the outskirts of the city of *Nakhichevan*. When he spurred the swift, mighty and proud horse, it carried him not on the ground, but through the sky, on the wings of clouds, right up to the border of *Nakhichevan*. He arrived at the pier in the village of *Darashamb* and went across the *Arax River* by boat, to *Ch'ors*; from there he went to *Khoy*, and then to the city of *Van*. *Kat'oghikos Sahak* escaped in this manner, was saved from the hands of the *ḡulams*, and went within the borders of the land of the *Ottomans*.

Later, the shah's *ḡulams* learned of *Sahak's* flight. They came to *Vardapet Movsēs* and asked, "Did you send *Sahak* to *Ējmiatsin* to bring the vessels?" *Movsēs* replied, "I have not seen *Sahak* and did not send him anywhere; he fooled you with false words and fled." Although the *ḡulams* tried everything, went to the khan, the sheikh [ul-Islam], the [chief] judge, and even appeared before *Vardapet Movsēs*, they could not demand the funds due from *Vardapet Movsēs*. After dashing everywhere they turned and went back home.

That is it.²

¹ January 1628.

² The 1884 and 1896 editions add that manuscript C has the following at the end of this chapter: "I ate the bitter [fruit] and drank the bitter gall, but it

[238] Chapter 20

On the opposition raised by Kat'oghikos Sahak to Kat'oghikos Movsēs and the Holy See of Ējmiatsin

After the flight of Kat'oghikos Sahak into the Ottoman realm, the Persian Shah 'Abbās, who had imposed the 100-*tumān*¹ [*muqata'a*] on the kat'oghikoi, died,² and his grandson Shahsēfi (Şafī) was named ruler in place of Shah 'Abbās.

However, all the Armenians—both the eastern and the western ones—constantly suffered, moaned and were tormented because of the 100-*tumān muqata'a*, which was unjustly placed on the See. They were all inconsolably chagrined, filled with inexorable sorrow, immersed in grief, and troubled. No matter how much they reflected, they could not find a way to deliver the See from such a heavy and unbearable burden. By the grace of God, they found a solution. When [239] Shah Şafī came to the throne, he was a new ruler of a young age. All the [Persian] *nakharars* and the notables were acquainted with the well-known Christian men, especially with *Khoja* Nazar, who was known to all. This *Khoja* Nazar wrote a letter from Isfahan and sent it with a speedy courier to *Vardapet* Movsēs, who was at holy Ējmiatsin at that time, instructing him to hurry to the court of the sovereign, so that maybe they would succeed in ending the *muqata'a* of 100 *tumāns*.

Vardapet Movsēs hurried to Isfahan and, through the mediation of *Khoja* Nazar, spent a large sum of money and, through great effort, barely succeeded in ending the 100-*tumān muqata'a*, which lay heavily on the kat'oghikosate. Shah Şafī ordered and signed a decree that stated, "I decline from collecting the *muqata'a* of 100 *tumāns*."

After that, the Christians asked Shah Şafī to issue a decree that affirmed *Vardapet* Movsēs as the patriarch. Then, all the Armenians—eastern and western—united and, through letters and words, made *Vardapet* Movsēs the kat'oghikos and installed him at the Holy See of Ējmiatsin.

was not as bitter as poverty. I removed the salt and the lead from it, but it was not as heavy as the debts of man."

¹ The amount was 300 *tumāns* paid in three annual installments; see Chapter 18.

² He died in his summer palace at Ashraf in Mazandaran on 24 Jomādā I, 1038 AH (January 19, 1629).

Because of Satan's intrigues, the election of *Vardapet* Movsēs as kat'oghikos did not please Kat'oghikos Sahak, for in his heart he felt that Movsēs, unjustly and through some machinations, had snatched the throne, the kat'oghikosate and the rank from his hands and had made it his own. In his heart, he constantly envied Movsēs and thus planned his revenge.

Vardapet Movsēs, who had become the kat'oghikos [240], had many friends and students. When he started the restoration of holy Ējmiatsin, he dispatched his students as *nuiraks* to collect whatever they could for the relief of the Holy See of Ējmiatsin. On his orders *Vardapet* P'ilippos, one of his students, was sent as *nuirak* to Erzurum, Baghesh and Van. When *Vardapet* P'ilippos was in the city of Van, he found Kat'oghikos Sahak wandering here and there. This was just the beginning of the opposition. *Vardapet* P'ilippos and the distinguished men, who lived in the city of Van—among them *Khoja* Amir Khan and *Khoja* T'umēn, as well as *Khoja* Shirak, *Khoja* Mirak, *Khoja* Sarukhan, *Khoja* P'olad and many others—tried to convince Kat'oghikos Sahak to renounce his opposition and hostility and not to scatter the property of Christians at the door of unbelievers for such trifles. *Vardapet* P'ilippos, with the participation of the wealthy men, agreed to give Kat'oghikos Sahak an annual subsidy of 300 *ghurush* (*kurus*) from the coffers of holy Ējmiatsin for his livelihood as long as he lived. The monastery of Ghurubash, with all its income, was promised to him so that he would settle there and live in peace. Although *Vardapet* P'ilippos and the *khojas* constantly pressed him for many days to make peace, Kat'oghikos Sahak did not agree and did not give up his evil thoughts and deeds; instead, he went to the court of the vizier to accomplish his secret wish.

When Sahak traveled among the Armenian inhabitants who lived in this or that province or city of the Ottoman realm, he found some men among the *vardapets* [241] and bishops who agreed with his intentions, one of whom was a certain *vardapet*, named Pōghos, from the kat'oghikosate of Sis.¹ He was the nephew of Kat'oghikos Hovhannēs of Sis.² Although there were many participants ready to do wretched deeds, the two main evil executors were none other than Kat'oghikos Sahak and *Vardapet* Pōghos.

¹ The Holy See, which had moved to various locations and had ended up in Cilicia, was reestablished in Ējmiatsin in 1441. However, a group of *vardapets* remained in Sis, and eventually elected their own kat'oghikos.

² Hovhannēs IV of Aintab (1602-1622).

Vardapet Pōghos went to the great city of Constantinople to *Vardapet Zak'aria*. This *Zak'aria* was a native of the Vaspurakan province, and was at that time the spiritual leader of the Armenians living in Constantinople.¹ By the sultan's decree and command, he was the prelate of the Armenians of Constantinople on behalf of the patriarchate. He was a bitter enemy of *Kat'oghikos Movsēs* and a supporter and assistant of *Kat'oghikos Sahak*. He, therefore, wrote and handed Sultan Murad,² who was in Constantinople in those days, a petition which stated, "We, the Christian Armenians, ask the sultan to give us a decree of investiture for *Kat'oghikos Sahak*, so that he will be the pastor, according to the custom of all the Christian Armenians who live within the borders of the realm of the Ottoman kingdom." The sultan accepted *Vardapet Zak'aria*'s request and gave an order with a decree conferring the rank of *kat'oghikos* on *Sahak*. *Vardapet Zak'aria* took the decree, gave it to *Vardapet Pōghos*, who took it to *Kat'oghikos Sahak*, so that he would not weaken and not cease his insidious efforts, but continue and struggle to the end. During the time when *Vardapet Zak'aria* snatched the decree from the ruler, his grand [242] vizier, the wise and proud notable named *Khosrow Pasha*, was absent. The vizier, therefore, did not know anything about this affair. It is well known to everyone that Ottoman laws and customs are such that all affairs dealing with the population and different peoples, notables, commanders, governors of provinces and districts are managed by the vizier. He gives [appoints] and takes [rescinds], that is his duty. But they [*Zak'aria* and *Pōghos*] had gone to the ruler and had obtained a decree of appointment to the rank of *kat'oghikos*, bypassing the vizier. Therefore, *Kat'oghikos Sahak* and *Vardapet Pōghos* took the above royal decree and went to the city of *Tigranakert*, that is *Amida*, to the grand vizier *Khosrow Pasha*, in order that they could obtain an order for the appointment of the *kat'oghikos* from him as well.

The devout Christian Armenians, who lived in the city of *Amida*, *Khoja Eremia*, *Khoja Makhsud*, and *Khoja Rūhijan* of *Van*, who was the vizier's confidant, and had the rank of *K'urk'ch'i Pasha*,³ as well as *Vardapet Barsegh*, the archbishop of that city, a friend of holy *Ējmiatsin* and *Kat'oghikos Movsēs*—for he was one of the students

¹ Refers to *Zak'aria I* of *Van*, the patriarch of Constantinople from 1626 to 1631.

² Refers to Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640).

³ The *kürkçi* was in charge of the sultan's robes.

of Kat'oghikos Srap'ion, about whom I wrote in the chapter about Srap'ion¹—and many other wealthy men and *vardapets*, supporters of holy Ējmiatsin, gathered in the city of Amida and tried to prevent the evil plan of Kat'oghikos Sahak.

Kat'oghikos Sahak and all his partisans decided the following among themselves: Kat'oghikos Sahak would receive the authority of kat'oghikos from the vizier and then he would go to the monastery of St. Karapet in Mush,² create a seat there, bless the *meron* there and distribute it to all the Armenian population living [243] under the Ottoman rule. He would thus detach and seize the time-immemorial jurisdiction from holy Ējmiatsin and submit it forcibly to himself by virtue of the authority of the sultan. He would expel the *nuirak* and abolish the authority of Ējmiatsin.

All the Christians—clergy and laymen—visited Kat'oghikos Sahak for many days and begged and implored him not to push the unfortunate Armenian people into the jaws of foreign aggressors and beasts in human form. They promised Kat'oghikos Sahak that any monastery or city that was to his liking, together with its income and diocese, would be given to him for life and that Ējmiatsin's *nuiraks* would not enter it. In addition to this, the *nuirak* of Ējmiatsin would give Kat'oghikos Sahak 500 *kuruş* (piasters) annually for daily expenses. They tried and refined their arguments for a long time. They pleaded with Kat'oghikos Sahak and *Vardapet* Pōghos to make peace, but they did not reconcile.

Kat'oghikos Movsēs, residing at Ējmiatsin, and *Vardapet* P'lippos, who was still in Van, each wrote to Kat'oghikos Sahak, begging him to end the hostilities. They sent the letters with noted men. They also wrote to their friends, hoping that they would change Sahak's mind toward reconciliation and give in to his whims, whatever they were.

However, Kat'oghikos Sahak and *Vardapet* Pōghos refused to listen to them. Instead they wrote their own petition and gave it to the vizier through Yağub Pasha [244]. The content of the petition was as follows: "Let it be known to you, the mightiest man of the great and invincible state, that we ask you to bestow upon us the authority of the kat'oghikos over the Armenian people. If it pleases Your Excellency and you install us in this post, we shall send 10,000 *kuruş*

¹ See Chapter 2.

² St. Karapet (also known as Glaka-vank') is considered to be the oldest monastery in Armenia.

annually to the royal treasury. We have asked the sultan to give us the said decree; he has granted it and we have it in our possession. We now ask the same from your excellency so that, thanks to your patronage, our efforts will come true." Yağub Pasha gave the petition to the vizier, who was disposed to the idea, but did not comment verbally.

The next day the supporters of Ējmiatsin also wrote a petition and gave it to the vizier at the proper time. The petition read as follows: "We ask you, the mightiest man of the most peace-loving and most powerful state, not to hand our misfortunate and poor people into their hands, for they, because of their ambition and greed, will place heavy taxes on the poor *ra'iyats*, which will add more to the already great obligation for our people and will be a great sin for those who impose it." The vizier, after reading the petition, answered the men who had presented it and said, "You stupid Armenians, why shouldn't I give them the rank of *kat'oghikos*, if they hand 10,000 *kuruş* annually to the royal treasury?" *Khoja* Rūhijan, thanks to his devotion, boldly spoke to the vizier and said, "My venerable master, if you are selling the poor and unfortunate Armenian people to them for money, [245] sell them to me. I shall pay 20,000 *kuruş* instead of 10,000 *kuruş*."

After Rūhijan's declaration, the Almighty God, who, according to Solomon,¹ holds the hearts of all the kings and princes in his hand, opened the mind of the vizier. He now inquired about the affair in detail and *Khoja* Rūhijan told him everything that could be told. In order to arouse the feeling of envy and anger in the heart of the vizier, he also reminded him and said, "All Ottoman commanders, notables, governors of provinces and districts bow to your authority. They come to you, ask and receive titles and positions; but they bypassed you, went to the sultan, and received the rank of *kat'oghikos* from him." After the *khoja* had finished his comments, they were excused and left.

During the days when the vizier presided in the court amidst a large gathering and conducted the court of justice, Yağub Pasha, the former mediator and manager of the affairs of *Kat'oghikos Sahak*, brought *Kat'oghikos Sahak* and *Vardapet Pōghos* to the gathering and presented them to the vizier.

¹ Proverbs 21.1: "The king's heart is a stream of water in the hand of the Lord; he turns it wherever he will." Arak'el uses this saying in other chapters as well.

Many men, who were on the side of Ējmiatsin, also came to that meeting. They were headed by *Khoja* Eremia, *Khoja* Makhsud, *Khoja* Rūhijan and *Vardapet* Barsegh. The vizier began to converse with Kat'oghikos Sahak and *Vardapet* Pōghos and said, "What do you wish, O people? What do you hope to receive from our court?" Sahak replied, "That which we begged of our master in the written petition." The vizier ordered that the petition be read, [246] in which it was written, "We have received the rank of kat'oghikos from the sultan and now ask you to affirm the same." The vizier asked Sahak if they had indeed received the patriarchal decree from the ruler and he replied, "Yes. We went to the sultan and received the decree." The vizier said, "When did you notify us of your request? When did we scorn you and not respond to your request, that you bypassed us, went to the king, and pestered him?" Then and there he ordered his servants and executioners to put Kat'oghikos Sahak and *Vardapet* Pōghos into a *falakha* [*falak*], to be beaten with rods until the time that they either renounced their faith and accepted the *untrue*¹ faith of Muhammad, or died by the rods. The servants of the vizier immediately carried out the order. They placed Kat'oghikos Sahak and *Vardapet* Pōghos on the *falak*, and men standing on both sides with thick poles began to beat them mercilessly. They beat them uninterruptedly and repeated, "Renounce your lecherous faith and accept ours, the true religion, and you shall be freed from torture and a bitter death; if not, we shall not cease beating you until you die."

As the stretched-up Kat'oghikos Sahak and *Vardapet* Pōghos were being beaten with rods and the soldiers were striking them hard and without mercy, hoping that they would renounce their faith from fear of torture, *Khoja* Eremia and his friends, *thinking*² that maybe they would not endure the torture and would renounce their faith and that, as a result, their [the *khojas*] conscience would bother them, and it would also be a great shame and dishonor for the Armenian people, immediately began to go everywhere to the high officials of the vizier and promised them much silver [247] if they would put in a good word to the vizier to save Kat'oghikos Sahak and *Vardapet* Pōghos. The officials interceded with the vizier in a proper way. This ended his anger and he ordered that [the Armenian clerics] be released and driven out of the *divan*. The troops freed them but

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Absent from B, C, D, E, and F.

continued to hit them on their heads and drove them out with shame from his presence.

After that, the affair of Kat'oghikos Sahak and *Vardapet Pōghos* ended. Disgrace and embarrassment fell on their heads. They were disgraced, could not look into the eyes of Christians, and, because of shame, did not show their faces in public.

Later, *Vardapet Pōghos* went to the great city of Constantinople, from there to Rumeli, and then to the land of the Poles. He lived there for some time, died there, and was buried there. Kat'oghikos Sahak also left. He traveled slowly until he reached the Karin [Erzurum] province; from there he went to Georgia, and then to Ējmiatsin in the Ararat province. He lived at the Holy See of Ējmiatsin.

As is the common fate with evil people, Kat'oghikos Sahak was afflicted with some kind of disease of the legs, and his illness became worse day after day. Because of this, both his legs became swollen. The swelling increased day after day and reached his stomach. This continued for many days and caused him great pain and terrible torment.

One day, forced by pain, Kat'oghikos Sahak asked that he be lifted and taken to the cathedral of Ējmiatsin. There he fell on the place where Christ had descended. [248] With tearful eyes, he cried bitterly and lamented for many hours. His face was on the floor and he emitted thousands of heartrending groans, begging through tearful eyes, "O Lord, my God, *my*¹ Jesus Christ. I am your condemned slave. I have sinned in body and spirit. If it pleases you that I should live, relieve me from pain and give me health; if it pleases you that I should die, send me a quick death so that I shall be freed from pain and suffering." There, in the church, he called some old bishop and confessed all his sins and offenses in the hope of cleansing himself with the Body and Blood of the Son of God. After that they lifted him and took him to the house, where he had lain sick. That same night death overtook him and he gave up his soul.² His life ended, and as he had asked, he was freed from the pangs of pain. They conducted a funeral and buried him in a grave at the cemetery. *This was the end of the lives of Kat'oghikos Sahak and Vardapet Pōghos, who the Lord Christ forgave with his characteristic endless love for mankind. Amen.*³

¹ Absent from F.

² Brosset has 1639, Shahkhat'uncants has 1633, *MB* 380.

³ Absent from A and D.

[249] Chapter 21

On the history of the virtuous men, Bishops Sargis and tēr Kirakos, who were responsible for the construction and prosperity of monasteries and churches, and the observance of all¹ monastic rules by the residents

Bishop Sargis was a native of the village of Hareni² in the Ararat province, which is near the village of Karbi of the Amberd, that is Aragats, district. Today [the village] is in ruins and uninhabited, but in the time of our ancestors the village of Hareni, *the birthplace of this Bishop Sargis*,³ was prosperous. He left there and settled in the famed cloister of Saghmosavank'.⁴ He became a brother and watched over the large number of saintly objects that were present there. After some years he became the abbot of that monastery.

There was a small village near the monastery. A certain Christian hermit from that village wandered around day after day [250] in the mountains, hunting wild animals. One day the man went to hunt on the big mountain of Aragats. During his wandering on the summit of the mountain, he met what looked like a petrified⁵ recluse with a cowl on his head and dressed in a chasuble. He was seated between the columns of the cliffs. Coming close to inquire what it was, he realized that it was indeed a man. Although dead, he had remained in a sitting position and his body had not decomposed. Seeing this, the hunter was filled with fear and horror and he could not remain in that place any longer. He turned away and went home. Returning to Saghmosavank', he told all about the death of the monk who he had seen on top of the mountain. Bishop Sargis heard this and began to inquire about the whereabouts of the man.

One day, putting his trust in God and his hope under the leadership of God, Bishop Sargis left and went to Mount Aragats. He wandered for three days here and there and found the dead monk. With great ardor and love of God, he kissed the hands and feet of the

¹ Absent from A.

² MS F reads Abeni; Brosset reads Careni, MB, 389. Khanlaryan's Russian translation has Abeni as well, KH, 207.

³ Absent from A and D. Khanlaryan has not indicated this; he has noted, in error, that the first line is absent.

⁴ This is a famous monastery in the Ashtarak region of present-day Armenia. It was founded in 1215.

⁵ Text reads *jkeal*, from *kjeal* (marble, turned to stone, petrified).

man and cried for a long time. After that, he buried him in his clothes and returned to the monastery.

This became the reason for Bishop Sargis' repentance and his renunciation of the world, for the vain and futile, corrupt and false worldly garlands became repulsive to him. From that day on, Bishop Sargis constantly sought to separate himself from the world, to retire, to follow the holy path, and practice a virtuous life. But, in those days, there were no [251] hermitages or men that knew such religious practices. The constant invasions of the enemy bandits, disorder, and the desolation of Armenia had totally obscured and eradicated even the hint of a trace of virtuous acts and good principles in the land of Armenians. Bishop Sargis, living in such uncertainty, decided to travel to the holy city of Jerusalem on a pilgrimage, to the places of the Passion of our Lord, Christ. He got up and went to *Jerusalem*.¹

At the same time, another man appeared. He was named *tēr Kirakos* and his intentions and aspirations were the same as those intentions and aspirations of Bishop Sargis. This *tēr Kirakos* was a native of the city of Trebizond. He prepared himself for a secular life, but did not taste it, for a few days after [marriage] his wife died, and he, like a chaste turtle-dove, withdrew, began to constantly reflect on God's commandments, tirelessly read holy books, and remembered their prophecies. With diligence and hard work he trained himself to a life that conformed to the instructions of the Holy Scriptures. During the time when *tēr Kirakos* was preparing his thoughts, he heard from someone about Bishop Sargis, that he too wished to resign from the world and follow a chaste life. Therefore, *tēr Kirakos* left Trebizond and went to the Ararat province, to Saghmosavank', in order to join Bishop Sargis. However, he did not succeed in seeing him, for the latter had gone to Jerusalem. That is why [*tēr Kirakos*] decided [252] to go to Jerusalem. He returned from Saghmosavank' to Trebizond, sold all his property. He gave part of it to the poor, donated his house and lands to the church in Trebizond, and took part of his money for travel expenses; he then went to Jerusalem. The two—Bishop Sargis and *tēr Kirakos*—met each other and, after several days of living together, found that their thoughts were similar and that they both had the same desire and passion. They both agreed to live together permanently.

They then began to seek a suitable and safe place for a hermitage, away from worldly vanity. They heard, from some well-informed

¹ Absent from A and D.

men, that there were many such places in the eastern part of Armenia, especially in the province of Siwnik'; that there were many hermitages in that province in the old days, traces of which were still visible. After verifying the rumors, they left Jerusalem and happily rushed to the eastern [part] of the land, to the land of Siwnik'. They reached the glorious monastery of the apostle Stat'ē,¹ which today is called the Tat'ew monastery. They lived there for some time and then went to a small town called Dzoroy Van, which is also called Ts'rovants'. After some time they went to a small town containing the monastery of T'anahat.² They then left it and went searching for a yet safer, quieter and more reliable place, until they found one where the Grand Hermitage lies today. There they constructed a church and cells, which were very small, somber and dark, as is proper for a monastery and hermitage, in particular as is written in the books of the Lives of the Fathers and similar works of hermits.³ They settled there.⁴

The Lord of Lords and God of Gods, [253] who always desires and does good deeds, constantly directed their efforts toward success and was their helper and partner. That is why many heard good things about them, came and joined them, and became, like them, monks in that monastery. Not only lay and unknown persons, but also clerics and notables, *vardapets*, bishops and *k'ahana* came there. Among them were *Vardapet* Pōghos Mokats'i; *Vardapet* Movsēs Siwnets'i, who later became *kat'oghikos*—I shall relate their history in detail in another chapter;⁵ *Vardapet* Nersēs Mokats'i, who later went to the island of Lim⁶ and found a monastery there; T'uma, the Bishop of Tat'ew, who became a *vardapet* and later went to the province of Shamakhi, as the shepherd of that parish; Bishop Karapet of Ējmiatsin, who was later sent to the island of Sevan and who founded a monastery there, which still stands; *Vardapet* Aristakēs

¹ He is also called Evstat'ē, the apostle Evstat'ēos, a student of the apostle Thaddeus. See Alishan, *Sisakan*, 224.

² Refers to the monastery of St. St'epanos of T'anahat in Sisian.

³ See Chapter 29.

⁴ The construction of the monastery known as the Mets Anapat of Tat'ew was begun in 1612 and was completed some decades later. It is north of Tat'ew on the east side of the Bargushat River in Goris.

⁵ See Chapter 23.

⁶ An island located in the eastern part of Lake Van (north of the city of Van). The monastery of St. George, one of the oldest and most popular Armenian monasteries, is located there.

Shambets'i, who later became the abbot of the same Grand Hermitage and lived there to the end of his life and is buried there; and another *tēr* Aristakēs from the district of Bargushat, who later resettled in the small town called Tandzap'arakh, built a cloister, which still stands today, lived there to the end of his life and is buried there; Bishop Dawit', from a princely family called the Gharamanents', from the Shamkhor ravine; he came to the Grand Hermitage and then left and went to the Shamkhor ravine where he constructed a hermitage, called the Charek'aget monastery, where many brothers live and where a remarkable discipline and order exists to this day. Bishop Dawit' died there and is [254] buried there. Many, many others live there [Grand Hermitage], others have appeared before God, others have left there, and have built hermitages and monasteries in other places.

Like the mother¹ of Zion, about whom the prophet Isaiah said, "For out of Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem,"² these two men became the founders of hermitages, and the [Grand] Hermitage became the mother of all hermitages and the reason for the enlightenment of all the Armenian people. As I have already stated,³ *Vardapet* Nersēs Mokats'i learned the monastic way of life here and went to the Vaspurakan province. He stepped onto the island of Lim, within the Sea [Lake Van], and there a large group of brothers gathered around him, and a strong hermitage with all rules and regulations of the monastic way of life rose around him. *Vardapet* Nersēs himself lived there in monastic meekness, completed his pious life, died there and was buried *there*.⁴ His death occurred in the year 1076 (1627) of our calendar.

After him, his friend Step'anos became the abbot of the monastery. In his time the number of the brotherhood of the Lim hermitage increased, hence some of them went to the town of Ktuts',⁵ an island in that same sea. A hermitage was founded there as well and a brotherhood was formed. It functions, observing the exact rules of monastic life, to this day. There are also other small monasteries built here and there, whose founders were educated in the Grand

¹ Brosset has *metropole*, text reads *mayrn*.

² Isaiah 2.3. Isaiah reads, "daughter of Zion," instead of "mother of Zion."

³ See also Chapter 29.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

⁵ Refers to the island, southwest of Lim, where the monastery of St. Karapet is located. Its founding is credited to St. Gregory the Illuminator.

Hermitage and then traveled to various places; I have only recorded the famous ones. The founders of all of them were the aforementioned two men, Bishops [255] Sargis and *tēr* Kirakos. They both tore the worldly life from their hearts and bid farewell to worldly concerns, crucified themselves for the world and the world for them, according to the admonition of the apostle, "The world has been crucified for me and I to the world."¹ That is why, night and day, and not only during time of prayers or in church, they carried deep in their hearts the image of Christ; by destroying the flesh, remaining alone in their cell, spending their time in prayer, conversing with God, and reading the holiest of books, they substituted prayers for food, and tears for drink.

The Holy Spirit, which reaches even the depths of God,² which guards the knowledge of sacred books and which opens the doors to the path of knowledge for those with pure thoughts, enabled them to illuminate themselves and to enlighten those around them, and through them, the Armenian people. For, up to then, [the people] had become crude through ignorance and stagnation. People not only did not read, but also could not read. They were unaware of the power of books, for in their eyes books had become useless and were thrown into corners like wooden logs covered by dirt and ashes. When these men took upon themselves to do benevolent deeds, they gladly read the books, voluntarily educated themselves and completed in action what they had read in words, for they believed, without hesitation, that which was written in the books—God's bidding. These two men, together with the aforementioned men, *vardapets* and bishops, whose names I have listed, began through reading and teaching to revive and restore all the noble rules and regulations in hermitages, [256] monasteries and chapels, with the help and protection of the Holy Spirit; they deciphered and revealed the deep thoughts hidden in the books and proclaimed their powerful wisdom to the public, which they had strived to enlighten.

They determined that monks had to live alone in cells, keep pure, and guard themselves from all impure thoughts—religious and lay—in reason and in mind, to renounce their will, to be submissive and to do the will of the abbot. They could not have separate goods; all property was to be shared in common. The abbot was to concern

¹ Galatians 6.14.

² Corinthians I: 2.10: "These things God has revealed to us through the Spirit; for the Spirit reaches even the depths of God."

himself with the needs of all the brothers and give each what he needed. They could not keep anything or eat in the cells. They had to keep a constant fast throughout the year, except for Saturdays, Sundays and on the Lord's holy days. The members of the brotherhood had to refuse wine and meat. They had to confess continually each day, during the day and night, for the offenses and [bad] thoughts of that day. Every Saturday and Sunday, as well as the Lord's holy days, they had to spend the entire night until dawn in prayer and celebrate Mass during that day. They had to summon all—young and old—who had chosen a secular life, call them to the public table and to the place of prayer, and to distribute nourishment to everyone equally, large and small. They also were to distribute the fruits equally.

They also found in the books notes about the pattern of vestments: headgear,¹ that is, a cowl;² a four-cornered cap; robes³ and *ts'p'sis*, that is, a hair shirt [257] [worn] on the naked body under the clothes. All the clothes had to be made from wool and not from cotton. The woolen shirt had to be long, up to the knees, the belt, from leather. They prescribed that everyone should go around wearing his own vestments: if he was a hermit, in his mantle and cap; if an *erēts'*, in his mantle; if an *abegha*, in his mantle and cap. These monastic vestments had disappeared without a trace but were now restored. The cap and the mantle existed but they were worn during prayers. After the Mass the monks would take them off and walk about as laymen.

They also prescribed the following rules in the chapels: In the first canonical hour of the night during the Lord's holy days, they had to perform the hymns of *hishests'uk*⁴ and others, two canons of psalms, and in the end sing the *kanonaglukh*⁵ and the *sharakan* (hymn) for the repose of the souls, and the gospel, the service for the dead, the benediction corresponding to the day, and, in addition, sing the *k'aghowatsk' sharakan* (series of hymns) and *t'agawork*⁶ and hallelujah. After that, they had to sing two additional canons of

¹ Text reads *k'usit'ay*, from the Latin *kukullus* (cucullus).

² Text reads *vor ē glukh t'op'in*.

³ Text reads *sk'ima* from the Greek *skhima* (robes, vestments).

⁴ The hymns performed at the beginning of the night vigil, "Let us remember Thy Name O Lord in the night..."

⁵ The head of the canon, which is an elaborate melismatic hymn of the last section of the psalm, sang on a given day.

⁶ As noted earlier, these are specific hymns found at the end of a vigil.

psalms, and then, the hymn of *harts'n*,¹ together with its own ceremony. During sunset² they had to perform the special canons of psalms and, after the dismissal of day and night service, they had to read instructive books. During the third, the sixth, and the ninth hours, the appropriate psalms had to be performed in each appointed hour, separate from each other. After that, the holy liturgy had to be served. The liturgy had to be performed with sub-deacons and deacons—each in his appropriate vestment and after confession. After that, [258] they had to get up and, with fear and trepidation, join the liturgy. They had to pray tenderly in their heart and know in their soul about which they were praying. From the beginning of the liturgy until the end of the service, when they partook of the gospel in the church without interruption, they had to shed tears constantly like a stream. After Mass they could not partake of food right away, but after leaving the church, each had to quietly go to his cell so that they could contemplate the grace of their spiritual enlightenment of the Lord's sacrifice before the disquiet of their souls disappeared. When the bells were rung, calling them to the table, they all had to gather in the refectory, sit at the table at the same time, and eat quietly. They had to eat once a day throughout the year. After the meal it was decided that they had to read books for, as the larynx experienced taste, the mind would also taste the word of God.

These were the rules and principles proclaimed by the aforementioned *vardapets* and the two men. The unknown virtues, which they possessed, are known only to Him Who knows the hearts and secrets of men. They were all adorned with great benevolence: some remained immobile; some were strong in abstinence, some were vigilant; some shed tears; some took vows of silence; some took care of the sick; and the rest excelled in other things. The Holy Spirit graced them all, and because of it [259] their saintly prayers were beneficial. This is what they say about *tēr Kirakos*: There was a certain man who had renounced the world and had become a recluse. He lived for some time in the hermitage. Although he had confessed and had given up his lay clothes, he had not yet received communion, for the hermitage had a rule that a new recluse could receive communion only after one year. The said recluse had not been there for a year; that is why he had not received communion. It came to pass that he

¹ A hymn inspired by the Book of Daniel: "Blessed are you Lord, God of our fathers..."

² The next 35 lines, until "The said recluse," are absent from E.

became ill and died without communion. His death without communion fell heavily on the conscience of the monks and someone wanted to bury him that same day. But *tēr* Kirakos was against it. He was indignant and would not permit his burial, saying, "This man had come to us. He remained here for so many days and did not receive any benefit from us. He even died without communion. You now want to bury him without ceremony or liturgy? Have pity on him. Wait today and tomorrow we shall perform a ceremony and a liturgy for his soul, and then bury him." The brothers agreed to do so, but they did not know what was in the mind of *tēr* Kirakos. When night passed, they saw the next day that the dead man had resurrected, was sitting, moving and talking. He indeed got up from his deathbed, went to church, received the body and blood of God, returned to his place of resting and died again the following night. They took and buried him in the cemetery of the brothers. This is what they told me about *tēr* Kirakos.

The people relate other accounts about the [Grand] Hermitage, for the spirit of God was with its inhabitants. Bishop Sargis was the steward of the secular affairs of the Hermitage, while the instructors of reading the texts were *tēr* [260] Kirakos, *Vardapet* Pōghos, *Vardapet* Movsēs, *Vardapet* Nersēs and Bishop T'uma, who lived together in the cloister for a long time. Later, *tēr* Kirakos and Bishop T'uma went to the land of K'ēshtagh (K'ashatagh),¹ and built a cloister near the village of Hoch'ants' and settled there. Bishop Sargis remained in the Grand Hermitage and patiently endured all the misfortunes that fell upon him, living the life of a righteous man to a ripe old age. Until the end of his life, he kept his faith and presented himself to the place of eternal life in that same Grand Hermitage. His blessed remains are buried there. His death took place in the year 1069 (1620) of our calendar. *Tēr* Kirakos, who had gone to Hoch'ants', lived there in a strict monastic fashion. He died there in his cloister, near the village of Hoch'ants', in the year 1070 (1621) of our calendar and ascended to his beloved Christ, whose love he always kept in his heart. His blessed remains were buried there in the glory of Christ, *our Lord*,² eternally blessed. Amen.

¹ A district in the Siwnik' region.

² Absent from B, C, and E.

[261] Chapter 22

Another account of the Grand Hermitage

*I shall tell another story about this same Grand Hermitage. Following*¹ the passage of forty-five years or more after the founding of the hermitage, to the west of it, the land had a gap in the direction of the north and the gap stretched eastward until it touched the cliffs. From the west the gap went through the cemetery and reached the cliffs located in the west. The opening was so wide and deep, that if a bullock, horse or livestock fell into the crag, they could not climb out. Moreover, day after day, there appeared more cracks here and there. Therefore, the inhabitants of the hermitage began to fearfully suspect that the land upon which the hermitage lay would slide away. All [262] the villagers, who came there and witnessed the opening, confirmed this as well.

The month of April of the year 1107 (1658) of our calendar appeared, and since that spring was rainy, the opening *became*² larger day after day. Everyone thought that today or tomorrow the land underneath the hermitage would fall away. This happened on Green Sunday,³ which occurred on April 25. On that day, when the brothers gathered for the evening prayer, prior to sunset, the land began to part from the southern side of the hermitage, from the height of cliffs, and it seemed that from the mountain slope there came a storm cloud, which began to approach with a terrible crash and bang, thunder and roar, resembling the crash of thunder dispersing lightning. The thunderous noise was so terrible that all the inhabitants of the village of Shinahayr and the village of Halidzor, hearing the noise, came out, stood in front of their villages, and observed this calamity. Cliffs that had stood from time immemorial trampled and shattered each other. Rocks that were underground from the time of creation came out of the earth. All old trees and growth, walnut trees and oaks, and, together with them, enormous stones plunged into the abyss and were lost from sight. A large number of stone blocks became detached from the mountain and rolled down, one after

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Absent from F.

³ Text reads *Ashkharhamatran kiraki* (Sunday of the World Church). It refers to the Second Sunday after Easter Sunday; also known as Green Sunday. Brosset dates it as April 18, 1658, *MB*, 396.

another. Colliding with each other, they broke, crumbled and disappeared without a trace. The strength of their collision and the roar created terror in all who lived around it. The deafening noise from the clamor and the thunder made everyone's heart tremble.

Since all of this began at dusk and [263] there remained only a few hours to nightfall, time passed, night came and a heavy rain began to fall. The night was so dark that even those standing next to each other could not see each other. All the inhabitants of the hermitage came out, went away from there, gathered in the east of the cloister by the rocky mountain, settled there, lit lanterns and large candles, and remained there scared and depressed, waiting for the end and longing for daylight.

Many thought that the hermitage had slipped away together with all the rest, but the Divine Creator took pity on the prayers of the unlucky brothers and did not permit its destruction; the damage was not great. The eastern part of the cloister, the fence, the room for guests, the shed for livestock,¹ the storeroom, some of the rooms of the brothers, the eastern part of the large church and the rear part of the western pillars had been damaged.

It was a terrible event, for huge boulders, rocks, stones and dirt came, like waves of the sea, one after another. From the depths of the mountain, upon which the monastery of T'anahat was situated, from the belly of its chasm, rocks were detached, and together with dirt, gravel, and boulders the size of a house, rolled down. The mass, rolling down, with its great weight and speed, struck the land stretched before it, tore it from its place, *took it*,² and rolled up and down like a wave of the sea. In this manner [264] everything rolled and finally reached the big Orotan (Vorotan) River, which flowed by the ravine. It stopped the flow of the river for approximately eight hours. The water of the river, not being able to flow, flooded the area and then found a channel on the side and flowed on. The stones and dirt, which had gathered by the bank of the river, formed a large hill.

The monks' cemetery was located on the western side of the cloister. When that place gave away, the graves were uprooted and, together with their deep and bottomless pits, slipped far and ended in another place. The saintly *Vardapet* Pōghos, whose history I shall mention in the [next] chapter,³ was buried here. Paronter Sargis,

¹ Text reads *akhork'*.

² Absent from A.

³ See Chapter 23.

about whom I spoke in the previous chapter, *Vardapet* Aristakēs, who became the abbot after Parontēr Sargis, and the ascetic, the incomparable and pious monk *tēr* Barsegh; these four were buried there in order and Mass was said for them. When the land beneath the cemetery slid away, by God's will, a miracle occurred for the saints. Their graves were not damaged at all. Even the gravestones covering their graves did not shift, but remained in place, facing east. The chapel erected above their graves crumbled and was destroyed.

During the time that these terrible events took place, by the Grace of the Almighty God, no man or animal was harmed, except for one of the brothers, who remained in his cell and died there, having been swallowed by the earth. [265] During the evening services, when the storm began, one of the brothers went to him and tried to convince him to leave his cell and save himself from the falling earth. But he had wished and waited for death for a long time. He did not come out but remained there. He put his trust in God and hoped that maybe his innocent death would hurry his soul to God's presence.

The remaining inhabitants of the cloister then gathered by the mountain that lay to the east of the monastery. They shed tears, moaned loudly, mourned and begged God to spare their lives and to save the [main] building of the monastery from destruction. For, witnessing the tremendous destruction, they despaired and prayed in torment for sunrise and Monday morning. The Lord God, the source of mercy, through his kindness, not only spared them, but also saved the whole monastery and did not allow it to be destroyed. In a word, with his right hand, the omnipotent God preserved the monastery unharmed, [except for] the damage mentioned earlier.

One of the members of the brotherhood recounted that he saw a magnificent and splendid man, dressed in bright clothes, mounted on a white horse, who was on the roof of the church, in front of which the brothers had gathered, lamenting the terrible and sorrowful event. The man in the vision repeated their words and spoke to them. The glorious man said the following, "I have also remained here; hence, I am also worried. I have injured my knee a little, for I placed my leg in front of the ravine, propped up that cliff [266], so that when it fell it would not cover the monastery of the brothers. You go, carry out acts of piety, and continue to pray uninterruptedly to the Glory of Merciful God the Lord, who saved you through his benevolence and who will save you in the future. His glory is eternal. Amen."

Chapter 23

On the history of the life¹ and deeds of the saintly Vardapet Pōghos

The saintly *Vardapet* Pōghos was a native of the village of Bar, located in the Mokk' province.² He came to the holy and glorious monastery of Varag.³ He joined *Vardapet* Karapet, nicknamed *Vardapet* Dzag (the little), with whom he studied all the books of the Old and New Testaments. When *Vardapet* Pōghos achieved perfection in learning and came of age, *Vardapet* Dzag gave him the title of *vardapet*. *Vardapet* Pōghos then went among the Christians and preached the commandments of God. Preaching [here and there], he arrived in the city of Tabriz and went about sermonizing, preaching daily and instructing there. His persuasive lessons enlightened the Christian community. Merchants arriving from all over in Tabriz, after hearing the sermons of the saintly *vardapet*, were comforted, [267] felt contented in their soul and praised the Lord for sending them such a man of grace.

Vardapet Pōghos was a saintly and virtuous man. He sang psalms incessantly, shed tears and prayed spiritually. He stood upright [praying] from Saturday night until the sunrise on Sunday. He would spend all his Saturday nights in this manner. He would sing the *hish-ests'uk'*,⁴ *kanon glukh*⁵ and hallelujah, together with the eight canons from the psalms.⁶ In the morning he would celebrate the salutary Mass. In addition, he totally abstained from wine and meat; he only ate on Saturdays and Sundays, as one ate on holy days.⁷ He fasted the rest of the days of the year.⁸ He also did not take any money or gifts from anyone, and preached without remuneration. If people gave him something, he spent it on prisoners, the needy and the con-

¹ Text reads *vardapetut'ean*. Brosset has translated it as *vartabiédât*; that is, his life as a *vardapet*.

² Mokk' was one of the 15 provinces of Greater Armenia. It was located south of Lake Van.

³ The Varag monastery was located on Mt. Bar, east of Van.

⁴ Hymns used in the night service; the last section is sung in a melismatic manner.

⁵ Refers to the lead canon in the group of psalms.

⁶ The Armenian Psalter is divided into 20 canons or sets.

⁷ Text reads *nawakatik'*.

⁸ Brosset has translated it as "he consumed herbs," *MB*, 399.

struction of churches. In addition, no matter where he went, far or near, he went on foot. He and his disciples bore the [sacks with the] books of sermons and other [Holy] Scriptures on their backs. There was a simple chapel in the city of Tabriz, but there was no place to conduct a Mass. He constructed a beautiful altar in that chapel to celebrate Mass.

The people [of Tabriz] loved him greatly for his true piety, and the merchants from the *gawar* of Goght'n¹ begged him to come to their region and preach there. Among them was *Khoja* Hayrapet of Ts'ghni and his companions, who insisted for a long time. The *vardapet* [finally] agreed to their demands and went to the village of Agulis in the *gawar* of Goght'n.

There was a church in that place, which they said [268] was founded by the holy apostle Thaddeus.² I also saw this church many years after they had opened its door. The door of this church had been shut without bars or locks for a long time. Although they had repeatedly tried to open the door, it was impossible to do so; they [eventually] gave up their efforts. They told the *vardapet* all the details about the closed door.

On the night between Saturday and Sunday, the above *vardapet* stood all night, as was his habit, remained before the closed door, and kept vigil through the night. He stood before the closed door and, shedding many tears, invoked the name of the Lord in a loud voice and from the bottom of his soul, asking him to open the door of the church. With a heavy heart and tears that came out like streams, he presented his request to God. Before this vigil, he had [already] tried to open the door. After striking the door three times, he said, "Open for us, O Lord, open for us, O Lord, open for us, O Lord, the door to your mercy, for which we tearfully ask from you." With God's grace, the door immediately opened by itself without anyone's intervention. The *k'ahana* and the laymen of the village, who were present, were stupefied, astounded and astonished. They then came to and quickly dispersed to inform others. All who heard,

¹ Goght'n was part of the Vaspurakan province of historic Armenia. Nakhichevan and Ordubad were located in it. Ts'ghna was one of its villages. Its main towns were Old Julfa and Upper Agulis. The monastery of St. T'ovma and a number of churches were located in that *gawar* as well.

² Refers to the Church of St. K'ristap'or, which, according to Zak'aria of Agulis, collapsed in 1630 and was rebuilt in the old style in 1635-1636. See *Journal*, 101. According to tradition, St. Thaddeus was the first person to preach the message of Christ in Armenia.

young and old, then and there, in the dark night, went to the church, leaving their homes and families, and witnessing the miracle, praised the glory of the Almighty God. When the door of the church opened, everyone entered [269] happily, rejoiced, and began the night service. In the morning the redemptive mystery of the Divine Liturgy was celebrated and all, in one voice, praised the miraculous Lord for honoring them with his grace. The word of this event spread throughout the *gawar* among the Christians [Armenians] and other peoples. Everyone who heard this was amazed and praised the Lord.

Thus, the opening of the closed door showed itself as a surprising mystery, and, at the same time, the truth spread throughout the eastern provinces through preaching. Until then, both the clergy and the lay were in the deep shadow of ignorance, as they had been in the time of idolatry. As the Lord Christ had raised the sun of truth upon the earth and had illuminated all with faith and the recognition of God, so did the saintly *Vardapet* Pōghos [enlightened] the eastern provinces. He took away all traces of excess and disorder from the clerics and laymen, regulated and embellished everything through his sound preaching.

After the opening of the church door, by proclaiming the doctrine of the true faith, he opened the door of faith in the eastern provinces. Like an apostle, he wandered everywhere, preached the truth, appointed *k'ahana*, built churches, instituted proper customs in the churches and villages, gathered children to learn the gospel, established schools here and there, and appointed his pupils as teachers. He took some of the talented children and taught them while traveling. They all [270] reached the rank of *abegha* or *k'ahana* for their own good and that of their community. Wherever he went, he built churches where previously there had been none, and even if there had been any, they were neglected and did not deserve to be called a church. They were dark and gloomy, ruined and on the verge of collapse, full of dirt and ashes, falling down, and warped. But, as soon as he arrived, he built proper churches facing the east, with beautifully erected altars, windows, cupolas and everything else.

Preaching and erecting churches, he thus reached the town of Astapat.¹ There, he restored, before anything else, the monastery

¹ The town of Astapat is northwest of Old Julfa in present-day Nakhichevan. It lies by the bank of the Arax River.

named after St. Step'anos, the proto-martyr.¹ He surrounded it with a strong wall and a solid iron gate. After the completion of the monastery, he began to enlarge the village church, at the insistence of the community, for their church was too small to accommodate all the parishioners, who were many. Because of that, they wanted to demolish the cells that were located around the church and to add their space to the church in order to enlarge it. But, the *abegha* who lived in the cells and the former inhabitants of the cells became incensed, opposed it, and did not permit them to demolish the cells. The community did not pay attention to their objections. They fell upon the cells and demolished them. The *abegha* were offended by this, went to the monastery, took the bishop, brought him to the village, created a great outcry, and abused the *vardapet* with unworthy words. The saintly [*vardapet*], modeling himself after the true meekness of Jesus, thought, "If they drive you out of this [271] city, flee to the next."² Therefore, without telling anyone, he stole away in the night and went to another village. When the parishioners learned of the *vardapet's* departure, they fell upon the *abegha*, beat them with sticks and stones, and drove them out of the village. They then immediately went after the *vardapet*, pleaded with him for a long time, brought him back to the village, and began constructing a wide, long, and lofty walled church, decorated with a cupola on top. The *abegha* and bishops, realizing they could do nothing against the *vardapet*, went to Darashamb,³ made a deal with all the bishops of the monastery of the proto-martyr, and taking them, went *against*⁴ the *vardapet*, like the Amalek kings, who united and attacked the general of the Lord, Joshua.⁵ But, just as they suffered a defeat then, these too were defeated now, for although they went against the *vardapet* numerous times, he did not even think of altering his good deeds.

¹ St. Stephen was the first martyr. The monastery is located in Darashamb (Darehshamb); see below.

² Matthew 10.23: "When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next."

³ Darashamb is located south of the Arax River, across the river from Julfa.

⁴ Absent from **B**.

⁵ Exodus 17.8-16. It refers to the battle of Israel with the Amalekites, a fierce desert tribe in the region of Kadesh. Joshua fought and defeated them, but the bitter feud continued.

After that, the united *abegha*, moved even more by envy, went to Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', who had purchased his position from the Persian king,¹ and so provoked his wrath that the latter sent threatening letters to the *vardapet*, saying, "Leave our land and go back to whence you came from. We do not need your deceits, your sermons, or your hypocritical behavior. Otherwise [272], I will make you the talk of the town and the laughing stock of everyone." The *vardapet* was not bothered by any of this. He put his trust in God, continued his wandering and preaching, constructed churches, and organized everything in strict accordance to regulations.

After several years, Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' and *Vardapet* Pōghos met each other in the city of Nakhichevan. The kat'oghikos then spewed out the poison and bitter bile, which had gathered in his heart for a long time, on the *vardapet*. After uttering long reproaches, reproves and invectives in the face of the *vardapet*, the kat'oghikos added the following, "I shall demolish all the churches which you have built on your head." He ordered him to leave [eastern Armenia] and return to his home. He added that if he ever returned he would be handed over to the civil authorities. No one from among the clergy or the lay spoke out on behalf of the *vardapet*, for they all feared the kat'oghikos, who had received his power by the will of the king. Therefore, the *vardapet*, having no other recourse, left Nakhichevan and went to the village of Shambi,² in order to return home.

As was his usual custom, the *vardapet* prayed that night. After the prayer he nudged his pupil and woke him. Some others woke up as well. The *vardapet* began to ask them what they thought was better: to stand up in a manly manner against ordeals, oppose this discord and preach the word of life, or concede and flee from the quarrels. The pupils replied, "You [273] see for yourself that the shadow of ignorance has descended upon the people. You also know that the Lord has opened the door to your sermons, for whatever you preach immediately bears fruit. Therefore, do not despair now, for God the Lord supports you! You have to take courage and endure the ordeal for the sake of benefiting the people and to preach the truth."

The saintly *vardapet* listened to their words of encouragement and said to his pupils, "So then, my sons, since you say so, we have

¹ See Chapter 3.

² A village in present-day Nakhichevan, near the banks of the Arax River.

to go to the king and receive a decree from him to enable us to build churches. I hope that, with God's help, the king shall give us what we ask. If we receive such a decree from him, we shall be glorified as brave men; if he kills us, we, together with his deserving servants, will be recompensed by Christ for our good deed." His pupils also agreed that this was a good idea.

Then, they got up and, on that same night, they left the village of Shambi, crossed the Arax River and went to the king—who was Shah 'Abbās the First—to receive a decree for erecting churches. After the conclusion of the canon of psalms, which they sang walking on the road, it so happened that they came upon the words which say, "We beg the Lord to guide our steps so that we may travel safely," and the other column read,¹ "We beg the Lord to smash our enemies swiftly under our feet."² Then, the *vardapet* said to those who had accompanied him, "You see, my sons, our road, according to the psalm, is a righteous one." [274] This strengthened and made them rejoice even more, and they continued on with great expectations.

When they reached the *gawar* called Araghbar³ at dusk, they entered a Muslim village to spend the night there. It so happened that they encountered a man, a Muslim, who came out to greet them. He implored them, saying, "I beg you, for God's sake, do not abhor that I am a Muslim, but pay heed to my request and enter my house so that I may show you my hospitality. For I have made a vow⁴ to God not to eat anything today without a guest. I have been standing here in the middle of the village seeking a guest. God has sent you. I, therefore, ask you to enter my house." The blessed *vardapet* answered the man happily and said, "Let it be as you wish. We shall go to your house." They spent the night at that man's house and he received them very well. He gave them everything they required for their rest. In the morning, before they prepared to leave, the Muslim man came, implored them and said, "I have no son. No one will remember me on this earth. I beg you to pray for me, so that I shall have a son, for my wife is barren." The saintly *vardapet* lifted his habitually outstretched hands to the sky and prayed adamantly to the

¹ Absent from A and D.

² These are from the Armenian Book of Hours, which contains the night vigil.

³ Brosset has *Arazbar*, *MB*, 402.

⁴ The Muslims have a custom of *nazr*, an Arabic term meaning a vow, a promise, dedicated to God, a good deed or prayer if one's wish came true.

Lord to give the man a son. The benevolent Lord, who had promised to give his followers whatever they *requested*¹ in faith,² granted the man a son because of the saintly *vardapet's* prayers. The same man later informed us of this.³ For, after [275] some time, the Muslim man came, thanked the *vardapet* during Mass, bowed down, thanked him, praised him and said, "Because of your prayers, God has granted me a son. I now beg you to pray that God grant him a long life." The saintly *vardapet* prayed for him *again*,⁴ comforted him for some time and then let him go.

These events are very similar to those involving what God's word did to the great patriarch Abraham, for, as God was a guest of Abraham and granted him a son, so was the *vardapet* a guest of the Muslim, and through prayers, asked God to give him a son. Thus, the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ, will be glorified, according to his own true words, "They shall see your good deeds and shall give glory to your Heavenly Father."⁵

The *vardapet* then left there and went to the land of Aghuank', to Karabagh, to a small town called Kotuklu, for Shah 'Abbās' camp, with all his army, was situated there.

When the *vardapet* stood before the king, God presented his talented servant in front of the wrathful Muslim king. When the king asked the *vardapet*, "What do you ask from our majesty?" The *vardapet* said in reply, "*First, a long life for the king and the stability of his throne; second,*⁶ since the Armenian people lack nothing under your peaceful reign [276] except for prayers. Since there are no places to pray to God for the country and the king's life, I ask the sovereign to grant me an order and a decree to build churches. If this brings any reward, let it be the king's; if it brings about any abuse, let it fall upon me." Hearing this, the king rejoiced and said loudly to his *nakharars*, "Nobles and judges, what do you consider necessary and true, shall I give the decree for the construction of churches or forbid it?" He then immediately answered his own question, saying, "It should not be forbidden. It is necessary to give an order for con-

¹ Absent from A, B, and F.

² Matthew 21.22: "Whatever you ask for in prayer with faith, you will receive."

³ The next 13 lines are absent from A and D.

⁴ Absent from A, E, and F.

⁵ Matthew 5.16: "So that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father in heaven."

⁶ Absent from A and D.

struction, for these are also houses of God.” Then and there he ordered a decree to be written, a seal to be affixed to it, and it be handed to the *vardapet*.

When the order was carried out and they gave the decree to the *vardapet*, he left. He had the decree read to him and realized that the decree was not effective for the needs of the time. He was, therefore, forced to appear before the king a second time and reminded him about his request for the decree. When the king learned of all that the *vardapet* wished in his heart, he immediately went out of his tent, called one of his scribes, sat him on the ground in front of him, and, standing, dictated, while the scribe wrote until the decree was complete to the last word. Then the king ordered the scribe to go to all the nobles so that they would sign and seal the document. When all this was done, they brought the decree and gave it to the *vardapet*. The saintly *vardapet* praised the Lord, took the royal decree and went to the eastern provinces of Armenia. He then began, without fear, to construct even better [277] churches, travel and preach throughout.

Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' now hated *Vardapet Pōghos* even more. He uttered slanderous words about the *vardapet* to the great and powerful ruler, Amir Gūna Khan, the governor of Erevan, saying, “A certain impertinent, disobedient man, a stranger from the land of the Mar, has been wandering throughout Persia for many years, especially through the *gawars* under your rule, and through false and insidious sermons and hypocritical behavior draws all the people to him. No gold or silver has remained; no one has any goods left. He robs and takes everything and sends it to his country. I have ordered him in writing and have told him face to face to leave our land and return home, but he does not pay heed to my words or shy away from the king's order in my possession. He follows his whim and does not obey the government or its superiors.”

The khan, therefore, summoned a certain soldier and said, “I order you, in the name of the authority given to me by the king, to go throughout my territory, find *Vardapet Pōghos* and bring him to me.” The warrior went, sought him, found him in the village of Agulis, seized him, and brought him to the city of Erevan. On the way, when they reached Dwin,¹ they spent the night there. There

¹ It is also spelled Duin. One of the Armenian capitals during the Bagratid period (Dabil in Arab sources), it is just northeast of the ancient Armenian capital of Artashat.

lived a certain Christian man in that village, whose son's arm was withered. He came to the *vardapet* and implored him to pray for his son so that the boy's arm would be cured. The saintly *vardapet* took the boy by the arm, prayed for him, [278] recited "Our Father Who Art in Heaven," and returned the boy to his father, who took him and went away. At dawn, he took his son, came before the *vardapet*, bowed to him, kissed his feet, offered praise, thanked him, and showed the son's arm to everyone, saying, "The *vardapet*'s prayers cured my child's arm." For Christ's benevolence and¹ the *vardapet*'s prayers had completely cured the boy's arm and had truly glorified the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ.

They left there and went to the city of Erevan. The warrior escorting the *vardapet* brought him that same day to the khan's presence. Since the khan had learned the essence of the *vardapet*'s endeavors from the kat'oghikos, he had gathered much envy and bitterness in his heart and planned to subject the *vardapet* to numerous tortures and torments. But he, who is the King of Kings and master of masters, in whose hands is the heart of all aggressors, just as is recorded in the book of the prophet Solomon,² immediately tamed the khan's heart, just as he had done to King Artaxerxes [in his wrath] with Mordechai, and his anger toward Haman.³ The moment the khan glanced at the *vardapet*'s face, he did not utter an irate word or present an angry face, but quietly and calmly he requested, "Stay with me today, for you are my guest. Tomorrow I shall take you with me to the kat'oghikos and will reconcile you with him." Since Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' had invited [279] the khan and his retinue to entertain them, the khan, therefore, said that he would take the *vardapet* with him to reconcile them.

The next day, when the khan went at the kat'oghikos' invitation, he took the *vardapet* with him. When the hour of gathering began, the khan said to the kat'oghikos, "Today, it suits my soul that you reconcile with the *vardapet* and become like father and son. Even though he wanders among the people, he has not committed any wrongful deeds that deserve judgment, not against me, against you, or against the people. I want for peace and love to be established between you." The kat'oghikos realized that his wish had not come true, that the opposite had occurred. Although he did not want to

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Proverbs 21.1

³ Esther 1-7.

reconcile, he nevertheless followed the wishes of the khan, for he had invited the khan to gain his favor. Therefore, willingly or unwillingly, with a hypocritical heart, by the order of the khan, he reconciled with the *vardapet*. After the banquet, they prepared to leave. The khan told the kat'oghikos, "I entrust the *vardapet* to you tonight. Tomorrow, when you come to me, bring him with you, for I have something to do with him." The next day, the kat'oghikos did not go, but entrusted the *vardapet* to one of his bishops and sent him to the khan. The khan honored the *vardapet*, gave him a *kal'at* and covered him with a gold-embroidered *kapa*.¹ He called the same soldier who had brought the *vardapet* and told him, "You will now take the *vardapet* and return him to the place you brought him from. You will entrust him to the people at that place [280] and will then return here." The soldier and the *vardapet* bowed to the governor, left him, and went to the *gawar* of Goght'n.

Thus, the end of this affair resembled the event that occurred with King Balak, for he hired Balaam so that the latter would curse Israel, but Balaam came and blessed Israel.² In the same manner, Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' had persuaded the khan to punish the *vardapet*. But the latter brought him, honored him before everyone, presented him with gifts, and sent him back to his work. The fulfillment of the psalm of David is also evident here, "The wicked watch for the righteous, and seek to kill them. The Lord will not abandon them to their power, or let them be condemned when they are brought to trial."³

The *vardapet* and the soldier left Erevan and traveled to the *gawar* of Goght'n. They reached the village of Shorot',⁴ left it and went toward the village of Ts'ghna. They went on the road that goes along the river that flows from Norakert⁵ to Bêghewi.⁶ But, before they reached the river, they saw that wild goats were eating grass on the plain. There were twelve of them. The *vardapet* called them and⁷ the goats came to him. The soldier was not aware that the *vardapet* had called them, for he was farther away from the *vardapet*. Seeing

¹ From *qaba* (mantle).

² Numbers 22.1-14; 23.1-30.

³ Psalms 33.32-33. This entire paragraph is missing from A and D.

⁴ The village of Shorot' is east of the town of Nakhichevan and is located south of the Ernjak River.

⁵ A village in the Siwnik' region.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ The above six lines are missing from A and D.

that the goats had stopped, he immediately took up his bow to strike them with his arrow. The goats were frightened and immediately took off from where they were standing and began to run away toward the mountains. The *vardapet* glanced and saw that the soldier was responsible for this. He reproached him and forced him to lower his bow. He then again [281]¹ called the goats, saying, "Come with the blessing of God; come to me, I shall not let anyone harm you." Behaving like people with reason, they came to the *vardapet* once more and stood before him. The *vardapet* approached them and stroked them with his hand, scratched their necks and backs, hugged them gently and talked to them as with intelligent beasts. The goats stood before him for a long time. The *vardapet* then said to them, "Go in peace to your pasture. May God guard you as you wish." They went on their way to the mountain. The soldier stood by, astounded and amazed by all this. The saintly *vardapet* began to tell him about the miracles performed by the saintly apostle Thaddeus, who brought wild deer to Voski and his comrades.²

The soldier escorted the *vardapet* and brought him to the town of Agulis. He entrusted him to the people of Agulis and returned to Erivan to serve the khan, where he recalled the marvels he had seen, glorifying the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ, in front of everyone.

Seeing that, by denouncing the *vardapet* to Amir Gūna Khan, they had not succeeded in causing him [the *vardapet*] any harm, the men who hated the *vardapet* took the same accusations to Gharch'ghay (Qarchaqāy) Khan,³ who according to everyone, held a higher position and was more famous than Amir Gūna Khan. Qarchaqāy Khan was the ruler of the city of Tabriz. Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', as well as other clerics, together with laymen, went to him and made slanderous remarks about *Vardapet Pōghos*. Qar-

¹ The following 17 lines are missing from A and D.

² According to tradition, the Apostle Thaddeus met in upper Mesopotamia, not far from the borders of Armenia, with the envoys of the Roman emperor to the Armenian king Sanatruk. The group was led by a man called Khrosos (gold in Greek, *voski* in Armenian). Thaddeus began to exhort them and perform miracles, among which was calling wild deer who were leaping in the mountains faraway. They obeyed the call of the holy man and came near the envoys. For more details, see M. Avgerean, *Liakatar vark'ew vkayabanyt' iwn srbots'*, [*v*]ork' kan i hin tonats'uts'i ekeghets'u Hayastaneats' II (Venice, 1810), 121-130.

³ As noted, he was the *amīr al-omarā* of Azarbaijan and, at times, the commander-in-chief of the army.

chaqāy Khan sent a soldier, who brought *Vardapet* Pōghos to Tabriz. But, [282] this affair ended in the same way, as had that with Amir Gūna Khan. Here too the slanderers suffered a defeat and were shamed.

There is another story, which I have written below, in the chapter¹ about the martyrdom of the *k'ahana* Andrēas: They handed *Vardapet* Pōghos and *Vardapet* Movsēs to Shah 'Abbās, who arrested them, took 300² *tumāns* as fine, and then freed them. After their release, they began to spread the truth even more. This forced the shrewd Shah 'Abbās to observe them carefully. He did not see anything insidious in their behavior and realized that they were indeed servants of God.³

There are other stories about the life and miracles performed by *Vardapet* Pōghos, curing the crippled, the possessed, and other such [infirmities], but I have said enough to make it clear what kind of a man he was.⁴

After the events I have narrated, and other episodes, when *Vardapet* Pōghos traveled and preached among Christians as usual, he met Kat'oghikos Sahak, the son of Melk'isēt's brother, and some of his other followers. They tormented the *vardapet* for a long time, saying, "Be silent, do not preach!" But *Vardapet* Pōghos did not wish to be silent, for he preached often and with zeal. However, his rivals overcame him, ensnaring him with intricate and insidiously contrived aspersions, saying, "Do not wander any more among the people and do not preach. Give us a writ, witnessed by Muslims, that [283] if you preach from now on, you shall be the enemy of the king and you must be put to death and die." The enemies thus tormented the *vardapet* in many ways for many days, until he relented, for he was alone and had no assistants. Although the *vardapet* had many friends and acquaintances among the Christians, they feared his adversaries and no one helped the *vardapet*. Therefore, he gave in and handed them the following writ: "I, *Vardapet* Pōghos, give this writ promising not to travel or preach. If I do so, I am an enemy of the king." His enemies took Pōghos' writ and rejoiced with unbelievable

¹ See Chapter 27. See also Chapter 18.

² F has "300" twice.

³ This paragraph is missing from A and D.

⁴ Ibid.

happiness.¹ After that, *Vardapet* Pōghos went to the Grand Hermitage and lived as a monk, alone in a cell. He prayed constantly to God, lived there, and did not exit the cloister until his death, when he appeared before Christ. He was buried there. His death occurred in the year 1069 (1620) of our calendar. I heard that many miracles involving the sick and infirm have occurred at his gravesite. They go with hope *and are indeed cured of any disease*² by the grace of Christ, our Lord, *Who gave him strength [the vardapet]. Eternal glory to him!*³ Amen.⁴

¹ Armenian clergy generally enjoyed the protection of the Safavid shahs. Pōghos' writ, in effect, removed him from that protection. See Daneghian, 164-168.

² Absent from **D**.

³ Absent from **A** and **D**.

⁴ **D** has a colophon by Awetis the scribe added here. It reads, "Through the intercession of the holy *vardapet* have mercy, Lord Jesus, on this sinful scribe, who known as *k'ahana* Awetis."

[284] Chapter 24

On the life and reign of Kat'oghikos Movsēs, as well as on the restoration of the radiant Holy See of Ējmiatsin

The pious, saintly and venerable father, our *Tēr* Movsēs Kat'oghikos, was born in the land of Siwnik', in the *gawar* of Baghats',¹ which today is called Achanan, in the village of Kho-tanan. He was approximately fifteen years old when he obtained the rank of *k'ahana* and was ordained as an *abegha*.

It happened that he met the saintly *Vardapet* Srap'ion, attached himself to him and became his pupil. Death, however, would soon overtake Srap'ion.² At the time, *tēr* Movsēs was immature, both in education and age. But *Vardapet* Srap'ion noted in his mind and knew in his heart that God's grace was evident on *tēr* Movsēs. He, therefore, showed special compassion for him and took care of him. He summoned his senior pupil, *Vardapet* Grigor of Kayseri, and entrusting *tēr* Movsēs to him, said, "I entrust him [285] to you, so that you, in my place, will look after him and care for him until he comes of age. Teach him theology so that he can become a *vardapet*. May my blessing be upon both of you."

After the death of Srap'ion, *tēr* Movsēs remained with *Vardapet* Grigor as his pupil. After several years, *tēr* Movsēs asked *Vardapet* Grigor's permission to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to worship at the holy sites of the Passion of Christ, our Lord. *Vardapet* Grigor gave his permission. *Tēr* Movsēs began the journey, reached Jerusalem, and worshipped at all the sites of the Passion of the Lord. From there he went to the land of Egypt and visited all the Coptic monasteries and cloisters, for there were many of them. There were many ascetic brothers, who were monks, and who followed a true monastic life. There [in Egypt] strict monastic regulations existed throughout: in prayers, meals, robes, seclusion and monastic austerity, and in everything else they did. Visiting them, scrutinizing them [the cloisters] and asking questions, *tēr* Movsēs familiarized himself with everything. Although he was free, impartial, and his own master, the Holy Spirit directed him to the monastic institutions and he learned for the future. This became useful during the foundation of the

¹ In present-day southern Zangezur.

² See Chapter 3.

Grand Hermitage. Returning from Egypt, *tēr* Movsēs came to Jerusalem and became the sacristan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

At that time *parontēr* Sargis and *tēr* Kirakos, about whom I wrote before,¹ and who were the founders of cloisters, lived in Jerusalem. They visited [286] the Greek monasteries of that land, on the banks of the Jordan River and on Mount Temptation (Mount of Olives), looking and seeking a safe and quiet place for a monastery, but could not find a proper place. *Tēr* Movsēs then said to them, "There are many such places of which you seek in the eastern lands [eastern Armenia], especially in the land of Siwnik'. I have seen them with my own eyes. It is also convenient to construct a cloister in that land; for its roots are in Armenia. There are many monasteries, villages, and it has a large Christian population. All the needs of the cloister can be found there." *Tēr* Movsēs also promised that when they came to that province, wherever they found a place and settled, and wherever they were, he would leave everything, come, join, and reside with them. He thus convinced them and sent them to the mountainous eastern provinces, and himself remained in Jerusalem. By the order of Bishop Grigor, the former superior of the monastery of St. James,² Movsēs was sent as the *nuirak* of Jerusalem, where he collected a great sum from the Christians and brought it to Jerusalem to the door of Bishop Grigor.

After that, he left Jerusalem and went to his own *Vardapet* Grigor of Kayseri, who was in Constantinople, for he, at the order of the sultan,³ had become the spiritual head of that city, with the title of patriarch.⁴ *Tēr* Movsēs stayed there several years [as] the pupil of *Vardapet* Grigor, and continued to lead a modest and chaste life. He did not wear the elegant and refined dress in which others were robed at that time, but in rough clothes and in abstinence. Only on Saturdays and Sundays and great holidays did he allow himself a modest meal, refusing wine and meat. He continuously sang the psalms and served mass. Because of this, all the people of [287] Constantinople, clerics and laymen, revered him and bowed down before him. Even distinguished men, like Shahin Chelebi, a man well

¹ See Chapters 21-22.

² Refers to the main Armenian monastery in Jerusalem.

³ The text does not indicate which Ottoman ruler appointed him. It could have been Sultan Muhammad III (1595-1603); Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617); or Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640); see below.

⁴ Grigor II of Caesarea (Kayseri) was thrice the patriarch of Constantinople, 1601-1608; 1611-1621; and 1623-1626.

known at the court of the ruler, and many others [respected him]. Among them were merchants from the eastern provinces who met in Constantinople, especially those from [New] Julfa and Goght'n, for they knew that Movsēs was from eastern Armenia by birth. They all appeared before *Vardapet* Grigor and asked that he elevate Movsēs to the rank of *vardapet*.

But, *Vardapet* Grigor, who was a strict, haughty and intractable man, seeing the gentle and saintly manner of *tēr* Movsēs, as well as his acceptance by the people, had no choice—for his own evidence and that of the public [justified it]—but to confer the staff of the *vardapet* on him. From then on, *Vardapet tēr* Movsēs preached, without interruption, in all the churches and exhorted the gospels of Christ in a radiant fashion.

After several years, by the order of *Vardapet* Grigor, *Vardapet* Movsēs was sent to travel together with other independent preachers. He left Constantinople and went to the city of Tigranakert, where the tomb of *Vardapet* Srap'ion was located. He kissed the holy tomb and received its blessing. He left there and went to Tabriz through the city of Vaspurakan (Van). From there he went to his homeland, to the Tat'ew monastery in the *gawar* of Siwnik'. His arrival caused an unbelievable joy among the clergy and laymen. First, the brotherhood of the Tat'ew Monastery—bishops and *abegha*—received him with love, but later they rejected him because they did not accept his sermons. Therefore, he left the Tat'ew Monastery and went to the Great Hermitage to Bishop [288] Sargis and *tēr* Kirakos, in accordance with his promise given earlier in Jerusalem. He settled there and from time to time he would go out, wander among the Christians, preach the word of God, and once again return to the cloister, for he resembled, at that time, a fish out of water, near death, and becoming revived only when thrown back into the water. *Vardapet* Movsēs could not breathe when he left the cloister and became revived only when he returned there.

All the people gladly heard the sermons of *Vardapet* Movsēs and happily used them in their lives, joyfully glorifying God for His benevolence towards them. But the bishops and the *abegha* of the *gawar* were not pleased with the sermons of *Vardapet* Movsēs, for *Vardapet* Movsēs had given up all earthly goods and lived an abstinent, saintly and monastic life, as required in the books. He preached that kind of life for all residents of the monastery, but they despised his words and did not agree [with him]. That was because all the Armenian monasteries and every monk possessed property: orchards

and gardens, beehives and houses, pantries and *ambars*,¹ as well as income from harvests. In addition they divided among themselves the general income of the monastery. All of this was squandered on their personal needs, that of their kinsmen and those who were of use to them. Finally, places dedicated to God, where the relics of the saints were laid to rest, and where miracles had occurred, places of divine signs and gates of grace, swarmed with their wives, mistresses, and their relatives.

They were not even aware that those who had attained the rank of a monk had to wear a hood and a mantle, or had to wear a coarse [289] and heavy robe. Instead they wore, as laymen and rulers, refined and precious clothes: breeches,² *qabas*, expensive headgear,³ and overcoats.⁴ They did not even contemplate that monks had to live in abstinence, fasting and hardship. They had wine and meat all year round, without exception.

The village *erēts'* acted the same way. They were *k'ahana* in name only. Some became *meliks*, others *tanuters*, some others committed adultery and bigamy; others attached themselves to Muslim rulers, and began to commit insidious deeds and betrayed Christians; some became laymen and started farming. In short, they abandoned serving God and the liturgy. They did not rush to church during prayers. The sound of church bells was not heard in the villages. There was nothing resembling a *k'ahana* about them, yet they continued to call themselves *k'ahana*. They performed the functions of a *k'ahana*, not as a *k'ahana* but as a lay artisan for material gain.

Because of the above disorders, not only the village *erēts'* and *abegha* became vagabonds, but also the *kat'oghikoi*. There was not one *kat'oghikos*, but three or four⁵ for, because of vanity and greed,

¹ From the Persian *ambār* (store-room).

² Text reads *ch'ashkhur*; Brosset claims it is from the Georgian *chakhchuri* and translates it as long-stockings or leg-coverings. Khanlaryan reads it as *sharovary*—from the Persian *shalvar*—wide trousers; Aṛak'elyan reads it as breeches.

³ Text reads *p'akegh* (turban, hat).

⁴ Text reads *balapush*, from the Persian overcoat.

⁵ There were coadjutors. For example, during the reign of Step'anos of Salmast, Mikayēl, Barsegh and Grigor 1552 were co-*kat'oghikoi*; *Kat'oghikos* Grigor II had Taddēos, Aṛak'el, and Dawit'; while Dawit' of Vagharshapat had Melk'isēt', Grigor XIII (Srap'ion), and Sahak. See Mak-soudian, *Chosen of God*, Chapter 31, and appendix.

they obtained, like custom officials, the *ghabale*¹ from the Persian ruler, for the office of kat'oghikos and rented or farmed out the Holy See of Ējmiatsin. When the kat'oghikoi went among the people, the shah's officials and Muslim troops accompanied them. They collected the *iravunk*² and *has*³ from the people with severity and with great oppression, like the sons of Elisha.⁴ The kat'oghikoi, who had obtained the rank of Kat'oghikos themselves with the help of silver and bribes, now ordained ignorant bishops and *k'ahana* in the same manner: rascals, unfit men, who had previously, according to the Psalter, served their own bellies.⁵ [290] They were constantly intoxicated like lay princes. From morning to night they spent their time with *gusans*, joking, in shameless conversations and idleness.

The reason for all this was nothing but alienation from the holy books and the abandonment of the fear of God. They did not read books at all and God's Scriptures were closed and quiet to them, for the reading of holy books would hinder their behavior. The books were scorned and scattered in some corners, covered with dust and ashes, for the people were illiterate, and as the Lord said, did not know the power of the Scriptures.⁶

Thus, if the clergy was like that, what can one say about the lay people, who did not even know that Christians had to confess and receive communion, or had to rush every day to prayers? They profaned Sundays by consuming olives and wine; some were divorced from their wives; some had committed bigamy with underage girls; others had sinned by committing incest. Churches and monasteries were all disfigured and abandoned. Church furniture and utensils were completely looted, to the point that even the holy altar was naked and uncovered. The doors were shut for a long time; gloomy and dark, silent, without service or liturgy, with demolished and shaky roofs and walls, the buildings resembled a helpless widow, abandoned by her husband, separated from her son, with a mournful heart, crying inconsolably in the face of the world.

¹ From the Persian *qabāle* (deed).

² Church dues collected in cash or kind.

³ Same as *khass*; in this case, taxes on property belonging to the Church rather than the state.

⁴ Kings II: 12-13, 22-25.

⁵ Romans 16.18: "For such people do not serve our Lord Christ, but their own appetites."

⁶ Matthew 22.29: "Jesus answered them, you are wrong, because you know neither the Scriptures nor the power of God."

Thus, much worse [291] than I can describe, the order in the upper provinces of Armenia¹ was shaken and abolished. Disorder was established and took root. This ignorance and error grieved and depressed Movsēs and Pōghos to the depth of their souls, these were the two *vardapets* about whom I wrote in the previous chapter. *Vardapet* Pōghos came to the upper provinces of Armenia just prior to Movsēs, and since he was alone, his enemies harassed him. But, with the arrival of *Vardapet* Movsēs, they began to help each other and preached more boldly throughout all the *gawaṛs*. These two *vardapets*, together with *parontēr* Sargis, *tēr* Kirakos and others mentioned in the chapter about the Grand Hermitage, first of all established the order and regulations for the cloister and its brotherhood, which they found in reading the [holy] books, and which *Vardapet* Movsēs saw and studied under the oil-lamps of the monastery. Then, all of them who lived in the cloister began to pray for the land to be saved and, through these prayers, the *vardapets* asked the Holy Spirit to help them spread the living word. *Vardapets* Pōghos and Movsēs became their partners and, like the holy apostles Peter and Paul, became the pair of faith, wandering throughout all the *gawaṛs* of eastern Armenia, preaching the truth to everyone, constructing churches, ordaining *k'ahana*, establishing schools and instructing boys. They wandered, like the apostles, on foot. They did not take anything from anyone, except for food. They fasted on weekdays all year round and only on Saturdays and Sundays partook of modest meals,² refusing meat or wine.

[292] The Christians of the upper provinces [of Armenia], witnessing the truth in their sermons, for their words and sermons were confirmed by their actions, all turned from the wrong road and submitted to their order and rules: nobles, bishops, *erēts'* and well-known men, together with all the common folk. But many distinguished men, both clergy and laymen, not only did not agree with their teachings, but went against them, calling them false and empty.

¹ The term was used by medieval Armenian historians to indicate the northern and eastern part of Armenia. See K. P. Patkanov, *Istoriia mongolov inoka Magakii, XIII v.* (St. Petersburg, 1871), 66. In the 17th century it indicated what was known as eastern or Persian Armenia.

² The text reads *nawakateats'*. It means that they behaved on weekends as they could on feast days such as Christmas, Easter, Transfiguration, Assumption, and Exaltation of the Cross.

They and their underlings violated the regulations *prescribed*¹ by them [the *vardapets*] when *and where*² they could.

However, such opposition was shown by people who were unjust and treacherous and who did like the road to truth. They began to speak ill and slander the *vardapets*, to the point where their slanderous remarks about the *vardapets* reached the Muslim rulers of the land: the khan and sultan, and especially Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', who ruled the patriarchate like a king over his subjects. Since the kat'oghikos also did not follow the true way, he encouraged such slander and saw in this a way to harass the *vardapets*. The kat'oghikos, now and then, violated their established order, rejected the men elevated by them, and sent them letters full of anger and threats.

When they met the kat'oghikos, the *vardapets* heard the same threats and contemptuous words. He threatened the *vardapets* in the manner of a ruler. [293] They threatened the *vardapets* so much until they obtained a writ from *Vardapet Pōghos* not to wander and preach among Christians, as I have already mentioned above, in the chapter concerning him.

After *Vardapet Pōghos* was eliminated, realizing that *Vardapet Movsēs* was alone, they began to struggle against him by brutal means. They harassed him so much that he [finally] sent his mantle, crosier and rug³ to Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' saying, "Since you do not want me to preach, take my authority. I shall be silent and will cease preaching. You shall answer to God if any sin is committed by my act."

But the All-Benevolent God did not permit Movsēs' act to benefit Melk'isēt' and his followers. Therefore, the people convinced Melik'sēt' not to take Movsēs' authority, but to return his staff to him and permit him to preach. Although Melk'isēt' gave Movsēs permission to preach, he did not renounce his treachery. He continuously tormented, abused and slandered Movsēs. He and his followers pressured Movsēs without pity.

Their acts created such an aversion that it grieved the *vardapet* deep in his soul. Tired, full of despair in his heart, and exhausted, he thought of the words of the Lord, "When they persecute you in one

¹ Absent from **D**.

² Absent from **F**.

³ Text reads *khalich'ē*, from *qālīche* (small rug). The rug, according to Khanlaryan, had an eagle design on it and was given to some *vardapets*.

town, flee to the next.”¹ He decided to leave the Eastern provinces, go to the Western provinces and to edify the Christians living there. With this idea, he left and went to [294] the city of Erevan, so that from there he could travel to Theodopolis, that is, the city of Erzurum.

At that time, the ruler of the city of Erevan and the Ararat province was the great and mighty governor, Amir Gūna Khan, who somewhat accidentally met *Vardapet* Movsēs. The khan asked about him from the Christians who stood before him; they replied who he was and where he came from. It so happened that the khan met the *vardapet* once again and, during their meeting and conversation, the khan was pleased with the *vardapet*, for God’s kindness made his servant appear agreeable in the eyes of the governor. The khan did not let Movsēs go to the Western provinces but kept him in the city of Erevan. Day after day, the khan came, witnessed the liturgy and other church services, conversed with him about learning and religion, and listened to the *vardapet*’s replies, which were polite, pleasant and bearing God’s grace. The khan grew fond of him because of his pious lifestyle; that is why he kept him in the city of Erevan. The *vardapet* stayed three years in the Kat’oghike church.²

From olden days in the northern part of the city of Erevan, among the vineyards, stood a beautiful chapel, built on the grave of the holy apostle Anania. It was in ruins and uninhabited. The khan told the *vardapet*, “Do you see this church, which stands uninhabited? Pay heed to me and do not go to another province. Make it your home, settle here, so that we can be near and comfort each other.” All parishioners, citizens and merchants begged and asked the *vardapet* to do the same. [295] Their words pleased the saintly *vardapet*, and he undertook to rebuild that place through the income and with the help of local Christians and merchants, who, because of their love for the *vardapet*, willingly gave alms for the construction, so that the *vardapet* would *reside*³ among them. That is why the surrounding fence, cells, chapel, sacerdotal and other structures of the house were quickly built. When all the construction was completed, the *vardapet*, together with his fellow monks, settled there and established the order and regulations practiced in the Grand Hermitage. Many monks, hermits and men, who wished to study the Scriptures and

¹ Matthew 10.23.

² Refers to the Kat’oghike church in Erevan.

³ Absent from D.

who were wise and led a saintly life, gathered there. They lived together, young and old, happily, based in cells, praying continuously and reading holy books.

His fame and his truthful sermons, as well as word of his pleasant disposition, spread to all the lands in Rum, Kurdistan, Georgia and Persia, for merchants from all lands came there [to Erevan], met him and spread the word. Witnessing the success and progress of *Vardapet Movsēs*, Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' became even more bitter and choked with anger. He was afraid of the khan, however, and could not harm Movsēs, for the khan loved the *vardapet* a great deal. It so happened that Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', together with his accomplices, thought of something, not for the sake of God's glory or for the benefit of *Vardapet Movsēs*, but for their own advantage and benefit, to add more mammon and silver. Melk'isēt' thought, "We shall consecrate the holy chrism in holy Ējmiatsin by the hands of *Vardapet Movsēs*. [296] Thanks to his fame, a large number of people shall come from *many*¹ lands, from whom I shall collect much mammon and silver."

Thus, some of Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt''s bishops came to *Vardapet Movsēs*, and on behalf of Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', honored him with an invitation to Ējmiatsin to consecrate the holy chrism. But *Vardapet Movsēs*, at that time, did not have the rank of bishop. Therefore, he refused, saying, "I do not have the rank of a bishop. I cannot perform this task, for the task has to be done by someone who is a bishop." Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' then said, "If he excuses himself because he is not a bishop, I shall make him a bishop, so that he will not have any pretext; he can then come and consecrate the holy chrism." But Movsēs refused the rank of bishop, saying that he was not worthy. His pupils, all the clergy and the parishioners, however, insisted that he agree and take the rank of bishop. *Vardapet Movsēs*, therefore, agreed to become a bishop.

After that, Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' came to the tomb of the holy apostle Anania, which was the hermitage and residence of *Vardapet Movsēs*, and *there*,² on Great Monday,³ ordained him [Movsēs] as a bishop. After that, the kat'oghikos, the *vardapet*, and all the clergy and laymen went to Ējmiatsin and consecrated the holy chrism on

¹ Absent from A.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Refers to the Monday before Easter. According to Brosset it occurred on March 22, 1619, *MB*, 412.

Great Thursday. After consecrating the holy chrism, they hastily let the people go, for they had come from many lands. Receiving the blessing of the holy chrism and Ējmiatsin, they went back to their homes.

[297] The merchants of [New] Julfa arrived to their kinsmen in the city of Isfahan, and told everyone about the great ceremony performed by *Vardapet* Movsēs. The Julfans, clerics and laymen, hearing this, were inflamed with love for the *vardapet* and passionately wished to see him. They equipped men—famed *k'ahana* and laymen—and sent them to *Vardapet* Movsēs, inviting him to visit them in Isfahan. The head of the Julfans, *Khoja* Nazar, deserving the grace of Christ, also wrote to his son *Khoja* Safraz, who was at that time in the Azarbaijan province, and asked him to honor *Vardapet* Movsēs in Isfahan. They arrived and took Movsēs to Isfahan. There, preaching the Christian doctrine and the gospel, he comforted and reassured not only the citizens [of Isfahan], but also all the inhabitants of the surrounding *gawars* and strengthened their belief in Christianity. He stayed there for some time, was honored by them, and then he returned to his abode in the city of Erevan.

While *Vardapet* Movsēs lived in his home in Erevan, carelessly and with a pure heart, *Kat'oghikos* Melk'isēt' devised the following intrigues against him: He produced a certain letter resembling a *tamasuk* (promissory note), which stated: "I, *Vardapet* Movsēs, owe *Kat'oghikos* Melk'isēt' 100 *tumāns*. I shall go to Isfahan and on my return shall pay it." They took the note to the *divan* of Amir Gūna Khan and began to urgently demand the 100 *tumāns* [from the *vardapet*]. But since *Vardapet* Movsēs [298] did not owe him, he said, "I do not owe him [anything], for I have not given him the note; the note was produced [forged] by an evil and insidious person." Although *Vardapet* Movsēs replied with detailed explanations, he could not be saved, for the slandering side was bombastic and experienced in evil deeds. However, the khan, together with his notables, and all the Christians realized that the said note was a kind of a ruse and that Movsēs was innocent. They all tried therefore to save Movsēs but could not. The court proceedings of this affair lasted two months. However, the Lord-Liberator saved him in this manner:

*Kat'oghikos*¹ Melk'isēt' and his nephew, *Kat'oghikos* Sahak, bore an evil hatred against Bishop Hamazasp, the abbot of the

¹ Absent from F.

Hawuts' T'ar Monastery and the prelate of the city of Erevan. He was a haughty and eloquent man. His arrogance frightened Melk'isēt's partisans, for the bishop towered over them. Melk'isēt's accomplices, because of their enmity, complained against him [in writing]. It so happened that during the legal proceeding [against Hamazasp], Kat'oghikos Sahak came to the hall [the *divan*], stood before the khan and publicly announced, "The document you have is false indeed, for neither my uncle, Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt, nor I know anything about it. I know that these machinations are the product of Bishop Hamazasp's lies."

The khan and all present cried out in joy and thanked God for having saved an innocent man from the grasp of slanderers. They tore the note up in that same gathering. Melk'isēt's followers hung their heads and shamefully went home.

Some time afterwards, [299] an order arrived from the great sovereign Shah 'Abbās to Amir Gūna Khan concerning *Vardapet* Movsēs, which stated, "Promptly dispatch a *vardapet* named Movsēs, who lives in your city, to me. He is to come and seek me wherever I am."

The reason for this call was the bleaching of candles.¹ For, *Vardapet* Movsēs, during his stay in Jerusalem, had learned the art of blanching wax. Now he annually bleached and burned blanched candles in the church during Mass and all church services. Hence the holidays of the Lord and the blessed saints were celebrated in great festivities with white and bright candles, as is written in the History of St. Hovhannēs of Odzun.²

As it was the habit of [Persian] kings to gather young men and maidens from all regions, Shah 'Abbās sent one of his *nakharars*, named Bayindur (Bāyandor) Beg,³ together with a eunuch to the Azarbaijan province. He began to gather young men and maidens. They reached the city of Erevan. One day, Bāyandor Beg and Amir Gūna Khan, while strolling together, came to the hermitage where *Vardapet* Movsēs resided. At that time *Vardapet* Movsēs brought out those white candles, paid homage, and handed seven candles to Bāyandor Beg and seven to Amir Gūna Khan. Bāyandor Beg, seeing

¹ Arak'el has described this in Chapter 29.

² Hovhannēs of Odzun, known as Imastaser, was a philosopher and kat'oghikos (717-728). For more details on the celebration of these holidays, see V. A. Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk' hayots'*, II (Erevan, 1971), 246-248.

³ Probably refers to Moḥammad Zamān Bāyandor.

the extraordinary brightness, the radiant and [300] illuminating whiteness of the candles, was greatly surprised and said amiably, "I shall keep these, take them and pay homage to the shah." The moment Amir Gūna Khan heard this, he said, "Since you said this, take my share as well and present it with yours to the king."

Vardapet Movsēs, hearing the speeches and witnessing the behavior of the notables, said, "Since you did so, I shall also bring and add seven more candles and you can take them all to the king." After concluding his affair, Bāyandor Khan went to the king and, together with the numerous gifts, gave the king the white candles as well. The king saw the candles, took them in his hands, looked at them, scrutinized them and asked where they came from. Bāyandor told him. That is why the king wrote the order to Amir Gūna Khan, so that the latter would send *Vardapet* Movsēs to him. Amir Gūna Khan, without any hesitation, sent *Vardapet* Movsēs to the shah.

Vardapet Movsēs got up and left Erevan for the city of Baghdad, for Shah 'Abbās was there. He wanted to seize that city back from the Ottomans, and after some days he took it.¹ But at that time he had not yet taken Baghdad, he had surrounded it, and had done battle there. *Vardapet* Movsēs appeared before the king. This occurred in the year 1075 (1626) of our calendar.² The king inquired about the bleaching of the candles, and the *vardapet* stood before him and gave appropriate answers.

The shah then wrote an order, gave it to *Vardapet* Movsēs, and sent him to the city of Isfahan [301], to Lala Beg, whom the king had as the governor-general there.³ He ordered that 100 liters of wax, three royal servants, and all the necessary expenses be given to *Vardapet* Movsēs. In addition, any vineyard, which pleased *Vardapet* Movsēs, was to be given to him, so that he could blanch the wax there and teach the servants. After that they were to take it [the wax] to the king, wherever he was.

Vardapet Movsēs took the royal decree, went to Isfahan and presented it to Lala Beg. The latter carried out everything according to the order of the sovereign: he gave Movsēs the wax, three servants,

¹ This occurred on November 28, 1623.

² The date cannot be accurate. The Persians had besieged Baghdad in 1623. The Ottomans then tried to take it and besieged it from November 1625 to May 1626. Kat'oghikos Sahak also met the shah there in 1623; see Chapter 19.

³ As noted, he was the head of the *ḡulams*.

who were named *Farukh* (*Farrokh*), *Qarchaqay*, and *Bēhzād*,¹ and the vineyard, which was called T'irim-khane.² Movsēs worked there for eight months, bleached the wax and taught the servants how to do it. He then took the bleached wax [to Farahabad], for by that time he [the shah] had taken Baghdad and had returned to Farahabad, to spend the winter there. Therefore, Movsēs went there.

At that time, the grand and glorious noble, *Khoja Nazar* of [New] Julfa, was there. He was a great friend of Movsēs and was held in high esteem by the shah. Through him, *Vardapet* Movsēs took the bleached candles to the king and presented the trained servants. Seeing the candles, the king was happy, took them in his hands, paced about, spoke kind words to him and let him go immediately.

The feast of the birth and the appearance of our Lord, Christ was approaching at that time. [302] Movsēs always celebrated the Lord's holidays with great solemnity, and was especially concerned about the preparation of this holiday, since the shah himself planned to come and watch the holiday feast. *Vardapet* Movsēs cast two white candles the height of a man and on Christmas Eve he lit them in the name of the Holy Virgin. He stood and kept vigil all night, praying to God with a warm love and strong faith. Shedding tears, he asked the Mother of God, the Holy Virgin, to plead with her Only Son for the successful ceremony in front of the Muslim ruler, in order to arouse pity and benevolence towards the Christians in his heart. With God's grace it [the ceremony] was performed the way *Vardapet* Movsēs had wished. On the day of the holiday, when the king visited the joyous gathering, and the *vardapet*, together with his robed clergy, performed the ceremony of blessing the water, the shah was very pleased by its solemnity and was well disposed to him. The king even asked *Khoja Nazar* about the *vardapet* and the latter told a great many good things about him.

Several days later, the shah said to *Khoja Nazar*, "Tell me what your *vardapet* wants, so that we can grant it. Money, property or whatever else he wishes." *Khoja Nazar* replied, "This man has given up worldly objects and profit. He does not need any such things. But, if you want to show kindness and reward him, give him the post of *lusarar* (sacristan/sexton) of Ējmiatsin, so that he can serve in that church and pray for the [long] life of [303] Your Highness." The re-

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Possibly from the Perso-Arabic *ta'lim-khāne* (house of apprenticeship).

quest touched the ruler's heart and greatly pleased him; by a royal decree, he appointed Movsēs the sexton of holy Ējmiatsin.¹

After that, *Vardapet* Movsēs left Farahabad, and with great honor and indescribable joy, not only his own, but of all the Christians, arrived in Erevan, in holy Ējmiatsin, and without delay began the restoration of the Holy See. Its building and restoration began on Monday, on the Feast of the Transfiguration² in the year 1076 (1627).

When we speak of the restoration [of Ējmiatsin] today, we cannot imagine its ruined condition. That is why I have to record the devastation, so that you can imagine the infirmity of the Holy See and, with it, the chagrin and sorrow of the entire Armenian nation and the *vardapets* for the Holy See, as well as to appraise all the contributions of *Vardapet* Movsēs and his pupils, and the donations and benevolence of the Christians for the restoration of the Holy See.³

The prophet David said, "They have laid Jerusalem in ruins,"⁴ and as the prophet Isaiah said about Sion, "like a booth in a vineyard."⁵ The same can be said about God's dwelling, the Holy See, for it was totally devoid of income and its ornaments were looted. There were no [holy] books, for the people did not pray or read [holy] books. There were no robes or cassocks, for they did not perform Mass or liturgies, to the point that the place of Christ's Descent and the holy altar did not have coverings. There were no lampions; thus there was no light, and the people [304] were constantly in darkness, unless a Muslim lit an oil lamp and placed it on the altar. He did this occasionally, for the benefit of travelers, so that they would give him alms. They did not burn incense, for there was no incense or incense-burners. The paved floor of the church was totally dug up and had become a nest of vermin and crawling creatures. The large windows [of the church] were wide open, there were no grilles; birds flew in and filled the church with excrement and other dirt. They had to sweep the church every morning. In the evening and early morning, the noise of birds deafened the sound of prayers.

¹ As noted in Chapter 19, the decree has survived; see *HD*, doc. 18.

² Refers to the Armenian feast of *Vardavar* (Transfiguration of Christ). It is on the Sunday following the sixth Sunday after Pentecost. It occurred on June 24 according to Brosset, *MB*, 415.

³ The shah's decree actually mentions Movsēs's efforts in restoring Ējmiatsin, see *HD*, doc. 18.

⁴ Psalm 79.1.

⁵ Isaiah 1.8: "And the daughter Zion is left like a booth in a vineyard."

The exterior part of the cupola of the church, its entire roof and the surface of the walls were in ruins and the stones taken out [from their place], while the stone slabs of the floor were smashed to pieces or were undermined. The edifices around the church, built in ancient times, were also in ruins and had fallen on top of each other. There was so much dirt and ash that mounds of garbage and dirt, measuring seven cubits,¹ had risen all around the church, so that they totally covered the foundation and the steps attached to it.

There was no furniture, utensils, religious or lay vessels, for the kat'oghikoi had sold, pawned and squandered even those that were there from ancient times. Now the pawned utensils were in the hands of Muslim notables. *Vardapet* Movsēs saved [retrieved] the following: The right hand [relic] of Patriarch Aristakēs,² the son of our Illuminator, St. Gregory, the right hand [relic] of St. Stēp'anos³ from the Aghjots' monastery [305], as well as the cross, the chalice, incense-burner, the cassock and other similar items.

All of my narrative demonstrates that people did not live in Ējmiatsin, and, once more, affirms that it was not inhabited, for it was uninhabitable. The kat'oghikoi did not live in Ējmiatsin, but resided in the Kat'oghike church in the city of Erevan or in the surrounding provinces. Some black-hooded men, low⁴ and coarse, resembling peasants, lived in Ējmiatsin as tillers.⁵ They spent most of the day [working] in the villages rather than in Ējmiatsin.

When *Vardapet* Movsēs began to renovate [the cathedral], he was troubled and did not know how to dig the surrounding dirt and ashes. But since God's will followed him and the work was undertaken by his wish, the removal of the dirt became easy. They diverted a fast and turbulent river and dammed it near the dirt. They brought many workers, who began to dig the dirt and fill it with water. The water then took the dirt with it, while the stones [of the foundation] remained. After several days the dirt quickly disappeared and the entire parameter became visible. The surface of the soil was made

¹ Text reads *kangun*.

² He was the kat'oghikos from 325 to 333.

³ These and similar relics were covered with decorated silver sheaths and were valuable.

⁴ **A** *sinlik'or*, **F** reads *sinlk'or*, **B**, **C**, **D**, and **E** read *snilk'or*. The term means empty, useless, and is best translated as lower elements of a town. See Malkhasyants', *Hayeren bats'atrankan bararan*, IV, 215.

⁵ Brosset has translated it as men for hire. Khanlaryan's Russian translation makes the same error, *KH*, 247.

level and the remaining stones were put to good use—they were attached back on the walls. The cathedral was then surrounded with a wide and long enclosure with eight towers attached to it. The enclosure was made in the form of a church with its four church altars, erected in such a manner that they corresponded to the four corners of the earth, with the outer side of the church facing these [306] four altars.

*They first measured from the altar of the eastern façade to the east, 45 gaz,¹ which equals 63 halabs², and they then built the enclosure facing the eastern side. They did the same for the western side. They also measured from the altar of the northern façade to the north 40 gaz, which equals 56 halab and they then constructed the enclosure; the same was done for the southern side. They then built a gate at the western side of the enclosure.³ They constructed a building for themselves and guests there. They built cells by the northern and eastern sides to house the brotherhood. On the southern side they built a refectory, a bakery, bursar's office, storage places, and *am-bars* for wheat and other provisions. All of these buildings, except for the enclosure, were built of mud, covered with cut stone and fired bricks, which in turn, were covered with beautifully and appropriately decorated plaster.⁴*

After that, the roof of the church cupola was renovated, for the stone slabs had moved and fallen out of their places. If anyone wants to know the measurements of the radiant and adorned cathedral of holy Ējmiatsin, inhabited by Christ, they are as follows: The length from east to west is 50 *halabs*; the width from north to south is 48 *halabs*. The height of the cupola from the floor in the center of the cathedral is 35 *halabs*. These are the measurements from inside the cathedral and do not include the walls.

Day after day, the renovations strengthened the Holy See and, with it, all the regulations and creed [307] of the Christian faith. That is because the word of the restoration of the Holy See spread throughout the lands—Rum, Persia, Kurdistan and Georgia; everyone was happy and rejoiced. *Vardapet* Movsēs also sent his pupils everywhere to sermonize. They went and preached from the depths of their soul and through their pious life strengthened the rules and

¹ Refers to a cubit; a length of 24 finger breadths or six hands.

² Each *halab* measured 60 inches.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ See the plan of Ējmiatsin in Bournoutian, trans. Simēon of Erevan, *Jambr*, p. 451.

customs of the Christian faith and traditions of the Church. For, wherever they went, like their mentor, they did righteous deeds: they built churches, ordained *k'ahana*, and repudiated and overturned the enemies of truth. Thanks to all this, the truth grew and took hold. In addition, *Vardapet Movsēs*, inspired by the Holy Spirit, established a school in the holy cloister of Hovhannavank',¹ where he gathered many children and took care of their needs and expenses himself. The children freely and calmly studied the teachings of the Church, books of wisdom and the Holy Scriptures, and all became men who were needed and who were useful for the country [Armenia]: *vardapets*, bishops, *abegha*, and *erēts'*. Thus, all the monasteries that were uninhabited and dark were filled with brothers—*abegha* and clergy—and the villages gained experienced *erēts'*. Therefore, all the Armenians dispersed throughout the land, tired of the scandalous behavior of the former *kat'oghikoi*, were now revived by the organized reassurance and, voluntarily and in all their hearts, wished that our own holy father, *Vardapet Movsēs*, would become *kat'oghikos*. They, the *vardapets*, bishops and noted men wrote to him from all over and begged him to agree and take the rank of [308] *kat'oghikos*. But he refused and considered himself unworthy of the apostolic throne.

Furthermore, the man of God, *tēr Movsēs*, continuously suffered in his soul; he was grieved and tormented because of the 100-*tumān muqata'a*, which lay like an unbearable load and heavy yoke on the Holy See of *Ējmiatsin*, and not only on it, but on the entire Armenian nation. *Vardapet Movsēs*,² in order to save the Holy See, the residence of Christ, did not linger or lie around lazily; he did not spare himself or his elderly feebleness, but got up and went to the court of the ruler in the city of Qazvin—for in the year 1077 of our calendar (1628), the king, Shah 'Abbās, was there. He went to the royal *nakharars*, here and there, and begged them to ask the ruler to repeal the 100-*tumān* tax on holy *Ējmiatsin*. But the *nakharars* did not find it appropriate and said, "This king loves plenty of money and is greedy, he will not give up such an income in silver. Since he was the one who established this tax, it is even more obvious that he will not give it up. Hence, remain quiet for the moment, until we find an appropriate time to ask the king." The *vardapet*, therefore, *became*

¹ For more details on the school at Hovhannavank' in 1629, see Alishan, *Ayararat*, 173.

² Absent from A and D.

*sad*¹ and, with a heavy heart, left Qazvin and returned to holy Ējmiatsin.

Shah 'Abbās left Qazvin and went to Farahabad, to a town called Ashraf, to spend the winter there. In accordance with the feeble nature of humans, he got ill and died on January 7 of the year 1078 (1629) of our calendar.² In his will he conferred the kingdom to his grandson, for the ruthless and calculating ruler, Shah 'Abbās, had [309] killed some of his sons, and blinded others, fearing that the nobles would put them on the throne. Only one grandson, the son of his eldest son, remained. That is why he gave the kingdom to his grandson. The *nakharars* and the men loyal to the dynasty all gathered and installed his grandson on the throne and named the new ruler, Shah Şafī. They named him so because of his luck, for his fortune and the name of his father were the same as that of the new king, Şafī.³ The new sovereign, Shah Şafī, ascended the throne on January 19, 1078 (1629).⁴

This was an opportune moment to repeal the 100-*tumān muqata'a*. That is why the emigrants from Julfa, who lived in the city of Isfahan, and especially the grand and pious noble *Khoja* Nazar, graced by Christ, wrote a letter and sent it with the speed of lightning through a courier to *Vardapet* Movsēs in Ējmiatsin, telling him to quickly go to the court of the newly installed ruler and ask him to repeal the 100-*tumān* tax. *Vardapet* Movsēs hurriedly went to Isfahan, to the court of the king, remained there for eight months and met with all the *nakharars*, former as well as new ones, in order to gain their friendship.

After that, the saintly man of God prepared a gift, fit for a king, dishes filled with gold *dahekans* (gold coins) and other valuables, and wrote a letter of supplication, that is, an 'arza (petition). Through the mediation of the *nakharars*, the *vardapet* and *Khoja* Nazar presented it to the king. When the sovereign asked about [310] the *vardapet*, *Khoja* Nazar told him about the *vardapet*'s piousness and added, "The *vardapet* was an old acquaintance and was loved by the former great ruler, your grandfather. He now prays for the life of Your Highness. He has one request, for the sovereign to pity and

¹ Absent from F.

² Shah 'Abbās died on the 24 Jomādā I 1038 AH (19 January 1629) in his summer palace at Ashraf in Mazandaran.

³ The prince was called Sām Mirza. He was the son of Şafī Mirza.

⁴ January 28, 1629.

spare his poor people and to order the annulment of the heavy burden of the 100-*tumān muqata'a*, placed on us unexpectedly and without cause.”

Shah Ṣafī spoke for a long time with *Khoja* Nazar during the audience and also asked *Vardapet* Movsēs about the 100-*tumān muqata'a*. Thanks to God's grace and benevolence, all the words of the *vardapet* seemed pleasant and were favorably received by the ruler, for the King of the Universe, God, who holds the heart of all the kings in his hand, softened and sweetened the king's will. In the presence of everyone, the shah said, “I repeal the 100-*tumān muqata'a*, which you pay to the state treasury. You are hereby free from it. Pray for our life and success.” Then, *Khoja* Nazar, *Vardapet* Movsēs and all the notables in the king's presence bowed, kissed the ground [by the feet] of the king, lifted their hands, and loudly praised and blessed the Lord and the king. Then they left the gathering and joyfully returned to their homes. After that, *Vardapet* Movsēs and *Khoja* Nazar went to the homes of notables, those who kept the books of the *divans*, and the scribes, and pleaded for a long time, until it [the tax] was erased from all the books in which it was recorded.

[311] After that, *Khoja* Nazar wrote another petition and gave it to the shah, begging that he grant a decree with his seal, which stipulated the annulment of the 100-*tumān muqata'a*. He also asked that the king give the authority of *kat'oghikos* to *Vardapet* Movsēs. Shah Ṣafī granted all his wishes: he gave a decree with his seal, which clearly and expressly stated, “I have repealed the 100-*tumān muqata'a*, which our kings had placed on your See of Ējmiatsin.¹ At the request of all the Armenian people, I have ordered that *Vardapet* Movsēs² become the *kat'oghikos*.”³

Thus, after going through great and unimaginable sufferings and after spending a great deal of money—about 1,000 *tumāns*—*Vardapet* Movsēs barely managed to repeal the heavy burden placed on the Holy See, took the royal decree, and with great joy returned to the Lord's abode, holy Ējmiatsin. The news of the liberation of the Holy See spread throughout the land, among the Armenian inhabi-

¹ The document reads Üç-kilisa (“Three churches”), the Perso-Turkish name for the churches of Ējmiatsin, Hrip'simē and Gayanē.

² He became *Kat'oghikos* Movsēs III of Tat'ew, 1629-1632. See Chapter 31.

³ The decree, dated in the month of Dhulhejja 1038 (July 22-August 20, 1629), has survived. See *HP*, doc. 19.

tants, and everyone, with indescribable joy, loudly praised and thanked the Lord.

Then, noted men from all lands, clergy as well as laymen, began to send even longer petitions to *Vardapet* Movsēs, asking and begging him not to make any more excuses and, for the sake of the faith and order of the Church, agree to become the kat'oghikos. These letters were sent from Persia, Georgia, Kurdistan and Rum. Not for his own glory, for he was already blessed and loved by God, but for the sake of benefiting the people of God and strengthening the faith, our holy father paid [312] heed to the general petitions and accepted the patriarchal rank. With the blessing of the All-Holy Spirit of God, he was consecrated Patriarch of All Armenians, and became the radiant and glorious successor to the premier [site of] holy Ējmiatsin on January 13, the day of the Incarnation of our Lord,¹ in the year 1078 (1629) of our calendar. As the Lord said, [he was] like the shining light on a tall candle in the holiest See,² a radiant light to serve as a wick for the land of the descendants of Aram³ and with his God-given teaching, comfort all, leading them, with his sweet sermons, on the road to truth.

Our holy father was pious and saintly, meek and kind. He released *many*⁴ prisoners from captivity, for, during his time, there was an irreconcilable enmity between the Persians and the Ottomans and, because of that, a great deal of pillaging and taking prisoners from both sides. Seeing someone in captivity, he would immediately buy him and set him free. He remained on the throne of holy Ējmiatsin and, through his upright activities, renewed the ruins and replaced them with new buildings, adorned the cathedral for the monks and *vardapets*, firmly established religious services, and enriched the church vessels, and the church's material income. He served as kat'oghikos for three and a half years, and on May 13, 1081 (1632) he died, went away from us, to be with the Lord, and ascended to the eternally living Christ, who he constantly kept in his heart and prayed to without interruption.

It so happened that he died in the [313] city of Erevan, in the monastery by the tomb of the apostle St. Anania. Hence they took him to the common cemetery on a hill called Kozer, for the grave of

¹ On a Tuesday, according to Brosset, *MB*, 420.

² Sirach 26.17: "Like the shining lamp on the holy lampstand."

³ Moses of Khoren, Bk. I, Chapter 12.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

*Vardapet Kozer*¹ is found there *and the hill is called that.*² By the graves of *Vardapet Kozer* and *Vardapet Melk'isēt'*, between the two, they prepared a place for the burial of this saint. There, between the two closed shrines, they placed, with great honor and respect, his saintly remains to the glory of Christ and for the patronage of all the Christians. *Since his life brought happiness and joy to all, now his death brought sorrow and grief to everyone; and not only to Christians, but to the Muslims as well. Even the governor, Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan, the son of Amir Gūna Khan, and all his notables came to the funeral of Kat'oghikos Movsēs, gave condolences to the Christians in their grief and shed tears for his death, for such a God-pleasing and peace-making man had left the world. His memory shall be blessed and, because of his prayers, God will have pity on us.*³ Amen.⁴

¹ *Vardapet Kozer* (Hovhannēs of Tarōn) was well known in the medieval period for his knowledge of calendars. In 1007 he, together with *Vardapet Hovsēp*, was invited to Constantinople by Emperor Basil to decide on the exact date of Easter. Kozer did not go, but sent his written opinion instead. He spent the later years of his life in Erevan, where he died, and was buried in the oldest cemetery of that town, located in the northern part of Erevan, on a hill, which became known as the Kozer Hill.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Ibid.

⁴ A colophon by Awetis the scribe appears in B. It reads, "Remember in Christ this tormented scribe, Awetis, the presbyter of Erevan, while uttering the Lord's Prayer."

[314] Chapter 25

On the teachings and reign of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos and on the restoration of the churches of St. Gayanē and Hrisp'simē, and on the finding of their relics

Kat'oghikos *tēr*¹ P'ilippos was born in the village of Ērnkan in the land of Barma, which today is called Aghbak.² In his youth, when he was about fourteen years old, he heard about the austere life of the monks in the Grand Hermitage. With great desire, he took off for the Grand Hermitage to become one and to embrace the pure and virtuous life of the [Twelve] Apostles, something he truly wished for. But the monks of the Grand Hermitage did not let him into the cloister, for he was still a boy and did not have a beard. However, he did not return to his world, but remained there by the walls of the monastery, in the thickets that surrounded the monastery, and lived there for eight months.

At that time Kat'oghikos Movsēs, who was [315] still a *vardapet*, wandered about, preached throughout the land, and, like a sun, enlightened all. The abbot of the Grand Hermitage, *paron-tēr* Sargis, entrusted P'ilippos as a student to *Vardapet* Movsēs. P'ilippos remained with him until he became of age and, as a young man, he was made an *abegha* and a celibate *k'ahana*. Day and night he followed the austere and virtuous life, read and learned the holy books. Witnessing his success, *Vardapet* Movsēs, by his own judgment and with the consent of all the members of the brotherhood, gave him the rank of *vardapet*, and, in 1079 (1630), after several years of carrying the staff of a *vardapet*, he made him a bishop.

In the year 1081 (1632), when the time of the death of Kat'oghikos Movsēs³ arrived, the bishops, *vardapets* and noted men, as well as the governor of the city, *Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan*,⁴ gathered around him, mourned and asked, "If God, who gives life, has decided that you leave us and go, then we ask you to be kind to us as a father and not leave us orphans. Tell us who you will appoint as a father and pastor in your place." He said, "It is your affair. Elect whomever you wish." But those who had gathered replied, "We and

¹ Absent from D.

² A district in Vaspurakan, east of Lake Van.

³ May 14, 1632.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

the entire nation elected you; now whomever you choose shall be recognized by us." He then said, "I would prefer that *Vardapet* P'ilippos be my successor and take over the Holy See of Ējmiatsin." Hearing this, all of them willingly agreed and recognized [316] P'ilippos as kat'oghikos. When the news of the death of Movsēs, as well as [the news] that he had entrusted P'ilippos to become the kat'oghikos, spread to all the lands, eastern and western, everyone voluntarily and gladly agreed. Therefore, letters of approval were sent from everywhere, asking that *Vardapet* P'ilippos become the kat'oghikos. By the time the letters arrived, that year ended and the year 1082 (1633) had arrived. On January 13, on the day of the Incarnation of our Lord, they consecrated him with the blessing of the Holy Spirit, as kat'oghikos.¹ Although the nation of Haik grieved and mourned the death of Movsēs, it was glad about the election of P'ilippos and rejoiced. In place of the father, a son remained to rule over the entire nation,² as stated by David. Although Movsēs (Moses) had died, Joshua had replaced him,³ and although Elisha was taken away, Jehoash (Joash) had taken his place with his soul.⁴

When the year 1084 (1635) of our calendar arrived, the ruler of Istanbul, named Sultan Murad,⁵ a haughty, strong, wise and victorious man, marched out with 700,000 soldiers and came to the Ararat province. He surrounded the Erevan fortress, besieged it, and in nine days seized it. He captured the ruler of the fortress, Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan, the son of Amir Gūna Khan, and sent him to Constantinople.⁶ He appointed one of his *nakharars*, a wise and just noble, named Murtaza Pasha, as commander of the fortress.⁷ [317] He left him with 15,000 elite armed troops [in the fortress] and went to Tabriz, from where he then went back home via Van.⁸

¹ Refers to Kat'oghikos P'ilippos of Aghbak (1633-1655).

² The following until the end of the paragraph is missing from **A** and **D**.

³ Deuteronomy 31-34.

⁴ Kings II: 4-15.

⁵ Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640).

⁶ The sultan took him into his service, gave him the title of Yusuf Pasha, and gave him a palace in Istanbul. For details see **ZK**, 114-115, 155. According to Brosset he was executed on July 14, 1641, **MB**, 422.

⁷ Murtaza Pasha was the governor of Erevan from 1635 to 1636.

⁸ Sultan Murad arrived in July and took Erevan in August. He then plundered, but did not occupy Tabriz and returned to Istanbul on December 15, 1635.

When the summer passed and the winter of the year 1085 (1636) of our calendar arrived, the Persian ruler, Shah Šafī, arrived with 100,000 soldiers, invaded the Ararat province and besieged the Erevan fortress for 93 days. With great difficulty, tremendous suffering and bloodshed, he managed to take the fortress back from the Ottomans.¹ Because of the movement [of troops] by these two despotic sovereigns, the eastern and western provinces [of Armenia] were ruined and desolated. The Ararat province and its surrounding *gawars* were especially affected, for both rulers, with their cavalry and infantry, clashed there, completed their objective and returned home.

The Holy See of Ējmiatsin, except for the church and the vaulted structures, was left in complete ruins. All the wooden *houses and*² structures were demolished. That is why Kat'oghikos tēr P'ilippos, with great difficulty, rebuilt all the structures. He paid the workers 1,000 *kurus* in cash just for the wooden structures alone. Prior to this, in the time of Movsēs, the dining table in the refectory, as well as other items, were made of wood. That is why they were easily damaged. Kat'oghikos P'ilippos ordered that the dining table and the seats be made from stone and added a paved floor, so that they could not easily be destroyed by galloping horses. All the cells in the eastern part [318] were rebuilt, not as before, but in a new fashion. The roof of the church was completely renewed as well, except for the crown of the cupola. The stone floor covering³ around the church, and the other covering, which was in front of the cells and other buildings [were also renewed]. At the other side of the enclosure, near the southern gate, two new presses [were installed] for the extraction of Lenten oil, for there were no such presses in Ējmiatsin. In addition, here and there he built many houses for visitors, the details of which I do not remember.

In the Erevan hermitage, where, as I have mentioned, the tomb of the apostle Anania was located, all the structures, except for the chapel, were made of wood. They were all demolished and ruined during the course of the above-mentioned invasions. They were also all rebuilt [by the kat'oghikos], not with wood, but with stone and plaster—the oratory, refectory, cells, and all other buildings.

¹ Brosset states that the Persians retook the fortress on March 22, 1636, *MB*, 423.

² Absent from *F*.

³ Text reads *farsh*, from the Persian *farsh* (carpet or floor covering).

In the year 1086 (1637), after the completion of all the buildings in Ējmiatsin, as well as the above hermitage, the holy father, our Kat'oghikos tēr P'ilippos, went to the Christians [Armenians] in the city of Isfahan and stayed there for half a year. He preached the laws of God and strengthened their faith in the Christian creed. He also gathered donations (*nuirak*) from them for holy Ējmiatsin. Because of the kat'oghikos' chaste and ascetic lifestyle, the [New] Julfans and all the Christians [Armenians] received him with great honor and respect, as the messenger of God.

Now let us return to the right arm of the holy Illuminator, which was still in Isfahan. As I have already [319] mentioned before,¹ they had taken the right arm to the city of Isfahan by the order of Shah 'Abbās the First. Kat'oghikos P'ilippos unceasingly, ardently and passionately wished to find a way to return the holy arm and to take it back to holy Ējmiatsin. Therefore, he conferred for many days with the *k'ahana* and the parishioners of [New] Julfa and asked them, especially the very religious and Christ-loving notable, *Khoja Safraz*, son of *Khoja Nazar*, who was, at that time, the leader of the Julfans. Kat'oghikos P'ilippos persuaded and begged them to return the right arm of the Illuminator, so that he could take it back to its rightful place, to holy Ējmiatsin.

The Julfans did not want to give up the holy arm and did not wish it to be taken away from them. They said, "We are living in a foreign land, among Muslims, especially among the insidious and snake-like Persian people. We have no symbol or article for strengthening the Christian faith, no monasteries, no places of pilgrimage, no structures on top of Christian saints, no graves, no tombs of saints, or that of our fathers and ancestors. We only have this holy right arm, and, after seeing this wondrous object, our recently born children remain in their Christian faith. If you take this arm away, in what can we find comfort in a foreign land? How do we live?" For this reason the Julfans did not want to give up the right arm. Therefore, thinking of a pretext, they told Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, "The right arm of the Illuminator, which you want from us, was brought by the Persian ruler and entrusted to us. How can we give it up [320] to you without a royal decree? For, we fear the shah's retribution and the deceit of traitors!"

Then, since Kat'oghikos tēr P'ilippos, together with noted Erevani Armenians, wanted the right arm be returned to Ējmiatsin, they

¹ See Chapter 17.

began to frequent the doors of the royal officials and gratified them with expensive gifts. In conclusion, they finally filled a dish with gold *dahekans* and presented it, together with a petition, to the ruler, Shah Şafī, imploring that he give an order for the return of the right arm of the Illuminator. The Lord and God of all eternity and all the people, who holds the hearts of all rulers in his hands and turns them in whichever direction he wants, softened the king's heart to show kindness to the patriarch. He fulfilled his request and gave a written order affixed with the royal seal, for the Julfans to give the right arm of St. Illuminator to Kat'oghikos Tēr P'ilippos.

Kat'oghikos P'ilippos took the king's decree and brought it to the grandsons of *Khoja* Safar, for his sons had died; the grandsons *were* named: *Jalal, Mikayēl, Sinan, and Pstik Agha*, but they¹ did not want to return the arm. The kat'oghikos was very angry and threatened them. Fearing him and his holy and patriarchal damnation, they ceased their stubbornness. Tēr P'ilippos, together with many *k'ahana*, himself went to the house of *Khoja* Safar, took the right arm to the church of Khojents', performed a Mass on Sunday and revealed the arm. Word of this spread [321] among all the Julfans and they came to worship it. The Julfans, however, were still against the removal of the arm. Therefore, the arm was secretly taken from there to the Julfa cathedral, and from there it was also secretly taken to the Erevanis in the city [of Isfahan]; from there, they again secretly moved it to the Brinju² Caravansary, where they placed it in a load of a certain Christian [Armenian] merchant, named Markarē, who was born in the village of Ts'ghna of the Goght'n *gawar*, who had come to Isfahan for trade. He, in good time, took the arm, together with other merchandise, as is customary with merchants, and went to Tabriz. The Julfans did not even know about this. After that, Kat'oghikos P'ilippos left Isfahan, went to Tabriz, received the arm from Markarē, and took it to holy Ējmiatsin, to its original altar.

*The news brought an unbelievable happiness to all the Armenians, and everyone, hearing this, praised the Lord, the guardian of Christians [Armenians], with joy and great thanksgiving.*³ The right arm of St. Illuminator was brought from Isfahan to holy Ējmiatsin, to its own altar, on September 20 in the year 1087 (1638) of our calendar.

¹ Absent from A and D.

² From the Persian *brenj/berinj* (rice).

³ Absent from A and D.

From the first day of the saintly rule of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, the kat'oghikosate was strengthened and became firmer, for God was with him. Since he led an ascetic and abstinent life, was pious, and tirelessly prayed and spoke to God, the Lord gave him, without exception, anything he asked from him. I saw, with my own eyes, how many possessed people were cured because of his prayers, how those who suffered from various diseases [322] and cripples became whole, and how barren women had children, thanks to his prayers. I shall recall here only two of his healings.

When I lived with many other brothers at holy Ējmiatsin during the time of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, one of the brothers was possessed by the devil. The evil spirit had taken hold of him in such a way that it drove him out of his room into the plains and fields and dragged him here and there away from the people. That is why they usually caught him and brought him back to the monastery. They then put his legs in iron shackles, kept him in this manner, and the *k'ahana* read the gospels daily over him. This continued for fifty days. One day, this was on a Sunday, after they had celebrated the Divine Liturgy, when all the people exited the church and scattered, *tēr* P'ilippos ordered them to bring the brother possessed by the devil into the solium¹ of the church, so that the priest, who had served Mass in his holy vestments, would read the gospel over him. *Tēr* P'ilippos ordered this and went to his residence, for he had something important to do; some honorable men were his guests. They had arrived; he set a table for them and lingered with them for a while to win them over. He then left the banquet table and went into the church. Entering through the western door of the church and facing the holy altar, he silently and slowly approached the solium, fell to his knees there, facing the holy altar, and, with great supplication and shedding of tears, he read one set² of psalms. At that moment the man possessed by the devil wanted to escape from those who held him. Not being able to do so, he let out a loud and heartrending [323] cry, fell like a dead man on the floor, and puked. Then *tēr* P'ilippos ceased praying and ordered those standing to lift the man up and take him home. The churchmen lifted and took away the puking man. From that day on, by the grace of Christ and the prayers of the man

¹ Refers to the space right before the altar; the Latin *solium*.

² Text reads *gobgha*. This is a unit of psalms according to the Armenian division of the Psalter. There are 2 to 4 chapters of psalms in each *gobgha*, ending with praising God.

of God, *tēr* P'ilippos, that brother was forever saved from the ailment. The saved brother himself related, "When the brothers seized me and held me under the gospel, which was read by the brother who had celebrated Mass, I saw a large and terrible black snake wound around my neck, back, and my entire body. I also saw the spiritual father P'ilippos entering swiftly through the church door with a large drawn sword in his hand. He came near me and struck the snake that had wound around me with his sword. He killed it and cut it away from me. The head and other parts of the snake decayed and vanished at that moment." He [P'ilippos] not only cured him, but many other such men; I have only given this one example.

I shall recount another miracle, [which occurred when] *Kat'oghikos tēr* P'ilippos wandered and preached in the land of the Ottomans. One Sunday, the day of the great holiday of Easter, in the city of Ankiwra (Ankara), when *Kat'oghikos tēr* P'ilippos was sitting alone with one of his pupils, a well-known man, a *vardapet* named Hovhannēs, the following happened: They saw a fifteen-year-old youth approach, carrying a seven-year-old boy on his back. He came and put the young boy before the patriarch. The youth had a bundle of apples and [324] dyed eggs. He also placed these in front of the patriarch, begged and pleaded, saying, "I am your slave, my spiritual father. The small boy I put in front of your holiness is my brother. Many years have passed since his birth, but he cannot speak, for he is dumb; he cannot stand, for his legs are weak. That is why we ask with great supplication that your holiness read a prayer over him. I believe in God and I know that your prayer will cure my brother." Our father and saintly patriarch went on his knees, raised his hands, became pensive and directed his thoughts to God, who sees into the hearts of all. Shedding tears, he prayed for a long time. When he finished the line "Our Father in Heaven," he took an apple, threw it away and gently said to the boy, "Get up, my son, go and get me that apple." Then, by the grace and the indulgence of the kind God, the boy got up, went, picked up the apple and brought it to the patriarch. The patriarch said once again to the boy, "Did you take the apple, my son?" Then the boy, who was mute, responded through God's grace, "Yes, I took it." The saintly patriarch replied, "Now Praise the Lord, my son. Go and confess to him." The boy said, "Glory to God." The patriarch then turned the boy over to his brother, who took him and left, blessing the miracle-granting God, who granted so much to his servants. *There were many other miraculous events* [325] *performed by the saintly kat'oghikos, tēr*

*P'ilippos, which I witnessed with my own eyes, but the above accounts suffice.*¹

He was a very sensible, prudent, peaceful and helpful man; he acutely analyzed the holy books, was eloquent, and insatiable in teaching and preaching. In the end he accomplished all this, thanks to prayers, for wherever he preached and taught, everything bore fruit and brought benefit.

He was a great lover of solemn holidays, and of decorating churches, and worshipped during the Lord's holidays and the days of all his saints, as is directed by Hovhannēs of Odzun. That is why his name was renowned and word about him spread throughout the land, not only among the Armenians, but also among the Muslims and Georgians; everyone loved and admired him. Because of his eminence, zeal and saintliness, and because he was a devoted servant of God, they all feared him greatly, not only the common folk, but also the notables, governors and generals, for they witnessed how his enemies perished and vanished, while his friends became strong and reached their goals.

He greatly strengthened the seminary that was established in Hovhannavank', teaching pupils science and the practice of virtues and bringing it to perfection. After some years he moved it [the seminary] from Hovhannavank' to Ējmiatsin and founded a seminary there. Everyone studied there and became useful men: *vardapets*, bishops, and *k'ahana*. Monasteries that were abandoned a long time ago were filled with *abegha*; villages and towns filled with *erēts'*; everything established by him is [326] still growing. Many half-ruined and abandoned churches were restored during his time; many new churches with wondrous adornments, bright and glorious in every way [were built].²

After the completion of all the buildings in Ējmiatsin, Patriarch P'ilippos began the task of renovating the churches of the saintly virgins, Gayanē and Hripsimē. In the chapter about the church of Hripsimē, in which I wrote how the Frankish *paters* came and found her [St. Hripsimē's] relics, I wrote something about the destruction of the churches of both virgins.³ The church of the saintly maiden

¹ Absent from A and D.

² In the month of Rabi' I of the year 1055 AH (27 April-26 May, 1645), Kat'oghikos P'ilippos received a decree from Shah 'Abbās II that permitted him to restore churches. See *HP*, doc. 30.

³ See Chapter 16.

Gayanē was in even worse shape; its roof had completely collapsed and only the walls that stood around four columns, bare on top, remained. The foundation of the walls, here and there, was eaten away and demolished. Kat'oghikos tēr P'ilippos began to restore that church first and, with a great desire and effort, spending a great deal of money, he beautifully restored the church from its foundation to the cupola, on which they erected a cross, the sign of our Lord.

During the restoration of the church of the saintly virgin Gayanē, her holy relics and those of her companions were found, which caused an indescribable happiness and rejoicing among the Armenian people. It resembled the joy that occurs on the restoration of a lost kingdom. For they constantly hoped to unearth the relics of the saintly virgins, trying to find out if they were there or not. For, the chapel was built under the main altar, the former site of the resting place of the relics of the saints. It was completely demolished and ruined to the floor and was filled to the top with garbage and impurities.

[327] There was at that time an *abegha*, named tēr Hovhannēs, a worthy man, wise and active, who during the days of the restoration of the church by Kat'oghikos tēr P'ilippos, was appointed the supervisor and manager of the work. Once, under a pretext, he sent all the workers away, chose a place and for an entire day and night dug alone in a location directed by his inner senses. He dug the earth for so long that he reached the solid bottom, upon which the foundation of the church was built. There, under the foundation of the church, he unearthed three chests: one on the southern side, one on the northern, and the third on the eastern. When he lifted the stone cover of one chest, there immediately rose an amazing, miraculous and fragrant scent, the delight of which cannot be described. It spread all over, from top to bottom. The *abegha* saw the relics in the chests—white and bright as snow. The relics of each saint were intact in the chests. Filled with joy, tēr Hovhannēs prostrated himself, bowed to God, and thanked him for the kindness he had shown him. He then took one of the bones from the remains as proof, closed the stone cover of the chest, and secured it on all sides with plaster. He destroyed all the evidence so that none of the workers could find out about it. After he finished, he took the bone and showed it to the *vardapets* and members of the brotherhood, and told them everything that had happened. Everyone was overjoyed and praised the Lord with indescribable [328] happiness. The relics of the virgin St. Gayanē and her companions were found, and the renovation of the

church named after her was completed on Tuesday, October 19, in the year 1101 (1652).

After they had completed all the work on the construction of the church of the saintly maiden Gayanē, they moved to the church of the saintly maiden Hṛip'simē and began to renovate it as well. The reason was because the outer part of the church—the top of the cupola, the entire roof, the wall-coverings, and the sidewalks, as well as the inside part—the altar, the stone paved floor, and the interior of the four side chapels—was in ruins and destroyed. With all their strength, long effort and great difficulty, they completed the restoration of the entire church and placed a cross of the Lord on top of its cupola. By the grace and wish of our Lord, Jesus Christ, here too the relics of the saintly maiden Hṛip'simē were found—not only in one place, but also in three other places, separated and hidden for safety. In two places, the relics were hidden among stones; and in one place, where there were many relics, they were placed in a wooden box, that is, a chest, and a small housing, resembling a chapel, was built for the relics, where the chest, full of relics, was placed. On the wall of the chapel was an inscription, which I took and have copied it here, as follows:

- ❖ The extraordinary and blessed great martyr of the Indivisible Father and benevolent hypostasis of the soul; the bride of the forgiving Groom of Heaven; our lady of the benevolent Lord; may she be the sovereign forever and continuously a servant of the Holy Spirit.
- ❖ [329] O saintly maiden, I beg you to guard those mentioned below with care and with unabated prayers in your name and my congregation, for you, saintly maiden, are their devoted guardian and the victorious interceder for all.
- ❖ Mention me as well in your enlightened truth, in this your small sacrificial cloister, the kindness of which I am content with, I beg this by your soul and name, Hṛipsimē.
- ❖ Hakob, the *k'ahana* of the diocese of the church of St. Kat'oghike.
- ❖ St. Ologin.
- ❖ I, Khosrovik, servant of St. Hṛip'simē.
- ❖ Step'anos.

These were the words, before which I have outlined the sign of the cross, written in groups on the wall of the chapel, where the chest, full of relics, was laid; and I have taken the model and recorded it here for you, future readers, for your consolation, in

memory, and as an example of Christ's kindness to us, toilers, thanks to your prayers and the intercession of St. Hripsimē.

The restoration of the two chapels, St. Gayanē and St. Hripsimē, took three years, from start to finish, for the work began in the year 1100 (1651) and was finished in the year 1102 (1653) with great expenditures and tremendous labor, for the glory of Christ and his martyrs.

Then, our holy father, *tēr* P'ilippos, decided to go to Jerusalem. He got up and went with a large [330] retinue of *vardapets*, bishops, *k'ahana* and servants from among his brotherhood. A large number of men, many *vardapets*, bishops and nobles from the towns and *gawars*, hearing about the departure of the saintly patriarch, rushed to go [to Jerusalem] as well. When Kat'oghikos P'ilippos reached the city of Theodopolis, that is, Erzurum, and the rumor of his trip had reached the [Armenian] population of Constantinople, having a great respect for their holy father, they went to the sultan's deputy, who was the [grand] vizier, and asked for a decree addressed the governor [of Erzurum], affixed with the royal seal, as well as a court official to go and to serve the patriarch, to protect him during all his travels in the lands under Ottoman rule, so that no notable or governor of a province would slander, disturb, coerce or offend the patriarch. Complying with their request, the vizier gave them a royal decree and a pious notable. The notable came to the patriarch and began to carry out his duties, serving the patriarch throughout all his travels. The kat'oghikos traveled through all the cities under Ottoman rule, and the notable accompanied him everywhere and served him until he took him back to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin and entrusted him to the governor of the land, after which Moḥammad-qoli Khan took the decree, as a sign that he [the official] was relieved from duty, and he returned to the court of his sovereign in Constantinople.

[331] Kat'oghikos *tēr* P'ilippos stayed in Jerusalem for four months, and while he was there, the pasha (governor) of the city, the Roman (Catholic) patriarch and the abbot of the Frankish monastery received and honored him with great love and tremendous respect. The floor of the church of St. Hakob (St. James) was paved with colorful and beautifully decorated tiles by the order of P'ilippos. Although the floor had been paved prior to this, it was not smooth and comfortable, but went up and down in places and was rough. The high altar was raised as well, for prior to that it was too low.

In that same year, when Kat'oghikos *tēr* P'ilippos went to Jerusalem, the kat'oghikos of Sis, Patriarch Nersēs, came to Jerusalem as

well. The religious leader of Jerusalem, at the time, was *Vardapet Astuatsatur*. Inspired by the Holy Spirit, *Kat'oghikos tēr P'ilippos*, like the apostle Paul, grieved and worried constantly about the failings and irregularities of the Armenian Church. With the unanimous agreement of all his churchmen, he decided to correct the irregularities. With this goal, in all his teachings and sermons, and in his friendly chats, he exhorted all to come to an agreement and, with love, uproot the irregularities and hatred. Inspired by Christ, his teachings and sermons, which came from the depth of his soul, touched all who came to the assembly—clerics and laymen—led by *Nersēs*, *kat'oghikos* of Sis and the religious head of Jerusalem, *Vardapet Astuatsatur*. They unanimously subordinated to the will of Patriarch *P'ilippos* and established rules consisting of thirteen canons, which I record here in an abridged form.¹

First: By the love and agreement between the two *kat'oghikosates*—*Ējmiatsin* [332] and Sis: Let each *kat'oghikos* ordain the clergy under his jurisdiction and not the other. If it happens that he should ordain someone outside his jurisdiction, then he must appoint him to a position in his own diocese. If the ordained priest goes from the diocese of that *kat'oghikos* to the other, he will not be accepted.

Second: The ordained should not dare to join the other *kat'oghikos*, but has to remain with his [*kat'oghikos*].

Third: No one should be ordained as bishop without the request of the community and attested by writs.

Fourth: No bishop, under any pretext, can seize another's diocese.

Fifth: No two bishops can occupy one diocese; there shall not be two prelates, except for very serious reasons.

Sixth: No bishop shall dare to ordain someone from another diocese. If he does, he and the ordained man shall be demoted.

Seventh: If a bishop, without the authorization of his *kat'oghikos*, dares to take over another's diocese, with the help of bribes or assisted by Muslims, he shall be deprived of his rank.

Eighth: The *vardapets* cannot dare to bestow the rank of *vardapet* to anyone without a hearing, especially if the candidate is not of age, educated, without any physical deformities, or God-fearing in the eyes of everyone. Due to these violations, many irregularities and lures have crept into the Church. If they contemptuously scorn this order, then, whoever grants the rank of *vardapet* to an unworthy man

¹ Brosset states that the agreement was made in the year 1651, *MB*, 430.

shall be deprived of his rank and the person who was ordained a *vardapet* shall not be recognized as such.

[333] Ninth: The *k'ahana* and other religious men must be ordained by their own bishop, with the agreement of their own congregation; otherwise they shall lose their rank.

Tenth: The bishops and *erēts'* must collect the *irawunk* and *hasoyt'* assigned [to the community] by the patriarch's canons for the benefit of the said bishops and *erēts'*. Let them not deprive one another of this income, for we have received continuous complaints and grumbles about this.

Eleventh: The *erēts'* should not take from each household the dues and *hasoyut'* of another, with slanderous indecency or with the forceful help of Muslims. Let everyone be satisfied with his share; otherwise they will be removed.

Twelfth: Women, parishioners and *erēts'* cannot dare to engage a girl with a young man without a thorough hearing or without the approval of the religious leader. Let the *k'ahana* sound off for several days in a row and inform everyone in the church that if anyone knows anything about their parents, he should come and tell [the *k'ahana*] about the family. After a long hearing, only if they do not find any family [blood] relation between them, then the *k'ahana* and parishioners may bless the betrothal and tie that union openly and in front of all.

Thirteenth: If widowed *erēts'* are meek and old, or have children who have to be fed, they can remain in the Church; if not, let them go to a monastery or a hermitage. Those who do not go into seclusion must give up their position and their monastic rank.

All these articles were established as regulations [by the *kat'oghikos*] and were proclaimed daily [334] in the presence of all. They were liked and gladly accepted by the *kat'oghikos* of Sis *tēr Nersēs*, *Vardapet Astuatsatur*, and all the *vardapets*, bishops and notables, who signed and affixed their seals to it by their own free will; then each took a copy and returned to their own country. Thus, in many places there exists the complete list and, by the grace of Christ, [the aforementioned men] have remained true to that union and love.¹ [Kat'oghikos P'ilippos] accomplished many more deeds and reforms in Jerusalem.

After that, he left Jerusalem, boarded a ship and went to Constantinople by sea, where he stayed for an entire year and also

¹ The above is refuted in *Jambr*, 193.

established many regulations. First of all, he convinced them [the Armenians of Constantinople] to cease their divisions; for, the *native inhabitants*¹ of Constantinople were conceited and arrogant, and insulted and harassed the newcomers, calling them bumpkins, and they did not accept them as equals. They [the locals] had taken all the government posts and jobs; they carried out and fulfilled all the duties and did not allow outsiders to participate. The newcomers were deeply hurt by the scornful behavior towards them. They constantly bore ill will against each other, argued, and quarreled. An irreconcilable division and bloody hatred was established between them.

Kat'oghikos P'ilippos arrived there, saw all this, and was troubled by it more than anything else. For many days, [335] in various ways he taught and exerted pressure, sometimes together, other times separately; he won over everyone and convinced them to come to an agreement; he reconciled them, made them understand each other and live together as respected brothers, to be concerned about everything jointly, and function together. Since then, by the blessing² of Jesus Christ, they have become sympathizing brothers and are living in true love and harmony, as was established by Patriarch P'ilippos.

After that [P'ilippos] began the repayment of the Church debts, for the Armenian churches in Constantinople owed a debt of 40,000 *kurus*. The former religious leaders were guilty of this; the so-called former patriarchs were prelates, thanks to the sultan's power and by the help of silver given to them by the people, who gave it not for God but for flattery.

Then, the parishioners—those on the side of strife and argument—out of vanity and envy, and for the sake of worldly gain, gathered, some around one prelate, others another; they became flatterers and accomplices, and carried out their will. They went to the *daftardar*, vizier, or the sultan, gave them a large bribe, drove away the rival and seized the office. The prelacy was in name only. They scattered many other bribes here and there at the door of notables. In this way the debt grew and reached 40,000 [336] *kurus*. Because of this, there was a great feud in the city of Constantinople and it resembled a stormy sea, a fathomless abyss with very high swells, lops, rumble, uproar, crash; like thunder from fire-spitting clouds, the precipitated lightning caused all the living to tremble. Word of

¹ "Inhabitants" is absent from A; "native inhabitants" is absent from D.

² A and D have "will" instead of "blessings;" B and E have "blessed will."

this sedition spread throughout the towns, both in the east and the west; everyone talked about it. Because of this, noted and distinguished men, *erēts'*, church wardens and others left Constantinople many times and took a long journey to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin, to the kat'oghikos, to find a way to stop the discord and pay the debt. The kat'oghikos tried hard to find a way, with the help of decrees, by sending someone, or by other means, but he could not stop the discord and reconcile the people. Because of this, calamity and sorrow overtook many of the parishioners of the city [Constantinople], who suffered losses. Many were ruined and became poor; they lost their belongings and income, houses and property. Some died in jails and in confinement; some became exiles and wandered as strangers in far-away cities, distant from their families and friends, and ended their lives in this manner. Such sad events continued for eighteen years,¹ until the servant of God, Kat'oghikos *tēr* P'ilippos, came there. Since God was with him, his benevolence helped pay all the debt of the city's parishioners. He ordered each parishioner to help pay the debt according [337] to their ability. Any man whom the kat'oghikos ordered did not even dare to object, but gladly and voluntarily carried out the patriarch's order, to receive his blessing. He appointed supervisors devoted to this job, men who, with great effort and difficulty, for eight months gathered the donations from the population, paid all the debts and freed the churches from the debts, thanks to Christ our Lord. *May he be blessed forever! Amen.*²

The good word about the fruitful activities and the enlightened word of God and the apostolic asceticism of Kat'oghikos *tēr* P'ilippos spread through the entire world and even reached the city of Lvov.³ The bishop of the city of Lvov, named Nikōlayos,⁴ came to the self-realization, as a remedy and cure from resorting to duplicity and rectification for his failing endeavors, that this patriarch and spiritual healer would be a medicine and balsam for his wounds and could put his troubled affair in good order. Therefore, without lingering, he left Lvov, came to Constantinople, [bowed] at the patriarch's feet, humbly agreed with the regulations and statutes, and was restored as the bishop [of Lvov]. Then, with great happiness, he returned to his city of Lvov. If you wish to learn all the details of this

¹ That is, from 1635 to 1653.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Text reads Ilov.

⁴ Nikōlayos (Nikol) son of T'oros was responsible for major problems within the Armenian community in Poland; see also Chapter 28.

history, you shall learn it in the chapter about the people of Lvov, which is described below, where it is detailed fully and properly.¹

While living in the city of Constantinople, Kat'oghikos P'ilippos [338] accomplished many good deeds and established correct rules among the clergy and laymen. After that, he left Constantinople, taking many expensive church utensils and worldly vessels, went on his way, arrived at the oldest See, holy Ējmiatsin, and entered it on the day of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin.² Three years had passed from the day of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos' departure to his return, for he left Jerusalem in the year 1100 (1651), was in Constantinople in the year 1101 (1652), and returned to Ējmiatsin in the year 1102 (1653).

When the year 1103 (1654) arrived, during the Great Fast, Kat'oghikos P'ilippos began to put the foundation of the bell tower of holy Ējmiatsin, for there was no bell tower before this in Ējmiatsin and he, deep in his soul, long cherished the wish to build a bell tower. God, who fulfills the wish of the righteous, thus fulfilled his heartfelt wish.

During the time when Kat'oghikos tēr P'ilippos was in Constantinople, there was a certain Christian man, an Armenian by birth, named Anton Chelebi.³ He was born in the city of Bursa, and his house and place of residence was in Bursa. He also had houses and villas in the city of Izmir. He also had houses and beautifully gold-gilded mansions in Constantinople. Anton Chelebi was a very well-known man and had such fame that he was even known at the court of the Ottoman ruler, as well as in the faraway land of the Franks and Persia, for he was extremely wealthy and well off. He was a merchant and thus he lived at times in Constantinople, at other times in Smyrna, that is, Izmir. [339] When caravans of merchants came from the land of Persia to Izmir, he would immediately purchase the entire load, whatever it was, even silk⁴ or *tafariz*,⁵ and paid the entire sum

¹ See Chapter 28.

² Brosset has calculated it as Sunday August 14, 1653, *MB*, 433.

³ The term chelebi (Turkish *çelebi*) meant a well-bred, educated gentleman, man of refinement; after a name it signifies a title of respect for a man (in later times often used for non-Muslims).

⁴ Text reads *ab(p)rishum* from *abrisham* (silk).

⁵ Could be *tafte* or taffeta, a silken fabric made in Yazd and Kashan for export to Europe via Izmir; but more probably it was *taftik*, the Turkish name for fine goat hair and the cloth woven from it in the Persian provinces of Kerman and Khorasan and exported to Izmir; for more details, see W. Floor, *The Persian Textile Industry* (Paris, 1999).

then and there. Also, when ships came from the land of the Franks, loaded with bales of expensive goods, he alone bought the entire shipload and paid the money right away.

It so happened that during the time that Kat'oghikos P'ilippos was in Constantinople, Anton Chelebi was there as well. Seeing the apostolic erudition and the pious lifestyle of *tēr* P'ilippos, he became devoted and attached to him. *Tēr* P'ilippos said to Anton, "Since the generosity of the Almighty has given you everything; that is, great wealth, numerous servants, and a glorious name, you should, in accordance with your fame, leave something important in your land in memory of your soul. Here is one idea: a bell tower for Ējmiatsin; there is a great need for it and we do not have one. I want you to complete this deficiency at the Holy See." With great desire and voluntarily submitting to the *humility and*¹ wish of the patriarch, Chelebi promised to carry out his wish and said, "Since this is your will and it is needed for the Holy See of Ējmiatsin, you shall become my representative and father. When, with God's help, you return to holy Ējmiatsin, start the construction of a bell tower that meets your needs: [340] wide, spacious, solid, high, and beautifully decorated. I shall gladly pay all the expenses, even the interest, which is incurred for its construction."

Therefore, when Kat'oghikos P'ilippos arrived in holy Ējmiatsin, in accordance with that agreement, he began to build the bell tower. They began in the year 1103 (1654) of our calendar, in the days of the Great Fast, and put the foundation in the west of the great cathedral of our Lord, holy Ējmiatsin, over the western door, right against its walls. The structure was erected that same year up to the point that the internal arches were covered. Winter arrived and the year changed to 1104 (1655); when the month of March came, on the fifth Sunday of the Great fast, the great patriarch, Kat'oghikos *tēr* P'ilippos, passed away.² This hindered the work and stopped the construction of the bell tower.

The governor of the city of Erevan was the son of Lala Beg, Moḥammad-qoli Khan—this was the same Lala Beg about whom I wrote in the chapter about *k'odaw*³ and the sheep.⁴ Moḥammad-qoli Khan was an arrogant and wrathful man. He was also cruel to Chris-

¹ Absent from F.

² According to Brosset it was on March 25th, *MB*, 434.

³ The *choban-begi* tax mentioned earlier.

⁴ See Chapter 15.

tians. Although Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, with bribes and numerous petitions, begged him to give permission for the construction of the bell tower, the khan, because of his brutality, did not agree. The kat'oghikos, however, relying on God—and he relied on him a great deal—put the foundation of the bell tower and began construction.

When Kat'oghikos P'ilippos died, the bell tower remained unfinished because of the khan's anger; for he constantly said, "I shall not permit the bell tower to stand and shall demolish it." In that same year, God's providence protected the bell tower and [341] destroyed the khan.

Shah 'Abbās II sent famed and noted nobles to the Ararat province to perform state duties. Moḥammad-qoli Khan, because of his haughty disposition, treated these nobles with contempt and did not honor them. He continued to insult them until they were exasperated, went to the shah, and complained against the khan. The king, therefore, was angry with the khan, removed him from power, confiscated all his property, seized him, and brought him to the city of Isfahan. Another one of the shah's servants, named Najaf-qoli Khan,¹ was sent to Erevan. Kat'oghikos *tēr* Hakob repeatedly went to his court, stood in his presence, gave much gold and silver to him and to his notables, and with great difficulty received permission from the khan to build the bell tower. While all of this was taking place, the year [1105/1656] changed and the month of July in the year 1106 (1657) arrived. Only then did they resume the construction until they completed it with amazing mastery. The walls and parts were decorated with reliefs of various beasts, domestic animals, birds, fruits and plants. The bases, columns, capitals, arches and other parts were all decorated with great taste.

On the day of its consecration, they named it after the holy Archangel Gabriel, who summons the faithful with his trumpet. The bell tower was completed in the year 1107 (1658) on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross;² they consecrated the cross, [342] which was to be placed on the top of the bell tower and took down the scaffold-

¹ Najaf-qoli Khan was the governor of Erevan from 1656 to 1663.

² Brosset has calculated it as Sunday September 12, 1658, *MB*, 435.

ing.¹ This is the true history of the bell tower, although a different date is inscribed upon it.²

As long as Kat'oghikos P'ilippos lived on this earth as a *vardapet* and a kat'oghikos, he tirelessly and continuously built and did good for the land, and made the Holy See of Ējmiatsin even richer in church vessels, gold, silver, expensive vestments and rare books, as well as many new *vardapets*. He also obtained utensils and goods of a non-religious nature: copper pots, woolen robes, and other such items, as well as herds of dumb animals: camels, mules, mares, flocks of sheep, and other beasts; and also fields, vineyards, and orchards. He helped the country in many ways, both in religious and secular matters. Like an impregnable wall of a fortress that surrounded the Armenian people, he protected them against the Muslims; they could not oppress or pester the Armenians. For all his [Armenian] religious and lay opponents, who resembled a mighty rock, as well as the unbelievers and foreigners, the mightiest governors, were all overthrown and pushed aside.

He lived on this earth until an old age; he became sixty-three years old,³ and was respected and very honored by great governors and even rulers of all nations: Armenians, Romans (Catholics), Georgians, Ottomans, and Persians.

From the day that he received the rank of *vardapet*, he [P'ilippos] preached continuously and taught everywhere, in villages and cities, in monasteries and hermitages. [343] When he read the sermons, [or] taught, he never made a mistake, and all his sermons brought good and bore fruit.

Not long before his death, Kat'oghikos *tēr* P'ilippos was in holy Ējmiatsin, on the fourth Sunday of the Great Fast. In his habitual way he sat on the throne and began to read the sermon for that Sunday, the theme of which was the following, "There was a rich man who had a manager, and charges were brought to him *that he was*⁴ squandering his property."⁵ Elucidating, he reached the place where

¹ Text reads *iskalē*, from the Turkish *iskele* (gangway, wharf, or scaffolding).

² Brosset states that Shahkhat'uncants', I, 27 has 1103 (1654) as the date of the placing of the foundation and 1106 (1657) as the date of its completion, *MB*, 435.

³ Shahkhat'uncants', I, 73.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

⁵ Luke 16.1.

it says, "You cannot be my manager any longer,"¹ and ended his sermon there. The next day, on Monday, [the kat'oghikos] fell ill and lay in bed. All the members of the brotherhood and his pupils gathered around him and asked him about his ailment. In reply, the kat'oghikos said, "This is my last illness, I shall not recover; for, during my sermon, when I came to the place, "You shall not be my manager any longer," someone from somewhere spoke in my soul as to say, "You shall not live a physical life any more and shall not manage God's house, but shall die." *As if to confirm the words—"You shall not be my manager any longer."* Hearing these words, everyone was grief-stricken after his words, while with his God-given goodness² he comforted all. He was sick until the fifth Sunday, and that night, near dawn, he began to fade away. He himself felt that he was leaving the earth; that is why he continuously whispered prayers and blessings to God. He said, [344] "Lord, free me, your slave in peace, according to your words." And the saintly Patriarch P'ilippos gave up his blessed soul into God's hands.

The word of his death spread throughout all the surrounding districts of the Ararat province, and everyone, hearing this, came in despair and fell exhausted on the ground, for the strong wall that surrounded the Armenians had collapsed. *All who heard of his death rushed to kiss his forehead prior to the funeral.*³ Many people came from the surrounding districts. They did not bury him for six days, for the members of the Ējmiatsin brotherhood and all the *vardapets* wanted to bury him in the courtyard of holy Ējmiatsin, under the floor of the bell tower built by him. But governor Moḥammad-qoli Khan,⁴ who fiercely hated the patriarch [changed his burial plans]; for the patriarch had proven stronger than the khan, and had constructed the bell tower against the khan's order. The kat'oghikos, by the strength of his authority, had put the foundation and had begun the construction. When the patriarch died, he [the governor] heard that they wanted to bury him in the bell tower. He became very angry and furious, did not permit them to bury him in the bell tower and announced arrogantly that he would demolish the bell tower. That was the reason that they did not bury the kat'oghikos for six days. They placed his coffin with his remains inside the Ējmiatsin

¹ Ibid., 16.2.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Absent from A, D, and F and from the Russian translation.

⁴ As noted, he was governor until 1656.

cathedral. He remained lying there with a bright face as if he was sleeping alive. A fragrant aroma rose from his body. All who came to put their hand on his head were delighted and were amazed at the strong fragrance and his bright face, not only Christians but also Muslims. In their delight they praised God, who had glorified his saint [in this way].

Since [345] Moḥammad-qoli Khan refused to give up his cruelty and did not permit the burial of the kat'oghikos in holy Ējmiatsin, they, therefore, took his glorious remains *accompanied by a cross, a gospel, incense,¹ candles and spiritual hymns²* and took them to the church of the virgin St. Hripsimē and buried him inside the church by the altar on the north side. He is now the protector of all Christians and his spiritual sons before Christ. All the sick and infirm inhabitants of the land come on pilgrimage, kiss his holy grave, are cured from their illness, *and return home praising Christ.*³

The saintly Patriarch *tēr* P'ilippos passed away in the year 1104 (1655) of our calendar, on March 25, the fifth Sunday of the Great Fast. He ruled the Holy See for twenty-two years and three months. He was sixty-three years old when he died. *Vardapet* Hakob of Julfa succeeded him on the throne of holy Ējmiatsin, for the *vardapets* and bishops, who had gathered during the death of P'ilippos, remained in holy Ējmiatsin until Palm Sunday, and during that holiday, on the 8th day of April of that same year, consecrated *Vardapet* Hakob as the kat'oghikos.⁴ After that, everyone returned to their home, praising the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.

¹ "Incense" is absent from F.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Absent from A.

⁴ His election was soon opposed by the Armenians of Constantinople and caused major problems for the Holy See; see *Jambr*, 15.

[346] Chapter 26

On the restoration of famous monasteries and on the construction of splendid and magnificent churches

Just like the breath of the southern wind fertilizes the land in spring and gives birth to various types of flowers that decorate the land with their beauty and bright colors, it is also necessary to recount the period of [the reign] of the two kat'oghikoi—Movsēs and P'ilippos, for they constructed many monasteries, hermitages and churches. One of these was the monastery of the proto-martyr, Step'anos, which was in the valley of Darashamb and which, prior to that, had no fence. Its cells and rooms were in shattered condition and in ruins. The condition of the structure was disgraceful and unstable. During the reign of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, *Vardapet* Hakob of Julfa, *who*¹ became kat'oghikos after P'ilippos, had already begun the restoration [of the monastery] and [347] demolished to its foundation all the structures: the church, houses, cells, and everything else. After that, he laid the foundation of the church, erected a cruciform church with walls of polished stone, and a tall cupola, with beautiful decorations painted by experts. He also built a wall around the monastery from durable and firm stone. [He built] very beautiful houses and cells in the correct form and disposition. Thus, with great expense and effort, everything was completed in ten years, for they had to bring the stones and bricks on rafts over the Arax River from the village of Astapat, while some of the stones were brought from the village of Ararg. The lime, timber and bread also had to be brought from afar; hence a great deal of work and effort went into it. After completing the structure, they praised God and his saints.

In addition, *Vardapet* Esayi, who was born in the village of Meghri [also engaged in restoration projects]. He, who was a pupil of Kat'oghikos *tēr* Movsēs, was ordained by Kat'oghikos P'ilippos as a bishop and the abbot of the monastery of St. Karapet, which is in the *gawar* of Ernjak. During the time of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, he [Esayi] also began to restore the monastery of St. Karapet. He tore down all the previously constructed structures: church, living quarters, cells and the surrounding wall. He then built a wide and long, thick and high wall around [the monastery] and inside the wall he built living quarters and halls, where the monks and guests could re-

¹ Absent from A and D.

side. In place of the old church, he built a wide and spacious church with high vaults and a cupola on four columns from polished square stones. They built the church from its foundation [348] to the cupola, with great effort and by spending a great deal of money. They finished all the construction on October 17, in the year 1102 (1653), and with great celebrations consecrated the church to the glory of God.

In addition, *Vardapet Zak'aria*, who was born in the village of Ējmiatsin (Vagharshapat) [also engaged in restoration projects]. He was the abbot of the splendid monastery of Hovhanavank' and was also a pupil of Kat'oghikos Movsēs.¹ He was a distinguished man and well known in the land. He possessed great reason and was eloquent. He had a sharp mind, sagacity and an austere look. During the time of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, he began the restoration of the church and structures of Hovhannavank', for although the surrounding wall was stable, all the rest [of the monastery] was unfit and disgraceful. The roof of the church was demolished and in ruins. *Vardapet Zak'aria* summoned many master stonemasons, carpenters and blacksmiths, and began the work of restoring the monastery. First, he finished building the living quarters and cells and, after that, the church. He did this speedily and completed the restoration of the church in two years, for he was very generous in distributing the funds among the builders. Thirty stonemasons cut stones uninterruptedly. Two expert stone layers² put up the walls without interruption. Many other masters and builders [worked there]; that is why [the construction] was completed speedily. The stones and lime were brought on horses from the other side of the valley. The work was completed in the year 1101 (1652) and, on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross³ they placed the cross on the top of the cupola and gave thanks to God. *Vardapet Zak'aria* was a perfect man and very useful for the country. Although he was very old, he lived until the year 1108 (1659) of our calendar and then passed away. Prior to his death [349] he prepared his grave and the tombstone. On July 10, on the feast of *Vardavar* (Transfiguration), he passed away and went to God. They buried him in the grave he had prepared.

¹ For more details, see *ZK*, 299-300.

² Text reads *mēmar*, from the Arabic-Persian *me'mār* (builder, mason, overseer, architect).

³ Brosset has calculated it as September 12, *MB*, 438.

He passed away in Ējmiatsin, for the affairs of the Holy See were close to his heart and he took care of and served holy Ējmiatsin with his sensible and exceptional advice. Since he chose the most suitable ideas and words for every occasion, they kept him in holy Ējmiatsin. That is why he died there and was buried by the western side in front of the belfry. Let his memory be blessed *and his prayers bring us forgiveness.*¹ *Amen.*²

In that time, in the period of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, the monastery of the holy apostle Thaddeus, which was in the settlement of Maku, in the *gawar* of Artaz, was rebuilt. For, all the structures of that place had totally crumbled. Then, a certain Bishop Mkṛtich', together with members of his brotherhood—*abegha* and deacons—all of whom were born in the settlement of Maku, were inspired by their love for the holy apostle Thaddeus. Despite being poor and indigent, they relied on the grace of the Almighty God and the intercession of the holy apostle Thaddeus, and began the work of the construction of the monastery. First, they began to build the main church, of which nothing but half of the walls of the eastern and northern side had remained standing. Everything, inside and out, up to the crown of the cupola, [350] was rebuilt from solid and beautiful cut stone. The work on the church was completed in the year 1099 (1650). After finishing the church, they began, with the same reliance [on God], to construct, from the same hard and polished stone, the chapel and completed it in the year 1102 (1653).³ After that, they built the sepulcher (*vkayaran*) of the saintly maiden Sandukht. After that, they built the church called Nahatak,⁴ which was located on the spot of the martyrdom of the holy apostle Thaddeus. They completed all the construction by the grace of God. Bishop Mkṛtich' and the members of his brotherhood remained there and worshipped God and his saints, relying on divine providence. God's glory is eternal. Amen.

During the days of *tēr* Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, in the village of Mughni, situated near the town of Karbi, the monastery of St. George the Warrior was rebuilt by the efforts of the bishop of the same monastery. Prior to that, their church was too small *and all the rest of the structures were uninhabitable and plain. Therefore, Bishop Martiros, prior to construction, demolished the existing*

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Absent from A and F.

³ The monastery was, once again, restored some years ago by Armenian volunteers from Iran and other parts of the world.

⁴ The term has a variety of meanings, in this case, martyr.

church and all the other structures. He built, as was appropriate, a new wall around [the monastery]; inside it he built a beautiful church with four columns, and near the walls houses and cells were constructed. [Bishop Martiros] erected everything and left a good memory of himself before God and people. He was buried there and St. George protects him and all the Christians.¹

[351] The monastery of St. Sargis the Warrior, which was built by holy Mesrop² our³ great vardapet, in the village of Ushi near the settlement of Karbi by the slope of Mt. Aragats [was also restored].⁴ This monastery was restored through the efforts of Vardapet Oskan,⁵ who was born in Erevan and who was a pupil of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos. Although the church was nice and tidy and had a tall cupola, its roof was decayed and had totally collapsed. In addition, there was only the church there and no other structures around it, except stones. Vardapet Oskan could not restore the roof, for he did not have the means. But he, through great efforts, succeeded in digging

¹ Absent from B.

² Mesrop Mashtots, the creator of the Armenian alphabet, was born ca. 353 in the village of Hats'ekats' in the province of Taron and died on February 17, 440 in Ējmiatsin. He was buried in Oshakan (currently in the Ashtarak region of the Armenian Republic) and a church was built over his remains, which was renovated and exists to this day. Armenians consider Mesrop their second illuminator and have deep respect for his memory. His life has been chronicled by his student Koriun in *The Life of Mashtots*, trans. B. Norehad (New York, 1964).

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ Alishan writes that, according to Armenian menology, Mesrob brought the remains of St. Sargis from the Persian city of Hamian to Karbi, buried them in Ushi and constructed a magnificent monastery over them, *Ayrarat*, 181.

⁵ Vardapet Oskan (Voskan), also known as Oskan of Erevan, a student of Khach'atur of Kayseri, was a pioneer of Armenian printing. He was born in 1614 in New Julfa. He went to study at Ējmiatsin and returned home. In 1634 Kat'oghikos P'ilippos brought him to Ējmiatsin and sent him to Ushi as the abbot of St. Sargis monastery. He was there during the period discussed by Arak'el. His brother, a famous merchant, established an Armenian press in Amsterdam in 1660. Kat'oghikos Hakob of Julfa sent Oskan to Amsterdam in 1662. There he printed the first Armenian Bible in 1666-1668. In 1669, as noted earlier, Arak'el's *History* was printed there as well. Oskan printed 19 books in Amsterdam, and, in 1670, went to Livorno, where he established a press and printed 2 books in Armenian. After that he went to Marseilles, where he died in 1674.

the earth surrounding the four corners of the church, and built a solid and strong wall. Inside the wall he built, as is appropriate, cells and living quarters. Now he spends his time happily there, relying on the grace of God, through the intercession of the holy warrior Sargis.

Also, the magnificent, spacious and tall church, the glory to God, the place of rest of the great teacher, Saint Mesrop, the creator of the Armenian letters [was restored]. As told in his history, *they*¹ took him and buried him in the village called Oshakan.² Thus, the roof of the church where the holy *vardapet* Mesrop slept was totally dilapidated and had collapsed many years ago. Only the main altar was covered. During his reign, the *saintly*³ Patriarch P'ilippos began the renovation [352] of the church in heavy cut and solid stone. He spent a great deal of time and money. The work was finally completed as a glory to God in the year 1094 (1645) of our calendar.

The church of the Holy Mother of God, constructed a long time ago in Bjni,⁴ was raised from ruins and once again stood tall and firm. Its roof was totally decayed and destroyed. This was also restored by the order of *tēr* Kat'oghikos P'ilippos through the efforts and expenses of the great patrician, the Christ-loving *Khoja* Petros of [New] Julfa, nicknamed Bduz Petros. The bishop of the monastery was named P'ilippos. This occurred in the year 1092 (1643) of our calendar. After that, Movsēs, the pupil of *tēr* Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, became the abbot of that monastery. He encircled the monastery with a pleasant and beautiful wall.

About the bridge over the K'asakh River, which flows in a deep ravine, near the village of Ashtarak. It was high, with big arches, and was constructed from cut and prepared stones. It was decayed and in ruins, half of the arches had crumbled. It was, however, [an] essential [bridge], for people from many gawars and numerous roads crossed over it. That is why the pious and Christ-loving man, Mahdesi⁵ Khoja Grigor, known as Motsakents' Grigor, who was a native of the city of Erevan, demolished the already crumbling bridge, and in another spot began to construct anew a strong and

¹ Absent from A.

² Koriun, 50.

³ Absent from A.

⁴ The church was built in 1031, during the time of Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni, who held the estate containing Bjni. It is on the right bank of the Hrazdan River, some 36 miles from Erevan.

⁵ From the Arabic *maqdasī* (someone who has made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem).

durable bridge from heavy prepared stone, as was appropriate, a magnificent and nicely decorated structure from start [353] to finish. For the sake of saving his soul, he, relying on God, spent a great deal of effort and money, until he completed it for the glory to God in the year 1113 (1664) of our calendar. Praise the Lord. ¹

There are numerous other restored monasteries, many of which were built anew: the founding of the churches in the city of Tiflis, in the *gawaṛ* of Loṛi, in the region of Ararat, in the *gawaṛ* of Sisakan, in the region of Ghap'an, and in the city of Nakhichevan and its surrounding villages, which included the magnificent and wonderful church in Astapat, in the city of Nakhichevan, and in the villages of Chahuk, Shahkert and Gagh. There were also churches built during the reign of *tēr* Kat'oghikos Hakob, such as the church in Shoṛot', the monastery at Agulis, the church in the village of Ch'ors, the church in the city of Tabriz, the church at Darashamb, and the church in Ts'ghna. These and many others that I do not remember were built during the time of Kat'oghikos Movsēs or during the time of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos. May God preserve them through eternity!

¹ Absent from A, B, and D.

[354] Chapter 27

On the martyrdom of the k'ahana tēr Andrēas

It so happened that the Persian ruler, the great Shah 'Abbas the First, paid heed to slanderers who uttered evil words about the inhabitants of the city of Nakhichevan. The shah was incensed with anger and ordered that all the inhabitants of the city be removed and resettled in the town of Farahabad. The city of Nakhichevan was to be destroyed, all the houses and structures demolished, and all the vineyards dug up. The shah's command was carried out without delay: all the inhabitants were evacuated and driven to Farahabad. The poor and unfortunate citizens of Nakhichevan, who had fled to the surrounding villages, hid here and there. Among them were also the parents of *tēr Andrēas*, who moved to the village of Agulis and resettled there. In his youth, *Tēr* [355] *Andrēas* was sent to school where he learned all the ecclesiastical books. When he grew up and became of age, they accepted him into the ranks of the lay clergy¹ and he was married. As is written in his own account and that of the entire community, they ordained him a *k'ahana* and he carried out his duties as a *k'ahana*.

At that time *Vardapet Movsēs*, who later became *kat'oghikos* at *Ējmiatsin*, and *Vardapet Pōghos*, about whom I wrote earlier, made the eastern provinces of Armenia famous with their saintly and pure lives.² They traveled from one region to another and preached continuously, erected churches, and ordained *k'ahana*, as the apostles had done. For the sake of strengthening our religion and faith, they opened schools wherever possible, for example in *Astapat* and *Shorot'*, to gather boys from the surrounding villages and to educate them. They also founded a school³ in the village of Agulis, appointed *tēr Andrēas* as the mentor of the children, and gathered some fifty to sixty boys there. *Tēr Andrēas* was their supervisor; he became their pastor and taught the boys all the rites of our Church.

¹ As noted, the Armenian Church has two types of clerics, celibate and married. The *abegha* and *vardapets* must be celibate; the *k'ahana* and *erēts'* can be married, widowed, or celibate. For more details, see M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia* (New York, 1988), 141-145.

² Absent from A.

³ For the various schools founded in this period, see Chapters 24-25, and 29.

It so happened that Shah 'Abbas came to the village of Agulis for the following reason: a certain *sardar* from the land of the Ottomans, named Öküz-Mehmed Pasha,¹ marched on the Erevan fortress with a large army to capture it from the Persians and to return it to the Ottomans.² The Persian ruler, Shah 'Abbās, gathered the entire Persian army and came to the aid of the Erevan [356] fortress. The *sardar* besieged the fortress, fought for two and a half months, but could not take it. The cold autumn arrived. Suffering from cold and hunger, [the *sardar*] gathered all his army and returned to the land of the Ottomans, to the city of Karin (Erzurum). After the departure of the *sardar*, the shah also left Erevan and went to Nakhichevan, and from there to Agulis. *That is why the shah came to Agulis.*³ The shah was accustomed to the following: wherever he went, into a city, or a region, all the local inhabitants—notables, commoners, men, women, young men and girls, and children—all together, dressed in beautiful garments and adorned with expensive jewelry, holding sweet fruits, select victuals, and fragrant and aromatic drinks, went out to greet him. Stately and good-looking young men, [beautiful] girls and women, holding golden cups of wine in their hands, handed them to the shah. *Gusans* (minstrels) and singers, walking in front of [players of] intricate musical instruments, sang mellifluously. The clergy, the *k'ahana* and churchmen, also dressed in their robes and albs, holding gospels and crosses in their hands, with banners, incense and candles, bells and cymbals, came out to greet the shah and walked in procession, singing right up to his place of residence.

Thus, when the *k'ahana* of the village of Agulis, dressed in robes, came out to greet the shah, some of the pupils of the school accompanied them. They were dressed in white, carried raised candlesticks with candles in them, and walked alongside the procession. When [357] the *k'ahana* passed, singing in front of the shah, and the shah looked around, and, as was his wily habit, examined everything, he glanced at the young boys and saw that the hair on their heads was shorn.⁴ He felt gravely insulted, for he assumed they had done this because of his presence, so that the boys would appear unappealing

¹ See Chapter 18.

² Absent from A and D. Refers to the campaign of 1616; the Ottomans began the siege of Erevan on August 26, 1616. After many unsuccessful attacks, the Ottomans proposed peace and withdrew in November 1616. For details, see AA, 1119-1127.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ This was done in preparation for entering the priesthood.

and would not be taken away from their parents.¹ The shah became furious then and there with the Armenians for having shaved the heads of the boys. Some of the Muslims, natives of the village of Agulis, great notables who traveled with the shah and who served him,² due to the natural enmity against the Christians, constantly incited and roused the shah's wrath against the Christians. Therefore, the shah ordered to find and kill whoever had done this deed. If the parents of the children were responsible, they were to be killed, their property confiscated, and the children taken into the shah's service. The courtiers began to search and inquire. Everyone replied that they did not know. They then surrounded *tēr* Andrēas and demanded, "Tell us, for *you*³ are their teacher and you know." *Tēr* Andrēas reasoned in this manner, "If I point to the parents, they will kill them and take the children. If I indicate someone else, they will kill him and my conscience will torment and reproach me forever. *As it is stated in the holy gospel, "It is better for one man [358] to perish than to destroy the entire people."*⁴ He, therefore, decided to save them and to surrender himself for the benefit of everyone.⁵ Thus,⁶ when the soldiers began to incessantly pressure him, *tēr* Andrēas, in order to save others, said, "I did it." The soldiers informed the shah and the shah ordered that they seize him and put him in jail. After several days, the shah ordered that they bring *tēr* Andrēas to his presence and asked him, "Tell the truth. Who did it?" *Tēr* Andrēas replied, "I, and no one else." Realizing that *tēr* Andrēas would not betray anyone else, the shah became angry with him and ordered that they stretch him out on the ground and beat him with rods (*falak*). After long tortures the shah said, "You have committed a serious crime and transgression; if you want to live, renounce your *erroneous*⁷ Christian faith and accept our religion, accept the faith of our creator. I shall give you glory and honor. If you do not agree, I shall throw you to the dogs and beasts." But Andrēas refused to renounce

¹ Good-looking Armenian boys or girls were generally hidden from the Muslim officials, since their parents feared that they would be taken as slaves or abducted into harems.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Absent from D and F.

⁴ Absent from A and D. John 18.14: "Caiaphas was the one who advised the Jews that it was better to have one person die for the people."

⁵ Absent from F.

⁶ Appears in A.

⁷ Absent from A and D.

his faith and answered, "I am a Christian and the servant of Christ." Hearing this, the king was enraged and ordered them to throw him back into the dungeon.

The next day, he once again ordered them to bring [Andrēas] to him and asked, "Do you renounce your faith?" *Tēr* Andrēas replied, "I do not renounce it." The sovereign said again, "I shall give you honor and glory if you give up your faith." He did not agree and once again the shah ordered him thrown into the dungeon.

The Christians went to [359] the king's *nakharars* and promised them a large sum of money if they freed him. Although the *nakharars* asked the sovereign two or three times, he did not listen to them. *The wife of Khoja Andzrew of Ts'ghni, whom the shah called mother and whom the shah respected, prostrated herself before the shah and begged for his release, but to no avail.*¹

Once more they brought *tēr* Andrēas to the sovereign. After many questions, verbal promises and threats of torture, the king realized that he would not agree and ordered his death. The brave martyr, the true *k'ahana*, *tēr* Andrēas, strongly believed in the unshakable foundation of the Christian faith.

The soldiers seized *tēr* Andrēas and took him bound to the place of execution. He went readily and happily. When he reached the place of execution, he himself unfastened his belt, took off his clothes, and suggested that the executioners carry out the king's order. But the executioners lingered, on the off chance that he would obey the king's command [convert].

While the saint was in the place of execution, the king sent two of his *nakharars* to him, saying, "Do not ruin your beauty and youth. Agree with me and receive gifts and honor." The brave martyr, however, replied to their request, "I shall not bow to your empty promises and shall not renounce my true faith." The executioners took out their swords, swung them over his head, and touched his stomach, to frighten him, but he was not scared.

[360] The parents of the saint came to the place of martyrdom. They stood near him, shed many bitter tears, and implored the saint, saying, "Our dear boy, since you have taken the rank of *k'ahana* and have become a soldier of Christ, you should never renounce Christ and become a soldier of the hater of God. Do not give up the radiant faith of Christ and do not deprive yourself of eternal life for the sake of a temporary one. Remember the loyal martyrs of Christ, whose

¹ The above was left out of Khanlaryan's Russian translation, *KH*, 285.

life you constantly read and related to us. Bear [your suffering] as they did, so that you will be rewarded with their halo." The parents of the saints uttered these and similar heart-rending [words], accompanied with tears and supplications. The executioners lingered many hours, hoping that he would waver and weaken, but the saint remained firm in his true faith and did not cease to cross himself. Seeing his resolution, the executioners realized that he would not convert. They then drew out their swords, ripped open his stomach, and his intestines came out of his belly. The saint pressed his intestines back into his belly with one hand, and with the other crossed himself, while uttering the name of Christ. They then pierced the bone of his shins, lifted him high on ropes, and hung him upside down. He remained alive until sunset and gave up his immaculate soul to God in the evening, like a fragrant incense and righteous sacrifice. After the saint's death, the shah ordered that they throw his corpse away from inhabited places, so that it would become food for beasts and birds [of prey]. But the Christians took his body from there, brought it to the church in Agulis, now called the church of Khts'adzor, and buried him there. His glorious [361] relics are buried there *and are the protector of all Christians*.¹

The end and heroic death of the saintly *k'ahana* of God, *tēr* Andrēas, occurred in the year 1066 (1617) of the *great*² Armenian calendar on the tenth day of the month of Trē,³ the eighteenth day of November. May his memory be blessed and may his prayers make God have mercy on us. *Amen*.⁴

Three or four months after the death of *tēr* Andrēas, the circumstances and events surrounding his death were once more discussed in the presence of Shah 'Abbās. A former informer, a Muslim, an inhabitant of Agulis, called Shahrugh⁵ (Shahrokh) Beg,⁶ about whom I have written earlier, said in the presence of the shah, "*Tēr* Andrēas shaved the heads of the youth not of his own accord, but was incited by his superior, for he had a mentor." They began to look for that

¹ Absent from A.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Refers to the fourth month of the Armenian pre-Christian calendar (November 9 to December 8).

⁴ Absent from A and D.

⁵ The Russian translation has Shahrüz, *KH*, 286, 288.

⁶ Shahrokh Beg Qarādāghlū.

person. If one has to equate people with dumb animals, the *tachiks*,¹ would resemble the snake, which, from its birth, bears envy and guile toward the Christians and their faith. Thus, one of them, that Shahrokh Beg, suffering from the same flaw, denounced *Vardapet* Movsēs to the shah and said, "There is a certain man named Movsēs, a preacher of Christ's teachings. He lives in the Tat'ew Monastery. He is a native of the Siwnik' region. He is the teacher of the faith and the mentor of *tēr* Andrēas." Therefore, the sovereign ordered that they send troops to seize Movsēs and bring him to his presence in shackles. The soldiers went, [362] seized *Vardapet* Movsēs as well as *Vardapet* Pōghos,² put them in chains, fastened wooden yokes on their necks, shackles on their legs, and in the harsh winter season drove the *vardapets* to the shah's camp and brought them to his presence. The shah thought in his heart and said to himself, "If I kill both men, the harm to the Christians and the benefit to us would not be great. I shall exact a large sum of silver [money]; that would bring more harm to them and more benefit for us." Thus, from greed and the love of silver, he pronounced [the following] penalty on the *vardapets*, "Let them give 5,000 *tumāns* and go free." But the Christians presented petitions to the state *nakharars*, and the latter asked the king to reduce the penalty. As a result, due to the *nakharars*' requests, he reduced [the sum] to 300 *tumāns* and ordered that the money be paid immediately. Troops were selected to collect the penalty. The *vardapets*, who had nothing on them to pay the sum, decided to go to all the Armenians in order to collect alms.

Although the god-loving Christians were poor and indigent, all of them, rich and poor, men and women, each according to their ability, generously and without hesitation put their charity and goods at the feet of the *vardapets*. Gathering alms, [the *vardapets*] wherever they were, first gave the money to ransom captives, prisoners and debtors and other needy people. Many captives, prisoners, and debtors were saved in this manner. They gave the rest of the money to the accompanying troops as part of [363] the penalty. Thanks to these efforts, in a period of four or five months, they paid the 300 *tumāns* through the grace of God and the charity of Christians, and were freed from imprisonment. *But, prior to the payment of the 300 tumāns to the state*

¹ The Armenians referred to the Muslims (Persians, Turks, and Arabs) as "Tachik" or "Tajik."

² The future kat'oghikos, Movsēs III of Tat'ew (1629-1633), and Pōghos of Mokk', the founder of the Grand Hermitage.

*treasury, they spent an additional 400 tumāns, for sums were spent here and there [bribes], and only after that were the vardapets freed.*¹

After several days, Shahrokh Beg, who had denounced *Vardapet Movsēs*, fell to the blades of the shah's soldiers and received the retribution for his destructive deeds. He suffered eternal torture and damnation, *from which we [Armenians] are saved thanks to Christ our Savior. Eternal glory to him! Amen.*²

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Ibid.

Chapter 28

On the history of the oppression and misfortune suffered by the Christian Armenians who lived in the city of Lvov

Earlier, in the account about Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt',¹ I wrote that he traveled to the land of the Poles.² When he arrived there, he went to the city of Lvov.³ Several days later [364], an *abegha* from the same city of Lvov, named Nikōlayos,⁴ sent *emissaries*⁵ to Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt', as intermediaries and petitioners, to ask that the kat'oghikos ordain him as the bishop of the Armenian population who lived in the city of Lvov and its environs, for they did not have a bishop at that time. The mediators presented themselves to the kat'oghikos, brought him plenty of gold, and requested that he ordain the *abegha* Nikōlayos as a bishop. Seeing the great amount of gold, the kat'oghikos, hoping for even more, condescended to ordain Nikōlayos as the bishop of Lvov.⁶

The *k'ahana* and the inhabitants of the city, notables and commoners, who for a long time were aware of the lifestyle of *abegha* Nikol, all gathered, went to the kat'oghikos, informed him of their wishes, and said, "We know him and his disposition. Therefore, he is unacceptable to us. Appoint someone else and not him as our bishop."

The kat'oghikos berated the people, treated them with contempt, and scorned their opinion. He drove them away from his presence. But the people did not give up their demand and, for many days, during solemn proceedings, spoke out and did not allow the kat'oghikos to ordain Nikol a bishop.

¹ Arak'el, in Chapter 18, states that he died in April. The archival material states that he arrived in Lvov on May 2, 1626. See G. Pingirian, "Istoriia" Arakela Davrizhetsi i ee istochniki ob antiuniatskom dvizhenii v armianskikh koloniakh na Ukraine," *Istoricheskie sviazi i druzhba Ukrain-skogo i Armianskogo Narodov* (Erevan, 1971), 360-361.

² Text reads *Ilakhats'*.

³ Text reads *Ilov*.

⁴ He is also known as Nikōghayos or Nikol T'orosovich. Arak'el uses Nikōlayos and Nikol interchangeably.

⁵ Absent from **B**.

⁶ Primary sources indicate that the kat'oghikos took 300 *thalers* prior to the ordination and 100 *thalers* after the ordination. See Pingirian, 362.

The kat'oghikos then left the city and went to the monastery of the Holy Mother of God, built outside the town, which the people of Lvov called Hachkatar Astuatsatsin,¹ and there, without the knowledge of the people *away from the crowd*,² in the middle of the night, he began [365] to ordain *abegha* Nikol a bishop. Learning this, the people of the city, notables and commoners, immediately gathered that same night, hurriedly left the town through the small gate, rushed to that place and called out to the kat'oghikos, saying, "Do not ordain him, do not betray us and our Church into the hands of this impious man, for we know him and his character and he is, therefore, unacceptable to us."³ But the kat'oghikos, seated on the throne, continued to ordain *abegha* Nikol, with the crucifix held in his hand, to the rank of bishop. He threatened the people and uttered vile words, which cannot be repeated here. Although the cheerless people had assembled, were indignant, and protested for a long time, they were ignored by the kat'oghikos, who ordained Nikol as a bishop.

Several days later, Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' wanted to leave Lvov and go to the city of Kamenits' (Kamenets).⁴ The people of Lvov sought a way of sending away Nikol with the kat'oghikos. The Kat'oghikos fooled them and pretended that he wanted to take him. After traveling for several days, the kat'oghikos said to Nikol, "You have traveled enough. Return now to your home in peace and carry out your bishop's duties." Nikol replied, "You saw with your own eyes how they opposed you and did not want to acknowledge me. How do you now propose that I return to them?" The cunning Nikol

¹ The monastery was one of the oldest in Lvov (13th century) and was on the Armenian Street. It had a residence for the bishop, a church, and a nunnery. Near the monastery was the Armenian Court (town council or *Ratush*). A printing press, attached to the monastery, was built in 1616.

² Absent from A and D.

³ According to Pingirian, this event occurred on January 3, 1627 in the Armenian monastery, located in the Krakow quarter of Lvov, 362

⁴ The city of Kamenets-Podolsk, together with Lvov, was a major Armenian center. Armenians had their own elected officials, courts, and judges. They used the late 13th-century law code of Mkhitar Gosh. The documents of the Armenian courts were written in Kipchak Turkish, which continued to remain the language of business, and in Polish, both transcribed in the Armenian script. For more details, see M. Oleś, *The Armenian Law in the Polish Kingdom* (1356-1519) (Rome, 1966) and V. Grigoryan, *Kamenets'-Podolsk k'aghak'i haykakan datarani ardzanagrut'yunnerê (xvi d.)* (Erevan, 1963).

argued for a long time, until the kat'oghikos gave him a letter of excommunication, which damned and pronounced anathema against anyone [who went against him], so that Nikol could pronounce anathema against anyone who contradicted [366], opposed, or did not recognize his rank as bishop. Nikol took that letter, went to Lvov, and told the parishioners, "Gather all on Sunday in the church, for I have something to tell you." On Sunday, the day when the people gathered in the church, he took out the letter containing the anathema and had it read to all listeners. When the people saw and heard this, they grieved deep in their souls, despaired, were stupefied, fell silent, and kept mum. Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt' went to Kamanets, and a few days after his arrival, he became ill and passed away during the Great Fast, on Saturday, on the eve of Palm Sunday, on the day of the Feast of St. Lazarus, in the year 1075 (1626) of our calendar.¹ He was buried there. After several years and some days, it so happened that Bishop Nikol came to the city of Kamenets. There he ordained as *abegha* a certain deacon named Khach'ō and renamed him Ōnōp'rios.

Vardapet Grigor of Kayseri, who had handed the staff of a *vardapet* to Kat'oghikos Movsēs [had made him a *vardapet*], was a distinguished man, for he led an extremely pious and austere life, was wise, well read, and sagacious. He was thus well known in the land and everyone deeply regarded his opinion. It happened that this *Vardapet* Grigor came to the land of the Poles. He first came to the city of Kamenets. Bishop Nikol was in Kamenets as well. Bishop Nikol and some others had the idea to bring out the newly ordained [367] *abegha*, Ōnōp'rios, from his forty days of seclusion.² Therefore, they came to *Vardapet* Grigor and invited him to another church, where the newly ordained [priest] was to serve Mass. The newly ordained [priest], however, had not yet completed his seclusion, for he had only been ordained fifteen days before and they now wanted to bring him out of seclusion. The *vardapet* said, "Since the forty-day period has not elapsed, you should not bring him out of seclusion. He has to remain there for forty days according to the tradition of the Armenian Church and the canons of our patriarchs; only then can a newly ordained [priest] come out from seclusion and

¹ According to Pingirian, he died in 1627.

² According to the law of the Armenian Church, a priest must prepare himself for the celebration of his first Mass by going through an ordeal. He must remain alone in a church and observe a strict fast for forty days (*k'arasunk*). See Ormanian, 170.

celebrate Mass.” Therefore, Nikol and the others quietly waited that week and did not bring out the newly ordained [priest]. When the next Sunday approached, they wanted to bring out the newly ordained [priest], and on Saturday they came and once more invited the *vardapet*. The *vardapet* refused to go and said, “I told you once. *Forty days have not passed. He cannot, therefore, celebrate Mass. Wait until the completion of the forty days. He can then serve Mass and be freed from the forty-day seclusion, according to the customs of the Armenian people and our patriarchs.*”¹ They did not pay heed to the words of the *vardapet*, did not wait, went, and on that same Sunday brought out the newly ordained [priest] from his seclusion, and he served Mass. That Sunday, when the newly ordained priest celebrated Mass, it was only the twenty-second day of his forty-day seclusion.

In addition, on the Sunday when they had celebrated [368] Mass, Bishop Nikol committed a very impudent and unworthy deed: *the bishop*² shut the door of the church where the *vardapet* had taken refuge and took the key with him. *He did not remember the Lord's command, “So when you are offering your gift at the altar,*³ if you remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar and go; first be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift.”⁴ His behavior—*the locking of the church door by the bishop*⁵—upset the *vardapet* greatly and he, therefore, said, “Let anyone who goes into that church be damned.” Following the conclusion of the Mass, and the freeing of the newly ordained priest [from his fast], the bishop shut the door of the second church as well. Thus the doors to both the churches were shut. This was during the time of the great holidays: on the Monday after that Sunday was the feast of the prophets David and Jacob, the brothers of our Lord, *and, on Tuesday the feast of St. Step'anos, the proto-martyr.*⁶ The churches remained closed during these days—without a divine service or liturgy.

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Matthew 5.23-24. The New Oxford Annotated Bible reads “brother and sister.”

⁵ Absent from A and D.

⁶ Ibid.

Furthermore, Nikol added to his treacherous deeds against the *vardapet* and caused him further trouble. He went to the *voit*¹ of the city of Kamenets, named Luk'ash, whom the Great Prince had appointed as the governor of the city of Kamenets, spoke to him and convinced him to hold the *vardapet* and not to permit him to leave for Lvov or another city, instead to return him from the city of Kamenets by the same route he had come to somewhere else or another land. The [369] *voit*, named Luk'ash, sent a note to the *vardapet* that read, "Our Great Prince has sent us a letter stating that 'the *vardapet* who has come from the land of the Turks is a spy.² There is no writ permitting him to leave your town. You shall answer with your head if he departs.'" The *vardapet* was thus forbidden to leave and remained there a prisoner. After that, a number of devout citizens went to the *voit* and told him of the innocence of the *vardapet*. Only then was an order issued concerning the *vardapet*. He could get up and leave, not to Lvov, but to whence he had come from. The *vardapet* left Kamenets and went to Bughdan (Moldavia) and Rumeli. On the way he wrote a decree that excommunicated Nikol, with damnation and anathema, and sent it to Lvov.³ But Nikol totally ignored the excommunication. He kept his rank and performed the duties of a priest. However, the *k'ahana* and parishioners, who, from the very beginning, were against Nikol, as well as others, spread the news by word of mouth, reproached him and opposed him. The enemies of Nikol increased daily. *Vardapet* Grigor, in a letter, informed Kat'oghikos Movsēs at holy Ējmiatsin about everything that had transpired. He also wrote about the depraved behavior of Nikol and asked the kat'oghikos to excommunicate Bishop Nikol by the order of holy Ējmiatsin and through the supreme authority of the kat'oghikos. Kat'oghikos Movsēs [thus] also wrote a decree of excommunication and dispatched it to Bishop Nikol. Consequently [370] the enemies of Nikol became even stronger and treated him like an animal.

Later, someone asked Nikol, "Why don't you go to *Vardapet* Grigor and be released from the anathema?" He replied that he had no money for such a trip. The parishioners then collected 3,000

¹ The *voit*, from the German *vogt*, was the overseer, bailiff, governor, or steward of the town or village.

² Text reads *ch'ashut*, from the Persian *jāsūs*. This accusation is confirmed by a document in the archives of Ukraine. See Pingirian, 363.

³ The document has been preserved in the historical archives of Lvov. See Pingirian, 363.

kurus and gave it to him as travel expenses. After that, the bishop, either through his own reasoning, through the suggestion of friends, or because the parishioners forced him, left Lvov. He went toward Constantinople and Kayseri, to somehow find *Vardapet* Grigor, ask for forgiveness, receive a pardon, and free himself from the excommunication. He reached the city of Bursa. It so happened that *Vardapet* Aristakēs of Kharpert was in Bursa during that time. *Vardapet* Aristakēs and *Vardapet* Grigor had great hatred and spite toward each other. I searched a long time to find out the reason for this enmity, but could not find a trustworthy explanation; I did not record the untrustworthy accounts. *Vardapet* Aristakēs, because of his hatred, told a great deal to Nikol and forbade him to go to *Vardapet* Grigor. He said, "You are a bishop and he is a *vardapet*. He has no authority over you." He added, "He excommunicated you unjustly and because of jealousy." He also said, "I am a *vardapet* like him and I shall release you from the excommunication." During various ceremonies and conversations he reiterated these comments, dissuaded him, and did not let him go to *Vardapet* Grigor in Kayseri. Then, Nikol did not go himself, but wrote a letter full of supplication to *Vardapet* Grigor, stating, "I have reached [371] Bursa and am ill. That is why I cannot come [and seek forgiveness]. I beg you to remove the anathema, free me from the excommunication, and send the parishioners and me a decree of blessings, so that perhaps I could return home with your prayers and blessings." The *vardapet*, after receiving the letter, believed the bishop's words. He wrote a decree absolving him of sins and blessing him. He also wrote a decree of benediction to the inhabitants of Lvov and dispatched it to Nikol, who was in Bursa. Nikol took these decrees and returned to Lvov. The citizens of Lvov, seeing the decrees of *Vardapet* Grigor, rejoiced and reconciled with the bishop. However, *Vardapet* Grigor, through travelers and knowledgeable men, learned that Bishop Nikol had come to Bursa, had not become ill or infirm, but, at the advice of *Vardapet* Aristakēs, had remained in Bursa, had wheedled the decrees with crafty and false words, and had returned home. This ruse greatly distressed the *vardapet*. He informed the people of Lvov, by a letter, of all the wily behavior of the bishop. He also added that the earlier damnation and excommunication of the bishop was still in effect. Therefore, the people of Lvov renounced the bishop and did not recognize him [as a cleric]. A deep discord developed between the bishop and the parishioners.

They remained in enmity until the year 1079 (1630) of our calendar, when Kat'oghikos Movsēs dispatched his senior pupil, *Vardapet* Khach'atur [372] of Kayseri, as the *nuirak* of holy Ējmiatsin in the western lands—Assyria (Syria) and Rum (former Byzantine Empire).¹ *Vardapet* Khach'atur was a gentle, quiet and affectionate man. He was not reckless or foolish, but wise and learned. Everyone who met him was immediately attracted to him; that is why he was appointed as the *nuirak*. After traveling through all the provinces, *Vardapet* Khach'atur arrived in Kayseri, where he met with the great *Vardapet* Grigor. *Vardapet* Grigor told him a great deal and instructed him, saying, "When you go to Lvov, you should not recognize Nikol as the bishop and should not respect him as one." After traveling through all the regions as the *nuirak*, *Vardapet* Khach'atur arrived in Lvov. The people came to him and began to blame Nikol for his impious behavior and various other unpleasant deeds they had witnessed and suffered because of him. The *vardapet*, who was habitually kind and gentle, did not reproach Nikol in a direct manner, but gently and instructively spoke with him, according to the instruction of our Lord, "Point out the fault when two are you are alone."² But Nikol did not worry about anything, for he was not ashamed of the *vardapet* nor did he fear public condemnation. He continued his intentions, inflexible as a stone.

On a certain Sunday, the following occurred: when it came time to read the gospel, Bishop Nikol ordered his *abegha* to go and read *the gospel*,³ but *Vardapet* Khach'atur said, "Let someone else read it instead." Nikol said nothing to the *vardapet* and ordered his *abegha* to read the gospel. The *vardapet*, realizing that Nikol had openly and daringly, in front of the *k'ahana* and [373] the people, ignored his words and had not even recognized his presence, turned to the parishioners and said, "Let those who bend their knees before this man be damned."⁴ The *vardapet* said this, left the church, and went to his room on the second floor, which he habitually occupied. Seeing and hearing this, the people exited the church in one surge. Nikol and a few others remained in the church, and they too went home following the service. That same day, the Armenian judges and notables

¹ Text reads *Asorestan and Horomastan*.

² Matthew 18.15: "If another member of the church sins against you, go and point out the fault when the two of you are alone. If the member listens to you, you have regained that one."

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ This is confirmed by archival data; see Pingirian, 363.

went and shut the doors of the church, and took the keys with them. The church remained closed for several days. In addition, the Armenian judges and notables spoke with *Vardapet* Khach'atur and convinced him to sit on the dais and convene a court session to judge Nikol for his impudence, as well as for his outrageous behavior and crimes. When the bishop found out about this, he brought two men, witnesses from among the Franks. The witnesses could appear in any tribunal, be deposed, and the judges, after examining their testimony, would pronounce rulings, for that was the convention in the land of the Poles. Nikol spoke with these witnesses and managed to convince them to immediately appear when he summoned them. On the court day, when the *vardapet* sat to judge, and the [Armenian] judges and notables were also seated, they named Nikol to judge him. But, well in advance, Nikol had brought the two witnesses into the court and hid them there without the knowledge of the Armenians. When they invited Nikol to enter, he [374] entered and ordered his servants to place his chair in its usual place for him to sit on. The judges asked Nikol, "What are you doing? Why are you sitting down? They have called you to judge you. Stand there." Nikol then called out in a loud voice and summoned the hidden witnesses. They appeared then and there and stood before the gathering. Nikol told them, "For God's sake, observe with your own eyes and be my witnesses. I am the bishop and these are civilians gathered to judge me. That *vardapet*, who has come from the land of the Turks, is a spy. Imagine the state of our country, for he now sits with them and judges me." The witnesses said, "We are witnesses to what we saw with our own eyes, and shall give evidence wherever you take us." Then, all the Armenians who had gathered, including the *k'ahana* and the notables, were scared, and, seized by fear and terror of the Franks, walked out one by one and ran away. The *vardapet* also left and went to his residence.

After that, Bishop Nikol began to falsely and hypocritically send intermediaries and messengers to the *vardapet*, the *k'ahana*, and notables, seeking reconciliation. He said, "Enough with your opposition. Do not oppose me and close the churches. Open the doors of the churches." Knowing his wily nature, none of the people of Lvov believed him. The *vardapet* realized that the longer they provoked the bishop, argued and fought [375] with him, the more he honed his crafty deeds. Fearing this, he wanted, willy-nilly, to reconcile with the bishop. He tried to convince the *k'ahana* and the notables to make peace, but they did not want to. The *vardapet* said,

"I fear that whatever happens, we shall experience misfortune from the bishop. I suspect that our stubbornness will result in great harm." They replied, "There is no need to fear, *vardapet*. We have numerous old decrees from previous rulers stating that no matter how many court proceedings or legal examinations, only Armenian judges can judge Armenians, not judges from among the Franks. In addition, we have property to match their property and brains to match their brains. So what are you afraid of?" The *vardapet* did not like these words. He tried to convince them, individually and collectively, to reconcile. But they did not want to. The *vardapet* then took hold of his collar and pronounced, "Know this! I shall not answer for his sins."

Bishop *Nikol*¹ realized that, despite the mediations of his false and wily messengers, the people of Lvov would not reconcile with him, and would not open the churches. Therefore, he went to the Frankish priests, who lived in the city of Lvov, specifically to the members of the Jesuit [order], agreed with them, and gave them the following paper, *stating*,² "I, *Nikōlayos*, the Armenian bishop, through my free [376] will, join the Roman Church, together with all my followers. I recognize the authority of the pope³ and [promise] to carry out all his commands." The head of the Jesuit order gathered members of other orders, as well as Bishop *Nikol*, and took them to his archbishop. The latter, through them, sent a message to the governor of the city, requesting that either the Armenians obey their bishop and open the doors of the churches, or appear in court against one another. The governor followed the request of the archbishop, but the Armenians neither opened the churches, nor did they appear in court. The governor repeated his command three times, but the Armenians did not open the churches nor appeared in court.

After that, a large number of clerics of the Jesuit order and other orders gathered once more.⁴ They took many lads from schools, went to their archbishop and rounded up monks, and went to the governor of the city and to the judges. They all came to the doors of the Armenian church, which was shut by the Armenian notables. They sent men to the Armenian notables, asking them to come and open the doors or send the keys. But they neither came nor sent the

¹ Absent from **D**.

² Absent from **A** and **D**.

³ Pope is in lower case throughout the original text.

⁴ Pingirian states that this occurred on November 4, 1630, 364.

keys. The crowd then smashed the doors of the church,¹ took Bishop Nikol inside the church, and entrusted the church with all its belongings [377] to him. After that, the Frankish soldiers went out and sought the *k'ahana* and Armenian notables, to seize them in the name of the governor and to throw them in jail and fine them. But they fled, hid, and did not show themselves. The church had a treasury. It contained numerous books and vessels. There were more than 1,000 volumes of books, all fine, rare and instructive: bibles, gospels, and hymnals in golden covers, and many other books. In addition, vases, sacred chalices, crosses, fans, censers, lamps, candelabras, chasubles, omophores, mitres, reliquaries, relics preserved from the time of our fathers and ancestors, sealed² decrees³ of ancient kings, and much more. All this, which Nikol usurped, was in the depository of the church.⁴ Not only this church, but also other Armenian churches and monasteries that were in the city and its surrounding districts, together with all of their houses, lands, mills and shops, fell into the hands of the bishop. He said, "I am the bishop and all the churches and their properties belong to me." *Vardapet* Khach'atur and all the Armenians who lived in Lvov were now without a church, for if they went inside the church they would be forced to obey the pope and confess to him. In addition, they had to obey Bishop Nikol, something the people of Lvov did not want to do. Therefore, they were troubled and confused and could not find a way out. The Armenian inhabitants of Lvov were thus left without a church.

[378] It so happened that *Vardapet* Khach'atur left the city and went to the monastery called *Surb Khach'*.⁵ Those inhabitants [of Lvov] *who wished to see him*⁶ would freely go there and return. One day they observed that a large number of armed soldiers and officers had come and surrounded the monastery. In response to the inquiries

¹ This is confirmed by archival data cited in Pingirian, 364.

² Text reads *murhak*, from the Arabic *muhraq* (sealed).

³ Text reads *nomos*.

⁴ Simēon of Poland wrote about the treasures of the Armenian Church in Lvov, *SP*, 282.

⁵ The monastery was one of the oldest Armenian hermitages (13th century) and was located in the Krakow suburb of Lvov. In 1639, its church was demolished and a new church in the Baroque style was built in its place.

⁶ Absent from A and D.

of those present, the troops answered, "A spy¹ has come from the land of the Turks. He is here and we want to catch him." After some time, the people saw that Bishop Nikol arrived with honor, accompanied by his servants. He approached the soldiers and asked, "Why have you gathered here?" The soldiers replied, "A *jasus* has come from the land of the Turks and we want to catch him." Nikol then replied, "It is not proper and does not befit you to seize him. Go home. I shall go see him and will talk to him." All the troops immediately left and dispersed. The bishop went to the *vardapet* and brought him back *with him*² to the city. As long as the *vardapet* was in town, monks and other Franks incessantly came, visited him, and argued about the one or two natures [of Christ], treating the Armenians as Eutychean heretics, who were lost because of their stupidity and ignorance.³ As to the *vardapet*, he thought about what had occurred in the past and what would happen in the future. He [379] observed the situation and realized that all [his] efforts were useless and futile. Therefore, he left Lvov and traveled until he reached Ējmiatsin, where he visited Kat'oghikos Movsēs and other *vardapets*. With a heavy heart and eyes full of tears, they all bemoaned the lot of the Armenians who lived in the city of Lvov and [thought] how to save them.

Christ, our Lord, said, "First tie the strong man and then plunder his house."⁴ This is [exactly] how Bishop Nikol behaved. For, after the departure of the *vardapet*, he, like a beast in the vision of Daniel,⁵ tore up and devoured the people, their belongings, and all the property of the Church, and trampled upon what remained. Like the Christians, who were persecuted during the time of the idol-worshipping rulers, so now were the Armenian people living in the city of Lvov; for Bishop Nikol now became extremely powerful and tyrannized the Armenian population. He seized any *erēts'* who he considered having committed the slightest offense, threw him in jail, and fined him three or four hundred *kuruş*. He also seized the [Ar-

¹ Text reads *ch'ashut*; see page 282, note 2.

² Absent from C.

³ The Catholics considered the Armenians monophysites, who followed Eutyches, censured in the Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon on October 8, 451.

⁴ Mark 3.27 reads: "But no one can enter a strong man's house and plunder his property without first tying the strong man; then indeed the house can be plundered."

⁵ Daniel 7.19-27.

menian] notables, who were judges,¹ and exacted money from them. He tormented the entire [Armenian] population. He would not permit the burial of the dead in the proper place until he received the money he demanded. After the burial, when they wanted to put a headstone over the grave, he would once again demand money, and only then would he permit the erecting of the headstone. Because of this, weddings and christenings stopped; people would go to another town to get married and to christen [their babies]. They [380] buried their dead in other towns [as well]. They did this in secret, without the knowledge of the bishop. When he found out, he would be seized with great anger, would grab the *erēts'* and the individuals responsible, would torment them for a long time, and would exact heavy fines from them.

Once, they wanted to secretly wed a young man, without the knowledge of the bishop. Therefore, they brought three *k'ahana* to perform the ceremony in the house. The bishop found out about it. He sent soldiers to seize the *erēts'* and the parents of the groom, who were preparing for the wedding, and to throw them in jail. Learning of this, people and the *erēts'* began to hide in fear: some of the *erēts'* hid in wardrobes² and shut them, as though there were full of female toiletries and adornments. Two *erēts'* climbed in the *soba*,³ which was built in the house for making fire. While searching for the *erēts'*, the soldiers found them in the *soba*, dragged them out of there, tied their hands behind their backs, took them to the bishop, barefoot and bare-headed with sooty faces and bodies. The bishop insulted them for a long time, threatened them, and then threw the *erēts'* and the parents in jail. He exacted 400 *kuruş* from the *erēts'* and 400 *kuruş* from the people, and only then released them. They went and celebrated the wedding. Many children died without being christened. There were many young people, already fifteen or sixteen years old, who were not baptized. *Many sick people would die without receiving communion*⁴ [381]. Many of the dead were not interred for

¹ The Armenians of Poland enjoyed special privileges granted to them by King Casimir III. The community of Kamenets-Podolsk (in 1344) and Lvov (in 1356) were given the right to form their own councils composed of 12 Armenian judges. For more details, see Albojajyan, II, 385.

² Text read *snduk* from the Arabic *ṣandūq* (trunk); in this case, a *sandūq-khāne* (a place where the regalia are kept; box-room; wardrobe).

³ From the Turkish *soba* (stove or hothouse).

⁴ A reads, "Many sick people did not receive communion"; "would die" is absent from A and D.

several years. The dead were placed in wooden coffins; the coffins were covered with tar so that the tar would cover the corpse. They would then put them out in the cold and kept them there, awaiting the advent of Christ. The seven sacraments and all church services were altered. The poor people found themselves in an inextricable grief, and suffered more than during the time of paganism.¹

The people then turned to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin and complained about their numerous calamities. They sent a certain *k'ahana*, named *tēr* Simēon, and a notable from among the secular group² to Kat'oghikos *tēr* Movsēs, so that maybe he could find a way to save them. The kat'oghikos wrote a brief letter, filled with wise, prudent words and entreaties to the king of the Poles and his princes, the archbishop of Lvov, a Frank by birth, as well as the pope and requested, "Have pity on the unfortunate people. Give them their churches. Do not forbid the *k'ahana* from celebrating the seven sacraments of their church. It does not befit the servants of Christ to be treated like this." When these letters arrived in the city of Lvov, and the Armenian population handed them to their respective addressee—the king and the others—they ordered them to translate [the letters] into the language and script of the Poles. After reading them, they accepted every word. The heart of the king, whose name was Vladislav,³ was softened by these supplications. He ordered the return of the Armenian churches to the Armenians. But the Jesuits opposed and did not allow the king's decree to come to fruition. They told the king, "This is a church and religious matter. It concerns [382] the pope and the archbishop. They have to decide and

¹ For details see Pingirian, 364-365. Pingirian adds that some families kept their dead in the house for 10 weeks. He cites archival documents that state the practice continued until July 1633 when epidemics forced Nikol to halt it.

² The secular leaders of Lvov were Sefer Muradovich, Simon Mikolayevich, Zakharia Ter-Kasparovich, Krishtof Stechkovich, and others. They had sent a complaint to the kat'oghikos, dated July 25, 1631. They stated that they were sending their representative to relate the details orally; see Pingirian, 357-358. The letter has been preserved only in its Polish translation.

³ King Wladyslaw IV (Vasa) reigned from 1632 to 1648. He was free from the religious fanaticism of his father, Sigismund III (1587-1632). He tried to end the enmity between the religious groups in Poland and tried in vain to restrict the power of the Jesuits. Sigismund was the son of King John of Sweden (Vasa family). He was educated by the Jesuits and threw his entire influence on the side of the Counter-Revolution.

resolve it. It is appropriate for them. It does not befit you, the temporal king, to get involved in religious matters." The king, pitying the unfortunate Armenian people, asked the archbishop to return the Armenian churches to the Armenians. The Jesuits opposed this as well and did not allow it to happen. Pitying the Armenians even more, the king himself went to the Armenian church, in order to return the *Armenian*¹ churches to the Armenians. When Bishop Nikol learned this, he immediately put on his liturgical robes, raised the Eucharist of the communion over his head, came out and went to greet the king. Seeing him, the king was frightened of God's sacrament, did not have the strength to do anything, left everything, and returned to his palace.

After that, the Armenians were forced to go to the pope in Rome. Thanks to many requests, they obtained from the king and the archbishop a petition letter to the pope. They went to Rome and delivered first the request of Kat'oghikos Movsēs and then the petition of the king and the archbishop. When Bishop Nikol realized that the people had gone to Rome, he also went there. The dishonest Jesuits also opposed the Armenians and hindered their objective in Rome. The churches were thus not returned to the Armenians. The poor travelers left with no resolution and returned to Lvov. Bishop Nikol also left Rome, returned to Lvov and continued to live there, oppressing the people and leading a depraved life.

The people of Lvov sent [383] *k'ahana* and envoys two or three times to Kat'oghikos P'ilippos in Ējmiatsin,² for Kat'oghikos Movsēs had passed away.³ In addition, Kat'oghikos P'ilippos wrote letters to Lvov and sent his pupils and *vardapets* there. However, even this did not benefit the Armenian inhabitants. Because of such oppression, many pious churchmen, *abegha*, *erēts'*, and learned men left the city of Lvov and went to Ējmiatsin. They settled and stayed there. These were sons of noted men. Kat'oghikos P'ilippos elevated one of them to the rank of bishop of Lvov and sent him there to administer the community, but even this did not benefit the [Armenian] population of Lvov. In addition, at that time, a certain *vardapet* from the Dominican [order], by the name of Pōghos, a Frank by birth, a wise and renowned man, came to the Nakhichevan province, and

¹ Absent from C.

² According to Pingirian, archival material in Lvov indicates that Nikol imprisoned the *k'ahana* who had gone to the Holy See, 359.

³ Movsēs died on May 14, 1632.

went among those who had renounced their faith,¹ and who live there. To benefit our people and in order to save the churches in Lvov, Kat'oghikos P'ilippos displayed a great friendship and love toward this Pōghos. After completing his mission, this Pōghos left for Rome and stopped in Lvov on his way. The people [Armenians] of Lvov pleaded with Pōghos for a long time. They accorded him great respect and gave him lots of money for his travel expenses, so that when he arrived at the Papal court he would find a way to save them. After Pōghos arrived in Rome, and before he even had a chance to plead on behalf of the Armenians at the pope's court, Bishop Nikol beat him to it; he arrived first at the papal court and, through the mediation [384] of the Jesuits, hampered Pōghos' efforts. Thus, the affair of helping and saving the unlucky population of the city of Lvov was disrupted from every direction. Those [Armenians], who had gone with Pōghos, mournfully returned from there [Rome] empty-handed. Bishop Nikol also returned from Rome, came to the city of Lvov, continued his former way of life, and actually increased his debauchery. Nikol sold some of the aforementioned books, sacred vessels and all the property of the Church. He gave part of the money as bribes, broke up the rest and, through the Jews, turned it into silver and spent it. He scattered, dispersed and completely squandered the incalculable goods and treasures, so that nothing remained but the empty stone churches. He openly led an impudent, debauched and depraved life and did not fear anyone. Many of the books and vessels sold by him came to Armenia and reached us. The merchants brought the items they had redeemed for cash and everyone who saw them was amazed.

The poor citizens of Lvov suffered many misadventures and torments, due to the rescinding of the seven sacraments of their church. Many virtuous people, who were loyal to their original faith, left their homes and quit their homeland. They moved away, separated from their families and people, and wandered like vagabonds and strangers in foreign lands. They lived in this manner and died in sorrow and emptiness. The Armenians suffered other torments and constraints, for great were the persecutions against them. Some gave up their faith and lost their property, as well as spent their money to travel to and from the courts of kings or notables. Both sides, [385]

¹ Text reads *akht'arma* (from the Turkish to turn around). It can be translated as heretics or renegades. It refers to the Armenians of Nakhichevan, who had embraced Catholicism.

that is, Nikol and the people, thus tried and were exhausted from the various intrigues and incessant hostilities, for the discord began in the year 1079 (1630), when Nikol took over the church, and continued until the year 1102 (1653) of our calendar.

At that time Kat'oghikos tēr P'ilippos had left the Holy See of Ējmiatsin and gone to Jerusalem. From there he had gone to the most majestic city of Constantinople.¹ The word of his arrival spread everywhere and even reached the city of Lvov.

Then the smart swindler, [who was] Bishop Nikol, realized that the people, after undergoing so many torments, had not given up their firm intention, but stubbornly continued their efforts. Therefore, he decided to go to Kat'oghikos P'ilippos in Constantinople, in order to remove his excommunication and receive a decree of benediction and an order for the community to obey him. But since he had no income and no money for the journey, he sought a way and found it. A well-known and respected Armenian lived in the city of Tokat. He was named Mahdesi Markos. He gave a large sum of money to his son, named Simēon, and sent him to trade in the land of the Poles. This Simon arrived in Lvov, hosted feasts and ate and drank continuously. He became acquainted and befriended Bishop Nikol. He promised the bishop, "If you wish to go to the kat'oghikos, do not worry about the money. I shall provide you with whatever expenses you need for your journey." [386] As promised, he gave the bishop 2,000 *kuruş* in cash. The bishop took the money, left Lvov, traveled to Bughdan (Moldavia), and from there went to Kat'oghikos P'ilippos.

The Armenians of Lvov, realizing that Bishop Nikol had gone to the kat'oghikos, appointed a certain renowned man from among them, named Khach'k'o, who was one of the Armenian judges, and sent him to Kat'oghikos P'ilippos. They gave him letters and numerous verbal instructions. Bishop Nikol and judge Khach'k'o left separately, arrived in Constantinople, and presented themselves to the kat'oghikos.

During the many days of long discussions and activities, the affair was concluded when Kat'oghikos P'ilippos ordered Bishop Nikol to agree to the terms outlined in [the following] four points, sign it and give it to him. First: Nikol and his successors, *that is,*² the clerics and the secular population, shall profess the faith of the Illu-

¹ See Chapter 25.

² Absent from F.

minator and his patriarchs [kat'oghikoi], the *locum tenens* [of Gregory the Illuminator]. Second: Nikol and his successors shall perform the rituals of the Armenian Church. Third: After the death of Bishop Nikol, his successor shall be consecrated a bishop by the kat'oghikos at Ējmiatsin. He shall be appointed to the diocese [of Poland] by the order of the kat'oghikos, and shall be a loyal follower of the kat'oghikos. Fourth: Nikol himself can mention the name of the pope, and that only during the liturgy and not in other sermons or rituals. Furthermore, he shall not add water [to the wine] in the cup during the holy liturgy.¹ The priesthood and other members of the clergy shall never utter [387] the name of the pope. The bishop who succeeds Nikol shall also never mention the name of the pope, either in sermons or in other affairs; only Nikol shall do so, and that only during the holy liturgy.

As to the mentioning of the name of the pope, it was Nikol himself who asked the kat'oghikos to permit him to do so, saying, "According to the writ which I gave to the Franks, they will remove me from my post and may even sentence me to death." Because of this, the kat'oghikos gave his permission. Nikol wrote these four points on paper, signed it and affixed his seal to it, and gave it to Kat'oghikos P'ilippos. The kat'oghikos handed it to the judge Khach'k'o to take it with him to the city of Lvov and hide it, thus assuring its safety in the future. After that, the kat'oghikos lifted the excommunication from Nikol and restored his authority of a bishop over the [Armenian] citizens of Lvov. He ordered him to give up his lecherous and depraved lifestyle, to return to the true path of the faith, and lead a decent life appropriate to the rank of a bishop. From the bottom of his heart and free will, Bishop Nikol agreed to all the conditions prescribed by the kat'oghikos, was released, and returned to Lvov.

The people of Lvov thought that Nikol would renounce and repent from his iniquitous lifestyle, but saw that he continued it as before. They also remembered the squandering of their numerous vessels and treasures, of their persecution at the hands of Bishop Nikol, and [feared that] their souls would burn and become enveloped in flames. Therefore, they did not want to reconcile with him. In fact, they fled and wished to disavow him.

¹ The Armenian Church, unlike that of Rome and Constantinople, does not dilute the wine with water in the Mass. For details, see Kirakos of Gandzak, *Patmut'awn*, 138-139.

[388] Prior to Bishop Nikol's trip to Constantinople, Kat'oghikos P'ilippos had sent one of his pupils to Lvov, a *vardapet* named Hōhan,¹ a native of Arghni, a man of great sagacity and expert orator, so that he would find a way of saving their church. While *Vardapet* Hōhan was on his way to Lvov and Bishop Nikol was on his way to Constantinople, they met each other en route. Bishop Nikol received a letter of guarantee [of safety] in the name of the kat'oghikos and went to Constantinople to [meet] the kat'oghikos. *Vardapet* Hōhan arrived in Lvov and remained there until Bishop Nikol and Judge Khach'k'o returned from Constantinople.

Vardapet Hohan, realizing that the public opposed the bishop and did not want to obey him, became a mediator between the people and Bishop Nikol, in order to end the age-old discord and dissent. He spent many days admonishing, forcing and exhorting, speaking separately to the people and the bishop. After much effort, he barely managed to convince the people to submit to the bishop. After that, *Vardapet* Hōhan led the parishioners and the bishop into the church, which had been seized by the bishop. When the parishioners entered the church, the scene resembled that of a sheep reuniting with its flock, a lamb with its mother: wails and screams, [389] tears flowing from the eyes of the faithful, deep moans from yearning and love for their church. There, in the church, *Vardapet* Hōhan began to comfort the people with examples of the life and writings of the saints. His words consoled the hearts of the people. As a sign of reconciliation, they all kissed the bishop. *Consoled, the parishioners and the bishop were glad with the effort of the vardapet, and jubilantly offered praise to God, the Creator of All.*²

The word of the reconciliation reached the Polish king, who was named Jan-Casimir,³ and who was, at that time, in the city of Lvov. The king summoned *Vardapet* Hōhan, questioned him in a private room for a long time, and heard wise and pleasant responses. The king liked the *vardapet* and thanked him for his mediation and rec-

¹ *Vardapet* Hovhan Argnets'i. A colophon in MS 5350 at the Matenadaran reiterates the information written below and, according to Pingirian, Arak'el took the information for the latter part of this chapter from that colophon, 356-357.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Jan-Casimir, of the Vasa dynasty, reigned from 1648 to 1668. He was a strict Catholic and a cardinal prior to becoming king. Despite his policies against non-Catholics, he tried to bring peace between the Armenians and their bishop.

conciliation of the people with the bishop and the end of the age-old enmity between them. *Vardapet* Hōhan stayed there for an entire year and only then returned to Ējmiatsin. The [Armenian] people of Lvov and the bishop continue to live by the agreement, which was concluded by Kat'oghikos P'ilippos and *Vardapet* Hōhan, until today, May 10, 1109 (1660) of our calendar, when this history was written.¹ *We beg Christ in the days to come to preserve us in peace and love, in his blessed will and in the eternal glory of his name. Amen.*²

¹ Arak'el could imagine that this vibrant Armenian community would soon be united with Rome and would eventually disappear through assimilation.

² Absent from A and D.

[390] Chapter 29

On the revival among the Armenian vardapets of the worldly sciences found in secular¹ books, as well as the art of grammar, the knowledge of which had been long lost, and the reason for its revival and dissemination

In olden days and ancient times, in the town of Baghesh, in the monastery called Amrdol (Amrdolu),² there was a school for *vardapets*, whose legacy continued until the days of our fathers. At that time, the abbot superior, administrator, and chief *vardapet* of the place was, according to the order of succession, a *vardapet* named Barsegh.³ He was a famous and distinguished man and had many students. The monastery of Amrdolu was, at first, a gloomy and disorganized place and was in ruins. Barsegh demolished everything and began to construct it anew. He built a church, dwellings, and everything else.

[391] *Vardapet* Barsegh took his staff of office from the line of monks, which began with Tat'ewats'i⁴ in the following order: First

¹ Text reads *artak'in* (exterior, external). Brosset has translated it as "profane sciences," *MB*, 458. Medieval Armenian scholars, similar to Jews and Greeks, divided literature and sciences into *artak'in*, *nerk'in* (interior, internal), and *nurb* (subtle, refined) groups. The *artak'in* contained those secular or profane sciences such as philosophy, grammar, history, geography, astronomy, written by Christians and pagans, which were not forbidden by the Church. The *nerk'in* consisted mainly of religious and Church literature, called spiritual or *layn* (deep, broad) books. The *nurb* included more complicated books, especially those dealing with philosophy of theology. For more details, see A. Anasyan, *Haykakan matenagrut'yun*, V-XVIII *dd.*, I (Erevan, 1959), xii-xiii; P. Ishkhanyan, *Hay matenagrut'yan patmut'yun*, I (Erevan 1964), 34-35; and N. Akinean, *Matenagitakan hetazotut'iwnner*, I (Vienna, 1922), 11-36.

² The monastery of Amrdol was founded in Baghesh (Bitlis) around 1400 and is named after the mother of St. John the Baptist, who was barren (Amrdola-vank'). Its beautiful site, south of Bitlis, is near two small rivers (Khosrov and Amrdolu), both tributaries of the Tigris. See Gh. Alishan, *Teghagir Hayots' Medzats'* (Venice, 1855), 76.

³ Barsegh Gawarats'i (Aghbakets'i) was instrumental in encouraging the monks to study secular philosophical and grammatical texts.

⁴ Grigor of Tat'ew (1346-1409), one of the most noted religious figures of medieval Armenia, was the abbot of the Tat'ew monastery and the author of numerous philosophical and theological works. He prepared a large num-

came Grigor of Tat'ew, then his student Daniël [the Hermit], [then] his student Hovhannēs Hamshets'i, [then] his student Ch'ort'an Grigor Arjishets'i, [then] his student Nersēs, whom they named Matagh, [then] his student Nersēs of Baghesh, [then] his student Nersēs Amkets'i, [then] his student Brgut' Hovhannēs Ostants'i (Vostants'i), [then] his student Barsegh Gawaṛats'i; *this is the same Barsegh*¹ about whom I spoke earlier. Barsegh's student was Nersēs Mokats'i from the village of Asknjaws, who was known as Beghlu,² for he had a long moustache. His student was Melk'isēt' of Erevan from the village *called*³ Vzhan.

Vardapet Barsegh was well aware that Armenian *vardapets* were not familiar with the secular sciences and grammar, and truly wished them to learn these sciences, not only for his own sake, but more so for the sake of the people, in order to revive and disseminate them among the Armenians, so that everyone would comprehend these arts and sciences. Therefore, he carried books of secular sciences and read them incessantly, even though he did not understand them. Sometimes he would understand the essence and the meaning of the words, and sometimes he would not; but he continued to read them without interruption.

As Our Lord said in the parable of the three breads, "Even though he will not get up and give him anything because he is his friend, at least because of his persistence he will get up and give him whatever he needs."⁴ Therefore, He [Jesus] rewarded Barsegh, because he constantly kept vigil, stood by the gates [392] of science and learning and continued to knock on them day and night with prayers and readings. The Source, the provider of all knowledge—the Holy Spirit of the Lord—who promised with His own mouth the hypostasis, "Ask, and it will be given you; search, and you will find; knock, and the door will be opened for you,"⁵ seeing how sincerely he tried and how hard he knocked, rewarded him, and gave him understanding and the ability for his mind to penetrate the words and images in the secular books *completely*⁶ without anyone's instruction or guidance.

number of students in the Tat'ew and Metsop' monasteries. See S. Arevshatian, *Filosofskie vzgliady Grigora Tatevatsi* (Erevan, 1957).

¹ Absent from A and D.

² From the Armenian *begh* (moustache).

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ Luke 11.8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.9; Matthew 7.7-8.

⁶ Absent from A and D.

First he read the *Sahmanats' girk'* (Book of Definitions).¹ He read it to the end and then reread it from the first chapter. He continued to reread each chapter until he grasped it completely and would then go on to the next section. Continuing thus, he completed ten chapters of the *Book of Definitions* and realized that he could learn the rest. After that, he put it aside and started on the work of Porphyry,² in order to understand and test its peculiarities. He began to read it with great zeal and to think it over. With great difficulty he read and reread Porphyry's work and, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, he became acquainted with "genus" and "species."

When *Vardapet* Barsegh became old, he summoned all his disciples and transmitted to them all the knowledge he had gained from the above books. They learned it and remembered it all. He then began to confer with them and said, "My beloved children, who I gave birth to in the Lord through spiritual birth pangs, and through the things described in the books written by the early *vardapets*—[393] "genus," "species," "distinctions," "specialties," "chance signs," "affirmation," and "denial," which we see frequently and repeatedly in the Book of Explanations,³ the Book of Treasures,"⁴ "About Whom,"⁵ and others, whose words we read and go through but whose meanings we do not understand; whose conclusions we do not know, neither their whole, nor parts, nor their particularity. *Vardapets* have to be well informed of all these works, because no matter how much they read them and think that they know them, they will

¹ Also called as *Sahmank'* by the sixth-century Armenian philosopher Dawit' Anhaght' (David the Invincible). Dawit' was the founder of several branches of Armenian philosophy, particularly logic. See A. Sanjian, ed. *David Anhaght': The 'Invincible' Philosopher* (Atlanta, 1986).

² Porphyry (ca. 234-301/6) was a disciple of Plotinus. His introduction to Aristotle's *Categories*, known as *Isagoge*, was translated into Armenian and used extensively by early Armenian philosophers.

³ Text reads *Parapmants' girk'*, which was the work of Bishop Cyril of Alexandria (5th century) entitled "The Explanation on the Teachings of the Incarnation of the Son of God." See G. Zarbhanalean, *Matenadaran haykakan t'argmanut'eants' nakhneats'* (Venice, 1889), 510, 520, 522-523.

⁴ Text reads *Gandzots' grots'n*, which refers to "Gandzots' girk'," "Gandzagirk'," or "Gandz," of Cyril of Alexandria. See *ibid.*, 520-522.

⁵ Refers to the book of the 4th-century author Gregory the Theologian, which begins with *Ar ors* ("About whom"). See *ibid.*, 346; M. Ter-Movsesian, *Istoriia perevoda Biblii na armianskii iazyk* (St. Petersburg, 1902), 102.

not grasp them as they should; for these books are doors to all wisdom and to all books—philosophical and secular.

Therefore, I entrust to you this indispensable dying testament. Moreover, I hand you a heavy and unavoidable duty. You have witnessed that I have constantly read books, struggled and reflected for a long time until I found the essence of their being. Everything that I have found there, thanks to the Lord, I have given to you. Now, I am placing a great responsibility on you; you must do the same, as long as you live, you must do the same [read these books]. Read constantly that which I have given you in the form of lessons; thus reading and moving forward, you shall grow. Hand everything you discover and whatever the Holy Spirit of the Lord grants you, to your students in your lessons. Let them continually practice until they become familiar with the ideas. Instruct your students to do the same [with their students], and if everyone does this, from father to son, I believe that the Lord [394] shall open all the doors and indicate all the roads to this marvelous and glorious knowledge.” Thus, the radiant soul, *Vardapet* Barsegh, as I have already stated, became the reason for the seeking of the knowledge in secular books. Leaving the above instructions, he joined his ancestors and took his rest in Christ. They buried him in the cemetery of the same monastery of Amrdolu, which he had established. *May it be his resting place with the saints and in the state of bliss! Amen.*¹

Three disciples of the venerable *Vardapet* Barsegh, natives of the *gawar* of Mokk',² acted on his instructions. One of them was named Hovsēp, from the village of Ozmi (Vozmi). The others were Hayrapet, and his brother's son, Nersēs, who were both from *the village called Asknjaws*. This Nersēs is the same *Beghlu Nersēs*³ mentioned above in the list of *vardapets*. This Nersēs studied very hard and surpassed *Vardapet* Barsegh and his colleagues. Later, he reflected and understood the vanity of life, its problems and its great illusions. [Then] *Vardapet* Nersēs renounced the world, and left it and its charms. Since the Grand Hermitage—whose history I recounted earlier⁴ and where I mentioned this same *Vardapet* Nersēs—had just been constructed and founded, he [Nersēs], learning of the virtue and austerity of life among the brotherhood of the Grand Hermitage,

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Located south of Lake Van.

³ Missing from Khanlaryan's Russian translation; instead the sentence which appears 4 lines below is repeated, *KH*, 310.

⁴ Constructed in 1612; see Chapters 21-22.

went there. Some of the *abeghas* of the Grand Hermitage began to study the secular sciences with *Vardapet Nersēs*, but [395] since they sought the purification of their souls, they preferred acts of piety and not the words [written in the books]. That is why some of them left the studies. But one *abegha*, named *tēr Melk'isēt'*, a native of the village of Vzhan in the Ararat province, did not turn away from the study of secular books and did not leave *Vardapet Nersēs*. As long as *Vardapet Nersēs* remained in the Grand Hermitage, *tēr Melk'isēt'* remained there as well. When *Vardapet Nersēs* left for the Vaspurakan province, to the island called Lim, located in the middle of the sea (Lake Van), and found a monastery there, *tēr Melk'isēt'* went with him.

When many other monks came and the brotherhood of the monastery grew, five other brothers joined *tēr Melk'isēt'*. They began reading the secular books and studied them in earnest. They set a special time of the day to gather in one place, so that each one of them could explain to the rest what he had found within those books. Thus, the rest would also learn and the knowledge would progress, spread and yield results. This continued for two years, after which the group of brothers became weary and gave up the study of the secular books. Although the effort was great, the consolation was little; they had not yet mastered the texts and had not yet tasted their sweetness. That is why the effort seemed useless and the material, according to the philosopher Dawit', inferior.¹

Tēr Melk'isēt', however, did not abandon the secular books and did not turn away from reading them. Rather, he continued tirelessly, studying them and reflecting on them day and night [396]. He would go to *Vardapet Nersēs*, show him a text and ask him if he had understood it correctly. While continuing both his religious studies and his endless reflections, as well as constantly weighing speculative sophistries, he continued *at the same time*² to lead a virtuous life, and, together with the other brothers, carried out, more so than the others, all the duties required in the monastery. He hastened to pray at night and beg God, who grants all knowledge in the world, to open the

¹ David the Invincible, in his *Definitions of Philosophy*, writes, "We do not consider the work at hand (the knowledge of philosophy) hard, but consider it a particle of God's gifts. In comparison with God's grace any effort is worthless and inferior." See Dawit' Anhaght', *Sahmank' imastasirut'yan* (Erevan, 1980), 2.

² Absent from A and D.

door to the books and to give him the ability to understand their wisdom.

He put more effort in studying the said books than the aforementioned *vardapets*, for, besides the time that he kept vigil with his companions or spent on hard labor, he had, like Paul, crucified his body with its passions and desires for ten years, without stopping and without respite.¹ Moreover, for two years, he ate only bread and nothing else. During these two years he was totally mute and did not utter a word to anyone, except to God and to the texts of knowledge. He did not approach a window and did not take lanterns or candles into his cell. He read the books in the daytime and reflected upon them at nighttime.

The Holy Spirit of God, the unfathomable one in all existing things on earth, who searches everything and the depths of God,² heard his unending prayers and tireless [397] petitions and granted him the wisdom and knowledge he sought, according to the saying and hypostasis of the Lord, Jesus.³ He unquestionably acquired the knowledge contained within the secular books and became an expert of "Definitions," Porphyry,⁴ "Categories,"⁵ "Pēriarmenias,"⁶ "On the World," "On Virtue," and "Analytics."⁷

¹ Galatians 5.24: "And those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires."

² Corinthians I: 2.10.

³ John 16.23-24: "Very truly, I tell you, if you ask anything of the Father in my name, he will give it to you. Until now you have not asked for anything in my name. Ask and you shall receive, so that your joy may be complete."

⁴ The Russian translation reads Porphyry's "Definitions," *KH*, 311.

⁵ Aristotle's *Categories* and works by Plato and Proclus Diadochus were translated into Armenian in the 6th and 7th centuries by the followers of the so-called Greek philosophy school. They played a major role in the philosophical growth of medieval Armenian scholars. A number of such manuscripts are in the Matenadaran Archives; see L. Khach'ikyan "Filosofskie trudy v armianskikh rukopisiakh Matenadarana," *Banber Matenadarani*, 3 (Erevan, 1956), 387-457. David the Invincible translated it into Armenian with a commentary; see *Dawit' Anhaght' p'ilisop'ayi matenagrut'iwnk' ew tught' Giwtay Kat'oghikosi ar Dawit'* (Venice, 1932), 317-367.

⁶ Refers to Aristotle's "Interpretations." See *Dawit' Anhaght'*'s translation and commentary in *ibid.*, 398-465, and *Banber Matenadarani*, 397

⁷ These are two philosophical works wrongly attributed to Aristotle, *ibid.*, 398-401. "Analytics" is Aristotle's work, in two parts, on logic. See

He also learned thoroughly the calendars of all nations, specimens of which were copied and are in our manuscript collection. He learned their origins, the reasons for their creation, and their complete sequence. In addition, he became knowledgeable in the science of grammar and became the greatest expert among his contemporaries.

His talents and knowledge were not only in what I have mentioned above. He learned by heart the collected sayings from the Bible and the works of the Church fathers. But, I speak of secular books and am grateful to him for having learned, from beginning to end, such marvelous, varied and unusual works, without a teacher or a mentor.

To improve his temporal growth—for his spiritual and intellectual growth were more advanced—*Vardapet* Nersēs, with the approval of the entire brotherhood of the monastery, elevated him to a higher place and honored him, according to the saying of the Lord, “Friend, move up higher!”¹ He handed him the staff of a *vardapet*, for he preached continuously and, like a stream, irrigated the listeners with the water of wisdom.

At that time,² *Vardapet* Movsēs [398] was elected the kat'oghikos of Ējmiatsin. He had just begun to renovate the Holy See of Ējmiatsin³ and had started to erect the wall [surrounding the cathedral]. The news of the renovation of the Holy See of Ējmiatsin and of the kat'oghikosate of *Vardapet* Movsēs spread throughout the land. Because of this, everyone wanted to come and see him. With this aim, *Vardapet* Melk'isēt' left the Lim monastery and came to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin to pay homage to the cathedral and the holy place where Christ descended. He met with Kat'oghikos Movsēs and his pupils. His trip gave unspeakable joy to everyone.

When *Vardapet* Melk'isēt' started to teach or to preach, the words flowed from his lips like rapid rivers and spring waters. His stunning wisdom astonished all and made him the beloved of everyone.

Dawit's translation and comments in *matenagrut'iwnek'*, 469-511 and Dawit' Anhaght' *Meknut'iwne i verlutsakann Aristotēli* (Erevan, 1967).

¹ Refers to Luke 14.10: “But when you are invited, go and sit down at the lowest place, so that when your host comes, he may say to you, ‘Friend, move up higher’; then you will be honored in the presence of all who sit at the table with you.”

² In 1627. A reads, “In those days.”

³ Absent from A and D.

In those days, Kat'oghikos Movsēs sent his senior pupil, *Vardapet* Khach'atur Kesarats'i,¹ together with some members of the brotherhood, to the land of the Poles as the *nuiraks* of holy Ējmiatsin. Since the members of the brotherhood, who had accompanied *Vardapet* Khach'atur, had not yet met any opposing rivals, they considered themselves very learned and talented. But, there, in the city of Lvov, some of the Frankish *paters* came to debate with the pupils of Movsēs. First of all, they asked [the following question from] our brothers about the art of grammar, "Is the word 'I direct'² a noun or a verb?" Our brothers, being ignorant, responded this and that. [399] Then, the *paters* scorned them and sarcastically began to mock our brothers and continued to do so throughout the debates that lasted many days. Our brothers, wounded deep in their soul, realized that everything they knew was non-secular and that they needed to study secular books. There and then they firmly decided, "We shall go to *Vardapet* Melk'isēt' in Ējmiatsin, and abandoning everything else, will begin to study secular books with him." Arriving in Ējmiatsin, they immediately began the task. Some other members of the Ējmiatsin brotherhood also joined them in their studies. When the brothers assembled, they came to *Vardapet* Melk'isēt' and began to take lessons. First of all, they began to learn *grammar*; after that, they started reading³ the "Definitions," and then they started to

¹ Khach'atur Kesarats'i (1590-1646). He studied at the St. Makar monastery in Cyprus. He then went to Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Ējmiatsin. He was the prelate of New Julfa from 1620 until his death. In 1630, at the order of Kat'oghikos Movsēs, he, together with Simēon Jughayets'i, went to Lvov to resolve the quarrel between Nikōghayos and the Armenians of Lvov; see Chapter 28). In 1638 he established the first printing press in Persia (New Julfa) and some say in the Middle East. He and his students built the presses, the type letters, and made the paper. In the next five years, half a dozen religious books were printed, including the *Book of Psalms*. For more details, see L. Minasyan, *Nor Jughayi tparann u ir tprats' grk'erê* (New Julfa, 1972) and Francis Richard, "Un temoignage sur les debuts de l'imprimerie a Nor Jolfa," *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 14 (1980).

² Text reads *varem*. The Armenian word has many meanings, all of which are a verb in first person singular: I labor, I cultivate, I plough, I till, I sow, I lead, I conduct, I guide, I lead away, I drive, I cause to go, I chase away, I drive out, I expel, I dispossess, I draw or carry along, I drag along, I direct, I govern, I rule, I manage, I use, I employ, I make use of, I handle, I wield, I thrust in, I drive into, and I fix in.

³ Absent from A.

read¹ Porphyry, "Categories," "Pēriarmenias," "On the World," and "Worthy of Praise."² Then they began studying the calendars of various peoples.³

After the *abegha* students had completed everything that he had taught to them, *Vardapet Melk'isēt'*, then,⁴ with great joy and an exultant soul, raised his hands to heaven and began to praise and bless the Lord and God's grace, and said to the assembled pupils, "I had but one thought in my heart, the knowledge of which I, with difficulty, and thanks to the kindness of the Lord, barely found, after long and ceaseless labor. I had but one fear, that I would die without passing it [the knowledge] to anyone, [400] and that this glorious and marvelous knowledge would be buried together with me. Today, I have passed it on to you and received what the Lord pronounced [when he said], 'hand the silver to the bankers [and you shall get it back with interest].'⁵ My grief has turned to consolation, for, even if I die, the word of God shall remain on earth, sown in you. That which I sowed with great difficulty for more than fifteen years, I have now calmly and easily transferred to you within eight months. However, I ask you, my beloved brothers in Christ, just as former *vardapets* instructed us, bequeathed to us, and obliged us, I also instruct you today and place a duty upon you: Do not be lazy and do not give rest to your eyes or sleep to your eyelids, go quickly on the path of knowledge, work on this incessantly and uninterruptedly every day of your life until the day of your death. I hope that the Lord's Holy Spirit, which brings generous gifts, rewards you with its grace many times over than I; and that everything that He grants you, you will teach, without envy, to others who desire to learn, whoever they may be."

¹ Absent from B, C, and E.

² Refers to Aristotle's "On Virtue," which begins, "Worthy of praise are the beautiful things and worthy of criticism are things disgusting." See Zarbhanalean, 322.

³ The study of calendars, especially of Christian feast days, was an important part of medieval Armenian learning. Anania of Shirak (7th century) and Deacon Hovhannēs (11-12th centuries) were especially active in the field.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

⁵ Refers to Matthew 25.27: "Then you ought to have invested my money with the bankers, and on my return I would have received what was my own with interest."

After that, *Vardapet Melk'isēt'* became ill and lay in bed due to his prior sufferings as a hermit in the Lim monastery during the winter cold and frost. A cold wind moved through his body and he, therefore, was frequently ill. The members of the brotherhood convinced *Vardapet Melk'isēt'* and brought a doctor in order that he, with the help of drugs, [401] would drive away the cold. The doctor, being inexperienced, used many powerful drugs; therefore, all his [*Vardapet Melk'isēt'*'s] insides became dry: for the drugs burned his internal organs: his heart, liver, lungs, and other parts [of his body]. The entire flesh of his organs became emaciated and worn out. The illness ended his life *and he went to a higher wisdom, to the Lord Christ.*¹

[*And*]² The death of the worthy *Vardapet Melk'isēt'* occurred³ in the city of Erevan, in the monastery at the burial site of the holy apostle Anania. They took him to the public cemetery on the hill called *Kozer*⁴—the hill is called thus because the grave of *Vardapet Kozer* is located there. They prepared a place of rest near the grave of *Vardapet Kozer*. They buried his glorious and holy remains and wrote his name on the tombstone.⁵ His death occurred in the year 1080 (1631) of our calendar.⁶ At the beginning of this chapter, I included among the names of the *vardapets* that of *Vardapet Barsegh Gawarats'i*, his pupil *Beghlu Nersēs Mokats'i*, and the latter's student, *Melk'isēt'* of Erevan, who was a native of the village of *Vzhan*. This *Melk'isēt'* is the same *Melk'isēt'* whose history I have just recounted. *May his memory be blessed and his prayers bring the Lord's mercy on us! Amen.*⁷

Although each one of the members of the brotherhood who had assembled and who had studied the secular sciences with *Vardapet Melk'isēt'*, tried, labored, and read, each according to his abilities, one of them, an *abegha* named *Simēōn*,⁸ a youth born in *Julfa* [402],

¹ Absent from D.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Kozran* in A.

⁵ A year later, *Kat'oghikos Movsēs* was buried next to *Melk'isēt'*; see Chapter 25.

⁶ F and The Russian translation erroneously reads "1006 (1557)," *KH*, 315.

⁷ Absent from A and D.

⁸ *Simēōn* of *Julfa* (d. 1657) was one of the most erudite clerics. He disseminated secular works among the Armenian religious hierarchy and was

who at present resides in the city of Isfahan, attained great success. I recounted, above, how the pupils of Kat'oghikos Movsēs went to the city of Lvov and entered into a debate with the Franks. This *tēr Simēōn* was with them. That is why he now studied willingly and diligently, reading without end and with an unquenchable thirst. When he finished his studies, *tēr Simēōn* left Ējmiatsin and went to the city of Isfahan, for the mentor of *tēr Simēōn*, *Vardapet Khach'atur Kesarats'i*, who had printed many of the lives of the Church fathers¹ and Church rituals, had been appointed as the prelate of the Julfans, and lived in the city of Isfahan. After finishing his studies, *Vardapet Khach'atur* took *tēr Simēōn* and went to his monastery in the city of Isfahan, which was built in the Julfa quarter. He always kept his students diverted from doing physical work; hence his pupils constantly read and reread books. He was especially protective of and worried about *tēr Simēōn*. Thanks to this protection, *tēr Simēōn* surpassed all others in learning. In particular, he singled out the secular sciences, which he had been taught [in Erevan], and began to read and reflect on them, in order, day and night, tirelessly and without interruption, giving neither rest to his eyes nor sleep to his eyelids. Moreover, *tēr Simēōn* had been given a keen and creative spirit. He had the good fortune of studying secular subjects in his youth, at an age when one learns, retains and expands one's understanding. He exerted endless efforts [403] and endured countless trials during his studies; wherever he was, at home, in church, or outside in the fields, he never stopped reading or thinking.

For three years he read and reflected with great zeal and desire, and with fervent supplication and tears asked for the kind Lord to grant him the miraculous, glorious and superior wisdom, for he, as a possessed man, had a great thirst to gain the knowledge.

By the grace of the Holy Spirit of God, according to his diverse blessings which constantly adorn the Church of Christ, and thanks to lengthy and diligent labor, the reasoning ability of his [Simēōn's] mind increased. As the holy apostle Paul said, "To one is given through the Spirit the utterance of wisdom, and to another the utterance of knowledge, and so forth."² That same Holy Spirit gave him

the author of works on grammar, logic, and philosophy. For details, see H. Mirzoyan, *Simeon Jughayets'i* (Erevan, 1971).

¹ Khach'atur printed a book about the Church fathers, called *Harants'vark'*, in New Julfa in 1641.

² Corinthians I: 12.8.

clear and superb speech, filling him with grace during preaching and debates, when interpreting books, both spiritual and secular, [and] analyzing nature and philosophy. He was unsurpassed and rose above all other *vardapets* of the time and they bowed before him, studied with him or learned through other ways. Since they lived in the city of Isfahan, the ancient capital of Persia, the nation's philosophers would come to seek and debate with him. *Tēr Simēōn* answered them, amazing all comers with his mastery of the philosophical and natural sciences. The notable men of Julfa, realizing [404] his worth, presented evidence [of this] to *Vardapet Khach'atur*. *Vardapet Khach'atur*, seeing that he [Simēōn] was indeed gifted by God, appointed him to a loftier post and [gave him] a higher title. He gave him the staff of a *vardapet*, so that he could constantly preach and bring joy to the souls of the parishioners. He needed neither the preaching book nor the *harts'nates*;¹ he had whatever was required at the moment ready in his mind. He would take a saying from the Bible, and, as was proper, would recite and expound on it beautifully, composing his words to glorify the graceful spirit of God. *Vardapet Simēōn would constantly, whether in his cell, outside of it, or during prayers, uninterruptedly think about wisdom and science. He related the following, "Once, I stood in the church and thought about certain expressions in books. Sleep overtook me, and I, standing, unknowingly dozed off and saw as if high on the altar there stood a woman, resembling a queen. She was magnificent and majestic. She held a book in her hands and it seemed to me to be the Bible. The woman dropped the book into my hands and said, 'Take it for yourself.' I realized then and there that the woman was the Mother of God. After that, whatever I thought about, the unknown became clear. I think that the radiant Mother of God ordered me to take the God-inspired book in my hands and reflect on it." At the same time, Vardapet Simēōn himself said, "My wisdom is not from the Bible, but from the Holy Mother of God who gave it to me."*²

As long as [*Vardapet Simēōn*] lived in the city of Isfahan, he [405] thrice taught the secular sciences and grammar to his students. *He fashioned a new grammar for uneducated, inexperienced and slow-witted men, one that was more understandable; something like the introduction to the old grammar, written by the translators, so*

¹ Refers to the book of hymns or canticles, probably an index to the *sharkanots*'.

² Absent from A and D.

that by studying it they could easily learn that age-old knowledge. The original was duplicated, for many copied it [by hand].¹

After that, he left Isfahan and went to the premier home of Christ—the Holy See of Ējmiatsin. His arrival created an indescribable joy among the students there. They immediately gathered to hear his lectures, not only the members of the Ējmiatsin brotherhood, but also the novice *abegha* from the surrounding monasteries. Some thirty clerics gathered together and started to study. They first studied grammar; after that, all the secular books from beginning to end; and after that, “Paul’s Letter to the Hebrews.”² Simēōn’s knowledge benefited all and brought them enlightenment. The wisdom sufficed them and others.

His behavior and manners pleased the *k’ahana* and parishioners of the city of Erevan, for he was very cordial, meek and unselfish. They went to Kat’oghikos P’ilippos and insisted that he appoint Simēōn as their prelate. The kat’oghikos did as they wished: he sent *Vardapet* Simēōn to them, to the All Savior monastery, which was called Hawuts’ T’ar, and is in the *gawar* of Gar̄ni.

After some years he [Simēōn] wrote a book and called it [406] “Logic.”³ The book is an introduction to secular books, for its vocabulary, reasoning, ideas, contents and disposition are those of secular books, which adapt with difficulty to man’s reason and require a great deal of effort. The book was written by *Vardapet* Simēōn, as an introduction to all secular books; in other words, it was composed so that, in the future, if the knowledge of secular books disappears from among the Armenian people—as it did in the past up to our day, which I have discussed—whoever reads this *vardapet*’s book, called “Logic,” can understand it and grasp its mean-

¹ Ibid.

² This anonymous treatise combines an elaborate analysis and theological argument for the finality of salvation achieved by Christ, with repeated exhortations, directed to those whose faith and practice is weakening, not to abandon that salvation. By mid-second century Alexandrian exegetes, despite its language and style, which differed from the Pauline correspondence, had placed Hebrews among the letters of Paul. Although some thought that Luke had translated a Pauline letter into Hebrew, others felt it was a work of a disciple of Paul. Current research suggests it was written a generation after that of the apostles.

³ It was published for the first time in Constantinople; see Simēōn Jughayets’i, *Tramabanut’iwn* (Constantinople, 1728).

ing easily and without a teacher and, with its help, study other secular books.

The same is true of the book by the philosopher Proclus, which was translated from Georgian into Armenian by a certain *k'ahana*, named Simēōn,¹ who lived before my time. *Vardapet* Simēōn, about whom I wrote above, corrected this book as well.² The earlier translation demanded great efforts from the reader, for the declension of the names [nouns, adjectives, numerals], conjugation of verbs, and exposition of sayings did not follow the rules or the science of grammar; hence the meanings of the words were distorted. Moreover, in many passages, the same idea was repeated. The reader thus experienced great difficulties while studying and gained little benefit. He [*Vardapet* Simēōn] put everything in order, and corrected it according to grammatical rules, so that the reader could understand it easily and by this helped mankind's knowledge.

After that, he started to correct the "Book of Souls,"³ in order to make it easier to read. He had just started that when he left and went to preach in the land of the Greeks. When he arrived in the city of Evdokia, which is now called [407] Tokat, he became ill, *and as is characteristic of the frail nature of man*,⁴ died, and was buried there. *His loss caused an inconsolable grief for the Armenian people, a permanent lament for all Armenians, especially for his companions and students, who even now, with deep sighs, remember him, search for such a man and cannot find one.*⁵

His death occurred in the year 1106 (1657) of our calendar, on February 27,⁶ on the first day of Lent.

¹ Refers to Simēōn Pghnjahanets'i, a 13th-century scholar, to whom are attributed translations from Georgian of works by Proclus Diadochus, John of Damascus, John Climachus, the Georgian Chronicle, and renderings of Greek hymns. See N. Akinean, *Simēon Pghnjahanets'i ew iwr t'argmanut'iwnnerē vrats'erēnē* (Vienna, 1951).

² Proclus Diadochus (410/412-485) was a Neo-platonic philosopher and a student of Plotinus. His *Elements of Theology* was translated from Georgian into Armenian in 1248. Various manuscripts of this work exist in the Matenadaran Archives. For further details, see Mirzoyan, 48-60.

³ Russian translation reads "Spiritual books," *KH*, 319. Aṙak'el actually refers to *Artadru't' iwn vasn andzin mardoy*; see Mirzoyan, 63-66.

⁴ Absent from **A** and **D**.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Brosset has calculated it as February 7, *MB*, 466.

*May his memory be blessed and his prayers cause the Lord to have mercy on us. Amen.*¹

I shall now recount the labor of another virtuous man, who was named *Vardapet* Step'anos.² He was a native of the capital city of Lvov. He was an Armenian from a noble and wealthy family, the son of devout parents.

He studied the Latin language and grammar when he was an adolescent in the school of Lvov. *He studied the art of grammar and the secular philosophical books.*³

During the period when Bishop Nikol⁴ oppressed the Armenians of Lvov,⁵ Step'anos' parents, being virtuous and true to their faith, sent him from Lvov to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin, during [the reign of] Kat'oghikos P'ilippos. Arriving in Ējmiatsin, [408] Step'anos began to study the Armenian language and grammar; he then learned the psalms, the *sharakans* (hymnals) and other services of the Armenian Church by heart.

After that he began to study the Bible and the works of the twelve *vardapets* and philosophers.⁶ Since he already knew the Latin language and grammar, and learned ours [Armenian] afterward, he, therefore, compared one to the other. He thought and reflected about it a great deal and thus had greater success than his companions. Moreover, he had a sharp, creative, perceptive and strong mind and read constantly. He had a virtuous and humble disposition. All the *vardapets*, witnessing his knowledge and his virtuous manners, related this to Kat'oghikos P'ilippos. Moreover, *tēr* P'ilippos himself saw his worth and gave him a higher rank by anointing him a

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Refers to Step'anos Lehats'i (d. 1689). He was one of the most educated Armenians of his day. He was fluent in Latin and translated a number of books into Armenian; see G. Tēr-Mkr̄tch'yan, *Haykakank'*, *Hayagitakan usumnasirut'yunner*, I (Erevan, 1979), 148, 158-162; N. Akinean, "Vardapet Step'anos Lehats'i," *Handēs amsōrya* (1, 1912), 61-63, (3, 1912), 147-153; V. Chaloian, *Istoriia armianskoi filosofii* (Erevan, 1959), 319-333; Leo, *Hayots' patmut'yun*, III/pt. 1 (Erevan, 1969), 409-411.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ See Chapter 28.

⁵ Absent from A and D.

⁶ Refers to the works of the twelve Church fathers, among whom are Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, Barsegh of Kayseri, Ephrem the Syrian, Athanasios of Alexandria, and Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite.

k'ahana with a vow of celibacy, made him a *vardapet*, saying according to the Lord, "Friend, move up higher."¹

Thereafter, *Vardapet* Step'anos trained and educated himself by reading and leading a simple life. He, therefore, received the blessing of the Holy Spirit, and through its inspiration, translated four books from Latin into the Armenian script and language. One of the books is the *History of Joseph*,² but he did not translate all of it, just the part of the wars against the Jews and Jerusalem, which is in six parts.³ The second book is by Dionysus Areopagite.⁴ Although there was an earlier translation done by Step'anos Siwnets'i, it was abridged and difficult to understand. [409] *Vardapet* Step'anos' translation of the same book, however, is easily comprehensible, so that there is nothing the reader cannot understand, for the interpretation is intelligible and clear.⁵ The third book is called the *Book of Causes*.⁶ They say that it surpasses [books] on natural science, for this is a theological book, composed of thirty-six parts. The fourth book is composed of allegorical sayings, which recount the life and acts of men, as an example for all men. The book is called the "Mirror of Life" in Latin.⁷ When it was translated into Armenian, it was

¹ Luke 14.10.

² Refers to Josephus Flavius (AD 37-95), *The Jewish War*; see Akinean, 147-148. The translation was done in 1660 at the request of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos; see Tēr-Mkr̄tch'yan, 160-161.

³ *The Jewish War* is in seven parts; Step'anos translated parts 2-7, which begin with the war and end with the destruction of Jerusalem.

⁴ Refers to the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite, the pseudonym of the author (ca. AD 500) of a corpus of theological writings and mysticism that includes *Celestial Hierarchy*, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, *Mystical Theology* and *Divine Names*. The author represents himself as a disciple of St. Paul, but his true identity is unknown. He drew his arguments mainly from the Neo-Platonists, especially Proclus.

⁵ The books of Dionysus were translated into Latin in the 9th century by John Scott Aerogenos. Armenian translations of Pseudo-Dionysus appear as early as the 7th century. *Vardapet* Step'anos translated the *Celestial Hierarchy* in 1662; see Tēr-Mkr̄tch'yan, 160, Akinean, 149.

⁶ Refers to *The Book of Causes of Aristotle or as it Appears to some, by Proclus*. It was translated between 1660-1662; see Tēr-Mkr̄tch'yan, 160, Akinean, 149-150. It was published in Constantinople in 1750. See N. Voskanyan, et al. *Hay girk'e, 1512-1800 t'vakannerin* (Erevan, 1988), 409.

⁷ Refers to *The Mirror of Life, also Called the Life of the Frankish Fathers*. The work, known in Russian as *The Great Mirror*, was translated by Step'anos from Polish. The date (1660) has not been confirmed. It was pub-

called *The Mirror of Life* as well. The allegories from this book are very colorful and witty.

Thus, he [Vardapet Step'anos] has already brought such great benefits to the Armenian Church. *I ask the benevolent Lord, God, to grant him a long life and keep him safe from any harm, so that he will bring even more benefits to the Armenian Church.*

Being an eyewitness, I consider it my duty not to ignore other talented men. Although they are laymen, they are nevertheless Christians and Armenians. They are a pride for our nation and have benefited it greatly. Among them are master¹ Minas² and master Hakobjan,³ both natives of [New] Julfa.

Varpet Minas studied the art of painting and decoration. During his adolescence, he, for some reason, had to go [410] to the city of Bēria, that is Aleppo, and there he met a man, a Frank, who was a master painter. He became the apprentice of the Frankish master and studied with him. After completing his studies he started painting on his own. He came to the city of Isfahan, settled in a private house, located in the Julfa quarter, and engaged in painting. Since his works were extraordinarily beautiful, splendid and magnificent, the notables of Julfa asked him to paint and decorate the rooms of their mansions and homes. Thus, the son of Khoja Nazar, Khoja Safraz, took him home and asked him to decorate his mansion with pictures and designs. He had not yet finished decorating the house, when the Persian shah, Şafī, came to the home of Khoja Safraz. When he sat and looked at the pictures and designs painted by Minas, he saw that they were magnificent and splendid and that all the representations were life-like. The king began to ask Khoja Safraz

lished in 1702 (place of publication unknown). See K'. Ter-Davt'yan, "Hayeli Varuts'i hayeren t'argmanut'yan harts'i shurj," *Lraber* 10 (1981).

¹ Text reads *varpet* (master artisan).

² The artist and painter Minas, son of Mkrtich' Zarobean, is mentioned by Tēr-Hovhaneants', *Patmut'iwn Nor Jughayi* (Spahan), I, 154. See M. Ghazaryan, *Hay kerparvestê 17-18rd dd.* (Erevan, 1974), 25-32; A. Eremean, "Nkarich Minasi kyank'i u steghtsagortsut'yan himnakan gtserê," *Anahit* (Paris), May-August 1938.

³ Zak'aria of Agulis mentions him as the carpenter and builder of wells for the Safavid Shah Soleimān; see *Journal*, 108. See also Ghazaryan, 30. The best information on Hakobjan is in a recent study on the Armenian diocese of New Julfa. Hakobjan, who was later to be the *naqqāsh-bashī* (head of royal painters), was an expert in mechanical arts. He introduced the art of printing and personally made the fonts; see Ghougassian, 173-174.

about the master painter, "Where is he from?" The *khoja* replied, "He is one of us by birth and is now working in one of my houses." The king ordered that he be summoned. When the painter arrived, the king asked him questions and learned everything. There, in the same place where they were sitting, the sovereign summoned one of his noblemen, named Ch'ragh (Cherāgh) Khan, whose appearance was very ugly and loathsome, to pose. In order to make fun of him and ridicule him, he ordered master Minas, "Draw his face, right now, sitting here." Cherāgh Khan, seeing that his portrait was being drawn in order to mock him, began to twist his eyes and mouth, deforming [411] his face and moving from side to side, so that the portrait would not resemble him at all. But master Minas, then and there, in a sitting position, drew the portrait of the said man as the king had ordered. After comparing [the portrait with the man's appearance] it became obvious that they were so similar that all who were present there, together with the king, were amazed at the likeness and praised God for sending a man of such talent from heaven. From that day on, the king and his nobles did not let him [Minas] go; they kept him by their sides and had him constantly decorate their homes.

It so happened that the Russian tsar, as a sign of his love, sent an envoy of peace to the Persian king, Shah Ṣafī.¹ In addition to various gifts, there was also a bird, a falcon, which the Persians call "shung-har"² in their own language. A man, a native of Russia, was also dispatched to take care of the bird. The bird and its caretaker pleased the king, Shah Ṣafī, most of all and were welcomed by him. The sovereign, therefore, ordered his "naghash,"³ Moḥammad Beg,

¹ The Russian tsar, Michael Fedorovich (1613-1645), did send envoys to Persia to discuss trade and the actions of the Cossacks around the Caspian Sea. See S. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, V (Moscow, 1961), 228-229. There is a record of this Russian ambassador's visit in R. Matthee, "Politics and Trade in Late Safavid Iran," (Ph. D. Dissertation, UCLA, 1991), 139. In 1666, another Armenian painter (Astuatsatur) from New Julfa was sent to the court of Tsar Alexei (1645-1676). He stayed in Russia for nearly 40 years, achieved fame as Bogdan Saltanov, and was responsible for decorating the Armory Chamber in the Kremlin; see G. Bournoutian, *Armenians and Russia: A Documentary Record, 1626-1796* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 2001), doc. 6.

² From the Persian *shanghār* (royal falcon).

³ From the Arabic-Persian *naqqāsh* (painter).

“Draw both, the falcon and its attendant, just as you see them.”¹ The naghash Beg², a Persian by birth, was the chief of all the artisans, artists and painters. He was famous among all the Persian people and worked in the palaces of the king and the mansions of the most powerful noblemen. This Moḥammad Beg drew and sketched for many days, but the drawing was not accurate, either in its colors or its images. Then the king ordered master Minas to draw the image of the falcon and its attendant. Thanks to the gift sent by God from above, he [412] drew their images in several days. The likeness was such that the king himself, together with all his noblemen, came and, in an indescribable amazement and bewilderment, stood before it. The king, as a sign of his great pleasure, gave him an “inam”³ of twelve tumāns, a khal'at (robes of honor) from head to toe, as well as ordering his inclusion in the list of state troops, so that he would receive “olufa”⁴ year after year from the king's treasury. Because of his Christian faith, Minas refused the military rank, the annual subsidy, and the friendship of non-believers. He returned home and continued to work in his profession.

Since he drew magnificently and very accurately, many came to be his students. They studied with him, but no one became as good as he, for he was born with that talent and intelligence. He would, at first, imagine in his mind the exact shape, color and dimensions of all the subjects, and only then would paint the image—be it a plant, a tree, domestic animal, or beast, bird, or man. If he portrayed people, then whatever tribe they were from—Persian or Armenian, Jew or Indian, Frank, Russian, or Georgian—he would portray their native appearance and drew them extremely accurately. He also portrayed their actions and mood perfectly: no matter what they did and whatever mood they were in, laughing or grieving, tipsy or yawning, celebrating or fighting. Whatever the man's mood and to whatever nation he belonged, he drew them with extraordinary exactness. Moreover, he would mark in [413] his mind the age of the man and drew him accordingly, skillfully and in color. He made the man's

¹ The term is spelled *Beg* in Persian and *Bek* in Turkish. Arak'el spells it as *Bek* throughout. I have used *Beg* when referring to Persian officials and *Bek* when mentioning Turkish grandees.

² The two main Persian painters at the court of Shah 'Abbās II were Moḥammad Yusuf and Moḥammad Qāsem. The above Moḥammad Beg could be either of them.

³ From the Arabic-Persian *an'ām* (an honorable or distinguishing gift).

⁴ From *'alufe/ 'alufāt* (provisions, subsidy).

image fit his age, for ten-, twenty-, thirty-, and forty-year-olds look different from each other; thus whatever age was the model, he drew his image according to the exact specifications. He drew all this in oil or without oil, on paper, canvas, board, copper or wall. In addition, he illustrated books; he would illustrate various books in gold and lapis lazuli. He commanded all the branches of his profession having to do with the decorative arts.

Moreover, he knew perfectly the science of healing, the opposing nature of man's passions and diseases in combining the four matters¹ in relation to the makeup of drugs, and especially in the preparation of ointments and healing wounds. He was very knowledgeable in numerous and various arts; that is why I consider him worthy of remembrance and have written about him. May the Lord, God, preserve him and his children in the firm Christian faith and keep them safe for many years. Amen.²

¹ Refers to the four liquids: blood, mucous, yellow bile and black bile, which, according to theory of humors of ancient and medieval doctors, were the basis of the human body.

² All the above material in italics is absent from A. It is also absent from D, although it was added in ink at a later time.

[414] Chapter 30

*The history of [the relic of] the right arm of St. Gregory,
our Illuminator*

It is an established tradition among the Armenian people, that the patriarch of our nation, who is the kat'oghikos, once every three years, dispatches a *nuirak* from the Holy See, so that he visits all Armenian communities, distributes the *meṙon* (holy chrism), and collects tithes and offerings from them, which he brings back to the Holy See. Thus, the *great*¹ patriarch, *tēr P'ilippos*, who was the kat'oghikos of holy Ējmiatsin, dispatched me, his pupil, the lowly disciple, as the *nuirak* of holy Ējmiatsin to the land of the Greeks, which is under the rule of the Ottomans. It so happened that when I reached the city of Amasia, in the year 1094 (1645) of our calendar, *Vardapet Nersēs Sebastats'i*, who [415] later became the kat'oghikos of Sis, was there.² One day, during the course [of one] of our numerous conversations, *Vardapet Nersēs* asked me, "When you bless the *meṙon*, what kind of holy item do you raise above it?" I replied, "The right arm of St. Gregory, our Illuminator; the right arm of the holy apostle Thaddeus; [part of] the Holy Cross, which is from the living wood, and the lance which pierced the rib of the Lord." Ignoring the rest, he asked about the right arm of the Illuminator, "That which you call the right arm of the Illuminator, is it the right or the left arm?" I replied that it was the right arm. *Vardapet Nersēs* said, "The inhabitants of the Sis kat'oghikosate say that the true right arm of the St. Illuminator is the one which is in Sis. They present proof of the authenticity of their claim with writings of patriarchs regarding Kat'oghikos Step'anos³ and the right arm of the Illuminator. Here is the copy of the writings:

Tēr Step'anos reigned for four years. His era witnessed terrible disasters, for the impious and the arrogant Egyptian sultan⁴ demolished and destroyed the throne of St. Gregory the Illuminator in the fortress of the Romans,⁵ killed many with sharp swords and drove

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Nersēs I of Sivas was the kat'oghikos from 1636 to 1643. Arak'el is in error.

³ Kat'oghikos Step'anos IV of Hromklay (1290-1293).

⁴ Mamluk ruler, al-Ashraf Ṣalah-ad-Din Khalīl (1290-1294).

⁵ Refers to Hromklay (Rum-kale), which is located on a high cliff overlooking the Euphrates River. It was purchased, together with its environs,

the rest into captivity, together with the holy patriarch, who also died in captivity. The right arm of the St. Illuminator was also taken there. When it entered their domain, it punished them with death, the same fate that befell the strangers who had seized the Ark.¹ They continued to die in large numbers until they returned the right arm of St. Illuminator to the land of the pious king of Cilicia, Het'um;² God's wrath was then lifted from them.'

Thus, the inhabitants of Sis, according to this account, maintain that the right arm located at Sis is the true right arm of St. Illuminator. As to the right arm, which is at present at Ējmiatsin, how can you be sure that it is the right arm of the Illuminator? If you have [416] historical proof of this, show it to me." Hearing this, I remained quiet, for I sincerely and firmly believed in the [authenticity of the] right arm and did not doubt my faith in it. *However*,³ with great zeal, I began to search for proof in books, not to affirm my own faith, but to find the truth and reply to those who asked.

During my trips through the cities and villages in the east, as well as in the west, wherever I met an old *vardapet*, bishop or *k'ahana*, I asked them about this. In addition, I read all the colophons in the books kept in all the churches that I visited and found a great deal of evidence, some of which I have recorded here. I went to the city of Isfahan and, during my search of colophons in manuscripts, I found a gospel with the following colophon:

"This holy gospel was copied in the year 888 (1439) of the Armenian calendar by the hand of the unworthy⁴ Grigor, in the monastery called Argilan (Argelan),⁵ which is under the protection of the Mother of the Lord and the holy tomb of [Step'anos]⁶ the son of *tēr*

by Kat'oghikos Grigor IV Tghay (1173-1193). He moved the Holy See there in 1174, for it was more secure than the previous location at T'avblur. It remained the seat of the Armenian kat'oghikoi until 1293.

¹ Refers to the Ark of the Covenant captured by the Philistines; see Samuel I: 5.1-12.

² King Het'um II (1290-1305).

³ Absent from A.

⁴ Text reads *sutanun* (false), a common form of humility found in medieval Armenian and Greek colophons.

⁵ Refers to the Argelani-vank' in the Berkri (Muradiye) region of Van.

⁶ Refers to the monastery of St. Step'anos (*Tēr Huskan vordi*), located next to the Argelani-vank' in Vaspurakan.

Husik,¹ and the Illuminator. In that year, at the time when *Vardapet Mkr̄tich'* was the abbot, the right arm disappeared from Sis and we do not know what happened to it."²

I visited the monastery of the St. Archangel in Sebastia,³ where I found a *Chasu-girk'* (missal), in which there was a colophon that read, "This missal was written in the city of Artskē, across from the sanctified sea (Lake Van), from [417] where come small fish, under the roof of the monastery of the Holy Cross of War⁴ and the cupola of the holy cathedral of the Most Immaculate Mother of God, and [on the order of] the kat'oghikosate of the grand See, located in Sis, which was cut short, for the right arm of the St. Illuminator was stolen from there. For two years the Armenian people were without a protector and suffered under mournful and unlucky times, during the time of the abominable Jahan Shah,⁵ for this occurred in the year 890 (1441) of the Armenian calendar."⁶

I went to Isfahan to the Julfans and found a *Haysmawurk'* (menology) with a colophon, which read as follows: "This menology was written in the year 890 (1441) of the great Armenian calendar in the province of Vaspurakan, in the city called Van, under the roof of Cathedral of the Holy Mother of God and other saints, and under the protection of the great kat'oghikosate of the See of Sis, from where

¹ Tēr Husik Artamets'i, known for his piety, lived in the first half of the 13th century. The Mongols took and sold his wife. After many tribulations he found her and freed her from captivity. After that he had a son called Step'anos. Both father and son are listed as saints in the Armenian Menology.

² The above colophon was lost, for its only reference is Arak'el's history; see L. Khach'ikyan, *XV dari hayeren dzeragreri hishatakaranner*, I (Erevan, 1955), 500.

³ Refers to the Surb Hreshtakapet (Aghtu-vank') in the Hafik region of Sivas.

⁴ Refers to the Sk'anch'elagortsi-vank' or Paterazmi Surb Nshan in the Adilcevaz region of Bitlis. A major center of pilgrimage, the monastery controlled more than 30 Armenian villages. See H. Voskean, *Vaspurakan-Vani vankerê*, II (Venice, 1945), 445; N. Akinean, *Matenagitakan hetazotut'iwinner*, I (Vienna 1922), 121-122.

⁵ Refers to the major ruler of the Qara-Qoyunlu. He ruled from 1438-1467. Although the Qara-Qoyunlu ravaged parts of historic Armenia, their friendship with some Armenian nobles and churchmen resulted in the return of the Holy See to Ējmiatsin in 1441.

⁶ The colophon is in MS 1771 at the Matenadaran Archives; see Khach'ikyan, I, 517.

in that year they stole and took the right arm of the Illuminator. The See became deserted during the mournful and unlucky times of the period of the reign of Jahan Shah, who, filled with malice, marched on Georgia. The Georgians locked all the Armenian Christians in the Shamshuldē (Samshvildē) fortress¹ and did not help them at all. The wrathful Jahan Shah came with his evil army, took the fort of Samshvildē, killed nine thousand or more Christian men, as well as [all the] *k'ahana* with his sharp swords, and drove the women and the youth to captivity.² Who can relate or describe their sorrow and distress? *All this occurred in our land because of our sins.*³

After that, I left Isfahan and went to one of its [418] gawarṣ called Gandiman, to the village called Vastikan. There, I found a Haysmawurk' with a colophon, which stated, "This holy Haysmawurk' was completed in the year 891 (1442) of the Armenian calendar by the hand of the scribe erēts' Karapet, the sinner, at the request of mahdesi Mkhit'ar. The Haysmawurk' was copied in the city of Van under the roof of the monastery of the holy apostles Peter and Paul and the holy proto-martyr Step'anos, and Kat'oghikos Sahak, during the reign of Kat'oghikos tēr Kirakos.⁴ In that year [1441] an assembly of bishops and vardapets was gathered in the capital of Vaghar-

¹ The fort is located in the Gugark region of historic Armenia, on the left bank of the Khram River (in present-day Georgia).

² M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I (St. Petersburg, 1849), 402.

³ Absent from A and D. The menology has not survived. For more details on the colophon, see Khach'ikyan, I, 515; Gh. Injijean, *Hnakhosut'iwn ashkharhagrakan Hayastaneayts' ashkharhi* (Venice, 1835), 106-107; M. Avgerean, *Liakatar vark' ew vkayabanyt'iwn srbots'*, XI (Venice, 1814).

⁴ Refers to Kirakos of Khor Virap (1441-1443). In 1441 the Church fathers residing in eastern Armenia accused the Cilician religious hierarchy of corruption and irregularities and demanded that the Holy See be transferred back to Ējmiatsin. They invited Kat'oghikos Grigor IX (1439-1441) to come to Ējmiatsin. When he refused, they held an assembly of major clerics and lay people, and with the approval of the Muslim governor of Erevan, elected Kirakos as the Kat'oghikos of All Armenians. The Holy See was thus transferred to Ējmiatsin and the new kat'oghikos sent an encyclical to the kat'oghikoi at Aght'amar, Aghuank', and Sis, claiming supremacy over them. Kirakos' weakness and internal struggles among the clergy from Aght'amar and Ējmiatsin resulted in his forced abdication, and the election, after the bribing of the governor of Erevan, of Grigor X (1443-1465). When news of this reached Sis, Vardapet Karapet of Tokat, after promising to pay an annual tribute to the Mamluk emir of Cilicia, was declared the legitimate Kat'oghikos of All Armenians. For more details, see K. Maksoudian, 69-75.

shapat, headed by *ṛabunapet T'ovma*¹ and *Vardapet Hovhannēs*;² they installed *tēr Kirakos* as the *Kat'oghikos* of All Armenians at *Ējmiatsin*. The Holy See of St. Gregory the Illuminator, [home of] *Nersēs the Great*,³ *Sahak Partev*,⁴ and our Bishop *Hovhannēs*,⁵ the abbot of the holy cloister of *Varag*,⁶ was restored during the reign of *Jahan Shah*, who in that year captured the fortresses of *Zṛel* and *Julamerk*." That is what was written.⁷

I also traveled to the city of *Urfa*, to the monastery of *Urfa*, where lies the tomb of St. *Ep'rem* of inner Syria,⁸ and [there] I saw a missal,⁹ with a colophon that stated:

"The copying of this missal began in the holy cloister of *Matnavank*¹⁰ and was finished in the city of *Artskē* in the year 892 (1443) during the reign of *Jahan Shah*, the son of *Ghara-Yusuf*,¹¹ during the reign of the *locum tenens*, *tēr Kirakos*, on the throne of our Illuminator as the *Kat'oghikos* of All Armenians. Up until then, the right arm of our Illuminator, Gregory, was in *Sis* and the entire Armenian nation obeyed [419] the *Cilician See*; but now, thanks to the benevolence of the Holy Spirit, [the right arm] has once again returned to the same *Vagharshapat*, to the radiant cathedral of *Ējmiatsin* and was put at the exalted and majestic altar of the Arme-

¹ *T'ovma Metsop'ets'i* (d. 1448), a major churchman and the author of *Patmut'iwn Lang-T'amuray ew hajordats' iwrots'* (Paris, 1860), abbreviated as *TM*.

² Refers to *Hovhannēs* of *Hermon*, a famed cleric and the successor of *Grigor Tat'ewats'i*.

³ A descendant of St. Gregory, *Kat'oghikos Nersēs* reigned from 353 to 373.

⁴ *Kat'oghikos St. Sahak* (387-436/8), a descendant of St. Gregory, was instrumental in the creation of the Armenian alphabet.

⁵ There were two bishops named *Hovhannēs* in that cloister; see *Vosk'ean*, I, 305-308.

⁶ Refers to the *Varag* monastery in the *Tosp* region of *Van*; see Chapter 38.

⁷ Absent from *A* and *D*. The above menology is lost; for the colophon, see *Khach'ikyan*, I, 536.

⁸ Refers to *Ephrem the Syrian*, theologian and hymnographer of the 4th century. Many of his writings, written in Syriac, were translated into Armenian in the fifth century; see *Zarbhanalean*, 443.

⁹ The missal is lost; for the colophon, see *Khach'ikyan*, I, 548.

¹⁰ Refers to the monastery of *Matnay-vank'* either in *Bitlis* or *Mush*.

¹¹ *Qara-Yusuf Qara Qoyunlu* (1389-1420).

nian people, who are protected in a steadfast fashion by the Lord, Jesus. Amen." *That is what was written.*¹

I also found a gospel.² When I read the colophon, the following was written, "[The copying of] this holy gospel was begun in [the monastery] of Arghni,³ during the guardianship of two kat'oghikoi over the Armenian people: *tēr* Grigor and *tēr* Kirakos, for when this holy gospel was being written, four years had passed since the right arm of the Illuminator disappeared from Sis. News of this reached Vagharshapat; therefore an assembly of *vardapets*, bishops, and *k'ahana* gathered—700 men—affirmed the Holy See at Ējmiatsin and installed as kat'oghikos a man, who was pious and industrious, and who was named Kirakos and firmly secured the throne of St. Illuminator.⁴ Thus, this holy gospel was completed in the inaccessible fortress of Arghni, under the protection of the Holy Mother of God and the holy relics, during the time when *tēr* Mkr̄tich' was the abbot and bishop of that holy cloister and Hovhannēs was the *erēts'*, and during the sorrowful and unfortunate times, by the hand of the great sinner, the unworthy scribe *abegha* Awetis,⁵ during the era of the reign of Sultan Hamza⁶ over the realm, in the year 893 (1444) of the Armenian calendar." That is what was written.

After I wrote the above, I still had other trustworthy histories of the appearance of the right arm of the Illuminator in the Holy See of Ējmiatsin. I happened to find [420] a menology,⁷ which contained extraordinarily lengthy colophons, in a church in the city of Ankiwra (Ankara), which they call the [church of the] Holy Spirit. Since the contents were very important, I have copied all of them here without omissions. Do not blame the first author [scribe] or me for the verbosity of the composition, for it was part of the history, and it is

¹ Absent from A and D.

² The gospel has not survived, but the colophon has. It is in MS 1771 at the Matenadaran Archives; see Khach'ikyan, I, 575-576.

³ The fortress of Arghni (Ergani) located in Diarbekir. The monastery of the Holy Virgin is located there as well.

⁴ Refers to Kat'oghikos Kirakos of Khor Virap (1441-1443).

⁵ Absent from A and D.

⁶ Hamza (1435-1444) Aq Qoyunlu was the successor of Qara Yülük 'Uthman, the first chief of the Aq Qoyunlu.

⁷ The above menology existed until WWI and is mentioned by B. Kowlēsērean in a work written prior to the war and published as *Ts'uts'ak dzeragrats' Ankiwrioy Karmir-vanots'ew shrjakayits'* (Antelias, 1957), no. 160.

long. This is how it starts, "This holy Bible was copied in the year 910 (1461) of the Armenian calendar in the province of K'ajberan, in the city of Arjēsh, under the roof of the all-blessed cathedral of the Holy Mother of God,¹ during the reign of *tēr Zak'aria*, the Kat'oghikos of All Armenians² at the time of the reign of Jahan Shah over the nation of the archers [Mongols, in this case the Qara Qoyunlu Turkmen], who rose up with a great horde and countless troops and marched toward the land of Iraq (*'Araq-e 'Ajam*) and seized everything. When he reached the large city of Isfahan—which is the city of Shosh, where the prophet Daniel saw his vision,³ the numerous inhabitants of the impregnable city came out against him and gave battle. He defeated them, seized the city, mowed down their entire army with sharp blades, exterminated it, and destroyed and ravaged the city. He dammed the waters of the river that flowed above the city, so that anyone who had hidden in the cellars, basements and other hiding places was covered with water, flooded and destroyed. The entire city collapsed on top of the citizens, for the houses were built from clay.⁴

Leaving there, he went to Herat and Khorasan. He seized all the lands of the Tatars and returned once again to his throne in Shahastan (capital) in the city of Tabriz. The great patriarch, *tēr Zak'aria*, who was the head of Holy Cross monastery at Aght'amar, a scion of kings and one of the [great]-grandsons and a progeny of King Gagik,⁵ came out to greet him with numerous gifts and [421] and offerings. The sovereign of sovereigns Jahan Shah *padishah*⁶ and

¹ The monastery of Surb Astuatsatsin of Arjēsh in Van.

² Refers to Kat'oghikos Zak'aria of Aght'amar (1434-1464), who was instrumental in the transfer of the Holy See from Sis to Ējmiatsin and who hoped to be named the Kat'oghikos of All Armenians. Although he was denied that post, he received, in 1461, the title of Kat'oghikos of All Armenians from Jahan Shah, who placed him on the throne in Ējmiatsin and who also gave him the right arm of the Illuminator, which had somehow ended up in Tabriz. His reign at the Holy See lasted less than a year and he was forced, in 1461, to flee to Aght'amar. He took the right arm of the Illuminator with him. See N. Akinean, *Gawazanagirk' kat'oghikosats' Aght'amaray* (Vienna, 1920), 85-119.

³ Isfahan is referred to as the ancient city of Susa, the capital of Elam, by some historians; see Daniel 8.1-2.

⁴ Isfahan was taken in 1452; see *CHI*, 164, 166.

⁵ King Gagik Artsruni was crowned in 908.

⁶ From the Persian *pādeshah* (emperor, monarch, king, sovereign).

Queen Bēgum Khatun received him with great affection, honored him and presented him with a *khal'at*,¹ as well as the right arm of St. Gregory, our *holy*² Illuminator, and with the title of *kat'oghikos*. With God's Providence, the will of St. Illuminator and by the order of the *padishah*, he arrived at the unique cathedral of holy Ējmiatsin, which was endowed by the holy apostles as the throne of St. Gregory, erected by him and beautified by God. He became the sole patriarch of the entire Christian [Armenian] people who inhabited all corners of the wide land. He behaved in such a manner that, according to the saying of the Lord, "in the entire world there will be one flock and one shepherd."³ He ruled over everyone according to the holy confession of the true Nicene Creed.⁴

At this time it so happened that the *padishah* became angry with the emir of Baghesh, and in his anger dispatched four commanders with 12,000 troops to the city of Khlat'. They attacked it, destroyed and ravaged it, took a great deal of booty, besieged the fort and tried to take it. They planned to do the same to Baghesh, Mush, Khut', Sasunk', and in all the *gawars*. When the newly ordained patriarch *tēr Zak'aria* saw the calamity in that land, the driving out and the capture of the people and their enslavement at the hands of unbelievers, the destruction and emptying of churches, the overturning of sacred altars, the plundering of sacred vessels and the forbidding of the word of God, the driving out from native places of all common folk, their captivity and agitation, he thought about all [422] of this and remembered the words of the Lord, who said, "I am the Good Shepherd. The Good Shepherd lays down his life for the sheep."⁵ The great patriarch, *tēr Zak'aria*, turned these words into action, endangered his life for the flock of Christ, for all the inhabitants of Baghesh, and encouraged by the Holy Spirit, turned [the fear in] his heart into rock, stood before the ruler, and gave of himself to save many others. He gave a note and made a wager that he would receive tribute from the emir of Baghesh and would hand it to the emperor⁶—so that the land would enjoy peace—and that he would pray for the long life of the king and his sons. The king and queen agreed and

¹ Robes of honor; see glossary.

² Absent from F.

³ John 10.16. The same sentiment is also expressed in Ezekiel 34.23.

⁴ Refers to the First Ecumenical Council of Nicea in 325, which set the creed for all Christians.

⁵ John 10.11.

⁶ Text reads *kayser*.

gave him a decree, which ordered him to take whatever [tribute] he deemed satisfactory. He left them, and without delay, rode on horseback and reached the city of Baghesh. The emir, with all his noblemen, came out to greet him, honored him, and took him into the citadel of the fortress. He was promised that all he wished would be granted and that he would receive everything he asked for as long as he managed to turn back the [king's] cavalry from Khlat'. Having heard this from their own mouths, he went to Khlat', gave the writ to the commanders and showed them the *padishah's* decree. He convinced them and they returned in peace to their homes. He then went to Baghesh, stayed there three months, received the promised tribute for the king, took it and handed it over to the *padishah*. Thus he made peace between them and rescued all the common folk—Armenians and Muslims—from the hands of impious men and from cruel captivity.¹ May God *the Lord*² save him from all ordeals of the body and soul! Amen. He returned from the *padishah* and sat on his throne in holy [423] Ējmiatsin. The two foreigners, the *padishah* of the Turkmen and the emir of the Kurds, like Zerubbabel to Darius,³ showered him with gifts.

It so happened that the *padishah*, Jahan Shah, once again marched to 'Araq-e 'Ajam, Shiraz and Kerman. He had a son, named Hasan 'Ali, who roamed in the highlands of the Ararat *gawar*. Instigated by some malevolent men, he wanted to seize the great patriarch *tēr* Zak'aria and demand money and property from him. But the great patriarch learned of his perfidy, took the right arm of the St. Illuminator, together with other sacred vessels, reached Bagawan in wintertime, and went from there to the fortress of Bayazid, *and from there*⁴ he descended into the holy cloister of Argelan, where the remains of the holy *Vardapet* Step'anos, the son of *tēr* Husik, are located. After reaching there, he opened God's treasury, which contained the right arm of our holy Illuminator, St. Gregory, together with the banner,⁵ on one side of which was the image of the Lord, and the other side, that of our Illuminator, St. Gregory, King Trdat,⁶

¹ Aṙak'el is the only source of the events described above.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Esdras I: 4-7.

⁴ Absent from A.

⁵ Text reads *khach'alam* (banner with a cross), from the Armenian *khach'* (cross) and the Arabic *'alama* (standard, banner, coat of arms).

⁶ Refers to Trdat III (the Great)[287-332], who converted to Christianity and during whose reign Christianity became the State religion. His name is

and the beautiful maiden, St. Hrip'simē, as well as a golden brocade in numerous vivid colors and adornments, which caused viewers to marvel. He planned to return to his native throne, to the magnificently vaulted [monastery of the] Holy Cross in Aght'amar. The word of his arrival, together with the holy right arm and the banner, raised on a pole with a golden cross at the top, spread and excited the entire population of the *gawaṙs* where the patriarch appeared. All, [424] in a crowd, came out to greet him with incense and candles, sacrificing rams and bulls,¹ bowed before the holy right arm and the patriarch, and warmly kissed him, until he reached the *gawaṙ* of Tosb (Tosp) and entered the city of Van with many *vardapets*, bishops, *k'ahana*, and a great throng of people, horses and cavalry. They had the banner in front of them and the *k'ahana* went before and behind it, singing sweet hymns. Thus, with great honor and solemnity, he entered the city of Van. But, Mahmud Bek, the governor of Van, the foster brother of *padishah* Jahan Shah, who resided in the citadel of Shamiram, in the fortress of Van,² seeing the rejoicing of the Christians, wished to see the holy right arm and ordered that they be led to the tower of the fortress. Thus, when the great patriarch, together with the holy right arm, entered the gates of the upper fortress, the haughty Mahmud Bek, with all his notables—his entire household—attendants and sons—that is *amirzay*,³ went out to greet him. They bowed to the holy right arm, kissed it, and presented gifts and offerings. [Mahmud Bek] honored and gave presents to the patriarch and let him go in peace. Witnessing this, the inhabitants of the city and the *gawaṙ* began to come day after day, with numerous gifts and offerings, to worship the right arm and to salute the great patriarch. After several days, the patriarch received permission from the governor to leave for Aght'amar, to his native throne. When he left the city, many bishops, *vardapets*, *k'ahana* and armed volunteer

also associated with that of Gregory the Illuminator and the various events which occurred in the early 4th century and which are described by early Armenian historians.

¹ The traditional Armenian and Persian sacrifice of animals for honored guests and religious occasions.

² According to a legend recounted by Moses of Khoren, Queen Shamiram (Semiramis) became so enamored of the nature and air of Lake Van that she constructed a fortress there. The city of Van, therefore, is occasionally referred to as the city or fortress of Shamiram; see Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians* (Cambridge, MA., 1978), 98-99.

³ From the Persian *amīr-zādeh* (son of the emir).

troops, composed of the *khojas* of Van with horses and riders, accompanied him. They left and reached the environs of the seaside town of Ostan (Vostan). The entire population of the town, from the notables to the commoners, including the *k'ahana* and numerous citizens, came out to greet them with incense and [425] candles, and loudly singing psalms. More than a thousand men accompanied the great patriarch, in front and behind him. He walked, preceded by the banner, which glittered like the sky, with the golden cross atop of it. With such splendor and esteem he entered the town of Vostan. When the foreigners (Muslims), who lived in Vostan, saw this festivity, they were deeply affected by the glory and courage of the patriarch, who passed through the *gawar* of Tarberunik (Turuberan) up to the town of Vostan, with the banner, bishops, *vardapets*, and the huge throng of clerics and people. They went to the governor of the town, who was a Kurd, a coarse and treacherous man, an implacable enemy of the Christians, who immediately devised a perfidious plan: to grab the head of the flock [the patriarch]. Learning of his intrigue, the wise priest, at sunrise, took the holy right arm and went to the shore of the sea [Lake Van], where there was a pier. All those who had accompanied him from Van, as well as other *gawars*, learned of this, left with him, and went to the large fortress of Manachihr, that is K'aradasht (Malazgerd or Manzikert), which was situated across from the island of Aght'amar, which is preserved by God. Stopping there, [the *kat'oghikos*], blessed all with the enduring grace of the holy right arm. He permitted everyone to kiss the relic and, with peace and exaltation, sent them all back to their homes. He himself took the holy right arm of the Illuminator, boarded a ship and sailed to his patrimonial throne on the island of Aght'amar, the residence of the Lord. When they stepped on land, all the local inhabitants, including the *k'ahana*, came out to greet them with incense, candles and sweet-sounding hymns, took the holy right arm and carried it to the magnificent monastery of the Holy Cross in Aght'amar. They bowed to the holy right arm and the patriarch, [426] uttered blessings to the glory of the miraculous Lord for enabling everyone to witness how the grace-giving holy right arm of the Illuminator ascended on the steadfast island of Aght'amar and found repose in the vaulted monastery of the Holy Cross,¹ in its proper place. The holy right arm

¹ Text reads "of the holy right arm," which is obviously an error; Brosset noted this in his text as well, *MB*, 473.

entered Aght'amar on the 16th day of the month of Nawasard,¹ on the Friday of the Fast of St. Hakob (St. James of Nisibis) in the year 911 (1462) of our calendar, in order to protect all us believers, to whom it brought great joy. Learning this, all the inhabitants of the *gawar*, came day after day with numerous gifts and offerings in order to worship the holy right arm and hail the great patriarch, and returned home with joy and blessings, praising the Holy Trinity: The Father, The Son, and The Holy Spirit, now, and forever, and for ages to come. Amen."

Thus, this narrative informed me that the holy right arm of the Illuminator was truly and definitely returned from Sis and taken to Ējmiatsin, and then to Aght'amar. Furthermore, other chronicles record that, in the year 911 (1462), Kat'oghikos Zak'aria took the right arm of the Illuminator to Aght'amar.²

Although there are other, similar, stories and sayings about the right arm of St. Illuminator, which I have gathered from books, proving that the right arm was indeed brought to Holy Ējmiatsin, I shall not record them all, in order not to make my narrative too long and tire the reader. I consider the above sufficient to explain to open-hearted, truth-loving and wise people what occurred in the past. It is now time for me to write about how [427] the right arm of St. Illuminator was taken from Aght'amar and brought back to holy Ējmiatsin.

There is a *gawar*, near the capital city of Nakhichevan, called Shahbunuts' (Shahbuz). There is a village in that *gawar*, called Ōtsōp (Badamli). Near this village, there is a monastery, built in ancient days, in the name of the Holy Mother of God, which they call the Ōtsōp monastery. A certain bishop from among the brotherhood of this monastery, who was named Bishop Vrt'anēs, a thoughtful, sensible and eloquent man, went to Aght'amar, stole the right arm of St. Illuminator, and brought it back to Ējmiatsin. Bishop Vrt'anēs did this on the advice and at the will of the kat'oghikoi of Ējmiatsin, who were named Sargis and Hovhannēs.³ Bishop Vrt'anēs first went

¹ The first month of the ancient Armenian calendar (August 11 to September 9); in this case Aṙak'el refers to the last month of the autumn equinox. Brosset has calculated it as Friday, December 11.

² One such chronicle examined by Aṙak'el is in V. Hakobyan, ed. *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner*, I (Erevan, 1951) [abbreviated as *MZH*], 143.

³ Kat'oghikos Sargis II Ajatar was the coadjutor of Aristakēs II. He became kat'oghikos after the death of the latter in 1470. Kat'oghikos Hovhannēs VII, Ajakir, also a coadjutor, became kat'oghikos in 1474 and resigned in 1484; see Chapter 31.

to an unknown land. There he changed his name and robes, shaved his beard, and began to look like a *mahdesi*¹ who could not read or write. In addition, he tied his leg to his thigh with a rope, stretched the tendons and made himself look like a cripple from birth, limping while walking. After that he went to the island of Aght'amar, settled there, and became a servant in the monastery. His good service gained their [the monks] trust, until they appointed him as the sacristan (*Iusarar*) of the church and the guardian of its vessels and holy items. He served as the sacristan of the church for seven years. One day, a great number of merchants, who are called *p'ōrēzik*,² and in the language of foreigners, *ch'arch'i*,³ arrived there. These *ch'arch'i*, traveling with horses and donkeys from village to village, reached the pier of Aght'amar, and together with their horses and donkeys set foot on the island of Aght'amar, in order to [428] sell *ktaw*,⁴ lining,⁵ *ch'it'*,⁶ *alajay*,⁷ and many other items. These merchants were from the town of [Old] Julfa—for, at that time, the town was still inhabited. They stayed on the island for two or three days. Bishop Vrt'anēs unstitched the *kurdin*,⁸ that is the saddlebag,⁹ on one of the donkeys, and brought the right arm of the Illuminator, together with the *var*,¹⁰ which is the banner, and the ecclesiastical stole, about which I spoke in the previous narrative. He placed all three items in the *kurdin* of the donkey and stitched it again as before. He did this secretly, so that no one knew about it. However, he told the owner of the donkey to guard it well, so that no misfortune would befall the

¹ The term comes from the Arabic/Persian *maqdasī*, a native of Jerusalem; in this case, someone who has made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

² The term is *p'erezak*, from the Persian *pīrzi* (inferior merchandise).

³ From the Persian *jārchi/chārchi* (peddler of small goods; criers).

⁴ From the Persian *qotni* (*kutna* in European texts), better known as atlas or satin.

⁵ Text reads *astar* (from the Persian *āstar*, lining for garments).

⁶ From the Persian *chūt*, a cotton fabric on which designs were printed through the use of a wooden stamp. The material is also known as printed calico or chintz.

⁷ From the Persian *alechēh* or *alejeh*, a popular striped silk or silk-cotton fabric.

⁸ From the Persian *kūrdīn*, a blanket, a woolen garment. Could also be read as *khūrchi*, a bag.

⁹ Text reads *paghan* from the Persian *pālān* (pack-saddle).

¹⁰ Text reads *var*, from the Pahlavi *vār* and Persian *bār* (a soft flannel-like fabric).

right arm, and to take it quickly to Julfa, without stopping anywhere else. Several days after the departure of the *ch'arch'i*, Bishop Vrt'anēs himself left the island under some pretext and went somewhere. He went to an unknown place, untied the ropes on his leg and immediately continued his journey.

The inhabitants of the island of Aght'amar, seeing that their sacristan had not returned by the agreed time, went everywhere to seek him, but did not find him. Learning of the absence of the right arm, they began to thoroughly search all the routes and roads, hoping to catch up with the sacristan. The pursuers who went after him asked travelers if they had seen a lame man! They replied that they had not seen a lame man. Thus Bishop Vrt'anēs was saved, went on, and reached the town of Julfa. He inquired and found the house of the [429] owner of the donkey. He was very worried and concerned as to whether the right arm had reached Julfa safely. When the man informed him and when he saw that the right arm was safe in the *kur-din* where he had placed it, the bishop was filled with great joy and thanked the Lord. After that, Bishop Vrt'anēs went to the prelate and the *k'ahana* of Julfa and informed them of his action. They were amazed at his acts, were filled with blessed happiness, went and took the right arm, the banner and the stole, and brought them to the church. They immediately dispatched a courier—by the will and advice of Bishop Vrt'anēs—with the good news to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin, to the Kat'oghikoi Sargis and Hovhannēs. When they heard the news, they rejoiced even more and were filled with heavenly joy. Together with a throng of churchmen, laymen and all the notables of the Ararat province, they hurriedly went to greet the holy right arm, which they found in the city of Nakhichevan, for the Julfans and Bishop Vrt'anēs, prior to the arrival of the kat'oghikoi, had brought it to the city of Nakhichevan. There, in the city of Nakhichevan, they sang hymns and paid homage to the holy right arm—they lit bright candles, burned fragrant incense, and sacrificed lambs and calves. They conducted prayers there and placed fervent kisses on the holy right arm. After that, with a large throng, they took the holy right arm, escorted it to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin, and placed it in its own, original, altar. The kat'oghikoi, together with all the men of the land, clerics and laymen, gave innumerable gifts to Bishop Vrt'anēs. In addition, all the gifts and alms, which were brought by the inhabitants for worshipping the holy [430] right arm,¹

¹ Text reads *ajahamboyr* (to kiss the right arm).

were also given to Bishop Vrt'anēs. Furthermore, the kat'oghikoi and the entire synod decided that as long as Bishop Vrt'anēs lived, he would be the *locum tenens* of the kat'oghikoi, no matter who the kat'oghikos of the Holy See was. He served as the *locum tenens* until his ripe old age, and then because of his physical disability, he went to the Ōtsōp' monastery, near his kinsmen, so that they could support him in his old age. He died there and was buried in the year 942 (1493), as is written on his tombstone. It became a tradition among the kat'oghikoi of Ējmiatsin, in order to fulfill the testament of their fathers, to go to the monastery of Ōtsōp' once a year, serve Mass there, and distribute the money gathered after the service to the inhabitants of the monastery in order to feed the poor and so that the soul of Bishop Vrt'anēs would rest in peace. This tradition remained in force up to the days of Kat'oghikos Dawit' and Kat'oghikos Melk'isēt': the kat'oghikoi would come and would serve [Mass].

My history about the return of holy right arm from Aght'amar to holy Ējmiatsin is not a narrative heard by chance or based on rumors—it is authentic and is told by our fathers in all the *gawars* situated around the city of Nakhichevan, especially in the *gawar* of Shahbunuts'-dzor and in the monasteries located near it. All the clergy and the laymen uniformly tell this story, of how, through the help of Bishop Vrt'anēs, the right arm of the Illuminator returned to Ējmiatsin. I believe them and I wrote it down here. The *holy*¹ right arm of the St. Illuminator remained there, in holy Ējmiatsin, until the reign of Shah 'Abbās the First, who took it to the city of Isfahan. [431] During the reign of Shah Şafī, Kat'oghikos P'ilippos went to Isfahan, obtained it by entreaties from the king, Shah Şafī, received it, and returned it to holy Ējmiatsin to its own altar, as is written in the narrative on Kat'oghikos P'ilippos.² The same holy right arm is until now, here, in holy Ējmiatsin and is accorded great honor and proper homage, for itself, and for Christ, who gives it its might. Both the banner and stole, mentioned in the above narrative, are preserved with the holy right arm here in holy Ējmiatsin, as faithful witnesses to the holy right arm and, in particular, as witnesses of the miracles performed by the holy right arm.

Putting all this in order, I wrote this history on July 1, in the year 1111 (1662) of our calendar at the Holy See of Ējmiatsin, during the reign of *tēr* Hakob of Julfa and the rule of Shah 'Abbās II and the

¹ Absent from F.

² See Chapter 25.

Ottoman ruler, Sultan Muhammad,¹ son of Sultan Ibrahim,² *thanks to the protection and prayers of the same holy right arm of our blessed father, St. Illuminator, and through the grace of the eternally glorious blessed Christ, Our Lord. Amen.*³

¹ Sultan Muhammad IV (1648-1687).

² Sultan Ibrahim (1640-1648).

³ Absent from **A** and **D**. This chapter was completed in 1662, the date, which, according to Arak'el, he stopped writing his narrative. Hence, most of the remaining chapters do not follow a chronological order, but are lists, chronicles and chronologies added by Arak'el as a source for further information or to preserve them for posterity; see Translator's Introduction.

[432] Chapter 31

The succession of our kat'oghikoi, beginning with St. Nersēs Klayets 'i¹ and listed in order until our time

I do not begin the enumeration of the kat'oghikoi from St. Gregory the Illuminator, because [the succession] is known to all, written by many holy, wise and trusted men.² In contrast, [the names] of those who came after St. Nersēs Klayets'i do not appear anywhere together; part can be found here, and other parts there. I have gathered them all and brought them together.

I have found the names of all the kat'oghikoi, which I have collected—both the kat'oghikoi in Sis and Ējmiatsin—³ in three places: part of it came from chronicles written before me—May Christ reward those who wrote them; part from [433] the cartularies⁴ of monasteries, bestowed by the kat'oghikoi to each monastery; and part from colophons in manuscripts written during the reign of the [various] kat'oghikoi. I collected the names of all the kat'oghikoi and wrote them down in chronological order; that is, he who came first, I recorded first, he who came second, I put down as second, he who was third, I wrote down in order as third. I recorded it thus until I came to our time. In this manner I started in the year 620 (1171). Everything was accurate until the year 800 (1351). However, after that, everything was chaotic and unclear, especially since I did not have [the years of the reign] of many [kat'oghikoi]. Therefore, I managed, with great difficulty, to write [the names] until our time.

The year, placed by me in front of the name of each kat'oghikos, does not signify the year of his accession to the throne, but is just an approximation by which we identify the time of his reign. In addition, if there are two Karapets or two Pōghos' whose dates are close to each other, the date recorded is to tell them apart, and dispel any doubt about how many [Karapets] there were, one or two.

¹ Refers to St. Nersēs Shnorhali (1166-1173).

² For a list of the previous kat'oghikoi (302-1166), see Maksoudian, 178-179. The accuracy of the various dates listed by Arak'el for the various kat'oghikoi is discussed in H. Anasyan, "Ditoghut'yunner Step'anos Salmastets'u kensagrut'yan veraberyal," *Ējmiatsin* 8-9 (1956), 95.

³ Refers to when the Holy See was in Hromklay, Sis and, later, in Ējmiatsin.

⁴ Text reads *kondak* (a cartulary, a collection of religious charters and records, an encyclical).

The dates placed after [the name] of the kat'oghikoi indicate that such and such a kat'oghikos ruled for so many years. In many cases, I did not place the dates—I have recorded only some of them—because after comparing two or three records, I saw that they were not in agreement; hence, I omitted these dates. But in those instances where they did agree, I recorded them. Concerning the kat'oghikoi in Sis, [434] both dates are given.¹ Concerning the dates of the kat'oghikoi at Ējmiatsin, I could not find the first or last dates, for I took the names of all the Ējmiatsin kat'oghikoi from colophons in manuscripts, and they do not indicate the beginning or the end of [the reign of] the kat'oghikoi. Furthermore, two, three, or even four kat'oghikoi at Ējmiatsin are listed under one date. That is because various colophons in manuscripts indicate it to be so. Moreover, I found out that several kat'oghikoi existed at the same time, in the same years, but I could not discern who came first and who came later; who was the absolute ruler and who was the subordinate or silent [kat'oghikos]. I have recorded the dates according to what I found in the colophons.²

Thus, with the help of the Holy Spirit, as promised, I shall list the kat'oghikoi in order, beginning with St. Nersēs Klayets'i until our time.

In the year 614 (1165/1166) Kat'oghikos Grigoris³ died and his brother, Nersēs, ascended the throne and reigned for seven years.

In the year 621 (1172/1173) *tēr* Nersēs died and his nephew *tēr* Grigor⁴ ascended the throne on Thursday, August 14. [Then came] *Tēr Grigor K'aravēzh*,⁵ *tēr Grigor Apirat*,⁶ and *tēr* Hovhan Metsarbaro.⁷ The latter was dethroned and *tēr* Dawit' Ark'akaghnets'i was

¹ The text does not correspond to this claim.

² The period from the mid-15th to the mid-17th centuries witnessed the existence of numerous coadjutor-kat'oghikoi at Ējmiatsin; see Translator's Introduction.

³ Refers to Kat'oghikos Grigor III Pahlawuni (1113-1166). The dates indicated in the footnotes are based on Maksoudian, 180-181. It has to be noted that the Armenian Church calendar does not start on January 1; hence the year 614 could be 1165 or 1166. The same is true of all the other years. Some of the dates do not correspond to the dates given by later historians.

⁴ Grigor IV Tghay (1173-1193).

⁵ Grigor V Garavēzh (1193-1194).

⁶ Grigor VI Apirat (1194-1203). Grigor IV and V are absent from the Russian translation, *KH*, 339.

⁷ Hovhannēs VI of Sis (1203-1221).

installed as kat'oghikos for two years.¹ *Tēr Dawit'* died and *tēr Hovhan* became kat'oghikos again. He was on the throne, the first and second time [combined], for fifteen years.

In the year 669 (1220/1221) *tēr Kostandin Bardzrberdts'i* [ascended the throne and ruled] for forty-seven years.²

In the year 717 (1268) *tēr Hakob Gitnakan* for eighteen years.³

[435] In the year 736 (1286/1287) *tēr Kostandin Pronagorts Kesarats'i Akht'arma*⁴ for three years.⁵

In the year 738 (1289), they drove out Kostandin Pronagorts and installed *tēr Step'anos* of Hromklay, for four years.⁶ He and the right arm of the Illuminator were captured and taken to the city of Cairo.⁷

In the year 742 (1293) *tēr Grigor Anawarzets'i*, for thirteen years.⁸

In the year 756 (1307) *tēr Kostandin Kesarats'i*, named Herdzuat-sogh,⁹ for fifteen years.¹⁰

In the year 770 (1321/22) *tēr Kostandin Lambronats'i*, for four years.¹¹

In the year 776 (1327) *tēr Hakob Sisets'i*, for fourteen years,¹² he was dethroned, and in the year 796 (1347)¹³ *tēr Mkhit'ar* was put on the throne, for fourteen years.¹⁴ This Mkhit'ar died and *tēr Hakob Sisets'i* once again ascended the throne for four years [1355-1359].

¹ Maksoudian does not list him, 180. According to Jacques de Morgan, he was only the coadjutor from 1204 to 1206, *The History of the Armenian People* (Boston, 1965), 410. Two anti-kat'oghikoi are also listed in this period: Barsegh II of Ani (1195-1206) and Anania of Sivas (1204-1206), *ibid.*

² Kostandin of Bardzberd (1221-1267).

³ Hakob the Learned, also known as Hakob of Hromklay (1268-1286).

⁴ From the Turkish *aktarma* (to turn upside down); in this case, it refers to him as one who turned to the Catholic faith.

⁵ Kostandin II Katuk (1286-1289).

⁶ Step'anos IV of Hromklay (1290-1293).

⁷ Text reads *Msr*, the Arabic for Egypt; in this case, it also refers to the city of Cairo, the capital of the Mamluks. The kat'oghikos was taken to Egypt in 1293, where he died.

⁸ Grigor VII of Anawarza (1293-1307).

⁹ The term means "schismatic."

¹⁰ Kostandin III of Caesarea (1307-1321/22).

¹¹ Kostandin IV of Lambron (1321 or 1322-1326).

¹² Hakob II of Anawarza (1327-1341).

¹³ The date is incorrect; it should be 790 (1341).

¹⁴ Mkhit'ar of Gṛni (1341-1355).

In the year 813 (1364)¹ *tēr* Mesrop, for thirteen years.²

In the year 823 (1374) *tēr* Kostandin.³

In the year 825 (1376) *tēr* Pōghos.⁴

In the year 829 (1380) *tēr* Tēodoros, for eight years.⁵

In the year 843 (1394) *tēr* Karapet.⁶

In the year 846 (1397) *tēr* Dawit.⁷

In the year 852 (1403) *tēr* Karapet.⁸

In the year 867 (1418) *tēr* Grigor.⁹ This *tēr* Grigor, known as Khandzoghat, was dethroned that same year and *tēr* Pōghos was put in his place. That is why I record this same year for *tēr* Pōghos.¹⁰

In the year 867 (1418) *tēr* Pōghos.

In the year 879 (1430) *tēr* Kostandin.¹¹

In the year 886 (1437) *tēr* Hovsēp'.¹²

In the year 889 (1440) *tēr* Grigor surnamed Musabēkents'.¹³

[436] Up to now I have recorded the kat'oghikoi—kat'oghikoi of Sis—ruling on the throne of the kat'oghikosate in Sis, for the Holy See of Ējmiatsin was not restored yet. It was then restored, for the right arm of our Illuminator, St. Gregory, already made its appearance there. Therefore, leaders and noted men—representatives from among the clergy and laymen—gathered from many lands, and, as is described by *Vardapet T'ovma*,¹⁴ consecrated *tēr* Kirakos as the kat'oghikos and established the kat'oghikosate in holy Ējmiatsin. That is why I shall henceforth list the kat'oghikoi residing in holy

¹ The date is incorrect; it should be 808 (1359).

² Mesrop of Artaz (1359-1372).

³ Kostandin V of Sis (1372-1374).

⁴ Pōghos I of Sis (1374-1382).

⁵ Tēodoros II of Cilicia (1382-1392). The throne was vacant for one year after the death of Tēodoros, *Azgapatum*, II, 1989-1990.

⁶ Karapet of Keghi (1393-1404).

⁷ Not listed in Maksoudian or de Morgan.

⁸ Not listed in Maksoudian or de Morgan. They list Hakob III of Sis (1404-1414?) and (1408-1411) respectively.

⁹ Grigor VIII Khandzoghat (1414/15-1418).

¹⁰ Pōghos II of Garni (1418/19-1430).

¹¹ Kostandin VI of Vahka (1430-1439).

¹² Not mentioned by Maksoudian or de Morgan.

¹³ Grigor IX Musabēgeants' (1439-1441).

¹⁴ Refers to T'ovma Metsop'ets'i who in his history refers to the assembly of 1441 and the election of Kat'oghikos Kirakos; see note in Chapter 30.

Ējmiatsin, the first of whom was *tēr* Kirakos. The restoration of holy Ējmiatsin took place in the year 890 (1441);¹ therefore I shall note the year 890 (1441).

The year 890 (1441), Kat'oghikos *tēr* Kirakos.

The year 892 (1443), *tēr* Kirakos was removed from the post of kat'oghikos and Grigor of Maku² ascended the throne through a deed.³ This Grigor partially renovated Ējmiatsin.

In the year 904 (1455) the same *tēr* Grigor, as well as *tēr* Aristakēs, were the kat'oghikoi.⁴

In the year 910 (1461), the same *tēr* Grigor, the same *tēr* Aristakēs, as well as *tēr* Zak'aria, were the kat'oghikoi.⁵

This *tēr* Zak'aria was formerly the kat'oghikos of Aght'amar, but in the year 910 (1461), when *padishah* Jahan Shah came to Tabriz, Zak'aria, with numerous gifts, departed for Tabriz to greet the *padishah*. The *padishah* then granted him the title of kat'oghikos of holy Ējmiatsin and gave him the right hand of St. Gregory, our Illuminator, together with the banner and the stole. That is why Kat'oghikos Zak'aria took the right arm, came to holy Ējmiatsin and sat on the throne of the kat'oghikos. The said banner [437] and stole are currently in safekeeping at Ējmiatsin, as proof that the holy right arm is located there as well.

In the year 911 (1462), Kat'oghikos *tēr* Zak'aria seized the right arm of St. Illuminator and went to Aght'amar on the Friday of the Fast of St. Hakob, on the 16th day of the month of Nawasard (December 11).⁶

¹ Ch'amch'ean, *Hayots' patmut' iwn*, III, 488.

² Grigor X Jalalbēgeants' (1443-1465).

³ Text reads *ghabale*, from the Arabic *qabalat*, Persian *qabale* (a grant, a deed). The reference is to the land grant given to the Holy See as *waqf-name* (deed for a religious endowment) by Amir Rostam, an Armenian noble in the service of Iskandar Qara Qoyunlu. The grant, dated 1431, gave Ējmiatsin control over the village of Vagharshapat and a number of other settlements and became the basis of all future claims of the kat'oghikoi and the Holy See as the legal owners of the properties. It also recognized the kat'oghikoi at Ējmiatsin as the caliphs (spiritual leaders) of the Armenian nation. The original document is in H.D. P'ap'azyan, *Matenadarani parskeren vaveragerê: Kalvatsagrêr* (Erevan, 1968), 426-437; the English translation is in *Jambŕ*, 453-459.

⁴ Refers to the coadjutor Aristakēs II At'orakal (1465-1474).

⁵ The latter was another coadjutor.

⁶ See Chapter 30.

In the year 915 (1466), the same *tēr* Grigor, the same *tēr* Aristakēs, as well as *tēr* Sargis, were the kat'oghikoi.¹

In the year 923 (1474), the same *tēr* Sargis, as well as *tēr* Hovhannēs,² were the kat'oghikoi.

In the year 925 (1476), the same *tēr* Hovhannēs, as well as another Sargis,³ were the kat'oghikoi. During the reign of Kat'oghikoi Hovhannēs and Sargis, Bishop Vrt'anēs returned the right arm of the Illuminator from Aght'amar to Ējmiatsin.

In the year 942 (1493), the same *tēr* Sargis, as well as another *tēr* Aristakēs,⁴ were the kat'oghikoi.

In the year 948 (1499), that same *tēr* Sargis, as well as *tēr* T'adēos,⁵ were the kat'oghikoi.

In the year 953 (1504), the same *tēr* Sargis, as well as *tēr* Eghishē,⁶ were the kat'oghikoi.

In the year 955 (1506), the same *tēr* Sargis, and *tēr* Eghishē, as well as *tēr* Nersēs,⁷ were the kat'oghikoi.

In the year 965 (1515), Kat'oghikos *tēr* Zak'aria.⁸

In the year 969 (1520), Kat'oghikos *tēr* Sargis.⁹

In the year 972 (1523), the same Kat'oghikos *tēr* Sargis.

In the year 985 (1536), Kat'oghikos *tēr* Grigor.¹⁰

In the year 990 (1541), the same *tēr* Grigor, as well as *tēr* Step'anos of Salmast,¹¹ were the kat'oghikoi.

In the year 994 (1545), the same *tēr* Step'anos, as well as *tēr* Mik'ayēl,¹² were the kat'oghikoi.

In the year 1006 (1557), the same *tēr* Step'anos, the same *tēr* [438] Mik'ayēl, as well as *tēr* Barsegh¹³ and *tēr* Grigor,¹⁴ were the kat'oghikoi.

¹ Sargis II Ajatar (1474-1489).

² Hovhannēs VII Ajakir (1474-1484).

³ Sargis III Miwsayl (1484-1515).

⁴ Aristakēs III of Ējmiatsin was coadjutor from 1484 to 1499.

⁵ T'adēos I of Vagharshapat was coadjutor from 1499 to 1504.

⁶ Eghishē II of Ējmiatsin was the coadjutor from 1505 to 1515.

⁷ Nersēs V of Ējmiatsin was the coadjutor in 1506.

⁸ Zak'aria II of Vagharshapat (1515-1520).

⁹ Sargis IV of Georgia (1520-1536).

¹⁰ Grigor XI of Byzantium (1536-1545).

¹¹ Step'anos V of Salmast (1545-1567).

¹² Mik'ayēl of Sebastia (1567-1576).

¹³ Barsegh III of Ējmiatsin was the coadjutor from 1549-1567.

¹⁴ Grigor XII of Vagharshapat (1576-1590).

In the year 1016 (1567), the same *tēr* Mik'ayēl, the same *tēr* Barsegh, the same *tēr* Grigor, as well as *tēr* Step'anos Arēnjets'i,¹ were the kat'oghikoi.

In the year 1025 (1576), the same *tēr* Grigor, as well as *tēr* T'adēos² and *tēr* Aṛak'el,³ were the kat'oghikoi.

In the year 1035 (1586), the same *tēr* Grigor, the same *tēr* Aṛak'el, as well as *tēr* Dawit',⁴ were the kat'oghikoi.

In the year 1042 (1593), the same *tēr* Dawit', as well as *tēr* Melk'isēt',⁵ were the kat'oghikoi.

In the year 1052 (1603), the same *tēr* Dawit', the same *tēr* Melk'isēt', as well as *tēr* Srap'ion,⁶ were the kat'oghikoi.⁷

In the year 1073 (1624), the same *tēr* Dawit', the same *tēr* Melk'isēt', as well as *tēr* Sahak,⁸ were the kat'oghikoi.

In the year 1078 (1629), Kat'oghikos *tēr* Movsēs,⁹ for three and a half years.

In the year 1082 (1633), Kat'oghikos *tēr* P'ilippos,¹⁰ for twenty-two and a half years.

In the year 1104 (1655), Kat'oghikos *tēr* Hakob of Julfa,¹¹ who presently thrives in our time and rules over the kat'oghikosate.

Thus, in the year 1042 (1593), the Kat'oghikoi Dawit' and Melk'isēt'—these are the same kat'oghikoi about whom I wrote at the beginning of this history¹²—sent for *Vardapet* Srap'ion, [439] requesting him to come and be the kat'oghikos. The latter came and became the kat'oghikos at holy Ējmiatsin in the year 1052 (1603) of our calendar. But in the year 1053 (1604), Srap'ion returned to Amida and passed away there on April 23, 1055 (1606). After the

¹ Step'anos VI of Arinj was the coadjutor from 1567 to 1575.

² T'adēos II was the coadjutor from 1571-1575.

³ Aṛak'el of Vagharshapat was the coadjutor from 1575 to 1579.

⁴ Dawit' IV of Vagharshapat (1590-1629).

⁵ Melk'isēt' I of Garni was the coadjutor from 1593 to 1628.

⁶ Srap'ion, also known as Grigor XIII, was the coadjutor from 1603 to 1605. See Chapter 2.

⁷ Grigor Daranaghts'i mentions another coadjutor, Awetis, in this period, *GD*, 52.

⁸ Sahak IV of Garni was the coadjutor from 1624 to 1628; he died in 1639. See Chapter 19.

⁹ Movsēs III of Tat'ew (1629-1633). See Chapter 24.

¹⁰ P'ilippos of Aghbak (1633/34-1655). See Chapter 25.

¹¹ Hakob of Julfa (1655-1680).

¹² See Chapters 3, 17, 20, and 24.

departure of Srap'ion, the same Kat'oghikoi Dawit' and Melk'isēt' remained and ruled the Holy See. But the hatred, discontent, and conflict in the struggle for the control of the kat'oghikosate between Dawit' and Melk'isēt' did not diminish. Therefore, Melk'isēt' took upon himself the heavy *ghabale*,¹ drove out Dawit' and began to rule alone. Since the *ghabale* was large, Melk'isēt' could not pay the debt and handed over the kat'oghikosate to his nephew Sahak and he himself escaped to the land of the Ottomans. After that he went to Lvov and died there. The Holy See was ruled by Kat'oghikos Sahak, but because of the greatness of the debt, which he could not pay, he also fled to the land of the Ottomans. After his flight, all the Armenian people—eastern, as well as western Armenians—united and elected *Vardapet* Movsēs as the kat'oghikos at holy Ējmiatsin on April 13, 1078 (1629) of our calendar. He died on May 14 in the year 1081 (1632). On January 13 of the year 1082 (1633), *Vardapet* P'ilippos was consecrated as kat'oghikos at holy Ējmiatsin. He ruled over the See gloriously and magnificently throughout his reign, until the year 1104 (1655) of our calendar. He passed away on March 25 of that year.

After him, the throne of the kat'oghikos passed to *Vardapet* Hakob of Julfa. They consecrated *Vardapet* Hakob on April 8 of the year 1104 (1655) as the kat'oghikos of holy Ējmiatsin. He rules [440] over the Holy See until today—July 4, 1111 (1662)—of our calendar.² I pray that the Lord keep him in good health for many years, for our happiness and for the glory of his name. Amen.

¹ Debt note. In this case, it refers to the *muqata'a* of one hundred *tūmans* which had to be paid to the Persian State; see Chapter 18.

² Arak'el, once again, notes that he concluded his work in 1662.

Chapter 32

The list of vardapets [who studied] at Ējmiatsin, beginning with the tenure of Mkhit'ar Gosh,¹ and descending in succession

First of all, the thrice great *Vardapet* Mkhit'ar, surnamed Gosh; his student, Hovhannēs Vanakan;² his disciple, Vardan;³ his disciple, Nersēs;⁴ his disciple, Esayi from the *gawar* of Nich';⁵ his student, Hohan Orotnets'i;⁶ his disciple, Grigor of Tat'ew;⁷ his student, Daniēl the Hermit; his disciple, Hovhannēs Hamshets'i;⁸ his student, T'oros; his disciple, Grigor of Tarōn; his student, Hovhannēs, surnamed Shirak; his disciple, Ghukas Keghets'i;⁹ his student, Srap'ion of Urfa, who later became kat'oghikos of holy Ējmiatsin;¹⁰ and his student, Grigor of Kesarats'I;¹¹ his disciple, Movsēs Siwnets'i, who became kat'oghikos of holy Ējmiatsin and its renovator;¹² his stu-

¹ Mkhit'ar Gosh (ca. 1130/40-1213) was a noted scholar and the author of the first Armenian "Law Code," a compilation of secular law.

² Hovhannēs *Vardapet* Tawushets'i, called Vanakan (1181-1251), a theologian and scholar, was a teacher of Vardan Arewelts'i, Kirakos of Gandzak and Grigor Akants'i. He reputedly wrote a biography of his teacher, Mkhit'ar Gosh, which has not survived. He was taken a prisoner by the Mongols.

³ Vardan Arewelts'i (ca. 1200-1271) surnamed the Great, a famous scholar and teacher and the author of many works, especially his general *History* from the creation of the world to 1267. See Gh. Alishan, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean Vardanay Vardapeti'* (Venice, 1862).

⁴ Nersēs of Gladzor (d. 1284) was a scholar of Greek and Latin and the teacher of Step'anos Orbelean (1250/60-1304) and Hovhannēs Arjishets'i (known as the "lentil-eater").

⁵ Esayi Nich'ets'i (ca. 1255-1338) was the abbot of the Gladzor monastery. A noted philosopher, orator, scholar of theology, grammarian, and Armenian philologist, he was the head of the Gladzor University for 55 years.

⁶ Hohan Vorotnets'i/Hovhannēs Orotnets'i (1315-1388), known as "the lame," was a theologian and a grammarian.

⁷ See Chapter 29.

⁸ Hovhannēs Hamshets'i (d. 1497) was a famed teacher and scholar.

⁹ See Chapter 2.

¹⁰ See Chapter 31.

¹¹ See Chapter 2.

¹² See Chapter 31.

dent, P'ilippos, the kat'oghikos of holy Ējmiatsin;¹ his disciple, I, the unworthy and sinful scribe, Aṛak'el; and my disciple, Vardan of Maku.

[441] *Another Group of Vardapets*

Here is a list of our *vardapets*—not former ones, but subsequent ones. First was Grigor of Tat'ew and his student Daniēl; his disciple Hovhannēs Hamshets'i; his student Grigor Arjishets'i, named Ch'ort'an, and another student *Vardapet* T'oros. Ch'ort'an's student was Nersēs, who was named Matagh. His student was Nersēs Baghishets'i; his pupil was Nersēs Amkets'i, whose two students were: Hovhannēs Ostants'i² from the village of Vaṛnushat, and Azaria³ from the village of Shahkert, near Nakhichevan in Greater Armenia.⁴ The students of Hovhannēs Ostants'i were Simēōn Aparants'i⁵ and Barsegh Gawarṭs'i;⁶ the pupils of Simēōn were Karapet Kalo and Small Simēōn the Monk. The many students of Barsegh included Hovhannēs the Healer of Baghesh. The students of this Hovhannēs were Khach'atur Baghishets'i⁷ and other eastern Armenians. They all came from Ch'ort'an.⁸

I shall start anew from Hovhannēs Hamshets'i. His other student was T'oros, about whom I already wrote above. T'oros's student was Grigor of Tarōn; his pupil was Hovhannēs of Shirak; his disciple was Ghukas, born in the *gawaṛ* of Khordzuneats', that is Keghi; his students, Petros Karkṛts'i and Srap'ion of Urfa, who was the

¹ See Chapter 31.

² Hovhannēs Vostants'i (Ostants'i) (d. 1589), called Brghut, was the author of a number of theological works.

³ Azaria of Julfa, kat'oghikos of Sis (1584-1601).

⁴ Greater Armenia, or Armenia Major, is the geographical term used until the late fourth century AD. At times, it included two other regions: Lesser Armenia or Armenia Minor, northwest of the Euphrates River, and the district of Cop'k, in the southwest. The term fell out of use after the partitioning of Armenia between the Eastern Roman and the Persian Empires in AD 387 and 591. For details, see G. A. Bournoutian, *A Concise History of the Armenian People* (Costa Mesa, Ca. 2005), 25, 52, and 65-66.

⁵ He was the author of a number of historical narratives written in verse.

⁶ Barsegh of Gawar or Aghbak (d. 1615) was the abbot of the Amrdolu monastery in Baghesh. See Chapter 29.

⁷ See Chapter 45.

⁸ The present-day village of Choratan is located in the Tawush region of Armenia.

kat'oghikos of holy Ējmiatsin for a year and six months and then appeared before Christ. Also among his students were Barsegh, from the village of Marman in the *gawaṛ* of Nich' in Sasun, and Hovsēp' Hzuets'i, and I, Karapet of Baghesh from the village of P'arkhnd, the unworthy author of this composition,¹ some of the above [information] I gathered from reliable sources, and the rest I witnessed with my own eyes, for the former *vardapets* had no shortcomings, either in learning or in [442] deeds, but had everything in abundance.

I shall also name two other famous vardapets Hovhannēs Ayn-t'ap'ets'i, who was a kat'oghikos in Sis,² and Grigor Kesarats'i from First Armenia,³ a man of learning and a lover of philosophical knowledge. Hovhannēs is a student of our Nersēs, and Grigor is a student of T'oros.⁴

¹ The above statement makes it clear that Aṛak'el used Karapet Baghishets'i's work for this chapter.

² Kat'oghikos from 1588-1592; he was removed by Kat'oghikos Azaria of Julfa, went to Aleppo, returned as kat'oghikos after Azaria's death in 1601, and reigned again from 1601 to 1627.

³ According to the "Geography" of Anania of Shirak (7th century), Historic Armenia was divided into Greater Armenia and Lesser Armenia. The latter was divided itself into First Armenia, Second Armenia, Third Armenia, and Fourth Armenia. First Armenia, with its main cities of Melitene (Malatya) and Samosata, occupied the central part of Lesser Armenia.

⁴ Absent from A and D.

Chapter 33

On how and on what pretext they [the Persians] removed the Christian Armenians from the center of Isfahan, and resettled them on the outskirts of the city, on the other side of the river.

This occurred during the time of the reign of Shah 'Abbās II, whose royal residence was in the magnificent city of Isfahan.

It so happened that the king, Shah 'Abbās [II], together with his troops, left the city of Isfahan and went to the city of Qazvin. [In his absence] he appointed some of the nobles as the governors and leaders of the city of Isfahan, so that they would govern the city according to the established order. Over and above all his various instructions, there was one, more important and stricter than anything else; he ordered that they forbid and abolish [the production of] wine, so that there would be no wine in the city. No one [443] was to crush grapes and make wine; no one was to sell it, and no one was to drink it. There was to be no sign or scent of wine [in the homes]—not among the common people, the grandees, or among the cavalry. If they found someone with wine—be he a seller or a buyer—they had to fine him and cut off his ears and nose. If they saw that the outrage was repeated, they had to kill the offenders, by subjecting them to the most painful tortures, ripping open their stomachs, and cutting off their heads. Giving these most crucial instructions, the shah appointed them as governors of the city and himself left Isfahan for Qazvin.

After several months, the shah's deputy, whom they called *Ēhtimal-Dolvāt* (*e'temād al-dowleh*),¹ and who was named Mohammad Beg,² and who was in the service of the king in the city of Qazvin, inquired from those arriving from Isfahan about the conditions in the city, various other things, and especially about the wine. No matter how many times he asked, from one or the other, they all unanimously replied that the prohibition of wine was not carried out [in the city], that drunk men constantly roamed around the squares and streets. The *e'temād al-dowleh* was very troubled about this. He asked this and that one, "Why has the prohibition on wine not been established in the city of Isfahan?"

¹ The Safavid grand vizier, from the Arabic *i'timād al-dowlāt*.

² Moḥammad Beg (Khan) was the grand vizier from 1654-1660; see Floor, *Safavid Government Institutions*, 37.

Each one answered and gave his opinion. However, some who hated the *darughe* (*dārūghe*)¹ of the city of Isfahan put the blame on him, saying, "It is possible that the *dārūghe*, for his personal gain, permits the production of wine, in order to catch the seller and the buyer [of the wine], fine them, receive a bribe, and exact a large sum of money from them."

The *e'temād al-dowleh* reported these words, together with other [444] things he had heard from the people, to the king. During conversations between the king and the *e'temād al-dowleh*, the latter told the king, "If the sovereign permits, we shall dispatch someone from among the trusted servants of the king to the city of Isfahan, so that he may go throughout the city and once again loudly announce the prohibition against wine. The servant will secretly remain there, observe and find out if the accusations about the *dārūghe* are true." The king, who liked this arrangement, ordered the *e'temād al-dowleh* to carry out the plan. The *e'temād al-dowleh* chose one of the most trusted of the king's attendants, a cautious and efficient man, a young man named Najafghuli Bek (Najaf-qoli Beg). He asked him to go to the city of Isfahan, announce once more the prohibition against wine, and proclaim that no wine be [produced, sold, or consumed] in the city of Isfahan. In addition, he was to secretly find out everything that they said about the *dārūghe*.

Najaf-qoli Beg, who was full of conceit and arrogance, took the instructions of the *e'temād al-dowleh*, left Qazvin and arrived in the city of Isfahan. There, using very severe and menacing language, which threatened and terrified everyone, he forbade [the production, sale, and drinking of] wine. He sent criers, that is *jarch'i*,² to all the city squares. They went out and loudly announced that [the consumption of] wine was forbidden by the order of the king. Whoever was caught with it would be considered an enemy of the king, would be sentenced to death and would be executed without fail. [445] Najaf-qoli Beg himself appointed several men and entrusted them to go to the four corners of the city, where he thought there might be wine. These men were to stay there day and night and had to secretly watch everyone and keep an eye on all who passed by. Through this, they punished many drunkards for the edification of others. They cut off their ears and noses, hands and legs. However, even through these measures, they could not abolish [the drinking of] wine. Since

¹ The *dārūghe* was the main police officer of a city or district.

² From the Persian *jārchī* (town crier).

men managed to escape the various traps, [Najaf-qoli Beg] was troubled and inquired of this man or that, how the situation was going to end.

At that time, some noted men, the king's officials, who had known Najaf-qoli Beg for a long time, invited him to their home as a sign of friendship and respect. There were many other notables among those gathered there, including a certain nobleman, who was the keeper of the king's books.¹ All the books in the king's *house*² were entrusted to him for safekeeping; he would present them to anyone who needed them and would then take them back. During these festivities, among various themes, the conversation also turned to wine. On this matter, Najaf-qoli Beg turned to those present and asked, "I am surprised as to why the prohibition of drinking wine does not take root among us. The sovereign ordered it; we resort to great torture and punishment, and we cannot stop the [drinking of] wine." Each one of those present gave their opinion.

But the nobleman, the guardian of the books, replied to Najaf-qoli Beg, "All your efforts are useless. The prohibition of wine will [446] not take root, and there are many reasons for this, the main reason being that all the people live mixed together—Muslims, who do not drink wine, and other people, who do drink wine, that is, the Franks, Armenians, and Jews.³ If you catch someone with wine and ask him, 'where did you get it and where are you taking it?' he will vindicate himself by saying that he is taking it from the house of an Armenian to the house of another Armenian. Then your order and prohibition would be evaded. Furthermore, any Muslim who wishes to drink wine, enters their [Christian] home, drinks wine there, or buys it at a high price and takes it wherever he wants to and drinks it there. The main reason for this is that the population lives together. Therefore, if the king truly desires that wine not be consumed in the city at all, he has to divide and separate these people. He has to settle the Muslims separately from other people, in the center of the city, and

¹ Daneghyan assumes that the above official was either the *raqam-nevīs* or the *hokm-nevīs* (officials in charge of writing the decrees); see L. Daneghyan, *Aṙak'el Dawrizhets'u erkê vorpes Sefyan Irani XVII dari patmut'yan skzbnghbyur* (Erevan, 1978), 143. It may also refer to the *ketabdār* (librarian of the royal library) or the *daftardār* (financial comptroller).

² Absent from F.

³ Text reads *Jhud*, which can have a derogatory meaning such as "Yid" in Persian. The Persian terms *Yahudi* or *Kalimi* and the Armenian term *Hrea* are the more appropriate terms.

evacuate all others, Armenians and Jews, from the city and resettle them on its outskirts, in an appropriate place. Laws and regulations have to be set *for each group*.¹ Then, whatever the king and his notables order shall be carried out without question." These words, spoken by the nobleman, the keeper of the books, pleased *many*,² as well as Najaf-qoli Beg; he thought about them, placed them deep in his heart, and decided to inform, at an appropriate time, the *e'temād al-dowleh*. He took it upon himself to do everything to carry out the order of the king concerning the prohibition of wine.

[447] As to the words spoken by the nobleman, the keeper of the books, at the gathering, it is said that this was not his own opinion, but was the judgment of others. This was indeed so.

The kings have a habit of keeping eunuchs at court in order to serve them and their wives. The king, Shah 'Abbās II, had increased their number, for he had taken many wives from various nations and had thus gathered many eunuchs. A number of these eunuchs, some due to old age, others because they displeased [the shah], yet others, for various other reasons, were driven out of the king's palace and were free to go where they wished and live alone.

These eunuchs, who were driven out from the king's palace, settled down in the center of the city, in the quarter called Shamshapat (Shamsabad). Here is the reason why: First, the quarter was located near the palace of the king, so that if they wished to go to the royal palace or, if one of their friends from the palace wished to visit them, they could do so conveniently and speedily, for it was close by. Second, this quarter was situated near the market and the shopping arcade. Third [reason] was mainly because of water. This quarter had enough water, since the large canal, the size of a river, passed through it to Charbagh (Chehār-bāgh)—the vineyard of the crown, and from there it flowed through the royal palace—and all the needs of the people and animals, as well as the irrigation of fruit, vegetable and flower gardens, were met. This is so.

Moreover, it is important to note that when the great Shah 'Abbas I, the one who ruined the land of Armenia, and [448] the destroyer of the Armenian people, drove out and resettled the Armenians in Persia, he settled some of the Christian Armenians, who were called Dashtets'i (Dashti)—because they were from the village of Dasht, which is in the *gawar* of Goght'n—here, in the quarter called Sham-

¹ Absent from F.

² Ibid.

sabad, among the Muslims. Since the quarter was good, many Muslims from other quarters of the city came and settled here. The eunuchs, who had left the king's house, came and settled here as well. There was not enough living space for the people who had gathered here from everywhere, from all the corners of the land. They suffered many discomforts because of this. Therefore, the Muslims made a pact with the eunuchs and began to harass the Christians from Dasht in order to get rid of them, so that they could have more space. That is why they repeatedly denounced the Armenians from Dasht, sometimes justly, other times unjustly.

Following the king's order prohibiting wine, the Persians also began to denounce the Christians, saying, "This is a nation of drunkards. They constantly defile the water with wine, for when they crush the grapes and make wine from the grape juice, they throw the marc into the water, defiling the water with it. When they make *aragh*,¹ they pour the sediment into the water and defile it. When they want to wash the wine vessels,² they lower them into the canal and leave them in the water for a day or two and then wash them. During the washing, the water is again poured into the canal, defiling it."

[449] Thus, all these denouncements, as well as what the nobleman, the keeper of the books, had said to Najaf-qoli Beg, and many other words, unjust and just, told to the former, by the non-residents of the Shamsabad quarter and the eunuchs who lived there, were repeated by the keeper of the books to Najaf-qoli Beg.

Thus, when the shah and the *e'temād al-dowleh* returned from Qazvin to Isfahan and inquired if the order prohibiting wine was carried out, Najaf-qoli Beg, upset to the bottom of his soul, said, "I tried with all my strength, but the city continues to consume wine." The *e'temād al-dowleh* was perplexed for a long time and thought about the prohibition of wine, for, according to their *profane*³ religion and their [religious] books, wine is considered impure, and the drinking of wine is a sin for them.

At an opportune moment, Najaf-qoli Beg repeated the words of the nobleman, the keeper of books, to the *e'temād al-dowleh*. These words pleased the latter, as well as those present. The *e'temād al-dowleh* [in turn], at an opportune moment, passed the words of the nobleman, the keeper of the books, to the king. Not once, but at

¹ From *'araq*, a kind of spirituous liquor.

² The text reads *karas*, large clay pots for storing wine.

³ Absent from A and D.

every opportune moment, the *e'temād al-dowleh* and other *nakharars*, who were admitted to the shah's presence, repeatedly uttered the same words, for the *e'temād al-dowleh* and the other *nakharars* were extremely anxious to expel the Christians from the center of town.¹ They kept up their complaints until they bent the will of the king to issue an order, which decreed that all people who [whose religion permit them to] drank wine [450] were to be separated from the Muslims and resettled separately on the outskirts of the city.

Receiving the order from the king, the *e'temād al-dowleh* summoned the Dashtis to his presence, informed them of the king's will, and ordered them to evacuate the center of town and to resettle on the outskirts, even though it was difficult for them to leave the places they inhabited. The Armenians, therefore, went to the homes of the notables and begged that they be permitted to stay in their homes. No one paid heed to their requests, for the will and the intention of the wealthy Muslims was unified in removing the Armenians. Thus, by the order of the king and the will of the grandees, as well as because of the harassment of *their*² Muslim neighbors, the Armenians from Dasht found themselves in a hopeless situation. They left their homes and their lodgings; some went to [New] Julfa and others to Gawrabat (Gabrabad).³ They rented homes and settled down there with their families and possessions.

When the Muslims evicted the Dashtis, they started to remove other Armenians from the city as well. There were Armenian immigrants from various communities from the districts of the land of Azarbaijan; from Amida, Gazik, Baghesh and Mush, Berkri, Arjēsh and Van, from Artskē, Erzuka and Derjan, from Baberd, Erzurum and Sper, from Basen, from Kağizman and Shirakawan, from the separate towns in the *gawars* of Ararat, from Alashkert, from Maku, from Khoy, [451] from Salmas, Urmiye, and many other regions. Shah 'Abbās I had ordered to gather all of them and had driven them to the city of Isfahan. They settled in the center of the town, in the quarters called T'orosakan (T'orskan) and Shkhshaban (Sheikh-Shabān). In the same manner, Shah 'Abbās the Great had removed the Armenians—the natives of Erevan—from Erevan, had driven

¹ The entire episode seems to have been an excuse to tighten the reins of the Safavid administration; see Daneghyan, 161-199; Zak'aria of Agulis dates the banning of wine as having occurred in 1653, *Journal*, 51-52.

² Absent from A and D.

³ The Gabrabad quarter was populated by the Zoroastrians (*Gabr*); see below.

them to the city of Isfahan, had settled them in the center of the town, and had mixed them with the Muslims in the quarters called T'aght'igharaj (Takht-e Gharāja) and Baghat' (Baghāt).

During the period of the reign of Shah 'Abbās II, after the eviction of the Dashtis, the Erevanis and the Sheikh-Shabānis began to be evicted [as well]. The *e'temād al-dowleh* summoned the elder of the Erevanis, named Hakobjan, and other men and informed them of the shah's decree, stating, "You have to leave the center of town and resettle on its outskirts." He promised a great deal of kindness and spoke very gently with the Erevanis. Although some of the Armenians agreed, others, stubborn and rude men, did not agree. They began to resist and contradict [him]. They raised a commotion, cursed, and started riots, which in the long run caused them harm. Together they all gathered along the king's route and, when the king approached, they began to complain to him. This behavior displeased the king a great deal. He considered it burdensome and became angry and infuriated with the Armenians. Since the king was enraged at the [452] Armenians, the Muslims became aroused, took heart, and, like lions, began to forcibly expel the Armenians. The *e'temād al-dowleh* appointed notables with troops over the Armenian inhabitants, so that they would not be lenient in giving them time and evict them gradually, but would rush them without mercy and harshly and forcibly evict them from the center of the city.

The Armenians then fell into despair, for they had no hope of receiving shelter or sanctuary from the king or the notables, who were all angry with them. The grandees and the soldiers oppressed them heavily and forced them to leave the city. Thus, after repeated blows to their heads, the Armenians abandoned their natural arrogance, inherent from birth, and, summoning all their wisdom and good sense, began to humbly ask the notables [for help]. They wrote an *arza*,¹ presented it to the *e'temād al-dowleh*, and asked him not to oppress them any longer; to deign and allow them time to resettle gradually. Their words pleased the *e'temād al-dowleh* and he ordered that it be so. Then the troops in charge of evicting the Armenians left them alone.

After that, the shah, the *e'temād al-dowleh*, and other *nakharars* conferred, and condescended to give the Armenians a place to inhabit on the other side of the river, near the Julfans. The layout of Isfahan is as follows: A large river, flowing from the west to the east,

¹ From the Arabic 'arż (petition, presentation).

runs through the city; the city, all the Muslims, the king's palace, the shopping arcades, and everything else that [453] has to do with the city, are all situated north of the river. The Julfans had settled on the south side, on the other side of the river, separately and isolated from other people. The place, which the shah now wanted to give to the Armenians who had been evicted from the city, was deigned to be not far from the Julfans, next to them, by the banks of the river. Everyone liked this idea: the king, the notables, the Armenians, and all others who heard it. Then, by the king's order, the *e'temād al-dowleh* dispatched land surveyors, to measure the land and to hand it over to the people, who would then divide it among themselves: each according to the number of souls [in their household]. The Erevanis, the Dashtis, and others, who were driven out from all over [the city] en masse, began to construct homes for themselves. They settled here and lived together in this place.

Thus the manner and the cause of the eviction of Christians from the center of the city was the use of wine. This occurred just as I have written. But, in the beginning, when the Christians were evicted from the city, they had a hard time, for they thought it would be difficult to leave their homes. However, now they are very content and thank God, for it was God's Providence that this was done to the Christians. There are many reasons for the gratitude of the Christians. First, because there, in the city, the Christians and Muslims lived together; some Christians, who were not very religious, constantly seeing the lax, down-sliding¹ and obsequious faith of the Muslims, and [454] incessantly hearing the preaching and stories about their religion, weakened in their Christian faith until they finally turned away from Christianity toward Islam and became Muslims. Second, if the sons of the Christians became enamored with the daughters of the Muslims, or the sons of the Muslims liked the daughters of the Christians, the Muslims would continuously, secretly and quietly talk to the daughters and sons of the Christians until *all*² their will would weaken and they would turn to the Muslim faith. I saw, with my own eyes, many [boys and girls], who left and went to the homes of Muslims. Although the Christians tried a great deal to get them out of there, nothing came out of it and they did not give up [their new faith]. Third, there, in the center of the city, the

¹ F reads *vayrahas* (reaches down), A, B, D, and E read *vayrasah*. (down-sliding).

² Absent from A.

Christians were cramped and uncomfortable; there was not enough water, and the lack of water made them suffer deprivation.¹ Here, in the new place, they had space and freedom to move; here *they built*² sumptuous and beautiful homes, spacious and large, with different ornamentations, with high ceilings, with summer wings, restful verandas in front, parks, flower gardens, and fruit trees. Fourth, those who resettled here were separated from the snake-like Muslim people, who constantly wounded, deceived, and did not give peace to the Christians. Now, all the Christians have gathered here; they live together and thank the Lord, whose glory is eternal through the ages! Amen.

It is necessary to record that when they began [455] to evict the Christians from the city and drove out the Dashtis, it was the year 1104 (1655) of our *Armenian*³ calendar. In the year 1105 (1656), they evicted the Erevanis, who came from the center of the city and arrived in the new place, where they built houses. No Christians remained in the city, for they all gathered in the new place allotted for them. Presently, as I am writing this history, it is the year 1108 (1659).

Another History of the Previous Events

As I have written in many places, I now repeat that the great Shah 'Abbās I did not remove the Armenians from the land of Azarbaijan to Persia once, twice, or thrice, but many times. In the year 1067 (1618) of our calendar, the abovementioned king, Shah 'Abbās I, once again ordered that all the Armenian population from the land of Azarbaijan be removed and driven to Persia.

By this order, his notables marched with a great army and went to the city of Erevan and its *gawars*, to Ganje *and its gawars*, to⁴ Tabriz and its *gawars*, and to Ardabil and its *gawars*. They began to seek and ask the Armenians, who the original and hereditary inhabitants of those places were, who were not, and from what land they had come and gathered there. The indigenous people were left alone, but the names of the immigrants were all recorded [456] in lists. Chiefs

¹ Arak'el seems to contradict himself here, for earlier he mentions the abundance of water in this quarter. It is also possible that, unlike the Dashtis, the Erevanis lived in a district with less water.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Absent from F.

and overseers, called *meliks*, from among the Armenians were appointed over them. Entrusting the entire population to them, they ordered them to find and to bring back anyone on the lists who had somehow escaped. If they could not find them, the *meliks* would have to answer to the shah and face death. In this manner they removed everyone from their homes and drove them to Persia.

They separated all the stonemasons and drove them to the city of Isfahan, for their profession was very useful in constructing the shah's palaces and for the Persians in general. They were settled there, in Isfahan.

All the rest were removed and driven to the city of Farahabad. There, some were settled in the town, others in the villages. They [Armenians] did not stay there and did not increase in numbers. Due to the severe, fetid and unhealthy climate, to which they were unaccustomed, their numbers were reduced daily. They dispersed until they disappeared completely from there. Although many wanted to flee, they could not, for the road guards, who are called *rahdars*, were ordered by the shah to let everyone who wished to enter the land of Farahabad, but not to permit anyone to leave *the land*.¹ If anyone had secretly left, they were to be apprehended and executed. Therefore, no one could flee. The Armenians who were there died and perished. There were more than 10,000 households brought there and today barely 400 households remain.² Today, if a Christian has to travel for an urgent matter or for anything else, he has to appear before the chief of the city and ask for written permission [457] to the *rahdar* so that they will not hinder him and not send him back. *Without the writ they will not permit him to leave*.³ The city chief first takes someone as security [hostage], then hands the traveler the writ, and only then can he go on his way.

The stonemasons, who were sent to the city of Isfahan, were settled in the southern part of the city, on the other side of the river, where the *Gawr (Gabr)*⁴ people lived. They *now also*⁵ mixed the stonemasons among them as neighbors.

¹ Ibid.

² On the above numbers, see Daneghyan, 103-106.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ Refers to the *Gabr*, the Zoroastrian Persians, who were settled in this quarter.

⁵ Absent from A and D.

Now, in the year 1108 (1659) of the Armenian calendar, *on the 16th day*¹ of the month of May, Shah 'Abbās II ordered the Armenians, and with them the Gabr people, to leave there and to resettle in the place where the Erevanis, Sheikh-Shabānis, and Dashtis had settled, for all non-Persians and non-Muslims were separated from the Muslims, so that the Muslims would live apart from them and would be purified. That is why the Armenians and *Gabr* gathered from there and resettled near the above-mentioned Christians.

As to the account of the *Gabr* people, if anyone asks, it is this: just as the great Shah 'Abbās I, the consummate disciple of Satan, had driven the Armenians from the land of Azarbaijan to Persia, he also drove the Gabr people from their native lands, from Kerman, and Yazd, *and from*² Shiraz, and other places *and had resettled them*³ in Isfahan, which had been razed to the ground.⁴ He filled it with them, rebuilt it, [458] and turned Isfahan into a populous city.

In this manner the *Gabr* came to Isfahan and settled down there. Now they have evicted them as well from their homes; they have driven them out and settled them near the Armenians, in close proximity to them. *This is what happened.*⁵

¹ Absent from B, C, D, E, and F.

² Absent from F.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ Refers to the various invasions and devastations of the city by Timur and Jahan Shah Qara Qoyunlu in the 14th and 15th centuries.

⁵ Absent from A and D.

Chapter 34

The history of the Jews, who lived in the city of Isfahan, as well as other Jews, who lived under the dominion of the Persian kings. The reason they were forced to renounce their faith and accept the Muslim faith¹

After the expulsion of the Armenians from the center of the city of Isfahan, it was decided to expel the Jews as well.² One day, during the time of the reign of the same Shah 'Abbās II, in the year 1106 (1657) of the Armenian calendar—this occurred on Friday evening, on the eve of Saturday (Sabbath)—the same *e'temād al-dowleh*, named Moḥammad Beg, who had evicted the Armenians from the center of the city of Isfahan, and now wished to expel the Jews, armed the troops and sent them against the Jewish people, who are the *Jhud*, saying, "All you Jews have to go from here, the center of the city. You have to move across the city lines and resettle somewhere else in the environs of the city. This is because you [459] do not believe in Muhammad and are impure people. Leave our city and live outside the city borders, for this is the order of the sovereign concerning you."

The Jews presented a petition to him, stating, "Since this is the wish of the sovereign concerning us, we regard the sovereign's order highly and shall unquestionably carry it out. We only ask your indulgence for three days, so that together with our sons, daughters, possessions and goods, we can gather up and go. Especially since you see that the day is ending and evening is setting; we have many sick and infirm people, old men and young children, who cannot move now, at night. That is why we ask you for a three-day respite."

But the soldiers who had come did not give them a respite to stay [even for] for the next day; they demanded that they not linger but gather up quickly that same evening, for it was the order of the *e'temād al-dowleh* that they, without delay and without indulgence, not waiting for the next morning but that same evening and that

¹ This chapter, as well as Chapter 57, were translated into Russian by Kh. Kuchuk Ioannesov, "Armianskaia letopis' o evreiakh v Persii XVII v. i o messii Sabatae-Tsevi," *Evreiskaia starina*, X (Petrograd, 1918).

² The Jewish community of Isfahan was very old and had been there prior to the Arab invasion. See W. Fischel, "Isfahan, the Story of a Jewish Community in Persia," *Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York, 1953), 111-128.

night, be expelled with their families. If anyone remained the next day, they were to be caned, arrested and tortured, because they did not pay heed to the *e'temād al-dowleh's* order and did not leave.

The *e'temād al-dowleh* behaved in such a manner with the Jews, so that the Jews would deny their Sabbath, to which they held on in vain and to violate it.

The troops of the *e'temād al-dowleh*, who had arrived to evict the Jews, tortured them, began to hit and wound them with swords and clubs, and forcibly drove out all the Jews from their abodes. They scattered their goods and chattels and destroyed their hearths. The Jews screamed and cried, [460] wailed loudly and lamented. They took by the hand their sons and daughters, threw the bedding and clothing on their backs, and exited their homes at night, at an unusual hour, and circled around the Muslim households, squares and streets. There was no one to take pity on them.

After that, the Jews left the city and went to [New] Julfa and Gabrabad. But they did not find shelter there either, for some troops, sent by the *e'temād al-dowleh*, had gone there and had ordered the Julfans and the Gabrabadis not to give them refuge, which is why they did not. The entire Jewish people remained without a shelter.

A great misfortune and sorrow descended on them, for it was a cold autumn and near the start of winter. The cold weather greatly exasperated them and wore them down, for they lived under the open sky, without a roof. There were many unfortunate men and women among them. *There were old and senile, emaciated and weak, completely sick and ailing, with weak bodies and lacking the strength to move. There were many young mothers with infants in their hands and pregnant women with heavy legs. The lewd, disgusting, debauched and doglike Persian men said repulsive and filthy words to the attractive young girls and boys, adding to their great shame and misery.*¹ Other² Muslims, walking along, cursed them, displayed their contempt and disdain, and added to the misery of these unfortunate people.

[461] Realizing that he could not *convert them to*³ Islam voluntarily, the *e'temād al-dowleh* decided to forcibly convert them to Islam. With this in mind, he ordered the Muslim citizens, and especially the soldiers, to seize all the Jews, wherever there were, and to bring

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Absent from A.

³ Absent from F.

them to the *dīvān* of the *e'temād al-dowleh*. Every Muslim, no matter where he met a Jew, seized him and dragged him to the presence of the *e'temād al-dowleh*. At first, the latter gently spoke with them and said, "Come, you people, renounce your false faith! Accept the Creator and the Lord, God of the earth and sky, and become our brothers."

The Jews replied, "We accept and bow to the Lord and the God of the earth and sky, but we do not wish to become your brothers and shall not renounce our faith, for our faith is true and was given to us by God. You yourself know well that God gave it to us through the mediation of the prophet Moses."¹

The *e'temād al-dowleh* said, "If you turn to our faith, you shall not only become our beloved brothers, but shall receive many treasures, gifts and honors."

One of the Jews, named Hovsēp' (Joseph), replied to the words [of the *e'temād al-dowleh*], saying, "When farmers of our land come to us to buy excrement for their gardens, we first take the money for the excrement and then hand the excrement to them. You cast your religion to us and put money and gifts on top of it." This is what the man named Joseph said, so that the *e'temād al-dowleh* would get angry and kill him. The other Jews said the same, "Kill us all, for it is better for all of us to die than to accept your faith."

[462] The *e'temād al-dowleh* said, "I know that you utter these disgraceful words so that I shall get angry with you and kill you. But know this: I shall not kill any of you; instead, I shall torment you with refined and extensive tortures for such a long time that you shall eventually despair and accept our faith."

The Jewish men then had a council and presented a petition to the *e'temād al-dowleh*, asking that a place of settlement be allocated to them. They said, "Give us a place, just like you gave the Armenians, whom you evicted from the center of the city and permitted to resettle in another place. A land, located somewhere outside the city, where we can settle and live in peace. There we shall gradually build living quarters for each one of us, leave this city, gather there and live there."

The *e'temād al-dowleh*, in agreement with other wealthy Persian notables, ordered that a place, called Gozaldara, near Musalas Imam, far from the city, be given to them. The land was unsuitable and unfertile: first of all, it was situated far from the city; second, there was

¹ Refers to the various *surah* of the *Qur'ān*, for example *Surah XVII*.

no water in that place, and when they tried to bring water from far away [through a canal], it did not reach there due to the distance. When they dug a well, it was dry, for the place was hilly and stony. They [the Persians] designated this unsuitable place, so that here too the Jews would find themselves in a hopeless and uncertain situation, in order for them not to be able to settle there, but to remain in the open.

After that, the *e'temād al-dowleh* planned to gradually torture [463] the Jews. From olden days and times immemorial, there was, at the edge of the city, far from people and buildings, a place enclosed with a high fence and with gates. Inside the fence there was nothing, no homes or living quarters, just an empty fenced-in space.

The *e'temād al-dowleh* ordered his officers to appoint one soldier as a torturer for each two Jews, to seize all the Jews, tie them up, and drive them into that enclosure. They were to pour water on the ground, *to tie the hands of the Jews behind their backs, remove the bottom of their breeches, lift up the hem of their clothes and sit them down on the ground.*¹ This was during the cold autumnal season; the ground, which was soaked with the water, became covered in ice. The unfortunate Jews sat on the isolated ground, while the Persian soldiers stood above them and beat them. The Jews remained there for three days and three nights, hungry and with empty stomachs, for no one offered them any food. Their relatives came, stood on the other side of the fence, and threw over it the bread they had brought, so that they would have something to eat. But the soldiers took even this, ate it themselves, and did not give it to the Jews. *They thus remained hungry for three days,*² until the *e'temād al-dowleh* ordered that they be taken out of there, brought to the city, and thrown into dungeons.

[464] The *e'temād al-dowleh* asked the leader and head of his faith, whom they called *sadr*,³ about the Jews, saying, "No matter how much we try, they do not freely accept our religion. Can we convert them by force or not?" The *ṣadr* replied, "Our religion does not prescribe the forceful conversion of anyone." The *e'temād al-dowleh* asked again, "What can we do then?" The *sadr* replied, "This is not my concern, do as you wish."

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Absent from A.

³ From the Arabic *ṣadr* (chief); in this case, the chief judge of the *Shari'a* court.

After that, the *e'temād al-dowleh* summoned the Jews again and advised them to submit and to accept the Muslim faith. He added, "Anyone who accepts our faith shall receive two *tumāns*, he shall be relieved from torture, and shall remain peacefully in his own home [in the city]. Anyone who turns to our religion first shall have authority and a post."

There were, among the Jews, men who were not very firm in their faith; the crooked path of stealing, debauchery, and similar evil behavior seduced them. They contemplated the acceptance of the faith of Muhammad. Witnessing everything, the suffering of the Jews, as well as the admonition of the e'temād al-dowleh, one of them, not a firm believer,¹ a man named Awatia, already an unbeliever and an impious person, came before anyone else, stood before the e'temād al-dowleh and agreed to renounce Judaism and accept the Muslim faith. His words gave great joy and satisfaction to the e'temād al-dowleh. As evidence of his hypocrisy, he lifted him up and treated him with affection. He called him his adopted brother and, removing all of his own attire, [465] he dressed him [Awatia]; he even took off the rings from his fingers and put them on his [Awatia's] fingers. In addition, he gave him many items, and thus he bound him firmly to himself.

The apostate Awatia became an advisor to the Persian rulers and said, "Do not keep the Jewish men together in groups. Do not bring them to trial in groups of four or five, for they encourage each other and strengthen their will. Bring them one, two, or three at a time and force them to convert, for they shall not do so voluntarily." He added, "First, seize their *k'ahana*, whom they call the *khakham* (*hakham*).² Work him over well, bribe him with gifts, threaten him with torture, maybe he will convert; for if he turns, all the others will do as well." *The impious and apostate*³ Awatia taught them many tricks of a similar nature. Following his advice, the Persians did not delay; they began to seek and found the *hakham*, who was named Sayit. They brought him to the *e'temād al-dowleh*, who said, "Listen to me and carry out the will of the sovereign: accept our Muslim faith and you shall receive numerous gifts and good will from me." But the *hakham* did not agree and refused. The notables spoke with the *hakham* for a long time, but could not bend him. He asked per-

¹ Absent from A.

² *Hakham* is the Sephardi honorific for a rabbi.

³ Absent from A and D.

mission to return to his home and the notables permitted him to do so. But Awatia, the apostate, interfered again and convinced the notables not to let him go home, but to keep him at their side. The notables did so. On the next day, they once again brought him to the office and, in the same words, ordered him to convert to the Muslim faith. The *hakham* did not agree this time either. [466] The affair ended the same way on the third day. On the fourth day, after long talks with the *hakham*, they pronounced the following sentence: If he did not convert to Islam, they would slit open his stomach, put him on a camel and take him around the city; they would also plunder his and his family's possessions. Having pronounced the sentence, they immediately brought a camel, put the *hakham* on it, executioners appeared, exposed his stomach, took out their blades, and demanded that he renounce Judaism; otherwise they threatened to rip open his stomach. The *hakham*, fearing death, as well as pitying his family, renounced it. They compelled him to accept their faith and turned him to their Muslim religion. The Muslims became indescribably overjoyed.

Having turned the *hakham* to their faith, they now brought Jewish men, one or two at a time, to the office and said, "What can you say now? Your own *hakham* has accepted our religion. Why do you still resist stubbornly?" But the Jews did not acquiesce. Therefore the notables ordered the soldiers to take the Jews [back] to the dungeon and bring them back within the hour. They continued to take them back and forth many times. While they were moving them back and forth, soldiers, slaves, and servants of the notables spat on them, cursed, hit, and slapped them, threw them to the ground, dragged them by their feet to face the notables and the *e'temād al-dowleh* and mandated that they accept the faith of Muhammad. The Jews, fearing torture, accepted against their will. After the conversion, the Persians brought new *kapas*¹ and put them on the newly converted [Jews]. They gave each man two *tumāns* [467] in cash from the state treasury and then permitted them to return to their homes. Those who did not renounce their faith were returned to the dungeons and remained there. After that they brought them out twice, thrice, and many more times, placed them in front of the [*e'temād al-dowleh*] and forced them to convert. In this fashion they converted all the jailed men and

¹ From the Persian *qaba*.

turned them to *the false teaching of*¹ Muhammad. Within a month they turned 350 men to the faith of Muhammad.

After this, the Jews appeared even weaker to the Persians, for half of them had converted to the religion of the Persians. The Persians became even bolder against the Jews and did not allow them to live in peace; they seized them, brought them out [of the dungeon] day after day to the *e'temād al-dowleh* and forced them to convert to Islam.

The Persians thus haunted the Jews for a long time and pressured them in order to convert them; the Persians did not compromise on anything until they had converted to Islam the entire Jewish population that lived in the city of Isfahan. There were not many Jews who lived in the city of Isfahan, some 300 households and no more.

Having concluded this, [the Persians] appointed a Muslim mullah, in order for him to instruct them [the Jews] in the Muslim faith; to continuously take them to the Persian house of prayer; to pray in Persian; and to teach their children the Muslim scriptures and faith. They also ordered that Jews marry their daughters to Muslims and take Muslim girls as their own wives. In addition [they ordered that the Jews] not fetch animals for their ritual slaughter, as they had done in the past, but to buy the [kosher/*hallāl*] meat from Muslim butchers. [468] The Persians placed many similar regulations upon the Jews.

After that, the mullah, who was appointed over them, constantly gathered them and they would go together to the mosque.² The Jews, in order to please the Persians, prayed for a few days because they pretended to have accepted the faith of Muhammad. They went [to the mosque] for several days, then gradually receded, and soon stopped. When their appointed mullah asked the Jews, "Why don't you attend prayers?" The Jews gave this or that excuse. The mullah warned them, but they did not pay heed. The mullah then went to the Muslim dignitaries and reported, "the Jews have not converted to our faith." The Jews also complained about the mullah, saying, "He wants to receive bribes from us. That is why he is tormenting us in this manner. We do not give him bribes, that is why he slanders us." The Jews registered so many such false accusations and machinations that the Persian notables and the mullah were fed up and let

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Text reads *mach'it'*, from the Arabic *masjid* (mosque).

*them alone. It became clear to all the Persians that the Jews did not wish to accept the faith of Muhammad.*¹

There were also Jews who did not go to the Persian mosque, did not even approach it; they did not buy meat in the market, but only killed a sheep at home, or did without meat for many days at a time. From time to time, fearing informers and Persians, some of the Jews would go to [469] the market and buy meat from Persian butchers. They would, in front of everyone, boldly and openly, bring it home, ostensibly to eat it, but in reality they did not eat it and secretly threw it to the dogs. The Jews did many such things; this clearly demonstrated that the Jews did not wish to renounce Judaism.

*The impious renegade*² Awatia, and his insidious companions, who had renounced their faith, were happy with their newly acquired faith, the religion of Muhammad, and strictly observed it. Therefore, they mingled among the Jews, to observe, to inquire, and to discover who had voluntarily turned to Muhammad's religion and who had not and was still secretly following the Jewish faith. Because of this, they caused great trouble for the Jews, some of it serious, some trivial. They would seize the Jews, harass, curse, insult them, and inquire, "Why do you not go to the mosque to pray, but go to the Jewish prayer house?" To some they said, "You send your son to be taught by the *hakham* and not by the mullah." To others they said, "You do not buy meat at the market, but slaughter it at home." The apostates did many such things to the Jews. The Jews, fearing the Persians, barely managed to save themselves [from the apostates] through numerous pleas and bribes.

*Moreover, these renegades were responsible for the Persians taking the daughters of three Jews as their wives; [470] for they mentioned these girls to the Persians, praised them greatly, and encouraged the Persians to marry them. In addition, because of their vindictive feelings, they forced the parents of these girls to give them as wives to the Persians. The Jews did not wish to hand them over to the Persians. The parents of the girls resorted to various guiles to spare them, but could not do anything, and the Persians married the girls.*³

The Jews were deeply wounded by the acts of the apostates, grieved a great deal, and were filled with rage and frenzy. They

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

firmly decided among themselves to kill the renegades, first among them Awatia, for he was the most dangerous.

There was a man among the Jews, a zealous avenger of the Jewish faith, who was named P'inhas. He was a strict adherent of the faith of his forefathers, and deep in his heart he wished to kill Awatia. He thought about it and found three other Jews, accomplices and friends, to kill the impious Awatia. One of them was named Isahak (Isaac), the second, Masih, and the third, Yuda (Judah).¹ These four agreed and firmly swore to kill Awatia at an opportune moment.

Thanks to God's intervention, the following event occurred: Awatia, according to his custom, visited the homes of the Jews to watch and to report. He met a Jewish k'ahana, whom they call ḥakham, and blamed him, saying, "It is you who does not let the Jews become [471] Muslims. You go to their homes, instruct them, exhort them to remain faithful Jews, and perform ritual killing of animals in their homes." Although the ḥakham denied this, swore, and proved in every way possible [that he did not do this], he could not manage to get rid of him. Awatia said, "If you are telling the truth and you do not slaughter animals, then why do you keep the knife for ritual killings on you? Bring it and hand it to me." The blade for the ritual killings, demanded by Awatia, was not a common knife that everyone had, but was totally different. It was large, long, and very sharp; so that in one cut, just as one touched the neck of the sheep, it would cut the head off completely—if not in one move, it would do so after two cuts, and not more. For if it was repeated thrice, then the sacrifice was not acceptable [by the Jews]. This blade is prepared especially for ritual killings, and the k'ahana, and no one else, keeps it with him for that purpose. That is why Awatia told the k'ahana, "Give me the knife used for the sacrifice." The ḥakham, not able to get rid of him, gave him the knife for the ritual slaughter. Awatia took the blade, placed it in his belt, left the ḥakham, went into the street where P'inhas' house was, and reached the door. It so happened that P'inhas was leaving his home at that moment and met Awatia. They greeted each other and asked about each other's health. P'inhas cunningly and subtly pretended to be Awatia's friend and admirer. He sincerely and graciously pressed him and invited him to his house to entertain him. Awatia went into P'inhas' house. P'inhas' three companions [472] and accomplices—Isaac, Masih, and Judah—also arrived.

¹ The Persian pronunciation is Eshāq, Masīḥ, and Yahudā.

They brought out a table and placed food and wine on it. Since it was spring and there were cucumbers on the table, P'inhas asked his mother for a knife to peel the cucumbers. His mother, knowing that the son was asking for a knife to kill Awatia, did not get it, pretending that there was no knife in the house. P'inhas asked his mother twice and thrice, but she did not get it.¹

Then, Awatia took out the blade in his possession, given to him by the k'ahana, handed it to P'inhas and said,² "Here is a knife, take it and peel [the cucumbers]." P'inhas took the knife, got up immediately, with his left hand grabbed Awatia by his beard, and said, "You are the one who renounced the faith given by God to Moses and have forced the children of Israel to do the same!" Although Awatia wailed loudly, P'inhas did not pay heed, and with the same knife cut Awatia's head off and cast it aside with the help of his three friends.³

After⁴ the impious Awatia perished,⁵ the four men conferred on how⁶ to dispose of his unclean corpse without leaving a trace. Although they talked for a long time about various solutions, they could not agree unanimously. Finally the four agreed on the following: During the night, at midnight, they placed the corpse of the impious Awatia on their shoulders, took it further away from their homes, and threw it somewhere in the middle of the street. Then they disappeared.

I inquired of many Jews about this, asking, [473] "Why did you behave in such a careless and absurd manner? Instead of secretly destroying the corpse somewhere after the murder, you took it and threw it in the middle of the street." They all replied, "There is a custom among the Jews that when a man dies, it is imperative that his wife be aware of her husband's death. If her husband dies in a faraway land, it is mandatory that an eyewitness come and testify to the death of the husband, or that his death be confirmed by a letter informing her of her husband's death. Then the law will permit the woman to marry another man; otherwise the woman cannot marry, [but] has to remain a widow, vulnerable and hapless, and suffer until the day of her death. The four men, pitying Awatia's wife, threw

¹ Absent from A and D.

² The words "and said" are absent from A and F.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. Text uses *satakman* for perished; the term is used primarily for the death of animals or evil people, similar to the slang term "croaked."

⁶ Absent from F.

his corpse into the street, so that his wife would see it, and have permission to marry someone else.¹

In the morning, at sunrise, after that night when the corpse of the impious Awatia was thrown into the street, many people gathered around the corpse and recognized him. They informed the Jews and the kinsmen of the dead man, who gathered around, and indignantly and with loud cries demanded to find out who had done this. Awatia's mother and wife immediately went to the court of the e'temād al-dowleh, and tearfully, groaningly, and sobbingly told him, "They have killed your brother Awatia." They also went to the king's divan-beg,² and informed him as well. The e'temād al-dowleh and the divan-beg immediately ordered many troops to go right away to the Jewish quarter, to homes, to the streets, [474] to the market, and wherever they met Jewish men, to seize them, tie them up, and bring them in front of the divan-beg. The soldiers immediately carried out the order. Awatia's corpse was removed from the street by the order of the state officials. It was taken and thrown in the middle of the big city meydan (square).³

After that, they began to bring the Jewish men, three or four at a time, to that spot and asked, "Who is the killer?" The Jews unanimously replied, "We do not know." Although they asked many, they could not reveal the secret.⁴

They found it out in this manner: There lived a Jewish man, named Sasoon. He had a great deal of income and property. Sasun was the brother of the mother of the renegade and [the uncle] of the dead Awatia. He, however, had not renounced [his faith]. As long as Awatia was alive and had already renounced [Judaism], he continuously boasted to his uncle Sasoon, "Since I have become a Muslim, all your property and income shall come to me. I shall take it from you by the Persian law and court."⁵ Sasoon, hearing these words, was very frightened. He continuously gave him food and drinks, handed him expensive gifts and silver, [in essence] bribed him and satisfied his appetite, so that he would not do in deed what he threatened to do in words. His days passed in this manner. Thus, during the days and hours that they searched and could not find Awatia's killer, they suspected and seized Sasoon. A throng of men gathered around him

¹ Absent from A and D.

² The head of the *dīvān*.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Refers to the Imam Ja'fari law; see Chapter 5.

and said, "You killed Awatia so that he would not take your goods." Although Sasoon tried to persuade them, prove otherwise, and swore for a long time, he could not convince them [of his innocence]. Hence, realizing the hopelessness of the situation, [475] Sasoon, together with his friends, began to seek the killer among the Jews themselves, and inquired from whomever he met. During these inquiries, Sasoon met one of P'inhas' friends and with sorrowful pleas asked him, swearing to God that he would not tell anyone, a way to save himself from his predicament. He said, "If they grab me, they will administer a large fine and appropriate many goods, for I am very wealthy. From you they will take only the customary fine. I shall give you whatever sum they fine you. I beg you to help me resolve this matter." Sasoon pleaded and asked convincingly for a long time, until the man softened and told Sasoon about the killing of the impious Awatia. Sasoon, in order to save himself, informed the Persians of everything. The Persians immediately seized P'inhas' three companions, who together with P'inhas, had killed Awatia. No matter how much they tried, however, they could not find P'inhas, for, on the same night when they had thrown Awatia's corpse into the street, he left the city at sunrise and fled—he went to a faraway land never to return. That is why they could not find him.¹

After that, the divan-beg held court and they brought the three killers of Awatia to his presence. He began to inquire from them about the murder. They confessed that they had committed it. Therefore, the divan-beg pronounced the sentence: he ordered that the three murderers be taken to the big meydan and there, by the corpse of Awatia, all three be executed and their bodies thrown next to his. It was done so.²

When the divan-beg sat in trial [476] in order to judge the murderers, present together with killers were all the Jewish men who were jailed by the Persians. Their hands were tied behind their backs and the Persian warriors guarded them. The executioners, warriors, soldiers, and the Persian commanders, as well as almost all the Persian population, gathered there. They resembled not a flock of starlings, but raindrops and sand in the desert—countless. They gathered at the door of the court and there was not enough room for those who had gathered. When the divan-beg ordered them to take the three men and to execute them, the throng of the Persian

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Ibid.

Muslims, executioners and soldiers, nobles and common folk approached the Jews who were present, gave them blows, hit them over the head with [the flat end of] their swords, clubs, hilt of their sabers, and butts of their muskets. They threw them to the ground, dragged them, pushed them under water, pulled them out and beat them again. They tortured the poor Jews so much that I cannot enumerate or describe it. They took the three men, the killers of Awatia, to the big meydan and killed them near the corpse of the impious Awatia. After the execution of the three men, the Persians themselves were fed up with all of this, with what they had done. They cast aside the remaining Jews and left. The corpses of the dead men remained there, in the middle of the meydan, for three days. After three days, by the order of the Persian officials, they took them away from there and buried [them].¹

After that, the Persians did not say anything or do anything to the Jews. They did not demand taxes for the treasury or other obligations to the state. They considered them as Persians, as those who had accepted the religion of Muhammad. That is why they let the Jews live as they wished. Although the Persians knew [477] that the Jews had not accepted the religion of Muhammad, they temporarily left everything as it was.

The Jews, in their gatherings and amongst themselves, followed and professed the Jewish religion and not Islam. They said, "We put aside, year after year, the required taxes for the treasury in a box and keep it safe, so that the moment they [the Persians] demand it, we can pay it and be saved." They also said, "We have also kept the two *tumāns* which they gave us on the day of our renouncement. We continuously add the annual interest to it, so that when they ask we shall hand it to them and be rid of it." Up to the present year, in which I write this history, and that is the year 1109 (1660) of our calendar, the 10th day of the month of March, the Persians and the Jews continue to live as I have recorded. Only God knows the future!

It is important to note that when the Jews of the city of Isfahan, willingly or unwillingly, turned to the religion of Muhammad, the *e'temād al-dowleh* obtained a decree from the king and dispatched it to all the provinces of the Persian government, to the governors of

¹ Absent from A and D.

those regions, informing them that the Jews, wherever they lived, in villages or in cities, all had to give up their Jewish religion and accept the faith of Muhammad. Whoever voluntarily submitted to the decree was to be left in peace; the state officials had to forcibly and with torture convert those who refused to the faith of the impious man of the desert. The moment the decree of the [478] governors arrived, speedily, like a blaze touching a thin reed, they would assemble all the Jews and would force them to carry out the king's decree. But the Jews, no matter where they lived, did not wish to accept Muhammad's religion. They escaped it, some through bribes, some through flight, and others by other means, by feigning outwardly that they had accepted Muhammad's faith. Although they pretended in front of the Persians to be Muslims, they were not and secretly kept their Jewish faith.

Among the Jews who lived in Persian cities, the following, who had no way out, outwardly accepted the religion of the Persians: the citizens of Kashan, Ghum (Qom), Tabriz, Ardabil, Qazvin, Lar, Shiraz, and Bandarik'um. Those who did not accept the religion of the Persians, through bribes, flight, or openly rejecting it, were [the Jews of]: Gulp'ek'an (Golpayegan), Khunsar, Bandar ['Abbās], Shushtar, Hamadan, Yazd, Kerman, Khorasan, Dumavand, Astarabad, the Gilan province, and the villages of Farahabad.

The Jews, who resided in the town of Farahabad, rose openly against the order of the king and did not accept Islam. The moment the notable appointed over them, named Mirza Sadgh (Şādeq), heard that the Jews of Isfahan had become Muslims, he went after the Jews who lived in the town of Farahabad and began to forcibly convert them to Islam. The notable did this even before the arrival of the king's decree. [479] But the Jews, enraged at his harassments, told him to his face, "The king has not ordered you to do this. Why are you torturing us?" After these words, the governor reduced his demands somewhat, but kept a deep hatred in his heart and waited until the arrival of the king's decree. The governor then summoned the Jews and said, "What can you say now? Here it is, the decree with the king's order. Go, therefore, and carry out the king's decree—accept Muhammad's faith."

But the Jews openly and boldly refused, and said, "We shall not accept Muhammad's religion and shall not give up the faith of our fathers. Do with us as you wish."

The governor subjected them to torture for a long time. Several times they were hitched up on the gallows, [and] they were beaten

with cudgels until they lost consciousness. They were shoved under water, brought out, and beaten with clubs again. Soldiers were sent to their homes to loot their belongings and to defame their wives. The troops, with great zeal and impunity, subjected their wives, sons and daughters [to such infamy]. These Jews were wealthy and had large incomes. Many of them owned stores, that is *duk'ans*,¹ in the market and sold expensive *kumash*² and silver vessels. Therefore, the governor ordered the Muslims to plunder all the goods in the Jewish stores and they were immediately looted. *The goods in these stores were not just adequate, but plenty.*³

[480] More than 100 Jewish men were taken under guard. They placed heavy and long iron chains on their necks and they were, one by one, bound together with that single chain. They were continually brought to the palace of the governor to be judged and taken back to jail, where they kept them locked up.

This continued for three or four months. The governor himself was tired of all the torments to which he subjected the Jews. He then ordered that, since they did wish to renounce Judaism, they had to wear a distinct sign, so that anyone who saw them would know that they were Jews. The Jews gladly accepted this order. *However, the king, in order to mock them, ordered that they put copper bells, pieces of metal, and copper, handles of ladles and cups from which they drank water on a cord, and fasten it all on the neck of the Jewish men. The Jews had to walk in the streets, squares, market, and everywhere else with this sign. Any Jew who did not wear this sign would be subject to punishment, imprisonment and fine. All the Jews did this: they put what the governor had ordered on their necks and went everywhere in this manner.*⁴

The Jews suffered many other torments and oppression, so much so that their torturers, the Persians, were fed up tormenting them and they left them in peace and ceased their oppression. In this manner they were relieved and remain to this day in their native Jewish faith. Only God, whose glory is eternal, knows what will happen in the future. Amen.

¹ From the Arabic *dukkān* (store).

² From *komash* or *qomash*, also called *burmet*, a glazed red cotton material of various quality; the best was thick and was produced in Isfahan. See W. Floor, *The Persian Textile Industry*, 166.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ Ibid.

[481] Chapter 35

On the strong earthquake in the city of Tabriz

On Friday, February 5, in the year 1090 (1641) of the Armenian calendar, there occurred a sudden, unexpected and terrible earthquake in the city of Tabriz and its surrounding *gawars*. The tremors were so strong that the entire crust of the earth shook like a leaf that flutters in a hand or in a bowl of water and vibrates in different directions. The ground rumbled terribly; it thundered from the depths of the earth. Then the earthquake began and it demolished, destroyed and ruined all the city structures. Many of the magnificent and marvelous buildings, spacious and tall, which stood in the city—known to all who have seen it—from ancient times and [left to us] from kings, fell down and turned into debris in the twinkling of an eye.

During the earthquake a famed building known as Ustashakert¹ also collapsed [482] and covered many camels and other beasts that had found shelter there from the cold and winter snow.

The domes and minarets of mosques, which were raised to dizzying heights in the sky, fell down from on high, collapsed, crashed down to earth and disappeared.

The glorious, immense and magnificent town, known to all, and called Shamghazan,² located not far from the city, on the banks of the Shor³ River, was also ruined. All the roofs collapsed and only the walls remained standing. The walls were also shaken from their foundation, cracks appeared on all four corners, and the walls crumbled on four sides. All of it remains *in ruins*⁴ to this day.

As to the houses, palaces, baths and *p'ut'kay*, that is the caravansaries, who can list how many of them were destroyed to their foundations?

¹ Khanlaryan correctly assumes that it was a caravansary, *KH*, 373.

² Refers to the town built by the Il-Khanid Ghazan Khan (1295-1304) at the start of the 14th century on the outskirts of Tabriz. The town, called Ghazaniye, was located west of Tabriz, in a place called Shanb or Sham. According to Rashid al-Din, it was more spacious than Tabriz, had gardens, and gates (*abvab al-barr*, "Gates of Charity/Mercy"). He ordered that merchants coming from the west stop there. See *Jami' al-Tavarikh*, III (Baku, 1957), 235.

³ Refers to the Aci-chay (Turkish for Bitter river) or Talkh-rūd in Persian. The river has salty water, hence the term, *shor* or *shūr* (salty, sour).

⁴ Absent from A.

Many people, animals, cattle, equipment, chattel, depots, and goods remained buried under ground. People dug the earth and stones for twenty or thirty days looking for them and, with difficulty, managed to pull out the corpses or their belongings.

Although the earthquake caused great loss to the city of Tabriz, it caused greater losses—destruction, toppling, death of people and cattle—in the surrounding *gawars*, for example in the *gawar* of Khosrovshah and Usku and the village of Dukhurkan (Dehkurān).

The strong and terrible shocks exposed the inner earth, and black waters, resembling streams, gushed out and flowed [483] within their own channels. Three days later, there was another strong earthquake; the above-mentioned streams disappeared, but others appeared. Small streams also appeared in various places. When the water accumulated, it reminded one of the former black waters. As long as the earthquake continued, there were streams of black water; the moment the earthquake stopped, they disappeared as well.

They say that, one day, a shepherd had taken a large flock of sheep to pasture, when the earthquake began. The earth's crust suddenly opened, a deep chasm appeared; the shepherd and part of his flock fell into it, were covered by earth, and disappeared.

The same happened to some village, constructed under a rocky cliff. When the earthquake happened, the solid rocks of the cliff separated [from the mountain] and fell down [on the village]. It rushed down like a drift of sand, stone, and earth.¹ It completely covered the village and totally annihilated it.

The earthquake occurred during wintertime, in the season of severe cold weather. The winter was very snowy. The earth shook not once, twice, or three times and then stopped; but [the aftershocks] lasted six months. During the first two months, the tremors were frequent; they occurred throughout the day, in daytime and during the night. They occurred five or six times, sometimes more, sometimes less. This happened every day. After two months the tremors occurred every day, for twenty or thirty days.

[484] For this reason, everyone was alarmed, terror-stricken, and panicked from fear of the earthquake [after-shocks], which would start without warning. Although many ran out of their homes and were saved from death under the collapsing structures, there were many others who remained under the debris and perished from suffocation. That winter, people could not bear to live in their homes;

¹ Absent from A.

they all went out and lived in cabins and tents—some by the doors of the house, some in vineyards and orchards, and others in similar appropriate places until the wrath of God was pacified. For it became clear to all the inhabitants of the land and the universe that this was not an ordinary earthquake, but it was an obvious retribution, punishment, and wrath of God, which had descended upon them, as it had on the people of Nineveh.¹

The inhabitants of the city and the *gawars* saw themselves as guilty in front of the Lord, for he continuously admonished them with the rod of wrath. They came to their senses, appealed to him with endless prayers and pleas, vows, and sacrificial offerings, and called upon those [saints] who could save them from this calamity. For, even if the Lord, due to our heavy sins, punishes us angrily and reproaches us fiercely, you know that it is characteristic of his mercy and his compassion that he pities those he has created with his own hand, and, according to the words of the prophet, “The Lord is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love.”² He did not keep his wrath for long and did not display his malice forever. He, that craftsman of heaven and earth, removed their sins [485] from them. He pitied his creatures, as a father and a mother [pity] their children, for he remembered that they were people and were created from dust. He stretched out his hand and spread his grace and his compassion. He withdrew the punishment, gave stability to the earth, quieted the land, and gave peace to the people, who live and who constantly praise him, for although he had warned and taught them [a lesson], He did not hand them over to death. In this manner, His all-powerful eternal sovereignty and his grace, benevolence, and love of mankind became clear and obvious. *Therefore everyone glorifies the blessed Kingdom of Our Lord and praises it forever and ever. Amen.*³

¹ Jonah 1.2.

² Ibid., 4.2.

³ Absent from A and D.

[486] Chapter 36

The story about the grave and relics of Patrikios¹ Vard²

As is written in the history about *patrikios* Vard, he insidiously and roguishly made it possible for the Persians³ to destroy the Romans [Byzantines].⁴ [Therefore], the Romans [Greeks] have harbored their malice and jealousy, and to this day are seeking a way to avenge their resentment. Year after year, men from among the Greeks come to our land to find the remains of the bones of *patrikios* Vard, to take them home and to perform their evil ceremonies over them to their hearts' content.

Lately, it so happened that, in the year 1013 (1654) of the Armenian calendar, two Greek men arrived again to steal the bones of *patrikios* Vard, which were buried in a church in the village of

¹ Text reads *patrik* from the Greek *patrikios* and Latin *patricius*, which implied a high rank or degree of nobility. In the 8th-10th centuries, the title was granted to the most important governors and generals of the Byzantine Empire. It disappeared after the start of the 12th century. The insignia of a *patrikios* was an inscribed ivory tablet. Arak'el used the term in Chapter 26 where it was translated more appropriately as "patrician."

² Vard was the son of Theodoros Rshtuni, who broke with Byzantium and concluded a treaty with Mu'awiyah ca. 650. Emperor Constans II (641-668) threatened Rshtuni, who invested his son Vard and sent him to join the Byzantine army. Vard was given the title of *patrikios* by Emperor Constans and was, for a time, the commander-in-chief of the Armenian forces. See *Istoriia anonimnogo povestvovatelyia, Psevdo-Shapukh Bagratuni* (Erevan, 1971), 94-106.

³ Arak'el means the Muslims, in this case the Arabs.

⁴ This episode is recorded in a number of medieval Armenian histories; see *Istoriia anonimnogo*, 94-98 and Vardan Arewelts'i, *Vseobshchaia istoriia Vardana Velikogo* (Moscow, 1861), 87. The historian Ghewond explains Vard's treachery in this manner: "It was on Holy Saturday, on Easter eve, when war broke out between the fronts. Both fronts collided with each other under heavy blows, and it was again the stronger troops of the Tachiks (Arabs), which caused the Greek forces to flee. When Theodoros' son realized that the victory was on the side of the Ishmaelite, he felt stronger and crossed over to the other bank of the river and disconnected the ropes that anchored the boats together, so that the fugitives would perish. Thus, they [the Arabs] surrounded the Greek troops, threw some into the river; others dispersed and escaped as far as the land of the Greeks," *History of Lewond, The Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians* (Philadelphia, 1982), 53.

Khorgum (Khorkam), in the *gawar* of Hayu-Dzor (Hayots' Dzor) in the land of Vaspurakan.¹ Now, the bones of *patrikios* Vard were buried in the church, which was originally erected on the ground, upon ordinary soil. After that, the [original] church was in ruins and so much soil was placed on top of it, that a large hill was formed there. Thus, at a glance, it appeared that this hill had been there from the creation [of the earth], from time immemorial, and that God, and not people, had made it. Since the church was covered by earth, the hill looked even taller. After that, above the original church, on top of the hill, a new church [487] was constructed. In this church, the *k'ahana* perform services and the seven sacraments of the Church;² and the villagers come and pray there. The village is not situated around the church, but is east of it, directly on the hill. The sea, called the Van Sea [lake], is located some twenty cubits³ to the west of the church and the hill. Moreover, east of the church and the village flows a river;⁴ it passes south of the hill and empties into the sea. The two Greek visitors at first pretended to be virtuous men, who were honest and who had renounced all worldly concerns. Thus, even the *k'ahana* and the parishioners trusted them, gave them the key to the church, appointed [one of them] as the sacristan (*lusarar*) of the church and [the other] as the bell-ringer (*zhamkoch'*). After a short or a long time, they took advantage of an opportune moment and dug a hole at a distance of some fifteen cubits west of the church. They dug an underground passage, and digging in this manner, they moved forward, hoping to reach the lower church, where the bones of *patrikios* Vard were buried. They dragged the earth, which they dug out from the tunnel, and threw it into the sea from the top of the precipice—there was a precipice by the shore of the sea, created by the waves. Since the village was located east of the hill and the western side was not populated, the [western] side was hidden from people; hence, reassured, the Greeks continued their undertaking. When they cast the earth [into the sea], the waves splashed and muddied the water. The cloudy water mixed with the water of the river and went upstream, for the water of the river formed a dam and remained by the shore of the sea. [488] The peas-

¹ The village is located on the southern shore of Lake Van. It was the birthplace of the renowned artist Arshile Gorky.

² For details on the seven sacraments, see Bishop S. Kaloustian, *Saints and Sacraments of the Armenian Church* (New York, 1969), 37-58.

³ A unit of length approximately equal to the length of the forearm.

⁴ Refers to the Khorakants' River.

ants, observing that the water, which was always clear and clean, had now turned cloudy, were amazed and said, "It has not rained, there has been no flood, why is the water cloudy?" They said this to one another, were surprised and sought the reason for this. They went around and looked and noticed the scattered earth. After that, they found the pit and the tunnel. The peasants then seized the men and locked them up in a secret inner room and questioned them for a long time until the men told them the entire truth, saying, "We came in order to dig up the bones of *patrikios* Vard and take them away." Then, some of the peasants came to an agreement, and, one night, secretly from the others, put the two men on a raft, took them to the open sea, and pushing on reached the middle of the sea. There, they fastened a stone on their necks and left them in the depth of the sea waters.¹ The affair ended in this manner. From then on, the villagers began to vigilantly guard that church like something valuable which was handed [as a tradition] by fathers to sons.² Glory Be to God! This was what happened.³

¹ Absent from E.

² Ch'amch'ean, II, 551.

³ Brosset has *Amen* instead, *MB*, 499.

[489] Chapter 37

On the earthquake in the city of Van and its surrounding regions

On April 2 in the year 1097 (1648) of the Armenian calendar, on the night of Holy Friday and the Eve of Holy Saturday,¹ when the night was over and the day had just begun, and they had already begun to hold morning prayers, a sudden thunderclap was heard, which was followed by a terrible earthquake, the likes of which had not been experienced by any of the inhabitants in any of those *gawars*.

The earthquake crumbled the wall of the citadel of the city of Van, from the Tabriz gate² to the Ghari tower.³ Here and there as well, in many spots, the wall crumbled and collapsed. The parts that did not crumble were so damaged that it later became necessary to demolish the entire wall and build a new one.

The churches in the city of Van were either damaged or collapsed. The church called St. Sahak was completely demolished. It was completely rebuilt by *Khoja* Akhijan. The church called Ējmiatsin was damaged [490] and was renovated by the same *Khoja* Akhijan, who reconstructed it better than before. The roof of the church of the Holy Apostles collapsed inside and the Adomean *khoja* family restored it. The cupola of the church of St. Pōghos (Paul) collapsed as well and was rebuilt by Zirak' Gerak'ents'.

*As for the mosques, only the mosque of Mustafa Pasha and its minaret remained standing; all the other mosques and their minarets crumbled. The minaret of the mosque in the Upper Fort collapsed as well.*⁴

Many houses, mansions and buildings were demolished, and many people and animals remained buried under them. The number of the dead was so large that they would load them on carts and take them outside the city. There were not enough graves to bury everyone separately; therefore, they dug the earth, made large pits, wrapped eight or ten corpses in cloth, lowered them into the holes and covered them with earth.

¹ According to Brosset, Aṛak'el is mistaken, for Easter occurred on April 2nd and Holy Friday was March 31st; *MB*, 499.

² Text reads *dargah*, from the Persian *dargāh* (gate).

³ Text reads *burj*, from the Arabic *burj*, Persian *borj* (tower).

⁴ Absent from *MB*.

The earth shook nonstop for eight days. Therefore, the people could not live in their homes, but lived in tents and open spaces, for during those eight days, the ground, like a boat on water, moved continuously. After that it somewhat calmed down and the ground shook once every four, five, or ten days. This continued until the month of June was over and then the earth, thanks to God's grace, became steady again.

After the first earthquake, everyone who had escaped death went to their homes, began to dig the earth, and to pull out people and things from among the debris. Although countless people perished, there were many others who, through God's grace, survived until they were pulled out from the ruins. Thus, even after *ten*¹ and five days, they were still pulling out survivors from the debris.

[491] In addition, during the days of the earthquake, an event occurred which surprised everyone: A certain man, poor and destitute, an Armenian by birth and a Christian, a native of that same city of Van, even before the earthquake, left the city and set off for the village called K'arapos. This man had two sons, the younger of whom was about ten years old. These two boys stayed at home. When nightfall arrived, the two went to bed as usual. That night, during the earthquake, the house collapsed on top of them and the children remained buried under it. Their father, who had gone to the village of K'arapos, slept at someone's house and, when the earthquake hit, a beam fell and broke his legs. For that reason the man remained in the village of K'arapos, until the [feast of the] Ascension,² by which time his legs had healed. He then got up and went to the city [of Van] and saw that his house had collapsed. He, and all the others, thought that the children, who had remained in the house, had perished. He gathered some men and brought them over. They dug up the ruins and found the children alive. They were in rapture and praised the Lord, for forty-four days had passed since the earthquake and the children had been buried under the debris for that long; only thanks to the Lord's mercy and grace, did they come out of there alive. Everyone who heard and saw this was amazed and marveled. Word of this reached the pasha of the town, who summoned the children, questioned them, made sure of the truth, wrote the facts concerning the children on a piece of paper, and kept it with him as a sign of God's [492] miracles. They asked the children what they ate.

¹ Absent from A.

² May 11, according to Brosset, *MB*, 500.

They pointed to a few breadcrumbs and said, "We sometimes ate that [the breadcrumbs]." When they asked them what they had drank, they showed a vessel with fermented beets and said, "When we were thirsty we ate this and satisfied our thirst. But we did not know if it was day or night." Thanks to the Lord's grace, the boys are alive and healthy to this day.

Moreover, the monasteries of the Van province collapsed in ruins:¹ the [monastery of] upper and lower Varag,² the church of St. *tēr* T'otik, the large church and monastery of Salnapat, the monasteries of Shushanits', Kuṛupash, Khēk'uts', Hērēmēru, Srkhu Berdak, Kendananits', Kṛnka, Angusner, Aleru, and Arjak. Of these, only the two Varag monasteries, the Kṛnka monastery and the Khēk'uts' monastery were restored; the rest remained in ruins. All the structures and the churches in the villages around Van crumbled. The church of Noragegh was rebuilt, at a field's distance,³ from its previous location, but later collapsed.

Many streams, hidden from time immemorial, appeared as a result of this earthquake. All the brooks of the Eghnaberd [River], which moved the [grinding wheels of] six mills, dried up. That is why, because of the lack of water, they moved the fort from there to Gharsik. The twelve springs of the village of Awan dried up completely and cannot be seen today.

There was a mountain in the ravine, near where the large Hogwots' monastery⁴ was located. [493] The mountain was called Abeghner. During the night when the earthquake occurred, this mountain of stone, hard and firm, created by God, was moved by a terrible jolt; it shattered, broke up, and fell from the top into the ravine. It smashed the ravine and filled it up. It covered the ravine, killed three men, cut off the road—so that later they had to move the road through another location—destroyed the watermill—they had to rebuilt it somewhere else—and, covering the ravine, it stopped the flow of water into the river for many days. It was many days later

¹ The churches and monasteries that were damaged by the earthquake of 1648 are listed in Voskean.

² The Varag monastery is located just east of Van. It contained seven churches and chapels: St. Sofia, St. Hovhannēs, Holy Mother of God, St. Sion, Holy Cross, Bedrov, Forty Abegha, and St. Nshan of Varag. See also next chapter.

³ Text reads *artach'ap'* (measure of a field).

⁴ The Hogeats'-vank' is one of the famed Armenian monasteries located near Van. See Chapter 41.

that the water found its way and continued on its course. It flowed down into the *gawar* of Khawu¹ Dzor, near the monastery of Ērēmer, was absorbed by the earth in a large open space, and created a huge and deep crater that reached into the abyss. Dark waters rose from the abyss and filled the crater.

The pasha of the city of Van and other authorities wrote all that had occurred in a note and dispatched it to the city of Constantinople. They informed the king, the *khondk'ar*, Sultan Ibrahim,² stating, "Many buildings, towns, villages, mosques and churches were destroyed." In addition, the *khojas* of the city of Van sent a man to *Khoja* Rūhijan, who was at that time in Constantinople, asking him to obtain the permission of the sovereign to rebuild the ruined monasteries and churches. *Khoja* Rūhijan received the permission and sent it to the *khojas* in Van. They, as I have stated earlier, began to build churches in the city and in the Varag monastery. First of all, *Vardapet* Kirakos, the abbot of the Varag monastery, gave the order to build a chapel,³ which they carried out and constructed. [494] *Khoja* Amir Khan restored the church of the Holy Cross; Markhas Chelebi [restored] the church of the Holy Mother of God; *Khoja* Dilanch'i, the church of the St. Sion; and *Khoja* Hovhannēs, the church of St. Nshan [holy cross of Varag]. These churches were rebuilt, but there remained the church of Berdov⁴ and the church of the Forty Abegha; a wall was constructed around the monastery. They also completed the rebuilding of the Lower Varag monastery and other monasteries and churches. They are all standing in place today by the grace of God, whose glory is eternal. Amen.

¹ F reads *Hayots'*.

² Sultan Ibrahim ruled from 1640 to 1648.

³ It was probably built on the site of the church of St. Sofia.

⁴ No church by such name is listed in the Varag monastery. The text may refer to the church in the village of Berdov in Tosp; see Voskean, 231. K'asuni cites a Berdik settlement in Diarbekir, 29.

Chapter 38

The history of, and the reasons for, the destruction of the glorious monastery called Varag, and on the theft and the transfer of the holy cross [of Varag]¹ to the Khoshab fortress² and its [later] return to the city of Van³

The master of the Khoshab fortress,⁴ who was named Süleyman Bek, would sometimes willfully open the loads on caravans going from Van to Tabriz or coming from Tabriz to Van, and if he liked something among the goods, he would throw the owner some coins and would take the items from the owner under the pretext that he had paid for them.

The governor and master of the city of Van at the time was a certain high-ranking official, a native of Van, who was named Husein Ağa. The people, whose goods were stolen by Süleyman Bek, went to him and presented numerous complaints against Süleyman Bek. [495] Husein Ağa informed the royal palace in Istanbul about the acts of Süleyman Bek. As a result, the king [sultan] ordered that Husein Ağa take the goods from Süleyman Bek and return them to their owners, but the latter did not return the goods. Therefore, Husein Ağa gathered the entire army of Van, as well as all the Kurdish⁵ notables from the surrounding districts, including the great nobleman of the Kurds, Ezdishēr, who was the governor of Julamerk, Shatakh, and many other *gawaṛs* and forts. Together, they went and besieged the Khoshab fortress, where Süleyman Bek had taken refuge. The siege continued for three months and they laid waste to the entire land. Süleyman Bek became desperate and alarmed. Seeing no way

¹ Refers to one of the most important relics of the Armenian Church. According to tradition, in the 7th century, an Armenian monk saw a vision on Mt. Varag (Varak), which pointed him to a spot at a monastery, where he found a piece of the True Cross carried by St. Hrip'simē to Armenia. The Armenians celebrate the fourth Sunday in September as the Feast of the Holy Cross of Varag. It is one of the four dominical feasts of the Holy Cross.

² It occurred in 1651. The fort is located southeast of Lake Van on the road to Persia.

³ This occurred in 1654. See Chapter 42.

⁴ Khoshab (present-day Hamid) is located southeast of Lake Van on the road to Persia in the historic Armenian district of Andzewats'ik'.

⁵ Text has *Mar*, an Armenian term for Kurd.

out, he gave a huge bribe in gold and silver to the great lord¹ Ez-dishēr, so that he would somehow take Husein Ağa and the others away from there. The affair was thus concluded; all of them received a large amount of goods from Süleyman Bek and everyone returned home.

Several days after their departure, there arrived an arrogant, bloodthirsty and blood-spilling man, the victorious and the invincible soldier named Ch'omar. The *khondk'ar*, the ruler of the Ottomans, had given him the rank and the authority of a pasha and twice or thrice had dispatched him to govern cities and provinces according to Ottoman customs. Wherever he was sent, he governed the land unjustly and harshly; he seized and plundered goods, was unjust to everyone—troops and common folk alike. No matter where he was sent, [496] the sultan and the vizier soon received word of his injustice and cruelty. Therefore, when the time of his governorship in the cities where he had served as a pasha was over and he came to the king's court, they did not give him new authority or grant him a *pashalik*. This was a heavy and painful blow for Ch'omar. He therefore rebelled against the king, left Constantinople and went in the direction of Bursa and Ankara. Idle and vagrant men, all thieves, bandits, vandals and similar evil types, joined him. Together with them, he spent his days in the mountains and plains. At his convenience, he descended with them from the mountains, ambushed passing caravans, fell on them, killed some people, forced others to flee, seized gold, silver and anything else he wanted, and then left.² He did this not once and not secretly, but repeatedly, openly and boldly. Thus, the movement of caravans ceased and news of this sped to Constantinople and reached the king. The king, therefore, ordered his general to assemble a large army, to go against Ch'omar and to kill him. The general equipped a large army and came to do battle with him. They could not kill him, but they did force him to flee the region. However, Ch'omar did the same thing wherever he went. The king, therefore, ordered the governors and commanders of every province to fight Ch'omar wherever he was and to kill him. He added that anyone who brought Ch'omar's head or a sign [of his death] to the king would be rewarded with great gifts and would be elevated [497] by the king. Since a finger of Ch'omar's right hand was pulled in by the

¹ Text reads *paron*.

² This is confirmed by Zak'aria of Agulis who reports such an incident in July of 1650 around Bursa in *Journal*, 46.

muscles into his hand and was pressed to his palm, it was ordered that [his hand] be brought as proof. Because of the king's order, no matter where Ch'omar went, all the soldiers and governors of the provinces would seek him out. Not finding relief from being hunted anywhere, Ch'omar fled to Süleyman Bek. Süleyman Bek, because of his (Ch'omar's) lion-like bravery and his victories in battle, received him and said, "We shall be brothers. We shall guard our native land and shall rule over it jointly."

There is another story, which is imperative to my narrative: The aforementioned Husein Ağa, who for some reason had formed a friendship and alliance with the great nobleman of the Kurds, Ezdishēr, gave his brother's daughter as a wife to Ezdishēr's brother, who was named Khosrow Pasha. These two, Ezdishēr and Husein Ağa, became devoted to each other; they became friends, in-laws and companions.

One other story: This Husein Ağa became very powerful and entrenched in the city of Van, so that the pasha, the *ghadi*,¹ the *yeniçeri-ağasi*,² and all others became his subordinates. He killed ten of the city's notables, among them the *ğullar-ağasi*,³ and the remaining notables fled.

Another event occurred as well. It is customary among the Ottomans that when a pasha is relieved from duty, a new pasha is appointed in his place. The former pasha of Van was thus changed [498] and the royal court sent a new pasha, named Musalim, to Van. But, Husein Ağa and the former pasha came to terms, did not recognize the new pasha, Musalim, and sent him back to Istanbul. The grandees⁴ of the city of Van, insulted by Husein Ağa, secretly and furtively wrote many accusations against him and sent them with the returning Musalim to the royal court.

Sometime later, a certain high official, named Sinan, arrived from the royal court as the [new] *yeniçeri-ağasi* of the city of Van. He entered the fortress and began to govern the upper fort and all the Janissaries. Several days later, the newly arrived *yeniçeri-ağasi*, Sinan Ağa, began to fire a cannon from the upper fort into the residence

¹ From the Arabic *qādi*, Persian *qāzī*, Turkish *kadi* the judge in charge of civil, criminal, and ecclesiastic law.

² Text reads *engich'ar-aghasi*, the commander or agha of the Janissaries.

³ Refers to the commander of the Janissaries. In Ottoman sources, the Janissaries and the *ğul* are the same.

⁴ Text reads *parons*.

of the pasha, announcing, "The king has ordered me to attack you so that you will leave town." The cannon was also fired on the house of Husein Ağa, who was told, "Do not keep the pasha; send him away!" Husein Ağa and the pasha, fearing the cannon, got up and went to the northern side of the lower fort, near the Tabriz gate, to a place called Palt'i-Tner and fortified it. The cannonballs from the upper fort did not reach there, for the mountain is rocky here, resembles a tent, and covers it [the refuge] from above. The troops¹ of Van, greatly fearing Husein Ağa, joined him, even though they hated him and considered him an enemy.

The *yeniçeri-ağasi* sent men to the Khoshab fortress and told Süleyman Bek about the king's order to obliterate Husein Ağa and the pasha. Süleyman Bek, in view of his fierce thirst for vengeance for the past actions [of the two], [499] lived only for such news. Without wasting a moment, he gathered a large army, took the aforementioned Ch'omar with him, and went to the city of Van. They repeatedly ransacked here and there in the village around the town, in order to somehow catch Husein Ağa. Thus, ransacking, they reached the village of Arjak, and from there they went to the village of Kharakunis. This village belonged to Husein Ağa. Taking revenge on Husein Ağa, Süleyman Bek hoisted the *tanuter*² of the village on his lance and killed him.

Leaving that place, Süleyman Bek and Ch'omar went with their troops to the Varag monastery. They saw with their own eyes and witnessed the magnificent cloister of Varag, about which they had heard before. They looked at it in wonder and decided that such a wonderful, glorious and magnificent monastery must have, through the ages, gathered a great amount of goods, equipment, and vessels made of copper, silver, and gold. It was time to seize them all. With this in mind, they unexpectedly grabbed all the inhabitants of the monastery, tied them up, threw them in the dungeon, brought them out, one by one, asked them about the belongings of the monastery, and demanded that they reveal their whereabouts. The clerics showed them what was visible; about other items, they said, "We took them all to the city for safekeeping, for we are afraid of thieves and bandits and keep nothing here."

They tortured all the inhabitants of the monastery, some heavily, others lightly; those who managed to escape fled without coming

¹ Text reads *ghuls*.

² Armenian term for the village elder.

back. They seized three old *abegha* from among the brotherhood of the monastery, who were named *tēr* Hovhannēs, *tēr* Sahak, and *tēr* Movsēs, and [500] kept them in chains with great care. They said, "The other monks are young and do not know anything of the monastery's secrets; these monks, however, are old, have been here for a long time, and know everything." They brought them [the *abegha*] and demanded, first with words and after that with threats, that they reveal the secret hiding places of the monastery. The *abegha* said, "We do not even know what you are talking about." They had gladly, from the bottom of their hearts, decided to accept death, die, and not to reveal the places.

After long questioning, they began to torture them. First, they hung them by their legs and beat them with clubs mercilessly for a long time.¹

After that they tied the hands of each *abegha* behind his back, tied their thumbs together, extended a rope between their two hands, hung them high above the ground, brought heavy stones, and put them on their shoulders. They left them hanging like that until the evening, so that both their hands were dislocated from their joints. The *abegha* screamed and wailed, saying, "We do not know what you are asking us about." But the impious ones did not pay heed.

After that they put a loop made of a cord around the heads of the *abegha* in the following manner: they tied the cord of chandeliers, thin and strong, into a circle with a knot, put their heads inside that circle, placed a stick in the knot and began to twist it. When they twisted the stick, the rope twisted and became hard. It gnawed into the skin and flesh of the *abegha*'s heads. Their heads were pressed as in a vice. All the skin, flesh, and muscles [501] of the head and neck became swollen and were filled with blood; their eyes were ready to pop out from their sockets. The *abegha* became unconscious and collapsed in a dead faint to the ground.

After that they brought a thin and strong rope, tied it around the waists of the *abegha* and pulled them up high off the ground. The profane men and their troops gathered around them, blasphemed, spat at them, and mocked them, saying, "Haven't you endured enough tortures? Why don't you reveal the hidden places of the monastery?" But the *abegha* did not show them and decided to die.

Later, Ch'omar himself came, took off the undergarments of the *abegha*, placed a handkerchief on their male organ, took it in his

¹ Once again, this refers to the *falak* (bastinado).

mouth, and chewed it. This caused tremendous pain to the *abegha* and they fell down senseless like corpses.

Such were the terrible torments suffered by the poor *abegha*. They almost died after each torture and were revived. The last one was an especially painful torture. The long tortures made them so worn out, exhausted, and physically emaciated that they could not stand on their feet. All the above tortures that I have written here were overt and terrible, and I have recorded them in details you can imagine for yourselves the other torments, which I have not recorded. All this was planned and carried out by the accursed, pitiless and godless beast in human form, Ch'omar.

After all this suffering and torment, when Ch'omar realized that the *abegha* would not reveal the secrets, he himself took on the task of looking for the monastery treasures. He took a pick-axe, that is, [502] a *k'lunk*,¹ and began to wander around the churches and chapels of the monastery, the cells, and everywhere else. He halted, glanced, looked and noted all of them. After that, whatever he thought might contain a secret hiding place, or which came under his suspicion, he would strike with the sledgehammer he carried in his hands. Thus wandering around, they reached one of the churches and entered. When he struck the floor that he suspected, an echo was heard immediately. They, therefore, began to dig in haste and found a pit full of vessels, for, all the copper pots of the monastery had been taken and hidden in that hole. Finding the secret place, the impious one was convinced, more than ever, that many such hiding places existed. They began to look even more zealously and to strike all [the walls and floors]. They went to another church, and when they struck [the floor] they heard a boom. They hastily began to dig and found an empty hole, with nothing in it.

Leaving that, they went into yet another chapel. When they struck [the floor] they found the location of a large cache, where the great holy cross [of Varag] was kept, together with all the church vessels. They dug hurriedly and found the door of the chamber. They entered and saw that it was full of treasures. There, above all the utensils, lay the great holy cross, wrapped in many shawls in a beautiful shrine. Süleyman Bek took the holy cross in his hands and removed it from there. After that, they removed all the utensils. There were many silver vessels, cups, crosses, a man-size [silver] cross, which weighed

¹ From the Persian *kulank*, pick-axe.

one *litr*¹ in the land of the *khondk'ar*, with an inscription that read, "Cross of David," *many*² gospels in silver and gold bindings, [503] and other books, silver vessels, cymbal-fans, censers, lanterns, magnificent and expensive chasubles, curtains, altar coverings and numerous goods hidden there. They gathered all of it and brought it out. All the silver items were placed in a strong box,³ while the copper items were smashed. The rest, together with the holy cross with its decorations, were placed on horses. They grabbed a certain *erēts'* and brought him to accompany the holy cross and to take care of it. Süleyman Bek and Ch'omar, with their troops, seized everything, left and went to Khoshab. Thus, all the goods and utensils of the Varrag monastery were transferred to Khoshab in the year 1100 (1651) of our calendar.⁴

Although the three *abegha*, who had been tortured so much, lived for another year, they existed as dying men who gladly wished for death, for they had consumption.⁵ After one year death overtook them and they were released from pain.

¹ A generic measure of all pound units in the Ottoman Empire; its weight differed depending on the period and place. For example, in the 17th century, one Erevan *litr* was over 12 pounds.

² Absent from A.

³ Text reads *sndk* (from the Arabic *ṣandūq*, chest).

⁴ Friday, April 2, 1651; see Chapter 41.

⁵ Text reads *jllamah* or *chllamah*; Brosset has translated it as *demi-morts* (half-dead), *MB*, 506; Khanlaryan thinks the term comes from the Georgian *jlelk'i* or *jlerk'i* (consumption), *KH*, 388.

[504] Chapter 39

On Husein Ağa's departure to Julamerk

Husein Ağa and the pasha, who had taken refuge in the confines of Palt'i-Tner, remained there for two months. Meanwhile, the cannon from the upper fort continuously fired on the lower fort and the town, causing destruction. Then, Husein Ağa reflected and realized that he could not expect help from anywhere but from his in-law, the grand lord Ezdishēr. Therefore, unknown to anyone else, he sent his confidants to Ezdishēr, stating, "You are aware that the notables of Van and Süleyman Bek are my enemies and I cannot expect aid from anyone but you. You, therefore, must come to my immediate aid." The grand ruler Ezdishēr ordered one of his nobles, named Mirabek, to take troops and to set off. The latter took a group of 1,500 men with a great supply of arms, especially muskets. They soon reached the [505] Van province and began to search all over the environs of the city to find Husein Ağa, to take him with them, and to return.

When the pasha saw that the troops of Ezdishēr had come to take Husein Ağa, he reflected and realized that after the departure of Husein Ağa, he would remain alone. Therefore, he hurried, and together with his subordinates, left the city of Van and set out.

The cannon from the upper fort, however, continued to fire and pour destruction on the town. Since the cannonade had begun on the first week of Lent and continued until the Feast of the Pentecost,¹ the citizens, the wealthy, the soldiers and the common folk were tired of it. The notables and the *ğullar-ağasi* thought, "Why should we suffer so many torments because of one man? Let us take Husein Ağa and hand him over to those who want him." Someone informed Husein Ağa of this decision, and he began to think of a way to kill the leaders of this plan, who were the heads of the *ğuls*. The *ğullar-ağasi* and other officers found out his [Husein Ağa's] intentions. Therefore, in the morning, at the moment of sunrise, the *ğullar-ağasi* and other officers took their standards and went to the gate of the lower fort, called the Iskali gate. They hoisted their standards on the wall and shouted, "The *ğul* have returned! The *ğul* have returned." Hearing this, all the troops of the garrison rushed with their weapons to their

¹ Brosset has calculated that the period of bombardment continued uninterrupted for 14 weeks. It started on February 8 and lasted until May 18; see *MB*, 507.

banners. Husein Ağa remained alone with his sons and servants. Husein Ağa was afraid that they would capture him; therefore, Husein Ağa's [506] servants lowered him by rope from the walls of the lower fort, and he, upon touching the ground, left and joined the troops of Ezdishēr. Ezdishēr's troops took Husein Ağa and went to Shadakh, and from there to Ezdishēr in Julamerk. This is what happened.

Chapter 40

The account of the death¹ of the impious Ch'omar

When Süleyman Bek and Ch'omar pillaged and ruined the Varag monastery, took everything and went to Khoshab,² they remained there until the season of Advent.³ Then, spies arrived and informed them that Husein Ağa planned to depart from Julamerk on such and such a day and go to the sovereign-*khondk'ar*. Then, at the order and advice of Süleyman Bek, Ch'omar took 100 men and went in the direction of Berkri and Arjēsh to cut off Husein Ağa and to kill him.

But since there existed, for a long time, an order from the king concerning Ch'omar, which stated that wherever Ch'omar appeared, the commanders of that province, together with their troops, were to do battle with him and kill him, the pasha of Erzurum heard of Ch'omar's arrival and dispatched a grandee with 400 men against Ch'omar. They went and met Ch'omar in the *gawaṛ* of Kēgh.⁴ They did battle with him and defeated him, for Ch'omar's group consisted of 100 men, while they had [507] 400 [men]. That is why part of Ch'omar's troops was slain and the rest fled. Ch'omar, together with eight men, broke off to the side and was saved. He wanted to return to Süleyman Bek in Khoshab. He went on until he reached the barrier,⁵ which is in Vostan.

The man who exacted the *baj*⁶ in Vostan, who guarded the road and who took the *baj* from travelers, saw Ch'omar from afar and recognized him. He immediately threw out his dagger on the ground and went forward to catch up with him—he did this so that no one would realize that he was from Vostan and kill him. Ch'omar also saw the man from afar and told his men, "If any misfortune befalls us, it will be because of that man. Therefore, the moment you reach him, do not let him go and kill him." The moment Ch'omar and his men reached the man they began to ask him what he was doing

¹ Text again reads *satakman*.

² This, as noted in Chapter 38, occurred in 1651.

³ January of 1652.

⁴ The region is southeast of Erzurum in the historic Armenian province of Turuberan.

⁵ Text reads *kap*. Brosset has translated it as *défilé* (gorge). The content clearly indicated that this was a customs barrier and that the word *kap* is from the Turkish *kapanlık*, a weighing station.

⁶ From the Arabic *bāj* (toll, duty, tribute, or taxes).

there. He fooled them and said, "I am a traveler. I came here to look for my dagger, which I lost. I am looking here; perhaps I shall find it." Hearing his answer, they also began to look in order to ascertain the truth. Searching, they found the dagger and decided that the man was indeed a traveler. That is why they did not kill him but let him go. The man, who was very familiar with the place, hurried, and passed the barrier before Ch'omar. He crossed a hidden hollow, reached the village and informed the troops that Ch'omar had arrived at the barrier. News of this spread fast among the troops. Some galloped on horseback straight to the barrier, while others took the upper road, and they thus [508] cut off both routes. Ch'omar did not go by the upper road. He went straight to the barrier, entered it, and wanted to go through it.

The barrier itself was formed as follows: Under high cliffs, a very deep lake had covered the ground. Only God knows the depth of that lake. However, in the past, long ago, a path was carved out, with great difficulty, for travelers, in the core of the cliff, thanks to the skill of the stonemasons. The road, however, is not wide, permitting the passage of only one load carried by an animal and not two.

Ch'omar entered the barrier and went on, not knowing that men had gathered there and were guarding the exit. That is why he calmly proceeded until he reached the end of the barrier. He then saw the men waiting to ambush him and realized that the situation was hopeless and that he had to face an undetermined calamity. He feared to go forward and meet them, for they could have shot their muskets and killed him. He could not go back by the route he had come, for it was too narrow. Thus, seeing no way out, he became desperate. Looking around, Ch'omar saw a rather low slope, a dent in the cliffs, which went down into a small ravine by the shore of the lake. Although it was difficult, he was afraid that they would kill him, and so he hurriedly took the bridle and with his horse went down the ravine to the shore of the lake. He then got up on his horse, grabbed the reigns and with great care pushed on and shoved the horse straight into the lake. When he whipped the horse into the lake, the horse plunged, went under the water, and almost reached the bottom of the lake. For a long time [509] the horse was not visible on the water's surface. After some time, the men who were guarding the exit to the barrier saw that the horse and Ch'omar appeared from afar on the surface. They had emerged from the deep and were visible. But they were so far away that the shots from the firearms could not reach them. They wanted to load their guns and kill him, but since the bul-

lets could not reach him anyway, they did not load their firearms. Worthy of every praise, the horse took his rider, not like a land animal, but like a sea creature; it breathed, sneezed, snorted and hurriedly crossed the fathomless depth of the lake. He swam, reached the shore of the lake, and emerged on land near Vostan.

When Ch'omar came ashore, he did not know the place or the road; where it was dry or where boggy. Alarmed and afraid, he followed his nose and drove his horse on in order to escape. He rode over land and flew [as if] in the air. The route lay on a very swampy place. The length and width of the marsh was great. In addition, Ch'omar saw that the entire army of that *gawar* had gathered and was swiftly pursuing him. Thus, if he backtracked and went on dry land, he was in danger of falling into their hands. He therefore spurred his horse on and pushed it into the bog. However, he did not go too far, for the bog was very deep and this kept him there for a long time. It was only thanks to great efforts and difficulties, with the horse jerking in different directions, that it barely managed to get out of the bog with Ch'omar. Released from the bog, Ch'omar once again drove the horse forward in order to save himself. But because, as I have stated, he did not know the region, he did not go [510] in the direction of the road and the bridge—which was very close to him and would have saved him if he had gone that way—but went straight ahead. His route crossed the Shamiram canal, which was impossible to cross except by a bridge, for the canal was very wide and deep, and its banks on both sides were very high, so that man and horse could not climb up and down. Ch'omar rode for a while by the banks of this canal, and then turned around and came to the village called Kem.

While Ch'omar was facing all these problems, the troops of the province rushed in pursuit of him. They came and reached the Shamiram canal, and hurried to occupy the crossing by the bridge, for they knew the area well. Some of the troops went to the village of Kem and found Ch'omar, who had hurriedly hid in a meadow there, and surrounded him. Ch'omar had four firearms—*tapanch'i t'fank'*,¹ which he loaded in order to fire. But the shots did not go off, for the gunpowder had become damp in the water and marshland. He was perplexed and greatly agitated. One of the soldiers of that province, who had encircled him, called Shekhubek, loaded his firearm speed-

¹ From the Persian *tapāncha* (pistol) and *tufang* (musket); in this case, pistol guns or pistols.

ily, aimed it at Ch'omar, and fired it at his head. The vile and accursed Ch'omar perished¹ in this manner. They immediately cut off his head and right hand, and together with his horse, took them to their lord, Ezdishēr. Ezdishēr kept the horse, but dispatched Ch'omar's head and right hand, as proof, to Constantinople. The king saw the head and heard the details of the killing, was overjoyed, presented many expensive gifts to Ezdishēr, and also [511] gave him the land of Sghert² as *inam*,³ so that Ezdishēr would immediately take control of the land of Sghert and govern it for as long as he lived.

Storytellers said that Ch'omar's horse had a wineskin, full of wine, tied to its belly, when it was driven into the lake and the bog. They also said that wherever Ch'omar went, his horse was always covered with a horsecloth. When he drove the horse into the lake and the bog, the horsecloth was on the horse, and the cotton that they had sewn into the horsecloth weighed three litrs.⁴ They also say that the horse is of a gigantic size, large and strong, with a wide chest and a long neck, blue-colored, beautiful, and has a proud gait. It resembles a smart human, can judge the exact situation and moment, and understands its owner. It is at present in the possession of lord Ezdishēr, and it has already produced five stallions.

The impious Ch'omar perished exactly as I have narrated. Now is the time for me to record the death of Süleyman Bek and how the holy cross [of Varag] was returned to the city of Van. For, our narrative is dedicated to the holy cross and not to blasphemers.

¹ Once again the text has *satakeats'*.

² Present day Siirt, southwest of Lake Van, not far from the Tigris River.

³ From the Arabic *an'ām* (reward, prize, gift).

⁴ Absent from A and D.

[512] Chapter 41

The account of the death¹ of Süleyman Bek

As I have narrated above,² Süleyman Bek looted the Varag monastery, seized all its goods, as well as the great holy cross [of Varag], took them to the fortress of Khoshab and kept them there.

The monastery of Hogwots',³ built by the Apostle Bartholomew, which is mentioned in the history of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God, and where a painting of the Holy Mother of God is located,⁴ is in the Khoshab region, which was ruled by Süleyman Bek. Thus, when Süleyman Bek arrived in Khoshab, he summoned the abbot of the Hogeats' monastery, *tēr* Petros, and, pretending to be a benefactor, told him joyfully, "I have brought from Varag your great holy cross. Here it is. I am giving it to you to take to our monastery, to be placed there and to remain there." The bishop thought [513] and realized that it [the cross] would not remain there [in the monastery] for long anyway. He replied, "It is not possible for the holy cross to remain with us, for, from time immemorial, since the time of our ancestors and fathers, it belonged to them [Varag monastery] and not to us." Bishop Petros did not take the holy cross to the Hogwots' monastery, although Süleyman Bek offered it to him several times. In addition, Süleyman Bek said, "If you do not take it, I shall give it to another *k'ahana* and send it to your monastery." The bishop replied, "If you send the holy cross to our monastery, I shall gather the brotherhood, resign, and leave. You can then do what you

¹ Once again the term used is *satakman*.

² See Chapter 38.

³ It is located southeast of Van.

⁴ The narrative about the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God and her portrait drawn by John the Evangelist form an interesting part of the Armenian apocryphal literature. Moses of Khoren is considered its author. According to this narrative, on the day of the death of the Virgin, St. John the Evangelist drew a portrait of her on wood. The Virgin placed the portrait on her face and begged God to give it miraculous powers to heal lepers. The portrait was given to the apostle Bartholomew, who brought it to Armenia. There, by the Tigris River, the apostle built the church of the Holy Mother of God and placed the portrait in it. Later, cells were added and the monastery of Hogwots' took form. See N. Emin, *Perevody i stat'i po dykhovnoi armianskoi literature* (Moscow, 1897), 1-16 and Voskean, III, 759-778.

wish with your monastery." Only then did Süleyman Bek give up and not send [the holy cross].

All the Christian Armenians who lived in the city of Van and its *gawars* were desperate, mournful, inconsolable and filled with grief because of the pillaging of the Varag [monastery], and especially because of [the theft of] the holy cross. They were dressed in mourning, *constantly*¹ languished and withered away. They sighed and lamented and tried to find a way to save the holy cross. There was among them a man, a known and pious Christian, from the *khogas* of Van, the son of *Khoya* T'uma Khanents', who was named Markhas Chelebi. This Markhas Chelebi gathered many petitions, went to Süleyman Bek in Khoshab, handed him the petitions, and stayed there for many days. In the presence of many, he begged Süleyman Bek to rescue the holy cross, but the latter did not agree to return it. Markhas Chelebi first promised to give him 1,000 *kuruş* and then increased this offer to 7,000 *kuruş* if he returned the holy cross, but Süleyman Bek did not return it. Markhas Chelebi lived there for many days, [514] but he did not receive the holy cross. He left Khoshab grief-stricken, and returned to Van with a heavy heart.

Just as the prophet said, "Evil shall destroy an evil man,"² the evil deeds of Süleyman Bek destroyed him as follows: Some of the notables of Süleyman Bek, ten or more, decided to kill him. They said, "From the moment that Süleyman Bek became a *paron*, our land and region have been totally destroyed. The chaos, incursions, banditry, battles and discord have not ceased. We shall not have peace as long as he lives; we must therefore kill him in order to restore peace in our land."

Learning this secret, some warned Süleyman Bek and told him, "Three of your famed notables, Malaghasum (Mullah Ghasum or Qasem),³ Mustafa Bek and Ibrahim Bek, are the ringleaders of the other notables, and are planning to kill you." Süleyman Bek seized the three notables, put them in chains, and threw them in jail. The three notables were taken under guard in the first week of Lent.⁴ The imprisoned notables begged Süleyman Bek through petitions and intermediaries to release them, but he did not.

¹ Absent from A.

² The above is part of the prayer for deliverance from personal enemies; see Psalm 140.

³ A, D, E read Mala Ghasum, F reads Molla (Mullah) Ghasum.

⁴ According to Brosset, this occurred in the week of March 1-7 of the year 1652, *MB*, 511.

When the notables realized that he [Süleyman Bek] would not release them and would kill them, they thought of another ruse. They summoned Süleyman Bek's father-in-law, who was also named Mustafa Bek, and conferred with him for many days, hoping that he might find a way to save them. During their deliberations and [515] discussions, the notables said the following to Süleyman Bek's father-in-law: "If you succeed in saving us, we shall appoint you the governor and *paron* in place of Süleyman Bek, for you are the son of a prince." This Mustafa Bek was indeed a son of a prince. "Thus, if you kill Süleyman Bek, we shall immediately install you as governor in place of Süleyman Bek." Since the father-in-law did not trust them, they made a pact with the help of numerous oaths and various entreaties, so that he became disposed to the promises of the notables. He agreed because he was a simpleminded man without guile.

They then decided the following: a son of the three imprisoned notables and the servants of the two [others] hid their swords under their garments, put on women's clothing, put veils on themselves, and pretended to be women.

One day these three men, dressed as women, and Süleyman Bek's father-in-law, Mustafa Bek, went out at dawn to the fortress and reached its first gate. The gatekeepers and other people saw Süleyman Bek's father-in-law, preceded by a young boy, his son, and followed by three women. When the latter approached the gate of the fortress, the gatekeepers asked Mustafa Bek about the women and he said that they were the wives of the three notables who had come to implore Süleyman Bek's wife to intercede on behalf of their husbands. The gatekeepers, hearing these words, [516] permitted them to pass through all the gates up to the upper gate. The gatekeepers inquired there as well, and Mustafa Bek answered in the same manner. The gatekeepers therefore permitted them to pass through, for anyone who saw Mustafa Bek, preceded by his son, and heard his reply, did not vacillate. They believed that, this day, like yesterday and every other day, Mustafa Bek was going to see Süleyman Bek and then return. They thus permitted him to pass.

They passed through all the gates, reached the palace of Süleyman Bek, and came to the door of the room where Süleyman Bek slept at night. He was still in bed at that time, but was awake. Süleyman Bek's wife and two female servants were there as well. Mustafa Bek entered the room first. Süleyman Bek lifted his head [from under the quilt] and saw that his father-in-law had come into the room and that three women stood outside the room. He covered

his face with the quilt again, for he thought that the three were indeed women and had come to plead for the imprisoned notables. That is why he covered his face. At that moment the three women [men] fell on Süleyman Bek, stabbed him several times with their daggers, wounded and killed him. Süleyman Bek perished¹ on a Friday of the fifth week of Lent; hence on the same day that Süleyman Bek had robbed [the monastery] of Varag, a year later [to the day], he was killed himself.²

After the murder of Süleyman Bek, the three men who had killed him went and immediately opened the door of the dungeon, and released the [517] three imprisoned notables from chains and jail. They exited the dungeon and came to the gates of the fortress. Their accomplices joined them as well, and together with many other people, began to cry out [summon the population] loudly. The three killers once again entered the fortress, went to the room where they had killed Süleyman Bek, took his corpse, wrapped it in some clothes, and took it out to the gates of the fortress to the throng of people that had gathered there. They said, "Here, look with your own eyes and believe that Süleyman Bek is truly dead." When they showed his corpse to the people, the three men and Süleyman Bek's father-in-law immediately went back into the fortress, shut the fortress gates and seized the fort. They thought that since they had killed Süleyman Bek, they could govern in his place.

But Süleyman Bek's wife ascended the fortress wall and cried out for a long time in the direction of the town. But, since the wall was high, no one heard her. When the wife realized that her voice was not heard in town, she took the *ghavukh*³ of Süleyman Bek and his Kashmir shawl, and since, during the murder, she had been by his side and had therefore become completely covered in blood, she covered herself with the *kavuk* and the shawl and went into town. The wind blew the *kavuk* off and it fell in front of the house of an Armenian Christian, named *Khoja Vasō*, who seeing it realized that it was the *kavuk* of the *paron*. Since it was covered in blood, he was afraid and thought, "What if they had killed the *paron*?" He hurried to the gates of the fortress and saw that they had indeed killed Süleyman Bek.

¹ Text reads *satakumn*.

² Friday, April 2, 1652, according to Brosset, *MB*, 512.

³ From the Turkish *kavuk* (a quilted turban).

Khoja Vasō, being a friend of Süleyman Bek, who had lovingly protected him and had visited him many times, secretly [518] sent men and informed Süleyman Bek's *two*¹ brothers, the older of whom was named Ibrahim Bek and the younger *Ēvliā*. Since each one of them was in his own fort and the forts were not far away from *Khoshab*, they came to *Khoshab* with their troops the moment they heard what had happened. When they approached the gates of the fortress, the murderers who had entered the fortress did not open the gates. Everything remained unchanged for several days. However, during these troubles, Süleyman Bek's brother, *Ēvliā*, struck *Mullah Ghasum* with his sword, killed him, and avenged Süleyman Bek's murder.

Subsequently, when all this ended, Süleyman Bek's wife, who still lived in the fortress alone, without the help of anyone, lowered a rope down the wall of the fortress, pulled one of Ibrahim Bek's men up into the fortress, and he pulled up another ten men, as well as Ibrahim Bek. Then, Ibrahim Bek and those men began to seek the [two other] killers of Süleyman Bek, who were in the fortress. They fled and entered the arsenal.² Ibrahim Bek threw a lit torch into the arsenal, the flame ignited the powder, the entire structure was blown up, and was scattered to the wind, with the men inside. Torn to shreds, they fell onto the ground.

After that, Ibrahim Bek took over the fortress and the entire land, while his brother, *Ēvliā* Bek, returned to his own fort, where he resided, and which was called *Apagh*. Thus, since I have written how Süleyman Bek perished,³ I shall now relate the reign of Ibrahim Bek and the return of the holy cross to the city of *Van*.

¹ Absent from F.

² Text reads *jabakhanē* from the Arabic and Persian *juba-khāna* (armory, arsenal).

³ Text reads *satakumn*.

[519] Chapter 42

The history of the rule of Ibrahim Bek and the return of the holy cross [of Varag] to the city of Van

When all the events [mentioned above] had passed, Ēvliā Bek returned to his own fort, called Apagh, and Ibrahim Bek entered the fortress of Khoshab and subjected it and all its *gawars* to his will. He slowly inquired around and exposed all the enemies as well as the accomplices in the killing of Süleyman Bek. Day after day he killed them, one by one, not showing mercy to any one of them: *neither the old, nor the young, both men and women; he eradicated them all from the face of the earth.*¹ In addition, he seized the wife and sister of Süleyman Bek, threw them in the dungeon and tortured them with all possible torments, until they revealed all the remainder of the treasures [520] of Süleyman Bek. After he took all that he found, he then killed them as well.

Ibrahim Bek once more summoned the abbot of the Hogeats' monastery, Bishop Petros, and said to him, "I am handing the holy cross to you, take it to our monastery and guard it there." But Bishop Petros replied the same as he had to Süleyman Bek. He did not take the holy cross to the monastery and it remained in the Khoshab fortress.

From the day that Süleyman Bek removed the holy cross from Varag and brought it to Khoshab, God's wrath and retribution overwhelmed the Khoshab region like a downpour. The earth did not produce fruit, and, if it did, it was barely enough for seeding. The entire land was full of discord and dissension; even the animals did not give birth and their numbers diminished. In the summer, during the fast of St. Gregory,² a great amount of snow fell; many said that it reached two arms' length.³ So much snow fell that all the flocks were left without pasture and thus a great number of the animals died from hunger. After that, a plague infected the animals of that land, so that whoever had 1,000 beasts ended with only 100. The inhabitants

¹ Absent from A and D.

² The deliverance of St. Gregory from the pit is observed on the last Saturday in May. The discovery of the relics of St. Gregory the Illuminator is traditionally held on a Saturday two weeks later. According to Brosset the fast was held during the week of May 9-13, *MB*, 514.

³ Measure equal to 28 inches.

of the Khoshab region then went to Ibrahim Bek, told him about the calamities in the land and begged him to return the holy cross to its place so that God's wrath would cease. Ibrahim Bek himself became ill with leprosy. Signs of leprosy appeared on his body. They also found a disease that resembled rheumatic pain, which took hold of his back, hips and legs, and tormented him incessantly. Ibrahim Bek's wife constantly appealed to him and during conversations asked him to return the holy [521] cross to its place. Because of all this, Ibrahim Bek agreed to return the holy cross to its place.

They informed the citizens of Van and they were filled with heavenly joy. The aforementioned Markhas Chelebi immediately took some of the parishioners and hurriedly went to the Khoshab fortress. They appeared before Ibrahim Bek, petitioned him, placed 2,000 *kuruş* in cash before him, and took the holy cross and other items—crosses and other vessels—and returned to the city of Van.

In connection with this, all the Christians, the inhabitants of that *gawar*, came out in droves to worship the holy cross. They tearfully thanked God for the return of the holy cross. However Ch'omar had taken two of the chasubles and had made two *ch'ênt'ian*,¹ which he wore.

Recalling the past calamity, the people were afraid and therefore they did not take the holy cross to the Varag monastery but kept it in the city of Van, in the church of the Holy Mother of God. The return of the holy cross to the city of Van occurred in the year 1104 (1655) of our calendar, thanks to Our Lord, Jesus Christ, *who loved mankind and*² whose glory is forever. Amen.

¹ A type of wide pants, Brosset has translated it as *caleçon*, *MB*, 514.

² Absent from **A** and **D**.

[522] Chapter 43

The history of the relics of St. John the Forerunner, which were kept from ancient times in Old Julfa, and which were subsequently found

When the Persian king, called the great Shah 'Abbās I, drove out the people of Julfa from Old Julfa and settled them in the land of the Persians, in the city of Isfahan,¹ the inhabitants of Julfa could not gather all their belongings and goods and take them with them. For, the shah had given strict orders to his officers and they rushed the people with sabers in hand to leave their abodes immediately and to get on their way. Therefore, they could not take their belongings with them. Everyone found a hiding place. They hid their goods in cellars, in pits, in chasms and other convenient places, and left. The inhabitants of the surrounding villages near the region of Julfa were aware that the Julfans had hiding places. Therefore, they constantly came, searched, dug the ground and unearthed the stones, in order to find something. Many found a great deal of goods.

It so happened that a certain man, an outsider and a [523] Muslim from the village called Mehrām, came to Old Julfa to look for and to find something. He entered the church called Verin (Upper) Kat'an. There, during his search, he found a small wooden box, that is, a *ghuti*,² in a clay pot, in the eastern wall of the main altar. When he took the wooden box out of the clay pot and opened it, a strong and fragrant scent came out of there right away. The Muslim realized deep in his heart that these were the relics of a saint. There were small and large pieces of bones in the box, as well as a piece of parchment with something written on it. The man took the box with the relics and the parchment home to reflect on what to do with it. The relics stayed in his house for many days. Day after day, his goods were reduced, his income dropped, his flocks died, and all that he had disappeared. Even his sons died. The man realized that the entire calamity had descended upon him because of the relics. He therefore removed the relics from his house, took them far away into an open field and hid them somewhere under a pile of stones, hoping that God's wrath would leave his house. However, God's anger did not leave him.

¹ See Chapter 5.

² From the Turkish *qūti/kutu* (box).

After that, the Muslim went to the miraculous monastery of the holy Forerunner (St. John the Baptist), which was located in the village of Darashamb,¹ and told everything to a bishop, named Shmawon, with whom he had been acquainted for a long time. The latter told him to bring everything to him. When the Muslim brought the box and gave it to the bishop and the latter opened it, the fragrant and marvelous scent immediately filled the room. The bishop saw the pieces of bone, [524] took the parchment and read the following words written on it, "These are parts of the relics of St. John the Forerunner, which Gregory the Illuminator brought to Armenia and placed in the city of Khram. During the destruction of the city of Khram in the year 421 (972) of our Armenian calendar, they were brought to Julfa."² These words were written on the parchment. Bishop Shmawon thanked God for finding the relics of St. John, was filled with joy, gave the Muslim man some money, took the relics from him, and the man returned to his home.

After several days, news of this reached the [New] Julfans, who were living in Isfahan. Their leader was *Khoja* Nazar; he was the leader of not only the Julfans, but of all the Christian Armenians living under the rule of the Persians. Since *Khoja* Nazar was powerful and well known, and because the Persian king, Shah 'Abbās, loved him, this *Khoja* Nazar sent some men from [New] Julfa to Bishop Shmawon and, with threatening words, asked for a small part of the relics. The envoys of *Khoja* Nazar arrived and demanded a part of the relics from the bishop. The bishop, intimidated and frightened by them, could not hide or save the relics from the Julfans and decided to hand them over. But he kept a large relic secretly with him—this was the shoulder end, which was the socket for the chest bone, located at the shoulder. He placed the rest of the bones, together with the parchment with the writing, in the same box and handed it to the Julfans, who took it to *Khoja* Nazar in Isfahan.

Bishop Shmawon kept that part of the relics until the present, which is [525] the year 1103 (1654) of the Armenian calendar. At that time the great *Vardapet* Hakob, who was also from [New] Julfa, had begun to restore, at unimaginable expense and through great la-

¹ The Monastery of the Forerunner in Darashamb (Khram) also called the Maraghda St. Step'anos Monastery is described in Gh. Alishan's *Sisakan* (Venice, 1893), 516-522.

² The account of Gregory bringing the relics of St. John the Baptist to Armenia is recorded in Agat'angeghos, *Patmut'iwn Hayots'* (Tiflis, 1909), 422-423.

bors, the same monastery of Step'anos, the proto-martyr. He planned a church built from polished stone from top to bottom. He took it upon himself to completely rebuild it from its foundation, including the wall surrounding it and everything inside the wall. Bishop Shmawon came to the great *Vardapet* Hakob, told him about the relic, and said, "I would like to put a cross in my memory and place the relic with it." The *vardapet* explained to the bishop that the [Church] canons did not permit enclosing the relics of saints with a cross; they had to be put in a box. Therefore, they made a silver box in the shape of a brick for the relic, gilded it in gold, put expensive jewels on it and placed the relic of St. John the Forerunner in it. On the box they wrote an abridged version of all the events and the circumstances [written above], and placed it in the monastery of the first martyred saint, together with items from other saints, who had interceded on behalf of all Christians, and especially for the glory and safety of the Armenian land; to heal all the possible wounds inflicted on them by their oppressors. In the name of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, blessings are upon him throughout the ages and ages. *Amen*.¹

¹ Absent from **B** and **F**.

[526] Chapter 44

The story of the martyrdom of the innocent youth Nikōghayos

The blessed martyr Nikōghayos was a native of Tigranakert, which is called Amida today. He was born and grew up in that same city. He was a shapely boy of fifteen, good-looking, and the son of Christian Armenians.

One day, when Nikōghayos, according to his habit, was walking around the marketplace, a man, a Muslim by faith, who was named Mehmed, approached him and began to stroke his face and embrace him in a wanton and lustful manner, which reveals itself habitually among the Muslims. Nikōghayos became very incensed and embarrassed, and pushed him away. Another Muslim, also named Mehmed, was present there. The Mehmed, who had just amused himself with Nikōghayos, pointed to the other Mehmed and said to Nikōghayos, "Why do you love and fornicate with this Mehmed and not with me?" Nikōghayos replied, "I shall do it [copulate] with your mother and his mother." [The former] Mehmed immediately called the people who were standing nearby and the shop owners, and said, "For [527] God's sake be witnesses; you heard with your own ears that he blasphemed our religion and the prophet Muhammad." A large group of Muslims, resembling rabid dogs, gathered around them. They seized Nikōghayos and took him to the judge at the court. Some of them became the accusers, others witnesses, and yet others avengers; and they condemned Nikōghayos to death.

The judge asked Nikōghayos if he had indeed blasphemed against the prophet Muhammad. Nikōghayos replied, "I did not blaspheme. I did not say anything about the prophet Muhammad. The man embraced me wantonly and shamed me in public; that is why I cursed¹ his mother." But the Mehmed, who had bothered Nikōghayos, rose as a plaintiff and testified that he [Nikōghayos] had indeed insulted² the prophet Muhammad. He added, "I have two witnesses." He brought the men and presented them to the judge. *One of them was*

¹ Text reads *k'frets'i*, from the Arabic *kufr* (to blaspheme); the term, as used in Armenian, signifies the use of curse words to insult someone's family members, especially women.

² Text again reads *k'fr*.

called Baghal¹ Allahverdi, the other Halvach'i² Sēid.³ They stood before the judge and swore that they had heard Nikōghayos blaspheme Muhammad. The judge told Nikōghayos, "Since so many Muslims have gathered and are accusing you, I know that they shall not let you remain alive and will kill you. Therefore, take my advice and become a Muslim in order to escape death." But Nikōghayos refused to accept the faith of Muhammad. The judge told him many times, "I shall give you much treasure, expensive things, and a beautiful wife, if you accept Muhammad's religion." But Nikōghayos replied, "I [528] shall not renounce my illuminated faith. If you kill me, a guiltless man, then it is your affair." The Muslims all stood up as accusers and forced the judge to issue a *sijil*⁴ for Nikōghayos' death. The judge issued the *sijil*.

The Muslims, resembling mad beasts that thirsted for Christian blood, took the *sijil* and Nikōghayos to the pasha, who was named Mustafa Pasha. They informed him of everything and greatly libeled [Nikōghayos]. The pasha told Nikōghayos, "Hear my words and convert to the radiant faith of Muhammad, which as you can see has illuminated the entire world. In exchange, I shall appoint you my permanent underling, treat you as a son, give you much treasure and expensive goods, a beautiful wife, whoever you desire from among the daughters of the grandees, a governmental post, and many other favors." Nikōghayos replied, "I do not need any of these favors. If you wish me well, let me continue to live in my faith; but, if you kill me, an innocent man, it is your affair." The pasha repeatedly said, "I shall grant you glory and honor if you turn from your faith into the faith of Muhammad." But Nikōghayos did not renounce it [his faith]. The Muslims, from all sides, insisted and demanded that the pasha give the order to kill Nikōghayos. When the pasha realized that Nikōghayos⁵ would not convert [to Islam], he, *therefore*,⁶ gave the order and sentenced him to death.

¹ From the Arabic *baqqāl*, a greengrocer, a vendor of provisions in general.

² A man who sells *halwā'* (halvah), a sweet pasty cake made of sesame seeds, flour, oil, and sugar.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ From the Arabic *sijill* (the record of a court of judicature; the minutes or attestation of a notary).

⁵ Absent from D.

⁶ Absent from A and D.

A group of executioners then gathered around him. [529] They undressed him, twisted his arms behind his back, and took him bare-headed and barefoot all over the town. A crier, making loud announcements, went before him. They brought him to the center of the main *meydan* (square), where, on a stone that was placed there, the arms and legs of those sentenced to death were broken. There, the executioners told him a number of times, "Renounce your faith and accept the faith of Muhammad. Do not be stubborn, for we shall now break your arms and legs." The other Muslims said the same thing, but Nikōghayos did not listen any longer to anyone. At that moment a priest of the town, a certain *k'ahana*, named Martiros, placed a communion wafer in a date, came and presented it to Nikōghayos, who took it and ate it. The executioners who witnessed this were disturbed and began to ask what the *erēts*¹ had given to Nikōghayos. But the *erēts* hurriedly hid, escaped from there, and was saved. The executioners repeatedly suggested that Nikōghayos accept the religion of Muhammad and escape death. When he did not, they told Nikōghayos, "Since you won't listen to us and accept the faith of Muhammad, then stretch out your arms on the stone, so that we can break them." The blessed Nikōghayos himself stretched out his arms on the stone and the executioners hit them with a hatchet and cut through the muscles of both arms. After that they demanded [that he stretch out his legs], he stretched out his legs, and the executioners broke the shinbone of both legs. Nikōghayos lay there mutilated in the arena all day. On the second day the Christians went to the pasha and the judge and asked permission to remove him [530] from there and take him home. The order was given, the Christians came, lifted him and took him to his home. After his arms and legs had been broken, Nikōghayos remained alive for three days, and after that he gave up his holy soul, like fragrant incense, to God.

That same night, the Lord Christ glorified him with a heavenly light, which descended upon him and which was witnessed by all the Christians who had gathered there. They were *all*² delighted and, with great joy and exultation, glorified God. The saintly Nikōghayos himself, while he was alive, related, "At the time when they broke my arms and legs, I saw a bright light which appeared and descended from the sky and penetrated my mouth." The day after the death of the saint, a large number of Christians gathered, lifted the martyr to

¹ Text reads *erēts*' instead of *k'ahana*.

² Absent from A, D, and F.

Christ, and with psalms and benedictions took him to his grave in the Armenian cemetery. There they laid him to rest in a grave, next to other saintly martyrs. Today, the sick and the infirm go to his holy grave and are healed from all their ailments through the prayers of the saintly martyr Nikōghayos and the grace of Christ, Our Lord, whose glory is eternal. Amen. The martyrdom of the saintly Nikōghayos occurred on April 15, in the year 1091 (1642) of the Armenian calendar, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim over the nation of the Ottomans in the great city of Istanbul, and during the rule of the venerable patriarch *tēr* P'ilippos on the great throne of holy Ējmiatsin.

It so happened that, while the saintly Nikōghayos was still alive, in the city of Amida, a certain *vardapet*, whose [531] name I could not ascertain, came to him, took his broken right arm, kissed it, and asked, "Will your right hand to me, for I plan to construct a church and shall place this holy right arm in the foundation of the church." The saintly Nikōghayos gladly agreed and said, "Cut it off right now and take it." But as long as he remained alive they did not sever the arm; they cut it off after his death. The *vardapet* took the holy right arm of Nikōghayos with great fervor and placed it in the foundation of the church that he built. Moreover, the *vardapet* also¹ secretly took that stone, upon which they had broken the arms and legs of the saintly Nikōghayos, and placed it in the foundation of the church, which he built² for the glorification of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, forever and ever. Amen.

¹ Absent from A.

² The stone is mentioned, however, as being in the same spot a few years later; see next chapter.

[532] Chapter 45

*The story of the martyrdom of the saintly¹ Christian,
named Khach'atur*

The blessed martyr *Khach'atur*² was a native of the city of Tigranaker-
ert, which is presently called Amida. He was born and raised in that
same city, and belonged to the Armenian nation. He had parents,
brothers and many other relatives. He was around twenty years old,
more or less. He was handsome and well built. He really loved
prayers, listened to the sermons and to everything that the *k'ahana*
read in church: gospels, masses, and especially the life and martyr-
dom of saints. He went to church every day, without exception, and
participated in the prayers and the daily services. He stood near the
pulpit, where they read the holy books and recited the prayers. When
they recited the lives and sufferings of the martyrs, a flood of tears
[533] would flow from his eyes. He truly wished to experience the
sufferings of the martyred saints and continuously told his family at
home, his neighbors, and friends, "I do not wish to die a natural
death. I want to perish like a martyr and die for my true faith." He
was an apprentice of a Christian, a *ch'lngar*,³ who was a master of
locks and of similar small things. [Khach'atur] worked in the shop
with his master, situated in the bazaar, and constantly occupied him-
self with his profession. Their shop was located near the big mosque,
which they call *Jumay mach'it'*.⁴

One day Khach'atur told his master in the shop, "I am leaving the
shop, but I don't think I shall ever return." They say that Khach'atur
said, "Last night I dreamed of my martyrdom; I am going to become
a martyr; that is why I say that I shall not return to the shop." He said
these words, left the shop, went to the courtyard of the big mosque,
stood by the fountain and began to wash his hands in the water flow-
ing down [from the fountain]. At that moment, a certain Muslim, an
emir with a green headgear,⁵ cursed at Khach'atur and said, "Get out

¹ "Saintly" is absent from A.

² Absent from A and D.

³ From the Turkish *çilingir* (locksmith).

⁴ *Juma' masjid* (Friday Mosque, the main mosque used for public
prayers on Fridays).

⁵ A *sayyid*. A *sayyid* or *seyyed* was originally a chief of a tribe; later, in
Islamic times, a title of honor for descendants of the prophet Muhammad
who wore green turbans.

of here, let me wash up!" Khach'atur cursed him and insulted his green color. Many Muslims gathered around them during this exchange. They seized Khach'atur and took him to the judge. Some of them acted as accusers, others as witnesses, and the rest as avengers; they sentenced Khach'atur to death. In the court, the judge turned to Khach'atur and said, [534] "Son, you are still a child and are very young; have pity on your youth and save yourself, for all these Muslims who have surrounded you will not let you live. Listen to my words, renounce *your false*¹ faith and accept the faith of Muhammad, for it is a benevolent and a blessed [faith]. The Muslims, as you can see, have multiplied and prospered, their kingdom has strengthened and they rule over all present and future [generations]." But the blessed Khach'atur replied, "Your faith is false [and not ours], just as your prophet and messenger is a false prophet. Our faith is the true one and is handed to us by Christ, just as Christ is the true [prophet], as you yourself know.² I shall not renounce Christ, Our Lord, and shall not give up my bright faith and accept your dark faith. Free me or kill me. Even if you skin me alive, like Nasimi,³ I shall not give up my faith." The judge spoke to him nicely for a long time, promised him many things, treasures and goods, a wife, and a government post, but Khach'atur would not agree. Some of the Muslims went to the *mufti*⁴ and asked, "What is the sentence for a person who curses the prophet Muhammad and his religion?" The *mufti* gave the following *fatwa*, "Since he has cursed the prophet Muhammad and his religion and has himself said 'even if you skin me alive like Nasimi, I shall not renounce my faith,' then let him be skinned alive." The Muslims took the *fatwa* to the *kadi* (judge) and obtained a *sijil*. [535] After that, they took Khach'atur to the pasha and told him every-

¹ Absent from A.

² Refers to the Surahs III, IV in the Qur'an.

³ The Turkish poet Nasimi (Nesimi) was a member of the esoteric *hurūfi* sect. They used the occult properties of the letters of the alphabet and of the divine and angelic names that they formed. Ibn Khaldun gave it the name of *sīmiyā'* (white magic), *Muqaddima*, III (Rosenthal trans.), 171-182. Nasimi was a native of Baghdad and his *Dīwān* includes a Persian and a Turkish section. Both were printed in a thin volume in Constantinople in 1881. Gibb calls him "the first true poet of the Western Turks." He was skinned alive and killed in Aleppo in 1417. For more details, see E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, III (Cambridge, 1969), 369.

⁴ A *mufti* is a public official who gives a *fatwa/fetwa* (opinion on a point of law), the term "law" applying, in Islam, to all civil or religious matters.

thing. The pasha, observing Khach'atur's beauty and youth, uttered many nice words and said the following, "I shall give you great riches and expensive gifts, a government post and a beautiful wife of your choice from among the daughters of notables. If you renounce your faith and accept the faith of Muhammad, you shall receive numerous rewards, in addition to escaping from death." But the blessed Khach'atur replied, "All these rewards you promise are deceptive and vain, for they are transient; your faith is also false, for it was formed by a false prophet. My faith is the true and holy one, for Christ gave it to us and you are witness to its truth. Even if you do not kill me by a single blow but skin me alive, I shall not renounce Christ my Lord and his true faith." The pasha said, "He is probably delirious or has gone insane. Take him and observe him for a while, maybe he will come to his senses." They took him and held him for two hours. The Muslims came to him and all mourned, pitied him, and said, "Do not destroy your beauty and youth." But he did not pay heed to their words. The pasha again summoned Khach'atur to his presence and promised to give him more wealth than before if he renounced the Christian faith and accepted the religion of Muhammad, but Khach'atur did not budge. The pasha then gave the order and sentenced him to death.

The executioners, resembling bloodsucking beasts, came and surrounded him, undressed him, and tied his hands behind his back. They grabbed him [536] and took him to the place of execution. The town crier, that is, the *jarchi*, went before him, shouting loudly. A large throng of Muslims, like the innumerable sands of the sea, gathered around him and there was not enough space for all. Like wild beasts they gnashed their teeth at him, beat him, struck him, and dragged him out of the upper fortress. When they exited the gates of the fortress, there, in front of the fortress gates, which were called New Gates, the saintly Khach'atur told the executioners, "Tear my skin off for the faith and the love I bear Christ my Lord." Then, the impious executioners, beasts in human form, tore the skin off his body from the right shoulder to the left shoulder; they removed the skin from his back up his sacrum and turned aside the skin from his spine. They also tore off the skin from his chest, under his nipples, and turned aside the skin of his stomach. They then took him throughout the town and showed him [to the people] in the marketplace, roads, streets and squares. Everyone rushed to look at this amazing procession: men and women, old and young, as well as

maidens.¹ Everyone who saw this trembled from horror. The outward appearance of the saintly Khach'atur was bright and happy, as that of an angel of God; it did not *reveal*² the great torment. In addition, Khach'atur had previously learned many of the poems of Nasimi, which Nasimi himself had recited during his torture, as well as holy chants of the Passion of Christ. He now sang these in a loud and melodious voice about himself [537] and went throughout the town wherever the executioners took him. Ending their route, the executioners brought him to the center of the large *meydan*, to the place where the arms and legs of those who were sentenced to death were broken. With every passing minute, more and more Muslims gathered there. A large number of Christians came there as well. They all gathered and witnessed everything. The executioners talked with Khach'atur and said, "Do not be stubborn, submit to the rule of the mighty, accept our faith and save yourself from death, for you can still live and be cured with the help of medicines." The other Muslims and notables said the same thing, "*Just*³ utter one word of our religion and that will be enough for us to stop this and permit you to live." Some of the mullahs said to Khach'atur, "Although you are dying, are destroying your youth, and are giving up this life, in order that you save your soul in the other life, accept the faith of Muhammad at the end of your life, so that your soul will continue to live and have an eternal life." But the saintly Khach'atur did not listen to anyone; he replied to each as was proper and stood firmly by his Christian faith. He bravely and irreversibly continued to believe in Christ the Lord.

In the center of the *meydan*, there was placed, from time immemorial, a stone upon which the arms and legs of those sentenced to death were broken. The executioners told Khach'atur, "Since you are stubborn and do not listen to us, stretch out your arms upon the stone, so that we can break them." He willingly stretched out his arms upon the stone, and the executioners struck them with hatchets and broke both [538] his arms. After that they demanded [that he stretch out] his legs. He stretched out both legs, and the executioners crushed the shinbones of both legs. Saintly blood flowed out from him, covered all his body and stained the earth. After that he could

¹ Text reads *anargel aghjkunk'*, young girls who were not permitted to leave their homes and walk in public.

² Armenian spelling corrected in ink.

³ Absent from F.

not sit any longer. He fell and stretched out on the ground. The Christians, who had surrounded him, looked and cried bitterly and shed bloody tears. Many Muslims also cried for him and cursed their faith, its creator, their notables and judges. All of them, frightened and full of veneration, were amazed and asked each other, "Has anyone seen anything like this?" For the scene was truly terrible. The saintly Khach'atur, extremely weakened from the terrible and cruel torments, and burning and dying from thirst, begged the people around to give him water. One person, pitying him, went and got him some water in a ladle and he drank the water from the ladle. The saintly Khach'atur also begged those Christians who stood near him to go and bring him a *k'ahana* so he could receive communion. But the *k'ahana*, fearing the Muslims, did not come themselves; they placed the communion wafer inside a piece of bread, gave it to the Christians, and they brought it and gave it to Khach'atur. He took it, ate the bread with the communion, and thanked God. He lay thus, with broken limbs, at the place of execution until dusk. At night, when it became dark, *Vardapet* Khach'atur Baghishets'i¹ and *abegha* Samuēl Baluets'i came to Khach'atur, fell on his saintly body and shed warm tears, kissed his saintly head, [539] consoled and comforted him with reassuring words and strengthened him in his faith. The saintly Khach'atur said to *Vardapet* Khach'atur, "You know that I have no hands with which to take your saintly right hand and kiss it. That is why I ask you to stretch out your right hand to my lips so that I may kiss it." The *vardapet* stretched out his right hand to the saintly lips of Khach'atur, who gladly kissed it. The saintly Khach'atur then said, "I ask you to pray for me." The *vardapet* replied, "My son, although we have the rank and position of *k'ahana*, we are sinners and guilty before God, but you, by the grace of Christ and through your martyrdom, have gained the blessing of the Lord and have opened your way to the Kingdom of God. You have presented your courage to Christ, therefore intercede on our behalf." Fearing the Muslims, they could not stay with him for long; they received the blessings of the saint and hurried back home.

The saintly Khach'atur remained alive with his lacerated body until midnight. He then gave up his saintly soul, like some fragrant incense, to God. After the saint gave up his soul, Christ the Lord glorified him, for a bright light descended upon him from the heavens. It remained there for a long time, so that the troops, who stood by

¹ He was one of the successors of Grigor Tat'ewats'i; see Chapter 32.

and guarded him, witnessed it, as did the people, who slept on wooden boards in the *meydan*, for it was summertime. Everyone saw the light and praised the Lord. They were filled with rapture and envied the saintly Khach'atur. They realized that the Christian faith was the true one, since because of it [540] such a sign had appeared from heaven. In the morning, at sunrise, news of this spread everywhere, and whoever heard of this praised the Lord. At daybreak, the Christians went to the *kadi* and the pasha and asked permission to bury the saint. They gave their permission. The *subashi*,¹ however, took fifteen *kurus* from them. After that the *k'ahana* and eight laymen put the body of the holy martyr in a coffin and took it to the Armenian cemetery, where quite a large mass of Christians, not only Armenians, but also Romans (Greeks), Syrians² and Jacobites³, as well as many Muslims—some for diversion, others for observation—had gathered. All the Christians fervently and devoutly kissed the saint. They kept him [there] all day, so that all the people could kiss him, for there was almost no one in the city who did not come to the burial of the saint. They mourned, envied the saint, comforted his parents, and with great honor buried him near other martyrs. That night, Christ the Lord once again extolled his martyr; a bright light once more descended from the heavens on his saintly grave. The Christians, who feared Muslim intrigues and who guarded him against their evil deeds, witnessed it. In addition, numerous Christians, who had remained in the cemetery because of their love for the saint, saw the light as well. The next day they went and told everyone. Many sick and infirm, through their faith, are now healed at his gravesite. [541] The ladle, from which the saintly Khach'atur drank water, also has healing power, for when water is poured on the sick from the ladle they are healed by the prayers of the saintly Khach'atur, through the grace of Christ, Our Lord, whose glory is eternal. Amen.

In addition, the Lord's grace, because of his love and respect for his martyr, the saintly Khach'atur, manifested itself upon his Christian people. On the day of the burial of the saint, some Muslims, who had come to the cemetery, were enraged and filled with envy over

¹ From the Turkish *subaşı* (police superintendent).

² Text reads *Asorik'* (Syrian, in this case belonging to the Syriac Church, or possibly the Nestorian Church).

³ Text reads *Eaghubik'* (members of the Monophysite Christian Church taking its name from Jacobus Baradeus of Edessa, a Syrian monk who revived the Eutychian doctrine in the 6th century).

the glorious burial of the saintly Khach'atur. They went to the pasha, slandered the Christians, and said, "All the Christians have gathered and buried him as a martyr with pomp and great honor, demonstrating that their faith is true and ours is false." The pasha, therefore, ordered that sentinels be placed on the road early in the morning, so that the next day when the Christians went to the grave of the murdered man to conduct the requiem, they would be seized, taken to the tribunal and condemned. The Christians were totally unaware of this perfidious and assiduous snare. But God, through a mysterious measure, saved his people. On that day, a man, one of the pasha's confidants and a certain citizen from among the noted officers, quarreled with each other. The military men—the officers and the Janisseries—[542] viewed this as a personal insult, decided to take revenge, and began a row with the pasha. They seized the pasha and his troops and locked them up in the upper fortress. They kept them there for one week. The pasha and the [Muslim] citizens were thus occupied with this strife and the Christians were saved, thanks to the intercession of the saintly Khach'atur and the grace of the Lord. The martyrdom of the saintly Khach'atur took place on August 20 in the year 1101 (1652) of the Armenian calendar, during the reign of *tēr* P'ilippos on the sublime throne of holy Ējmiatsin and the rule of the Ottoman Sultan Muhammad [IV], who sat in the great city of Constantinople. *We, the believers, also ask Our Lord, Jesus Christ, whose glory is forever and ever, to save all Christians from the impious and beasts in human form [Muslims], through the intercession of his saints. Amen.*¹

¹ Absent from A and D.

Chapter 46

The story of the martyrdom of a Christian named Sirun

There was a man named Sirun, who was born in the village called Aliwr, which is at present called Amuk,¹ in the *gawar* of Gnuneants' in the province of Vaspurakan. He was an Armenian by birth, a Christian by faith, and a son of Christians. He had a mother and a brother, [543] who raised him and married him off. This man, Sirun, because of financial need, bound himself to a Muslim infidel, received a salary from him and worked for him. It so happened that, one spring, Sirun's master sent him to the city of Khlat' to bring fruit for his family. The latter went and bought cherries, loaded them on a horse and took them to the city of Van. While he was walking the horse and its load through the streets of Van, Muslim boys gathered around the load and each boy grabbed some cherries from the bale as he passed by it. Sirun did not allow them to rob him and pursued the boys. One of the Muslim boys threw a stone at Sirun, which struck him. Sirun took the stone and hurled it at the thrower. The stone hit the boy's head and wounded him. The boy was taken ill, was sick for two months, and then died from his wound. Sirun's master forced Sirun to flee, in order to somehow save him from the Muslims. Sirun went home to his village of Aliwr.

But the *shahnes*² of the village of Aliwr, [who were] Muslims, seized Sirun and threw him into a dungeon. The Christians of the village gave the *shahnes* a large bribe so that the latter would release him, but they did not let him go; instead they informed the family of the dead boy. Seeking to avenge the blood of the dead, they went to the pasha, took soldiers, and sent them after Sirun. They went and brought Sirun to the pasha in the city of Van. The pasha sent for the judge and the *mufti* and asked them, "What does Muhammad's law say about such an incident? [544] Is it punishable by death or it is justifiable [accidental] and should the accused be freed?" They did not condemn Sirun to death, but judged him innocent and [set him] free. The pasha, therefore, did not kill Sirun.

¹ The village of Amuk (Amiuk) is located northwest of Van, near Lake Van.

² From the Arabic *shahne* (police magistrate, tax collector).

But thirsting for Christian blood, the city's *sukhti*¹ did not listen to the pasha, the *kadi* or the *mufti*. Two or three hundred *sukhti* united, gathered together and fell upon the innocent youth Sirun. They drew their swords, sabers and daggers and, with terrible cries, threatened him, saying, "Accept the faith of Muhammad and become a Muslim. If not, you shall be struck down by our swords, hit by stones and shall perish at our hands." They also brought a thin rope and tightly twisted it around his arms, from the shoulders down to his hands. The rope was tied so taut that the end of his fingernails burst and blood flowed onto his hands. They also subjected him to a variety of torments: they beat him, struck his skull, dragged him on the ground, starved him in a dungeon, and like crazed beasts gnashed their teeth at him. Each one brandished his sword in front of him and said, "Become a Muslim and you shall not only escape death but we shall also give you plenty of goods and wealth." But Sirun would not agree and said, "I shall not give up my holy faith and shall not accept your dark religion." His mother, brothers and other well wishers also cried out and said, "Profess their faith now, for the sake of saving your life. Later, you will go to another country, under Christian rule, and shall boldly follow your Christian faith." [545] Although they pleaded with him for a long time, he did not agree and said, "My temporary death which hangs over me shall overtake me wherever I am. Why should I lose my faith and be judged by God for the sake of a few years of life?" Sirun was glad and happy in his soul at his torments and martyrdom. The color of his face demonstrated this, for his outward appearance became brighter day after day.

But the beasts in men's clothing, the *sukhti*, dragged him around for twenty days with his arms tied behind his back and bareheaded throughout the city of Van, for the pasha, the *kadi* and the *mufti* did not give the order to kill him. All the *sukhti*, out of spite, united and for three days prevented the *muezzin* from summoning the faithful to prayer from the top of the minaret, screaming, "Muhammad's religion has been crippled, has disappeared and has sunk into the ground, for an Armenian unbeliever has killed a Muslim." When they brought Sirun, who was tied up as usual, to the Nalband² quarter, there, the most vicious of the *sukhti*, with a bare dagger in his hands, struck Sirun with great force between his ribs, causing him to fall

¹ From the Persian *sukhte*, a student of religion; or, more probably, from the Arabic *suqta* (mob, rabble or ruffraff).

² From *na'lband* (a smith, a farrier).

face downward. Another *sukhti* took a heavy stone, struck Sirun's head, smashed it, and Sirun's brains spilled out. Thus Sirun's life came to an end and he died. They then tied a rope to his legs and dragged him through the town, to the place where they execute those sentenced to death. There they began to throw stones at the dead body until it was completely covered [by stones]. Then, the blood-thirsty beasts, the *sukhti*, left him and went home.

[546] That same night, Our Lord, Christ, glorified him by bringing down celestial light upon him, which was seen not only by Christians, but also many Muslims. They told everyone, so that word of this reached the *sukhti* who had killed him. Some of them came, witnessed it, and went and told the others. They sent their servants, who went, found dead dogs, brought their carcasses, and threw them on top of the saintly body of Sirun, hoping that the radiant light would disappear. But the bright light, by the grace of Our Lord, Christ, continued to shine until morning. In the morning the Christians went to the pasha and the *kadi* and asked permission to bury [Sirun]. Obtaining that permission, the Christians went, took [his body] to the Christian cemetery, and buried the martyr for the Christian faith, named Sirun. Sirun's martyrdom occurred on August¹ 5 of the year 1104 (1655) of our calendar, during the period of the reign of *tēr* Hakob upon the sublime throne of holy Ējmiatsin and the rule of the Ottoman Sultan Muhammad [IV], who sat in the great city of Constantinople. They now wash the stone that had smashed the saintly Sirun's head and pour the water on the sick, and they are healed by the grace of Christ, Our Lord, whose glory is eternal. *Amen.*²

¹ Absent from F.

² Absent from D.

[547] Chapter 47

The story of the martyrdom of a man named Mkhit'ar

There lived a man named Mkhit'ar, a Christian, and a native of the city of Van. He was an Armenian by descent and the son of Christians. This man, Mkhit'ar, was well known in the city of Van; the pasha, the *kadi*, the *yaniçer-ağasi*, and the other notables [knew him], for he was a very good horseman, jouster, strong, wise and eloquent. That is why all the Janissaries, officers, and many notables had befriended him.

It so happened that, one day, the above Mkhit'ar sat in his house with his companions, drank wine, and enjoyed the sounds of the lute and other musical instruments. The sound of music attracted many Muslim boys, who gladly sat by his door, skylight, and on the walls [surrounding his house]. Mkhit'ar's father, seeing the boys, went out and drove them away from there. [548] One of the boys turned obstinate and hit him. He [the father] went into the house and said that the boy had struck him. Then, Mkhit'ar, as befitting such a brave man, fell into a crazed anger, ran out of the house with a drawn dagger in hand, in pursuit of the boys, uttering curses upon the faith and law of the Muslims. At that moment, a Muslim named Hajji Ēib (Ayub), who was Mkhit'ar's next-door neighbor, saw and heard the abuse that Mkhit'ar showered on the Muslim boys. He reproached Mkhit'ar and said, "Be quiet, cease your abuse, for it is improper to curse children of the Muslim faith in this manner." Mkhit'ar abandoned his pursuit of the children, ran after Hajji Ēib, and heaped abuse upon him. During his pursuit he met the brother of the *ğullar-ağasi*, who also told Mkhit'ar, "Do not behave so improperly." Mkhit'ar turned on him and began to abuse him in anger.

As for Hajji Ēib, he went to the *sukhti* and complained about Mkhit'ar. With bitterness in his heart, he told them about Mkhit'ar's words and behavior. Then, many *sukhti* gathered, and together they decided to avenge the insults against the religion of Muhammad. They went to the pasha, took troops from him, returned, seized Mkhit'ar, tied him up, took him to the pasha's jail, and imprisoned him under guard. The Janissaries of the upper fortress of Van, Mkhit'ar's friends, were unaware of this. When they heard that they had seized Mkhit'ar [549] and had thrown him in jail, fifty Janissa-

ries and two *shorvajis*¹ came and released Mkhitar from jail, took him with them to the upper fortress, kept him for two days, and, seeing that the *sukhti* and the other Muslims had quieted down and no longer talked about Mkhitar, let him² go. He returned home.

The impious *sukhti* gathered again, went and seized Mkhitar, tied him up, and took him to the pasha. The pasha sent them to the *kadi* and the *mufti* to inquire about Muhammad's law regarding this man, whether to kill him or not. They did not rule to kill him; therefore the pasha did not kill him and ordered his release. As to the *sukhti*, they did not release him. They tied his arms behind his back, took him around the houses of the notables bareheaded and barefoot, beat him, struck his head, spat at him and tortured him in every way, saying, "Renounce your faith and accept our religion; if not, you shall die at our hands, [will be] struck down with swords and showered with stones." Saying this, they bared their swords in their hands and swung them over his head. But Mkhitar, wherever they took him, openly and loudly cursed and showered various insults at Muhammad's religion and law in front of everyone. He did this not one day, but every day. With a brave heart he said, "Do you think that fear of your swift and illusionary death will make me renounce my true faith in Christ, my Lord?" All of Mkhitar's friends, parents and the youth—people of the same age as he—came to him, pleaded and said, "To satisfy the *sukhti*, [550] utter some words outwardly and temporarily. You can then go to another country and follow your faith." But Mkhitar did not even hear them. With a brave heart and a radiant face, he worshipped the Lord Christ and insulted Muhammad's religion in front of the *sukhti*. The pasha and the *yeniçer-ağasi* sent men to Mkhitar and promised him much wealth and property, a magnificent horse, armor, and a government post as long as he said something to satisfy the *sukhti* and to save himself from death, for they sympathized with his manliness and bravery. But Mkhitar, because of his faith in Christ, did not bow to their words. The *sukhti* constantly dragged him all around the homes of the notables, for the pasha, the *kadi*, and the *mufti* would not give the order to kill him. Therefore, the *sukhti* became enraged and forbade the calling [of prayer] in all the mosques, as was customary for [the muezzin] to

¹ From the Turkish *çorbaci* (colonel of the Janissaries. The term also applies to Christian notables in Turkish towns).

² B, C, and E read "Mkhitar."

*climb atop the minaret in time of prayers.*¹ They continued this act for three days, saying, "Muhammad's faith is perverted, has disappeared, and has fallen to the ground, for an unbeliever is openly and boldly cursing Muhammad's religion."

One day, when they were taking Mkhitar through the streets, the most vicious of the *sukhti*, with a drawn dagger in hand, plunged it into Mkhitar's back, and blood spurted on the nearby wall. [551] Mkhitar fell face down from the blow. The other *sukhti* fell upon him and struck him with their swords and he died then and there. Then they tied a rope to his legs and dragged him into town, to the place where all those who were sentenced to death were executed. A *great number of*² Muslims gathered there and threw stones at the dead body so that it became completely covered. Then, the blood-thirsty beasts in human form, the *sukhti*, left him and went away.

That same night the Janissary guards, who were in the upper fortress, saw that a large radiant beam was emanating from the body. In the morning they went and told everyone what they had seen. On the second day the Christians went to the pasha and the *kadi* and asked permission to bury the saint; permission was granted. Therefore, the *k'ahana* and the parishioners of all the churches gathered in a large procession, lifted his glorious body, took it to the Armenian cemetery, and buried him among the Christians with the singing of psalms and benedictions that glorified Christ, who had crowned Mkhitar. His martyrdom occurred on November 12 of the year 1105 (1656) of our calendar, during the reign of *tēr* Hakob on the glorious throne of holy Ējmiatsin and the rule of the Ottoman Sultan Muhammad [IV], who reigned in the great city of Constantinople. *We ask Christ, through the intercession of all his saints, [552] to have pity on all Christians. Eternal glory to Him! Amen.*³

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Absent from B, C, and E.

³ Absent from A and D.

Chapter 48

The story of the martyrdom of a Christian named Awetis

There lived a man, an Armenian by birth and a Christian by faith, named Awetis. He was a native of the region of Ostan (Vostan).¹ Because of need and poverty, his family had gathered and moved to the land of Barma, which they now call Aghbak² and settled in the village of Bablasan. This man, Awetis, because of need, attached himself to a Kurdish notable, who was named Bak'dar Agha, and who was the ruler of the fortress called Lorik'an. Awetis remained in Bak'dar Agha's service for two years.

It so happened that some of the servants of Bak'dar Agha, Muslims by faith and Kurds by descent, colleagues of Awetis, appeared once before Bak'dar Agha and, out of envy, said the following about Awetis, "We have, on numerous occasions, heard him say that he wished to renounce the Christian faith and accept Islam." In their desire for vengeance they insisted that the *paron* turn Awetis away from the Christian faith. Bak'dar Agha asked Awetis about the truth in this matter and received the following [553] reply, "I shall not give up my Christian faith; they are saying these things about me in vain." Bak'dar Agha, therefore, did not pay heed to the words of his servants and ordered them to be quiet. He forgave Awetis and said, "I shall permit him to remain in his faith." Although Bak'dar Agha reproached the slanderers and tried to stop them, he did not succeed in halting their activities. The problem mushroomed day after day until it reached the ears of the great governor, Khosrow Pasha.

Khosrow Pasha, the brother of the great *paron* Ezdishēr, was the ruler of that region and the overlord of Bak'dar Agha. The wicked witnesses seized Awetis and took him to Khosrow Pasha, who lived in the fortress called P'izan, and repeated the same declaration to him. Khosrow Pasha asked the truth of the matter. Awetis confessed to the Christian faith and Khosrow Pasha ordered that he be kept in chains. After several days he summoned Awetis, questioned him, and found out that he considered himself a Christian and was firm in the religion of Christ. In his answer he [Awetis] said, "Why should I leave the light and seek darkness, for Christ is the light, as is his re-

¹ Vostan is located southeast of Lake Van.

² Aghbak is located east of Lake Van in the eastern corner of the Vaspu-rakan province.

ligion, while your founder, whom you call a prophet, was a seducer and a swindler and all his words are false." After this, they first tried to trick him with kind words and ruses. Khosrow Pasha said, "I shall give you the rank of *paron*, a village, and the daughter of any notable you desire." He brought a magnificent horse and a gold-braided harness,¹ placed them before Awetis and said, "If you listen to me, I shall keep you constantly by my side, hold you in high esteem, and make you a high-ranking official." But Awetis did not agree.

[554] Khosrow Pasha then summoned the heads of his vain religion and asked them, "What do your law books say about this man?" They replied that because of the words he had uttered, which were confirmed by witnesses, he could live but only in the religion of Muhammad; otherwise he had to be put to death without question. After these words, the false witnesses appeared and once again repeated their slanderous accusations. Khosrow Pasha summoned Awetis numerous times and told him the same thing over and over again, "Renounce your Christian faith and I shall give you all the wealth I have promised and more." But Awetis did not renounce his Christian faith. Khosrow Pasha, realizing that Awetis stood firm in his Christian faith and did not wish to renounce it, ordered that he be freed from his bounds and permitted him to have his will—to live as a Christian. But the mullahs and *mudarris*,² who studied the laws of Muhammad, gathered around Khosrow Pasha and read him words from their books, saying, "You have to forcibly turn him to our true faith."³ If he does not agree, he has to be killed." Khosrow Pasha, however, waved them away and said, "I will not be guilty of this man's blood and will not take part in your judgment; if you listen to me, you will release him, for he is innocent; if you do not, then it is your own affair."⁴

The mullahs and the *mudarris* went and kidnapped Awetis, took him⁵ to their place, began to dress him in expensive and noble clothes, offered him tasty food and drink, gratified him with pleasant speeches, and [555] promised to give him double of what Khosrow Pasha had promised. But Awetis did not renounce the Christian faith.

¹ Text reads *saruk'*, from the Turkish *sarki*, gold embroidered cover.

² From the Arabic *mudarris* (a teacher, tutor, or professor; in this case, one who studies books on Islam).

³ The Qur'an accepts the Jews and Christians as "People of the Book," hence forced conversions were forbidden; see *Surah III*, 57.

⁴ The similarity to the words of Pontius Pilate is obvious here.

⁵ Absent from F.

Then, when they realized that *Awetis*¹ would not renounce, they began to torture him in various ways, especially by piercing the soft parts of his body—from the neck to his feet—with their sharp swords, so that not one place, larger than a palm, remained in his body that was not pierced. His entire body and clothes were covered in blood; people who saw this trembled. Khosrow Pasha once again asked them to bring *Awetis*. When they brought him to his presence and he saw his blood-soaked body, he was horrified, astounded and angrily accused the mullahs. He once more ordered them to let *Awetis* live in his own faith. But the bloodthirsty mullahs did not let him go. They took him to the *meydan* outside the fortress and there they continued to insist, “Renounce your faith and accept our religion; if not, we shall cut off your head.” *Awetis*² did not agree and did not renounce [his faith]. Therefore, they cut off the blessed *Awetis*' head with a sword. During his death by martyrdom, *Awetis* faced eastward; the servants of evil, the mullahs, forcibly turned his face southward, but the saint resisted and turned his face eastward³ and thus he⁴ died in this manner in Christ's faith, professing himself in Christ, the true Lord.

That same night, the Lord Christ glorified his martyr with a light from heaven, which descended upon him. All the inhabitants of the P'izan fortress and its environs, as well as Khosrow Pasha, witnessed this. He [556] saw the radiant column that descended [on *Awetis*] from the top of his residence. The mullahs, his killers, also saw it. Therefore, the murderers hurriedly removed *Awetis*' body from there, took it away and hid it in some house until daybreak. Then they called *Awetis*' brother, who was named *Tabaruk*, and ordered him to take *Awetis*'⁵ body and bury him. The Christians, *k'ahana* and laymen lifted the martyr's body and took it to the village called *Aṛak*. They laid it in a grave, singing psalms, benedictions and sacred hymns. The martyrdom of the blessed man *Awetis* occurred on March 20 in our year 1105 (1656), for the glory of Christ, Our Lord, blessed for ages and ages. Amen.

¹ Absent from A, D, and F.

² A, D, and F read “He.”

³ East faced *Ējmiatsin*, while south faced Mecca.

⁴ Brosset has an error here. His text reads “*Mkhit'ar*, the martyr” *MB*, 529.

⁵ A and D read “his.”

Chapter 49

*About the miracles¹ of God upon men who renounced
[their Christian] faith at the hour of their death*

Not long ago, during the time of the reign of the Persian king, the great Shah 'Abbās I, in the city of Nakhichevan, whose governor was Makhsut Sultan (Maqsūd Solṭan), God's miracles descended upon a *Christian*,² who was [557] named Gharach'orak. This man was a Christian, son of Christian parents, but he was lazy and negligent of God's law. He discarded all the customs and dogma of the Christian faith, did not go to the cathedral or to prayers, and did not confess or receive communion. He did not think that he was mortal and would die; he did not think about retribution for his deeds, as is written in the holy books. He ignored all of God's commandments and spent all his life wandering through the shops, the bazaar, the streets, squares, and through the houses of infidel notables in order to sell something, for he was a buyer-seller—he bought things from some and sold them to others. Witnesses of this affair recall that his entire life passed in this manner. He turned sixty years old, more or less.

It so happened that the man Gharach'orak was inflicted with a deadly disease. They summoned a *k'ahana*, who heard his confession. But since the *k'ahana* was aware of his dissolute life and lecherous behavior, in order to save his life, he said, "Brother, you yourself know your life, for you spent it in laziness and carelessness and never thought of this day, when death and judgment await you. That day has arrived and is facing you. Listen to me and make a small confession *in the form of a fast*³ and prayers. If you die from this illness, God himself shall grant you release, for you submitted voluntarily and confessed; [558] you shall receive God's reward and benevolence. If you get well and get up after this illness, then you will remember your promise made in the confession. I believe in God and believe that for the small confession, which you take upon yourself, God shall heal you completely and you shall get up from your deathbed." The *k'ahana* told him all this, hoping that he would repent.

¹ A reads "punishment."

² A and D read "renegade."

³ Absent from A and D.

But he [Gharach'orak] not only did not repent, but instead became angry and incensed at the *k'ahana's* words. He committed the greatest sin and evil deed, *for*¹ he immediately summoned a Muslim and asked him to bring a mullah and a *mughri*.² When they brought them, with their help, he renounced Christ, gave up his faith, and became a Muslim. When this poor and unfortunate man, Gharach'orak, did this, all the Christians who lived in the city [Nakhichevan] put on clothes of mourning, not only because he was lost, but also for the Christian faith, which the Muslims mocked, insulted, and cursed without consolation. In addition, the Muslims were happy and celebrated loudly and joyfully, for the convert was a well-known man. The sick convert died four days after his conversion. All the Muslims of the city—not only the clergy and the common folk, but also the well-known and wealthy men and notables—gathered, put on their weapons, expensive ornaments and bright clothes, and they decorated and dressed his grave. They took out the *alam*³ in his honor, raised more than twenty *tugh*,⁴ and with pomp and great [559] honor took him to the cemetery where they buried their dead, buried him, and returned to their homes.⁵

The just God, however, did not neglect his people and their Christian faith, but immediately and earnestly carried out His judgment and retribution. Just as after four days of illness [after his apostasy] Gharach'orak had died,⁶ thus four days after his burial, in the evening, people saw how the apostate Gharach'orak, buried by the Muslims, rose from the grave, naked and disfigured, with a loathsome face, pale, resembling a mad dog, and went to town. He threw his shroud on his shoulders and began to wander around the bazaar and shops. Everyone who saw him was engulfed in fear and terror, for they recognized him. Seeing his disfigured appearance, people were seized with fear and panic and barely managed to escape by fleeing. They left their shops and work, left [the bazaar] and did not come back.

Some of the foreigners [Muslims] spread the news in the bazaar that the man was not Gharach'orak but someone new. To ascertain

¹ Absent from A, D, and F.

² From the Arabic *muqri* (reader of the Qur'ān).

³ From the Arabic *'alam* (banners).

⁴ From the Turkish *tuğ* (horsetail attached to a helmet or flag-staff as a sign of rank).

⁵ Absent from A and D.

⁶ The text has once again the pejorative *satakets'*.

this, ten or more men got together, observed, checked the time when Gharach'orak appeared in the bazaar, and then went to the cemetery, where Gharach'orak was buried, and saw that he was not there [in the grave]. They did this not once, but four times and thus proved even more that it was he [who wandered in the bazaar]. Every day, at nightfall, he *again*¹ came out with his shroud thrown over his shoulders and went into the bazaar. He would wander until daybreak, and [560] *in the morning he*² would once again return to his grave. He did this for seven days and the entire city trembled and shuddered at his appearance. By nightfall, when it was time for his arrival, everyone left their shops and jobs and fled home. In addition, the soldiers of the night watch, who are called *hasas*,³ also stopped coming out on patrol out of fear.

*But*⁴ the Muslims walked covered in shame; they were red-faced, embarrassed, silent and dumbfounded, with their eyes cast down. Then, after seven days, some of them got together and made the following agreement: they selected more than thirty men, who were strong and had brave hearts, equipped them with armor and arms for battle, bows, spears, swords, and other arms, and ordered them to kill and annihilate Gharach'orak. The armed men carefully kept watch, fearful and anxious, awaiting the arrival of the dead apostate. At night, when the customary time [of his appearance] neared, they saw him coming. The armed men rushed to meet him, in order to kill him. But he turned on his heels, fled, and went into his lair, from where he had risen and where he had been buried. The armed men came there, killed him then and there with their swords, cut off his head, took it somewhere far and destroyed it. In this manner the evil was eliminated and all the Muslims began to curse the apostate Gharach'orak and attested to the truth of the Christian faith. [561] Satan did all this in order to shake the Christian faith, but the Christian faith became even stronger because of it and the name of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, was extolled. All the Christians affirmed their faith in Christ even more and, with great jubilation, praised God for manifesting the truth. *Glory to God forever and ever! Amen.*⁵

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Absent from F.

³ From the Arabic *khaṣṣa* (guards).

⁴ A, B, D, and E read "And."

⁵ Absent from A and D.

Chapter 50

On the fire which burned parts of the great city of Constantinople

I was not a witness to this fire, for at that time I was at the Holy See of Ējmiatsin. However, it so happened that one of our brother *vardapets*, who was named *Vardapet* Step'anos, a native of the village of Meghri, *who resided*¹ in Constantinople, wrote about the events that had occurred in his life, and sent them to the brothers who resided at Ējmiatsin. His dispatch contained the account of the fire in the great city of Constantinople, which he himself had witnessed. I have taken that account, exactly as it appeared [in the letter], and have copied it here for the following reasons: First, since I had the account, in ready form, at my disposal, I decided that it was appropriate to copy it. [562] Second, since I have been working a great deal, I am tired, for it is already the eleventh year that I am laboring on this book—I began writing in the year 100 [1100]; the year 111 [1111] has now arrived and I am still working on it.² Third, I have become old and feeble. Death is near and is constantly before my eyes. I know that I shall die and this book of mine will remain unfinished. All my work will be lost, for no one will take this labor upon him and complete it. That is why I toil and hurry, hoping to finish it, so that my book will not remain incomplete and my labor come to naught. Here is *the beginning of*³ *Vardapet* Step'anos' letter, sent from Constantinople, *which I set down in the exact same manner*:⁴

“Who can express in words, or in verse, the incidents in Byzantium, the sad events, the unbearable calamity, the suffering, and the reality of it? For the wrath was God's retribution for our sins, for the universal acts of disobedience. Thus, everyone was sentenced because of the guilt of even one [man], according to [God's] Providence. In the end, as was told by the Lord, all will be punished during their two lives, from the time of Noah and into the future, until the end of time, where terrible events, frightening ideas, piercing sounds, various upheavals, screams of all kinds, and unending doubt

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Arak'el began his *History* in the year 1100 (1651) of the Armenian calendar and had reached Chapter 50 in the year 1111 (1662). The remaining chapters, as will be noted, are additional information written by others.

³ Absent from A and D.

⁴ *Ibid.*

awaits us. Thus, in this manner, [563] the present events occurred, whose history I am helpless to recount. On July 21, according to the Greek¹ calendar, in the year 1109 (1660) of the people of Aram [Armenians],² on a Saturday, in the ninth hour, there occurred a catastrophe and a deplorable misfortune in this great city. In the northern part of the city, near the sea there occurred a fire with continuous flashes, with new outbreaks, as if the end of the world had come.³ The burning flames of the fire engulfed the newly constructed royal palace, progressed violently to the aqueduct, and, due to the strong and cold northern wind,⁴ continued down from there far and wide until it returned to whence it had started. Thus, spreading in two directions, the flames of the fire destroyed everything in their path and reached the top of the hill, where the grand mosques of the infidels, with their magnificent façades, admired by all, were constructed. Here, the flames immediately spread in three directions, each of the tongues, as if possessing reason, hastened by the favorable wind, destroying whatever was in their path. As stated above, it crept in all directions from two sides, destroying and ruining everything at the same time: constructed [564] *buildings*;⁵ that is, high towers, golden-decorated palaces, magnificent terraces, sumptuous mansions and homes. As noted, one of the two tongues [of the flames] descended from the hill eastward, seized the coastline and passed by the customs house and guardhouse, and stopped near the [walls] of the monastery. The second tongue [of the flames] with its full force rushed westward, riddling and engulfing everything [in its path], leapt over the Septimus Tower,⁶ traveled a short distance, and subsided near the sea, passing by the gates of Norakoch'ik.⁷ It thus

¹ A reads "Roman" instead of "Greek."

² According to Moses of Khoren, Armenians consider themselves the children of Aram, a legendary hero; hence the Persian and Greeks call them Armeni. See Chapter 24.

³ According to Hammer-Purgstall, the fire began on July 24, 1660. See J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Tārīkh-e emperāṭūrī-ye 'Othmānī* III (Tehran, 1989), 2368.

⁴ Text reads *sastik vorēasakan hoghm*, from the Greek *boreas* (north or northeast wind).

⁵ Absent from B, C, D, and E.

⁶ In AD 196, Emperor Septimus Severus destroyed the original fortifications of Byzantium and built new ones that enclosed a larger area, including the first and second hills, as well as the ancient harbor.

⁷ Khanlaryan has translated this as "the Church of Norakoch'ik," *KH*, 429; Brosset has it as "the gate called the New," *MB*, 533.

seized the entire area and reached the first tongue. In this manner, during sixty-three hours,¹ the glorious capital city lost all her splendor because of the shifting winds—the northern and the southern,² the hurricane, and many other irregular things, to the point that even the stones were burned and turned to ashes.³ One had to witness the universal alarm, grief, lamenting, striking of chests, loud screams, and the flow of tears. One had to witness the spasms in the stomach, the tearing of hearts, and the sorrowful wails. One had to see the bent people with broken backs, who had lost their reason. For the fire drove on inextinguishably, flared up, and turned into terror. Palaces crumbled, thunder sounded, and lightning was visible. The wealthy shook, the common folk despaired, and the poor were confused. The wounded screamed, parents mourned, the children cried bitterly, [565] for their hope had vanished, their bearings had disappeared, and they had lost all their belongings. People were unexpectedly parted, were separated from one another, and disappeared, scattered, were torn apart and severed from each other: fathers from sons, mothers from daughters, friends from friends, and lovers from their beloved whom they had not yet met through God's will. People could not identify *their*⁴ dead in order to bury them. They say that around 3,000 people died,⁵ according to the accounts of eyewitnesses and according to observers [especially] appointed as overseers. Here, the lament and mourning, as well as the widespread irregularities everywhere, confirm what is written: 'Your feasts shall turn into mourning, [and all your songs into lamentation.]'⁶ All of this occurred because of our sins, as a lesson and a warning to *believers and in order to harm and destroy the disobedient*.⁷ Thus, my beloved ones, I think that the faithful will not suffer *and merit*⁸ the same fate. Otherwise, live long in Christ. Amen."

¹ According to Hammer-Purgstall, it lasted 3 days, III, 2368.

² Text reads *notosats*, from the Greek *notos* (south or southwest wind).

³ According to Hammer-Purgstall, Süleyman Ağa Kehya Bek was responsible for not preparing the necessary equipment to fight the fire and for his inability to organize the Janissaries to fight it, III, 2369.

⁴ Absent from F.

⁵ According to Hammer-Purgstall, 4,000 people died, 28,000 homes were destroyed, and 400 caravansaries and warehouses were burned to the ground, III, 2369.

⁶ Tobit 2.6; Maccabees 1.39; Amos 8.10.

⁷ These words appear on line 18 of A, 540.

⁸ This appears on line 10 of A, 540.

[566] Chapter 51

The history of the Ottoman sultans: the genealogy of the descendants of Osman,¹ who are called khondk'ars

[Such is] the genealogy and the origin of the descendants of Osman, who have increased and risen, have conquered many cities and *gawars*, and have ruled over them. In the year 681 (1232) of the Armenian calendar, a notable,² named Osman,³ from the hamlet of Osmanchuk, gathered similar men and began warring against his overlords. He gradually became stronger and became the lord of many cities and *gawars*.

After the death of Sultan Osman, his son Orkhan (Orhan) ascended the throne as the second sultan.⁴ The third sultan was Muhammad.⁵ The fourth [was] Sultan Murad;⁶ the fifth was Ildrum Bayazit;⁷ the sixth was Sultan Murad;⁸ the seventh was Sultan Muhammad;⁹ [567] the eighth was Sultan Bayazid;¹⁰ the ninth was Sul-

¹ Text reads "Ösman Öghlu."

² Later on, Aṛak'el calls him a farmer.

³ Aṛak'el's date is incorrect. Osman I, the son of Ertoghrül, was known as Gazi "the Warrior." He rose to power in 1281. Some note that the Ottoman dynasty really began in 1299, when Osman conquered the Yar-hisar fortress from the Byzantines, while, at the same time, the Seljuqs of Rum began their decline.

⁴ Orhan reigned from ca. 1324 to 1360.

⁵ Aṛak'el is wrong. The third sultan was Murad I (1360-1389), who moved the capital from Bursa to Adrianople and started the Janissary Corps.

⁶ Aṛak'el is mistaken. The fourth sultan was Bayazid I, known as Yıldırım, "the Lightning-bolt." He reigned from 1389 to 1402.

⁷ Aṛak'el is mistaken. The fifth sultan was Muhammad I Chelebi (1403/1413-1421) who fought his brothers, Süleyman I (1403-1410) and Musa (1410-1413). Süleyman ruled parts of Asia Minor with Tamerlane's (Timur the Lame) permission, after the latter had defeated their father, Bayazid, in the Battle of Angora in 1402. Muhammad became the sole ruler after 1413.

⁸ Murad II (1421-1444, first reign; 1446-1451, second reign).

⁹ Muhammad II [known as Fathi, "the Conqueror"] (1444-1446, first reign; 1451-1481, second reign). He conquered Constantinople in 1453.

¹⁰ Bayazid II (1481-1512) [known as Dervish]. He fought in Hungary, Moldavia and Persia. He was removed from the throne by the Janissaries.

tan Selim;¹ the tenth was Sultan Süleyman,² the eleventh was Sultan Selim,³ the twelfth was Sultan Murad;⁴ the thirteenth was Sultan Muhammad;⁵ the fourteenth was Sultan Ahmed Jahangir;⁶ who was a youth. I cannot relate their reigns in detail, but shall recount them in brief.⁷

When Timur the Lame came [to Asia Minor], he placed Yıldırım Bayazid on the throne, that is the *t'akht*,⁸ in Bursa.⁹ After that, his son Sultan Murad seized Adran (Adrianople). After that, in the year 902 (1453) of the Armenian calendar, Sultan Muhammad took Istanbul. He took Kaffa, Akkerman and Trebizond. Sultan Muhammad passed through many cities and *gawars*. Sultan Bayazid ruled before Sultan Selim. In the year 963 (1514), when Sultan Selim ascended the throne,¹⁰ he gathered a large army and went against Shah Isma'il. He fought him in Chaldiran, but could not capture him. He returned, and in the year 964 (1515) he seized Kamakh. In the year 965 (1516), he took Amida. Then, in the year 966 (1517), he took Egypt with great difficulty. In the year 967 (1518), the infidels seized the large cathedral of St. T'ēodoros from the Armenians in Amida and turned it into a mosque. Sultan Selim died in the year 970 (1521),¹¹

¹ Selim I (1512-1520), known as Yavuz (the Grim). He defeated Shah Isma'il Safavi in the Battle of Chaldiran in 1514.

² Süleyman the Magnificent or Kanuni (the Law-giver) (1520-1566). His reign witnessed the height of the Ottoman Empire.

³ Selim II (1566-1574), known as Mast (the Sot). **D** has the following after Selim added by another hand, "It is said that he was the son of a Jew, for his father [Süleyman] was without a son. His mother [the queen] had given birth to a girl, whereas a Jewish woman had become the mother of a boy. The queen got her to consent, for a sum of money, to exchange her daughter for the boy and they named him Selim."

⁴ Murad III (1574-1595). **D** has the following after Murad, "who dressed them in black caps."

⁵ Muhammad III (1595-1603). He fought Shah 'Abbās I of Persia. See Chapter 3.

⁶ Ahmed I (1603-1617).

⁷ Absent from **A** and **D**.

⁸ From the Persian *takht* (throne).

⁹ Aṛak'el is mistaken. Timur defeated Bayazid and imprisoned him, as Aṛak'el himself notes below. It is possible that the error is a scribal one.

¹⁰ Sultan Selim ascended the throne in 1512.

¹¹ He actually died in 1520, but since the Armenian calendar began in the autumn of 970, it could be either 1520 or 1521. See note on dating on page xiii in the text.

and Sultan Süleyman became king. In the year 994 (1545) Sultan Süleyman gathered a large army and went against Shah ʿĀhmāsp in Tabriz, but could not overcome him.¹ He returned and took Babylon, that is, Baghdad. On the way, however, he experienced a great calamity, for they ran into a large river, which in the Turkish language is called Doghuz (Dokuz)-olum, which means nine tributaries. The river carried off many men and much treasure.² In the year 1005 (1556), the New Gate of Amida, which faces the east, was opened, for the former builder had constructed only four gates.³ A long time, however, [568] has passed since then. After that, the Turkish ruler seized Amida and saw that there was only one gate in the middle of the fortress. By the order of the ruler, the entrance and exit from that gate, which was called Jrdurn [River Gate], was barred.⁴ In the year 1000 (1551) [the cathedral] of St. Kirakos was erected in Amida. In the year 999 (1550), Sultan Süleyman once again gathered a large force and marched against Shah ʿĀhmāsp in Tabriz, but he could not capture him and returned to Shamiramakerd, that is Van, and captured it. After that, Sultan Süleyman died and his son Selim [II] ascended the throne. In the year 1019 (1570), Sultan Selim dispatched a large army to the island of Cyprus. He laid siege to it for two years, captured it, and slaughtered many Christians. This ruler reigned for eight years. After that, his son Murad [III] ascended the throne. In the year 1029 (1580), that ruler became indignant at the impertinence of the Jews and forbade all the Jews and Christians from wearing head covering. Then, after eighteen years, they gave bribes, and, in some places, received permission and put on head covering, but in Constantinople and other cities they had continued to wear head

¹ Arak'el is mistaken. Süleyman's first campaign and his march on Baghdad was in 1534; his second war with ʿĀhmāsp was in 1548; the third was in 1554. The Ottoman victories were short-lived and ʿĀhmāsp regained everything, except Baghdad.

² Text reads *khazina*, from the Arabic *khazīne* (treasury).

³ A 17th-century chronicle located in the St. James Library in Jerusalem gives 1559 as the date of the construction of this gate. See *JER*, 278.

⁴ Amida had five gates: The Northern Gate, known as the Mountain Gate; the Western Gate, known as the Roman Gate [later called the Urfa Gate]; the Southern Gate, known as the Mardin Gate; and the Eastern Gate, or the New Gate. There was also a fifth gate, which opened from the eastern wall to the Tigris River. See E. K'asuni, *Amid (Diarbēk'ir) Tigranakert (Farghin) shpot'ê hay patmagrut'yan mēj* (Beirut, 1968), 51.

covering.¹ This ruler, Sultan Murad, dispatched a large force to the land of the Persians, seized Tabriz, Erevan, Ganje, Arshar and Shamakhi, and went up to the Allan Gates (Darband), *erected by Alexander of Macedon*.² He traversed a large and wide route in thirty days. During the next fifteen years, his cavalry trampled the region; many died by the sword or from hunger. They destroyed many lands. After that, a short peace ensued. After the death of Sultan Murad in the year 1044 (1595) of the Armenian calendar, his son Sultan Muhammad [III] ascended the throne. But he did not bring peace. During the period of his reign, many cities and regions were ruined, for he could not rule the land. His subjects [569] and lords all rebelled and turned away from him, for he did not rule alone. When he handed a city to a certain pasha or *paron*, after ten or twenty days, his mother, sister or wife, or the [grand] vizier handed that city to another pasha and received a great sum of red [golden] *dahekans*. Tigranakert—Amida—was handed to nine pashas in a six-month period. Thus, a pasha or his deputy would arrive and, upon arrival, would begin to pillage and empty the town and the surrounding region, knowing well that in the end they would not continue to be the masters of it. There is no point of continuing this, for a quill cannot put it on paper. Prior to this, there were buildings all over Amida. Today, if one goes out of Amida and travels for half a day, all the way to the great city of Istanbul, everywhere where there were buildings is covered in ruins. During the reign of this Sultan Muhammad, someone named Yaziji³ appeared in the city of Ch'orum.⁴ He had a brother, named Hasan. [Yazici] was not of noble birth, but a commoner, and not better than anyone else. He caused great destruction and took tribute from villages and towns up to the city of Byzantium (Constantinople). Plaintiffs gathered, went to Sultan Muhammad, and complained that the land and the cities were ruined by some non-entity. The ruler gave an order and 50,000 men, more or less,

¹ According to another historian, in 1583, Sultan Murad III gave an order that all non-Muslims were to wear head coverings which distinguished them from Muslims: the Greeks had to wear blue; the Jews, orange and the Armenians, some garish-colored head coverings; later, they were all ordered to wear black. One could bypass the regulation by paying a large sum. See G. Ayvazovsk'i, *Patmut'iwn Ōsmanean petut'ean* (Vienna, 1841), I, 504-505; *MZH*, I, 172; II, 267, 394, 516, 518.

² Absent from A and D.

³ Refers to Kara-Yazıcı; see Chapter 7.

⁴ In 1597.

gathered in the city of Amida. They set off, led by a general, *against him* [Yazıcı],¹ but could not overcome him and were defeated themselves. Yazıcı laid siege² to Urfa. He threw the commander of the fortress of Urfa down from the wall and conquered the fortress and the town. He tortured a famous *k'ahana* and a *tanutēr*, in order to take money *from them*,³ killed many Muslim notables, and caused so much damage to the city of Urfa that it cannot be told. Thus, for the next three years, they fought Yazıcı but were defeated, [570] and perished, together with their commander. The sultan then was stirred up and found a solution: he sent great riches and gifts, invited him, dispatched him across the great sea (Mediterranean), and made him the commander of his army against the Franks and Magyars (Hungarians). The sultan had become so weak that he could not defeat Yazıcı, but found a way, and did what I have recounted. He [Sultan Muhammad] ruled for nine years, and during his reign disorder took hold in the kingdom of the descendants of Osman. In the year 1053 (1603/1604) Sultan Muhammad died and his son Ahmed Jahangir became the ruler at a young age. In the year 1067 (1617/1618), Sultan Ahmed died, and his brother, Sultan Mustafa, ascended the throne.⁴ He was the ruler for four months; they lodged accusations against him,⁵ forcibly removed him, and put his nephew [son of his brother], Sultan Osman, a boy of fourteen, on the throne. In the year of 1070 (1621), Sultan Osman, together with the khan of the Tatars (Crimean Tatars), went to war against the Poles. They returned with many prisoners, who had been carried away by force from⁶ the land. In that same year, God punished Sultan Osman and avenged the prisoners. *The soldiers [Janissaries] fell upon him, killed him, released his uncle, Sultan Mustafa, from the dungeon, and set him on the throne again.*⁷ Thus, that history ended.⁸

¹ Absent from F.

² Text reads *khêsar*, from the Arabic *hişâr* (fort, besieging).

³ Absent from B, C, D, and E.

⁴ Sultan Mustafa I (first reign 1617-1618; second reign 1622-1623).

⁵ Text reads *bezamay*, could be from the Persian *baza(h)mand* (culpable) or the Arabic *bazz* (seizing, carrying away by force). Brosset thinks the term came from the Persian *bazm* (assembly or meeting), *MB*, 539. Could be read as "he was accused by an assembly of courtiers, who then removed him by force."

⁶ Text reads *bezamay*; here it means carried them away by force.

⁷ Absent from D. Refers to the second reign of Mustafa I (1622-1623).

⁸ Absent from A and D.

*The family tree of the Ottoman rulers*¹

1. Osman, 2. Orhan, 3. Muhammad [I], 4. Murad [I], 5. Bayazid [I], 6. Murad [II], 7. Muhammad [II], 8. [571] Bayazid [II],² 9. Selim [I], 10. Süleyman [II], 11. Selim [II], son of Jews,³ 12. Murad [III], 13. Muhammad [III], 14. Ahmed [I], 15. Mustafa [I], 16. Osman [II], 17. Again that same Mustafa [I], 18. Murad [IV],⁴ 19. Ibrahim,⁵ 20. Muhammad [IV].⁶

*On the Ottoman rulers, on who followed who*⁷

Here are the Ottoman kings, whom the divine books call snakes, and who have ruled over the land for a long time. Here is their ancestry—from the beginning to the present time. Such is the origin of the Muslim Ottoman kings and the reason they are called Ottomans.

The first, named Osman, was born in the village of Chokh. He was a Muslim land-tiller, who abandoned farming and became a thief for a while. He gradually gained strength and went to Sultan Aladin⁸ and joined him. He received an army from him, went and conquered the city of Bursa.⁹

2. After him, his son Sultan Orhan became the ruler. He seized and destroyed Enkishēr [Yenişehir].¹⁰

¹ Aṛak'el repeats the same errors noted earlier. **D** reads, "Another account of the Ottoman Kings." **A** and **B** also have variations on this title. **B** (f. 356v), **C** (f. 368v), and **D** (f. 369v) have a drawing of a curled snake, within which is listed the names of the Ottoman sultans from Osman I to Muhammad IV. The drawing is reproduced here in figure 1. **B** and **E** do not include the first three lines of this sub-division. They are inserted, in red ink, at the end of the previous part (f. 365r).

² The numbers 5, 6, 7, 8, and Bayazid are absent from **A**.

³ A number of historians, including Vardan Baghishets'i, claim that Selim II was the son of a Jewish mother; see above and *MZH*, I, 167; II 394.

⁴ Murad IV (1623-1640).

⁵ Ibrahim (1640-1648).

⁶ Muhammad IV (1648-1687).

⁷ Absent from **D**.

⁸ Refers to Seljuq Sultan of Rum, 'Alā'-al-Din Kay-Qubādh III, who ruled four times (1284, 1293-1294, 1301-1303, 1305-1307).

⁹ Absent from **D**.

¹⁰ Vardan Baghishets'i, who wrote his history in 1659, states that "he took Enkishēr, which means 'New City.' He expanded and strengthened his

3. After him, his son Sultan Muhammad [I] ascended the throne.

4. After him, his son Murad [I] ascended the throne.

5. After Murad, his son Bayazid [I], who was called Yıldırım, took over the throne. Timur the Lame imprisoned him in an iron cage.

6. After him came another Murad [II].

7. After that came another Muhammad [II], who seized the city of Istanbul in the year 902 (1453) of our calendar.¹

8. [572] After him Sultan Bayazid [II] became the ruler. During his reign Vardapet Matt'ēos was in the Sivas monastery.

9. After him came his son Selim [I], who [forcibly] collected the [Armenian] youth.²

10. After him, his son *khondk'ar* Süleyman [II] ascended the throne. He ruled longer than anyone else and went all over the world.³

11. After him, his son, another Selim [II], became the sultan. They say he was a son of a Jew. His father did not have children.⁴ His mother gave birth to a daughter. [At the same time], a Jewess gave birth to a son. The queen, with the aid of money, convinced the Jewess and exchanged the girl for the boy, who they named Selim. That is why [they call him the son of a Jew].

12. After him came his son Murad [III], who placed black head coverings on the Christians.

domain"; see *MZH*, I, 322. Aṛak'el wrote this chapter in 1662. Therefore he either used Vardan as his source, or they both used the same source.

¹ The above seven paragraphs are absent from *D*.

² In 1516. For over two centuries, the Ottomans periodically collected Christian boys (*devşirme*, collection of boys for the Janissary corps). They took one out of every ten—some sources report one out of every four. This terrible yoke for the Christians living in the Ottoman lands did not start right away. The first collection of boys in Armenia occurred in 1464; after that, periodic collections continued throughout the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries. Sultan Murad stopped the practice in 1637. Some historians, however, assert that the *devşirme* continued until 1750. See Leo, *Hayots' patmut'yun*, III, 23-23. See also M. K. Zulalyan, "Devshirme"-n (mankahavak'ê) Ōsmanyan kaysrut'yan mēj êst T'urk'akan ev Haykakan aghbyurneri," *Patma-banasirakan handes* 2-3 (1959), 247-255.

³ Baghishets'i states, "Süleyman II, Kanuni, who ruled more than everyone—40 years (1526-1566), conquered the lands of the three corners of the world, Asia, Africa, and Europe." See *MZH*, II, 393, 399.

⁴ Text reads *anzawak*, "without children" or "without sons," for girls were not considered proper progeny.

13. After him, his son, another Muhammad [III].

14. After him, his son Ahmed [I].

15. After him, his brother Mustafa [I] was placed on the throne for three months.¹ After three months, the notables removed Mustafa and installed *Osman* [II],² the son of Ahmed, on the throne.

16. After four years, the Janissaries killed Osman and, once again, in the year 1071 (1622) of our calendar, [again] placed Mustafa [I] on the throne. They say that he was feeble-minded. He ruled for one year and six months. They then removed him in the year 1072 (1623) and placed Murad [IV], the son of Osman, on the throne.

17. During his reign, in that same year, the [men who wore] red hats, that is, the *Kizilbash*, seized Baghdad. The father of this Sultan Murad, Sultan Osman, disguised himself and wandered all the time throughout the city of Istanbul, through the coffeehouses, wine houses, and similar places. He listened to and observed the disorder and the impious behavior of the Janissaries and officers, and killed them mercilessly, the highly placed, as well as the rank and file. That is why the units [573] of the Janissaries came together and killed the ruler, Sultan Osman.³ At that time, Abaza Pasha was in the city of Erzurum. He was a brave and manly soldier, who had many horsemen. To avenge the sultan's murder, he began to slaughter the Janissaries. He began in Erzurum, and after killing them [the Janissaries], he moved throughout the cities and *gawars*, until he reached Ankara. He slaughtered them brutally, with great tortures, until all the Janissaries were annihilated. He left Ankara, returned to Erzurum, fortified the citadel and settled there. In addition, through every possible deceit and cunning, he detained the caravans that went from east to west, that would come to Erzurum and continue on their way from there, until a large number of caravans had been gathered. Then, one fine day, he seized the contents of all the caravans, whatever was there and whatever was in dispute. He then rebelled against the ruler and became a *Celali*. He also wanted to come to an agreement with the Persians and dispatched the son of his sister, with a large army,

¹ Earlier, Aṛak'el has written "four months."

² Absent from A.

³ Osman II ascended the throne when he was 12 (and not 14, as Aṛak'el states), after the Janissaries removed Sultan Mustafa. The young sultan made peace with the Persians and started a war with Austria and Poland. The Janissaries, not satisfied with this sultan as well, killed him in 1622, and once more placed his uncle Mustafa on the throne.

to the Persian king, Shah 'Abbās. However, the ruler, Sultan Murad, sent his vizier Khosrow Pasha¹ against this Abaza Pasha. He came, took the fortress, seized Abaza Pasha, and took him to Istanbul in the year 1077 (1629) of our calendar. The sultan threw Abaza Pasha² into a dungeon and then killed him in August of the year 1083 (1634).³ This Sultan Murad told his vizier to go to Baghdad and to take it.⁴ Khosrow Pasha went, entered the land of the Persians, went into the Hamadan province and reached the city of Dargazin, but, due to the arrival of winter and cold weather, returned to Tokat.⁵ Therefore, the ruler, Sultan Murad, sent Murtaza Pasha to kill Khosrow Pasha. He came to Tokat and killed Khosrow Pasha in the year 1079 (1630).⁶ This is the same [574] Sultan Murad and vizier Khosrow Pasha about whom I wrote in the chapter⁷ on the dissension regarding Kat'oghikos Sahak. In the month of August of the year 1082 (1633), Sultan Murad issued a strict *esasakh*⁸ against tobacco in all the lands under his domain.⁹ He demolished, ruined and destroyed all the coffeehouses in all the towns, because, at the time when the Janissaries killed Sultan Osman, they had planned the murder, while sitting in the coffeehouses, drinking coffee and smoking tobacco. In the year 1083 (1634), Sultan Murad went to war against the Poles, subjugated them and returned. In the year 1083 (1634), during the reign of this same Sultan Murad, the Greeks celebrated the "erroneous Easter."¹⁰ The vizier at that time was Bayram Pasha, who was a

¹ Khosrow Pasha was a Bosnian Christian who had converted to Islam. He was appointed grand vizier in 1628.

² Absent from A, B, and E.

³ Hammer-Purgstall dates his death on August 24, 1634, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, IX (Paris, 1837), 252.

⁴ In 1629.

⁵ The manuscript of A has the following inserted, probably by Oskan of Erevan, "He thus did not take Babylon." Brosset dates his retreat to have occurred on November 19, 1630, *MB*, 535.

⁶ Hammer-Purgstall has March 11, 1632, IX, 175.

⁷ See Chapter 20.

⁸ From the Turko-Mongol *yasak* (prohibition or interdict).

⁹ Hammer-Purgstall, IX, 219.

¹⁰ Text reads *tsrazatik* (distorted, crooked, twisted or erroneous Easter). According to Ormanean, in 561, thirty-six experts gathered under the leadership of Aeas of Alexandria and formed a calendar cycle for every 532 years. The key date for their calculations was Easter. Its date was fixed on the following principle: Easter fell after the spring equinox, on the Sunday following the week of the full moon. After that, the Byzantines under the

Greek by descent. That is why he was partial to the Greeks and made false accusations against the Armenians to the sultan. The sultan became incensed at the Armenians and ordered the death of one *k'ahana* and two Armenian laymen. In the year 1084 (1635), in the month of March, Sultan Murad left Istanbul and went to fight in Erevan. He reached there in August. He had 700,000 horsemen, apart from auxiliary troops and carts. He attacked the fortress [of Erevan] with such a force that in a single day—during the day and the night—more than 600 cannonballs fell on the fortress. Therefore, he took the fortress in nine days.¹ The governor of the fortress, Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan, the son of Amir Gūna Khan, together with his noblemen, were sent to Istanbul, and were kept there until their death.² This was the same Ṭahmāsp-qoli, who sent the stones from Ējmiatsin to Isfahan.³ Sultan Murad then left the Erevan fortress in the hands of Murtaza Pasha and 15,000 brave troops, and himself went on [575] to Tabriz. Winter came and the cold set in; [bad] news also arrived from Istanbul; hence he turned around and went to Istanbul via Van. In December of the year 1085 (1636), during the reign of this Sultan Murad, the Persian king, Shah Safī, came and laid siege to the fortress of Erevan. He had 100,000 brave troops, in addition to auxiliary troops and supplies, with him. He laid siege to the fortress for three months and, with great difficulty, he finally managed to take it. He slaughtered many Ottoman troops and seized all the land. He took three pashas and other noted men to Isfahan, where they remained until they died. On April 28 of the year 1087 (1638), that same Sultan Murad marched on Baghdad and reached it

leadership of Irion, created their own interpretation, which stated that if the full moon occurred on a Saturday, then the next day was Easter. The Alexandrian version celebrated Easter the following Sunday. The discrepancy between the two occurred four times every 532 years. See *Azgapatum*, I, 569-572. Thus, on the above four dates, the full moon, according to Irion, makes its appearance on Saturday, April 5th, and on the following day, the 6th, the Greeks celebrate Easter. While, according to Aneas, Easter is put off by a week, to the 13th day of the same month, Armenians, therefore, refer to these Greek Easters as “distorted” or “erroneous”; see *MO*, 182.

¹ According to Zak'aria of K'anak'er, the fortress fell owing to the treachery of Ṭahmāsp-qoli's deputy, Murad Beg, who was a Turk from Kars, and who had sought refuge in Erevan; *ZK*, 114.

² Ṭahmāsp-qoli, together with his entire family and servants, was dispatched to Istanbul, where Sultan Murad, in exchange for the swift surrender of Erevan, gave him land in Üsküdar, *ZK*, 115.

³ See Chapter 25.

on November 6th. The fortress was surrounded for thirty-eight days, and it fell on December 4.¹ He slaughtered members of the Persian army, to the last man, in revenge for his troops that were exterminated by the Persians in Erevan. He sent the famed Persian nobleman, named Khalaf Beg, who was in the fortress, together with many [Persian] notables to Istanbul, where they eventually died. He appointed one of his notables as the governor of Baghdad and entrusted the entire region to him. After that, he turned around and returned to Istanbul amidst great festivities, on June 2 in the year 1088 (1639).² In the year 1089 (1639/1640), peace was concluded between the two people and kings—the Ottoman and the Persian—for the Persian king, Shah Şafī, had conquered Erevan, and the Ottoman ruler, Sultan Murad, had taken Baghdad. After the taking of these cities, the two kings came to an agreement and concluded a peace, signing a thirty-year treaty.³ [576] That is why all the inhabitants of the regions in the east and the west bless these two kings and admire them, for they continued to live in peace. Before the conclusion of this peace, the people were refugees and lived in shelters; they suffered theft, rape, capture and death, hunger and [threat of the] sword, especially the poor Armenian people. This ruler, Sultan Murad, surpassed everyone in bravery and energy, valor and intelligence. He greatly suppressed the Ottomans, so that they trembled at the mention of his name—for he habitually circulated, incognito, in the cities and camps, among the soldiers and the Janissaries, and observed and heard their treachery and injustice. He also went among the common folk, asked and learned from them about the injustices and misappropriations of the pashas and those who governed. The next day, he would unexpectedly subject them to a torturous death. He merci-

¹ Vardan Baghishets'i has written the following, "On April 28 in the year 1087 (1638), that same Sultan Murad went to war against Baghdad and reached Baghdad on November 26th of that same year. He struck the walls of the fortress with great force and after 38 days took the city on December 14 (December 25, according to some Persian sources, *CHI*, VI, 285), killing many people," *MZH*, II, 395. Brosset also dates it as December 14, *MB*, 536.

² Hammer-Purgstall has June 10, IX, 340; Brosset has June 11, *MB*, 536.

³ The Treaty of Zohab was signed on May 17, 1639 and ratified in Constantinople in September of that year. Aṛak'el's date of 1089 (1640) is correct, for the Armenian year 1089 began in October, after the conclusion of the treaty in the year 1639.

lessly slaughtered, like sheep, and annihilated many noted and powerful pashas and noblemen, sheikhs, *kadis* and *muftis*. That is why everyone trembled and shivered in front of him. The rulers and the people who lived around him trembled and quivered as well; for he was like a lion, unconquerable and dominant, compared to them. Thus, triumphant and all-powerful, he ruled his kingdom in glory during his lifetime. In the year 1089 (1640), on a Thursday during the week of the feast of St. Sargis, Sultan Murad died¹ and the entire country mourned his death. While Sultan Murad was still alive, he called his brother, who was named Sultan Ibrahim, named him as his heir, and died the same day.

18. In the year 1089 (1640), Sultan [577] Ibrahim ascended the throne, but he did not accomplish anything worth mentioning—neither in valor nor in justice. During his reign the Ottomans built many ships, loaded them with troops, announced that they were attacking Malta, but cunningly moved against the island of Crete, which was in the hands of the Venetians. They took it easily, for the population of the island wanted the Ottomans to take it.² The Ottomans took the island of Crete from the Venetians in the year 1095 (1646). This Sultan Ibrahim tried to fill his belly and satisfy his passions. In the end, he wallowed in filthy lechery, for, apart from his many wives, concubines and indecent women lived with him. In addition, he took the wives and daughters of notables by force, and openly and boldly did anything he wanted with them. Therefore, the people and the governors became anxious, agreed, and put his son, who was named Sultan Muhammad, in his place. Later, in the year 1097 (1648), they killed Sultan Ibrahim.³

19. In the year 1097 (1648), on July 27, Sultan Muhammad ascended the throne, but he did not accomplish anything worth mentioning. He was weak in will as well as in body. Moreover, he was just a child and could barely control the land under his rule. This continues to the present day, in the year 111 (1662) of our calendar. God, the Lord, eternal glory to Him, only knows the future. Amen.

¹ Brosset has calculated it as occurring on February 6, *MB*, 537. Hammer-Purgstall has it on February 9 (16 Shawwal, 1049 AH), IX, 383.

² The Orthodox Greeks had a difficult time with the Catholic domination of Venice. They also had not forgotten the 4th Crusade.

³ On August 8, 1648, the Janissaries removed Ibrahim and installed his 7-year-old son Muhammad IV as the new sultan.

[578] *A few more words about the Ottoman rulers*¹

The rule of the Muslims: Osman, who became the first king, ascended the throne in the year 691 (1242)[1281] of our calendar and ruled for fifty-eight years; according to their calendar,² he ascended the throne in [AH] 639 [680] and ruled for 60 years.³

Orhan ascended the throne in the year 749 (1300) [1324] of our calendar, ruled for twenty-nine years; by their calendar, he ascended the throne in 699 [ca. 724] and ruled for 30 years.

Murad [I] ascended the throne in the year 778 (1329)[1360] of our calendar, ruled for 58 years; by their calendar, he ascended the throne in 729 [761] and reigned for 60 years.

Bayazid [I] sat on the throne in the year 836 (1387) [1389] of our calendar, ruled for fourteen years; according to their calendar he came to the throne in the year 789 [791] and ruled for fourteen years.

Muhammad [I] ascended the throne in the year 850 (1401) [1403] of our calendar, ruled for nineteen years; by their calendar he sat on the throne in the year 803 [805] and ruled for twenty years.

[579] Murad [II] came to the throne in the year 869 (1420) of our calendar, ruled for twenty-nine years; by their calendar he ascended the throne in the year 823 [824] and ruled for thirty years.

Muhammad [II] sat on the throne in the year 898 (1449) of our calendar, ruled for thirty-one years; by their calendar he became the ruler in 853 [848] and ruled for thirty-two years.

Bayazid [II] ascended the throne in the year 929 (1480) [1481] of our calendar, ruled for thirty-one years; by their calendar, he sat on the throne in the year 885 [886] and ruled for thirty-two years.

Selim [I] came to the throne in the year 960 (1511)[1512] of our calendar, ruled for nine years; by their calendar he ascended the throne in the year 917 [918] and ruled for nine years.

Süleyman [II] sat on the throne in the year 969 (1520) of our calendar, ruled for forty-six years; by their calendar he came to the throne in the year 926 and ruled for forty-seven years.

¹ This entire subdivision is absent from **A** and **D**.

² That is, the lunar Muslim year.

³ Aṛak'el's dates, once again, do not correspond to the accepted dates listed in S. Lane Poole, *The Mohammadan dynasties* (London, 1893) or C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh, 1967). Those dates appear in brackets here. See also Appendix.

Selim [II] ascended the throne in the year 1015 (1566) of our calendar, ruled for nine years; by their calendar he came to the throne in 973 [974] and ruled for nine years.

Murad [III] sat on the throne in the year 1024 (1575) [1574] of our calendar, ruled for twenty years; by their calendar he came to the throne in the year 982 and ruled for twenty-one years.

Muhammad [III] ascended the throne in the year 1044 (1595) of our calendar, ruled for ten years; by their calendar he sat on the throne in the year 1003 and ruled for ten years.

Ahmed [I] came to the throne in the year 1054 (1605) [1603] of our calendar, ruled for thirteen years; by their calendar he sat on the throne in the year 1013 [1012] and ruled for thirteen years.

Mustafa [I] ascended the throne in the year 1067 (1618)[1617] of our calendar, ruled for three months; by their calendar he sat on the throne in the year 1027 [1026] and ruled for three months.

Osman [II] came to the throne in the same year [actually 1618] and ruled for four years according to our and their calendar.

[580] Mustafa [I] once again ascended the throne in the year 1071 (1622) of our calendar, by their calendar in the year 1031.

The following is more accurate.¹

In the year 692 (1243) of our calendar, Osman came to the throne and ruled for fifty-eight years.

In the year 750 (1301), Orhan came to the throne and ruled for twenty-nine years.

In the year 779 (1330), Murad [I] ascended the throne and ruled for fifty-eight years.

In the year 837 (1388), Bayazid [I] sat on the throne and ruled for fourteen years.

In the year 851 (1402), Muhammad [I] came to the throne and ruled for nineteen years.

In the year 870 (1421), Murad [II] became the sultan and ruled for twenty-nine years.

In the year 899 (1450), Muhammad [II] ascended the throne and ruled for thirty-one years.

In the year 930 (1481), Bayazid [II] came to the throne and ruled for thirty-one years.

In the year 961 (1512), Selim [I] sat on the throne and ruled for nine years.

¹ Some of the dates listed here differ from those listed in the previous pages. It is obvious that Aṛak'el used different chronologies for this chapter.

In the year 970 (1521), Süleyman [II] became the sultan and ruled for forty-five years.

In the year 1015 (1566), Selim [II] ascended the throne and ruled for nine years.

In the year 1024 (1575), Murad [III] sat on the throne and ruled for twenty years.

In the year 1044 (1595), Muhammad [III] came to the throne and ruled for ten years.

In the year 1054 (1605), Ahmed [I] became the sultan and ruled for fourteen years.

In the year 1067 (1618), Mustafa [I] ascended the throne and ruled for three months.

In the year 1067 (1618) Osman [II] came to the throne and ruled for four years.

In the year 1071 (1622), Mustafa [I] became the ruler once again.

[581] *Still more on the order of the Ottoman rulers*¹

In the year 692 (1243), Osman, from the Muslim nation, ascended the throne and ruled for fifty-eight years. Through his name they began calling themselves Osmanlu (Ottomans).

In the year 750 (1301), Sultan *Osman*² died and his son Orhan came to the throne and ruled for twenty-nine years.³ In the year 761 (1312), Sultan Orhan seized the city of Adrianople. From the year 779, Murad ruled for fifty-nine years.

From 837 (1388), Bayazid ruled for fourteen years.⁴ Bayazid died in 851 (1402) and his son, Muhammad, became the ruler for nineteen years.⁵

From 851 (1402), Muhammad ruled for nineteen years.

From 870 (1421), Murad ruled for twenty-nine years.

From 899 (1450) Muhammad ruled for thirty-one years.

In 902 (1453) Sultan Muhammad took Byzantium.

¹ Some of the dates listed here also differ from the dates in the previous section.

² Absent from D.

³ C, E, and F have the following added here, "Sultan Murad became king and ruled for 58 years."

⁴ F has the following added here, "From 838 Bayazid ruled for 28 years."

⁵ B, C, E, and F have added the following here, "From 872 Murad ruled for 29 years."

In 930 (1481) Sultan Muhammad died and his son, Bayazid, came to the throne.

From 930 (1481), Bayazid ruled for thirty-one years.

From 961, Selim ruled for nine years.

In 961 (1512),¹ Selim killed his father, Sultan Bayazid, ascended the throne and ruled for nine years.² Arguments began between the two brothers Sultan Selim and Ahmed. Ahmed's son, Murad Söfi, became Sultan.

In 961 (1512), the sons of Sultan [582] Bayazid quarreled, and³ Selim, his youngest son, came to the throne.

In 962 (1513), Selim killed his father, Sultan Bayazid, and ascended the throne himself.⁴

In 962 (1513) Sultan Ahmed, together with his sons and daughters, was seized and his army fled.

In 962 (1513), Sultan Selim routed Shah Isma'il's army.⁵

In 963 (1514) or 964 (1615), Sultan Selim went against Shah Isma'il. They fought in Chaldiran, but Selim could not capture him.

In 964 (1515), Sultan Selim took Kamakh.

In 965 (1516), he seized Amida; in 966 (1517), Egypt; in 966 (1517), Sham (Syria)⁶ and Egypt.

In 968 (1519) Selim was incensed and carried out the first [forcible] collection of children from Christians [Armenians].

In 970 (1521), Sultan Selim died and his son, Süleyman, became the sultan.⁷

In 975 (1526), Sultan Süleyman marched on Putu (Buda), the capital of the Hungarians,⁸ and seized it.⁹

In 977 (1528), Sultan Süleyman attacked Buda, the seat of the Hungarian throne, and seized it.

In 985 (1536), Sultan Süleyman took Baghdad.

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Selim routed the Persians in 1514, in Chaldiran.

⁶ Shām refers to Syria and its capital Damascus. Sham is missing from C, D, and E.

⁷ Absent from A and D.

⁸ Text reads Ēngruz, from the French Hongrois.

⁹ B, C, E and F have the following added here: "In 985 marched on Baghdad."

In 992 (1543), *Vardapet Maghak'ia* Derjants'i went to [583] [the court of] Sultan Süleyman and by his [sultan's] order the gathering of children from Derjan and Baberd was halted.¹

In 1015 (1566), Sultan Süleyman marched on P'ēj (Pécs or Fünfkirchen) and died there in Sēyit'var (Szigetvár).²

In 1015 (1566), Sultan Süleyman died and his son, Selim, came to the throne and ruled for nine years.³

In 1016 (1567) Sultan Selim ascended the throne.

In 1024 (1575), Sultan Selim died, and his son, Murad, came to the throne and ruled for twenty years.

In 1044 (1595), on January 6, Sultan Murad died, and on January 22, his son, Muhammad, ascended the throne and ruled for twelve years. He captured two forts from the Magyars.

In 1044 (1595), Sultan Murad died; his son came to the throne and ruled for nine years.⁴

In 1044 (1595), on December 31, Sultan Murad died and, on January 17, his son Muhammad came to the throne.

In 1054 (1605), Muhammad died and his son Ahmed sat on the throne and ruled for fourteen years.

In 1067 (1618), Sultan Ahmed sent the Tatar khan and Khalil Pasha against Shah 'Abbās, but they could not capture him. They destroyed Tabriz and its environs, and returned. That same year Sultan Ahmed died on Wednesday, November 19; his brother, Mustafa, ascended the throne for three months. In that same year the notables removed Sultan Mustafa on Monday, February 16, and installed Osman, the son of Sultan Ahmed, on the throne. He ruled for four years.

¹ *Vardapet Maghak'ia*, witnessing the sorrow and the plight of the Armenians, from whom they forcibly collected boys, went to Constantinople in 1545. There, with the help of his former student, Astuatsatur, the Patriarch of Constantinople, succeeded in stopping the collection of boys in Derjan, Baberd, and their environs. Other Armenian provinces took heart, and also succeeded in stopping Selim's original order. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, II, 2236-2238.

² Süleyman fought the Habsburgs and died, in 1566, from a wound suffered in battle. For more details on Süleyman's campaigns, see P. F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804* (Seattle, 1993). B, C, E, and F have the following added here, "In 1015 Sultan Süleyman died."

³ B, C, E, and F read, "In 1016, Selim became king."

⁴ Absent from A and D.

[584] In 1067 (1618) Mustafa sat on the throne for three months; in that same year, on Monday, February 16, the thirteen-year-old Osman ascended the throne.

In 1071 (1622), Sultan Osman was killed by his troops on May 12. They released Sultan Mustafa, the brother of Sultan Ahmed, from the dungeon and placed him, once again, on the throne.

In 1072 (1623), they removed Sultan Mustafa from the throne on Sunday, August 31, and installed Sultan Murad on the throne.¹

¹ Brosset's translation (based on A) of this chapter is not in the same order and leaves out a great deal of material.

Chapter 52

The genealogy of the Persian shahs

Their ancestor was the ruler of Ardabil, Sheikh Şafî, the father of Sheikh Haidar.¹ Haidar married the sister of Eaghub (Ya'qūb), the king of Tabriz, who was the grandson of Jahan Shah.² Sheikh Haidar and the sister of King Ya'qūb had a son and named him Isma'il. Haidar and his wife decided to poison King Ya'qūb with a potion and seize power themselves. They graciously invited the king, under some pretext, to dinner and gave him a taste of the prepared food. [Ya'qūb] ate, realized that the food was poisoned, and forced them to eat the same food. All three—Ya'qūb, his sister, and Sheikh Haidar—died together. Then, the land remained without a lord and strife [585] and civil war began. The youth Isma'il was taken to the island of Aght'amar. There, they raised him until he came of age. Then, one of his kinsmen took him, brought him [to Ardabil], and announced to everyone that he was the heir from both sides, since he was the son of Sheikh Haidar and the son of Ya'qūb's sister. Therefore, they all, unanimously, installed him as king³ in place of King Ya'qūb.⁴ Isma'il begat Shah Tahmāsp,⁵ and he [begat] Shah Isma'il II⁶ and Shah Khudabanda (Khodābandeh).⁷ After Shah Tahmāsp, Shah Isma'il II ascended the throne, and after that Isma'il, Shah Khodābandeh.

After him, his son, Shah 'Abbās I,⁸ and after him, his ['Abbās'] grandson, Shah Şafî;⁹ after him, his son, Shah 'Abbās II,¹⁰ came to

¹ Sheikh Haidar (1456-1488) was the son of Sheikh Junaid (1447-1456), the son of the great-grandson of Sheikh Şafî (1252-1334).

² Sheikh Haidar married 'Alemshah Begum, the daughter of Uzun Hasan, son of Jahangir Aq Quyunlu.

³ Isma'il I (1501-1524). See Appendix.

⁴ Arak'el, just like *ZK*, 15-17, follows local legends in explaining the origins of Isma'il. For more details on the true background of the Safavids, see *CHI*, 190-209.

⁵ Tahmāsp I (1524-1576).

⁶ Isma'il II (1576-1578).

⁷ Moḥammad Khodābandeh (1578-1587).

⁸ 'Abbās I (1587-1629).

⁹ Şafî I (1629-1642).

¹⁰ 'Abbās II (1642-1666).

the throne.¹ On September 10 of the year 1115 (1666) of our calendar, Shah 'Abbās II died, and in the same month of that same year,² they placed his son, Shah Şafī, named after his grandfather—hence he was named Şafī II,³ on the throne.⁴ After ascending the throne, Shah Şafī was constantly ill and the surrounding foes raided his land. Therefore, soothsayers said that the day and the hour of his ascension to the throne were not auspicious. They then calculated, chose an auspicious day and placed him on the throne once more.⁵ They changed his name and named him Shah Suleyman (Soleimān). That is how they call him at present.⁶

¹ A has the following added here, "He greatly loved the Christians and was just. After him, his son Shah Şafī became king and, after him, his brother Shah Isma'il." The order indicates that A refers to Shah 'Abbās I and not 'Abbās II.

² Persian sources have November 1, 1666, *CHI*, VI, 305.

³ Safi II (Soleimān I) ruled from 1666 to 1694.

⁴ The next five sentences are absent from B and are added by another hand in F.

⁵ The new coronation occurred at nine o'clock in the morning of March 20, 1668, on the day of the Persian New Year, *CHI*, VI, 306.

⁶ Absent from A and D. Arak'el added the material on Shah Soleimān after he had finished his *History*; see Translator's Introduction.

[586] *Names of Gemstones*¹

Armenian	Arabic	Turkish	Persian	Latin	Hebrew	Russian ²
kayts ³ /eaghut'	yaghut'	yaghut'	yaghut'	rubini ⁴	rubēn	iakhont, rubin, karbunkul ⁵

It has 16 colors: 3 shades of red, 3 shades of blue, 3 shades of yellow, 3 shades of white, but the best is the color of a *kayts* (spark-flash), which they call *karkehan*⁶

sardion yellow and dark red	sēylan ⁷	bijayi	tpaziō	_____	seilan, tsirkon, giatsint
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¹ This table is in the Vagharshapat editions and all the manuscripts. According to A. Syurmeyan, *Patmut' iwn Halēbi hayots'*, III (Paris, 1950), 447 [abbreviated as *SUR*], Sargis *k'ahana* is the author of the table.

² In 1873 a small book written by K. P. Patkanov, called *Dragotsennye kamni, ikh nazvaniia i svoistva po poniatiiam armian v XVII veke*, was published in St. Petersburg [abbreviated as *PAT*]. Originally, the booklet was to have a Russian translation of the three fragments from Aṛak'el's *History* describing precious stones and their attributes. However, Patkanov soon realized that a straight translation would be useless. He, therefore, prepared a booklet, which, for its time, contained valuable information. It contained a commentary and a glossary, as well as the Russian versions of the Armenian, Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Hebrew, and European terms of Aṛak'el. The Russian names of the precious stones are from Patkanov's book and do not appear in the various manuscripts of the *History* or in **F**. The entire table is absent from **A**; the heading is absent from **C**, **D**, and **E**; and the word "Latin" is replaced by "Frankish" in **F**. Current definitions of these gemstones are from H. Tēr-Ghewondean, "*Bararan Gohar-K'areru*," *Bazmavep* CLV-CLVII (1997-1999), 171-189, 74-116, 144-185 [abbreviated as *TER*].

³ *Yakint'* in modern Armenian (*TER*).

⁴ *Rubens* in Latin.

⁵ *Carbunculus* and *karkehan* or *sowtak* are actually a *garnet* (*TER*).

⁶ Aṛak'el writes (in Chapter 53) that *kayts* comes in 4 colors: red (in 7 different shades); blue (in 5 shades); yellow (in 4 shades); and white.

⁷ Aṛak'el states that *seylan* was the name of one of the Indian cities; actually it refers to Ceylon.

<u>Armenian</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turkish</u>	<u>Persian</u>	<u>Latin</u>	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>Russian</u>
tpazion pale red	ravagh, sēylan, pale red	bijadi and tpazio	_____	_____	_____	topaz
zmrukht, franki, syidi, green-colored	zmrud	_____	_____	tsēmêṛalō	_____	izumrud smaragd ¹
shap'iwghay purplish in color ²	japalaghum	_____	_____	amet'ovs	krkēhan	ametist
yaspis, yellowish, green ³	zabarjad	_____	_____	yiasp	yiaspisē	crimson jasper geliotrop
ligroin, ⁴ 12 colors; white is best	almas	_____	_____	diomant'ō	_____	almas, diamant
[587] akat, ⁵ many colors; black is best	haynêlhêr	_____	_____	_____	_____	agat, cat's eye
amēt'iosos ⁶ , scarlet-colored is best	lal	_____	_____	balashkh	_____	spinel ⁷ ametist
voskêk'ar, ⁸ The best is deep yellow and transparent	t'ilia or yellow yaghut'	_____	_____	safir	_____	khrizolit

¹ *Smaragd* or *smaragdite* is actually a different gemstone (*TER*).

² From the Greek *sapphīeros*, not an amethyst, but a sapphire (*TER*).

³ From the Latin *jaspis* (jade). A similar stone is *yasmak'ar* (jadeite) (*TER*).

⁴ Not listed in *TER*.

⁵ *Agat* from the Greek *akhates* (agate), a semi-precious silica-based stone of various colors.

⁶ Not listed in *TER*.

⁷ Spinel is listed as *shikak'ar* in *TER*.

⁸ Listed as *voskebiwregh* (chrysoberyl) in *TER*.

<u>Armenian</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turkish</u>	<u>Persian</u>	<u>Latin</u>	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>Russian</u>
biwregh, white and transparent is best	pêlor	najaf	_____	_____	_____	beryl, mountain crystal

gochazm ¹	lazuart, which is lajoward	_____	_____	_____	_____	lazurik, lapis-lazur'

¹ *TER* lists *gochazm* as *piruzak*, the Latin *augites* (turquoise). He lists *armenak'ar*, *armenk'ar*, *hayk'ar* or *lajuart'* as lapis lazuli. He also lists another stone, *azurak'ar*, *khobjak'ar*, *lrjak'ar*, the Latin *lapis Armenius* (azurite), which is confused with lapis lazuli.

[588] Chapter 53¹*On the names and attributes of precious stones*²

Kayts, that is, *eaghut'* (ruby).³ Its characteristics⁴ are as follows: If a person puts it in his mouth, he will become thirsty, if you melt gold and drop an *eaghut'* in the molten gold, it will not burn and its color or sparkle will not diminish. It is also said that he who carries a *eaghut'* on him is welcomed by people; and it is also good for bruises.⁵

¹ The chapter number is absent from F. Chapters 53 and 54 are combined in A as Chapter 53. The author of this chapter, as indicated at the end, is not Arak'el, but *k'ahana* Sargis of Aleppo. For more details on Sargis, see *SUR*, III, 425-463. The description and the order of the gemstones described make it clear that Sargis and Arak'el (in the next chapter) used al-Biruni's famous work on gemstones: Abu al-Raihan Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Biruni's *Kitab al-jamāhir fi ma'rifat al-jawāhir* (Beirut, 1978)[abbreviated as *BIR*].

² In addition to Patkanov, Khanlaryan has used N. S. Syrova, *Raskryvaia tainu mumie* (Tashkent, 1970); L. A. Oganessian, *Istoriia meditsiny v Armenii*, II (Erevan, 1946); G. P. Mikhalevich, "O persidskoi i armianskoi mineralogiakh XVII v." in *Kul'tura i iskusstvo narodov Srednei Azii v drevnosti srednevekov'e* (Moscow, 1979); and the Russian translation of al-Biruni, Abu-r-Raikhan Mukhammed ibn Akhmed al-Biruni, *Sobranie svedenii dlia poznania dragotsennostei (Mineralogiia)* (Moscow, 1963), for his annotations. All references to Biruni in this and the next chapter are from the original Arabic and not the Russian translation of the work. Brosset has consulted M. J. Rambosson, *Les pierres précieuses et les principaux ornements* (Paris, 1870) in deciphering the names of some of the above precious stones. Current definitions, in parentheses, are from Ter-Ghewondean.

³ *Yakint'* in *TER*; *yāqūt* in *BIR*, 32. For more details on the properties of the ruby, see Oganessian, II, 131; *BIR*, 33-49. Biruni considers the *yāqūt* and the *marjan* the first among gemstones, for they are mentioned by Allah in the Qur'an, Surah LV, 58, *BIR*, 32.

⁴ Text reads *khasiat'n*, from the Arabic *kuṣūṣīyat* (colloquial *khaṣīyat*) (features, specifications, properties, peculiarities, characteristics, nature). The term *khasiat'* is used frequently instead of the Armenian term *bnut'iwn* (nature) in this and the next chapter. One of the above English definitions will be used throughout this translation.

⁵ Text reads *zarkuatsi* (friction, blows, strikes). It could thus be translated as good for healing seizures.

Sardion,¹ that is, *sēylan*² (*sardonychus*, *sardonyx*).³ [Its properties are]: it stops bleeding noses or bleeding from other parts [of the body], providing that the wound was not caused by metal or stone. If one carries a *sēylan*, he would not bleed. Like the *eaghut'*, it does not burn in fire; it remains unblemished and its color and sparkle remain the same. There is also a yellow *sēylan*, that is *t'ila*,⁴ called *bijadi* (garnet) and *tpazion* (topaz).

*Zmrukhtin êzsyidi*⁵ (emerald). If one holds it in front of a snake, the snake's eyes are immediately filled with liquid and it becomes blind. Many [589] have tested this and have confirmed this fact.⁶ If one grinds it well on porphyry⁷ and places it, mixed with saffron,⁸ on a person's eyes, his eyesight will improve. Harmful and poisonous creatures keep away from one who has a *zmrukht'* on his finger or carries it on him. It is also useful against the black cough (whooping cough), for which there is no cure, as well as against bloody dysentery. This is proven.

Yaspis, that is, *zabarjad* (beryl).⁹ It is greenish-yellow in color. Its properties are as follows: if you look at it for a long time, your eyesight will improve. If you pulverize it and place it on the eyes, it

¹ *Aknak'ar* in *TER*.

² *PAT*, 16-17. Biruni calls it *bījādi* (garnet) and has devoted an entire section to this stone. He states that the best is from Ceylon and has a dark red color, resembling a pure fire, *BIR*, 88-91.

³ It is a reddish-orange variety of zirconium; also, a similar-colored form of garnet or topaz. Some sources refer to it as a blue sapphire.

⁴ From the Persian and Arabic *ṭalā'* (gold).

⁵ The term *êzsyidi* is not decipherable. Patkanov thought that it meant "to lower one's head," or "to hang," *PAT*, 25. Biruni calls it *zumurud* and does not differentiate between the emerald and *zabarjad* (peridot/green beryl), *BIR*, 160. Its mines were located in Ṣa'ide, in Upper Egypt, in the desert, south of the Nile; hence Aṛak'el's use of the term *syidi*. For more details, see *BIR*, 160-169.

⁶ This belief continued until the 17th century, see *BIR*, 167.

⁷ Text reads *smaghi k'ar*, also known as *tsiranak'ar*. Patkanov translated it as porphyry, *PAT*, 22.

⁸ Text reads *zahvaranaw*, A reads *zafaranaw* (saffron or the rust gathered on iron, which is also called *za'farān* for its reddish color).

⁹ Patkanov translated it as beryl, *PAT*, 26. He maintained that *yaspis* and *zabarjad* are not the same.

heals scabs around the eye. It is useful for alleviating the pain of leprosy.¹

Ligron,² that is, *almas* (diamond).³ It comes in two forms: old and new. The old one is better. It divides and cuts all stones and remains whole itself. Like the ruby and the hyacinth, it does not burn in fire; it comes out of the fire the same way it entered it. If you crush it into small and large pieces, the pieces will be triangular, rectangular, hexagonal, *sērt'iz*⁴ *p'ērt'iz*, that is, sharp vertex and sharp angles.⁵ It is crushed with lead. They stretch the lead into a sheet, place the diamonds on the lead, spread⁶ them around, place it on an iron anvil, and strike the lead, which contains the diamonds, with an iron hammer. The diamonds are crushed, remain embedded in the lead, and do not scatter, *for*⁷ the viscosity of the lead does not permit [the pieces] to scatter. They then open the sheet of lead, take the diamond pieces out and use them. If there is no lead, they put the diamond in beeswax, wrap it twelve times in paper, and strike the wrapped paper with the diamond in it, with a hammer. The diamond is crushed. They then throw the wrapped paper with the beeswax into boiling water. The beeswax melts, the paper rises to the top, and the crushed diamond pieces remain at the bottom. They then take it [590], pulverize it in a diamond-covered steel mortar and use it, for the jewelers⁸ use this pulverized diamond to polish expensive gems. If you have a diamond, it brings happiness. It states in the "Book of Properties"⁹ that whoever wears a heavier diamond, will be victorious in battle against the other; only God knows the truth. If they tie a diamond to the arm of a woman giving birth, she will have an easy delivery. The

¹ Text reads *judam zahmat'in*. Patkanov has translated this as "useful for leprosy." The term *judam* is from the Arabic *judam* (leprosy); *zahmat'i* is the Perso-Arabic term for "being in pain."

² According to Patkanov, the author of this chapter wished to name some of the gemstones as they appeared in the Bible, *PAT*, 7.

³ Biruni called it *almās*, and has more details; see *BIR*, 92-102.

⁴ From the Persian *sar-tīz* (sharp point).

⁵ *BIR*, 94.

⁶ *A* reads "wrap."

⁷ Absent from *A*.

⁸ Text reads *hakakner*, from the Arabic *ḥakkāk* (a jeweler, a polisher of precious stones).

⁹ Refers to Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā' al-Rāzi's (Rhazes), *Kitāb al-Ḳawāṣṣ*, cited repeatedly by Biruni; see *BIR*, 72.

loadstone also has the same property, if a woman holds it in her left hand. This has been proven *many times*.¹

Akat,² that is, 'ain ul-hirr (cat's eye).³ It has the same *properties*⁴ as the ruby. Its wearer will not get leprosy,⁵ mange, or similar ailments. His property and fortune will not diminish. The public will accept him and his words. Wearing it helps the growth of prudence. The person wearing an agate shall not lose his reason, no matter how much wine he drinks. They say this, but I do not believe it, for wine is lion's milk; whoever drinks it to excess, loses his fame, reason, and property.⁶

Amēt'iōstos, that is, *la'l*.⁷ Like the ruby it causes thirst if put in the mouth. If you grind it and make it into [a ball of] paste [boiled in soup],⁸ it makes a person happy; it chases away melancholy and troubles. If you mix it with eye medicine, it is good for the eye, for it improves one's eyesight.⁹

Voskē k'ar (Gold Stone), that is, *t'ila*.¹⁰ Its properties are: If one wraps it in a thin cloth and places it on top of a piece of coal, the cloth will not burn. The person who has this stone will not have nightmares or bad dreams and, with God's grace, will be spared from all accidents.

¹ Absent from E and F.

² Biruni called it *mu'arraaq*, *BIR*, 164.

³ Patkanov separated the agate from the cat's eye, *PAT*, 27.

⁴ Absent from A.

⁵ Text reads *nakbēt' gudu't'awn*, from the Arabic *nakbat* (contemptible); A reads *garsh* (abominable); Brossset translated it as syphilis, *MB*, 544; Khanlaryan translated it as leprosy, *KH*, 448.

⁶ The anti-intoxication properties of this stone may have been confused with amethyst, from the Greek *ametistos* (does not get drunk).

⁷ Patkanov translated *la'l* as spinel, *PAT*, 20; Biruni called the amethyst *jamast*, *BIR*, 194, and refers to *la'l* as *la'l al-Badakhshī*, *BIR*, 73.

⁸ Text reads *machun*, from the Persian *māchān* (a ball of paste in soup). Patkanov has translated it as "medicinal paste," *PAT*, 21.

⁹ For the locations of amethyst in Armenia, see V. B. Seiranian, "Amethyst-drevneishii samotsvet," *Promyshlennost' Armenii* (10, 1980), 16-18.

¹⁰ Patkanov called it *chrysolite*, *PAT*, 17-18; Biruni, however, called *zabarjad* a kind of olive *chrysolite*, *BIR*, 67; while *k'ahana* Sargis refers to *zabarjad* as *yaspis*.

[591] *Biuregh*, that is, *pilor*.¹ Its properties are: If one powders it and pours it on an old wound, it will heal. If one cleans one's teeth with it, it will clean the stains. Its wearer guards himself against bad dreams and night visions. It is red, green and yellow, and elicits all colors. It turns to waste (is calcified) in fire, but does not disintegrate. In calcified form it is used in ointments for the eyes.

Gochazm, that is, *lazuart*.² It is sky-blue in color. The best is that which has no veins or white spots. It does not change color in fire and has gold specks in it. If you throw it into a strong solution,³ it immediately turns white like snow. The Franks accept it [readily].⁴ It comes in large pieces. I saw one piece weighing 1,000 *dirhams*.⁵ In the year 1100 (1651) a 600-*dirham* piece was sold for fifteen *rials* (*reales*)⁶ in Aleppo; earlier it sold for forty *reales*. We get it from the Uzbeks.⁷

Pearls⁸ are known to all and come in two sorts: the Portuguese and the Hormuz. The Hormuz pearl is called *shirin*.⁹ It is round,¹⁰ smooth and shiny, and its holes (blemishes) are smaller. This pearl is considered the best type. The Portuguese is not as smooth and shiny as the *shirin*. The pearl burns in fire and turns to waste (is calcified).

Marjan (coral),¹¹ which is called *bust* in Armenian. The best has a deep-red color. There are also corals that are light red or white. It

¹ Biruni called it *bullūr* or mountain crystal, *BIR*, 181; Patkanov, comparing it to *zabarjad*, called it blue beryl, *PAT*, 25-26. The Persian *bollūr-e ābī* (blue crystal) is the finest kind.

² Biruni called it *lāzurad* and wrote that the Romans called *lazuart arminaqun* (Armenian Stone) and that the term came from the word "Armenia." It cured melancholy, *BIR*, 195.

³ Text reads *t'izabi jur*, from the Persian *tīz-āb* (Aqua regia, Aquafortis).

⁴ Text reads *maghbul*, from the Arabic *maqbul* (pleasing, acceptable, agreeable). Patkanov has translated this as "purchase it gladly."

⁵ Weight used by apothecaries equal to 3.125 grams.

⁶ The *rial* is the *real de plata* (royal coin of silver), a small silver coin and monetary unit used in Spain, Spanish-speaking countries, and parts of the Mediterranean.

⁷ Biruni wrote that it came from Mt. Karran (present-day Tajikistan), *BIR*, 195.

⁸ Biruni called it *lu'lu'* and added that it was commonly called *marjān*, *BIR*, 104. He has devoted a large chapter to pearls, *BIR*, 104-137; see also *PAT*, 54-57.

⁹ From the Persian *shīrīn* (sweet).

¹⁰ Absent from F.

¹¹ From the Persian *marjān* (coral); Biruni called it *bassaḍ*, *BIR*, 189.

grows, like trees, in the sea.¹ Like trees, worms and plant lice gnaw and make holes in it. It is blanched if you put it in acid. It turns to waste (it calcifies) in fire and turns white.

Yeamani [*Yamani*].² The best is *seali*,³ that is, transparent. It has a bright-red color; it also comes in a not so bright red or light red color. No one has seen a piece weighing more than forty drams. [592] They say it is useful for [buttressing] a house and walls, for no one has seen *yamani* under a collapsed house or wall. The Ottomans, Persians, and all the inhabitants of Rumeli like it⁴ and readily buy this stone. They carve their names on it and place it in a signet ring.⁵ The stone occasionally comes in white, yellow, and blue⁶ colors; but the one that is intense red, flat, and without veins, is considered the best. The stone for a signet, if it is good, costs two or three *reales*.

Aghegh.⁷ It comes in red, light red, and violet colors. The best ones are uniform in color and have no veins. Its cost is one-fourth⁸ that of *yamani*.

Snakestone.⁹ It comes in four sorts: black, yellow, reddish, and other colors.¹⁰ *Sometimes*¹¹ there are spots, resembling roses, on it, sometimes specks,¹² and sometimes the spots are oblong and have patterns, but the patterns on all the stones resemble the scales of a snake. If one pours vinegar or lemon juice on the smooth surface of any type of serpent stone, or if you place two stones in vinegar, they, like living beings, will start to move. They will move closer to each other, as if greeting each other, and [then] move away from each

¹ Arab sources describe the coral as a tree growing in the sea of the Franks, Mediterranean Sea off the coast of Africa, *BIR*, 190.

² Patkanov called it *serdolik*. He compared it to *aghegh* ('*aqiq*, carnelian), *PAT*, 32-33. Biruni did not mention *yamani*, but had the same information describing '*aqiq*. He noted that its mines were located in Yemen and Sind, *BIR*, 172.

³ From the Arabic *sayāl* (clear, brilliant) or *saiyāla* (gas, transparent).

⁴ Text reads *maghbul*, from the Persian *maqbul* (accepted, pleasing).

⁵ *BIR*, 173.

⁶ Text reads *mawi*, from the Turkish *mavi* (blue).

⁷ From the Arabic '*aqiq* (carnelian).

⁸ Text reads *rub*, from the Arabic *rab'* (quarter, one-fourth).

⁹ Serpentine or opHITE. Biruni called it *kharaz al-ḥayāt* (beads of life), *BIR*, 207.

¹⁰ Patkanov also called this snakestone and lists various colors including red, yellow, black, and blue, *PAT*, 41.

¹¹ Absent from *F*.

¹² Text reads *noghda*, from the Arabic *nuqta* (dot).

other. It has the following properties: If a snake bites a person, they grind it on a whetstone, give a little to the person, and rub the rest on the snakebite. He is saved, with God's grace, that same day.¹ The Indians very readily purchase this stone and pay a good price for it. Their king wears this stone on his crown and on his fingers. One *mskhal*² of this stone costs two gold [coins].

There is another stone, called snakestone, which in Turkish is called *khtreliaz aghch'asi*.³ It is round and white, and is of the same material as the mother-of-pearl.⁴ It juts⁵ out on one side and is [593] smooth⁶ on the other. On the smooth side, there is a [kind of a] mark [border],⁷ like a thin black line, which has the form of a coiled snake.⁸ It has the following properties: When one gets *otsik ts'aw*,⁹ they place it on the inflamed area and rub it with *rup*,¹⁰ which is *pēgmaz*.¹¹ It adheres to the inflamed area and stays there for eight days,¹² until the patient, with God's help, is healed.

¹ *BIR*, 207.

² From the Arabic *methqāl*, a weight measuring 4.464 grams.

³ Patkanov could not identify this stone, *PAT*, 41. The term *khterliiaz aghch'asi* is from the Turkish *hatırla* (reminds one of, resembles) and *akça* (off-white, pale, whitish, faded).

⁴ Text reads *sadafi jensēn*, from the Arabic *şadaf* (mother-of-pearl) and *jins* (stock).

⁵ Text reads *ghuba*, from the Persian *gumbad* (arch).

⁶ Text reads *dur* (smooth or even in the Armenian dialect of Mush); see *Hayots' lezvi barbarayin baṛaran* (Erevan, 2001), I, 361.

⁷ Text reads *marghur*, from the Arabic *maqūm* (written, drawn, marked).

⁸ Aṛak'el has inserted a drawing of a coiled snake in the text.

⁹ Patkanov translated it as "snakebite," *PAT*, 41. This disease is not listed in the medieval Armenian medical books such as Grigoris, *K'nnut'iwn bnut'ean mardoy ew norin ts'awuts'* (Erevan, 1962) and Amir-dovlat' of Amasia, *Ōgut bzhshkut'ean* (Erevan, 1940). Malkhaseants's dictionary describes it as a kind of skin lesion, which is healed by a balm made by mixing the bark of a pine tree with yogurt.

¹⁰ From the Arabic *rub* (syrup).

¹¹ From the Turkish *pekmez* (heavy syrup made from grape juice).

¹² Khanlaryan has eight years, *KH*, 451.

Easp.¹ It has the color of a green *p'ērp'ēr*² and is covered with many red dots. The Franks gladly purchase it. It is a very hard stone. There is a lot of it about. It is everywhere.

Khamahi,³ which is [known as] Chinese⁴ Iron. It is also *sang-hadid*,⁵ and is the *sghun* (slippery) stone in Armenian. It is always purple colored. If you grind it on a whetstone, it leaves traces of red, sometimes purple, or violet, crimson, yellow, and white. However, the one that leaves traces of red is useful for tumors. If you grind it on a whetstone using rosewater and place the liquid on any tumor, it will bring a cure, with God's help.

Jzah,⁶ which the Turks call *babaghori*,⁷ comes in all colors. It is obtained from the land of Yemen and sold to the Franks. It comes in large pieces; it is dry and hard.

Mghnadis,⁸ in Turkish *mghlatuz*, in Armenian *andamand*, is black in color. It is known that if one carries it with him, it helps against nervous⁹ disorders. They also make the needle of the compass from it, called *ghbla numa*,¹⁰ that is, indicator of the south, by the Turks. It attracts iron; that is why they call it the immobile spirit. If you leave a sword or a knife near this stone for one night, the said sword and knife will draw iron to it the next day. It is inexpensive everywhere.

Yeashm. It is called *yashm*¹¹ in every language.

¹ Biruni called it *yashm* (nephrite, jadeite), a milky-white stone, which is used against stomach pains, *BIR*, 198. According to Patkanov, Arak'el's text obviously refers to the crimson jasper, *PAT*, 31.

² From the Persian *parparam* (purslane).

³ From the Persian *khumāhan* or hematite (a hard stone, which, when crushed and dissolved in water, makes a paste used for sealing).

⁴ Text reads *ch'ini*, from the Arabo-Persian term *chīnī* for Chinese; *PAT*, 38-40 and *BIR*, 202 calls it *khumāhan*. This ferrous-oxide stone is reddish in color.

⁵ From the Perso-Arabic *sang-e ḥadīd* (iron stone). The Persian term *sang-e chīnī* (Chinese stone) refers to quartz.

⁶ From the Arabic *jaz'* (onyx), *BIR*, 174.

⁷ Babakoru, a veined agate cut so that the veins run horizontally across the surface; also known as jaspnyx.

⁸ Biruni called it *magnāīs* (magnetic stone), *BIR*, 200; *PAT*, 46-47.

⁹ Text reads *jghats'aw* (pain of nerves or pain of sinews).

¹⁰ From the Arabic-Persian *qibla-nama* (pointing towards Mecca).

¹¹ Biruni identified it with nephrite, jadeite, or jade, *BIR*, 198.

The best quality is the one that has the color of white paper.¹ The phlegm-colored,² the dull purslane-colored,³ and the olive-colored are less valuable; the black is of even lesser value. [594] Any colors containing veins are no good. Pieces weighing 3,000 drams, and even more, can be found. Turks buy it readily, but the Persians buy the white [jade]. The white [jade] is called *khatai*,⁴ and is found in the land of the Indians.⁵ They say it is useful against lightning; lightning does not strike where there is jade. The white, pure⁶ [jade], costs four *reales* for 100 *dirhams*. The others cost less.

Nilum,⁷ called *fêham* in Arabic. The best quality is pure, blue colored and transparent. It looks like a blue ruby (sapphire), but water does not play on it as it does on a ruby. It comes in large sizes of two or three *methqals* and even more; it is cheap.

Slēymani,⁸ that is, stratified. One of its layers is white, the other black. The best quality is violet [one layer] and white [the other]. It is a very hard stone and is valued greatly by the Franks.

Sebaj.⁹ A black and very lightweight stone, which has a deep black color. If thrown into water, it floats on top of it. It has the following properties: if you hang it in a cradle, in front of an infant's eyes, the blue eyes of the child will turn black. It is proven that if one gazes at this stone, one's eyesight will improve.¹⁰

¹ *PAT*, 34-36; *BIR*, 198-199.

² Text reads *paghlam* (from the Arabic *balgham*). The word is also used in some Armenian dialects.

³ Text reads *p'erp'er*. Alishan identified it with the *portulaca* (the Latin term for purslane) family. Gh. Alishan, *Haybusak* (Venice, 1895), 628, 636.

⁴ Biruni identified *khata'i* with Khotan (southeastern Turkestan), *BIR*, 184.

⁵ Biruni put it in Ajma, in Central Asia, *BIR*, 184.

⁶ Text reads *saf*, from the Arabic *ṣāf* (clear, pure).

⁷ Nil is the Arab/Persian term for the Nile and the Persian term for indigo; the term also means blue color. Patkanov called it cyanite, *PAT*, 28-29; Biruni called it a type of a ruby that is blue, *BIR*, 75.

⁸ Patkanov identified it only as being a kind of a striped agate, *PAT*, 37-38; Biruni also called it a kind of onyx, *BIR*, 176.

⁹ *PAT*, 42-43, Biruni called it *sabaj* (jet), *BIR*, 199.

¹⁰ *BIR*, 199.

Dēhnē-i frangi.¹ The Arabs call it *dēhnēj*.² If you dip it in vinegar or citric acid and rub it against a jeweler's³ knife, traces of gold or silver will appear on the knife. The stone itself has a green or pistachio color, *with green and pistachio-colored dots*.⁴ The good quality is the one that leaves traces of gold. It is used in medicines for the eyes. One *methqal* costs three to four *reales*. I have not tested it in fire.

Firuzā.⁵ It comes in three varieties: Ishaqi (Ishaqi),⁶ Nshapuri (Nishapuri),⁷ and Shbabēk' (Shababaki).⁸ The best quality is clear and has no veins. The Ishaqi is the brightest in color; the Nishapuri is lighter; the Shababaki is white-colored, it ages fast and turns green. [595] They say that whoever wears a turquoise on his finger will not have any need for money, and his words will be pleasing to the people. However, it does not befit one who wears [a turquoise] to utter unpleasant words, thinking that since he wears a turquoise his words are pleasant. [This stone] burns in fire. The Ishaqi measuring the size of an average kidney bean costs fifty *reales*, the Nishapuri costs half that, and the Shababaki costs two silver coins.

Mghnadis Fza,⁹ which is a silver-grabber, attracts silver. If there were gold, iron, copper, and other [metal] shavings¹⁰ in a bunch, this stone would draw out the silver, just as a magnet draws iron. This

¹ From the Persian *dahane-ye farangi* (green jasper, malachite). Biruni called it *dahanj* (malachite), *BIR*, 196, *PAT*, 51-52.

² From the Arabic *dahanj*, a stone resembling an emerald in color.

³ Text reads *jōhardar*, from the Persian *javāher-dār* (jeweler).

⁴ Absent from *F*. Text reads *noghda*, from the Arabic *nuqta* (dot, spot, stain).

⁵ Biruni called it *firuzaj* (turquoise), *BIR*, 169; *PAT*, 48-50.

⁶ Biruni wrote that the best quality came from the mines at Azhar and Buskhāq, *BIR*, 170.

⁷ *BIR*, 170.

⁸ Biruni did not mention this; instead, he mentioned a milky-colored turquoise (*shīrfām*), *BIR*, 170. According to Amaduni, the term *shpamanik* is used for a blue stone in the Van dialect; S. Amaduni, *Hayots' bar u ban* (Vagharshapat, 1912), 524.

⁹ *Fza* is from the Arabic *fazzat* (silver). Biruni mentioned other stones that draw oil, vinegar, and water, but did not mention any magnet for silver, *BIR*, 215. Patkanov wrote that the silver-grabbing magnet is mentioned by ibn-Manzūr, *PAT*, 47.

¹⁰ Text reads *kharduk*, from the Persian *khwurda* (little, small bits, fragments). According to Acharyan, the term has entered Armenian terminology; *Hayeren armatakan bararan*, II (Erevan, 1973), 348-349.

stone is rust-colored and transparent. It is rare and is brought from Abyssinia (Ethiopia).¹ The Indians value it a great deal and call it *mghnadis fza*, that is a magnet for silver, for it attracts [silver] like a greedy person, who greatly loves silver and rakes it in.

Everything that I have written here about precious stones is from [the pen] of an expert and learned² *k'ahana*, an Armenian named Sargis,³ who had come to us from the city of Beria, which is now called Aleppo. He knew Arabic, Ottoman [Turkish], and the Frankish [tongue] very well. In addition, he was familiar with Hebrew and the Roman tongue (Latin).⁴ He himself is a jeweler, who polishes and sets precious stones, and buys and sells them. It so happened that on the road to Jerusalem, I reached Aleppo and met this *k'ahana* Sargis there. During our conversations, he constantly spoke about the nature of precious stones. Realizing that his comments were of value, I asked him, "Write down in detail all that you have recounted [596], and give it to me as a handbook." Heeding my request, he wrote it down and gave it to me. For the sake of the general good, I have included it in this history book. First, because I asked him for it, second, because it is a new essay. First of all, I ask that whoever reads this essay will not accuse me of wasting time,⁵ and secondly, I ask they say, "Lord have mercy on Sargis and me [Arak'el]." I shall ask the same for you [the reader]. Amen.

¹ Text reads *Habashu erkrēn* (from the land of Habashe, Abyssinia). It is interesting to note, however, that Biruni, in his chapter on regular magnets, mentioned a village in Zabulistan (southern Afghanistan), called Hashbaj, as the main source for magnets, 213. It is possible, therefore, that Hashbaj turned to Habash in various sources.

² According to Syurmeyan, in addition to religious studies, Sargis was not only familiar with the Old and New Testaments and theology, but had also studied medicine, astronomy, calendars, accounting, and gemstones; he had acquired a great deal of knowledge on his own and through his travels, 427-428. He had also read the medical works of Amirdovlat' of Amasya and Mkhitar Herats'i, *SUR*, III, 447.

³ Murad Sargis *k'ahana* Halepts'i (1592-1662); see *SUR*, III, 425-463.

⁴ According to Syurmeyan, Sargis' knowledge of languages, recorded in his family testament, is not an exaggeration. Arabic and Turkish were used daily in Aleppo. Merchants in Aleppo and Smyrna used French. He must have picked up Latin during his studies of non-religious sciences, while Jews from Spain, who visited Syria and Smyrna, used Hebrew; *SUR*, III, 455.

⁵ Text reads *k'amahans*; *F* has *hamahans*, best translated as "a man who has nothing better to do but to waste time."

Everything that I have written below about gems is from an old original work, which has been in my possession for some time.¹ I have included it for the benefit of the reader and for the glory of God.

¹ This statement indicates that the next chapter was written by someone other than *k'ahana* Sargis. Syurmeyan, however, disagrees. He states that the use of six languages and other scientific data clearly indicates that both chapters are the work of Sargis; *SUR*, III, 447. Patkanov has another explanation: Sargis wrote the first chapter, while the information and style of the next chapter clearly indicates that another person wrote it. He adds that the addenda of the second chapter were taken from a totally different source, probably a medical book; *PAT*, I-II. It is interesting to note that Aṛak'el's description and order in Chapter 54 follows that of Biruni.

Chapter 54¹

Here is the "Book on Gems," that are found on earth. On their origins; most importantly, the diamond

There are twelve types of diamonds. They are found in two places; the best is from Zulumat'.² They say when Alexander [the Great]³ went to Zulumat', his horseshoe⁴ struck something on a mountain slope. He asked what was it. The learned men, who were by his side, said that it was a diamond, which was formed from celestial dew. The Persians⁵ call it God-given.⁶ They told Alexander that beyond that mountain, there was a sandy plain full of diamonds. It was uninhabited and, except for birds, there was nothing else there. Alexander desired those diamonds. They told him, "Let the horsemen climb atop the mountain and cast down carrion [into the plain]. Large birds [vultures] live there, [597] the diamonds will stick to the carcasses; the birds will grab them, will fly to the top of the mountain, and will alight to devour them. Then, the horsemen will approach, frighten the birds, and whatever is attached to the carcasses will be ours." They did this and gathered as many diamonds as they could.⁷ These diamonds are very valuable. No one went there again, and today all the ancient diamonds are from among that lot. They say that in the land of the Indians, diamonds are highly esteemed,⁸ but not all jewelers⁹ in different lands value them in the same manner. When a diamond is placed in fire, it becomes even more beautiful than be-

¹ This chapter is combined with Chapter 53 in A.

² From the Arabic *zulm* (dark, obscure, idolatry); it refers to India, the land of idols to devout Muslims.

³ Medieval Arab and Persian sources connect diamonds with Alexander of Macedon; see *BIR*, 101.

⁴ Text reads *nal*, from the Arabic-Persian *na'l* (horseshoe).

⁵ Text reads *Ajamn*; the Arabs called the Persians 'Ajam.

⁶ Text reads *khudayi*, from the Persian term *khodā'i* (from God).

⁷ A similar account is found in *BIR*, 102. Another account of precious stones located on a mountain in the region is in *The Travels of Marco Polo* (London, 1958), 60. Similar tales are found in the Arabic classic, *1001 Nights*.

⁸ Text reads *ghimat'*, from the Arabic *qimat*, Persian *qeymat* (price, value, worth, estimation).

⁹ Text reads *joharik'*, from the Perso-Arabic *jawāhirī* (jeweler, dealer in jewels).

fore. The diamond has six facets;¹ whichever side you turn it, three facets are visible. Jewelers say that there are no diamonds larger than eleven carats.² But this is false; there are diamonds larger than twenty-two carats. The jewelers simply have not come across ancient diamonds. New diamonds are found in Gujrat' (Gujarat), Dak'an (Deccan), K'albark (Gulbarza, later Ahsanabad), in the regions of Mahur, Delepejan, Garujani, and P'or.³ They weigh up to thirty and forty carats. To find diamonds they dig deep where there are veins in the rock and find diamonds in these veins. They get them, wash them, and separate them from the earth. Diamonds come in seven colors. Their weight is measured in *manjali*,⁴ one of which is equal to five grains of wheat. They come in *nabat'i*,⁵ olive,⁶ pistachio, *bilori*,⁷ yellow, red, and black colors. The *nabat'i* and the *bilori* are considered the best; after that come the olive and pistachio-colored ones; the other⁸ [colors] are inferior. One carat equals five grains of wheat. The diamond is the king of expensive gems. In Gulbarza, one can purchase a two-carat *nabat'i* or *bilori* diamond, of clear-water quality and without blemishes, for two florins⁹ and sell it to the Franks for forty florins, even more, if one finds a lover [of dia-

¹ Text reads *t'ark*, possibly from the Arabic *ṭarq* (grooves).

² Text reads *ghirat'*, from the Arabic *qīrāt* (four grains or half a dang, one fifth of one gram).

³ *SUR*, III, 441; *PAT*, 4. Brosset has Delhi, Pelnajagar, Janipur, *MB*, 548. Khanlaryan's translation follows Brosset, *KH*, 455.

⁴ According to Patkanov, one *manjali* equals one and three-fourths carats. In Goa, a *manjali* was 5 grains; in Golkondum and Vizapur it weighed one and three-sixth carats, *PAT*, 9. The Persian word *munjall/manjal* refers to the kernel of the nut of *Borassus flabelliformis* or the fruit of *Ficus oppositifolia*.

⁵ From the Arabic-Persian *nabāt* (candied-sugar), a whitish-yellow crystal. Patkanov has translated it as "fruit-drop," *PAT*, 4.

⁶ Text reads *zēyt'i*, from the Perso-Arabic *zeytūni* (olive-color).

⁷ From the Arabic *būllūr* (clear crystal), *BIR*, 99. Patkanov has translated it as crystal, *PAT*, 4.

⁸ Text reads *p[b]aghik'n*, from the Arabic *bāqī* (remaining). The Armenian word *pagh* also means "crystal-like glass or mirror-like glass"; thus the sentence can also read, "the crystal-like glass variety is inferior." See M. K'achuni, *Baragirk' arowestiits' ew gitut'eants' ew geghets'ik dprut'eants'*, I (Venice, 1891), 947.

⁹ An Italian silver coin (previously gold coin) of different weight and value.

monds]. No one except the Franks can drill or polish a diamond.¹ A polished diamond, weighing four carats, should be sold for 10,000 Ottoman [silver] coins. The Franks in Aleppo say that although the diamond is the king of gemstones, it is not worth anything without polishing it, for there are impurities [598] in it that cannot be seen² prior to polishing. If you ask about the properties [of diamonds], they [are]: when a person has a mottled³ [face], the diamond will eliminate it. A person who wears a diamond is pleasing to kings; his words are respected,⁴ and he is not afraid of misfortune. He will not suffer from diseases of the stomach or the rash. He will not be forgotten and his memory will live *happily*⁵ forever.⁶ If you crush a diamond in an anvil and give it to a person, it will kill him, like poison.

A carat of a ruby weighs four grains of wheat. The ruby is formed⁷ in two places:⁸ Old⁹ rubies are found in Ceylon.¹⁰ This island is four *farsangs*¹¹ wide and 400 *farsangs* long.¹² They call the mountain Salandir-dagh.¹³ They say that Adam came on top of this mountain after he was driven out of paradise. They say that, after that, rubies appeared and that they cannot be found anywhere else

¹ *PAT*, 4 and Khanlaryan, *KH*, 455; both read, "no one except the Franks can drill a hole in a polished diamond."

² Text reads *malum*, from the Arabic *ma'lūm* (known, evident, obvious).

³ The text reads *mastana*, probably from the Persian *mastāna* (drunk). Patkanov has translated it as "motley"; see *KH*, 456, and Brosset as *taches* (stain, spot, flaw, blemish, blot, etc.), *MB*, 548.

⁴ Text reads *ghabul*, from the Arabic *qabūl* (receiving favorably).

⁵ Text reads *farah*, from the Arabic-Persian *farah* (happy, joyful, etc.). Absent from *F*.

⁶ Text reads *dayim* from the Arabic-Persian *dā'em* (perpetual).

⁷ Text reads *hasl ku lini*, from the Arabic *ḥaṣl* (formed) and the Armenian *ku lini* (becomes).

⁸ Text reads *erku irats' hasl* (from the Arabic *ḥāsil*, outcome, growth) *ku lini* (it is produced of two elements), in this case however, it means it is found in two places.

⁹ Text reads *ghadimi*, from the Arabic *qadīm* (old, ancient).

¹⁰ Biruni called it Sarandīb (Ceylon), *BIR*, 38.

¹¹ A measure used in Persia; also spelled *farsakh*, a parasang, a league, about 18,000 feet (5004.3 meters) in length.

¹² Patkanov has 60 *farsangs* in length and width, *PAT*, 14.

¹³ According to Patkanov, the text should read Sarandib-dagh (Mt. Ceylon). Biruni called it Mt. Rāhūn, where, according to legends, Adam was put down after he was driven from heaven, *BIR*, 43.

except on this mountain. Note that rubies come in four colors: red, blue, yellow, and white.¹ The red has seven shades: purple,² color of pomegranate [seeds], violet,³ color of lee (grape-skins), color of wine-dregs,⁴ color of [wine] vinegar, and *balkhi*.⁵ The blue ruby has five shades: sky-blue and indigo with a touch of green.⁶ The yellow ruby has four shades: *first*,⁷ yellowish waxen-colored, [then] orange,⁸ straw-colored, and crystal-colored; the latter is formed in large amounts; it has little value, for it is young and has not yet matured.⁹ A purple-red gem,¹⁰ of purest quality,¹¹ weighing a full twenty carats, costs 2,000 florins. It is not found anywhere except in the mines¹² of Ceylon. They are not available in Khorasan. Blue-colored and peacock-colored¹³ rubies are greatly valued among the Ottomans and Indians, for the Indians wear them upon their sashes.¹⁴ The yellow [rubies] are valued in Shirvan. They are very useful for severe *ushtk*.¹⁵ [A ruby] is difficult to identify, for the Franks color crystal so well that one cannot distinguish it from a ruby. One has to be an

¹ Biruni also mentions green, *BIR*, 74.

² Text reads "sea-colored." According to Patkanov, it most probably comes from the Greek *purpureus*, *KH*, 549, note 4.

³ Text reads *arghawani*, from the Persian *arghavān* (red, purple).

⁴ Text reads *khēmri*, from the Arabic *khamra(t)* (wine-dregs).

⁵ From the city of Balkh in Khorasan.

⁶ Aṛak'el mentions five shades but lists only two. Patkanov has added three more: violet-blue, dark blue, and olive-blue. See *KH*, 549, note 6, and *MB*, 548.

⁷ Absent from A.

⁸ Text reads *t'urnj*, from the Arabic *tūrunj* (orange).

⁹ Text reads *kham*, from the Persian *khām* (raw, crude, unripe, immature). According to Khanlaryan, people in the East, especially in India, thought that gems matured in the earth. They were at first without color and gradually turned yellow, green, blue, and finally red—the best quality, *KH*, 549.

¹⁰ Text reads *tsovagoyn karmir* (purpureus-red), *PAT*, 15.

¹¹ Text reads *t'amam ayar*, from the Persian *tamām* (complete) and Arabic *'ayār* (proof, standard used in jewelry, like 18 proof for gold).

¹² Text reads *madan*, from the Arabic *m'adan* (mine).

¹³ Text reads *t'awusi*, from the Arabic *tā'us*, Persian *ṭāvūs* (peacock).

¹⁴ Text reads *t'akband*, from the Persian *tak-band*, a silken or woolen girdle with a hook and eye at the ends.

¹⁵ The term *ushtk* cannot be deciphered. A, however, reads *khusht*, which may be from the Persian *khesht* or *khusht* (woman at the point of heavy labor). Patkanov also read it as *khusht*, *PAT*, 85.

expert to distinguish it. You should note that there is a kind of¹ a ruby in the family, the [gem known as] cat's eyes, *and a reddish-green colored one appears among the t'irmil.*² They say that the *zabarjat* (yaspis/jasper) is also formed from the ruby. Rubies are formed in humid places. [599] People *dig*³ deep in the sandy soil, wash it, and occasionally⁴ find white stones with green lines, with veins that sparkle like flames. One⁵ man, *gunar*...with green water...⁶ so that no matter how you twirl it, it seems that water dribbled from it. It costs 300 florins. Those gems that are not mined in Mili⁷ or Ceylon have no special value. They are worth ten florins in Arabia. New ruby mines have been found near the shores of the port⁸ of Bengal, and on an island⁹ called Bankaw.¹⁰ On this island mature rubies that are of pure green and pomegranate colors...¹¹ but it is soft and does not tolerate fire. Compared with it, the Ceylon variety is superior by far. For the Franks, the hard or soft stone *is worth the same*,¹² as long as the color is good. They seek rubies of clear-water quality and the color of pomegranate. They do not pay attention to its softness.

Lal (amethyst, spinel). Note that there were no *lals* in olden days. There lived a king named Jamshid. In his days there was an earth-

¹ Text reads *jêns*, from the Arabic *jins* (kind).

² Absent from **B**. Patkanov, Brosset, and Khanlaryan have not explained this term.

³ Absent from **A**.

⁴ Text reads *kah kah*, from the Persian *gāh gāh* (sometimes).

⁵ Text has the Armenian letter "A."

⁶ The text is unclear here. Something seems to be missing from all the various manuscripts. Both *PAT*, 85 and *SUR*, III, 442 cannot explain it either. **A**, **B**, and **C**, however, read *zunar* instead of *gunar*. *Zunar* has a number of meanings in Persian (Hindu rosary, a belt or thread worn by Jews, Brahmans, and Zoroastrians).

⁷ Not identified.

⁸ Text reads *bandar* (port).

⁹ Text reads *jzira* (island).

¹⁰ Both *PAT*, 11, and *MB*, 549 read Bangkok Island.

¹¹ Text reads *manlur ē êrk'naki vor k'arbik*. It is unclear and Khanlaryan and others cannot explain it either. The term *manluk* could be a form of the Arabic *ma'nat* (of little consequence), or *man'al* (hard), or the Persian *manlak* (wretched), all implying poor quality.

¹² Absent from **E** and **F**.

quake and many people died. Not far from Balashkhan¹ there was a high mountain. The mountain cracked open because of the earthquake and, by God's miracle, *lals* appeared from there.² The best *lal* found among men come from there; no other place has similar gems. They appear once every 300 years. *Lal* comes in seven colors: red, pomegranate-color,³ fire-colored,⁴ vinegar-colored, wine-colored,⁵ scorpion-colored,⁶ and pea-colored. Note that a full eleven-carat *lal* costs forty florins. If you find a high quality,⁷ pure⁸ red piece of three or four carats, a carat will cost five florins. The pomegranate-colored and flame-colored are worth half that price, same for the pea-colored. Note that *lal*'s properties are hot and dry. Learned men say that *lal* is good for every illness⁹ and helps back pain. [600] Those wearing *lal* appear pleasant to people and they do not have bad dreams. It is not good to keep them by children. It also guards against being possessed. If you mix it with an extract and consume it, you will be gay; it will bring good color to your face and it will keep your stomach¹⁰ in order.

Emeralds are sold by *ritl* (*ratl*);¹¹ three grains of wheat is one *ratl*. Note that 1,500 years¹² ago, emeralds came from two places. Their mines are not far from Egypt and the price of an emerald is 516 *ratls* for one florin. The emeralds in possession of people today come from the land of the Franks and are found nowhere else. They come in three colors: fennel-colored,¹³ basil-colored, and spinach-colored.

¹ There are *lal* mines in Shungan, near Badakhshan. Hence *lal* was sometimes known as *Badakhshani* or *la'l-e Badakhshan*.

² Confirmed by Marco Polo, 60.

³ Text reads *ramani*, from the Arabic *rummān* (pomegranate).

⁴ Text reads *at'ash*, from the Persian *ātash* (fire).

⁵ Text reads *khmri*.

⁶ Text reads *aghrabi*, from the Arabic *'aghrab* (scorpion).

⁷ Text reads *var*, probably from the Persian *vār* (befitting).

⁸ Text reads *p'ak*, from the Persian *pāk* (pure, clean, unblemished).

⁹ Text reads *marakhli*; **B** and **D** read *marakhghi*; **A** reads *marazli*, from the Arabic *marāz* (sickness).

¹⁰ Text reads *maday banaj* from the Arabic *ma'dat* (stomach); opens the stomach (helps digestion). Patkanov has translated it as "helps the digestion," **PAT**, 20. Khanlaryan thinks that the term comes from the Arabic *māddīyat* (substance); he assumes that it should read "helps infectious wounds," **KHcr**, 530.

¹¹ From the Arabic *ratl*, a measure of weight, in some places 3.5 grains.

¹² Absent from **F**.

¹³ Text reads *rziani*, from the Persian *rāzyāneh* (fennel).

The basil¹ and spinach-colored are not expensive, but one *methqal* of a fennel-colored emerald costs 200 florins in India. A basil-colored² emerald also costs the same. They say that the emerald's nature³ is old and dry; others say that it is good to wear emeralds, whoever wears them will not have illness of the eyes, his vision will improve, he will live a long time and will not get night-blindness. They say that an emerald is the strongest antidote against any poison.⁴ If you give a poisoned person two carats of basil-colored⁵ emerald mixed with camel's milk, he, with God's help, will be saved; the poison will come out through his sweat. If you hold an emerald in front of a snake *vishap*,⁶ its eyes will burst. If a scorpion or a snake bites someone, you should mix [emerald] with rose water and place it on the bite. The person who wears an emerald will not suffer from chagrin or melancholy.

Note that the pearl is found in only three places: they are found in the Sea of Pearls⁷ on an island⁸ near Ghesimalak'a.⁹ The best pearls are those that come from this island. Also well known¹⁰ are those from Daht'eren,¹¹ near the K'abul of Bengal,¹² where pearls are found in large numbers. Pearls weighing one or half a *methqal* are rare; there are, however, plenty of small ones. In addition, there is a sea in Egypt, called Kayshaman,¹³ around whose ports pearls are

¹ Text reads *rehani*, from the Arabic *raihān* (basil).

² Text reads *ramani* (color of pomegranate), an obvious error; it should read *rahani* (basil-colored), for emeralds are green.

³ A, B, C, D, and E read *t'abiat'n*, from the Arabic *ṭabī'at* (nature, essence), instead of *khasiat'n*.

⁴ Text reads *zahr*, from the Persian *zahr* (poison).

⁵ Text reads *ramani*; see note 5 above.

⁶ A large snake, dragon.

⁷ Text reads *Bahri Ghadif*. It should read *Bahri Ghadis* (Baḥr Qadīs, Sea of Pearls in Arabic). Khanlaryan, after Brosset, *MB*, 550, has translated it erroneously as shores of Bahrain, *KH*, 458. Biruni mentions Oman and Bahrain, *BIR*, 129.

⁸ Text reads *jzira*.

⁹ May refer to the island of Qeshm.

¹⁰ Text reads *manshur*, from the Arabic *mashhūr* (famous).

¹¹ Patkanov assumed it was the Oyster Rock Island off the coast of Bengal.

¹² Not identified.

¹³ Not identified. Biruni mentioned the Green Sea (Indian Ocean), Persian Gulf, Gulf of Ceylon, Bahrain, Island of Dahlak, and the Red Sea as pearl-producing regions, *BIR*, 140.

found.¹ Many pearls are brought from there. Note that this animal (oyster)² produces like a hen and spawns its seed in the sea, [601] like fish.³ The mother-of-pearl is formed from it. When it rains in the month of May, they rise to the surface of the sea, get warm, and begin to form [pearls]. At night, they once again sink to the bottom of the sea. They do this for forty days,⁴ after which a pearl appears. Its size and hue depends on the time of year and the weather. Note that a smooth⁵ pearl weighing eight carats costs eighty florins. However, a white pearl, the color of camphor,⁶ costs 1,500 florins for one *methqal*; four carats costs sixty; two carats of a white, camphor-colored, cost forty; a yellow or waxen-colored [pearl] has no special value. If they ask the price of a pearl weighing a certain [carat], do not quote a price until you see it. Its nature is sharp and humid. It helps night blindness⁷ and fever of the eyes. If a person has blemishes⁸ on his face, you should grind a pearl, mix it with vinegar, and rub it on the face. He will be cured with God's help.

Note that turquoise is found in only four places: 1. [Turquoise] mines⁹ are located in Nishapur, where the best and most expensive¹⁰ turquoise is found. 2. It is mined¹¹ in Khojand—this turquoise costs not less than five florins. 3. It is mined in Kerman, in the village of Shahpwak'ē (Shah-vahani),¹² but this turquoise cannot compare in quality¹³ with those mentioned above. 4. Stones from the mines in Isbir¹⁴ have no value at all. There is no better turquoise than that of Nishapur. A good clear¹⁵ turquoise, weighing twenty carats, costs 400 florins. A nice, clear one-carat stone is worth one florin. Tur-

¹ Text reads *bandarner*.

² Text reads *janavar*, from the Persian *janvar* (animal, living).

³ For more details, see *BIR*, 139.

⁴ *BIR*, 141.

⁵ Text reads *ghumash* from the Persian *qomash*, a thin fine cotton fabric. In this case it means a smooth, fine pearl.

⁶ Text reads *k'afuri*, from the Perso-Arabic *kāfūr* (camphor).

⁷ Text reads *shawk'orin*, from the Persian *shab-kūri* (night-blindness).

⁸ Text reads *alaja*, from the Turkish *alaca* (motley, speckled).

⁹ Text reads *madan*, from the Arabic *ma'dan* (mine).

¹⁰ Text reads *ghimat'ov*.

¹¹ Text reads *k'an*, from the Persian *kān* (mine or quarry).

¹² *A* and *PAT*, 88 read Shahawak'.

¹³ Text reads *armukh*, from the Turkish *alma* (to buy, to take, to receive).

¹⁴ Patkanov has Sbir, *PAT*, 48; Khanlaryan also has Sbir, *KH*, 459.

¹⁵ Text reads *saf*, from the Arabic *ṣāf* (clear, smooth).

quoise is ruined¹ by musk, humidity, fire and camphor. If you take it away from these things, its color will not diminish. Jewelers say that turquoise is better than all other gemstones, for it has many properties. Whoever wears it will not suffer the wrath² of kings. If one looks at it in the morning, one shall not have troubles in the coming day. [The stone] is beneficial for diseases of the eye. It brings long life, prosperity,³ riches,⁴ and helps against bad dreams.

P'anzahr⁵ (bezoar). They call this stone *malt'oli hayat'*⁶ and it has great benefits. Whoever grinds six carats of it on a stone and takes it for a week, he will live for 120 years and will never become ill. Whoever eats bezoar or carries it on him will be bold, the evil [602] eye will not harm him; neither a snake nor venom will hurt him. One has to take it diluted in rosewater, *adroitly*,⁷ so as not to touch the teeth, for it is harmful⁸ [to the teeth]. If you ask where it comes from, know that there is a mountain called Shaban-K'ar, near Shiraz. On that mountain are long-horned goats,⁹ which do not eat any grass except the grass called the *shaban-k'ar*. Bezoar is found in their belly. The best quality of *mumiya*¹⁰ is also found on this moun-

¹ Text reads *zawal*, from the Turkish *zavalli* (wretched, unlucky, miserable).

² Text reads *khsh̄m*, from the Persian *khashm* (anger, wrath).

³ Text reads *barak'at*, from the Arabic *barakat*.

⁴ Text reads *mal*.

⁵ Biruni called it *bādizahr*, **BIR**, 200. From the Persian *pādzahr*, *bazizhar*, Arabic *bādizahr* or *bāzhar* (antidote). Biruni mentioned two types of bezoar: *ma'dani* (from mines) and *ḥayvani* (from animals). Biruni described the mineral type, while Armenian sources detail the antidote from animals, **BIR**, 200-201.

⁶ Patkanov translated it as "food of life," **PAT**, 60. It can be translated as life-giving (from the Arabic *ḥayāt*), or protection against snakes (from the Arabic *ḥaiyāt*). Marco Polo called it salamander, not the animal but a kind of asbestos, *Travels*, 71.

⁷ Text reads *ēlmov*, from the Arabic 'ilm (knowledge). Absent from A and F.

⁸ Text reads *zarar*, from the Persian *zarar* (harmful).

⁹ Text reads *orts' eghan* (stags); F reads *ezan* (bulls). A few sentences later, the text reads *ghoch'* (from the Persian *qūch*, horned ram or buck), which clearly indicates that the animal in question is a ram or wild goat.

¹⁰ From the Persian *mūmiyā* (pissasphalt, the substance with which mummies are preserved). The word comes from the Greek *pissasphaltos* (pitch and asphalt); a semi-liquid bituminous substance mentioned by ancient writers and used in mummification. *Mūmiyā'i* is a term for a medi-

tain, where it flows out of the stones in a deep ravine. Just 1000 *methqals* is produced a year. The *mumiya* has the following attribute: if a person, who has fallen from a great height and has been smashed up, drinks half a *methqal* [of *mumiya*], he will become whole [again].¹ The place is a royal one.² You find [bezoar] in only 100 rams³ and those are usually skinny⁴ and have long horns. It is found in the innards of the animal and is generally soft, but if you put it in your mouth it turns to stone.⁵ A ten-*methqal* piece costs 200 florins; while a two- or three-*methqal* size is worth twelve florins. Many make fake⁶ [bezoars]: if you wish to assure its genuineness, rub it on a stone; if it leaves a white trace, it is fake one; if it leaves a trace of another color, it is genuine. Take this trace of the bezoar and rub it with a mixture of *vētajripan*⁷ on your hand: if it is yellow, it means it is good; if, after your burn it, nothing except smoke remains, it is good; if dirt remains, it is bad.

More about the Bezoar

Hazar êlt'ēs,⁸ that is, the bezoar, which the Armenians call anti-poison, has the same properties as opium.⁹ Resembling an acorn, it is elongated and round, [arranged in] row after row. The inside of it resembles a seed. This stone [603] has the color of earth, black with a hint of red. The good quality is the one that leaves a trace of red, if you rub it with milk against a stone; if, after rubbing, you get a green

cine. *Mumiya* is sometimes confused with *propolis*, a red resinous substance collected by bees from the bark and buds of various trees and used to fill crevices and fix and varnish the combs (bee-glue). Biruni devoted three separate sections for bezoar, *mumiya*, and *hajr al-tais* (goat-stone). For more details, see *BIR*, 203-207. Arak'el has combined the information into his section on bezoar, with a few sentences on *mumiya* mixed in with the general data on bezoar.

¹ *BIR*, 206.

² *Ibid.*, 205.

³ Here the text reads *ghoch'*; see note above.

⁴ Text reads *laghar*, from the Persian *lāghar* (thin, skinny, emaciated).

⁵ *BIR*, 203.

⁶ Text reads *amali*, from the Arabic *'amal* (to be produced, bred).

⁷ Patkanov, Brosset, and Khanlaryan have not translated this word. It may be a compound of the Arabic *vatā* (black viscous mud) and Arabo-Hindi *jarip/b* (turmeric, chili or other horticultural produce).

⁸ From the Arabic *hajr al-tais* (goat-stone).

⁹ Text reads *t'riak'*, from the Persian *taryāk* (opium, bezoar-stone).

color, it is not good.¹ It is found in the innards of wild rams² in the land of Shirvan. The doctors say a lot about it. The author of this medicine book³ says that the rams⁴ eat only snakes, called *mughal*, and nothing else. That is why the stone is formed in the innards of the rams and that is why they call it the best⁵ opium. If, when rubbed against a stone, various colors appear, it is not good [quality]. The good quality is that which, when rubbed, gives a red-black color. In Sham (Syria), they produce a fake bezoar that is difficult to detect. They identify it by putting a needle in the fire until it is red and pushing it into the stone: if the bezoar is fake, a dark smoke rises; if it is genuine, a yellow smoke appears. If you grind it in herb water and place [the ointment] on snakebite, it will help, and the pain will immediately subside. Generally it is useful for all animal bites.⁶ It prevents harm. Taking twelve grains of bezoar helps a weak heart and adds to a man's strength. The price of one dose is half a *dang*.⁷ He who takes half a *dang* [of bezoar] every day will be saved from all danger and deadly poisons. It also helps those with inflammations. This is because the nature of this medicine is extremely hot and it can work against its own nature. Be aware of this.

Know that although *ambar* (amber)⁸ does not belong in the category of gemstones, I have included it among gemstones. It is found in Yemen on the surface of the sea. There are several islands in Zulumat', where trees grow; on these trees, as well as on the ground,⁹ something resembling honey falls.¹⁰ A great many flies sit on it. It flows from the trees in such abundance, [604] that the excess flows into the sea and covers it like beeswax, on the surface of the sea, as

¹ *BIR*, 203.

² Text reads *k'osh*, from *qūch* (ram), *BIR*, 203.

³ Text reads *hak'imaran*, but does not mention the name of the author.

⁴ Text here reads bucks; **F** reads bulls.

⁵ Text reads *farukh*, from the Persian *farrukh* (beautiful, good), *BIR*, 203.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ The text makes it clear that the term *dang* here is not the weight (0.70 grams), but the value of a piece of land. A *dang* is one-sixth of any landed property.

⁸ Biruni called it *kahrabā* and listed it as anti-venom, as well as an ingredient in the preparation of various medicines, *BIR*, 210-212.

⁹ Text reads *tēp's* (tap') ground, or earth in a number of Armenian dialects. Klanlaryan thinks it may be a variation of the Turkish word *deve* (low pass over a mountain ridge), *KHcr*, 532.

¹⁰ *PAT*, 58.

well on the shore. People gather five to ten *litrs* on the shore. Once, merchants¹ found a petrified chunk [of amber] of unprecedented size. Know that amber comes in four grades: *shamami*,² *khashkhashi*,³ *t'ap'aghi*,⁴ and pistachio-colored. The *shamami* has a round form. If one breaks it, its surface will resemble that of the *khashkhashi* grade. The same will happen to the *khashkhashi*. The inside of the *t'ap'aghi* is white and hard. The pistachio [amber] is soft. We know that one can pay five florins for ten *methqals* of *shamami* and [he can] sell it elsewhere for fifteen florins or even more. If you buy the *khashkhashi* for four florins, you can sell it for twelve. The *t'ap'aghi* and pistachio can be bought for two florins and sold elsewhere for six. Amber has a pleasant scent; it keeps one's disposition sweet;⁵ it dispels melancholy.⁶ It helps the eyes; it is good against rashes⁷ and headaches.

The mines of lapis lazuli are in Balashkhan.⁸ The stones are also found in K'ash but they are fake.⁹ These stones are manufactured in the homes of K'ash. There is a black-colored stone in Shamishayd,¹⁰ which they polish and bring for sale. [This stone] does not tolerate fire, while the Balakhshan [lapis] can remain in fire for ten days and not be ruined. It is a true gemstone. Know that a good [lapis] has a shell, like an egg—white and soft. One hundred *methqals* of this stone cost 25 florins. In its raw¹¹ form it comes mixed¹² [with other stones]; if one washes 100 *methqals* [of raw stone], one gets 25 *methqals* [of lapis]. The person who washes it gains great profit. The

¹ Text reads *pazrkaner*, from the Persian *bazergan* (merchants).

² From the Arabic *shamām*, a nice-smelling melon or gourd of reddish-yellow color. The Perso-Arabic term *shamāma* refers to ambergris.

³ From *khashkhāsh* (poppy), poppy-colored.

⁴ From the Arabic *ṭabaqi* (hive).

⁵ Text reads *damagh*, from the Turkish *damak*, P. *damāgh* (palate, nose, brains).

⁶ Text reads *sawdan*, from the Arabic *sauda'* (madness, melancholy, darkness, black bile, etc.).

⁷ Text reads *k'er* (itch in Armenian). It could also mean *kar* (deaf in Persian).

⁸ That is, Badakhshan.

⁹ Biruni called it Qash, white nephrite, *BIR*, 188. It was found in eastern Turkestan.

¹⁰ Refers to Arshamashat, one of the capitals of ancient Armenia.

¹¹ Text reads *kham*, from the Persian *khām* (raw, immature, unripe).

¹² Text reads *vasla vasla*, from the Arabic *waṣl* (joining together).

unwashed [lapis] is worth the same as the stone from K'ash. With the help of fire, one can recognize the fake and the Balashkhan [lapis]. It is good for the eyes and, like antimony, keeps the eyes clean. It is useful against chinar pain;¹ it helps lumbago.²

Marjan (coral) is found in three places, one of which is in the city of T'us, which is in the Maghreb.³ They obtain it, like pearls, from the sea. While in the sea, it is soft, but when they take it out, it hardens.⁴ There is also a city in Frankistan (Europe) [605] called K'isa,⁵ where corals are found as well. Coral is also found in the ports of the Sea of Hormuz, but it is black in color and is called *usr*.⁶ White color has no special value. The red, unpolished, is valued greatly in Gujarat, while the polished one is sold for its weight in silver in the West. Its nature helps loss of memory; it helps against shaking heads and gives strength to the heart. Mixed with *t'ut'iya*,⁷ it is beneficial for the eyes.

Aghegh (carnelian) is found in three places: First in Yemen, second in Gujarat, where much is dug near Parvach,⁸ and third in K'albarka. The last one is not as good as the Yemeni kind. The *Aghegh* of Yemen has the following properties: if one looks at it, it guards one from evil snares; it also helps against provocations.⁹

¹ The term is not translated by any of the above authors. The work *chinar* is from the Persian *chanār* (plane-tree). It also means dumbfounded or thunderstruck; hence it might have been a cure for shock.

² Text reads *t'arkip*, from the Arabic *tarkīb*, a complication of diseases, including lumbago. Khanlaryan has translated it as "the small of the back," *KH*, 463; Brosset has "back-pain," *MB*, 552.

³ The western part of North Africa (Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco) was called Maghreb by the Arabs; see *BIR*, 176.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁵ Refers to the small island of Kish or, more probably, the large island of Qeshm, an island in the Straits of Hormuz, where the Europeans purchased coral and pearls. The city and island were not in Europe, but were frequented by the Europeans. Marco Polo calls it Kais, *Travels*, 37.

⁶ Probably the same as the Armenian *sēt*, a kind of expensive black stone.

⁷ From the Arabic *tūtiyā* (tutty or zinc oxide, a collyrium or medicine for the eyes). Tutty, dissolved in the juice of sour grapes, is applied as remedy for strengthening the eyes.

⁸ Biruni called it Bahruj, *BIR*, 173.

⁹ Text reads *dghats'kan*. Malkhaseants' reads it as *dghik dnel* (to provoke). Khanlaryan's Russian translation reads, "helps during heavy childbirth," *KH*, 463.

Yashm (jade).¹ There is a river between Khatay (Cathay) and China² where all the stones are jade. Jade comes in five colors: white, olive, green, black, and *rziani*.³ The best jade is olive-colored. This is a true gemstone. In those places they do not respect people who do not have jade on them. Up to 5,000 florins of jade are produced every year. If one carries it with him, there will be no earthquakes. It helps against rapid heartbeat, and [being struck by] lightning.

¹ It is also a term for jadeite and nephrite.

² See *BIR*, 184-186, for more details.

³ Patkanov translated it as "dill-colored," *PAT*, 35, 66.

Chapter 55¹*The History of the Land of Aghuank'² composed by Vardapet Hovhannēs Tsarets'ī³*

When I, the unworthy Hovhannēs, was twelve years old, I found my calling, but, woe to me; I did not follow God's commandments. In the year 1021 (1572) of our Armenian calendar, the king of Azarbaijan⁴ was a certain foreign shah of the red heads,⁵ named Ṭahmāsp.⁶ He was so peace loving and unselfish that elders recalled that, for fifteen years, [606] he did not collect taxes in his domain.⁷ He also halted the collection, in his domain, of the *baj*⁸ and road tolls from merchants, which they customarily collected for the treasury. In addition, he, with a strict decree, eliminated the presence of indecent women residing in the city, who openly seduced many, and who paid taxes to the treasury, and [ended] the indescribable vices and sins of Sodom, inherent among the Persians.⁹ Wherever they appeared, he ordered the guilty executed after great tortures. In the year 1024

¹ Chapter 54 in A.

² According to Hakobyan, in order to save minor chronicles, they were sometimes included in larger works, *MZH*, I, 12-13. Thus, the above history was included in Arak'el's work. The chronicle was also published separately by M. Msereants' in Moscow (1859) in the periodical "Chrak'agh." It was also included with Samuēl Anets'i's work printed in Vagharshapat (1893). It is also included in two manuscripts at the Matenadaran Archives: MS 2776 (folios 266r-271r) and MS 8245 (folios 93r-95v). For more details, see *MZH*, II, 235-255.

³ According to Hakobyan, this chapter was written by Hovhannēs Tsarets'ī, son of Melk'on (c.1560-?), and not Hovhannēs Tsaretsi', son of Jhanshah (d. 1583). He was from Tsar (in Karabagh) and was a *vardapet* at the Dadi-vank' in Kelbajar, Karabagh. The original essay has no title.

⁴ Text reads At'rpatakan; as noted, it refers to the ancient Media (Atropatena of the Greeks), or the region of present-day Iranian Azarbaijan.

⁵ The *Kizilbash*, that is, the Persians.

⁶ A, B, C, D, E, and F read *Tahman*; see note 3 above. Shah Ṭahmāsp reigned from 1524 to 1576.

⁷ See *CHI*, VI, 250.

⁸ Bāj refers to a tribute paid by vassals to their overlord. In Mongol times it was a synonym for road tolls. Later it was used as meaning both road tax and tax taken from merchants. For more details, see W. Floor, "Bāj," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, III, 531-532.

⁹ Tabriz had brothels that supplied young men for sex.

(1575) of our calendar, the aforementioned shah died, after reigning fifty-one years.¹

One of his sons, named Isma'il,² who had previously been locked up in a fortress³ by his father, for some infraction,⁴ now ruled in his father's place. Armed with swords, he killed his brothers,⁵ seven in number, and began to slaughter the *nakharars* of his army, some openly, others secretly. He almost killed the entire Persian nation.⁶ The Persian grandees realized that their end was near. A certain notable from Tabriz, named Amir Khan, and a certain Moḥammad, the ruler of the *gawaṛ* of Ararat, nicknamed T'okhmakh,⁷ and others, whose names I do not know for certain, came to an agreement with the servants of Isma'il and secretly killed him. The army was unaware of Isma'il's death. Since he did not sit in judgment in the *diwan*, they announced that he [Isma'il] had gone to spy in another ruler's land and would return that same year. That is what everyone thought; they learned about his death later.

Once again, they all agreed, went to Khorasan, and brought a sheikh, named Khudabanda (Khodābandeh), [607] Isma'il's brother and the son of the same Shah Ṭahmāsp, who was appointed by his father as the governor of Khorasan. They placed him on the throne in place of Isma'il, but he was a coward and unfit for rule. He also had poor eyesight.⁸

In the second year of his reign,⁹ the king of Byzantium, from the Ottoman nation, named Murad, whom they also called *khondk'ar*, ordered his army to attack the land of the redheads (*Kizilbash*). A

¹ Hovhannēs' dates are not always accurate; see note 7 on previous page.

² Isma'il II (1576-1577).

³ Text reads *klay*, from the Arabic *qal'a* (fort, castle), Turkish *kala*; refers to the Qahqaha fort, where Isma'il was imprisoned until 1576, *CHI*, VI, 251.

⁴ The exact reasons for Isma'il's 18-year imprisonment are unclear, *CHI*, 247.

⁵ Text reads *eghbayr harazat* (of his own blood); that is, from the same mother.

⁶ The bloody reign of Isma'il II is depicted in *BID*, II, 231-232.

⁷ Tokhmāq Moḥammad. He was the khan of Erevan from 1575 to 1583.

⁸ The almost blind Moḥammad Khodābandeh (1578-1587) was the sole brother of Isma'il who escaped death, *CHI*, VI, 251. Most sources call him blind and weak. See *VB*, 41; *BID*, II, 234.

⁹ In 1575.

certain commander, named Lala,¹ set off with a large army, reached the land of Ararat, took 60,000 Armenian and Muslim prisoners, and drove them to the land of the Greeks (Rum). The following year, he again moved, attacked Georgia, and reached the city of P'aytakaran,² that is, Tiflis, erected a fort, reinforced it, and left a large number of troops in it.³ When Isma'il ascended the throne, he handed one of the Georgian Bagratid kings, named Simon, his patrimony and the rule over his domain. Earlier, Simon was taken prisoner, due to his unruliness, by the aforementioned Shah Ṭahmāsp, had become weak in his faith, and lived at Ṭahmāsp's court. He was to go and rule over his people and remain in the Muslim faith.⁴ But, when he went home to Tiflis, the noblemen, the clergy, and especially his wife and family constantly reproached him, called him an apostate and ungrateful, and refused to associate with him. Grieved by this, he repented for his conversion to Islam, and once again accepted the worthy worship of Christ's cross and the crucifixion of Christ, the Lord of all. Word of this reached the Persians, but since Isma'il [II] had died, and the others could not do anything about it [Simon's renouncing of Islam], they allowed him to be a Christian, as long as he remained loyal [to the Persians] and remained close to the shah's court. Now, Lala [Pasha] forced the said Simon to flee [608]. He constructed many forts in his land, but I do not know their names, since I have not seen those places. I only heard that forts were constructed in Tiflis, Dumanis, Gori, Loṛi, and other places, and troops were stationed in

¹ Mustafa Lala Pasha.

² Although the city of P'aytakaran is the same as Partaw (Arabic Barda', modern Berde), a number of medieval Armenian historians, such as T'ovma Metsop'ets'i, Vardan Arewelts'i and others, identify it with the city of Tiflis.

³ This information comes from Georgian sources. See K. Kutsia, *Information on Georgia in the History of Aṛak'el of Tabriz* (Tbilisi, 1974), 61-62.

⁴ Simon Khan of K'art'li was imprisoned by Shah Ṭahmāsp in the Almut fort in 1569. He was freed by Isma'il II and sent to K'art'li to fight the Ottomans. He defeated them and his other rivals and eventually took Tiflis. He was later taken prisoner in another campaign against the Ottomans (1600) and sent to Istanbul, where he died. The date of his death is disputed: some say it occurred between 1600 and 1602; Grigor Daranaghts'i, *Zhamanagrut'iwn* [abbreviated as *GD*] (Jerusalem, 1915) has 1608; others claim that he was still alive in 1609, while Brosset writes that his death occurred in 1611. For more details, see W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (New York, 1971), 153-160. See also Chapter 3.

them. Lala himself marched against the Alans,¹ and went to the Iron Gates (Darband). He also built a fort there called Damur-ghap'u (Darband), and left a large number of troops in it with a commander named Osman,² a very skillful and ruthless man. He [Lala] himself returned to his sovereign and was killed³ by him because of slander. God's retribution for the blood of innocents did not permit him to prosper.

But in the year 1028 (1579) there suddenly occurred a terrible and great death [plague] in Azarbaijan and in all of Aghuank'. It carried away many, from all nations, so that many houses remained without owners, and many fathers and mothers without children. The inhabitants of the land of Aghuank', in such calamitous conditions, mourned their death and were concerned about the living, the sick, and themselves and thought gravely, "Oh, will we be saved from this unexpected death or not?" At that time, there suddenly appeared an unexpected foe—the forgotten and deadly Osman, who, prior to this, had marched against the Tatars, called the Ghait'agh (Kaytak). He gathered around him in Damur-ghap'u all the Lesghians from the mountains of the Caucasus, countless numbers of bloodthirsty horsemen. He got up and, together with them, crossed to the other side of the Kur River. He forced the flight of the governors of Ganje and Partaw. They scattered throughout the plains and mountains, and after an entire day of pillaging Ganje, Partaw, Charaberd (Jraberd), Khach'en, Varanda, and Dizak,⁴ they took many captives from the lands between the rivers Ch'arek' and Arax. Their swords slaughtered those of no use. After four or five days they went back.⁵

¹ Armenians called the Ossets Alans. Brosset erroneously translated it as Aghuank', *MB*, 555.

² Osman Yüzdemir Pasha.

³ Text once again reads *satakets'av*.

⁴ Refers to the eastern Armenian regions of Utik' and Artsakh. The last four are part of present-day Mountainous-Karabagh.

⁵ Osman Pasha was besieged in Shamakhi by the *beglarbegi* of Shirvan, Aras Khan Rumlu. When the heir to the throne, Hamza Mirzā, routed the Turks, Osman Pasha was forced to leave Shirvan and flee to Darband. His allies, the Crimean Tatars, were also beaten in 1580. But in 1584, the Ottomans, together with the Crimean Tatars, attacked, pillaged Karabagh and took a large part of the population prisoner. The Ottomans took Shamakhi and Baku. The departure of the Crimean Tatars temporarily enhanced the situation of the Persians, but soon Osman Pasha defeated them and in the spring of 1585 took Tabriz, *CHI*, VI, 257-258.

[609] That same year, the two scourges of the plague and the sword once more [descended on the region]. A terrible and unbearable famine occurred. It was so severe that people, like animals, began to eat raw meat [of various beasts] in order to escape death. They wandered, poor and homeless, and hid from enslavers, for all the Armenian *gawars*, which were under the rule of the *Kizilbash*, were ruined and demolished. If a settlement remained anywhere, only homeless¹ people populated it: men and women, old and young, youths and maidens, wandered with tears in their eyes, without shelter, in the courtyards of strangers and the homes of outsiders, to wheedle out something to eat. Since there was little to eat, the stronger among them wandered surreptitiously in pastures and cowsheds. Not having a knife, they could not slaughter large cattle. Therefore, they forcibly grabbed fine calves, young lambs and kid goats, tore out their flanks, pulled out their hearts and innards, ate them raw, and left secretly. No one suspected them, until someone saw them commit this act, and then everyone learned of it. The weak among them dug the heaps of horse and cow manure, and finding seeds of barley, ate them. Moreover, they placed the bones [belonging to animals], which lay around for a long time, from olden days, in the streets, whether clean or dirty, on a stone, ground them into powder with another stone, poured it into their mouth and with a deep breath growled satisfactorily. They also placed fragments of clay jugs, old leather belts, and worn-out shoes, cooked them and then ate them. A hideous spectacle, my brothers! When spring came, the destitute, with darkened bodies, scattered around the plains, and like a herd of goats and flock of sheep, ate the wild herbs and [610] grass. They could not be sated, for according to the prophet, "He summoned famine against the land and broke every staff of bread."² In particular, those died whose heads swelled up: some, who had no strength to return, died right there in the pastures; others, upon returning to the village, expired by the walls and corners of demolished houses. If a God-fearing man happened to pass by, he gathered nine or ten or more corpses, found some pit, threw them in it, covered it with earth, and buried them. If not, the corpses remained unburied.

Frequently word would come that, "Such and such a *tanutēr* or the son of noted parents had died and his corpse was in such and

¹ C, E, and F read *tnakk'* (little homes).

² Psalms 105.16.

such a place.” Many of his acquaintances and friends, receiving the news, mourned and shed tears, but because of many complications, they would postpone the burial to the next day, and then to the next day after that. Then, news would arrive that beasts had torn the corpse and scattered the bones about. Hearing this, they would not be troubled any longer and the corpse would remain unburied. O brothers, woe to me, the unfortunate, and [woe] to my narrative, for many gladly devoured the polluted meat of loathsome dogs and cats, as well as human flesh. Thus, in a village in the districts of Varanda and Dizak, within the borders of Amaras, there lived a seven-year-old boy, the sole child of a certain wealthy man. Widows from a nearby village had gathered around the house of the rich man, lived there, and occasionally were given leftovers from the rich man. One day, the women, under some pretext, called the boy, killed him, and ate one of his legs. In the evening the parents began to look for him and found the cut-up corpse of their son in the home of the widows. I heard that some old man, in that same region, had eaten his daughter’s corpse. These calamities occurred in the years 1028 (1579) and 1029 (1580).¹

[611] Woe to me, who deserves punishment. Beasts that had devoured people’s flesh—the dead and those who had perished from the sword and famine—became so wild that even the dogs from homes [pets] began to go after living people away from the settlements. Wolves appeared on the roads and penetrated the settlements, dragged people out of bed and devoured them, fell on flocks of sheep, ate the shepherd, but did not even touch the sheep. It is not possible to write the number of captives and those who had perished from the famine or the sword. Hence I place the paper and ink at your feet, like David’s book (Psalms) that is found in Jerusalem. In the year 1032 (1583), *khondk’ar* Murad ordered his generals and their troops to once again march to Erevan and take it. Indeed they came, destroyed the land, demolished many churches, and took away the stones to construct fortresses. They also wanted to demolish the large church called Erku-eresi.² But, a *vardapet*, named Aṛak’el, who

¹ The famine described above is different from that mentioned in Chapter 7.

² For a description of this church, see E. Shahaziz, *Hin Erewanê* (Erevan, 1930), 200-204; *GD*, 56.

later became kat'oghikos,¹ may his memory be blessed, stood against the army of general Fahrhad (Farhad)² and did not allow that church to be demolished. But woe to those who hear and read this, for mules, horses and many Muslims lived, without permission, for thirty days in that church. It happened exactly as the prophet said, "Heathens have come to God's inheritance and have defiled his holy temple."³

The passing of the great and supremely gracious *vardapet*, our Hovhannēs,⁴ a native of the district of Tsar, called Small Siwnik', from the brotherhood of the monastery of the holy apostle Thaddeus, occurred in that same year.⁵ He was the son of an *azat* and good man, named Jhanshah, from the house of Dop'ean and Hasan-[Jalal].⁶ He studied with the great *Vardapet* Ghukas Haghpatets'i. [612] He loved God, was saintly and meek, prayed, and criticized wrongdoings. He loved order and conducted solemn rites. He greatly loved reading and books, to the point that he ordered the copying of many books in his memory, and donated many other utensils and decorations to the church. When he became old, he went to Christ, burdened by age, in the year 1032 (1583) of our era. His glorious remains were buried in the village of Vasakashēn (Basargech'ar) in the Gegham district, next to the burial-vault of *Vardapet* Sargis.⁷ *May their memory be blessed! May their prayers aid you and me,*

¹ Arak'el was the coadjutor during the reign of Kat'oghikos Grigor XII of Vagharshapat (1576-1590). He was named coadjutor in 1584 and died in 1586. See Chapter 1 and Ormanean's *Azgapatum*, II, 2286-2288.

² Farhad Pasha, together with Sinan Pasha, and Osman Pasha were the main commanders of Sultan Murad and had great successes against the Persians and Austrians.

³ Psalms 79.1 reads: "O God, the nations have come into your inheritance; they have defiled your holy temple; they have laid Jerusalem in ruins."

⁴ Refers to Hovhannēs Tsarets'i, the namesake and teacher of the author of this essay, his father's uncle. The author of this essay, also called Hovhannēs, is commonly known as Hovannisik Tsarets'i; see *MZH*, II, 235-239.

⁵ **B, C, D,** and **E** read Dadiu (Tadiu), which confuse it with the T'adēosi-vank' in Artaz (Maku), Iran. Oskan corrected it in **A** to read T'adēu, which refers to the St. Thaddeus monastery in the Aghahech *gawar* in Siwnik'.

⁶ The daughter of Sargis Mkhargrdzeli of Georgia married Kara-Grigor, prince of Khach'en in Karabagh.

⁷ The tombs were seen by M. Ambatyants'; see *MZH*, II, 253.

and may the Almighty God have mercy on the entire land [of Armenia].¹ Amen.²

In the year 1034 (1585) an order arrived from the arrogant Murad to Damur-ghap'u, commanding Osman to appear before him in Constantinople. Indeed, the latter went and was rewarded by being appointed as commander-in-chief of the army and prince of princes of the east [Asiatic provinces], from Byzantium [Constantinople] to [the land of] the Alans (Ossetia). [The sultan] gave him a huge army, numbering 600,000, and sent him to Shahastan—the city of Tabriz. The latter boasted and indeed fell upon [the city], seized it, destroyed and pillaged everything that was there, and began to build a fortress.³ However, he did not live to see the completion of the fortress. He perished⁴ there, and was not rewarded for his victories by hearing the praises of his sovereign on this earth; his retribution in the other world, however, is known only to the [Almighty] judge. Other commanders and rulers, who fought many battles with the *Kizilbash*, completed the fortress, gathered an army of slaves⁵ there and appointed a eunuch, named Ja'far, as their commander. They then returned [613] home, taking his [Osman's] loathsome corpse with them.

We now return to the history of the *Kizilbash*. At that time, their king was the aforementioned Khodābandeh. He tried in earnest to overcome the Ottoman army, but was frequently not successful. All of this meant great struggles, numerous sieges, and endless spilling of blood on both sides. Nevertheless he could not stop them [the Ottomans] from constructing the fortress of Tabriz. At that time, he still controlled what was called the Black Garden (Karabagh) and Gandzak, that is, Ganje. The shah, together with his young son, Emir Ḥamza, went to the place where all the troops of the *Kizilbash* gathered to decide what to do about Tabriz and the Ottoman army. The *Kizilbash*, hating their lord, added to the wounds of Khodābandeh, in addition to adding, twice or thrice more, to their own wounds, for it

¹ Absent from A and D.

² Absent from A, B, D, and E.

³ Osman Pasha took Tabriz in the spring of 1585. The looting and destruction by the Ottomans resulted in an uprising, which was put down severely, *MZH*, II, 253-254.

⁴ Arak'el again uses the term *satakets'aw*. Brosset dates his death as having occurred on April 3, 1596, *MB*, 558.

⁵ Refers to the *ğul* or *ğulams* (slaves); in this case it may also refer to the Janissaries.

became a wound for them as well: with a blow of the sword, they secretly killed the shah's son,¹ for that youth possessed the greatness of kings and the Persians feared him much. When this happened, the Persians scattered in different directions, resembling a flock without a shepherd. [They also fled] because the wrathful command of Murad, the ruler of the Ottomans, hammered them like a sea washing over an island. Filled with bitterness, in a deep sorrow, and with melancholy in his soul, Shah Khodābandeh went to Khorasan, to his other son, 'Abbās, who, before his journey to Azarbaijan, he had left to govern Khorasan. Arriving there, Khodābandeh died after several years, a weak man, who did not accomplish anything substantial for his people.²

After him, his son, 'Abbās, ascended the throne. He was very brave and successful in battle. Gilan, that is, [614] Jorjanēt', which had rebelled against his father, was subjected to 'Abbas' rule, following a courageous battle. While the shah had gone to Ardabil, to lay gifts and offerings at his forefathers' and ancestors' tombs, the so-called Uzbeks moved from Balkh and Bukhara, seized and subjected Heri (Herat) and other places belonging to the shah.³ Hearing this, he ['Abbās] returned from there [Ardābil] and marched against the Uzbeks. He exterminated some, forced others to flee, and thus he once again took command of his provinces. He also sent troops there two or three times after that. After this, he went there himself and killed many of them in harsh battle, seized the son of their king, returned to Qazvin, and thus completely conquered them. Today his rule stretches from Khorasan to Ardabil up to the Arax River.⁴

In the year 1037 (1588), the *khondk'ar* once again sent an order to Farhad, who had captured and rebuilt Erevan, and who, after Lala

¹ Hamza Mirza was the eldest son of the shah. This relentless and brave prince was assassinated by the *Kizilbash* emirs in the *qeshlaq* of Kara-Aghach on December 6, 1586, *CHI*, VI, 261. His death deprived the Persians of a great commander; hence the reference to the wound suffered by all.

² Actually Khodābandeh was still alive when his son 'Abbās ascended the throne on October 16, 1587. He lived for another nine years away from court, *CHI*, VI, 261-262.

³ In 1584, the governor of Bukhara, Abdullah Khan, taking advantage of the Ottoman invasion, conquered Marv, Herat, and Mashhad; in 1593-1594 he captured Khwarazm. After a number of campaigns Shah 'Abbās retook these Persian provinces.

⁴ See *ZK*, Bk. I, Chapter X.

[Pasha] and before Osman [Pasha], was the commander-in-chief of the eastern provinces. He once again gave him his former domain and sent him to Ganje to drive out the remaining small group of *Kizilbash*, to build a fort there and return. Indeed, the latter went with a large army and did what the *khondk'ar* had ordered: he drove out, removed, hounded out, got rid of, alienated, eliminated, separated, expelled, forced to flee, and exiled [the *Kizilbash*], and made them go back. He, himself, pursued them to the Arax River and took many as captives. Some were put to the sword; many were drowned in the river. After that, he returned and constructed a fortress in Ganje and placed troops there, which, according to their custom, were called slaves (*ġulams*). He then returned to his emperor.¹

Shah 'Abbās, realizing what [615] had happened to his country, was concerned for the place where his forefathers and ancestors were buried—Ardabil. He feared that they [the Ottomans] might seize it and even penetrate deeper into the land of the Persians. He dispatched envoys and sent a letter to *khondk'ar* Murad, to persuade him to conclude a peace and have amity between them. But the arrogant [*khondk'ar*] did not pay heed and demanded hostages from him ['Abbās]. Shah 'Abbas did even more: he sent the son of his brother, together with a great nobleman—his mentor—and 200 armed retainers to the *khondk'ar*, so that they would remain hostages there, in Istanbul, as a sign of peace between them. Peace was indeed concluded.²

In the year 1044 (1595) *khondk'ar* Murad died and his son Sultan Muhammad ascended the throne. During the reign of this Muhammad, the Franks, who were called Majars (Magyars, Hungarians), rose on the sea, with many ships, and it is already five years that a war continues between them.³ Each year they conduct terrible wars against each other, kill, just like men chop down a pine forest with axes, and annihilate each other with fire and sword. Every year, each side receives more troops from its ruler and the war starts again.

¹ Text reads *kaysr*.

² Refers to the peace concluded in Constantinople on March 21, 1590. The conditions were unusually harsh: Persia agreed to give up all Transcaucasia, Daghestan, parts of Kurdistan and Luristan, Baghdad and Mesopotamia, as well as Azarbaijan (including Tabriz), except Ardabil, *CHI*, VI, 266.

³ Refers to the war between the Ottomans and the Austrian forces, which began in 1592 and ended with a 20-year peace agreement in 1606 signed in Zsitvartorok.

Each year it gets doubly worse than the year before. This remains so in the year 1049 (1600), in which we live. As to what will happen in the future, which side will suffer defeat and which side will be victorious, is known only to God, for it is written, "Not by might is man strong, but the Lord will erase his foes. The Lord is sacred, [616] he shall give strength,"¹ to those who believe in his Cross.

We will now once again repeat what happened to Simon, the Georgian king.² Simon fled from Lala [Pasha], went to some corner of his land, and lived in a thicket, in inaccessible places, sick in his heart because of the seizure of his homeland. Although excessively proud, he could not find a way out. He relied on God's providence, sent envoys, and promised to pay tribute to Murad. He would sometimes pay; other times he would not. He would rebel against him and send bandits against the fortress [in Tiflis], putting the blame on the [Turkish] troops in the fortress. He would send this information to Sultan Murad, and the latter would forgive him.

When Sultan Muhammad ascended the throne, Simon began to display signs of rebellion in the following manner: he did not pay any taxes and greatly increased the number of bandits. In addition, he gathered an army and attacked the fortress of Gori. He squeezed [the foe] for eight months, took the fortress, demolished it, and ordered the Muslims to drag stones on their backs and throw them into the Kur River. After that he slaughtered the men and divided the women and the sons as booty among his Georgian troops.³ All this wounded the Hagarites,⁴ to the depth of their souls. *Khondk'ar* Muhammad became indignant and full of fury. He rushed an order, which replaced Farhad, with his eunuch, Ja'far, who was in Tabriz. It ordered him to go against Simon and to avenge the humiliation and the blood of the Ottoman and Ishmaelite troops. Reassured thus by the sovereign, this second foe, the eunuch Ja'far, became very

¹ A variation of Samuel I: 2.9-10: "He will guard the feet of his faithful ones, but the wicked shall be cut off in darkness; for not by might does one prevail. The Lord! His adversaries shall be shattered; the Most High will thunder in heaven. The Lord will judge the ends of the earth; he will give strength to his king."

² Simon, as noted, was taken captive in 1569 and remained in Persia until he was released; see Chapter 3.

³ This occurred in 1599.

⁴ Refers to the children of Hagar, the maid of Sarah, who bore Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs (in this case Turks/Muslims), for Abraham, Genesis 16.15.

haughty. [617] He sent word to all corners of his domain, while he himself left Tabriz and went to Ararat. There, a large force, called by him, gathered around. Speedy couriers were dispatched everywhere, to the farthest villages and towns, to bring provisions for the troops and horses, and to prepare the route for their advance. He also gathered common folk from all the regions, Armenians and Muslims, armed with clubs and rakes, hatchets and axes, spades, picks, and hoes, numbering 20,000 [men]. Moreover, he strictly exacted taxes from the population, above what was required by law. He then gathered his army and advanced with great fear, for they had long experienced the bravery of Simon and his stratagems in battle, for he had vanquished them more than once and had forced them to return in shame. When they reached Georgia, they fearfully thought that the same fate awaited them now. They halted for three days, but not only no battle ensued, but no couriers or envoys came from one to the other.

The Georgians, after conferring among themselves, told Simon, "Permit us today to take our belongings and families to the mountains. When we return, we shall fight the Turks with all our heart and all our strength until death, to the last drop of blood, until we overcome them with God's help." But, since this Christian people had traditionally abandoned prayers, to the point that throughout the year no one, common folk and notables, even crossed the threshold of a church,¹ God's justice did not permit the wishes of Georgia to come true. For God, through the lips of the prophet, said, "If one does not repent, he [God] sharpens his sword and strings his bow."² Or he said, "Shall the axe vaunt itself over the one [618] who yields it, or the saw magnify itself against the one who handles it?"³ He also said, "I kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal."⁴ Or he said, "When the Lord wishes to destroy someone, he first takes away his reason."⁵ Therefore, deprived of reason, Simon now began to drink with some companions.

¹ The author refers to the numerous Georgian kings, who had become Muslims either voluntarily, by force, or pretence. For example, David, son of Luarsab, had become a Muslim (Dāvūd Khan) and was placed on the throne by Shah Tahmāsp in place of Simon, Allen, 152.

² Psalms 7.12-13: "If one does not repent, God will whet his sword; he has bent and strung his bow; weapons, making his arrows fiery shafts."

³ Isaiah 10.15.

⁴ Deuteronomy 32.39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.28.

The Turks, not suspecting anything, broke up into groups, in order to grab booty, and went into the direction of Simon's camp. They saw some Georgian man, captured him, moved a bit forward, and saw Simon's army. They asked the prisoner and found out that it was Simon's camp. The Muslims, in great fear, retreated and hurried to send brave men on swift horses, to inform general Ja'far of this. The latter, with great joy, gathered many brave men and dispatched them [to Simon's camp]. They went, seized Simon and brought him to him [Ja'far]. When he arrived, Ja'far went to greet him and welcomed Simon. Then, he, in his own language praised God loudly, so that the entire army could hear it. Simon repeated the same words, and said, "Blessed is the Lord and his rule is forever. The Lord kills and brings to life; he brings down and raises up."¹

Ja'far dispatched a special messenger to the *khondk'ar* to inform him of the good news, while he himself took Simon and went to Tabriz. The *khondk'ar* ordered a universal three-day celebration, day and night, during which the streets were to be decorated in all the towns of his realm. It was done so. The *khondk'ar* ordered that Simon be brought to him, but Ja'far ordered that they keep Simon during the winter and spring in Tabriz, and to send him to the emperor in Byzantium during the summer.² [619] En route, when they reached the city of Karin (Erzurum), they were detained by a clerk of some ruler, whom they call Eazich'i.³ Having more than 20,000 men, he has rebelled against his commander, and even against his sovereign.⁴ It is now two years that he willfully gathers taxes from the population, which is ordinarily collected for the kings.⁵ He ordered his troops to cautiously kidnap Simon from his convoy and bring him to him. That is why Simon was held in the city of Erzurum. So, Blessed be the Lord, for He only knows the end!⁶

¹ A variation on Samuel I: 2.6.

² Simon was captured in 1600 and sent to Istanbul in 1601.

³ Refers to Kara-Yazıcı and the *Celali* revolt. See Chapter 3.

⁴ In 1598.

⁵ Hovhannēs obviously completed the above essay in 1600-1601.

⁶ Simon's fate is discussed in Chapter 9.

*A short chronology from the beginning until our time*¹

Although the original of this short chronology has existed for a long time, it was not in chronological order. I have put it in order. Second, it was divided into sections; one part of it was in one place, the rest was scattered in other sections. I have included everything I found in [chronological] order. Third,² I have put everything important, which occurred in my time, in its proper place in this chronology. I have suffered much in this endeavor. I have organized it and have included it in my book.³ Knowing these reasons, be lenient toward me, and, in particular, say a good word [about me] to God the Creator of All. May the Lord keep you healthy!

¹ Appears before Chapter 55 in A. This introduction should have been included at the beginning of the next chapter. However, all manuscripts and printed editions have placed it at the end of this chapter.

²A reads, "Second."

³ This introduction to Chapter 56 alludes to the various minor chronicles, which Arak'el used to compile his amazing chronology. See note 1 of the next chapter.

[620] Chapter 56¹

[Chronology]

In the tenth year (561)² of the Armenian calendar, the 500th year of Easter was celebrated.³ In the year 52 (603) the leader of the Ishma-

¹ Chapter 55 in A, C, E and MB, 562. This untitled and extremely valuable chapter is composed of numerous small chronicles and chronologies, written by Armenian historians between the 13th and 18th centuries. Arak'el himself informs the reader that he compiled this material from various histories. This can be ascertained from the variations of the spellings of places and proper names. Arak'el, however, adds significant dates and events which occurred in his own time, and which appear in the previous chapters of his *History*. Since Arak'el rarely indicates the sources of his detailed chronology, Khanlaryan has accomplished a Herculean task by comparing Arak'el's information to the various "minor chronicles," compiled by V. A. Hakobyan, *Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner, XIII-XVIII dd.* 2 vols. (Erevan, 1951, 1956) [MZH]; as well as manuscript 10200, ff. 382r-388v, at the Matenadaran Archives, titled "The Chronicle of the Unworthy Amiras Erznkats'i," [abbreviated as ERZ], and MS 3701 at the Library of the Armenian Patriarchate at Jerusalem [abbreviated as JER], which, in the beginning, resembles the chronicle of Samuēl Anets'i, but later differs greatly from it. The said manuscript has been edited by Bishop Noṙayr Bogharyan, and published in *Banber Matenadaran*, 9 (1969), 257-281. Khanlaryan's copious notes (some 275) of his critical edition are included herein, *KHcr*, 535-560, together with added material by the translator.

The "minor chronicles" used by Arak'el include: "The Chronology of Sargis Pitsak of Sis" (14th century); "The Chronology of Kirakos Rshtuni" (15th century); an unknown genealogy of the Ottoman sultans; a chronology edited by Grigor Kamakhets'i [Daraghnats'i] (17th century); "The Chronology of Vardan Baghishets'i" (17th century); "The Chronology of Dawit' Baghishets'i (17th century), "The Chronology of Grigor Varagets'i" (17th century); various anonymous chronologies from the 13th to the 17th centuries, and other minor fragments, including one written in the 14th century at the Ghazaru-vank' in the *gawar* of Tarōn and an 18th-century chronology compiled by Martiros, son of Arak'el.

² Brosset has calculated it as 562, MB, 562.

³ Prior to the First Ecumenical Council in Nicea (AD 325), there was no set date to celebrate Easter. Armenians followed the Jewish Passover, regardless of the day of the week. According to Khanlaryan, starting in 352 or 353, some Armenians began to follow the calendar set by Andreas of Byzantium (Athens). At the Third Council of Dvin, the Armenians created their own calendar, which began at the end of the 200th year of Andreas'

elite (Arabs) was K'aghrda-shrt'un¹. In the year 60 (611) appeared Muhammad [the Prophet].² In the year 62 (613), Georgia separated from its union with Armenia.³ In the year 72 (623), the Turks (Arabs) seized Archēsh (Arjēsh).⁴ In the year 76 (627), *tēr* Komitas⁵ constructed the Hrip'simē monastery and established the *andznik'*.⁶ In the year 80 (631), Abubakr, Omar, and Osman ruled for thirty-eight years.⁷ In the year 88 (639), the Muslims⁸ (Arabs) invaded Armenia.⁹

calendar (AD 552). Hence, the year 561 was "the 500th year of the first Easter," *KHcr*, 552.

¹ The Armenian name for the Arab general Khālid ibn al-Walīd (d. 642), who was a contemporary of Muhammad the Prophet. Armenian sources state that he destroyed Damascus, came to Armenia and killed many Armenians and Persians. The term *k'akhird* means a large bladder in the stomach of an animal; a receptacle for excrement. It is a derogatory term for a man who brought terrible anguish to the Armenians; see Hovhannēs Kamenats'i, *Patmut'iwn paterazmin khot'inu* (Erevan, 1964), 86, n. 9. For other information on the coming of Islam to Armenia, especially the writings of Grigor Tat'ewats'i, see B. Kiwlēsērean, *Islamē hay matenagrut'ean mēj* (Vienna, 1930).

² The Prophet Muhammad was born ca. 570 and died in 632.

³ Following the Council of Dvin (555), the Georgians felt that they were not only cut off from the rest of the Christian world, but were under the domination of the Armenian Church. Therefore, in 608/609, the Georgian Church finally separated from that of Armenia and rejoined the Byzantine Church. For more details, see Bishop Ukhtanes of Sebastia, *History of the Severance of the Georgians from the Armenians* (Fort Lauderdale, 1985). After the Great Schism of 1054, the Georgians remained with the Greek Church and are an autocephalous Orthodox Church to this day.

⁴ See *MZH*, II, 263.

⁵ Refers to Kat'oghikos Komitas of Aghts'k (611/615-628).

⁶ See anonymous chronicle, probably from the 16th century, *MZH*, I, 148. The Armenian acrostic religious hymns begin with the word *andzink'*. They were formed by Kat'oghikos Komitas. After that, a particular genre of church songs written in acrostics began to be written.

⁷ Refers to the first three caliphs, Abū-Bakr (632-634), 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (634-644), and 'Uṭhmān b. 'Affān (644-656), who ruled for a total of 34 years. Another chronicle has a total of 32 years, *MZH*, II, 263.

⁸ Text reads *Tajkats'* (Tajiks). Arak'el and other medieval Armenian sources use the generic term "Tajik" or "Tachik" for all Muslims. Later, the term was used primarily to identify "Turks."

⁹ See anonymous chronicles (13th and 16th centuries), *MZH*, I, 24, 148.

In the year 102 (653), Kat'oghikos *tēr* Nersēs built ¹[the monastery] of St. Sargis in Duin (Dvin)² and holy Virap.³ In the year 113 (664), the holy cross of Varag was discovered.⁴ In the year 171 (722), Hovhan Ōdznets'i rose to splendor among the Armenians.⁵

In the year 223 (774), *tēr* Esayi the Destitute [ended his] wanderings.⁶ In the year 235 (786),⁷ *tēr* Soghomon built Mak'enis.⁸ In the year 247 (798), Sahak and Hovsēp died [were martyred] in the city of Karin, that is, Erzurum.⁹

¹ Absent from C and D.

² Refers to Kat'oghikos Nersēs III of Ishkhan (641-661).

³ Refers to the church of Khor Virap constructed over the pit, where Gregory the Illuminator was imprisoned; see SA, 53.

⁴ The two anonymous chronicles, cited above, give the date of 674, *MZH*, I, 24, 148. The legend is detailed in N. O. Emin, *Sharakan* (Moscow, 1879), 303. Relying on the Armenian *menologium*, Emin has the date of 653; Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, I, 737-738, gives 660-661 as the dates.

⁵ Refers to Kat'oghikos St. Hovhannēs of Ōdzun (717-728). The author refers to Hovhannēs' struggle against the Greek and Chalcedonian churches, after he had returned from Damascus and his meeting with the caliph. The two anonymous chronicles confirm the date of 722, *MZH*, I, 24, while Ormanean has the year 720, *Azgapatum*, I, 820-821.

⁶ Refers to Kat'oghikos Esayi of Eghipatrush (775-788). The two anonymous chronicles confirm the date, *MZH*, I, 24, 148. There is a legend associated with this kat'oghikos: his mother, a widow, was an itinerant beggar who wandered and reached Dvin, where she begged by the door of the cathedral and lived on charitable donations. She said to everyone who wanted to be rid of her, "Do you not know that I am raising my son to become a kat'oghikos?" Her stubbornness attracted the attention of the kat'oghikos, who ordered that the child be brought to his residence, where he was reared and received a religious education. Later, he was made a bishop, and after the death of Kat'oghikos Sion of Bawon (767-775), he was elected kat'oghikos. See N. O. Emin, *Vseobshchaia istoriia Stepanosa Taronskogo Asokhika* (Moscow, 1864), 76.

⁷ A and D read 237 (788).

⁸ The anonymous 13th-century chronicle has the date of 788, while the 16th-century one confirms Arak'el's chronology, *MZH*, I, 24, 148. Refers to Kat'oghikos Soghomon of Gar̄ni (790/91-791/92). The above date does not correspond to the period of his reign. The Mak'enis (Mak'enats' or Mak'enots') monastery, one of the oldest Armenian monasteries, is located in the district of Sodk, southeast of Lake Sevan.

⁹ Prince Hovsēp of Karin, together with his brother Sahak, were tortured to death for refusing to give up their Christian faith. See Mkhitar

[621] In the year 341 (892), *tēr* Mashtots',¹ with ten devotees, enlightened [the Armenians].² In the year 399 (950), Smbat "Tiezerakal"³ (Keeper of the Universe),⁴ laid the foundation of the cathedral of Ani.⁵

In the year 414 (965), Haghpat and Sanahin were constructed.⁶ In the year 428 (979), King Smbat erected the wall around Ani. In the year 442 (993), Katramidē⁷ completed [the construction] of the Ani Cathedral.⁸ In the year 465 (1016), God's terrible wrath was awakened and the Turkish tribes rose against the Christians.⁹ During the time of Senek'erim,¹⁰ there occurred the merciless massacre [of Armenians] in Vaspurakan, and Senek'erim, oppressed by foreigners

Airivanetsi, *Histoire chronologique* (St. Petersburg, 1869), 791. Brosset dates this as having occurred in 798, *MB*, 563.

¹ Refers to Kat'oghikos Mashtots' of Eghivard (897-898).

² The two anonymous chronicles confirm the date, *MZH*, I, 24, 148. Various Armenian medieval sources describe the ascetic life of this kat'oghikos and his life at the Holy Apostles church on Lake Sevan. He reigned for only eight months (died in January 898). No source mentions the ten monks.

³ The date is incorrect. Smbat reigned from 977-989. The foundation of the cathedral of Ani was laid in 989. See M. Ch'amch'ean, *Patmut'iwn hayots'*, II (Venice, 1785), 850-851.

⁴ Refers to Smbat II Bagratuni, son of Ashot III (the Merciful).

⁵ The anonymous 16th-century chronicle has the date 949, *MZH*, I, 148.

⁶ The earlier anonymous author has the date 968, *MZH*, I, 25, while the later chronicle agrees with the above date, *MZH*, I, 148. Both add that it took 11 years to build them. According to K. Kafadaryan, Haghpat was built in 957 and Sanahin in 967, both by the wife of Ashot III, Queen Khosrovanush, *Girk' pat'muteants'*, 554.

⁷ She was the wife of King Gagik I (990-1020) and the daughter of King Vasak I Siwni.

⁸ In the anonymous 16th-century chronicle, the date 993 appears (out of order) between 949 and 965, *MZH*, I, 148. The anonymous 13th-century author cites 1008 as the date, *MZH*, I, 25. This clearly indicates that Aṛak'el relied on the various chronicles compiled in the first volume of *MZH*. For a complete analysis and the comparison of the various dates, see *Girk' patmut'eants'*, 536. Brosset dates it as 1010, *MB*, 563.

⁹ Refers to the invasion of Turkic tribes from Central Asia in 1019, described by one Armenian historian as "vipers with wings." Matt'ēos Uṛhayets'i [abbreviated as *MU*], *Zhamanakagrut'iwn* (Vagharshapat, 1898), 47.

¹⁰ Refers to Senek'erim, King of Vaspurakan (1003-1021) of the Artsruni dynasty

[invaders], gave his domain to the Greek king, named Basil.¹ Together with his five sons: Dawit', Adom, Kostandin, Vest, and Abu-sahl, he went to Sebastia (Sivas). At the same time, in the year 470 (1021), Kat'oghikos tēr Sargis died;² his grave is located in the Hoṙomos monastery,³ where the patriarch lived for thirty years. During his lifetime, he anointed Patriarch Petros "Getadardz,"⁴ who was [kat'oghikos] for thirty-six years.⁵ Sargis died two years later. It was this same Sargis, who asked Step'anos Tarōnets'i⁶ to write his multi-storied history, which the latter did.⁷ He wrote it in three parts, beginning with our ancestor Adam, when he was cast out of the Garden of Eden, up to the year 452 (1003), when that amazing man, Grigor Narekats'i,⁸ passed away. After him Aristakēs Lastivardets'i (Las-

¹ Basil II (976-1025).

² Kat'oghikos Sargis of Sewan (Sevan) was elected in 992 and, in that same year, he transferred the Holy See to the capital of the Bagratids in Ani. He resigned due to old age in 1019 and died in 1022.

³ The monastery, also known as Khoshavank', located four kilometers from Ani, was constructed in the first half of the 10th century by King Abbas Bagratuni for Armenian monks from Byzantium.

⁴ He was the kat'oghikos from 1019 to 1058/1059. There is a legend associated with him: In January 1023, he greeted Emperor Basil II and celebrated the Armenian feast of the Theophany (see below for details) with such solemnity that the water of the river began to flow in the opposite direction, thus demonstrating the power of Armenian Christianity. Hence his name *Getadardz* (turning the river backwards). See Kirakos Gandzakets'i [abbreviated as *KG*], *Patmut'yun hayots'* (Erevan, 1961), 94-95. The historian Leo considers Petros one of the most odious figures of his period. Leo states that he worked against the interest of his own people and was responsible for the fall of the Bagratids to Byzantium; Leo, *Hayots' patmut'yun*, II (Erevan, 1947), 702-703.

⁵ Absent from *D*.

⁶ Refers to the 11th-century Armenian historian, Step'anos Tarōnets'i, known as Asoghik; see bibliography.

⁷ Asoghik's work is dedicated to Kat'oghikos Sargis; see Emin's Russian translation, 5.

⁸ Refers to Grigor Narekats'i (951-1003), the great medieval Armenian poet and thinker. His *Book of Lamentations* has been translated into many languages. His religious hymns—Sacred Elegies—are known to many Armenians and are simply called *Nareks*. Despite the mystic and religious themes, his poetry is considered the beginning of secular poetry in medieval Armenian. Manuk Abeghyan calls him "the first great poet of Armenia," V. Briusov, ed. *Poeziia Armenii* (Moscow, 1916), 43-44.

tivertts'i)¹ began [to write]. He sheds bitter tears and mournfully narrates all the events and calamities brought to Armenia by the neighboring tribes,² and about the heresy of the T'ondrakians.³ He brings his narrative, more or less, up to the year 530 (1081).⁴ In the year 478 (1029), 1000 years [had passed] and Satan was released,⁵ and many terrible events occurred: the skies opened from the east to the west, light fell and darkness descended, stars appeared and terrible sounds were heard.⁶ In [622] the year 489 (1040), Smbat Magis-

¹ He is the well-known 11th-century historian (d. 1073), who wrote a history of Armenia from 989 to 1071.

² Aristakēs has left many details about the Seljuk invasion of Armenia, its destruction, and the fall of the Bagratids; see *Povestvovanie vardapeta Aristakesa Lastivertsi* (Moscow, 1968).

³ The T'ondrakians (named after the village of T'ondrak) were a heretical sect that preserved a folk religion and may have adopted ideas from the earlier iconoclastic Paulicians. Some say that they may have even been influenced by the social unrest among the lower classes started by Bābak in Persia. They were eventually destroyed by the Byzantine governor of South Armenia, Grigor Magistros (Pahlavuni). See A. G. Hovhannisyan, "Smbat Zarehavants'in, nra zhamanakn u zhamanakakits'nerê," *Banber Matenadaran* (3, 1956), 7-30. Asoghik mistakenly states that they appeared during the reign of Kat'oghikos Hovhannēs of Draskhanakert (898-929 or 897-924), while Grigor Magistros correctly places them during the time of Kat'oghikos Hovhannēs of Ova (833-855 or 832-853.854). See N. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague, 1967), 140.

⁴ Actually 1071, for he died in 1073.

⁵ According to *MU*, 50, "Terrible events occurred during the reign of Emperor Basil II: the sun vanished from the sky, stars appeared as if it was night, etc. The entire land and people went into mourning. The Armenian king ordered all the princes and courtiers to go to *Vardapet* Hovhannēs Tarōnets'i (Kozer);" see Chapter 29. They found him lying prostrate on the ground, praying. The *vardapet*, who knew the holy scripts, explained the crux of the matter to the frightened people. He said, "Today, it is 1,000 years since Satan was chained. Christ chained him with his Holy Cross and His Baptism in the Jordan River. Now, in the year 478 of the Armenian era, the 1,000-year punishment has ended and, according to John the Evangelist, he has obtained his freedom and is spreading his evil on the Christian world." For details, see N. Marr, *Skazanie o katolikose Petre i uchenom Ioanne Kozerne* (St. Petersburg, 1895). Brosset dates it as 477 (1028), *MB*, 564.

⁶ *MU*, 52-55.

tros¹ constructed the monastery of Bghnayr in Dvin.² In the year 494 (1045), an earthquake occurred in Erzuka (Erzinjan), the light turned red and a fog covered the earth. The earthquake demolished churches and large structures; the entire city was destroyed. The earth opened and swallowed many men and women. Voices could be heard from the abyss for many days.

In the year 501 (1052), during the time of King Basil,³ Kat'oghikos Petros [*Getadardz*] brought the wood of life⁴ from Pontos, which is Trebizond, blessed the waters of the river,⁵ and it flowed backwards for one hour. From there, *tēr* Petros went to Constantinople, where he remained for four years, and then returned to Sebastia, to Senek'erim's sons. He died in Sebastia. In the year 506 (1057) *tēr* Khach'ik,⁶ who was the first cousin of Kat'oghikos *tēr* Petros' on his mother's side, became kat'oghikos. There were fifty-five⁷ kat'oghikoi prior to *tēr* Petros;⁸ he was the fifty-sixth. They unjustly removed him and placed a man of God, Dioskoros, the abbot of the glorious monastery of Sanahin, *on the throne*.⁹ Then, the kat'oghikos of Aghuank¹⁰ overthrew *tēr* Dioskoros, and on the day

¹ Refers to Smbat Tarōnets'i Bagratuni (end of the 10th -first half of the 11th century) the ruler of Jahan (Vaspurakan), who received the title of *magistros* in Constantinople.

² The anonymous 16th-century historian confirms the above date, *MZH*, I, 148, while the earlier chronicle has the date 1010, *MZH*, I, 25. The same date appears in *SA*, 103. All mention that "a house of God" was constructed. Kirakos Gandzakets'i also mentions this in his history, *KG*, 89.

³ Emperor Basil II died in 1025; hence it must have been another emperor.

⁴ Refers to a relic of the Holy Cross.

⁵ Text reads *jrorhnēk'*. The Armenians celebrate the Nativity of Christ and the Theophany (Christ's baptism) on the same day (January 6). They reenact the baptism by dipping the cross and blessing the waters (usually in a river). The feast is called Epiphany in the West. The river in question may have been the Halys River.

⁶ Khach'ik II of Ani (1058/1059-1065). Several years before his death, he transferred the Holy See to T'avblur (south of Sivas and west of Malatya, on the northernmost border of Cilicia).

⁷ According to Maksoudian, there were fifty-eight, 179.

⁸ A reads "Khach'ik."

⁹ Absent from F.

¹⁰ Refers to Kat'oghikos Hovsēp III.

of Christ's baptism, the patriarchal veil¹ was torn, and *tēr* Petros² returned to his throne.³ At the time of this Kat'oghikos [Petros], Ani was taken⁴ by the Turks...⁵defeated...⁶the king of Istanbul [Constantinople], named Dukats (Ducas), who had taken *tēr* Khach'ik, had thrown him in jail for three years, and had demanded the treasure of Kat'oghikos *tēr* Petros.⁷ In the year 513 (1064), the [dynasty of the] kings of Ani ended; the last king was Hovhannēs.⁸ In the year 545

¹ Text reads *k'ogh*. According to Ormanean, at the time of his consecration, the head of the kat'oghikos was covered with a large veil (*kogh*) of thick silk, lined and embroidered. On days of great feasts this veil was carried in front of him, *MO*, 174.

² A has Khach'ik instead of Petros.

³ According to Kirakos of Gandzakets'i, the Armenian king Hovhannēs-Smbat (1020-1042), unsatisfied with him, removed him from power, put him in a dungeon (ca. 1036-1037) and placed Dioskoros, the head of the Sanahin monastery, in his place. At the insistence of the kat'oghikos of Aghuank', Hovsēp, Petros was released soon. The people of Ani fell upon Kat'oghikos Dioskoros during the blessing of the waters and forced him to flee from the town, whereupon Petros was reinstated as kat'oghikos, *KG*, 89-91.

⁴ The above is unclear. It may refer to the attack of Ani by Abū'l Asvar Shaddādīd, the emir of Dvin (and later Ganje), who besieged Ani and caused great destruction in 1047, after the Byzantine army had gone west to deal with uprisings in the Balkans. A peace was eventually concluded and Ani experienced a short-lived respite. More probably, however, it refers to the fall of Ani to the Seljuks in 1064.

⁵ C has a lacuna here.

⁶ B and D have a lacuna after "defeated." *MZH*, II, 263, *JER*, 257-258, and *SA*, 112, make it clear that the sentence meant to describe the capture of Ani from the Byzantines in 1064. For more details, see *Girk' patmut'eants'*, 537.

⁷ Khach'ik II was taken to Constantinople by Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067), where they tried to convert him to the Greek Orthodox faith, as well as find the hiding place of the gold of the previous very wealthy kat'oghikos; see *MU*, 137-138; Lastivertsi, 96.

⁸ Hovhannēs-Smbat was not the last Bagratid. His nephew, the young Gagik II (1042-1045), succeeded him. In 1045 Gagik accepted the "invitation" of Emperor Constantine IX, went to Constantinople and the Byzantines took control of Ani. Gagik was kept in honorable confinement and did not return to Armenia. He died in 1079. Meanwhile, in 1064, the Seljuk sultan, Alp-Arslan (1063-1072), captured Ani from the Byzantines.

(1096), the Franks captured Jerusalem.¹ In the year 549 (1100), the Greeks celebrated their “erroneous Easter.”² In the year 550 (1101), the light in Jerusalem was not lit on Saturday, but [623] on Sunday, at the ninth hour.³ In the year 551 (1102), ten nations celebrated the “erroneous Easter” on Palm Sunday. The Armenians and the Syrians [however] remained true. In the year 571 (1122), King David⁴ took Tiflis.⁵ In the year 573 (1124) *King David*⁶ captured Ani⁷ from the Muslims and died.⁸ His son, Dmetrē, ascended the throne.

In the year 607 (1158) King Dmetrē appeared before Christ and his son, David, ascended the throne.⁹ In the year 610 (1161), Giorgi

¹ Refers to the capture of Jerusalem during the First Crusade. Jerusalem was taken not in 1096, but on July 15, 1099; see K. M. Setton, ed. *A History of the Crusades*, I (Madison, 1969), 343. Various Armenian chroniclers give 1096 as the date: *MZH*, II, 133-134, 263. It is obvious that they refer to the arrival of the Franks in the Holy Land. For more details on the fall of Jerusalem, see *MU*, 266-268.

² See Chapter 51 and *MO*, 182 for details. The Greeks celebrated it on April 6, the Armenians on April 13.

³ According to many chroniclers, a flame known as the “miracle of light” appeared, on the eve of Easter Sunday, at the tomb of Christ, in the Church of the Ascension, in Jerusalem. From that flame, the patriarchs of each Christian sect lit candles and handed them to their people. Frequently, because of disagreement among the heads of the various Christian churches, the miraculous flame did not appear until the next day. Such an event is described by Simēon of Poland during his visit; see *SP*, 245-246.

⁴ Refers to King David II “the Builder” (1089-1125), who united the Georgian nobles and drove the Seljuk garrisons out of Georgia. See Allen, 99-100.

⁵ Arak'el took all the information on Georgia (to the year 1163) from various minor chronicles and fragments; see *MZH*, I, 25, 148-149; II, 512.

⁶ “David” is absent from **B** and **D**. “King David” is absent from **C**.

⁷ Allen, 100. Matt'ēos Uṙhayets'i states that David, with the help of the Armenian population, liberated the old Armenian capital from its sixty-year enslavement in August of the year 1123, *MU*, 359.

⁸ Ani was taken on August 23, 1124. David died on January 24, 1125.

⁹ Refers to Demetre I (1125-1154 or 1156). Sometime between 1154 and 1156 (some sources have 1155) Demetre, tired of squabbles among his nobles, took the monk's cowl in favor of his son David III, who died after ruling only six months. His brother, Giorgi III, ruled in place of David's infant heir, Demetre II, Allen, 101.

the Great became king and defeated the Shah-[Arman] in a terrible battle.¹

In the year 612 (1163), At'abek guz² (Ildguz) came to Ani *and took it from Giorgi the Great*.³ In the year 615 (1166) there was an earthquake in Erzuka. In the year 617 (1168), there occurred a terrible earthquake in Erzuka; 12,000 people died. In the year 625 (1176), the king of Jerusalem was defeated at the gates of Jerusalem by Sultan Salahdin (Saladin),⁴ who arrived there⁵ with 140,000 men to capture the city.⁶ In the year 636 (1187), the honorable *k'ahana* Mkhit'ar Kat'ughikets'i translated a Persian book called Ojik'ē,⁷ on the reasons for the eclipse of the sun and the moon, which they say was [originally] translated into Persian from Greek.⁸ In that same year an eclipse of the sun occurred.⁹ In that same year, the sultan of Egypt, Saladin, took Jerusalem from the Franks.¹⁰ In the year 645 (1196), Lewon sat on the Armenian throne.¹¹ In that same year the

¹ Giorgi III (1156-1184) defeated the Shah-Arman ruler of Khlata', Nāṣir al-Din Sukman II (1128-1183), in 1161; see *MZH*, I, 25, and *MU*, 426-427.

² A, B, C, and D read *kuz*. Manandian, citing Samuēl Anets'i (138), corrects the name to read Eldguz, who took Ani and Dvin by the end of 1165. H. Manandyan, *K'nnakan tesut'yun Hay zhoghovrdi patmyt'yan*, III (Erevan, 1977), 118-119; see also Allen, 102. Eldguz (Ildiguz) was the emir of Nakhichevan and its surrounding regions. Between 1148 and 1149 he conquered Ganje and founded the Ildiguz (Pahlavan) dynasty. He died in 1172.

³ Absent from C.

⁴ Refers to Saladin (Ṣalāh al-Dīn, 1169-1193), the founder of the Ayūbid dynasty in Egypt.

⁵ Saladin arrived outside of Jerusalem in September of 1187 and not earlier.

⁶ Erzunkats'i has the exact same wording, but calls Saladin "Ahaladin," *ERZ*, f. 385.

⁷ Refers to the Arabic-Persian *zīj* (astronomical tables).

⁸ According to Vardan Arewelts'i, it refers to Mkhit'ar Anets'i, the Armenian historian of the 12th-13th centuries and the author of *The History of the City of Ani*, VA, 180-181. See also G. Abgaryan, "Matenagrakan noruyt'ner," *Teghekgagir* (1, 1964), 75-77, and Bishop Bogharyan's article in *Banber Matenadarani* (9, 1969), 259.

⁹ February 3, 1187.

¹⁰ Jerusalem was taken on Friday, October 2, 1187.

¹¹ Aṙak'el repeats the date of the anonymous 16th-century chronicle, *MZH*, I, 149. The above refers to the second Leo of the Rubenid clan, who accepted the crown from the pope, Emperor Henry VI, and the Byzantine emperor in 1196. He was crowned, however, as Leo I, the first Armenian

Greeks celebrated their “erroneous Easter.”¹ In the year 649 (1200), the Georgians and the Greeks, but not the Armenians, observed the “erroneous Easter.”² In *the year*³ 652 (1203), the Franks seized the kingdom of the [Eastern] Romans [Byzantium].⁴ In the year 659 (1210) Atabeg Ivanē (Ioannē) was caught in Khlāt'.⁵ In the year 662 (1213) *Vardapet* Mkhīt'ar, known as Gosh, died.⁶ In the year 671 (1222), King Leo died.⁷ In the year 677 (1228), the Khorazmians (Khwārazm-Shahs),⁸ who had accepted Christ thanks to father Hovhannēs,⁹ marched against the Armenians. In the year 680 (1231)

king of the Rubenid dynasty of Cilicia in Tarsus on January 6, 1199 (1198 according to Brosset, *MB*, 566). See Smbat Gunstabl, *Taregirk'* (Paris, 1859), 108; *VA*, 170; *KG*, 156-158.

¹ Brosset calculates it as having occurred in the year 1197; *MB*, 566.

² The difference between the two Easters, as noted, occurred four times every 532 years. Aṛak'el must have found the two contradictory dates from different chronicles.

³ Absent from *F*.

⁴ Refers to the capture of Constantinople on April 13, 1204 by the Venetians during the Fourth Crusade.

⁵ Ioane, the son of Sargis Zak'arian (Mkhargrdzelidze) and the brother of Awag, the *amir-spasalari* (commander-of-chief) of the Georgian army, had the title of *atabagi* (one of the *vazirni* or ministers) at the court of Queen T'amar. He was captured and imprisoned by the Shah Arman ruler in the Khlāt' fortress, but was released soon after the conclusion of peace; see *KG*, 162-165. The Zak'arid family freed parts of Armenia from Muslim rule and was also responsible for the rise of the Georgian kingdom prior to the Mongol invasions.

⁶ Refers to Mkhīt'ar Gosh (d. 1213), the author of the first Armenian “Law Code,” who is considered one of the most erudite medieval Armenian thinkers. His work covers judicial, historical, social, and cultural aspects of Armenian life in the 10th-12th centuries. See Mkhīt'ar Gosh, *Girk' Datastani* (Erevan, 1975).

⁷ King Leo died in 1219.

⁸ Refers to the campaigns of Jalāl al-Din Khwārazm-Shah, who took Dvin in August of 1225. See *KG*, 224-228; *CHI*, V, 328.

⁹ Aṛak'el has taken this information verbatim from the anonymous 16th-century chronicle, *MZH*, I, 149. The text is unclear; it could refer to *Vardapet* Hovhannēs Garnets'i, who converted some Muslims in Zanzan, *Girk' patmut'eants'*, 559, or, more probably, in light of the use of the term *hayrn* [Father] *Hovhannu* refers to Prester John, who ruled over a legendary kingdom in the East and converted heathens to Christianity. See F. Brun, *O stranstviiakh tsaria-presvitera Ioanna* (Odessa, 1870) and L. Gumilev,

the *Tatars*¹ (Mongols) massacred the Khwārazms and seized Ganje.² In the year 685 (1236), the Tatars took Ani³ and the entire [624] world. In that same year an earthquake occurred in Erzuka and a church was demolished. In the year 687 (1238), the *Tatars*⁴ captured Lori and Ani. In the year⁵ 688 (1239) there was an eclipse of the sun.⁶ In that same year Awag died.⁷ In the year 691 (1242), Bachō⁸ captured the city of Karin (Erzurum), and the Greeks Erzuka.

In the year 700 (1251), *Vardapet* Vanakan died.⁹ In that same year Manghu Khan ascended the throne.¹⁰ In the year 703 (1254), an earthquake occurred in Erzuka. In that same year *Arghun*¹¹ Khan ascended the throne.¹² He conducted a census of the entire land and imposed a head tax on everyone.¹³ In the year 707 (1258) Hulawu (Hülegü) Khan ascended the throne.¹⁴ In the year 708 (1259), the

Poiski vymyshlennogo tsarstva: Legenda o gosudarstve presvitera Ioanna (Moscow, 1970). In either case, Jalāl al-Din did not convert to Christianity.

¹ F reads "the king." C and the anonymous chronicles (*MZH*, I, 149; II, 512) have *Tatars*, which is more accurate. Aṛak'el's information is derived from *MZH*, I, 149.

² The above date corresponds to Armenian sources; Manandian, III, 463-464.

³ In 1236 the Mongol hordes, under the leadership of *noyan* (clan chieftain, who commanded a *tuman* or 10,000 horsemen) Chormağun, began the invasion and destruction of Armenia; for details, see *KG*, 20-30.

⁴ A, B, C, D, and E read, "the king." The same error is in *MZH*, I, 149, the source for Aṛak'el's *History*. Khanlaryan explains in detail why the text should obviously read "Tatars," *KHcr*, 539.

⁵ Absent from B, D, and F.

⁶ June 3, 1239.

⁷ Refers to Awag Zak'arian, the *amir-spasalar* of Georgia. Brosset has 1249, *MB*, 567.

⁸ Refers to *noyan* Baiju, who succeeded Chormağun in 1242.

⁹ Refers to *Vardapet* Hovhannēs Tawushets'i, known as Vanakan (1181-1251), who wrote various works, among them the life of his teacher, Mkhit'ar Gosh. He was the teacher of Kirakos Gandzakets'i, Vardan Arevelts'i and Grigor Akants'i. He was a prisoner of the Mongols.

¹⁰ Refers to Möngke (1251-1259), the eldest son of Tolui, who was named the Great Khan by the Mongol *quriltai* (assembly) in Karakorum.

¹¹ F reads *Arzun*.

¹² Refers to Arğun Khan of the Il-Khanid Mongols (1284-1291); *MZH*, II, 144.

¹³ VA, 182.

¹⁴ Refers to Hülegü (1256-1265), the brother of Möngke, who became the leader of the Il-Khanid Mongols. The error in the date is due to the 15th

Georgian king, David,¹ entered Abkhazia. In the year 709 (1260), the sultan of Egypt slaughtered the Tatar army under the command of It'bugha.² In that same year Hülegü Khan seized Aleppo. In the year 710 (1261), Zak'aria was killed.³ In that same year Baghdad was destroyed.⁴ In the year 711 (1262) Hülegü Khan ascended the throne.⁵ In the year 713 (1264), Shahbandin took *Vardapet* Vardan to Hülegü

century chronicle of Kirakos Ršhtunts'i, used by Aṛak'el, *MZH*, I, 119, which reads correctly that "In 1258 Hulawu went to Baghdad." Aṛak'el took the date of the fall of Baghdad as the date of Hülegü's ascension.

¹ Refers to King David IV [VI], son of Rusudani whom the Mongols called *Narin* ("the clever"). He, and David V [VII], whom the Mongols called *Ulu* ("Big"), son of Giorgi Lasha, were sent to Karakorum where they stayed for five years. They were then returned to Georgia (1249) to rule jointly under the protection of Hülegü. *Ulu* died in 1269 and *Narin* fled in that same year, Allen, 114-118. The reference to Abkhazia makes it clear that Aṛak'el refers to David *Narin*, Allen, 116. Khanlaryan confuses him with David *Ulu*, *KH*, 559, but, citing Kutsia, 75, corrects his error in *KHer*, 539.

² Most chroniclers have "K'it'bugha," *MZH*, II, 144, *Maghak'ia y abeghayi Patmut'iwn vash azgin netoghats'* (St. Petersburg, 1870), 35. Vardan Anets'i has the following, "In that same year the army of the Il-Khan Hulawu, numbering 20,000, under the command of K'it'bugha, a Christian, was routed in the land of Sham (Syria) by the sultan of Egypt by the slopes of Mt. Favor," 186. The actual name of the Mongol general was Ket-Buqa, who was defeated on September 3, 1260 at 'Ain Jalüt near Zarin, *CHI*, V, 351.

³ *MZH*, I, 149. According to Kirakos Gandzakets'i, Arğun Khan, among whose troops was Zak'arē, slandered the Georgian general to Hülegü, who ordered him brought in chains and killed him, *KG*, 393. Georgian sources confirm the betrayal; see L. Melik'set'-Bek, *Vrats' aghbyurnerê Hayastani ew hayeri masin*, II (Erevan, 1936), 59.

⁴ The sacking of Baghdad began on February 13 (15th in some sources) 1258; the killing, looting and burning continued for 7 days, *CHI*, V, 348.

⁵ Earlier Aṛak'el has the date 1258. Neither date is correct. Hülegü ascended the throne in 1256. Aṛak'el took the above date from one of the minor chronicles; see *MZH*, I, 149. Ironically the same chronicle, a few pages earlier, refers to Ghul Khan as having ascended the throne in 1262, *MZH*, I, 142. It is possible that the chroniclers have confused Ghul (Quli), one of the three Jochid princes, with Hülegü, see *KG*, 374; Grigor Akants'i calls him Khul, see *Maghak'ia abegha*, 23; K Patkanov, *Istoriia mongolov po armianskim istochnikam*, I (St. Petersburg, 1873), 100; V. G. Tizengauzen, ed. *Sbornik materialov otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoi Ordı*, II (Moscow, 1941), 45-46.

Khan, who received him with great honor, and asked the *vardapet* about many subtle points of learned subjects.¹ In the year 714 (1265), Aba Khan ascended the throne.² In the year 715 (1266), Kat'oghikos Kostandin³ brought a specimen from the Franks for anointing the sick, consecrating oil, and anointing the sick [*sic*].⁴ In the year 716 (1267), Arghun Khan ascended the throne.⁵ On a Sunday, in the year 717 (1268), an earthquake occurred in Erzinka; 15,000 people died. In that same year, ten different Christian nations fell into heresy. Armenians and Syrians remained true.⁶ In that same year, [the sultan] of Egypt seized Antioch.⁷ In the year 720 (1271) Lewon ascended the royal throne.⁸ In the year 730 (1281), an earthquake occurred in Erzinka, God was kind and there was no destruction. In May of the year 736 (1287), a terrible earthquake occurred in Erzinka. Many people died; the number is known only to God.

In the year 738 (1289), [King] Lewon died [625] and Kat'oghikos Kostandin⁹ was exiled. [In that same year] Kat'oghikos Hovhannēs died,¹⁰ Kat'oghikos *tēr* Step'anos [IV] ascended [the patriarchal

¹ *MZH*, II, 144, 264 Refers to the visit of Vardan Arewelts'i with Hülegü. Vardan writes, "A man called Shnorhawor (Graceful) took me to Hulegu"; for details, see *VA*, 204-209. Emin points out that the term Shnorhawor is the same as the Mongol word *qutlu*, the title of Mongol grandees, 743. Kirakos Gandzakets'i calls him Shnorhawor, son of Sarivan, *KG*, 363. Patkanov thinks that the Mongols gave the title of *qutlu* to Shahbandin, which, in Armenian sources, was translated as *shnorhawor*, 75-76.

² Refers to Abaqa Khan, son of Hülegü (1265-1282). *MZH*, I, 149 has Abagha Khan. Hülegü died on February 8, 1265; Abaqa was proclaimed Khan on June 19, 1265.

³ Kat'oghikos Kostandin I of Bardzrberd (1221-1267).

⁴ *KG*, 309; *JER*, 261.

⁵ *MZH*, I, 149. The date is incorrect; Arğun, son of Hülegü, was elected by the *quriltai* in 1284 and ruled until 1291.

⁶ This, once again, refers to the "erroneous Easter."

⁷ On May 18, 1268, taking advantage of political discord among the Christians, the Mamluk Sultan Baybars took Antioch; for details, see G. Mikaelian, *Istoriia Kilikiiskogo armianskogo gosudarstva* (Erevan, 1952), 326-344.

⁸ Refers to King Leo II (III) of the Rubenid-Hetumid line (1269/1270-1289).

⁹ Kostandin II of Katuk (1286-1289).

¹⁰ There is no such kat'oghikos in any source on the Armenian Church. Aṙak'el has no such kat'oghikos in his Chapter 31. The only Hovhannēs in this period is Hovhannēs VI of Sis who died in 1221. This Kat'oghikos

throne],¹ and the Turks took Tripoli.² In the year 739 (1290), a strong earthquake occurred in Erznka, but God was kind and nothing was destroyed. In the year 740 (1291), the Greeks fell into heresy and celebrated the “erroneous Easter.”³ In that time, in Cilicia, there were Armenian kings...⁴ and our nation was divided into two parts: half was under [the influence of] the Greeks;⁵ the other [half] remained true. In the year 741 (1292),⁶ the Egyptians⁷ seized Hromklay and took *tēr* Step'anos⁸ captive; the “erroneous Easter” occurred in the same year.⁹

In the year 743 (1294), *tēr* Grigor Anawarzats'i ascended the [patriarchal] throne,¹⁰ Het'um went to Ghazan Khan,¹¹ the khan ordered

Hovhannēs is mentioned in a 14th-century chronicle copied by Sargis Pitsak of Sis, *MZH* I, 105. Hakobyan thinks that it refers to the brother of King Het'um I, Archbishop Hovhannēs of Gṛner-vank'; *ibid.*, 107, n. 17.

¹ Step'anos IV of Hromklay (1290-1293). He was captured in 1292 and died in 1293.

² Confirmed by Ršhtunts'i, *MZH*, I, 119.

³ The Easter in question occurred in 1292.

⁴ There is a lacuna here in all the manuscripts and printed versions. *ERZ*, f. 386r and *JER*, 262 have the same sentence without the lacuna.

⁵ There are two ways to interpret the term “Greek.” Either, some of the Armenians celebrated Easter the same time as the Greeks, or it refers to the Franks. Pressured by the Mamluks, some of the Armenian leaders in Cilicia, at the end of the 13th century, sought help from the pope, and favored a union with the Catholic Church. King Het'um II (1289-1293) followed this policy, while Kat'oghikos Kostandin II was against it and was forced to resign; see Mikaelian, 415-417.

⁶ The years 741, 743, and 760 are absent from *ERZ*. Instead it adds various information on the earthquakes in Erznka, ff. 382v, 386r.

⁷ Text reads *Msrts'ik*, from the Arabic *Miṣr* (Egypt); the Arabic term is frequently used instead of the Armenian *Egiptos* in this chapter.

⁸ Kat'oghikos Step'anos IV.

⁹ The date does not make sense.

¹⁰ Kat'oghikos Grigor VII of Anawarza (1293-1307), at the new Holy See of Sis.

¹¹ Maḥmūd Ghazan Khan of the Il-Khanid Mongol dynasty (1295-1304). The historian Step'anos Siwnets'i (Orbelean), in Chapter 69 of his *Patmut'iwn nahangin Sis* (Tiflis, 1910), 474, describes Het'um's visit to Ghazan's court (1295), where, after waiting for two months in Maraghe, he was received with great honor. Het'um managed to obtain a decree which halted the harassment of Christians and the destruction of their churches. They were to live in peace and keep their faith. See also Patkanov, 60, *VA*, 191, Mikaelian, 427-428, Ch'amch'ean, III, 294.

the [halt to]¹ the destruction of churches.² Het'um died in the year 760 (1311).³ In the year 755 (1306),⁴ in the *gawaṛ* of Tarōn, in the cloister and holy hermitage inhabited by angels, called the monastery of St. Ghazar, which was under the protection of the holy apostles, during the patriarchy of *tēr* Grigor and the reign of Lewon,⁵ son of T'oros,⁶ in the land of Cilicia, when *tēr* Abraham was the bishop of the holy Ghazar monastery [the following occurred]: It was during the autocratic reign of Khan Gharbanda⁷ over the nations of archers (Mongols). He was an evil man who hated Christians and who was bewitched by diabolical heretical sheikhs. Using insidious thoughts, and with Satan's assistance, he began a struggle with the unconquerable stronghold of Christ. An order concerning Christians was issued by him and was announced all over his domain.⁸ They either had to

¹ The word does not appear in any of the manuscripts, but appears in a chronicle of Bogharyan, 262.

² Confirmed in the chronicles of Sargis of Sis and Ršhtunts'i, *MZH*, I, 106, 120, *SA*, 154-156. According to Orbelean, the Godless Nauruz, the commander-in-chief of Ghazan, ordered all the churches to be destroyed, the priests to be killed and the Christians to be robbed. Many churches were demolished, priests and Christians killed, women and children taken into captivity, Patkanov, 59.

³ This date is an obvious error. Het'um, together with King Leo IV, Oshin Sparapet, and other nobles, were killed by Bilargū on November 17, 1307, when they visited Anawarza; see Mikaelian, 435-437, *SA*, 153.

⁴ The information for the year 755 differs greatly in style from the rest of this chapter. Brosset thinks that it is derived from an unknown source, *MB*, 569. Three colophons, however, written in 1315-1316, have the same information and style. See S. Muṛadean and N. Martirosean, *Ts'uts'ak dzeragrats' Mshoy S. Arak'elots'-T'argmanch'ats' Vank'i ew shrjakayits'* (Jerusalem, 1967), MSS 17-21; see also Bogharyan, 263.

⁵ Refers to Leo II (1187-1199, as King Leo I, 1199-1219).

⁶ Refers to Baron Toros II (1144-1169).

⁷ Refers to Moḥammad Khodā-bandeh (God's slave) Öljeitü (1304-1317); see Orbelean, 482. Patkanov writes that a bishop, sent by the pope, had christened him as a child and had given him the name Theodosius. The Mongols called him Khar-banda (slave of a donkey). His godfather was a Frankish prince called Sirchaz, Patkanov, 64. Actually Öljeitü was baptized in infancy with the Christian name of Nicholas. He became a Buddhist, a Sunni (Ḥanafī) Muslim, and finally a Shi'a, *CHI*, V, 401-402.

⁸ Grigor Varaghets'i wrote about this order; see *MZH*, II, 381. Also see colophon number 61 in L. Khach'ikyan, ed. *XIV dari Hayeren Dzeragreri Hishatakaranner* (Erevan, 1950), 46.

convert to the false faith of Muhammad, or had to pay a *kharaj*¹ of eight *dahekans* per person. In addition, they had to endure, for the sake of Christ, spit and spittle on their face, the pulling out of their beards, and the sewing of black patches on [626] their right shoulder. The ferocious envoys fell on all the Christians in all the cities and *gawars*, monasteries and everywhere else, like bloodthirsty beasts. They threatened and searched everyone, for they wanted to eradicate the entire faith of the Christians. The fatal decree ordered them not to pray, not to go to church and not to baptize their children. But the educated flock of Christ remained unshakable in their Christian faith, encouraged by the words of the Lord, "Blessed are you when people revile you and persecute you."² They paid all the taxes demanded from them, and relying on heaven, gladly accepted the torments and insults and the light yoke of Christ on their right shoulder. But the impious heathen Gharbanda Khan, realizing that he could not conquer the faithful flock of Christ, increased the blows on the Christians even more [ordering that], they castrate them all and put out one eye, so that they would turn to the impure faith of Muhammad. We have heard that, for the sake of Christ, many have died from that blow, but the deadly order of the impious Gharbanda has not reached us yet; the future is known only to God. Thus if the merciful God wishes, he will take the storm³ away from the Christians and we will be able to freely practice our rites, purify our cupolas, and with clergy dressed in holy garments, boldly perform the Christian rites, the Holy Mass, in a blessed gathering, in the presence of Christ.⁴

In the year 805 (1356), there was an earthquake in Erzinka; the earth shook seven to nine times a day. God preserved us, for there was no destruction.⁵ In the year 806 (1357) Jani-bek⁶ killed Ashraf,

¹ *Kharāj* denotes "tax" in general, as well as a number of specific taxes, including land tax. A has the wrong term, *kharj* (the Arabic term for expenses).

² Matthew 5.11; Luke 6.22.

³ A and F reads *anprop* instead of *amprop*; hence Brosset could not translate it, *MB*, 569

⁴ The chronicle recalls the difficult days as described in Ch'amch'ean, III, 299; Manandyan, III, 325-327; Khach'ikyan, 46-47.

⁵ *EZR*, ff. 382v, 386r mention another earthquake in Erzinka in the year 794 (1345).

⁶ Refers to Janī Beg Khan (Jambek) of the Golden Horde (1341-1357). He was the son of Özbek Khan. He attacked Azarbaijan, captured Ashraf,

and Akhi¹ sat [on the throne].² On Friday, December 8, in [627] the year 823 (1374), there was an earthquake in Erzinka. It stopped for an hour and they thought it would not shake any more. It shook again and the city walls crumbled.³ In the year 830 (1381), the Crimean khan, T'ught'amish,⁴ sent an army to Tabriz and took 200,000⁵ prisoners. In the year 833 (1384), K'eghayo Khan⁶ ascended the throne. In that same year *kadi* Burhan killed the ruler of Sebastia;⁷

made his (Jambek's) son Berdi Beg the governor of Azarbaijan, and returned.

¹ Refers to Akhijuk, also known as Akhi, who led a rebellion against Berdi Beg, and governed the region for a short time. See Tuzengauzen, II, 94, 97, 101-103, 128, 146, 211, 214; Manandyan, III, 334; *BID*, II, 77-78; *JER*, 265.

² This information is absent from Amiras' chronicle. Samuel Anets'i writes, "In the year 1359 Janibek killed Ashraf and Yahi sat [on the throne]. Then the former sultan fought with Akhi, seized Akhi, killed him, and returned to the throne," *SA*, 169. Aṛak'el's source was Kirakos Rshunts'i's chronicle, *MZH*, I, 118.

³ *EZR*, f. 382v.

⁴ Refers to Toqtamish (1376-1395), who united the White and Blue Hordes with the Golden Horde of South Russia in 1378. The above date is also from *MZH*, I, 118. The date, however, is incorrect. The campaign occurred in the year 788 (1386); see *MZH*, I, 122 n. 20 and *BID*, II, 91.

⁵ Text reads twenty *biwr* (myriad, or ten thousand); hence 200,000.

⁶ There is no such khan in the 16th-century chronicle by an anonymous man from Sebastia, *MZH*, I, 167. A khan called K'aghat'u, K'eghart'u, K'egha appears in the minor chronicles between the years 1284 and 1291; see Orbelean, Het'um II (Hayton), "Table chronologique," *RHC*, I, 469-490, Rshunts'i, and the anonymous chronicles cited above), *MZH*, I, 36, 86-87, 118, 142, 149. It is possible therefore, that Aṛak'el copied the date of 1384 instead of 1284. Gaykhatu Khan was the brother of Arğun and ruler of the Il-Khanid Mongols from 1291 to 1295; see Orbelean, 467-469. There is also a slight chance that K'eghayo Khan refers to Köyürchak-oğlan, the son of Urus Khan of the White Horde; Tuzengauzen, II, 62-63, 178, 209, 212, 214. Timur, during his battles with Toqtamish, kept Köyürchak-oğlan by his side as a candidate for the throne of the Golden Horde. After Toqtamish's defeat at the Terek River (1395), Timur presented Köyürchak-oğlan with a fabulous *khal'at*, named him khan, and dispatched him, with a large contingent of Uzbeks, to the left bank of the Volga River to restore order among the Golden Horde. See B. D. Grekov and A. Iakubovskii, *Zolotaia Orda i ee padenie* (Moscow, 1950), 366-367.

⁷ In 782 AH (1380), *kadi* Burhan al-Din Aḥmad overthrew the Mongol ruler of Askeran, Kayseri, Sivas, Erzincan (Erzinka), and Erzurum, took the

Step'anos, the Bishop of Sebastia died a martyr's death,¹ and the Forty Saints monastery crumbled. In the year 834 (1385) the Turks took Orotan (Vorotan);² *Vardapet Kakhik*³ and *Vardapet Eremia* died.⁴ In the year 835 (1386)⁵ T'amraz⁶ Khan reached Dimishkh (Damascus) and then came to...⁷ and after seventeen years went to Samarqand and died. In the same year that La[n]kt'amur (Teymur-e Lang/Timur the Lame/Tamerlane) came to Tabriz, Nakhichevan and Van, and more than 3,000 people were killed.⁸ In the year 836

title of sultan and reigned until 800 AH (1398), when he was killed by Turkmen. See Manandyan, III, 357; Lane-Poole, 158 n. 1.

¹ This is confirmed by an anonymous scribe from Sebastia, *MZH*, I, 167; II, 265, 381, 392. Sultan Burhan al-Din was informed that a rebellion was planned against him and that Step'anos, the Bishop of Sebastia, was one of the rebels. The sultan summoned Step'anos, together with two monks, asked them to renounce their faith, upon refusal they were tortured to death and became martyrs. The Armenian Church includes Bishop Step'anos among its martyrs. See H. Acharyan, *Andznanneri Bararan IV* (Beirut, 1972), 647, no. 368.

² It is located in present-day Karabagh.

³ Refers to *Vardapet Kakhik* (Hohan Orotnets'i); see Chapter 32.

⁴ This information is absent from Amiras' chronicle. It is taken from Ršhtunts'i's chronicle, where he has Maghak'ia instead of Eremia, *MZH*, I, 118, 122 n. 23. Samuēl Anets'i has the same information with more detail, but lists it under the year 835 (1386), *SA*, 170. Anets'i, T'ovma Met-sop'ets'i and other chroniclers mention the death of *Vardapet Maghak'ia* of Crimea at this time, but not Eremia. It seems that Aṙak'el made an inadvertent error; the mistake was later copied by Acharyan, II, 138-139.

⁵ Timur reached Damascus in the winter of 1400 and sacked it in the spring of 1401, *CHI*, VI, 75-76.

⁶ All the manuscripts (except Matenadaran MS 5025) and printed editions of Aṙak'el's *History* read T'amraz instead of T'amur (Timur the Lame/Tamerlane). Ršhtunts'i's chronicle reads, "In the year 835 (1386) Timur came to Tabriz, Nakhichevan and Van and killed more than 3,000 men," *MZH*, I, 118; see also *SA*, 171.

⁷ There is a lacuna here in the printed editions and main manuscripts. Matenadaran MS 5025, however, reads, "In the year 1386 Lang Timur went up to Damascus and then came to Armenia, and after 17 years went to Samarqand and died." The same information is in the anonymous chronicle, see *MZH*, I, 142, 149; the same wording appears for the year 1387 in *MZH*, II, 515.

⁸ *MZH*, I, 118. Anets'i has the following after Nakhichevan, "after that he went up to Karbi, Bjni, Garni, Surmari, Koghb, and from there he went to Georgia and caused great damage in the city of Tiflis, converted King

(1387), Timur Lang left Samarqand with a large army, came and destroyed Sebastia, went on to Ankara and put the brother of the *khondk'ar*, Ildirim (Yıldırım) Bayazid, in a cage.¹ In the year 841 (1392) he once again went to Baghdad, caused great destruction in Mesopotamia, and once again returned to his land.² The son of Sultan Ahmed, Sultan Tahir,³ was in the fortress of Alinja [Ernjak]. The Georgian king attacked the fortress, seized Sultan Tahir, and took him to Tiflis. Hearing this, Timur, in the year 849 (1400), once again marched on Georgia, took many prisoners, returned home, and died⁴ in 853 (1404).⁵ In the year 842 (1393) *tēr* T'oros and *tēr* Zak'aria were killed.⁶ In the year 855 (1406), Ghara Iwsuf (Qara Yūsuf)⁷ who had fled from Timur, set foot in Sham (Syria), and was taken in chains to Egypt, returned from there to the Karbi district, marched on Tabriz, and seized all the lands up to Soltaniye.⁸ In the year 857

Bagrat to Islam, and, after that, he wintered in the Moghan," SA, 171. Between 1386 and 1387 Timur attacked Tabriz, where he fought Sultan Aḥmad of the Jalayirids and invaded Georgia, where he imprisoned Bagrat V and his wife Anna Comnena. Bagrat temporarily converted to Islam to save his life, *CHI*, VI, 58-59.

¹ Text reads *ghafus*, from the Arabic-Persian *qafas* (cage, in this case, a small room with barred windows). The date, as well as the information, is wrong. Timur defeated and captured Bayazid I in the Battle of Angora on July 28, 1402. The latter was kept a prisoner and died on March 8, 1403, *CHI*, VI, 78-79. In 1387, the *khondk'ar* (sultan) of the Ottomans was Murad I (1360-1389), who was the father and not the brother of Bayazid I. Amiras has the same date, but does not have "brother," *MZH*, II, 265, 392. Another chronicle has "the son of the *khondk'ar*," *ibid.*, I, 167.

² Refers to Timur's first conquest of Baghdad in 1393, *CHI*, VI, 69.

³ Refers to Tāhir of the Jalayirid family. According to Manandyan, he was besieged by Timur in the fort of Ernjak and was rescued by the Georgian king; hence Timur's invasion of Georgia, III, 354. See also SA, 171, 175.

⁴ Aṛak'el again uses the term *satakets'aw*.

⁵ Timur died on February 18, 1405.

⁶ *MZH*, I, 118. Hakobyan maintains that T'oros refers to Kat'oghikos Teodoros II of Cilicia (1382-1392) and Zak'aria was Zak'aria II (the Martyr), the kat'oghikos of Aght'amar (1378-1393), *ibid.*, I, 122 n. 24-25. This is confirmed by the *JER*, 267 and SA, 172. The above is not mentioned by Amiras.

⁷ Refers to Qara Yusuf of the Qara Qoyunlu (1389-1400, 1406-1420). He opposed Timur, had to flee to Egypt, and returned to Tabriz in 1406.

⁸ *MZH*, I, 119. Anets'i has more details, "In the year 1406, Gharayusuf, who for many years had fled Timur, left Sham after Timur's invasion and

(1408) he returned to Arjēsh and Artskē, and together with Shmezdin,¹ [628] united with him and extensively pillaged Van and Ostan. Next year, the horsemen of Shams al-din came and set fire to Shatuan.² Emir [Shm]Ezdin became angry, went and set fire to sixty villages in Baghesh.³ Shahrokh's (Shah Rukh) first invasion occurred in the year 870 (1421) during the sign of Aries; he defeated the Turkmen and left.⁴ The second invasion was in the year 878 (1429), during the sign of Sagittarius. He defeated the Turk[men] near Salmas, installed Busayid Khan⁵ and returned to his domain.⁶ The third invasion was in the year 885 (1436) during the sign of Cancer.⁷ In the year 870 (1421) the Chaghatay⁸ came to Armenia. In the year 871 (1422), Shah Rukh came to Karabagh.⁹ In the year 872 (1423) Alexander¹⁰ came.

was imprisoned in Egypt. After the death of Timur, Yusuf came to the land of Armenia, caused great damage, went to Tabriz, and conquered many lands up to Solṭaniye and Orel," SA, 173.

¹ TM, 70. Refers to the Kurdish emir of Khlat', Mush and Bitlis, Shams al-Din; I. P. Petrushevskii, *Gosudarstva Azerbaidzhana v XV veke* (Baku, 1949), 164.

² A, B, C, D, and F read "Latuan." Rshunt's'i's chronicle, used by Arak'el for this section, reads "Shatuan," MZH, I, 119. The settlement was located in the Rshunik district below Gandzak.

³ MZH, I, 119; SA, 173; Metsop'ets'i writes that he was a descendant of Senek'erim, that is, from the Artsruni clan, TM, 30.

⁴ MZH, I, 119, II, 514, Refers to the battle between Sultan Shah Rukh (1405-1447), son of Timur and Iskandar (1420-1438), son of Qara Yusuf, in August of 1421. See Petrushevskii, 163; TM, 80-81; and Khach'ikyan, I, xvii-xix.

⁵ Refers to Abū Sa'īd b. Qara Yusuf Qara Qoyunlu, who was installed by Shah Rukh in Tabriz and ruled for two years (1429-1431) before being killed by Iskandar, forcing Shah Rukh to engage in a third and final campaign, CHI, VI, 102-103.

⁶ MZH, I, 119; II, 514; TM, 85-86, 105-106.

⁷ MZH, I, 119; II, 514. Shah Rukh installed Jahan Shah (1438-1467) as the governor of Tabriz and the new ruler of the Qara Qoyunlu.

⁸ MZH, I, 143; II, 515. Refers to Shah Rukh. The Timurids claimed to be descendants of Genghis Khan's eldest surviving son, Chaghatay. Metsop'ets'i calls him Chaghatay or Shah Rukh Chaghatay, TM, 108. Brosset thinks it refers to Miran Shah, Shah Rukh's brother, MB, 571.

⁹ MZH, II, 515.

¹⁰ Ibid. Refers to King Alexander I of Georgia (1412/1413-1443), the last king of all of Georgia. Brosset thinks it refers to Iskandar Qara Qoyunlu, MB, 571.

In the year 878 (1429), Jahan Shah¹ seized the Shamshuldē (Samshvildē) fortress.² In the year 879 (1430) Shah Rukh came again.³ Dmetrē⁴ marched against him in Karabagh. In that same year the plague reigned. In the year 887 (1438) the *Ġul* came to Erzuka,⁵ Iskandar was killed by his son, and Jahan Shah ascended the throne.⁶ In the year 889 (1440) Samshvildē was taken;⁷ 3,000 people were killed and 9,000 taken captive.⁸ In the year 890 (1441), they stole the right arm of the Illuminator from Sis and brought it to Ējmiatsin.⁹ They consecrated the abbot of Khor Virap, *tēr* Kirakos,¹⁰ as the kat'oghikos, installed him at Ējmiatsin, and established the kat'oghikosate [Holy See] there.¹¹ In the year 892 (1443), they removed Kat'oghikos *tēr* Kirakos because of rivalry, and Bishop Grigor of Maku¹² was installed as kat'oghikos, with the aid of a deed¹³ from the Turk[men]. They fined *Vardapet* Sargis and me.¹⁴ May God pardon their sins for the evil deeds against Kat'oghikos

¹ Jahan Shah Qara Qoyunlu (1438-1467).

² See the chronology copied by an anonymous scribe from Van, *MZH*, I, 355; II, 482. The correct date for this event is 1440, as indicated by Aṛak'el below.

³ Refers to Shah Rukh's second invasion; see above.

⁴ Probably refers to Demetre, the brother-in-law of King Alexander I.

⁵ Refers to the governor of Erzuka, the Janissary commander, Otman, who was killed in battle with Iskandar, *TM*, 102-103, *MZH*, I, 119, 123 n. 41.

⁶ *MZH*, I, 119, 124 n. 42. See also *TM*, 106-108, Petrushevskii, *Gosudarstvo*, 165.

⁷ The siege lasted from March 27 to May 15, 1440.

⁸ *MZH*, I, 119; II, 514. Metsop'ets'i writes, "They erected a minaret by the city gates from the heads of 1664 men; 9,400 people were taken captive, apart from those who were hiding in forests and ravines, *TM*, 119-121. See also Khach'ikyan, I, xxx-xxxii.

⁹ Refers to the transfer of the Holy See from Sis. See Chapter 30 for details.

¹⁰ Kat'oghikos Kirakos of Khor Virap (1441-1443).

¹¹ Ormanean devotes an entire chapter to the transfer of the Holy See to its original site, *MO*, 71-75; see also *Jambr*, Chapter 2; and Chapter 30.

¹² Kat'oghikos Grigor X Musabēgeants' (1443-1465).

¹³ Text reads *ghabalov*, from the Arabic *qabala* (deed, grant). Refers to the official writ of Jahan Shah and the khan of Erevan, who were supposedly bribed to make the election official.

¹⁴ For details, see T'ovma Metsop'ets'i, *Hishatakaran* (Tiflis, 1892), 75-87.

Kirakos, *Vardapet Sargis*, and me.¹ In the year 893 (1444) Jahan Shah depopulated Akhaltsikhe.² In the year 895 (1446) Chaghatay marched on...³ Shah Rukh died a natural death.⁴

[629] In the year 901(1452) Jahan Shah came and seized Erznka.⁵ In the year 902 (1453) Sultan Muhammad [II] took Istanbul from the Greek king, named Manuēl.⁶ In the year 907 (1458) there was an earthquake in Erznka; 32,000 people died. In the year 910 (1461), Chit'akh captured Trebizond.⁷ In the year 916 (1467) Ḥasan Beg marched on Georgia and depopulated it.⁸ In that same year they

¹ See Chronicle of Kirakos Rshtunts'i in *MZH*, I, 119. See also Ch'amch'ean, II, 489.

² *MZH*, II, 515. Alishan has 1448 as the date for the attack on Akhaltsikhe, *Ayrarat*, 327.

³ There is a lacuna here in all the manuscripts and printed editions. One of the minor chronicles (*MZH*, II, 515) reads, "In the year 895 (1446) Chaghatay marched against Sharukh and he died a natural death." Since Shah Rukh and Chaghatay are the same person (see above), the sentence does not make sense. Shah Rukh died on March 13, 1447 in his winter camp at Ray. One chronicle has the following, "In the year 916 (1467) Chaghatay (Jahan Shah) was killed. Ḥasan 'Ali ruled for 7 months. Ḥasan Beg [Uzun Ḥasan] killed Ḥasan 'Ali and ruled in Tabriz for 9 years." This corresponds to the defeat of Jahan Shah in 1467, the short reign of Ḥasan 'Ali (1467-1468) and the end of the Qara Qoyunlu at the hands of Uzun Ḥasan of the Aq Qoyunlu (1453-1478). It is possible that the lacuna details the last campaign of Shah Rukh in Persia prior to his death in Ray, described by *BID*, II, 7.

⁴ Shah Rukh died in 850 AH (1446).

⁵ *SA*, 175.

⁶ Refers to the fall of Constantinople on May 29, 1453 to the Ottomans. The Byzantine emperor was not Manuel, but Constantine XI Paleologus (1449-1453).

⁷ The information comes from another anonymous manuscript, *MZH*, I, 319; II, 265. Chit'agh or Jit'agh is also mentioned in *MZH*, I, 143. Alishan could not identify it, *Hayapatum* (Venice, 1901), 599 n. 1. Hakobyan assumes that Chit'agh refers to Sultan Muhammad II, who took Trebizond in 1461, *MZH*, I, 330 n. 3.

⁸ *MZH*, II, 515. Refers to the invasion of Georgia by Uzun Ḥasan Aq Qoyunlu, who caused major destruction in Tiflis and Gori, and took some 60,000 prisoners, not in 1467, but in 1476-77 (Aṙak'el must have reversed the date in error); see *MZH*, I, 143. See also the 15th- or 17th-century chronicle copied by Hakob Hisusi, *MZH*, I, 194. All the material for the years 901-931 is from *EZR*, ff. 386r-v. Brosset thinks it refers to Ḥasan Beg of Shirvan, *MB*, 572.

handed Paron Loys a martyr's death in Kaffa.¹ In the year 918 (1469), the plague descended on all the land and *Vardapet* Naghash composed his elegy.² In the year 923 (1474) Dawit', the son of *k'ahana* Grigor, was martyred in Kharpert.³ In the year 931 (1482), Sultan Muhammad [II] died and his son, Sultan Bayazid [II], ascended the throne.⁴ In that same year an earthquake occurred in Erzinka and 30,000 souls remained buried under.⁵

In the year 932 (1483) Aghub Bēk (Ya'qub Beg)⁶ seized...⁷ In the year 933 (1484) Ya'qub Beg seized Sheikh Haidar.⁸ In the year 939 (1490) Ya'qub Beg died and Sunkhur⁹ ascended the throne.¹⁰ In the year 948 (1499) Rustam¹¹ sat on the throne, and after him came Alvand.¹² In the year 950 (1501) the *Kizilbash* Isma'il fought with Alvand.

¹ Loys Paron Kafets'i was martyred on May 15, 1567 for his refusal to renounce his faith. For details, see H. Manandean and H. Acharean, *Hayots' Nor Vkanerē* (Vagharshapat, 1903), 386-412.

² Refers to the famous Armenian medieval poet Mkrtych' Naghash, born in the village of P'or in Baghesh. He was the bishop of Amida and Mesopotamia and wrote the famous elegy, "Voghb vasn mereli," (Lament for the Dead). See Ch'amch'ean, III, 474, 483-484 and Ē. Khondkaryan, *Mkrtych' Naghash* (Erevan, 1965).

³ SA, 175.

⁴ Sultan Muhammad II died in 1481 and Bayazid II ruled from 1481 to 1512.

⁵ MZH, II, 264.

⁶ Refers to Ya'qub, the son of Uzun Hasan Aq Qoyunlu (1478-1490).

⁷ There is a lacuna here in all the manuscripts and printed editions, but the next line indicates that it must have been copied twice, as indicated in MZH, II, 515.

⁸ The Safavid sheikh of Ardabil (1456-1488). He was actually killed on July 9, 1488 in a battle with a local chieftain, who was assisted by Aq Qoyunlu troops, CHI, VI, 209.

⁹ Refers to Baysonqur Aq Qoyunlu (1490-1493); see BID, II, 141, Petrushevskii, 176.

¹⁰ MZH, II, 515. Another chronicle lists the year 940 (1491), *ibid.*, I, 144.

¹¹ A, B, C, D, and E have *Spahan*; it should read *Rustam*, based on MZH, II, 515. Indeed Rustam of the Aq Qoyunlu (1493-1497) succeeded Baysonqur.

¹² Refers to Alvand of the Aq Qoyunlu (1498-1504). He ruled first in Azarbaijan and later in Diarbekir; see BID, II, 141-143, Petrushevskii, *Gosudarstvo*, 175-179. There is a word missing here in A and D.

vand, forced him to flee, and took over the throne.¹ In the year 962 (1513) Sultan Selim [I]² killed his father, Bayazid [II], and ascended [the throne].³ In the year 963 (1514) Selim routed the cavalry of the shah and the shah⁴ ascended the throne.⁵ In the year 964 (1515) Sultan Selim went to Chaldiran, battled with the shah, and defeated him. In the year 966 (1517) Sultan Selim went and seized Sham (Syria) and Mêsir (Egypt). In that same year he began the collection of boys [Janissaries]. In the year 968 (1519) Sultan Selim became angry and took boys from the Christians [Armenians].⁶ In the year 970 (1521) Selim died and Süleyman sat on the throne.⁷ In that same year they constructed baths in Sebastia.⁸ In the year 971 (1522) Safar, the son of Pekh, was burned.⁹ [630] In the year 975 (1526) Sultan Süleyman went and seized the capital of the Hungarians, Buda.¹⁰

In that same year Caliph At'maja appeared.¹¹ In that same year Shah Isma'il died, and his son Shah Tahmâsp sat on the throne.¹² In

¹ Bidlisi writes, "In the winter of 907 AH, Shah Isma'il captured parts of Shirvan. He wintered in Mahmudabad and from there went to Nakhichevan to do battle with Alvand Beg ibn Yusuf Beg, son of Hasan Beg. The two adversaries met in Sharur. Alvand Beg, together with Turkmen emirs, fled and 8,000 of their troops were killed. Shah Isma'il then arrived in Tabriz and ascended the throne," *BID*, II, 146.

² Sultan Selim I (1512-1520).

³ *MZH*, II, 266.

⁴ Not clear what is meant here.

⁵ The minor chronicles and fragments have various dates for the Battle of Chaldiran, which occurred on Rajab 2, 920 AH (August 23, 1514). They range from 1513 to 1515, *MZH*, I, 144, 169, 321, 392; II, 355, 515. See *BID*, II, 163, Petrushevskii, *Azerbaidzhan v XVI-XVII vv.* (Baku, 1949), 239-242. Brosset has August 22, 1514, *MB*, 573.

⁶ See M. K. Zulalyan's article on "Devshirme" and his book *Armenia v pervoi polovine XVI v.* (Moscow, 1971), 47-51.

⁷ Sultan Süleyman II (1520-1566).

⁸ *MZH*, I, 169.

⁹ *SA*, 176; *GD*, 5; *MZH*, I, 169; II, 266. Some sources mention that it happened in Sebastia.

¹⁰ Buda opened its gates to the Ottomans on September 10, 1527.

¹¹ Brosset identifies him as Ahmed, the Pasha of Egypt, who revolted in 1523 and called himself sultan and thus caliph, *MB*, 573. See also *Ay-vazovsk'i*, I, 361-363. Other sources (Amiras and other chroniclers) mention it as having occurred in 977 (1528), *MZH*, I, 169; II, 266. *BID*, II, 172-177 and Petrushevskii, *Azerbaidzhan*, 263-264 mention this as having occurred during the reign of Shah Tahmâsp (1524-1576).

¹² Isma'il died in 1524 and not 1526; *BID*, II, 170-171.

the year 976 (1527) the Greeks¹ of Tōṛil raised their heads. Husein Pasha went against them, defeated them, and took them captive.² In the year 982 (1533) they burned an *abegha*, the abbot of the Tew monastery.³ In the year 984 (1535) they burned an *erēts'* from the village of Shênk'urk. In the year 985 (1536) *Khoja Kogja* suffered a martyr's death in Sebastia.⁴ In the year 988 (1539) the Greeks celebrated Easter on Palm Sunday.⁵ In the year 990 (1541) Shah Ṭahmāsp went to Georgia, destroyed Tiflis and the entire country, seized countless and innumerable⁶ prisoners.⁷ In that same year *padishah* Huma came to the threshold of Shah Ṭahmāsp and left.⁸ In the year 995 (1546) Alkhas went and brought the *khondk'ar* to Tabriz against his brother,⁹ and the latter pillaged Tabriz. The ruler of Tabriz, Shah Ṭahmāsp, in turn, went and destroyed Khnus, Basen,

¹ Text reads, "people of Rum."

² *MZH*, II, 266, 355, 393. The Greeks of Torhil and Kukvan rebelled and were punished by Husein Pasha, who took 12,000 prisoners; *ibid.*, I, 169.

³ Brosset has T'atew in error, *MB*, 573. Khanlaryan makes the same error in the Russian translation, *KH*, 484. Ch'amch'ean identifies him as an *abegha* at a monastery in Sebastia, III, 516. The same information is in *MZH*, I, 170; II, 266, 284, 382. The monastery in question is the Tewu monastery, *Diwan Hayots' Patmut'ean*, X (Tiflis, 1912), 62, 499.

⁴ *SA*, 176; Ch'amch'ean, III, 516, *MZH*, I, 170; II, 266, 284, 382.

⁵ According to Brosset, *MB*, 574, in 1539 Palm Sunday was April 6 and Easter April 13. The Greeks thus celebrated the "erroneous Easter."

⁶ Absent from *A* and *D*.

⁷ *VB*, 35-36; *BID*, II, 189; *MZH*, I, 171; II, 427. Shah Ṭahmāsp conducted four campaigns in Georgia, the first in 1540, *CHI*, VI, 245.

⁸ One of the anonymous chronicles has 1545, *MZH*, I, 144; II, 427, 435, 443. Refers to the Mughal emperor, Humāyūn (1530-1556), son of Babur, who sought asylum in Persia in 1541, stayed there for twelve years, and with the help of the shah regained his throne in 1555, *CHI*, VI, 244, 248; *AA*, 160-166.

⁹ Refers to Alqāš Mirza, the brother of Ṭahmāsp and the governor of Shirvan, who rebelled and sought refuge with Sultan Süleyman. The Ottomans invaded in 1548, but after two years could not win a decisive victory. Alqāš went on to Isfahan, but was captured, imprisoned, and killed by the shah, *CHI*, VI, 242-243. The chronicles date this in 1546 and 1547. See *MZH*, I, 136, 157, 171; Ch'amch'ean, III, 513; Petrushevskii, XVI-XVII, 266-267; *BID*, II, 192-195; *ZK*, Bk. I, Chapter VII.

Erzurum, Derjan, Keghi, Baberd, Erzuka, and Spēr.¹ In the year 998 (1549) the plague arrived. In the year 999 (1550), seventy sons of *azats* (knights) were slaughtered in one night. It was a great calamity.²

In the year 1003 (1554) the *khondk'ar* marched against Shah Ṭahmāsp. He halted in Nakhichevan, destroyed Sahat',³ and took many prisoners.⁴ In the year 1006 (1557) *Vardapet* Ghukas Keghets'i translated the Greek calendar [into Armenian].⁵ In the year 1008 (1559), the sons of the *khondk'ar* quarreled in Konya. Selim forced Bayazid to flee to Erzurum. The latter, together with his three sons, went to the shah; they were killed there.⁶ In the year 1009 (1560), Sultan Bayazid, with four sons and 30,000 [631] men, came to the threshold of Shah Ṭahmāsp.⁷ In the year 1012 (1563) the plague spread everywhere.⁸ In the year 1015 (1566) Sultan Süleyman

¹ The anonymous chronicle dates this 1547, *MZH*, I, 136. Refers to the Persian campaign led by Ṭahmāsp's second son, Isma'il Mirza, *CHI*, VI, 243.

² *SA*, 176; *MZH*, II, 518 has the date 1590, 531 has 1550. The 40 years' difference is probably a scribal error.

³ Refers to the province of Chukhur-e Sa'd (the khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan).

⁴ *MZH*, I, 145. Refers to Süleyman's third invasion (May-August 1554), after which the Treaty of Amasya (1555) was signed, *CHI*, VI, 243-244.

⁵ A number of minor chroniclers have "Armenian" calendar instead, *MZH*, II, 267. This is an error; *Vardapet* Ghukas Keghets'i (also known as Khordzenats'i) was an expert on the Greek calendar and produced an Armenian translation in 1557. He died in 1502. See A. Albojajean, *Patmut'iwn Hay Kesarioy*, II (Cairo, 1937), 1860; *SA*, 176; A. Abrahamyan, "Ghukas Keghets'u ch'ap'atso tomarê," *Ējmiatsin* (June 1952), 57-63; Ch'amch'ean, III, 519. He was a disciple of Srap'ion, the co-kat'oghikos mentioned in Chapter 2.

⁶ In 1559, Prince (not Sultan) Bayazid rebelled against his father, Sultan Süleyman. He sought refuge (with his four sons) in Persia, was handed over to an Ottoman delegation, and was executed in Tabriz, on the sultan's order, in 1561, *CHI*, VI, 248.

⁷ The various chronicles mention three or four sons, as well as Bayazid's death in Persia by the order of his father, *MZH*, I, 145, 172, 323; II, 267, 355; Ayvazovsk'i, 436-440; *BID*, II, 203. It is obvious that Arak'el has used various sources for his information. For a Persian point of view, see *AA*, 166-173.

⁸ *JER*, 278.

marched on Pécs and died there.¹ In the year 1016 (1567) the son of Süleyman, Selim [II],² ascended [the throne]. In the year 1017 (1568) Simon came to the threshold of Shah Ṭahmāsp.³ In the year 1019 (1570) a girl in Erznka developed horns.⁴ In the year 1020 (1571) the island of Cyprus was taken [by the Ottomans].⁵ In the year 1022 (1573) Shah Ṭahmāsp died.⁶ In the year 1023 (1574), Shah Isma'il [II] sat on the throne⁷ and ruled for two years.⁸ In the year 1024 (1575) Sultan Selim died and Murad⁹ sat [on the throne]. In the year 1025 (1576) a comet appeared and became visible.¹⁰ In that same year, on November 5, a strong earthquake occurred at night in Erznka. For four months no one could sleep at home. It then stopped.¹¹ In that same year Shah Isma'il [II] died.¹²

Also in that year Shah Ṭahmāsp was strangled *and died*¹³ in a bath.¹⁴ After that, they killed Sultan Ḥaidar, brought out the young

¹ He died on the night of September 5-6, 1566 in the village of Szigetvár, some two miles from Pécs (Fünfkirchen).

² Sultan Selim II (1566-1574).

³ *VB*, 39-41.

⁴ *MZH*, II, 267. Brosset reads, "A girl from Erznka became a prostitute," *MB*, 575. This is wrong, for the chronicle later lists various wonders, such as a man turning into a pig and a woman giving birth to a two-headed child, *MZH*, II, 283.

⁵ *Ayvazovsk'i*, 473-480.

⁶ The anonymous chronicle has 1575, *MZH*, I, 145. Ṭahmāsp died on May 14, 1576, *CHI*, VI, 248.

⁷ Aṛak'el repeatedly uses the Persian word *takht* (throne) instead of the Armenian term *gah*.

⁸ Isma'il II (1576-1577). There was a struggle for the throne between Ḥaidar and Isma'il after Ṭahmāsp's death, as detailed in *BID*, II, 228-232.

⁹ Murad III (1574-1595). Selim died on December 12, 1574.

¹⁰ Such comets are reported in various Armenian chronicles; see Patkanov, 73, 98-99. The comet appeared 12 days prior to the death of Shah Isma'il II. This once again demonstrates the belief that death of kings, earthquakes, or other calamities were foretold by comets, eclipses and other natural wonders.

¹¹ The earth continued to shake for some time and people were afraid to sleep under roofs; see *EZR*, f. 387r.

¹² Aṛak'el repeats the error of the anonymous chronicle in *MZH*, I, 145. Isma'il II died on November 5, 1577.

¹³ Absent from A and D.

¹⁴ Aṛak'el's information may have come from Isthak *Vardapet's* chronicle and another anonymous chronicle, *MZH*, I, 302, 323; II, 515. The above is repeated by *ZK*, Bk. I, Chapter VII. Shah Ṭahmāsp was probably poi-

Shah Isma'il [III]¹ from the fortress and put him on the throne, and after him, Amir Ḥamza Mirza.² In the year 1027 (1578) Khodābandeh ascended the throne.³ In the year 1028 (1579) Erevan was captured.⁴ In the year 1029 (1580) Lala Pasha came and depopulated Erevan.⁵ In that same year the great Shah 'Abbās I ascended the throne in Mašhad.⁶ In the year 1030 (1581) Sultan Murad became angry with the Jews for their impertinence. He forbade all Jews and Christians to wear their headgear and ordered them to wear hats.⁷ In the year 1032 (1583) the fortress of Erevan was built.⁸ On the day of

soned and died in 1576, *BID*, II, 228-230. A has the Armenian word *baghaneats'* (bath) while the other manuscripts have the Arabic word *hamam* (*ḥammām*).

¹ Refers to one of the sons of Shah Ṭahmāsp, Ḥaidar Mirza. He declared himself king right after his father's death, but was killed by his opponents, *BID*, II, 229; *CHI*, VI, 251.

² This is an error. Solṭān Ḥamza Mirza was the son of Shah Mohammad Khodābandeh (1578-1587). The Shah, however, lived so much in the background that most observers described Ḥamza Mirza as the reigning monarch. He was assassinated on December 6, 1586, which opened the door for his brother, 'Abbās, to ascend the throne in 1587. See *BID*, II, 247-254; see also Chapter 55.

³ For details on his reign, see *CHI*, VI, 253-262.

⁴ *MZH*, I, 172. The Persian forces came to Erevan during the campaigns of Ḥamza Mirza against the Ottomans.

⁵ *MZH*, I, 145 reads, "In 1578 Lala Pasha Came to Shamakhi." Tsarēts'i writes that, after Erevan, Lala Pasha went to Georgia; see Chapter 55. Another source reads, "The servant of the *khondk'ar*, Lala Pasha, in the year 1027 (1578) of the Armenian calendar entered the land of the Armenians, Georgians, Persians, Abkhaz, and Alans with 200,000 troops. He went to the land of Ararat and Nakhichevan and took 40,000 prisoners," E. Lalayan, *Ts'uts'ak hayeren dzeragrats' Vaspurakani* (Tiflis, 1915), 9-10. Eskandar Beg describes the destruction around Erevan but notes that the city was not taken, *AA*, 349-351.

⁶ Refers to the rebellion of 'Ali-qoli Khan Shāmlū and Morshed-qoli Khan Yakān Ostājālū, who in 1581 put the young prince 'Abbās on the throne of Khorasan and named him Shah for a short time, *AA*, 406-408.

⁷ On December 18, in the year 1029 (1580), an order arrived in Tokat from Sultan Murad. They replaced the head coverings (turbans) with hats made of animal skins (fez). The same event is listed for the year 1030 (1581), *MZH*, I, 172; II, 267, 394, 516, 518.

⁸ The fortress was built in the year 992 AH (1583) by Farhad Pasha on the order of Sultan Murad, *BID*, II, 245.

the Feast of the Illuminator,¹ at the third hour, in the year 1033 (1584), on Monday, June 17, there was an earthquake in Erzinka. The earth shook suddenly and the entire town was demolished. Fifteen thousand men and women died, and 5,000 people were buried under. They were dug up half dead: some lived, *some died*,² and some were crippled.³ [632] In the year 1034 (1585) Osman Pasha went and seized Shirvan and Tabriz.⁴ In the year 1037 (1588) Farhad Pasha seized Ganje.⁵ In the year 1039 (1590), the Kurd⁶ came to Erzinka and rebelled. In the year 1040 (1591) the *Celali* Gzir-oğli, a Kurd by descent, rebelled.⁷ In the year 1041 (1592), the Muslims of Sebastia turned wild and seized the church of St. Illuminator.⁸ In that same year Ibrahim Pasha ruined the city of Amida with taxes.⁹ In the year 1043 (1594) Sultan Murad [III] died and Sultan Muhammad [III] ascended the throne.¹⁰ In the year 1046 (1597) Kara Yazıcı became a *Celali*.¹¹ In the year 1047 (1598) Kara Yazıcı rebelled.¹² In that same year the eunuch Ja'far Pasha¹³ became a *Celali* and settled in

¹ Refers to feast of the discovery of the relics of St. Gregory the Illuminator, which is celebrated on the fourth Saturday after Pentecost. Brosset has calculated it as having occurred on Monday, June 17, 1582, *MB*, 576.

² Absent from A.

³ *SA*, 176; *MZH*, II, 268, 284; *EZR*, f.387r.

⁴ *MZH*, I, 173; II, 345, 394. For details on that campaign, see *AA*, 438-440. Tabriz was taken on September 23, 1585.

⁵ Another source has the date as 1589, *MZH*, I, 145; yet another lists 1587, *MZH*, I, 324; Bidlisi dates it in AH 995 (1586-1587), *BID*, II, 260; Turkish sources date it in AH 996 (1588); see Safrastyan, II, 133-135; Eskandar Beg also dates it as 1588, *AA*, 580.

⁶ Refers to Gzir-oğli, see below; *GD*, 23; *EZR*, f. 387r; *JER*, 278.

⁷ Gzir-oğli was a companion of the famed Kör-oğlu; see Chapter 7. He is also mentioned in *Diwan*, X, 502; Grigor Daranaghts'i details his rebellion, capture, and execution in Istanbul, *GD*, 32-33.

⁸ According to Armenian chronicles, the Muslims turned the church into a Friday mosque; the nearby chapel of the Mother of God was demolished and a minaret was built in its place; Armenian cemeteries were destroyed and the bones scattered. The reason for this was the arrival of the year AH 1000 (Muslim millennium), *MZH*, I, 173; II, 268, 518.

⁹ *Diwan*, X, 502; *JER*, 278.

¹⁰ Murad died in the beginning of 1595 and Muhammad III reigned from 1595 to 1603.

¹¹ *MZH*, II, 269; see Chapter 7 for more details on the *Celalis*.

¹² *Ibid.*, 517.

¹³ Ja'far Pasha was the governor of Van and, later, Tabriz. For more details, see *GD*, 24; *MZH*, II, 278 n. 55.

Tabriz.¹ An eclipse of the sun also occurred in May of that year.² In that same year there was a terrible earthquake in Amasya and Ch'orum. Many buildings were destroyed during the four months [of the shakes], and then the trembling stopped.³ In that same year there was a great loss of animal stock.⁴

On March 17 of the year 1048 (1599), there occurred such a bitter frost, that it hampered the ceremony of the Feast of the Forty Saints,⁵ and we could not celebrate the holiday as usual.⁶ In that same year, Kara Yazıcı became stronger, and on Tuesday, October 9, captured the fortress of Urfa, the city of his former domicile. This Kara Yazıcı came from the land of Cappadocia. Being a *sukhta*;⁷ he lived for a while in Urfa and studied with some mullah. After that he became a *t'fank'ch'i* (musketeer), was a soldier, and served various notables, who were known for their victories. He then became independent, gathered companions, rose against the ruler, and increased the number of his troops. They said that he had thirty-six *hazarapets*,⁸ called *bolukbashi*.⁹ They also said that he had the following daily expenses: [633] he gave thirty *mot's*¹⁰ of oats to horses—this was the Mesopotamian *mot'*, which equaled 224¹¹ Greek *litrs*; 400 *litrs* of bread; 110 sheep; thirty-five *litrs* of rice; ten *litrs* of oil; and 500 *kuruş* in salary. They said that he spent 1,000 *kuruş* per day.¹² In that same year, Husein Pasha rose against the ruler, pillaged many places, came and besieged Kayseri, and, in that same year, went to Urfa and joined [Kara] Yazıcı. Yazıcı killed seven of the city elders. Some he hanged, others he strangled; some were *parons*, others were

¹ *MZH*, II, 269. He remained in Tabriz for three years, *ibid.*, II, 356.

² *MZH*, II, 271-272; 278 n. 54; the chronicle has 1698 instead of 1598. According to Brosset the eclipse occurred on March 7, *MB*, 577.

³ *MZH*, II, 271-272.

⁴ The chronicles have the year 1595 for the loss of animals, *MZH*, II, 271-272; 278 n. 55.

⁵ Refers to the feast of the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia, which is celebrated on the fourth Saturday of Lent.

⁶ *MZH*, II, 271.

⁷ As noted, it refers to a student of Islamic theology. **B**, **C**, and **D** read *suff'a*.

⁸ Commanders of 1,000 men.

⁹ From the Turkish term *bölük* (squadron).

¹⁰ From the Roman term *modius*, often equated with a bushel.

¹¹ **C** has a word missing here.

¹² *MZH*, II, 271; A. S. Tveritinova, *Vostanie Kara Iazydzhi-Deli Khasana v Turtsii* (Moscow, 1946), 53.

ch'awush.¹ He conquered the city [Urfa] and forced the pasha's deputy to flee. In that same year, on Monday *October 15*,² P'iala Pasha and Makhsud Bek arrived in Urfa to do battle with Yazıcı. A terrible clash took place for the possession of the holy portrait,³ but they could not take it. In that same year, on October 18, the sultan's deputy, the vizier named Mehmed Pasha came to Urfa to do battle with Yazıcı. He besieged the city for seventy-three days.⁴ Again in that same year Kara Yazıcı went to Ch'orum, fortified himself there, and pillaged all the surrounding regions through taxation. In that same year Köse Safar rebelled [as well]. In the year 1049 (1600) Husein Pasha rose against the ruler, destroyed many districts, and joined Yazıcı.⁵ Yazıcı, at the vizier's request, handed him over [to the vizier], and because of this they made peace. The vizier was then blinded, after a secret bribe [by Yazıcı]. Yazıcı left him and returned to Urfa on Saturday, December 24;⁶ and [634] the blinded [man] went to Amida. In that same year Kara Yazıcı exhausted Urfa with terrible taxes. On Tuesday, January 22, he beheaded a *k'ahana*, named Abraham, and a certain *tanutēr*, named Sk'andar.⁷ Again, in that same year, Kara Yazıcı seized Tokat, Amasya, Marzowan (Merzifon) and Ch'orum. A famine began, so that a *litr* of flour cost more than one florin and a *k'ile*⁸ of barley one *kuruş*. In that same year Karakaş rebelled.⁹ In the year 1050 (1601) Kara Yazıcı ravaged Sebastia by pillaging, burning and putting it to the sword. He killed many, and a great famine began.¹⁰ Again, in that same year, Kara

¹ From the Turkish term *çavuş* (sergeant, guard, halberdier of the body-guard of the sultan, or herald).

² Absent from C and D.

³ Text reads *surb dastarak* (holy veil). Refers to the portrait of Christ, brought to King Abgar in Edessa (Urfa) by the apostle Bartholomew. In this case it symbolizes the city of Urfa. See Moses Khorenats'i, 168-169.

⁴ Tveritinova, 64-65. The siege lasted from Thursday, October 18, to the end of December.

⁵ Arak'el already mentions this above in the year 1599.

⁶ December 24 was a Monday; hence, either Monday December 24, or Saturday, December 29.

⁷ SA, 176; MZH, II, 284; Diwan, X, 502.

⁸ From the Arabic *kail* or *kailat* (anything measured, a measure of grain); Brosset has it as weighing 18 to 22 *oq* (*okka*), each *okka* weighed 400 *dirhams*) or 2.8 lbs., MB, 578. The Arabic *oqiya* was used for weighing precious metals and was 40 *dirhams*, or one ounce.

⁹ For more details, see GD, 41-48.

¹⁰ MZH, I, 324.

Yazıcı was victorious against Ibrahim Pasha in Kayseri. In that same year Lawand (Levend), who was called Sat'rch'i (Satırçı), looted and depopulated the Cilician city of Sis.¹ In that same year Ahmed Pasha rebelled. Again, in that same year, Hasan Pasha came to Amida.² In the year 1051 (1602) Hasan Pasha besieged Tokat.³ In that same year Kara Yazıcı died.⁴ In that same year the *Celali* burned the city of Tokat. Again, in that same year, the eunuch Khosrow Pasha oppressed Amida through taxes. In the year 1052 (1603), Tavail rebelled.⁵ Again, in that same year, Shah 'Abbās I came to Tabriz, went to war against the Ottomans, and captured Tabriz and Nakhichevan. In the year 1053 (1604), the same Shah 'Abbās took the city of Erevan from the Ottomans after a battle.⁶ In that same year *sardar* Ceğal-oğlu came, gathered all the *Celali*, took Karakaş with him as well, and marched them against the shah. In that same year, the *khondk'ar*, Sultan Murad, died, and Sultan Ahmed ascended the throne.⁷ Again, in that same year Inceğan rebelled.

[635] In the year 1054 (1605) Yularghsti⁸ rebelled. In that same year 'Ali Pasha Canbulat, who was the emir of K'ilis, revolted. He gathered strength, seized the city of Aleppo, and rose against the sul-

¹ *MZH*, II, 271. Ch'amch'ean adds that, in the year 1601, Sat'rch'i Lēvënd robbed the Holy See of Sis and caused the death of Kat'oghikos of Sis, Azaria of Julfa (1584-1601), from a broken heart on June 2; III, 536.

² Refers to the governor of Baghdad, Hasan Pasha, who was appointed the commander-in-chief by the government in place of Ahmed Pasha; see Tveritina, 69-70.

³ In the spring of 1602 the *Celali*, under Deli-Hasan, attacked Hasan Pasha's army in Tokat and defeated it. See Zulalyan, 157-158; Tveritina, 75-76.

⁴ Aṙak'el uses the term *satakets'*. According to Grigor Daranaghts'i, Yazıcı died from natural causes, *GD*, 25-26. According to unsubstantiated Turkish sources, he was killed sometime at the end of 1601 or the beginning of 1602. See Tveritina, 74; Zulalyan, 156.

⁵ After the death of Kara Yazıcı and Deli-Hasan, the Ottoman government managed to squash most of the *Celali*. Small groups, under Tavail and Karakaş, tried to continue the struggle, but were defeated by regular troops in 1603; Karakaş was captured.

⁶ The fortress of Erevan fell on June 8, 1604, after a 7-month siege; see Daneghyan, 73-74.

⁷ Sultan Murad III died in 1603; Sultan Ahmed I ascended the throne and ruled until 1617.

⁸ According to Brosset, Hammer refers to him as Yular-Kapdi, *MB*, 579.

tan. He ruled [the city] for two and a half years. Again, in that same year, *sardar* Ceğal-oğlu came to Erevan with a large army. This was his first expedition against the shah.¹ That is why Shah 'Abbās I exiled the population of Azarbaijan—Armenians, Muslims, and Jews—and drove them together to Isfahan. This was the great *sürgün*. Again, in that same year, Ceğal-oğlu fortified himself in the Van fortress and the Persian forces besieged it. He then exited from a secret gate, boarded a ship and fled to Artskē. From there he went to the fort of Khnus and from there to Erzurum, where he reassembled his army. The Persian army, meanwhile, plundered the land of R̄stuni and returned home.

In the year 1055 (1606), *sardar* Ceğal-oğlu marched against the shah for the second time and a battle took place in Tabriz.² Ceğal-oğlu was defeated and fled. The *Kizilbash* (Persians) seized the treasury³ and shattered twelve pashas and their cavalry. The battle took place on October 25. Ceğal-oğlu went to Amida and died there on February 6. A terrible famine began in Van and Erzurum. Fathers devoured their sons, and sons their fathers; no dogs or cats remained—they were all eaten. Innumerable people died from hunger, [so many] that there was no time to bury them; they just dug pits and threw in the corpses. In that same year, the same Shah 'Abbās once more went to Ganje and seized it from the Ottomans. In that same year a terrible famine spread from Istanbul to Tabriz and from Baghdad to Damur-ghap'u (Darband). The horrible famine forced people to eat cats and dogs, [as well as] dead and [636] living people. In that same year, the wolves became so bold that they tore up and ate living people; that is why they called these wolves, man-eating wolves.⁴

In the year 1056 (1607) Shah 'Abbās I went to Shamakhi and took it from the Ottomans in battle.⁵ In that same year, the *Celali* came to Erzurum on Sunday, May 17. They left on Sunday, July 5, after subjecting [the population to] great cruelty.

In the year 1057 (1608) Sultan Ahmed sent Murad Pasha to Aleppo against 'Ali Pasha Canbulat. He [Murad] came, defeated his ['Ali's] army on a field, called Gogarch'inluk, and forced him ['Ali]

¹ See Chapter 4 for details.

² See Chapter 6 for details.

³ Text reads *khaznē*.

⁴ See Chapter 7 for details.

⁵ See Chapter 8 for details.

to flee. Again, in that same year, a *Celali*, named T'awul, ravaged the *gawars* of Kharpert and Balu. Again, in that year, on Saturday, July 30, the Sofi (Persians) came to Erzurum and burned the entire harvest in the land, in the villages and the towns, and left on Tuesday, August 1.¹

In the year 1058 (1609) Murad Pasha ordered the *sürgün*. In the year 1059 (1610) Murad Pasha left Istanbul with a large army and marched on Tabriz. Much snow fell and the army was greatly weakened. Ch'il pasha² and the Franks fell.³ He [Murad] turned around, went to Amida and wintered there. Again, in that same year, on Monday, July 31,⁴ the Sofi came to Erzurum and had a terrible battle with the T'urk'ch'abilmaz⁵ and the Tatars. They left on Friday, August 3.⁶ Hasan Pasha was the governor of that place [Erzurum].

In the year 1061 (1612), Murad Pasha died in Amida. Nasf (Nasif) Pasha became the [grand] vizier.⁷ In that same [637] year Nasif Pasha left Amida, took the *elch'i*⁸ with him, and went to Istanbul to make peace with the *Kizilbash*. He sent the *elch'i*, together with Hasan Pasha, as well as the natives of Kars, who were [later] massacred, back.⁹

¹ According to Brosset, August 1 was a Monday, *MB*, 580.

² Although Khanlaryan, *KH*, 489, *KHcr*, 479 and Brosset, *MB*, 580, read this as Chil or Jil Pasha, the text reads *Ch'il pashayn* (pashas), which may indicate that Aṛak'el, despite capitalizing *Ch'il*, may have meant *ch'el* (from the Persian *chehel*, forty), hence forty pashas fell. In fact A reads *ch'ilpashayn* (lower case).

³ The presence of the Franks is not explained here, unless it refers to them falling in another campaign.

⁴ A has Tuesday. Khanlaryan's Russian translation also has Tuesday instead of Monday, *KH*, 489.

⁵ A compound term, made up of the Turkish *Türkça* and *bilmez* (ignorant Turks).

⁶ According to Brosset, August 3 was a Saturday, *MB*, 581.

⁷ *MZH*, II, 270. For more details on Nasef Pasha, see *GD*, 19, 101, 165.

⁸ From the Turkish *elçi* (ambassador, envoy). Refers to the envoy sent by Shah 'Abbās to Murad Pasha to negotiate peace. The peace lasted from 1612 to 1616.

⁹ Refers to the Armenians of Kars, who had sought refuge in Constantinople during the Perso-Ottoman wars. With the coming of peace they were ordered to return to their homes. The resumption of war in 1616 resulted in the death of many Armenians in the Kars region; see Ch'amch'ean, III, 579.

In the year 1063 (1614), Shah 'Abbās I marched on Georgia and depopulated it.¹ In the year 1063 (1614) Shah 'Abbās I removed stones from holy Ējmiatsin and the right arm of St. Gregory, our Illuminator, and took them to Isfahan.² Again, in that same year, we built the church of the Holy Savior in Ulash.³ In the year 1065 (1616) Öküž Ahmed Pasha⁴ invaded Erevan. He besieged the fortress for two and a half months, but could not take it; he was defeated and went back. Again, in that same year, the Russians trampled Trebizond.⁵

In the year 1066 (1617) Sultan Mustafa ascended the throne for two months.⁶ In that same year they removed him and put Sultan Osman in his place.⁷ Again, in that same year, on the tenth day of the month of Trē,⁸ and the eighteenth day of the month of November, Shah 'Abbās I martyred the *k'ahana tēr* Andrēas in the village of Agulis, for his faith in Christ.⁹ They buried *tēr Andrēas*¹⁰ there, in Agulis, in the Khts'adzor church.¹¹

In the year 1067 (1618) Khalil Pasha came to Tabriz, was defeated and retreated.¹² In that same year plague spread in Gu-

¹ *VB*, 53. See also Chapter 11. The Persians left Isfahan on October 16, 1613 and reached Georgia in 1614; for more details see *AA*, 1081-1083.

² See Chapter 17.

³ *MZH*, II, 271, 278 n. 58. Ulash was a village in Sebastia, N. Sargisean, *Teghagrut'iw n i P'okr ew i Medz Hays* (Venice, 1864), 65.

⁴ Actually Öküž Mehmed Pasha.

⁵ *MZH*, I, 208; II, 268, 394; and *JER*, 279. In 1616, when the envoys of the Russian tsar were in Istanbul, the Don Cossacks suddenly attacked the Turks. They destroyed many Turkish and foreign merchant vessels on the Black Sea, took Trebizond and Sinope, burned them, killed many, and took many captives; see Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, V (Móscow, 1961), 63; V. Bronevskii, *Istoriia donskogo voiska*, I (Moscow, 1834), 106-108.

⁶ Actually a little over three months; see below.

⁷ Sultan Mustafa I (1617-1618, 1622-1623); Osman II (1618-1622).

⁸ The 4th month of the ancient Armenian calendar (November 9th to December 8th).

⁹ See Chapter 27.

¹⁰ Absent from *A* and *D*.

¹¹ *MZH*, II, 284. See also Chapter 27; *Diwan*, X, 504.

¹² The Chronicle of Hakob Karinets'i has 1628, *MZH*, I, 241. Khalil Pasha was the commander of the Ottoman army. In 1627 he was made grand vizier. In 1628 he marched against the rebellious Abaza Pasha. He was defeated after a three-month struggle. He was killed, by the order of the sultan, in 1629.

mishkhanē (Gümüṣhane); 140 boys died in one day.¹ Again, in that year, Sultan Ahmed died and his brother Sultan Mustafa sat on the royal throne for 100 days.² In the middle of the year 1067 (1618) Sultan Mustafa was deposed and the son of Sultan Ahmed, Sultan Osman, was placed on the throne.³ In the year 1068 (1619) in the month of Nawasard,⁴ there appeared a light resembling a sword, in the direction from east to west, and after that light, a star appeared which moved constantly northward.⁵

[638] In the year 1069 (1620), Sultan Osman went to war against the Poles, but could not defeat them.⁶ In that same year, when Sultan Osman fought against the Poles, the sky in the north was covered with dust at midnight. It was just like a sunrise, when the sun appears hazy as it emerges from the fog. When the sultan returned to Istanbul, the *ğul* (Janissaries) deposed him, saying, "Why do we need such a ruler?" They removed and killed the ruler.⁷ In the year 1070 (1621), on January 14, the Sea of Istanbul (Marmara) froze; people walked on it.⁸ In the year 1071 (1622), the same Sultan Mustafa became the ruler for the second time. He ruled for 150 days. They removed him once more, for he was feeble-minded.⁹ In that same year, Shah 'Abbās I marched on the city of Qandahar and took it after a battle.¹⁰ Again, in that same year, Imam-qoli Khan went and took Hormuz after a battle.¹¹ In the year 1072 (1623), Sultan Murad as-

¹ *MZH*, II, 283.

² Aṛak'el, a few lines above, has "two months." He ruled from November 29, 1617 to February 26, 1618, for a total of 97 days.

³ Amiras has "1066, for two months," *ERZ*, f. 387v.

⁴ The first month of the ancient Armenian calendar (August 11 to September 9).

⁵ *ERZ*, ff. 387r-v. The plague in Gumishkhanē and the death of the 140 boys are included here after the appearance of the mysterious light.

⁶ Simēon Lehats'i gives the date of 1622, *SP*, 294. The war began on October 9, 1621 and peace was concluded in 1623.

⁷ *ERZ*, 387v; *GD*, 205-210; and Chapter 51.

⁸ The above information is absent from *SA*, 177; *Diwan X*, 124 has it on January 12.

⁹ *ERZ*, f. 387v. Mustafa's second reign ended on September 10, 1623.

¹⁰ *MZH*, I, 145, 302. Qandahar had been taken from Persia by the Mughal emperor Akbar in 1594.

¹¹ *MZH*, I, 302; II, 428. Shah 'Abbās, with the help of the British fleet, drove the Portuguese out of Hormuz, *CHI*, VI, 268.

cended the throne in September.¹ In that same year, Abaza Pasha, who resided in the city of Erzurum, left Erzurum, went to Ankara, and, in order to avenge the blood of Sultan Osman, killed many Janissaries, through various tortures, and returned to Erzurum.² Again, in that same year they forcibly took boys [for the Janissaries].³ In the year 1073 (1624), Bak'ir Pasha, who sat in Baghdad, sent a messenger to Shah 'Abbās I, saying, "Come, so that I may hand Baghdad to you." Shah 'Abbās went there, but the pasha had lied and did not hand over the city. The shah conquered Baghdad by his sword.⁴ In August of the year 1074 (1625), in one of the villages of Amida, called K'apik, a great sign appeared: a woman gave birth to a dead boy with two heads; one was a human head, the other that of a calf. The body was completely that of a calf: legs, [639] hoofs, tail—everything of a calf, only the [one] head was human.⁵ In that same year, the Russians (Cossacks) came to Trebizond on Sunday, April 23.⁶ They seized the upper fort, stayed for four days and left. They had 240 boats; 1,500 Russians were killed.⁷ Again, in that year, the Georgian *mouravi* fought against the *Kizilbash*, slaughtered many of their horsemen, killed Gharch'ghay (Qarchaqay) Khan, Yusuf Khan and Ghazakh Khan.⁸ The *Kizilbash* gathered their forces, and two months later, once again went to war against the Georgians. The same *mouravi* commanded the Georgian troops. In that battle, the *mouravi* once again crushed the *Kizilbash* army, killed Amir Gūna Khan,⁹ Shahbandeh Khan and Salim Solṭān.¹⁰

¹ Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640). In Chapter 51, Aṛak'el has the date of Sunday, August 31, 1623.

² See Chapter 51. See also *SP*, 302-303; *GD*, 212-234.

³ *GD*, 210-212.

⁴ According to Hammer, IX, 7, the Persians took Baghdad on November 28, 1623; *AA* has January 14, 1624, 1226.

⁵ *SA*, 177; *MZH*, II, 283.

⁶ According to Brosset, it was either Saturday, April 23, 1625, or Sunday, April 23, 1626, *MB*, 583.

⁷ *MZH*, II, 269, *JER*, 279; *ERZ*, f. 387v.

⁸ Refers to the battle between the Georgians, led by Giorgi Saakadze, and the Persians at Martkopi; see N. Berdzenishvili, *et al.*, *Istoriia Gruzii*, I (Tbilisi, 1946), 360-361.

⁹ Amir Gūna Khan, the governor of Erevan, was badly wounded. He was brought to Erevan, where he died several months later.

¹⁰ Refers to the battle of Marabda (March 25, 1625); see *SA*, 178, *ZK*, Bk. I, Chapter XVI.

Again, in that same year, Abaza Pasha, who sat in Erzurum, forbade, by ploys and deception, all caravans going from east to west to pass through Erzurum until many caravans gathered there. He then seized all the property, cash and goods of these caravans, and rose against the ruler and became a *Celali*. In addition, he wanted to come to terms with the Persians; therefore, he dispatched the son of his sister, with a large army, to the Persian king, Shah 'Abbās.¹

In the year 1075 (1626) Hafiz Ahmed Pasha, with 300,000 men, attacked Baghdad but could not take it. His cavalry was beaten and he retreated.² In that same year the Ottomans took a *kharaj* of three gold pieces from the Armenians.³ In 1076 (1627) Khalil Pasha became [grand] vizier and came to Erzurum against Abaza. Abaza, however, once again raised his head, massacred the Janissaries, and seized six pashas: [640] he killed two by the gates and he took four into the fort. He then closed the gates. Khalil Pasha besieged the fortress for two and a half months. On the seventh sortie he forced the gates open but he could not take the citadel. He got up and left. Midway, he cast away his cannons. Abaza went after him, seized eight loads of camels and sixty loads of mules, all with equipment, as well as many men. Many people were killed. The vizier went on to Tokat.⁴ In that same year *Vardapet* Movsēs⁵ was appointed by Shah 'Abbās I as the sacristan of holy Ējmiatsin. He came to Ējmiatsin and began the restoration of the Holy See, churches, orchards, and everything else.⁶

In the year 1077 (1628), Khosrow Pasha became the [grand] vizier and marched to Erzurum against Abaza. He [the pasha] had the Georgian *mouravi* with him. In fifteen days, 1,503 cannonballs were fired *and fortress walls tumbled down on three sides*.⁷ Abaza was seized and taken to Istanbul.⁸ In the year 1078 (1629) Shah 'Abbās I died in Farahabad, in the city of Ashraf. His grandson, Shah Şafī, sat

¹ See Chapter 51.

² *MZH*, II, 269; *JER*, 279; *ERZ*, f. 387v. The Ottomans arrived on November 11, 1625 and left in May 1626, Hammer, IX, 67, 79.

³ *MZH*, II, 270.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 269.

⁵ Kat'oghikos Movsēs III of Tat'ew (1629-1632).

⁶ See Chapter 24.

⁷ This sentence was taken from Amiras Erznkats'i.

⁸ *ERZ*, f. 388r; *MZH*, II, 269 has "17 days." According to Hammer this occurred on September 18, 1628.

on the throne in his place.¹ In that same year, on January 13, on the day of the Feast of the Naming of Our Lord, they consecrated *Var-dapet* Movsēs as the kat'oghikos at holy Ējmiatsin.² Again, in that same year, Kat'oghikos Movsēs turned to Shah Ṣafī in Isfahan; he spent much money at the court of the ruler, and through great effort and difficulty managed to change the 100-*tuman muqata'a*, which had been imposed on the Holy See of Ējmiatsin.³ After that, Ējmiatsin became free.⁴ In the year 1079 (1630), the Christians of Armenian descent, who lived in the city of Lvov, did not recognize their bishop, who was named Nikōlayos (Nikol). They went against him and [641] refused to obey him. The bishop joined the Frankish monks belonging to the Jesuit order, gave them a writ, and submitted to and accepted the religion of the pope. He became a Frank, and with their help, looted the Armenian churches of their many utensils and donations.⁵ He squandered all the church property and donations, spent them, until nothing remained, only empty churches. This continued until the year 1101 (1652) of our calendar.⁶ In that same year [1630] the ruler, Sultan Murad [IV], sent the vizier Khosrow Pasha against Baghdad. He went to Hamadan, reached as far as Dar-gazin, but turned around and went to Tokat, where he wintered. The ruler, Sultan Murad, sent Murtaza Pasha to Tokat, and he beheaded Khosrow Pasha.⁷ In the year 1081 (1632), cinders fell on Saloniki for three days and three nights.⁸ In that same year, in the land of the Poles, the flocks of a certain man began to die. He cursed God, saying, "Since you killed the animals, come and eat them." God punished him: he became a dog and began to eat the dead animals.⁹ Again, in that year, on May 14, the most pious and saintly patriarch,

¹ See Chapter 24. Shah 'Abbās I died at his summer palace at Ashraf in Mazandaran on January 19, 1629. Shah Ṣafī mounted the throne on January 28, 1629.

² See Chapter 24.

³ See Chapter 18.

⁴ See Chapter 24.

⁵ Text reads *vakhm*, from the Arabic *waqf* (charitable trust, religious endowment).

⁶ See Chapter 28 and *JER*, 279.

⁷ *ERZ*, f. 388r. Khosrow Pasha rebelled and fortified Tokat. He was defeated by Murtaza Pasha and was beheaded on March 11, 1632; see Zulalyan, *Jalalineri*, 215.

⁸ *MZH*, II, 283, *SA*, 178.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Kat'oghikos Movsēs, died in Erevan. They buried him on a hill, called Kozeṛ, next to the tomb of *Vardapet Kozeṛ*.¹ In the year 1082 (1633) in the city of Belgrade, a Muslim turned into a pig.² In that same year, on January 13, on the day of the Feast of the Naming of Our Lord, they consecrated the student of Kat'oghikos Movsēs, *Vardapet P'ilippos*, as the kat'oghikos at holy Ējmiatsin.³ Again, in August of that same year, the ruler, Sultan Murad, placed a strict *easakh*⁴ on that abominable [plant] tobacco and closed all the [642] coffee houses in all the territories under his domain.⁵ In the year 1083 (1634), the Greeks went astray and celebrated the "erroneous Easter," but the Armenians, Abyssinians, Syrians and Copts remained true.⁶ Again, in that same year, Sultan Murad *went*⁷ to war against the Poles.⁸ He defeated them and had to return. Again, in August of that year, Sultan Murad killed the above-mentioned Abaza Pasha.⁹ In the year 1084 (1635) Sultan Murad came to the Erevan fortress, with 700,000 men, and besieged it.¹⁰ He heavily bombed the fortress with cannonballs and took it on the ninth day. He sent the governor of the citadel, Ṭahmāsp-qoli Khan, and his nobles to Istanbul.¹¹ He placed 12,000 brave troops in the fortress and went to Tabriz himself. From there he returned, via Van, to Istanbul.¹² In that same year, the sultan brought Manoghli¹³ to Istanbul and killed him.

¹ SA, 178. See also Chapter 24.

² MZH, II, 283. Brosset thought that it may have meant, "ate pig," MB, 585.

³ SA, 178; also see Chapter 25.

⁴ From the Turkish *yasak* (prohibition).

⁵ MZH, II, 270, 395, 400 n. 39. See also Chapter 51.

⁶ ERZ, f. 388r; MZH, II, 395; SA, 178.

⁷ Absent from B and C; added by another hand in D.

⁸ MZH, II, 270, 395; SP, 307-308.

⁹ MZH, II, 270, 395; GD, 227-234. He was captured in 1627, but executed in 1634.

¹⁰ Aṛak'el dates this as occurring in March of 1635, see Chapter 51.

¹¹ The fate of Ṭahmāsp-qoli and his retinue is discussed in detail in ZK, Bk. II, chapter IV.

¹² MZH, I, 196, 199 n. 36, Hakob Karinets'i has 400,000 troops, MZH, I, 242; II, 395; ERZ, f. 383r; Aṛak'el earlier mentions 15,000 troops. See Chapter 25. Murad arrived on July 26 and captured Erevan on August 8.

¹³ Fakhr al-Din Ma'anoḡli (Man-oḡli) was the emir of the Druze. He had rebelled against the sultan. He was captured by Murtaza Pasha and executed on April 14, 1635.

Again, in that year, Zēlēz¹ Pasha was killed. Again, in that same year, the sultan killed the *mufti* Husein Effendi.² Again, in that same year, on Wednesday, May 14,³ the *sürgün* of the Armenians, Greeks and Muslims began.⁴ Again, in that same year,⁵ in the land of the Ottomans, one *litr* of indigo was sold for 87 *reales*.⁶ In the year 1085 (1636) the Persian king, Shah Şafī, marched to Erevan with 100,000 men. He besieged the fortress for three months, and with great difficulty and through fierce battles, he took it from the Ottomans, killing the governor of the fortress, Murtaza Pasha, and many of their troops.⁷

He [Şafī] captured Shkhijan Pasha,⁸ Ibrahim Pasha and Mu'min Pasha and took them to Persia.⁹ He appointed Kalb 'Ali Khan as the governor of Erevan.¹⁰ [643] Again, in that same year, the village of Sokhord¹¹ slid down from atop, and a monastic house¹² was built there. In the year 1086 (1637) the spring of [the village of] Sokhord was diverted down through the efforts of *mahdesi* Simēon Baghishets'i.¹³ In the year 1087 (1638), on Saturday, April 28, Sultan Murad marched on Baghdad. He reached Baghdad on November 6.¹⁴ He bombarded the fortress heavily for thirty-eight days, and on Friday, December 14,¹⁵ he took the city of Baghdad. He then turned around

¹ Refers to Zeliyaz Pasha; C and F read Zēl.

² *MZH*, II, 270, 358, 395; *GD*, 560-567.

³ According to Hakobyan it should read May 13, for May 13, 1635 was a Wednesday, *MZH*, II, 278 n. 50. Brosset has corrected it to read Thursday, May 14, *MB*, 586.

⁴ *MZH*, I, 340, 348 n. 48; II, 270. See also *SP*, 309-310.

⁵ Absent from F.

⁶ *ERZ*, f. 388r.

⁷ Erevan fell on April 2, 1636 and remained in Persian hands until the Russian conquest in 1827. Arak'el mentions a siege of 93 days in Chapter 51. Hammer's account mentions a 99-day siege (December 24, 1635 to April 1, 1636), IX, 329, 337.

⁸ Refers to Sheikhi-khan Pasha, the governor of Kars.

⁹ *MZH*, I, 196. See also Chapter 25. Brosset, citing Hammer, has Soulfikar Sévindik Pasha and Mémi Pasha, *MB*, 587.

¹⁰ *MZH*, II, 395, 523. Kalb 'Ali Khan governed Erevan for 3 years.

¹¹ A and D read Ōskhord. The village is in the Bitlis region.

¹² Text reads *p'agakh* (colloquial of *p'arakh*).

¹³ Neither the village nor the person has been identified.

¹⁴ November 26, according to Vardan Baghishets'i, *MZH*, II, 395.

¹⁵ Hammer has December 25, after a siege of 40 days, IX, 337.

and returned to Amida.¹ In that same year Kat'oghikos P'ilippos asked Shah Şafī for the right arm of the Illuminator, took it from Isfahan and brought it to holy Ējmiatsin.²

On Sunday, June 2,³ of the year 1088 (1639), on the day of Pentecost, Sultan Murad returned and, with great honor, entered Istanbul.⁴ In the year 1089 (1640), on the Thursday of the week of St. Sargis,⁵ Sultan Murad died and his brother, Sultan Ibrahim, became the ruler in his place.⁶ On Friday, February 5, of the year 1090 (1641), a strong and terrible earthquake occurred in the city of Tabriz and its environs.⁷ Many houses were demolished and numerous people remained buried underground. The *amarat*⁸ of Shamghazan and the *'amarat* of Ustashagerd crumbled.⁹ For the next two months, the earth shook two or three times a day; after that the earth *shook*¹⁰ every fifteen, twenty or thirty days. This continued for five months, *and after that by God's grace it ended.*¹¹ In that same year, the Russians came and took the fort of Azov¹² and killed many Ottoman soldiers.

[644] In the year 1091 (1642), on May 3, the Persian king, Shah Şafī, died. In that same year, on May 6, the heir of Shah Şafī, his son Shah 'Abbās II,¹³ was placed on the throne.¹⁴ In the year 1092 (1643)

¹ ERZ, f. 388v; SA, 178; MZH, I, 302; II, 270, 358. Oskan added the following here, "Again, in that year, the Tatars came to the land of Ararat."

² See Chapter 25.

³ In the year 1639, Easter occurred on April 14 and Pentecost was on June 2.

⁴ MZH, II, 395.

⁵ Refers to St. Sargis the Warrior, whose feast is celebrated on a Saturday at the end of January.

⁶ Sultan Ibrahim (1640-1648). MZH, II, 395.

⁷ See Chapter 35.

⁸ From the Arabic *'amarat* (official residence, building).

⁹ See Chapter 35.

¹⁰ Absent from C.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Text reads Azakh (Ghazakh/Kazak-Cossack). In 1637 the Don Cossacks took Azov. In 1641, the Ottomans tried to take it back, but were repulsed after several months. In 1642, the Cossacks left the fort on the orders of Tsar Michael; for details, see Bronevskii, I, 118-150.

¹³ Shah 'Abbās II (1642-1666). Şafī died on 12 Şafar 1052 AH (May 12, 1642); 'Abbās ascended the throne on 16 Şafar 1052 AH (May 15, 1642).

¹⁴ Armenian sources praise 'Abbās II for being very tolerant and benevolent towards his Armenian subjects, ZK, 146. Petrushevskii views his

the Ottomans retook the city of Azov from the Russians in battle.¹ In the year 1095 (1646),² during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim, the Ottomans made an expedition³ by sea. They announced that they were heading for the island of Malta, but they tricked everyone and went against the island of Crete, which was in Venetian hands. They took it easily, for the population wanted the Ottomans to take the island.⁴ On the night of Good Friday and the dawn of Holy Saturday, in the year 1095 (1646), on April 2, a strong and terrible earthquake occurred in the city of Van and its districts. Half of the city walls collapsed; many churches and mosques, as well as numerous buildings crumbled and buried many people. The churches of the Varag monastery turned to ruins. Other monasteries, *which were*⁵ located in another *gawar*, were also ruined. The earth, like a boat on water, vibrated for eight days. After that it quieted down [somewhat], for it shook only once every four, five, or ten days. This continued until the end of June, and after that, with God's grace, the earth became stable again.⁶ Again, in that same year, the Ottoman people removed⁷ Sultan Ibrahim from the throne. They then killed him, and on July 27, they placed his son, Sultan Muhammad, on the throne.⁸ In that same year, Shah 'Abbās II marched on the city of Qandahar, [645] took it, and ordered a general massacre⁹ in the land of Kalabistan.¹⁰ In that same year, the Persian army, stationed in the city of Tiflis, gathered and marched against the ruler of Kakhet'i, the

reign as a period of economic growth and stability in Transcaucasia, 285. Arak'el does not lavish the same praise and details some unpleasant anti-Armenian episodes (see Chapter 33) during the reign of Shah 'Abbās II.

¹ *ERZ*, f. 388v. Here Oskan has added, "In that same year locusts came to the land of Ararat."

² *F* reads 1092 instead of 1095. Anets'i includes this information in the year 1091, *SA*, 179. *A* has a line inserted by Oskan prior to 1095; it reads: "Also in that year the locusts came to the land of Ararat."

³ Text reads *safar* from the Arabic *safar* (journey, warlike expedition).

⁴ *ERZ*, f. 388 v has the year 1094.

⁵ Absent from *F*.

⁶ See Chapter 37.

⁷ Text reads *mazul*, from the Arabic *ma'zūl* (to depose, dismiss, remove).

⁸ Refers to Sultan Muhammad IV (1648-1687). *ERZ*, f. 388v has the correct date 1097 (1648). See also *SA*, 179.

⁹ Text reads *ghat'lam*, from the Arabic *qatli 'ām* (general massacre).

¹⁰ Should read Kabulistan, that is, Afghanistan.

Georgian king, T'eimuraz.¹ During the battle, the heir to the throne, the son of T'eimuraz, named David, was killed. The Persians took David's head, *as well as*² the *baidagh*,³ that is, the banner. They affixed David's head on top of the pole and hung the cross upside down on the banner, and carried it thus from the city of Tiflis to Isfahan in front of their king, Shah 'Abbās II. There were great festivities and joy in all the Persian towns, while the Christians mourned with great grief, for a Christian kingdom had fallen.⁴

In the year 1100 (1651), P'ilippos, the kat'oghikos of holy Ējmiatsin, went to Jerusalem. However, he traveled through the various cities of Rum for an entire year, and only in the beginning of the year 1101 (1652) did he enter Jerusalem. Inside [the cathedral] of St. James, he covered [the floor] with multi-colored slabs in a marvelous design. He raised the main altar higher, for it was very low. In the year 1101 (1652), Kat'oghikos P'ilippos left Jerusalem and went to Istanbul. He remained there for a year, paid the debts of the city churches, which amounted to 30,000 *kurus*, and established a great deal of order there.⁵ In that same year, the bishop of the city of Lvov, Nikol, came to Istanbul to visit Kat'oghikos P'ilippos and to ask forgiveness. He was freed from the shackles of excommunication and [once again] received the authority of a bishop from the kat'oghikos, and returned home, to the city of Lvov.⁶ Again, in that same year, the king of Hindustan, Shahijan,⁷ sent 700,000⁸ men against Qandahar. He appointed Prince⁹ Ōvrzangēl (Aurangzeb)¹⁰ and Saydulē (Sayy-

¹ Refers to T'eimuraz I, king of Kakhet'i, who became a monk and died as a prisoner in Persia in 1663; see Allen, 173.

² Absent from F.

³ Should read *bairaq* (banner).

⁴ A Georgian chronicler has the following, "In 1648, the *Kizilbash* killed David, the son of T'eimuraz, and gave his head to Rostom, who went to Kakhet'i, conquered it, and sent the head to the shah, **VB**, 67. Another Georgian source also confirms that David was killed fighting Rostom, the king of K'art'li, who had converted to Islam and had taken the name Khosrow Mirza, Kutsia, 76-77.

⁵ **ERZ**, f. 388v; also see Chapter 25.

⁶ See Chapter 28.

⁷ Shah Jahan (1628-1657).

⁸ Text reads *seven lak* (each *lak* is 100,000). See also **MZH**, II, 429.

⁹ Text reads *p'ach'azadē*, from the Persian *padishah-zadeh* (prince).

¹⁰ Refers to the later emperor Aurangzeb (Alamgir), who reigned from 1658 to 1707.

idullah) Khan as *sardars*.¹ They set forth and besieged [646] the town] for two and a half months. Twenty thousand troops² fell, in addition to muleteers and those who performed menial jobs.³ In the year 1102 (1653) Kat'oghikos P'ilippos left Constantinople, traveled to, and entered his See at Ējmiatsin with great ceremony.⁴ In that same year, Darishuk'ur⁵ marched on Qandahar with 700,000 troops. He besieged and stormed it⁶ for three months; 30,000 men died, but he could not take Qandahar and went back.⁷

In 1103 (1654) they put the foundation to Ējmiatsin's belfry and began its construction.⁸ In that same year, at noon, on Wednesday, August 2, on the thirtieth day of the moon, when the sun was under the sign of Leo, three-fourths of the sun grew dark and stars appeared in the sky as if it were night.⁹ On the fifth Sunday of Lent, on March 25, in the year 1104 (1655), Kat'oghikos *tēr* P'ilippos died at Ējmiatsin. They took him and buried him in the church of St. Hrip'simē.¹⁰ In that same year, on Palm Sunday, April 8, they consecrated *Vardapet* Hakob Jughayets'i as kat'oghikos of holy Ējmiatsin.¹¹ Again, in that same year, the governor of Baghesh, Avdal Khan, rebelled and wanted to become a *Celali*. Malak' Mehmed, the pasha of Van, came to Baghesh with a large army, put Avdal Khan to flight, and placed his (Avdal's) son, who was named Diadin, in his place. After a year, Avdal Khan came and, through trickery, killed his own son, Diadin, and once again became the khan

¹ *MZH*, II, 429.

² Text reads *spahik'*, from the Persian *sipahi* (soldiers, cavalry).

³ *MZH*, II, 429. Text reads *bajip'at'khari ordubazari halal khor* from the Arabic-Persian *ordū-bāzārī ḥalāl-khor* (lowest class of people, employed in the most menial of jobs, including removal of corpses and carrion). They hung around the camp (*ordu*) and did menial jobs. They were called *ḥalāl-khor*, because everything was lawful food (*ḥalāl*) to them.

⁴ See Chapter 25.

⁵ Refers to Dara Shikoh, eldest son of Shah Jahan, who was killed in 1658 by his younger brother Aurangzeb.

⁶ Text reads *erish*, from the Turkish *yürüş/yürüyüş* (assault, attack, storm).

⁷ *MZH*, II, 429.

⁸ See Chapter 25.

⁹ *ERZ*, f. 388v. The above date is accurate and conforms to the lunar calendar.

¹⁰ See Chapter 25; also *JER*, 280-281.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

(of Baghesh).¹ Again, in that same year, by the order of Shah 'Abbās II, they moved the Armenians of Dasht from the center of the city of Isfahan and resettled them on the outskirts of town. In the year 1005 (1656), by the order of Shah 'Abbās II, they removed the Erevani Armenians [residing in Isfahan], as well as other Armenians from the center of the city of Isfahan, and placed them in the environs of the city.² In that same year, in the land of the Kurds,³ in the fortress called P'izan,⁴ [647] the Kurds martyred a certain Christian man, named Awetis, an Armenian by birth. Christ the Lord blessed him with a heavenly light, which descended upon him.⁵ In the year 1106 (1657), the Persians forcibly and through torture converted the Jews, who lived in the city of Isfahan, to Islam. Jews living in other Persians towns were *also*⁶ forcibly converted to Islam.⁷ In that same year, *King Dadiani*⁸ died⁹ and the kingdom fell into disorder, for he had no son, as heir to his throne. Again, in that same year, on February 27,¹⁰ in the city of Tokat, *Vardapet Simēon Jughayets'i* died and was buried there. He was a great scholar of grammar and the worldly sciences, an eloquent adversary in debates with men from all other nations.¹¹

In the year 1107 (1658) Gharaghal-khan,¹² the great *erist'av*,¹³ who was named Zal,¹⁴ went to the shah's court in Isfahan, and thanks to the intervention of the shah's *'etemād al-dowleh*, he was not killed, but returned alive to his native land. In the year 1109 (1660),

¹ David Baghishets'i has the above in the year 1657, *MZH*, II, 361; Vardan Baghishets'i (fragment) has the same information under the year 1654, *MZH*, I, 395-396.

² See Chapter 33; also see *JER*, 281.

³ Text reads *Mar*.

⁴ *F* reads *Jizan*.

⁵ See Chapter 48; *SA*, 179; *JER*, 281.

⁶ Absent from *A* and *D*.

⁷ See Chapter 34.

⁸ Refers to King Levan II Dadiani of Mingreli (1605-1657); see Kutsia, 77.

⁹ Absent from *D*.

¹⁰ *B* and *F* have February 25; same in *KH*, 498.

¹¹ See Chapter 29.

¹² He was the prince of Aragvi; see Kutsia, 77.

¹³ *Erist'avi* is a hereditary title of Georgian nobility.

¹⁴ Zal or Zaal was the leader of the uprising in Kakhet'i in 1658, *VB*, 68-69.

on March 1, Alexander, the king of Pashiach'ukhi, died.¹ His son, named Bagrat, became king in his place.² In that same year, Bagrat, who had ascended the throne of his father, Alexander, was blinded in both eyes by his stepmother, for a rivalry had sprung up between them.³ In addition, the Georgian princes were not unified, the land was destroyed, and the kingdom was on the brink of termination. Again, in that same year, on April 1, on the fifth Sunday of Lent, the following happened: there was a terribly cold winter, and Geghama Sea (Lake Sevan) froze. The inhabitants of Sevan Island, which is located in that sea, walked to and fro on the ice, for [648] the ice was very thick. When the ice became loose, so much so that it could not support the weight of a person, they decided to break it, in order to make a [water] way to exit the sea. With this in mind, the abbot of the island monastery, a *vardapet* named Barsegh, together with an *abegha*, a deacon and three laymen, boarded boats and began to break the ice. Breaking it, they reached the middle of the sea. Then, a strong gale began to blow. They wanted to return to the island, but the wind hampered them. The waves moved pieces of ice and cast them into the boats. The boats thus became heavy, went under the ice and sank into the sea. The *vardapet*, *abegha* and two⁴ laymen [drowned], but the deacon and the other layman, with God's mercy, were saved from death.⁵ In that same year, on Monday, April 30,⁶ lightning hit and killed a horse; I saw this with my own eyes. Again, in that same year, on Saturday, July 21, flames enveloped the great city of Istanbul. Many parts of the city burned *out of control*⁷ for sixty-six hours.⁸ Again, in that same year, the Persian king, Shah 'Abbās II, ordered the resettlement of 1,500 households of Muslim Turks to Kakhet'i, in order for them to live there.⁹

¹ Refers to Alexander III (1639-1660), who was the king of Imeret'i and an ally of King T'eimuraz.

² Refers to Bagrat IV, who ruled for only six months, Lang, 87.

³ Refers to Queen Darejan, the second wife of King Alexander and the sister of T'eimuraz; see Kutsia, 77.

⁴ B, C, D, and E, read "one." Oskan corrected Arak'el's error in A.

⁵ SA, 180.

⁶ A reads "31," an obvious error.

⁷ Absent from A and D.

⁸ See Chapter 50.

⁹ The Persians planned to populate parts of Kakhet'i with Turkmen tribes. Their effort met with a rebellion, led by Zal.

In the year 1110 (1661), the Georgian tribesmen, who lived in the Caucasus Mountains, and who are called T'ush and P'shav,¹ came at night and put the 1,500 Turkish households to the sword, beginning with the old and ending with infants. In that same year, the shah dismissed the *'etemād al-dowleh*, because he had released the *erist'av* (Zal). For it was reported, in the presence of the khans and the shah, that the Georgians had slaughtered the 1,500 households of Turks at the *erist'av's* instigation. Again, in that same year, the nephews of the *erist'av* cut his head off [649] and took it to the shah's threshold.² This was done at the instigation of Shahnavaz, the ruler of Tiflis, a Georgian by birth,³ in order to demonstrate his loyalty to the shah. Again, in that same year, the ruler of Kakhet'i, King T'eimuraz, left Georgia and went to Isfahan, to [the court of] Shah 'Abbās II, [in order] to show his submission. At first, as is customary among the insidious Persian people, they received him courteously and honorably; but later, because of his faith and his Christian religion, the shah, on the advice of his nobles, treacherously fooled him, drove him away from his presence and sent him to the city of Astarabad, located in the Farahabad district. He died there; many say that he was poisoned and killed on the shah's order.⁴

T'eimuraz went to Isfahan in the year 1110 (1661), and in the year 1112⁵ (1663), they killed him. Moreover, they also killed the men, who were chosen by T'eimuraz [to accompany him]] and who were close to him. T'eimuraz's body was taken back, by the shah's order,⁶ to his native land, to Kakhet'i, to his grandson, T'eimuraz.⁷ In the year 1114 (1665), in the month of December, after midnight and

¹ The P'shav, Khevsur and T'ush mountaineers of Eastern Georgia were noted for their loyalty to the Georgian kings and followed ancient traditions; they wore medieval chain armor.

² Georgian sources give May 9, 1660 as the date of this event, *VB*, 69.

³ Refers to King Wakhtang V of K'art'li (1658-1675), who took the Muslim name of Shahnavaz.

⁴ *VB*, 157-178.

⁵ *F* reads "1110."

⁶ *VB* adds that envoys from Kakhet'i, as well as King Wakhtang V, begged the Shah to return the body to Georgia, 158.

⁷ *C* reads "T'eimuraz's grandson," which is more accurate; for it refers to the son of King David of Kakhet'i, and grandson of T'eimuraz, called Nicholas, who lived in Moscow from 1652. He later returned to Kakhet'i and in the 1670s went to Isfahan, adopted Islam and, as King Erekle I (his Muslim name was Nazar 'Ali Khan), ruled K'art'li from 1688 to 1703.

at dawn, there appeared a star with a blazing tail [comet] in the sky stretching from east to south.¹ When it rose, its tail pointed to the south. It rose *faster and faster*² and moved speedily throughout the night, until midnight. It then turned its tail to the east and moved in that direction until dawn; then it disappeared.³ Again, in that same year, in the month of April, again at dawn, in the northeast, a star with a scythe [comet] appeared. The scythe stretched to the west. It rose day after day, [650] slowly until dawn, when it disappeared.⁴

In the year 1115 (1666), on September 10, the Persian king, Shah 'Abbās II, passed away.⁵ His reign was a great blessing, and the surrounding enemies voluntarily expressed their love and submission to him. Furthermore, he displayed great care toward the Armenian people. After him, his son, whom they named Shah Şafī II, after his grandfather, began to rule.⁶ After Shah Şafī ascended the throne, the neighboring hostile tribes united and began to raid his land. The shah was frail and constantly ill; therefore those who told fortunes on sand and other soothsayers examined the signs, and said that the name Shah Şafī, which they had given him, was unlucky. The day and hour of his ascendance to the throne was also inauspicious. Therefore, they renamed him and named him Shah Soleimān.⁷ They calculated an auspicious day and hour and placed him again on the royal throne. Today, he is healthy and successful. They call him and write his name everywhere as Shah Soleimān.⁸

¹ *JER* cites Arak'el as the only source, f. 281.

² **A** and **D** read "slower and slower;" **D** corrected it by hand to read, "faster and faster."

³ *SA*, 180.

⁴ Brosset ends the chapter here, *MB*, 593.

⁵ Abbas II died on 26 Rabī' II, 1077 AH (25-26 October, 1666).

⁶ Added to **B** by another hand. **B** ends here; the rest appear only in **C**, **E** (both added by another hand) and **F**. See Translator's Introduction.

⁷ Shah Şafī II [Soleimān II] ruled from 1666 to 1694. He ascended the throne on November 1, 1666; his second coronation occurred on March 20 (first day of spring/the Persian New Year) 1668 at 9 o'clock in the morning.

⁸ The last paragraph is absent from **A** and **D**. See Translator's Introduction.

[651] Chapter 57¹

The history of the exploits of the Jewish people and the Jew, named Sapēt'ay, who declared, "I am Christ [the Messiah], the Savior of the Jewish people, and I have come to redeem them," and other events that followed

In the year 1667² of Our Redeemer, Christ the Lord, and the year 1115 (1666) of the Armenian calendar, during the reign of *tēr* Hakob of Julfa on the lofty and supreme throne of holy Ējmiatsin, and during the reign of Sultan Muhammad [IV], son of Sultan Ibrahim, there appeared a certain shrewd Jew, named Sapēt'ay (Sabbatai).³ He was

¹ This chapter is absent from **A**, **B**, **D**, and **E**. It is also absent from *KH*. It was added by another hand in **C** and included only in the 1884 edition, **F** and *Girk' patmut'eants'*. Although some assert that Aṛak'el is not the author, Khanlaryan is certain that Aṛak'el either added it himself or had it transcribed to **C**, for the handwriting is the same as the added material at the end of the previous chapter, *KHcr*, 560. Since it was added to **C** after 1667, it could not have been in **A**, **B**, or **D**, and has not survived or never was in **E**; see Translator's Introduction. In 1918, Kh. Kuchuk-Ioannesov translated it, together with Chapter 34, into Russian as "Armianskoe letopis' o evreiakh Persii XVII v. i o messi Sabatae-Tsevi," and published it in *Evrei-sakaia starina* (Petrograd), X (1918). Khanlaryan translated this chapter into Russian and published it in *Kavkaz i Vizantiia*, III (Erevan, 1982), 220-228. Armenian religious leaders from Istanbul probably sent the material on Sabbatai to Ējmiatsin. Another reference to Sabbatai in contemporary Armenian sources appears in a minor chronicle written by *Vardapet* Sahak, "In the year 1667 of Our Lord Christ, which corresponds to the Armenian year 1115 [1116], there appeared a false Christ in Izmir, who later became a Muslim," *MZH*, I, 311.

² Should read 1666. The error was also noted by Kuchuk-Ioannesov, 76, n. 4. It is important to note that many Jews and Christians considered the year 1666 as the year of the appearance of Satan or anti-Christ (666). They believed that the Messiah would also appear to combat the evil.

³ Most of the information on Sabbatai included in the notes comes from G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Ševi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626-1676* (Princeton, 1973). Sabbatai was born in 1626 on the 9th day of the Jewish month of Ab in Smyrna (Izmir). His father was a commercial agent for European merchants. He was educated by the famous *hakham*, Joseph Eskapha (d. 1661), and received the title of *hakham* while still a youth. He then turned to a life of abstinence and solitude. His messianic movement took hold of the Jewish community in the Ottoman Empire in September 1665, following Sabbatai's sojourn in Cairo, Jerusalem and Gaza; see Sabbatai, 111-112, 327.

born and raised in the city of Smyrna. He was an expert in Jewish literature and sciences. In addition, from birth he was very bombastic. Day after day he advanced, *and became well read and a better debater*.¹ Seeing his success, many began to study with him. He taught his followers false and made-up expressions, wrote the name of God backwards and taught his students to read it that way. After that, he examined books, called meetings, debated with experts of his religion, and overcame them with his eloquent arguments.² He handed the name of God, written [652] backwards, to them [the scholars] to read, and they could not [decipher it]. He then called his students and ordered them to read it. Prepared well in advance, they read it in a loud voice, precisely and clearly. All those who had gathered in the meeting were filled with marvel, admiration, and amazement.³ After reading the book, the reader of the text would begin to tremble, shake, and languish. He would fall to the ground, gasp for air, and wail. Sabbatai, however, would draw water, as is traditional among Jews,⁴ would pour it on the ailing man, and would heal him then and there. Thus, all who witnessed this were delighted and amazed, called it a marvelous and great miracle *performed by Sabbatai*. *But*,⁵ Sabbatai also thought himself to be a miracle worker, sent and anointed by God. He would then attribute to himself those prophetic signs of the [second] coming of Christ, which he could interpret.⁶ He claimed to be the Messiah, whom the prophets predicted would come and save Israel, saying, "I am that savior and I have come to save Israel."⁷ He proposed that the Jews give up the Sabbath

¹ Absent from F. Sabbatai was well read and quick-witted. He knew the Jewish law and studied the kabbalah, *Sabbatai*, 112, 114.

² According to all sources, Sabbatai had a pleasant voice, was comely, and very charming, *Sabbatai*, 451.

³ Actually Sabbatai was unraveling the "Mystery of the Godhead," explained in *Sabbatai*, 119-123, 387.

⁴ Refers to the drawing of water during the holiday of Sukot.

⁵ Absent from F.

⁶ Scholem dates this as having occurred in 1648, *Sabbatai*, 139.

⁷ Sabbatai was born on the 9th of Ab, the day of mourning and fasting to commemorate the destruction of the first and second temples of Jerusalem. By 1648, Sabbatai's exaltation and melancholia attracted the attention of the Jews of Izmir, who, according to what was written in the Zohar, awaited the resurrection and a potential redemption of the Jews in that same year, *Sabbatai*, 138-139. The rabbis of Izmir, among whom was Sabbatai's teacher, Joseph Eksapha, considered him an abomination and advised his secret killing. Since nobody wanted to lay hands on him, he was banished

and all the fasts,¹ live in constant merriment, extol his signature² and his name, and venerate him as a messenger of and anointed by God—the savior of the Jewish people. They accorded him great honor, praised him, and invited him from one home to another, to entertain him and honor him [with dinners]. When he walked, they held a canopy over his head; others lifted the hems of his cloak and carried it. They spread muslin³ and *kumash*⁴ before him [to walk on].⁵ They also gave him three virgins; he kept them for some time and then let them go.⁶ The entire [Jewish] people followed him [653]. News of the wretched [men], about whom we wrote earlier, who fell down and choked, as if possessed and under a spell; the jabbering and accounts of the witnesses, who were influenced by evil spirits and other deceptions, which they had seen the alluring Sabbatai perform, as well as other fabricated accounts, were put down in writing, in a letter, and sent to faraway places as reports of good tidings, saying, “Blessing to you all, who are dissipated and are suffering! A savior of our nation has appeared. He is Sabbatai, a king in Izmir. He has appeared to reinstate the laws, to raise and to embellish our race,

from Izmir sometime between 1651 and 1654, *Sabbatai*, 150-151. Arak'el's account does not mention Sabbatai's travels to Saloniki, Constantinople, Cairo, Jerusalem, Hebron, Gaza and his return to Izmir in 1665, by which time he had already revealed himself as the messiah; for details, see *Sabbatai*, 150-233.

¹ Refers to Sabbatai abrogation of the fast of the 17th of Tammuz and other fasts, *Sabbatai*, 221

² Text reads *imza*, from the Arabic 'imza' (signature). The signature, which caused a storm of indignation among the rabbis in Jerusalem, reads, “I am the Lord your God, Sabbatai Şevi,” *Sabbatai*, 361. Sabbatai added the figure of a crooked serpent after his name, the numerical value of which was equal to that of the Hebrew word “messiah,” *ibid.*, 235.

³ Text reads *behez*, from the Greek *bussus*.

⁴ From the Persian *qomaš* (a red unglazed thick cotton fabric).

⁵ Other sources state that “carpets were spread out before him in the streets, lest he soil his feet,” *Sabbatai*, 394.

⁶ Refers to Sabbatai's five wives. He divorced his first two wives soon after marrying them, either because of his excessive purity or because the Holy Spirit revealed to him that they were not his predestined mates, *Sabbatai*, 124. He married his third wife, Sarah, in 1664, in Cairo. He had a son and a daughter by her and divorced her seven years later in Adrianople. While married to Sarah, he also married a woman who was betrothed to another man, and had a son. He married his last wife, the daughter of Joseph Filossoff, in 1675; see *Sabbatai*, 191-192, 880, 887.

to free us, to enrich our tribe, and to gather the scattered Israelites together." Some of the eminent and wise Jews, who could read, seeing that all the people were following him, also shut their eyes and involuntarily followed him, pretending to be loyal to him. Others separated themselves from him, by going to other lands under various pretexts. All the prudent men were afraid. What if the rumor of this [Sabbatai] reached the unbeliever Muslims and they decided to eradicate the entire [Jewish] people from the face of the earth? The lowest stratum of these people [Jews] talked so much among themselves that news of this [Sabbatai's claims] reached the Muslim governors of the city of Izmir. The leaders decided among themselves, "We shall write and inform the vizier." But, then thinking that the rumors were frivolous and groundless, they let the matter rest and did not inform the [grand] vizier.¹ However, they began to seize the Jews, fine them heavily, and then release them. Nevertheless, news of the appearance of the false Messiah spread day by day and reached faraway provinces, to Constantinople, in particular. Whoever heard it was fired by devout feelings; some even took to the road and came on a pilgrimage with donations, to worship. [654] Others sent expensive gifts, gold and silver, to him. Still others sold their homes and property for nothing, saying, "We shall go to Jerusalem, for they say that Sabbatai will go there, shall rule there, and will gather the *scattered*² [Jewish] people around him."³ Everyone was surprised at how far the news [of this Messiah] had spread. Hence, the youth and children of all Muslims and Christians, rich and common folk, of the city of Istanbul, pestered the Jews and asked, "*Jfud [Jhud] geldi mi? hakham geldi mi?*"⁴ Men and women, young and old, children, the youth and the elderly, would ask the Jews wherever

¹ Refers to Sabbatai's visit to the *kadi* of Izmir, during which he convinced the latter that he was an "angel of God," *Sabbatai*, 409-411.

² F reads "chosen."

³ The wealthy Jews of Constantinople, as well as those from the Greek and Egyptian cities, merchants and government officials, donated their wealth to Sabbatai and became his devout disciples; some went to Jerusalem. According to Scholem, "many believers were so mad and distracted with preparing for the messianic events that they neglected to pay their debts," *Sabbatai*, 458.

⁴ The above Turkish sentence translates as, "Did the Jew come? Did the rabbi come?" See also *Sabbatai*, 446.

they met them, “*Nebi geldi mi? Tejal [tecelli] geldi mi?*”¹ This became a common utterance and spread throughout the land. Everyone annoyed [the Jews] and joked around on the roads and in the streets. Mouths and tongues got used to the following words, “*Nebi galdi mi? meseh [masih] galdi mi?*”² They uttered this at home and in the streets, composed satirical songs, and formed dances appropriate to the event.³ They ridiculed, whispered, and censured the Jews, and said, “*Tecelli galdi mi?*”⁴

A certain Jew from the city of Gaz [Gaza], named Nat'an,⁵ a friend of Sabbatai, who had earlier made an agreement and a union with him, wrote from there [Gaza] to the Jews of Constantinople, stating, “The Messiah and the Anointed Sovereign⁶ is the same man, who is presently in Izmir.” His words worried the Jews of Constantinople greatly.⁷ News spread and reached the Muslim rulers of the city of Istanbul. The *kadi* and the *sardar* of Istanbul armed some men, sent them to arrest Sabbatai, and bring him to Istanbul. Sabbatai, however, heard this, and prepared to flee to Saloniki (Thessaloniki).⁸ But the road guards caught up with him at sea, brought him to Istanbul, [655] and deposited him at the *Gomruk khane*.⁹ When they proclaimed that they had brought the Jewish Messiah, thousands and thousands and ten thousands and ten thousands rushed to

¹ The above Turkish sentence translates as, “Has the prophet appeared? Has the manifestation come?”

² The above Turkish sentence translates as, “Did the prophet come? Did the Messiah appear?”

³ *Sabbatai*, 446.

⁴ The above Turkish sentence translates as, “Has the Manifestation arrived?”

⁵ Refers to Nathan Benjamin Ashkenazi of Gaza (1644-1680). He was one of the most ardent proselytizers of the so-called miracles of Sabbatai. He was the prophet of the movement and spread the name of Sabbatai in the Jewish communities throughout Europe, Africa and Asia. He continued to lead the movement after Sabbatai's conversion to Islam. See *Evreiskaia entsiklopedia*, VI, 12-13; *Sabbatai*, 199-223.

⁶ Nathan forged a leaf from an allegedly ancient apocalypse, which confirmed Sabbatai as the Messiah, *Sabbatai*, 224.

⁷ Some sources claim that some of the Jews complained against him to the Turkish authorities, *Sabbatai*, 444-445.

⁸ This account is different from all others, which state that he was arrested in Gallipoli and taken to Constantinople, *Sabbatai*, 447.

⁹ From the Turkish *gümruk-hane*; Persian *gomrok-khāne* (customs house).

glance at him.¹ Seeing Sabbatai, they all abused, pestered, cajoled, and made fun of the Jews for their delusion.

They then took Sabbatai to the vizier,² who questioned him on his name and on the truth about the rumors. He [Sabbatai] denied everything and repudiated it. He said, "I am a well-read man, who observes the laws and who prays." The vizier replied, "You shall remain incarcerated until we receive testimony from Izmir and ascertain if you are telling the truth."³ Then, the *subashi*⁴ slapped Sabbatai and, striking blows on his head, took him and locked him up in jail.⁵ They threw him in jail on January 29, 1115 (1666) of the Armenian calendar.⁶ The Jews, from their embarrassment, did not come out to the marketplace and did not open their shops.⁷ The Muslim children, wherever they had the opportunity to tease [the Jews], would say, "*Jhud galdi mi? Tecelli galdi mi?*"⁸ Because of this abuse, the Jews gave a large bribe to the *yaniçer-ağasi*;⁹ he then ordered his servants and troops to arrest those who asked the Jews, "*galdi?*"¹⁰ But the cajolers began to cry out a thousand times more and even more. They put Sabbatai in jail, sent men [to Izmir] and brought his goods, for he had accumulated many things and the Jews had generously endowed him. When they brought his goods to Khas-Köy, all the Jewish people, who had gone astray, came out to greet them. They hugged the goods, stretching their hands from near and far, as if they would receive salvation.

¹ *Sabbatai*, 448.

² The Grand Vizier was Ahmed Köprülü.

³ For a detailed account, see *Sabbatai*, 450-451.

⁴ From the Turkish *subaşı* (police superintendent) and not Sub Pasha, as in the Russian translation, *Vizantiia i Kavkaz*, 230.

⁵ *Sabbatai*, 448.

⁶ February 11, according to Scholem, *Sabbatai*, 448, 450. At first he was thrown into a dark dungeon, but was soon transferred to comfortable quarters and was permitted to speak freely with the Jews who visited him, *ibid.*, 451.

⁷ *Sabbatai*, 452.

⁸ Street urchins in Smyrna and Istanbul abused the Jews by calling them *kafirs* (unbelievers), and would jeer at them, saying, "Gheldemi? (Has he come?)," *Sabbatai*, 445-447.

⁹ Head of the Janissaries.

¹⁰ The Jews gave 60,000 *reales* to the vizier in order to walk in the streets without molestation, *Sabbatai*, 452.

After that, the Muslim grandees, the *naib*¹ and *t'ēt'ishch'i*² went to the jail and began to interrogate Sabbatai. They asked, "Tell us the truth. Are you really a king, as your people say? Tell the truth [656] about yourself." But, he denied it and said, "I am neither a king, nor a prophet. I am not a notable, but a common man, who earns his living by reading." The officials recorded Sabbatai's statement, sealed and witnessed it,³ and presented it to the vizier. As to the Jews, they did not stop visiting Sabbatai; however, since the jail was located in the city of Istanbul, the Jews [fearing molestation] could not openly visit him and come and go as they wished. They, therefore, bribed the *subashi* so that he would find a way for them to freely visit Sabbatai.⁴ He spoke to the vizier and said that the Jews, through their frequent visits, had worn out [the floor] of the jail. The vizier then ordered, "Take him to the Boghaz fortress⁵ and keep him locked up there."⁶ Several days later, the vizier left Istanbul and went west, for a great battle awaited him.⁷ When the vizier left, the Jews became bolder, and began to visit Sabbatai even more often, accompanied by their wives and children. The youth and the elderly, rich and poor, and even recluse maidens,⁸ and newly married women, went on a pilgrimage to worship him—not only from the surrounding *gawars*, but also from faraway lands: from Bughdan (Moldavia), Lvov, Kaffa, Jerusalem, and Anadolu (eastern Asia Minor); in particular, many came to visit him from Istanbul.⁹ They received his blessing and with supplication and tears asked, "When shall you come forward, ascend the throne, and save us?" Their frequent visits awakened the envy of the Muslims, and their leader, whom they called

¹ The *naib*, from the Arabic *na'ib* (regent); in Ottoman terminology, however, it referred to a substitute judge.

² From the Turkish *teftişçi* (inspector).

³ Text reads *sijil ew hojat'*, from the Arabic *sijill* (seal or certificate of a court) and *hujjat* (proof, court document).

⁴ They actually paid the vizier 40,000 *reales* in order to visit Sabbatai at any time, *Sabbatai*, 452.

⁵ Refers to the fortress of Abydos in Gallipoli, on the European side of the Dardanelles, *Sabbatai*, 459-460.

⁶ Sabbatai was moved there on April 19, 1666, *Sabbatai*, 454.

⁷ Refers to the vizier's expedition to conquer Crete.

⁸ Maidens of marriageable age were not permitted to leave the house.

⁹ Their behavior agitated those Jews who did not follow him, *Sabbatai*, 452-458.

bostanchi-bashi,¹ began to detain them. He somehow seized a number of noted Jews, who were going to see Sabbatai, and took them to the *ghaymagham* (*kaymakam*).² When the *kaymakam* asked them, "Why do you visit him? Tell me the truth. Is he a prophet or a king, [657] who is he? Tell the truth," the Jews hid the truth and did not say anything. Instead they thought of excuses, saying, "He is not guilty of anything. An innocent man was condemned and put in jail. He is a man of books and prayer belonging to our people. We visit him to calm him and to earn his blessing." The *kaymakam* did not say anything, he let them go, and they left. But the Muslims, who stood by the entrance, told the Jews in anger and ridicule, "Stray ones, what good has this man brought to you that you are so concerned about him?" The Jews replied, "You shall see for yourselves in a few days." The Muslims immediately informed the *kaymakam* of this. The Jews were swiftly returned. They were beaten harshly with clubs and then let go. Although other Jews heard about this and were afraid, they did not give up their false hopes.³

During the time of their ancestors, when the king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, took the Jews captive and drove them to Babylon,⁴ their ancestors designated it as the greatest day of mourning.⁵ From that time until the present, they commemorate those woeful days with fast, abstinence, wails, moans, and mourning among themselves. Also, during those days they read the lament of the prophet Jeremiah.⁶ They commemorate this sad day in the month of August, on the fifteenth day of the moon.⁷ The Muslims call this holiday Kara-Bayram. Sabbatai, who was possessed by the devil, seeing that the blind people idolized him, began to seduce them even more to his side. He wrote many letters and sent them to Jews in all lands, pro-

¹ The *bostañçı-başı* was the commander of the imperial guards, who had jurisdiction over the shores and waters of the Bosphorus and was frequently charged with the execution of grandees.

² From the Turkish *kaymakam* (head official of a district).

³ In 1665 Henry Oldenberg wrote to Baruch Spinoza that although many Jews in Istanbul hoped to return to Jerusalem, few believed it, *Sabbatai*, 543-544.

⁴ Refers to Kings II: 24-25.

⁵ Refers to the 10th of Tebet, when the Jews fast in memory of the siege of Jerusalem by the Babylonians; see Jeremiah 52.4.

⁶ See Jeremiah 11.18-21.

⁷ Refers to the fast, which occurs on the 9th day of Ab, that is, the 9th day of the moon, and not the 15th.

claiming some [of his] miracles and saying, "I am the son of God, who has come today in order to save you." Here is the copy and sample of his message:¹

[658] [From] "God's only begotten and firstborn son, Eōsambēsēvi² Messiah, the savior of Israel. May peace be with all of you, the progeny of Israel and the beloved of God. Today you have managed to see this great day of God, a day that the blessed Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob wished to witness. You have accepted me for the sake of freeing and saving Israel, according to our God's promise, given to the mouths of our ancestors and fathers, who loved Israel. Thus, may your wailing turn into rejoicing, and the day of mourning into a day of happiness and festivities, for as of today you shall no longer cry, O my children of Israel. Do not think about your past any more, for you are given the unspeakable joy of salvation. So give thanks loudly, gladly, with drums and music, during your prayers, to the one who fulfilled his eternal vow, given to our fathers. In this manner celebrate all the days [of this month], including the beginning of the month. Turn the mourning of your wailing days and nights, which is called Purim,³ into the day of lambran,⁴ a day of bright joy, in honor of my coming. Let none of you occupy yourselves with anything except happiness and festivities, for all the days given to you and to the pagans are given to you for comfort, and not only what is visible on earth, but that which is in the depth of the sea is arranged for your delight and joy. May you remain healthy!"⁵

The lecherous and possessed Sabbatai wrote this message in the Jewish language and alphabet and sent it everywhere. Later, the

¹ Upon his return to Izmir, in 1665, Sabbatai sent a message to all the Jewish communities asking them to stop commemorating the fast of Tebet. He declared himself the Messiah, who was sent by Jacob's God and the Savior of the Jews, *Evreiskaia Entsiklopedia*, XIII, 786.

² The word is unclear. It could be a cryptic rendition of Sabbatai Ševi: *šambe* (Persian for Saturday/Sabbath) and Ševi.

³ Jewish holiday, observed on the 14th and the 15th days of the month of Adar (February-March), is actually a joyous occasion. The Jews read the text of the Book of Esther and celebrate it with lights and dancing. See Esther 9.24-26, 29-32. The text must refer to the fast observed just prior to Purim, *ibid.*, 4.16.

⁴ From the Greek *lampros* (clear, bright, joyful).

⁵ A copy of the above letter was translated into Armenian and is located within a manuscript at the archives of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem (MS 186, f. 38v); see H. Anasyan, *17rd d. azatagrakan sharzhumnern Arewmtyan Hayastanum* (Erevan, 1961), 44.

message was translated from Hebrew into Latin, and from Latin into the language of the Ottomans, by a certain wise man and great [659] translator of Sultan Muhammad, the son of Sultan Ibrahim. From Latin, it was translated into Armenian by the hand of a certain *dpir* (scribe), known as Eremia,¹ a native of the same city of Constantinople. Wherever the letter of the lecherous one [Sabbatai] went, the inhabitants turned the day of mourning into a holiday of festivities. They even celebrated it with drums and songs,² something the Jews had never seen before. For, Sabbatai had ordered that the day of the great mourning, established by their ancestors to commemorate their captivity and exile to Babylon, be turned into a holiday of joy and celebrations: to eat, drink, to adorn themselves with various decorations, to rejoice and to feast, for the days of mourning had passed and the days of joy had arrived.³

Some of us, from among the Armenians, quietly asked the knowledgeable [Jewish] people and the Jewish *hakham*s about Sabbatai, saying, "What do you think? Is he some kind of a prophet, or is he truly the Messiah, maybe Christ, or another of God's worthy servants?" They replied, "It is all false. [Sabbatai] is a deceiver, a liar, and is possessed by the devil."⁴ Eighty of us, and even more, have already agreed and do not recognize him, for it is abhorrent to the faith of our fathers." These men, having thus conferred, went to the Jews and began to refute, contend, and censure Sabbatai. They said, "Why do you accept him? Why do you pay attention to him? Why do you follow him, for he⁵ is a fraud, liar, and an enemy of the

¹ Refers to Eremia *chēlēpi* K'ēōmiwrch'ean (1637-1695). He was, for a short time, the secretary at the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople during the time of Sabbatai's activities, Anasyan, 44. He wrote a small booklet on Sabbatai, entitled *Vasn sut margarēin or kochiwr Sapēt'ayi Sewi* (printed in Constantinople, n.d.). It is possible that his or a similar account was abridged and sent to Ējmiatsin in 1667, which Arak'el then restated in his own words and added to C. Eremia's and Arak'el's accounts are used by Abraham Galanté in his study, *Nouveaux Documents sur Sabbetai Şevi* (Istanbul, 1935).

² During these festive processions, Sabbatai's followers sang psalms and other songs composed specially in his honor, *Evreiskaia entsiklopedia*, XIII, 654, 785-786.

³ *Sabbatai*, 414.

⁴ The rabbis in Jerusalem and Cairo excommunicated Sabbatai, *Sabbatai*, 330, 644.

⁵ Absent from F.

faith of our fathers? From the time when our ancestors came into this world and left it, none of them violated or changed any laws of the *p'rofita*.¹ He has ordered [660] to break the Sabbath and the day of the great woe.² Whatever he says and does is a result of ravings and the fulfillment of deceit. What prophetic sign or miracle have we witnessed from him?" Despite the fact that they argued in this way with the Jews, the Jews became indignant. They cursed them, disputed, and even thought of beating them. They even went to Sabbatai and complained against them. A quarrel and a great schism occurred among the Jews. Some thought that they should recognize Sabbatai; others wanted to deny him. Fathers became estranged from sons, brothers from brothers, and lovers left each other.³ Those who believed in him attached themselves firmly to him, visited him and saluted him. Many could not get to see him in the daytime; they suffered and waited all day and came to him at night, hailed him, and after departing made up and spread miraculous and amazing stories about him. They congratulated each other with the good news, saying, "Sabbatai is the Messiah and our deliverer. He has appeared and has come to us. The royal throne shall be ready for him. He shall improve the seat of justice and shall rule with the royal scepter. The Christians will finally be exterminated and the Muslims will be taxed."⁴ With such false and vain hopes they awaited him. Some waited for his advent, for him to appear in the sky; others constantly looked to the sea; others floated on boats in the sea at night, saying, "The light will come from the sky and shall light up for us."⁵ They all considered him a great man and a messenger of God, for they attributed the words of the prophet Joel, who said, "I will pour out my spirit on all flesh; your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions,"

¹ From the Greek *profiteia* (the interpreter of the will of the gods).

² Refers again to the day of mourning commemorating the destruction of the first and second temples of Jerusalem. Sabbatai ordered all the Jews to celebrate his coming and to ignore all fasts, *Evreiskaia entsiklopedia*, XIII, 790.

³ The believers, who formed the majority, clashed with those who did not accept Sabbatai. Some of these confrontations were bloody and people died, *Evreiskaia entsiklopedia*, XIII, 791.

⁴ Other accounts mention the capture of Mecca and the rule of the Jews over North Africa and the Holy Land, *Sabbatai*, 347.

⁵ For more details, see *Sabbatai*, 603-605.

and so forth.¹ Again, [661] on June 2, in that same year, there occurred an eclipse of the sun. This was a common eclipse, which occurred during the birth of the [new] moon. But the confused Jewish people took it as a sign and said, "See, even the heavens give us signs of him." They then invited each other to festive dinners. They said that the Jews had guns and swords² ready, so that they would destroy all other tribes at the appearance of the Messiah.

When the word of this false-Christ Sabbatai spread, it reached the lands under the rule of Christians. The Christians argued with the Jews who lived in those lands, and they made wagers between them. The Christians said, "If the information about Sabbatai is confirmed, we shall all convert to the Jewish faith." The Jews replied, "If Sabbatai's words do not come true, you can kill all our people with swords and sabers." They made a wager, concluded an agreement, set a deadline, appeared before a magistrate, recorded the decree, affixed the court's and the prince's seal to it, and began to wait for the agreed deadline. In the land of the Poles³ they killed many Jews⁴ and many others fled to other lands; some even came to Sabbatai.⁵ In those days, a certain Jewish *hakham*⁶ lived in the land of the Poles. He heard the rumors about Sabbatai and decided, "I shall go to this Sabbatai and shall completely attest to this affair." He came and penetrated [the inner circle of] Sabbatai. During several days he observed, noticed and conversed with him and was completely convinced that all of his [Sabbatai's] claims were lies.⁷ He was emboldened and said, "In my opinion, you are leading our poor and ill-fated people astray by calling yourself Christ and [662] the Mes-

¹ Joel 2.28.

² A similar account about the Jews in Saloniki, who, in the second half of the 17th century, armed themselves and awaited their Messiah is related by Zak'aria of K'anak'er, *ZK*, 229-231.

³ Wrongly translated as the land of Wallachians by Kuchuk-Ioannesov.

⁴ Jews in Lithuania suffered as well, *Evreiskaia entsiklopedia*, XIII, 786-787. According to Scholem, the massacres of Jews in Greater Poland and Lithuania from 1655 to 1666 had little to do with Sabbatai's movement, but were part of the Chmielnicki uprising and the war with Sweden, *Sabbatai*, 591.

⁵ Some of the Jews, who escaped the pogroms, went to Turkey and became supporters of Sabbatai, *Sabbatai*, 591-601.

⁶ Refers to the famed kabala expert, Nehemiah Kohen.

⁷ Nehemiah's main point was "the inadmissibility of kabbalistic allegory in interpreting apocalyptic texts," *Sabbatai*, 663.

siah.¹ What signs have you demonstrated in the sky or on the earth; what kind of rescuing act have you performed, to which our learned men have attested? What kind of miracles appeared at your birth and when you were reared? For we know your parents, *your birth*,² and your education. Here are your brothers, your wife, and your children. Your entire attire, your life, and your behavior are exactly the same as ours. You eat, drink, and experience fear; you were seized—for he was planning to flee and they had caught him—and you were thrown in jail and were chained.” He reproached Sabbatai with *many*³ other similar words. Sabbatai’s followers were indignant, rose against the *hakham*, and showered him with abuse and insults. They wanted to trample upon him, said many bitter words to him in their meetings and cast him out.⁴ The *hakham*, however, with a sorrowful soul, was incensed at the blind attitude of the Jews, and because of such a wrath in his heart went to the Muslims, renounced the Jewish faith and accepted the teachings of Muhammad.⁵ He denounced Sabbatai and the Jews with a great fury. The Muslim officials took his accusations to the *kaymakam*. In addition to the accusation lodged against Sabbatai and the Jews by the *hakham*, another strong accusation was added against Sabbatai by a certain sheikh, named Mahmud, who lived in Boghaz (Bosphorus). He constantly witnessed the impertinence of the Jews, who visited Sabbatai, as well as the way they respected and honored him, while he cohabited with women and sweethearts. He went to the *kadi*, informed him of Sabbatai’s behavior, brought noted Muslims as witnesses, received an *arz*⁶ and a *mahsar*,⁷ and, together with the other Muslim men, went to the city of Adrianople, for, at that time, the sultan, [663] the vizier, the *ghaimagham*⁸ and all the notables were there. He appeared before the *kaymakam* and lodged a complaint against Sabbatai and the Jews.

¹ Another account reads, “plunging Israel into deadly peril,” *Sabbatai*, 666.

² Absent from F.

³ F reads “many many.”

⁴ Some sources claim that he feared for his life, *Sabbatai*, 666.

⁵ Nehemiah said his action was to save the Jews from disaster, *ibid.* He soon returned to Poland and repented, *ibid.*

⁶ From the Arabic *‘arz* (presentation); in the Ottoman vocabulary it signifies “a writ.”

⁷ From the Arabic *mahzar* (judicial report).

⁸ The term, in this case, applies to the Perso-Arabic *qā’im-maqām* (vice-regent, deputy).

The *kaymakam* was incensed and ordered the *ghapuch'i-bashi*¹ to go to Boghaz and hang Sabbatai. But since the *kaymakam* received some other [unknown] news about Sabbatai,² he immediately dispatched another *kapıcı* after Sabbatai, instructing him not to hang Sabbatai, but to bring him to Adrianople.³ That is what they did: they took him and brought him to the *kaymakam* in Adrianople. He immediately sent him [Sabbatai], without any discussion, to the sultan's palace, with instruction that he be held there until he [the *kaymakam*] informed the sovereign, so that the sultan would decide what to do with him.

When they presented Sabbatai's case to the sovereign, who was the *khondk'ar* Sultan Muhammad, the son of Sultan Ibrahim, the king himself sat in judgment.⁴ The *kazi-ask'ar*,⁵ the *mufti*, the *kaymakam* and all the notables of the state were present. It was not possible to enumerate the horsemen and common folk, who had gathered at that place of amusement! They were like stars in the sky and sand in the sea. There were a large number of troops, with bows, arrows, and muskets. A fire was prepared, torches were lit, and other preparations were made to torture Sabbatai. First, they summoned a certain man, named Hayat'i-zada,⁶ to appear in the court. This man was originally a Jew by birth and by religion, but he had renounced Judaism, had accepted the religion of Muhammad and had become a Muslim. They brought him forth so that he would act as an interpreter between the sultan and Sabbatai. There, in the court, Hayat'i-zada said to Sabbatai, "Do you see all these weapons and tools of torture? All of this is prepared for you [664]. Since you have gained so much fame and have agitated the land, the sultan has decided to execute you with the latest tools of torture.⁷ If you possess any great

¹ From the Turkish *kapıcı-başı* (head of the palace door keepers, which was a high office in the Ottoman court).

² The *mufti* advised the sultan not to make Sabbatai a saint or a martyr for the Jews, *Sabbatai*, 672-673.

³ *Sabbatai*, 672.

⁴ September 16, 1666, *Sabbatai*, 673.

⁵ From the Turkish *kazasker*; the Arabic *qāzi* and *'askar* (chief military judge).

⁶ Refers to the sultan's physician, Mustafa Fawzi Hayati Zade (son of the tailor), an apostate Jew, whose original name may have been Guidom, *Sabbatai*, 675-676.

⁷ *Sabbatai*, 679, 682.

strength or [can perform] miracles,¹ make a miracle, show your greatness and save yourself and your people.” But, Sabbatai, from panic and terror, was so frightened that all his blood gathered in his heart. He began to deny everything and put all the blame on his people, saying, “My blind and errant people have spread these rumors about me. I am not who they say I am. I am just a scholar. I have read all the books and have come to realize that only your prophet is the true prophet. He came to earth to show the true way to all mankind. It is already twenty years that I have accepted him and have become a follower of his.”² Right there, in the court, he renounced Judaism and they made him a Muslim.³ This is how he gave up his faith and became a Muslim.⁴ Then, the people from various nations began to insult, abuse, revile and spit on Sabbatai and the entire Jewish people. The Jews, themselves, were embarrassed, lowered their heads, and did not come out from their homes out of shame.⁵ Sabbatai, who at one time boasted that he would ascend to heaven, now went to the under world. He, who uttered the names of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses, now renounced them and became the servant of Muhammad. He, who said that he would turn the entire world to his faith, renounced his original and God-given faith, for the mentor of his mind, Satan, brought him to such an inglorious end. He, who considered the true coming of our Christ false, was disgraced by the might of Christ, Our Lord.⁶ The words of Christ came true, for he said, [665] “False⁷ messiahs and false prophets will ap-

¹ The above is similar to Christ's interrogation by the Romans.

² *Sabbatai*, 680.

³ The apostasy occurred on September 16, 1666. His wife Sarah and a number of his followers converted as well, *Sabbatai*, 684-686.

⁴ All sources agree that he took the name of Mehmed Effendi or Aziz Mehmed Effendi and put on a turban. The sultan made him an honorary *kapıcı-başı*, presented him with a *khal'at*, and gave him a large pension (*'alufe*), *Sabbatai*, 681.

⁵ For the events after Sabbatai's apostasy until his death in 1676, see *Sabbatai*, 687-929.

⁶ Unlike other contemporary Christian accounts (cited throughout Scholem's study), which shower all the Jews with abuse, Arak'el's account has no derogatory statements against the Jews. As a Christian and a *varda-pet*, he obviously portrays Sabbatai as a charlatan. In this he does not differ from those Jewish rabbis (also cited throughout Scholem's work), who did not accept Sabbatai as the Messiah and who viewed him as a madman, an adulterer and a defiler of Jewish laws.

⁷ Absent from F.

pear.”¹ Thus, we witnessed this in our time.² The name of Our Lord, Jesus Christ was glorified, together with his grace and his power. May his name be glorified at all times and for all eternity! Amen.³

In the year 1116 (1667), on Wednesday, November 14, at the ninth hour there was an earthquake in the city of Erznka. First, a loud thunderous sound was heard and then, suddenly, the earth began to shake repeatedly. Many buildings, houses, mosques, churches, baths, shops, the city walls and other structures crumbled. Many people were killed; the number of dead is known only to God.⁴

In the year 1117 (1668), on January 4, there occurred a terrible and strong earthquake throughout the Azarbaijan region.⁵ In the morning during the hour of *harts'n*,⁶ there was a roar and then the earth began to shake. The earthquake was so strong that all the lamps and candelabras swayed to and fro. The people who stood by the walls were thrown down. The earthquake occurred in Ardabil,

¹ Matthew 24.24: “For false messiahs and false prophets will appear and produce great signs and omens, to lead astray, if possible, even the elect.”

² Although Aṛak'el's narrative concentrates mainly on the year 1666, some of the events mentioned in the text occurred prior to that. Unfortunately, unlike Scholem's study, Aṛak'el's chapter on Sabbatai does not follow a strict chronological order. In addition, Scholem presents some of the incidents described in this chapter as having more than one version.

³ Although Aṛak'el ends his narrative here, the movement survived after the death of Sabbatai and Nathan. A small group of Muslim-Jews (crypto-Jews), known as the sect of *Dönme* (from the Turkish “converted to Islam from another religion”), continued to live in Izmir, *Sabbatai*, 926-927.

⁴ A minor chronicle, written by Hakob of Karin, reads, “In the year 1116 of our calendar, in the month of November, an earthquake occurred in Erznka. The two churches, bathhouse, homes and structures fell down. Armenians and Muslims were lost under the earth. God spared our city of Erzurum, etc. This occurred on a Wednesday,” *MZH*, I, 243.

⁵ Hakob of Karin mentions that earthquakes occurred in Shamakhi, Tiflis, Erevan and Ganje. None of the cities were damaged, except Shamakhi. However, God listened to the prayers of the Armenians; not a single stone fell from the church; not a single Armenian, who was in the church, was hurt in Shamakhi, *MZH*, I, 243-244.

⁶ Biblical canticle of Daniel 3 describing the three youths who were cast into the burning furnace by Nebuchadnezzar, or, more probably, the genre of *sharakan* that is derived from it.

Tabriz, Erevan, Tiflis, Ganje, Shamakhi and Damur-ghap'u (Darband), and in their surrounding districts. The earthquake broke the brick inner wall of the church at the Haghpat monastery. The church called Tesewants', constructed between Haghpat and Sanahin, was completely demolished. The wall of the new church in the city of Tiflis and the walls of the upper fortress collapsed as well. The city of Shamakhi was totally destroyed. No building remained standing and countless people died. Only God knows the number of dead.¹

¹ See *MZH*, II, 272. MS 2281 at the Matenadaran Archives (ff. 402r-v) refers to this earthquake and states that it occurred at noon on the feast day of St. Barsegh. The Ararat region was spared, thanks to the prayers of Ējmiatsin. The churches and the fortress of Tiflis were damaged. It adds that although 40,000 people died in Shamakhi, those Armenians who were in church were completely spared. The above two paragraphs once again demonstrate that the material was added to C later, probably in 1669, just prior to Arak'el's death.

[666] Chapter 58*The reasons for writing this Book of History, as well as a memorial note from the author*

Benediction, praise and gratitude to my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, who gave me, Aṙak'el, his unworthy, weak and humble servant, the opportunity, in my last days and the evening of my life, to draft anew this book, which I present under the title "Book of History"; and to bring to an end, that which has been achieved. Therefore, I prostrate myself, and with tearful supplication, I call on him and say, "Thank you, Christ, my Lord. I bless Thee, your Holy Mother, and your radiant cathedral and residence, holy Ējmiatsin. My Lord and my God, Jesus Christ, all beneficence belongs to thee and comes from thee. You are the Word and the giver of the Word. You are the book, the scribe, and you are the source of this book. May you be blessed by your Father, the Creator, [667] the Holy Spirit that adorns thee, and by all creatures throughout the ages. Amen."

I shall now cut my speech short and shall write about those who deserve respect: esteemed people and philosophers, enamored with the art of philosophy; saints, endowed with practical virtues; the sons of holy baptism and believers in Christ. Also, I ask, with great supplication, not to hold me in contempt or blame me for undertaking a task beyond my abilities. As if, relying on my courage, I accepted this task, which always exceeded my abilities, because of arrogance and impertinence. For, it was the command of *tēr* P'ilippos, the Kat'oghikos of All Armenians, thrice blessed and crowned by Christ, that forced me to [to undertake this labor]. [To record the life] of the wisest patriarch *tēr* P'ilippos and [the endeavors of] all the sagacious, virtuous and old men, who lived before him and during his lifetime, and who witnessed all these events and incidents, which are related in this "Book of History." That [is, to record] the destruction of the land of the Armenians; the capture and slaughter of Christians; as well as the impoverishment and the weakening of Church regulations, the loss of glory, and the ruin of the lofty Holy See of Ējmiatsin, the residence of Christ, as well as their restoration; and other historical events. All that these men, with great desire and undying wish, wanted to immortalize in colophons for future generations, who lived in that century, as well as for those who will live in future years. They constantly asked and begged Kat'oghikos P'ilippos [668] to command someone to fulfill this task: to write a

history. Kat'oghikos P'ilippos himself also demonstrated a great concern about this affair. That is why he compelled one, then another, then a third person to undertake this task. He tried to persuade many of his disciples, hoping that someone would agree to accomplish [this task]. But they, being knowledgeable, were well aware what great labors were tied to it; they did not accept the torment, moved away and avoided it. Therefore, to me, named Aṛak'el, the unworthy and contemptible servant of words, who was born in the city of Tabriz, a disciple of the same Kat'oghikos *tēr* P'ilippos, a member of the brotherhood of the radiant Holy See of Ējmiatsin, raised and educated here, and having settled here in my old age—I hope to be buried under the ground of its vestibule, so that I can join the holy rites performed there—to me, the unfortunate and disdainful, in turn, fell the strict command of the patriarch. I, the ill fated, fell into the snare of this affair. I struggled to get out, like a weak animal that was trapped in a noose and a trap, but was not able to free itself. Here are the reasons for this:

First, as mentioned above, I could not get around the patriarch's command, even though with the help of many mediators, I announced and admitted my infirmity, saying that I did not have the strength for that job. Second, not only the compulsions of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, but especially the coercion of the magnanimous and most patient patriarch, Kat'oghikos *tēr* Hakob of Julfa, who, after Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, inherited [669] the patriarchal throne, the Holy See of Ējmiatsin. He persuaded me to [complete] this work, which I had abandoned after the death of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos. For, the work, as far as I was concerned, was *terribly difficult*¹ and demanded much labor. That is why I withdrew and refused to complete it. The work was thus delayed for some time. Then, our saintly patriarch, Kat'oghikos Hakob, once again reminded me about it, summoned me, prevailed, and once again charged me with the same task. Therefore, after enduring many torments, I managed somehow to gather many histories and committed them to paper. Third, I myself, after witnessing the destruction of the land of the Armenians, the weakening of our people, and the villainy of the Muslims, suffered [experienced the pangs of conscience]. My heart burned from bitterness and sorrow; I, therefore, agreed to write all of it. Fourth, and above all, to gain the good will of the Lord. For, seeing many crimes, experiencing the gnawing remorse of conscience,

¹ F reads "worthwhile."

and not receiving any solace from the [secular] world, I put my trust in the eternal grace of the man-loving Lord, who did not fail to reward for a cup of water,¹ and who threw his labor, like the widow's *lepton*,² into God's treasury.³ I hope that I shall obtain a reduction of my enormous offenses, because I have disfigured the image of the Lord with filthy mud. I also put great hope in the gracious intercession of your prayers, when you shall pray from the depths of your soul to the all-gracious Lord, to grant me, the unworthy, his grace and his forgiveness for my sins, just like, thanks to the petitions of Lazarus' sisters, he granted him resurrection.⁴ It was thus with this hope and intention I took upon myself [670] such a laborious and tormenting job which required great zeal. I have lost many days because of it, traveled through many countries and lands in search of accounts for this history. I asked not only Christians [Armenians], but also foreigners [non-Armenians] and wrote down everything recited by them. It happened that in order to ascertain the truth, I would write the same account ten or more times. I spent nine years on this, squandered my means on it, and just barely gathered together all the accounts and recorded them. No one assisted me in any way in this endeavor; my Lord, Christ, was my only protector. Furthermore, when Kat'oghikos P'ilippos ordered me to take this labor upon myself, and I began the work, I labored for four years and gathered part of the history. After the death of Kat'oghikos P'ilippos, I abandoned it, left it, and moved away from it. For I saw great danger and torments connected with this task, which appeared to be more than my capabilities and weak strength could handle. The work was halted until the arrival of the year 1107 (1658) of our calendar. After that, by the order of Kat'oghikos Hakob, I once again took up the task and labored on it until the year 1111 (1662) of our calendar. I then completed my work. Moreover, although I wrote parts of this book in various places, during my travels around the world, its be-

¹ Refers to Mark 9.41, "For truly I tell you, whoever gives you a cup of water to drink because you bear the name of Christ will by no means lose the reward."

² A copper coin of little value, a mite.

³ Refers to Luke 21.1-4, "He looked up and saw rich people putting their gifts into the treasury; he also saw a poor widow put in two small copper coins. He said, 'Truly I tell you, this poor widow has put in more than all of them; for all of them have contributed out of their abundance, but she out of her poverty has put in all she had to live on.'"

⁴ John 11.1-45.

ginnings were formed¹ by the grace of the holy cathedral, at the residence of the Lord, the loftiest Holy See of Ējmiatsin—as was its conclusion. This book contains the history of sixty years, as well as that, which, by the grace of Christ, was found [671] and deposited with the bankers.² The shortcomings, distortions, and other similar [deficiencies] are due to my ignorance and feebleness, for which I humbly ask your forgiveness. Especially, since I embarked on this task not in the days of my vigilant youth, but in the years of wretched old age, for I was already elderly, as well as very sick in body. The light of my eyes is dimming; my hands have lost their firmness and are shaky. I have become weak, and the shadow of death, which comes to all, looms before my eyes. The threat of hell visits me more and more. Therefore, I prostrate myself at your feet and as a criminal beg you, for the love you bear in Christ, not to scorn my plea, and to intercede on my behalf. I summon, request, beg, and insist, with great supplication, “God have mercy,” “Christ the Son,” “Our Father, who art in heaven,” and so forth. I beg you, whether you are sitting or standing, not to linger or be lazy, but to utter these words. For what you grant me [today] shall be your allotment and allowance at the day of the terrible judgment before the impartial Judge—Christ the Savior, whose honor, adoration, glorification is eternal, and all intelligent and sensitive creatures exclaim it without end. Amen.³

¹ Absent from **B**.

² Matthew 25.27: “Then you ought to have invested my money with the bankers, and on my return I would have received what was my own with interest.” Luke 19.23: “Why then did you not put my money into the bank? Then when I returned, I could have collected it with interest.”

³ Oskan added two additional chapters (57 and 58), written by him, in **A**, 629-645; which were translated by Brosset, **MB**, 596-604. The chapters are titled “The history of the life of *Vardapet* Oskan of Erevan, the editor of this book” and “Unity and Union: On them being two different things or one and the same thing by the same Oskan *Vardapet*.” They are not included in **B**, **C**, **D**, **E**, **F**, **KH**, or **KHcr**. They have no relevance to Arak'el's history and are not included in this translation either.

[672] *Colophons*¹

Eternal glory to the indivisible and sole Holy Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen. [For] giving the opportunity to the unworthy and covered in sin, the impious scribe At'anas *dpir* to complete the [copying of the] book, composed not long ago by *Vardapet* Aṛak'el, whom they now call Aṛak'el the Historian. [This copy was completed] In the year 1112 (1663) of our calendar, during the rule of the most saintly Kat'oghikos *tēr* Hakob over all the Armenian people. He was from the royal city called Susa, which they now call Isfahan, and was born in Julfa. [This copy was done] during the reign of Shah 'Abbās II, and during the period of the governorship of 'Abbās-qoli Khan,² the son of Amir Gūna Khan,³ at the time when they deposed Najaf-qoli Khan⁴ and gave Erevan to 'Abbās-qoli Khan. Thus, the present book was written in the land of Ararat, in the small town of Karbi, which is under the protection of the archangels Gabriel and Michael, and all the saints that have gathered here. It was written in the diocese of St. John the Baptist, in the glorious cloister of Hovhannavank', which contains the right arm of St. Step'anos and the veil of the Holy Mother of God, during the leadership of the wise, meek and humble abbot, Archbishop Hovhannēs,⁵ a native of the town of Karbi. May the Lord safeguard his successful monastery and [permit] Hovhannēs to live to a ripe old age! Amen.

Eternal glory to the Most Holy Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen.

[673] By the benevolence and grace of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, this book called "Book of History" was written [copied] in the year

¹ The first colophon, written by *dpir* At'anas, appears in **C** (MS 1773 (1663) of the Matenadaran Archives). It is absent from **A**, **B**, **D**, as well as from **MB**. It is included in **F**. The second colophon, written by *erēts'* Awetis, appears in **B** (MS 1772 (1662) of the Matenadaran Archives). It is absent from **A**, **C** and **MB**, but is included in **F**.

² 'Abbās-qoli Khan of Erevan (1663-1666).

³ Amir Gūna Khan of Erevan (1604 to 1625).

⁴ Najaf-qoli Khan of Erevan (1656-1663). For more details on the various khans of Erevan in this period, see **ZK**, 330.

⁵ **ZK**, 267, 271, 297.

1115¹ (1666) of the great Armenian calendar, in the capital city of Erevan, at the holy church called Kat'oghikē, under the supervision and through the expense and efforts of *Vardapet Arak'el*, the author and composer of the same book, [who is] *Vardapet Arak'el* of Tabriz. In order to increase the original, he permitted this book to be copied. This is the *fifth*² book that has been copied from the original, which was written by the hand of *Vardapet Arak'el*, who devoted a great deal of effort and labor, spent his income, and then handed it to scribes to copy. First: in order to increase the numbers of the original; second: in memory of the patriarch. Thus, to anyone who happens to read it, copy it, or read it for good amusement, recall in Christ and in the depth of your soul, the above-mentioned *vardapet*, who through various means and facilities put much labor in "The Book of History." He continues his labors to this day; hence we ask that you remember him, those near to him, and all those who labored in this task, to the Lord. Together with him, I implore you to remember me, the contemptible scribe, *erēt's' Awetis*, who by the order of *Vardapet Arak'el* copied this book for the benefit of everyone, to Christ. Thus, those of you who will remember us in Christ and say, "God have mercy," "Christ the Son," and "Our Father who art in heaven," shall receive a thousand-fold from Christ, Our Lord, blessed be throughout the ages. Amen. Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name!"³

¹ D reads 1114 (1665).

² D reads "fourth."

³ Absent from D.

Appendix

The Kat'oghikoi at the Holy See of Ējmiatsin (1441-1680)¹

Kirakos I of Khor Virap (1441-1443)

Grigor X Jalalbēgeants' of Maku (1443-1465)

Aristakēs II At'orakal (co-kat'oghikos, 1455-1465)

Zak'aria of Aght'amar (co-kat'oghikos, 1461-1462)

Aristakēs II At'orakal (1465-1469)

Sargis II Ajatar (co-kat'oghikos, 1466-1469)

Sargis II Ajatar (1469-1474)

Hovhannēs VII Ajakir (co-kat'oghikos, 1474)

Hovhannēs VII Ajakir (1474-1484)

Sargis III Miwsayl (co-kat'oghikos, 1476-1484)

Sargis III Miwsayl (1484-1515)

Aristakēs III (co-kat'oghikos, 1484-1499)

T'adēos I of Vagharshapat (co-kat'oghikos, 1499-1504)

Eghishē II of Ējmiatsin (co-kat'oghikos, 1505-1515)

Nersēs V of Ējmiatsin (co-kat'oghikos, 1506)

Zak'aria II of Vagharshapat (1515-1520)

Sargis IV of Georgia (1520-1536)

Grigor XI of Byzantium (1536-1545)

Step'anos V of Salmast (co-kat'oghikos, 1541-1545)

Step'anos V of Salmast (1545-1567)

Mik'ayēl I of Sebastia (co-kat'oghikos, 1545-1567)

Barsegh III (co-kat'oghikos, 1549-1567)

Grigor XII of Vagharshapat (co-kat'oghikos, 1557-1567)

Mik'ayēl I of Sebastia (1567-1576)

Step'anos VI of Arinj (co-kat'oghikos, 1567-1575)

Barsegh III (co-kat'oghikos, 1567)

Grigor XII of Vagharshapat (1576-1590)

T'adēos II (co-kat'oghikos, 1571-1575)

Arak'el of Vagharshapat (co-kat'oghikos, 1575-1579)

Dawit' IV of Vagharshapat (co-kat'oghikos, 1586-1590)

Dawit' IV of Vagharshapat (1590-1629)

Melk'isēt' I of Garni (co-kat'oghikos, 1593-1628)

Srap'ion or Grigor XIII (co-kat'oghikos, 1603-1605)

¹ Names in bold refer to official kat'oghikoi; the rest refer to coadjutor kat'oghikoi or usurpers.

Sahak IV of Gar̄ni (co-kat'oghikos, 1624-1628)

Movsēs III of T'atew (1629-1632)

P'ilippos of Aghbak (1632-1655)

Hakob of Julfa (1655-1680)²

Safavid Shahs³

Isma'il I (1501-1524)

Ṭahmāsp I (1524-1576)

Isma'il II (1576-1578)

Moḥammad Khodābandeh (1578-1587)

'Abbās I (1587-1629)

Ṣafī I (1629-1642)

'Abbās II (1642-1666)

Soleimān (Ṣafī II) 1666-1694

Ottoman Sultans⁴

Bayazid II (1481-1512)

Selim I (1512-1520)

Süleyman II (1520-1566)

Selim II (1566-1574)

Murad III (1574-1595)

Muhammad III (1595-1603)

Ahmed I (1603-1617)

Mustafa I (1617-1618)

Osman II (1618-1622)

Mustafa I (second reign) (1622-1623)

Murad IV (1623-1640)

Ibrahim (1640-1648)

Muhammad IV (1648-1687)

² The dates for the coadjutor kat'oghikoi are approximate. The data for this table was gathered from the encyclopedia edited by H. Ayzazyan, *K'ristonya Hayastan* (Erevan, 2003), as well as Chapter 31 in the text. As noted, the practice of appointing coadjutor kat'oghikoi ended with Movsēs III of T'atew.

³ C. E. Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh, 1967), spelling modified and the date for Shah 'Abbās I corrected from 1588 to 1587.

⁴ Ibid.

Glossary

A., Arabic; Arm., Armenian; G., Georgian; Gr., Greek;
H., Hebrew; L., Latin; M., Mongol; P., Persian; T., Turkish

- abegha* (Arm.): newly ordained priest.
abreshum (P. *abrīsham*): silk.
aghegh (A. 'aqīq): carnelian.
aghrabi (A. 'aqrab): scorpion.
'ain ul-hirr (A.): cat's eye, agate.
ajam (A. 'ajam): Persia.
akhork' (P. *ākhwūr*): stables, stalls.
akht'arma/aght'arma (T. *aktarma* "turning over, change"): refers to Armenian Catholics or Armenian apostates.
alaja (P. *alejeh*, T. *alaca*): variegated or motley; a very popular silk or silk-cotton fabric.
alam (A. 'alam): flag, banner.
amali (A. 'amal): produced, bred.
amanat'e (A. *amānat*): deposit, security, safe-conduct.
amarat (A. 'amārat): structure, building, mansion, palace.
ambar (P. *aṃbar*): store room.
amir (P. from A. *emir*): ruler, military commander, high official.
amirzay (P. *amīr-zādeh*): sons of emirs, princes.
aragh (A. *araq*): spirituous liquor.
arghawani (P. *arghavānī*): red, purple.
armukh (T. *alma*): to buy, to take, to receive.
arpalik (T. *arpalik*, "barley money"): allowance paid to principal civil, military and religious officers of the Ottoman state.
artach'ap (Arm.): measure of a field.
arzay (A. 'arż): petition, presentation.
astar (P. *āstar*): lining.
atabagi (G. *atabagoba* from T. *atabek*): one of the high ministers at the Georgian court from the 13th to the 17th centuries:
at'ash (P. *ātash*): fire.
at'orakal (Arm.): coadjutor of the Holy See.
At'rpatakan/Adrpatakan/Adêrpatakan (Arm.): Arak'el frequently uses this term to denote the Safavid administrative unit of Azarbaijan, which in the 17th century included eastern Armenia (Ganja, Karabagh, Erevan, Nakhichevan), as well as the province of Persian Azerbaijan, with its capital at Tabriz.

Occasionally he equates it only with the present-day Persian Azarbaijan. Western Transcaucasia (most of present-day Republic of Azerbaijan) is not included in the above administrative unit. It was part of the Greater Shirvan Province.

ayar (A. 'ayār): proof, standard.

azat (Arm. from the P. *āzād*/free): knights, minor nobility, or freemen.

aznauri (G.): petty nobles, landowners, or warriors.

bagh (P. *bāgh*): garden, vineyard.

baghik' (A. *bāqī*): remaining.

baghkal (A. *baqqāl*): greengrocer; vendor of provisions in general.

baj (P. *bāj*): tribute, dues, road tolls.

balap'ush (P. *bālāpūsh*): overcoat.

bandar (P. *bandar*): port.

barak'at (A. *barakat*): prosperity.

barut' (P. *bārūt*): gunpowder.

baydagh (P. *bairāq*): standard, flag.

beglarbeg (T. *beylerbey*): governor of a province.

behez (Gr.-Syriac): delicate fabric made of thin linen thread; muslin.

bolukbashi (T. *bölük-başı*): head of a squadron; head of a small town, village, or region.

bostanch'i-bashi (T. *bostancı-başı*): commander of the royal guards, who had jurisdiction over the shores and waters of the Bosphorus and was frequently charged with the execution of grandees.

burj (A. *burj*): tower.

Celali (T.): rebels and bandits in the Ottoman Empire during the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

ch'arch'i (P. *jārchī*, T. *çarçi*): town crier; also a peddler who attracts customers by loudly announcing his wares. See also *jarch'i*.

ch'arukh (T. *çarık*, P. *chāruq*): rawhide sandal.

- ch'ashkhur* (G. *chakhchuri*): leg-coverings, wide trousers.
chashut/chasus (P. *jāsūs*): spy.
ch'awush (T. *çavuş*): sergeant, guard, herald, halberdier of the Sultan's guards.
chelebi (T. *çelebi*): well-bred, educated gentleman, often used for non-Muslim officials or men of distinction.
ch'inar (P. *chanār*): a plane tree; dumbfounded.
ch'ini (P. *chīnī*): Chinese.
ch'it (P. *chīt*): a cotton fabric on which designs were printed through the use of a wooden stamp; printed calico, chintz.
ch'lngar (T. *çilingir*): locksmith.
ch'ut'luk (T. *çiftlik*): land that could be ploughed by two oxen, given to military commanders, or as *waqf* to religious institutions.
cubit: measure of length of 24 finger breadths or six hands.
- daftar* (A.): tax-register, account book, roll, or record.
daftardar (P. *daftardār*): high official in charge of finances.
damagh (P. *damāgh*): the palate, the nose.
dang (P. *dang*): one-sixth of any private property, or one-sixth of the income from such property.
dank (P. *dānak*): weight used for jewels equal to 0.70 grams or one fourth of a dram.
dargah (P. *dargāh*): gate, threshold, entrance.
daruge (P. *dārūghe*): main police officer of a city or district.
darvaz (P. *darvāzeh*): gate.
dayim (A. *dā'im*): perpetual, permanent.
devshirme (T. *devşirme*): forcible collection of Christian boys for the Janissary corps.
didop'al (G. *dedopali*): queen mother.
divan (A. *dīwān*): chancery, administrative court.
divanbēk (T. *divan-bek*, P. *dīvān-beg*): high judge.
dpir (Arm. from P. *dabīr*): scribe, secretary, notary.
dram (Gr. *drachm*): weight used by apothecaries equal to one-eighth of an ounce.
dukan (A. *dukkān*): small store; workshop.
- easakh* (T./M. *yasak*): prohibition, interdict.
ēht'imal-dovlat (P. *e'temād al-dowleh*): Safavid grand vizier.
ēl (T. 'īl): tribe.
elchi (T. *elçi*): ambassador, envoy, minister.

- ēlm* (A. 'ilm): knowledge.
- engich'ar-aghasi* (T. *yeniçeri-ağası*): commander of the Janissaries.
- engich'ari* (T. *yeniçeri*): Janissary.
- erēts'* (Arm.): married, widowed, or celibate priest.
- erish* (T. *yüriş*): attack, assault, storm.
- erist'av* (G. *eristavi*): hereditary title; commander of the army.
- eshik-aghāsī* (P.): staff bearer or usher at court.
- falak* (A./P. *falak*): bastinado; a pole to which the feet of a culprit are fastened when the bastinado is given.
- farah* (A. *farah*): happy, joyful.
- farsh* (A. *farsh*): spreading (a carpet or the likes), paving, laying.
- farukh* (P. *farrukh*): happy, fortunate.
- farsang* (P.), also *farsakh*: a parasang, a league, about 18,000 feet or 5004.3 meters.
- fet'va* (A. *fetwā/fatwā*): ruling on a point of law, civil or religious.
- firuza* (A./P.): turquoise.
- frang* (A. *frangi/farangi*): Franks, Europeans, Catholic Christians from the West.
- fza* (A. *fazzāt*): silver.
- gabr* (P. *gabr*): Zoroastrian.
- gabs* (A. *qabṣ*): receipt, voucher, discharge.
- gasum giwni* (T. *Kasım günü*): end of summer military operations.
- gat'lam* (A. *qatli-'ām*): general massacre.
- gavukh* (T. *kavuk*): a quilted turban.
- gawar* (Arm.): district, region, canton, province.
- gaz* (P. *gaz*): a yard for measuring cloth; a cubit.
- ghabale* (A. *qabālat*, P. *qabāle*): deed, grant, bill of sale, bail, or bond.
- ghabul* (P. *qabul*): accepted, pleasing.
- ghasabē* (A. *qaṣaba*): borough, small town.
- ghaymagham* (T. *kaymakam*): head official of a district.
- ghaymagham* (A. *qā'em-maqām*): regent, deputy, successor.
- ghbla-numa* (A./P. *qibla-nāma*): pointing towards Mecca, compass.
- ghimat'* (A. *qimat*, P. *qeymat*): price, value, worth.
- ghirat'* (A. *qirāt*): carat, four grains or half a dang.
- ghoch'* (P. *qūch*): ram.
- ghuba* (P. *gumbad*): arch, vault, cupola.
- ghul* (T. *gūlām*, A. *ghulam*): slave; applies also to Janissaries, but generally refers to the personal guard of the Safavid shahs.

- ghullar-aghasi* (T. *ğullar-ağası*): commander of the Janissaries.
- ghurch'i-bashi* (T. *qūrçi-bāşı*): head of the mounted guards.
- ghurush* (T. *kuruş*): general term for silver piaster coins, worth about 80 *akçe* (each *akçe* weighed 0.27 grams of silver) in the 17th century.
- ghuti* (T. *qūtī, kuti*): box.
- glekh* (G. *glekhi*): peasant, subject who paid taxes.
- gomruk-khane* (T. *gümruk-hane, P. gomrok-khāne*): customs house
- gusan* (Arm.): minstrel.
- hagarats'i* (Arm.): children of Hagar (Muslims).
- haji* (A. *hājji*): one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.
- hakak* (A. *ḥakkāk*): jeweler, polisher of gemstones.
- hak'imaran* (A./Arm.): *Book of Medical Science*; compound word of *ḥakīm* (A. doctor), *aran* (Arm. book).
- halab* (A.): measure of length equaling 60 inches.
- halal-khor* (A./P. *ḥalāl khwūr*): an epithet applied to the lowest and vilest classes, those who remove carrion and the like; so called because everything is lawful food to them.
- halvach'i* (A./T. *ḥalwāçī*): seller of *ḥalwā* (kind of sweet cake or paste made with sesame seeds, flour, and sugar).
- hamam* (A. *ḥammām*): bath.
- hasas* (A. *khaşsa*): night watchman.
- hasl* (A. *ḥaşl*): unformed, immature.
- hasl* (A. *ḥāsil*): growth, outcome, mature.
- haysmawurk'* (Arm.): The Armenian menology; a calendar of the Church that contains biographies of the saints in the order of the dates on which they are commemorated.
- hojat'* (A. *ḥujjat*): proof, court document.
- ich'ēli* (T. *içeri*): interior.
- imza* (A. *imzā'*): signature.
- inam* (A. *an'ām*): gift, present, reward, prize.
- Iragh* (P. 'Arāq/Iraq): The Persian province of 'Arāq-e 'Ajam in central Persia; Persian Iraq.
- iravunk' ew has* (Arm.): dues (cash and kind) paid to the Armenian Church.
- iskalē* (T. *iskele*): gangway, wharf, scaffolding.
- ishkhan* (Arm.): term for Armenian princes during the medieval period; Arak'el's term for major landowners, notables, grandees.

- jabakhanē* (A. *juba-khāna*, P. *jebhe-khāne*): arsenal, armory.
- jadah* (A. *jādat*): highway, straight or beaten path.
- Jalali*, see *Celali*.
- janavar* (P. *jānvar*): animal.
- jarchi* (P. *jārjī/jārchī*): town crier, herald.
- jgha* (P. *jighal/jaghe*): a crest or adornment worn in the headgear of rulers.
- jhud* (P. *juhūd*): derogatory word for Jew.
- jnsi* (A. *jins*): goods, movables, crop, stock.
- johardar* (A./P. *javāher-dār*): jeweler.
- judam* (A. *judām*, P. *jozām*): leprosy.
- juma maschid* (A. *Juma' masjid*): Friday mosque, main mosque in a town.
- jzira* (A. *jazīra*): island.
- kadi* (A. *qādi (cadi)*, *qāzī*): a judge, a representative of authority.
- kafur* (A. *kāfūr*): camphor.
- kah kah* (P. *gāh gāh*): sometimes, occasionally.
- k'ahana* (Arm.): Armenian ordained priest.
- kahraba* (A.): amber
- k'albat'in* (A. *kalbatāni*, P. *kalbitān*): blacksmith's forceps.
- k'an* (P. *kān*): mine.
- kap* (T. *kapanlik*): weighing station, barrier.
- kapa* (P. *qabā*): overcoat, tunic worn by men.
- kapuch'i* (T. *kapici*): palace guards.
- kapuch'i-bashi* (T. *kapici-başı*): head of the palace door keepers (a high official at the Ottoman court).
- kar* (P. *kar*): deaf.
- kaziasker* (T. *kazasker*; the Arabic *qāzī* and *'askar*): chief military judge. There were two such officials; one in Rumeli (European provinces) and one in the Asiatic provinces.
- k'ehia* (P. *kadkhodā*): village elder.
- keshish* (P. *keshīsh*): priest.
- k'fr* (A. *kufr*): blaspheme, curse, insult.
- khakham* (H. *ḥakham*): Sephardi honorific for a rabbi
- khalat'* (A. *kil'at*; P. *khal'at*): honor conferred by princes upon their subjects consisting of a turban, robe, girdle, and, sometimes, a saddle.
- khali* (P. *khālī*, T. *hālī*): empty, uninhabited, vacant, unoccupied.

- khalich'e* (P. *qālīche*): small rug.
- khalīfa* (A. *khalīfa*): Caliph. Armenian Kat'oghikoi were addressed and treated as the Armenian caliphs.
- kham* (P. *khām*): raw, crude, unripe, immature.
- kharaj* (A. *kharāj*): The Ottomans used the term to denote tribute tax by non-Muslims or tax upon effects.
- kharduk* (P. *khwūrda*): small bits, fragments, pieces.
- khashkash* (P. *khashkhāsh*): poppy seed.
- khashkhashi* (P. *khashkhāshi*): poppy-colored, poppy-like.
- hasiat'* (A. *khususiyat*): peculiarities.
- khazina* (A./P. *khazīna*): treasury.
- khēmri* (A. *khamrat*): wine-dregs.
- khēsar* (A. *hişār*): fort.
- khēsar* (A. *ḥaşr*): to surround, to siege.
- khila*, see *khal'at*.
- khoja* (Arm. from the P. *khwāja*): a term used as an honorific for important government officials in pre-Safavid times. Safavids used it to refer to eunuchs, as well as for the Armenian non-religious leaders, usually wealthy merchants.
- khondk'ar* (P. *khondkār/khondgār*): the Persian term for the Ottoman sultan.
- khshm* (P. *khashm*): anger, wrath.
- khudayi* (P. *khodā'i*): from God.
- k'ile* (P. *kile*, *killat*): a measure of grain.
- Kizilbash* (T. *kızıl-baş*): Ottoman name for Persians. The *Kizilbash* (P. *qezel-bāsh*) were those tribal units who followed the Safavids. They wore caps with 12 red lines (for the twelve Shi'a imams).
- klay* (A. *qal'a*, T. *kala*): fort.
- k'lunk* (P. *kulank*): pick-axe.
- k'or* (Arm./T.): blind; P. *kur* (blind) or *khwar*: contemptible, wretched, friendless.
- k'osh* (P. *qūch*): ram.
- ktaw* (P. *gotni*): *kutna*, atlas or satin.
- kumash* (P. *komash/qomash*): burmet, glazed red-cotton material.
- kurdin* (P. *kūrdīn*): blanket, woolen garment; could also be the P. *khūrchīn*: bag.
- k'urk'ch'i* (T. *kürkçü*): official in charge of the sultan's robes .
- laghar* (P. *lāghar*): thin, skinny, emaciated.
- lak'* (P. *lak*): 100,000.

lal (A. *la'l*): amethyst.

lambran (Gr. *lampros*): clear, bright, joyful.

litr (Arm. from Greek): a generic term for "pound" units of weight.

It was used for liquids and dry goods and varied, depending on time and place; about 12 pounds in 17th-century Persia.

lulu (A. *lu'lu'*): pearls.

mach'it' (A. *masjid*): mosque.

machum (P. *māchān*): a ball of paste in a soup.

madan (A. *ma'dan*): mine.

maday (A. *ma'dat*): stomach.

maghbul (A. *maqbul*): pleasing, acceptable, agreeable.

mahdesi (Arm. from A. *maqdasī*): a native of Jerusalem; one who has made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

mahsar (A. *maḥzar*): judicial report.

mal (A. *māl*): property, wealth.

malum (A. *ma'lūm*): known, evident, obvious.

manjali (P.): weight equal to 5 grains; kernel of the nut of the ficus tree.

manshur (A. *mashhūr*): famous.

Mar (Arm.): Kurds.

marazli (A. *marāz*): sickness.

marghur (A. *marqūm*): written down, recorded, marked.

marjan (P. *marjān*): coral.

mastana (P. *mastāne*): drunk.

mawi (T. *mavi*): blue.

mazul (A. *ma'zūl*): depose, dismiss, remove.

melik (Arm. from A. *malik*): petty prince; also head of town or village.

mēmar (A. *mi'mār*/P. *me'mār*): builder, architect, mason, overseer.

meydan (A. *maidān*): central square, field.

mirmali (A.): belonging to the state treasury; crown property.

mirza (A./P. *mīrzā*): if the term follows a proper name, it denotes a prince; if it precedes it, it denotes a scribe, an administrative official.

mohrdar (P. *mohr-dar*): keeper of the royal seal in Persia.

momlat' (P. *momī*): waxen.

mot' (L. *modius*): measure for wheat, bushel.

mouravi (G.): governor of a city or district.

mshāl (A. *methqāl*): weight measuring approx 4.464 grams.

- mudaris* (A. *mudarris*): teacher, tutor, one who studies Islam.
- mufti* (A.): public official who issues a *fatwa*.
- mughada* (A. *muqāṭa'a*): flat-rate land tax irrespective of the actual output.
- mughri* (A. *muqri*): reader of the Qur'ān.
- muhlat'ana* (A. *muhlat*): delay, putting off, deferment.
- mulk* (A.): immovable property; land which brings income to its owner; income, rent from such a property.
- murhag* (A. *muhraq*): sealed.
- musalim* (T. *müsellim*): a lieutenant serving under a vali.
- mushamba* (T. *muşamba*): oilcloth, wax cloth, tarpaulin.
- nabat* (P. *nabāt*): candied sugar.
- naghash* (A./P. *naqāsh*): painter.
- naghd* (A. *naqd*): ready money.
- najakh* (T. *nacak*): hatchet, axe.
- nakbēr'* (A. *nakbati*): wretched, contemptible.
- nakharars* (Arm.): Armenian feudal lords during the Arsacid period;
Aṛak'el uses the term to denote lords, nobles, grandees.
- nal* (A. *na'l*): horseshoe.
- nalband* (A. *na'lband*): smith, farrier.
- nayib* (A. *na'ib*): regent, substitute judge (Ottoman).
- nesar* (H. *n'esār'*): evil, satan.
- noghda* (A. *nuqta*): dot, spot, stain.
- nomos* (Gr.): decree, law, ordinance, or tax.
- notosats'* (Gr. *notos*): south or southwest wind.
- nuirak* (Arm.): representative of the Kat'oghikos, legate sent to collect the dues of Ējmiatsin.
- ochik'e/ojik* (A./P. *zīj*): astronomical tables.
- okka* (A. *uqīyat*): an ounce of silver, forty drams.
- olufa* (A. '*alufe'*/*alufat'*/*ulufe*): provisions for the army.
- ordu-bazari* (P. *ordū-bāzārī*): camp peddlers who perform menial jobs for the army.
- padshah* (P. *pādeshāh*): king, emperor.
- paghan* (P. *pālān*): pack-saddle.
- paglam* (A. *balğam*): phlegm.
- p'ak* (P. *pāk*): pure, clear, unblemished.
- pareshtukh* (P. *paresh*): flight.
- paron* (Arm., from baron): form of addressing a wealthy or

important person; modern-day term for mister.

parontēr (Arm.): patriarch, prelate.

pashalêgh (T. *paşalık*): province.

patrik (Gr. *patrikios*, L. *patricius*): patrician.

patrikk'n (L. *pater*): Catholic priests.

pat'yare (P. *patyare*): ugly, misery.

p'ayin (P. *pā'in*): below, the place beneath.

pazerkan (P. *bāzergān*): merchant.

p'ch'zadē (P. *padeshah-zadeh*): prince.

pēgmaz (T. *pekmez*): heavy syrup made of grape juice.

p'erp'er (P. *parparam*): purslane.

piaster: see *ghurush*.

pogh (Arm.): smallest copper coins, same as *pūl*.

porēzik (P. *pīrzi*): inferior goods; peddler of such goods.

pul (P. *pūl*): money, here it implies the smallest coin of the realm, same as the Armenian *pogh*.

put'ka (Syriac): caravansary.

qeshlaq (P. *qeshlāq*): winter camp.

qullar: see *ghul*.

qullār-āqāsī (P.): chief of *qullar*

qūrchī (P.): royal household troops in Safavid Persia.

ṛabunapet (Arm.): head of *vardapets*, patriarch.

ṛadat' (A. *ra'yat*): subjects, peasants.

ragham (A. *raqam*): royal decree; official letter.

rahdar (P. *rahdār*): road patrol; customs official.

ramani (A. *rumman*): pomegranate.

rehani (A. *raihan*): basil.

rial (Spanish): reales de plate, small silver coins used in the Mediterranean region.

ritl (A. *ratl*): measure of weight approx. 3.5 grains.

rub (A. *rab'*): quarter, one-fourth.

rup (A. *rubb*): syrup.

rziani (P. *razyāneh*): fennel.

sabat (P. *sabad*): basket.

sadaf (A. *şadaf*): mother of pearl.

sadr (A. *şadr*): highest Muslim judge in Persia.

- saf* (A. *ṣāf*): clear, smooth.
safar (T. *sefer*): war, campaign.
salat (A. *ṣalāt*): prayer.
sanjak-bek (T: *sancak-bek*): head of a *sanjak* (district).
sanakhch'i (T. *sanacı*): estimator.
saray (T.): palace, mansion.
sardar (P. *sardār*): commander-in-chief of the army.
sarhad (P. *sarḥadd*): border.
sarıca (T.): irregular militia.
sarik' (T. *sarki*): gold-embroidered cover or clothing.
satakets' (Arm.): word used for the death of animals or evil men.
sawdan (A. *sauda'*): madness, melancholy.
sertiz (P. *sar-tīz*): sharp point.
shahastan (P.): city of the king, capital city.
shahne (A. *shahne*): police magistrate, tax-collector.
shahzada (P. *shāhzādeh*): prince.
shaikh (A. *shaik*): sheikh.
sham (A. *al-Sha'm*): Syria and its capital Damascus.
shamami (A. *shamam*): a nice-smelling gourd of a reddish-yellow color.
sharakan/sharakanots' (Arm.): Armenian Church hymns/hymnal.
shatter (A. *shātir*): speedy courier, runner, footman.
shawk'orin (P. *shab-kūrī*): night-blindness.
shirin (P. *shīrīn*): sweet.
shor (P. *shūr/shor*): salty, sour.
shunghar (P. *shanghār*): royal falcon.
siba (T.): A place surrounded with walls.
sibay (P./T. *sipahi*): soldiers, cavalry.
sijil (A. *sijill*): the record or minutes of court proceedings.
sikban (T.): musketeer infantry.
sirhach (A. *ṣir*): side, row, *ṣiraṭ* (path).
sk'ima (Gr. *skhima*): robes, vestments.
soba (T. *soba*): stove or hothouse.
subashi (T. *subaşı*): police superintendent.
sukhti: (P. *sukhte*): a student of religion, or *suqta* (A.): mob.
sundk (P. *ṣandūq*): trunk, chest.
surgun (T. *sürgün*): exile.

t'abiat' (A. *ṭabi'at*): nature, essence.
t'afariz (T. *taftik*): cloth of rare quality.

- tajik/tachik* (Arm.): term for Muslim (Arab, Turk, or Kurd);
Turkmen term for Persian-speakers.
- t'akband* (P. *takband*): silken or woolen girdle with a hook
and eye at the ends.
- t'akht* (P. *takht*): throne.
- tamagha* (A. *tamagha*): trade tax.
- t'amam* (A. *tamām*): perfect, complete.
- t'amasuk* (A. *tamassuk*): bond, promissory note.
- tanutēr* (Arm.): city or village elder; important person, head of
household.
- t'ap'aghi* (A. *tabaqi*): beehive, golden-layered.
- t'ap'anča* (P. *ṭapānche*): pistol.
- t'arkip* (A. *tarkīb*): a complication of diseases.
- t'avadi* (G. *tavadni*): holder of high state office, chief, leader.
- t'avel* (A. *tawīla*): stable.
- t'awusi* (A. *tā'us*, P. *tāvūs*): peacock.
- teghapah* (Arm.): *locum tenens*.
- tēr* (Arm.): priest, master, lord, often coupled with the name of a
kat'oghikos, signifying leader of the Armenian Church.
- tērtēr* (Arm.): colloquial for parish priest.
- t'er'ishch'i* (T. *teftişçi*): examining magistrate, inspector.
- t'fank* (T./P. *tufang*): musket, gun.
- t'fank'ch'i* (T. *tufangçi*, P. *tofangchī*): musketeer.
- t'ilim-khane* (A./P. *ta'līm-khāne*): house of studies, place for
apprentices.
- timar* (T.): fief.
- t'izabi* (P. *tīz-āb*): aqua regia.
- tōnlugh* (T. *donluk*): money given to troops for clothing.
- tonir* (Arm./P. *tanūr*): clay oven placed in the hearth for baking
bread and certain dishes.
- trekh* (Arm.): rustic shoe, sandal.
- t'riak'* (P. *taryāk*): opium, bezoar stone, an antidote.
- t'rnj* (A. *turūnj*): orange.
- t'ugh* (T. *tuğ*): horsetail attached to a helmet or flagstaff as
a sign of rank.
- tuman* (M. *tumān*): 10,000; also the highest denomination
in Persia, a large silver coin worth 10,000 *dīnārs*.
- tūpchī* (P.): artillery corps.
- vakhm* (A. *waqf*): charitable trust for religious purposes.

vaṛ (Pahlavi, *vār*, P. *bār*): soft, delicate fabric.

vardapet (Arm.): celibate priest in the Armenian Church; one who has completed his theological studies and is part of the inner hierarchy of the church.

vasla vasla (A. *wašl*): joining together, attached.

vayk'obovt' (H.): unfortunate, inglorious.

viot (Ger. *vogt*): overseer, bailiff, governor, or steward of a town or village.

vishap (Arm.): dragon, large snake.

voṛēas (Gr. *boreas*): north, northeast wind.

waqflvaqf, see *vakhm*

yaghut' (A. *yāqūt*): ruby.

yashm (A. *yashm*): nephrite, jadeite.

yaya (T.): foot soldiers.

yeylagh (P. *yeilāq*): summer camp.

zabarjat (A.): jasper.

zahmat'i (A. *zahmat*): pain, labor.

zarar (P. *zarar*): harmful.

zawal (T. *zavalli*): wretched, unlucky, miserable.

zrishk (P. *zerešk*): barberry.

zulum (A. *zulm*): oppression, tyranny, cruelty, injustice, outrage.

zulumat' (A. *zulumat*): dark, obscure (refers to India).

zumurud (A. *zumurrud*): emerald.

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