

**The chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus : being the first part of his political history of the world / translated from the Syriac by Ernest A. Wallis Budge.**

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SIR ERNEST A. WALLIS BUDGE



THE  
CHRONOGRAPHY  
OF  
BAR HEBRAEUS

GREGORY ABÛ'L-FARAJ

1225-1286

VOLUME I: ENGLISH TRANSLATION

APA - PHILO PRESS / AMSTERDAM






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THE CHRONOGRAPHY  
OF  
BAR HEBRAEUS









General view of the south side of the Monastery of Mâr Mattai  
on Jabal Maqlûb

From Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i, p. 97



ERNEST A. WALLIS BUDGE

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THE SON OF AARON, THE HEBREW PHYSICIAN  
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BEING THE FIRST PART  
OF HIS POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD

TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC  
WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, APPENDIXES, AND AN INDEX  
ACCOMPANIED BY REPRODUCTIONS  
OF THE SYRIAC TEXTS IN THE BODLEIAN MANUSCRIPT 52

VOLUME I: ENGLISH TRANSLATION



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## PREFACE

THIS volume contains a complete translation of Part I of the MAKH-TĒBHÂNŪTH ZABHNĒ or the Chronological and Political History of the World from the Creation to the year A.D. 1286, which was compiled by Gregorius Abû'l-Farag[h], who is commonly known as 'Bar Hebraeus' (Bar 'Ebhrâyâ), or the 'Son of the Jew' (i.e. of 'Ahrôn the physician). The transliteration is as literal as I could make it, and I have followed the renderings of many of the passages and whole sections of the book which I made when I read them at Cambridge with Professor William Wright in 1879 and the following years. With the help of the splendid *Thesaurus Syriacus* of Payne Smith, and the *Supplement* to it compiled by Mrs. J. P. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1927), a very large number of the lexicographical difficulties which then existed have been cleared up. Words added to make the meaning of the text clearer are enclosed within brackets [ ], and every doubtful rendering is followed by a question mark (?). The transliteration of the Syriac forms of proper names—French, Italian, Turkish, Arabic, Armenian, Tâtâr (Mongolian), Indian, and Chinese—have, in spite of Bedjan's useful variants, caused me much difficulty, and I am guilty of a certain amount of inconsistency in the English transliterations. The numbers printed in heavier type and enclosed within brackets [ ] refer to the pages of Bedjan's text.

It is very probable that those who use this book will complain that it lacks philological and historical notes, and that it has no commentary and contains no indications when the statements made by Bar Hebraeus are incomplete, or misleading, or are absolutely incorrect. And while admitting that such readers will be justified in complaining, I would point out that this Chronography could be annotated almost indefinitely, and that the addition of a series of notes, however brief, to be of any use, would have doubled the size of a book which is already sufficiently long.

The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus (as it must be called if we are to translate the Syrian title) *does* contain lists of Hebrew Patriarchs, and Kings of the Hebrews, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks (Ionians and Byzantines), Khâlifs, Khâns, &c., but these and the years of their reigns taken together occupy only a very small portion of the book. The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus is in reality a chronological and historical encyclopaedia, into which an enormous amount of information of various kinds, which has little to do with Chronography, has been crammed. It is what Bar Hebraeus himself says about kings and their peoples which fills the book, and, it must be admitted, that it forms the chief interest of the work. He deals with histories, religions, languages, the manners and customs of peoples; and adds biographies of great warriors and physicians; he



describes battles and sieges and the capture of cities; and the coming of comets and extraordinary appearances in the heavens; and earthquakes, famines, falls of snow, and the freezing over of the Tigris and Euphrates; and the prices of foodstuffs in times of famine and scarcity. He also reports Court scandals, and repeats gossip of all kinds, and tells 'laughable stories' (many of which are extremely Oriental in character), and some of his remarks on portents derived from the appearances of the sun and other heavenly bodies will remind the reader of passages in Old Moore's *Almanack*.

Nothing seems to be too absurd or foolish or unimportant for him to set down in writing. In one place he records the birth of a monstrosity which had the head, mouth, and neck of a man, but no hands and no feet. When this creature dropped on the ground it prophesied and said that 'in four years' time there would come a famine which would destroy all mankind', and that the only way to avert it was 'for men, women, children, and the beasts to go outside the city and weep before God, so that He might make His rain to descend' (*infra*, p. 193). When the Khalifah Kâim heard this he ordered all the people to go outside the city and pray, but, as Bar Hebraeus solemnly remarks, because many of them did not believe this report, very few went out! Elsewhere Bar Hebraeus records the birth of a child with two heads, and four hands and four feet (see *infra*, p. 361). In another place he tells us that in A.D. 927 the cold in Baghdad was so great that eggs, oil, and vinegar froze (*infra*, p. 155). And his credulity appears frequently, for he tells that after the appearance of a comet Theodosius was thrown from his horse and broke his neck (*infra*, p. 67). Another comet having appeared for many days the locusts came and ate up everything, and the Aurora Borealis flamed in the heavens the whole night long (*infra*, p. 70). After the appearance of another comet, the Persians defeated the Greeks and captured many cities (*infra*, p. 74), and after the appearance of another for several days, the Euphrates was frozen over (*infra*, p. 102). How much of all the absurd things which he reports were believed by him personally cannot be said, but it is clear that he tried to fulfil his task as a remembrancer.

Returning to the question of the need for notes to the Chronography. There is no doubt that notes and a running commentary which would contain full references to modern printed Oriental literature would be very useful, and such a work should be written. I once thought of trying to write something of the kind to print in the present work, but when I remembered the full Index which it was absolutely necessary for me to add to my translation, and the many pages which it would fill, I decided that such a work must be written by a younger hand than mine, and printed as a separate work. I hope that it will be written, and if the writer finds my translation in any way useful, the three years which I have devoted to the translation of the Chronography will not have been wasted.



In considering the Chronography as a whole it should be remembered that when Bar Hebraeus began his studies in the great library at Marâghâh he only intended to write the history of the last eighty years. The Chronicle of Michael the Great stops with the year 1196, and its author died in 1199. The Library at Marâghâh contained many Syriac, Arabic, and Persian manuscripts, and also, of course, contemporary documents dealing with the extraordinary events which took place in the thirteenth century, e.g., the rise of the Mongol power under Chingîz Khân (died 1227) and his sons and grandsons, and the adoption of Christianity by the Mongols. Of many of them Bar Hebraeus was an eyewitness. Takûdâr Oghlû was baptized early in the thirteenth century. Kuyuk was a Christian, and all his officials and physicians were Christians, and he had a church-tent set up by the side of the royal pavilion about 1250. Prayers were said in it by day and by night, and the Sacrament was administered several times during the day, and the beating of the board which served as a bell rarely ceased.

Having completed his history of the eighty years, he worked backwards, and using the Chronicle of Michael the Great as a foundation, he compiled his great work dealing with the profane history of the world from the Creation to the year of his death in 1286. His intention was, as he plainly says, to instruct his 'people', i.e. the Jacobites, both the old and the young, the educated and the uneducated. But he knew well that mere chronological data form dry reading, and though he included all these, he supplemented them with a great mass of interesting and arresting facts, which would please the young and uneducated, and at the same time appeal to the scholar. His Chronography is in reality an Introduction to the study of Ancient History, and is a popular Handbook or Compendium of Chronology in general for the use of students.

The fact has been overlooked generally that Bar Hebraeus was a popular lecturer on mathematics and astronomy, and a writer of popular works on philosophy, religion, and grammar, in which he managed to treat abstruse subjects in a simple manner and to describe them in clear and easy language. Thus *Têgêrath Têgêrâthâ* is an abridgement of *Hewath Hekhmêthâ*, and was intended for popular use and as an introduction to the study of Greek philosophy. The *Kêthâbhâ dhê-Zalgê* is a popular version of the *Mênârath Kudhshê*. His great Grammar called *Kêthâbhâ dhê-Şemhé* was written for expert grammarians, and the smaller simplified grammar in metre (*Kêthâbhâ dhê-Ghrammatîkî*) for beginners. And the translations which he made of Greek and Arabic medical works were intended to popularize the system of medicine which the Greeks of Alexandria had established all over Asia Minor. It is said that he himself wrote a large book of medicine, but whether he finished it or not is not known.

The translation printed in this volume has been made from the edition of the Syriac text of the *Makhtëbhânûth Zabhnê* which was edited by Père



Bedjan and published at Paris in 1890 (see p. xxxvii). The text there is printed in Nestorian Syrian characters, and the vocalization is Nestorian. The edition was probably intended for the use of Nestorian pupils and students, for Bedjan added notes in which he warns his readers against accepting everything which he finds in the book, and exhorts him to remember that Bar Hebraeus was a Jacobite, who only regarded history from the point of view of the monophysite. What Bar Hebraeus himself would think or say if he could see his text in its Nestorian dress offers us an interesting field for speculation. But Bedjan's edition provided a good text, and the Syriac scholars, who were not keen theologians, were thankful to have it. It is to be regretted that, according to the report of continental booksellers, this edition is 'épuisé' and that copies of it are 'très rare'. This being so, students who have wanted to read the Chronography in Syriac could only do so in some library which possessed a manuscript copy of it.

Whilst writing the translation of the Chronography the thought came to me repeatedly that the time had come when it was necessary to have a new edition of the Syriac text. There is no manuscript containing it in the British Museum, and it was obvious that the best source on which to draw for it was one of the two great manuscripts of the works of Bar Hebraeus preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, viz. Hunt No. 1 and Hunt No. 52, which are described at length by Payne Smith, *Catalogus*, col. 368 f. and col. 548 f. Hunt No. 1 (see Plate II) is a huge paper manuscript, a large folio from which the priests read from the lectern to their congregations in church; it measures 22 inches in length and 15 inches in breadth. Each page contains four columns of text, and Part I, i.e. the Chronography, fills 219 pages. The writing is large and handsome, and the letters are beautifully formed; many scribes were employed in copying the work, but all were experts, and they all seem to have been better scribes than Syriac scholars. Hunt No. 52 (see Plate III) is a paper manuscript which may or may not have been used as a service book in church; it measures 12 inches in length and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in breadth, and contains Part I, i.e. the Chronography, only. Each of its 402 pages is filled with two columns of fine bold writing, and it was written by more than one scribe. A part of Hunt No. 1 was written by one Joseph, a monk in the year of the Greeks 1809 = A.D. 1498, but Hunt No. 52 is much older, and was probably written in the fourteenth century, perhaps not very long after the death of Bar Hebraeus in 1286. Among the readers of the latter was one who understood what he was reading, for he has added notes in many places.

I decided to reproduce the text of one of these manuscripts in a form which would make it convenient for use by students and to make it the second volume of this work. To reproduce the text by type would be a very expensive undertaking, for the cost of setting Oriental books in type is now prohibitive in England; and as the mistakes of the editor and the







the present text is the only one which has been printed in the United States. It is a reprint of the first edition, which was published in 1840. The text is in the original form, and has not been altered in any way. The only changes are those which are necessary for the purpose of making the text conform to the modern style of printing. The text is in the original form, and has not been altered in any way. The only changes are those which are necessary for the purpose of making the text conform to the modern style of printing.







compositor can never be wholly eliminated, the reader can never be certain that the printed text is absolutely correct. A full-sized facsimile of Hunt No. 1 was out of the question, because of its unwieldiness, and the great cost of its reproduction would place the volume beyond the reach of all but the wealthy. I then consulted Mr. John Johnson, Printer to the University of Oxford, and having gone into the matter very carefully he showed that the cost of producing a facsimile of the text of Hunt No. 1, whether by line blocks or by photography, was prohibitive. In either case each column of text would have to be divided and its two halves made to form one octavo page; and the text would fill 876 pages! But the manuscript Hunt No. 52 lent itself more readily to our wishes. By reducing the size of the page of the actual text a very little it was possible to reproduce the manuscript page for page, each with its two columns of writing, and to produce a complete facsimile including all the marginal corrections and notes. Mr. Johnson's experiments were eminently successful, and the result of them is the excellent facsimile of the text of Hunt No. 52, which accompanies my translation. The scribe who wrote the text made mistakes, like every other scribe, but the student who is not working at the manuscript in the Bodleian Library, will for the first time know of a certainty exactly what the scribe did write, and will not have to contend with the mistakes of the editor and compositor, and some of the emendations proposed by modern scholars.

The encyclopaedic character of Bar Hebraeus's *Chronography* made the addition of a full Index of proper names and things absolutely necessary, and I have endeavoured to provide one. The writing of the slips, about 15,000 in number, and the making of the fair copy for the printer occupied several weeks. In connexion with the Index I gratefully acknowledge the assistance which I received from Mrs. K. M. Gadd, whose experience enabled her to sort the slips and arrange them in alphabetical order with great success.

It is a natural wish to show the reader what the monastery is like in which Bar Hebraeus's remains are preserved. For many years I tried to obtain photographs of the venerable Monastery of Mâr[i] Mattai, which once seen can never be forgotten, but it was impossible to find a photographer who would undertake the journey thither from Môsul, and the trouble and risk incurred in the transport of a camera and plates to the monastery. Two years ago when my former colleague in the British Museum, R. Campbell Thompson, D.Litt., F.S.A., was excavating the great temple of Nabû at Kûyûnjik (Nineveh), I asked his help in the matter. With great willingness he set to work and found a photographer and sent him with full directions to the Monastery, and the plates in the Introduction showing the exterior and interior, and the inscriptions over the graves of Bar Hebraeus and Mâr[i] Mattai have been made from the negatives then made. All the negatives



survived their journey from the Jabal Maqlûb to London, but during their transit from London to Oxford, one of them, perhaps the most important of them all, was smashed to pieces by the over zealous use of the stamp-obliterators by the clerk in the post office. I have therefore reproduced the drawing of the south front which was made for Mr. Percy Badger and is published in the first volume of his *Nestorians and their Rituals*.

My thanks are due to the authorities of the Bodleian Library for permission to reproduce the Chronography of Bar Hebraeus from the manuscript Hunt No. 52 in its entirety, and to Bodley's librarian, Dr. H. H. E. Craster, who gave every facility possible to the staff of the Oxford University Press. I am also indebted to Mr. John Johnson, Printer to the University, for the personal care and attention which he has given to the production of this work, especially in connexion with the volume containing the reproduction of the manuscript. The all-seeing readers for the press also made many suggestions which I have adopted thankfully. The proof sheets of the Introduction were also carefully read by my former colleague, Sidney Smith, now Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. His duties as Director of the Museum of the 'Irâk Government at Baghdâd enabled him to acquire a sound practical knowledge of the country and its peoples, and his observations on certain paragraphs were very helpful, and confirm much which Bar Hebraeus wrote more than seven centuries ago.

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*March 27, 1932.*

# CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES . . . . .	xiii
--------------------------	------

## INTRODUCTION:

THE LIFE OF BAR HEBRAEUS . . . . .	xv
THE WORKS OF BAR HEBRAEUS. . . . .	xxxii
THE MAKHTĒBHÂNŪTH ZABHNĒ OR CHRONOGRAPHY OF BAR HEBRAEUS	xxxvii
BAR HEBRAEUS THE MAN . . . . .	xliv
THE MONASTERY OF MÂR MATTAI ON JABAL MAQLŪB . . . . .	liii

## TRANSLATION

### THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

I. THE PATRIARCHS. FROM ADAM TO MOSES . . . . .	I
II. THE JUDGES. FROM JOSHUA TO SAMUEL . . . . .	15
III. THE KINGS OF THE HEBREWS . . . . .	19
IV. THE CHALDEAN KINGS . . . . .	29
V. THE KINGS OF THE MEDES . . . . .	31
VI. THE KINGS OF THE PERSIANS . . . . .	33
VII. THE PAGAN GREEKS (YÂWNÂYÊ) . . . . .	39
VIII. THE ROMAN EMPERORS . . . . .	47
IX. THE SECOND KINGDOM OF THE GREEKS . . . . .	81
X. THE KINGS OF THE ARABS . . . . .	89
The Confession of Faith of the Tayyâyê . . . . .	90
The Kingdom of the Saljûks in Persia . . . . .	195
The History of the Crusades . . . . .	234
The taking of Edessa from the Franks . . . . .	268
The Kingdom of the Mûghlâyê (Mongols), who are the Tâtârâyê (Tartars) . . . . .	352
The sons of Chingiz Khân . . . . .	353
The Laws of Chingiz Khân. . . . .	354
How the Mongols cleaved to the worship of images . . . . .	355
The cause of the enmity between the Mongols and the Persians . . . . .	356
The capture of Constantinople by the Franks . . . . .	357
The capture of Sâmarḡand by the Tâtârs . . . . .	381
The capture of Khâwârazm . . . . .	382
The murder of Amîn ad-Dâwlâh Tâômâ . . . . .	385
The death of Chingiz Khân . . . . .	390
The enthronement of a Mongol Khân . . . . .	393
The kingdom of Badr ad-Dîn Lûlû . . . . .	399
The enthronement of Ghôyûk Khân . . . . .	410
The enthronement of Mûngâ Khân . . . . .	416
The capture of Baghdâd . . . . .	429
XI. THE KINGS OF THE HUNS . . . . .	433
The enthronement of Kûblâi Khân . . . . .	438
'Abâkâ, the successor of Hûlâbû (Hûlâgû) . . . . .	445
The capture of Antioch . . . . .	448
'Arghôn, the son of 'Abâkâ . . . . .	471
The murder of Shams ad-Dîn . . . . .	472
Kanjâtû, the brother of 'Arghôn . . . . .	491

[The history of the last ten years in the Chronography (pp. 475-511) was not written by Bar Hebraeus, who died in 1286; the writer was probably his brother Bar Ṣâwmâ Ṣâfi.]

INDEX . . . . .	511
-----------------	-----







## LIST OF PLATES

- |       |  |                                     |
|-------|--|-------------------------------------|
| I.    | General view of the south side of the Monastery of Mâr Mattai on Jabal Maqlûb . . . . .  | <i>Frontispiece</i>                 |
| II.   | A column of text from the Bodleian MS. Hunt No. 1 . . . . .  | }                                   |
| III.  | A column of text from the Bodleian MS. Hunt No. 52 . . . . .   | } <i>between pp. viii and ix</i>    |
| IV.   | View of the north side of the Monastery of Mâr Mattai on Jabal Maqlûb . . . . .  | <i>facing p. liv</i>                |
| V.    | The Epitaph over the grave of Bar Hebraeus and his brother Bar Sâwmâ on the north wall of the Sacrarium in the Church of the Monastery of Mâr Mattai on Jabal Maqlûb . . . . . | ,, <i>lv</i>                        |
| VI.   | Inscription on the north wall of the Sacrarium of the Church of the Monastery of Mâr Mattai on Jabal Maqlûb . . . . .  | }                                   |
| VII.  | Inscription over the grave of Mâr Mattai on the east wall of the Sacrarium in the Church of the Monastery of Mâr Mattai on Jabal Maqlûb . . . . .                              | } <i>between pp. lxii and lxiii</i> |
| VIII. | Modern shrine and altar in the Church of the Monastery of Mâr Mattai on Jabal Maqlûb . . . . .   | }                                   |



## INTRODUCTION

### THE LIFE OF BAR HEBRAEUS

THE comparatively limited number of facts about the life of BAR HEBRAEUS which we possess are derived from the statements concerning his career which he himself made in his *Makhtëbhânûth Zabhnê*, which is written in Syriac and contains a History of the World from the Creation to his own time, and in his *Al-Mukhtasar Fi 'd-Dawal*, a recension of political history written in Arabic shortly before his death.<sup>1</sup> The oldest and best summary of these facts is found in ASSEMÂÎ, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino Vaticana*, Rome, 1719-28, tom. ii, pp. 244-463. A tolerably full account of his work from the time when he succeeded IGNATIUS, that is to say, ŞALÎBHÂ, the son of JACOB, is given by BAR HEBRAEUS in his *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, ed. ABBELOOS and LAMY, Paris, 1872-7, tom. ii, cols. 431-68. Shorter summaries of the life of BAR HEBRAEUS have been published by POCOCKE, *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*, Oxford, 1663; CARDAHI, *Liber thesauri de arte poetica Syrorum*, Rome, 1875, p. 63; NÖLDEKE, *Orientalische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 233-73; WRIGHT, *Syriac Literature*, which first appeared in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th edition, vol. xxii, and was reprinted, with notes by DUVAL NESTLE and ROBERTSON SMITH, under the title of *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, London, 1894; RUBENS DUVAL, *La Littérature Syriacque*, Paris, 1899, pp. 409 f.; and ANTON BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, p. 313.

BAR HEBRAEUS was born in MALAṬIYAH, the Melitene<sup>2</sup> of the Greeks, and the chief town of the eastern province on the EUPHRATES boundary in the year 1225-6 (Anno Graec. 1537). He was the son of 'AHRÔN (AARON), a distinguished physician of Hebrew descent, and was therefore commonly known as BAR 'EBHRÂYÂ, i.e. the 'Son of the Hebrew', or in Arabic IBN AL-'IBRÎ. The name which his father gave him at birth was YÔḤANNÂN or JOHN. How or why he came to adopt the name of GRÎGHÔR or GREGORY is not known; some think that he adopted it when he was consecrated a bishop some twenty years after his birth. It is interesting to note that in the Karshûnî inscription (i.e. Arabic written in Syriac letters) which is

<sup>1</sup> See p. xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Melitene became an important city under the early Roman emperors and a great market centre in which many caravan roads met. It stood on the bank of a tributary of the Euphrates called Melas by the Greeks, Kûbâkib by the Arabs, and Tukhmah Sû by the Turks. The town was rebuilt by the Khalîfah Manşûr in A.D. 756 and a strong garrison held the bridge over the river, which was about three miles from the great fortress, or citadel. In the time of Bar Hebraeus the town, or city, was exceedingly prosperous, and crops of grain of all kinds and fruit grew in the fertile lands round about it in great abundance. And its climate is said to have been very salubrious. The inhabitants of the districts suffered greatly by the raids of the Greeks and Arabs, and later by the Mongols. For descriptions of it by the Arab geographers see G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 120.



found over his grave in the Bêth Kaddîshê or Sanctuary in the Church of the Monastery of MÂR MATTAI on MOUNT ELPEPH (see Plate V) near MÂWŞIL (MÔŞUL), we find both names JOHN and GREGORY together thus:

This is the grave of MÂR GREGORY JOHN, and of MÂR BÂR ŞÂWMÂ his brother, the children of the Hebrew on Mount Elpeph.<sup>1</sup>

But BAR HEBRAEUS had another name, viz. ABU'L FARAG (Faraj), which is clearly Arabic. There is nothing in any of his writings, or for the matter of that in those of other Syrian writers, to show why he adopted this name or why it is applied to him, and no satisfactory explanation of its meaning has been given. BERNSTEIN wrote in his *Chronici syriaci specimine* (Leipzig, 1823, p. 3): '*Abu'lfaragius*, h.e. pater Faragii dictus est, cognomento ex Arabum more ab ipsius filio, *Faragio*, sumpto.' But this view is from the nature of the case wholly untenable, and it has been dealt with satisfactorily.<sup>2</sup> There is no good reason for doubting the AARON his father was a genuine Jew, and that he was a physician like many of his co-religionists, but his wife may have been an Arab woman, or of Arab extraction; the fact that GREGORY calls himself by an Arab name, or perhaps nickname, seems to suggest that something of the kind was the case. To assign a meaning to the name is difficult, but it may mean 'Father of what is pleasing'. It will be remembered that one of the gates of ALEPPO was called BÂB AL-FARAJ because on looking through it from the city the eye fell upon beautiful gardens and pleasing plantations. Certainly no other Syrian writer possessed to such a wonderful degree the knowledge of the history, traditions, and spirit of the Christian and Muḥammadan religions.

When still very young he devoted himself to the study of Syriac and Arabic, and, presumably, of Hebrew. ASSEMÂÎ (*B.O.* ii. 244) says that he worked at Greek, but NÖLDEKE believed this to be incorrect; see his *Orientalische Skizzen*, p. 254. Later he studied diligently Philosophy and Theology, and he acquired a considerable knowledge of Medicine, under the direction of his father and other distinguished physicians of the day, and treated patients. In 1243 the news of the doings of the TÂTÂRS under the Mongol HÛLÂGÛ (or HÛLÂBÛ) in all the countries of WESTERN ASIA from PERSIA to PALESTINE, and accounts of the destruction of whole towns and their inhabitants, reached MELITENE, and large numbers of the people of that region became terrified and panic-stricken and fled to ALEPPO. AARON the physician determined to go there also, and made preparations for

<sup>1</sup> Read by Badger (*Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i, p. 97).

<sup>2</sup> 'Fallitur Bernsteinus. Nam quod Barhebraeus liberos habuerit nullo uspiam documento insinuatur, cum e contra ab ipso vitam coelibem ductam perpetuo fuisse argumentis evincatur plurimis. Antequam annos viginti natus ad episcopatum promoveretur, monachi habitum susceperat, adeoque ut castitatem servandam lege Jacobitica adstringebatur; episcopi vero e monachis eligebantur, et si quis monachus habitum suae professionis exuisset, is porro ad ordines sacros promoveri vetabatur. Haec statuta, a veteribus accepta, refert ipse Barhebraeus in *Nomocanone*, pt. 1, cap vii, sect. x, apud Mai, *Scriptt. Vett. nova Collect.* tom. x.' See Abbeloos and Lamy, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, tom. i, p. viii.



departure, but was prevented from doing so by a curious accident. Whilst his servants were loading up the pack animals, and were pulling the ropes tight over the load of a certain mule, the animal lashed out with his hooves and scattered the mule men, and made it impossible for the party to leave. The loads were thrown about and the idlers at the gate of the city rushed out with the idea of plundering the little caravan. AARON returned to the city and visited the Archbishop DIONYSIUS, and CHRISTIANS and MUSLIMS alike took counsel together in the great church and decided upon a course of action. All was well, for the MONGOLS did not attack the city.<sup>1</sup>

In the following year SHÂWER NÂWÎN, a Mongol general, invaded MELITENE, and laid waste the country and destroyed all the crops. When he was about to leave and continue his conquests he fell sick and asked for a physician to treat his ailment. By some means AARON, the father of BAR HEBRAEUS, was summoned, and he accompanied the Mongol to KHARTABIRT, where he recovered. SHÂWER NÂWÎN returned to MELITENE with his physician, and stayed there for a few days, and then both he and AARON, who took his family with him, went to ANTIOCH.<sup>2</sup> There BAR HEBRAEUS continued his studies and received a visit from the Jacobite Patriarch IGNATIUS SABA, or DAVID, and when he was about seventeen years of age he became a monk and began to lead the life of the hermit.<sup>3</sup>

From ANTIOCH he went to TRIPOLI of PHOENICIA, and he and ŞALÎBHÂ BAR YA'KÛB WAGÎH<sup>4</sup> were instructed in rhetoric and medicine by a Nestorian rhetorician called YA'KÛB. The Patriarch IGNATIUS II sent for them, and had them brought that he might consecrate one of them bishop of 'AKKÔ and the other bishop of GÛBÔS (GÛBBÂS). And when they came he ordained ABÛ 'L-FARAG bishop of GÛBÔS on the day of the Festival of the day of the Redeeming Cross, on the 14th day of the month of 'ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER), A.Gr. 1557 = A.D. 1246.<sup>5</sup>

In the following year 'AHRÔN of LAḲABHÎN<sup>6</sup> left his flock (or, diocese) and went and made for himself a retreat in JERUSALEM. The Patriarch IGNATIUS II promptly transferred BAR HEBRAEUS from GÛBÔS to the vacant see, and BAR ŞÂWMÂ, the son of the brother of LAZARUS, who had formerly been bishop of GÛBÔS, was ordained bishop of GÛBÔS (*B.O.* ii, p. 246; *Chron. Eccles.* i, p. 685). BAR HEBRAEUS remained at LAḲABHÎN for six or seven years. On the death of the Patriarch schism broke out among the JACOBITES, for one party wished JOHN BAR MA'DÂNÎ to succeed him, and the

<sup>1</sup> For the Arabic text see *B.O.* ii, pp. 244, 245.

<sup>2</sup> *B.O.* ii, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> See the poem in Codex Vat. No. CLXXIV (*Catal.* iii, p. 356), No. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Şalîbhâ was transferred from 'Akkô to Aleppo, where he took the name of Basil, and in December 1252 he was made Maphrian under the name of Ignatius by John bar Ma'dânî. He died six years later. *B.O.* ii, pp. 375, 377, and 455.

<sup>5</sup> *B.O.* ii, pp. 245, 246. Abbeloos and Lamy, *Chron. Eccles.*, sect. 1, pp. 667, 669.

<sup>6</sup> One of the seven dioceses of Melitene which was in ruins in the days of Bar Hebraeus. *B.O.* ii, p. 260.



other wanted DIONYSIUS ('AHRÔN 'ANQÛR) to rule over them. BAR HEBRAEUS took the part of DIONYSIUS, and this candidate for the Patriarchate being elected, he was transferred by him from LAḲABHÎN to ALEPPO in 1253 (*B.O.* ii, p. 246; *Chron. Eccles.* i, p. 721). But he did not remain there for very long undisturbed. For when he had been in ALEPPO a short time, his old friend and fellow student at TRIPOLI, the Maphrian ṢALÎBHÂ, came from the East, and he sat down in ALEPPO for one winter. And he made himself ready and went to DAMASCUS, and he undertook to pay as much gold as DIONYSIUS had undertaken to pay, and he obtained a patent (i.e. authority from the government) for the deposition of DIONYSIUS and for the proclamation of MÂR JOHN BAR MA'DANÎ. And he turned and came to ALEPPO, and sat down (i.e. lived) in the church there. Now GREGORY [BAR HEBRAEUS] dwelt in the house of his father who had recently come from MELITENE and taken up his abode in ALEPPO; and after a short time he went up to the monastery, to the Patriarch.

And the Maphrian sent to JOHN BAR MA'DANÎ to come to SYRIA and to pay the gold which he had undertaken to provide; and MÂR JOHN excused himself from coming and from [the payment of] the gold. And he did not render thanks to the Maphrian for what he had done. And the Maphrian being urged by those who demanded [the gold], sent [again] to MÂR JOHN to come and pay [the gold], and added that if he did not do so, he would support DIONYSIUS, and come to terms with him. And, moreover, the Maphrian himself rose up to go and say these things to BAR MA'DANÎ and to hear his answer. And when the Maphrian arrived at the city of BÂLÂSH by the side of the EUPHRATES, BAR MA'DANÎ, who was on his way to SYRIA, met him and he went back with him to ALEPPO. And MÂR JOHN made ready the gold through a loan from a certain Kûshite (i.e. Ethiopian) merchant, a friend of his whose name was MITHKÂL, and he paid what he had undertaken to pay (*Chron. Eccles.* i, col. 722).

And at that time there came an envoy from the TÂTÂRS, a NESTORIAN whose name was AMÎN AD-DÎN MÛBARAK. And in going to SYRIA he made his way by the monastery of BAR ṢÂWMÂ, and he met DIONYSIUS, and he promised to go to MÂLIK AN-NÂṢIR and to arrange his business with him. And BAR MA'DANÎ heard [of this], and did not wish to dwell in SYRIA, lest the strong hand of the TÂTÂRS should have power over him, but he went to CILICIA, and was well received by King HAITÛM, and a village was also given to him. And he lived in a little monastery by the side of sîs. And that envoy came to MÂLIK AN-NÂṢIR, and he was unable to annul the proclamation of BAR MA'DANÎ, and he left and departed. And after a year ẸÎR MIKHA'ÎL, a physician, the son of GABRIEL, came to ḤÂRRÂN, and he sent a message to DIONYSIUS [saying], 'Behold, I am going as an envoy to MÂLIK AN-NÂṢIR, therefore send one of thy holy men to come with me that he may be careful on thy behalf.' When DIONYSIUS heard [this], he sent GREGORY [BAR



HEBRAEUS] of ALEPPO, who, his diocese having been taken away from him, had come to the monastery [of DIONYSIUS]. And GREGORY the bishop went, and he came to the physician-envoy on the road, and he went with him to DAMASCUS. And KÎR MÎKHÂ'ÎL received a new patent of authority for DIONYSIUS, and he gave it to GREGORY, who took it and came to ALEPPO. And he went into the church and dwelt there and ruled the diocese. And as soon as the Maphrian IGNATIUS heard that the matter of DIONYSIUS was settled, he departed from ALEPPO and went to TRIPOLI. And he promulgated a report concerning himself that he was never again going to minister in the chief office of the priesthood, neither in the East nor in the West, but was going to make a living by healing the sick. And when he began to go in and out in visiting the sick, and wellnigh became an object of contempt, God removed him from this temporary life by means of an acute disease which attacked him. He died on the fourth day, and he was buried with honour by the monks, and the Frankish elders and our own community in the Church of MÂR BEHNAM (*Chron. Eccles.* i, col. 726 f.; ii, col. 427). BAR HEBRAEUS was restored to the diocese of ALEPPO in 1258.

In 1264 BAR HEBRAEUS was elected Maphrian of the East, and in the *Chron. Eccles.* i, col. 749, ii, col. 423, he describes the event thus:

At the time when IGNATIUS<sup>1</sup> [III], that is ŞALÎBHÂ the Maphrian, died, the countries were in a disturbed state, BAGHDÂD was laid waste, and after it there were laid waste ALEPPO, and the whole of SYRIA, and BÊTH NAHRÎN. Moreover, thereupon the ARABS of 'ATHÔR (ASSYRIA) and NINEVEH rose up against the Christians who were there and destroyed them. And after a little while the TÂTÂRS came and killed the ARABS, and thus there was general destruction in all countries. Thus the wasted Church of the East remained a widow for the space of six years. Moreover, for three years before the death of ŞALÎBHÂ the Maphrian, the Church had been deprived of a Father-General. Therefore the Synod of the pious bishops having assembled in CILICIA, they appointed to be Patriarch MÂR IGNATIUS or RABBAN ÎSHÔ', the Archimandrite of GAWÎKHATH, and they also proceeded to the election of the Maphrian. And a few days after the consecration of the Patriarch the pious bishops and the Patriarch assembled in sîs of CILICIA, and they summoned GREGORY, that is 'ABÛ'L-FARAG, the son of 'AHRÔN. And on the first day of the week, on the 19th day of the month of the LATTER KÂNÔN (i.e. January), of the fifteen hundred and seventy-fifth year of the Greeks (i.e. A.D. 1264), they proclaimed him Maphrian of TÂGRÎTH and the East. For MÂR JOHN the Patriarch, BAR MA'DANÎ wished to proclaim him, and he had also made known to the Eastern churchmen concerning him, that he was fitting to rise up as a head for them; but owing to the disturbed state of the countries the laying on of hands (i.e. consecration of him) had been delayed.

<sup>1</sup> He sat from 1264 to 1282.



In Part I of the *Chron. Eccles.*, col. 749, we read: And after the consecration of the Patriarch had been accomplished, the Patriarch himself and the bishops of the East also, who had been deprived for a long time [of a Father General], were anxious to appoint a Maphrian. And because they knew that the deceased BAR MA'DÂNÎ had aforetime chosen MÂR GREGORY of ALEPPO to be the Maphrian, and had made known to those who were in the East concerning him, and in many of his epistles had called him the elect of the East, and they had sent to him their consent, and because his dispatch had been delayed through the disturbed state of 'ÂTHÔR through the troops of the MONGOLS, they did not change their election, and they committed to him the headship of the East. And the Patriarch together with the bishops came to sîs, and there were present also King HAYTÛM and his sons, and his nobles, and certain bishops and doctors of the ARMENIANS, and a great crowd of people, in the catholic church of the Mother of God, and GREGORY was proclaimed 'Maphrian of the East'. And on that same day the Maphrian himself preached on the headship of the priesthood from the text 'Thou hast fashioned me and hast laid thine hand upon me'. And THEODORE of SMAKRIAH translated [the discourse] into Armenian. And that day was a very famous day.

The life and activities of BAR HEBRAEUS from the time of his appointment as Maphrian to his last illness are described by him (*Chron. Eccles.* ii, cols. 432 f.; *B.O.* ii, pp. 248-63) thus:

At the time when IGNATIUS, the Maphrian, that is to say ŞALÎBHÂ, died (i.e. A.Gr. 1576 = A.D. 1265), the countries were in a disturbed state. BAGHDÂD was destroyed, and after it ALEPPO, and the whole of SYRIA, and BÊTH NAHRÎN were laid waste. And after this the ARABS of 'ÂTHÔR and NINEVEH rose up against the Christians who were there, and massacred them. And after a short time the TÂTÂRS came and killed the ARABS, and thus they were all involved in a general state of ruin. And the wasted Church of the East remained a widow for the space of six years. Now before the death of ŞALÎBHÂ the Maphrian also the Church was deprived of a Father General for three years more. Therefore when the Synod of holy bishops had assembled in CILICIA, and had appointed MÂR IGNATIUS Patriarch, that is RABBAN ÎSHÔ', the head of the monastery of GAWÎKHATH, they elected a Maphrian also. And a few days after the appointment of the Patriarch in the city of sîs, they summoned GREGORY, that is 'ABÛ'L FARAJ, the son of 'AHRÔN (AARON). And on Sunday, the 16th day of the LATTER KÂNÔN, of the year of the GREEKS 1575 (A.D. 1264), they proclaimed him Maphrian of TÂGRÎTH and the East. For MÂR JOHN the Patriarch BAR MA'DÂNÎ wished them to proclaim him, and he made known to the Orientals concerning him that he was fit to stand up for them. And through the disturbed state of the countries his ordination was delayed. And on the day when the Maphrian was ordained there were present the King of



CILICIA, and his sons, and his brothers, and the remainder of his nobles, and other Armenian bishops in the Church of the Mother of God. And the Patriarch with the Maphrian and the rest of the bishops made ready and went to tender homage to the king of kings (i.e. HÛLÂGÛ, the King of the TÂTARS), and [one] Patent was written for the Patriarch, and another for the Maphrian. And whilst the Patriarch removed to the territory of the RÛMÂYÊ, the Maphrian came to MÔŞUL. And the people of the palace and all Christians went forth to meet him, and they brought him in with [the] singing of hymns and psalms. And from there he went up to the monastery, and he was received with love by the dwellers in the monastery and by the men of the country. And he ordained BEHNAM, the monk, who was known as BAR SUMMÂNAH, bishop of BÊTH NUHADHRÊ, in the church of BÊTH DANIEL the Upper, on the fourth day of the half of the Fast of our Lord (i.e. Mid-Lent), in the year 1576 (A.D. 1265).

And he also came down to BAGHDÂD, and the Archdeacon and the other honourables went forth to meet him. MÂR MAKHÎKHÂ, the Catholicus of the Nestorians, perceiving this, sent the son of his brother and the son of his sister and other natives of BAGHDÂD to meet him, and they brought him to him with honour. And when he went forth from the cell of the Catholicus to go to his church which is in the gate of MÛHÛL, he sent with him those who had gone forth to meet him, and with them was a white silk dalmatic, and they came and put it on the Maphrian, and they left and departed. And the Maphrian also sent to him valuable gifts, and the believing men rejoiced greatly in the Maphrian. And, moreover, crowds of Nestorians gathered together every day in that church of ours, and they also prepared *mûrôn* oil for consecration, and saw a wonderful sign. For when the vessel was unfilled to a depth of four fingers, as soon as the consecration thereof was completed, the *mûrôn* oil swelled up in the vessel and would have run over the top to waste if they had not poured it off into a small flask.

And again certain men of the NESTORIANS heard that the JACOBITES were proclaiming the Maphrian Catholicus in the Diptychs, and they went and told the Catholicus. And he was smitten with envy and schemed to discover an opportunity for stirring up strife. Then God, glory be to His grace! prevented him from giving offence to any man. And in the days which came after the festival he felt pain in the colon at the ninth hour of the sixth day of the week (i.e. Friday), and he died in the morning of the Sabbath which followed the Sabbath of the White, on the 18th day of NÎSÂN, in the year 1576 (A.D. 1265), and was buried in the new church which he had built.

And the Maphrian was in BAGHDÂD the whole of that summer, and he ordained many deacons and bishops. And he also ordained to BAGHDÂD ÎSHÔ' the monk, from the monastery of MÂR HANANYÂ, and he was called



TIMOTHY. And he also ordained DENĤÂ, that is BAR-ĤAMZAH, of the monastery of MÂR MATTAI, bishop of 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN, and he was called JOANNES. When this man had been ordained and had set out to go to his diocese, he arrived at BÊTH ŞAIDHÂ, a village in the district of 'ARBÎL, and there he died, and he was buried in the new church which had been built in the village.

And in the later months of the year the Maphrian returned to NINEVEH. And in the year 1577 (A.D. 1266) he ordained bishop of GÂZARTÂ of ẔARDÔ WAHAB, a monk from the monastery of MÂR MATTAI, and he was called JOHN. And in those days he also ordained bishop of 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN ÎSHÔ', the monk from the monastery which is called SAWÎRÂ. And in this year (1577 = A.D. 1266) MÂR DENĤÂ, who was Metropolitan of 'ARBÎL, was ordained Catholicus. For he was the first and he went to the CAMP of the King of Kings. And it happened that HÛLÂĠÛ departed, and MAKHÎKHÂ the Catholicus also died. And his story was told to the believing Queen DÂḲÛZ KHATÛN, saying, 'Some time ago he was fitted to be the Catholicus, but MAKHÎKHÂ overcame him by bribery and calumny.' And the Queen commanded that he should be the Catholicus, and a YARLÎKH (i.e. Patent) was given to him and he came to 'ARBÎL. And he assembled the bishops and came down to BAGHDÂD, and he was ordained in SELEUCIA in the LATTER TESHRÎN, on the first day of the week of the third Sunday of the consecration of the Church.

And in the year 1579 (A.D. 1268) the Maphrian went to the West to see his kinsfolk. And on the road he met the Patriarch, in the city of 'ARGÎSH, which is on Lake ARKESTIA, who was going to make a charge against SIMON the elder and physician, concerning the affair of the monastery of MÂR BAR-ŞÂWMÂ. And the Maphrian did not wish to hold converse with the Patriarch, because the Maphrian advised him that it was not seemly to engage in quarrels before the barbarian Huns, and to lower our dignity in their eyes, but that we should settle among ourselves the dispute between the Elder and the Patriarch. But the Catholicus did not accept his advice with love, because he thought that the Maphrian was supporting the Elder. And when the Patriarch saw that the Maphrian was not disposed to meet him, he sent three of the bishops who were with him to persuade the Maphrian to meet him, and the Maphrian bowed before their words and went to the Patriarch, where he was lodged and saw him; and he departed and went to CILICIA. And the Patriarch went to the King of Kings, and settled his affairs and returned to the monastery.

And at that time a severe illness due to dysentery caused by the liver attacked the Maphrian in sîs of CILICIA, and he came to death's door, but God had compassion upon him and he recovered. And when the Patriarch heard of his restoration to health, he sent an affectionate letter to him, and in it gave thanks to God for his recovery. And when the Maphrian was



strong enough he went to the Patriarch in the monastery of BAR-ŞÂWMÂ. And in [those] days also there came SÎMON the Elder, and he brought a PŪKDÂNÂ which abrogated that document which the Patriarch had, and thus that which the Maphrian has said actually came to pass.

And the Maphrian left and went to TABRÎZ, and from there to MARÂGHÂ, and he sat down in the new monastery there. And he finished the Book of EUCLID, and then he went to NINEVEH in the latter months of the year.

And in the year 1583 (A.D. 1272), in the days of winter, BASIL [bishop] of TABRÎZ died; with the help of certain blessed merchants he had restored our church which was therein. And when certain monks from the monastery of MÂR MATTAI drew nigh and offered the Maphrian money to ordain them to the diocese, he refused to do so because they were lacking in learning and possessed the habits and manners of young men. But he committed the monastery to SEVERUS, who when he went there in the days of the Great Festival of the Resurrection was well received, and he began to take charge of the finishing of the buildings of the new church at TABRÎZ.

And in the days of summer also the Maphrian went to MARÂGHÂ a second time, and he built a cell and a house of prayer in the new church which was there. And when he had been there one year, and had finished the Book of MÎGÎŞÎ of PTOLEMY, there came to him YA'ĶÛB the Elder, the brother of SIMON the Elder and physician, after the Festival of the Resurrection of the year 1584 (A.D. 1273), and he entreated him to go with him to the monastery of BAR ŞÂWMÂ to establish peace between them and the Patriarch. And the Maphrian hearkened to him, and went up with him to the monastery, and from there he went to CILICIA, to the Patriarch, and he took with him NIMRÛD the deacon, the son of the brother of the Elders, and he ordained him Elder and Metropolitan of MELITENE, and confirmed the peace. And the Maphrian returned to MELITENE, and from there [he came] to NINEVEH.

And in the year 1585 (A.D. 1274) the church of our people which was in the city of BAGHDÂD, near the palace of the Khalîfah, was restored by the help of the chief of the lawyers, ŞAFÎ AD-DÂWLÂH SÛLÎMÂN BAR GAMÂLÂ.

And in the year 1588 (A.D. 1277) SEVERUS, bishop of TABRÎZ, died, and the believers mourned his death greatly, and they gave a general agreement to JOSEPH the monk, his nephew. And he came and was ordained in the monastery of MÂR MATTAI by the Maphrian in the days of the Fast of Forty Days; and he went and sat in the Church of TABRÎZ and was named DIONYSIUS. And in the year, in the days of the Festival of the Resurrection, the Maphrian went down to BAGHDÂD and kept the festival there. And he ordained SHAMS AD-DÂWLÂH MÂRÎ, the son of AMÎN AD-DÂWLÂH TAÔMÂ, a deacon, and with him others of the sons of noblemen. And he also consecrated *mûrôn* oil in the church of the Catholicus of MÂR THOMAS the



Apostle, which was in the gate of MÛHÛL, and he ordained other deacons in another church of the Mother of God in BAGHDÂD.

Now before the Maphrian went into BAGHDÂD he sent and informed Archdeacon THOMAS [of his coming], and he informed the Catholicus MÂR DENHÂ, and he sent bishops and many BAGHDÂD noblemen to meet the Maphrian, and when he went into him he honoured him greatly on the roadside. And he turned to the great crowd of JACOBITES and NESTORIANS and said unto them, 'Blessed are the people whom he thus hath.' And having remained there the whole summer, in the latter months of the year 1588 (A.D. 1277), he went up to TÂGRÎTH and sojourned in the famous churches which are therein. And all the nobles of TÂGRÎTH in every place rejoiced at this, for during the whole period of sixty years since the time when IGNATIUS, who became Patriarch, went forth from the town the Maphrian had never entered it. And having stayed there for about two months, he went back to NINEVEH and ordained three bishops, the first being MICHAEL, who is MÛKHLEŞ for BÊTH RAMÂN, the second BASIL for the monastery of MÂR MATTAI over the diocese of BÊTH TAKHSHÛR, and the third DENHÂ, that is JOHN, over the monastery of MÛ'ALLAḲ.

And on the Sabbath of the Great Fast of the year 1590 (A.D. 1279), whilst the Maphrian was in the city of MARÂGHÂ, ATHANASIUS, bishop of BÊTH NÛHADHRÂ, that is BAR-SUMMÂNÂH, died in BARTALLÎ—a capable and excellent man—and he was carried to the monastery of MÂR MATTAI. And in this year SIMON, the man who was known as BAR-ḲALÎGH, who was bishop of the city of ṬÛS in KHÔRÂSÂN, and DENHÂ, the Catholicus, had ordained him Metropolitan of the CHINESE, began to magnify himself over the Catholicus before he went to CHINA. And he sent and had him brought to him to the city of 'ASHNÂ in 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN. And he stripped him of everything which he had, and he shut him up in the Monastery of MÂR BEHNAM, which is in the city of LAḲḲAH. And when he fled from there to the mountains, certain of the men of the mountains seized him and brought him to the Catholicus, and he shut him up in his own cell. And after a few days SIMON and the bishops and monks who were with him died, but how this took place many people hold many and various opinions.

And in the year 1591 (A.D. 1280), on the fourth day of the Sabbath of the Passion, JOHN, bishop of GÂZARTÂ of ḲARDÔ, died. And because of his very long illness he had long ago spent everything which he had. He had freed the captive and he had sent to the monastery and the Maphrian everything which he possibly could, and he did not leave behind him a single coin.

And in the year 1592 (A.D. 1281) MÂR DENHÂ, the Catholicus, having set out to go to BAGHDÂD, was taken ill on the road. And after he reached the city he lingered on for a few days. Then on the night of the second day of the week which lighteneth the Great Fast, he departed this life on the



24th day of SHEBÂṬ of that year. Whilst MÂR DENḤÂ was still alive two Uigur monks came from CHINA,<sup>1</sup> by the command of KÛBLAI, the Great Khan, to go and worship in JERUSALEM. And when they arrived in these countries they could neither find a road nor the means of travelling [further]. And they tarried with MÂR DENḤÂ, and so that his enemy BAR-KALÎGH might not go to CHINA, MÂR DENḤÂ ordained one of these two Uigur, that is to say Turkish, monks Metropolitan of China, and gave him the name of 'YAHBH 'ALLÂHÂ'. And whilst they were preparing to go back to their country MÂR DENḤÂ died. Then the Amîr 'ASHMÛṬ, who was a kinsman of theirs, spake concerning YAHBH 'ALLÂHÂ to the King of Kings, saying, 'The Christians wish him to be their Catholicus. And the people of BAGHDÂD also wish for him because by reason of his affinity with the MONGOLS both in race and in language, they will be helped by him.' However, the matter was a Royal Puḡdânâ went forth that YAHBH 'ALLÂHÂ was to be the Catholicus. And he collected about four and twenty bishops, and they went down to SELEUCIA and CTESIPHON, and they ordained him Catholicus. Now although this MÂR YAHBH 'ALLÂHÂ was weak in the Syrian doctrine and literature, he was by nature a good man, and the fear of God was found in him, and he displayed much affection for us and the children of our nation.

And in the year 1593 (A.D. 1282), in the days of spring, the Maphrian set his face to go to the city of TABRÎZ, and to complete the building of the new church which was there, for there were very many things lacking in its house of prayer (oratory). And as he was travelling along he joined the caravan of the daughter of king MANGALÛN in order to be in her retinue, and the report arrived of the departure (i.e. death) of 'ABÂḲÂ, the King of Kings. Therefore he left the TABRÎZ road, and journeyed directly to the ṬÂḲ (Mongol palace), where the new king was about to rise up (or succeed). And when he arrived there, and the valiant 'AḤMAD had been elected and was seated on the royal throne, the nobles introduced the Maphrian into his presence. And he recited prayers and blessings according to custom. And 'AḤMAD commanded, and a marvellous Patent was written for the churches of 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN, and 'ÂTHÔR and BÊTH NAHRÎN. And he left and came and dwelt in the church of TABRÎZ, and he completed the building of the house of prayer which is therein. And he crowned it with a gate of sculptured (i.e. hewn) stones. And he also built cells above the oratory for the pilgrims, and a cemetery for the dead. And because with the exception of the *sardâb* which is under the temple there was no place for the throne of the bishop, he built a summer-house and a winter chamber of the fire-place (or furnace), and he completed everything according to his utmost ability. But in truth it was his brother BAR-ṢÂWMÂ who managed and carried out all these things.

<sup>1</sup> The full story is told by Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, who was one of the two monks in my *Monks of Kûblâi Khân*, London, 1928.



At the beginning of the year 1594 (A.D. 1283), after the death of the Patriarch MÂR IGNATIUS, envoys came from the monastery, and with them were letters of submission and apology for the haste which they had been obliged to submit in establishing the new Patriarch, and the Maphrian would not receive them. Afterwards RABBAN SIMON, the physician himself, came to the Maphrian, and with many words [tried to] coax him into receiving his brother's son. And the Maphrian would not be coaxed, and replied, 'From ancient times the holy fathers have laid it down that a Maphrian cannot be established without a Patriarch, and a Patriarch cannot be established without a Maphrian. And since these [men] have transgressed the law and the canons of the Fathers, I have no part with them, neither will I associate myself with them in their transgression of the law.' Thereupon the physician left and went away offended. And the Maphrian set out with the caravan and daughter of the king to come to NINEVEH. And whilst he was on the road TÂJ AD-DÂWLÂH, the son of RABBAN SIMON, came to him about this matter. And because the Maphrian had brought up this man and educated him, and loved him like a son, he received him and the gifts which were with him.

And the Maphrian wrote a letter of agreement to PHILOXENUS and said unto him, 'Peradventure thou wilt think of me that I myself had the desire to rise up [as Patriarch], and that because of this I am angry. God Himself, who trieth hearts, knoweth that there is not in me one member that wisheth this. [And I do not do so] for many reasons. For one reason, for nearly forty years I have been entrusted with the rank of high-priesthood, twenty years in the West, and twenty years in the East, and I am sated with this state of authority. Therefore I desire rest, and relaxation, and a life of peace (or, tranquillity), and the conclusion and the good end which is reserved for men of peace. Another reason is that in this my eastern diocese, by the grace of God, I live in great content, and I lack nothing therein. Am I to flee from it and go to another like my predecessors? For although our time is in a disturbed state, the quiet which I have in the East existeth for no other [man]. The third reason is this. Even if I had the longing for the Patriarchate like other men, inasmuch as the dioceses of the West are laid waste, in this case for which could any desire remain in me? Supposing I had a desire for ANTIOCH; it is in a state of lamentation and tears. Or for the priestly diocese of GÛMYÂ wherein there remaineth not a man to micturate against a wall; or ALEPPO, or MABBUH, or CALONICUS, or EDESSA and HÂRRÂN, all of which are laid waste; or the seven dioceses which are round about MELITENE, in none of which doth a single house remain [standing], viz. LÂKABHÎN, and 'ARĶÂ, and KALLÎSÛRÂ, and GUBBÔS, and ŞAMHÂ, and CLAUDIA and GARGAR. And from these [reasons] it is manifest that the cause of my complaining was your action which cannot be praised, and is to be condemned, for ye have done what ye have done without the consent



of the Westerners and the Easterners. Therefore ye know [it], and your Lord, who is no acceptor of persons, also knoweth [it].'

And at this time the Maphrian joined in matrimony two physicians who were his disciples in the city of TABRÎZ; and he made ABÛ'L'KAIRMAN dwell in TABRÎZ, and JOHN in MARÂGHÂ. And when he came to NINEVEH in the days of the Lord's Fast of the year 1595 (A.D. 1284), he elected JOB the monk, an Elder, to BÊTH KÛDIDHÂ, and he laid the hand of episcopacy upon him, and called him JOANNES, and named him to the diocese of BÊTH NUHADHRÂ. And he was the twelfth of the bishops whom the Maphrian ordained in the East.

And in that year the village of BÊTH 'AKRÊ, in which was a sanctuary of MÂR JOHN BAR NAGGÂRÊ was destroyed. And the thieves laid ambushes therein, and they robbed the Elders and Deacons who used to go there. And the Maphrian began to build a monastery in the name of the martyr in the north-west [quarter] of BARTALLÎ, a fortress of the country of NINEVEH. And the clergy had great content thereat.

And in the year 1596 (A.D. 1285) the building of the renowned monastery which was in the fortress of BARTALLÎ, and which the Maphrian built in the name of the martyr MÂR JOHN BAR NAGGÂRÊ, was completed. And since the believing queen DHESBÎNÂ KHATÛN had brought two marvellously skilled painters from CONSTANTINOPLE, from the king her father, to paint pictures for the church of the GREEKS in the city of TABRÎZ, the Maphrian sent and brought one of them, and he began to paint pictures for the new church of BAR NAGGÂRÊ. And before this year the Maphrian had sent many monks and elders to bring portions (i.e. relics) of saints to the old church. And having gone, they dug and made excavations and they found nothing. And the holy martyr appeared unto certain believing men in a dream, and said, 'If the Maphrian doth not come no relics will be found.' Now the Maphrian did not place any confidence in the words of these lay folk. He made a pretence of being sick, and he shut the door of the chamber in his cell, wherein he passed the night, upon himself, and he fasted and prayed, and spoke to no one from the night Friday until the night of the first day of the week following, the 23rd day of the month of the LATTER TESHÎN of this year. And after the Office of the night [was said], and he was partly awake and partly asleep, he saw a splendid young man who said, 'There are relics under the old throne (i.e. altar).' And when the Maphrian heard this he cried out to his brother and said, 'I myself wish to go and seek for relics.' And they brought horses for him and the two holy bishops. And they mounted their beasts and went to the old church. And the Maphrian told the diggers to dig in the place where in former times the altar had stood. And when they had gone down in the ground nearly as far as the height of a man, they found a funerary chest, and above it was a bowl filled with dust (or ashes), and below it, in the



middle of the chest was a coffer [made] of alabaster. And when they had opened it by force, they found in it portions of bones which had been treated with sweet-smelling unguents; and they rejoiced with a great joy. And they sent and informed BARTALLÎ, and the Elders and the Deacons and all the clergy went out to meet them, and with hymns and psalms they brought the coffer into the *haikal* of the new church and placed it in the martyrion which was therein. And on the first day of the week after the discovery of these relics the Maphrian ordained GABRIEL, a monk of BARTALLÎ, [and] MATTAÎ, bishop of GÂZARTÂ, a city of KARDÔ, and he called him DIONYSIUS. This man was the architect of this monastery which the Maphrian built, and he built it over the relics of the holy man BAR NAGGÂRÊ, after the diocese had remained a widow for a period of five years.

And in the year 1597 (A.D. 1286), which was the sixtieth year of the birth of the Maphrian, he feared death and he expected it. For he said, 'In that year in which KRONOS and ZEUS were in conjunction in the Zodiacal Sign of AQUARIUS I was born. And twenty years after, when they were in conjunction in the Zodiacal Sign of LIBRA, I was ordained bishop. And twenty years after, when they were in conjunction in the Zodiacal Sign of GEMINI, I undertook the office of Maphrian. And after another twenty years, when they will be again in conjunction in the Zodiacal Sign of AQUARIUS, I think that I shall go out of this world.' And he used to say, 'O net of the worlds, in the year 1537 (A.D. 1226) thy snare seized me, and I think that in the year 1597 (A.D. 1286) I shall not be in thee.'

#### [The Death of Bar Hebraeus]

From this point and onwards, BAR-ŞÂWMÂ, the brother of the writer, setteth on record the narrative of his death, [showing] when and where and how it took place.

Now in this year, when he was continually brooding on this evil thing, and it was wholly impossible to make him escape from it, he was living in the region of NINEVEH. And because the thieves and robbers from SYRIA were in the habit of raiding it every year in the summer, and they plundered and looted, and killed and carried off into slavery the people of the country of MÔŞUL, his brother, disturbed by the state of affairs, thought and said, 'Peradventure, they might accidentally fall into the hands of the robbers, and the words of the Maphrian [as to his death] actually be fulfilled.' And BAR-ŞÂWMÂ began to urge the Maphrian, and to importune him, and to press him incessantly concerning the departure to MARÂGHÂ, a city of 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN, so that perchance the Maphrian might be saved from this death upon which he was brooding continually. And being pestered by his brother, he consented at length and departed thither. And when he was living there, honoured by both great and small, the foremost men among the ARABS asked him to turn the Chronography which he had composed



in Syriac into the Saracenic language so that they also might read and enjoy it. To this the Maphrian agreed, and straightway he began to turn the [book into Arabic] in noble and exceedingly eloquent language. [He worked] for a month of days, until he had very nearly finished it, and there remained of it [untranslated] perhaps three folios.

But in the night of the Sabbath of the 28th day of TAMMŪZ (JULY), he felt somewhat feverish, and he was burnt up with the heat thereof the whole of that night. And on the first day of the week the physicians came, and they contended that he must drink a root (or drug) and physic his body. But he would not agree to this, for, said he, 'The drug will not do any good, for [my] time hath come,' although he was like a lion, and that year his body was stronger, and his constitution healthier than it had been in former years. But to speak briefly in these three days he had become so weak that when on the [following] SUNDAY he asked for a reed and paper that he might write and bequeath his cell to his disciples, he was unable to hold the reed and to write at all. But in every hour once and twice he smote his left hand with his right, saying, 'My strength hath come to an end and is exhausted. Thou hast wronged me, my brother, in that thou didst not let me die and be surrounded by the bishops, and monks, and elders and deacons, at the head of whom I have this day stood for two-and-twenty years. My brother, thou didst make me flee from death, and behold my flight hath not profited me. Nevertheless, be strong and of good courage, and thou shalt neither weep nor mourn excessively as if [my death] was something new in the world. Certainly not.' These encouragements and others like thereunto he uttered throughout that day, and he was cheerful, and laughed, and he did not dread and fear death like other men. And forthwith he called SA'ID, the deacon and physician, and said unto him, 'Write down what I am going to say unto thee.' And he made the beginning of his discourse thus: 'Man, his days are like the grass, and he springeth up like the flower of the field.' Then after he had finished the Confession of his Faith, as was fitting, he brought forth two orders, one concerning the throne of the Patriarch, and the other the throne of the Maphrian and the administration of his cell. And he delivered them into the hands of his brother. And he began to lay commands on his disciples, and said, 'Dwell ye in love, and separate not yourselves from each other, for every time in which ye shall be gathered together in love I shall be in your midst.'

Then those miserable men rent their garments, and poured dust on their heads, and wept until about three hours of the night had passed; meanwhile he never ceased from telling stories with laughter and a cheerful face. [Suddenly] he went out like a lamp. I ought not to say 'like a lamp', but like a glorious and brilliant beacon, and the great pillar [of fire] of the few and feeble Jacobites. And he went to his Lord on the third [day of the



week], on the 30th day of the month of TAMMŪZ (JULY), in the year 1597 (A.D. 1286) of the GREEKS.

And because MÂR YAHBH 'ALLÂHÂ, the praiseworthy Catholicus, was at that time in the city of MARÂGHÂ, he commanded that no man should go to business in the bazâr, and that no man should open [his] shop. And he sent out a beater of a board (i.e. bell-ringer), and all the people gathered together at the cell of the Maphrian. And the Catholicus sent the bishops who were with him, and many large candles, and a whole crowd of ARMENIANS and GREEKS were there, but of our own community only four Elders were present. About two hundred souls were gathered together, and they stood in prayer from dawn until the ninth hour. O what a day of perdition and a morning without mercy! O what a day of wrath and night of death which burst upon the brother of this saint who was joined unto the angels and left the poor and miserable ones in suffering, and weeping, and sadness, and tears and sighs. And when the NESTORIANS, and the GREEKS, and the ARMENIANS had finished their prayers, and prepared him for burial in a fitting manner, they deposited his holy body in a little altar whereat a man might pray and make an offering whensoever he was in MARÂGHÂ.

Who is there that will not weep for the excellent people of the JACOBITES when he seeth that they were left as orphans by this man who stood alone, and was a marvellous philosopher. And there remained not among them any one who could inform a stranger by an answer to any question, whether it concerned the Church or some profane matter, whether it was difficult or easy, or who could write a discreet, or courteous, or an admonitory letter, as could this man whom God adorned with every kind of learning both of those who are in (i.e. natives) and those who are out (i.e. foreigners). And from the time when he was twenty years old until [he drew] the last breath he never ceased from reading and writing. And he composed and wrote many books, and he could translate from one language into another.

[Here BAR-ŞÂWMÂ gives a list of the one and thirty books which his brother wrote or translated, but in order not to break his narrative they are enumerated on p. xxxii f.]

And though during the whole period of his life the Maphrian was occupied with books, he never ceased to build new churches and restore those that were overthrown from the beginning of his episcopate. He began in ALEPPO and he built a huge khân (i.e. inn or guest house) by the side of the church which was therein, [which entailed] sundry and divers expenses, for at that period Arabdom was in a sound and flourishing condition. And those (i.e. the churches) which are in MARÂGHÂ, and TABRÎZ, and BARTALLÎ are manifest to everybody. And whensoever he passed a day in any place he never ceased from restoring some [sacred] building, and he spared no expense nor considered the losses which he suffered. I do not say these



things in the way of laudation—indeed it would not be right for me to praise, lest it might be thought that I have written these things as if I had been conquered by a defeat—but for me to hide a lamp under a bushel would not be just. And behold, I leave on one side the story of the excellent and chosen Orientals who saw his manner of life, and his diligence, and the power of his writings and his humility. If he is worthy of praise they would praise, and if he is worthy of blame they would blame, I shall not be blamed when I say a very little about his excellent mode of life, and his marvellous qualities because they were revealed to me more than to strangers. For during forty years I never saw him receive in his hand a daric (i.e. gold coin) or a *zûzâ* (i.e. copper coin). And when the believers brought to him bags of money as for a blessing, they crowded together that they might put them into his hand; and when he was unable to grasp them they set them down before him. And thus [the money] remained there until one of the disciples went into the place where he was, when he would say straightway, 'Take this away from in front of me.' Certain men when they were kissing his hands were in the habit of placing the bag of money under a covering cloth (or carpet). And of this we have knowledge from the fact that when he moved from one place to another, and they were lifting up that cloth many bags (i.e. purses) of money were found beneath it. And when he learned (or got the knowledge) that a few *zûzî* were collected in the cell, he schemed and thought out a plan whereby he might spend them. As for his goodness, and his humility, and his gentleness, and his pleasantness of his conversation, and his great-heartedness, I have not the power to define them or to set them down in writing, for I am too uneducated and feeble, and I lack the power of speech (i.e. eloquence) to do so. It is better for me to hold my peace, for I am confident that the nobles, and the brethren, and the chosen doctors with whom he was in the habit of holding frequent intercourse will, according to their powers, assign to him the true measure of his excellencies. And that is sufficient as far as I myself am concerned.



## THE WORKS OF BAR HEBRAEUS

IN his biography of his brother Bar Hebraeus Bar-Şawmâ says: 'And here I enumerate the names of his books which are one-and-thirty<sup>1</sup> in number.' His list is as follows:

1. TEGHRATH TEGHRÂTHÂ, or *Mercatura Mercaturaram*, a work dealing with Physics and Theology. This is an abridgement of the large work (No. 10) HÊWATH HEKHMÊTHÂ, or the 'Butter of Wisdom', and goes over the same ground in briefer terms.

2. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHË-BHÂBHÂTHÂ, or 'Book of the Pupils of the Eyes'. This is a compendium of the art of logic or dialectics. The seven chapters in it deal with the ISAGÂGÊ of Porphyry, the CATEGORIES, DE INTERPRETATIONE ANALYTICA PRIORA TOPICA, ANALYTICA POSTERIORA, and DE SOPHISTICIO ELENCHIS.

3. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHË-SËWADH SOPHIA, or 'The Book of the Speech of Wisdom'. This is a compendium of dialectics, physics and metaphysics or theology.

4. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHË-SULLÂKÂ HAWNÂNÂYÂ, or 'The Book of the Ascent of the Mind'. This is a treatise on Astronomy and Cosmography, and was to be used in connexion with the tables in his Astronomical Almanack. It was written in the year 1279.

5. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHË-MËNÂRATH KUDHSHÊ, or 'The Lamp of the Sanctuary'. This work deals with the twelve fundamental principles (bases) on which the Church is established. These are: (1) On knowledge. (2) The nature of the universe. (3) Theology. (4) The Incarnation. (5) Knowledge of celestial substances. (6) The priesthood on earth. (7) Evil Spirits. (8) The rational soul. (9) Free will and liberty, Fate and Destiny. (10) The Resurrection. (11) The end of the world, the Last Judgement, &c. (12) Paradise.

6. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHË-ZALGHÎ, or 'Book of Rays'. This work contains ten sections and deals with theology in the same way as No. 5.

7. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHË-ŞEMHÊ, or 'Book of Lights'. The fuller of the two treatises on Grammar.

8. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHË-GHRAMMAÎKÎ, or 'Book of Grammar' in the metre of Mar Aphrêm.

9. KÊTHÂBHÂ DH' ÎTHÎKÔN, or 'Book of Ethics' (composed at Marâghâh in 1279) in Four Parts: I. Exercises of the mind (prayer, study, &c.) and body (manual labour, fastings, vigils, &c.). II. The regimen of the body. III. On the purification of the soul. IV. On the adornments of the soul.

<sup>1</sup> These are carefully classified by Baumstark (op. cit., pp. 313 f.), who adds in his notes copious references to the existing manuscript authorities and the published literature. See also Assemâni, *B.O.* ii, pp. 268 f., and Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, pp. 268 f.



10. The great Book HÊWATH HEKHMÊTHÂ, or 'Book of the Butter of Wisdom',<sup>1</sup> which comprises the whole of the Aristotelian discipline. Vol. I deals with Logic, vol. II with Physics, vol. III with Metaphysics (Part I) and Ethics, Economics, and Politics (Part II). No. 2 is an abridgement of this great encyclopaedia.

11. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHÊ-REMZÊ WA-MÊ'ÎRÂN-WÂTHÂ, or 'The Book of Indications and Prognostications'. This is the Syriac translation of Ibn Sîna's *Kitâb al-ishârât wa't-tanbîhât*, i.e. *Theoremata et Exercitationes*, a course of logic, physics, and metaphysics. See *B.O.* ii, p. 270, note 2.

12. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHÊ-HUDDÂYÊ, or the 'Book of Directions'. This is the final authority for the Jacobites on every matter which concerns the clergy and the laity. See *B.O.* ii, p. 299.

13. KÊTHÂBHÂ-DHÊ-DHÎOSKORÎDHÎS. This is a Syriac translation of the great treatise on *Materia Medica* by Dioscorides (*Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς*). It deals with the forms, properties, and powers of herbs and plants and the forms in which they are to be administered.

14. The Great Book of GHÂFÎKÎ. This is an abridgement in Syriac of Al-Ghâfîkî's *Al-Adwîyah al-mufradah*, or 'Book of Simples.' The Arabic book was in three large volumes.

15. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHÊ PÛSHÂKÂ DHÊ PÛSHÂKÊ. This is an Arabic translation of the APHORISMS of Hippocrates.

16. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHÊ-SHÛWÂLÊ DHÊ-HÛNAIN. This is a Syriac translation of *Quaestiones Medicae* of Hûnain ibn Ishâk in Syriac.

17. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHÊ-ZÎG DÊ-SHARWÂYÊ, or Tables of Astronomical Calculations for the Use of Beginners.

18. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHÊ-ZABDAT AL-ASRÂR, or 'The Cream of Secrets'. This is a Syriac translation of an Arabic work by Athîr ad-Dîn Mufaḍḍal ibn 'Omar al-Abharî (died in 1262). See Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 271.

19. KÊTHÂBHÂ DHÊ-MAKHTÊBHÂNÛTH ZABHNÊ, or 'Chronography'. This is a Universal History in three parts. Part I contains the political *History of the World* from the Creation to A.D. 1286. Part II contains a history of the Church from Aaron downwards. Part III contains the history of the Eastern division of the Syrian Church from St. Thomas onwards. See Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 279. When Bar Hebraeus removed from Nineveh to Marâghâh in 1286, because his brother was afraid that they might be killed during one of the raids which the robbers from Syria were wont to make upon the town every year, at the request of some of his Muḥammadan friends he began to make an Arabic translation of Part I of his CHRONOGRAPHY. He worked at this for a whole month, and had only three more leaves to translate when death overtook him. This Arabic version is called AL-MUKHTAṢAR FI'D-DAWAL, and contains many references to Muslim writers and literature which are not found in the Syriac work.

<sup>1</sup> Also called the 'Book of the Wisdom of the Wise'.



20. KĒTHÂBHÂ DHĒ-PUSHÂK ẖELMÊ, or 'Book of the Interpretation of Dreams'; this Bar Hebraeus wrote when he was a young man.

21. KĒTHÂBHÂ DHĒ-THUNNÂÏÊ MEGHAḤḤĒKHÂNÊ, or 'Book of Laughable Stories'. The Arabic rendering of this work is called DAF' AL-HAMM, or 'The Driving Away of Care'.

22. KĒTHÂBHÂ DHĒ-YAUNÂ, or the 'Book of the Dove', a work on the regimen of Anchorites and hermits who have no spiritual directors. It contains four parts which deal with: (I) The training of the body. (II) The training of the soul. (III) The spiritual content which is enjoyed by the perfect. (IV) An account of his own spiritual experiences and difficulties in respect of religious belief and practices.

23. KĒTHÂBHÂ KÂNÛNÂ RABBÂ DHĒ ABÛ 'ALÎ, or, 'The Book of the Great Canon of Abû 'Alî bar-Sîna (Avicenna)'. This book deals with the medicine of the body, but it contains the Syriac translation of only four quires of the Arabic original. Death overtook Bar Hebraeus before he could finish the translation. It will be noted that it is numbered 24 in the list given by Assemanî in *B.O.* ii, p. 272, and that there is no No. 23. For the reason see *B.O.* ii, p. 269, col. 1, of the notes.

24. The 'Book which is on the hands, that is to say, KĒthâbhâ dhĒ Makhtĕbhânûthâ Zabhnê'.

25. The GREAT BOOK in which all the opinions of physicians are given at length. This is presumably his great Book of Medicine. Unfinished?

26. KĒTHÂBHÂ DHA-BHĒLÊṢUṢÎTHÂ, or 'The Book of the Spark'. This is a small book on Grammar which Bar Hebraeus left unfinished.

27. KĒTHÂBHÂ DHĒ-PÛSHÂKÂ DHĒ-SHUWÂLÊ DHĒ-ḤUNAIN, or 'The Book of the Interpretation of the Questions of Ḥunain' (i.e. the *Questiones Medicae* of Ḥonain ibn Ishâk). This translation is unfinished for Bar-Ṣâwmâ says 'as far as Thîryakî'.<sup>1</sup>

28. KĒTHÂBHÂ DHĒ-MUSHḤÂTHÂ, or 'Book of Songs' (see Assemanî, *B.O.* ii, p. 308, No. 12), wherein are marvellous metrical homilies.

29. KĒTHÂBHÂ DHA-AUṢAR RÂZÊ, or 'Book of the Storehouse of Secrets', commonly known as the *Horreum Mysteriorum*.<sup>2</sup> Bar Hebraeus collected therein an exposition, with the correct readings of the whole of the texts, of the Old and New Testaments. Wright (*Syr. Lit.*, p. 274) describes it as a 'critical and doctrinal commentary on the text of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments based on the Peshittâ, but taking note of the various readings of the Hebrew text, the LXX, and other Greek versions, the later Syriac translations, and even the Armenian and Coptic, besides noting differences of reading between the Nestorians and Jacobites. The doctrinal portion is drawn from the Greek Fathers and previous Syrian

<sup>1</sup> For an account of THERIACA, its component parts and method of administration, see Budge, *Syrian Anatomy*, vol. ii, p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Göttesberger, *Barhebräus und seine Scholien zur heiligen Schrifts*, Freiburg, 1900.



theologians, of course of the Monophysite school'. According to Baumstark (p. 314) the work is based upon the writings of Dionysius bar-Šalībî and more remotely on those of ʾIshô'dâdh of Merv. The first volume of a complete edition of Part I of the AUŠAR RÂZÊ has recently<sup>1</sup> appeared. A large number of its sections have been published by various scholars at various times. For lists of these see Nestle, *Brevis Linguae Syr. Gram.*, 1881, pp. 31-2, and Baumstark, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 314.

30. The BOOK OF THE EXPOSITION OF HIEROTHEUS, in short sections.<sup>2</sup>

The POETICAL WORKS of Bar Hebraeus have always been, and still are, greatly admired by the Jacobites, but their author was not a poet in the true sense of the word. He possessed great skill in stringing together words in metre in verses of four lines, which often have the form of our old English ballads. Specimens of these have been published by C. von Lengerke, *Greg. B. aliorumque Carmina syrica aliquot adhuc inedita*, Königsberg, 1836-8; A. Scebâbî, *Greg. B. Carmina*, Rome, 1877. His poem on Divine Wisdom was published by Gabriel Sionita, *Vet. philosophi Syri de sapientia divina poëma aenigmaticum*, Paris, 1638, and was republished by Yoḥannâ Noṭayn Dara'unî, *Carmen de Div. Sap. Auct. celeberr. viro Abulphargio*, Rome, 1880. On the MÊMRÂ ZAUGHNÂYÂ, written in twelve-syllable metre, and the epistle in seven-syllable metre which Bar Hebraeus sent to the Nestorian Catholicus Mâr Denḥâ, see Baumstark, *Syr. Lit.*, pp. 319, 320. On the ANAPHORA and LITURGY which Bar Hebraeus composed in 'Âmid, see *B.O.* ii, p. 275.

Bar Šâwmâ's list of the works of his brother makes it very clear that the literary activity of Bar Hebraeus was very great, and it seems at first sight as if he not only studied but wrote about every branch of learning which occupied the human mind in his day. But if we examine the list carefully it is evident that the works mentioned in it may be classified, and that they deal with a comparatively limited number of subjects, viz. theology, philosophy, grammar, astronomy and mathematics, medicine, and history. His 'Book of Laughable Stories' he wrote probably as much to amuse himself as other people. Under THEOLOGY may be placed: The Book of the Storehouse of Secrets, the Exposition of Hierotheus, The Book of Rays, The Lamp of the Sanctuary, The Book of Directions, The Book of Ethics, The Book of the Dove, The Book of Discernment, the Liturgy based on the work of Jacob of Edessa, and the abbreviated form of the Anaphora of James the brother of our Lord.

Under PHILOSOPHY we have: The Book of the Butter of Wisdom, i.e. the complete Aristotelian system of philosophy, The Book of the Speech of

<sup>1</sup> Sprengling and Graham, *Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament*, Part I: Genesis-II Samuel, Chicago, 1932.

<sup>2</sup> In the list given in the Bodleian MS. (Hunt No. 1, p. 637) numbers 25 and 26 are omitted, so that only 29 works are actually given in it.



Wisdom, The Book of the Pupils of the Eyes, The Book of the Merchandise of the Merchants, The Book of Indications and Prognostications, and the Book of the Cream of Secrets.

Under GRAMMAR must be grouped: The Book of Lights, The Book of Grammar, The Book of the Spark.

Under ASTRONOMY and MATHEMATICS we have The Book of the Ascent of the Mind, which is a complete work on astronomy and cosmography. He wrote on Euclid and the *Megistê* of Ptolemy, and compiled an astronomical almanac *Zîglê*.

Under MEDICINE must be included translations of Greek works on medicine by Dioscorides, Hippocrates, and Galen, and of Arabic medical treatises by Ghâfikî, Ibn Sînâ (Avicenna), and others.

That Bar Hebraeus was a great student of HISTORY is made manifest by his 'Chronography', which to us is the most important of all his works. It has been rightly described as a chronological and political History of the World.



# THE MAKHTĒBHÂNŪTH ZABHNĒ

OR

## THE CHRONOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD, PART I, BY BAR HEBRAEUS

THE chief aim and object of the life and work of Bar Hebraeus was to stimulate the interest of the Syrians in their history, language, and literature, and to help them to maintain their position as a living force in Western Asia. He tried to make them realize the vital importance to them of some knowledge of the learning of both the Greeks and the Arabs. And he endeavoured to provide them with what may be regarded as authoritative text-books on their own language and religion, and also with translations into Syriac of some of the most important Greek and Arabic works on philosophy, history, and medicine. And he proved that if the Syrians wished to become an enlightened nation and not to remain merely as an ancient religious Christian sect, they must adopt and develop in their own special way the fruits of pagan culture and learning. To supply them with trustworthy information concerning the history of the great kingdoms of the world, and describe the parts which their rulers had played among the great nations, followed by a chronological History of the Church, he compiled the book which he called MAKHTĒBHÂNŪTH ZABHNĒ. The exact meaning of this title is 'Chronography', but this word does not by any means describe fully the scope and miscellaneous character of the contents of the book. Bar Hebraeus knew that he was not the first to write such a book, for the Chronographies of Eusebius of Caesarea, Socrates the scholastic, Zachariah Rhetor, John of Asia, and Dionysius of Tall Maḥrê were well known to him. But he felt that there were periods of which no trustworthy history existed, and that he ought to do for later times at least what the above-mentioned historians had done for the earlier centuries of the Christian Era. The most recent Chronography known to him was that written by Michael,<sup>1</sup> the Elder, the son of Elias, a priest of Melitene, and Abbot of the Monastery of Bar Ṣāwmâ, near Melitene. Michael was born in 1126, and was Patriarch of the Jacobite Church at Antioch from 1166 until his death, which took place on the 7th of November, 1199. He knew Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian, and probably had a knowledge of Greek, and he wrote a Chronography which is now famous among scholars, whether Orientals or Occidentals. But the Chronography of Michael was

<sup>1</sup> See the *Note* by Chabot in his splendid edition of the Syriac version of the *Chronicle* published at Paris in four volumes. The title-page reads, 'The Book of Makhtēbhânūth Zabhnē which was composed by Michael the Great, the Patriarch, according to an ancient manuscript preserved in the church of the Jacobites in the city of Edessa of Bēth Nahrin. Printed in the city of Paris in the year of Christ 1899.'



completed in 1196, and Bar Hebraeus set to work to write a record of the stirring events in Western Asia which had taken place since that year. The reader who is acquainted with the Chronography of Michael and that of Bar Hebraeus will see that although the latter scholar derived many of his facts from the work of the former, he does not hesitate to disagree with him on points of chronology and even important details.

The first section or Part I of the Chronography of Bar Hebraeus deals with the government of the world, i.e. profane history, from the time of Adam to that of the conquests of the Mongols, which were taking place in his own time. Part II deals with sacred history, beginning with Aaron, the first high-priest. When we reach the post-apostolic period it becomes a history of the Patriarchs of the Church of Antioch, and finally, after the age of Severus, of the Patriarchs of the Monophysite branch of that Church down to the year 1285, the year before Bar Hebraeus died. This forms Section I of Part II. Section II of this part gives the history of the Eastern division of the Syrian Church from St. Thomas the Apostle downwards. After Mârûthâ (A.D. 629) it becomes the history of the Monophysite Maphrians of Taghrîth (Tahrît), but the Catholic Patriarchs of the Nestorians are carefully noted. It ends with the year 1286, the death-year of Bar Hebraeus, but his brother Bar-Şâwmâ continued the history to 1288, and another writer to 1496. The two sections of Part II have been treated at great length by Assemânî in the second volume of his great work *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. And the complete Syriac text has been published by J. A. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy in three volumes, Section I in two volumes,<sup>1</sup> and Section II in one volume,<sup>2</sup> accompanied by a Latin translation and notes. This edition of the Syriac text was opportune, and its appearance was welcomed by scholars in general, but both the editing of the text and the translation were severely criticized by Nöldeke and others. Professor William Wright, the greatest Syrian scholar of his day, had greatly assisted the editors in their work, and in their preface they acknowledged the great value of his assistance in no uncertain terms. Wright was famous as an expert editor of Syriac texts, and all he remarked about the edition was 'It might be advantageously reprinted, if revised by a competent hand'. Nöldeke's erudition was very great, but he had never edited a long work in Syriac, and therefore has no experience of the difficulties which are inherent in the work.

#### THE PUBLICATION OF PART I OF THE CHRONOGRAPHY OF BAR HEBRAEUS

Curiously enough the existence and importance of the Chronography of Bar Hebraeus was first made known to European orientalists by an excerpt

<sup>1</sup> *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum e Codice Musei Britannici descriptum* tomm. i, ii, Lovanii 1872.

<sup>2</sup> Tomus iii, 1877 (Paris and Louvain).



from the Arabic translation of it which Edward Pococke (1604—10 Sept. 1691) published in his *Specimen historiae Arabum*, Oxford, 1650. This 'Specimen' was one of the two first books printed in the Arabic character which issued from the Oxford University Press. Bar Hebraeus called this Arabic translation *Al-Mukhtaṣar fi'd Duwal*, i.e. 'Compendious History of the Dynasties', and it was made by him during the last month of his life in answer to urgent requests made by Arab noblemen and scholars who wanted to read his profane history in their own tongue. Pococke added to the excerpt a series of essays on the history, language, literature, and religion of the Arabs, and his work was so greatly appreciated by scholars that a reprint of it edited by Joseph White was issued in 1806. In 1663 Pococke published the complete Arabic text of *Al-Mukhtaṣar fi'd Duwal* with a Latin translation under the title of *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*, but it excited little notice.

A flood of new light was thrown on Bar Hebraeus and his life and works by J. A. Assemâni, who published a long series of extracts from the Syriac and Arabic versions of the Chronography, with Latin translations and notes, in the second volume of his marvellous *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Rome, 1721, pp. 244 f. In the same volume he published the text, with a Latin translation, of Bar-Ṣāwmâ's biography of his brother Bar Hebraeus and the list of his works from the famous manuscript in the Vatican. Further information about Bar Hebraeus appeared in the great catalogue of manuscripts which was published by St. E. and J. S. Assemâni (*Bibliothecae apostolicae nat. codd. MSS. Catalogus in tres partes distributus*, Paris, 1858—1859), and the third volume of this work contained a Latin translation of nearly the whole of the two last sections of the *Chronicum Ecclesiasticum* of the *Makhtēbhânûth Zabhnê*. As these sections dealt with ecclesiastical history they interested Assemâni more than the profane history given in Part I, but other scholars were now anxious to know exactly what that Part I contains.

At that time P. J. Bruns, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Helmstadt, was staying in Oxford, and he began to study the two manuscripts containing the works of Bar Hebraeus (Hunt 1 and 52) which are preserved in the Bodleian Library. The section which deals with the Crusades interested him specially, and in 1780 he published a portion of it in his *De rebus gestis Richardi Angliae regis in Palaestina*. This little book was so well received that Bruns determined to publish the complete Syriac text of Part I of the *Makhtēbhânûth Zabhnê*. He succeeded in enlisting the services of Dr. G. G. Kirsch as a translator, and nine years later the work appeared at Leipzig in two volumes,<sup>1</sup> the first containing the

<sup>1</sup> *Gregorii Abulpharagii sive Bar-Hebraei Chronicon Syriacum, e Codicibus Bodleianis descripsit maximam partem vertit notisque illustravit P. J. Bruns . . . edidit ex parte vertit notisque adjecit G. G. Kirsch, . . . Lipsiae apud Adamum Fridericum Boehmum MDCCCXXXVIII.*



Syriac text and the second the Latin translation. Bruns seems to have printed the text from a copy of it which he made when he was in Oxford, but there is no evidence that the printed sheets were collated with the Bodleian manuscript. Passages about which he had difficulty were examined or verified for him by Professor Ford, Professor of Arabic at Oxford, but even so, many errors crept into the text when printed. The book was severely criticized by many scholars, especially by Bernstein,<sup>1</sup> who went to Oxford and Rome and collated the original manuscripts and began to collect material for a scholarly edition of the Syriac text. He worked hard for a number of years and made good use of Lorsche's corrections, and emendations and suggestions, but death overtook him before he could publish the results of his valuable labours, and the only part of the new edition that saw the light was contained in the pamphlet entitled *Greg. Barhebraei chronici syriaci e codd. MSS. passim emendati atque illustrati specimen primum*, Lipsiae, 1822. Whether the edition of Bruns deserved all the vituperation which it received must ever be a matter of opinion, but when we consider the period at which it was produced it must be admitted that the publication of a small quarto volume containing several hundreds of pages of Syriac text set solid was at least a typographical triumph. The labour involved in copying the text and in reading and revising the proof sheets was very great, and none of Bruns's critics had any experience in this kind of work; they could not understand the editor's difficulties and they underrated them. The truth is that Bruns's zeal and diligence were far greater than his knowledge of the Syriac language. And the same may be said of Kirsch; and neither of them had any experience in reading Syriac manuscripts generally. It is quite clear from the Latin translation that the meaning of many of the words in the Chronography were unknown to them, and that many of their renderings were the result of guesswork. The only Syriac Lexicon they had to refer to was that contained in Dr. Edmund Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* which was published in two volumes folio in 1669, or the separate Syriac section of it which was published by J. D. Michaelis at Göttingen in 1788. And as none of the *Itineraries* written by Arab travellers in Western Asia were published they could not make use of them in solving their geographical difficulties. It seems to me that these facts should be remembered by the Semitic scholars of our own time who have Payne Smith's *Thesaurus* at their elbows, and

<sup>1</sup> His opinion of the work is given by him in the first part of his own edition of the Syriac text thus: 'Sive enim textum ab editoribus publicatum, spectamus, ingenti ille mendorum scatet numero multisque turpiter labibus deformatus est; sive interpretationem, quae textui apposita est, consideramus, magna eius pars tot vitiis foedata est ac tantis maculis adspersa, ut qui huic libro studere velint sive linguae, qua conscriptus, sive rerum causa, qua in eo traduntur, iis quam maxime verendum est, ne plures magnosque facile in errores inducantur, qui summam in utendo eo ipsoque nitendo et prudentiam et cautionem adhibeant.'



the Arabic texts of all the principal travellers and geographers on their shelves, to say nothing of Chabot's edition of the Syriac Chronicle of Michael the Great, on which the Chronography of Bar Hebraeus is based.

The edition of Bruns and Kirsch stirred up a certain amount of interest in the Syriac language, and the Syriac *Chrestomathies* of Michaelis, and Kirsch and Bernstein were published before the end of the eighteenth century. Several others appeared in the nineteenth century, e.g. those of Roediger (published in 1858 and twice reprinted) and Nestle (Berlin, 1888). Nearly every editor of a *Chrestomathy* included extracts from the Chronography of Bar Hebraeus in his compilation, and those which Roediger selected fill forty-six pages. These and many other portions of the Chronography I had the good fortune to read with Professor William Wright, during my first year at Cambridge, and before I left the University I had read nearly the whole Chronography. Professor Wright was a great admirer of the historical writings of Bar Hebraeus, and he held his mastery of the Syriac language and his lucidity and eloquence in high esteem. His great desire was to get the Chronography re-edited and re-translated, and at his persuasion Dr. Charles Taylor (1840-1908), Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, undertook the work. Professor Wright gave him a mass of notes, and for a few years Dr. Taylor worked at the translation steadily; Professor Wright died in 1889, and that seems to have brought his work to a standstill. At all events no part of Dr. Taylor's translation has been published.

#### BEDJAN'S EDITION OF THE SYRIAC TEXT OF THE MAKHTĒBHÂNŪTH ZABHNĒ OF BAR HEBRAEUS

In 1890 Paul Bedjan, a native of 'Ādhôrbîjân, published the complete Syriac text of the *Makhtĕbhânûth Zabhnê* at Paris (Maisonneuve) in one volume containing 599 pages. The title-page has a border of a wholly inappropriate character, and each page of text is enclosed in a frame of thick lines printed in red ink. At last the editing of the Syriac text had fallen into the right hands, for Bedjan's knowledge of the language was both profound and scholarly, and he had read and copied and published more Syriac manuscripts than any of his contemporaries. It was well known that Bernstein had collated the contents of the Vatican manuscripts of the Chronography with those of Oxford, and that he had noted all the variants with meticulous care in order to use them in the edition of the text which he proposed to publish. But he was never able to do so, for death overtook him soon after the appearance of the first part of his edition. These notes passed into the possession of the Royal Library of Berlin, and the authorities of that great Library generously sent them to the Director of the University of Liège, who placed them at Bedjan's disposition. Though these notes cleared away many of the textual inexactitudes of







the reading of the text, and he was fortunate enough to be assisted in this mighty task by Dr. Chamizer-Lenoir of the firm of Messrs. W. Drugulin of Leipzig, who was at once a fine Semitic scholar and a marvellous proof-reader. The book is a triumph of the art of the typographer, and it is the most accurate publication of a text in the Nestorian character that has appeared. In this respect very few of the most carefully written Nestorian manuscripts can be compared with it. Bar Hebraeus himself and all Syriac scholars must ever be greatly indebted to Père Bedjan not only for his work on the Chronography, but also for his edition of the History of Yahb-'Allâhâ III,<sup>1</sup> and for his volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

In the 'Note' prefixed to his edition Bedjan summarizes the life of Bar Hebraeus thus:

Mâr[y] Gregory 'Abulfarâgh was born in the year of our Lord 1226, in the city of Melitene, which is in the country of Cappadocia, which is to-day called Mâlâtîyâ (Malatiah). By race he was a Syrian, and in his religion a Jacobite. And the writers say that he was called 'Bar 'Ebhrâyâ' (i.e. son of the Hebrew) because 'Ahrôn his father was a Jew; and he turned and became a Christian.

Because of the rebellions and wars which took place, his parents set out and went and dwelt in Antioch, and there 'Abulfarâgh became a monk. And afterwards he was ordained Bishop of Gûbbôs, and they translated him to the throne of Lâkâbhîn, and from Lâkâbhîn to the diocese of Beroea and Hâlâb (Aleppo).

In the year of our Lord 1264, on the 19th day of the month of the Latter Kânôn, they ordained him Maphrian of the East, that is, head of the Jacobite bishops of Bêth Nahrîn, and 'Âthôr, and Babel and of the other eastern countries.

During the twenty-two years in which he was Maphrian, he came several times to this our country of 'Âdhôrbijân. And in Mârâghâ he compiled this famous and admirable [book of] *MakhtĒbhânûth ZabhnĒ*. And there he departed from this world, on the 30th day of the month of Tammûz, in the year of our Lord 1286. And that feeble man who toiled at the correcting of this book and over the printing of the same was a Chaldean from 'Âdhôrbijân. O our Lord pardon Thou the shortcomings thereof.

<sup>1</sup> See Budge, *The Monks of Kûbhlâi Khân*, p. 8.



## BAR HEBRAEUS THE MAN

'Yet in that period (twelve centuries) some strangers of merit have been converted to the Monophysite faith, and a Jew was the father of Abulpharagius, primate of the East, so truly eminent both in his life and death. In his life he was an elegant writer of the Syriac and Arabic tongues, a poet, physician, and historian, a subtle philosopher, and a moderate divine. In his death his funeral was attended by his rival the Nestorian patriarch, with a train of Greeks and Armenians, who forgot their disputes and mingled their tears on the grave of an enemy.'

GIBBON, *Decline and Fall*, Smith's edition, vol. vi, p. 55.

FOR some six and a half centuries the Jacobites who form the Eastern section of the Syrian Church have venerated the name of Bar Hebraeus, and held his writings in the highest esteem. To them his books contain the quintessence of wisdom, and the base of all knowledge, both sacred and profane. And of all the writers of their Church, and of all their philosophers and sages who have written in Syriac, which they believe to have been the first language spoken upon the earth and of divine origin, they regard him as the greatest and best, and the final authority on every kind of learning, whether native or foreign. For nearly three centuries Occidental scholars have agreed unanimously that Bar Hebraeus was as Assemâni said 'scriptorum Jacobitarum facile princeps' (*B.O.* ii, p. 244), and praised him as a grammarian, a theologian, an historian, a philosopher, as a scholar whose knowledge was encyclopaedic, and as a learned and versatile man. But Syriac scholars, whether in the East or in the West, have made no attempt to find out what Bar Hebraeus the man, apart from Bar Hebraeus the scholar, was like or to describe his character and disposition, and his personal opinions on the politics of the day, and his virtues and his faults. It seems that many of his personal characteristics and qualities and likes, and dislikes, and sympathies, may be deduced from the great mass of general information which is contained in his *Chronography*. This is no mere 'Book of Dates', but a very lengthy narrative of the events, both good and evil, which went to make up human affairs during the long period covered by this work. The following paragraphs are submitted in support of this assumption.

The works of Bar Hebraeus show that he possessed in a remarkable degree the faculty of acquiring languages, which was and is a marked characteristic of the Hebrew. Hebrew was his mother tongue, but living as he did in Malaṭiyah, he learned Arabic at a very early age, and there is little doubt that he could speak, read, and write both Hebrew and Arabic. His mother may have been an Arab woman, but his profound knowledge of Syriac and the ease and eloquence with which he wrote it, suggests that she was a Syrian Christian. The influence which turned the son of Aaron



the Jew into a Christian, and made him write in Syriac instead of Hebrew, was evidently powerful, and must have been exerted on him early in life. He continued his reading of Syriac and Arabic works all his life, and this fact is proved by his quotations from authors whom he names in his various works. He read widely in Arabic and understood the history, language, and religion of the Arabs better than any other Syrian writer.<sup>1</sup> Assemânî has given (*B.O.* ii, p. 311) a list of several writers in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic whose works are quoted by Bar Hebraeus.

Whether he was able to read Greek is a question which is not easy to decide. Nöldeke said that he could not, but with all respect to this great Orientalist, it is difficult to believe. Bar Hebraeus quotes the LXX apparently at first hand, and there are several references to Greek authors which suggest that he possessed at least a bowing acquaintance with this language. The Greeks and others, philosophers, physicians, historians, &c., whose works were extant in Syriac or Arabic, he, no doubt, used freely. Among the Greek writers quoted by him are Hermes Trismegistus,<sup>2</sup> Anianus, Africanus, Andronicus, Eusebius, Apollonius, Euclid, and Archimedes.

In dealing with the history of Persia his narrative suggests that his knowledge of the facts which he is giving was obtained at first hand, and in the Preface to the Chronography he says, 'Therefore, according to what time hath brought, I, having entered the Library of the city of Marâghâh of 'Âdhôrbijân,<sup>3</sup> have loaded up this my little book with narratives which are worthy of remembrance from many volumes of the Syrians, Saracens (Arabs), and Persians which are [preserved] here.' Arab writers describe Marâghâh as a very pleasant town on the river Şâfî, about seventy miles south of Tabrîz, and it was surrounded by a great wall within which were situated the citadel and its fortifications. It was originally called Kariyat al-Marâghâh or the 'Town of Meadows', in allusion to the plantations and gardens and orchards among which it was situated. Under the earlier Mongols it became the capital of 'Âdhôrbijân, and assumed an importance it had never before known. The Mongols were patrons of science and learning generally, and Hûlâgû, the brother of Mangu Khân, immediately after he had taken and destroyed Baghdâd in February 1258, ordered his astronomer Nâsir ad-Dîn of Tûs to build an observatory at Marâghâh. This observatory stood just outside the town, and in it the famous Îl-khânî astronomical plates with their tables of calculations were preserved. The library which Bar Hebraeus mentions may have been connected with the

<sup>1</sup> Compare Baumstark (p. 312): 'Der Sprosse einer jüdischen Familie . . . hat wie kein anderer syrischer Schriftsteller das geistige Erbe der islamischen mit demjenigen der national-kirchlichen christlichen Kultur verschmolzen.'

<sup>2</sup> The original was written in the Babylonian (Aramaic?) language, but a Syriac version was known (*B.O.* ii, p. 310).

<sup>3</sup> The Atropatene of the Greeks.



observatory, though it is more probable that it was in the town itself. The Îl-Khân Kâzân (reigned 1295-1304) built an observatory at Tabrîz, and that of Marâghâh fell into decay. When we consider the friendly relations which existed between Bar Hebraeus and the Mongols it is hardly possible to doubt that he had a good knowledge of the Persian language, both spoken and written.

In the section of the Chronography which deals with the rise and progress of the power of the Mongols, Bar Hebraeus speaks with the directness and assurance which must come from a knowledge of their history acquired at first hand. This may have been gained by intercourse with Mongols at Marâghâh, but the information which he gives is so detailed that it must have been derived from books or documents of some kind, and it is very probable that he could read Uigur, and perhaps even talk it. When Bar Hebraeus was a young man, his father, Aaron, acted as physician to one of the Mongol princes and healed him successfully; and the illustrious patient probably conversed with him in the Uigur language. That Bar Hebraeus himself was on friendly terms with the Mongols, and had a sympathy for them is evident from many passages in his history of them. The Laws of Chingîz Khân (see p. 354) appear to have been translated from some document verbatim. And his knowledge of the Chinese, however acquired, was considerable.

From the above paragraphs it is clear that Bar Hebraeus was well equipped for his work linguistically, that he knew Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Persian well, and that he had some knowledge of Greek, and more than a mere 'bowing acquaintance' with Armenian and with some of the dialects of Turkestan, Mongolia, and Western China.

There is no doubt that Bar Hebraeus was an original thinker and that he worked hard, and judged facts independently, but it is impossible to doubt that he was a skilful adopter of the works of others, and that his largest works were based upon the labours of his predecessors. But for the Commentaries on the Old and New Testaments by Jacob<sup>1</sup> Bar Šalîbhî (died 1171), who in turn derived much information from the Commentaries on the Old and New Testaments written by Îthô'-dâdh of Merv in the ninth century, he could never have written the AUŞAR RÂZÊ. In this work the renderings of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and the variants in versions of the Greek text, and the teachings of the Armenian and Coptic versions of the Bible are often given, and there is no doubt that he copied these from the works of older writers. The same is the case with the CHRONOGRAPHY, which borrows largely from the CHRONICLE of Michael the Great, and which gives the history of the world from the Creation to the year 1196. Bar Hebraeus does not always accept Michael's conclusion, and in a few cases he shows that the great chronographer had made mistakes.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Dionysius Bar-Šalîbhî, bishop of Mar'ash and Mabbogh.



The number of his books and the great length of many of them indicate that Bar Hebraeus was a rapid worker, and a swift writer, and his 'Compendious History of the Dynasties' (*Al-Mukhtaṣar fi'd Duwal*) illustrates these facts. This work, with the exception of three folios, he translated from his Syriac Chronography into Arabic, adding many passages which dealt with the history and religion of the Arabs as he went, in less than a month, when he was an old man sixty years of age. His translations from Arabic into Syriac were also made with great rapidity, but even so it is difficult to discover how in the midst of all his other work he found time to write such lengthy translations as the great philosophical encyclopaedia called the 'Butter (or Cream) of Wisdom' (*Hêwath Hekhmêthâ*) or 'The Wisdom of the Wise' (*Hekhmâth Hekhmâthâ*), for this work comprises the whole Aristotelian discipline. He must have spent every hour which he could snatch from his ecclesiastical duties in his writing closet, and he was indefatigable. After his elevation to the headship of the Jacobite Church, not being sufficiently occupied with the routine work which that high office demanded of him, he must needs lecture on Euclid and Ptolemy's *MEGISTÊ* between 1268 and 1272. As a result of his study of the *MEGISTÊ* he compiled a set of astronomical tables for use by the students in the Observatory at Marâghâh, and later (1279) he wrote an exposition on astronomy and geography (*SULLAḲÂ HAWMÂNÂYÂ*). His astronomical knowledge cannot, it would seem, have been very wide or deep, and in this case he can only be regarded as a 'popularizer' of a fascinating but little known science. This treatise shows that he had the faculty of absorbing scientific facts quickly, and was able to transmute abstruse or technical statements into language which was understood of the people, and to impart information easily.

Though Bar Hebraeus had a very retentive memory, it is tolerably certain that he took careful notes of all that he read; only by the use of copious notes arranged for easy reference could he have composed his books as quickly as he did. He reels out his facts like the dropping of water, and each group of facts falls into its proper place, and there is little repetition.

The short biographies of famous men which are scattered through the Chronography show that he was a good reader of character, and that he had an eye quick to estimate the follies and fancies, the virtues and vices, and the wisdom and sense of his fellow men. He condemned sparingly, he judged not at all, but he regarded the idiosyncrasies of men with a certain amount of amusement and kindly cynicism. And all the time he was conscious of possessing secretly some of the qualities which he derided publicly. Take, for example, the subject of astrology, which he says was invented by Kainân, the son of Arphaxad (see pp. 6 and 7). In one passage he laughs at Ja'fâr the astrologer because he did not discover that the



being for whom he made a prediction was not a man but a cat (see p. 155), and in another he shows that Theophila's prediction was fulfilled (see p. 117). In yet another passage he laughs at the astronomers who, because of the conjunction of six wandering stars in Libra, with Mars in Gemini, on the 29th day of the sixth month of the Arabs, prophesied the coming of a wind storm and a flood which would destroy all mankind, because nothing of the sort happened (see p. 321). And again the astrologers predicted that heavy rains would fall, and that the rivers would flood the country, and yet not a drop of rain fell for a whole year (see p. 152). But in spite of these statements it is quite clear that Bar Hebraeus had some belief in astrology, a fact which is proved by a statement of his brother Bar Şâwmâ, who says that in the year of the Greeks 1597 (= A.D. 1286), when Bar Hebraeus was sixty years of age, he was fearing death and expecting it, 'For,' he used to say, 'in that year in which Chronos and Zeus were in conjunction in Aquarius I was born. And after twenty years they were in conjunction in Libra, and I was ordained bishop. And after another twenty years, when they were in conjunction again in Gemini, the Office of Maphrian was committed to me. And after another twenty years, when they are in conjunction again in Aquarius, I think that I shall go forth from this world' (Hunt No. 1, p. 636, col. 3). Some one must have cast the nativity of Bar Hebraeus and laid out his horoscope probably when he was a young man, and he apparently never forgot the astrologer's reading of the horoscope. And an Oriental to-day would say that it was the knowledge of it being perpetually in his mind killed him. Bar Hebraeus regarded the Magians as idolators because, like the Persians, they worshipped fire, but he approved of the Magi whose knowledge of astrology enabled them to understand the meaning of the star which led them to our Lord's manger, where they presented their offerings and worshipped Him.

The narrative of Bar Şâwmâ given above (see p. xxviii f.) shows that Bar Hebraeus was tolerant in his religious opinions, and that he was on the whole a fair-minded and truthful historian. He was on good terms not only with the Nestorians, but also with the Arabs and Mongols, though he must have deplored the fighting and inevitable slaughter which went on among them incessantly. The only details in his narrative which seem open to doubt are the numbers of the various combatants, which he gives, and the numbers of the slain. Whether the facts tell against the Franks, or the Arabs, or the Mongols, does not concern him, he felt it to be his duty to record them, and he did so without comment. The hideous cruelties and atrocities of the Mongols must have horrified him, but he never makes any remark which showed that they did. Had he criticized the Mongol princes and their doings he would probably have fared ill. The influence and authority which he wielded among men depended largely on the fact that he was 'recognized' by the Great Camp of the



Mongols, and had probably received from the reigning prince a 'PUḲDÂNÂ' or 'Licence' or 'Patent' to hold the office of Maphrian. Bar Hebraeus himself uses the word PuḲdânâ, which means literally a 'command', instead of its Mongol equivalent YARLĪKH or YARLĪGH. The Yarlikh was a letter stamped with the great seal of the Kakhân or Khân in which the king called upon all officials and sundry other individuals to render to the bearer any assistance which he might require. To a high state official or great favourite the Khân gave both a PÂIZAH and a Yarlikh. The former was a gold tablet about 6 inches long and 2 inches broad,<sup>1</sup> and was originally only given by the Mongol kings to members of the royal house who were to act as deputies for the king. Some Pâizahs were made of silver<sup>2</sup> and weighed as much as two pounds. The 'Yarlikh al-tamghâ' was a special kind of warrant and bore upon it a red stamp or seal. The Mongol king who approved of the appointment of Bar Hebraeus to be Maphrian was probably Abga or Abaghâ, the eldest son of Hûlâgû Khân, who reigned from 1265 to 1281. It was he who confirmed the appointment of Yahbh-Allâhâ as Patriarch of the Nestorians and who gave him a gold Pâizah, and in November 1281 gave him a Yarlikh which authorized him to levy a tax of 30,000 dinârs on the people for the upkeep of the monasteries and churches. Abgâ corresponded with the Pope and with Edward I, King of England, and was a powerful protector of the Christians. His successor, Aḥmûd Tâkûdâr (1281-4), was baptized when a child, but when he became king he embraced Islâm. When Bar Hebraeus died the Mongol king was Arghôn (1284-91). It is unlikely that either Abgâ or Arghôn gave him a gold or silver Pâizah, and assuredly not the power to levy taxes on the people, for Bar Hebraeus was a different man in every way from Yahbh-Allâhâ III.

We have seen that Bar Hebraeus attached some importance to astrology, and some passages in his Chronography show that he was not wholly averse from the practice of divination, under certain circumstances. He relates that arrows were used in divination at the election of Marwân (p. 103), and slips of paper on which names were written at the election of Monomachus (p. 200), and the Christians also used slips of paper when they needed guidance in the election of an ecclesiastical official. But it is clear that he had no belief in inquiries derived from the inspection of a liver (see p. 110). From time immemorial Orientals have believed that the will of the Deity as regards future events were often disclosed to man in dreams, and Jews and Christians alike held this view. In his early manhood Bar Hebraeus also believed in the value and importance of dreams, for in the

<sup>1</sup> For a lithograph facsimile of the 'Gold Tablet of Command' see *Marco Polo*, ed. Yule, vol. i, facing p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> A reproduction of the obverse and reverse of a silver Pâizah with an inscription in the Mongolian tongue is given in Budge, *Monks of Kâblâi Khân*, plate V.



list of his works which was compiled by his brother a *Pushshâk Hêlmê* or book dealing with the 'Interpretation of Dreams' is mentioned (see above, p. xxxiv, and Assemânî, *B.O.* ii, p. 271, No. 20). And that his views about dreams were unchanged in his old age is proved by his brother's narrative (see above, p. xxvii). In this it is said that Bar Hebraeus was greatly interested in the building of the new church which was dedicated to John Bar Naggâre. When the building was finished he wanted to obtain relics of saints to bury under the altar, and he told certain men to go and dig among the ruins of the old church, where he thought relics ought to be found. Their search proved fruitless, and Bar Hebraeus was troubled. Some believing men had dreamed that there were relics underground there, but Bar Hebraeus did not pay much attention to them. One night, however, when half awake and half asleep, he saw in a vision a 'splendid young man', who said to him, 'There are relics under the old throne (i.e. altar).' Taking a couple of bishops with him, Bar Hebraeus rode with them to the old church, and told the diggers to dig out the site on which the old altar had stood. When they had reached a depth of about six feet they found a funerary coffer with a bowl of ashes on top of it and another containing human bones inside it. These relics were taken with great joy to the new church and placed in the martyrion there.

Of all the books written by Bar Hebraeus the one which most clearly indicates his mental characteristics is the *Kêthâbhâ dhê-Thunnâyê Meghah-hêkhânê*, or 'The Book of Stories which provoke laughter'. This book contains a collection of seven hundred and twenty-seven<sup>1</sup> 'Stories' which are divided into chapters of varying lengths. These were collected from the writings of Hebrews, Greeks, Syrians, Arabs, Persians, and Indians, and the book appears to have been put into its present shape by Bar Hebraeus himself in his old age. The Stories show that their compiler was a man who possessed a great fund of humour, coupled with shrewdness, and was an adept in reading the characters of men, and in noting the fads and the follies, and the virtues and the vices of all sorts and conditions of men, from kings to barbers and tax-collectors. His large books attest his piety, learning, and scholarship, but the Stories illustrate his broadmindedness and his versatility, and show that he loved a 'good story' even though they were of a character which we should not expect the great Maphrian to relate. His Stories are generally amusing and often cynical, but like Oriental Stories in general they are true to life. And their compiler has admirably succeeded in inculcating the soundest and best teaching, both as regards the present and future life, by means of a series of concise anecdotes and

<sup>1</sup> About sixty-eight of them were published by Adler, Bernstein, and Morales. The Syriac text of the whole collection, edited from the India Office MS. No. 9 and a manuscript in my private possession, was published by me with an English translation in 1897. See Budge, *The Laughable Stories collected by Mâr Gregory John Bar-Hebraeus*, London (Luzac & Co., Semitic Text and Translation Series, vol. i).



sayings, and proverbs and aphorisms culled from some of the oldest and best literatures of the world. The Book of Laughable Stories covers a very wide ground and embraces a very miscellaneous group of subjects. We should hardly expect the idea of Woman's Rights ever to have entered the head of the Maphrian, or even to have existed in an Oriental country in the thirteenth century of our era. But in Story No. 515 we read that a certain woman asked her neighbour, 'Why should a man have power to buy a handmaiden and to lie with her, and to do whatsoever he pleaseth with her, while a woman hath no power to do any such things freely and openly?' And her neighbour said to her, 'Because the kings, and the judges, and the lawgivers are all men; and they have therefore acted the parts of advocates of their own causes and have oppressed the women.'

In his Stories of cranks and faddists and simpletons Bar Hebraeus pillories Christians as well as Pagans, and philosophers as well as lunatics. The Stories of the Christian ascetics (chap. v) are of great interest, and twenty-eight of the thirty-five stories which deal with them I have identified in the Syriac Version of the *PARADISE* of Palladius, which was compiled by 'Anân Îshô', the famous editor of texts, and a monk of Beth 'Abhe.<sup>1</sup> Bar Hebraeus seems to have used a copy of 'Anân Îshô's Recension,<sup>2</sup> for the similarity of his text to that of 'Anân Îshô's is too close to be accidental.

More than twenty of the Stories deal with matters which are not generally discussed or mentioned in books which are intended for popular reading among western nations. Some of these refer to the physical relations of men and women, and others are decidedly 'coarse'. The scribe who wrote the India Office manuscript, which I used in preparing my edition of the 'Laughable Stories', seems to have realized that not all of them were profitable or suitable for all readers. By the side of some of these he wrote on the margin the word *shewar*, i.e. 'skip', and by the side of others he wrote *krî*, i.e. 'read'. Thus in the ninth chapter (medical stories) he tells the reader to skip No. 327, which reads: *Dixit medicus alius questo cuidam quia saepe cum feminis coire nequibat. 'Carne vescere, vinum bibe, medicamentis utere in Venerem incitantibus, cum petulantibus versare ac lascivis—sic demum virum te praestare poteris.'* But the reader is told to read No. 328: *Medicus quidam cui dixerat aliquis, 'Clamoris ventris inflationibus afficior et ructationibus flatuosis' respondit 'Ventrem certe cum strepitu inflant pedita quae nequeunt evadere: de flatuosis tamen ructationibus non adhuc legi quid sint.'* And several most repulsive stories remain uncensored, e.g. No. 437, which reads: *Avarus alius quidam*

<sup>1</sup> The story of the Syriac compilation of the *Book of Paradise* is told by Thomas of Margâ. See Budge, *Book of Governors*, vol. ii, p. 189 (chap. xv).

<sup>2</sup> The Syriac text of this Recension with an English translation was printed for private circulation by Lady Meux in two volumes in 1904. A reprint of the translation and the *Apophthegmata* was published in two volumes three years later.



aegrotans oleum medicis iubentibus, hausit: ubi alvum autem purgasset, servis, 'Ite', clamat, 'oleum e stercore meo colligite quo ad lucernas incendendo uti possimus.'

Now Bar Hebraeus was well aware that such stories were not suitable for general reading, and in a paragraph which follows No. 727 he says to the reader, 'Peradventure, having meditated upon these miscellaneous stories which I have gathered together and arranged in this my book, thou mayest find one which lieth beyond the pale of the path of chastity, and which should neither be recited or acted upon by him that dwelleth chastely in flourishing and well-ordered monasteries, and mayest begin to heap imprecations upon me and to cast blame upon me. But do not do this. For as in the tabernacle of wisdom every kind of thing is necessary, nothing whatsoever that in a natural way sharpeneth the intelligence, and enlighteneth the understanding, and comforteth and rejoiceth the mind which is sorrowful and suffering, should ever be rejected. So likewise is it in a large house; for not only are vessels of gold and silver necessary, but even vessels made of gourd-skins. But to speak after the manner of an apostle, whilst thou dost purify thy mind and dost refine thine understanding, thou wilt not find in this book a single petty or contemptible story, or one which is absolutely destitute of some intellectual profit.'



## THE MONASTERY OF MÂR MATTAI ON JABAL MAKLÛB

THE last resting-place of the body of Bar Hebraeus, the Maphrian of the East, is in the church of the monastery of Mâr Mattai, and as for some thirteen centuries it has been one of the most important centres of the Jacobite doctrine, a few notes on the history of the monastery may rightly be given here.

Of the early life of Mâr Mattai we know nothing except that he was a Christian, and that he lived either at Âmid (i.e. Diarbekir) or in a village in the immediate neighbourhood of this city. He received the tonsure and adopted the garb of the ascetic life, and was living as a monk in a monastery when Julian the Apostate was fighting in Western Asia. Following the example of Diocletian, Julian promulgated an Edict in which he ordered the people to worship the old pagan gods, and he threatened all those who did not obey his command with floggings and tortures of various kinds. Many Christians apostatized and denied Christ and made the customary offerings to the gods in order to save themselves and their families from arrest and imprisonment, and from torturings and agonized deaths. But a large number of the monks and ascetics who lived in the religious houses and monasteries round about Âmid not only refused to obey the Edict, but made up their minds to help the laity in resisting it also. They came to this decision at a general assembly of ascetics who met together in the great Monastery of Zûḡarîn. When they found that the Roman magistrates were carrying out the commands of the Edict with the utmost severity, they decided to forsake Roman territory, and they departed and sought asylum in the country round about Nineveh and in the districts of Persia which bordered on Assyria, where the Christians were not persecuted. Among those who migrated to Nineveh was an ascetic called MATTAI, ܡܬܝ, who was famous in many parts of the country and well known to many because of the miracles which he wrought, and the marvellous success which he had achieved in healing the sick. Leaving Nineveh, which lies on the east bank of the Tigris, he went and settled down on one of the high mountains of the Jabal Maḡlûb range, where presumably a Jacobite monkish settlement had already been made. In a very short time his skill as a great physician became noised abroad, and the sick and ailing Christians from far and near came to be treated by him. Those who were healed made offerings, as is usual to this day in the neighbourhood, in money and in kind to Mattai, and on these his fellow monks lived. The king of 'Âthôr (i.e. Assyria) at this time was called SANḤERÎB ܣܢܚܪܝܒ, who was a Magian, and whose daughter SÂRÂ was smitten with leprosy; she had suffered from the disease for many years, and the local physicians had



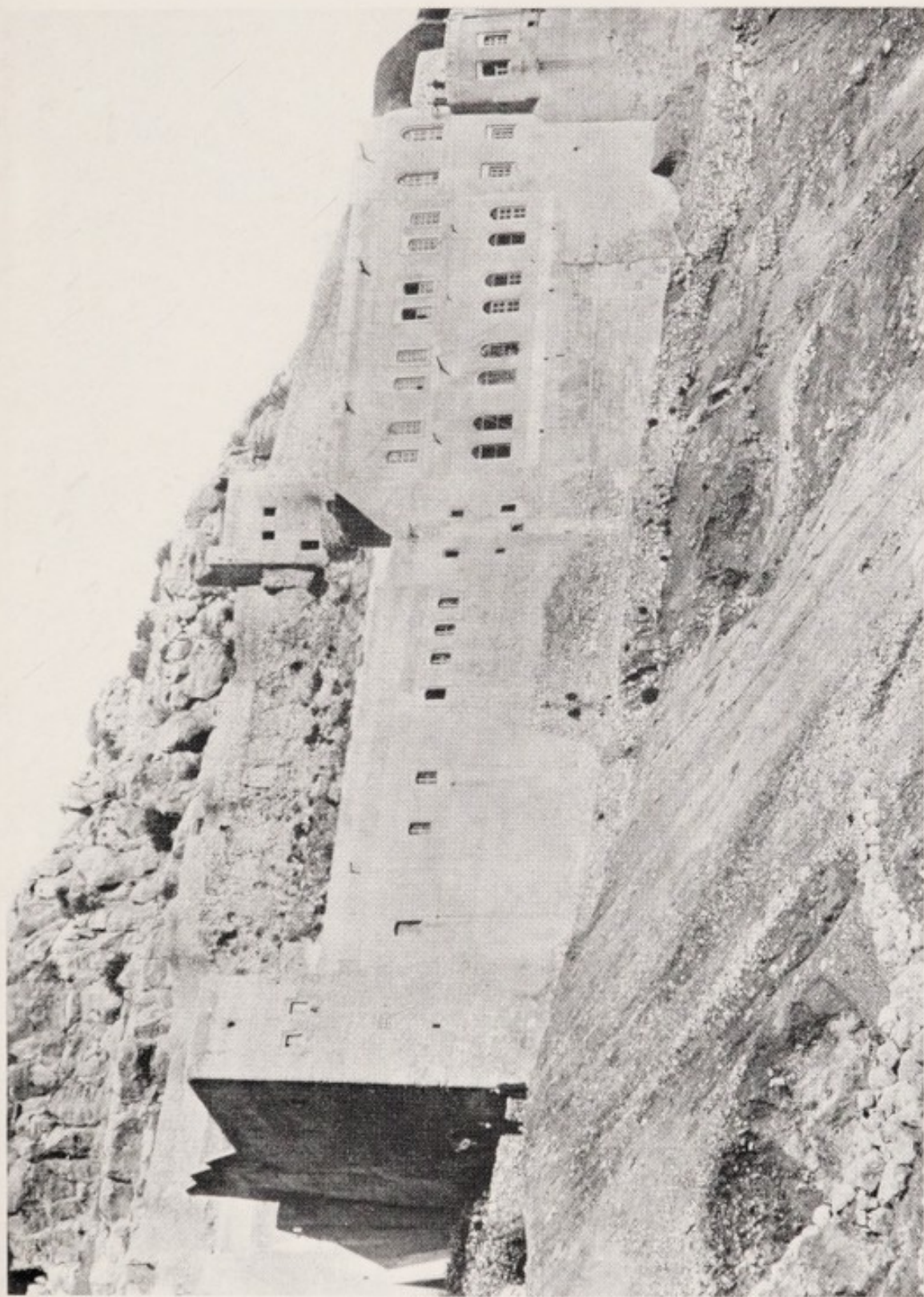
failed to heal her. In due course the rumour of Mattai and his healings reached him, and he began to make inquiries about him and tried to find out where he lived. For a time he was unable to discover the abode of the Saint, but his son BEHNAM<sup>1</sup> found it out under the guidance of Providence.

One day when Prince Behnam and his companions were out hunting in the desert near Nineveh a huge stag suddenly appeared before them and they set off to capture it. Though they rode hard the chase was long, and when the night fell they found themselves tired and exhausted at the foot of the mountain on which Mâr Mattai dwelt. Close by was a little running stream or brook, and they decided to camp there for the night. During his sleep an angel woke up the prince and told him to go to Mâr Mattai, and when one of his servants, who was a Christian, urged him to obey the angel, he rose up and with some of his companions began to climb the mountain, and at length he arrived at the cave in the rock in which the saint dwelt. Mattai saw him long before he reached the top of the mountain, and he rose up and went to meet him, and gave him a hearty welcome. In answer to Mattai's question the prince told him that he was the son of King Sanherîb, and that he had come there as the result of following the stag. Very soon Mattai began to talk about spiritual matters, and apparently Behnam hearkened, for he became converted to Christianity, and he and his sister were baptized by Mattai. The leprosy of the princess disappeared, and the king her father built the monastery in which Mattai and his followers took up their abode therein. Ascetics of all classes flocked to the mountain. The anchorites and solitaries lived in clefts and caves in the mountain, and the ordinary monks built 'cells' for themselves or lived in the monastery.

The mountain itself was called 'ALPEPH ܐܠܦܗ in allusion to the 'thousands [of monks]' ('alpaiyâ) who lived on it. Under the direction of Abraham, the mother of Prince Behnam built the Monastery of Abraham, which is also known as the Dairâ dhë Kukhyâthâ, and the Monastery of Bêth Gubbê. Prince Behnam and SÂRÂ suffered martyrdom at the hands of their father, the Magian, who later was converted to Christianity, in the year of the Greeks 663 = A.D. 352, and he and his sister were buried in the Monastery of Bêth Gubbê. The above-mentioned facts are derived from Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 7200, fol. 94 f., from which translations of extracts have been given by Hoffmann, *Auszuge*, pp. 17 f., and from Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 12174, fol. 400 f. (see Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, p. 1135). There is therefore no doubt that the Monastery of Mâr Mattai on Mount 'Alpeph was founded before the end of the fourth century of our era. The popular story that it was built by Sanherîb after he had renounced Magianism and become a Christian, is incredible. Some have thought that Mâr Mattai suffered martyrdom during the persecution of the

<sup>1</sup> This name means 'Saint of the Good Name'. Felix Jones compares the Persian نام نیک.





View of the north side of the Monastery of Mâr Mattai on Jabal Maklûb













The Epitaph over the grave of Bar Hebraeus and his brother Bar Šāwmā on the north wall of the Sacrarium in the Church of the Monastery of Mār Mattai on Jabal Maqlûb. See page xvi



Christians which was begun by Sapor, A.D. 330, when monks were killed by the thousand. But this is unlikely, especially when we find his name mentioned along with the names of St. Simon Stylites, and Mâr 'Awgîn, Anthony the Great, Macarius, Bîshôî, 'Abbâ Pûlâ and other great ascetics of the mountains and deserts (see Add. 14709, fol. 78b; Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, p. 175, col. 2).

The Monastery of Mâr Mattai is certainly one of the oldest, if not the oldest of all the Jacobite monasteries in Mesopotamia, and it has for many centuries been regarded as a specially holy place. Though its height above the plain renders a laborious climb up the mountain side of two or three hours before reaching the building itself unavoidable, a very considerable number of the inhabitants of Môsul (Al-Mâwşil) make the ascent yearly and pass one or more nights on the mountain in the cool, health-giving air under the open sky. The Jacobites call the saint 'Mâr Mutî', and the Arabs 'Shaikh Mutî', and both Christians and Muslims carry away small quantities of the dust collected from the floor of the church in which his tomb is situated with the idea that they will cause their wearers to be 'blessed' or 'lucky'. The monastery flourished under Mâr Mattai, and also under his successor the Mehimandrite Zakkai.

In the fifth and sixth centuries several small Jacobite monasteries sprang up in 'Âthôr and the neighbouring districts, and the Nestorians were not slow in building monasteries in the mountains near Mardîn and Môsul. Political circumstances being favourable and money being forthcoming, the Nestorian archimandrites Bâbhai of Mount Îzlâ, and Jacob of Bêth 'Âbhê, Bar 'Idtâ, and others became famous in the land.<sup>1</sup> At the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century Rabban Hôrmîzd, a Nestorian, a native of Bêth Lâphat, i.e. Shîrâz, entered the monastery of Bar 'Idtâ and very soon became a power therein because of the miracles which he wrought. His biographers say that he could turn water into oil, and raise the dead, and that like Anthony of Egypt he overcame the Devil, who presented himself to him in various terrifying forms and tormented him continually, and put all the hosts of darkness to flight. He lived in the monastery of Bar 'Idtâ for thirty-nine years, and seven years more in the monastery of Abraham of Rîshâ, and then at the age of sixty-six he went and settled down in the mountains of Bêth 'Edhrai near Al-Ḳôsh.

The fame of Hôrmîzd as a healer and worker of miracles throughout the country was great, and when the people of Al-Ḳôsh found that this remarkable man had come to dwell among them permanently, they offered to build a monastery close to their town for him. A wealthy Persian Christian called Khôdhâwî gave them seven talents of silver, and 'Uḳbê, the governor of Môsul, gave three more, and the building of the monastery was begun forthwith and finished in twenty months. The consecration ceremony was

<sup>1</sup> See the opening chapters of the *History of Thomas of Margâ*, ed. Budge, vol. ii.



performed by the Catholicus Tōmarṣâ II, who gave Hōrmîzd a Patent by which he was freed absolutely from the interference of any Metropolitan or Bishop in the affairs of the new monastery. The governor expelled all the Jacobites from the district, and encouraged Nestorians to come and settle in their place. One of the first acts of Hōrmîzd was to go to 'Arsham, a stronghold of the Jacobites, and with the help of 'Abhd Īshô', bishop of Nūhdherân, establish a Nestorian church there. Hōrmîzd was then nearly seventy years of age.

At no great distance from Al-Ḳôsh was situated the monastery of Bezḳîn, probably close to the Gômel river, but its exact site is unknown. It contained many Jacobite monks, who maintained very friendly relations with the archimandrite of the monastery of Mâr Mattai, which they seem to have regarded as their 'mother house'. Bitter enmity existed between Hōrmîzd and the abbot of Bezḳîn, and Hōrmîzd's biographer says that the Jacobite monks led lives of self-indulgence and immorality, and whenever he has occasion to refer to their monastery he always calls it a 'tavern'.<sup>1</sup> Whether the monks of Bezḳîn were moved to wrath against those of Al-Ḳôsh because of their differences of opinions in respect of religious doctrine, or whether they were jealous of the great reputation of Hōrmîzd for holiness and his healing powers cannot be said, but their hatred took the form of acts of violence, if we can trust the statements of Hōrmîzd's biographer. According to him the monks of Bezḳîn attacked in his cell and tried to kill him. Ten of them went there by night, but just as they were about to break into the cell they were smitten with paralysis and sank helplessly to the ground. There they were found the following morning by the saint, who prayed to God to restore motion to their limbs, and then he took them in, and having with his own hands washed their feet, fed them and blessed them and sent them away.

Having failed in their attempt to murder Hōrmîzd, the monks of Bezḳîn went to 'Uḳbâ, the governor of Môṣul, and charged Hōrmîzd with being a fornicator and a murderer, and having given him two talents of silver, besought him to expel Hōrmîzd from Al-Ḳôsh, saying that either he or they must be masters of the mountain. When called upon by 'Uḳbê to answer the charges brought against him, Hōrmîzd did so and satisfied the governor that the monks of Bezḳîn were liars. Soon after this the son of 'Uḳbê was attacked by a dangerous disease, and became sick unto death, but Hōrmîzd healed him. 'Uḳbê the governor, in spite of this, maintained friendly relations with the monks of Bezḳîn, and went and stayed with them in their monastery. Whilst he was there Divine Providence decreed the destruction of Bezḳîn, and an angel came to Hōrmîzd

<sup>1</sup> He also speaks of the 'tavern of Mattai'; see Budge, *History of Rabban Hōrmîzd*, vol. ii, part i, p. 118. Elsewhere we read of the 'polluted shrine of Mattai', and of its monks who are described as 'miserable little impostors'.



carrying in his hand an iron crowbar. This he gave to Hôrmîzd, and then he set out with the saint to overthrow the Monastery of Bezķîn. When they reached the building the angel smote the walls with the crowbar, and they collapsed forthwith, and 'Uķbê only escaped with difficulty; some of the monks escaped, but many were crushed to death by the falling masonry. Nestorians from all parts rushed to the place and carried away from the ruins everything which had any value, and nothing but broken stones remained to show where the monastery of Bezķîn had stood.

But the wrath and hatred of Hôrmîzd and his monks were not appeased by the destruction of Bezķîn, and they now turned their attention to the monastery of Mâr Mattai. Rightly or wrongly they believed that monks of Mâr Mattai worshipped and adored an image of some god or devil, which they kept under the shrine of the church in order to give them protection against evil spirits; therefore they called the monks of Mattai 'idolators'. They further believed that the Jacobites were following the custom of the pagan Egyptians who kept figures of their gods and sacred animals in carefully protected shrines. It is quite possible that the monks of Mattai kept a sacred image of some kind *under* their shrine, for the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians buried what we may call 'magical figures', or 'prophylactic and evil-averting figures',<sup>1</sup> under the floors of their buildings, both temples and houses.

As Hôrmîzd grew older his hatred of the Jacobites increased, and he determined to go to the Monastery of Mattai and destroy their 'idol'. With this object in view he set out from Al-Ķôsh and by some means succeeded in reaching the mountain of 'Alpeph. The distance between the two monasteries by the shortest road is at least twenty miles, and the old man Hôrmîzd, who was then probably about eighty years of age, must have found the journey most exhausting. But he counted the toil of the road as nothing provided he could seize and destroy the 'miserable little idol'. He arrived at the 'tavern of Mattai' at sunset, and believing the lies which he told him, the doorkeeper admitted him and said that he might hide there until the dawn; he took Hôrmîzd into the church and left him there. Hôrmîzd prayed, and the angel of the Lord came down and opened the shrine, and put in his hand and drew out from the base of the shrine a brass idol with inlaid eyes of striped beryls, and gave it to Hôrmîzd. He told Hôrmîzd that the monks of Mâr Mattai had been corrupted by the teachings of the Egyptian Cyril of Alexandria and of the heretic Marcion, and had through them adopted the use of this 'miserable little idol'. Cyril himself had been led astray by an Egyptian sorceress called 'Ķâķî', in Greek *Κάκη* (?). The angel then transported Hôrmîzd to his own monastery

<sup>1</sup> A large number of such figures were found at Ur by Mr. C. L. Woolley. Translations of the texts which describe their use and object were published by Sidney Smith in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1926, pp. 205 f.



at Al-Ḳôsh, and the 'idol' was shown to the one hundred and eleven monks who were there. The devil resident in the idol began to speak and to complain of the treatment to which he was subjected, and then one, George, a priest, took it and carried it into village after village and told the people its history.

Having destroyed the idol of Mâr Mattai, Hôrmîzd determined to destroy the manuscripts of the Jacobite works which were preserved in his monastery. Once again he made his way to 'Alpeph, and by the help of the angel of the Lord obtained access to the library. Here the angel caused a well of filthy liquid to appear, and one by one Hôrmîzd dipped the volumes into it, and destroyed the writing on their folios, and polluted them. When he had finished this work the filthy liquid ceased to flow, and the angel of the Lord carried him bodily outside the monastery by the gate. From this place he made his way back to Al-Ḳôsh, and at once began to evolve a scheme whereby he could destroy Ignatius, the archimandrite of Mâr Mattai. The story of the way in which he succeeded can hardly have any historical foundation.

Very little is known about the history of the monastery of Mâr Mattai during the centuries which followed the rise of the Muḥammadan power in Mesopotamia. It is clear that it continued to be an important centre of Jacobite influence and an asylum for Jacobites in times of persecution by the Arabs, and, at a later period, by the Mongols and the savage Kurdish tribes. It seems that the monks of Mâr Mattai remained unmolested for many years at a time. During these periods of respite they repaired their buildings, and lined the main portions of the steep path up from the plain to the monastery with stones, and provided the church with brocade curtains and sacramental vessels made of gold and silver, and piled up stores of wine and oil, &c. In a very short time the monastery became worth looting, and the Kûrds and their allied tribes attacked the monks and stripped the monastery bare. One of such attacks is described by Bar Hebraeus (see p. 441), who says that about 1262 a numerous force of Kûrdish cavalry and infantry made war on the monks for a period of four months. They set up scaling ladders in order to reach the platform of the monastery, but these the monks dragged up and burnt. Then the Kûrds climbed up the mountain behind the monastery and dislodged a huge rock, which they sent crashing down, and one portion of this breached the wall and stuck fast in it. The other portion broke through the wall, and through the gap thus made the Kûrds rushed in. The monks attacked the enemy with stones and arrows, and drove them out and repaired the breach in the wall. During the fight 'Abû Naṣr the archimandrite lost an eye, and many of the monks were wounded by Kûrdish arrows. Meanwhile the stores of food were getting low, and no supplies from the plain could reach the besieged. They therefore sued for peace, and promised to give the



Kûrds the curtains, hangings, and furniture of the church, and to collect as much gold and silver as possible. The Kûrds hearing that the Mongols were on the march to Mûsul, accepted their offer and rode away with church properties which were worth one thousand gold *dînârs*.

A few years later (see p. 459) the Kûrds ambushed ten of the monks of 'Alpeph from the Monastery of Mâr Mattai, and tortured them. One of the ten they killed, and the other nine they sold for 4,000 *zûzê*, i.e. about £100. In 1286 a body of Kûrds invaded the monastery of Mâr Mattai, and remained there for four days (see p. 475). And on another occasion the Ninevites only saved their churches by stripping them of their crosses, eikons, censers, and books bound in gold, which they gave to the Mongols, together with a sum of nearly 15,000 *dînârs* (i.e. nearly £8,000), which was collected in the neighbouring towns and villages.

All the great monasteries, whether Nestorian or Jacobite, in the regions about Nineveh must have been raided and looted several times in the course of the fourteenth and following centuries, and it is something to wonder at that so much of their buildings still remain. About 1844 the troops of the Kûrdish Pâshâ of Rawandus<sup>1</sup> swooped down on Mûsul, and having taken the town, attacked the monasteries of Rabban Hôrmîzd at 'Al-Kôsh and Mâr Mattai on 'Alpeph. There was a large library at Al-Kôsh, and the monks took away about 500 manuscripts and hid them in caves in the side of a neighbouring hill. Almost immediately after heavy rains fell, and the flood waters invaded the cave and swept away the manuscripts, which were never seen again. The Kûrds looted the monastery and destroyed what they could not use, and they hacked to pieces the manuscripts which they found, and defiled these fragments, and then hurled them into the river which flows down the mountain at one side of the monastery. They went to the monastery of Mâr Mattai, and they expelled Rabban Matta (Matthew) and his monks, and stripped the church, and consumed or burnt all the stores. This done, they obliterated many of the inscriptions, and defaced the remainder.

During the Great War the Kûrds and Hamawind destroyed everything they found, including all the old and valuable manuscripts preserved at Kudshanis, and then went to Urmi on Lake Wân, and looted and burnt the churches and houses and the buildings of the American Mission. They smashed the printing presses and destroyed the types and formes and furniture of the rooms of the compositors and machinists. The Library of the Mission contained several old Syriac manuscripts, and many modern copies of manuscripts which were in the Library of Kudshanis and in the possession of private individuals, and copies of the great Bibles printed

<sup>1</sup> Badr Khan Beg, the Mira of Bohtan, attacked the Christian tribes in 1845 (1843?) and perpetrated a massacre so appalling that the years are dated from it to this day. Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind*, p. 279.



in Syriac, and the Fallachi and the other works printed by the Mission since the establishment of the printing press at Urmî by the Rev. Dr. Perkins<sup>1</sup> and his colleagues, Messrs. W. R. Stocking, A. L. Holladay, E. Breath, J. L. Merrick, W. Jones, Dr. Grant, and Lieut.-Col. Stoddard, in 1840. All these and the file copy of the periodical *Zahrîrê dhê Bahrâ* were burnt, and copies of them are no longer obtainable.

During the last century many Europeans visited the monastery of Mâr Mattai, and a short account of the monastery buildings which have been studied on the spot by others than myself may now be given. The indefatigable Claudius James Rich, the first British Consul-General of Baghdâd, visited Mâr Mattai in 1820, and published an account of the monastery in his *Residence in Kurdistan*, vol. ii, p. 98. The small company of monks who lived there were in comparatively comfortable circumstances at the time, for he was hospitably entertained by Matrân Mûsâ, the archimandrite. About 1830 the monastery was looted and wrecked by the Kûrds, and Rabban Matta, Mûsâ's successor, and his flock were expelled. In October 1843 the Rev. G. P. Badger, one of the Honourable East India Company's chaplains in the diocese of Bombay, passed a couple of days there, and was an eyewitness of the damage which had been done to the church and the buildings of the monastery generally by the Kûrds. He found the building deserted and entirely destitute of gates and doors, which had, of course, been burnt by the Kûrds to cook their food. The row of small rooms, or as the monks would call them, 'cells', were in a state of ruin. On Plate III the lithographed drawing of the monastery, which Badger published in his book,<sup>2</sup> is reproduced. It gives a good idea of the ravine through which access to the monastery is obtained, and shows the remains of another religious edifice farther up on the mountain side, and the steep slope down which the Kûrds rolled stones on the walls of the monastery.

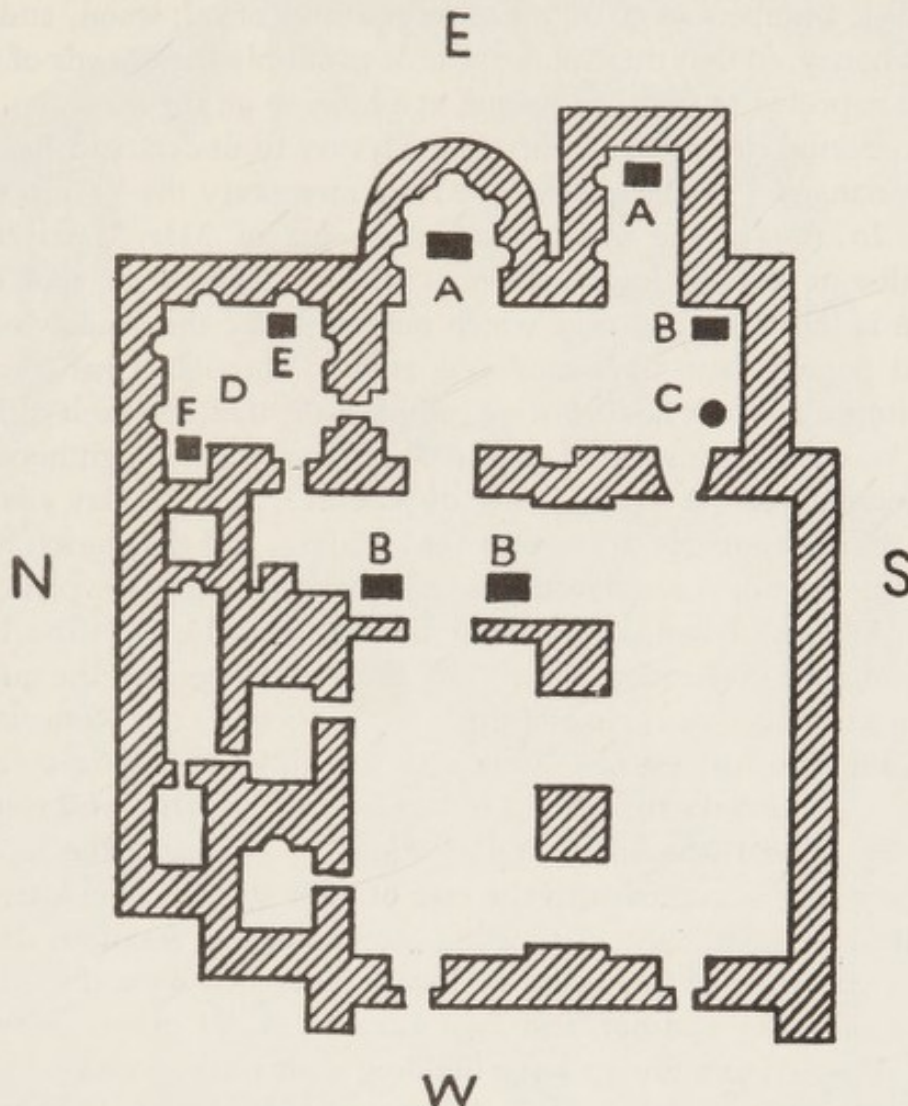
Before setting out to visit Mâr Mattai I made careful inquiries both of my Nestorian host Nimrûd Rassam and of Jacobite acquaintances about the general condition of the monastery and its inhabitants. Mr. Rassam strongly advised me not to go near the mountain and to have nothing to do with the monks, whom he described as evil-living men. And he suggested that they had traffick with Satan. The Jacobites pointed out that I had visited the monastery of Rabban Hôrmîzd at Al-Kôsh and stayed there two days, and that if I did not go to Mâr Mattai they would consider themselves and their saint slighted. Mâr Mattai's monastery lies about three hours distant from Kuyûnjik, the old fortress of Nineveh; slow-moving caravans make the journey in about five hours. A few miserable villages were passed through before the base of the mountain was reached, and the black *châdar* tents were numerous. The appearance of the

<sup>1</sup> See his *Residence of Eight Years in Persia*, Andover, 1843.

<sup>2</sup> *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i, p. 97.



monastery, perched as it is on the top of a perpendicular mountain, is most impressive, and as no path up to it is at first visible, the visitor finds it difficult to understand how mere human beings managed to build it. Close to the village of Mallah, at the foot of the mountain, the entrance to a



Ground Plan of the Church of Mâr Mattai on Jabal Maqlûb.

A, Altar. B, Reading desks. C, Font. D, Chamber for burials or the monastic cemetery. E, The grave of Mâr Mattai. F, The tomb of Bar Hebraeus.

rugged path is seen, and after a strenuous hour of climbing the visitor reaches the flat top of the great rock on which the monastery is built. We were met by a Persian monk and two or three of his companions, who at once took charge of our horses and mules, and who after a very short time prepared 'a table' for us. Little by little we realized that the monastery had been turned into a 'Khân' or guest-house, and that the 'monks' made a very good living by supplying the family parties from Môsul and elsewhere who came to spend their holidays there, and visitors who rode out to the mountain to enjoy the beautiful fresh air and the marvellous scenery for a day and a night. The Jacobite merchants of Môsul had for



several years past provided money which the 'monks' had spent in repairing the outer walls and the church and the little chambers which had served as 'cells' for the monks in olden days, and were now not uncomfortable living rooms for visitors. The 'monks' kept sheep, cattle, and fowls in considerable numbers, and they had large stores of oil, wood, and grain, and even honey, so that they might be able to supply the crowds of townsmen who expected to find bed, board, and lodging on the mountain top of 'Alpeph. Seeing this state of things, it was easy to understand the jibe of the Nestorians of 'Al-Kôsh, who called the monastery the 'tavern of Mâr Mattai'. In 1890-1 the sanitary arrangements of Mâr Mattai needed drastic alterations and improvement. The most favourite spot on the mountain is the 'dripping' cave which nestled under the shadow of plum trees and pomegranate trees, and was entered through a garden. Here many visitors and whole families were gathered together, and their eating and drinking was accompanied by a good deal of unwise and rough horse-play.

The contents of the 'table' being disposed of, and the day advancing quickly, we were anxious to examine the buildings and the church without delay so that we might not have to negotiate the descent to the plain before the night fell. As I had only a slight working knowledge of the Fallalhi dialect, and none of the monks knew any European language, the questions which we wished to ask them had to be put to them by my Nestorian host from Môsul who had learned French in one of the Mission schools in that town. The monks turned out to be illiterate peasants who could not read old Syriac and who knew nothing about the history of the Jacobites; they were wholly occupied with the care of their sheep and chickens, and with 'things temporal', and in resisting the unjust and vexatious demands of the tax-gatherers of the Wâlî of Môsul. They had no manuscripts, at least they said they had not, and their surprise at our questions was unfeigned. We first examined a large building close to the monastery which contained the graves of many of the bishops of Mâr Mattai. Over many of them were long inscriptions in the old Estrangelâ character, which ought to be copied and published, for the dates in them are of interest historically. A little farther up the mountain are two small caves, almost side by side, which tradition says were the dwelling-place of Mâr Mattai when he first came there, and were inhabited by him even after his monastery was built. In one of these is a small roughly hewn altar before which the saint made his devotions, and in one side of the other is a long cavity in which he probably slept. The two hollows in the rocky floor are said to have been made by the knees of Mâr Mattai when praying. There are many niches or clefts in the rock near the two caves of Mâr Mattai, and these are said to have been the dwelling-places of the anchorites and 'solitaries' who lived on Mount Alpeph in ancient days. The lives of such men must have been truly Spartan.



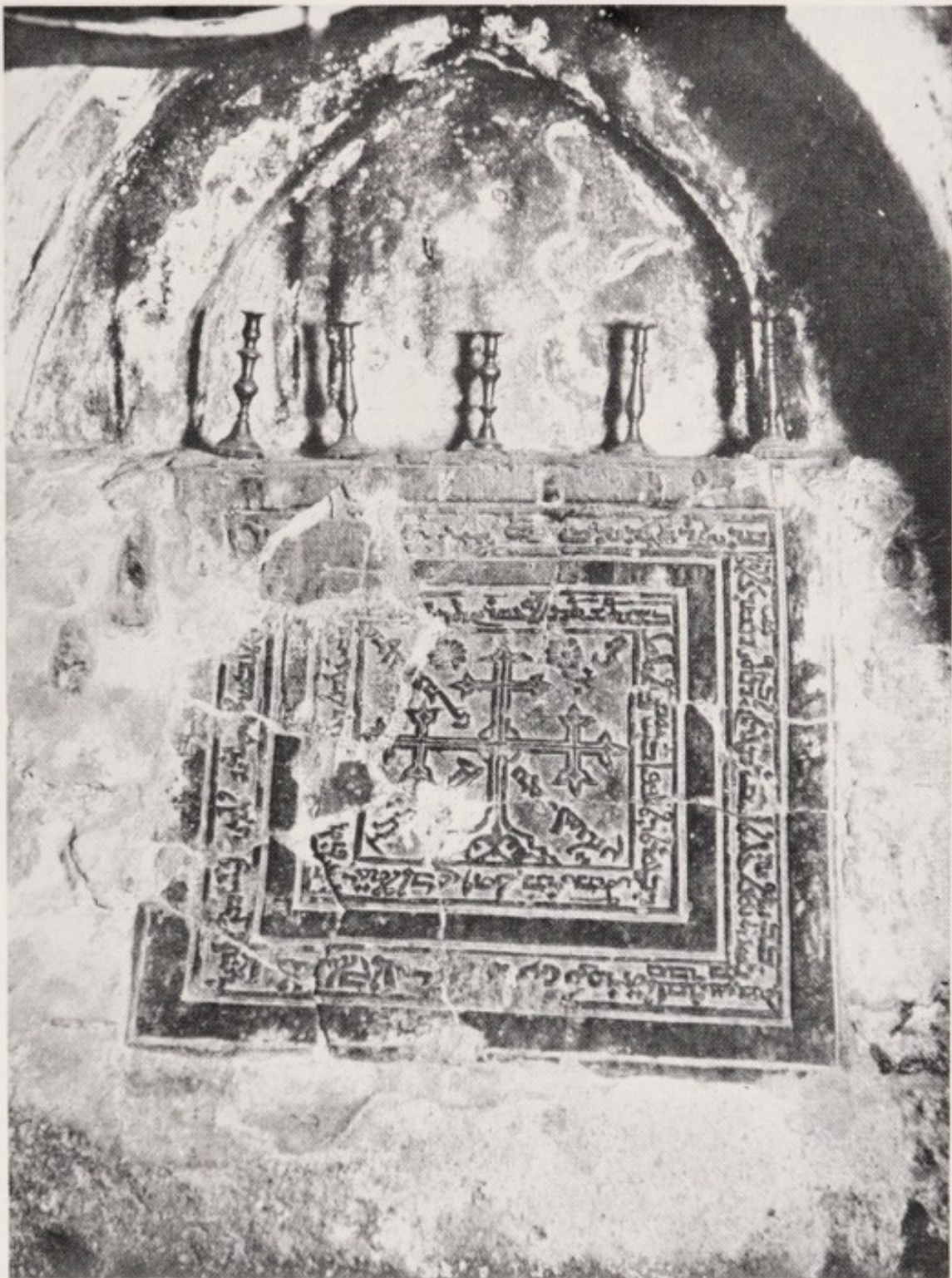


Inscription on the north wall of the Sacrarium of the Church  
of the Monastery of Mâr Mattai on Jabal Maqlûb









Inscription over the grave of Mâr Mattai on the east wall of the  
Sacrarium in the Church of the Monastery of Mâr Mattai on  
Jabal Maqlûb

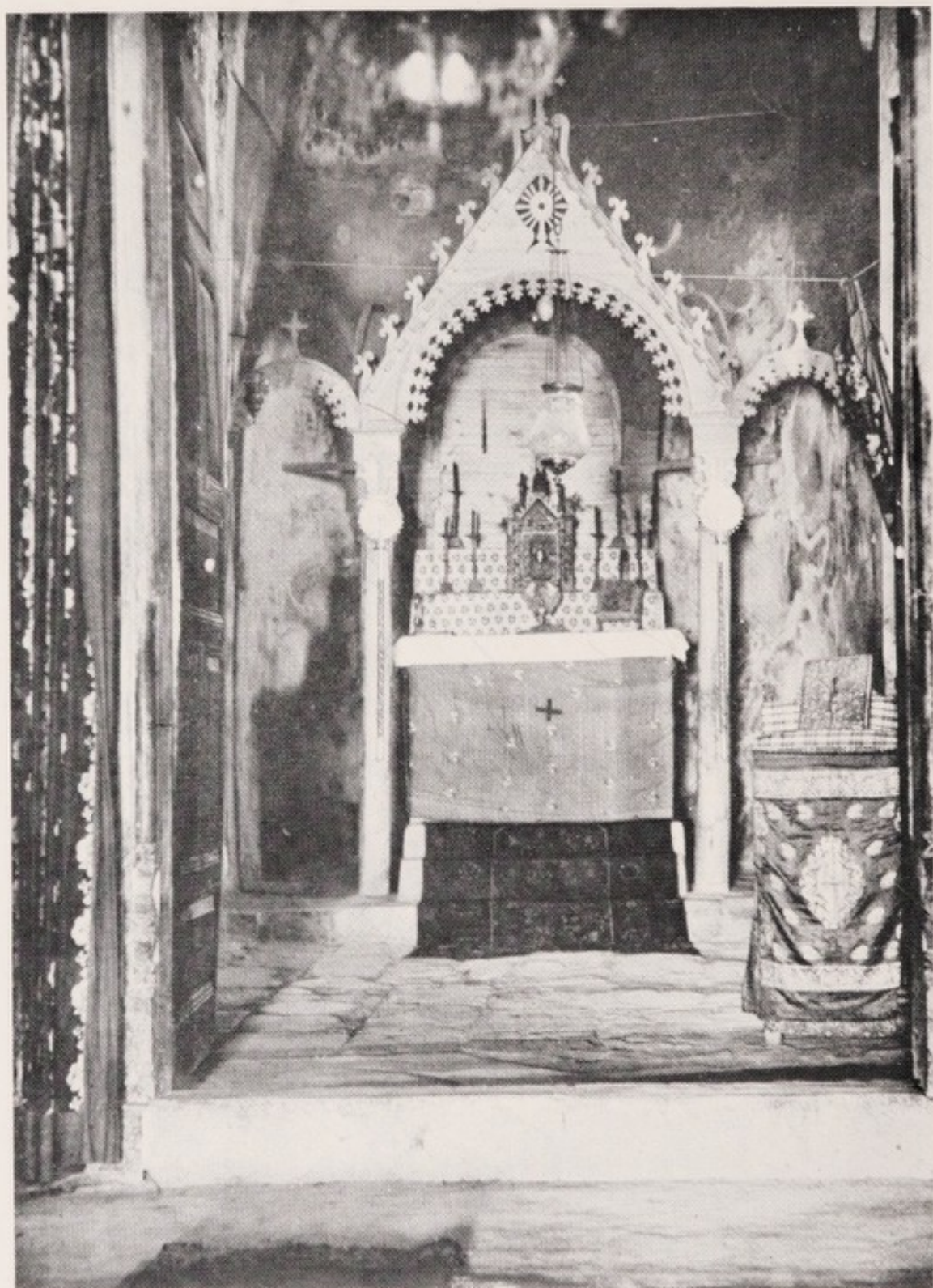












Modern shrine and altar in the Church of the Monastery of  
Mâr Mattai on Jabal Maqlûb



The most important building is the church, many parts of which were being rebuilt or repaired. A general idea of its internal arrangement may be obtained from the plan on p. lxi, which is reproduced from the drawing in Badger's *Nestorians*, vol. i, facing p. 95. It is specially interesting because it contains a divided chancel, with two sanctuaries instead of the three aisles and three sanctuaries which are usually found in churches of this kind. The place of the third aisle and sanctuary is occupied by the Bêth Ẕaddîshê, here a cemetery, and a series of chambers the purposes of which are unknown. Usually the Bêth Ẕaddîshê is an external building joined to the south wall of the church; at Mâr Mattai the font is placed by the south wall.<sup>1</sup> It is very difficult even to guess at the date when the church was built, but some of the lower parts of the main walls resembled the work of the twelfth or thirteenth century. The interior has been so much damaged by the Kûrds during their raids that there is nothing left in the way of sculpture, decoration, or ornament to help the visitor to arrive at a conclusion. Near the monastery are a few modern chapels, one dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in which services were performed, but these we were obliged to leave unvisited. It is impressed upon visitors that they and their beasts are the guests of monks, and that they are entertained *gratis*. But on making our way to the head of the path leading down to the plain, the Persian monk, who certainly acted as Abbot, made us to understand that the personal honour of all guests made it obligatory for them to make an offering in payment for the food which they and their beasts had consumed. For this we were, of course, prepared, as we had already visited Rabban Hôrmîzd and other monasteries, and knew the custom of the country. When we came to make the offering we discovered that besides paying for the food, we were expected to add *bakshîsh* for the saint and his church, and *bakshîsh* for the monks. In short we found that they were as capable at driving a bargain as any merchants in the Môsul bazâr.

Mr. O. H. Parry visited the monastery of Mâr Mattai in 1892 on behalf of the Syrian Patriarchate Education Society, and published an account of his travels in *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, London, 1895, pp. 266 f. He was well received by the monks, who provided him with comfortable quarters for the night, and he found that the repair of the buildings was still going on. Between 1891 and 1914 I received information about the monastery from time to time from friends in Môsul, and heard that the Jacobites of Môsul were spending considerable sums of money in the restoration of the church and in building terraces of chambers wherein they could live when they went to the mountain to enjoy fresh air and rest.

<sup>1</sup> Badger (vol. i, p. 96) notes that the Syrian Christians of old administered baptism near the abode of the dead, and quotes 'buried with Christ in baptism unto death', Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12.







## THE BOOK OF THE CHRONICLE OF THE GENERATIONS [OF KINGS]

WE, invoking the help of the Holy Trinity, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, One veritable God, begin to write the 'Book of the Chronicle of the Generations [of Kings]' which was composed by MÂR GREGORY, the Maphrian, the Light of the East and of the West, who is ABÛ'L-FARÂJ, the son of AARON, the physician, who [came] from the city of MELITENE, who is commonly called 'BAR 'EBHRÂÏÂ' (i.e. 'the son of the Hebrew').

### FIRSTLY. THE PREFACE

GOD, help my feebleness!  
Blessed be Thou, Lord, and Lord of the Universe, the BEGINNING and the END;

Thou art the First, and Thou art the Last.

With Thee every course of action is prepared, and unto Thee all praise is rightfully due;

And to the Son, the Word, the strength of Thy wisdom,

And to the Holy Spirit, the Life of Thy Being,

From everlasting, and now, and for ever.

And as this our rational being was created so that it might know righteousness, so that it might glorify it, and goodness that it might find it; and as knowledge in the first place becometh rich through thoughts of a theoretical nature, and it in the second place profiteth through practical (i.e. actual) hearings, the calling to remembrance of the things, both good and bad, which have happened in each and every generation conferreth no small benefit on all those who care greatly to acquire what is good, and who take pains to hate what is bad, and it urgeth a man to demonstrate pointedly the things which are excellent related thereby, and inciteth him to reject the disgraceful happenings which it narrateth.

For a period of eighty years none of our people have given any thought to this object, and to the doings of this none of our people has devoted himself thereto (that is to say, from the time of the blessed old man MICHAEL, the deceased Patriarch, who compiled that great threefold historical chronography), and to the [information] afforded by the old and antiquated historical chronographies of EUSEBIUS, I mean him of CAESAREA, and SOCRATES, the scholastic, and ZACHARIAH, the rhetorician, and JOHN of ASIA, and DIONYSIUS of TALL MAHRÊ, together with what he himself quickened. It hath



seemed to me that a similar breach and a gap which inviteth [filling] existeth in respect of us and our people, and that the famous events in the affairs of the world, and also in those of the Church which have happened in the period which precedeth us which will fall into oblivion and be no longer found in our own times after the lapse of much time will be sought for. Therefore, according to what time hath brought I, having entered the Library of the city of MÂRÂGHÂH of 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN, have loaded up this my little book with narratives which are worthy of remembrance from many volumes of the SYRIANS, SARACENS (ARABS), and PERSIANS which are [preserved] here. And those which concern the government of the world I have set in order from the Patriarchs, the first of whom was ADAM, and from them I proceed to the JUDGES of the HEBREWS, then to their kings, then to the CHALDEANS, then to the MEDES, then to the PERSIANS, then to the pagan GREEKS, then to the RHÔMÂYÊ (i.e. BYZANTINES), then to the Christian GREEKS, then to the ARABS, and then I conclude with the HUNS who [live] in our own days, order after order. And these I have committed to the First Part of the CHRONOGRAPHY. In the matter of ecclesiastical affairs I have begun with AARON, the first high priest, and as I end, to those who stand at the head to-day in the Second Part of the Ecclesiastical History. This last I have sealed in two discourses; the first treateth of the Western high-priesthood which is of ANTIOCH, and the second treateth of our own Eastern high-priesthood.



# THE FIRST PART OF THE CHRONOGRAPHY

## I

### THE PATRIARCHS. FROM ADAM TO MOSES

The First Series of generations, which beginneth with the Patriarchs

[3]<sup>1</sup> **A**DAM, the first man, the king of those who are on the earth, according to the opinion of the Divine Book, was created on Friday, the sixth day of the month of NÎSÂN, the first month of year one of the existence of the world, which began on the first day of the week (Sunday), the first day of the month of NÎSÂN. Now 'ANYÂNÔS<sup>2</sup> (ANIANUS) the monk, adducing testimonies from the Book of ENOCH, saith, that seventy years after the expulsion from PARADISE, ADAM knew EVE, and she brought forth CAIN. And after seven (or, seventy) years, she brought forth ABEL. And after fifty-three years CAIN slew ABEL, and ADAM and EVE mourned for him one hundred years. And then ADAM knew EVE again, and she brought forth SETH. And according to METHODIUS<sup>3</sup> thirty (or, three) years after they had gone forth from PARADISE [ADAM] begot CAIN together with KĪMYÂ (or KĪMÂ, or EKLÎMÂ) his sister. And after another thirty years [ADAM] begot ABEL together with LABHÛDHÂ (or, 'ABHÛDHÂ) his sister. And when ADAM was one hundred and thirty years old ABEL was killed, and when he was two hundred<sup>4</sup> and thirty years old he begot SETH. [4] All the years that ADAM lived were nine hundred and thirty years.

After ADAM [came] SETH his son. In the time of SETH, when his sons remembered the blessed life [which they had led] in PARADISE, they went up into the mountain of ẖERMÔN, and there they led a chaste and holy life, being remote from carnal intercourse (or, marriage); and for this reason they were called 'ÎRÊ (i.e. 'Watchers', and 'Sons of 'ALÔHÎM' (=Sons of God)). Now SETH, being two hundred and five years old, begot 'ÂNÔSH; and all the years that SETH lived was nine hundred and twelve years.

After SETH [came] 'ÂNÔSH his son. He announced that he would call upon the Name of the Lord. Now, although he submitted to marriage, he was

<sup>1</sup> The numbers in brackets refer to the pages of Bedjan's text.

<sup>2</sup> The writer of a Chronicle now lost.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop of Tyre; martyred about A.D. 300.

<sup>4</sup> A GENERAL WARNING by BEDJAN. Various statements will be found in this HISTORY which do not agree with the Book of the Law of the Syrians which is called 'Pëshîttâ', especially those which refer to the number of the years of the world, the lives of the Patriarch, and so on. It is not seemly for us to stumble over these because our author made use of the Book of the Law according to the Seventy (i.e. the Septuagint), and the Book of the Law according to the SAMARITANS, and other ancient [versions of the] Scriptures, and he wrote down in historical fashion the opinion of each one of them even as he found it.



not neglectful in pleasing God, and he did so more than those who chose a life of virginity and who went up into [the mountain of ḤERMÔN] but who did not abide in (i.e. keep) their covenant. 'ÂNÔSH was one hundred and ninety years old when he begot ḲAINÂN, and all his years were nine hundred and five.

After 'ÂNÔSH [came] ḲAINÂN his son, who at the age of one hundred and seventy years begot MAHLÂLÂ'ÎL; and all the years of his life were nine hundred and ten years.

And after ḲAINÂN [came] MAHLÂLÂ'ÎL his son, who at the age of one hundred and sixty-five years begot YARD; and all the years of his life were eight hundred and ninety-five years.

And after MAHLÂLÂ'ÎL [came] YARD his son, who, when he was one hundred and sixty and two years old begot ḤANÔKH (ENOCK); and all the years of his life were nine hundred and sixty and two years. And in the fortieth year [of the life] of YARD, that is to say in the year one thousand of the world, the Sons of God, about two hundred souls, came down from the mountain of ḤERMÔN, because they had lost all hope of a return to PARADISE. And because they lusted for carnal intercourse with women, their brethren the sons of SETH and ÂNÔSH despised them, and regarded them as transgressors of the covenant, and they refused to give them their daughters. And because of this they (i.e. the men from ḤERMÔN) went to the children of CAIN, and took wives, and begat mighty men of names, that is to say, men notorious for murders and robberies. Moreover, they set up over them the first king, a man whose name was SAMYÂZÔS, and when they began to quarrel with their brethren the children of SETH, they forced them also to set up a king over them, and they set up a king.

The first was a man whose name was 'ALÔRÔS.

And the second was 'ALPARÔS.

And the third was 'ALMÎLÔN.

And the fourth was 'AMMÂNÔN.

And the fifth was MÎGHALÂRÔS.

And the sixth was 'ÂÔNÔS, the shepherd.

[5] And the seventh was 'AÔDHÔRANBÔS.

And the eighth was 'AMPÊSÎS.

And the ninth was 'AÔTYARTÎS.

And the tenth was KSÎSÔTHRÔS (or KSÎSÔRTHÔS) his son, in whose days the FLOOD took place.

All these were KHALDHÂYÊ, that is to say ANCIENT SYRIANS, according to the tradition of the early writers. And because the greater number of [these] writers were GREEKS, they changed the sounds of the Chaldean names and did not pronounce them as they were pronounced in Chaldean fashion. For behold, also, in the case of 'NÔḤ' (NOAH), which is a pure Syrian name, and is derived from *nâwḥâ*, yet they (i.e. the Greeks) call it



'NÔÂCHÔS'. And it is not only the ancient [writers] who do this, but people who are living in our own days are in the habit of changing the pronunciation [of words], thus YA'QÔB, which [is derived] from 'Êkbhâ, is called 'AIÂKÔBHÔS', and BAR-ŞÂWMÂ they call 'SOMÔS'; and many others.

And after YARD [came] HANÔKH (ENOC), who at the age of one hundred and sixty-five years begot MATHÛSHLAH (METHUSELAH). And having pleased God for three hundred years he was translated to the place where God wished him [to be], and it is said, to Paradise, the place where the first ADAM was when he transgressed the command in days of old. Now this ENOC made manifest before every man the knowledge of books and the art of writing. The ancient GREEKS say that ENOC is HARMÎS (HERMES) TRÎSMAGHÎSTÔS<sup>1</sup> (the 'THRICE GREAT'), and it was he who taught men to build cities; and he established wonderful laws. And in his days one hundred and eighty cities were built; of which the smallest is ÛRHAÎ (EDESSA). And he invented the science of the constellations and the courses (orbits?) of the stars. And he ordained that the children of men should worship God, and that they should fast, and pray, and give alms, and [make] votive offerings, and [pay] tithes. And he rejected the foods [which produced] impurities, and drunkenness. And he ordered festivals for the entrance of the sun into each Sign of the Zodiac, and for the New Moon, and for every star (planet?) when it entereth its house or when it riseth. And he commanded [men] to present offerings of perfumes (sweet incense?), and beasts for slaughter sacrificially, and wine, and offerings of first-fruits of every kind. And they say that he received all this doctrine (or, learning) from 'AGHÂTHÔDAHMON (AGATHODAIMON), and they also say that 'AGHÂTHÔDAHMON was SETH, the son of 'ADHÂM, that is to say, the priest of the priest of ENOC. And they also say that 'ASKLAIPÎDÎS (AESCULAPIUS), the wise king, was a disciple of HERMES, that is to say, of ENOC.

And when God translated [6] ENOC to Himself, 'ASKLAIPYÂDÎS (AESCULAPIUS) was greatly afflicted because the earth and the inhabitants thereof were deprived of his blessings and his wisdom. And he painted his picture in most marvellous fashion, as one who is being taken up into heaven, and he set up an image of HERMES in the temple in which he used to pray and worship God. And when he went into that temple he used to sit down before it as he used to sit before him when he was alive, and he was blessed thereby. And it is said that this thing which had been made was the cause of the worship of images in the world. Now after many generations the Greeks imagined that that image was the image of 'ASKLAIPYÂDÎS (AESCULAPIUS), and for this reason they magnified it greatly, and they swore oaths by it before Christianity [existed]. For HIPPOCRATES said, 'My disciples, I adjure you by the creator of death and life, and by the father of your father, 'ASKLAIPYÂDÎS'. And he said, 'His name is derived etymologically

<sup>1</sup> That is, Thrice Great, Lawgiver, Priest and Philosopher (Bedjan's note).



from beauty, and light, and healing, and therefore it is right that every physician should be like unto him in purity, and chasteness, and holiness'. And GALEN said, 'It is not seemly to deny the healing which cometh to the sick when they go into the temple of 'ASKLAIPYÂDÎS'. And HIPPOCRATES saith, 'His staff on which he supported himself was the *netaphtâ* (i.e. marsh-mallow = *hibiscum*, or *althaea ficifolia* or *officinalis*)'. And GALEN saith, 'It indicateth moderation, which is the most excellent thing, because the marsh-mallow is half-way between heat and cold.

After ENOCH [came] MATHÛSHLAḤ (METHUSELAH) his son. When he was one hundred and sixty and seven years old he begot LAMKH (LAMECH); all his days were nine hundred and sixty and two years.

After METHUSELAH [came] LAMECH his son. When he was five hundred years old he begot SHEM; all the days of his life were nine hundred and fifty years.

In the six hundredth year of his [life] the FLOOD took place on the twenty-seventh day of [the month of] ÎYÂR. There was heavy rain for forty days, and the waters increased and floated the ARK which NOAH had made, and he and his wife, and his three sons and their wives went into it by the command of God. And the waters rose up above the high mountains to a height of fifteen cubits. Then the wrath subsided, and on [7] the twenty-seventh day of the month of ÎYÂR of the year following, they went forth from the ARK, which they left in APAMAEA, the metropolis of PISIDIA.

According to what JOSEPHUS said: the years from ADAM to the FLOOD added together are two thousand, and two hundred, and forty and two.

And then NOAH divided the earth among his three sons:

The Border of SHEM: From PERSIA and BHÂḤKURṬÔS to HENDÔ (INDIA) and RÎNÔḤÛRÂ, [where are] the ASSYRIANS, the CHALDEANS, the LYDIANS (the LÛRIANS?), the SYRIANS, the HEBREWS, and the PERSIANS.

The Border of ḤAM: From RÎNÔḤÛRÂ to GADHÎRÔN. And his sons are, the INDIANS, the HÎTÂYÊ (HITTITES), the YÂBHÛSÂYÊ (the JEBUSITES), the ḤÂWÂYÊ (the HIVITES), the AMORITES, the GIRGASITES, the 'ARÔDHÂYÊ (the ARVADITES).

The Border of YAPHT (JAPHET): From MEDIA to GADHÎRÔN, the north side. And his sons are the MACEDONIANS, the ARMENIANS, the MEDES, the GREEKS, the LATINS, the BYZANTINES, [and] the 'ÎBHÊRÂYÊ.

After NOAH [came] SHEM his son. When he was one hundred and one years old he begot 'ARPACHSHÂR (ARPHAXAD); all [the days of] his life were two hundred years.

After SHEM [came] ARPHAXAD his son. When he was one hundred and thirty years old he begot ḤAINÂN; all [the days of] his life were four hundred and sixty and five years.

After ARPHAXAD [came] ḤAINÂN his son. When he was one hundred and thirty years old he begot SHÂLÂḤ; all [the days of] his life were four hundred



and thirty years. Now EUSEBIUS doth not reckon this ẖAINÂN and his years in his table of years; neither doth the Hebrew Book (i.e. the Bible: see Genesis xi. 12-14), and our Syrian Book doth not. But LUKE (see chap. iii, v. 36) mentioneth him in the Gospel. And according to what is said, it was he who invented CHALDÂYÛTHÂ (i.e. Astrology and the Art of Magic). His sons worshipped him as a god, and set up an image of him; thence began the worship of idols. And he built the city of ẖÂRRÂN in the name of HÂRÂN his son.

After ẖAINÂN [came] SHÂLÂḤ his son. When he was one hundred and thirty years old he begot 'ÂBHÂR (EBER); all [the days of] his life were four hundred and sixty years.

After SHÂLÂḤ [came] 'ABHÂR (EBER) his son. He was one hundred and thirty and three years old when he begot PÂLÂGH (PELEG); all [the days of] his life were three hundred and forty-three years. And it is said that the HEBREWS derive their name from him.

After 'ÂBHÂR (EBER) [came] PÂLÂGH his son. He was one hundred and thirty years when he begot 'AR'Ô (REU); all [the days of] his life were three hundred and forty-three years.

And in the one hundred and first year of his [life] PÂNÔPÎS, the first king of EGYPT, reigned sixty-eight years.

And in the one hundred and fortieth year of PÂLÂGH the earth was divided a second time, between the sons of NOAH. And to the sons of SHEM [8] came the inheritance from the middle of the inhabited world to the limit thereof on the east, [including] PALESTINE, ARABIA, and PHOENICIA, and the country of SYRIA, and all the country between the Two Rivers (MESOPOTAMIA), and HYRCANIA, and 'ATHÔR (ASSYRIA), and the country of SEN'ÂR (SHINAR), and BÂBIL, and ẖARDÔ, and all PERSIA, and NORTHERN INDIA and BACTRIANA. And to the sons of ḤÂM [came the inheritance], the whole of the south, from east to west, INDIA (Central, Outer, and Southern), KÛSH, SHEBHÂ, EGYPT, LYBIA, THEBAÏS, AFRICA, and towards the north CILICIA, PAMPHYLIA, PISIDIA, MYSIA, PHRYGIA, LÛKYÂ (LYCIA), LYDIA, and of the Islands [of the MEDITERRANEAN] CYPRUS, CHIOS, SICILY, and twenty others. And to the sons of JAPHET [came the inheritance], the whole of the north from east to west, the country of the 'ÂLÂNÂYÊ (GERMANS), the TURKS, MEDIA, ARMENIA, CAPPADOCIA, GALATIA, ASIA, MYSIA, TARḤÎ (THRACE?), 'ILÂDHÂ (HELLAS), the land of the GREEKS (IONIANS), the RHÔMÂYÊ (BYZANTINES), the SARMAṬIANS, the 'ASḤLÂBHÊ (SCLAVS), the BULGARS, the GALLÂYÊ (GAULS?), the SPANIARDS as far as GADÎRÂ.

And after PÂLÂGH died and the sons of JAḤTÂN, his brother, saw that they had no inheritance, they set up three governors, SHĒBHÂ, and 'ÂSHÊR, and ḤAWÎLÂ, and they seized [other] countries. And men began to build fortresses (or, citadels) whereunto they might go and take refuge from the armour (or, weapons) of the sons of JAḤTÂN, for they were the first to begin



to arm themselves. And when the sons of CANAAN, the son of HÂM, the son of NOAH, saw that the land of PALESTINE and the land of LEBHNÂN (LEBANON) were good, they sat down there and they did not wish to go to their inheritance, which was the western maritime regions of EGYPT.

After PÂLÂGH [came] 'AR'Ô (REU) his son. When he was one hundred and thirty-three (?) years old he begot SĒRÔGH (SERUG); all [the days of] his life were three hundred and thirty and seven years.

And in the seventieth year of REU the building of the Great Tower in the land of SEN'ÂR (SHINAR) began, and NEMRÔDH (NIMROD), the son of KÛSH, fed the builders on the beasts which he hunted. And forty years after the Tower was finished God sent a wind and the Tower was overturned, and NEMRÔDH died in it. It was he who after the FLOOD reigned in BÂBIL. Now his royal crown was of woven work, even as 'ÂSÂPH wrote. And NEMRÔDH built three cities 'ÂRÂCH (ERECH), 'ÂKHÂR (AKKAD), and KALYÂ (CALACH), that is to say 'ÛRHÂI (EDESSA), NISIBIS, and SALÎḲ (SELEUCIA). And the speech of them (i.e. the builders of the Tower) was divided into seventy languages. And the land of SEN'ÂR (SHINAR) was called 'BÂBHEL', that is to say, 'Confusion'. And Saint [9] BASIL and MÂR 'APRÎM (EPHREM) have decided that the first (i.e. oldest) language which existed before the division of tongues was SYRIAC, even as the word 'BHÛLBÂLÂ' itself testifieth. But the pious JACOB and JOHN of YATHRÊB think that HEBREW was the first (i.e. oldest) language—the HEBREW which was preserved with 'ÂBHÊR (EBER), for he was a righteous man and did not agree to the building of the Tower. Others think that the word 'Hebrew' is so called from 'ABHRÂHÂM, who crossed the rivers (TIGRIS and EUPHRATES), and crossed the divided pieces (see Genesis xv. 17), and passed from the paganism of his father to the Faith which is in God.

After REU [came] SERUGH his son. When he was one hundred and thirty years old he begot NÂḤÔR, and all [the days of] his life were three hundred and thirty years. Now in his days money and [womens'] chains (i.e. jewellery) appeared from OPHÎR. And men made idols for the devils, and they relied for help upon demons.

And after NEMRÔDH arose the second king in BABEL, ḲAMBÎRÔS; he reigned eighty-five years in the days of SERUGH. And he made war on the people who are called 'ḲALTÔ', and conquered [them], and he set their boundary in the mountains that were in their midst.

And after ḲAMBÎRÔS rose up SAMÎRÔS, the third king of the CHALDEANS; [he reigned] seventy and two years. And he made war on the GREEKS (IONIANS) and the CANAANITES and conquered them, and he built cities for the PARTHIANS and CHALDEANS. And he was the first among them to make weights (or, measures) and scales, and in his day silk and dyed fabrics appeared. And it is said that he had three eyes and horns. And at this time there rose up a second governor 'APÎPHÂNYÔS [who reigned] for forty and



six years. And he was the first who constructed a ship and rode (i.e. sailed) the sea.

And after him rose up the third governor in EGYPT, 'ATHÂNÔPYÔS (AITHIOPS?), and it was because he made war on the CUSHITES and conquered them that he was called by this name, whereof the interpretation is 'CUSHITE'. And he slew SHEBHÂ. And after SHEBHÂ his daughter reigned forty years, and henceforward women began to reign over the CUSHITES.

And after 'APÎPHÂNYÔS a fourth king rose up in EGYPT, PER'ÔN BAR-SÂNÔS, [and he reigned] thirty and five years. From this time the name of 'PER'ÔN' (PHARAOH) [came into use].

After SERÛGH [came] NÂHÔR his son. He was seventy-nine years old when he begat TARḤ (TERAH); and all [the days of] his life were two hundred and one years. At this time KASÂRÔNÔS (BASÂRÔNÔS) the PARTHIAN made war on SAMÎRÔS (?) and killed him, [10] and he lifted (i.e. carried off) his horns and set them on his crown. And 'ÂRÔDH, the CANAANITE, saith, 'In the twenty-fifth year of NÂHÔR the agony of JOB, the righteous man, took place. JOB was a rich man of BÊTH YAḤṬÂN, and seven times by himself alone he contended with SATAN and conquered.' ÂSÂPH saith, 'His agony took place after sixty years', and others say that [the agony] was that of YÔBHÂBH, the son of ZARḤ, of the children of ESAU (Genesis xxxvi. 33).

And at [this] time a fifth king rose up in EGYPT, PHARAOH KÂRÎMÔN; [he reigned] four years. And at this time two sons came to 'ARMÔNÎS, the CANAANITE, SEDHÔM (SODOM) and 'AMÔRÂ (GOMORRAH), and he built a city in the name of each of them, and he also built ŞÂ'ÂR (ZOAR) in the name of ŞÂ'ÂR, their mother.

And there rose up also a sixth king in EGYPT, PHARAOH 'ÂPÎNTÔS; [he reigned] thirty and two years. This king sent to KASÂRÔNÔS, the Parthian king, and he brought the writings and the doctrine (religion?) of the CHALDEES to EGYPT. And 'ÂPÎNTÔS also built a city on the river NILE, and he named it 'BABHÛLÔN', that is to say BÂBÊL. And ÂSÂPH also saith that in the days of TARḤ the EGYPTIANS learned Chaldeeism, and they made an image of gold in honour of ḲÎNÔS, the idol.

After NÂHÔR [came] TARḤ his son. When he was seventy years old he begot ABRAHAM; and all [the days of] his life was two hundred and seventy-five years. And in the fifth year of TARḤ a fifth king rose up in BÂBHIL, 'ARPÂZÂDH; [he reigned] eighteen years, and then the kingdom of BÂBHIL came to an end for seven years, until BÎLÔS (BELUS), the ASSYRIAN, rebelled against the CHALDEANS. And he made war upon them and upon the MEDES and conquered them, and he reigned over ASSYRIA and BÂBHIL, and over the whole of ASIA, with the exception of INDIA, for sixty and two years.

And in the fifth year of TARḤ the seventh king reigned over EGYPT, PHARAOH 'ÂÛRÔNÔS, for thirty and three years. And after this [king] the eighth king of EGYPT, PHARAOH SÎMÔNÔS, reigned for twenty years. And



after this [king] the ninth king of EGYPT, 'ARMÎNÔS, reigned for twenty and seven years, and twenty years before 'ABRÂHÂM was born DARMASÛK (DAMASCUS) was built by MÔRFÔS, and JOSEPHUS saith that 'ÛZ, the son of 'ÂRÂM, built it.

After TARḤ (TERAH) [came] ABRAHAM his son. He was one hundred years old when he begot ISAAC; all [the days of] his life were one hundred and seventy-five years. And when ABRAHAM was fifteen years of age he entreated [11] God and drove away the 'ḡarkâsê' (ravens? locusts?) which were destroying the country of the CHALDEANS and eating up their crops. At this time BÎLÔS (BELUS) died, and a second king rose up in ASSYRIA, viz. his son NÎNÔS (NINUS), [who reigned] for fifty and two years, and built NINEVEH. After that city RAḤBÛTH (REHOBOTH) and RÂSÂN and KALNÂI (CÂBÂḤ), that is to say, 'ARBÎL, and RÎSH 'AYNÂ (RÂS 'AIN), and SALIK (SELEUCIA), were built. And JERUSALEM also was built by MELCHISEDEK, the CANAANITE.

And ABRAHAM burned the temple of idols which was in ÛR OF THE CHALDEES, and HÂRÂN his brother went to quench the fire, and he was burned to death therein. And for this reason ABRAHAM, when he was sixty years old, fled to ḤARRÂN with TARḤ his father, and NÂḤÔR his brother, and LÔT, the brother of HÂRÂN, who was burnt to death; and he dwelt therein for fourteen years. And then he departed from his father from ḤARRÂN and came to the land of CANAAN. And in his seventy-first year the war of KARDL'MAR (CHEDARLAOMER) took place. And when he was eighty and five years old, that is to say in the first year of the promise concerning EGYPT, he begot ISHMAEL by HÂGHÂR. ISHMAEL lived one hundred and thirty and seven years. And the fortieth year of the promise, reckoning from ADAM, was the year three thousand three hundred. And at that time SHAMÎRÂM (SEMIRAMIS) the wife of NÎNÔS (NINUS) reigned over the ASSYRIANS forty-six (or, forty-five) years. And she built mounds because of the FLOOD.

And a tenth king rose up in EGYPT, PÂRANDÔS, the THEBAN; he reigned forty and three years. And after him rose up in EGYPT the eleventh king, PHARAOH PÂNÔS. This king snatched from ABRAHAM his wife SARÂ, and he returned her to him afterwards with gold, and silver, and stuffs, and sent him away from EGYPT. And after him the twelfth king, PHARAOH 'ÎSÔKÔS, reigned over EGYPT twenty-one years. And after him the thirteenth king, PHARAOH SÔSÔNÔS, [reigned] forty-four years. And after him the fourteenth king, PHARAOH ṬARKÔS (ṬARÂKÔS), [reigned] forty-four years.

And after SHAMÎRÂM (SEMIRAMIS) a fourth king reigned over the ASSYRIANS, viz. ZMARÔS, for thirty-eight years. And in his days rose up the first king of the KṚÎṬÂYÊ (CRETANS) [called] KÂRÎS, who builded KṚÎṬÎ (CRETE).

After ABRAHAM [came] ISAAC his son. When he was sixty years old he begot JACOB; all the [days of] his life were one hundred and eighty years. And when he was fifteen years old his father offered him [as a] [12] sacrifice. In his thirty-eighth year his mother SARÂ died, being one hundred and



twenty-seven years old. And after one year he took RAPĶÂ (REBECCA) to wife, and in his sixtieth year she conceived, and she went to MELCHISEDEK to inquire of the Lord concerning what she had conceived. And he said unto her, 'There are two peoples in thy womb, and the one people shall be greater than the other', viz. ESAU, who is 'ADÔM (EDOM) from whom [sprang] the EDMITES, and JACOB from whom [sprang] the ISRAELITES. ABIMELECH was a friend to those of the house of ISAAC, and he it was who in the year one hundred of [the life of] ABRAHAM made war; and the Bible calls him 'King of GHÂDHÂR (GERAR in Genesis xx. 1) from the name of his city, and here [he is king] of the PHILISTINES, because of the many peoples over whom he reigned.

And in the days of ISAAC the fifth king of the ASSYRIANS rose up—'ÂRÎS; [he reigned] thirty years. And the fifteenth king of the EGYPTIANS, SÊTÎS; [he reigned] nineteen years. This was the first king of the four kings who were called 'SHEPHERDS'.

After ISAAC [came] JACOB his son. When he was eighty-two years old he begot LEVI; all [the days of] his life were one hundred and forty-seven years. When he was seventy-seven years old ISAAC blessed him and sent him to HÂRRÂN. And in the tenth year of LEVI, JACOB went up to ISAAC his father. In the third year of LEVI, JOSEPH was born, and in the twentieth year of LEVI, JOSEPH was sold, being seventeen years old. He was a slave for ten years and was in the prison house for three years, and [he stood] before PHARAOH for thirty years, and he was in authority in EGYPT for eighty years, and he died at the age of one hundred and forty years. And after ISAAC died the children of ESAU were subject to MOAB and 'AMMÔN, and 'ÂRÂM, and they came to war against JACOB and his sons in HEBRÔN; and JACOB prevailed, and he smote ESAU with an arrow and killed him, and the children of ESAU were broken before the children of JACOB, and their allies fled. When JACOB was one hundred and thirty years old he went down to EGYPT, in the second year of the famine.

After JACOB [came] LEVI his son. When he was forty-seven years old he begot KÂHÂTH; all his life was one hundred and thirty and seven years. In his days the FLOOD which [came] in the days of 'ÂGÔGÔS took place, when BÎLÔS (BELUS) was reigning in ASSYRIA; and MÂPÔS (MEMPHIS) in EGYPT was built. And SĀSĪKÔRÔS [13] (or, SĪKÔRÔS) brought acrobatic dancing and games into the world, for his bringing up (or, education) had been among women. And MÂNÔS (HÛMÂNÔS) the king displayed luxuriousness in his own person (?).

And that fourth Shepherd king, 'ÂPÂPÔS, reigned in EGYPT fourteen years. He it was who dreamed dreams and who made JOSEPH ruler, according to the histories of the CHALDEANS, and it seemeth likely that the 'SHEPHERDS' were called 'KINGS' because of JOSEPH's brethren.

After LEVI [came] KÂHÂTH (KOHATH) his son. When he was sixty years



old he begot 'AMRÂM; all [the days of] his life were one hundred and thirty-three years.

After KÂHÂTH [came] 'AMRÂM his son. He was seventy-five years old when he begot MOSES in the three hundred and fiftieth year of the promise; all [the days of] his life were one hundred and thirty and seven years. And in his days MAPRÔS reigned in EGYPT twelve years; and then TÔMÔTHÔS (THOTHMES?) eighteen years; and then 'ÂMÔNÂTHÎS (AMENOPHIS?) forty-three years. It was this king who began to strangle (i.e. drown) the children of the HEBREWS in the NILE.

After 'AMRÂM [came] MOSES his son. He ruled over the children of ISRAEL when he was eighty years old, and he led the people in the wilderness forty years. When he was born he was cast into the river, and the daughter of 'ÂMÔNÂTHÎS (AMENOPHIS?), whose name was TRÊMÔTHÎSÂ, who is RA'ÔSÂ (RA'MÔSÔ) whom the HEBREWS call 'DÂMÂRÎS', the wife of KANPÂRÂ, the king of MAPAS (MEMPHIS), found him and saved him from the waters, and brought him up as a son of hers. And when he was ten years old YÂNÊS and YAMBRÊS taught him wisdom, as 'ARTÂMÔNÎS showeth in his Epistle; this [fact] is not written in the Book of the Law, but the Apostle PAUL (Acts vii. 22) mentioneth it.

And in his twenty-second year PHARAOH 'ÂMÔNÂTHÎS began to compel the HEBREWS to throw (i.e. cast or mould) bricks and to build the city of 'ARMÔPÔLÎS (*sic*) (HERMOPOLIS?). And he also conquered the CUSHITES, and he took RA'ÔSÂ, the daughter of SÔRÔS (ZÔRÔS?) their king to wife. And the people were ascribing this victory to MOSES, and saying, 'he hath taken this RA'ÔSÂ to wife'. And because of this KANPÂRÂ (?) was jealous of him, [because he wished to marry RA'ÔSÂ, but] was unable to do so until DÂMÂRÎS his wife was dead. Then he sent a certain KHÂNÔTHÎS to kill him. But MOSES prevailed and killed [14] this man, and fled into ARABIA, to RA'Û'ÎL, the MIDIANITE. And when he was forty years old, he took to wife ŞEPÔRÂ (ZIPPORAH), the daughter of YATHRÔN (JETHRO) the son of RA'Û'ÎL, the MIDIANITE, the son of DÂRÂN, the son of YAKŞHÂN, the son of ABRAHAM by KENTÔRÂ his wife. The expositors say that YATHRÔN (JETHRO) is RA'Û'ÎL.

And at this time a flood took place, the third, in THESSALY in the days of DÔKALYÔN (DEUCALION); and a great conflagration in KÛSH in the days of PÂRÂTÔN; and the famous war of the CHALDEANS with the PHOENICIANS; and EUNOMIUS invented the art of signs (i.e. the alphabet?); and MENANDER invented comedy; and KHYÂRÔN and 'ASCLEPIÂDÎS [the art of] healing.

And when MOSES was eighty years old, that is to say, in the four hundred and thirtieth year of the promise, he was commanded by God to take the HEBREWS out from EGYPT. And when the HEBREWS had passed over in the middle of the sea on dry land, PHARAOH PSÔNÔS, who rose [as king] after 'ÂMÔNÂTHÎS, and all his army were drowned in the SEA OF SÛPH. Now when those EGYPTIANS who had not sallied forth with PHARAOH saw the destruction of those who had sallied forth, each one with the labour which



was found in his hands made an [object of] fear for himself and worshipped it, as if forsooth by means of it he had been prevented from the going forth [which was] the cause of the disaster. And in that year MOSES warred with 'AMÂLÎK (AMALEK). And he went up into the mountain in the third month and received the LAW and the JUDGEMENTS for ISRAEL. And from the time when God said unto ABRAHAM, 'Know well that thy seed shall be dweller[s] and sojourner[s] in a country which is not theirs', must be counted the four hundred and thirty years of the subjugation, as it is written in the BOOK OF EXODUS, and this also PAUL testifieth, although in the first Book, GENESIS, four hundred years only are written. And from ADAM to the death of MOSES is three thousand eight hundred (or, four hundred) and fifty years, according to ANIANUS the monk, and this computation agreeth with his. According to the Septuagint, however, it is three thousand eight hundred (or, four hundred) and eighty-two years, and according to the Syrian and Hebrew [Books] it is two thousand four hundred and twenty [years]. MOSES lived in EGYPT forty years, and in MIDIAN forty years, and in the desert forty years.







## THE JUDGES. FROM JOSHUA TO SAMUEL

[15] Here beginneth the Second Series, from the Patriarchs to the Judges

AFTER MOSES the prophet, ÎSHÔ' (JOSHUA) the son of NÔN, his disciple, ruled the people, according to EUSEBIUS and ANDRONICUS, twenty-seven years, and according to ANIANUS twenty-five years. And when JOSHUA was eighty-three years old he received the rod of rule from MOSES the Great, and he brought the people into the land of promise; and he destroyed seven peoples of the CANAANITES. And in his tenth year, that is to say of his rule, he divided the inheritance for the people. He died at the age of one hundred and ten years.

After JOSHUA, the son of NÔN, the priests (or, elders) governed the people. Now the Book doth not show the number of their years, but AFRICANUS saith that they ruled for thirty years. And ANIANUS saith that PHINEHAS, the Zealot, the son of ELIEZAR, the priest, governed the people for twenty-four years. KÛSHÂN the wicked had dominion over the peoples of the people for eight years, and he was killed by 'ATHNI'ÊL (OTHNIEL).

After KÛSHÂN, OTHNIEL judged the people forty years, and in the days of OTHNIEL cities were built in BETHÛNÎÂ (BITHYNIA), MÂLÔS, PÂPÔS, TÂSÔS, KÂLÎSTA, [and] MÂRÔNDA.

After OTHNIEL, 'EGLÔN, the MOABITE, ruled the people after the manner of a tyrant for eighteen years, and he was killed by 'ÂHÔR (EHUD), the son of GÎRÂ.

After 'EGLON, 'ÂHÔR (EHUD) the son of GÎRÂ judged the people for sixty-two years; those who say eighty years include with them the eighteen years of [the exile of] 'EGLON. In the time of 'ÂHÔR the 'Beth Dîn' (i.e. temple) of 'ÂRÎÔS PÂGHÔS (AREOPAGUS) was built in ATHENS; and LACEDEMON'IA was built, and HÂLÂB (ALEPPO) was built by BALKÔS, the Assyrian king.

After 'ÂHÔR (EHUD), SHAMGHAR the son of 'ANÂTH judged the people for eighteen years. This man killed sixty men of the PHILISTINE chiefs with a goad for bulls—in [another] manuscript [we read] six hundred.

After SHAMGHAR, NÂBHÎN (JABIN), king of HÂSÔR, [judged the people for] twenty years. The name of the captain of the host of this NÂBHÎN was SÎSRÂ, and he had ninety (nine hundred in Judges iv. 3) chariots of iron; his head was smashed in by DEBORAH the prophetess and he perished.

After NÂBHÎN (JABIN) came DEBORAH and BÂRAK, [they ruled for] forty years, DEBORAH and BÂRAK sang the song of [16] praise for the deliverance of the Lord.

After DEBORAH and BÂRAK the MIDIANITES ruled the people in a cruel



manner for seven (or, seventy) years—until GED'ÔN (GIDEON) destroyed them.

After the MIDIANITES, GIDEON judged the people for forty years. Unto GIDEON were born seventy sons. In [his] time there reigned in THEBES 'APÔLÔN (APOLLO?), who by the music of his lyre used to coax the stones, that is to say, the hearts that were heavy and cruel.

After GIDEON [came] ABIMELECH his son, who was born of a concubine. And he slew his seventy brethren and judged the people for three years.

After ABIMELECH, TÔL'Â the son of PÔÂ [judged] the people for twenty years. And in the twentieth year of his [rule] the city of ȚARSÔS (TARSUS) was built by PRÎSÔS (PARSÔS) the son of DÂNÂ, and ȚARKÎDÔN (CARTHAGE) also was built and ILION (ILIUM) was reduced to subjection, but others say that it was subjugated in the days of SHEMSHÔN (SAMSON).

After TÔL'A, YÂIR, the GILEADITE, judged the people twenty-two years.

After YÂÎR the AMMONITES ruled the HEBREWS in a cruel fashion for eighteen years, and they oppressed the HEBREWS sorely until they were conquered by NAPHTAȚ (JEPHTHAH).

After the AMMONITES, JEPHTHAH [ruled the people] for six years. Those [who say] twenty-four years include the eighteen years of the AMMONITES with the six years. Now when the HEBREWS were sorely oppressed by the AMMONITES the dwellers in GILEAD went to JEPHTHAH, after they had driven him out from among them, and brought him [back] and he became their governor. It was he who having fought and conquered offered up his daughter as a sacrifice, according to his vow which cannot be applauded.

After JEPHTHAH, 'ABHÎȘÂN [ruled] seven years. Some of the writers of histories never mention this name at all.

After 'ABHÎȘÂN, 'ALÔN, the ZEBULONITE [ruled] ten years. JOHN of YATRÊB says seven [years], and this [name also] is not [found] in the commentary of the Septuagint.

After 'ALÔN, 'AKHRÔN [ruled] eight years. In the seventh year of this man there rose up 'ANIÂS (AENEAS) the first king of the LATINS, that is to say, the RHÔMÂYÊ (Byzantine GREEKS), who were the FRANKS; [according to some he reigned] three years, and according to others eight.

After 'AKHRÔN the PHILISTINES ruled the people cruelly for forty years. EUSEBIUS doth not admit these, but 'ANIANUS sets down forty years and ANDRONICUS says twenty years only.

After the PHILISTINES, SAMSON the NAZARITE, of the tribe of DÂN, judged the people twenty [17] years. And in his third year he began to wage war against the PHILISTINES, and in his fifth year took place the affair of RA'ÔTH (RUTH), the MOABITESS.

After SAMSON the ELDERS ruled the people for forty years, according to what AFRICANUS stateth, because there was peace and quietness, and there was no need for a man to stand at the head of an army. ANDRONICUS says



ten years, and twenty years is written in the Septuagint, and others have written twelve.

After the ELDERS, ELI the priest judged the people for twenty years, according to what the Septuagint saith, but the HEBREWS say forty years. And in the eighteenth year of his rule SAMUEL the prophet was born. And in the twentieth year of ELI, SAMUEL was brought before ELI as a votive offering.

After ELI the priest, SAMUEL the prophet judged the people for twenty years. After the death of ELI the priest, the Ark of the Lord was in the house [of] 'AMÎNÂDABH ('ABHÎNÂDABH). In the twentieth year of the rule of SAMUEL the children of ISRAEL asked for a king.







### III

## THE KINGS OF THE HEBREWS

Here beginneth the Third Series. The Kings of the Hebrews

**A**FTER SAMUEL the prophet [came] SAUL, the first king. He reigned over the children of ISRAEL, according to EUSEBIUS, forty years, and according to ANIANUS twenty years. And in his third year SAUL conquered AMALEK, and in his thirty-first year a festival took place in YÔNATH, which is in RÂMÂ, and SAUL also prophesied with the prophets. In the thirty-fifth year of SAUL, SAMUEL the prophet died. And after five years SAUL and JONATHAN his son were killed in the war.

After SAUL, DAVID, the son of JESSE, reigned forty years, seven in HEBHRÔN and thirty-three in JERUSALEM; all [the days of] his life were seventy years. He built ŞĖHYÔN (SION or ZION). And in his tenth year he took up the Ark into the tabernacle which he had constructed for it. DAVID was born in the tenth year of the kingdom of SAUL, and he was anointed [king] in the twenty-third year of SAUL, being thirteen years old. And he slew [18] GÛLYÂDH (GOLIATH) in the thirtieth year of SAUL. And in the thirty-ninth year of the kingdom of DAVID he divided the tribes of the LEVITES, and he appointed from among them one (two?) hundred and eighty and eight 'praisers' (i.e. singers). And he separated them into twenty-four divisions, and he appointed twelve in each division to sing. And DAVID warred with the peoples round about him and conquered them. And in the twenty-eighth year of DAVID the king EPHEsus was built, and also SÂMÔs.

[In other manuscripts [it is written]: It was he who acted deceitfully in respect of URIAH, the captain of his host in the war. And through the fraud which he perpetrated upon him he took from him BATHSHEBA his wife, whilst URIAH was engaged in the war of the peoples, and from her was born SOLOMON, his unlawful son, and he sinned.<sup>1</sup>] And in his time lived EMPEDOCLES, the great philosopher, who was one of the five pillars of wisdom, viz. he and PYTHAGORAS, SOCRATES, PLATO, and ARISTOTLE. And there is attributed to him a certain book which abolished the new life after death which [men] were wont to assign to the rational soul, and it agreed with the opinion of SOLOMON in the Book of KÔHLATH<sup>2</sup> (ECCLESIASTES). And he was the first to think that in the Divine Nature there is not a plurality of names, even though it is said that He is wise, and good, and all mighty. He doth not

<sup>1</sup> The passage within square brackets is a note by Bedjan.

<sup>2</sup> On this Bedjan says: 'This was not the opinion of Solomon, who confesseth the new life in ECCLESIASTES and said, The soul shall return to the earth as it was; the spirit shall return to the Lord who gave it (chap. xii. 7). Therefore Bar Hebraeus, who thought thus about Solomon, erreth.'



possess the various senses to which these names apply, but He is One, Simple, Lord-like, and not One who doth accept division, neither in sense nor in fact.

After DAVID [came] SOLOMON his son when he was twelve years old, and he reigned forty years; and all [the days of] his life were fifty-two years. In the fourth year of his kingdom he began the building of the Great Temple, and he finished it in seven years, in the mountain of the AMORITES, that is JERUSALEM, in the threshing-floor of 'ÂRÂN, the JEBUSITE. Its length was sixty cubits, its width twenty cubits, and its height was thirty cubits. In the thirty-fourth year of his kingdom he forsook the God of ISRAEL, and he builded a high place in the mountain in front of Jerusalem to CHEMOSH [a god] of MOAB, and to MALKÛM [a god] of the children of AMMON. Its length was one hundred cubits, and its breadth fifty cubits, and its height thirty cubits. And he made for it shields of gold, and a sea of brass, and bulls. [19] And at the beginning of his kingdom 'ÎRÔMÔS (HÎRÂM) ruled over TYRE, and he sent to SOLOMON to help [him] in building the temple eighty thousand men. And according to some men HOMER and HESIOD were renowned at that time. SOLOMON uprooted 'ANŦÎOCHYÂ and built seven cities, viz. PALMÛRÂ (PALMYRA), which is TEDHMÛR (TADMOR), MALÔ, HÂŞÔR, MAGHDO, GHÂZÂR, Lower BÊTH HÂWRÂN, [and] BA'LÛTH. And from the Exodus from EGYPT to the building of the Temple was six hundred and thirty-four years. In other manuscripts [it is written] six hundred and ten, and in the Book of KINGS four hundred and eighty is written, leaving out the years of the domination of enemies. And thus also PAUL, the Apostle, saith, 'He gave them Judges for four hundred and fifty years' until SAMUEL [came]. And from ADAM to the building of the Temple was four thousand, one hundred, and sixty-eight years.

After SOLOMON, REHOBOAM his son reigned over JUDAH in JERUSALEM seventeen years.

And at the beginning of his kingdom JEROBOAM reigned with rectitude over ISRAEL for twenty-two years. And he made two calves of gold, one in DAN, and one in BETHEL. And he said, 'Behold thy gods, O ISRAEL, who brought thee up out of the land of EGYPT'. And SHAMA'YÂ the prophet came from JUDEA, and rebuked him for the sin which he had committed, and [for making] ISRAEL to sin. And he prophesied and said, 'Altar, Altar, hear the word of the Lord. Behold a son shall be born to the house of DAVID, JOSIAH [shall be] his name, and he shall sacrifice heathen priests upon thee, and he shall burn the bones of men upon thee.' And because of this JEROBOAM stretched out his hand to slay him; and his hand withered. And when JEROBOAM entreated the prophet it was healed. And EPIPHANIUS saith that the name of this prophet was YÔYÂDÂ, from SHÂMRÎN (SAMARIA). It was he whom the lion killed, because he heard 'ABHÎTÔN the prophet, an old man to whom he had lied. And he ate bread and transgressed the command.



And he took a garment and tore it into twelve pieces, and he gave ten to JEROBOAM.

And in the fifth year of REHOBOAM, SHISHAK, the king of EGYPT, through the treachery of JEROBOAM, went up against JERUSALEM, and he took away the shields of gold which SOLOMON had made, and REHOBOAM made shields of brass to take their place.

After REHOBOAM, 'ABHYÂ his son reigned three [years]. And JEROBOAM gathered together about him eighty [20] thousand [men], and the sons of JUDAH were gathered together, four thousand men of war, and JEROBOAM was defeated and fifty thousand [men] of ISRAEL fell. 'ABHYÂ took fourteen wives, and he had twenty-four sons and sixteen daughters. And 'AÏYÂ and SHAMA'YÂ prophesied.

After 'ABHYÂ, 'ÂSÂ his son reigned forty-one years. And in his tenth year ZÂRÂH, the Kushite king, having taken with him IÔBÂS (LÎBWÂS or 'ALÎBWÂS), came with a thousand thousand [men] and six hundred thousand KÛSHITES and LIBYANS to fight against JUDAH. And 'ÂSÂ went forth and smote them in GÂDHÂR and conquered [them]. And in the fifteenth year of his reign he burned the idols, and he cast out of the kingdom his mother who used to celebrate a festival [in honour] of 'ASHTORETH, and he burnt her graven image (or, idol) and he expelled fornicators from the land. And in the twenty-ninth year of 'ÂSÂ, 'ALÂ reigned over ISRAEL two years, and then ZAMRÎ, having killed 'ALÂ, the son of BA'SHÂ his lord, reigned seven days. Then ISRAEL was divided; some [went] with TABHNÎ and some with 'AMRÎ. And when 'AMRÎ waxed strong TABHNÎ died. And when ZAMRÎ saw that the people were content with 'AMRÎ he burnt his palace and himself. And when 'AMRÎ had reigned righteously for six years, he bought the mountain of SHÂMRÎN from SHÂMÎR his lord, and built a city on it and called it 'SHÂMRÎN'. This city was afterwards called 'SEBASTIA', and it is that which is NÂBHÔLÔS (NABLÔS). 'AMRÎ reigned twelve years.

After 'ÂSÂ, YÔSHÂFÂT (JEHOSAPHAT) his son [reigned] twenty-five years. And in his second year AHAB, the son of 'AMRÎ, reigned over ISRAEL for twenty-three years. This king took to wife JEZEBEL, the daughter of 'ÎTHB'ÊL (ETHBAAL), king of TYRE and SIDON. And he [Hiel ?] built JERICHÔ, which JOSHUA, the son of NÔN, cursed; he finished it with 'ABHÎRAM his firstborn, and in SHAKHÛB, his youngest, he set up its gates. At this time ELIJAH, and OBADIAH, and ABHÎHÛDH, and 'ÔZÂ'ÎL, and MÎCAH, the son of YAMSHÎ, were prophesying; and ZEDEKIAH and ELIAZAR and four hundred others were lying prophets. ZEDEKIAH, the lying prophet, made horns of iron and set them upon his head and said to AHAB, 'With these thou shalt gore the EDMITES and make an end of them.' And in the twenty-ninth year of JEHOSAPHAT, AHAZIAH, the son of AHAB, reigned [21] over ISRAEL one year; and after him JÔRÂM, his brother, [reigned] twelve years.

After JEHOSAPHAT, JÔRÂM his son reigned eight years. This [king] took



ATHALIAH, the sister of AHAB, to wife, and he slew all his brethren, the sons of JEHOSEPHAT; therefore was he smitten by the rod of justice, and his bowels came down and he died.

After JORAM, AHAZIAH his son [reigned] one year, and in it he sent ELISHA the prophet, and he anointed YAHU (JEHU), the son of YAMSHI [NIMSHI], over ISRAEL, and he reigned twenty-eight years; and he slew seventy sons of AHAB and the priests of idols, and he destroyed the temple of BAAL. After ELISHA had anointed JEHU, the son of YAMSHI, JEHU slew JORAM, the son of AHAB, and AHAZIAH, the king of JUDAH, and JEZEBEL, the Sidonian woman, the wife of AHAB.

After AHAZIAH, his mother ATHALIAH [reigned] seven years; her son AHAZIAH having been killed she destroyed all the royal progeny, and YAHU the son of AHAZIAH alone escaped. YOSHBA', the sister of AHAZIAH, hid him—now she was the wife of YOHADAH (JEHOIADA), the chief of the priests of idols. And that JEHOIADA gathered together JUDAH and slew ATHALIAH. And he set up [as king] YAHU, who was seven years old, and he also sent the men of JUDAH to the house of BAAL, and he destroyed MATHAN, the pagan priest.

After ATHALIAH, YAHU the son of AHAZIAH, her son [reigned] forty years. And in the twenty-fifth year of YAHU, YAHUHAZ the son of JEHU reigned over ISRAEL seventeen years. And in the thirty-sixth year of YAHU, ELISHA the prophet died; and after [this] YAHU was killed by his slaves.

After YAHU, 'AMOSYAH his son [reigned] twenty-nine years; this king conquered EDOM and SEIR (or, SHAMIR?), and brought their gods to JERUSALEM, and served them. And in the tenth year of 'AMOSYAH, YAHU reigned over ISRAEL sixteen years. And he went out to war against BAR HADAD (BEN HADAD), king of SYRIA, and he brought back the cities which HAZAEL had brought back, and he smote the EDOMITES thrice, according to the word of the Lord which was to ELISHA. At that time HOSHA', and 'AMOS, and NATHAN, and YONATHAN (YAWNAN or JONAH) were prophesying. And in the eighteenth year of 'AMOSYAH, YORABHAM reigned over ISRAEL forty years. And 'AMOSYAH, king of JUDAH, fought with YAHU, king of ISRAEL, and the children of ISRAEL went up against JUDAH and destroyed three hundred of its men, and 'AMOSYAH was struck by a spear and died. [22] And according to certain [writers] his slaves stabbed him when he fled to LACHISH. And the children of ISRAEL came to JERUSALEM, and they broke down its wall for four hundred cubits, and they took the gold and the silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of the Lord and in the house of the king, and they returned to SHAMRIN (SAMARIA).

After 'AMOSYAH, 'AZARYAH his son reigned fifty-two years: he is 'OZIA. And in the twenty-fourth year of his kingdom he made bold and went into the temple of God that he might place (i.e. offer) incense, and being restrained by 'AZARYAH ('OZIA) the priest, and refusing to go away, suddenly his whole body became covered with leprosy, and from that time YOTHAM his son judged [the people]. Up to this time ISAIAH the prophet prophesied



for twenty-four years. And having seen that the king dared [to offer incense], because he did not rebuke him [the gift of] prophecy was taken away from him for twenty-eight years—until 'ôzîâ died. And then the righteous man prophesied for sixty-one years. And in the twenty-ninth year of 'ôzîâ, ZACHARIAH reigned over ISRAEL six months. Here the four sons of YÂHÔ (JEHU) came to an end.

And after ZACHARIAH, SHÂLÔM reigned for one month; and after him MAHÂNÎM ten years. It was he who smote TAPHSAH because they (i.e. its people) did not open its gates [to him], and he destroyed it, and he ripped up the women who were with child. And in the thirty-fourth year of 'ôzîâ, PÔL, the king of BÂBHÎL (BABYLON), went up against SHÂMRÎN, and he took from MAHÂNÎM, the king of ISRAEL, one thousand talents of silver and returned. And in the fortieth year of 'ôzîâ, PEKAHYÂ reigned over ISRAEL ten years. And in the forty-eighth year of 'ôzîâ, TIGLATH-PILESER, the king of the ASSYRIANS, went up and captured JUDAH and ISRAEL, and he carried off into captivity a very large number of the people. This 'ôzîâ uprooted the wall of GATH, and 'ÂSÔTÔS (ASHDOD) and YAMNÎÂ. Now he made war on the ARABS who dwell in PÂTÂRÂ (PETRA?). And PORPHYRIOS saith that at this time HOMER and HESIOD were famous.

After 'ôzîâ, YÔTHÂM his son [reigned] sixteen years. This king built a large portion of the wall of JERUSALEM; and he conquered the AMMONITES and laid them under tribute.

After YÔTHÂM, 'ÂHÂZ his son [reigned] sixteen years. This king likewise served the gods of the heathen, and he did what was evil. PEKAH, king of ISRAEL, [23] brought RÂSÂN, the king of SYRIA. And he went up against JUDAH and destroyed twelve thousand myriads [of men]. Now 'ÂHÂZ, king of JERUSALEM, sent to TIGLATH-PILESER, the king of ASSYRIA, and he came and killed RÂSÂN, and made war on DAMASCUS, and captured the EDMITES (ARAMEANS?); and he took a vast quantity of silver from them and departed to his own country. And in the second year of 'ÂHÂZ, HÔSHA' rebelled against PEKAH and killed him, and he reigned over ISRAEL nine years. And in the eighth year of 'ÂHÂZ, SHALMANESER, king of ASSYRIA, went up against ISRAEL, and HÔSHA' became subject to him and gave him tribute, and afterwards he rebelled. And he sent to 'ÂDHARMLECH, the KÛSHITE, who was dwelling in 'ÎGHUPTÔS (EGYPT) to come to his help. And when SHALMANESER heard [this] he went up again against SHÂMRÎN, and he camped about it three years, and he captured it and carried away captive to BABYLON the children of ISRAEL, ten tribes. Now this was the first Captivity.

Now from ADAM to this year, which is the eleventh year of the kingdom of 'ÂHÂZ, was four thousand, seven hundred, and thirty years.

And 'ÂHÂZ took down the sea of brass from the oxen of brass, the which SOLOMON had constructed. At this time the island of RHODES was fortified, and it remained [thus] for one thousand, four hundred, and five years—until



the ARABS uprooted it. And also in SÎKÎLÎÂ the city of SÂLÎNÔS was built, and SAKÂLÎ, and TRÂPÎZÔNṬÂ in PÔNṬÔS, and KÛZÎKÔS (CYZICUS) in BITHYNEA, and KÂLÔNÔN and LYCANIA in ITALY. And in the seventh year of 'ÂḤÂZ, ROMULUS reigned, and in ITALY he built that great and famous [city of] ROME (RHÔMÎ) and dwelt therein. Now up to this time the kings of ITALY were called LATINS (LÂṬÎNÂYÊ), but from this time onwards they were called ROMANS (RHÔMÂYÊ), that is to say, FRANKS.

After 'ÂḤÂZ, HEZEKIAH [reigned] twenty-nine years. The country of SHÂMRÎN and all the dominion of the ISRAELITES was in the hands of the ASSYRIANS, and subject to them. And HEZEKIAH was reigning over JUDAH in JERUSALEM. HEZEKIAH alone remained independent.

And in the eighth year of HEZEKIAH, SHALMANESER, the ASSYRIAN, sent men to keep guard over JUDAH. And because the Lord made him to have dominion over them SHALMANESER commanded that they should keep the judgement of the God of the land. And he sent to them a certain priest, whose name was 'AZARYÂ, that he might teach them the Law of MOSES. And he wrote for them the 'ÔRÂITÂ (PENTATEUCH) in Hebrew, [24] and for this reason the SHÂMRÂYÊ (SAMARITANS) accept the Pentateuch only. And it is said that this 'AZARYÂ, by the help also of an Aramean book, that is to say, SYRIAN, wrote the 'ÔRÂITÂ, and this is the PESHÎṬTÂ edition which is in the hands of the SYRIANS.

And in the sixth year of HEZEKIAH, SENNACHERIB, who went up against JERUSALEM, reigned over the ASSYRIANS, and through the prayer of HEZEKIAH he was vanquished, now fifteen years were added to the life of HEZEKIAH, and the angel of the Lord slew in the camp of SENNACHERIB one hundred and eighty-five thousand men. And he heard that TARHÂK (TIRHÂKÂH), king of the KUSHITES, had gone forth to fight with him, and straightway he departed to NINEVEH, and there his sons killed him. And HEZEKIAH made a lake of water, and he made a canal to the city of JERUSALEM, and he brought in water by aqueducts. And having shown to the ambassadors of the king of BABYLON everything which was in his house, the Lord was angry with him, and it was said to him, 'Everything which they have seen in thy house, [shall be his], and thy sons shall become eunuchs in the house of the king of BABYLON.' And HEZEKIAH said, 'Fair is the word of the Lord; O that there may be peace in my days!' And in his days the righteous man ṬÔBÎṬ, who was of the captivity of ISRAEL, and was dwelling in NINEVEH, was fed by the angel RAPHAEL, and the blindness of his eyes was cured by the gall of that fish which was given to him by the angel. And at that time SYRACUSE, and KÂṬÂNÂ, and LEONTINO, and MÂGHLÂRÂ, and MARTÔNÎYÂ (TAORMINA?), and CHRERONESUS were built in SÎKÎLÎÂ.<sup>1</sup> And SENNACHERIB built TARSUS of CILICIA.

<sup>1</sup> The vocalization of these names was corrected by Bedjan from the work of Dionysius of Tall Maḥrê; see his note on p. 24.



After HEZEKIAH, MENASSEH his son [reigned] fifty-five years. And in his thirteenth year he killed ISAIAH the prophet by sawing him in twain with a wood saw. Because of this God rejected him and delivered him over into the hands of the ASSYRIANS. And having taken him captive they bound him in strong iron fetters and set him in a brass cage for beasts in NINEVEH. And when affliction waxed sore on him, he turned to the God of his fathers, and offered [Him] true repentance and prayed that famous prayer, and God answered him, and he was released and returned to JERUSALEM. And that image with four [25] faces which he had made he cast out of the temple and smashed it, and he threw away the idols. And he built the south wall of JERUSALEM, and stablished JUDAH. And in PÔNTÔS were built the cities MÎTHÎÂ, 'ÎSTRÎS, 'ÂKANTHÔS, 'ÂKARDÎÂ, and 'ESTÂGHÎRÂ, and SÂLÎNÔS was built in SÎKÎLÎÂ (SICILY). And in the twenty-first year of MENASSEH the city of CHALCEDON was built, and THÂLÎS (THALES) the MILESIAN, the first *phûsîkos* (physicus), that is to say, natural philosopher, was known (i.e. famous). And the SCYTHIANS seized the country as far as PALESTINE. And in the thirty-sixth year of MENASSEH, SENNACHERIB THE LESS reigned over the ASSYRIANS, and after one year he sent MENASSEH away. And in the fortieth year of MENASSEH, TÛLLÔS reigned over the RHÔMÂYÊ (Byzantines) thirty-three years; the same is HÔSTÎLÎÔS, who was the first to wear purple apparel and to use royal rods (sceptres). And BÔZANTÎÂ, the first building, was built by BÔZÔS; and after [nine hundred] and ninety-seven years CONSTANTINE restored it and enlarged it, and called it CONSTANTINOPLE.

After MENASSEH, AMMON his son [reigned] twelve years—according to the Hebrew [Bible], and ANIANUS two years. Now this AMMON served strange gods, that is to say, the liar-gods of the heathen, and he offered sacrifices to idols. He was smitten by his slaves and died by the sword.

After AMMON, JOSIAH his son [reigned] thirty-one years. He had four sons, YÔKANYÂ, YÔYÂKÎM, YÂHÔÂHÂZ, and ZEDEKIAH. YÔKANYÂ begot DANIEL the prophet; and YÔYÂKÎM begot ANANIAS, AZARIAS, and MISAEL. And ZEPHANIAH, the son of KÔSHÎ the SIMEONITE, was prophesying; and in his thirteenth year JEREMIAH the prophet began to prophesy; and in his eighteenth year HÛLDHÎ the prophetess was prophesying. And at that time he displayed care for the Temple of the Lord, and he commanded HÎLAKYÂ (HILKIAH) to give money from the treasure of the House of the Lord to workmen. And whilst they were digging [in the foundations] they found a Book of the Law.

And when JOSIAH read it, and learned what things God had commanded, he burned with zeal, and rent his garments, and devoted himself to keeping the whole Law. And he cast out the idols of AMMON his father, and he purified the temple, and he smashed the statues, and uprooted the altars, and slew all the priests, and he burnt their bones [26] on the altar of BAAL, and thus the words of the prophet who came from JUDAH to JEROBOAM



were fulfilled. And in the thirty-first year of JOSIAH, NAKHÂÛTH (NECHO), the same is PHARAOH THE LAME, reigned in EGYPT. He came down on the river FRÂTH (EUPHRATES) against MABBÛGH (MANBIJ), to fight with the king of ASSYRIA, and when JOSIAH went to attack him, he was slain there by NAKHÂÛTH. And his slaves brought him [back] and buried him in JERUSALEM.

After JOSIAH, YÂHÔÂHÂZ his son [reigned] three months. When PHARAOH THE LAME came back he carried this king off as a captive, and he set up in his stead JEHOIAKÎM, the son of JOSIAH, his brother.

After YÂHÔÂHÂZ, JEHOIAKÎM his brother [reigned] eleven years. It was he who is called 'ELYÂKÎM, and PHARAOH THE LAME set him in the place of his brother, and laid it upon him to give each year one hundred talents of gold. And in the third year of 'ELYÂKÎM, NEBUCHADNEZZAR, the CHALDEAN, the son of NABHÛPALSAR (NABOPOLASSAR), reigned over the ASSYRIANS forty-four years. And he went up against JERUSALEM and brought down captives and the vessels of the Temple; and he laid tribute on 'ELYÂKÎM and departed. In this captivity DANIEL and his companions went down to BABYLON. This was the first Captivity which was to BABYLON. PHARAOH THE LAME, having destroyed MABBÛGH and slain JOSIAH, returned [to EGYPT]; but he came a second time and camped on the EUPHRATES and there he killed NEBUCHADNEZZAR (*sic*). And in the eighth year of YÔYÂKÎM and NEBUCHADNEZZAR in his fifth year he went up again against JERUSALEM, and he laid tribute on YÔYÂKÎM and returned. And in the eighth year of NEBUCHADNEZZAR, YÔYÂKÎM died.

After YÔYÂKÎM, his son YÔYÂKHÎN, who is called in the Gospel of MATTHEW, YÔKANYÂ, and who is also called by his father's name YÔYÂKÎM, [reigned] three months. His heart turned aside from the Lord, and for the third time NEBUCHADNEZZAR went up and carried him, and his mother, and his chief men captives to BABYLON, and he remained there a prisoner for thirty-seven years. And NEBUCHADNEZZAR set up in his stead ZEDEKIAH his uncle, the son of JOSIAH.

After YÔYÂKHÎN, his uncle ZEDEKIAH reigned eleven years. And in the fourth year of ZEDEKIAH, 'ESTÎGHÔS (ASTYAGES) reigned over the MEDES thirty-eight years. And in the nineteenth year of his kingdom, that is, in the eleventh year of ZEDEKIAH, NEBUCHADNEZZAR went up a fourth time against JUDAH. And NABHÛZARDÂN, [27] the captain of his host, burnt the Temple and the city of JERUSALEM. And he took captive ZEDEKIAH, and blinded his eyes, and with the exception of a few he carried away captives all the JEWS. And the kingdom of JUDAH, which had flourished after the ending of the kingdom of the children of ISRAEL for one hundred and fifty-five years, came to an end. Now when JEREMIAH knew of the burning of the Temple, he hid in a cave the Tabernacle of Witness, and the Ark, and no man knoweth the place. And CLEMENS reckons from the burning [of the Temple] the seventy years of the Captivity until the second year of DARIUS,



the son of HYSTASPES. And the prophets HAGGAI and ZECHARIAH bear witness, saying, 'Lord, how long before Thou wilt show mercy upon JERUSALEM and on the cities of Judah? For Thou hast been angry with them for seventy years.' And EUSEBIUS and ANDRONICUS also hold this opinion. And others say from the third year of 'ELYÂËÎM until the nineteenth year of CYRUS [was seventy years]; and DANIEL the prophet from the thirteenth year of JOSIAH, that is to say, from the beginning of the prophesying of JEREMIAH; and AFRICANUS from the beginning [of the reign of] ZEDEKIAH. The years of the Kings, twenty and three, until the burning [of the Temple] were five hundred and twenty and five; and from ADAM is four thousand, five hundred, and sixteen years.







## IV

### THE CHALDEAN (BABYLONIAN) KINGS

#### The Fourth Series, the Chaldean (Babylonian) Kings

**A**FTER ZEDEKIAH, NEBUCHADNEZZAR, the CHALDEAN, reigned twenty-four years after he burnt the Temple, and had made the kingdom of the JEWS to come to an end, and before this he had reigned nineteen other years, so that all the years of his kingdom were forty-three years. And once again, for the fifth time, after the burning [of the Temple] he went up and laid siege to TYRE, and he built a bridge of stone [from the mainland] to the city. And the sons of TYRE becoming terrified cast everything into the sea and fled, and they (the BABYLONIANS) surrounded HÎRÂM and killed him. Now HÎRÂM had lived five hundred years, the whole of the time of the kings of JUDAH. And the land of EGYPT was given to the army of NEBUCHADNEZZAR [28] as a reward for the labour on the bridge (or, causeway) which they had built in the sea of TYRE; then NEBUCHADNEZZAR returned to BABYLON. And he made a *kremastôs* (κρεμαστός), that is to say suspended paradise, and he made it that it might be one of the Seven Wonders [of the World]. And in the thirteenth year of the Captivity he made an image of gold sixty cubits high, because of which those of the house of HANANYÂ (ANANIAS) triumphed. Then he became an animal, according to the prophecy of DANIEL, and he grazed with the beasts on the grass of the desert. At this time the contest [which is called] 'gumnastikôs' (gymnastic), because it was fought by naked men, began to be known in ATHENS. And in the time of this NEBUCHADNEZZAR, HIPPARCHUS, the philosopher and mathematician, was also famous. He more than all the wise men who were before him made most careful study with watchings and observations of the courses of the constellations [and planets]. And PTOLEMY, CLAUDIUS, the lord (i.e. author) of the Book MAGÎSTÎ, which he called 'SÛNTAKSÎS', was enlightened and made exceedingly strong (or, wise) by his writings. And of all the multitude of books of HIPPARCHUS, only one book is extant to-day. [I mean] the 'Mysteries of the Luminaries' (or, shining orbs of the heavens), whereby is made known the renewal of the various kingdoms in the world.<sup>1</sup>

After NEBUCHADNEZZAR his son EVIL MERODACH [reigned] three years after the death of his father and not after he went mad. Whilst this king was reigning he brought YÔYÂKÎM, who is YÔYÂCHÎN, that is to say YÔCANYÂ, the son of YÔYÂKÎM, who is 'ELYÂKÎM, out of prison and paid him honour. And he ate bread at the table of EVIL MERODACH in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity, that is to say the twenty-sixth year [after] the burning of the Temple.

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan says in a note, 'There are no mysteries in the Luminaries, and it cannot be known from them what the Lord wished to do', and he quotes Daniel iv. 17.



After EVIL MERODACH, BELTSHÂŞAR (BELSHAZZAR) his brother [reigned] two years, according to the CHALDEANS five. In the first year of this king DANIEL saw the vision of the four beasts, which symbolized four kingdoms. BELSHAZZAR in the second year [of his kingdom] made a great feast for his nobles. And he was drinking wine [as he reclined] opposite a thousand, that is to say they could see him, but he was not alongside of them. And when he dared greatly, and drank out of the vessels [used in] the service [of the Temple], which his father had carried off [from JERUSALEM], the figure of a hand went forth and wrote the decree of his doom on the wall; and that same night came DARIUS the Mede and killed him.



## THE KINGS OF THE MEDES

[29] Here beginneth the Fifth Series, which passeth from the Chaldean Kings to the Kings of the Medes

**A**FTER BELTESHÂZAR, DARIUS the MEDE, who is NÂBHÔRHÎDÔS (NABONIDUS), reigned for one year after he had killed BELTESHÂZAR; now he had then been king for sixteen years. And in that year he set up DANIEL above all his nobles, and therefore DANIEL was envied and cast into the den of lions for the first time; and when he was delivered they (i.e. the men who envied him) perished.







## VI

### THE KINGS OF THE PERSIANS

Here beginneth the Sixth Series, which passeth from the Kings  
of the Medes to the Kings of the Persians

**A**FTER DARIUS the MEDE, CYRUS the PERSIAN [reigned] thirty-one years; some manuscripts have [thirty]-nine and others [thirty]-three years. This CYRUS having slain DARIUS the MEDE made an end of the kingdom[s] of the CHALDEANS, and the ASSYRIANS, and the MEDES, and set up the kingdom of the PERSIANS. And he made BABYLON the place of his abode (i.e. capital), and he also appointed DANIEL, the upright man, administrator of his kingdom. And DANIEL was full of zeal and he smashed the idol of BÊL, the god of the BABYLONIANS, who was the first king of the CHALDEANS, the father of NÎNÔS, who built NINEVEH. And DANIEL also slew the SERPENT, and became hated by the BABYLONIANS, and he was cast a second time into a cave (or, cage) wherein there were seven lions. And the prophet HABAKKUK was sent from JUDAH and brought food to him, and he was also delivered from the lions and his enemies perished.

Now DANIEL in reckoning up the years of the Captivity, thought that the seventy years which had been decreed for the people by the word of the Lord by the hand of JEREMIAH, had already been fulfilled, and he fasted and prayed for twenty-one days, making supplication for the return of the people. Then he saw a terrifying vision by the river DEKLATH (TIGRIS), namely that of a man clothed in byssus, and he said unto him, 'Behold, I have to contend for twenty-one days against the governor of the PERSIANS [30] for the sending away of the people'. And in the first year of his kingdom he sent away five myriads (but not all of them, because the seventy years were not as yet fulfilled) by the hands of ZÛRBÂBHÊL and ÎSHÔ' BAR-YÔZÂDAK. And he commanded them to build the Temple of JERUSALEM according to the prophecy of ISAIAH; but the building was obstructed by the peoples who were round about them, for forty-six years, as JOHN the Evangelist wrote, until the sixth year of DARIUS, the son of HYSTASPES. After CYRUS the PERSIAN, CAMBYSES his son reigned for eight years; the HEBREWS say that he was called NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

And in his time JUDITH, who slew HOLOPHERNES, the man of MÂGHÔGH, that is to say the TURK. And in the sixth year of his reign they overthrew TYRE wholly.

After CAMBYSES two brothers who were MAGIANS [reigned] for seven months, and these months are reckoned with the years of CAMBYSES.

After the two brothers who were MAGIANS, DARIUS, the son of HYSTASPES, [reigned] for thirty-six years. In his second year the seventy years of the



Captivity came to an end, according to CLEMENS, and EUSEBIUS, and ANDRONICUS, and the testimony of [the prophets] HAGGAI and ZECHARIAH. And in his sixth year the HOUSE (i.e. Temple) was finished in the month of 'ÎYÂR. Its height was sixty cubits, its breadth was twenty cubits. The years from the first building of SOLOMON to this year of the completion of the second building added together are five hundred and eight years. At this time PYTHAGORAS the philosopher died, having lived ninety-five [years]. And DEMOCRITUS and DIOGENES, the philosophers; and ANAXAGORAS, the physicist, and PINDAR and SIMONIDES, the musicians; and HIPPOCRATES, the physician; and PROTAGORAS and ISOCRATES, the sophists; and ARISTOPHANES and 'APCÂLÎS (EUPOLES?), the introducers of comedy, were known (or, famous).

Of all these he who was the most triumphant in the world was HIPPOCRATES, the master and teacher of physicians until the present day. He used to live in the city of EMESA, and from time to time he would go to DAMASCUS and live in those gardens, the site of which is known at the present day, and is called the 'Porch of HIPPOCRATES'. He was a godlike man, and he healed the sick gratuitously. It is related that 'ARDÂSHÎR, the king of the PERSIANS, was sick and he sent a message to him [31] saying that he must come and heal him; and that he would give him the half of his kingdom; but HIPPOCRATES would not go, because of the fee which [the King] had promised him. The following works of his are extant: The Book of Aphorisms, the Book of Prognosis, the Book of Peeled Barley, the Book of Humours, the Book of the Kâstrôn (i.e. Belly), the Book of Water and Air, the Book of the Nature of Man, the Book of Headaches (?), and the Book of Dîâthîkî (Covenant).

After DARIUS, his son 'AḤSHÎRASH (AHASUERUS) [reigned] twenty-one years. In his second year he subjugated EGYPT. In his eleventh year he came to ATHENS and burnt it with fire. In his time HÂMÂN, the AMALEKITE, sought to make an end of the JEWS who remained from the Captivity. ESTHER and MORDECAI put on sackcloth, and the Lord made the wickedness of HÂMÂN to recoil on his own head. And certain people say that if this story had been current in the time of EZRA, who wrote about everything which happened at this period, he would not have kept silence about it, and would have mentioned it.

After AHASUERUS, ARTABANUS his own son reigned seven months, and these months are reckoned with the years of AHASUERUS.

And after ARTABANUS, 'ÂRYÔCH, that is ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS, [reigned] forty-one years. And in his ninth year he commanded 'AZRÂ (EZRA) the scribe to go up and build JERUSALEM, that is to say the city, after the Temple was built. And a vision of God appeared unto EZRA the scribe, and he made a copy of [the Book of] the Prophets from memory, because their Books were burnt when [the city] was captured. And in his twentieth year



NEHEMIAH, the cup-bearer (*shâkyâ*), was sent to build JERUSALEM. Now although this man was a Hebrew by race, he was a eunuch, and the cup-bearer of ARTAXERXES; and he persuaded the king and the queen and went up. Now the Jews who were in JERUSALEM had no holy fire, because they had cast it into a pit when they were carried away captives. And NEHEMIAH commanded and they brought some of the clay (or, soil) from that pit and cast it upon the wood of the altar, and it burst into flame after it had been extinguished for one hundred and forty-six years. And NEHEMIAH remained in JERUSALEM for twelve years. And from this time of ARTAXERXES one reckoneth the seventy weeks which are written in DANIEL, and which make four hundred and ninety years, and they agree with the year three hundred and sixty-six of the GREEKS, in the second year of NERO, in whose days JERUSALEM was besieged. Hitherto [32] writers have collected the [numbers of the years] from the Books of the Prophets and EZRA, but from this time onward [they have taken them] from the Book of the MACCABEES, and from the historians JOSEPHUS and AFRICANUS. In the third year of this ARTAXERXES, SOCRATES the philosopher was born, and he was poisoned at the end of his days.

After 'ÂRYÔCH another ARTAXERXES [reigned] for two months.

After this other ARTAXERXES, SÂGHDIÂNÔS [reigned] for seven months, and these months are added to the two preceding months.

After SÂGHDIÂNÔS, DARIUS NOTHUS [reigned] nineteen years. In his fifteenth year EGYPT rebelled against the PERSIANS, and the EGYPTIANS set up a native king after one hundred and twenty-four years [of foreign rule]. And after NEHEMIAH had finished [building] the whole of the wall of JERUSALEM he returned to BABYLON. And PLATO promulgated [his] opinion about the three uncreated beings, viz. God, Matter, and Silence. And he taught the migration of souls from bodies to bodies, even for insects and reptiles; and he advised that women be common property. EPICURUS clung to his teaching, and ARISTOTLE, at the age of seventy, listened to wisdom from PLATO.

After DARIUS NOTHUS, ARTAXERXES the Governor [reigned] forty years. And in his fifteenth year AFRICANUS, the Dictator of the ROMANS, laid waste CARTHAGE (?), and he called that country 'AFRÎÎ after his own name. The HEBREWS call this ARTAXERXES "ASVÎRÔS", and because of this JOHN thought that the [events of] the story of ESTHER took place [in his reign]. In the translation of the SEVENTY he is called 'ARTAXERXES'.

After ARTAXERXES the Governor, ARTAXERXES OCHUS [reigned] twenty-seven years. This [king] was a man of power and he reigned over EGYPT, and once again the IGHUPTÂYÊ (EGYPTIANS) became subject to the PERSIANS; the king of EGYPT, whose name was NAKTÂNÂBÔS (i.e. NEKHT-HER-HEBIT), fled to ETHIOPIA. He saw by means of magical incantations that very many armies were advancing against him; and it is said that he was the unlawful



father of ALEXANDER [the Great]. OCHUS also conquered the JEWS and made them bearers of tribute to him; and he settled them by the side of the CASPIAN SEA, in the city of HYRCANIA. And at this time PHILIP, the father of ALEXANDER, reigned in MACEDONIA twenty-seven years. And in the thirteenth year [33] of OCHUS the Persian, and the eighth [year] of PHILIP, ALEXANDER [the Great] was born in HELLAS, and the name of his mother was OLYMPIAS.

After OCHUS, PARSÎS ('ARSÎS) his son [reigned] four years. At this time SOCRATES, and PLATO, and ARISTOTLE, the philosophers, were famous. PLATO died at the age of eighty-two years, and SPÔSÎPÔS (SPEUSIPPUS), the son of his uncle, and not ARISTOTLE, stood in his place, even though he was his disciple, but he did not agree with his opinion, especially on the subject of the migration of souls from bodies to bodies, which he opposed strongly.

At this time MANASSEH, the brother of ONIAS (?), the high priest of the JEWS, built a great temple in MOUNT GARZÎM (GERIZIM), which was like that which was in JERUSALEM, and ALEXANDER, the son of King PHILIP, became a disciple of ARISTOTLE. SOCRATES and PLATO received wisdom from PYTHAGORAS the Great. After the death of SOCRATES, PLATO became famous. THEON, the ALEXANDRIAN, estimates that PLATO composed thirty-three books, among them being the Book of 'PÔLÎTÎKÔN', and the Book of LAWS, and the Book of PHAEDO, and the Book of TIMAUS. PLATO was of noble origin both on his father's and mother's side, for his father was descended from POSIDION, and his mother from SOLON, the lawgiver of the ATHENIANS. Others say that when PLATO was a youth he was greatly skilled in the poetic art, and that when he was being trained under SOCRATES and he saw that [his master] held the poetic art in contempt, he burnt the books of poetry which he possessed, and cleaved to SOCRATES, and was a disciple of his for fifty years; and from him he learned Pythagorean wisdom. And when he died he left many estates (or, gardens), and two slaves, and a cup and a pinax, and an ornament which he used to put in his ear in his childhood as a mark of the nobility of his race. And the rest of his possessions he spent in providing dowries for his brother's daughters; and he also divided some of his goods among his friends. Over his grave is written, 'Here is laid a godlike man, who was superior to all men in wisdom, and in modesty, and in righteous habits. Therefore, every one who praiseth wisdom, [34] it is PLATO whom he praiseth, because in him was the greater part of wisdom.' And on the other side of the grave is written, 'O thou Earth, though thou hidest the body of PLATO, thou canst never draw nigh to his soul, because it never dieth'.

ARISTOTLE was the son of NICOMACHUS, the physician from STAGIRA, a village in the country of MACEDONIA, and his race (i.e. pedigree), both through his father and mother, went back to the ASKLEPIADES; and for a period of twenty years he was an auditor of PLATO. And on a certain



occasion when he was with the rest of the disciples, and was still uninitiated, PLATO said unto those who were initiated, 'Mind (or, understanding) hath not come, the philosopher is remote from the truth, deaf are his hearers'. ARISTOTLE was held in very great honour by kings and ALEXANDER administered the affairs of his kingdom under his direction. And when he went to war with the kings of the earth, ARISTOTLE held his peace, and he began to write books on linguistics, and natural objects, and divine (i.e. celestial) objects, and the care (i.e. study) of customs. His stature was handsome, [his complexion] fair (or, white), the eyes and mouth small, the cheek broad, the beard crisp, the nose broad, his eyes were light blue (?). When he was walking by himself his gait was hurried, and when he was with other people he walked leisurely. And with the reading of books he sometimes, it seems, abolished sleep. He put restraint on every word, and inquired carefully into the force thereof. Being asked a question, he did not answer quickly, but only after a time. He loved songs (ballads or, metrical poetry). And when a man was disputing (or, debating) with him, he never cared whether he (i.e. the man) gained the victory or not, all that concerned him was the truth. And if he was in the wrong he admitted it, and when the truth [lay] with his fellow debater, he testified to the correctness thereof willingly. And his apparel, and his food, and his drink, and his marriage, and his motions were praiseworthy. He died at the age of sixty-eight years, and he left a son, and a daughter, and a wife, and slaves and maidservants, and many possessions.

And there rose up in doctrine in his stead THEOPHRASTUS, his brother's son. And when he died he made a beautiful (i.e. wise) will with directions for the members of his household and his disciples.

And of SOCRATES it is said, 'This man beggared himself completely. He loved labours, and hated the delights and gratifications of the body. He used to live in a pit (or, well) [35] and not in a house. And a certain man said unto him: 'If the pit becometh broken what wilt thou do?' And he replied, 'If the pit be broken, the place which is in the pit will not be broken'. He used to say, 'The external beauty of the body maketh known the interior beauty of the soul'. And when the ATHENIANS saw that he always selected good-looking youths to instruct, they thought that he was a lover of boys. And because he blamed and severely rebuked the king for his luxurious life, he instructed his sons 'ANÎTÔS and MÎLÎTÔS, and they accused him of sodomy; so he killed him with poison. St. GREGORY, the Theologian, mentions this SOCRATES in the second part [of his work], saying, 'The love of beauty of SOCRATES! Though I am ashamed I must say "the love of boys", though he was modest (or, chaste) in things which are to be praised' (?).

After PARSÎS, DARIUS the son of 'ARSHÂCH ('ARSHÂM) [reigned] six years. And in the first year of his reign, ALEXANDER [the Great], who was twenty



years old, was reigning. He was three cubits in height, and he was much greater than any of the kings who were before him. He conquered many countries, and he destroyed thirty-five kings and his camp contained twelve myriads of men. And in the sixth year of DARIUS, and also of ALEXANDER, they joined in battle at ISSUS in CILICIA, and ALEXANDER conquered and DARIUS was slain, and the kingdom of the PERSIANS came to an end.



## VII

### THE KINGS OF THE PERSIANS

Here beginneth the Seventh Series, which passeth from the Kings of the Persians to the pagan Greeks

AFTER DARIUS, ALEXANDER reigned six years, after he killed DARIUS, and the prophecy of DANIEL concerning the he-goat which came and killed the ram (Daniel viii) was fulfilled. Now ALEXANDER, having brought to an end the kingdom of the BABYLONIANS and PERSIANS, [36] seized BABYLON, and subjugated 'IORÎPÔS (PERSEPOLIS?), and 'ERKÔNÎÂ (HÛRKÂNÎÂ?) and MÛRÎÂ (MEDIA?). And he took all GREATER ASIA, and he also crossed the river HENDÔS (INDUS), and he conquered INDIA and SHEBHÂ (SÂBA?). And he took to wife RÛSHNAK (ROXANA), the daughter of DARIUS, and he carried off SHEBHÂ her sister with her. And he built twelve cities and made a door of iron that the HUNS might not go forth. The height thereof was twelve cubits and the width thereof eight cubits. He took the JEWS and they welcomed him, and he sacrificed to GOD. And when the SHÂMRÂÏÊ (SAMARITANS) slew ALEXANDER the priest, whom he had left with them, he came from EGYPT and destroyed them, and he settled MACEDONIANS in SHÂMRÎN. And having come to BABYLON after he had reigned twelve years and seven months, one of his nobles put him to death by poison. And the Great Horn was broken, and under it there rose up four horns [Daniel, chaps. vii and viii], viz. his servants who reigned after him. The total of the years from ADAM to the death of ALEXANDER, according to ANIANUS the monk, is five thousand and sixty and nine years. And in the time of ALEXANDER lived ANDROMACHUS the physician, who added the flesh of vipers to the antidote METHRÔDÎTÔS (i.e. of MITHRIDATES), and recovery from the bites of vipers took place.

After ALEXANDER, PTOLEMY, his servant, [reigned] forty years; he was the son of LÔGHÔS (LAGUS), that is to say the 'son of 'ARNĒBHÂ'. He rose up after ALEXANDER, and he brought his body [to EGYPT] and buried it there. And in the year in which he [began to] reign, he captured JERUSALEM by guile, and he carried the JEWS into captivity, and he settled [them] in EGYPT in the days of HÛNÎÂ (ONIAS), the chief of the priests. And from him the kings (of EGYPT) were known as 'PTOLEMIES'. PHILIP ARRIDAEUS reigned over the MACEDONIANS, and ANTIOCHUS reigned in SYRIA. And he had a partner in the kingdom, SELEUCUS NIKATOR, i.e. the 'Conqueror'. Now in CILICIA, and in ASIA, and in CARIA, and in HELLESPONT, and in THRACE, and in PAPHLAGONIA, and in EPIRUS (var. 'EURÎPÎ), seven other kings rose up. Now in all there were ten [kings]; and the word of DANIEL (chaps. vii and viii) agreeth, viz. 'The beast had ten horns'. [37] And in the thirteenth year of PTOLEMY [LAGUS], twelve years after the death of ALEXANDER, ANTIOCHUS



died. And SELEUCUS reigned alone over SYRIA, and over all GREATER ASIA, and BABYLON as far as INDIA, for twenty-one years. And with him began the reckoning by the years of the GREEKS (i.e. the Era of the Greeks) which we SYRIANS use, even though it be called after ALEXANDER. SELEUCUS built ANTIOCH, and SELEUCIA, and LATAKIA, and APAMEA, and URHÂI (EDESSA), and BEROEA, and PILÂS, and GERMÂNÎKÎ, which is MAR'ÂSH.

From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to EUSEBIUS, is 4,889 years;

From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to ANDRONICUS, is 5,083 years;

From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to GÎWARGÎ (GEORGE) the most excellent Elder, is 5,085 years;

From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to AFRICANUS, is 5,083 years;

From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to THEOPHILUS of EDESSA, is 5,197 years;

From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to JACOB of EDESSA, is 5,149 years;

From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to GEORGE, bishop of the Arab peoples, is 4,929 years;

From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to ANIANUS, is 5,180 years and 10 months.

And with this last the Greek Septuagint agreeth. The reckoning which the Greeks use in our time agreeth with that of THEOPHILUS of EDESSA. Now if we add to 5,197 years the complete years of SELEUCUS, and one month to the complete months of the incomplete year, which beginneth with the FIRST TESHRIÂN (OCTOBER), there are gathered together for us the complete solar years from ADAM, and the months from the incomplete year which beginneth with 'ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER). What then in respect of the day which remaineth (?), the tenth of 'ÎLÛL [of the] year of the GREEKS 1587? Let us add five thousand one hundred and ninety-seven to one thousand five hundred and eighty-six, and their total is six thousand seven hundred and eighty-three; then add to the eleven months one month and they become twelve months. Let us add then one year to the complete years, and they become six thousand seven hundred and eighty-four. And we say that the tenth of 'ÎLÛL belongeth to the incomplete year, that is to say, the year six thousand seven hundred and eighty-five.

After LAGUS, PHILADELPHUS, i.e. 'loving his brother', reigned thirty-eight years. And in his fifth year ANTIOCHUS SOTER reigned over SYRIA after his brother SELEUCUS. And in his sixth year PHILADELPHUS gave freedom [38] to the JEWS who were in captivity in EGYPT. And he sent gifts to ELÎ'ÂZÂR, the high priest, and asked him for [copies of] the Holy Scriptures and translators. Then he (i.e. the high priest) wrote the Books in gold [ink], and sent [them] together with seventy-two learned men who were well acquainted with the two languages Greek and Hebrew; and there were six men from each tribe. And PHILADELPHUS settled them on the Island of FÂRÔ (PHAROS), and he built thirty-six cells, one cell for every two men;



and he admonished them that they were to change nothing [in the text]. And they translated the Books in seventy-two days, each two men of the whole number [seventy-two], and there were thirty-six copies. And when they were collated with each other they were found to agree, as if one man only had translated them [i.e. all the copies]. And the king placed them in his library in ALEXANDRIA.

And after ANTIOCHUS SOTER, ANTIOCHUS, who was called God ['Allâhâ], reigned over SYRIA fifteen years. And in the thirty-fourth year of his reign the PARTHIANS, that is to say the 'ARMENÂYÊ, rebelled against the MACEDONIANS, that is to say, GREEKS (YAWNÂYÊ), and they set up over them a king whose name was 'ARSHÂK, and from that time they were called 'ARSHÂKÂYÊ. And at that time the RHÔMÂYÊ slew of the GALLÂYÊ (GAULS), and the KÂLÂYÊ (KALTÂYÊ, CELTS?) up to four myriads. And RHODES and all the countries round about them were so much shaken [by an earthquake], that the great COLOSSUS fell. And they afflicted SYRACUSE with war, and they also laid waste KÂFÛ (CORFU?), and SICILY became subject unto them, and likewise very many Iberian (i.e. Spanish) cities.

After PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, PTOLEMY EUERGETES (that is, 'handicraftsman') [reigned] twenty-six years. And in that year SELEUCUS KALONIKUS reigned in SYRIA twenty years. And he built KALONIKUS, that is, RAQKÂH, and KARKÎSÔN (CIRCESIUM). And after him SELEUCUS KRONÔS [reigned] three years, and after him ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT thirty-six years. Now ONIAS, the high priest, being unwilling to pay his customary tribute to the king of EGYPT, PHARAOH was wroth with him, and made ready to destroy the JEWS utterly. Then JOSEPHUS, the wise and strong man, was sent to him by the JEWS, and favour was shown to him, and he pacified the anger of EUERGETES, and received from him an authority (or, Patent), and from that time a general [39] appeared in JUDEA who was over all the cities.

After PTOLEMY EUERGETES, PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR (that is, 'loving his father') [reigned] seventeen years. This [PHARAOH] afflicted the JEWS. And at the end of his kingdom ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, of SYRIA, conquered him and also took possession of EGYPT. And he also came to JUDEA and subjugated it. And then there happened the events which are described in the holy history of the MACCABEES.

After PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR, PTOLEMY EPIPHANES (that is, the 'purifier', or perhaps 'the dispenser of justice') [reigned] twenty-one years, though other codices say twenty-four years. This PHARAOH sent SCOPAS his general, and he subdued JUDAH and SYRIA. Against him went forth ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, and he conquered the army of the EGYPTIANS and took from them all their cities. Now the JEWS submitted themselves with alacrity to ANTIOCHUS, and he honoured them with gifts. And he paved the roads and passages over which the soldiers marched, and he built bridges of stones



over the rivers. And in his eleventh year ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT was conquered by the RHÔMÂYÊ at THERMOPYLAE, and he covenanted to give to them annually one thousand talents of gold, and he also gave EPIPHANIUS, the son of ANTIOCHUS, to the RHÔMÂYÊ as a hostage. And from that time the kingdom of the GREEKS (YAWNÂYÊ) was in subjugation to the authority of the RHÔMÂYÊ. For this reason the GREEKS and EGYPTIANS became allies, and ANTIOCHUS stopped the war with PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, and made a covenant of friendship with him. And ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT took CLEOPATRA, the daughter of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, to wife, and gave to her as her dowry SYRIA, PHOENICIA, SAMARIA, and JUDAH. And in the seventeenth year of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT went down [by sea?] against 'ÎLÂM, the royal city (or, capital) of the PERSIANS, and there he died. As DANIEL said, 'In a few days he shall be broken, neither by wrath nor war' (Daniel xi. 20).

And SELEUCUS reigned over SYRIA. In his time HELIODORUS, his trusty deputy, was chastised with a stroke from God because he persecuted the JEWS mercilessly. And in the twenty-first year of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, the son of ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, ruled over SYRIA; [40] he had lived as a hostage in ROME for eleven years. As soon as he began to reign he went to EGYPT to PTOLEMY, and although he was forbidden [to do so] by the RHÔMÂYÊ, he returned to JUDAH. And when he came to JERUSALEM he plundered the Temple of God, and set up in it an image of ZEUS. And he laid hold of ELIEZER the priest to make him offer up sacrifices, and when he refused, after [suffering] tortures, he died. And after him they brought SHAMÔNÎ, the wife of SHÂLÔM, together with her seven sons, before ANTIOCHUS. And they cut out the tongue of the first one, and the chief of all his members, and cast him into a pan to be roasted. Of the second they ripped off the skin of his head. They cut out the tongue of the third, and so on with the other four, and at last they murdered their mother. They were crowned (i.e. martyred) in JERUSALEM, but afterwards their bodies were brought to ANTIOCH.

After PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR (this is, 'loving his mother') [reigned] thirty-five years. In his sixteenth year ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES died in the land of the PERSIANS of a severe sickness [caused by] a stroke which was from God. And ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR reigned two years, and this king also multiplied evil acts towards the JEWS. In his time MATÎTHA, son of JOHN, son of SIMEON the priest, one of the sons of YÔNÂ-DHÂBH, dwelt in MÛR'ÎM and he had five sons, viz. JOHN GADDAI, SIMON TARSAL, JUDAH MAKBAL, ELIEZAR HÂWRÂN, and JONATHAN HAPÔS. When these men saw a certain JEW who was offering up a sacrifice they were filled with indignation, and they killed him, and also the governor who was forcing him to sacrifice, and they swept away the offering. Now these brethren, together with other zealous men of the Law, fled to a mountain.



And when ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR heard [this] he sent a force of one hundred thousand men to JERUSALEM. And whilst they were fighting ELIEZAR HÂWRÂN saw a great elephant, and he thought that the king was sitting upon it. And he went under the elephant and stabbed it in its belly with a sword. And the elephant staggered about and fell upon him and he died. And when the fighting ceased and they were collecting the dead bodies for burial, they found under the apparel of every man of them some of the gold of idols. Then JUDAH sent three thousand pieces of silver to the priests in JERUSALEM, so that they might make an offering on behalf of those who had died, and might make propitiation for them for the sake of the [41] hope of the resurrection. At this time was built the first temple to the Lord among the heathen. HÛNÎÂ (ONIAS) built it at 'ÎLÎÔSPÂNṬÂS (or, HELIOPOLIS?) which is in EGYPT, and he performed in it the service according to the custom of the JEWS.

And in the eighteenth year of PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR, DEMETRIUS SOTER, who was the son of SELEUCUS, reigned over SYRIA twelve years. Now he came from RHÔMÊ, and he seized the kingdom of his ancestors and slew ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR and his deputy LÛSÎÂ. And in the twentieth year of PTOLEMY PHILOMATOR rose up the first governor of the JEWS, viz. JUDAS MACCABAEUS, and from that time he held for three years equally (or, both together) the office of high priest and that of king. He drove the general of ANTIOCHUS out from JUDAH, and he purified the Temple, and he was killed by the captain of the host of DEMETRIUS during the war. And after him rose JONATHAN, his brother, for nineteen years—thus the high priest was a general, and he fought during the war with great valour. And in the twenty-ninth year of PTOLEMY PHILOMATOR, ALEXANDER reigned over SYRIA ten years. He slew DEMETRIUS, and he also went to EGYPT and seized the country, and PHILOMETOR gave him CLEOPATRA, his daughter, and made peace with him. And HIPPOLYTUS saith, 'This agreeth with what DANIEL saith, "The daughter of the king of the south shall be given to the king of the north"' [compare Daniel xi. 17]. And THEODORET saith, 'With CLEOPATRA, the daughter of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, who was given to ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, the prophecy [of Daniel] was fulfilled'. And this is probably [correct].

After PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR, PTOLEMY EUERGETES II, the son of HÂBHÛBHÂ (?), [reigned] twenty-nine years. In his fifth year, there reigned over SYRIA, after ALEXANDER, DEMETRIUS II, three years. And in the seventh year of this EUERGETES there rose up, after JONATHAN, SIMON, the high priest, who was a general eight years. This king sent a gold shield to RHÔMÊ, and the RHÔMÂYÊ made a treaty of love with him [which was written] on a tablet of brass. And he also sent his son JOHN against KANDÂBÎS, the captain of the host of ANTIOCHUS DEMETRIUS, and he conquered him and destroyed all his host, [42] and thus the JEWS were freed from [the



payment of] tribute. And in this year the second history of the MACCABEES came to an end.

And in his eighth year PTOLEMY, the son of ḤABHÛBHÂ, deposed DEMETRIUS, and ANTIOCHUS SÎDÎTÔS reigned over SYRIA in his stead, and he came to make war on JERUSALEM. And certain slaves rebelled in SICILY, and being besieged in one of the towns on the island because of their hunger, they ate each other. And there was a great eruption of fire on the Island of IWÂLÔS (ÆOLUS). And in the fifteenth year of PTOLEMY, the general of PTOLEMY who was in JERICHO, killed SIMON, the high priest. And after him rose up JOHN, who was called 'HYRCANUS', because he gathered together an army against HYRCANIA, and he went to war—twenty-six years. And in the seventeenth year of this PTOLEMY, DEMETRIUS returned to [his] kingdom, and he reigned over SYRIA four years more. And after him there rose up over SYRIA, ANTIOCHUS AGRIPPA—twelve years. And he came to JERUSALEM, and he afflicted it sorely. Then HYRCANUS, being in sore straits, opened the grave of DAVID and brought out therefrom three thousand talents of gold which had been laid up there by the ancients. And he gave three hundred of them to ANTIOCHUS, and he departed from him. And at this time HYRCANUS laid waste SHAMRÎN (SAMARIA).

After PTOLEMY EUERGETES, the son of ḤABHÛBHÂ, PTOLEMY SOTER, who was also called 'PHYSKON', [reigned] seventeen years. In his fourth year ANTIOCHUS KÛDÎKÔS (*sic*) reigned over SYRIA—eighteen years. And in the eleventh year of SOTER, JOHN HYRCANUS died. And ARISTOBULUS, the son of JONATHAN, rose up—one year. This man bound on [his head] a crown, and with guile he slew his brother ANTIGONUS. And another brother, JOHN, also slew this man; this JOHN is ÎWANNÎS, and he was also called 'ALEXANDER'. And he reigned twenty-seven years. This man governed the people in a cruel manner. And in his time PTOLEMY SOTER was driven out by CLEOPATRA his mother, and he fled to the Island of CYPRUS.

After PTOLEMY SOTER, PTOLEMY ALEXANDER, his brother, [reigned] ten years. [43] In his fourth year he burned alive KÛZÎKÔS (*sic*) king of SYRIA, and he himself reigned over SYRIA for one year. Then rose up PHILIP over SYRIA—two years. And he was deposed by the people as being one who assisted in the burning of KÛZÎKÔS (*sic*), and thereupon the people cleaved to the subjugation of the RHÔMÂYÊ. In the sixth year of this PTOLEMY ALEXANDER the kingdom of the GREEKS came to an end finally in SYRIA and ASIA. ANTIOCH became subject to the RHÔMÂYÊ in the year of the GREEKS two hundred and twenty.

After PTOLEMY ALEXANDER, SOTER his brother returned, and he reigned eight years. This SOTER came back from CYPRUS, whither he had fled from his mother. He fought with his brother, and expelled him, and he resumed his former rank. And SOTER, who was called 'PHYSKON', reigned in ALEXANDRIA and over all EGYPT.



After PTOLEMY SOTER, his son PTOLEMY DIONYSUS reigned a second time—thirty years. In the fifth year of his reign JOHN ALEXANDER died, and his wife ALEXANDRA, who was named SELINA, rose up for nine years. She observed the Commandments very strictly, and she punished those who abrogated them. But the affairs of the JEWS fell into a great state of confusion because she made HYRCANUS her son high priest, and ARISTOBULUS her other son was offended, and they quarrelled greatly with each other. And after very much trouble HYRCANUS was confirmed as high priest, and ARISTOBULUS [became] king. After a little [time] POMPEY, the captain of the host of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, came and captured ARISTOBULUS, and carried him off in fetters to ROME, and he established his brother HYRCANUS [as king]. And he stood for thirty and four years, and he [re]built the walls of JERUSALEM which POMPEY had thrown down. For this POMPEY had laid the JEWS under tribute, and he subjugated also GREAT ARMENIA, and IBERIA and ISaurIA. And he increased greatly [in power] and was called 'AUTOCRATOR'. And in the year in which PTOLEMY DIONYSUS of EGYPT died there began in ROME the Consulship of the three Consuls whose names are GAIUS JULIUS, MARK ANTONY, and CRASSUS.

After PTOLEMY DIONYSUS, [44] CLEOPATRA, his daughter, [reigned] twenty-three years. And in her third year the RHÔMÂÏÊ made GAIUS JULIUS, one of the three Consuls, king. And he was named 'CAESAR', because when his mother was dying they made an opening in her and brought him out from her womb. And he went down to EGYPT and confirmed the sovereignty of CLEOPATRA. And in the year in which he reigned the month of KUNTÎLÎS was called 'JULIUS'. And when JULIUS had reigned four years he died, and AUGUSTUS CAESAR reigned after him fifty-seven years. And in his sixth year, HYRCANUS, the high priest, was carried off captive to the country of the PARTHIANS, that is to say, PERSIANS. And for this reason HEROD, the son of ANTIPATER, the son of HEROD the priest of the house of idols of APOLLO, which is near the wall of ASCALON, went up to ROME. And thence he received sovereignty over the JEWS, and he reigned thirty-seven years. And when HYRCANUS returned from captivity he slew HEROD and his son JONATHAN in the eleventh year of AUGUSTUS. And here was fulfilled the word of the prophecy, 'The rod shall not depart from JUDAH until He to whom sovereignty belongeth shall come'. For in the time of this HEROD the birth of our Redeemer took place, and the seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks of DAVID were fulfilled. These make the four hundred and eighty-three years which began with the sixth year of DARIUS, the son of HYSTASPES.

Now when that HEROD came from ROME the JEWS would not receive him, and he fought and conquered them, and laid waste the two walls of JERUSALEM, and he destroyed many. And he took the vestment of priesthood under his hands, and with the exception of one year he did not release the high priest. And having slain HYRCANUS he sent to BABYLON and brought



from thence a man whose name was HĠNÂNÂ'ÎL, who did not belong to the grade of priests, and he made him high priest for a year, and then dismissed him. And he made ARISTOBULUS, the son of HYRCANUS, who was a brother of the wife of HEROD, [high priest]. And after a little while he killed him, and MARY, his sister, who was his wife, and their mother, and each and every one, without any exception, who belonged to the family of the high priests. And again he appointed HĠNÂNÂ'ÎL [high priest]. And in the thirteenth year of AUGUSTUS ANTONINUS (ANTONY), the captain of his host rebelled against them, [45] and he loved CLEOPATRA, Queen of EGYPT. And AUGUSTUS marched against him and conquered him. And after a consultation of the SENATE AUGUSTUS made friends with ANTONINUS (Antony). Then CLEOPATRA asked ANTONINUS (ANTONY) for dominion over the kingdom of the JEWS and the ARABS, and he agreed to her request. And because of this AUGUSTUS was offended, and he marched again against ANTONINUS (ANTONY) and conquered him; and he also subdued EGYPT. And he took the two sons of CLEOPATRA, who were called 'Sun' and 'Moon', and slew them. Then CLEOPATRA and ANTONINUS (ANTONY) killed themselves.



## VIII

### THE ROMAN EMPERORS

Here beginneth the Eighth Series, which passeth from the Kings of the pagan Greeks to the Kings of the Rhômâyê

**T**HE sovereignty of the PTOLEMIES, that is to say GREEKS, having come to an end in EGYPT also, the whole of EGYPT and the whole of SYRIA came under the dominion of the RHÔMÂÏÊ.

After CLEOPATRA [came] AUGUSTUS CAESAR, and whilst reigning over EGYPT he was named 'SEBASTUS'; and also [the month] of SEKSTÎLÎS was called 'AUGUSTUS'. And in [his] eighteenth year AUGUSTUS sent TIBERIUS, the captain of [his] host, to ARMENIA, and he subjugated it. And HEROD built SHÂMRÎN (SAMARIA), and in honour of SEBASTUS called it 'SEBASTIA'. And he also built the Tower of 'ESTRAÏÔN (TURRIS STRATONIS) and named it 'CAESAREA', and he also built GABHÂLÂ in GALILEE. And in the forty-third year of AUGUSTUS, which is the thirty-third year of HEROD, and the three hundred and ninth year of the GREEKS, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of the FIRST KÂNÔN (DECEMBER), on the night of the dawn of the third [day of the week], our Lord JESUS CHRIST, the Son of God, was born in the flesh of the VIRGIN MARY, the daughter of DAVID; and that year entered (i.e. began) on the second day of the week. And in that year KËURÎNÔS (CYRENIUS), the governor, was sent by the Senate of ROME to levy poll-tax of the JEWS because GALILEAN JUDAH had rebelled, and many of the JEWS said, [46] 'It is not right to pay poll-tax to Caesar', and, 'to make for ourselves lords who are mortal'.

And thirty years after this, on the fourth day of the week, on the sixth day of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY), Christ was baptized by JOHN in the JORDAN. And when our Lord in the flesh was two years old, and JOSEPH and MARY were going up from NAZARETH to JERUSALEM and they came to BETHLEHEM, the MAGI came, and there they bowed down in homage to Him. And by night they departed to Egypt, and they lived there for two years, until HEROD died, and then they returned. Now when the Holy Virgin gave birth to Him she was thirteen (or, fifteen) years old, and she died when she was fifty-one (or, sixty-three) years old. LONGINUS, the Roman sage, wrote to CAESAR concerning the coming of the MAGI, saying, 'PERSIANS from the east have travelled and come to thy kingdom, and they have brought offerings to a child who hath been born in JUDAH, but who he is, and whose son he is, we have not yet heard'. And AUGUSTUS sent [an answer saying], 'HEROD, the Satrap, whom we have left there, shall make known to us who he is'. And as for the year of the birth of our Lord, although writers (or, historians) have stated it differently, we find that it was only the three



hundred and ninth year of the GREEKS,<sup>1</sup> which began on the second day of the week—besides the other things which they wrote. And HEROD having slain the children of BETHLEHEM and the borders thereof, the Lord smote him; he suffered sorely for two years and died aged seventy years.

And AUGUSTUS set up ARCHELAUS his son, who reigned nine years. And having committed an act of folly he was banished to BHÎNÂN (VIENNA), a city of the GALSÎNÊ (GAULS). And then AUGUSTUS set up the four governors, TETRARCHS, HEROD, and ANTIPATER, and PHILIP—these then were brothers of ARCHELAUS—and the fourth was LYSANIUS, the alien. And in the same year AUGUSTUS died.

After AUGUSTUS CAESAR, TIBERIUS CAESAR [reigned] twenty-three years. And in his fourteenth year PILATE, the governor, was sent to the JEWS, and he was Prefect over them. And he introduced the statue of CAESAR into [47] the Temple, and [thus] stirred up the JEWS to revolt. And besides this he expended all the treasure of the priests when the aqueduct came into [the city], which became the cause of their second revolt.

And in the nineteenth year of TIBERIUS, ABHGAR, king of ÛRHÂI (EDESSA), sent a certain painter, whose name was JOHN, the tabellarius, and he painted a portrait of our Lord JESUS upon a tablet, and brought [it] to ABHGAR. And ABHGAR also sent [a letter] to our Lord by the hands of HANÂNYÂ, saying, 'I have heard that mighty deeds flow from thee, and that thou effectest healings without medicines. Therefore thou must either be God Himself, who hath come down from heaven, or the son of God. Because of this I have written [and] I have asked thee to trouble thyself to come to me and heal the sickness which is in me. Moreover I have also heard that the JEWS are jealous (or, envious) of thee, and that they murmur complainingly concerning thee, and are very wishful to do thee an injury. Now I have a small and beautiful city, and it will suffice for the two [of us].'

And our Lord made answer to him, saying, 'Blessed is he who hath believed in me, though he hath not seen me! And as concerning what thou hast written, that I should come to thee. A course of life and action is [laid] upon me, and it is meet that I should fulfil in this place that on account of which I have been sent, and I shall be taken up to Him who hath sent me. But I will send unto thee immediately one of my disciples who shall heal thy sickness, and shall give life unto thee and unto those who are with thee'.

And in the nineteenth year of TIBERIUS our Redeemer suffered, and died, and was buried, and rose up again, and ascended into heaven. And on the day of Pentecost a great quaking seized the priests of the JEWS, who heard a voice from the inside of the Temple, saying, 'We must depart from this place'. And ABHGAR of EDESSA wrote to TIBERIUS concerning everything

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan's note reads, 'Doctors agree generally in stating that our Lord Jesus Christ was born in the three hundred and eleventh year of the Greeks, and we keep to this date throughout this book'.



which the JEWS did to Christ. And the Emperor replied, 'Behold, because of this I have dismissed PILATE in disgrace, and I will take vengeance on the JEWS'. And HEROD the Tetrarch, who was also named 'ANTĪPÂTÔS (ANTIPATRUS)—now, he was the son of HEROD, the slayer of the children—killed JOHN. And he took to wife HERODIAS, the wife of his brother, whilst her husband was still living. And he was sent into exile with HERODIAS, and both he and she were killed in the city of BAWĪNNÂ (WĪNNÂ?).

The years from ADAM to the year in which our Redeemer suffered, make a total of five thousand five hundred and thirty-nine years, and that year began on the First Day of the Week (Sunday). According to HIPPOLYTUS, and JOHN, and MÂR JACOB, the total is five thousand five hundred and fifty years; according [48] to EUSEBIUS five thousand two hundred and thirty-two; according to the SYRIANS four thousand one hundred and fifty-six; according to AFRICANUS, five thousand five hundred and thirty-two; and according to others five thousand three hundred and twenty years; and in the chronology which many hold to, five thousand five hundred and nine (nineteen?); and according to ANDRONICUS, it was in the year three hundred and forty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 331).

After TIBERIUS CAESAR, GAIUS CAESAR [reigned] four years. That AGRIPPA, who was called 'HEROD', was the son of ARISTOBULUS, the son of HEROD, the slayer of the children, by MARY, the daughter of HYRCANUS, the chief of the priests. When in the days of TIBERIUS he went up to ROME to lay an accusation against HEROD the Tetrarch, that is to say, 'ANTĪPÂTÔS (ANTIPATRUS), he was put in prison. And whilst he was fettered he used to pray that GAIUS might become king. Therefore when GAIUS reigned he gave him the principalities of PHILIP and of LÛSÂNÎÂ, and because of this HERODIAS cursed HEROD 'ANTĪPÂTÔS (ANTIPATRUS?), saying that, because she had not gone to Caesar 'thou hast been deprived of governorship. For if AGRIPPA, who was of the common folk, became a governor, how much more ought thou, who wast of the tetrarchship, to become one?' And because of this, when GAIUS went up to ROME to receive the kingdom, he was wroth, and he drove him forth into exile with his wife, and there they died. And when this AGRIPPA reigned, in his first year, he slew JAMES, not the brother of our Lord [but the son of ZABHDAI (ZEBEDEE)], of whom PAUL maketh mention [1 Cor. xv. 7]; and he was crowned (i.e. martyred) on a cork tree, and not by the sword of AGRIPPA.

And at that time FELIX, the Eparch of EGYPT, was sent, and he afflicted the JEWS for seven years, and because of this ambassadors were sent to GAIUS that they might break him, namely JOSEPHUS, the wise man, and PHILO the Hebrew philosopher, who was from ALEXANDRIA. And GAIUS in his fourth year commanded PATRONUS, the Eparch of SYRIA, to set up images of himself in the Temple and in the synagogues of the JEWS, and thus was fulfilled what DANIEL [wrote] concerning the polluted sign which



stood in the Holy Place [Daniel xi. 31]. And when AGRIPPA had reigned in his kingdom for three full years he came to CAESAREA, and made a festival of theatricals representing the life of CAESAR. And on the second day of the theatricals he put on a garment in which was sewn silver [threads], and he came in the dawn to the theatre, and when the first rays of the sun fell [49] upon the silver it sparkled in a most wonderful fashion, whereupon his adulators called him 'God'. And because he did not restrain them he was smitten with a stroke, and after five days he came to an end.

After GAIUS CAESAR, CLAUDIUS CAESAR [reigned] fourteen years. In his time a revolt took place in JERUSALEM, on the day of the feast of the Passover. And whilst the people were crowded together in a dense mass at the exits of the Temple three myriads of JEWS were trampled under foot, each by the other, and died. And a great famine took place throughout the inhabited world, and the prophecy of 'ÂGHÂBHÔS (Agabus), which is in the Book of PRAXIS [Acts xi. 28; xxi. 10], was fulfilled. And the disciples who were in ANTIOCH, according to the sufficiency which was in their hands, divided up their possessions and sent [gifts] to the poor who were in JERUSALEM. And PHILO, the wise man, met the apostle PETER when he was preaching in ROME, and he wrote about those who became disciples of the Faith which is in our Lord, and who had stripped themselves of the possessions and anxiety of [this] world. None of them ate food before the sun set. They adjudged the cultivation of wisdom to be like unto the light, and the necessary care and use of the body to be like unto darkness. Some among them only ate food every second day, and some only every third day, and there were others who only ate every sixth or seventh day.

At this time a certain EGYPTIAN, a lying prophet, came to JUDEA, and he led astray after him three myriads of men. And having marched them round in the desert he brought them to the MOUNT OF OLIVES, and he wished to take JERUSALEM. Then came FELIX and a battle took place, and the EGYPTIAN fled and his force perished. And because of this it was said to PAUL by the Chiliarch, 'Wert not thou thyself that Egyptian?' [Acts xxi. 38], &c.

After CLAUDIUS CAESAR, NERO CAESAR [reigned] fourteen years. He sent FESTUS and dismissed FELIX. And he was the first one who set up the persecution of the Christians in which PETER and PAUL testified in ROME and were crowned (i.e. suffered martyrdom). In the thirteenth year of NERO the JEWS rebelled, and NERO sent [against them] VESPASIAN and TITUS his son. And in one year, in the month of ḤAZÎRÂN (JUNE), TITUS captured the city of YÔṬÔPAṬÂ (IÔTÔPATA) because he heard that JOSEPHUS, the scribe, the son of MATTAI the priest, who was the captain of the host of the JEWS, was there. And when he was taken he prophesied concerning the death of [50] NERO and who was going to reign after him. Therefore TITUS did not kill him. Now this JOSEPHUS was not ḲAYÂFÂ (CAIAPHAS), as some men have thought, for CAIAPHAS was also called JOSEPHUS.



And after these things the ROMANS encircled JERUSALEM, and whilst VESPASIAN was occupied in the war against JERUSALEM, the report of the death of NERO arrived, and of the tyrant OTHO, who stood for three months, and he killed him, and of VITALLIANUS, the tyrant, who stood for eight months. Him the ROMANS slew in the middle of the city. Then the Roman troops who were with VESPASIAN proclaimed him king, and he committed the war against JERUSALEM to TITUS his son, who went to ALEXANDRIA and subjugated it, and [then] departed by sea to ROME.

After NERO CAESAR, VESPASIAN CAESAR [reigned] ten years. It was he who built the CAPITOLIUM. And he made the CIRCUS in ALEXANDRIA, the length of which was one hundred and twenty-five feet. And TITUS his son, on the fourteenth day of the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL), in the three hundred and eighty-second year of the GREEKS (i.e. A.D. 71), encamped against JERUSALEM; he captured it on the eighth day of the month of ÎLÔL (SEPTEMBER), and destroyed it completely in the second year of VESPASIAN. He burnt the Temple on the tenth day of the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST), before the city was captured, the same day on which the Temple was burnt in the days of ZEDEKIAH. From ADAM to this final overthrow was five thousand four hundred and thirty-seven years, but according to others five thousand two hundred and three years. And from the building of the Temple to the destruction thereof was ten hundred and ninety-five years, and from the year of the PASSION forty years. And, according to others, five thousand five hundred and eighty-five years, and after the PASSION thirty-three years, in the year of the GREEKS three hundred and twenty-three.<sup>1</sup>

And if, as JOSEPHUS saith, the Passover took place on the twelfth day of NÎSÂN (APRIL), and the Resurrection on the fifteenth day, it must be the three hundred and eighty-first year of the GREEKS. And how many people perished therein! This same JOSEPHUS saith, 'On the day of the Passover they offered up two hundred and fifty thousand rams, and around each ram twenty men were gathered together. And these were people ceremonially pure, for the unclean, and the people with fluxes, and the children did not eat. Sixty thousand men were killed in the war, and one million one hundred thousand perished through hunger, [51] and one hundred thousand people were sold as slaves, and the rest were distributed about as menials for service. This is the terrible calamity which came to the JEWS in JERUSALEM. As concerning the great tribulation which took place in the city, and the calamities which the JEWS suffered in bondage, JOSEPHUS describes very many of them, the which a small treatise like this cannot contain.

After VESPASIAN, TITUS his son [reigned] two years. The Senate proclaimed this man to be 'God', and having accepted the proclamation which thus styled him, he died suddenly.

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan does not accept these figures, for he considers them incorrect; he thinks that the correct number is either 373 or 383 years.



After TITUS CAESAR, DOMITIAN CAESAR, his brother, [reigned] sixteen years. This Emperor drove the CHALDEANS and the philosophers out of ROME, and he commanded that no vine should be planted in the city, and he prohibited the castration of the male. CORNELIA, the priestess, a virgin, was accused of unchastity, and she was buried alive. And as the Gospel of CHRIST was increasing mightily, PATRÔPÎLÔS (PATROPHILUS) the philosopher said unto ŪRSÎNÔS his master, 'What is this? THEODORE, the chief of the sages in ATHENS, and AFRICANUS, the Alexandrian philosopher, and MARTINUS from BADÛ (BARDÛ?), and many others worship a man who was crucified, and though they are not rewarded with riches, they are mighty in word and deed.' And he replied, 'Yea, even the gods and their priests become disciples of His. The fact that His disciples do not give themselves up to the hateful habits of sin testifieth that their doctrine is the best of all doctrines.' And when DOMITIAN heard these things he marvelled, and he brought the persecution to an end. At this time APOLLONIUS, that is PÎLÂRÊ (PHILARIUS), exhibited *talîsmâtâs* (i.e. the art of magic), and he performed everything by means of devils, and he used to say, 'Woe is me! For the Son of MARY hath obtained pre-eminence over me' (or, anticipated me).

After DOMITIAN CAESAR, NERVA CAESAR [reigned] one year. Then he fell sick, and his body rotted, and he died in the garden of SALLUST.

After NERVA CAESAR, TRAJAN CAESAR [reigned] nineteen years. He stirred up the persecution of the Christians in which SIMON, the son of CLEOPHAS of JERUSALEM, and JOHN the Apostle, and IGNATIUS of ANTIOCH were crowned (i.e. suffered martyrdom), and PLINIUS SECUNDUS, the Eparch, killed many Christians. And when he saw how many they were, he was greatly troubled, and he wrote [52] to TRAJAN, saying, 'No other offence can be urged against the Christians except that they do not wish to offer sacrifice to idols; they abhor adultery and murder and every disgraceful act'. And when CAESAR learned these things he commanded that they should not be searched for, but that whenever any one of them was discovered he should be proceeded against until he offered sacrifice. And in the tenth year of TRAJAN, GALEN the physician was born, and at the end of his reign the JEWS who were in CYPRUS uprooted the city of SALÔMÔNÎ (SÂLÂMÎNÂ), and slew the GREEKS (YÂWNÂYÊ) who were therein. And the JEWS also who were in LYBIA stirred up to revolt the GREEKS who were therein, and thus also did the JEWS who were in CYRENAICA, and in THEBES (THEBÂÏD?), and in ALEXANDRIA and in BÊTH NAHRÎN (MESOPOTAMIA). And the JEWS who were in EGYPT rebelled, and set up for themselves a king whose name was LÛMPÎS, and he governed them and came to JUDEA. Now the JEWS conquered in every place. And BASILIDES, the head of the heresy of the Gnostics, that is to say, the worshippers of the serpent, became celebrated.

After TRAJAN CAESAR, HADRIAN CAESAR [reigned] twenty-one years. When



he reigned, he abolished liability for debts, and he remitted many tributes to many peoples, and he burnt the documents on which the debts (or, liabilities) of cities were recorded. In the fourth year of his reign the sovereignty of EDESSA ceased, and governors administered affairs there as in every other place. And in his fifth year he brought the river PÎSÔS (ḲEPÎSÔS) to 'ALÔSÎNÂ, and made for it a bridge, and he wintered in ATHENS.

And in his time there became famous CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY the astronomer, who made the Book of MAGÎSTÎ and called it 'SYNTAXIS'; and GALEN, the physician, who learned and taught, and SECUNDUS, the silent philosopher. [At the last named] HADRIAN marvelled, and wished to break his silence, but SECUNDUS maintained it until his death.

And a certain Jew, whose name was BAR KAWKEBHÂ, rebelled in JUDEA, and he used to carry off and kill those who would not agree with him. The Emperor sent troops and destroyed the JEWS, and he uprooted JERUSALEM thoroughly. And they built there a city and called it 'HELIOS HADRIANUS', and they settled aliens therein. And he bound the ears of the JEWS, and he made a law that they were not to look upon that place, even from a distance. [53] And the Christian philosophers ḲÛRTÔS (QUADRATUS?) and ARISTIDES, the ATHENIANS, wrote an *Apologia* for the doctrine of the Christians. And SÂYRÂINÔS (SERENUS) the governor wrote to the Emperor [saying], 'It is not right to kill them merely because of the name Christian, without any blame-worthy act'; and the Emperor wrote, 'Unless there is a reason for condemnation they shall not die'. And in his days the First Council in NICEA was gathered together, namely forty-three bishops; and they excommunicated SABELLIUS, who said, 'One Person of the Trinity', and VALENTINUS, who confessed that our Lord brought a body for Himself from heaven.

After HADRIAN CAESAR, TITUS ANTONINUS CAESAR, who was called EUSEBIUS, and was named 'Righteous' and 'Father of the Country'—he and his sons [reigned] twenty-two years. This Emperor commanded that the Christians should not be persecuted. And in his time GALEN flourished. And that he did not live in the time of our Lord, as some men think, is known from GALEN'S own words. For he saith in the beginning of the First Chapter, which treateth of fissures (or, wounds), 'I composed the first book of fissures when I went up to ROME the first time'. And he saith also in his exposition of PLATO'S Book of PEDÔN (PHAEDO), 'We have seen these men who are called "NÂŞRÂYÊ" (NAZARENES), who found their Faith upon Divine indications (or, inspirations) and miracles, and they are in no wise inferior to those who are in truth philosophers. For they love purity (or, chastity), and they are constant in Fasting, and they are zealous in avoiding the committal of wrong, and there are among them some who during the whole course of their lives never indulge in carnal intercourse. I say that this is a sign of the monastic life which became famous after the Ascension of our Lord, during the period of one hundred years'. Now the total of the years



from the Ascension of our Lord to the death of GALEN, according to the accurate opinion of chronographers, is one hundred and sixty years.

Now this GALEN came from the city of PERGAMUS, and he wrote many books on the craft of the physician, and of these about one hundred works are extant. He revived the Hippocratic system of medicine which had fallen into disuse (or, become antiquated). And when he was told about the mighty deeds and healings which [54] CHRIST, our Lord, used to do, he said, 'I have no doubt whatsoever that He doeth these things by means of the Divine Power'. And he asked, 'Doth any man of His disciples still remain?' And it was told him, 'Such remaineth in JERUSALEM'; and he rose up to go to JERUSALEM. And when he arrived in SICILY he died there at the age of eighty-eight years. And at the beginning [of his career] GALEN became a pupil of 'ELYÂNÔS (AELIANUS) the physician, who, a pestilence having broken out among the people of ANTIOCH, took 'theriake' and went there, and made the people drink it. And of those who drank after they had fallen sick some were saved and some of them perished; and of those who drank before the sickness [attacked them] all of them escaped.

CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY [wrote] many books on the science of astronomy, and of these the most famous are the great Book of SYNTAXIS, and the Book of GEOGRAPHY, and the Book of FRUIT, and the Book of ASTROLOGY in four discourses. He was the first who made the planisphere, i.e. the brazen sphere which was the similitude of the heavens. At this time flourished ALEXANDER, the APHRODISITE, who translated the books of ARISTOTLE; now his translations were very famous among the GREEKS, and they still are among the SYRIANS and SARACENS (or, Arabs). And many disputations, and debates, and investigations are attributed to him and to GALEN. And he gave GALEN the nickname of 'mule-head', because of the strength of his head at the time of disputation and debate. THEON, the geometrician, the ALEXANDRIAN, also lived at this time. He was the author of some books which are famous throughout nearly the whole world, viz. the Book of the WORKING OF THE BRAZEN CIRCLES, by means of which the observations of stellar motions are perfected, and the Book of the CANON, by means of which one placeth the observations of the changing reckoning of the tropical positions face to face with those which cleave thereto every eighty years one degree, up to eight divisions and then come back. This was not thought possible by PTOLEMY because, with the exception of this addition, the reckonings (or, computations) agree with the indications which are made by means of the instruments for observations. [And THEON also wrote] the Book of ÎSÂGÔGÊ, that is to say, an introduction to the Syntaxis of PTOLEMY.

After TITUS ANTONINUS CAESAR, MARCUS AURELIUS CAESAR, and his sons, [reigned] [55] nineteen years. In the beginning of his reign WALGÂSH, king of the PARTHIANS, laid waste many of the provinces of the ROMANS, and the



sons of MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS and LUCIUS went and brought the PARTHIANS into subjection. And the ROMANS made war on the GARMÂNÂYÊ, and the KĀWÂRAO (KÔDÂYÊ?), and the SARMAṬÂYÊ (SARMATIANS), and the DÂKÂS, and LUCIUS triumphed over them and was called 'Autocrator'; and after nine years he died. Then ANTONINUS his brother associated his son COMMODUS with him in the kingdom; and ANTONINUS fell sick in PANNONIA and died. And his son COMMODUS, having ruled thirteen years, was strangled in the house of VESTILIANUS. And lightning fell on the Capitolium, and burnt up the Library, and the Palace, and the House of the Virgins.

After MARCUS CAESAR and his sons PERTINAX [reigned] six months, and was killed.

After PERTINAX CAESAR, SEVERIANUS CAESAR [reigned] eighteen years. In the first year of his reign a fierce war between the JEWS and the SAMARITANS took place, and from the ninth year of his reign to the end of his life he persecuted the Christians cruelly and continually, and many of them bore witness and were crowned (i.e. suffered martyrdom). And whilst marching against a barbarous people, who lived on the skirts of the mountains to the west [and] north, and who harried greatly the ROMANS who were on their borders, he died. In other manuscripts [it is said that] he was killed.

After SEVERIANUS CAESAR, ANTONINUS CAESAR his son [reigned] four (seven?) years. This Emperor removed the ban of exile on those who had been banished because of their Faith: he was killed in BÊTH NAHRÎN (MESOPOTAMIA) between HÂRRÂN and EDESSA.

After ANTONINUS CAESAR, MACRINUS CAESAR [reigned] one year; and in that year the CIRCUSES of ÎPASTÎÂ (HEPHAISTIA) which were in ROME were burnt down, and he was killed in 'ARKELÂÎS (ARCHELAIS).

After MACRINUS CAESAR, ANTONINUS CAESAR, who was from ALYÔGALÂ (ALYÔGABÂLÂ?), [reigned] four years. In his time NIKOPOLIS of PALESTINE, that is to say EMMAUS, was built; it stood on the building of JULIUS AFRICANUS the chronographer.

After ANTONINUS CAESAR, ALEXANDER CAESAR BAR MÂRNÂ [reigned] thirteen years. This MÂRNÂ believed on Christ, and helped the Christians greatly. In his third year, which is the year [56] five hundred and forty-two of the GREEKS, 'ARDÂSHÎR, the son of PÂBÂK, reigned over PERSIA, and another kingdom of the PERSIANS which is called BÊTH SÂSÂN began, and it continued for four hundred and eighteen years, until the kingdom of the Arabs arose and ended it.

After ALEXANDER CAESAR, MAXIMINUS CAESAR [reigned] three years. This Emperor, because of his hatred of his predecessor, stirred up a persecution of the Christians, and SERGIUS and BACCHUS, who had been sent to MESOPOTAMIA, and CYPRIAN the bishop and many others, bore witness and were crowned with martyrdom. [This went on] until MAXIMINUS was killed in KĀWÊNÂ (AQUILEIA?).



After MAXIMINUS CAESAR, GORDIANUS CAESAR [reigned] six years, and he was killed on the borders of PERSIA. In his days MÂNÎ (MANES) was born.

After GORDIANUS CAESAR, PHILIP CAESAR [reigned] seven years. In his time the persecution of the Christians was stayed. And in his first year SHÂBHÔR (SAPOR), the son of 'ARDÂSHÎR, reigned over the PERSIANS thirty-one years. And in his time the one thousand years from the building of ROME was completed. And beasts were slaughtered in the Great Circus during the celebration of the contest of One Thousand Years. And plays of a warlike character were performed at nights, there was a vigil of three days, and forty athletes (or, heroes), as in the nativity of ROME, ran. And the theatre of POMPEY and the 'AKÂTÔSTÔLÔN (AKATÔSTÔLÔN), that is to say, [the building of] six pillars, were burnt down. Now PHILIP his lord was killed by DAKYÔS (DECIUS).

After PHILIP CAESAR, DECIUS CAESAR [reigned] one year. This Emperor persecuted the Christians greatly. And in his time the Seven Young Men fled from EPHESUS and hid themselves in a cave. And many [Christians] through fear of DECIUS denied CHRIST, and when he was killed and wrath died down, those who had apostatized came to ROME, and sought restoration to communion; but NÂBHÂTÎS (NOVATUS?) used to say, 'There is no forgiveness'; and he was called the 'head of the KÂTHÂRÔ' (the PURISTS).

After DECIUS CAESAR, the CAESARS GALLUS and VOLUSIANUS [reigned] two years, and they were killed in the Flamminian Way. At this time a destroying sickness broke out in the world, [57] especially in EGYPT.

After the CAESARS GALLUS and VOLUSIANUS, the CAESARS VALERIANUS and GALLINUS [reigned] fifteen years; they persecuted the Christians. And SAPOR, the son of 'ARDÂSHÎR, the king of the PERSIANS, laid waste SYRIA, and CILICIA and CAPPADOCIA. And the GHÔTHÂYÊ (GOTHS), having crossed the river of MÂBHYÂNÔS (MABIOS?, DANUBE), carried off many of the governors into captivity. And VALERIANUS having been carried off into PERSIA, GALLINUS gave the Christians rest.

After GALLINUS CAESAR, CLAUDIUS CAESAR [reigned] two years. At [that] time BRAKYÔN was imprisoned in ALEXANDRIA. And being oppressed by the war CLAUDIUS died in SERMYÔN (SERMION), and the similitude of a crown was seen (or, appeared) in the heavens.

After CLAUDIUS CAESAR, AURELIAN CAESAR [reigned] six years. In his first year he defeated the PALMYRENIANS and subjugated the GALLÂYÊ. And in his time MÂNÎ (MANES) became famous. And AURELIAN gave his daughter to SAPOR, and made peace with him. And SAPOR built for himself in PERSIA a city which was like CONSTANTINOPLE. And its name was GÛNDÎSHÂBHÔR, and he made his Roman wife to live therein. And there came with her distinguished Greek physicians, and they sowed the system of medicine of HIPPOCRATES in the East. And there existed also excellent Syrian physicians, e.g. SERGIUS of RÎSH 'AYN, who was the first to translate philo-



sophical and medical works from Greek into Syriac; and 'ÂṬÂNÔS (ATHANASIUS?) of AMID, and PHILAGRIUS, and SIMON the monk, whose goodness is well known, and GREGORY the bishop, and THEODOSIUS the Patriarch, and the excellent HÛNAIN, the son of ISAAC. And there were many other physicians their successors, until the present day, and they were all SYRIANS. AARON the priest, however, was not a SYRIAN, but GHÔSÎÔS (GOSIUS), the ALEXANDRIAN, translated his book from Greek into Syriac. AURELIAN CAESAR built the wall of ROME, and whilst persecuting the Christians was struck by lightning and died.

After AURELIAN CAESAR, ṬÂḲÎṬÔS (TACITUS) CAESAR [reigned] six months, and was killed in PONTUS. At this time HÔRMÎZD reigned in PERSIA.

After TACITUS CAESAR, FLORIANUS CAESAR [reigned] two months, and he also was killed—at TARSUS in CILICIA.

After FLORIANUS CAESAR, [58] PROBUS CAESAR [reigned] seven years. And in that year WARHÂRÂN [reigned] in PERSIA three years, and after him his son reigned seventeen years. And SATURNINUS, the Eparch, wishing to rebel and to rule over the ROMANS, began to build ANTIOCH, and he was killed in APAMEA. And PROBUS CAESAR was also killed—in SERMÎÔN (SERMION).

After PROBUS CAESAR, CARUS CAESAR [reigned] two years. CARUS died in BÊTH NAHRÎN of SYRIA, and his son NUMERIANUS was killed in the country of AFRICA, and CARINUS, another son of his, was killed in the war with the GARMÂNÂYÊ accidentally.

After CARUS CAESAR, DIOCLETIAN CAESAR [reigned] twenty years, and three others also reigned with him, viz. MAXIMINUS, who gave his daughter to DIOCLETIAN, and was surnamed 'HAIRḲÛLYÔS', and the two of them ruled together in the East. And MAXENTIUS, the son of MAXIMIANUS, who ruled in ROME; and CONSTANTINUS (CONSTANTIUS?) ruled in GALLIA and BRUTONIA. And the first year of DIOCLETIAN, which is the five hundred and ninety-fifth year of the GREEKS (= A.D. 284), is the five thousand seven hundred and seventy-fifth year from ADAM—and with this [year] the reckoning of the EGYPTIANS beginneth.

At this time EGYPT rebelled, and the ROMANS went and subjugated it, and slew many. And in the eleventh year of DIOCLETIAN, NARSAI reigned in PERSIA seven years; and after him his son HÔRMÎZD [reigned] five years. And in the nineteenth year of DIOCLETIAN, when the great Feast of the Passover was nigh at hand, he commanded that the churches of the Christians should be pulled down to [their very] foundations, and that the SCRIPTURES should be burnt in the fire, and that every one who would not offer sacrifice [to the gods] should die. And many chosen and mighty martyrs finished their course, [among them being] SERGIUS and BACCHUS. And he cut out the tongue of ROMANUS. And in his days NICOLAUS, the martyr, and 'AZÂZ'ÎL of SHAMÎSHÂṬ (SAMOSATA), the splendid martyr, [were crowned].



Now DIOCLETIAN was smitten by the Lord, and his genital organs rotted. He perceived that it was a stroke from God, and therefore he wrote to every place [saying] that the Christians should continue to follow the usual course of their lives publicly, and should build their churches. [59] Now MAXIMIANUS, though unwilling, stopped the persecution. And after a short time he made a false proclamation, saying 'that the gods had revealed to him that it was right for the Christians to be expelled from the towns into the villages'; and the persecution was stirred up again. God admonished the earth with famine and pestilence [so severely] that a *modius* of wheat was sold for two hundred and fifty *mēnîn*, and ten corpses were cast into one grave. And whilst MAXIMIANUS was occupied in the war with the ARMENIANS, the rod of justice overtook him, and he was smitten with severe sickness, and he also died with DIOCLETIAN.

After DIOCLETIAN CAESAR and his associates, CONSTANTIUS [CHLORUS] THE GREAT (who in the days of DIOCLETIAN was king in GALLIA, and he was the father of CONSTANTINE the victorious conqueror) [reigned]. When he reigned he had two wives; the one was HELENA, the mother of CONSTANTINE, the victorious conqueror, and the other was THEODORA, the daughter of the tyrant MAXIMIANUS. And SYLVESTER, the bishop of Rome, converted this Emperor, for he was a leper, and he believed and was baptized and was healed.<sup>1</sup> Now, he reigned twelve years, and in the eighth year of his reign he associated his son CONSTANTINE with him in his kingdom.

After CONSTANTIUS THE GREAT, CONSTANTINE, the Conqueror, his son, [reigned] thirty-two years, besides the three years wherein he reigned conjointly with his father. He reigned in the six hundred and twenty-third year of the GREEKS (= A.D. 312), which from ADAM was five thousand eight hundred and seventeen years, but other manuscripts say five thousand eight hundred and thirteen years. And in his second year SAPOR, the son of HÔRMÎZD, reigned over the PERSIANS sixty-nine years. When this CONSTANTINE went to make war on the tyrant MAXENTIUS, he saw at midday a cross in the form of a pillar of light in the air, and on it were written letters which said, 'By this thou shalt conquer'. And also in the night our Lord appeared to him, [60] and said, 'Make for thyself according to the similitude which thou hast seen, and thou shalt conquer'. And having done [so] the tyrant MAXENTIUS was vanquished, and was drowned in the river DÛNBÎS (TÎBRÎS?). Then he was strengthened the more in his Faith, together with his wife, DÎÔKLAIȚYÂNÂ,<sup>2</sup> the daughter of DIOCLETIAN the pagan.

In his third year he renewed (or, restored) the building of [the city of] BYZANTIA, and added four miles to it, and he removed the kingdom from ROME to this BYZANTIA. And he built therein a church to EIRENE, and

<sup>1</sup> It was CONSTANTINE THE GREAT his son who was healed (Bedjan's note 2).

<sup>2</sup> CONSTANTINE married first MENAIRWENÂ, and after her death FAUSTA, the daughter of MAXIMIANUS; as to the parentage of DIOCLETIANA see Bedjan's note, p. 60.



another to the Twelve Apostles. And he made all the inhabitants thereof free men, and he swept away the idols, and he permitted no man who was a pagan to serve. And Queen HELENA, his mother, went up to JERUSALEM, and made search for the Cross of our Lord and found it; one portion of it she deposited in the Temple which she built over the Tomb [of our Lord], and the remainder she sent to the Emperor. And in the time of CONSTANTINE the Victorious, the IBERIANS believed on CHRIST, and they sent to the Emperor, and received (or, welcomed) bishops and elders (or, priests), and they believed and were baptized. And the SARMATIANS, and the GOTHs, and the SCYTHIANS, after the Emperor had conquered them, believed and were baptized. And he built a great church over the BALÛTÂ TREE (oak?) of MAMRÊ, where ABRAHAM received the revelation. And he also built a church in B'ELBÂK (BAALBEK) of PHOENICIA, because the sons thereof lived in a state of great error. They had their wives in common, and the father of every one of them was unknown; but as soon as the bishop brought order among them, little by little they corrected their ways. And he built in ANTIOCH an octagonal Temple. He built a bridge over the river DÛNBÎS, and his troops passed over it, and he subjugated the SCYTHIANS, and brought [them] into the Faith.

He gathered together the World Council of Three Hundred and Eighteen [bishops, at NICEA], and they established the Faith in the six hundred and seventy-seventh year of the Greeks,<sup>1</sup> and the Canons of the Fast and the Passover were set in order by him.

In his days SAPOR, king of PERSIA, persecuted the Christians who were in his dominions, and he also went up against NISIBIS, and returned therefrom, [61] having been put to shame through the prayers of MÂR JACOB and MÂR APHRÊM, and in his wrath he took BÊTH NAHRÎN and departed.

CONSTANTINE, having gone forth to wage war against the PERSIANS, arrived at NICOMEDIA and fell sick, and there he died. He made a Will and bequeathed the kingdom to his three sons, and he committed the Will to the hands of a certain priest [who was] an Arian. After his death his body was transported to CONSTANTINOPLE.

After CONSTANTINE the Victorious, his three sons [reigned] twenty-four years. CONSTANTINE the Victorious had three sons. The eldest [bore] the name of his father CONSTANTINE, the second was CONSTANTIUS, and the youngest was CONSTANS. During his lifetime he made his eldest son governor in CONSTANTINOPLE, and his second son ruled over ANTIOCH and all the East, and the youngest son ruled in ROME. And when the Victorious King died, the second son, since he was near at hand, came first and made a covenant with that Arian priest that he would persecute every one who said 'son of the substance' (i.e. consubstantial), and he delivered to him the

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan's notes reads, 'The First Synod of Nicea was in the year 636 of the Greeks = A.D. 325.'



Will, and he took his father, in a coffer of gold, into the city of royalty (i.e. the Capital).

And when SAPOR heard that the Victorious King was dead, he went up again against NISIBIS, which stood on the boundary line of the ROMANS and PERSIANS, and was called 'ANTIOCH of MYGDONIA', and he oppressed (i.e. besieged) it for seventy days. And he built up mounds against it, and made a great dam against the current of the river MAGDONIUS, which entered into the city and divided itself in the middle thereof. And the waters thrust themselves against the wall which, being unable to withstand the strain, tottered and fell down. And whilst SAPOR was imagining that he could capture the city without [further] trouble, he saw another new wall which had been built up meanwhile (or, already), and also that the blessed man APHRÊM had gone up on the wall to curse the Barbarians. And APHRÊM prayed to God, and He brought upon them clouds of flies of all kinds and gnats, and the elephants were greatly afflicted thereby because their hides were dry and cracked. And the insects crawled into the nostrils and ears of the horses, and they broke their bridles and threw off their riders and stampeded. And SAPOR went back to PERSIA in shame.

And when CONSTANTINE the oldest brother, [who ruled in the] royal city, came against CONSTANS his youngest brother, who was in ROME, he was killed by [62] the field labourers of his youngest brother; and he left two sons, GALLUS and JULIANUS. Then CONSTANTIUS their uncle, that is to say the middle (i.e. the elder of two brothers of CONSTANTINE) brother of their father, because they were young, commanded them to be instructed in learning (i.e. educated and trained) in the village of MAËLÎ by the side of CAESAREA of CAPPADOCIA. And the two of them became Lectors and built a church to MÂR MÂMÂ. And when they grew up CONSTANTIUS made the one who was the elder, that is GALLUS, CAESAR in the place of his father. After a short time GALLUS rebelled against his uncle who had established him, and the king his uncle sent and killed him, and he also placed his younger brother in prison.

And afterwards Queen EUSEBIA, his mother, demanded him from the king, and she sent him to ATHENS that he might learn wisdom, and there he studied with BASIL the Great, and GREGORY of NÛSÂ (NYSSA) his brother, and GREGORY the theologian of NÂZYANZÔ. And when BASIL saw his habits of life and general behaviour he prophesied that he would become a pagan; and he said, 'Woe be to RHÔMÂNÎÂ! (i.e. the new kingdom of Constantinople). What kind of a man is she rearing?' And CONSTANTIUS, the second brother, enlarged AMID and called it 'AUGUSTA'.

And CONSTANS, the youngest brother who was in ROME, having reigned for six years, died through the treachery of the soldiers (or, peasants); and MAGNENTIUS the tyrant seized all ITALY and AFRICA; and he was proclaimed king in SERMÎÔN. And when the king, the intermediate brother, heard [of



this], he attacked the tyrant with violence and killed him, and entered ROME in triumph. And when he returned to CONSTANTINOPLE he appointed JULIAN, the son of his elder brother CAESAR, and gave him his sister HELENA to wife—now she was called 'CONSTANTIA'. And he sent him against the GALLÂÏÊ, and JULIAN conquered them completely. And he increased in power, and became haughty and arrogant, and was proclaimed Emperor by the ROMANS. Now when CONSTANTIUS his uncle heard [this], he trembled, and made haste and was baptized by ÔZÎÔS (EUZOIUS) of ANTIOCH, and he marched against JULIAN, and between CILICIA of CAPPADOCIA in MAMPRÔKÊÂ (MOPSUERENE) he died.

After the three sons of CONSTANTINE the Victorious, JULIAN PÂRÂBÎTÎS, that is the denier [of CHRIST], the son of the eldest son of the Victorious King, [reigned] two years, in addition to the five years which [63] he had reigned with his uncle. This Emperor had, under the name of rhetoric, learned the art of magic, to which the kingdom of ROME was addicted in his time. And he behaved in a brutal manner, and relied confidently on his luck, and he was sure and certain that 'the devils had raised him to his exalted station'. And he began to open the temples of idols, and he offered up sacrifices [therein], and he acted in the lying manner of the philosophers, and he expelled cooks and knaves (?). But his mouth hung open for laughter, and his tongue was ever ready for scoffing. When he went into CONSTANTINOPLE he was called 'Autocrator'. Having gone into ANTIOCH and reduced the price of everything that was sold [there], he was treated with contempt by the people of ANTIOCH. They were quickly moved to mirth, and they used to laugh at his beard because it was [very] long. And when he wished to destroy them, LIBANIUS, the sophist, brought [to him] a petition of supplication on their behalf, and the Emperor abused (or, cursed) them with words; and he made to cease his wrath. And [that] wicked man set out two tables, on one of which was placed gold, and on the other there was frankincense and fire. And every one who wanted gold had to throw frankincense on the fire, and burn incense before an idol, and then he could take the gold. He expelled from his service eunuchs, and camels, and asses, and mules, leaving in it horses only. And he passed a law that Christians should not read philosophical books. And he made houses wherein orphans, and widows, and destitute folk were fed, and he led astray the simple (i.e. common) folk on a well-thought-out plan. He sent a message to the men of EDESSA that they were to receive him, and when they refused to receive him he left them and passed on to HÂRRÂN. And he offered sacrifices to idols and paid honour to the JEWS. And when the Christians who were in EDESSA heard [this], they became filled with envy and wrath, and slew the JEWS who were their neighbours. Now JULIAN practised divination and the art of sorcery in every place, and there went forth to him a vaticination which said, 'Behold, I ARES will go before thee to give thee help'. And



relying on this confidently he marched straight to PERSIA, having with him three hundred and ninety-five thousand warriors; and he captured and laid waste SELEUCIA and CTESIPHON. And SAPOR, the PERSIAN, sent an entreaty, that he would allow him to possess a small portion of his own country, and he could take the remainder; and JULIAN would not agree [to this]. Then the war between the ROMANS and the PERSIANS on the banks of the TIGRIS became more fierce. [64] And whilst JULIAN was riding his horse and was urging on the war, and was boasting in his good luck, suddenly an arrow flew and smote him in his side, and he fell down dead. It is said that he filled his two hands with his blood and cast [it] up towards heaven, saying, 'Thou hast conquered me, O JESUS, the GALILEAN! Now together with divinity Thou hast gotten sovereignty.' And one of the holy men saw in a revelation (or, vision) that one of the forty holy martyrs shot the arrow.

After JULIAN the heathen [came] JOVIANUS the believer. JULIAN being dead the Roman Army suffered exceedingly from hunger, because SAPOR had seized those who brought in supplies of food. Then the ROMANS sought for a king, and they chose JOVIANUS the believer, who was a chiliarch, but he took an oath saying, 'I will not be a king of the heathen'. Then they all cried out, saying, 'We are all Christians', and tears were mingled with gladness. And they set up in [their] midst a cross, and [placed] a crown on the top of it, and having bowed their knees and done homage to the cross they took the crown and set it upon the head of JOVIANUS. And he in his humility went to SAPOR. And when SAPOR said that the ROMANS must give to the PERSIANS [the country] up to the EUPHRATES, the sword which was with them was not drawn again. He gave him NISIBIS only, without labour [toil?], and pacified him. And he made peace for thirty years. And both sides rejoiced and the two camps were mingled together. And he took care also for JULIAN, and took him up with him in a coffin and buried him in TARSÛS, even as SOCRATES saith, and afterwards he was carried to CONSTANTINOPLE. And because of this THEMISTIUS, the philosopher, reviled the children of his generation (i.e. his contemporaries), saying, 'It is not a god but people which they glorify and honour'. When JOVIANUS returned from PERSIA he passed through CILICIA, and when he came to BÔSPÔRÔS, to a village the name of which was DASTÂNÎÂ (DODASTÂNÂ), on the border of BYTHINIA and GALATIA, he fell sick of a disease of the kidneys in the season of winter, and there he died.

After JOVIANUS, the brothers VALENTINIANUS and VALENS [reigned] thirteen years. This Emperor came from the country of PANNONIA, from the city of KÎBÂLÔN [65] (KÎBÂLÂ?), and he was strong and wise. And he brought his brother VALENS and appointed him king in the East, and when he went to RHÔMÎ he proclaimed his son GRATIANUS 'AUGUSTUS', and made him Consul. And in his eleventh year ARDASHÎR, the son of SAPOR, reigned over the PERSIANS four years. At that time PROCOPIUS rebelled against



VALENS, and having been captured in CONSTANTINOPLE he was tied between two trees and sawn asunder. When VALENS went to EGYPT and arrived at MARCIANOPOLIS, a great earthquake took place, and the sea was convulsed and heaved the small ships up over the wall of the city. And then the sea receded from its place, and the great ships remained high and dry as if they were on the dry land. And the people of the city ran to loot, and the sea came back upon them, and swallowed them up, and they were drowned. And his wife being still alive VALENTINIANUS took another wife (JUSTINA), a most marvellously beautiful woman, and he abolished the law and permitted every man who wished to do so to possess two wives at the same time.

And when he went to make war on the SARMAȚÂYÊ (SARMATIANS) they were afraid, and they sent ambassadors to sue for peace. And when he saw that they were wretched and contemptible men, he cried out loudly, 'The kingdom of the RHÔMÂYÊ is in evil case indeed when such vile and contemptible people as these have the impudence to [make] war'. And as he shouted out these words suddenly the veins of his neck burst asunder, and a flood of blood flowed down from him and he died. And because GRATIANUS his first son was not at hand, the soldiers gathered together and they made king his younger son (who also bore his father's name), which he had by JUSTINA, his second wife whom he had married for her beauty. Then VALENS made GRATIANUS a general and sent him to the war with the GÔTHÂYÊ (GOTHS), but he was not successful. And there went forth a vaticination to VALENS [which said], that a man whose name began with the letter TÂW (T) should rule after him. And he commanded that every man whose name was THEODORE, and THEODOTUS, and such like names, should be killed.

And at that time there appeared in the air men in the clouds who had the forms of armed soldiers. And there was born in ANTIOCH a child who had a single eye in the space between the places of the eyes, and four hands, and four feet, and a beard. And at this time the ARABS were stirred up on the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and a woman who was called 'MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH' ruled over them. Then they made peace with [66] the RHÔMÂYÊ and embraced Christianity, and they requested that MOSES the monk should be their bishop, and he became their bishop by the command of VALENS. And the GÔTHÂYÊ (GOTHS) and 'ÎBHERÂYÊ (IBERIANS) went forth to the country of the RHÔMÂYÊ and they captured SCYTHIA, and MYSIA, and TARKÎS, and MACEDONIA, and ACHAIA, and all ÎLADÂ (HELLAS). VALENS in CONSTANTINOPLE withheld himself from the war, because he was afraid of the GÔTHÂYÊ and 'ÎBHERÂYÊ, but all the people cried out, 'Give us arms and we will carry on the war'. And the king was angry and he went forth uttering the threat that 'when he returned he would govern the city with a plough (i.e. he would plough up the city) in return for his disgraces'. And when he went out to



war he was defeated and fled to a village. And when the Barbarians surrounded it he hid himself in a round pit and buried himself under the straw; and when the GÔTHÂYÊ were unable to find him, they set fire to the whole village, and he also was burned to death.

After VALENS, GRATIANUS, the son of VALENTINIANUS [reigned] one year. This Emperor, having been made in the days of his father AUTOCRATOR in RHÔMÎ, seized the kingdom after VALENS. He was a righteous man, and chaste, and orthodox, and he was not an Arian like his father and uncle. And he associated with him in the kingdom the Great THEODOSIUS who [came] from SPAIN, and was an IBERIAN by race, because THEODOSIUS had shown care for GRATIANUS and had proclaimed him king before the burning of VALENS. And at that time a certain man called MAXIMUS killed GRATIANUS in RHÔMÎ treacherously, and VALENTINIANUS his younger brother reigned in RHÔMÎ.

After GRATIANUS, THEODOSIUS THE GREAT [reigned] sixteen years, GRATIANUS having been killed, and VALENTINIANUS his brother reigning in RHÔMÎ, THEODOSIUS reigned alone in CONSTANTINOPLE and in all the East. He was a mighty man, and wise, and he was experienced in warfare, and he quickly conquered the Barbarians who were in TARKÎ (TURKEY). And in the second year of his reign ARDASHÎR died, and SAPOR his son succeeded him four years. And in the fifth year of THEODOSIUS, WARHÂRÂN GARMÂN-SHÂH reigned over the PERSIANS twelve years. And THEODOSIUS together with VALENTINIANUS went against the tyrant who had killed GRATIANUS and they killed him, and the two of them entered RHÔMÎ in triumph. And when he returned from [67] RHÔMÎ he fell sick in THESSALONICA. And having sought out 'ÂKHÎLÔS (ASEOLUS?), the bishop of that diocese, and found that he was not an Arian, he was baptized by him and was made whole. And he came to CONSTANTINOPLE and built the Church of ANASTASIA under the direction of the Great Theologian, who was still there. And a son, HONORIUS, was born to THEODOSIUS by Queen FLÂKÎDÂ (FLACCILLA?), a woman who was rich in excellences and virtues, for she ministered in person to the sick poor, and she went about visiting [the inmates of] the guest houses of the Churches. And because King THEODOSIUS was sorely vexed by wars with the Barbarians, he laid tribute (taxes?) on the cities. But the people of ANTIOCH would not undertake to pay tribute and in [their] wrath they cast the statue of Queen FLACCILLA <sup>1</sup> which was in their city out into the market place (?), and at that moment she died. And when the king heard [of this] he sent and carried out a horrible slaughter [in the city]. And the blessed MACEDONIUS sent to the king a word of rebuke, saying, 'Why for the sake of a statue of brass which was made in the image of a man hast thou destroyed men who were made in the image of God? It is very easy for us to cast many statues of brass, but thou art not able to fashion even a single

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan notes that the Emperor's daughter was called GALLA PLACIDIA.



hair of [one of] those men whom thou hast made to perish.' And when the king heard the words of the old man he was sorry (or, repented), and he wrote a letter of consolation to the people.

And at that time an uprising (or, revolt) took place in THESSALONICA, which was the chief [city] of ÎTALÎÂ (TÎTÂLÎÂ), and the people stoned the governor. And the king was furiously angry, and he commanded the judges, and they killed seven thousand people, the innocent and the guilty alike. And because of this when the king came to MEDIOLANUM, AMBROSE, the holy bishop, met him outside the door of the church, and prevented him [from entering], saying, 'The glory of sovereignty doth not permit thee to understand thy nature. Get thee gone, and increase not thy sin in the name of prayer which will provoke God to wrath.' And the king received the prohibition [to enter] graciously, and he was not released until he had undertaken to make an investigation, which lasted three days, concerning those who were worthy of slaughter. And that when [his] anger had subsided, [68] and the matter being judged with justice, a penalty should be promulgated. And when he went into the church he prayed, not standing upright, but prostrate on the ground, saying, 'My soul hath gone forth into the dust, make me to live according to Thy word' [Psalm cxix. 25].

And in his thirteenth year THEODOSIUS proclaimed his son ARCADIUS king of the East. And two years later EUGENIUS ('ÂWGÎN) and 'ARGÛBÂTÔS (ARBUGASTES?) in RHÔMÎ led astray the steward of VALENTINIANUS, and he strangled the king. And when THEODOSIUS heard [of this], he made haste and appointed HONORIUS, his young son, king in the West. And he marched against EUGENIUS the tyrant, and defeated the numerous army of Barbarians who were with him. And the Barbarians seeing that they were defeated cried out and begged for pardon. And the king commanded them to bring the tyrant, and they ran and seized him, and brought him to the king bound in fetters, and he was killed. And 'ARGÛBÂTÔS (ARBUGASTES?) he himself strangled. And after these things, when the king returned from MEDIOLANUM because of the exhaustion caused by the war, he fell sick and died. And in that same year YAZDAGARD, the son of SAPOR [reigned] twenty-one years.

After THEODOSIUS THE GREAT, ARCADIUS and HONORIUS his sons [reigned] thirteen years. Whilst ARCADIUS was reigning in CONSTANTINOPLE and the East, HONORIUS, who was nine years old, became king. And in that year, in the month of TAMMÛZ (JULY), the ÛNÂYÊ (i.e. HÛNÂYÊ, or HUNS) went forth against the country of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and they laid waste, and spoiled SYRIA and CAPPADOCIA. [This took place in] the seven hundred and eighth year of ALEXANDER (= A.D. 397). And ARCADIUS built the great 'AMPÔLÔN (EMBOLOS) which is before the PRAETORIUM, and his wife EUDOXIA set up a pillar of silver by the side of the Quarter of Saint IRENE. And he defeated and killed GAÎNÂS (GAIUS?) who rebelled against him. And when he went



to pray in KÂRKÎDHÂ (CHALCEDON?)—now tens of thousands of the people were gathered together to see him—as soon as he had prayed and gone forth from the temple of Saint ACACIUS, and all the people with him, suddenly the whole temple fell down. And every man believed that the people were saved by the prayer of the king, for he observed the glorious habits of righteousness (i.e. the ascetic life) to such a degree that even under his royal apparel of purple [69] he wore a hair tunic next to his skin.

And after GAÎNÂS (GAIUS?) the rebel had perished, the HUNS crossed the river ESTRÔS (ISTER), and having captured and laid waste the cities in TARKÎ (TURKEY), hail fell upon them and killed the greater number of them, and the remainder fled.

And after these things ARCADIUS died and he left as king his son, THEODOSIUS, a little boy eight years old. Now HONORIUS had no sons, and as he was alone with them they were afraid lest some men might act treacherously in respect of him. Therefore when he was dying ARCADIUS made a Will, and made YAZDAGARD, king of the PERSIANS, guardian of his son. When YAZDAGARD received the Will, he gladly took care of THEODOSIUS, and he sent an instructor from his own house for him. And he wrote to all the nobles, saying, that if they dealt treacherously with the boy they would have with him a war which would never cease. For this reason Christianity increased among the PERSIANS, and MÂRÛTHÂ, bishop of MAIPERKÂT, acted as intermediary between them. And THEODOSIUS and his sister PULCHERIA were brought up by their uncle HONORIUS.

THEODOSIUS THE LESS, his son, [reigned] forty-two years. At the beginning of his reign 'ALÂREKÔS (ALARICUS), an African, rebelled, and he collected an army and came to ITALY, and committed many evil deeds, and STILICO, the Eparch, was killed. And HONORIUS the king died in RHÔMÎ. And CONSTANTIUS, the father of VALENTINIANUS, reigned and was killed. And 'ÎWANNÎS, one of the scribes, seized the kingdom. And he sent to THEODOSIUS [asking] him to confirm him in it. And the king having bound the ambassadors in fetters, sent the Strategos ÂDHARBURIUS against the tyrant. The tyrant, however, defeated him, and he seized the Strategos and bound him in fetters. And again THEODOSIUS sent 'AKÂPPÔRÂ, the son of ÂDHARBURIUS, with an army, and by the prayers of the God-fearing king an angel in the form of a shepherd appeared and enabled them to cross the lake of water on foot. And they found the gates of the city open, and they went in and they brought out the Strategos and they killed 'ÎWANNÎS. Then THEODOSIUS made VALENTINIANUS, [70] the son of his aunt, CAESAR, and sent him to RHÔMÎ with his mother, and subsequently he sent him the royal crown. And VALENTINIANUS (III?) reigned thirty-two years.

And THEODOSIUS fasted and prayed continually, and on the fourth and sixth days of the week he kept the evening fast. And when the bishop of HEBHRÔN died, the king took his tunic, filthy though it was, and put it on so



that he might be blessed thereby. At this time YAZDAGARD, king of the PERSIANS, died, and his son WARHÂRÂN succeeded him for twenty-two years. And he broke the peace, and the PERSIANS took up arms against the RHÔ-MÂÏÊ, and the RHÔMÂÏÊ defeated and carried the PERSIANS away captive. And after these things there was peace, although the persecution of the Christians never ceased during the whole time of WARHÂRÂN.

And after the peace the PERSIANS made bold and went up against RAS'AIN, and they returned therefrom in shame. And they went up a second time and attacked it with great violence, but they were defeated, and the RHÔMÂÏÊ carried away seven thousand captives from the country of 'ARZÂN. These captives Bishop ACACIUS of 'ÂMID bought and set free, having sold the gold and silver chalices and patens of the churches.

At this time the BÛRGANZÎS people, who lived by the craft of the carpenter, and dwelt in peace—the HUNS having carried them away as captives—believed and were baptized. And straightway three thousand of them destroyed ten thousand HUNS, and they were confirmed in the Faith. And THEODOSIUS sent for VALENTINIANUS, his aunt's son, and brought him to CONSTANTINOPLE, and he gave him his daughter EUDOXIA to wife, and VALENTINIANUS took her and went to RHÔMÎ. And at this time the strife between the kingdoms of the RHÔMÂÏÊ and the PERSIANS concerning the persecution of the Christians in PERSIA increased. And the king of the PERSIANS ill-treated many merchants, and seized their merchandise, and he cheated the workers in gold who were Christians, and who were employed by him, and would not pay them their full wages. Because of these things the RHÔMÂÏÊ descended upon ARMENIA and took the people captives. And they laid waste the country and killed the seven generals of the PERSIAN Army; and the remainder of them were drowned in the EUPHRATES, especially the ARABS, whom they had brought to help them. And after these things there was peace and the persecution died down.

But the Barbarians went forth and took captives many of the people of TARÎ (TURKEY) and ILLYRICUM. And [71] a comet appeared, a portent in the heavens, and many people said that the end [of the king] was nigh by reason of the portents which were increasing [in number]. And one day, when King THEODOSIUS was riding his horse as usual through the royal city, and was going out into the open country to enjoy a ride, the horse stumbled and fell, and the vertebrae of the king's neck was crushed in, and they put him on a portable bed. And when he saw that his end was near, he called PULCHERIA, his sister, and informed her that MARCIANUS must reign after him. And he also called MARCIANUS and commanded him to administer public affairs and to rule in the fear of God. And after two days he died.

After THEODOSIUS THE LESS, MARCIANUS [reigned] seven years. This Emperor took to wife PULCHERIA, the sister of king THEODOSIUS, who had devoted herself during the whole period of her brother's life to the ascetic



practices and to the life of contemplation of those who dwelt in monasteries.<sup>1</sup> But she held MARCIANUS in contempt, even though she lived with him openly after the death of THEODOSIUS. And because under the false and lying pretence that she would never consent to have union with a man and defile her chastity, certain bishops, who were respectors of persons (i.e. hypocrites), and who were inclined to believe in the doctrine of the Two Persons [of CHRIST], persuaded her to consent. And they laid an ordinance on all the people that on one Sabbath in the year they should abstain from [eating] flesh on her behalf, and should eat the foods which the monks and the nuns usually ate. Then was PULCHERIA persuaded, and she denied her covenant, and stripped off her nun's garb. And within two years she assembled the Council in CHALCEDON, she the woman who together with the confession of the Two Natures had also laid the ordinance of the abstinence [from meat on] the Sabbath before the Lord's Fast (i.e. Lent) on those who accepted it. When the orthodox EGYPTIANS who were in EGYPT saw that the [doctrine] of the Two Natures [of CHRIST] had been laid upon them together with the abstinence from meat on that Sabbath, they abstained not only from flesh, but also from all the things which are derived from the flesh of beasts, [72] namely milk, cheese, oil and eggs, and they held [that Sabbath] to be like the other fast days.

And in the sixth year of MARCIANUS, VALENTINIANUS of RHÔMÎ was killed. And from this moment [the city], even like the church, was rent in twain. For it was the law that when he of CONSTANTINOPLE died, the king stood by the consent (or, accord) of the king who was in RHÔMÎ. And similarly when he of RHÔMÎ died, RHÔMÎ stood by the consent of the king who was in CONSTANTINOPLE. And because MARCIANUS stood without the consent of VALENTINIANUS of RHÔMÎ in the choice of PULCHERIA who committed fornication with him, in like manner the RHÔMÂYE without the consent of MARCIANUS set up a king for themselves. Therefore the writers who were in the East have exercised care only in respect of the kings of CONSTANTINOPLE, and have written down [their names] one after the other only, and they call them 'Kings of the RHÔMÂYE'. And because MARCIANUS and PULCHERIA reigned in their old age they died without seed.

After MARCIANUS, LEO [reigned] eighteen years. This Emperor was a TARK (TURK) by race, but was a tribune by rank; and he was chosen by the Council and reigned. That year FÎRÛZ reigned over the PERSIANS after WARHÂRÂN, the son of YAZDAGARD. And he made war with the RHÔMÂYE and persecuted the Christians. And LEO gave his daughter ARIADNE to ZAYNÔN (ZENO), and magnified him in the kingdom, and made him Strategos

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan's note reads: Here Bar Hebraeus vilifies the bishops, the sons of the Catholic Faith and Saint Pulcheria through the difficulties which he found in the books of his co-religionists. For he was a Jacobite, and he always calls the people of his own party 'orthodox', and sons of the true Chalcedonian Church. This warning is necessary in all this his history.



of all the East. And he made BASILISCUS Strategos of TARĶÎ (TURKEY). And he built CALONICUS, and it was called LEONTOPOLIS.

At that time there was a great fire in CONSTANTINOPLE, and the fire raged from sea to sea. The king fled to the passage of MÂR MÂMÂ, and lived there for six months. And he built the great harbour of NEÔN AMBÔLÔN (The New Gate). And he made a law that no man should work on the First Day of the Week, and that no man should play on any instrument of music, but that every man should occupy himself in [his] church. And LEO proclaimed LEONTINUS, his daughter's son, that is to say, the son of ZAYNÔN, CAESAR, when he was still a child six years old; and he reigned one year during the life of [73] the king. Then king LEO fell ill through a disease of the bowels and died.

After LEO, LEONTINUS. During the one year which he reigned his father ZAYNÔN himself used to pay homage to him. His mother treated him as a child and led him into error, saying, 'When thy father is bowing down before thee take the crown which is on thy head and place it on his head'. Having done this ZAYNÔN seized the kingdom, and he made his son LEONTINUS to exercise the chief authority as Consul. After a few days the boy died, and many suspected that his father and his mother had put him to death.

After LEONTINUS, his father ZAYNÔN [reigned] fifteen years. And when WÂIRÎNÂ, the wife of LEO THE GREAT, advised (or, persuaded) ZAYNÔN concerning a certain matter, and he would not accept [her advice], she cast him aside and set up her brother BASILISCUS as king. Then BASILISCUS, who was dwelling in HERAKLEIA, rebelled against ZAYNÔN, and he was proclaimed king, and he made his son MARCUS CAESAR. Then ZAYNÔN being afraid of WÂIRÎNÂ, and fearing lest his murder might be contrived secretly, fled to ISauria because he came from that country, and his wife 'ARGANÎÂ, that is 'ÎRÂDNÎ, fled to him secretly. And BASILISCUS and his son MARK reigned two years, and they acted wickedly. For at the beginning he professed to be orthodox, and he made Saint TIMOTHY and the bones of Saint DIOSCURUS to be brought back to ALEXANDRIA. And he wrote an Encyclical Letter, and cursed the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, but at a later period he changed [his policy], and proclaimed it [good].

Now whilst BASILISCUS was laying bare the instability of his mind, ZAYNÔN was consolidating his power, and he collected an army and came to attack him. Then BASILISCUS sent 'ARMÂTÎS, the captain of his host, to join battle with him. And ZAYNÔN sent a message to 'ARMÂTÎS secretly, and took an oath to him that he would make his son CAESAR, and 'ARMÂTÎS himself Strategos. Thus 'ARMÂTÎS acted treacherously towards his lord, and joined himself to ZAYNÔN, and they went to CONSTANTINOPLE. Then BASILISCUS [74] took his wife and his sons and fled to the church. And ZAYNÔN sent and had the purple apparel of royalty stripped off from him



and from his wife and his sons, and he gave them the promise that they should not be murdered. And he sent them to LÂMÎS, a camp of CAPPADOCIA, to be imprisoned in one of the towers, and being closed in their faces they died miserably. And ZAYNÔN having established himself in the kingdom fulfilled his oath and made the son of 'ARMÂTÎS CAESAR, and commanded an equestrian display to be carried out; and the two sat together. And ZAYNÔN promoted 'ARMÂTÎS to the rank of Strategos. Then ZAYNÔN pondered in his mind and said, 'Now that 'ARMÂTÎS hath waxed strong it is not going too far (i.e. the idea is not too far-fetched) to think that just as he betrayed BASILISCUS, he may also dig a pit for me. Therefore,' he said, 'I have performed that which I swore [to do for him], and now 'ARMÂTÎS, who transgressed (i.e. broke) the oath [of fidelity] which [he swore] to BASILISCUS shall die.' And having slain 'ARMÂTÎS, he shaved his son (i.e. gave him the tonsure) and made him a reader, and afterwards he commanded and he became Metropolitan of HELLESPONTUS, that is CYZICUS. And this because he was worthy to wear the royal purple!

And in the ninth year of ZAYNÔN, BÂLÂSH reigned over the PERSIANS four years. And in his eleventh year, after BÂLÂSH, KAWÂD, the son of FÎRÛZ, reigned eleven years. And in the days of ZAYNÔN the SAMARITANS rebelled and set up a certain YÛSTÔS (JUSTUS) as their king. And he slew many of the Christians, and he went to CAESAREA and burnt the church of PROCOPIUS. And the RHÔMÂYÊ of PALESTINE gathered together, and they made war on the SAMARITANS and defeated [them], and they sent the head of their king to ZAYNÔN. And he made the synagogue of the SAMARITANS into a great church [in honour of] Our Lady (MÂRÎNÂ) (MÂRÎÂ). And they also burnt the synagogue of the JEWS in ANTIOCH, and many of the JEWS therewith; and they also burnt the bones of their dead which were in the graves. And after these things he fell sick of a disease of the bowels and died.

After ZAYNÔN SILENTIARI, ANASTASIUS [reigned] twenty-seven years. This Emperor was one of the SILENTIARI, and as soon as he became king he destroyed the children who were studying letters, because he was made a mock of by them. [75] And in his eighth year KAWÂD's brother, ZÂMASP, rebelled against him and reigned two years. And KAWÂD fled and collected an army and came against his brother, and he defeated him and killed him. And he reigned afterwards thirty years.

At this time NICOPOLIS was overthrown, and all the inhabitants thereof, with the exception of the bishop and two of his companions, were buried in the ruins. And a comet appeared for many days, and the locusts came and destroyed [everything], and there was a great famine in BÊTH NAHRÎN (MESOPOTAMIA); and an immense mass of fire also appeared in the northern quarter [of the heavens], and it flamed brilliantly the whole night (Aurora Borealis?).

And after a short time the HUNS went forth from the north-west into the



territory of the PERSIANS for the following reason. Now, in the days of ZAYNÔN the HUNS sent a message to FÎRÛZ, the king of the PERSIANS, and they told him that the subsidy which he was giving them was insufficient for them, and that the RHÔMÂYÊ were giving them double as much. Therefore the PERSIANS must either give as much as the RHÔMÂYÊ, or they (the HUNS) would make ready for war. Then FÎRÛZ lied to them and promised to give [a larger subsidy], and on this condition the HUN envoys withdrew. And FÎRÛZ having strengthened his army, slew the HUNS who had been left behind to receive the subsidy, and he gave chase to those who had departed. Then a certain merchant, a GREEK from APAMEA, who was with the HUNS, encouraged them and advised them to offer up incense in the place wherein the oath had been made, and [told them] that God would sweep away the PERSIANS who had lied. And when the HUNS had done this they met the PERSIANS in war, and they slew FÎRÛZ and laid waste PERSIA, and returned to their own country. Because of this when KAWÂD reigned, he held bitter enmity against the RHÔMÂYÊ.

And the PERSIANS collected their armies and went forth against the countries of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and they captured THEODOSIOPOLIS of ARMENIA, which is 'ARZÂN-RÛM, but he treated the inhabitants thereof in a merciful fashion; then the governor who was in CONSTANTINOPLE took the city. And in the month of TESHRÎN (OCTOBER?) he delivered a fierce attack on 'ÂMID. And when the winter supervened the PERSIANS suffered sorely, for their garments were reduced to rags (?), and their bows lost their spring through the moisture of the air. And the heads of their battering-rams did not breach the wall, because those who were inside the city bound chains round the wooden portions ('*arbânê*') of the platform, [76] and so made them to receive the force of the heads of the battering rams. And they also lowered planks of wood into the ditch and covered them over with earth during the night, so that the PERSIANS might not see. And when about five hundred PERSIANS with their armaments came near, they set planks of wood (ladders?) against the wall so that they might ascend by them. And they covered the 'bridges' with the hides of oxen, and they made a mighty battering ram, and a staging path on which it might be pushed up. Then those who were inside the city poured a filthy liquid which was mixed with resin on the 'mule' (i.e. battering ram) and they made trenches in it (the ground?), and they set fire secretly under the planks of wood which were under the battering ram. And when about six hours [had passed] the PERSIANS were checked and could not pass up over those trenches; and the fire blazed up from below. And the battering ram collapsed, and the PERSIANS were overwhelmed and burnt to death. And the king was put to shame, especially by the foul insults which those who were inside the city cast upon him. And he asked the citizens to give him a little money and [promised] to go away; now if they had only given to him courteous speech



he would have gone. They, however, returned answer very contemptuously, saying, 'It is for us to demand from thee the price of the vegetables and forage which thou hast eaten'. When he perceived their arrogance he persisted and, according to what he himself said, that night CHRIST appeared to him in a dream and said unto him, 'After three days I will hand over the city to thee, because the inhabitants thereof have behaved pridefully'.

Now, in the west by the TRÎPÔGRÎN (THREE TOWERS?), there was a watch tower of the monks of the Monastery of JOHN OF THE 'ÛRTÂÏÊ, and opposite to this tower, outside, was encamped a certain warden of the marches, KANREK (KANDEK, CANDAULES?) the lame, a cunning man. And it happened that one night there was a fog and a violent rainstorm, and a certain man had made a feast for the monks, and he had made them to drink wine and they were drowned in sleep. Then a certain robber chief, a seditious man, and a thief, whose name was KUTRÂNÂ, used to go out continually [from the city] and steal from and plunder the possessions of the PERSIANS. And as he went out that night according to custom KANREK saw him and followed him, and he also drew nigh to the wall, to the opening through which KÛTRÂNÂ (KUTRÂNGÂ) used to go in and come out. And the monks did not cry out (i.e. challenge him) and he knew that they were asleep. And the PERSIANS brought ladders and ascended and slew the monks. And when the governor perceived [what had happened] he came with [77] lights, but the PERSIANS easily transfixed the bearers of the lights with their arrows. And when the dawn came the king and his troops set ladders upright [against the walls] and went up.

One day the citizens locked the PERSIANS up in that tower, and they began to destroy the tower from the base thereof so that the PERSIANS might be overwhelmed in the ruins. Then the PERSIANS obtained possession of another tower, and then of another tower, and several others. And they went into the city, and they opened the gates, and killed eighty thousand people therein. Only the church of the Forty Martyrs [escaped]. This was full of people, and the governor of the ARMENIANS seized it, and persuaded the king, and saved it. Then the king sent the gold, and the silver, and the copper by the river DEKLATH (TIGRIS) to his own country, and of the people who remained they killed one in every ten, because very many of the PERSIANS had been killed. And they dressed LEONTIUS and KÛRÂ, the judges, in filthy garments, and they threw the entrails of pigs round their necks, and they mounted them on sows, and men made a proclamation saying, '[Here are] the governors who have not governed well, and who have permitted the king to be disgraced; thus are they disgraced'.

When ANASTASIUS the king heard these things he suffered not a little. He sent five generals against NISIBIS, and they were not able to capture it. And he commanded a city to be built by the side of the mountain as a place of refuge for the Army, and it was built where DARYÂWÂSH (DARIUS) was



killed, and for that reason was called 'DÂRÂ'. And it was finished in three years with marvellous buildings and it was named 'ANASTASIOPOLIS'. ANASTASIUS also made a statue on a pillar, because the statue of THEODOSIUS fell down during the earthquake when NEO-CAESAREA was overwhelmed, besides the Church of St. GREGORY, the worker of wonders. And the COLOSSUS of RÔDÔS (RHODES) also fell down. And the king sent gold for men to uncover (i.e. dig out) the dead bodies of those who were suffocated so that they might be buried.

And VITALIANUS the tyrant rebelled, and the king bound him in fetters and shut him up in prison. And in the twenty-second year of ANASTASIUS, ARMENIA rebelled against the RHÔMÂYÊ, and he sent troops against the ARMENIANS and destroyed some of them, and he reduced ARMENIA again to the subjugation of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And in the year eight hundred and thirty-one (= A.D. 520) he died in peace.

After ANASTASIUS, JUSTINUS [reigned] nine years. [78] This Emperor [came] from TARKÎ (TURKEY), from the village of BADRÎNÔS. This man was old and simple. And because his fellow-countrymen the TARKÂYÊ (TURKS) advised him to accept the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON which was gathered together by the diligence of LEO of the RHÔMÂYÊ, because all the countries of ITALY would join with him and one (i.e. united) kingdom would come into being, he accepted the Council. And when the king of the PERSIANS rose up and demanded from JUSTINUS, the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, five hundred and fifty *kanînârê* (i.e. talents) of gold, which they had been wont to give for the rations of the army of the PERSIANS, who guarded the gates against the HUNS, he would not give them. And he used to send from time to time his ARABS into the country of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and they laid it waste and spoiled it. Therefore MÛNDÂR, king of the ARABS, went up and captured the whole country of the Frontiers, that is BLÎĤÂ and ĤABÛRÂ. And they passed over to 'ARZÔN and NISIBIS, and they plundered, and spoiled, and killed. And he went up also to EMESA, and APAMEA, and the district of ANTIOCH, and he killed, and spoiled and laid waste, and he chose [for himself] four hundred virgins from among the captives.

At this time there appeared in the country of CILICIA a woman which it is impossible to describe; she was a cubit taller than all the men, and no man knew whence she came. Now, she used to eat food like men, and she used to take one obolus from each lupanar. And suddenly she was no more seen. And the old man JUSTINUS at the end of his days associated with him JUSTINIANUS, his sister's son, and proclaimed him CAESAR. And after three months the old man died.

After JUSTINUS the old man, JUSTINIANUS, his sister's son, [reigned] thirty-eight years. At the beginning of his reign he came down towards the PERSIANS and went to MABBÛGH (MENBIJ). When he was told about THEODORA, the daughter of an orthodox priest, he asked for her. But her father



did not wish to give his daughter until he made a covenant that he would not force her to accept the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON. This [Emperor] sent [orders] to BELISARIUS to engage in war with the PERSIANS. And when the Sabbath of the Redeeming Passion was nigh at hand, the Governor of the PERSIANS sent to him, saying, 'Let us honour the Festival, for the sake of the NAZARENES and JEWS who are with me, and for the sake of you Christians'. [79] Now the RHÔMÂÏÊ would not accept [this proposal]. And at dawn on the First Day of the Week of the Feast of Unleavened Bread they made ready for war. And it was a cold day, and the wind [blew] against the RHÔMÂÏÊ, and they showed themselves to be weak, and they fled, and many of them were killed, and the rest fell into the EUPHRATES and were drowned. Concerning this JUSTINIANUS, JOHN of 'ÂMID, of ASIA, relates thus: 'I was [employed] in his business for thirty years, and I never saw him cease from the building of churches'; for he built ninety-six churches, and twelve monasteries and guest-houses. He saith, 'By my hands he built in the countries of ASIA, and CARIA, and PHRYGIA, and LYDIA'.

And in his fourth year KESRÛ (CHOSROËS), the son of KAWÂD, reigned forty seven years. And there was peace between the RHÔMÂÏÊ and the PERSIANS for seven years. And the SAMARITANS who were in PALESTINE set up a governor over themselves, and they went to NEOPOLIS and killed the bishop and many people, and they plundered and burnt many temples. And the RHÔMÂÏÊ went up and captured the city, and they slew their governor and the greater number of them. Then DÔMENÛS in KARTÂGENÂ also rebelled, and BELISARIUS went and captured the tyrant and brought him back in fetters.

And in the eleventh year of JUSTINIANUS the peace between the PERSIANS and the RHÔMÂÏÊ was dissolved. And a great and terrible comet appeared in the evenings for many days. And in that same year KESRÛ went up and took ANTIOCH and ALEPPO and APAMEA—a bitter captivity. And the RHÔMÂÏÊ went down to PERSIA and they took the country of the KARDAWÂÏÊ (KURDS?) and the ARZONITES and the ARABS. And KESRÛ also went up and took CALONICUS and all BÊTH NAHRÎN; and he also went up against EDESSA, and being unable to capture it he took BATNÂN and departed. And he also went up against ANTIOCH and captured it, and burnt it, and laid it waste wholly. And the PERSIANS took even the slabs of marble (or, white alabaster) which was on the walls and brought them down to PERSIA. And again the PERSIANS went up and took the whole country of the frontier, and they destroyed CALONICUS and BÊTH BÂLÂSH, and they carried away the bones of MÂR BACCHUS the martyr, and the gold which was on the sarcophagus of MÂR SARGÎS (SERGIUS). And in the year eight hundred and forty-eight (A.D. 537) there was a sign in the sun the like of which had never before appeared. The sun became dark [80] and his darkness lasted for eighteen months. Each day the middle of heaven shone faintly with a shadowy light,



and every man decided that [the sun] would never recover its full light. That year the fruits did not ripen and the wine tasted like urine.

### Concerning the pestilence which took place in the whole country at this time

JOHN of ASIA wrote very fully concerning this pestilence which took place in the year eight hundred and fifty-five (= A.D. 544), and ZECHARIAH also wrote. He beginneth first of all with the inside peoples of the South-East, that is to say of INDIA, and of KÛSH (ABYSSINIA), and the HAMÎRÂYE, &c. And he cometh to the upper countries in the West, the peoples of the RHÔMÂYE, and the ITALIANS, and the GAULS, and the SPANIARDS. And it was heard that men lost their senses, and went mad, and attacked each other, and they went out to the mountains and destroyed themselves. The rod (i.e. stroke) came to the countries of KÛSH (ABYSSINIA), which is on the border of EGYPT. And from there it began in EGYPT, and it came down to ALEXANDRIA, and it spread over LYBIA, and PALESTINE, and PHOENICIA, and ARABIA and AFRICA. And it advanced to GALATIA, and CAPPADOCIA, and ARMENIA, and the district of ANTIOCH, and little by little to PERSIAN territories, and to the nations of the east and north. Property was seen abandoned, and it was scattered and dispersed abroad, and there was none to gather it in. The fields were full of crops, and there was none to reap them. There were vineyards, the time for gathering the grapes from which had passed, and there was none to pluck the grapes; for men had come to an end, and scarcely one man of a thousand was left. After three years had run their course, the wrath died down. It is said that when the rod (or, stroke) fell on the royal city, the pestilence began first of all with the poor, and that men carried out [for burial] as many as sixteen thousand dead in one day. After the destitute were dead the Destroyer stretched out his hand over the men who were wealthy (or, rulers) and were renowned (or, famous). Those who escaped instant death fell by the attack of tumours, that is to say swellings in the groin, or, pustules, and deadly evacuations. Also there appeared in the palms of the hands marks like three thick drops of blood, and straightway men died. And when men found that they were unable to bury the dead, they cast the corpses into the sea in heaps.

In the eighteenth year of JUSTINIANUS the Barbarians captured the great city of RHÔMÊ in ITALY. [81] And [it is said] that they were not able to keep it because they sat down in the camp which was by the side of it; but they left it ruined and stripped bare. And because it was thus JUSTINIANUS and the whole Senate mourned and put on black apparel. And in those days Queen THEODORA died. And at that time the Monastery of MÂR SIMON of his pillar which was in the country of ANTIOCH was burned down, and it was completely destroyed. And there was a great disturbance in the



churches, especially in CONSTANTINOPLE, because of the introduction of fasting and the Passover.

And in the twenty-third year of JUSTINIANUS, TARSUS in CILICIA was inundated by the river which flowed by it, and LÂDÎÎÂ was overwhelmed, and seven thousand people died therein. And the sea-coast of PHOENICIA was submerged, TRIPOLI, BÊRÛT, BYBLOS, and TROAS, and the cities of GALILEE. And at this time JOHN PHILOPONOS became known (i.e. flourished) in ALEXANDRIA. And the feeling of ravenous or bovine hunger attacked men. A man would sometimes eat ten pounds of bread together with other vegetables, and would not feel satisfied, but would continue to ask for bread although his belly was full. And in this way he died. After these things a pestilence among the cattle took place, especially in the East, [and it lasted] two years, until the fields became sterile through the absence of oxen. And a severe earthquake took place in CONSTANTINOPLE, in the month of ÂB (AUGUST), and many houses, and baths, and churches were thrown down, and the wall of the GOLDEN GATE fell down. And the earthquake lasted for forty days.

And in the twenty-seventh year of JUSTINIANUS, MUNDÂR BAR-NA'MÂN, king of the ARABS, went up to the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and he laid waste many countries. And HËRATH BAR-GÂBÂLÂ overtook him, and made war upon him and defeated him, and he killed MUNDÂR in KENNESHÎN. And BAR-HËRATH also died in the war, and he was buried in the House of the Martyrs which is there. And in the thirty-first year of JUSTINIANUS a severe earthquake took place, and the two walls of CONSTANTINOPLE, both the inner and the outer, were breached. And the city of RÎÎÎN was so completely swallowed up by the earth that the site thereof could not be identified. And also the purple pillar which [stood] before the palace, and had a statue of the Emperor upon the top of it, was first cast up into the air, and then it turned upside down, and became embedded in the ground into which it sunk to a depth of eight feet. The earth swayed [82] and rocked about like a tree before the wind for ten days. And after these things the armies of the HUNS and the 'ASKLÂBÊ (SLAVS) came and encamped about the royal city, and they broke down the outer walls, and plundered and burnt all the colonnades; and they seized everything which they found and departed. And they came again, a second and a third time, and then the RHÔMÂYÊ gained the mastery and destroyed them in the war [which followed]. The few of them who escaped never again appeared in the place.

After JUSTINIANUS the Second (*sic*) JUSTINUS the Third (*sic*) [reigned] thirteen years. This Emperor was the son of the sister of his predecessor, and he was a TARKÂYÂ (TURK) by race. He [began to] reign, with SOPHIA his wife, in the LATTER TESHÎN (NOVEMBER). Although there was no trouble at all in his days, the doers of wickednesses ceased to be because of



his strength; his feet (or, legs), however, caused him vexation (or, suffering). Now KESRÛ, king of the PERSIANS, lived at that time, and at first there was such great peace between them that JUSTINUS in his second year sent gifts of honour to KESRÛ by the hands of JOHN, the Patriarch, of CALONICUS. But when the PERSIANS began to compel the ARMENIANS to worship fire like the MAGIANS, the ARMENIANS rebelled against the PERSIANS, and took asylum with the RHÔMÂYÊ. And thus the peace was broken. And KESRÛ sent to JUSTINUS, saying, 'It is not seemly for thee to assist a people who have rebelled against their king. If thou wouldst take the people, [do so,] but their land is mine. Let them evacuate my territory.' JUSTINUS replied, 'A Christian people who have fled from the worship of devils and have sought my help I will not deliver over into thy hands. And inasmuch as they are mine their land together with them is mine.' Then KESRÛ wrote a second time, saying, 'If thou wilt give up neither the people nor the land, give [at least] the tribute which your kings over ARMENIA at one time used to give'. JUSTINUS replied in still stronger terms, 'I also require from thee the gold which thou didst formerly receive. And how canst thou demand from us the country of the north, seeing that we also demand [from you] NISIBIS, because it belongeth to the RHÔMÂYÊ, and it was only given to the PERSIANS conditionally, as it is written in the ancient documents.'

And in his eighth year, he appointed MARCION, the son of his mother's sister, CAESAR, and he sent him with an army of the RHÔMÂYÊ against NISIBIS. And when MARCION arrived at the city of DÂRÂ [83] he sent some of his troops to the land of the PERSIANS, and they took it and laid it waste and came back. And the Persian Warden of the Marches who was in NISIBIS acted cunningly. He went out to MARCION and made him to delay for four months, with the excuse that the RHÔMÂYÊ ought to inform their king that 'we will give back the city of NISIBIS peacefully, and if not, behold, there is war before you'. And under this arrangement the PERSIANS brought victuals to NISIBIS, and they cut down the gardens (or, plantations) which were round about it for the space of a bow shot, and they drove the Christians out of the city. Then the king wrote to MARCION ordering him to encamp round about the city without delay. And when he had done so he threw up mounds about it, and set up engines of war, and built high towers, and with very great trouble he captured the city. Then the king, for a reason which we will explain later, was wroth with MARCION, and he sent ACACIUS, a boorish and severe man to dismiss MARCION, and to put himself in his place. When ACACIUS came he seized MARCION and sent him to DÂRÂ. Now when the troops saw this they thought that the king was dead, and that, perhaps, another had by force made himself master of the RHÔMÂYÊ; they therefore forsook their tents and fled. And the PERSIANS went out from NISIBIS and plundered their camps.

When KESRÛ heard that the RHÔMÂYÊ had fled he came and seized the



various engines for assaulting the city, and all the other armaments of war which the RHÔMÂYÊ had abandoned, and he encamped round about the city of DÂRÂ. And he made war upon it for six months and was unable to capture it. And he demanded from the inhabitants thereof five talents of gold so that he might depart from them. Now the Count whom he had sent with him (i.e. his envoy) did not inform them [of this]. Then KESRÛ became furiously angry, and by means of wooden erections the PERSIANS scaled the wall. The RHÔMÂYÊ fought for seven days, and did not permit one of the PERSIANS to come down into the city. Then KESRÛ said unto them, 'Come, let us make peace, for behold a very large number of our men and yours have been killed'. And those wretched men, believing the oath of the PERSIANS, laid down their weapons, and the soldiers of both sides mingled together. And the PERSIANS laid their hands on the RHÔMÂYÊ and killed one hundred and fifty thousand souls, and they carried off ninety thousand into captivity. And they collected gold, about two hundred talents. Then KESRÛ said unto the governors of the RHÔMÂYÊ, 'Ye fools, why did ye not give five talents out of this two hundred, and save all these souls?' [84] And the RHÔMÂYÊ swore that the Count did not tell them that 'ye demanded gold'. And when KESRÛ was certain that this was so, he was wroth with the Count and put out his eyes.

And straightway KESRÛ sent 'ADRÂMÔN, the Warden of the Marches, and he looted and took BÊTH BÂLÂSH, and KENNESHÎN and the country of ANTIOCH. And because on a former occasion when the king of PERSIA came to APAMEA the people went forth to meet him, and he entered [the city], and saw the bishop, and did not harm the people, so now on this occasion when the Warden of the Marches came they went out to meet him arrayed in white apparel. And having entered the city with guile he plundered it and burned it. And he sent ninety-two (or, two hundred and ninety-two) thousand [of the people] to PERSIA. On this occasion KESRÛ selected two thousand virgins from among the captives, and he sent them together with their decorated apparel and ornaments to the TURKS who were in PERSIA. When these virgins arrived at a place which was five stations from the TURKS, and came to a great river, they decided that they preferred death to the destruction of the Faith of their souls and the purity of their bodies. And having grasped each other with the right hand they asked the Persian guards to withdraw from them so that they might bathe. Now these guards having been commanded to conduct the virgins with gentleness so that their beauty might not be marred, withdrew themselves. Then these chaste virgins having sealed their faces with the Sign of the Cross, cried out the Name of Christ, and cast themselves into that great river and were drowned. When the guards at the sound of their outcry saw that the virgins were drowning, they ran and struggled mightily, but they were not able to save one of them.



And when the king [of the RHÔMÂYÊ] heard that these things had taken place, he made ready to go down to the East, and because of the intensity of his cogitations he became mad (?). And ZECHARIAH was sent to KESRÛ [to arrange] a peace, and [he took] with him six hundred and fifty pounds (*lîtrê*) of gold, for the peace was for one year only. And because his senses came back to him sometimes, and he wept and lamented about himself sorrowfully, the chiefs gave him advice. And he appointed a certain GREEK (IONIAN) scribe, whose name was TIBERIUS, a TARK, administrator of his kingdom, and proclaimed him CAESAR. At this time KESRÛ became arrogant and puffed up with pride, and he came to ARMENIA, and marched directly to CAPPADOCIA so that he might capture CAESAREA. Then the RHÔMÂYÊ overtook (or, pursued) [the PERSIANS] in Mount BAGRÛH, [85] and KESRÛ being thwarted in his purpose pretended that he was going to escape to his own country. And he went forth to SEBASTIA; and he also burned it with fire because the people fled from before him. And the RHÔMÂYÊ overtook him, and he forsook his *pâpeliôn*, that is to say, his royal tent, and all his treasure and fled. Then the RHÔMÂYÊ looted his camp and also his chapel for the worship of fire which they carried away in triumph. Meanwhile KESRÛ escaped to MELITENE, which he burned. And the RHÔMÂYÊ pursued him, and a very large number of his soldiers were drowned at the ford of the river PRÂTH (EUPHRATES), and only small numbers of them escaped.

And [KESRÛ] laid down a law that a king should not go forth to war except against a king. For the RHÔMÂYÊ had sent [a message] to him, saying, 'We are [only] the servants of a king, and it would be a disgrace to us to go in like thieves and set fire [to places]; how very much more it is [a disgrace] to thee [to do this] who art a king?' After these things, the RHÔMÂYÊ relying on their victory unsaddled their horses and they went away to feed. And behold, suddenly, certain SLAVS, that is to say scouts, came and said, 'Behold the PERSIANS and KESRÛ are coming'. Now the RHÔMÂYÊ had set no sentries at all on guard, and wholly unexpectedly the army of the PERSIANS came upon them. And trembling fell upon the RHÔMÂYÊ. And they began to flee on foot, and the PERSIANS who pursued them cut them down (?), and they collected the weapons, and bridles and armour which the RHÔMÂYÊ cast away [when they] fled.

This is the cause of the anger of JUSTINIANUS against MARCION. At that time there were two parties among the TAYYÂYÊ or ARABS; [that of] MÛNDÂR BAR-HERATH, who was a Christian and whose soldiers were Christians [and sided] with the RHÔMÂYÊ, and [that of] KÂBÔZ, who [sided] with the PERSIANS. KÂBÔZ having come against the Christian ARABS, seized all their flocks and their herds of camels, and departed. MÛNDÂR collected an army and marched against him and conquered [him], and he returned with vast quantities of rich spoil and camels. And KÂBÔZ attacked him again, and was defeated, and he went to the PERSIANS to bring reinforcements. Then



MÛNDÂR informed king JUSTINUS [of this], and demanded of him gold to give to the troops so that he might stand up against the PERSIANS. Then JUSTINUS determined to kill MÛNDÂR as if he had been the cause of the PERSIANS invading the land of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And he wrote to MARCION whilst he was encamped against NISIBIS, saying, 'Behold, we have written to MÛNDÂR that he shall come to thee. Watch the moment when he cometh to thee [86] and take his head, and write to us.' And, it is said, that he wrote two letters. The one to MARCION [saying that] MÛNDÂR was to be killed, and the other to MÛNDÂR [telling him] to go to MARCION and to hear from him concerning a certain matter which could not be written in a letter. Now the man of law (i.e. the scribe) wrote the two letters at the same time and sealed them. And by mistake he addressed the letter of MARCION to MÛNDÂR, and the letter of MÛNDÂR to MARCION, which therefore fell into the hands of MÛNDÂR. And MÛNDÂR was filled with wrath, and he made friends with the ṬAYYÂYÊ (i.e. ARABS) of KÂBÔZ, and they invaded together BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, and seized and burned [the country] as far as ANTIOCH. Now the king JUSTINUS thought that MARCION had informed MÛNDÂR [about his intention], and because of this he was angry with him and arrested him. And when the mind of King JUSTINUS returned to him, and he saw that the disease of retention of the urine was increasing in him, he summoned TIBERIUS CAESAR and he spake with him many remarkable (or, admirable) words under the guise of admonition and warning, and he said, 'Understand what I have been and what thou art. Honour thy mother who is thy MISTRESS (or, Lady). All those who stand here are thy children. Have good care for the soldiers. Rejoice not in blood, and award not evil for evil. Let not the apparel and the proud rank of royalty lead thee astray as it has led me astray. And behold, though alive I shall be dismissed.' [He spake] these and very many other [words] like unto them. TIBERIUS then cast himself down on his face, and wept and plucked out his hair. And the king commanded and they raised him up. And with his own hands he arrayed him [in royal apparel] and crowned him with the crown. And he lived for nine days after these things, and he died in such great agony, through the retention of urine, and through his disease, that he shrieked and adjured those who were standing [there], saying, 'Bring a sword and kill me'.



## THE SECOND KINGDOM OF THE GREEKS (YÂWNÂYÊ)

Here beginneth the Ninth Series, which [beginneth with] the kings of the RHÔMÂYÊ and endeth with the kings of the YÂWNÂYÊ (GREEKS)

AFTER JUSTINUS III (?), TIBERIUS [reigned] three years. Up to this time all the kings had been RHÔMÂYÊ, that is to say FRANGÂYÊ (FRANKS), [87] the first of whom was AUGUSTUS and the last JUSTINUS. Although the tongue of the citizens and the men of law (or, scribes) was Greek, the kings and soldiers were FRANKS. But with this TIBERIUS, and onwards, the beginning of the Second Kingdom of the GREEKS (YÂWNÂYÊ) took place. This happened six hundred and two years after their First Kingdom had come to an end, the which began with KRONOS, the MACEDONIAN, and ended with PARSÔS—thirty-eight kings. And in the year wherein TIBERIUS [began to] reign, that is the eight hundred and nineteenth year of the GREEKS (= A.D. 579), KESRÛ died. And HÔRMÎZD his son reigned over the PERSIANS twelve years, and he was haughty and arrogant and did not send [to the RHÔMÂYÊ], as was the custom of kings, the gift (*sûmbôlôn*) which announced the beginning of [his] kingdom. Thus also was it with TIBERIUS, who having risen [as king] sent to KESRÛ the gift announcing the fact. And he stirred up war in the country of ARMENIA. Then KÎRÔS (MAURICIUS), the captain of the host of the RHÔMÂYÊ, made ready his armies, and when day broke in the east he fell upon him like the fire which hath been kindled in the wood, and destroyed them utterly (or, violently); and the governors and nobles of the PERSIANS he bound with fetters. And the RHÔMÂYÊ enjoyed great consolation.

During the four years of the sickness of JUSTINUS, whilst TIBERIUS was governing the State, Queen SOPHIA would not allow the wife of TIBERIUS to enter the royal city. And when JUSTINUS blamed her, saying, 'It is a sinful act of thine. For TIBERIUS is a young man and his body cannot endure chastity, and yet thou keepest his wife from him', SOPHIA said, 'My mind hath not perished like thine that I should give my sovereignty to another whilst I am still alive.' And thus, after JUSTINUS was dead, TIBERIUS wanted to bring his wife [there], and he entreated SOPHIA to give the command for her to come, but even so SOPHIA did not wish [to do so]. Then the Patriarch of the CHALCEDONIANS advised TIBERIUS to divorce his wife, and to take to wife SOPHIA or her daughter. But TIBERIUS was furious with the Patriarch, and he was very stubborn and said, 'I will [readily] divorce the kingdom, but I will not trample on the Law'. And the Patriarch excused his proposal, saying, 'The nobles compelled me to give thee this advice for the peace [88]



of the kingdom'. When SOPHIA heard [this] she was afraid, and she gave the command, and the wife of TIBERIUS entered [the city] with great pomp; and she was named HELENA by the crowds as an honourable epithet. And TIBERIUS paid great honour to SOPHIA and her daughter, and he increased their revenues and they dwelt in their palace.

And MÛNDÂR, the son of a free woman, when he heard that TIBERIUS was reigning, went up to CONSTANTINOPLE. And when the king blamed him because he had delayed in helping the RHÔMÂÏÊ, he showed him the letter of JUSTINUS; and when TIBERIUS saw it he marvelled. And he paid MÛNDÂR great honour, and gave him many valuable gifts and he departed.

And after these things MAURICIUS, CAESAR of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, went up to king TIBERIUS, and he made accusations against MÛNDÂR. And a certain MAGNÊ, the captain of the SYRIAN army, promised that he would seize him, because he was a friend of his. And when he went to SYRIA he sent a message to MÛNDÂR, saying, 'I wish thee to come to me so that I may see thy healing [powers], because I am sorely afflicted by the fatigue of the road (or, of travelling); otherwise I would myself come and pay homage to thee'. And MÛNDÂR trusted in him as a friend and came, and the SYRIAN put him in fetters and sent him to the royal city. Then NA'AMÂN, his son, collected troops and began to raid the countries of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, but he neither killed nor burnt because his father was a prisoner.

Now this accursed man MAGNÊ wished to destroy NA'AMÂN also, and he sent a message to him in which he swore oaths, saying, 'If thou wilt come to me I will set thee in the place of thy father'. And NA'AMÂN brought one of the young men and arrayed him in his apparel. And he sent him [to MAGNÊ] with servants. When MAGNÊ saw him, he said unto him, 'Art thou NA'AMÂN?' And the young man said, 'I am. Behold, I have come according to thy command.' Then MAGNÊ commanded, 'Behold the enemy of the king; cast on him iron fetters'. Then the young man laughed and said, 'Nay, by CHRIST, I am not NA'AMÂN'. And when MAGNÊ wanted to kill the young man the ARAB said, 'I shall not grieve, for if I had not come I should have been killed by my own king'; and because of this [remark], after [inflicting] tortures [on him], MAGNÊ dismissed him. And after a short time MAGNÊ died.

Then NA'AMÂN, despising (i.e. risking) his life went up to MAURICIUS, [89] and he was received by him. And he swore to him that whilst he was fighting with the PERSIANS he would set free his father from bondage. And when it was proposed to him that he should associate himself with the followers of the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, he excused himself and said, 'All the tribes of the TAYYÂÏÊ are orthodox, and if I change [my religion] they will kill me'. And when NA'AMÂN went out he swore that he would never see willingly again the faces of the RHÔMÂÏÊ. Now, the RHÔMÂÏÊ heard this, and they seized him whilst he was on the road and also banished him.



And the kingdom of the ARABS (ṬAYYÂÏÊ) was divided into fifteen divisions. The greater number of them cleaved to the PERSIANS, and some of them to the CHALCEDONIANS. And others cast away [their] weapons, and dwelt in cities and villages in the land of SEN'ÂR and in 'ATHÔR (ASSYRIA), and in SYRIA, and they have preserved [their] orthodoxy until this day, like those in ḤADÎTHÂ, and HÎTH, and in BÊTH 'ARBÂÏÊ, and in KÛRÎTHÎM which is in the land of EMESA, and in NABK and other places.

At this time a certain astute PERSIAN proclaimed that 'he was the eldest son of KESRÛ the king, whom the troops of HÔRMÎZD, his younger son, having chosen him to reign over them, his father had pity upon him and gave him money for food, and sent him away so that he might not be killed'. This man came to the armies of the RHÔMÂÏÊ that were in ARMENIA and said that he would deliver the kingdom of the PERSIANS to the RHÔMÂÏÊ, if the king of the RHÔMÂÏÊ gave an army. Then the RHÔMÂÏÊ made known [this] to TIBERIUS, and he rejoiced in him greatly. And he sent gold and royal apparel, and commanded that he should come to the royal city with great pomp and ceremony. And when he arrived at CHALCEDON the king sent to him the sword-bearer of the king of the PERSIANS to inquire if he was so or not. And when he saw him and recognized him, he seized him by his hair and cast him forth from the throne, and said, 'Thou impostor! Wouldst thou sit upon a throne and let the nobles stand before thee?' Then that wretched man being afraid of death became a Christian.

At this time when the army of the RHÔMÂÏÊ was marching to PERSIA with MAURICIUS CAESAR, the barbarian peoples of 'ABHÂRÎS (ABARES) and 'ASḲLÂBHÔNÊ (SCYTHIA) and LONGOBARDY, who were subject to the KHAḲÂN, laid waste the countries of the RHÔMÂÏÊ. And 'ADRÂMÔN, the Warden of the Marches, arrived at EDESSA, and he burned churches, and monasteries [90] and villages. And they killed all the captives and burned their dead bodies, and through the cloud of smoke, which was so great that the sun itself was obscured, they were enabled to capture the city. And whilst they were assaulting it during three days they heard that the RHÔMÂÏÊ and the ARABS with MAURICIUS had arrived; and they abandoned [the siege] and marched toward CALONICUS. Then the RHÔMÂÏÊ overtook them, and killed many of them. And in the fourth year of his reign TIBERIUS fell sick of a disease in the belly and constriction of the bowels. And when he knew that he was dying, he gave his daughter AUGUSTA to wife to MAURICIUS, who was from 'ARÂBÎSÔS in CAPPADOCIA, and he put the crown of the kingdom upon him; and after three days he died.

After TIBERIUS, MAURICIUS [reigned] twenty years. In the first year of his reign a son was born to him by AUGUSTA, the daughter of TIBERIUS, and he was named 'THEODOSIUS, born on the purple'. And at that time the RHÔMÂÏÊ rebelled against MAURICIUS, and they set up a governor [called] GARMÂNÔS. And when HÔRMÎZD, king of the PERSIANS, heard [this] he sent



promises to them that they would be with him (i.e. support him). They, however, despised him, and came against him for war, and they bound with fetters three thousand Persian slaves and sent them to MAURICIUS. And there was freedom of speech to them, and they returned to the subjugation of the king, and were welcomed with gladness, and the king showered gifts and honour on GARMÂNÔS.

And in the fourth year of his reign there broke forth and went out from the EAST a hateful people from 'ABÂRIS whose hair was plaited, and from the WEST also came the SLAVS and the LONGOBARDS. And they came under the subjugation of the KHÂKÂN, king of the KAZÂRÂÏÊ, and they captured two cities from the RHÔMÂÏÊ and many of [their] fortresses. And if it had not been for the great ditch which the king had made outside ADRIANOPLE, they would have set their faces towards CONSTANTINOPLE. Then the RHÔMÂÏÊ killed the people of 'ANTÏO . . . , and they fell upon 'ASKLÂBHÛNYÂ and captured it and looted it. When the 'ASKLÂBHÔNÊ heard this they made a great war (i.e. raid) in the country of the RHÔMÂÏÊ and came back.

At this time there went forth from Inner SCYTHIA three brothers with thirty thousand SCYTHIANS. [91] And they came a journey of two months in the time of winter, for the discovery of water, that is to say [water] from the fords of MOUNT AMÔN; and they arrived at the river TÂNÎS (DÔNÂ?), which goeth out from the lake of MIANTÎS and mingleth in the SEA OF PÔNTÔS. And when they arrived at the frontier of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, one of them whose name was BÛLGÂRÎS took ten ships and crossed the river TÂNÎS and pitched his camp between the rivers TÂNÎS and DÛNBÎR (DON and DNEPER?), which also mingles (i.e. flows into) the SEA OF PÔNTÔS. And he sent to MAURICIUS [asking] him to give him land to dwell in, and [said that] he would become an ally of the RHÔMÂÏÊ. And MAURICIUS gave him Upper and Lower MYSIA, and they dwelt there, and they became a guard (i.e. a buffer garrison) for the RHÔMÂÏÊ. Now, though they were SCYTHIANS the RHÔMÂÏÊ call them 'BULGARIANS'. Then these two other brothers came to the country of 'ÂLÂN, which is BAR SÂLÎÂ, that is to say to the towns of the CASPIAN, which the BULGARIANS and the PANGURIANS call the 'Gate of the Turks'; they were once Christians and are now called 'KAZÂRÂÏÊ' after the name of the eldest brother.

And in the sixth year of MAURICIUS, PRISCUS, the captain of the host of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, together with a large army went down to PERSIA, and there the RHÔMÂÏÊ were divided and they would not receive him. Then the king came back and appointed PHILIP, his kinsman through his sister, to be the captain of their host. And when this man came down he exhibited many splendid triumphs. Now the RHÔMÂÏÊ because they were accustomed to harsh treatment by PRISCUS began to plot against this man also, and they also thought that they would remove the king and set up another. And when they returned from PERSIA to ANTIOCH, and whilst they were wintering



there, a great earthquake took place and the greater part of the city fell down through the tremors of the ground, and the soldiers were scattered round about the city. And the horsemen who had contended against the king came back and became reconciled with PHILIP. And when they had repented they heard that the PERSIANS of NISIBIS had deceived the guards (or, keepers) of MAIPERKÂṬ with false oaths, and that they had given them the city, and that many of the RHÔMÂYÊ had perished therein. Then PHILIP and the RHÔMÂYÊ marched quickly from ANTIOCH to MAIPERKÂṬ and captured it by assault, and slew the PERSIANS [92] who were in it.

And in the eighth year of MAURICIUS the PERSIANS rebelled against HÔRMÎZD, their king, and they seized him by treachery and blinded his eyes, and he died. And ten months later those who had killed him because of the multitude of his evil deeds, inclined towards his son KESRÛ; and they made him their king [and he reigned] thirty-eight years. Now BAHRÂM, the captain of the Persian host, did not favour KESRÛ, and he and many people rebelled against him vigorously. Then KESRÛ took refuge with the RHÔMÂYÊ, and he sent a message secretly to MAURICIUS saying that he was ready to go to him if it pleased him to grant him permission. When MAURICIUS heard this he rejoiced. And he wrote [to him saying] that he would help him in everything. And KESRÛ rose up promptly and came to EDESSA. And ÎWANNÎS (JOANNES), a native of RÛŞÂFÂYÂ, received him into his house, and honoured him greatly. And he wrote to MAURICIUS, [saying], 'Like a slave he should be to him', but MAURICIUS replied that he should honour him as a father honoureth his son. And MAURICIUS sent to JOANNES, the captain of the host of the TARKÂYÊ, with twenty thousand soldiers, and ANASTASIUS who took with him 'ARMANÂYÔ (ARMENIANS) and BULGARIANS—twenty thousand. And he sent forty talents of gold for his expenses. And when KESRÛ received these he marched to his own country. And HÔRMÎZÂN the PERSIAN came to him with ten thousand men. Now, when the rebels heard [this] they made ready to fight, and they were defeated and turned their backs in flight, and the captains who were among them were captured and killed, and the rest returned to KESRÛ. Then KESRÛ gave many gifts to the RHÔMÂYÊ, and he sent great gifts to MAURICIUS and precious stones, and he gave back DÂRÂ and RAS'AYN to the RHÔMÂYÊ. And KESRÛ asked MAURICIUS and he gave him MÂRÎÂ, his daughter, to wife. And bishops went down with her, and the daughter of THEODOSIUS also made a splendid feast, and the Patriarch bound on the wedding crown. And KESRÛ built three great temples to the God-bearer, to the Apostles, and to SERGIUS the martyr, and the Patriarch of ANTIOCH consecrated them. And Christianity spread throughout PERSIA.

Now MAURICIUS was arrogant in his mind, and he regarded the hosts of the RHÔMÂYÊ with contempt, and he would not give them [their] pay. Then they sent a message to him, saying, 'God hath given peace in thy



days, but peace will not feed cavalymen [93] unless they receive their pay. And if because there is no war [at present] thou wilt not give us our pay, behold thou wilt have war with us.' And in this matter also he treated them with contempt, and demanded of PATRÔS his brother that he would reign over them. PATRÔS, however, was unwilling, and he fled to MAURICIUS and made the matter known to him. When MAURICIUS heard [this] he was afraid, and he fled and hid himself in CHALCEDON. Now when the army came to the royal city and did not find MAURICIUS, they appointed as their king a common old man called PÔKÂ (PHOCAS). And they went out and found MAURICIUS and brought him to the city, and they killed his sons before his face, and then they also killed him.

After MAURICIUS, PHOCAS [reigned] eight years. When KESRÛ, the king of the PERSIANS, heard that MAURICIUS and his sons had been killed, he and his nobles put on black apparel, and they made a house for weeping in. And whilst making it clear that he would be avenged on the slayers of his kinsman and the doer of his good works, he concocted a plot whereby he might rule over the kingdom of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And he made ready an army and sent [it] against DÂRÂ and captured it. And he went to TÛR 'ABDÎN, and [he fought] against the stone fortress and took it, and he killed the RHÔMÂYÊ who were inside it. And thus was it in every place; with the exception of the RHÔMÂYÊ they harmed none. Now when the RHÔMÂYÊ who were in the citadel heard [this] they abandoned the fortress and fled. And the monks gathered themselves together and went into it, and they sent a message to BASIL the bishop [asking him] if he would permit them to kill the PERSIANS. And in the nine hundred and eighteenth year of the GREEKS (= A.D. 607) the rebellious fortress of MERDÂ (?) was handed over into the hands of the PERSIANS, and 'ÂMID also.

And there was a severe winter, and the EUPHRATES was frozen over. And after two years the PERSIANS crossed the EUPHRATES, and seized MABBÔGH, and KENNESHRIÎN, and BEROEA and ANTIOCH. And it is said that when KESRÛ was master of EDESSA he took as a captive the wife of JOANNES of RÛŞÂFÂ, whom he had honoured with such great honour when he received him into his house, and he took her down to PERSIA, and put her to death by tortures. The reason of this was that one day when he was resting in the house of JOANNES he said unto her, 'It is the custom among the PERSIANS that when the king condescends to go into the house of one of his governors, for the mistress of that house to come forth [94] and to pay him honour, and to mix wine for him, even if it be only one cup[ful]'. Now though JOANNES was ashamed and was unwilling to act contrary to the wish of his wife, he inclined towards the matter (i.e. he thought that she might do what the king wanted done). But she did not wish to do so, and she replied, 'In truth we are bound to pay honour to our chief, for he is a great king. But with us SYRIANS it is not the custom for the women to go out to men when



they are drinking together. Therefore let not him (the king) blame me because I was too bashful to go out [to pay homage to him].’ Then the Calumniator (i.e. the Devil) inflamed the wrath of KESRÛ, and he said to JOANNES, ‘That she did not go forth hath brought contempt upon thee, and what she hath said hath done so also’. This was his opinion; and because of this act he was driven away from his high position, and for this reason he kept his anger against her. And whilst the PERSIANS were laying waste the countries [abroad], PHOCAS, from the inside (i.e. at home) killed the nobles, until he had made an end of all the free-born warriors. Then two powerful patricians, GREGORIUS and HERACLIUS, who were in AFRICA, made a covenant with each other, and they sent their sons together with [their] armies against CONSTANTINOPLE. And when the citizens heard [this] they rejoiced, and they thronged out to meet them, and brought them in with pomp and ceremony. And PHOCAS was killed.

After PHOCAS, HERACLIUS [reigned] thirty-two years. When this emperor [began] to reign he sent ambassadors to KESRÛ, saying, ‘Because PHOCAS killed MAURICIUS your friend we have killed him’, and he imagined that by means of flatteries of this kind amity [between them] would come into being. But KESRÛ would not only not be reconciled, but increased the evil. And in his first year HERACLIUS captured ANTIOCH, and one year later BAHRÂM, the captain of his host, captured CAESAREA of CAPPADOCIA, and he slew tens of thousands of the people, and he seized the whole country, and returned. And in the fourth year of HERACLIUS RÛMÎZÂN, the captain of the host, who was nicknamed ‘SHAHRBARÂZ’, that is to say ‘Wild pig’, subjugated DARMASÛK (DAMASCUS), and one year later he became master of GALILEE and the country of the JORDAN. One year later he captured JERUSALEM and slew ninety thousand men in it. At first they treated the JEWS in a peaceful fashion, and then they carried them off finally to PERSIA. The following year SHAHRBARÂZ went to EGYPT and took it, and he opened up ALEXANDRIA, and he subjugated LYBIA as far as the frontier of the KUSHITES (NUBIANS). And in the same year also [95] SHÂHÎN, the PERSIAN, took CHALCEDON, and he slew all the people thereof. And thus the PERSIANS held all the countries of the RHÔMÂYÊ from the coast of the SEA OF PONTOS to the East.







## THE KINGS OF THE ARABS

Here beginneth the Tenth Series, which passeth on from the  
GREEK (IONIAN) kings to the ARAB kings

AFTER the twelve years of [the reign of] HERACLIUS, MÂHAMÂD began to be famous, and, moreover, the Era of the lunar months<sup>1</sup> of the ṬAYYÂÏÊ (ARABS) beginneth with this year, which is the six thousand one hundred and thirtieth year from ADAM, and the nine hundred and thirty-third year of the GREEKS (YÂWNÂÏÊ), and the six hundred and twenty-fourth year of the Era of our Redeemer.

In the first year of the ARABS, SHAHRBARÂZ captured AMCYRA, and after that RHODES.

And in the fourth year of the ARABS, SHAHRBARÂZ and ẸARDÎĠÂN (ẸARDENGÂN) encamped around CONSTANTINOPLE, and their hosts crossed TARĠÎ and pitched their camp on the western quarter of CONSTANTINOPLE, and afflicted it greatly. Then suddenly a period of inactivity took place among them because it was said to KESRÛ, 'SHAHRBARÂZ laugheth at thee, and saith that the victory concerning which thou art boasting thyself is his and not thine'. Therefore KESRÛ sent ẸARDIGÂN to take the head of SHAHRBARÂZ. The envoy was captured by the RHÔMÂÏÊ. And when HERACLIUS learned [this] he sent secretly to SHAHRBARÂZ, and with oaths [concerning his safety] had him brought to him. And when he went in and saw the envoy and the letter, and was certain about the matter, he acted cunningly and altered the letter, to which he added [the order] that 'three hundred nobles were to be killed with SHAHRBARÂZ'. And he took the letter, and went out, and read it before ẸARDÎĠÂN and before the troops. And he said unto ẸARDÎĠÂN, 'Doth it please thee to do this?' And the chiefs (or, nobles) were filled with wrath, and they scoffed at KESRÛ. And they made a compact with HERACLIUS, and they also gave him their sons as hostages for the confirmation of the conditions of the peace, [96] and departed on their way. And HERACLIUS sent a message to the KHÂĠÂN, the king of the KAZÂRÂÏÊ, [asking him] to send to him forty thousand soldiers so that he might go against the PERSIANS, and he promised to give him his daughter EUDOXIA to wife.

Now when KESRÛ heard that SHAHRBARÂZ had rebelled, and that HERACLIUS had gone down to his country, his courage became little, and he was greatly depressed. And he collected as many soldiers as he was able, and made RÛZBÎHÂN captain over them. And when the PERSIANS met the RHÔMÂÏÊ in battle, the PERSIANS were defeated and RÛZBÎHÂN was killed. And when KESRÛ heard this, he fled from SAḠÛTHÂ wherein he was lying (or, encamped). And HERACLIUS pursued him and captured his treasures and his

<sup>1</sup> The Hijrah began on the 16th day of TAMMÛZ (JULY), A.D. 622.



rich possessions. Then SHÎRÎN, the son of KESRÛ, who had been imprisoned by his father, went forth from his place of bondage, and pursued his father KESRÛ and killed him; and he reigned after him for nine months. When HERACLIUS returned to pass the winter in EDESSA, SHÎRÎN sent a letter to him and informed him of the slaughter of his father; and he (HERACLIUS) made a covenant of peace with him [and arranged] that the PERSIANS should evacuate the countries of the RHÔMÂÏÊ. And SHÎRÎN died, having reigned for nine months.

And 'ARDÂSHÎR reigned after him for one year and nine months. And SHAHRBARÂZ, who was with HERACLIUS, killed this [king], and he himself reigned, and confirmed the covenant with HERACLIUS, and the conditions [of peace].

And in the sixth year of the ARABS a portion of the hemisphere of the sun departed, and there was darkness from the month of the FIRST TESHÎN (OCTOBER) till the month of HÂZÎRÂN (JUNE). [It lasted so long] that men used to say that the sphere of the sun would never become whole and perfect again. And the *zanâ*, that is to say the sickness of the *shar'âtâ* tumour, broke out in PALESTINE, and tens of thousands of men died of the disease.

### A Cutting

THE WRITERS OF HISTORIES say that when the armies of the ṬAYYÂÏÊ (ARABS) overtook HERACLIUS and occupied the various countries, he gathered together all the bishops, and the chiefs of the priests, and the rest of the satraps, and that he questioned them concerning the matter, saying, 'What kind of a people are these and what are they?' And each one of them made answer in so far as his mind understood the matter, until at length the whole subject had been laid bare before him. And he replied thus, 'I see that these people in their actions, and manners, and Faith (Religion) are like unto an early cloudy dawn, in which there is no absolute darkness, and yet it lacketh light which is perfect and clear'. And they asked him for an explanation of the speech. And he replied, 'Yea, indeed, they are remote [97] from the darkness, inasmuch as they have rejected the worship of idols, and they worship One God. But they lack the perfectly clear light because of their remoteness from the light and because of their imperfect knowledge of our Christian Faith and Orthodox Confession.' And his speech was fair (or, good) in the eyes of the people.

### The History of the Confession of Faith of the ṬAYYÂÏÊ which was revealed at this time

MÂHAMÂD (MUHAMMAD) was a very small child when his father 'ABD-ALLÂH died, and his uncle ABU ṬÂLIB brought him up. And he took to wife a woman who was a widow, whose name was KHADÎJAH because she was rich in possessions (i.e. wealthy). And with the wealth of this



woman, and with her camels he became a merchant, and he went up from YATHREB his city to PALESTINE. And when he saw the land, that it was fertile and produced good things, he conversed with certain JEWS and he learned from them that God had given them that land of promise because of their belief in One God, and their rejection of the worship of idols. And he also desired this [land] earnestly, and he began to persuade his fellow countrymen about this matter when he was forty years of age. And it was rumoured among the chiefs of MAKKAH (MECCA) that he was introducing among them a foreign Confession (i.e. Religion), and they pursued him and threatened him with killing if he did not cease from this. Then he fled from that place and went to another city, the name of which was YATHREB. And the citizens went forth to meet him, and they received (i.e. welcomed) him, and they promised to help him in everything, and from this [incident] they were called 'ANŞÂR', that is to say, 'Helpers'. And he taught them the Confession (or, Religion) of One God, and to abandon gods that were useless. And he exhorted them concerning the cleansing of the body and ablutions, because at that period the ARABS were a dirty people. And he formed companies of them, and he sent preachers (or, fighting propagandists) into PALESTINE, and when, as on several occasions when he went with them, they were successful and returned carrying with them riches and goods and possessions, they cleaved unto him with all their hearts. And many other peoples, when they heard of his success and riches, became subject unto him without trouble [on his part]. And when those who cleaved to him increased in number, he himself did not go up with them to share in the profit, but he sent other men at the head of his caravans whilst he himself dwelt in honour in his city. [98] And to the man who would not accept his Religion he returned answer, not any longer with [words of] persuasion, but with the sword. And those who turned [to him] he permitted [to enjoy] not only fleshly desires, and much copulation with women, both with those who were free and those who were concubines, but [he allowed] a man to divorce his wife whenever he wished and take another. And they were to keep the daily fast for one month only in the year, and he allowed them to eat throughout the night until daybreak.

And he declared that in the world which was to come after the Resurrection, there would be rivers of honey, and milk, and wine, and trees loaded with delectable fruits, and reclining on couches of gold with cushions of coral (?) and topaz (?), and union with women who surpassed the sun in beauty. [These things] he used to say God had prepared for the children of his Religion. And when he had lived ten years and two months, after he had assumed the place of a prophet forsooth, his kingdom extended from one [place] to another, and it increased and expanded, and embraced the greater number of the countries of the RHÔMÂYÊ and the whole of the kingdom of the PERSIANS.



And there rose among them philosophers, and mathematicians, and physicians, who surpassed the ancient [sages] in the exactness of their knowledge. The only foundations on which they set up their buildings were Greek houses; the wisdom-buildings (or, science-buildings) which they erected were great by reason of their highly polished diction, and their greatly skilled researches (or, investigations). Thus it hath happened that we, from whom they (i.e. the GREEKS) have acquired wisdom through translators, all of whom are SYRIANS, have been compelled to ask for wisdom from them. But as concerning the books of their Law, that is to say, Canons of marriages, and offerings, and ablutions, and the manner of [saying] prayers, and the amount of alms, and the various kinds of merchandise, and loans, and the division of inheritances, and the liberation of slaves—all these matters they have dilated upon to such a degree that not one of them, even though he has studied [the subject] during the whole period of his life, is able to decide finally questions and answers concerning them in a fitting manner. Moreover, there hath broken forth among them many heresies. Even as they say that he himself (i.e. MUHAMMAD) said, 'My sect (?) is rent into more than seventy parts; one of them is redeemed, and the rest are for the fire'. The one [part] was that which conformed to his actions; and the others [belonged] to those who brought forth new things.

Some of them deal with the subject of the kingdom—like those who adjudicated the first headship (khalîfate) after their prophet to 'ÂLÎ his uncle's son and his son-in-law, [99] and his sons after him. But others adjudicated it to ABU BAKR, the old man, his father-in-law, and to 'ÂLÎ the fourth headship. Some of them deal with the subject of Religion, such as those who say that God—praise be to His goodness!—is a body, and that He reclineth in bodily form in a material chariot which is greater than the heavens and the earth. Others confess that He hath not a bodily form, but is visible to eyes of flesh; the righteous will see him at the Resurrection. And some men say that He speaketh with an everlasting word, which subsisteth in His Being, and that He liveth an everlasting life. But others, who are afraid of the personality [attributed to Him] by the Christians, and are unable to confess that His speech and life are accidental and temporal, are forced to say, 'It is that He speaketh but not with words'. And so also, 'He liveth, but not in life'. And some men say, 'God created the sinner that he might sin and burn in GEHENNA, and the righteous man that he might be proclaimed righteous and enjoy happiness in PARADISE'.

And the question 'Wherefore?' is not to be asked. Man hath not dominion over existence. And others affirm the existence of freedom (i.e. free will) like the Christians. And that we may not go beyond the mark (i.e. outside our subject), we will return to our work. And because this kingdom of the ARABS swept away that of the RHÔMÂÏÊ from our countries, we will



[now] describe in order events as they took place as far as we are able to do so from reading and hearing.

After MÂHAMMÂD, ABÛ BAKR [ruled] for two years. This [Khalîfah] sent forth four captains of hosts, [one] to PALESTINE, [one] to EGYPT, [one] to PERSIA, [and one] to ARABIA against the Christian ARABS. The captain who came to PALESTINE marched against CAESAREA. Then SARGÎ (SERGIUS) PATRICIUS collected from among the RHÔMÂYÊ and from among the SHÂMRÂYÊ (SAMARITANS) an army of about five thousand foot soldiers. And when the ARABS joined battle with the RHÔMÂYÊ they were victorious, and they destroyed first of all the SHÂMRÂYÊ. And when PATRICIUS saw that the people who were with him were defeated, he turned his back [in flight]. And the ARABS pursued the RHÔMÂYÊ, and they mowed them down as reapers mow the standing crops. Now it happened that SARGÎ (SERGIUS) fell from his horse, and his servants gathered together and set him on it again. And again he fell, and again they set him on his horse. And again he fell, for the third time. And when his servants wanted to set him on his horse again, he said unto them, 'Save yourselves, and leave ye me that I may die by myself without [100] even you being with me'. And thus the ARABS overtook him and killed him, and they returned with victory. And in a similar manner those captains of hosts who had gone to the other regions returned with victory. And the fear of the ARABS fell upon all kings.

And at that time the PERSIANS evacuated EGYPT and PALESTINE, and all the countries of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And SHAHRBARÂZ sent HERACLIUS and he took an army with him and he killed ẖARDÎGÂN; and then he reigned one year and was killed. And after him BÂRÂM, the daughter of KESRÛ, reigned for a few months and died. And then her sister ZÂDÎMÎDÛKHT reigned. And many [others] reigned [after her] in a period of two years. And at this time the natives of EDESSA whom KESRÛ had carried off into captivity returned from PERSIA. And HERACLIUS transgressed the Law and took MARTÎNÂ, his brother's daughter, to wife, and begat by her an illegitimate son HERAKLÛNÂ. At this time, in the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER), an earthquake took place. And a sign, like unto a spear, appeared in the heavens, and it reached from the south to the north, and it remained there for thirty days. This manifestly made known the victory of the ARABS.

After ABÛ BAKR, 'ÔMAR BAR-KHÂṬṬÂB [ruled] ten years. This Khalîfah sent a raiding army to ARABIA, and he took BÔŞRÂ (AL-BAŞRAH). And a year later he sent an army to PERSIA. Since the PERSIANS were divided, some following YAZDAGARD the son of KESRÛ and others HÔRMÎZD, the ARABS prevailed over them and HÔRMÎZD was killed, and YAZDAGARD reigned. Then HERACLIUS sent an army with THEODORIC his brother against the ARABS. When they had come into the country of ANTIOCH, there was in the village of GÂWSÎTH a certain man who was a Chalcedonian and who lived on a pillar, and he said unto THEODORIC, 'Promise to blot out those who are of the house of



SEVERUS, and I will pledge myself to give thee victory'. And THEODORIC replied, 'Apart from thy word it is laid upon me (i.e. it is my duty) to drive out the JACOBITES'. And when they arrived opposite to the ARABS, the RHÔMÂÏÊ pitched their whole camp in the neighbourhood of the ARABS. And when they set themselves in battle array against the ARABS, they were cut down like old worn-out palm-trees by the ARABS, and the remainder of them fled. Then the ARABS looted the Fossâtôn (i.e. Camp), and became rich with the gold, and silver, and slaves, and possessions which they found [therein].

And in the fourth year of 'ÔMAR, [101] BAÂNÎS, captain of the host of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, and the son of SHAHRBARÂZ the PERSIAN also, who when his father was killed took refuge with the RHÔMÂÏÊ, and the treasurer of the king who was in EDESSA also, collected sixty thousand horsemen. And they came face to face with the ARABS in the country of EMESSA, and the RHÔMÂÏÊ were defeated and forty thousand of them perished, and the greater number of them were drowned in the river of YARMÛKÂ. Then the son of SHAHRBARÂZ, whose life had been saved, sent a message to 'ÔMAR, saying, 'Give me an army and I will subjugate the PERSIANS for thee'. But the daughters of KESRÛ, who had been carried off as captives by the ARABS, made known to 'ÔMAR what SHAHRBARÂZ and his son had done to KESRÛ and his sons, and they warned him that they were men of guile, and said, 'Thou must not be led astray by their words'. And 'ÔMAR, accepting their words, sent to EMESA, and hung (or, impaled?) the son of SHAHRBARÂZ on a wooden post. And 'ÔMAR came to DAMASCUS and gave a pledge to the DAMASCENES [as to the safety of their lives] and they opened their gates to the ARABS. From there he sent KHÂLID with an army to the country of ALEPPO and ANTIOCH, and a great many men perished. And, moreover, when men and women, and youths and maidens were gathered together for the festival in the Monastery of MÂR SIMEON STYLITES, the ARABS came upon them and carried them all away into captivity.

And at this time also SA'AD went forth from YATHREB, and he pitched his camp by the side of KUFÂH, which is 'ÂKÛLÂ. And YAZDAGARD also sent an army, and the soldiers thereof pitched their camps on the EUPHRATES. And the PERSIANS sent an Arab spy to spy on the ARABS, and when he drew nigh unto them he saw a Ma'dâyâ (i.e. a nomad Arab) who was squatting on the ground and micturating and eating bread. And the spy said unto him in the Saracenic tongue, 'What art thou doing?' And the nomad replied, 'Behold, [I am doing] exactly what thou seest—casting out the old and taking in the new'. And straightway he went back and informed the PERSIANS, saying, 'The people I have seen are barefooted and naked, but they are very brave'. And he repeated to the captain of the host what he had heard, that 'their victory is from God'. And when they had set the battle in array, the PERSIANS were defeated, and they were pursued until



[they came] to CTESIPHON, which is on the DEKLATH (TIGRIS). One mighty man of war of the PERSIANS fled from a nomad who pursued him, and he went into a village which was in the neighbourhood, and a peasant ploughman hid him. And when the peasant saw the nomad who was pursuing him, and that he was naked, and had only a reed in his hand, he went in [102] to the PERSIAN and reviled him, saying, 'How is it that thou, who art arrayed in armour and hast in thy possession all the weapons of war, dost flee from a naked man? And why hast thou not turned back and taken his head?' And the PERSIAN said unto the peasant, 'Bring me a mazârâ' (i.e. a wooden instrument of torture used in flogging men). And when the peasant had brought it he made a mark on it like an arrow, and slit it up and said, '[Many] times I have set the mark of an arrow like this on the nomads whom thou hast seen', and he collected all the arrows in his tunic like flies.

And again YAZDAGARD gathered together a second host of men, and he attacked the ARABS on the EUPHRATES; and the ARABS were victorious, and they went to CTESIPHON and carried away the treasures and the people thereof. And again YAZDAGARD for the third time mustered his troops in GALÛLÂ, and he attacked the ARABS and was defeated. And he mustered his troops for the fourth time in MOUNT MÂDAI, and he attacked the ARABS and was broken; these four musterings took place in one year. And YAZDAGARD being in utter despair fled to the frontier of the ṬURĶÂYÊ in the country of SÎĠÎSTÂN. And having remained there hidden for five years he was killed, and thus was blotted out the kingdom of the PERSIANS which is called 'BÊTH SÂSÂN'. This kingdom began with 'ARDÂSHÎR, the son of BÂBÂK, in the year five hundred and thirty-eight of the GREEKS, and ended in the year nine hundred and fifty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 227-645). In like manner HERACLIUS in despair marched from ANTIOCH to CONSTANTINOPLE, saying, 'Sôzô Sûriâ', that is to say, 'Remain thou in peace, SYRIA'. And his troops began to plunder the native Christians, and those RHÔMÂYÊ were far worse than the ARABS, for they carried off everything they found. And HERACLIUS wrote to BÊTH NAHRÎN, and to EGYPT and ARMENIA, and to all the RHÔMÂYÊ, saying, 'Let not any man in future fight against the ARABS (i.e. cease raiding the ARABS), only let him that is able to keep his watch remain at his post'.

And then 'ÔMAR went to EGYPT, and ẸÛRÂ, the bishop of ALEXANDRIA, went out to meet him and he undertook to give him every year two hundred thousand *dînârs*, but stipulated that the ARABS must not be allowed to invade EGYPT; and 'ÔMAR accepted [ẸÛRÂ's undertaking], and did not invade [EGYPT]. And when HERACLIUS heard of this he was offended, as a man who would not, except under strictest compulsion, give gold to the ARABS, and he sent a certain ARMENIAN [called] MANUEL to negotiate the matter. And when the envoys of the ARABS came to take the gold, MANUEL, who had made them encamp with the army [103] in BABYLONIA [of EGYPT], that is to say,



FÔSTÂT, said unto them, 'I do not drape myself with linen, like KÛRÂ, that I may give you gold, but with armour'. And when the envoys had gone back empty to 'ÔMAR, MANUEL became afraid and left EGYPT and fled, and the ARABS made themselves masters of EGYPT.

And in the fifteenth year of the ARABS (A.D. 636) 'ÔMAR came to PALESTINE, and SOPHRONIUS, the bishop of JERUSALEM, went forth to meet him. And the bishop received [his] pledge concerning the safety of the whole country. 'ÔMAR also wrote for him a sigillum (i.e. a Patent of authority, or *farmân*?), and also decreed that no JEW should have authority to dwell in JERUSALEM. And when 'ÔMAR went into JERUSALEM, he commanded, and a MASGID (MOSQUE) for the ARABS to pray in was built on the site of the Temple of SOLOMON. And when the bishop saw that the garments which 'ÔMAR was wearing were dirty, he pressed him to accept from him a change of raiment and a napkin (i.e. head-cloth); and brought them before him, but 'ÔMAR did not wish [for them]. This man 'ÔMAR was wholly upright (or, just) and he was remote from avarice, and although they (the ARABS) were masters of all the treasures of the PERSIANS and the RHÔMÂÏÊ, he never changed his original manner of attire.

And from there 'ÔMAR passed through the cities of SYRIA, and he subjugated them all. And he crossed the EUPHRATES to the east, and the citizens of EDESSA went out to him, and received a word (i.e. pledge) concerning their city. TELLÂ and DÂRÂ, which he did not besiege, he took by storm, and he killed the RHÔMÂÏÊ who were therein. And in the nineteenth year of the ARABS (A.D. 640) 'ÔMAR commanded that all the countries of his dominion should be assessed for the poll tax. And in that same year, which was the nine hundred and fifty-first year of the GREEKS, HERACLIUS died, and CONSTANTINUS (III?), his eldest son, reigned four months. MARTÎNÂ, his father's wife, killed him by poison, and she made king her young son HERAKLÛNÂ, who was called 'the New DAVID'. And he was displeasing to the Senate, and they swept aside HERAKLÛNÂ and made KÛSTÂNS, the son of the murdered man, king. This man killed his two uncles and MARTÎNÂ, the wife of HERACLIUS. Now 'ÔMAR ruled for twelve years. A certain man who was a decorator, having complained to him concerning his master on [several] occasions, and being neglected by him, smote 'ÔMAR in his belly with a knife whilst he was praying and he died.

After 'ÔMAR, 'ÔTHMÂN [ruled] twelve years. This Khalîfah began by showing himself avaricious, and he collected gold for himself; and the ARABS gathered together to kill him, but when he promised to behave like the kings [104] who were his predecessors, they allowed him [to live].

This Khalîfah sent SA'ÎD his son to harry the king of the PERSIANS. Then YAZDAGARD, after having hidden himself for five years in SÎGÎSTÂN, went forth and came to KÛFÂH; and SA'ÎD came to MARW (MERY) after he had subjugated the whole of PERSIA. And YAZDAGARD was afraid, and in order



that they might not deliver him up, went forth and hid himself in a mill, and there a certain man, a *ṬURKÂYÂ*, killed him.

At this time *MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH*, the captain of the host of the ARABS, came and encamped against *CESARAEA* of PALESTINE, and he invested it by sea and by land. And from the beginning of the FIRST *KÂNÔN* (DECEMBER) to *ÎYÂR* (MAY) he attacked it fiercely. And although seventy-two engines of war were hurling stones at its wall, no breach was made in it. Then the ARABS dug a hole [under, or, in the wall] and [some of them] entered, and others scaled the wall by means of ladders. And the ARABS remained three days on the wall and were unable to descend into the city. Then, when the ARABS became masters [of the city], seven thousand *RHÔMÂYÊ* who were guarding the city escaped in boats. And *MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH* captured the riches that were in it, and he laid the inhabitants thereof under tribute. From there the ARABS passed into *CILICIA*. And they arrived suddenly at *'ÛKHÎṬÂ*, and made themselves masters of the gates thereof. And they collected its riches, and they tortured the nobles so that they might show [them] all the goods that were hidden, and they carried off all the people, men and women and children, into slavery. And they defiled the churches wickedly.

And in the twenty-fifth year of the ARABS, which is the year nine hundred and fifty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 647), *GREGORIUS PATRIK* of AFRICA rebelled against *ḲÛṢṬÂNS*. And the ARABS made ready for a raiding expedition and they went to AFRICA, but although they were not a match for the army of *PATRIK*, they took possession of all the cities on the sea-coast. And *GREGORIUS* came back and resumed his subjugation to *ḲÛṢṬÂNS*. And *MÛ'Â-WÎYÂH* divided his troops into two camps. And over the one he made captain one *ḤABÎB*, a SYRIAN, an evil man, and sent him to ARMENIA in the season of winter. And he went there, and the ARABS carried off the people into captivity, and they killed the men whom they encountered, and burnt the villages and came back. And the other army, which was with *MÛ'Â-WÎYÂH*, went to the country of *CESARAEA* of CAPPADOCIA. And when the ARABS had crossed the mountain passes, they found the villages prosperous, and they plundered them; and they pitched their tents close to *CESARAEA*, and fought for ten days, but were not a match for [105] its strength. Then they destroyed the whole district, and left it a waste and desolate place, and returned.

And after a short time they came against [the city] and fought against it again for many days. And when the people saw that the wrath was great, and that there was no one to save them, they took a pledge [from the ARABS] for [the safety of] their lives, and the nobles went out and made a covenant to pay tribute. And when the ARABS went in and saw the beauty of the buildings and the abundant wealth [therein], they regretted that they had sworn [to respect the city], but they were not able to go back upon their oaths. Then they went to the country of *'ÂMÛRÎN*, and they were



unable to capture the city; but the district which was adorned with trees they laid waste.

And in the year nine hundred and sixty of the GREEKS (A.D. 649) MŪ'Â-WÎYÂH collected an army, and he brought one thousand seven hundred ships from ALEXANDRIA, and they went down into the sea and arrived at the island of CYPRUS. And they sent a message to the people of the island that they should [come] and take a pledge as to [the safety of] their lives. And when they would not do this, the armed men went on the island, and they destroyed and looted [the villages], and also defiled the episcopal house, and then they went away. And after a little while ABŪ AL-'ŪR, another captain of the host, went to CYPRUS a second time, and he plundered the whole island; and the ARABS also expelled the men from the caves in the earth. And he camped about the city of LAPATHUS, and he took the gold and the silver which he found therein, but he did not harm the people, because they had taken [from him] a pledge for [the safety of] their lives. And after these things MŪ'ÂWÎYÂH camped about 'ÂRVAD, which is also an island, and when he had captured it he expelled the people, and ploughed it up so that it might never again be inhabited.

And in the year nine hundred and sixty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 654) ABŪ AL-'ŪR and his army sailed round the island of COS, and through the treachery of the bishop thereof captured it; and they plundered and looted and slew the inhabitants, and razed its fortress to the ground. And he went to CRETE and plundered it, and laid waste RHODES. And a great number of men hauled on strong ropes which were tied round the brass COLOSSUS which was in the city and pulled it down. And they weighed from it three thousand loads of Corinthian brass, and they sold it to a certain JEW from EMESA.

And in the year thirty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 657) MŪ'ÂWÎYÂH prepared ships that they might sail against CONSTANTINOPLE. Then two zealous men, together with their followers, came to them, and they burnt the ships of the ARABS and many [106] of the ARABS perished; and the rest swam away on rafts (or, little floats) and fled to the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ. Then MŪ'ÂWÎYÂH was angry, and he sent away ABŪ AL-'ŪR with the army. And when they came to the place which is called PHOENICIA he found there king KUSTANS and his brother THEODOSIUS. And whilst they were preparing to make war on the following day, king KUSTANS slept, and he saw in his dream that he was in THESSALONICA. And when he related his dream to an interpreter of dreams, he replied to him, 'Would that thou hadst not slept, O king, and seen this dream. THESSALONICA is to be interpreted: THIS ALLIO TÎN NÎKÎ, that is, "is allotted the victory to others"'. And when the king, scorning the interpretation of the dream, set the ships on the sea in the order of battle the RHÔMÂYÊ were defeated. And, moreover, the king himself would have been killed if the son of the trumpeter had not leaped on to



the royal ship, and carried the king across to another ship so that he might be saved (or, escape). And he himself remained on the royal ship, and he killed many [men] and was himself killed. And KUSTANS and his brother fled to the royal city. And about twenty thousand dead bodies of the RHÔMÂÏÊ were found floating about on the waters.

And when the ARABS had again made ready to go up to CONSTANTINOPLE, PTOLEMY went out and gave [them] gold, and concluded peace for a period of three years. Now KUSTANS killed his brother THEODOSIUS, and was on account of this hated by his troops. And he was afraid and went to RHÔMÎ. And as he tarried [there] his troops raged angrily, saying, 'It is not seemly for the king to be in RHÔMÎ, because he is far away from the ARABS'; then KUSTANS came to the island of SICILY. And when he arrived at SYRACUSE, it was pleasing to him to dwell there. And he sent for his sons, but the citizens were unwilling [to let them go], saying, 'We will not permit our kings to go away from us'. Then he made his three sons Autocrators, viz. CONSTANTINE, TIBERIUS, and HERCULES. And he made them to dwell in the royal city whilst he himself was dwelling in SYRACUSE. For he was afraid lest his troops would kill him; now they used to call him the 'Second CAIN'.

Now since 'ÛTHMÂN did not by any means abandon his evil habits, the ARABS gathered together, [107] and they told him that he must live and behave continently like the kings who had preceded him. Then he replied to them, saying, 'Since I am king I am going to do everything I wish [to do]'; and they parted from him raging like panthers (or, wild beasts). And again they gathered together round about him when they were armed, and they cried out, 'Either change thy customs and works or thou shalt die straightway'. Then 'ÛTHMÂN wrote to MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH [ordering him] to send an army to him, but the ARABS made haste, and they rushed upon him with great violence and killed him. Now MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH sent an army with HÂBÎB, and when they arrived in BÔSRÂ and heard that 'ÛTHMÂN had been killed, they left [the city] and returned.

After 'ÛTHMÂN, 'ÂLÎ BAR-ABÛ TÂLIB [ruled] for five years in YATHRÊB and BABEL only, because SYRIA and EGYPT were with (i.e. in the hands of) MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH. And in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 657), the two parties attacked each other, and many having been destroyed on both sides, MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH returned without having pleased 'ÂLÎ. And again they attacked each other, and many were killed among them. Then three men fired with zeal went forth to go and kill the three men because of whom war had fallen on the ARABS, viz. 'ÂLÎ, and MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH, and HÂBÎB, and SA'ÎD, the captain of the host who was in EGYPT. Thereupon the man who went to EGYPT was seized and killed; and thus did it happen to him that went to the camp of MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH; and the third who went to the camp of 'ÂLÎ, one pierced him with a spear and killed him. Then the



ARABS agreed that the East and the West should belong to MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH, and they transferred the kingdom from YATHRÊB to the city of DAMASCUS.

After 'ÂLÎ, MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH [ruled] nineteen years. For it happened also that in the days of 'OTHMÂN for fifteen years MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH governed PALESTINE, and it was thus also during the five years of 'ÂLÎ, in all thirty-nine years (19+15+5 years).

In the year nine hundred and seventy-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 666) SHÂBHÔR, captain of the host of the 'ARMÂNÎKÔ, rebelled against KUSTANS, and he sent to MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH a man whose name was SARGÎ (SERGIUS), saying, 'Give me help, and I will subjugate for thee the whole of RHÔMÂNÎÂ (i.e. country of the GREEKS)'. Then when CONSTANTINUS, the son of the king, who was in the royal camp heard these things, he also sent to MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH one ANDREA, a eunuch and his cubicularius, who was renowned for his knowledge of the art [108] of war. And when, as MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH had commanded, SARGÎ came in first, and ANDREA next, SARGÎ trembled, and leaped up and stood bowing in homage to ANDREA. Then MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH struck SARGÎ, saying, 'If this slave terrifieth thee in this wise, how wouldst thou behave (i.e. what would happen to thee) if thou sawest his master?' And SARGÎ replied, 'I did this, not through fear, but because it is my habit to pay respect and to use flattery.' Then MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH asked ANDREA, 'Why hast thou come?' And he replied, 'The king sent us so that a rebel might not flatter thee. For if this man showed himself to his master and his benefactor in every way to be one who returneth evil [for good], how much more would he do so to thee?' Then MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH said, 'Ye are all our enemies. The man who multiplieth tribute for us, him will we help.'

And ANDREA replied, 'Even though it be so, still there is the possibility that one enemy may be better than another. Moreover, the slave and the lord are not equal. For the lord freely, and in most excellent fashion, goeth forth to attend to the business of the state, whilst he who liveth under servile and slavish persons [goeth forth] more servilely, and as is fitting for an inferior. Therefore that which my lord [promiseth] to give, even though it happen that it is less than that which a tyrant promiseth, it is meet that thou shouldst believe him and not seek to negotiate [with him] like a merchant.' ANDREA said these words and went out. And on the following day SARGÎ arrived early. And when ANDREA came SARGÎ did not stand up before him. And ANDREA said unto him, 'O thou hopeless one, why hast thou not stood up before me?' Then SARGÎ made bold and he poured out abuse upon ANDREA as if he had been a weak and contemptible man (literally, a woman-like man). And ANDREA threatened SARGÎ that he would remove from him his testicles. And MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH said to ANDREA, 'If ye will give to us the tribute of all your country, the name of kingdom (or, sovereignty) shall remain to you; and if not get thee gone'. And ANDREA plucked up courage and replied, 'So then the ARABS possess



the substance and the GREEKS the shadows? Nevertheless, we have a place of refuge in God.' And he went forth and made his course against MELITENE. And he commanded the guards of the mountain passes to seize SARGÎ when he was passing. Now MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH had promised SARGÎ to send an army to him. And when SARGÎ came back the men in ambush seized him, and brought him to ANDREA. And he commanded and had the testicles of SARGÎ extracted and placed in his hands, and then ANDREA impaled (or, crucified) him.

Now before the army of the ARABS could reach SHÂBHÔR, he was crushed in the gate of his palace as he was riding through it, and he died. [109] And the ARABS captured all the country as far as CHALCEDON, and they halted there.

And in the year nine hundred and eighty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 670) CONSTANTINUS commanded that the RHÔMÂYÊ should be subject to him and his brothers, TIBERIUS and HERAKLÎ equally, and that the effigies of the three of them should be [stamped] on the darics. And he warned every man not to make any distinction between them. And he went to GALLIA, and to ITALY, and he subjugated all the western nations. Then the ARABS went to AFRICA, and captured about eighty thousand men. A year later they also captured LYCIA and CILICIA. And they went a second time to LYCIA, and three PATRICIANS of the RHÔMÂYÊ came against them, and conquered them. And about thirty thousand of the ARABS fell; and those who were left alive went up into ships and were wrecked by storms. Then a certain man, a carpenter of BA'ALBAK, whose name was CALONICUS, compounded an inflammable mixture (i.e. 'Greek fire') and burnt the ships of the ARABS. And from this time the RHÔMÂYÊ learned how to make an inflammable mixture with naphtha (or, pitch). Up to this time the ARABS had conquered only, but from this moment they conquered and were conquered.

And CONSTANTINUS also sent men, brigands and outlaws of the RHÔMÂYÊ, that is to say LÎPÔRÊ, who are called 'GARGÛMÂYÊ' by the SYRIANS, and they seized the country from MOUNT GALILEE to BLACK MOUNTAIN and all the mountain range of LEBANON, and the ARABS suffered many afflictions at their hands. At length the ARABS gained the upper hand, and some of them they killed and some of them they blinded. Now as a son had been granted to CONSTANTINE, JUSTINIANUS, he dismissed his brethren from [their] sovereignty, and subjugated the governors by means of gifts. LEO, one of the nobles, would not agree to do so, and the king ordered his tongue and his hands and his feet to be cut off. And when DÎMIÔS (DÎMÔS, i.e. the mob?) cleaved to him, and he went about crying out, 'I do not deny the Trinity which is in heaven, and I will not reject the Trinity which is on the earth'; as he continued to cry out these things he suffered the death penalty.

And CONSTANTINE brought his brothers before the princes of the



RHÔMÂYÊ, and he said unto them, 'O TIBERIUS, and thou HERAKLÎ, what do ye call me? Your brother, or your king? If ye call me "king" I will call you my brothers. But if ye say unto me "brother", I shall know you as enemies.' And they replied, 'We do not excuse ourselves from speaking [110] of thee as our great, elder brother, but most certainly at no time do we ever speak of thee as our "king" because we reign jointly with thee'. Then the Senate, because their eyes had been blinded by bribery, sided with CONSTANTINUS, and they cast out [the two brothers].

And in the year nine hundred and eighty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 678), during the third watch of the night, a perfect bow appeared [in the heavens]—when the sun was below the earth (i.e. horizon)—a supernatural occurrence! And the mice [or, rats] multiplied in SYRIA and PHOENICIA, and devoured the grain, and one year later the locust came.

After MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH, YAZÎD his son [ruled] three years and eight months. This Khalîfah collected a great number of artizans (*kalâgârê*), that is to say workmen, and he wished to make the river of water to flow to the place of ablutions (?); but although he laboured greatly, the end overtook him and he ceased to work, and the waters did not flow forth. At this time a great comet appeared for eleven days. And there was a severe winter, and the EUPHRATES was frozen over, and olive groves and vineyards withered, and beasts, and cattle, and birds came to an end. These things took place in the year nine hundred and ninety-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 683).

After YAZÎD, MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH his son [ruled] for nearly four months. Now when YAZÎD, the son of MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH, was dead, MUKHTÂR, a cunning and treacherous man, and a respecter of persons, rebelled in the country of KÛFÂH. And those who were in YATHRÊB set up [as their king] a man whose name was 'ABD ALLÂH, BAR-ZÛBAYR. And those who were in DAMASCUS set up MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH BAR-YAZÎD, the son of MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH. And when the year nine hundred and ninety-six of the GREEKS began (A.D. 685), on the third day of the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER), the ARABS fought a fierce battle with each other, and of those who were slain on both sides there fell nearly forty thousand men, on the river KHÂZÂR, which is in the country of NINEVEH. Therefore, when the youth MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH—who was called 'ABÛ LÂYLÂ' (i.e. 'Father of the Night') because of his timidity, for by this name the ARABS called feeble men because of their resemblance to babies who are afraid in the night—saw the great strife which existed among the ARABS, he gathered them all together, under the excuse of prayer, on the sixth day of the week (Friday), and he dismissed himself (i.e. abdicated) from the kingdom. And he sat in his house for three months and twenty days and died.

After MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH, the son of YAZÎD, MARWÂN, the son of HAKÂM, [ruled] four months. This Khalîfah came from YATHRÊB to DAMASCUS in order to make the two parties [of the ARABS] conclude a peace, for he was a wise and



understanding man, and he advised them [to do so]. And he wrote three names on three arrows, and placed the arrows in the hands of [III] one who had no knowledge of the business, so that they might appoint king him [whose name] he shot forth first. And they all agreed to this, and the lot of MARWÂN went forth. And when he had stood four months he died. And in that year, which was the year nine hundred and ninety-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 686), CONSTANTINE died also, and JUSTINIANUS his son reigned ten years.

After MARWÂN, the son of HAKÂM, 'ABD ALLÂH, the son of ZÛBAYR, [ruled] eight years and four months. This Khalifah lived, as we have said, in YATHRÊB, and in his days a great cleavage among the ARABS took place. In BABEL a man whose name was 'ABD ALLAH rebelled, and in RAS 'AYN another whose name was HÛKÂB (HÛBÂB?), and one BÛRÎDHÂ in NISIBIS, and 'ÔMAR, the son of SA'ÎD in DAMASCUS, and one ZÛFERÂ in CIRCESIUM (OSRHOENE). And the disaffected men of the RHÔMÂYÊ who were in LEBANON were robbing people everywhere. And when this cleavage had existed among the ARABS for nearly eight years, the DAMASCENES proclaimed 'ABD AL-MÂLIK, the son of MARWÂN, the son of HAKÂM, as their king.

After 'ABD ALLÂH, BAR ZÛBAYR, 'ABD ALLÂH, the son of MARWÂN, [ruled] thirteen years and six months. He was called 'ABHÂ DIBHÂBHÎ ('Father of Flies') because the exudations of his teeth were bloody, and when he was negligent the flies collected about his mouth. When he was proclaimed king and saw that wars surrounded him on every side, and that he was especially troubled by the marauding bands of the RHÔMÂYÊ, he made peace with JUSTINIANUS for ten years. And he made a covenant with JUSTINIANUS that he should expel his bands of robbers, who were twelve thousand in number, from the country of the ARABS. And that he, 'ABD AL-MÂLIK, in return for this [service] should give to the RHÔMÂYÊ each day one thousand darics, and one horse, and one slave; and that CYPRUS should be common property, and that one half of it should pay tribute to the RHÔMÂYÊ and the other half of it tribute to the ARABS; and that ARMENIA, and GÛRZÂN, and 'ARZÂN, and 'ÂDHÔRBÎGÂN should belong to the RHÔMÂYÊ.

And when peace was established 'ABD AL-MÂLIK made war on BAR ZÛBAYR and conquered him. And BAR ZÛBAYR fled, and went to YATHRÊB, and took refuge in the house in which men prayed (i.e. the Mosque). And a certain chief who was called HÂGHÂGH (or, HÂJÂJ) pursued him, and he set up engines of war against the building, and knocked down the wall. And he went in and killed BAR ZÛBAYR, and came back and [re]built the house.

Then JUSTINIANUS waxing proud, transgressed [his] oaths, [II2] and he broke the peace before it was fulfilled, and he sent and made captives the ARABS who were in CYPRUS. Because of this MÂHAMMÂD, the Amîr of the island of KÂRDÛ, went to CAPPADOCIA, and the RHÔMÂYÊ and the



'ASQLÂBÊ (SLAVS) attacked him in battle, and the RHÔMÂYÊ were defeated near CESARAEA. And the 'ASQLÂBÊ (SLAVS) made friends with the ARABS, and about seven thousand of them went out with them to SYRIA. And they settled them in ANTIOCH and in ẖÛRÔS, and gave them women and provisions (rations?).

Then JUSTINIANUS, even as he had not kept [his] oath to the ARABS, so he also began to kill the nobles of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And because of this they gathered together against him, and they seized him and cut off his nose.

And a man whose name was LEONTIUS reigned in the year one thousand and seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 696). And in that year the Amîr of the city of GÂZARTÂ impaled (or, crucified) unjustly the nobles, viz. SIMON BAR NÂWLÂ of ẖALÛGHÂ, and MARDÂNSHÂ, and his son, from NISIBIS. One year later the ARABS began to strike coins, *dînârs* (gold), and *zûzê* (silver), and *fûlsê* (copper), with inscriptions only and without effigies (i.e. portraits).

In the year one thousand and ten of the GREEKS (A.D. 999), the captain of the host of CILICIA, whose name was 'APSÎMÂRÔS', who is called 'TIBERIUS', came and swept away LEONTIUS from the kingdom, and reigned in his stead, but he did not kill LEONTIUS. This TIBERIUS subjugated again the SLAVS who had rebelled against the RHÔMÂYÊ. And he went out to the country of SAMOSATA and slew five thousand ARABS, and he took captives and looted and came back. Then 'ABD AL-MÂLIK appointed two captains of the host, viz. MÂḤAMMÂD over BÊTH NAHRÎN, and ASSYRIA, and ARMENIA, and 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN, and his servant ḤAJÂJ over all PERSIA and ARABIA. And when ḤAJÂJ plundered the chiefs of the ARABS mercilessly, MÂḤAMMÂD sent and brought MÛ'ÊD, the chief of the Thaglabite ARABS who were Christians, and urged him to become a Muslim. And when he refused to do so he cast him into a miry pit. And then he brought him out again, and flattered him, and when he would not be persuaded by any means whatsoever, MÛ'ÊD killed him. And he also collected the chiefs of the ARMENIANS and shut them up in one of the churches of ARMENIA, and then he set the church on fire and burnt them all. And he slew ANASTUS, the son of ANDREA, governor of EDESSA.

Now hitherto the Christian nobles had been managing the public affairs of the kingdom of the ARABS. For DIONYSIUS, Patriarch of TALL MAḤRÊ, saith that 'ATHÂNÂSÎ (ATHANASIUS), who was called 'Bar Gûmâyê', was a very intellectual man, [113] who was well trained in the knowledge of books, and was famous in every place. When 'ABD AL-MÂLIK, the king of the ARABS, heard the report of him, he sent and summoned him [to his court]. And when he saw that he was qualified in every particular, he sent him with 'AZÎZ, his brother's son, to EGYPT, and entrusted to him the management of the youth. And he progressed to the point that the whole kingdom of the ARABS was administered by him. And he increased [in power] and became very rich, and he possessed four thousand slaves, and mansions, and villages, and luxurious houses, and gold and silver like stones. And from



the revenue of the four hundred guest houses (i.e. inns) which he had in EDESSA, there was built by his command a splendid temple to the God-bearer (i.e. the Virgin MARY). And he also built in the city of FÔSTÂṬ, which is in EGYPT, two great temples. And he also built in EDESSA a baptistery, and he placed in it the image of CHRIST which had been sent to ABHGHÂR the king. And he made a fountain of water like unto that which AMONINUS ('AMÔZÎNÔS) the bishop had made in the old church in EDESSA, and he decorated it with gold and silver, and covered it with brass (or, copper). Then accusations were brought against ATHANASIUS by a certain man, a Chalcedonian Damascene whose name was SARGÎ (SERGIUS) BAR MANȘÛR. And when 'ABD AL-'AZÎZ, the Amîr, died, and ATHANASIUS went out from EGYPT, SARGÎ brought a lying charge against him, and said, 'BAR GÛMÂYÊ hath stolen the treasures of EGYPT and taken [them] with him'. Now 'ABD AL-MÂLIK was not angry with ATHANASIUS even because of these words, but he said unto him in a quiet and peaceful manner, 'We should not have held it to be true that all this wealth could belong to the Christians; give us a portion of it'. And this ATHANASIUS agreed to do willingly, and he gave and gave until the king himself said, 'It is sufficient'. And there still remained [to ATHANASIUS] much more.

And in the year ten hundred and fifteen [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 704) 'ABD AL-MÂLIK dispatched MASLÎMÂ, and he captured MOPSUESTIA. And in that year the ARABS who were in KÛFÂH and BÔȘRÂ rebelled, and they made war on 'ABD AL-MÂLIK. And in that year also JUSTINIANUS escaped from exile, and he fled to the KHÂKÂN, the king of the KHAZÂRÂYÊ, and the KHÂKÂN rejoiced in him, and gave him his daughter to wife, and she bore him a son, and he called his name 'TIBERIUS'. And having obtained soldiers from the KHÂKÂN and from the BULGARIANS, he came against CONSTANTINOPLE, and 'APSÎMÂRÔS fled. And JUSTINIANUS reigned again for six years, after the [114] ten years in which he lived in exile. And he killed LEONTIUS and 'APSÎMÂRÔS, and many of the nobles, and he made [anew] the administration of the RHÔMÂYÊ which had been destroyed by the TARĶÊ. He found six thousand ARAB prisoners, and he set them free [to go] to their own country. And he sent a large army to bring his wife and also his son, and all the soldiers perished through storms and tempests at sea.

Now when the KHÂKÂN heard [these things] he sent and rebuked him, and said, 'It was meet for thee to send a few soldiers only. What didst thou think? That I was holding her back from thee? Nay, life of thy madness! I am not holding her back.' Then JUSTINIANUS was ashamed, and he sent a few soldiers and brought her back with her son.

And in the year ten hundred and seventeen (A.D. 706) the ARABS built the walls of MOPSUESTIA, and placed an army therein, and they made it a garrison post on the frontier of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And the king 'ABD AL-MÂLIK himself went there and there he finished [his life].



After 'ABD AL-MÂLIK, the son of MARWÂN, WALÎD his son [ruled] nine years and five months. This Khalîfah sent an army with MASLÎMÂ, and they pitched their tents at ṬUÂNÂ ('ADÂNÂ?), a city of CAPPADOCIA, and they fought against it for nine months. And JUSTINIANUS sent an army of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and when they engaged with the ARABS the RHÔMÂYÊ could not stand, and about forty thousand of them fell. And the ARABS captured the city and looted it. And in the year one thousand and twenty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 711) MASLÎMÂ captured ṬURANDÂ and placed therein a garrison of ARABS. And he also captured many other fortresses. I think that 'ABLÂSTÎN is the BHÂSÎPÔLÎS (?) which is on the frontier of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And in the sixth year of WALÎD, which is the year ten hundred and twenty-two of the GREEKS, PHILIPICUS rebelled and killed JUSTINIANUS, the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and TIBERIUS his son, and he himself reigned. And he also drove out the ARMENIANS who were in his dominion, and the ARABS settled them in MELITENE and the district thereof and in 'ARMÂN of 'ARBA'. And the ARMENIANS became allies of the ARABS, and enemies of the RHÔMÂYÊ. This Khalîfah was well versed in outside (i.e. alien or profane) learning, and he wished to disregard the Sixth Synod (or, Council) which affirmed the dogma of MAXIMUS concerning the Two Wills [of CHRIST]. And when he had reigned two years and six months the RHÔMÂYÊ swept him aside and blinded his eyes. [115]

And ANASTASIUS reigned two years and five months. Now WALÎD was a hater of the Christians, and in respect of the great church of the GREEKS (YÂWNÂYÊ) which was in DAMASCUS, the ARABS took it and gave in its stead the site on which the new church of the God-bearer (i.e. the Virgin MARY) was built; for WALÎD changed the first site of the church and built a great and famous Masjid (Mosque) there. And he commanded also that the Christian lawyers (i.e. tax-gatherers) should no longer write the public accounts in Greek but in Arabic. And WALÎD said to SHAM'ÂLÂ, the chief of the Christian ARABS of TAGHLIB, 'Inasmuch as thou art chief of the ARABS, thou disgracest all of them when thou dost worship the CROSS. Therefore do what I wish and become a Muslim.' And he replied, 'Because I am chief of all the ARABS of TAGHLIB, I am afraid lest I may become the cause of the destruction of all of them; [for if] I deny CHRIST they will deny [Him also]'. When WALÎD heard these words he commanded [his slaves], and they dragged him along face downwards and cast him out. And WALÎD sent him a message in which he swore saying, 'If he really will not agree [to do what I say], I will make him eat his own flesh'. And when SHAM'ÂLÂ did not give way, even under this threat, WALÎD commanded and one cut off a slice from SHAM'ÂLÂ's thigh and roasted it in the fire, and they thrust it into his mouth. And when SHAM'ÂLÂ persisted in his refusal even after this, WALÎD dismissed him, and he continued to live, the wound being visible in his flesh. And WALÎD also commanded the sorcerers who were



in the country of 'AMÛLÂ to be killed. And having been bound with fetters, and tied to planks of wood, so that they might not perish too quickly, they were cast into the river. Those who were able to swim they killed, because the ARABS said that they swam by means of their enchantments; and those who were drowning they spared and left [to drown]. And WALÎD also commanded and all the Christians who were captives in all the churches of SYRIA were killed. And in the year one thousand and twenty-six [of the GREEKS] WALÎD died (A.D. 715).

After WALÎD, the son of 'ABD AL-MÂLIK, the son of MARWÂN, SÛLAIMÂN his brother [ruled] for two years and five months. In the beginning of his reign MASLÎMÂ made a raid and captured the fortress which was in the country of GALATIA, and he returned with a great quantity of spoil. And the soldiers of the army which ANASTASIUS sent to the west rebelled, and they killed their captain, and brought [in] THEODOSIUS, and he reigned one year. And ANASTASIUS fled to NICAEA. And in the year one thousand and twenty-six [of the GREEKS, i.e. A.D. 715] MASLÎMÂ subdued the TÛRKÂYÊ in their own country, and he captured [116] much spoil and returned.

And in the year one thousand and twenty-seven (A.D. 716) MASLÎMÂ went to the country of ASIA. And he captured PERGAMOS and RHODES, and he emptied them of spoil. In that same year SÛLAIMÂN made MASLÎMÂ ready to go against CONSTANTINOPLE. And he collected two hundred thousand soldiers, and five thousand ships which were filled with soldiers and provisions. And he collected twelve thousand artisans, and six thousand camels, and six thousand asses which were loaded with provisions (or, stores), and arms, and the armaments and engines for war. And he appointed over them another captain of the host, viz. 'ÔMAR BAR-HÛBAIRÂ. And there went with them also thirty thousand warriors who of their own proper motion and at their own expense set out to fight, that is to say on 'the road of God'; and they were called in their own language 'MUṬÂ-WA'ÂH'.<sup>1</sup> And the ARABS set out (or, went down) in two divisions, the one by sea and the other by land. Now when LEO, the captain of the host of the RHÔMÂYÊ, met MASLÎMÂ, the captain of the host of the ARABS, he promised to help them in the opening up (i.e. conquest) of the royal city. And they promised him the kingdom of the RHÔMÂYÊ.

Now when THEODOSIUS the king perceived the treachery of LEO, he took his people and shut them up in prison in the city of 'AMÛRÎN. And when LEO heard [this] he came to SÛLAIMÂN the king. Now he himself with twelve thousand [men] had pitched his camp by the city of CHALCEDON in order that he might prevent provisions and food from entering CONSTANTINOPLE. And he took six thousand soldiers, and encamped at 'AMÛRÎN. And the citizens being afraid gave him its population (or, household

<sup>1</sup> i.e. 'those who exceed what is obligatory on them in fighting or warring against unbelievers or the like'. Lane, quoted by Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 2034.



servants). And he sent away the ARABS and gave to each man twelve *dînârs*. And he and the RHÔMÂYÊ marched direct to CONSTANTINOPLE. And when he met the hosts of the RHÔMÂYÊ he explained to them that by means of treachery he had turned back with the ARABS; and they were very pleased with him, and they made him king over them. And when he went in to CONSTANTINOPLE, THEODOSIUS went out; he had received the tonsure and had become a cleric. And LEO reigned twenty-four years. And with a vain hope he began to hang the ARABS, and to fortify the city with food and provisions and other things.

And when MASLÎMÂ learned that LEO had deceived him (or, led him astray), he crossed the arm of the sea and encamped against CONSTANTINOPLE. And because MASLÎMÂ, [117] with four thousand men, had come last (or, delayed in coming), the BULGARIANS whom LEO had hired rushed upon him and killed many of his men. MASLÎMÂ himself only escaped with the greatest difficulty, and he came to the Great Camp which was pitched on the western side of CONSTANTINOPLE, opposite the Golden Gate. And he made [a mound, or, rampart?] in front of them, between the camp and the city, and a trench behind them opposite to the BULGARIANS. On the right hand and on the left was the sea. And the ARABS were attacked [on land] by the citizens and by the BULGARIANS, and on the sea by the ships of the RHÔMÂYÊ. Now it was impossible for less than two thousand men to go and bring food to the ARABS. And the ARABS suffered greater tribulation through those who were outside the city than through the TÛRKÂYÊ who were inside [it]. And the winter came upon them, and famine, and the BULGARIANS who were killing them. And the ARABS were afflicted so grievously through hunger that they ate the bitumen of the ships. And while MASLÎMÂ was deceiving them by saying, 'Behold, gifts are coming to them from the king', the report of the death of king SÛLAIMÂN came.

After SÛLAIMÂN, 'ÔMAR, the son of his uncle 'ABD AL-'AZÎZ, [ruled] for two years and five months. This Khalîfah sent [men] that they might bring him back reports concerning the army [which was fighting] against CONSTANTINOPLE. And MASLÎMÂ wrote lying letters, saying: 'The people are very well, and the city is nearly [ready] to be opened up (i.e. conquered)'. And when 'ÔMAR learned the truth from the envoy, he sent [the command] to MASLÎMÂ to take the soldiers and to go out. And MASLÎMÂ made the winter his excuse [for not doing so]. And when the rigour of the winter had passed, another envoy came, who told the people that if MASLÎMÂ would not be persuaded to retreat, they themselves were to go forth. And when they did go forth the RHÔMÂYÊ killed very many of them on the sea and on dry land.

Then 'ÔMAR himself sent twenty thousand horsemen to them, and he gave to each man ten *dînârs* to be used as subsistence money. And because of the disgrace which came upon the ARABS through their withdrawal from



CONSTANTINOPLE, great hatred against the Christians sprang up in the heart of 'ÔMAR, and he afflicted them severely. And he stopped [the ringing of] their bells [in the churches], and they were not to lift up their voices in prayer, and they were not to put on apparel [which in any way resembled that of] the soldiers, and they were not to use saddles when riding. And in the year one thousand and thirty-four [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 723), in the month of SHEBHÂT (FEBRUARY), [118] 'ÔMAR died.

After 'ÔMAR, the son of 'ABD AL-'AZÎZ, YAZÎD, the son of his uncle, 'ABD AL-MÂLIK, [ruled] for four years. There came upon him a rebellion through a certain ARAB from HÎRTÂ whose name was YAZÎD BAR-MÛHÂLÂB, and there were with him all the ARABS of 'ÂKÛLÂ, and of BÔSRÂ, and of all PERSIA. And YAZÎD, the son of 'ABD AL-MÂLIK, sent a great army against him, and YAZÎD, the son of MÛHÂLÂB, was defeated near BABYLON and killed. And YAZÎD commanded and the images (or, pictures) of every living being were obliterated from the temples, and from walls and wooden panels, and from stones and from books. And LEO, king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, also acted in this manner. He took down the images of the saints and of the kings from the churches and houses. And for this reason there was an uprising among the RHÔMÂYÊ, and many complained openly about the king. And he expelled from his country every man who did not agree with the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON. And he afflicted the JEWS and baptized many of them, and the rest of them fled to SYRIA.

And at this time a certain man who was a SYRIAN, and whose name was SEVERUS, declared concerning himself that he was CHRIST. And when he was arrested by the governor he said, 'I have been taught to think this by the JEWS'.

And in the year one thousand and thirty-two [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 721) the water in the wells failed so completely that the villagers had to walk as far as seven miles to draw water. And there was a scarcity of crops. After one year the locusts came and destroyed the crops. And after two years there was a pestilence caused by the disease of tumours, especially in BÊTH NAHRÎN. And in the year one thousand and thirty-seven [of the GREEKS = A.D. 726] YAZÎD died in BALĶÂ, in the country of DAMASCUS.

After YAZÎD, the son of 'ABD AL-MÂLIK, HISHÂM his brother [ruled] for twelve years and eight months. This Khalîfah oppressed men with excessive taxes and levies of money (or, contributions). And he made canals to take off from the EUPHRATES above CALONICUS to water the crops and plantations, and the income [derived] from them was more than all the tribute of his dominions.

And in this year the ARABS camped against NEO CAESARAEA, that is PONTUS, and they destroyed it completely. And the ARABS also invaded the country of the TURĶÂYÊ with GÎRÂH, the captain of the host, and they captured one great city; and he collected a vast amount of spoil and went away.



And in the year one thousand and thirty-eight [of the GREEKS = A.D. 727] the EGYPTIANS rebelled against the ARABS; and an army came against them [119] and many of the EGYPTIANS were killed, and the remainder fled in ships.

And in the year one thousand and thirty-nine [A.D. 728] MASLÎMÂ went again to the country of the TÛRĶÂYÊ, but the ARABS failed and they abandoned their valuables and fled.

And in the year one thousand and forty-two [A.D. 731] the TÛRĶÂYÊ went forth and captured the cities of 'ÂDHÔRBIJÂN. And MASLÎMÂ marched against them with a great army, and thousands and tens of thousands were killed on both sides. Now the TÛRĶÂYÊ, though holding the cities which they had captured, did not go up against (i.e. attack) the rest of the dominions of the ARABS. And the ARABS made peace with the TÛRĶÂYÊ. And again the ARABS invaded the territories of the RHÔMÂYÊ, together with MÛ'ÂWÎYÂH, the son of the king. And they threw down the walls of the city of GANGRÂ, and then went and encamped against the city of NICAËA. And having fought against it for forty days and dug down the wall thereof, the RHÔMÂYÊ who were inside it fled in ships. And the ARABS took the city and destroyed it. And HISHÂM commanded, and all the prisoners of the RHÔMÂYÊ were killed, because he heard that LEO had killed the ARAB prisoners. And at this time LEO the king took the daughter of the KHAĶÂN, king of the KHAZARÂYÊ, to be the wife of his son CONSTANTINE. And when they had baptized her and blessed her, he placed the crown on his son and proclaimed him king.

In the year one thousand and forty-eight (A.D. 737) a certain man whose name was BÂSHÎR, and who was a RHÔMÂYÂ by race, pretended to be a Muslim, and he went to HÂRRÂN to a paralytic man whose name was THEOPITUS, and told him, as if he were telling him a secret, that he was 'TIBERIUS, the son of CONSTANTIUS' (CONSTANTINE OR JUSTINIANUS), who, it was generally supposed, was already dead. Then the RHÔMÂYÂ went and delivered him over to SÛLAIMÂN, the son of HISHÂM, and he having seized the man, informed his father HISHÂM. And HISHÂM rejoicing that, as it were, a son of the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ had fallen into his hands, commanded [his servants] to array the man in the purple, and [they did so] and brought him to him. When this man entered EDESSA he went inside the altar, and he took in his hands the Offering from the Table of Life, according to the custom of the kings of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And he called upon the JEWS to bring up [his ancestors] for him by enchantments, and he also commanded the chief of the HÂRRÂNITES to examine for him a liver and to see whence his family sprung. Finally the miserable man was exposed, and he was killed.

In the year one thousand and fifty-three [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 742) [120] LEO died, and his son CONSTANTINE reigned thirty-four years. And 'ARĶÂBÂS, his son-in-law, rebelled against him, and he went to CONSTANTINOPLE and sat down in the palace. Now the king, because he was outside, fled from



his ministers and found a refuge among the troops of the ANATOLIANS. And he raised an army from them and came to 'AMÛRÎN of PHRYGIA, and there he wintered. Then 'ARTÂBÂS collected an army and came against him, and 'ARTÂBÂS was defeated and fled. And in the year one thousand and fifty-six [A.D. 745] HISHÂM died in RÛŞÂFÂH of CALONICUS.

After HISHÂM, WALÎD, the son of YAZÎD, the son of 'ABD AL-MÂLIK, [ruled] for one year and three months. This Khalîfah behaved wickedly to the children of the house of HISHÂM and plundered their palaces. He commanded and the tongue of the Patriarch of CHALCEDON in SYRIA was cut out. And the ARABS hated him greatly because he drank wine and fermented liquors; and he used to do other wicked things. And therefore the people gave him the nickname of 'PÂSIK', that is to say 'riotous liver'. Therefore 'ABBÂS, the son of WALÎD, the uncle of WALÎD, the son of YAZÎD, rose up against him, and wished to reign. But the ARABS did not wish for him, because he was the son of a concubine, and they made his brother YAZÎD, son of WALÎD, king in DAMASCUS. And he sent an army and they overtook WALÎD, the son of YAZÎD, in the desert, and they cut off his head and fixed it on a spear, and they hung up by the side of it a wine pot and took him into DAMASCUS.

After WALÎD, the son of YAZÎD, YAZÎD, the son of WALÎD, [ruled] for two months. A great schism fell upon the ARABS, and in every quarter a man rose up who did not agree with his companion. In the ISLAND (GÂZARTÂ, i.e. GAZÎRAH) BASTÂM rose up; in MÂWŞIL, SA'ÎD, the son of HÛDAIL, in WÂSIṬ, 'ABD ALLÂH, the son of 'ÔMAR the king, in ARMENIA, MARWÂN, in KHÔRÂSÂN, the son of SÂRIG, and in AFRICA, ABÛ HÛDAIL. And two months after YAZÎD began to reign an ulcer broke out in his body and he died.

After YAZÎD, the son of WALÎD, IBRÂHÎM his brother. This was a man whom it was pleasant to meet, and his natural disposition was good. [121] Two months after he reigned, he abdicated from sovereignty in DAMASCUS, and hid himself. And his place was not known for five years, when he was found in a grave of the ARABS, [lying] among a miscellaneous crowd of ARABS who had been killed.

After IBRÂHÎM, MARWÂN, son of WALÎD, son of MÂḤAMMÂD, son of MARWÂN, son of ḤAKÂM, [ruled]. This Khalîfah was called 'ḤAMÂR GÂZARTÂ', i.e. 'Wild Ass of the Island', because he loved the flower of the crocus, which is called 'flower of the ass'. And during the whole of his time he ruled on the island of ḲARDÛ. Now he went forth from ARMENIA and engaged in battle with SÛLAIMÂN on the banks of the EUPHRATES, and twelve thousand of his men were killed, and he fled to RÛŞÂFÂH. And MARWÂN came to DAMASCUS, and reigned therein two months. And he carried off the royal treasures, which formed loads for three thousand camels. And he came and pitched his camp in EMESA, and after four months they took the city; and he dug down the wall thereof, and he pounded the sculptures into dust



with hammers. And he also dug down the wall of BA'ALBAK, and came to HÂRRÂN. And he came down toward 'ÂTHÔR (ASSYRIA), and to the country of PARTHIA, that is to say 'EŞFÂHÂN.

Then ABÛ AL-'ABBÂS, that is 'ABD ALLÂH, the son of MÂHAMMÂD, the son of 'ÂLÎ, the son of 'ABD-ALLÂH, the son of 'ABBÂS, the uncle of the Prophet of the Muslims, and a mighty army of the men of KHÔRÂSÂN pitched their tents on the ZÂBHÂ, the river which is in ASSYRIA. And MARWÂN came and engaged in battle with the army of ABÛ AL-'ABBÂS, and MARWÂN was defeated, and he was despoiled of seven hundred camel loads of gold and *zûzé* (i.e. silver money). And he and his son and his son-in-law came in disgrace to HÂRRÂN. And they loaded his treasures on three thousand camels, and he went to ASCALON, which is on the sea coast. And ABÛ AL-'ABBÂS pursued MARWÂN and he fled to SÎWÂNÎ (SYENE, ASWÂN), a city which is on the frontier of the NUBIANS; and when he camped on the banks of the NILE he was overtaken and killed.

At this time there went forth from CONSTANTINOPLE 'ASHKÎRÂSH, the captain of the host of the 'ARMÂNÎKÔ, and he came against MELITENE, and looted the whole country. And CONSTANTINE the king, having conquered 'ARTÂBÂS the tyrant, divided the kingdom. And a son was born to him by the daughter of the KHÂKÂN, and he was called LEÔNE (LEO). And the countries of the RHÔMÂYÊ were at peace with each other, because the ARABS were occupied in making war upon each other.

After MARWÂN, ABÛ AL-'ABBÂS [ruled] four years [122] and eight months. This Khalîfah, having killed MARWÂN, reigned alone throughout all the dominion of the ARABS. He removed the kingdom from DAMASCUS and transferred it to BABYLON. And by him the Khalîfate of BAGHDÂD was transmitted to those whose sovereignty an end hath been put in our days by the HUNS and MONGOLS.

It is said that one day when this ABÛ AL-'ABBÂS was encamped on a place in the region of the west, suddenly a mighty tumult burst forth on his camp, and all the people, the king himself included, ran to see what wonderful thing [had happened]. And having gone they saw eight men who had risen from graves, some as far as their breasts, and some of them as far as their thighs, and some of them as far as their knees; and some of them had their beards dyed according to the custom which the ARABS observe, and many identified them. And when the people drew nigh to talk to them, the dead men vouchsafed never a word. And whilst [the people] were wondering [at the sight], the king commanded them to depart [from the men in the graves] for that day, and not to go near them, as he expected that, peradventure, speech might be given to them [later]. And on the following day when the people went they found [the men in the graves] in the condition of living beings who had no speech. Then [the king] commanded, and they were buried a second time.



And in the year one thousand and sixty-three [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 752) the wife of CONSTANTINE the king, who was the daughter of KHÂKÂN, died; and he remained without a wife for three years, according to the law of Christian kings. Then certain crafty men, under the guise of affection, wishing to eject him from the kingdom, advised him to take [another] wife. But he, knowing full well their craftiness, said, 'I cleave to your advice, but I am not forgetting the law of the RHÔMÂYÊ; and, moreover, I think that it is not seemly for a king to be the slave of desire (or, lust). But if ye are certain that it is right, make my son king instead of me, and I will bow to your will.' And having placed the crown upon him, he administered the affairs of the kingdom, because he was wise and timid as concerning enemies. And in that same year he went and pitched his camp at MELITENE. And he heaped up mounds against it, and broke down a portion of the wall thereof, and finally he gave a pledge to the ARABS who were inside it, and he spared them. And he carried away into captivity the people of CLAUDIA and all the villages of 'ARMÂN DHË-'ARBA'. And in that year died [123] ABÛ AL-'ABBÂS 'ABD ALLÂH.

After ABÛ AL-'ABBÂS, his brother 'ABÛ JA'AFÂR MANŞÛR [ruled] twenty-two years. And in the year in which 'ABÛ JA'AFÂR [began to] reign, that is to say, the year one thousand and sixty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 755), and the year one hundred and thirty-five of the ARABS, CONSTANTINE, king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, went forth against KÂLÔNÎKÂLÂ (KÂLÎKÂLÂ?), which is 'ARZÂN-AR-RÛM. And he captured it and left it a ruin. And he placed a garrison in the fortress of KAMÂK. When 'ABD ALLÂH, the son of 'ÂLÎ, heard of the death of 'ABÛ AL-'ABBÂS, he began to make a circuit through the cities and he made himself king in them. And 'ABÛ JA'AFÂR sent [an army] against 'ABÛ MUSLIM, the captain of the host, and defeated him. Then 'ABÛ MUSLIM, the captain of the host, himself rebelled against 'ABÛ JA'AFÂR, and he journeyed about through the cities that he might seize the kingdom (or, grasp sovereignty). Then 'ABÛ JA'AFÂR sent to him a man whose name was 'ÎSÂ, and he cajoled him and brought him [to him], and at the moment when he was entering his presence 'ABÛ JA'AFÂR made a sign and he was killed. And the kingdom of the ARABS was established for him. And he commanded and MELITENE was [re]built as it was formerly, and he placed a garrison therein. And he also built KÂLÔNÎKÔLÂ and placed a garrison therein.

And in the year one thousand and seventy-one (A.D. 760) the ARABS subjugated AFRICA. And at this time the country of TABÂRISTÂN was subjugated by the ARABS. It is bounded on the north by the CASPIAN SEA, and on the east by GÛRGÂN, on the south by MEDIA and a portion of PARTHIA, and on the west by DÎLÛM (or, DÎLÂM). In it are five walled cities, and it aboundeth in mountains, and forests, and meadows, and streams of water. The passes thereto are difficult [to traverse]. Its length from east to west is forty parasangs, and its breadth from north to south is twenty parasangs.



And in the year one thousand and seventy-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 762) 'ABÛ JA'AFÂR built a city on the river DEKLATH (TIGRIS) above CTESIPHON, and he called it 'BAGHDÂD', after the name of an image (or, idol) which was in that place, and he dwelt therein. And after one year MÂHAMMÂD, one of the sons of 'ÂLÎ, the kinsman of their Prophet and the son of his uncle, rebelled, and the whole of Arabdom was drawn to follow him. And 'ÎSÂ, the captain of the host, went against him, and slew him in YATHRÊB, in the month of RÂMÂDÂN during their fast. And IBRÂHÎM his brother in BÔSRÂ also rebelled, and he also was killed.

And in this same year the KHAZÂRÂYÊ went forth and made captives fifty thousand souls [124] from GÛRZÂNÎÂ. And at the same time the country of KHÂBÛL in the Indian quarter of the world was subjugated by the ARABS. And 'ABÛ JA'AFÂR imposed taxes on all the nations, and he doubled the tribute of the Christians.

And in the year one thousand and seventy-six [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 765) there was an exceedingly severe earthquake in the country of KHÔRÂSÂN, and one mountain departed from its place [a distance of] about three miles, and because it was [formed] of earth it was shattered in pieces.

And in the year one thousand and eighty [A.D. 769] the MAGIANS who were in PERSIA rebelled against the ARABS, and they set up a chief for themselves. And an army of the ARABS went against them, and the ARABS were defeated. And again the MAGIANS became strong enough to establish a kingdom for themselves, and an exceedingly strong army of ARABS went against them, and the MAGIANS were defeated, and about forty thousand of them fell and their chief was killed. And in that same year the ARABS went up in wrath against the Valley of GERMÂNÎKÎ, which is MAR'ÂSH, because they heard that [their] spies (or, scouts) had been enslaved by the RHÔMÂYÊ. And they carried off the people of the country into captivity, and took them away and settled them in the land of RAMLEH. Thus also they did with the natives of SAMOSATA.

And at this time the Barbarians who were natives of AFRICA rebelled, and they killed the ARABS and the PERSIANS. And YAZÎD, the captain of the host, went against them and defeated them, and about thirty thousand of the Barbarians fell. And in the year one thousand and eighty [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 769) a certain woman was discovered in the country of the BÛKHÂRÂYÊ who had never taken food, and she had never sucked at the breast, and she never had any need of drink. And MAHDI, the son of the king, heard of her, and he sent and had her brought to BAGHDÂD. And they verified the story, and it was found to be in truth a fact which was outside [the course] of nature. And in the year one thousand and eighty-three (A.D. 772) 'ABÛ JA'AFÂR built a city by the side of CALONICUS, and he called it 'RÂPEKÂH', and no man had ever seen such handicraft as was displayed on the gates thereof. As for these gates: 'when I, the feeble one, was performing the



duties of a pastor in BERÔÂ, they brought to ALEPPO two huge double gates [made] wholly of iron, and they fastened them on the gate of KENNESHÎN, and two smaller double gates, but they did not succeed in setting them up. For immediately after the MONGOLS captured ALEPPO and they destroyed its walls and smashed its gates.

And in the year one thousand and eighty-three [A.D. 772] 'ABÛ JA'AFÂR marched from BABYLON to BÊTH NAHRÎN and SYRIA, and he oppressed [125] men with very heavy taxes, and he gathered together all the silver and gold into his treasure-house. And the children of men, being afflicted in this wise, used to dig up the graves, [thinking] that perhaps they might find some trinkets (or, ornaments) which had been buried with the dead. And at the same time the RHÔMÂÏ used to dig in the city of NICOMEDIA, and they found a cave wherein was laid the mummified body of NICOMEDIUS (?), who built it, and with it were ornaments of gold, and red jacinths which sparkled in the dark. And when CONSTANTINE the king perceived [what was being done] he showed great magnanimity, and he did not take anything whatsoever from that place, 'For', said he, 'it is a disgraceful thing for the living to be in need of anything from the dead'. And not this only, for he sent workmen and they blocked up the place strongly, and heaped up a mighty mound of dust and stones above it. At this time a pestilence broke out in SYRIA and 'ÂTHÔR (ASSYRIA), and there came a famine of excruciating severity. It was not caused by the lack of grain (or, wheat), but it arose because not a single *zûzâ* (i.e. a coin of about the value of a piastre) remained with any man. The price of an ox or a donkey was one *zûzâ*; the price of ten measures of wine was one *zûzâ*; the price of five bushels of wheat was one *zûzâ*; and the price of youths and maidens was five *zûzé* each. After thirty years of these tribulations 'ABÛ JA'AFÂR died in the Ka'bâ (?), and the whole world was delivered from tribulation. Twenty-five days before his death, CONSTANTINE, king of the RHÔMÂÏ, died, and LEO his son reigned five years.

At this time GÎWÂRGÎS (GEORGE), the son of BOKHT-ÎSHÔ', the ELAMITE, was pre-eminent in the art of healing. The Khalîfah MANŞÛR sent and brought this man from ELAM to BAGHDÂD, that he might heal him of a disease of the stomach with which he was afflicted. And when he went in before MANŞÛR he burst out into prayers for the Khalîfah in the PERSIAN and ARABIC languages, in highly polished speech. And the Khalîfah marvelled at him, and made him sit down, and he spoke to him concerning his sickness. And the physician promised him healing, but by degrees (i.e. slowly), which actually came to pass. And it is related that one day GEORGE went into the presence of the Khalîfah—now it was the festival of the Nativity—and the Khalîfah said unto him, 'What dost thou eat?' And the physician replied, 'All good things according as our Lord pleaseth'. And the Khalîfah said unto him, 'I hear that thou hast not got a wife'. And the physician



said, 'Yea, I have—one, an aged and feeble old woman who is not able to stand on her legs'. [126] And the Khalîfah waited until the physician had gone out, and then he commanded SÂLIM, his chief eunuch, to choose out three of the most beautiful of the RHÔMÂYÊ maidens, and to take them to the house of the physician with three thousand *dînârs*. And he did so. And when SÂLIM took the maidens GEORGE was not at hand in the house. And when he came [back] and saw them he was angry with his disciple, and he said to him, 'O disciple of SATAN, why hast thou brought these in to me? Is it that thou wouldst made an old man of me?' And he sent and called the eunuch, and sent the maidens back with him. And when the Khalîfah heard this he said to GEORGE, 'Why didst thou send back the maidens?' And GEORGE replied, 'Live for ever! We Christians do not have more than one wife. And as long as our one wife is alive our Law preventeth us from taking another.' And this [speech] pleased the Khalîfah greatly, and he commanded that GEORGE should visit his women and his daughters without let or hindrance. And the honour of GEORGE was greatly increased with the Khalîfah and he loved him like his soul. Such is the fruit of chastity, my brethren.

After 'ABÛ JA'AFÂR, his son MAHDÎ [ruled] ten years. This Khalîfah opened his father's treasures, and scattered the riches of his father as with a fan. He did not squander it only on his troops, but also on the women who were his concubines, for he was luxurious by nature, and loved dainty foods and baked meats. And he was addicted to [the study of] auguries, and divinations and forecasts of fate, and he collected books of sorcery. Therefore king LEO sent to him the 'Book of Jannes and Jambres' which containeth the whole system of the magic and sorcery of the EGYPTIANS, and [an account of] everything which they did against MOSES THE GREAT. And in the beginning of his reign he set free all the Christian prisoners, and LEO also set free the ARAB prisoners which he had with him; MAHDÎ, however, pulled down the churches which had been built in the time of the ARABS, and he destroyed the church of the CHALCEDONIANS which was in ALEPPO. And he set up a persecution of the MÂNÎNÂYÊ (MANICHEANS), and he overthrew the place which is called PADÂNÂ RABBETHÂ (i.e. the GREAT PALACE), which was full of MANICHEANS. And many ARABS were entrapped by this heresy and were killed. And also eight men of rank and wealth belonging to BÊTH GÛMÂYÊ were caught (or, snared) by the wickedness, and after many tribulations three died in prison, and five were saved.

At this time THEOPHILA, the son of TÂÔMÂ, of EDESSA, became famous; he was a skilled astronomer [127] who cleaved to the heresy of the MARONITES. He had (i.e. he had written) a wonderful book on Chronology in SYRIAC, although he reviled and abused orthodox folk. And he had turned the two books of 'ÔMÂIRÔS (HOMERUS) on ILION from the GREEK into SYRIAC. He had been in the service of MAHDÎ the Khalîfah, and he had been raised



by him to very high honour because of his superiority in this craft of astrology. It is related that one day the Khalîfah wished to pay a visit to one of his cities, and he had his household with him. And the wife of the Khalîfah sent a message to THEOPHILA saying, 'Thou hast advised the king to set out on a journey, and thou hast made for us the fatigue and weariness of the road for the which we had no necessity. Therefore I wish to God that He will speedily make an end of thee and remove thee from the earth, so that we may rest ourselves and may repose ourselves, being free from thee.' And THEOPHILA replied to the handmaiden who had come to him on this embassy, 'Get thee back and say to thy mistress, "It is not I who have advised the Khalîfah to make the journey, but he is setting out in accordance with his own wish. And as for the curse with which thou hast cursed me, viz. the wishing that God will hasten my death, this fate hath already gone forth for me from God, and it will assuredly take place, and I shall die quickly (or, immediately). But do not imagine that my death will take place because thy prayer hath been accepted, for that will only happen in order that the wish of Him who created me may be fulfilled. And as for thee, O Queen, I tell thee to make ready a large quantity of dust, and when thou hearest that I am dead, do thou heap the whole of that dust on thy head." ' And when the Queen heard these [words] she trembled greatly, and she waited anxiously [to see] what would be the outcome of this speech. And after a few days THEOPHILA did die, and after twenty days MAHDÎ the Khalîfah died also, and what THEOPHILA had stated actually came to pass.

And in the year one thousand and ninety of the GREEKS (A.D. 779) MAHDÎ came to ALEPPO, and the TANÛKÂYÊ who lived in tents round about ALEPPO went forth to meet him; and they were riding ARAB horses, and were decked out with ornaments. Then it was said to him, 'All these are Christians'. And he boiled with anger and compelled them to become Muslims, and about five thousand men became Muslims, but the women were saved [from this]. And among them a certain venerable man testified, and his name was [128] LAIT. And after these things MAHDÎ marched to the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and he pitched his camp on the river PÛRÂMÔN, in the country of 'ARBÎSÔS. And his son HÂRÔN captured the fortress of SÎMÂLÔS, and he plundered it and went forth.

And in the year one thousand and ninety-two [A.D. 781] the ARABS carried away from EPHEBUS about seven thousand people; and about four thousand of the ARABS died. Then LEO the king sent an army, and he carried away the people who were orthodox SYRIANS, and he baptized them in TARKÎ. And it is said that this king LEO hated eikons, and cleaved to the orthodox like his father. And in that year LEO died, and CONSTANTINE his son [reigned] twenty-two years, for he was a minor when he [began to] reign. His mother EIRENE used to govern and she was proclaimed with him. In



the year one thousand and ninety-four (A.D. 783) MAHDÎ sent his son HARÔN against the royal city. And the RHÔMÂYÊ made a cunning plan and they shut in the ARABS on the river SÂGÂRÎS, the mountain being on one side and the river on the other. And the ARABS being in tribulation sued for a peace (or, truce) for three years. And EIRENE, according to a woman's custom, agreed, and the ARABS went forth. And after one year 'ÂLÎ sought to renew (or, rebuild) the city.

After MAHDÎ his son MÛSÂ [ruled] one year and one and a half months. Before this king reigned, that is to say, in the year one thousand and ninety five of the GREEKS (A.D. 784), the flying locust came and destroyed the crops, and deposited seed (i.e. laid eggs). And the young locusts came forth and attacked and climbed up the walls and partitions of houses, which they entered through the openings (i.e. windows) and doorways. And the water-skins, and the beds, and the tables, and the utensils were filled with them. When the locust entered a house from the southern quarter, it went out on the northern side. And in addition to the green herbs and trees it devoured also woollen garments and the clothes of men. And when it had finished [devouring] the whole district of EDESSA and SERÛGH it passed over to the west. And three years after this severe tribulation there came a famine on the land. And in the year one thousand and ninety-seven (A.D. 786) the RHÔMÂYÊ went forth and destroyed HADETH, which had been recently built by the ARABS, and they laid waste and swept away its wall entirely. And in that year MÛSÂ died, in the month of TAMMÛZ (JULY).

After MÛRÂ, HÂRÔN RASHÎD, his brother, [ruled] twenty-three years and two months. This Khalîfah sent 'ABD AL-MÂLIK, and he pulled down [129] the great church of KHISHUM (CESSUNIA) and the fifteen 'temples' that were in it. And he transported the stones thereof on two thousand wagons to HADETH, which the RHÔMÂYÊ had destroyed, and he rebuilt the city. And the ARABS went into the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ and to the sea coast, and captured great spoil.

And in the year eleven hundred (A.D. 789) WALÎD went forth from the heresy of the HARÛRÂYÊ (i.e. the Free-will ARABS) and he collected five thousand men and came to NISIBIS. He killed the Amîr, and plundered the merchants, and took from every Christian five *zûzê*. And having defeated the army of 'ABD AL-MÂLIK, he slew the ARABS, and made the roads to be deserted by travellers. YAZÎD with an army attacked him and killed him.

And in the following year HÂRÔN went up from BAGHDÂD and came to CALONICUS, to dwell therein. And he made it great with buildings, and he planted many paradises therein. And he brought thereto one river (or, canal) from the EUPHRATES, and he brought another from SERÛGH. He bought the waters of the villages of SERÛGH from their owners, and dug a new canal for them. In the year eleven hundred and four (A.D. 793) the



KAISÂYÊ fought with the YAMNÂYÊ in EMESA and many were killed. And 'ABD AL-MÂLIK carried off great spoil from the country of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And his son 'ABD AR-RAHMÂN captured the fortress of RABSÂH in CAPPADOCIA, and four hundred men died of thirst therein, and then they surrendered it.

At this time CONSTANTINE the king wished to blind the eyes of 'ALPÎDÎ, the PATRÎKÎ of SICILY, because he was committing adultery with his mother; and 'ALPÎDÎ fled to the ARABS. And the king commanded and he also made the nobles swear that his mother should never again be called 'Queen'. Then 'ALPÎDÎ took forty thousand soldiers of the ARABS, and SÛLAIMÂN, the Amîr, and they went to the country which is called SÂMÎSÛN. And the winter overtook them and four thousand of them died, and because of their tribulation they took refuge with the RHÔMÂYÊ, who treated them with humanity and did the ARABS no harm. And they departed in the LATTER KÂNÛN (JANUARY), the feet of very many of them having been made rotten by the frost (or, snow).

And MÂR DIONYSIUS, Patriarch of TELL MAHRÊ, saith, 'I saw about four hundred of these men in EDESSA'. And subsequently CONSTANTINE was reconciled with his mother EIRENE, and commanded that she should [again] be proclaimed (or, addressed as) 'Queen'. [130] And she was so proclaimed in every place except by the Armenian nobles, who refused to do so because of the oaths which they had sworn; and the tyrant king killed them.

And in the year eleven hundred and eight (A.D. 797) HÂRÔN RASHÎD passed over into EDESSA. And the Muslims brought accusations against the Christians, saying, 'The king of the RHÔMÂYÊ cometh every year secretly and prayeth in their churches'. And having investigated the story and found the Muslims to be liars, the Muslims were expelled and also beaten. And at this time certain of the BĒNAI GÛMÂYÊ in EDESSA, having squandered all their possessions, dug through the walls of the houses [of their neighbours] and found treasure. And because the ARABS are of a luxurious disposition, they devoted themselves to riotous living with horses and hunting dogs. And when the report of them reached HÂRÔN the king, he imprisoned them in CALONICUS. And he sent his own eunuch and he seized every object which was royal property which they had sold. Among the things were objects which were like serpents, and scorpions of silver which were filled with elixirs (or, perfumes), and these had been scattered broadcast ignorantly. The eunuch seized their mother, an aged woman, and their free-born women, and he took from them what remained, that is jewel cases of gold and silver, and valuable jewellery, and money of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and secured them. And the sister of these men, who was a virgin, he shut up in the house of a certain man of CHALCEDON, in an upper chamber of a house four stories high, and he set PERSIANS to keep guard over her. During the night she, hearing the sound of feet, thought that one of the



PERSIANS had come to her chamber to rape her, and she hid her face in a napkin, and then threw herself out of the window, and she died the following day. And fear fell upon that eunuch, and the king himself was sorry for the maiden, and he released her brothers and gave them back one-fifth of what was their own property. And MÂR DIONYSIUS, because he derived his information from the history of ÎWÂNNÎS (JOANNES) of RÛŞÂFÂ, thoroughly believed in the truth of this story, and he saith, 'The house in which the treasure was found belonged to ÎWÂNNÎS (JOANNES), and it was given as a daughter's dowry to those of the house of the GÛMÂYÊ. And the wife of ÎWÂNNÎS (JOANNES) buried the treasure, KESRÛ (CHOSROES) having commanded that she should go down among the captives.'

Now CONSTANTINE the king trampled the Law under foot, and took a [second] woman to wife, whilst his own wife was alive; and he also took the daughters of the nobles and debauched them. [131] And when he went to TARĶÎ in the war with the BÛLGARÂYÊ, there also he led a drunken and riotous life. Therefore the nobles came to an understanding with his mother, and when he returned she treated his eyes with *kohl*, and he became blind and she reigned by herself. And she made 'ÂÎŦÎS the eunuch her second in command, and chief of the Patricians. And when the ARABS invaded the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ, 'ÂÎŦÎS defeated them; and when the ARABS invaded it one year later 'ÂÎŦÎS was defeated; and the ARABS invaded it again and were victorious. Then the RHÔMÂYÊ wished to make NICEPHORUS, the Logothete, a CAPPADOCIAN, their king. When EIRENE heard [this] she commanded [her servants] to treat his eyes with *kohl*; and 'ÂÎŦÎS the eunuch hid him. Then NICETA the Patrician and the Patriarch took counsel with the Senate, and it pleased them all to make NICEPHORUS king. And he reigned in the year eleven hundred and fourteen [of the GREEKS = A.D. 803], and he was held in honour by Queen EIRENE and by 'ÂÎŦÎS the eunuch. They, however, arranged for his murder by the hands of certain monks. And when the plot was revealed EIRENE was sent into exile to ATHENS, where she became a nun. And 'ÂÎŦÎS paid [his] debt for crime, according to what he had done. And the king did not harm the monks.

At this time when HÂRÔN RASHÎD was occupied with the building of ZÔBATRÂ, the city which is in LESSER ARMENIA by the side of MELITENE, SÂŦÛREKÎÔS (SATURECIUS), the captain of the host of the RHÔMÂYÊ, went to the country of the PELOPONNÊSUS, which had belonged to the ARABS for a very long time, and they subjugated it and established a garrison therein, and he returned, bringing back an immense number of captives of the people of the ARABS, and sheep and horses and camels.

And it is said that GABBÂLÂ, an ARAB, was king of the Christian ARABS. Now he was made a Muslim by the hands of 'ÔMAR the son of KHÂŦŦÂB. [Once] when he was present with 'ÔMAR in the Masjid (Mosque) in YATHRÊB, a man in the crowd who was called FAZÂRÂH trod on him. And GABBÂLÂ



turned and smote him and broke his nose. And when FAZÂRÂYÂ (*sic*) complained, 'ÔMAR said to GABBÂLÂ, 'Either make friends with him or hand over to him thy nose that he may break it'. And GABBÂLÂ replied, 'How can a king like myself [do this]? Is he to permit an inferior to strike him?' And 'ÔMAR said, 'Although thou art more honourable than he is in the kingdom, yet thou art only equal with him in Islâm'. And GABBÂLÂ said, 'Leave me until the morning, so that I may ponder on one of the two things which thou hast said to me'. And in the night [132] GABBÂLÂ and his companions rose up and fled to CAPPADOCIA, and they became Christians again. And from him was descended this NICEPHORUS who reigned. He was a strong, bold man, and gifted with understanding, and he fasted and prayed regularly. And it was because of this character that 'ALPÎDÎ, the Rebel, said unto 'ABD AL-MÂLIK, the captain of the host of the ARABS, 'If NICEPHOR is reigning, cast off from thyself this dainty apparel and gird thyself about with armour and prepare thyself for war'.

And immediately NICEPHOR began to reign he sent letters to HÂRÔN and incited him [to war], and they made ready for war. And during the two months whilst they were encamped, NICEPHOR and HÂRÔN, by means of envoys and dispatches, were conversing and listening to each other. And ultimately they came to an agreement and they sent gifts to each other, and each returned to his own country.

At this time a man of the tribe of KORAISH, and a Muslim, whose name was RÛHÎ, lived in a house which was near a church, and during the time of prayer he used to vex the priest by casting at him pellets made of mud. And one day whilst he was looking at the priest through a window (?) at the time of the Sacrifice (i.e. the Eucharist), he saw in the middle of the paten which was on the Table of Life a lamb which was broken in pieces; but when he went down to the priest he saw broken bread [only]. And he went up again to the window, and looked, and saw the lamb again. Then he believed, and left his house and went to the church and was baptized.

And when the report of the man reached HÂRÔN, he sent and had him brought to him, and he coaxed him with gracious words to return [to Islâm], but RÛHÎ refused to do so. And HÂRÔN threw fetters on him, and shut him up in prison for two years, and then, as RÛHÎ remained unshaken, HÂRÔN commanded that his head should be cut off with the sword, and hung up on the wall of RÂPÊKÂH. And many people saw the light which rested on the head, and a certain Christian from the country of PERSIA took it down and carried it to his city.

At this time there came to HÂRÔN a certain RHÔMÂYÊ whose name was TÂÔMÂ, the son of MÛSAMÂR, and he said that he was the son of CONSTANTINE the king. Now although HÂRÔN was not convinced by him, yet he held him in honour like the son of a king.

And in the year eleven hundred and fifteen (A.D. 804), whilst HÂRÔN was



in PERSIA, a mighty army of the RHÔMÂYÊ went forth and seized the region of MOPSUESTIA and 'ÂNÂZARBÂ; and the ARABS overtook them and reversed the captivity. And when HÂRÔN heard [this] he came to the city of CALONICUS, and in the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL) captured HERACLEIA; and NICEPHOR went out to make war upon him. But when he saw the great army of the RHÔMÂYÊ he sued for peace, and he gave [to them] all the prisoners [133] of the RHÔMÂYÊ that were in his dominions. And when NICEPHOR agreed to the peace, HÂRÔN gave him even the tents in which he was living, and their decorated hangings and furniture. And in that same year HÂRÔN built a city higher up than CALONICUS, and he called it 'HERACLEIA', after the name of the wife which he took from the house of the HERACLEIANS. And NICEPHOR also, being undisturbed by the ARABS, built 'ANĶÛRÂ (ANCYRA) and other places in the place of TÛÂNÂ and HERACLEIA which the ARABS had taken in his time.

And in the year eleven hundred and nineteen (A.D. 808) the famine waxed strong even among the wild beasts, and they dragged the dead up out of their graves and devoured them, and they boldly attacked the living. And the women and children who went out seeking for green herbs to eat were also devoured by the wild beasts.

Then HÂRÔN, wishing to go down to PERSIA against a certain rebel, made his son MÂHAMMÂD king in BAGHDÂD, and he made KÂSİM, another son, king in SYRIA. MÂMÛN he took down with him to KHÔRÂSÂN, and he endowed him with ten million pieces of silver instead of the kingdom. And when HÂRÔN arrived at the city of TÛS (MASHÂD), and had killed the rebel, he died there in the year eleven hundred and twenty (A.D. 809), and at this time BÔKHT-ÎSHÔ' the son of GEORGE, the Elamite physician, became known (i.e. famous). And when the Khalîfah HÂRÔN RASHÎD fell sick he sent and brought him from ELAM. And when the physician entered the presence he blessed the king in Persian and Arabic. And the king laughed, and summoned the other physicians that they might debate about his illness with him. And 'ÎSÂ ABÛ KÛRAISH, the physician, said, 'My lord the king, have mercy upon us. There is among us no man who is able to converse with this man, for he is a mine of words, and he and his father and [the men] of his race are philosophers.' And the Khalîfah commanded secretly one of his eunuchs to bring there the urine of some beast so that he might test therewith [the knowledge of] BÔKHT-ÎSHÔ', and see whether he could distinguish what it was or not. And when the eunuch brought the urine, and BÔKHT-ÎSHÔ' had looked at it, he said, 'This is not the urine of a man'. And the physician ['ÎSÂ ABÛ] KÛRAISH contradicted him flatly and said, 'Thou liest. It is the urine of one of the free women of the king.' And BÔKHT-ÎSHÔ' asserted with great vehemence [that it was], and said to him, 'I tell thee, O honourable old man, never did a man produce such urine as this. Look at the colour of it, and the substance and the smell, if thou hast any understanding.' And the



[ʾISÂ ABŪ] KŪRAISH said, 'What did the creature from which these waters came eat?' And BŌKHT-ĪSHŌ' replied, [134] 'Good fresh barley (or, grain) which was undamaged'. And the Khalīfah laughed, and he commanded [his servants to give him] apparel and much gold.

And after him arose his son GABRIEL, the son of BŌKHT-ĪSHŌ', the son of GĪWÂRGĪS, the son of BŌKHT-ĪSHŌ'. And he also was pre-eminent in the craft of the physician, and he ministered to HÂRŌN RASHĪD. And it is related that one day one of the handmaidens who was beloved by the Khalīfah had injured herself, and when she lifted her hand up it became rigid like a piece of wood, and she was unable to bend it. And the physicians laboured with a great array of ointments and bandages which they made for her, and they did not benefit her in the slightest degree. Then the Khalīfah summoned GABRIEL and repeated to him her story. And GABRIEL said, 'I have here with me the means of healing her if thou wilt make her to come out here before the crowd of people, and I may do to her what I wish, and thou wilt not be angry with me'. And the Khalīfah agreed, and had her brought out. And as soon as GABRIEL saw her he ran to meet her, and he gripped her by the lower parts of her body as if he wished to uncover her shame. And by reason of her great shamefacedness, the body of the maiden became hot (i.e. she blushed) and broke into a sweat, and her members relaxed, and she stretched out her hand, which was hanging down above her, to her lower limbs, and took hold of them, covering them with her hand. And straightway GABRIEL left her and he said to the Khalīfah, 'Behold she is now healed'. And the young woman herself stretched out her hand to the right and to the left. And the Khalīfah, and all those who were there, marvelled, and he commanded and [his servants] gave GABRIEL five hundred thousand pieces of white money.

And when he stood up the Khalīfah asked him about the cause [of the maiden's sickness], and GABRIEL said, 'A certain delicate (or, refined) chyme (i.e. humour, or, juice) was poured into the members of this maiden at the time of copulation. And because the motion of copulation suddenly ceaseth and becometh quiescent, that chyme is bound up in the pores of the tendons which move the hand. And it doth not dissolve itself except through the fiery heat which is evolved by movement which is violent.' Now the salary (or, income) of GABRIEL for one year was nine hundred thousand *dīnārs*. And when RASHĪD died GABRIEL ministered to AMĪN his son. And when AMĪN was killed he ministered to MÂMŌN his brother. At first MÂMŌN was angry with him and stripped him of all his possessions, and then he became reconciled with him and gave back to him everything which he had taken from him. And he loved him and honoured him.

A certain man of the NESTORIANS who went to EGYPT saith concerning this GABRIEL, 'The JACOBITES make a mock of NESTORIUS in EGYPT, and they heave stones on his grave, and say that rain never falleth upon it, [135] and



that it is burnt up by wrath'. And this NESTORIAN took a letter from the Khalîfah to the Governor of EGYPT [asking him] to send to him the bones of NESTORIUS in a coffin to BAGHDÂD, as he wished to bury them in the church of KHÔKÊ. One of the NESTORIAN monks, wishing to remove disgrace from the people of his district, and show that it was not [the grave of] NESTORIUS which was mocked at and stoned by the JACOBITES, said, 'One of the holy Apostles said unto me in a dream of the night, "This is a mistake. The bones of NESTORIUS are not there, and, moreover, no man knoweth his grave."' And in this wise GABRIEL the physician delayed in bringing the bones from EGYPT.

After HÂRÔN RASHÎD, MÂHAMMÂD AMÎN, his son, [ruled] four years and seven months. This Khalîfah stopped the building of HERACLEIA, which his father was building, and he took up the treasures from CALONICUS to BAGHDÂD, and also the silver (money) of the people which MÂMÔN, his brother, who reigned in KHÔRÂSÂN, [had collected].

In the year eleven hundred and twenty-one (A.D. 810) AMÎN and MÂMÔN began to quarrel with each other, and the beginning of the evil lay with AMÎN. For he was a lascivious man and luxurious, and a riotous liver, and he did not give to his brother the money which his father had granted to him; moreover, he held his brother in the greatest antipathy, and he sent men to follow him about in a crafty manner, so that he might seize him. And MÂMÔN, knowing his guile, did not come. Then many rebels appeared. [Among them] a man whose name was 'ÔMAR, who, because of the murders which he had committed in SAMOSATA, was shut up in prison in CALONICUS. He killed the warder of the prison, and fled to SAMOSATA. He killed the Amîr through whom he was put in prison. He robbed the merchants. He collected a gang and began to waylay travellers, and to kill and rob in PALESTINE. And he destroyed the army which came against him with SÛLAIMÂN, the captain of the host. And another rebel who was in ARMENIA, whose name was NÂŞIR, came to 'ÔMAR, and he made a bond with him, and they began to destroy the world. Then AMÎN sent 'ÂLÎ, the captain of the host, with thirty thousand men against his brother MÂMÔN, and MÂMÔN sent ẖÂHIR, the captain of the host, with four thousand men. And they met each other on the river of BALKH, and 'ÂLÎ was defeated, and the greater number of his troops were drowned in the river.

And in the year eleven hundred and twenty-two (A.D. 811) NICEPHOR, king [136] of the RHÔMÂYÊ, went against the BÛLGÂRÂYÊ, and he captured their royal city, and 'opened' it and destroyed it. And they killed many people, and they also laid out their children upon the ground, and crushed them to death under heavy waggons. And in that year NICEPHOR was killed by a certain RHÔMÂYÂ.

And in the year eleven hundred and twenty-three (A.D. 812) NÂŞIR and 'AMAR (*sic*) the rebels met together, and they passed over into GÂZARTÂ.



And they killed without mercy those who were with them, and they plundered and robbed, and they committed fornication with men's wives, and with virgins, and also idle men. And having encamped against ḤARRÂN and taken it, the ARABS who were in EDESSA wrote to the rebels, saying, that if they would send some one who would destroy the ciborium of the church of the Christians, they would give [them] all their gold for the benefit of their church. And because 'ABŪ JA'AFÂR had already overthrown the wall of EDESSA, the citizens of EDESSA were greatly afraid. And they decreed a fast, and they kept vigils and [prayed] prayers. Then God put it into the heart of the old man YAḤYÂH, the son of SA'ÎD, and he departed and went to NÂŞIR and 'AMAR (*sic*) the rebels, and he advised them to go away. And they accepted the counsel of the old man, and they took the five thousand *zûzê* which the men of EDESSA gave them and departed. And in [this] year, on the fourteenth day of the month of 'ÎYÂR (MAY), there was a total eclipse of the sun for two hours, and the stars became visible, and men lighted lamps. Then the sun showed itself for about one hour in the west.

And in the year eleven hundred and twenty-four (A.D. 813) those rebels captured the ṬARSEKYÂNÊ, and the BÊTH ZABÎRÂYÊ, and the BÂMÂRÂYÊ, and they found in a small monastery which was outside the village of ḤADÎŞ a blessed man, an ascetic. And they demanded from him everything which he had with him, both his own property and that which belonged to others; and when he cast them out they burnt him and his dwelling-place (or, cell). And 'AMAR went to SAMOSATA, and he [re]built its fortress and dwelt therein. And NÂŞIR went to SERŪGH and he made it to produce tribute for him. And whilst these things were being done among the ARABS, things like unto them were being done among the RHÔMÂYÊ. For NICEPHOR having been killed, his son SṬÂWRÎKÎ reigned. And after five months the BŪLGÂRÂYÊ came against the royal city, and they caused SṬÂWRÎKÎ to be smitten on his body and he died. And MICHAEL, his daughter's husband, reigned one year. And some say that his sister PROCOPIA blinded him so that MICHAEL, her husband, might reign. And again the BŪLGÂRÂYÊ went in, [137] but he did not wish to go out and fight with them. Then zeal laid hold upon LEO the Patrician, and he went forth and made war on the BŪLGÂRÂYÊ and defeated them; and he killed their king. And he went and seized MICHAEL, and he shaved his head and placed him in a monastery, and he castrated his sons. And he himself reigned seven years and a half. And he made peace with the BŪLGÂRÂYÊ, and gave to them the salt marsh about which they were fighting.

And in the year eleven hundred and twenty-five (A.D. 814) NÂŞIR seized RÎSH KÎPÂ, and SERŪGH and KHÎSHŪM, and he built three walls for KHÎSHŪM. And ABŪ SHAIKH built the wall of EDESSA at the expense of the citizens of EDESSA. Then 'ABD ALLÂH, the son of HISHÂM, seized ḤARRÂN, and 'AMAR took TELLÂ, and ḤŪBÎB took RÎSH 'AINÂ, and 'ABD ALLÂH [took] MARDE, and 'ABBÂS [took] KŪRÔS (SRŪ?), and 'OTHMÂN [took] KENNESHRIÎN, and ANTIOCH,



and APAMEA. And THÂBITH set up two gates in the mountain pass of CILICIA, and he established guards, so that the district of CILICIA might be a haven of safety to those who were being persecuted and to the poor. And HUSAIN, the captain of the host, meditating rebellion against king AMÎN, said to the PERSIANS, 'AMÎN is an ally of the ARABS, and a hater of the PERSIANS'. And he made a company of them (i.e. the PERSIANS), and they went against AMÎN, and they cast fetters of iron on him and shut him up in prison. And HUSAIN went out and sat on the Bridge of BAGHDÂD, and he summoned his troops to submit to MÂMÔN. Then from the prison AMÎN sent gifts to HUSAIN so that his life and properties only might be given to him. Then HUSAIN, and the PERSIANS, though it was grievous unto them, released him and set him upon his throne. And he swore to HUSAIN that he would not impute to him folly, and he also gave to him his ring. Now HUSAIN did not believe him, but fled to HARTÂMÂ, the captain of the host of MÂMÔN. And NÂŞIR the rebel collected all the ARABS who worshipped wooden idols, and they came to CALONICUS, and they camped in the churches of the Christians, and forced them to bear the burden of the expenses. And they afflicted RÂPEKÂH with war. And CYRIACUS the Patriarch and THEODOSIUS of EDESSA were in the city, and through the famine they ate bread made of rice and vegetables. And afterwards they made a peace which was no peace, since the 'ÂKULÂYÊ made themselves masters of CALONICUS and the PERSIANS of RÂPEKÂH.

And in that same year when MÂMÔN saw that many were in doubt about AMÎN [138] his brother, he sent the captains of the host HARTÂMÂ and TÂHIR to BAGHDÂD. And the men of BAGHDÂD were divided into two parties, and schism fell on the whole city. And they used to go into the treasuries of the kings and steal the gold and apparel, and they robbed each other, and became accustomed to plundering. And because there were no stones in BAGHDÂD, they began to smash up the pillars of the churches and to hurl [the pieces] from the engines of war. And when AMÎN saw these things he sent HARTÂMÂ to swear to him concerning his life and property, and he swore to him. Now when TÂHIR heard this he was wroth, and he set watchers and they overtook AMÎN in the night when he was fleeing on a raft (or, float). But AMÎN threw himself into the river and he swam away and escaped, and hid himself in the house of a peasant. And being found there he was killed, and his head was stuck upon a spear, and was taken round about through BAGHDÂD on the First Day of the Week, on the fifth day of the month MÛHARRAM, in the year one hundred and ninety-eight of the HÂGÂRÂYÊ (or, Muslims, A.D. 813).

After AMÎN, MÂMÔN his brother [ruled] twenty years and a half. This Khalîfah sent and had HARTÂMÂ, the captain of the host, brought to him in KHÔRÂSÂN—now it was he who had sworn to AMÎN—and he killed him. And the companions of HARTÂMÂ burned with fury, and they went to



BALÂNÎ (BÂLÂNÂSH?), and killed the man who had killed him. And MÂMÔN commanded and he impaled them.

Then NÂŞIR collected the KAISÂYÊ (i.e. wood-worshippers?), and he went against the TANÛKÂYÊ who were encamped on the river KÂWWAIK in ALEPPO. And they made war on them for ten days. And the TANÛKÂYÊ were unequal to them, and they marched away by night, both men and women, to KENNESHİRÎN. And the KAISÂYÊ and the men of ALEPPO went and captured their great warehouses which were full of rich [stuffs] and all kinds of merchandise. And as a little while before they had been stripped naked of their Faith, so now they went forth from their riches bare and naked.

And after these things TÂHIR, the captain of the host of MÂMÔN, arrived with four thousand PERSIANS at CALONICUS, and he chased the rebels. And he increased the tribute and gifts to be paid, even more than the rebels, and he treated the men of SERÛGH and EDESSA so evilly that his companions gathered together to kill him, because he withheld from them their proper share. And when he perceived this, he cast himself down from the wall and fled to CALONICUS. And in the morning, when his comrades perceived this, they were afraid lest NÂŞIR should overtake them, and they also fled. [139] And the citizens of EDESSA were freed from heavy taxes.

Then NÂŞIR descended on the PERSIANS who were partizans of TÂHIR, and fifty by fifty, and hundred by hundred [his men] seized them and slaughtered them as if they had been sheep. And the rebels NÂŞIR and 'AMAR went up against EDESSA to plunder it, and they made cruel war upon it. And the PERSIANS and the citizens went up on the wall and fought, and even the women carried up stones for the fight, and water for the fighting men to drink. And those who were unable to go up [on the walls] bowed themselves in prayer, and of these 'I was one', saith the Patriarch MÂR DIONYSIUS of TALL MAHRÊ. 'And the Lord spared [us], and smote 'AMAR, and the rebels departed.'

And when the men of BAGHDÂD saw the strength of the rebels, and as MÂMÔN was far away, they brought his uncle, that is to say IBRÂHÎM, the son of MAHDÎ, and made him king. Then ḤASÂN, the captain of the host of MÂMÔN, who had gone away to 'ÂḲULÂ from the disturbance, made ready for war with the men of BAGHDÂD. And TÂHIR, who received the rebels into his house in CALONICUS, gave gifts to some of them, and made others rulers over districts. He made IBRÂHÎM, the KORAISHITE, governor in ḤÂRRÂN. Whilst this man was walking about in his upper chamber in ḤÂRRÂN, he saw some new buildings. And when he asked the ARABS who were round about him [what they were], they said unto him, 'They are the churches which the Christians have built in thy days, and therefore the Muslims are offended with thee'. Then he was wroth and he commanded the demolition of the new churches. And before the sun set they had rooted up the altar of our great church which is in ḤÂRRÂN, and that of the God-bearer which



is in KÛBÂ, and a small portion of the temple of MÂR GEORGE, and other temples of the churches of the CHALCEDONIANS, and the NESTORIANS, and the JEWS. And during the night, when he was sleeping, God made him tremble in a dream, and in the morning he summoned the Christians and told them to build up what had been overthrown. And in a few days they rebuilt everything which had been damaged. And this IBRÂHÎM permitted the heathen of HARRÂN to perform their mysteries openly, and at length they arrived at such a pitch of boldness that they decked out an ox in costly apparel, and gave him a crown of flowers, and they hung little bells on his horns, and they walked him round about the bazârs whilst [men sang] songs and [played] pipes; and in this manner they offered him up as a sacrifice to their gods.

ṬÂHIR made 'ABD AL-'ÂLÂ governor in EDESSA, and he oppressed the people cruelly with taxation. And when [140] the people of EDESSA complained to him about what they suffered from those who were quartered in their houses, he replied, 'In the time of the RHÔMÂYÊ ye enjoyed yourselves in this land, whilst our fathers were wandering about in arid deserts and pasturing camels in the cold which shrivelled their bodies and heat which burnt them up. And now that we have made this land habitable by our sword, why do ye find it difficult to deliver it over to us?' Thereupon the citizens of EDESSA went out sad and sorry. And ṬÂHIR built the wall between CALONICUS and RÂPEKÂH, and made himself strong. And he devoted himself to the reading and explanation and conversation of the philosophers.

And in the year eleven hundred and thirty (A.D. 819) MÂMÔN came from KHÔRÂSÂN to BAGHDÂD, and IBRÂHÎM his uncle fled and hid himself, and the men of BAGHDÂD greeted their lord peacefully. And in the year eleven hundred and thirty-two (A.D. 821) MÂMÔN sent ṬÂHIR to KHÔRÂSÂN to govern it, and he magnified 'ABD ALLÂH his son, and appointed him in his father's place. Then NÂŞIR the rebel became strong (or, prevailed) and he sold the fortress of BÊTH BÂLÂSH. And he collected his troops and came down to HÂNÎ, the river which is near CALONICUS. And when 'ÎSÂ came out, the people of the bazârs being with him, NÂŞIR killed them all and plundered and took possession of the villages.

Then MÂMÔN sent against him SHABÎB, a mighty man of war, and seven thousand chosen PERSIANS, and they met (i.e. attacked) NÂŞIR, and the ARABS who were with him turned their backs (i.e. fled). And the PERSIANS began to rob the poor shopkeepers, and they ate and drank and boasted themselves as if they had defeated the rebel. Then NÂŞIR came back upon them, and the PERSIANS were broken through fear. When SHABÎB saw that he had failed, he wished to depart secretly by night to ANTIOCH. NÂŞIR perceived [this] and pursued him, and he cut off about three thousand of the PERSIANS who were with him and captured all of them. And SHABÎB, together with a few men, fled to BAGHDÂD. And NÂŞIR came and laid an



ambush in the villages that were on the river SÂGÛR, that is to say the SHÛGRÂ which is by MABBÛGH. And when all the men went forth to their work, they fell upon them and killed both men and women. And many of the peasants and the poor folk having gone up to the monastery of BÔRÎM, he set fire to it, and some of them were burned to death. And of those who cast themselves down and fell and were dashed to pieces, he cut off the heads and carried them with him to SERÛGH.

When MÂMÔN heard these things he sent 'ABD ALLÂH, [141] the son of TÂHIR, with twenty thousand men, and he attacked BÂLÂSH, and he made fierce war upon it, and breached the wall. And he went in and seized the rebels who were partisans of NÂŞIR, and he cast fetters on them and sent them to BAGHDÂD. Then NÂŞIR on the borders of SERÛGH slew both the Christians and the PERSIANS.

In the year eleven hundred and thirty-three (A.D. 822) LEO recovered his strength and killed many of the nobles. And the RHÔMÂYÊ pondered in their minds about him and decided to kill him, and to appoint MICHAEL, the captain of the host, [in his stead]. And when LEO perceived this he sent and seized MICHAEL. And he made ready to crucify him on the Friday of the Crucifixion, but his wife entreated that he should not be killed on that day. Then LEO (MICHAEL?) sent to the governors (or, nobles), saying, 'If ye do not save me, I will make it known that all of you are participators in the treachery'. And the nobles being thus coerced leaped upon the king as he was standing at the altar praying, and they killed him. And they brought out MICHAEL and made him king.

When this man had reigned four years, THEKLÂ his wife died, and he sent and brought out from the nunnery the grand-daughter of CONSTANTINE and took her to wife. And when she bore to him a son, being a grand-daughter of EIRENE, the queen, she was very anxious to bring the boy up [free] from the influence of the JEWS, but she only schemed and killed her own son. For the priest of this MICHAEL was a JEW, and he believed and was baptized.

At this time MÂMÔN called THÂÔMÂ, the man who had declared that he himself was the son of CONSTANTINE the king, and sent him with an army against CONSTANTINOPLE. And he came and pitched his tent by [that city] and afflicted it for six months. And being urged to do so, MICHAEL, the king, promised the Arab prisoners that he would send them back if they would fight against THÂÔMÂ. And when the RHÔMÂYÊ went forth with the ARABS they broke the army which was with THÂÔMÂ. He, however, fled to a fortress, but he was captured, and his hands and feet were cut off, and he was impaled on a spear. Now MICHAEL went back on his promise, and did not release the Arab prisoners.

And in the year eleven hundred and thirty-five (A.D. 824), in the month of TESHÎN (OCTOBER), TÂHIR encamped against KHÎSHÛM, and he set up there engines of war which could hurl stones each large enough to form an ass's



load. Now KHÎSHÛM had five walls and [an outer] wall. Then NÂŞIR commanded that the Christian women [142] should go up [on the walls] carrying their children, and should weep and entreat [the attackers] that they might not be stoned with stones. Now BAR-ṬÂHIR, being a compassionate man, commanded that they should not cast stones into the city, but should smite the wall only. Then NÂŞIR opened the gate of the city, and he sent his three sons, and two hundred loads of fine flour, and three hundred loads of barley, and five hundred sheep, and ten mules, and ten slaves, and three concubines, and three eunuchs, and said, 'In the morning I myself will come'. Then BAR-ṬÂHIR commanded the young men and said, 'Get ye in to your kinsfolk so that they may not be anxious'; and in the morning NÂŞIR went forth, and he walked from a distance on foot. And he drew nigh, and bowed low, and kissed the foot and the hand of BAR-ṬÂHIR. Then BAR-ṬÂHIR also came down, and the two of them sat down together, and they talked to each other secretly (i.e. privately). Then BAR-ṬÂHIR commanded NÂŞIR, and he stood up and entered the city, pretending that after twenty days he would go to BAR-ṬÂHIR at CALONICUS. And BAR-ṬÂHIR in his simplicity believed him. And taking with him MANŞÛR, the son of NÂŞIR, he marched to SAMOSATA, and seized the rebel who was there. And NÂŞIR began to build up and to fortify KHÎSHÛM. And he sent a message to BAR-ṬÂHIR, saying, 'I have prepared myself for war with thee, and as for my son MANŞÛR, do not only shut him up in prison in BAGHDÂD, but roast him in the fire and eat [him]'.

Then, in the month of ÂB (AUGUST), BAR-ṬÂHIR again pitched his tent by KHÎSHÛM, and he waged fierce war against it. And NÂŞIR did not let any man weep for the dead. And when the fighting waxed fierce, and the outer wall had been breached, NÂŞIR again made the Christian women to go up on the top of the wall carrying their children and weeping. And BAR-ṬÂHIR had compassion on them, and he stopped the fighting. And the troops built houses for the winter and sat down there. And the famine waxed severe in the city until the head of a donkey was sold for ten *zûzê*. Then NÂŞIR was smitten with sorrow, and he went out confidently to BAR-ṬÂHIR, and he and his companions, mounted on mules, were carried to BAGHDÂD. And this deliverance from rebels took place in the month of 'ÂDHÂR (MARCH), in the year eleven hundred and thirty-six (A.D. 825).

And in the same year about thirty thousand men of BÔSRÂ sat (i.e. embarked) in ships, and sailed against the men of BAḤRAIN, who were robbing the ships which came from [143] INDIA and CHINA and PERSIA. And when they arrived at the country of BAḤRAIN they fell into the depth of the sea (i.e. they were carried out to sea), because they did not know where the entrances (i.e. ports) were. And the men of BAḤRAIN went out against them in small boats (or, on rafts), and they sunk all the men of BÔSRÂ.

And at that time MÂMÔN shut up in prison four KÛRAISHITE chiefs who



were plotting a rebellion against him. They had banded themselves secretly with certain men who were to set fire to the bazâr of the citadel, and when the king went out to the place where the fire was, they were to kill him. And when MÂMÔN became acquainted with the plot, he sent by night and killed the KÛRAISHITES, and in the morning he hung their bodies on wooden posts. And he also seized his uncle IBRÂHÎM, and when he saw that he was an old man he permitted him to live. This man learnt the art of playing the lyre, and he used to buy young men and maidens and sell [them] and live.

And at this time the two rebels, SÂRÎ and GÂÛRÎ, seized EGYPT, and they collected gold as [if it was as common as] stones. And having died, their sons became [governors]: 'ÛBAID, the son of SÂRÎ, over FÔSTÂT and the southern side, and 'AĤMÂD, the son of GÂÛRÎ, over the northern quarter.

And in the year eleven hundred and thirty-seven (A.D. 826) BAR-ṬÂHIR came to 'ARÎSH, and 'AĤMAD went out and received from him a word (i.e. pledge) for the safety of the property of his father GÂÛRÎ, who, when he was dying, said, 'I am revered by the country in proportion to the [amount of] gold which I bring into it!' 'ÛBAID, however, resisted (or, rebelled), because the number of his troops was eighty thousand. Then BAR-ṬÂHIR encamped against FÔSTÂT in the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL), and he blocked up the roads which brought in food by sea (i.e. the river NILE) and by land. Then 'ÛBAID begged for a word (i.e. pledge) concerning his life and property, and he went forth to BAR-ṬÂHIR, and they made peace and ate and drank together. And in the year eleven hundred and thirty-eight (A.D. 827) BAR-ṬÂHIR encamped against ALEXANDRIA, for the sons of 'ANDÂLÔS had taken it, and they had expelled the Christians and the JEWS and sat down in their houses. And after nine months, during which he had afflicted the ALEXANDRIANS with war and hunger, he subjugated them. Fifty (or, five?) of their population he sent to CALONICUS and the rest departed to their own country. And he subjugated AFRICA also, and appointed two of their own righteous men to be their chiefs.

And in the year eleven hundred and forty (A.D. 829) MICHAEL, the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, died, and THEOPHILUS his son reigned [in his stead]. Now four years before the death of his father [144] the crown had been put on his head. For from the time when THEKLA, his [MICHAEL'S] wife, died, and he took another [woman], he neither placed the crown [on his head] nor sat upon the royal throne, for no twice-married man can reign over the RHÔMÂYÊ. Now as for the second wife whom he took from a nunnery, when he died she again shaved her head and went into a nunnery.

At this time the KÛRDÂNÂYÊ people, who were Muslims, rebelled against the ARABS, because there had appeared to them a king, the [long-]expected MAHDÎ. This man threw a covering over his face, and he called himself 'CHRIST' and the 'HOLY GHOST'. And crowds of people gathered



together about him, and he fortified a camp in the mountains of the country of the KARDEWÂYÊ. And even MÂMÔN trembled before him, and he sent HASÂN, the captain of the host, against him, and HASÂN captured him in TÛR 'ABDÎN, whilst he was plundering the monastery of KARTAMÎN. And the KÛRDÂNÂYÊ were broken, and the MAHDÎ fled to the country of ISAAC BAR-'ÂHÛD, the ARMENIAN. And ISAAC caught him and cut off his head.

Then the KÛRDÂNÂYÊ gathered together again, and they encamped against the fortress of ISAAC, whilst he was making ready outside it. And those who were in the fortress trembled greatly. Then when the monk, the brother of ISAAC'S wife, saw that the KÛRDÂNÂYÊ were about to enter the fortress, he took a spear, and cast himself from the wall, and made his way straight to the chief of the KÛRDÂNÂYÊ, and drove the spear into him and killed him; and he went [back] into the fortress in peace (i.e. unharmed). And when the night came those who were inside the fortress had no other hope left except in weeping and make humble prayer to God that He would deliver them. And that pious woman, the wife of ISAAC, passed the whole night in casting her son, who was sucking, before the Lord, weeping and tearful. And at the time of dawn ISAAC arrived with his valiant troops. And the KÛRDÂNÂYÊ, who had turned their backs to flee, were impeded (or, stopped) by the snow. And in this wise the greater number of them were destroyed and slain, and the few who escaped set up a chief [called] 'HÂRÔN', and 'ÂLÎ killed him. And after him [arose] BÂBEK, a cattle keeper. And many of them fled to THEOPHILUS, king of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And the BÛLGÂRÂYÊ also were subject to him. And he collected the BÛLGÂRÂYÊ and went forth and encamped against ZÛBATRÂ, and 'opened' it. And he killed the men who were therein, and he carried off the wives and virgins, and he burnt the town and returned. And the ARABS built it up again.

And after one year 'AMANÛ'ÎL the Patrician rebelled [145] against THEOPHILA, and he came to MÂMÔN and incited him to invade the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And MÂMÔN invaded it in the month of HAZÎRÂN (JUNE) and captured four fortresses in CAPPADOCIA. And in the month of 'ÎYÂR (MAY), in the year eleven hundred and forty-two (A.D. 831), he again invaded it and pitched his camp by the fortress of LÔLÔN (LÛLWÂH?), but he was unable to master it. And after one year, when the inhabitants thereof had been sore afflicted with hunger, they surrendered 'ÛJAIR. And 'AMANÛ'ÎL the Patrician abandoned the ARABS and turned to THEOPHILUS. Then MÂMÔN was wroth, and he swore that he would go in and trample upon (or, crush) the RHÔMÂYÊ. And when THEOPHILUS heard [this] he was afraid, and he sent a message to MÂMÔN concerning peace, and saying that he would pay tribute. And MÂMÔN replied, 'I will make peace on the following condition, that is to say that ye proclaim me your king. And as for the amount of the tribute, whether it be large or whether it be small, I shall not complain.' When THEOPHILUS heard these things he held his peace, and did not reply further.



And MÂMÔN went to CILICIA. And there came to him a certain impostor who said that he was 'of the stock of kings'. And MÂMÔN received him, and he commanded JOB, the Patriarch of the CHALCEDONIANS, and he prayed over him, and he made him a king, and bound the crown on him. And when he had lived in the camp of the RHÔMÂYÊ for two years, and none of them had come to him, he became a Muslim through 'ABÛ-ESHÂK, the son of MÂMÔN. And the bishops gathered together to the Patriarch JOB who had appointed him, and they excommunicated him.

And in the year eleven hundred and forty-three (A.D. 832) MÂMÔN went against EGYPT, and with him was MÂR DIONYSIUS the Patriarch. And he found that the NILE was frozen over—a thing which had never before been heard of. And in the month of 'ÎYÂR (MAY) MÂMÔN invaded the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and he had with him his two sons MU'TAŞIM and 'ABBÂS. And he gathered together workmen for the [re]building of TÛÂNÂ, which had been destroyed by the ARABS, and there he fell sick and died on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), on the eighth day of the fourth month of the two hundred and eighteenth year of the HÂGÂRÂYÊ (ARABS), and he was buried at TARSUS in CILICIA (A.D. 833).

After MÂMÔN, MÛ'TAŞIM his son [ruled] eight years and eight months. When MÂMÔN died there was a violent dispute among the ARABS for three days, as to which of his two sons was to reign. And when they were all assembled suddenly the curtain of the door was raised, and 'ABBÂS went out and said, 'The kingdom belongs to MÛ'TAŞIM, therefore [146] pray ye for the preservation of his life'; and then peace came on the camp. And having burnt the building of TÛÂNÂ, and the entrances of the building, and the passage, MÛ'TAŞIM went down to BAGHDÂD, and the nobles went out to meet him, although they were displeased with him because of his severity.

And when he was firmly established in the kingdom, he began to build magnificent buildings for his abode, and he constructed lakes of water and paradises for his pleasure. He was very luxurious in his personal habits, and he devoted himself to the drinking of wine. And when he saw the ZÛTÂYÊ pirates who infested the bays (or, gulfs) which the rivers of the EUPHRATES and TIGRIS were eroding in the shores, whom the soldiers were unable to cope with because they fought in small boats (or, on floats), he sent for the EGYPTIANS whom he had brought back as captives, and who were accustomed [to fighting] in the water, for they could dive like fish. And they smote the ZÛTÂYÊ with spears suddenly (or, unexpectedly), and they split asunder. And thus the ZÛTÂYÊ were defeated, and they and their kinsfolk were seized, and they perished in prison in BAGHDÂD.

At this time there appeared a huge fish in the SEA OF BAHRÂN, and he was about a mile long. He had troubled the sea for three months, and those who dived for pearls were unable to descend into the sea. Then God sent a small fish, and it entered his ear and killed him. And he was washed



about by the waves and cast up out [of the water]. The fire could not cook his flesh, but [the people] dried him in the sun and pounded [his flesh] and ate [him]. And at this time they brought to 'ABD ALLÂH BAR-ṬÂHIR, the governor of KHÔRÂSÂN, a youth who had been brought forth by his mother that year; and he had arrived at the stature of a man, and the hair of puberty had sprouted. A matter which was unnatural!

And in the year eleven hundred and forty-six (A.D. 835) there was a flood of the river ZÛBATRÂ by night, and it undermined the wall and invaded the houses; and three thousand of the people were drowned in their houses. And there was also a flood of the river TIGRIS and it destroyed houses in BAGHDÂD.

And in the same year a command went forth, and at the dawn of the Sunday of the Resurrection the MAHRÂYÊ (Muslims) destroyed the temples of MÂR GEORGE of KHÔKÊ and MÂR AḤÛDEMEH, under the pretence that they had been recently built. And ÔMAR, governor of MELITENE, made a raid into the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and THEOPHILA the king met him. At first the RHÔMÂYÊ defeated the ARABS, but subsequently the ARABS gained the upper hand and the RHÔMÂYÊ fled. And the ARABS entered the fortified camp (*fôstâton*) of the king, and looted [147] even his bed and his apparel.

And in the year eleven hundred and forty-seven (A.D. 836) MÛ'TAṢIM sent a message to the king of the NEBÂDÎS, that is to say the NUBIANS, [ordering him] to send tribute according to ancient use and wont, and [telling him] that if he did not send [it] he would dispatch an army against him. And when the envoy arrived he found that the king of the NUBIANS was dead, and that a young man whose name was GÎWARGÎ (GEORGE), who on his mother's side was descended from the royal stock, had risen up, and that his father ZECHARIAH was administering [the kingdom]. Then when ZECHARIAH saw that the ARABS were powerful, he said to the envoy, 'It is true that it is our duty to give tribute annually, viz. three hundred and sixty Moorish slaves, and baboons who can walk about and have been taught to imitate the ways and actions of men, and ostriches, that is to say, giraffes (?), and bones (i.e. tusks) of elephants, and thongs of panther skins. But it was the duty of the kings of the ARABS to send us tribute, such as a *kûr* of wheat and rich apparel, and that there should be to us a man who collecteth contributions from the NUBIANS who dwell in the country of the ARABS. Now inasmuch as they (i.e. the ARABS) have cut off [their tribute], we also have cut off [ours]. But because we have heard of the goodness of your king, and the greatness of his family, we will not make conversation with an ambassador, but our new king shall go in person to do homage to him.' Then the envoy quickly sent a message and informed MÛ'TAṢIM. And he replied, 'Let him come'. And he commanded the prefects of EGYPT to go to meet him as far as the city of SÎWÂNÎ (ASWÂN, SYENE), which was on the frontier, and that when he came to FÔSTÂṬ he



would give him as many camels as sufficed for his baggage, and thirty *dinârs* each day for his expenses. And in this wise did GÎWÂRGÎ (GEORGE) travel in the countries of the ARABS. He was mounted on a camel with a saddle, and above him was a canopy (i.e. umbrella) covered with rich stuff which shaded him, and on his head was fixed a cross of gold, and in one hand was a staff (or, sceptre). And young NUBIANS marched on his right hand and on his left. And a bishop rode in front of him holding in his hands the redeeming Cross; and there were horsemen and slaves round about him riding horses.

And when GEORGE came down to BAGHDÂD, he rode through the bazârs and alighted at one of the royal palaces. Then a certain NUBIAN, who used to collect the contribution (or, tax) of the NUBIANS who dwelt in the country of the ARABS, and who had rebelled against the king of the NUBIANS, and had embraced Islâm, uttered calumnies concerning GÎWÂRGÎ (GEORGE), saying, 'This man GÎWÂRGÎ (GEORGE) is not the son of a king, but is an impostor'. [148] And for this reason MÛ'TAŞIM left GÎWÂRGÎ (GEORGE) in BAGHDÂD, from the month of SHEBHÂT (FEBRUARY) until the month of ÂB (AUGUST)—until he had sent to EGYPT and made inquiries. And when he was convinced that that rebel had spoken lies, and that GÎWÂRGÎ (GEORGE) was in truth a king, he sent to fetch him and made his troops to go to meet him; and when GÎWÂRGÎ (GEORGE) had entered [his presence] he made him to sit down before him and welcomed him cordially. And he gave him abundant gifts, and sent him back again to his own country with honours.

And MÂR DIONYSIUS, the Patriarch, saith, 'I was in BAGHDÂD at that time, and after I had gone up to MÛ'TAŞIM in the new city which he had built between the two rivers, the EUPHRATES and the TIGRIS, he sent me, together with SÛLAIMÂN his physician, to go and meet the king of the NUBIANS. And when I had gone together with certain bishops and believing men, I saw an intelligent young man about twenty years old. And he informed me through an interpreter about his orthodoxy, and how much he abhorred any mingling with heretics. And on the First Day of the Week I offered up the Offering, and I made him to partake of It and his people. For they had with them the sacred vessels and the treasured objects [used during the celebration] of the Mysteries.' At this time BÂBEK, the KHÂWÂ-RAZMITE, who had rebelled against the ARABS in PERSIA, and had killed tens of thousands of them, suffered defeat. NÂŞIR, the captain of his host, fled with many of his partisans to THEOPHILA and became Christians.

And in the year eleven hundred and forty-eight (A.D. 837) THEOPHILA again went forth to ZÛBATRÂ, and he destroyed mercilessly ARABS, CHRISTIANS, and JEWS alike. And he passed over into the country of MELITENE, and spoiled and burned, and went and encamped against SAMOSATA. And some of the RABÎ'ÂYÊ ARABS, and some of the people of MELITENE, gathered together, and they went against the RHÔMÂYÊ. And the ARABS were



defeated, and four thousand of them fell. And THEOPHILA came back to attack the men of MELITENE, and he threatened that if they did not surrender he would do to them as he had done [to those] in ZÛBAṬRÂ. Then the judges and the nobles went forth to him, and they presented gifts to him, and they brought out the captive RHÔMÂYÊ who were in MELITENE, and he struck his camp and departed. When BÂBEK, the Khâwârazmite rebel, saw that his party was powerless, he loaded up his money [on beasts] and fled together with four hundred of his men to the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And when he arrived in ARMENIA a certain nobleman whose name was EṢṬAPHÂNÂ flattered him and took him into his house [149] ostensibly to pay him honour, but he cast fetters of iron on him. And when MÛ'TAṢIM heard [this] he sent 'APSHÎN, the captain of his host, with gifts for EṢṬAPHÂNÂ, and they took BÂBEK and killed him. For this man had destroyed more than one hundred thousand of the soldiers of the ARABS.

And in the year eleven hundred and forty-nine (A.D. 838) MÛ'TAṢIM went to the country of the RHÔMÂYÊ from the fortress of ṬARSÔS with twenty thousand men; and he sent 'APSHÎN, the captain of his host, with thirty thousand men by another side. And when MÛ'TAṢIM arrived at NICAËA, he found it empty, and he pulled down its wall. And from there he came to ANCYRÂ, and there, too, he found no one, because the people had fled to the great city of 'AMÛRÎN, and he pulled down the wall of ANCYRÂ.

Then THEOPHILA came against 'APSHÎN, and he destroyed about three thousand of the ARABS. And God, praise be to His goodness! straightway sent a violent rainstorm. And when THEOPHILA withdrew himself to one side with two thousand [men], the rest of the RHÔMÂYÊ thought that the king had been killed, and they fled to CONSTANTINOPLE. And when the rain stopped and the atmosphere became clear, the numerous troops of the ARABS surrounded the two thousand men of THEOPHILA, but they were unable to do them any harm until they had brought engines of war so that they might hurl stones on them. And the RHÔMÂYÊ leaped out, killing and being killed, and they broke through the ranks of the ARABS and went out. And because the evening overtook them, the RHÔMÂYÊ kindled lights during the night round about their camp, and they marched hurriedly to 'AMÛRÎN. And forthwith there came an envoy from the mother of THEOPHILUS who said, 'The RHÔMÂYÊ who have come have reported that thou art killed, and they wish to appoint [another] king; haste thee, come'.

Then THEOPHILA set in motion the army of 'AMÛRÎN, and he commanded and its gates were shut and he left it as on the edge of a razor; and he went to CONSTANTINOPLE and killed the nobles who wished to appoint a king. Then MÛ'TAṢIM, not being pleased with his entrance, was sorry and said, 'We have not done well in coming in here'; and he set his face to go forth. Then 'AḤMÂD, a confidant of his, said, 'It is not seemly for a king like thyself to go out in an empty manner. Behold, the city of 'AMÛRÎN is



not far from us, let us go and take it'. And having come against it MÛ'TAŞIM raised up [150] mounds round about it. And whilst those who were outside [the wall] were stoning those who were inside [it], those who were inside were slaying those who came near the wall with the blocks of stone which they were detaching from it. And the three-footed stands covered with hides did not in the least degree benefit the men who were digging holes (or, trenches) under the wall. In three days, on the two sides, thousands died. Then, when those outside the wall saw a damaged part of the wall, they collected engines of war in front of it and in two days they breached it. And those who were inside collected about the rent in the wall, and they added to the number of the slain among those who were outside the wall, and they were unable to go in. Now the RHÔMÂYÊ demanded to be allowed to go out to him, and THEOPHILA permitted them [to do so]. And the bishop and three nobles went out, and they asked permission to evacuate the city and to depart. But MÛ'TAŞIM hardened his heart, because very many of his men had been killed, and he would not accept [their entreaty].

And when they turned back to go in[to the city], one of the nobles whose name was BÔDÎN turned to MÛ'TAŞIM and received a word (i.e. pledge) concerning those who belonged to him, and he said, 'I will hand over the city easily'. And the king of the ARABS gave him ten thousand darics. And when BÔDÎN went in he restrained the warriors who were inside fighting, saying, 'Ye have killed enough ARABS by the breach in the wall. We are captured. Therefore, hold your hands. Peradventure he will show mercy upon us.' And in this wise the ARABS entered the city. And they seized 'ÂËTÎS the Patrician, and EUPARKÂ, and BÔDÎN who betrayed the city, and they destroyed heaps, heaps [of the people]. And the command went forth that the ARABS should kill no more, but should make captives among the population, and then loot the city. And when they had enslaved the people and looted [the houses] they set fire to the city. There were very many churches, and nunneries (or, monasteries) in the city, and one thousand virgins went out in captivity, besides those who were killed.

And when the captives were assembled together, the king saw that the crowd was very large, and the king commanded and four thousand of the people were killed. And when the soldiers began to tear the boys and girls from their mothers, an outcry from the mothers rose up. When the king heard this he was indignant, and he rose up in a fury and leaped on a horse, and with his own hand he killed three men who were in the hands of the slaves who met him. And forthwith they gathered together the mass of captives, and some of them MÛ'TAŞIM gave to the captains of the troops, and some to the TÛRKÂYÊ his slaves, and some they sold to merchants. When a whole house (i.e. family) was sold the sons were not separated from [their] fathers. And the ARABS [151] wondered about that terrible breach



in the wall more than the RHÔMÂÏÊ, because they said that it was written with them (i.e. in their books) that when 'AMÛRÎN was opened up by them (i.e. conquered) their kingdom would end.

And whilst MÛ'TAŞIM was occupied with the destruction of 'AMÛRÎN, 'ABBÂS BAR-MÂMÔN his brother, and 'ÛJAIP, the captain of the host, concocted a plan to kill him. And their treachery was revealed by a certain scribe, a Nestorian physician. And the king bound them in fetters, and mounted them on camels, and he marched away from 'AMÛRÎN. Then 'ABBÂS died of thirst on the road at MABBÛGH. And MÛ'TAŞIM wrote to the countries that 'ABBÂS BAR-MÂMÔN was to be held accursed, because he wished to hand over to the RHÔMÂÏÊ the whole camp of the ARABS.

And when THEOPHILA saw what the ARABS had done in 'AMÛRÎN, he blamed himself because it was he who was the first to begin [the war] with the destruction of ZÛBAṬRÂ. And he sent gifts and presents to MÛ'TAŞIM with BÂSILÎÔS, the noble of KARSHENÂ, and a letter of affection, and he asked 'ÂEṬÎS the Patrician, who was a prisoner with the ARABS, to give it himself to the Arab prisoners. And he wrote another letter [full] of threats and abuse, that BÂSILÎÔS might give to MÛ'TAŞIM if he did not wish for peace. And when MÛ'TAŞIM received the letter of peace he asked them to give him together with the [other] Arab prisoners NÂŞIR the KÛRD, and 'AMANÛ'ÎL the Patrician, who had come to the ARABS and had fled promptly. And when BÂSILÎÔS replied, 'It is impossible', he said to him, 'Very well then, prepare for war'. Then BÂSILÎÔS gave him the letter of threats. And when it had been read to him MÛ'TAŞIM was furious, and he sent back the gifts of THEOPHILA by the envoy.

And he sent [an order] to 'ABÛ SA'ÎD to make raids in one direction, and to BÂSHÎR, the Satrap, and the sons of the desert, to do the same in another direction. And whilst BÂSHÎR was raiding, NÂŞIR and the KURDS overtook him and delivered the captives. Then came 'ABÛ SA'ÎD, and the ARABS gained the upper hand, and they killed NÂŞIR and many of the KÛRDÂÏÊ. And they collected many heads and salted them, and they brought them out to the desert. And when the women of the desert went forth to meet their husbands who had returned ostensibly with victory, and to delight themselves over the heads of the KÛRDÂÏÊ, they recognized that most of the heads were the heads of their own husbands, and that they were the heads of KÛRDÂÏÊ who, before they (the KÛRDÂÏÊ) were defeated, had been killed by the ARABS. And their joy was turned to grief. [152] Then MÛ'TAŞIM rejoiced that NÂŞIR was killed, and he gave to BÂSHÎR a *hamnîkhâ* (i.e. torque) of gold for his neck.

And in the year eleven hundred and fifty-one (A.D. 840), on the sixth [day] of the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL), a red sign appeared in the north[ern sky]. And there were violent rains and a flood, which wrought great havoc in ḤÂRRÂN. And in the month of ḤAZÎRÂN (JUNE) there was a terrible earth-



quake in 'ARZÂN-AL-RÛM, and eighteen towers fell down from the wall, and about two hundred souls died. And in the month of TAMMÛZ (JULY) fire fell both in BAGHDÂD and in BÂŞRÂ, at the same hour and on the same day, and more than five thousand shops were burnt in BAGHDÂD. And on the same day a city in KHÔRÂSÂN was overturned, and it buried its inhabitants, and it became a mound of dust. And a day later a part of the mound split off and there came forth from it a man and a donkey alive. And on the fourteenth day of the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER) there appeared in the east[ern sky] the similitude of a cloud, and it moved on towards the north, until [it came to] the west. And the upper side of it was red like blood, and its lower parts were like a figure of the moon, and thus the light shone the whole night on material objects, and walls, both large and small, and houses. And at this time the RHÔMÂYÊ came by sea to the harbour of ANTIOCH, and they robbed the merchants, and enslaved the population. And MÛ'TAŞIM commanded, and a fort was built inside the harbour.

And in the year eleven hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 841) 'ABÛ SA'ÎD went into the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and captured prisoners. And having come out [again] the RHÔMÂYÊ in CILICIA overtook him, and they sent back the captives. And they went in again and came forth in shame.

And the RHÔMÂYÊ came and took captives in HADETH, and MAR'ÂSH, and the country of MELITENE. At this time THEOPHILA sent gifts to MÛ'TAŞIM and asked for an exchange for the Arab prisoners. And MÛ'TAŞIM accepted the gifts, and gave him gifts twofold, and said, 'Our Law doth not justify our comparing the Muslim with a RHÔMÂYÊ. Nevertheless, if thou wilt give me the ARABS, and wilt ask nothing in exchange for them, we are able to bestow upon you double their number, and we will in everything [given] outdo you.' And the envoys of the RHÔMÂYÊ went back with fifty camel loads of costly gifts. And there was peace.

And in the year eleven hundred and fifty-three (A.D. 842), a certain man whose name was TAMÎM, and who was nicknamed 'ABÛ HARÂB', rebelled. And thirty thousand starving and naked folk cleaved to him, [153] and he himself used to cover his nakedness with a woman's skirt. And he made a pretence of being jealous for the Law which was being trodden under foot, but he also began to plunder and to kill. And he went up to JERUSALEM and wanted to burn the churches, but much gold was given to him by the Patriarch and he departed. And RÂGÂ, the captain of the host, came against him, and killed eight thousand of his people; and they captured one thousand and 'ABÛ HARÂB, who was wounded, and RÂGÂ sent them to MÛ'TAŞIM.

And at that time MÛSHÊ, the chief of the KÛRDÂYÊ (KURDS), rebelled in the country of QARDÛ. Now the PERSIANS came and attacked him in the time of winter, and the KÛRDÂYÊ destroyed about fifteen thousand of the PERSIANS, because the rebel KÛRDÂYÊ used to rush out from their tents, being



rested and refreshed, whilst the PERSIANS were prostrated by the cold, and their fingers and toes were frostbitten. And at that time there came a severe famine and a terrible pestilence, and there was tribulation through the heaviness of the imposts (or, forced contributions), and through the rebels. For the men of DÂRÂ and NISIBIS and AMEDIA used to come out in bands and plunder, and the PERSIANS attacked them and destroyed them. And because they did not kill the Christians, many ARABS saved themselves by [using] the Sign of the Cross.

And in the year eleven hundred and fifty-four (A.D. 843) MÛ'TAŞIM died. And he freed at his death eight thousand slaves who had been purchased with silver. And he left forty thousand horses for the cavalry, and twenty thousand baggage mules, and thirty thousand slaves for the stables. And in those days also died THEOPHILA, king of the RHÔMÂYÊ.

After MÛ'TAŞIM, WÂTHEK his son [ruled] five years and nine months. This Khalifah afflicted the lawyers of his dominion with severe tortures, and he took from them many tens of thousands of *dînârs*. And in the year in which WÂTHEK began to reign, which is the year eleven hundred and fifty-five (A.D. 844), MICHAEL, the son of THEOPHILA, [began] to reign over the RHÔMÂYÊ, being a child three years old. And his mother THEODORA administered the kingdom, and 'AMANÛ'ÎL, the captain of the host, was over all the troops. And the RHÔMÂYÊ sent an ambassador to the ARABS on the subject of peace, and the exchange of prisoners. And when the ambassador of the RHÔMÂYÊ came, WÂTHEK the king received him gladly, and he did not speak arrogant words like his father, who said, 'We do not admit that the Christians are of equal value with the ARABS when [weighed in] the balance for exchange', [154] but straightway he wished to exchange man for man. Now the ambassador of the RHÔMÂYÊ was not at first pleased [with this view], and he said, 'All the Arab prisoners which we have are soldiers whom we have made prisoners during the wars, whilst as regards the Christian prisoners that are with you, the greater number of them are soldiers which ye have captured in the villages, and old men, and old women, and very young boys, and girls. How can we possibly give soul for soul?' And when they had contended in this wise for days, finally the ambassador agreed to exchange one for one. And because the number of the Arab prisoners amounted to four thousand three hundred and sixty-two souls, and the number of the Christians was fewer, WÂTHEK the king sent and collected from all his boundaries slaves, both male and female, which he bought from their owners. And since even by this means the [full] number was not made up, he drove out from his palace the handmaidens which he had chosen from the RHÔMÂYÊ, and sent them with his ambassadors. And the ARABS and the RHÔMÂYÊ were gathered together on the river of SILÂWQÎÂ, which is on the frontier of ʾTARSÔS, and the liberation [of the prisoners] took place. And it is said that WÂTHEK commanded his ambassa-



dors, saying, 'As concerning all the ARABS whom ye redeem among the prisoners—first of all ask each man, "Is the Word of God create or uncreate?"' He who saith "uncreate" redeem, and he [who saith] "create" leave in the hands of the RHÔMÂYÊ.' Now WÂTHEK died through the disease of 'collection of the water' (i.e. retention of urine). For the physicians [tried] to heal him by means of the red-hot furnace, and when he received no benefit from this treatment, he commanded and they heated it more than the rule of the physician [allowed], and he came down and lingered in it, and they brought him out from there a dead man.

Up to this point the kings of the ARABS cared exceedingly for conquests (or, victories) and glorious deeds of valour, but from now and onwards they devoted themselves to unclean and impure habits of life, and they gave themselves up to drunkenness. This WÂTHEK was a lascivious, luxurious, and riotous liver. As the price of a certain singing woman one hundred thousand gold *dînârs*, and the satrapy of EGYPT was demanded by her owner; and if he had not been prevented by his treasurers, who could not find the money, he would have given the gold and satrapy. Finally WÂTHEK took the woman for ten thousand gold [*dînârs*].

After WÂTHEK, MÛTÂWAKKIL his brother [ruled] fourteen years and nine months. He began to reign in the year two hundred and thirty-one [155] of the ARABS (A.D. 845). This Khalîfah was a hater of the Christians, and he afflicted them [by ordering] them to bind *pûkîrê* (i.e. bandlets) of wool round their heads; and none of them was to appear outside [his house] without a belt and girdle. And if any man among them had a slave, he was to sew two strips of cloth of different colours on his tunic from the front and from behind. And the new churches were to be pulled down. And if they should happen to have a spacious church, even though it was ancient, one part of it was to be made into a Masjid (Mosque). And they were not to lift up crosses during their feasts of Hosanna. In a similar manner he laid these same commands, and many others which were like unto them, upon the JEWS also. And he also swept away the tomb of HÛSAYN BAR-'ÂLÎ, who was descended from the daughter of their Prophet, and he pulled down also the other houses which were round about it. And he drove a plough through the site and sowed seed there, saying, 'The site of the tomb shall be wholly obliterated'.

And in his days a man appeared in NÎSÂBHÔR who declared himself to be a prophet, and he composed a book of words which, he said, 'the angel GABRIEL had said to him', and many folk cleaved to him. And when he was seized and beaten he confessed his lying pretension.

And in his third year MÛTÂWAKKIL made his three sons governors of provinces. MÛNTAŞER was over AFRICA, and EGYPT, and BÊTH NAHRÎN, and 'ÂTHÔR, and HÂBÛRÂ, and CIRCESIUM, and TEKRITE, and the south, and the country of SHEBHÂ, and SÂBHÂ as far as the frontier of INDIA and SHAHÂRZÛR,



and ISFÂHÂN, and KÛM, and KÂSHÂN, and KAZWÎN, and all the mountains of PERSIA. And MÛ'TÂZ, his second son, he made ruler over KHÔRÂSÂN, and TABÂRISTÂN, and RAI, and ARMENIA, and ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN; and he was also over the reckoning (i.e. account) of the revenue of the whole of the dominion of the ARABS generally (i.e. Minister of Finance). And MÛWÂYAD, his third son, he made to rule over DAMASCUS, and EMESA, and the land of the JORDAN, and PALESTINE.

And in the year two hundred and thirty-seven [of the ARABS = A.D. 851], when BAKRÂT BAR-'ÂSHÛT, Patrician of ARMENIA, came to YÛSEF BAR-MÂHAMMÂD, the captain of the host of the ARABS, concerning peace, he seized him and sent him in fetters to BAGHDÂD. Then the troops of the RHÔMÂYÊ and the ARMENIANS gathered together to attack TÂRÔN, the city wherein YÛSEF was; and when he went forth to fight he and all the warriors who were with him were killed. And as for the rest of the people of the ARABS who were not [156] combatants, the ARMENIANS having stripped them bare, left them naked and uncovered, and the greater number of them became frostbitten and died. And afterwards BÔGHÂ, the great captain of the host of the ARABS, came and enslaved ARMENIA, and he killed many there. And after a little BÔGHÂ went against ZAIRÂK, the TÛRKÂYÂ, who had rebelled in TIFLÎS, and he killed the rebel on the river KÛR, which floweth through the middle of TIFLÎS, and he set the city on fire, and burned therein about fifty thousand men. And because all its buildings were made of cedar wood, which burns up quickly and is quickly extinguished, the burning of them did not take as long as if they had been made of oak, and in one day they extinguished the fire again. And the men of EMESA also rebelled against the governor of the city, and they killed him.

At this time the ARABS, seeing that it was a woman who ruled the country of the RHÔMÂYÊ, regarded them with contempt and broke the peace. Then THEODORA the queen sent an army of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and it marched against CILICIA in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 861), and it enslaved the whole country of 'ÂNÂZARBÂ.

When MÛTÂWAKKIL heard [this], he sent NASHÎF, the eunuch, to her on an embassy concerning peace and the redemption of prisoners. And the queen replied, 'We will make peace, but where are you to obtain the twenty thousand Christian prisoners which presumably ye will give to redeem the ARABS who are with me?' Thereupon, even as it really happened, the eunuch flattering her with words, she set free eight thousand and twelve thousand, and said, 'These were baptized and were Christians, and it is impossible for us to give them'. And it is said that when NASHÎF took these and went forth, THEODORA killed them all because she saw that they were inclined to a going forth, though they had believed and were baptized. And others say that NÎKÔLÂ, her eunuch, killed them without the queen's command.



And in this year a people of the HÂBÂSHÂÏÊ (ABYSSINIANS), who are called 'BÔJÂÏÊ' (BEJA), went forth, and they killed all the ARABS who were working in the gold-mines, and in the mines of precious stones which are on the frontiers of EGYPT and the BÔJÂÏÊ. And the captain of the host of the ARABS, whose name was 'ANBASÂH', attacked them with twenty thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers. [157] And they loaded their beasts with provisions in abundance and water, because they had before them a journey of three days through an arid desert wherein there was neither water nor habitation. And because the BÔJÂÏÊ fight upon camels, and because their camels are easily frightened by any strange sight or sound, 'ANBASÂH commanded his soldiers and they hung little bells on the necks of their animals. And the ARABS attacked the BÔJÂÏÊ and broke them and killed many of them, and their king was again subjugated to the ARABS, and he began to give each year four hundred [full-weight?] *mithkals*, according to custom.

At this time BÔKHT-ÎSHÔ', BAR-GABRIËL BAR-BÔKHT-ÎSHÔ' BAR-GIWARGÎS BAR-BÔKHT-ÎSHÔ', the ELAMITE, was famous in medicine. He attended the Khalifah MÛTÂWAKKIL, and he was magnified by him so greatly that he became his counterpart in apparel, and honour, and abundance of possessions and riches, and slaves and handmaidens. He was so wholly beloved by the Khalifah that one day when he went in to the Khalifah, and sat with him on the royal throne, in the usual manner, he was wearing a physician's gown made of Roman silk. And a small portion of the sewing of the lower part of it was torn, and when the Khalifah began to talk to him he tore the sewing away bit by bit down to the feet. Now they were discussing together the history of demoniacs and mad men, and the Khalifah asked the physician, 'How dost thou know when a demoniac needeth to be bound in chains?' BÔKHT-ÎSHÔ'—now he knew well what the Khalifah had done to his gown—said to him, 'When the demoniac arrives at the stage that he teareth open the seam of his physician's gown down to the feet; then we know that [the demoniac] needeth chains'. And MÛTÂWAKKIL laughed until he fell on his back, and he commanded rich apparel to be brought for the physician, and he arrayed him in it.

Now although the Khalifah loved him so greatly, eventually he became jealous of him and robbed him of all his possessions after that famous banquet which the physician made in his honour. At this banquet he prepared five thousand tables. On each table there were a roast lamb, and two cocks, and two young doves, and three terra-cotta (faience?) drinking cups, and a dish of sweetmeats, and an adequate supply of bread cakes made of fine flour, and sweet cakes, and perfumes, and an abundant supply of snow [158]—now it was the season of summer—and it was brought there from the mountains of 'ÂTHÔR (ASSYRIA). It is said that after everything else had been taken away from him, the wood and charcoal and wine which remained in his house were bought by a certain nobleman whose name was



ḤUSAIN BAR-MŪKELED for six thousand *dīnārs*, and he sold them again for twelve thousand.

Now this BŌKHT-ĪSHŌ' BAR-GABHRĪL held himself to be above the Laws of the Church. He consorted with two women at the same time, and they conceived and brought forth two sons, the one [called] GABRIEL and the other JOHN—who became Metropolitan of MĀWṢIL. From this time onward he did not prosper. Formerly he used to sit in an ebony carriage and drive (?) from the palace of the Khalifah to his own house, and there were about one thousand men in his service. From sunset until midnight he amused himself with lewd debaucheries. And at midnight he stood up and prayed, being surrounded with black eunuchs, whom he honoured. After prayer he sat upon his couch and read the Gospel until it was day. Then he mounted an animal and went to the service of the Khalifah. It is said that the expenses nightly for wax candles, oil, and perfumes amounted to five hundred *dīnārs*. And after he had been reduced to poverty he left two sons and three daughters, and he wandered about in various countries.

And in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 865), which is the year two hundred and forty-five of the ARABS (= A.D. 865), an ambassador was sent by MICHAEL, king of the RHŌMĀYĒ—now he was an old man whose name was 'AṬRŌPHILOS—to MŪTĀWAKKIL, king of the ARABS. And with him he had seventy-seven men from among the Arab prisoners, whom he had brought as gifts to MŪTĀWAKKIL. And he was received with honour and there was peace.

And in that year there was a severe earthquake in the province of ANTIOCH, and it destroyed fifteen hundred large buildings and ninety towers of the wall of the city. And frightful and terrifying sounds were heard from inside the earth, and in all the cities of SYRIA the quakings destroyed many places, viz. [LATAKIA, JABĀLĀH], LAODICEA (?). All the inhabitants of JABĀLĀH perished.

And in the year two hundred and forty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 865) MŪTĀWAKKIL sent an ambassador [called] NĀṢIR BAR-'AZHĀR to MICHAEL the king, and with him were one thousand [159] testicle bags of the musk animal, and rich apparel, and a large quantity of crocus, and many other kinds of produce. And he was received with honour, and two thousand ARABS who had been taken prisoners were given to him, among them being twenty women and ten youths. NĀṢIR himself said, 'During all the time I have been in CONSTANTINOPLE I have never seen a king who could talk whilst listening to my words through interpreters, but he only said "yes" with his head. His cousin (?) spoke instead of him because he was as yet a youth.' And when many of the ARABS were baptized, the king of the RHŌMĀYĒ commanded that they should all go as far as the frontier which is between us and the ARABS. And he who chose Christianity, and came back from it there, we would receive as a true believer. NĀṢIR saith, 'Two jewellers who



were very highly skilled, and were ʤARKÊ of the AFRICANS, and many others from the region of the frontiers came back, and they did not wish to come with us'.

And in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven (A.D. 866), which is the year two hundred and forty-seven of the ARABS, MÛNTAŞER, the son of MÛTÂWAKKIL, conspired secretly with certain slaves of the TÛRKÂYÊ, and they rushed in on his father when he was drunk and killed him.

After MÛTÂWAKKIL, MÛNTAŞER his son [ruled] six months. When this Khalifah succeeded, he oppressed his two brothers MU'TÂZ and MÛWÂYAD, and threatened them with murder if they did not relinquish their claims to the kingdom, and transfer them to him and his sons, this being the opposite to that which their father MÛTÂWAKKIL had ordained, namely, that each of them should reign after his fellow [prince]. And under urgent pressure they wrote a deed in which they testified that they themselves of their own accord, and as free men who of their own good will, had severed their connexion with the kingdom, and that MÛNTAŞER their brother had the power to appoint his son king after him. Thus the murder of his father not being sufficient for him, he must act fraudulently in respect of his [two] brothers. He died of the disease of angina pectoris (or, suffocation) when he was twenty-five years old. And it is said that before he died he saw himself as it were in a dream ascending a ladder, and when he arrived at the twenty-fifth rung of the ladder it was said to him, 'Stop; this is thine end'.

After MÛNTAŞER, MUSTA'ÎN, the son of MU'TAŞIM, [ruled] three years and three months. When MÛNTAŞER died the nobles took counsel [160] with each other, and they did not wish to make king either of his brothers because they all were associated with the treacherous murder of their father. Then the nobles fetched MUSTA'ÎN, the son of MU'TAŞIM, the brother of MÂMÔN, and they swore fealty to him and made him king.

And in the year eleven hundred and eighty of the GREEKS (A.D. 869), which is the year two hundred and forty-nine of the ARABS, 'ÛMAR, the captain of the host of the ARABS, was sent with troops to invade the country of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and they met the armies of the RHÔMÂYÊ in the plain of ʤASYÂ, which is on the frontier of MELITENE, and the RHÔMÂYÊ killed 'ÛMAR and two thousand ARABS. And when 'ÂLÎ BAR-YAḤYÂH, the captain of the host [of the ARABS], heard [this], he likewise collected a very large army from MAIPERĶÂṬ and ARMENIA, and went and attacked the RHÔMÂYÊ, and he also was killed. When the men of BAGHDÂD and of SÂMARÂ heard that these two mighty warriors had been killed, and that TÛRKÂYÊ slaves were ruling over the kingdom of the ARABS, and were putting to death whom they pleased, and keeping alive whom they pleased, and were making kings, a great crowd of people gathered together. And with them were a mob of men from the bazârs and cut-throats and robbers, and they went to the gate of the prison and smashed it, and they brought out the evil-doers, and



they were all united by a common bond of interest. And they cut the bridge over the TIGRIS, and they went into the Treasury and plundered it, and they burnt the documents (i.e. books and registers) of the scribes in the fire. And they also looted the two monasteries of the Christians, viz. that of BESHAR (or, BASHÂR) and that of ABRAHAM, the sons of 'AHRÔN. Then the TÛRKÂYÊ slaves mounted horses (?) and killed many of the cut-throats and robbers and others; and wrath subsided.

After MUSTA'ÎN, MU'TÂZ BAR-MÛTÂWAKKIL [ruled] four years and seven months. In the year two hundred and fifty-one [of the ARABS], when MUSTA'ÎN went down from SÂMARÂ to BAGHDÂD, the TÛRKÂYÊ gathered together and brought out MU'TÂZ and MUWÂYAD, the sons of MÛTÂWAKKIL, from prison; and they swore oaths of fidelity to MU'TÂZ and made him king. And they swore also to MUWÂYAD his brother that he should reign after him. Now the men of BAGHDÂD sided with MUSTA'ÎN, and the men of SÂMARÂ with MÛTÂWAKKIL; and a great schism fell among the ARABS. In the year eleven hundred and seventy-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 863), MICHAEL, king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, died, having reigned twenty-five years. And because he had no son [161] a man whose name was BÂSÎL reigned after him for five years. Now MU'TÂZ had no love for his brother MUWÂYAD. And he broke the oaths and the covenants which he had made with him, and he shut him up in prison and scourged him with stripes until he wrote a deed which annulled his claim [to the kingdom]. And even when he had done this MU'TÂZ did not let him alone, but whilst he was in prison he sent and ordered him to be dressed in a tunic made of the skins of mangy foxes, which was very heating. And he commanded [his servants], and they thrust his brother's head inside the skin tunic, and they tied his hands and his feet together, and then sewed up the tunic round him and left him in it until he died. And then he had him taken out, and he brought a judge and credible witnesses, and they seeing that there was no mark of a blow or of a knife on his body, and no sign of strangulation on his neck, testified that he had died a natural death. And so also in the case of MUSTA'ÎN, who had freed himself [from any claim to the kingdom], MU'TÂZ sent TÛRKÂYÊ and they cut off his head and brought it to him. It is said that when they brought the head to MU'TÂZ, he was reciting verses of poetry, and he said, 'Set ye it down for the moment until I have finished the verses which I am perusing, and then I will look at it'. And, moreover, MU'TÂZ having slain both his brother and the man who had abdicated the kingdom, placed his confidence in his own ability [to rule]. And he neglected the TÛRKÂYÊ, and did not give them their pay.

And in the year two hundred and fifty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 867?), the TÛRKÂYÊ armed with their weapons gathered together at his gate and demanded from him their pay and rations. He sent to his mother [telling her] to give him what he could give them. She replied, 'There is nothing'.



Then the soldiers went in to him, and they spat in his face, and smote him on his cheek, and they constrained him until he wrote a deed of abdication from the kingdom. Then, bound in fetters, they thrust him into a small chamber, and they blocked up the front of it and left him for days until he died; and then they brought him out and buried him. As he had done [to others], so was it done to him.

After MU'TÂZ, MÛHTADÎ, the son of WÂTHEK, [ruled] eleven months and twenty days. They say that this Khalifah did not undertake to rule until they had brought MU'TÂZ alive before him, and he had confessed by word of mouth that he had abdicated voluntarily.

At this time there came forth a certain rebel whose name was 'ÂLÎ, and he declared concerning himself that he was descended from 'ÂLÎ, the uncle of their Prophet. And a great number of people from the CUSHITES and ARABS gathered about him, and they were called KARMÂTÂYE, from the name [162] of the village of their chief 'ÂLÎ. And they shed much blood of the ARABS and they ruled over all the cities of the South, and over portions of SYRIA and SEN'ÂR (SENNAAR) for many years.

And MÛHTADÎ drove out the singing men and singing women from SÛRMÂNRAÎ, wherein their kings at that time used to live; and he smashed the instruments of music. And he killed the lions, and panthers, and dogs with which the kings his predecessors used to sport. And the TÛRKÂYE slaves rose up against him also and they killed him. For he fled from before them riding on a horse, and he was crying out, 'O men, help your king'; and no man answered him. And when he went into a certain house the TÛRKÂYE went in after him. He fled from one roof to another, and in this manner he was overtaken (or, caught) and was killed in the year two hundred and fifty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 868).

At this time HÛNAIN, the son of ISAAC, an excellent physician, became known (or, famous). His father was a pharmacist from the city of HÎRTÂ. HÛNAIN greatly desired to learn (i.e. study) medicine, and he went to BAGHDÂD and began to read the Collection (i.e. Epitome) of ALEXANDER on JOHN, the physician, the son of MÂSÂWÎYÂH. And one day in answering JOHN back, JOHN became angry, and drove him away, and said to him, 'What connexion is there between thee and medicine? It would be far better for a man of thy sort to be selling beans by the wayside.' And the young man HÛNAIN was sad, and he went out weeping. And he went to the country of the RHÔMÂYE, and he lived there until he had learned the writing and literature of the GREEKS accurately. And he was able to translate books from Greek into Syriac, and from Syriac into the Saracenic tongue (i.e. Arabic). And he went back again to BAGHDÂD in the garb of a GREEK, and he went to GABRIEL, the chief of the physicians, the son of BÔKHT-ÎSHÔ'. And when GABRIEL had tested HÛNAIN's knowledge, he honoured him greatly, and he named him 'RABBAN HÛNAIN'. And he said



unto those who were present, 'If this young man liveth he will not leave any reputation to SARGÎS (SERGIUS) of RÂS 'AIN'. And the report of him came to JOHN, who had driven him away, and one carried him to him, and JOHN asked his pardon. And thus his excellence (or, goodness) increased from day to day. And he began to expound the various branches of science, [and did so] until he died in the month of the FIRST KÂNÔN (DECEMBER), in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 876), which is the year two hundred and sixty of the ARABS (A.D. 873). And he left two sons, ISAAC and DAVID. And ISAAC also expounded many books. [163] Twenty-five books of HÛNAIN are extant, besides those which he translated from Greek into Syriac and Arabic. And he had a nephew, [the son of a sister,] whose name was HÛBAISH, the son of HÂSÂN of the stretched-out hand. And he was a marvellous expounder of medical books. And through the luck (or, good fortune) of HÛNAIN, many of the books which HÛBAISH interpreted have, when come across by people of slight knowledge, been thought by them to have been written by HÛNAIN, and that the scribe made a mistake in [reading] the letters of the name, and therefore erased [the name of] HÛBAISH, and wrote HÛNAIN. And for this reason the books which remain (i.e. are extant) under the name of HÛBAISH are very few, and of the remainder many are written in the name of HÛNAIN.

After MÛHTADÎ, MU'TAMED, the son of MÛTÂWAKKIL, [ruled] twenty and three years. This Khalifah was occupied the whole of his time with that rebel ['ÂLÎ] who went forth in the South. And in the year two hundred and sixty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 878) the RHÔMÂYÊ took from the ARABS the fortress of LÛLWÂH (LÛLWÂN?). And after one year BAR-RASHÎD, the captain of the host of the ARABS, collected four thousand horsemen, and went to the country of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And the Patricians of the RHÔMÂYÊ, viz. him of SILÂWQYÂ, and him of TÛÂNÂ, and him of KARSHENÂ, and others, surrounded the army of the ARABS. Then the ARABS, despairing of being able to save their lives, got down from their horses, and hamstrung all of them. And they knelt down on their knees, and began to shoot their arrows into the RHÔMÂYÊ. But their shooting in no wise benefited them, on the contrary, for the RHÔMÂYÊ rushed on the ARABS, and some of them they killed, and some of them they made prisoners, among these being BAR-RASHÎD, their leader.

And in the year two hundred and seventy of the ARABS (A.D. 883), MÛWÂFAQ, the captain of the host of the ARABS, collected a numerous army and went to attack the rebel who was in the South; some [went] in ships and some [marched] by land. And after a very fierce battle the ARABS were a match for the army of the rebel and they defeated him, and they killed him in the region of the rivers of BABYLON. For this man 'ÂLÎ said that he was not only descended from the Prophet of the ARABS, but that he was announced by the Prophet. 'And', he said, 'one day when he was dwelling



in the desert a cloud overshadowed him, and there was a peal of thunder. And a voice came out from that thunder, saying: Go to the city of BÂŞRÂH and thou shalt conquer', and in fact he conquered and took the city, and he had three captains of the host, [164] but the crowning point of his sovereignty did not supervene.

And in the year eleven hundred and ninety-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 883), BÂSÎL, king of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, died, and LEO his son reigned after him thirteen years. This Khalîfah trampled on the Law, and he forsook his wife and took another [woman], and this [woman] he also left and took another; and he also took a fourth [woman]. And he had two wives at the same time.

And in the year two hundred and seventy-one of the ARABS (A.D. 884 (?)), the brigands of BAGHDÂD laid their hands on the monastery which is behind the river 'ÎSÂ, and they plundered its possessions, and destroyed a portion of its walls. Then HÛSAIN, the son of ISHMAEL, put an end to their violence, and he crowned (i.e. rebuilt) what they had destroyed. And one year later the ARABS of ʾTARSÔS pulled down the new buildings of the great church which was therein. And a violent earthquake took place, and it threw down the Great Mosque which was in EGYPT, and many large houses (or, palaces). And there was a pestilence in that country, and one thousand biers of the dead were counted in one day. And there was also poverty (i.e. scarcity of food) in BAGHDÂD.

And in the year twelve hundred of the GREEKS (A.D. 889), a mound on the bank of the river of BÂŞRÂ, a city below BAGHDÂD, split open, and seven dead people who were lying in coffins of stone of the colour of *meshnâ* were discovered. Their bodies and their funerary wrappings were in a good state of preservation, and the odour of musk exhaled from their bodies. And their ears, and noses, and lips, and hair, and eyebrows were well preserved, and their eyes had the appearance of having been treated with *kohl* (stibium). And on the side of one young man among them was the mark of a spear-thrust. And on their coffins were inscriptions in pagan priestly characters, and no man was able to read them.

At this time MÂHAMMÂD, the son of ZACHARIAH the physician, became known (or, famous). This man when thirty years old went from RAY, his native city which is in PERSIA, to BAGHDÂD, and he lodged in a house (*khân?*) where strangers were received; and he devoted himself to learning, and he surpassed his contemporaries [in learning]. He composed many books on medicine and *Chîmyâ* (alchemy). And [he wrote] that great book of his which he showed whilst he was making an exemplar for himself; and after his death the governor of the country gave much gold to his sister, and he took duly assigned portions [thereof]. And his disciples instructed him, and for this reason he did not possess the disposition (or, manner) which was right.



### The History of those who are called Nûşîrâyê

[165] and who are in PHOENICIA, because many have wished to know who the NÛŞÎRÂYÊ were.

In the year twelve hundred and two of the GREEKS (A.D. 891), an old man appeared in the country of 'ÂKÛLÂ, in a village which is called 'NÂŞÂRÎÂH' (NÂŞRÂNÂH). He multiplied fastings and prayers, and pretended that he had adopted the life of voluntary poverty, and many of the natives of the country cleaved to him. And he chose for himself twelve men according to the number of the Twelve Apostles, and he commanded them to teach men a strange doctrine. And when the report of him was heard by the governor of the country, he sent [men] and seized him, and shut him up in one of the chambers of his palace, and he swore that at daybreak on the following day he would crucify him. And that night the governor drank wine and became drunk, and when [the slaves] made ready for him to sleep, he asked [them] for the key of the little chamber in which the old man was locked up, and they placed it under his pillows. Now the handmaiden who used to sleep with the governor, knowing that the old man constantly fasted and prayed, was sorry for him. And when she saw that her lord had sunk into deep slumber, she took the key and went out and let the old man escape, and then shut (i.e. locked) the door again, and put the key back again in its place. When the governor woke up he took the key and opened the door, and did not find the old man in the chamber; and he was amazed. Now the young woman was afraid to make it known that she had opened [the door] and let [the old man] escape, and thus the rumour flew abroad that he had gone out through locked doors. After a little time the old man saw two of his disciples who were living in countries that were far from [his] village, and he came to them and assured them that it was 'the angels who had brought him out and placed him in the desert'. And he wrote a Book of Faith and gave [it] to them in order that they might teach men therefrom. Now he wrote thus: 'I, so-and-so, who am thought to be the son of 'ÔTHMÂN, am from the village the name of which is "NÂŞÂRÎÂH". CHRIST, who is that JESUS, appeared to me in a dream. He is the WORD, He is the DIRECTOR, He is 'AĤMÂD BAR-MÂĤAMMÂD BAR-HANIFÎÂH, of the sons of 'ÂLÎ, and He is the angel [166] GABRIEL. And He said unto me, Thou art he who readeth (or, calleth). Thou art the very Truth (or, Faith). Thou art the camel which keepeth (i.e. nurseth) anger against the unbelievers. Thou art the beast who carrieth the weight of the believers. Thou art the Spirit. Thou art JOHN, the son of ZECHARIAH.

'Proclaim, therefore, to the children of men that they shall introduce four genuflexions towards JERUSALEM into their prayers, two before the sun riseth and two before he setteth. Each time they bow they shall say these



three sentences: God is exalted to everything. God is higher than everything. God is greater than everything. On the second day (MONDAY) and on the sixth day (FRIDAY) of each week no man shall perform any labour whatsoever. Two days in the year they shall fast. And they shall not multiply ablutions of the excretory members. Spiritous liquor they shall not drink, but they may drink as much wine as they wish. Flesh of the wild beast only they shall not eat.' And having delivered to them this disjointed and contemptible doctrine he departed from them to PALESTINE; and he preached and taught the villagers and men of the desert and made disciples among them. And from that place he disappeared, and until the present day his place hath never been known.

And in the year eleven hundred and ninety-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 887) ANDREA 'ESTAPHRÎKÎ went forth with a large army to the country of the ARABS, and NÂZMÂN, the eunuch, the captain of the host of the ARABS, engaged him in battle, and the RHÔMÂÏÊ were defeated, and the ARABS carried off the crosses of gold and silver which were on the heads of their spears.

And in the year two hundred and seventy-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 892) MU'TAMED commanded that neither actors (i.e. strolling players) nor astrologers, nor men who use enchantments, should sit by the roadside. And he made those who sold books to swear that they would not sell books of philosophy, or books of investigations (or, experiments), or discussions on Confessions (i.e. Religions). And that year, having drunk overmuch wine and becoming drunk, he collapsed and died.

After MU'TAMED, MÛ'TAŞED, the son of MÛWÂFAK, [ruled] nine years and nine months. He reigned in the year two hundred and seventy-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 892). And in the year two hundred and eighty of the ARABS (A.D. 893), ESMÂ'ÎL, the son of AĤMAD, the captain of the host of the ARABS, invaded the countries of the HUNS, and he bound in fetters their king and his wife, and he looted his city. And he brought out about ten thousand TÛRKÂÏÊ prisoners, and flocks of sheep and goats and much cattle. And in this year there was a terrible earthquake, [167] and a great city in OUTER INDIA fell down, and one hundred and fifty thousand men were dragged out from under the dust of the houses which had been thrown down, and were buried.

And in the year twelve hundred and seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 896), LEO, king of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, fell sick of a disease of the bowels and died, and his son ALEXANDER reigned after him one year. And because he had turned aside his heart from the fear of God, and had given himself over to sorcerers and magicians, he was smitten by the rod of righteousness and died.

And after him his brother CONSTANTINUS reigned four years. And at the beginning of his kingdom SÎMÎÔN, the chief of the BULGARIANS and



SCLAVS, came against CONSTANTINOPLE, and he destroyed many villages. And he afflicted the city also, and he made against it a great ditch [which reached] from BELÂKERNE to the gate which is called 'Golden'. And the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ sent [a dispatch] to him, saying, 'Since we are all Christians, and the children of one baptism, why do such dissensions as these exist between us?' And as SÎMÎÔN refused to be propitiated (or, reconciled), king CONSTANTINUS collected the Arab prisoners who were in CONSTANTINOPLE, and he promised them that if they would help the RHÔMÂYÊ to victory [over] the BULGARIANS he would set them free. And having sworn to the king oaths [that they would do so], weapons of war were given to them. And the RHÔMÂYÊ went forth with the ARABS with one purpose, and they defeated the SCLAVS, and killed many of them, and the rest fled. The king (CONSTANTINUS), however, went back on his promise, and he took away from the ARABS their weapons, and threw iron fetters on them again, and scattered them throughout his provinces, for he was afraid lest they should set up a chief for themselves. The history of the blessed MÂR MICHAEL, which dealeth with the war of the RHÔMÂYÊ with the ARABS, [testifieth] to this, and he introduceth it in the Arabic manuscripts [which describe] the war with the SCLAVS, and it is correct. For during the war with the ARABS the RHÔMÂYÊ would never have believed it [safe] to release the Arab prisoners from their bonds, and to put weapons of war into their hands.

And in this year the ARABS were gathered together against a certain youth of 'ABÛ JÂLEB, a Christian and a physician of the king, and they testified concerning him that he had blasphemed their Prophet, and they wished to kill him. Now when king MÛ'TAŞED heard [this], he said, 'The ARABS are liars', and he sent [168] soldiers and rescued the youth.

Concerning this year the astrologers had predicted that there would be heavy rains, and that the rivers would spill over (i.e. would flood the country), and that BAGHDÂD would be destroyed and perish. Nevertheless, from New Year's Day until the end of the year, not one drop of rain fell on the earth, and the fountains (i.e. wells) ran dry, and thus the astrologers were put to shame.

At this time 'ABÛ AL-ḤASÂN TABITH, one of the heathen of ḤÂRRÂN, became known (or, famous); he was the son of KÛRAH, the son of MARWÂN, the son of KÎÛRÂ, the son of 'ABRÂHÂM, the son of KÎÛRÂ, the son of MÂRÎNÔS, the son of SÔLÔMÔN. Originally he was a money-changer in the bazâr of ḤÂRRÂN. Then he occupied himself in a marvellous degree with philosophy, and he was adequately acquainted with three languages—Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. He composed in Arabic about one hundred and fifty books on logic; and mathematics, and astrology, and medicine. And in Syriac he compiled about sixteen books, the greater number of which we have seen and possess, viz. a Book on the Laws and Canons of the heathen; a Book on the Burial of the Dead; a Book on the certainty of the Confession (i.e.



Faith) of the heathen; a Book on Purity and Impurity; a Book on the Animals which are suitable for offering up as Sacrifices; a Book on the Times of Prayer; a Book on the Readings which are suitable for each of the Seven Stars in Prayers; a Book on Repentance and Supplication; a Book of Music; a Book on the Chronology of the ancient kings who were CHALDEANS; a Book on the Confession (i.e. Faith) of the ŠABÂYÊ (SABAENS); a Book on the division of the days of the week according to the Seven Stars; a Book on the renown (or, purity) of his Race, and on his Ancestors, and from whom they were descended; a Book on the Laws of HERMES and his Prayers which the heathen pray; a Book on the statement 'two straight lines being extended diminishingly from two straight angles, meet together'; and another Book on Metre. And in one of his dissertations praising HÂRRÂN and heathenism he spake thus: 'Although many have been subjugated to error by means of torture; our fathers, by the hand of God, have endured and spoken valiantly, and this blessed city hath never been defiled with the error of NAZARETH. And we are [169] the heirs, and transmitters to our heirs, of heathenism, which is honoured gloriously in this world. Lucky is he who beareth the burden with a sure hope for the sake of heathenism. Who hath made the world to be inhabited and flooded it with cities except the good men and kings of heathenism? Who hath constructed harbours and [conserved] the rivers? Who hath made manifest the hidden sciences? On whom hath dawned the divinity which giveth divinations and teacheth the knowledge of future events except the wise men of the heathen? It is they who have pointed out all these things, and have made to arise the healing (or, medicine) of souls, and have made to shine forth their redemption, and it is they also who have made to arise the medicine for bodies. And they have filled the world with the correctness (or, stability) of modes of life, and with the wisdom which is the head (or, beginning) of excellence. Without these [products] of heathenism the world would be an empty and a needy place, and it would have been enveloped in sheer want and misery.'

These things we have quoted from the words of this man so that we may make manifest his great ability in [writing] the Syriac language; and his discourses in Greek and Arabic were even more elegant.

And in the year two hundred and eighty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 898) a baleful wind blew in the quarter of KÛFÂH, and 'ÛKÂMTÂ was overwhelmed. And torrential rain came, and there were mighty peals of thunder, and terrific flashes of lightning, and black and white stones fell from the air. Now it was the night of the First day of the Week. And hail came in BÂŠRÂ, and one hailstone weighed one hundred and fifty *zûzé*. And marauding bands of the ARABS fell upon many of the ships of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and they burned them all together with their crews. It is said that there were three thousand souls in them.



And in the year two hundred and eighty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 900), WÂSÎF the eunuch, the captain of the host of the ARABS in the country of CILICIA, rebelled, and he made preparations that he himself might escape by sea. And because of this MÛ'TAŞED commanded, and [they] burned all the ships of the ARABS. And because the ARABS of ʔARSÔS used to make raids with those ships, this [command of the Khalîfah] helped the Christians greatly. And one year later a severe pestilence broke out in the cities of 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN, and it became so terrible that the living were unable to bury the dead, because those who were on the road to death travelled very speedily.

And in this year MÂHAMMÂD, the captain of the host of the ARABS, invaded the country of the RHÔMÂYE, and he pillaged certain villages, and he took prisoners one hundred fighting men, and sixty ecclesiastics, priests, and deacons, [170] and crosses, and the furnishings of the temples. Then the RHÔMÂYE gathered together, and there went forth a mighty army by sea and by land, and they came as far as KHÎSHÛM, and they took captive more than fifteen thousand men, and women, and children of the ARABS. And they took with them to the country of the RHÔMÂYE the greater number of the Christians with a forceful hand, [saying] 'lest the ARABS should come and kill them'.

And in the year two hundred and eighty-nine (A.D. 901) of the ARABS MÛ'TAŞED died, and the nobles sent for his son MÛKTAFÎ, who was in the city of CALINICUS, and they had him brought.

After MÛ'TAŞED, MÛKTAFÎ, his son, [ruled] six years and nine months. Immediately after this Khalîfah came and reigned, he blocked up the caves which his father had dug in the earth, and he imprisoned the evil-doers in them. This Khalîfah had a son whose name was JA'FÂR, and he was marvellously well skilled in Astrology, and he surpassed all those who were before him in his knowledge. One day one of the eunuchs approached him, and with him was an '*astrôlômôn* (astrolabe). And he said unto him, 'Observe the "rising" of this child which hath just been born in the house'. And when he had scrutinized the rising, he said, 'This child hath no intelligence. And after forty and three days he will take his food in his hand and eat.' And he said to me, 'In truth, what is it?' And the eunuch said, 'In truth I have brought to thee the rising of the child of a cat' (i.e. a kitten).

And in this year, which is the year twelve hundred and thirteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 902), in the middle of the summer northern winds were blowing in the city of EMESA. And there was bitter cold, and the waters froze, and men put on cloaks and began to warm themselves at fires—a matter most marvellous.

And in the year twelve hundred and eighteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 907), BASIL, the eunuch, was sent as an envoy to MÛKTAFÎ, the king of the ARABS,



concerning the exchange of prisoners. And he brought with him ten persons from among the prisoners of the ARABS [as] presents, and he was received with honour. And after one year an exchange was effected, and three thousand ARABS, men and women, were exchanged, and were saved from fetters. And in this year, which is the year two hundred and eighty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 901), MÛKTAFÎ died and his brother reigned.

After MÛKTAFÎ, MÛKTADER his brother [ruled] twenty-seven years. He was thirteen [171] years of age when [he began] to reign. Now inasmuch as he was not fully developed in mind and stature, the nobles regretted that they had made him king. Now one of them, 'ABBÂS, was greatly concerned that such was the case, and he assembled the nobles and went in to MÛ'TAŞED, the son of MU'TÂZ, and they swore oaths of fealty to him. And they sent [an order] to MÛKTADER, and his mother, and his eunuch, to go forth from the palace. Then MÛNES, the chief eunuch, was filled with anger, and he gathered together the rest of the eunuchs and the TÛRKÂYE slaves. And they armed themselves and rushed in suddenly on the nobles who were assembled with MÛ'TÂZ, and they killed 'ABBÂS and some of the nobles, and the others they made prisoners. And they brought the son of MÛ'TÂZ to the palace, and during the night they strangled him and buried him in the building. And in this manner the kingdom of MÛKTADER stood firm.

And in the year twelve hundred and twenty of the GREEKS (A.D. 909), a great snowfall took place in BAGHDÂD, and the snow lay four fingers deep on the roofs. And at that time there was no man in BAGHDÂD that had ever seen snow before. And after eighteen years, in the year three hundred and fifteen of the ARABS (A.D. 927), which is the year twelve hundred and thirty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 927), there was a very bitterly cold winter again in BAGHDÂD. It was so cold that the vinegar of the wine in the cellars (?), and eggs, and oils, froze, and the trees withered. And in that year MÛNES, the eunuch, with an army of ARABS, attacked the country of the RHÔMÂYE from the Citadel of MELITENE, and he took captives, and looted, and went away.

And in the year two hundred and ninety-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 911), RÛSTÂM, the captain of the host of the ARABS, invaded the country of the RHÔMÂYE from the Citadel of ʦARSÔS, and he captured the fortress of MALÎKH, the ARMENIAN, and burnt it. And in that year MÛKTADER divided one hundred thousand gold *dînârs* among the singing women who were in his palace. And whilst he was emptying his treasuries in such ways as this, he was being pressed by the TÛRKÂYE slaves for their pay. And he had no money to give them. And he was torturing the scribes and the owners of possessions with severe tortures to make them transfer their riches to him. Now at the beginning of the kingdom of the ARABS victory (or, conquest) was the one and only consideration in their minds, and it was also when



their kingdom had extended itself [172] and they began to conquer and to be conquered; but in these times they gave themselves up to lasciviousness, and drunkenness and riotous living, and they are more often the conquered than the conquerors. Therefore when they wished to ensure peace with the RHÔMÂYÊ, the RHÔMÂYÊ were unwilling, nay they awaited [the time] when they would again rule over the dominions which had been theirs formerly. And they only sent envoys to discuss the matter of exchange of prisoners [as an excuse].

And in the year three hundred of the ARABS (A.D. 912), which is the year twelve hundred and twenty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 913), there appeared a dwarf woman who gave birth to a child, and many saw her in the country of OUTER INDIA. And in this year ALEXANDER, the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, died, and his son CONSTANTIN reigned after him when he was twelve years old.

And in the year twelve hundred and twenty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 916) one army of the RHÔMÂYÊ went out to TARSÔS, and another to MAR'ÂSH, and they made captives of the ARABS, about fifty thousand souls; and there was great mourning among the ARABS in every place. And in this year the Nestorian Metropolitan of DAÛÛKÂH became a Muslim in BAGHDÂD, and the Christians grieved sorely.

And in the year three hundred and five of the ARABS (A.D. 917), two envoys were sent by king CONSTANTIN to the king of the ARABS, an old man and a young man. And when they arrived at TAGRÎTH the ARABS made them take up their abode there for two months, until king MÛKTADER had furnished his palace; and he collected his troops and his nobles, and then he summoned them. It is said that they stationed one hundred and sixty thousand horsemen between the building in which the envoys were living and the palace, on both sides [of the way]. And inside the outer gate they stationed five hundred horses which were saddled with saddles of gold and silver on one side [of the way] and five hundred [similarly saddled] on the other. And in the court which was inside the outer building were many stags, both male and female, and deer and gazelle, and in the court of the other building were four huge elephants, and on each one of them eight men, INDIANS, were mounted; and in their hands were vessels of naphtha and fire. And beyond this building there was another building wherein were one hundred lions, fifty on this side, and fifty on that; and they were fettered with chains.

And when [173] the ambassadors had passed through all these courts, [the slaves] brought them out into a spacious garden wherein was a fountain of water. This fountain was made of white tin which could not be distinguished from silver. And above the fountain was a great tree of wrought silver, and many of its branches and leaves were gilded, and they swayed about in the gentle wind which was blowing. And on the branches were birds of the colour of gold and silver, and they flew about by means of underground strings, and they emitted various kinds of sounds and sang



and twittered. And there were very many palm-trees in the garden which were inlaid with panels of acacia wood up to the places where their branches sprang forth. And there were there likewise very many trees which were loaded with citrons.

And from the garden the slaves took the envoys into a spacious hall, the walls of which were draped with curtains of costly stuffs. And on them hung ten thousand cuirasses, and likewise shields, and bows, and spears. It is said that the number of the carpets (?) which were on the walls amounted to twenty-two thousand, besides those which were on the ground and were trodden upon.

From there they went through a long corridor, and on one side of it were arranged one thousand white eunuchs bearing arms, and on the other side of it were drawn up in a line one thousand black eunuchs, who were armed like the white eunuchs. And when they went in through the door-[way], they saw the Proximus, that is to say, the Wazîr, who was seated upon a high throne, and around him were scribes (or, lawyers) and nobles, who were standing, and the envoys thought that he was the king. And it was told to them that he was the Wazîr.

And from the presence of the Wazîr they went into the place where the king was. He was seated on an ebony throne, which was arched. And on the one horn of the throne were nine rows of precious stones which sparkled, and on the other horn were nine [rows also]. And his five sons were round about him: three on the right hand and two on the left. It is said that the envoys sat down seven times and rested before they reached the king. And when the envoys went in with their heads only they cried out, 'Peace'. And they said to the interpreter, 'Is it right for us to kiss the ground? Nevertheless, because this is not demanded by the kingdom of the RHÔMÂÏÊ from your envoy, we do not kiss the ground. These things we make known [to you] so that ye may not despise us as uneducated men.'

And so when they had fulfilled their mission an answer [174] was drafted and written, and the king himself handed to them the document [containing] the answer with his own hand, and [then] he dismissed them. And he commanded and there was given to each of them twenty thousand *zûzê*, and he sent with them envoys of his own, and with them were one hundred and seventy thousand gold *dînârs* for buying the Arab prisoners, for the ARABS who were in the hands of the RHÔMÂÏÊ were far more numerous than the RHÔMÂÏÊ who were in the hands of the ARABS. Now when the envoys went back, the king of the RHÔMÂÏÊ did not wish to exchange prisoners, neither would he sell [any].

And in the year three hundred and eight of the ARABS (A.D. 920), a mob of ARABS who were in BAGHDÂD made a tumult, and they smashed the gate of the prison, and dragged out the evil-doers. And they attacked the Christians and plundered the mansion of 'ABD-ALLÂH, the son of SIMEON, the



physician, and the mansions of other Christian lawyers. Then the governor collected the Scouts, and he seized the marauders and impaled their chief, and cut off the hands of his companions.

And in the year three hundred and nine of the ARABS (A.D. 921), a certain athlete (or, ascetic) of the ARABS, whose name was ḤALÂJ, was captured in BAGHDÂD. This man called himself 'God embodied', and he made it clear that he worked wonders (or, miracles) by fraudulent means. And the king commanded, and they beat him with one thousand stripes, and afterwards they cut off his hands and his feet, and burned his body; but they hung his head on a spear, and sent it into PERSIA, where it was carried round about through the country.

And in the year twelve hundred and thirty-eight [A.D. 927] an army of the RHÔMÂYÊ went forth and came as far as SAMOSATA; and they set up the tent of the king in the great Mosque therein, and the smiters (or, bell-ringers) smote the boards [which summoned to prayer] therein, and they made captives of the people and went away. And the army of the ARABS pursued them, and brought back what they had carried off. And they captured a kinsman of the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and brought him in fetters to BAGHDÂD.

Now MÛNES, the eunuch, who had triumphed in so many wars that his name was called 'MÛṬAFÂR', that is to say 'Conqueror', perceived enmity towards (or, jealousy of) himself on the part of the king. And he was afraid of treachery, and began to watch carefully, and the hatred [of the king] became apparent. And the nobles and very many of the troops cleaved to him, and when encouraging him they said, 'Why art thou afraid? Behold, before a beard sprouted on thee we were fighting before thee—thus shall it be for ever.' [175]

When MÛKTADER perceived the rebellious feeling [in the people], he was afraid, and he sent to MÛNES, saying, 'Thou hast established me, and thou hast sworn oaths [of fealty] to me. If thou keepest thy mind pure (or, honest), I swear unto thee by God that I will never impute folly (or, treason) to thee. And if there be something different in thy heart, then I will take refuge in God. War with thee I will never contemplate.' Now MÛNES was not inclined to reconciliation, but with a strong hand he sent and had the Khalîfah brought to him, and he shut him up in a chamber. And he brought out MÂḤAMMÂD the son of MÛKTADER from prison, and swore the oath [of fealty] to him, and nicknamed him 'ḲÂHIR', and he sent and had him seated on the throne. When the officers of the palace saw that they were to be sent out and others brought in in their places, they drew their swords and killed the nobles who were with ḲÂHIR, with the exception of MÛNES, who was in his house. And they seized ḲÂHIR and cried out with a loud voice, 'King MÛKTADER shall live', and they went forth from the palace, and the people of the city cleaved to them. And they went to the



house of MÛNES, and brought him out to MÛKTADER, and took him again to the palace. Now against MÛNES they were unable to stretch out a hand, for they all held him in great fear. Then MÛKTADER sent again to MÛNES, and begged him to make peace with him, but MÛNES did not trust him and he went up to MÂWŞIL hurriedly. And he collected his troops there and came down again to BAGHDÂD. And MÛKTADER also collected troops and went forth and met MÛNES, and he was defeated, and the Khalifah MÛKTADER himself was slain, and his head was hung on the point of a spear, in the year three hundred and twenty of the ARABS (A.D. 932).

In his time lived SÎNÂN, the chief of the physicians, the son of TÂBITH of HARRÂN, and without his authority no man could traffic in herbs. Many sayings of his are famous. One day there came to him a physician, an old man in a splendid garb. And SÎNÂN stood up and paid him honour in accordance with his external body. And when he wished to discuss and to inquire into matters with him, the old man brought out a bag wherein was a very considerable quantity of gold, and he said to him, 'Believe [me], my lord, I do not know how to write my name, neither have I ever read anything; but I have many dwellers in my house, and they live by my work. Therefore I beg of thee, that the food which God giveth [176] to them thou wilt not withhold.' And SÎNÂN laughed and said to him, '[Certainly], but only after thou hast accepted the stipulation that thou must not attempt to treat serious illnesses, and that thou must not open an artery, and that thou must never prescribe purgative medicine'. And the old man swore, saying, 'Anything more powerful than oxymel and things like unto it I will never administer'. And SÎNÂN gave him permission to practice medicine.

Then on another day another physician, a handsome young man, came to him, and SÎNÂN asked him, 'With whom hast thou read medicine?' And the young man replied, 'With my father'. And SÎNÂN said, 'Who is thy father?' And he replied, 'That old man who was with thee yesterday'. And so SÎNÂN the physician laughed and said unto him, 'Go in peace and observe the stipulation which I laid upon thy father'. The Khalifah KÂHIR used compulsion on SÎNÂN, and brought him over by force from paganism to the Faith of the ARABS.

After MÛKTADER, KÂHIR [ruled] one year and six months. MÛKTADER being killed, MÛNES advised the nobles to make 'ABÛL-'ABBÂS, the son of the murdered man, king. 'For', said he, 'if ye do this, ye will console his mother, and his widow, and the sister of his widow, and his nurse; and without any toil [on our part] they will produce the gold which is under them (i.e. their lands). The nobles, however, excused themselves and said, 'No, we have had enough of women. Through his mother alone all these things have happened to us, what would happen to us now if to what we have [suffered] through the mother was added that which we



should [suffer] through the widow?' And they all agreed, and they brought MÂHAMMÂD the son of MÛ'TAŞAD and made him king; and they nicknamed him 'KÂHIR'.

When this Khalîfah began to reign he inflicted tortures on the mother of MÛKTADER. He hung her up by a rope tied to one foot, and he beat her with his own hands on the deep-set (or, dangerous?) members of her body in order to make her reveal the gold. And, besides what she admitted to possess under the tortures, she was found to have nothing else. And he stripped the sons of MÛKTADER and their mother of [their] gold. It is said that the mother of MÛKTADER did very many acts of great kindness to this KÂHIR when he was imprisoned in the palace, in respect of food, and drink, and dainties, and handmaidens which she used to smuggle in to him. And she even brought him out from the place wherein he was shut up, and set him in such positions where he could secretly gaze upon the feasting of her son, and hear [177] the voices of the singers. And yet when he obtained the supreme power he rewarded her with such evil recompense!

Now MÛNES and his companions, because they were in the habit of despising kings, and also because they were afraid for themselves, appointed all the gate-keepers of the palace from among the companies of their own men. And they decreed that every one who went into the palace, whether man or woman, should be searched, that no document which concerned their doings should go in to the king. And they arrived at such a pass that one day when [the servants] were taking in to him the milk which was necessary for him to eat (*sic*), the guards thrust their hands into the milk pot and searched it!

Then God, praise be to His righteousness! threw division and contention between the troops of MÛNES and the rest of the nobles, and they left them and went out into the desert; and KÂHIR found the place [where they were] and killed them all. And he constructed a kingdom for himself. He drove away from the palace all the singing men and singing women, and he expelled all the slaves, both male and female, which had been bought with silver, and they were sold to the merchants without the contract, because they were singers and dancers. Then this KÂHIR having beaten to death very many of the chiefs and nobles, and seized their riches, those who remained were scattered as it were by a stroke of the sword. And they taught old men and old women the books of the ARABS. And they related lying dreams to the slaves who were guarding king KÂHIR, those who stood over the head of the king by night and by day, and to the captains of thousands and hundreds, saying, 'We have seen evil dreams concerning you, but be on your guard in respect of the king, so that he may not destroy you'. And thus also did those who worked divination and the astrologers teach, and when these men asked them how it could be thus, they replied each in his own way that that was his object. Now the guards



felt certain in their minds that KÂHIR was about to destroy them. And one night, when he had drunk a large quantity of wine, they bound him in fetters, and they treated both his eyes with *kohl*, and they freed themselves from his service. These things took place in the year three hundred and twenty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 933). After some years this KÂHIR appeared in the Great Mosque asking for alms, and another man was leading him.

After KÂHIR, RÂDHÎ, the son of MÛKTADER, ruled six years and ten months. The nobles brought this man out of prison and made him king. And it is said that he gave the order, [178] and that the guards treated the eyes of KÂHIR with *kohl* [by his command]. And in the year three hundred and twenty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 934) there was a great conflagration in BAGHDÂD, in the district which is called KHÂRKHÂ, and a vast amount of merchandise and many buildings were destroyed therein. And RÂDHÎ commanded and three thousand *dînârs* were given from the treasury to the merchants whose properties had been destroyed, and ten thousand *dînârs* to the owners of the buildings, who rebuilt their houses [therewith]. A little later fire again fell on the quarter, and in the same year much snow fell in BAGHDÂD.

And in the year twelve hundred and forty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 938), CONSTANTINE, king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, having fallen sick, and feeling 'Behold, death', summoned ROMANUS his son-in-law, and he himself placed the crown in his hands and made him king.

And in that year, which is the year three hundred and twenty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 937), he sent an envoy to RÂDHÎ, king of the ARABS, with valuable gifts, vessels of gold and silver set with precious stones, and with him there was a letter written in gold in the language of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and the Arabic translation thereof [which was written] in silver [read] thus: 'From ROMANUS, and CONSTANTINUS, and STEPHANUS, and CONSTANTINUS, the great kings of the RHÔMÂYÊ, to the exalted, and triumphant holder of the government of the Muslims. Peace! Now, because of the immovable love which we have for thee, and in order to show the confirmation of our inclination towards the love of thy brotherliness, we send these gifts, being confident that they will be accepted', together with very many other long words which invited RÂDHÎ to peace. And the king of the ARABS having accepted the gifts, also sent an envoy with gifts and a letter, saying, 'From 'ABD ALLÂH ABÛL-'ABBÂS RÂDHÎ, the Head of the Faith, the Amîr of the Faithful (or, Believers), to ROMANUS, and CONSTANTINUS, and STEPHANUS, and CONSTANTINUS, the Governors of the RHÔMÂYÊ. Peace! Behold, according to your request, we have accepted your gifts with love. And for the confirmation of our peace with you, behold we also with gifts and with an ambassador pay you honours.'

And when ROMANUS was reigning over the RHÔMÂYÊ, SÎMYON, the BULGARIAN, attacked CONSTANTINOPLE. And he burned and laid waste the



countries of TARKÎ and MACEDONIA. And he encamped against ADRIANOPLE and captured it. Then ROMANUS with flattering words and gifts pacified him. Then SÎMYON asked that he might see ROMANUS the king, in order that [179] the peace might be more firmly established. And the king prepared a suitable spot at sea, and they met each other in boats and confirmed perfect love. And when there was a respite to the RHÔMÂYÊ from the west, they set their faces towards the east. And they went forth in the year twelve hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 941) and came to KAPHARTÛTHÂ, and they took spoil from the whole country and departed.

And in the year three hundred and twenty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 940), the sufferings of RÂDHÎ, the king of the ARABS, increased, and he was unable to maintain his watch. SÎNÂN the physician, the son of TÂBITH, treated him with great assiduity, but [the king] was in no way relieved. Now RÂDHÎ had a TÛRKÂYÂ slave, a eunuch, whose name was ZÎRÂK, and he had authority over everything which belonged to the king; and in this year he fell sick and died. And the king was smitten with great grief; and he commanded that four hundred jars of priceless old wine should be emptied into the TIGRIS. And after a short time he himself died.

After RÂDHÎ, MÛTHAKÎ, the son of MÛKTADER, [ruled] three years and one month. In the year three hundred and twenty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 940), the year in which he [began] to reign, there was great scarcity of food in BAGHDÂD. A *kôr* of wheat was sold for one hundred and thirty gold *dînârs*, and men ate berries and grass. And there came a terrible pestilence which was so deadly that a crowd of the dead were buried in one grave without prayer. And the river TIGRIS flooded [the country], and very many houses and palm groves were destroyed.

And in the year twelve hundred and fifty-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 942) the RHÔMÂYÊ again invaded CILICIA, and they carried away captive fifteen thousand men from the country of HAMMÛSH, and they burned the villages and departed. And the famine increased in BAGHDÂD, and a *kôr* of wheat was sold for two hundred and ten gold *dînârs*, and the price of the *kôr* mounted up until it became three hundred and seventeen gold *dînârs*, and men ate the bodies of the dead. And the bridge in BAGHDÂD was broken, and many people were drowned in the TIGRIS. And one year later the RHÔMÂYÊ came to MAIPERKÂT, and 'ARZÂN, and NISIBIS, and they made many captives, and burnt the villages and departed.

And in the year three hundred and thirty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 942), the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ sent an envoy to MÛTHAKÎ, king of the ARABS, demanding the *mandîlâ*, i.e. napkin or face-covering which was in the church of EDESSA. Our Lord had drawn it across His face, and His likeness was impressed (or, outlined) on it, and He sent it [180] to 'ABHGAR [the king of EDESSA], who asked that he might see Him. And the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ promised that if it were given to him he would set free many of



the Arab prisoners who were with him. Then MÛTHAĶÎ collected the scribes of their Faith and asked if the Law commanded [them] to give such a pretext (or, occasion) as this to the Christians or not. And they replied, 'Although it is exceedingly right for us to be blessed by this face cloth, yet it is meet to give it to them because the Muslims are suffering, and are hungry and naked'.

At this time a certain captain of the host whose name was TÛZÔN obtained great power in BAGHDÂD, and king MÛTHAĶÎ feared him, and took his wives and his slaves and went up to CALONICUS, and he sat down there for some time. Then TÛZÔN sent a message to him in which he blamed him [and asked him] why he had put himself so far away from his throne. And he swore an oath of fealty to him, and according to his nature flattered (or, cajoled) him. And MÛTHAĶÎ rose up and came down to BAGHDÂD. And when TÛZÔN heard that he was coming by water, he collected his troops and went forth to meet the king; and he alighted [from his horse] and kissed the ground [at his feet] and walked before him on foot. And the king pressed him and made him mount his horse and ride. Then TÛZÔN, with treachery ambushed in his heart, made a sign to his companions, and they surrounded the king and his escort. And before he could enter the palace they drew swords on him so that they could kill him if he would not abdicate voluntarily. And being in sore straits, he abdicated and testified openly that he had done so. And they brought him into the palace, and shut him up there. And they brought 'ABD ALLÂH, the son of MÛKTAFÎ, and made him king, and they nicknamed him 'MÛSTAKFÎ' (i.e. he for whom the Lord sufficeth). These things [took place] in the year three hundred and thirty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 944).

After MÛTHAĶÎ, MÛSTAKFÎ, the son of MÛKTAFÎ, [ruled] one year and four months. And during the year in which he reigned, various peoples, the 'ALÂNÂYÊ, and the 'ASĶLÂBHÂYÊ (SCLAVS), and the LAGZÂYÊ, went forth and came to 'ADHÔRBÎJÂN, and they captured the city, the name of which was BARDA'AH, and they killed therein about twenty thousand men and departed. And again the nobles conceived treachery concerning king MÛSTAKFÎ. And one day when he was sitting on his throne the nobles went in according to custom, and they kissed the ground, and they kissed his hand and stood up. And when their number was complete, one of them, he who had come in last, kissed the ground, and drew nigh to the king. And the king, thinking that he had come near him in order to kiss his hand, stretched out his hand to him. And the noble took it [181] and dragged him towards himself, and pulled him from his throne on to his face. And all the nobles gathered together about him, and they made him to go forth from the palace on foot, and they took him along and shut him up in the mansion of MÛ'IZZ AD-DÂWLÂH, the captain of the host. And they brought FADHIL, the son of MÛKTADER, and made him king, and named him 'MÛTÎ'.



After MÛSTAKFÎ, MÛTÎ' the son of MUQTADER ruled twenty-nine years and five months. When the nobles had seated this Khalifah on the throne, they brought MÛSTAKFÎ before him, and he saluted him and testified concerning his own abdication, and he was imprisoned in the palace.

And in the year in which MÛTÎ' began to reign, that is to say, the year three hundred and thirty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 945), two of his nobles quarrelled. The one was NÂŞIR AD-DÂWLÂH, the governor of MÂWŞIL, and the other was MÛ'IZZ AD-DÂWLÂH, who had set MÛTÎ' on the throne. And NÂŞIR came and seized the eastern side of BAGHDÂD, and MÛ'IZ the western side. Then MÛ'IZ waxed powerful and he crossed over to the eastern side, and NÂŞIR fled in the direction of MÂWŞIL. And the citizens of that side, fearing the sword of MÛ'IZ, set out forthwith to flee to MÂWŞIL, both men and women. And very many died on the road through thirst and exhaustion, especially among the women who were not accustomed to travel on foot. One woman, from among the daughters of the governors, was seen lying on the roadside dressed in rich apparel. And she had a bag (i.e. purse) in her hand, and she was crying out, 'Behold four hundred *dînârs*. Take them and give me a little water to drink.' But never a man looked at her, neither did any man take the bag for nothing out of her hand, but every man was too much absorbed in effecting his own flight. Ten thousand souls perished during this flight. And when MÛ'IZ heard these things he proclaimed peace, and he sent out water for the fugitives and made them come back. And it is said that in [all] their lives the BABYLONIANS had never seen such tribulation as on that day.

It is said that there was in BAGHDÂD at that time a certain man who was a diviner, and who used to declare things that were about to happen during times of delirium (in trances?). Days before this tribulation came he used to cry out in the bazârs, saying, 'O sons of BAGHDÂD, teach your wives to go about without sandals, and make thou to get accustomed to want and misery, for tribulation is nigh'. And even so did it take place.

And in that same year there was a great famine in BAGHDÂD, [182] and a *kôr* of wheat was sold for four hundred gold *dînârs*, and a thousand litres of dates, according to the measure of BAGHDÂD, for sixty *dînârs*. And houses, and vineyards, and gardens were sold for joints of meat and cakes of bread. And men used to pick out the grains of barley from the dung of horses and asses and eat them. And many women were arrested and killed because they had roasted their babes in the oven and eaten them. And very many died during that famine, and [their bodies] were devoured by the dogs because there was no one to bury them.

And in the year twelve hundred and sixty of the GREEKS (A.D. 949), which is the year three hundred and thirty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 948), the RHÔMÂYÊ sallied forth to the country of the ARABS. And SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH, the Amîr of EMESA and ALEPPO, engaged them in battle, and the ARABS were



broken. And the RHÔMÂYÊ took GERMÂNÎKÎ, which is MAR'ÂSH, and came to ȚARSÔS. And they killed, and looted, and departed.

And in the year three hundred and thirty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 950) SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH collected thirty thousand soldiers, some were mounted and some went on foot, and they invaded the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and captured great spoils. And when the Arab general went out, the RHÔMÂYÊ followed and overtook him, and they shut the gates of the fortifications upon him, and killed and made prisoners of all the troops which were with him, and they brought back the spoil. SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH escaped with a few of his men, but he had lost all his people, and his horses, and his mules, and his treasures and possessions.

And in this year that BLACK STONE which is in the MOSQUE OF MAKKAH was brought back—now those who go [there] to pray are blessed by it—after [an absence of] twenty-three years. It was carried off by the ȚARMÂȚÂYÊ, the tyrants who are in the South, and they sent it back in return for the fifty thousand *dînârs* which were given to them. They brought it back broken in two pieces, and they tied them together with rods of silver; [so are they] to this day. And at this time there was a period of great abundance, and twenty litres of bread, according to BAGHDÂD measure, were sold for one *zûzâ*.

And in the year twelve hundred and sixty(?)—eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 957), which is the year three hundred and forty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 956), the RHÔMÂYÊ went forth by sea to ȚARSÔS, and they burned very many villages, and slew one thousand eight hundred warriors of the ARABS, and departed. And after a little SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH collected an army and invaded the country of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and he took captives, and burned, and killed. And he came to 'ADÂNÂ, a city of CILICIA, [183] and he sat down there for some days. And he strengthened and encouraged the Amîr of ȚARSÔS not to be afraid of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and he left [that place] and came to ALEPPO. And the RHÔMÂYÊ went forth after him from another side, and they arrived at MAIPERKÂȚ, and they plundered and made captives of the people of that place, and they burned the villages and departed.

And in the year three hundred and forty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 957) the locusts came in vast numbers, and they destroyed the crops. And a pestilence broke out among men, viz. the disease of strangulation. And it was so severe that a certain thief who was digging a hole in the wall of a house belonging to a wealthy man of BAGHDÂD, died in the hole. And also a certain man was putting on his dark apparel so that he might go to judge in the hall of judgement; now he had put on one of his sandals, and he fell down and died before he could put on the other. And in the winter torrential rains came. And the Great Sea (PERSIAN GULF?) diminished, and it shrunk into itself for a distance of about three hundred cubits; and many rocks and islands were laid bare which had not been known before. And one year



later there was a terrible earthquake, and it destroyed many districts, and many were suffocated beneath the overthrow in the mountains of the DAILÔMÂYÊ and KÂSHÂN. And the RHÔMÂYÊ went forth as far as 'ÂMID, and 'ARZÂN, and MAIPERKÂT, and they made themselves masters of many fortresses, that is to say citadels, and they killed one thousand five hundred souls. And after a few days the RHÔMÂYÊ also went forth to the quarter of ALEPPO, and SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH engaged them by DÂLÛK. And the RHÔMÂYÊ conquered, and they made prisoners of the relatives of SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH and his kinsfolk. And they killed many of the foot-soldiers of the ARABS, and only a very few of them escaped. And the RHÔMÂYÊ also captured SAMOSATA, and they burned it with fire.

And in the year three hundred and forty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 958), because NÂŞIR AD-DÂWLÂH, the Amîr of MÂWŞIL, was careless and did not wish to send the tribute of silver to BAGHDÂD, MÛ'IZZ AD-DÂWLÂH, the Amîr, that is to say, captain of the host of BAGHDÂD, came against him. Then NÂŞIR fled to NISIBIS, to which place MÛ'IZZ AD-DÂWLÂH pursued him; NÂŞIR fled to MAIPERKÂT, and there also he was not able to sit down, but he fled to ALEPPO, and he took refuge with his brother ẖAIF (*sic*) AD-DÂWLÂH. Now he received him with great affection, and he abased himself to such a degree that he used to pull off with his own hands the sandals (or, shoes) of his brother NÂŞIR AD-DÂWLÂH. [184]

And in the year three hundred and forty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 959) the RHÔMÂYÊ made prisoners of MÂḤAMMÂD, the son of NÂŞIR AD-DÂWLÂH, and certain of his slaves from the region of ALEPPO, and also 'ABÛ AL-HAITÂM, the captain of the host, and his slaves from the town of KAPHARTÛTHÂ. And they came also to the country of ṬARSÔS, and they killed many and took prisoners. And they captured the fortress of HÂRÔNÎÂ, and they killed the men who were therein, and they made captives of the women and children, and destroyed the fortress.

And in that year, which was the year twelve hundred and seventy-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 961), king CONSTANTINE died, and his son ROMANUS became king. This king paid great honour to the Senate and to the nobles, and he showed magnanimity to every man. And in that year he sent IWÂNNÎ (JOANNES), who is SHÛMÛSHKÎN (ZIMISCEN), the captain of the host, and NICEPHORUS DOMASTICUS to the country of the ARABS. And they set out and arrived as far as 'ÂMID, where they killed about one hundred fighting men (or, combatants), and made prisoners of thirty souls, and then they burnt the crops and departed.

Then SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH, the Amîr of ALEPPO, collected thirty thousand [men], and he went in and came as far as KARSHENÂ, and he captured great spoil. And when he wished to go out the RHÔMÂYÊ shut the gates of the fortifications, and he and only three hundred of his slaves were able to escape. And the RHÔMÂYÊ killed the rest and made prisoners, and brought



back the spoil. And they inherited the horses, and armour, and treasures of SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH, who is BAR ḤAMDÂN. And at this time, of the renowned men (or, men of name) who were with him were killed ḤAMID BAR-NÂMÛS, MÛSÂ-SAYÂ KHÂN, and ẸÂDHÎ 'ABÛ ḤUṢAIN. And in this year immense numbers of locusts appeared in the country of MÂWṢIL, and there came scarcity and a *kôr* of wheat was sold for two thousand two hundred *zûzê*, and a *kôr* of barley for eight hundred *zûzê*. And many people fled to SYRIA and BAGHDÂD, and the Christians [fled] to the cities on the seashore. And in that year was built the holy church in TRIPOLI in the name of the glorious MÂR BEHNÂM, the Martyr.

And in the year [185] three hundred and forty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 960), when the EGYPTIANS who had gone to pray at MAKKAH were returning, they encamped in the bed of a brook in which water had not flowed for a long time. And during the night, whilst they were sleeping, a flood of water poured down upon them all, and it swept them and all their possessions out into the Great Sea, and they all perished.

And in this year about two hundred thousand tents (i.e. families) of the TÛRKÂYÊ who were in the East became Muslims, and entered the Faith of the ARABS. And in the year three hundred and fifty of the ARABS (A.D. 961), a great host of ARABS went forth from ANTIOCH to ṬARSÔS, and the RHÔMÂYÊ who were in ambush fell upon them, and slew some of them, and the remainder—a very large crowd—they carried off as prisoners. And the ARABS were greatly enraged. And NAGÂ, a slave of SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH, invaded the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ from the quarter of MAIPERĶÂṬ. And he captured much spoil and two thousand men, and he bound five hundred of them with chains and took [them] out with him.

And in the year twelve hundred and seventy-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 963), which is the year three hundred and fifty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 962), NICEPHORUS DOMASTICUS came with one hundred and sixty thousand horsemen to CILICIA, and he encamped against 'ANÂZARBÂ, and made fierce war upon it. And the ARABS who were inside it, despairing of any help coming to them, demanded a word (i.e. guarantee of safety) for their lives and possessions, so that they might make the fortress to surrender; [this they did] the more readily when they saw that those who were on the side of the mountain were near to breach the walls. Then NICEPHORUS gave them the pledge, and they opened the fortress to him. And when he went in and saw that they had very nearly opened it with the sword, without any labour, he repented that he had given them the pledge. And he commanded that all the people should be gathered together at the Mosque, and that the man who would not go in—his blood would be on his own head.

Then on the following morning the footmen who were with him entered the city, and every one they found in the house and in the street they killed, men, and women, and children. And he collected all the armour that was



in the city, now there were found therein forty thousand *ṭarpânsê*, that is to say, coats of mail, besides great numbers of swords and bows. And they cut down forty thousand palm trees. And he commanded that those who were in the Mosque should go forth whithersoever they pleased, and that he who remained there until the evening should be killed. And they went forth, [186] crushing each other as they fought their way out, and very many died through being trampled to death—men and women, and children alike. And others of them died on the roads, and the remainder did not know where to go. Then NICEPHORUS destroyed the Mosque, and he threw down the two walls of the city and the large buildings. And he remained twenty and two days in CILICIA, and he captured fifty-four fortresses, some with sword, and some by surrender.

It is said that in one of the fortresses, whose masters had received the pledge [of safety], and who had handed the fortress over to him, when the Arab women were going out certain ARMENIANS were stirred up by their passions and attacked them. And the spirit of jealousy seized their husbands, and they drew [their] swords. Then NICEPHORUS DOMASTIKUS was angry with the ARABS who had drawn [their] swords, and they killed four hundred men and very many women.

And because the 'ARBA'ÎN FAST (i.e. the Forty-days Fast, or Lent) arrived, NICEPHORUS and those who were with him marched to CAESAREA, meaning to come back after the Fast. Then the captain of the host of the ARABS who were in ṬARSÔS collected four thousand [men] and marched against the RHÔMÂYÊ, and he was defeated and killed, he and all the ARABS who were with him, also his brother BAR-REBÂB, the captain of the host of ṬARSÔS. And the RHÔMÂYÊ again invaded CILICIA, and they captured the fortress of sîs, and they placed guards in it and also in the other garrisons, and they left and marched against ALEPPO. And SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH went forth and engaged the RHÔMÂYÊ, and was defeated, and all the sons of ḤAMDÂN were killed. And SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH himself, together with a few men, fled and escaped. And [NICEPHORUS] DOMASTIKUS himself captured his palace which was outside the city wall, and he took therefrom three hundred and ninety talents of silver, and two thousand four hundred mules, and an incalculable quantity of armour and weapons. And he burnt the palace and encamped against the city. And he made a breach in the wall, and the RHÔMÂYÊ went in and made a great slaughter therein, until they were exhausted. And they found therein one thousand two hundred RHÔMÂYÊ men who were prisoners, and they released them. And they took captive more than ten thousand youths and maidens, and a very great booty, as much as they could carry away, and the rest they burnt in the fire. And they came upon tanks which were full of olive oil, and they poured water into them until all the oil floated up to the top and ran out, and it spread all over the ground and was wasted. And they swept away the Mosques.



And the RHÔMÂÏÊ remained there for nine days [187] destroying [everything].

And when they wished to march on, the son of the sister of King ROMANUS, who was with NICEPHORUS, objected (or, resisted) and said, 'We will not march on until we have opened (i.e. conquered) the Citadel'. Then NICEPHORUS, because he was unable to resist him, said, 'Behold, the Citadel is before thee; go, capture it'. And when the son of the sister of the king drew nigh to breach the wall, [the people inside it] cast upon him the stone from the cavity which was above the gate; and when the stone reached him he turned his face to flee. And those who were inside opened the gate of the Citadel, and a certain man of DAILÔM, whose name was BÂSHÂ, pursued him and thrust a spear between his shoulders, and made it to come out from his breast and killed him. And those who were with him turned back, and they took up his dead body and carried it to NICEPHORUS. Then he, in order that the blood of the son of the king's sister might be avenged, cut off the heads of twelve hundred men of the ARABS whom he held as prisoners; and he departed and went to the territory of the RHÔMÂÏÊ.

Now in the villages of ALEPPO he destroyed nothing whatsoever, but he commanded the farmer-folk saying, 'Ye shall not neglect the tillage of the fields, because this land hath become ours, and after a short time we shall return to you'. And at that time also one thousand men, who were Armenian foot-soldiers, invaded the district of EDESSA, and they captured one thousand sheep and five hundred oxen and ten men of the ARABS and departed.

In these times the RHÔMÂÏÊ, having gained the mastery over the ARABS, took captives and spoil and advanced as far as GREATER ARMENIA; and they left and departed. Now, all the ARMENIANS being afraid that vengeance would be taken upon them by the ARABS because they were Christians, fled to the frontier of the RHÔMÂÏÊ; and the RHÔMÂÏÊ gave them SEBASTIA of CAPPADOCIA, and they multiplied there exceedingly. And they distributed them also in the fortresses which were in CILICIA, and which they took from the ARABS. And in all the wars [waged] by the RHÔMÂÏÊ the foot-soldiers of the ARMENIANS marched, and they aided them greatly.

And when NICEPHORUS and his armies of the RHÔMÂÏÊ returned from ALEPPO, and came to SÎMNADÛ, the report of the death of King ROMANUS reached them. And all the nobles held the same opinion as SHÛMÛSHKÎN, and they proclaimed NICEPHORUS DOMASTICUS king in the year twelve hundred and seventy-five of the GREEKS [188] (A.D. 964). And they made SHÛMÛSHKÎN DOMASTICUS, and sent him to fight with the ARABS, and he went to CONSTANTINOPLE, and was confirmed in the kingdom. Then SHÛMÛSHKÎN DOMASTICUS marched against MOPSUESTIA, and he encamped against it for seven days. And although he made more than sixty breaches in the wall thereof, he was not able to go into it, but he wasted with fire its surrounding



land, and the districts of 'ADÂNÂ and ʦARSÔS. And the RHÔMÂYÊ fell upon the five thousand men who came from ʦARSÔS to the help of the sons of the desert waste and killed them all, and they left and departed.

And there was a great famine in CILICIA, and a great many of the people of the ARABS left and fled to DAMASCUS. And there was also a severe famine in ALEPPO, and in HÂRRÂN, and in EDESSA. And after a year the DOMASTICUS came again to CILICIA, and he sat down in the open desert for three months; he was unable to capture it, but he laid tribute upon it. And they departed because of the sickness and pestilence which had fallen upon his troops.

And in the year twelve hundred and seventy-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 965), which is the year three hundred and fifty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 965), NICEPHORUS the king went forth from CONSTANTINOPLE, and he came and sat down in CAESAREA of CAPPADOCIA. And the sons of ʦARSÔS and the men of the desert sent [a letter] to him saying that they would be subject unto him, and [asking] him to send some one of his own to reign over them. He replied, 'Now that ye are in despair about help reaching you from the ARABS, and now that ye have eaten dead dogs because of the famine, and the pestilence also is making an end of you, ye would become subject unto me until such time as ye can become strong and rebel against me. For you, as far as I am concerned, there is nothing but the sword.' And having burnt their letter on the head of their ambassador, he also singed his beard, and drove him away. It is said that three hundred biers with dead bodies upon them went forth from ʦARSÔS daily.

Then NICEPHORUS the king collected his troops and went and encamped on the uncultivated land (or, the desert), and he captured it on the Sabbath, on the thirteenth day of the month of RAJÂB of this year of the ARABS, and he made there great slaughter. And he took prisoners two hundred thousand people, men, and women, and children, and he sent them to the country of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And he came and encamped against ʦARSÔS. And when the people thereof were supplicating him, with groans and sighs, not to kill them, [and were promising] to open [189] to him the gates, his heart became sad, and he gave them the word (i.e. pledge of safety) concerning their lives and possessions. And when he went into the city he paid honour to the nobles of the ARABS who were therein, and brought them to his table. And he commanded them to take away everything they possibly could of their possessions and armour, and he sent them to ANTIOCH. And those who did not wish to go to ANTIOCH, but to the other towns of the ARABS, in like manner he sent them wheresoever they wished to go. And he appointed three Patricians to keep guard over them, and he permitted no man to do them an injury. And they cut off the hands and the noses of certain ARMENIANS who dared to put forth their hands against any men of the ARABS, and he flogged them severely. He sent out envoys on all the road[s], and urged [them to take care] that the ARABS might arrive where their companions



were in good care. He made the Mosque of ʾTARSÔS into a stable for his horses, and he established in ʾTARSÔS a certain Patrician with five thousand horsemen, and he appointed another Patrician over the uncultivated lands. And ʾTARSÔS was [re]built, and was exceedingly prosperous, and the supply of food therein was so abundant that twelve litres of bread were sold for one *zûzâ*. And many of her citizens returned to ʾTARSÔS, and some of them were baptized and became Christians; others remained in their Faith, but all their children were baptized.

And after a year NICEPHORUS the king came and encamped against 'ÂMID, and he was unable to capture it. And he went and encamped against 'ANTIAKH (*sic*) again, and he made war on it for many days, and in this case also he was unable to cope with its strength; but he laid waste the villages and the gardens which were round about it and departed. And after a year SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH, the Amîr of ALEPPO, died in ŞAMÂRÂ. And MU'IZZ AD-DÂWLÂH, the Amîr of BAGHDÂD, died by the disease of diarrhoea, and 'IZZ AD-DÂWLÂH, his son, succeeded him.

And in that year, which was the year three hundred and fifty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 966), whilst NÂŞIR AD-DÂWLÂH, the Amîr of MÂWŞIL, was sleeping on his bed, his son ABÛ TAGHLIB seized him, and sent him away and had him shut up in the Citadel of KAWÂSHÎ. And he appointed as keepers over him SÂNIH, the Kûrd, and another eunuch, whom he drove away many times, and he commanded the two of them that they were never to let NÂŞIR AD-DÂWLÂH know the news about anything which happened. Therefore when [190] he asked for news of his sons, and of his eldest son who had shut him up, they said to him, 'Dost thou want to eat? Dost thou want to drink? For anything more than this never ask us.' It is said that when they were taking him over the bridge he roused himself up and saw the TIGRIS and said, 'Do ye wish to drown me?' And they replied, 'Nay, but we are taking thee to KAWÂSHÎ'. And he said, 'This was in my mind, that I might shut up my son there, but he has anticipated me in the matter'. And ABÛ TAGHLIB undertook to send to BAGHDÂD the tribute which his father used to send, and 'IZZ AD-DÂWLÂH, the Amîr of BAGHDÂD, agreed. And in the place of SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH, the Amîr of ALEPPO and EMESA, sat his son ABÛ AD-MA'ÂLÎ.

And in the year twelve hundred and seventy-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 968), which is the year three hundred and fifty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 967), certain men of KHÔRÂSÂN, together with three thousand of the ARABS of ANTIOCH, invaded the territory of CAPPADOCIA. And forty thousand of the RHÔMÂYÊ engaged them in battle, and slew very many of the KHÔRÂSÂNIANS and the ANTIOCHIANS, and they made many of them prisoners. Then the ARABS who were in ANTIOCH killed the Patriarch of the CHALCEDONIANS, and they destroyed many of the churches of ANTIOCH. And the RHÔMÂYÊ went forth also to SERÛGH, and they made three hundred ARABS prisoners



and captured much cattle, and departed. And in that year NÂŞIR AD-DÂWLÂH died in the prison of KAWÂSHÎ, and he was brought to the Hill of Repentance (Nabi Yûnis?) which is opposite to MÂWŞIL, and buried there, and all his children walked barefooted before his bier. In this year there were found by ABÛ AL-'ÂLÂ SULAIMÂN, the son of WAHÂB, the son of SOFYÂN, a lawyer and Christian of BAGHDÂD, three hundred and fifty thousand *zûzê* in the possession of a money-changer. And there were twelve thousand pots of wine in his house. They mulcted him of one hundred and forty thousand white (*zûzê*) and left him.

And in this year dissension fell between the KHÔRÂSÂNITES who were in ANTIOCH, and the ARABS who were natives of ANTIOCH. And the RHÔMÂYÊ came and carried away captive from the country of ANTIOCH twelve thousand people, men and women, and youths and maidens.

And after one year, that is to say the year twelve hundred and eighty of the GREEKS (A.D. 969), the RHÔMÂYÊ came to KAPHARTÛTHÂ, and they carried off eight hundred people and a vast amount of spoil. And they went to EMESA and they found it emptied of [191] (or, evacuated by) its inhabitants, and they set fire to it and departed. And in that year there was scarcity in BAGHDÂD, and a *kôr* of wheat was sold for ninety gold *dînârs*; and vast numbers of locusts appeared in MÂWŞIL. And after a little [time] NICEPHORUS, the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, came, and he encamped against ANTIOCH. And from there he went to TRIPOLI, and he burnt down all the buildings that were outside the city. And he went and captured the strong citadel of GÂZÂ, and he took from it a great quantity of material. And he came and encamped between EMESA and ALEPPO, and he remained there two months taking captives and looting, and there was no man who could resist him. One hundred thousand prisoners, youths and maidens, were counted with him, for he took neither old man nor old woman; of these some he killed and some of them he left. And had it not been for the pestilence which fell on the RHÔMÂYÊ he would have captured both ALEPPO and ANTIOCH. His face was set towards JERUSALEM, but he was unable to go [there], because the [troops] who were with him were exhausted by the great slaughter which they had made, and by the excessive weight of the spoil which they had taken.

And in the year twelve hundred and eighty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 970), which is the year three hundred and fifty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 969), the RHÔMÂYÊ made secret arrangements with the Christians of the Citadel of LÛKÂ, which is in the neighbourhood of ANTIOCH, that is to say, they were to go into ANTIOCH and pretend that they were afraid of the RHÔMÂYÊ and had fled [there]. And they were to dwell therein until the army of the RHÔMÂYÊ came to ANTIOCH, when they were to help the RHÔMÂYÊ from inside to conquer the city. And the Christians having done this, two months later the brother of NICEPHORUS the king came with forty thousand RHÔMÂYÊ,



and they surrounded the wall of ANTIOCH. And the men of the Citadel of LŪḲÂ gave them help from the side by the mountain, and the RHÔMÂYÊ went into ANTIOCH and captured it. And after the great slaughter which they made they set on one side the old men and the old women, and those who were not full grown, and they said to them, 'Get ye gone whithersoever ye please'. And they took the fully grown men and women, and the young men, who were more in number than twenty thousand souls, and they sent them into the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And they also sent ten thousand horsemen to ALEPPO, and the men of ALEPPO undertook to give to the RHÔMÂYÊ annually a fixed tribute. And the RHÔMÂYÊ took from them eight persons as hostages and departed.

At this time, King NICEPHORUS having triumphed greatly in the war, [192] and being king over all the cities of CILICIA, and over ANTIOCH and SYRIA, the fear of him fell over all Arabdom (or, the Muslim world). He became haughty and bore himself arrogantly, and he took to wife Queen THEOPHANA, the wife of King ROMANUS, although she wished it not. And this did not suffice for him; but he wanted to make eunuchs of her two sons, BASIL and CONSTANTINE, in order that [the possibility of] their succession [to the throne] might be done away, and the royal line be continued through him. When THEOPHANA understood his intention she was sorely grieved for her sons. And she made a secret pact with SHÛMÛSHKÎN the DOMASTICUS, and she brought him and certain strong men disguised as women into the church of the palace on the night of the Nativity. And she informed NICEPHORUS that she had invited some of her kinswomen to pass the night with her in the church in order to enjoy converse with them. And so when she knew that he was sunk deep in slumber, she brought in upon him SHÛMÛSHKÎN and those who were with him, and they killed him on his bed and more than seventy men of the guards who kept the gate of the palace. Now we have discovered the cause of the murder of NICEPHORUS in accurate books. The cause assigned by the blessed MÂR MICHAEL, on the authority of IGNATIUS of MELITENE [is this]: she killed him because he was not faithful [to her] in marriage. There was no pretence on her part, because not even after NICEPHORUS was killed did she consort with men, not even with SHÛMÛSHKÎN, who reigned after NICEPHORUS, or any other man.

And in the year three hundred and sixty of the ARABS (A.D. 970), two ARABS who had been killed during the night were found in the Mosque which was near the Nestorian Monastery of MICHAEL which is in MÂWŞIL. And ABÛ TAGHLIB, the son of NÂŞIR AD-DÂWLÂH, fined the Christians of MÂWŞIL one hundred and twenty thousand *zûzé*.

And in the year three hundred and sixty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 972) the DOMASTICUS and an army of the RHÔMÂYÊ invaded the city of NISIBIS, and he made a great slaughter therein. And he remained [there for] twenty-two days, taking captives, and looting, and laying waste the country. And when



he wished to march against 'ÂMID, the captain of the host therein, whose name was HAZÂRMARD, sent to ABÛ TAGHLIB, governor of MÂWŞIL, [for help], and he sent to him a large army with his brother. And they attacked the RHÔMÂYÊ, and the ARABS conquered and captured the DOMASTICUS; and they sent him as a prisoner to [193] MÂWŞIL, and the RHÔMÂYÊ fled. And ABÛ TAGHLIB showed many kindnesses to the DOMASTICUS, so that he might strengthen [his] friendship with the RHÔMÂYÊ.

Now it came to pass that a virulent boil broke out on the DOMASTICUS and he died there. And in that year, when the people of BAGHDÂD heard of the pillage and slaughter which had taken place in NISIBIS, they became greatly exasperated, and they made a great revolt against the Khalîfah, who was [called] MÛṬÎ'. And they jeered at him and mocked him as being one who avoided fighting on behalf of the ARABS, and they shot arrows at him in his palace and at his servants. And certain men of name (i.e. distinguished men) went to the Amîr 'IZZ AD-DÂWLÂH, who had gone to KÛFÂH, and they urged him to send an army against the RHÔMÂYÊ.

And in the year three hundred and sixty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 973) the disease of paralysis attacked MÛṬÎ', the king of the ARABS, that is to say the Khalîfah, and his tongue became heavy, and his power to move ceased. Therefore a certain noble of BAGHDÂD, whose name was SABÛKTAKÎN, forced him to abdicate, and he handed over the kingdom to his son who was called ṬÂÎ'. And in this year died TÂBÎTH, the physician, the son of SÎNÂN, the son of TÂBÎTH the pagan of ḤÂRRÂN. This man wrote a famous chronological history of the ARABS from the year two hundred and ninety of the ARABS (A.D. 902) to the end of his days. And had it not been for him a very great number of the deeds and acts of the Arab kings would have been forgotten and lost in oblivion. But he preserved [the memory] of them, and they have been handed down by the writers of histories who have arisen since his time.

After MÛṬÎ', ṬÂÎ' [ruled] seventeen years and nine months. When this Khalîfah [began to] reign, he magnified SABÛKTAKÎN who had made him king, and he nicknamed him 'NÂŞIR AD-DÂWLÂH'. And strife fell on the people because the Sunnite ARABS and the TÛRKÂYÊ took the side of SABÛKTAKÎN and the Shî'ah ARABS and the DAILÔMITES took the side of 'ÎZZ AD-DÂWLÂH. And very many were killed between them, and great palaces were captured. And in the year three hundred and sixty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 974), which is the year twelve hundred and eighty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 975), 'ÎWÂNNÎ (JOANNES), the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, who is SHÛMÛSHKÎN, went forth and made himself master of EMESA and B'ELBÂK (BAALBEK). And when he wished to go to DAMASCUS BAR-ZAIATH (ZÂWATH), one of the Arab nobles of SYRIA, wrote to AL-PETHGÂN, the governor of DAMASCUS, and advised him not to oppose the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ [194] because he was incapable of resisting his power. Thereupon AL-PETHGÂN



was persuaded by his advice and he sent to SHÛMÛSHKÎN and promised that he would be subject to him, and he undertook to pay [annually] a tribute of three hundred thousand *zûzê*; and SHÛMÛSHKÎN the king agreed to this arrangement.

And when SHÛMÛSHKÎN drew nigh to DAMASCUS, AL-PETHGÂN went out to meet him, and he alighted on his feet and kissed the ground in front of him very many times. And the king rejoiced that AL-PETHGÂN was in this state of mind, and he made him remount his horse, and paid him honour, and he commanded him to canter on in front of him, and to exhibit his skill as a horseman. And AL-PETHGÂN having done so, the king praised him, and again AL-PETHGÂN alighted and kissed the ground. And SHÛMÛSHKÎN made him remount his horse, and remitted to him one year's tribute; and again AL-PETHGÂN alighted and kissed the ground. And the king demanded from him the horse on which he had cantered and caracolled, and his armour and his spear. Then AL-PETHGÂN offered him these things together with other objects and perfumes, and also twenty horses and a large number of spears. And the king accepted that horse only and one spear only, and he returned the remainder and gave him thanks. And he arrayed AL-PETHGÂN in rich apparel, and gave him jewellery and vessels of silver and mules.

And SHÛMÛSHKÎN left and went to SIDON. And the inhabitants sallied forth to tender their submission to him, and they presented offerings to him. And he left them and went and attacked BAIRÛTH (BÊRÛT), and he opened (i.e. conquered) it with the sword and carried off spoil from it. And he went and attacked GABBÂLÂ (JEBÊL, or, BYBLUS), and the inhabitants thereof showing themselves to be rebellious, he took that city also with the sword and carried off spoil. And he left and went to ʾTARSÔS. And there the sister of Queen THEOPHANA gave him drink with deadly poison in it, and he became seriously ill; and he marched to the royal city, where he died, after he had reigned four years. This king was extremely strenuous in his military duties. He was powerfully built in his body, and courageous in spirit, and victorious in wars. During his reign he showed magnanimity to every man, and he set the prisoners free, and he built the great church in Constantinople, and subjugated many cities and countries. And the nobles and all the people mourned his death greatly.

And after him BASIL and CONSTANTINE, the sons of ROMANUS the king, reigned fifty-eight years, and they were on affectionate terms with each other. And because BASIL possessed greater strength than his brother, CONSTANTINE established him in the royal city, and he was engaged continually in fighting wars [195] against the ARABS.

And in the year three hundred and sixty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 977), the river TIGRIS rose twenty cubits above the normal [height], and the waters poured down into the wells (cesspools?) and drains (or, sewers) of BAGHDÂD. And the people sat in boats by night and by day, and many large



buildings collapsed. And the two brothers who were reigning over the RHÔMÂYÊ appointed as DOMASTICUS a man whose name was WARDÔS. And straightway he rebelled against them, and he wished to establish his own sovereignty over the countries which the RHÔMÂYÊ had taken from the ARABS. And he sent an envoy to his brother 'ADHÂD AD-DÂWLÂH, an Amîr of BAGHDÂD, [asking him] to help him, and to take care that he was confirmed in the kingdom of the RHÔMÂYÊ in the East, and [promising that] he would be in subjection to the ARABS all the time of his life.

Then the kings BASIL and CONSTANTINE also sent envoys, and they exhorted [them] not to accept the words of the rebel. 'ADHÂD AD-DÂWLÂH decided in his mind that it was meet to help the kings and not the rebel, nevertheless he showed affection outwardly for his brother the rebel, and he promised to help him in everything [possible]. Then when the kings of the RHÔMÂYÊ sent an army against the rebels, WARDÔS with confidence went to the frontier of the ARABS together with a few men, and sent [a letter] to 'ADHÂD AD-DÂWLÂH [asking him] to send him an army. And 'ADHÂD AD-DÂWLÂH, having made him confident, sent secretly to the nobles of the ARABS, and seized the rebel and his brother, and those who were with him. And they were brought to BAGHDÂD and shut up in prison there for a long time.

And in the year three hundred and seventy-two of the ARABS (A.D. 982) 'ADHÂD AD-DÂWLÂH, Amîr of BAGHDÂD, died. In his time there flourished 'ÂLÎ, the son of 'ABBÂS, the physician. He it was who compiled the KING BOOK (or, Kingly, i.e. Royal Book) under the name of this man. For the Amîrs who commanded with the Khalîfah in BAGHDÂD were called 'kings'. And at this time also there lived in KHÔRÂSÂN, 'ABÛ SAHEL MASÎHÎ, an excellent physician who composed the famous book MÂ MIMRÊ (i.e. One Hundred Discourses), and there are also other books to his [name]. And he was the Rabbeh of a princely old man. And MASÎHÎ went forth from this world when he was forty years old, and his brother ŞAMŞÂM AD-DÂWLÂH rose up in his place.

And in the year three hundred and seventy-three of the ARABS (A.D. 983) there was a famine in BAGHDÂD, and a *kôr* of wheat was sold for four thousand [196] and eighty *zûzê*, and a *kôr* of barley for two thousand and forty *zûzê*, and many people perished of hunger. And in the year three hundred and seventy-six of the ARABS (A.D. 986), when the Khalîfah TÂÎ' was sitting upon his throne according to the custom of the Khalîfahs, ŞAMŞÂM AD-DÂWLÂH, the governor, went in to cry 'Peace' upon him; and he kissed the ground and stood upon the right-hand side of the throne, and all the [other] nobles went in and did likewise. And the poets also went in, and they praised ŞAMŞÂM more than all the [other] nobles in their measures of praise. Now when the nobles saw that things were thus, one of them whose name was SHARÂF AD-DÂWLÂH concocted a secret plan with the other nobles, and



they seized ŞAMŞÂM AD-DÂWLÂH in secret, and sent him to one of the fortresses of PERSIA, and shut him up in it, and treated him with *kohl*; and SHARÂF AD-DÂWLÂH rose up in his place. In these times the name and the title [of king] only belonged to the kings of the ARABS, that is to say, the KHULÂFÂ; but the whole of the Government, and the Army, and the Treasury were administered by these Persian nobles.

And in the year three hundred and seventy-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 988), SHARÂF AD-DÂWLÂH collected the philosophers who were in the dominion of the ARABS, and he built an observatory for the observation of the motions of the stars. And he constructed instruments which recorded their courses in degrees and circles of brass, even as MÂMÔN had done in his days, and he appointed 'ABÛ SÂHEL YAḤYÂH, the son of RÛSTÂM the ṬURIAN, to direct the work. And in this year, in the months of TAMMÛZ (JULY) and 'ÂB (AUGUST), scorching winds blew from the South, and many people fell down on the roads and died suddenly in BAGHDÂD, and especially the sailors on the rivers (or, canals) of BABYLON.

And in the year three hundred and seventy-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 989) SHARÂF AD-DÂWLÂH died, and after him rose up 'ABÛ NAṢR as captain of the hosts.

And in the year three hundred and eighty of the ARABS (A.D. 990), when 'AZÎZ, the Khalîfah of EGYPT and all SYRIA, was ruling, he appointed an EGYPTIAN Christian, a man whose name was 'ÎSÂ, the son of NESTORIUS, to be his Great Proximus. He was an excellent man, and learned in the craft of the lawyers, and he amassed great wealth in the Royal Treasury. And he also appointed in SYRIA another lawyer, a JEW, whose name was MANASSEH, the son of ẸAZÂRÂ (ẸAZÂZÂ). And these two dismissed the Arab lawyers, and appointed Christians and JEWS in their stead. Then a certain Arab lawyer gave a large sum of money [197] to a certain poor woman, who was swift in her movements (i.e. swift to understand). And he wrote a little document and gave it to her, [and arranged with her] to stand where the Khalîfah was going to pass, and she was to cry out and pretend that she was an injured woman, and to thrust out the paper [to him]. And when they took the paper from her, she was not to stand there any longer, so that she might not be found there. Now he wrote in the document thus: 'God hath exalted the horn of the Christians in [the person of] 'ÎSÂ, the son of NESTORIUS, and that of the JEWS in [the person of] MANASSEH, the son of ẸAZÂRÂ, and He hath humbled the ARABS in thy person. I adjure thee to investigate my wrong.' When she had done this, and 'AZÎZ had read these words and perceived their import, they inquired for the woman, but she was not to be found. And 'AZÎZ was angry and imprisoned 'ÎSÂ and MANASSEH. And because 'ÎSÂ was beloved by all the dwellers in the palace, the daughter of King 'AZÎZ begged him from her father, and he gave three hundred thousand *dînârs* to the king, and he reappointed him to his position.



And at this time the men of TAGRÎTH, being oppressed by the taxes imposed by unjust landlords, went forth from their city and distributed themselves in foreign districts. And wherever they came they built churches and monasteries, and they beautified the temples. Among these [people] were the three honourable brethren who were called 'the sons of 'ABÛ 'ÎMRÂN', and they came and dwelt in MELITENE. And they built in it churches and nunneries, and outside it they built monasteries for monks and anchorites. And on every Friday they distributed alms among the poor from dawn until noon. And the king of the RHÔMÂÏÊ was jealous of them, and he compelled them to strike royal darics [at their own expense] for one year; and they did so, and their wealth was not diminished. And King BÂSÎL himself was in need, and he came to their gate and begged a loan from them. And when they saw him they fell down and did homage to him, and they gave him one hundred *kanṭînâre* (centenarii) of gold. And he paid them back again because he was an upright man. And on another occasion when the TÛRKÂÏÊ plundered the country of MELITENE, the old man 'ABÛ SÂLÎM, the eldest brother who had come from DAIRÂ, was also there, and he was captured with the spoil. And when the TÛRKÂÏÊ said to him, 'Buy thyself, for thou art rich'. He replied, 'If ye were selling all the spoil which ye have taken I could buy it'. And the TÛRKÂÏÊ laughed and said to him, 'How much wilt thou give?' And he said, 'For every soul five *dînârs*'. And the TÛRKÂÏÊ said [198] to him, 'We have sold', and having given to him the word, he sent and brought gold, and paid it, and redeemed the prisoners, who were about fifteen thousand [in number]. We write these things of the small matters in order that it may be known how extraordinary prosperous these people of ours were in olden time, and to what a state of misery they have come.

And in this year the Amîr 'ABÛ NAṢR was taken, and the Amîr and captain of the host BAHÂ AD-DÂWLÂH rose in his place. When this man grew old he coveted the riches of the Khalifah ṬÂÎ', and he plotted secretly with the DAILOMITES, and one day, whilst ṬÂÎ' was sitting on his throne, they swept him from it, and rolled him up in the carpet which was under him. And they imprisoned him and took from him a written statement of his abdication. And they brought 'ABÛ AL-'ABBÂS 'AḤMAD, the son of ISAAC, the son of MÛKTADER, and made him king in the year three hundred and eighty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 991), and they gave him the name of 'KÂDER'.

After ṬÂÎ', KÂDER [ruled] forty-one years and three months. In the year three hundred and eighty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 992), which is the year thirteen hundred and four of the GREEKS (A.D. 993), the RHÔMÂÏÊ reigned over KHÂLÂṬ and MINÂZGERD (MALÂZGERD?), and 'ARGÎSH. Then 'ABÛ 'ÂLÎ, the captain of the host of the ARMENIANS, undertook to give tribute to the RHÔMÂÏÊ, and BASIL the king assented and left ARMENIA in his hands, and he made an agreement [of peace] for ten years. At this time went forth the



great mob of the ARMENIANS who were called 'SÎNÂ KÂRÎMÂYÊ' (SANHIRÎ-BHÂYÊ?), that is to say, descendants of SENNACHERIB, and they handed over their citadels to BASIL, king of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And he gave them in exchange SEBASTIA and CAPPADOCIA, and Armenian Patricians lived therein. And from that place they spread about in all CAPPADOCIA, and CILICIA, and SYRIA. It is said that when ADramelech and SHAREZER killed SENNACHERIB their father, they fled to the mountains of KARDÛ, and that they were mingled with the ARMENIANS. And from this [incident] the ARMENIANS have acquired this cognomen—that they are to be called 'SANHIRIBITES'.

At this time SA'D AD-DÂWLÂH, the Amîr of ALEPPO, having fallen sick, died. He commanded that his son 'ABÛ AL-FADHÂ'ÎL should stand in his place, and that LÛLÛ, the captain of the host, should be his administrator.

Then 'AZÎZ, Khalifah of EGYPT, desired greatly to reign over ALEPPO, and to have the mastery over its treasures. And he sent his servant MANGÛTAKÎN with thirty thousand horsemen against ALEPPO. Now LÛLÛ [199] did not see that he could obtain any help from the men of BAGHDÂD, and he took refuge with the RHÔMÂYÊ. And he sent an envoy to BÂSÎL the king, and he humbled himself and asked help from him; and BÂSÎL sent him fifty thousand [men], some horsemen, and some footmen. And whilst the army of the RHÔMÂYÊ were encamped on the river ORONTES, that is the 'ÂŞÎ, which [floweth] by the side of ANTIOCH, the troops of the EGYPTIANS made haste, and went and crossed the river, and they attacked the RHÔMÂYÊ and defeated them; and they returned and encamped against ALEPPO. Then LÛLÛ acted cunningly, and he bribed MANGÛTAKÎN with a large amount of gold. And MANGÛTAKÎN left him and went back to DAMASCUS, and he wrote to 'AZÎZ, saying, 'the troops who were with me have perished through hunger, therefore I have come to DAMASCUS', and [he added] that when he was strong again he would return.

Then 'AZÎZ was furiously angry, the more so because he believed secretly that MANGÛTAKÎN had not come to DAMASCUS because things were thus (i.e. as he described them), but only that he might enjoy himself, because he was only a youth and did not as yet possess the hairs of puberty (i.e. he had not reached manhood). For this reason 'AZÎZ dismissed him, and appointed a certain RÛDBARYÂ to be captain of the host in his stead; and he sent him to [attack] ALEPPO again. And he began to buy wheat for the troops [and bring it] from ALEXANDRIA by sea, and he stored two hundred thousand measures (*kêpîzé*) of wheat and barley in the Citadel of APAMEA. And [the soldiers] marched twenty-five parasangs from ALEPPO to that place and took fodder (or, hay) for their horses. And they sat down by ALEPPO for thirteen months, and they built for themselves baths, and shops, and lodging-houses. And the famine waxed very severe in the city. It is said that LÛLÛ used to buy [wheat] at the rate of three *dînârs* the *kêpîzá*, and sell it again to the inhabitants of the city for one *dînâr*, so that they



should not suffer overmuch. And he also devised a plan and again sent an envoy to King BÂSÎL, and he said unto him, 'If we do not overtake him with a great army, behold these [troops] will gain the mastery over ALEPPO, and therefore do not imagine that ANTIOCH will remain thine'.

And because of this BÂSÎL trembled (or, was agitated or was nervous) and he collected an army, and he marched with thirty thousand RHÔMÂYÊ a distance of three hundred parasangs in sixteen days. And he came and smote the places where the horses of the EGYPTIANS lay down; now they were feeding in the fields, because it was spring time. And LÛLÛ sent a letter to RÛDBARYÂ, and said unto him, 'The Islâmism wherein we are participators with each other summoneth me to mercy upon thyself and upon thy troops. Therefore look then for thyself [200] and save the ARABS from the mouth of the sword, for behold BÂSÎL the king is going to attack you in person.' And spies also came and reported to him the selfsame thing. Therefore fright fell upon the army of the EGYPTIANS, and they abandoned all their precious possessions, and every one, each on a horse, escaped. And the RHÔMÂYÊ came and made loot of everything which they found. And 'ABÛ AL-FADHÂ'ÎL and LÛLÛ went forth to do homage to King BÂSÎL, and they presented gifts to him.

And BÂSÎL departed, and he went and captured the Citadel of SÎRÎN. And from there he went and captured EMESA, and they carried away captive from there more than ten thousand souls. And from there he went to TRIPOLI, and he encamped against it forty days, and he was unable to capture it, and he departed and went to his own country.

Now when the Khalîfah of EGYPT heard these things, he was greatly grieved, and he collected a very large number of troops so that he himself in person might come and take ALEPPO. Now because a disease of the colon was chronic in him, in one whole year he was only, with the greatest difficulty, able to come from EGYPT (i.e. MEMPHIS) to BÛLBÎS, [a distance of] ten parasangs, and there he died. And after him his son HÂKIM the Khalîfah reigned over EGYPT and the West, in the year three hundred and eighty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 996).

And at [that] time 'ÎSÂ, the son of NESTORIUS, was killed in EGYPT, and there was appointed in his place as Proximus a certain Jacobite of the EGYPTIANS whose name was 'ABÛ AL-'ÂLÂ FAHID, the son of IBRÂHÎM. This man was a lawyer of BARGÂWÂN, a white eunuch, and captain of the host, and the Proximus made him a prince. At this time the Christians, without changing their Faith, were appointed Wazîrs in the Arab kingdom of the EGYPTIANS, but such is not the case in our times. Nowadays unless [Christians] become Muslims they are not entrusted with the office of Wazîr.

And in the year three hundred and eighty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 997), which is the year thirteen hundred and eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 997), the Dûkâs (Duke) Domasticus of the RHÔMÂYÊ came and encamped against



APAMEA, and he made it to suffer from starvation until a dog was sold for two gold *dînârs*. Then came BAR ŞAMSÂMAH, the captain of the host of the EGYPTIAN ARABS, to go into the Citadel and guard it. And the RHÔMÂYÊ pursued him, and killed about two thousand men of the ARABS, and the remainder began to flee. Then the Domasticus, and his two sons, and ten horsemen, went up to the top of a hill [201] that they might gloat over the ARABS who were fleeing and were being killed by the RHÔMÂYÊ. Then a certain Kurd, whose name was 'BAR KÎPÂ', who was riding an Arab horse, and was wearing a coat of armour, and had a spear in his right hand, rode straight up the hill. And the Duke thought that he had come to receive a pledge [of safety] for his own life and the lives of his people, and he took no notice of him. And when he came near he smote the Duke with the spear, and tore a gap in his coat of armour, and he speared him between his sides (or, ribs) and he died. And whilst those who were with him, and who saw him fall from his horse, were occupied with him, the Kurd fled to his fellow countrymen. And the outcry fell that the Domasticus had been killed. And the ARABS turned and made a son of the Duke prisoner, and they sold him again for six thousand *dînârs*. And ten thousand of the RHÔMÂYÊ were killed, and their heads were carried to EGYPT. And the ARABS went from there to the country of ANTIOCH, and they plundered, and killed, and burnt the villages, and then they came back again to DAMASCUS and made themselves masters of it. For up to that time it had been under the dominion of the BAGHDÂDITES.

In this year a man of the ARABS whose name was 'ALÂKAH rebelled in the city of TYRE, and he took asylum with the RHÔMÂYÊ. And the army of the EGYPTIANS prevailed over him, and they took him and carried him to EGYPT. And they flayed him alive, and filled his skin with straw and impaled him.

And at [that] time there were two men in the city of DAKÛKÂH who were Christian lawyers, and they possessed great authority over it and over its district. And when the captain of the host of the PERSIANS, whose name was GABRIEL, the son of MÂHAMMÂD, came, now he was going to ravage and plunder the country of the RHÔMÂYÊ, the ARABS went out and said unto him, 'Why is it necessary for thee to go so far away? Behold we have here two Christians who do unto us things which are far worse than anything which the RHÔMÂYÊ ever do unto us, as if they reigned over us. Therefore show thy strength, if thou art able.' And that man being moved with indignation, went into the city and killed the two men, and made himself master of the city of and by himself, but the inhabitants thereof consented thereto. And he was called DABÛS (TÔPÔS?) AD-DÂWLÂH, that is to say, 'Spear of the Dominion'.

And in the year three hundred and eighty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 998) a severe frost took place during the winter, and thousands of the palm-trees in BAGHDÂD were destroyed. And those which remained only after very



many years [202] acquired straightness. And in this year ḤÂKIM the Khalifah of EGYPT killed BARGÂWÂN, the eunuch. For this man through the abundance of his compassion for ḤÂKIM did not allow him to ride when it was not the time [for riding], nor to give gifts to men which it was not right [to give]; therefore was ḤÂKIM troubled by him and he killed him. The EGYPTIANS, however, were greatly pained by his murder, and they made a tumult and came to the door of the palace of ḤÂKIM. Then was ḤÂKIM afraid, and he went up into an upper chamber, and stood by one of the doors, and cried out 'Peace' over the people, and said, 'Treachery was pointed out to me in BARGÂWÂN, and therefore I killed him. I entreat you to be helpers to me, and not men who would sweep me away, for as yet I am a youth.' And he wept before them, and coaxed them with fair words, and they left [him] and departed. And in order to gratify their minds he brought FAHID, a Christian scribe, and he arrayed him in Royal apparel, and told him that he was not to change, but to keep as he was, and to administer the affairs of the kingdom in this wise.

Then after three years two Arab lawyers, namely 'ABÛ ṬÂHIR and BAR 'ADDÂS, brought accusations against FAHID to ḤÂKIM, and he rebuked them. Then they worked upon other people, and they in turn calumniated the Christians. And when ḤÂKIM could not bear them, he commanded and FAHID was killed. And because this FAHID had been very faithful to him, and he was beloved by him, and he had killed him only because he had been urged to do so through the irritation caused by the ARABS, he sent and brought FAHID's children, and arrayed them in apparel, and he commanded that no man should injure them or approach their habitations.

Then BAR 'ADDÂS had dominion in EGYPT, and 'ABÛ ṬÂHIR in SYRIA. And they made the people to suffer many evils, not only the Christians but the ARABS, especially in the matter of over many heavy levies and burdens of taxation, with the excuse that they must produce the immense amount [of money] which they had promised [the Khalifah]. Now, the sister of the Khalifah had a certain scribe, an EGYPTIAN, in SYRIA, and he sent and complained to her about 'ABÛ ṬÂHIR. And because her brother always paid very great attention to her, she went and wept before him. And she received [from him] the command, and she sent [it] and killed 'ABÛ ṬÂHIR, and his head was carried to EGYPT, and the boys dragged his dead body through the bazârs. And at the same time ḤÂKIM commanded, and [203] BAR 'ADDÂS was killed. May their memory be accursed!

And there was rest for the ARABS and the Christians. And in the place of 'ABÛ ṬÂHIR and BAR 'ADDÂS there was appointed as the Great Proximus a man who was a Christian, and whose name was MANŞÛR BAR-'ABDÛN. This man was hated by the nobles, and they brought accusations against him. And because of him there rose up a persecution of the Christians, and many of the lawyers were beaten (i.e. bastinadoed) until they died,



and they were cast out to the dogs. And MANŞÛR also was beaten until it was thought that he was dead, and he was cast out to the dogs. And when it was discovered that he made a little movement, he was lifted on to a beast and carried to his house, and he recovered. And the Khalîfah restored him to his position, and gave him the nickname of 'KÂFÎ', that is to say, 'Capable man'. Concerning ḤÂKIM it is said that he frightened and terrified men so much that the people withdrew themselves entirely from the doers of wickedness, and no man dared to shut his shop at night. And ḤÂKIM used to mount an Egyptian donkey and ride about at night through the bazârs, and no man dared to stand up or to bow to the ground before him. And they used to keep the lights burning all night long, and in his days the night in EGYPT was like the day.

And in the year three hundred and ninety-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1001) the ARABS rose in a tumult against the Christians in BAGHDÂD, and they looted their houses. And they also put forth their hands against the churches to destroy them. And having set on fire that church of the JACOBITES which is by the side of the place where flour was ground, it fell down on a very large number of ARABS, men, and women, and children, and it suffocated them and burned to death those who set it on fire; and the onlookers became terror stricken.

And one year after swarms of locusts appeared in the country of MÂWŞIL and in BAGHDÂD, and they became very numerous in SHÎRÂZ. They left no grass [in the fields] and no leaves on the trees, and they even consumed the rolls of cloth which the fullers were bleaching; and of each roll of cloth the fuller was only able to give a rag to its owner. And there was a famine, and a *kôr* of wheat was sold in BAGHDÂD for one hundred and twenty gold *dînârs*. And pillars of fire appeared in the heavens, from the north pole to the middle of the sky.

And in the year three hundred and ninety-six [of the ARABS = A.D. 1005] there appeared a star which resembled APHRODITE in its greatness and splendour, in the Sign of the Zodiac the SCORPION, and its rays revolved and gave out light [like those of] the Moon; and it remained four months and [then] disappeared. And in the year three hundred and ninety-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1007) [204] snow fell in BAGHDÂD and it remained on the surface of the ground for a sabbath of days (i.e. a week), and it was a cubit or a cubit and a half deep. And thus it was in all the land of SEN'ÂR, in BÂSRÂ and BA'BÂDÂN, and MAHRÛBÂN, and GANÂBÂH; something the like of which was never before heard of.

And in this year there was great abundance. And a *kôr* of what was sold for twelve *dînârs*. And a great earthquake took place in the city of DÎNÂWAR, and it destroyed very many buildings; sixteen thousand people were brought out from under the dust and buried, besides those which the earth swallowed up when it was rent open. And moreover a violent black



wind blew in TAGRITH and DAḲŪḲÂH, and it destroyed many houses, and tore up very many palm-trees and olive-trees by the roots; and great ships were sunk in the Sea of PERSIA (Persian Gulf).

And on the seventh day of the month of SHA'BÂN (i.e. the eighth month of the lunar year) of this year, 'ABŪ 'ÂLÎ, the son of ZARÂ'Â, a Christian philosopher in BAGHDÂD, died. And in this year the people of one of the tribes of the INNER TŪRKÂYÊ in the East, which is called KIRÎTH, believed in Christ, and they became disciples and were baptized through the miracle which was wrought in connexion with their king.

And at this time ḤÂKIM, the Khalîfah of EGYPT (read BAGHDÂD), commanded and the Temple of the Resurrection which is in JERUSALEM was dug up from its roots (or, foundations), and all its furniture was looted. And he laid waste also thousands of churches which were in his dominions. And he commanded the heralds to proclaim, 'Every Christian who entereth the Faith of the ARABS shall be honoured, and he who entereth not shall be disgraced, and he shall hang on his neck a cross from above (upside down?). And the JEWS shall place on their necks the figure of a calf's head, since they made [a calf] in the wilderness and worshipped it. And they shall not wear rings on the fingers of the right hand, neither shall they ride on horses, but on mules and asses, with common saddles and stirrups of wood. And the man who will not accept this humiliation, let him take everything that he hath and go to the country of the RHÔMÂYÊ.'

And when this Edict went forth very many people departed, but a few denied the Faith of the Christians. And those who neither departed nor denied their Faith hung crosses of gold and of silver on their necks, and they made for themselves saddles of rich coloured stuffs. When ḤÂKIM heard this he was wroth, and he commanded, saying, 'Every Christian who does not hang on his neck [205] a cross of wood weighing four *litres*, according to the measure of BAGHDÂD, shall be killed. And also the JEW who does not hang on his neck a plaque (?) with the figure of the claw of chicken [on it], which weighs six pounds, shall be killed. And when they go into the baths they shall tie little bells on their necks, so that they may be distinguished from the ARABS.' This persecution began through a certain man who hated the Christians. He told ḤÂKIM the Khalîfah a story [to the effect that] 'the Christians, when they assemble in the temple of JERUSALEM to celebrate the festival of Easter, deal cunningly (or, deceitfully) with the overseers of the church, and they anoint with oil of *balâsmôn* (balsam) the iron wire on which hangeth the lamp over the tomb. And when the governor of the ARABS scaleth the door of the tomb, the Christians from the roof light a fire at the top of the iron wire, and the fire runneth down to the wick of the lamp and kindleth it. And then they cry out "*Kûrîâ Laysôn*" (Kyrie Eleeson) and weep, pretending that they see the light which descendeth from heaven upon the tomb, and they are confirmed in their



Faith.' And when the Christians and the JEWS had remained in this state of tribulation for a considerable time, ḤĀKIM the Khalīfah, some time before he was killed, repented of what he had done, and he commanded that those who had denied their Faith should return to it again. And he gave the Christians permission, and they built much better churches than they had done formerly. And those who had fled to the country of the RHÔMÂÏÊ returned again to their houses.

And in the four hundredth year of the ARABS (A.D. 1009), 'ABÛ NAṢR BĀSHÎR, the son of HÂRÔN, the son of GAMĀLĀ, a Christian scribe in BAGHDĀD, died on the twenty-sixth day of the month of SHAWĀL.

And in the four hundred and first year of the ARABS (A.D. 1010), ḲĀRĀWASH (ḲĀRĀWÛSH), the son of MÛKĀLED, the governor of MĀWṢIL, proclaimed ḤĀKIM the Khalīfah of EGYPT. And swarms of locusts appeared in the country of MĀWṢIL, and the MA'DĀÏÊ raided the country on all sides, and there was also a great pestilence. And the famine waxed strong in the country of KHÔRĀSÂN until one *litre* of bread was sold for a gold *dīnār*. And men at first ate dogs and beetles (?), and then infants and children, and at last they used to leap upon any one they saw who was fat and portly, and they would kill him and eat him.

And in the year four hundred and eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1017), the wife of 'ABÛ NAṢR, the son of ISRAEL, a Christian lawyer in BAGHDĀD, died, and they laid her on her bier in the day-time [206] with crosses and lights (i.e. she lay in state). Then a certain ARAB became filled with indignation (fanaticism?) and he threw a stone at the bier. And the slaves of the Amīr MANĀṢIḤ who were surrounding the bier as guards smote that ARAB with a sword, and a great tumult broke out in BAGHDĀD, and many of the ARABS and Christians were killed. And 'ABÛ NAṢR, the husband of the dead woman, fled to the house of MANĀṢIḤ, his administrator. And the tumult did not cease until 'ABÛ NAṢR was delivered up, and he was carried to the palace of the Khalīfah, and shut up therein for a short time. And he was released and the Christians rejoiced.

And after a year there were swarms of locusts in BAGHDĀD, and they filled the ground, and darkened the air, and destroyed the trees and crops. And the farmers drove them away from the crops with drums and horns.

And in the year four hundred and five of the ARABS (A.D. 1014), ḤĀKIM, the Khalīfah of EGYPT, commanded that no woman should ever be seen outside the door [of her house], and that no woman should look out from the door, or from the window, or from the roof. And he prohibited the shoemakers from sewing any kind of shoe belonging to a woman. Now he made this law through his hearing of the lasciviousness of Egyptian women. At the beginning he made old women [his] spies, who used to work their way like moles into the houses and make themselves acquainted with the secrets of women. And they used to inform him by what kinds of crafty



devices women went out [of their houses], and how and where the adulteresses met the adulterers. Then he would send a eunuch with soldiers to the house of whomsoever it was, whether he was a nobleman or a common man, and they would say to him (i.e. to the master of the house), 'Bring out to us such and such a woman', [mentioning her] by name, whether it was his wife, or his sister, or his daughter, and they would carry her off. And having collected the women, from five to ten, he would drown them in the great river NILE. And by means of this the Egyptian women were made a mock of, and their secrets revealed, and the fear of him, which was greater than that which they had had for PHARAOH, fell upon men and upon women.

And when the people had lived for a certain number of years in this state of tribulation, the heads of the villages wrote and informed HÂKIM, saying, 'There are many women, who are widows, and who have been deprived of brothers, and sons, and kinsfolk, living within their gates, and they are perishing through hunger and nakedness. For there is no one who will buy flax for them, and no one who will sell their work or their plaiting.'

Then [207] HÂKIM commanded those who bought or sold the work of women to go round about among the houses. And the woman was to open her door, and to buy and sell without uncovering her face or her hands; but she was to hand out her work on a spade (or, shell?), and receive her price on the same. For a woman to go out [into the bazâr], or to go to the bath, he under no circumstances permitted. And thus matters remained until he was killed.

And in this year, which was the year thirteen hundred and twenty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1014), twenty-two tribes of the Chinese peoples went forth; those only who were called 'KHEṬÂ' were two hundred thousand, and the others were from thirty to fifty thousand, and they came to the country of the HUNS. And 'AḤMÂD, the son of 'ÂLI, the son of KÂRÂKHÂN, the governor of BÛKHÂRÂ, met them in battle and broke them. And he looted their tents, and took vessels of gold and silver and innumerable bales of silken stuffs. It is said that their bows were one span longer than was usual, and that their arrows were proportionately longer.

And in the year four hundred and ten of the ARABS (A.D. 1019), the son of KÂRÂKHÂN, governor of BÛKHÂRÂ, being dead, there rose up after him SÂḤÎNÂ (?) KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH MAḤMÛD, the son of SABÛKTAKÎN. And he went to INDIA and captured many cities and took great spoil and returned.

And in the year four hundred and eleven of the ARABS (A.D. 1020) the EGYPTIANS were suffering great tribulation under the Khalîfah HÂKIM, and hatred of him increased in their hearts. And certain crafty people among them made plans, and they wrote abusive, and insulting, and impudent letters to him and to his women, and they sealed them and distributed them at night whilst he was riding, and they were reclining. It is said that they



made a wooden figure of a woman who had her hand stretched out, and between her fingers was a written document. And during the night they set it up in a corner of a room through which ḤÂKIM passed, and they draped her figure with sheets of white paper. And when ḤÂKIM passed and saw her he became furiously angry, and he commanded his slaves to hack her to pieces with swords. And when they approached her and saw that she was a dummy, they informed him of the fact and gave him the document which was in her hand. And having opened it and read it he found therein many scurrilous statements about his virgin sister [SIT AL-MULK]. [208] And being intensely irritated (or, aggravated) by this matter, he burst into a violent passion, and commanded his slaves to draw their swords and to kill every EGYPTIAN who met them, and also to loot the houses and to set fire to the bazârs. And the EGYPTIANS and the slaves fought together for three days, and many were killed on both sides. And when [his] wrath had cooled a little ḤÂKIM sent a letter to his sister, saying, 'It is because of thee that the EGYPTIANS write [scurrilous letters] and make a mock of me. They say that thou permittest men to have access to thy house (or, person), and so on and so on.' And ḤÂKIM's sister, although with tears and sobs she had appeased his wrath for the time, suspected that he would summon midwives to send to her to investigate her virginity, and she trembled greatly.

And one night she went to the house of a certain noble, who was himself in terror of ḤÂKIM, and having made him to swear that he would not reveal the secret she said unto him, 'See with what furious anger this my brother threateneth me, and thee, and all the people, both men and women! Moreover, I myself, as thou canst see, behold, I am in prime of early womanhood. What is the good of this life to me if I am to be deprived of the satisfaction of [my] natural desire? Therefore, if thou canst put him to death by means of some cunning scheme, behold, I will give thee my hand and my trust, for thou shalt be to me a husband. And we will seat upon the throne my brother's little boy so that the nobles and the people may not rebel, and thou shalt be a father, and a counsellor, and a governor to him.'

And the noble, having heard this, was persuaded, and he said unto her, 'Teach me now how we can carry out [this] plot'. And she said unto him, 'My brother always goeth up at night to the top of a certain hill so that he may look at the stars. And it is written in his "nativity" that on a certain night there will be the fear (i.e. danger) of death for him, and that if the cup of death of that hour passeth from him he will live for eighty years more. Therefore make ready two powerful slaves who know thy secret, so that they may lie in wait for him in one of the hollows in the hill, and let them leap upon him and put him to death.' And when the night of that day arrived, and ḤÂKIM mounted his ass and went up the hill, he would not allow any one to go up with him to the top except a small boy, and the rest of the slaves stayed on the lower part of the hill. [209] And ḤÂKIM



began to look towards the east. And when he saw 'ARÍS (MARS) ascend the eastern horizon, he muttered with his lips and said, 'The accursed [star], the shedder of blood, ascendeth; my hour hath come'. Then the two men from the place where they had been lying in wait hurled themselves upon him, and they threw a cord round his neck and strangled him. And they killed the boy with the sword, and hamstrung the ass, and they lifted up his body, and came down [the hill] on the other side, and brought the body to his sister. Then she hid (or, buried) it in her house, without any man perceiving what had happened, except the two murderers and their lord.

Then the slaves of HÂKIM having waited until the day broke [and seeing that HÂKIM] had not come down, went up to the top of the hill and found the [body of the] boy who had been murdered, and the ass which was hamstrung, but HÂKIM they did not find; and they left [the place] and came down to the palace. And when the slaves and the nobles were perturbed, HÂKIM's sister summoned them and said unto them: 'Be ye not disturbed, because my brother had already told me that for some days past he had had on him the fear of death, and that he was about to go up the hill, and that he would go from there on foot into the desert to hide himself there for seven days, when he would come [back]. And it was HÂKIM himself who killed the boy so that he might not show where the place was to which he was going.' And [the nobles and slaves] being silenced, she began to bring over [to her side] the nobles one by one, and to give them rich gifts, [and to make them] promises of great benefits. And during these seven days she made them swear fealty to the child, the son of HÂKIM, and she called his name 'TÂHIR'. And she sent to the elder brother who was in DAMASCUS, and made him to be brought over [to her side] under the pretence that he was going to reign. And when he came to the city of TANNÎS she cast iron fetters on him and shut him up in prison.

And in those days HÂKIM's sister gave a hint to the slaves, and they laid hand[s] on that Amîr with whom she had made the secret compact, and on those two slaves who had killed the Khalîfah. And they fixed three posts [in the ground], and in one moment (or, flick of the eyelid) the three of them were impaled. And she commanded the heralds and they made a proclamation saying, 'These are they who acted treacherously towards their lord and murdered him, and God hath brought out their iniquity on their own heads'. Such are the marvellous deeds which this masculine woman performed! And she destroyed her brother who wished to destroy her. And she also pondered in her mind thus: 'If those wretched men who had performed her will had remained alive, [210] the secret could never have been kept concealed, and she would have been regarded as a contemptible woman in the eyes of every man; but having put them to death she was freed from fear of every kind'. And she seized on the administration



of the kingdom, and satisfied her passions fearlessly. And because the death of ḤĀKIM was brought about in this manner, many imagined that he had gone to the desert of SCETE, and had become a monk, and had ended his life there.

And moreover, I the feeble one, heard from Egyptian lawyers when I was living in DAMASCUS that 'at the time when ḤĀKIM was persecuting the Christians, Christ, our Lord, was revealed unto him as unto PAUL, and that from that moment he believed, and departed secretly to the desert, and died there'. And it is said that 'within a very little, ḤĀKIM, the Khalîfah, went as far as PHARAOH in [his] heathenism'. The latter indeed said, 'The NILE is mine and I myself have made it', even as the prophet saith. And the latter had men who used to enter his presence and say, 'Peace [be] to thee, O One, Only One, Peace [be] unto thee, O thou who killeth and maketh to live, who maketh rich and reduceth to poverty'. And he was contented (or, gratified) with such [addresses]. And because of this one of the flatterers of him when he went to MAKKAH, and entered their house of worship, smote the Black Stone with the staff which was in his hand, and broke it and said, 'Why do ye worship and kiss, O ye erring ones, a thing which neither doeth good or evil [to you], and why have ye abandoned him who maketh to die and maketh to live in EGYPT?'

At this time 'ABŪ 'ĀLÎ ḤASÂN, the son of HAITÂM, of BÔŞRÂ, the geometer, was famous. ḤĀKIM, Khalîfah of EGYPT, heard of this man that he had said, 'If I was in EGYPT I would do to the river NILE a work which would be beneficial to the kings and the governors (MÂKÊ) of that country'. And ḤĀKIM sent and had him brought to him. And he honoured him greatly. And he promised him abundant gifts so that he might fulfil what he had said. And when BAR HAITÂM went forth and travelled about through the country of EGYPT, and saw the heavenly forms which, in a most marvellous manner, were painted there, and the geometrical designs, and the wonderful symbols, he pondered within himself and said, 'If there was the possibility for any work more excellent [to be done] [211] these ancient people were better able to do it than I am'. And he also went to that hill which is opposite the city of 'ASWÂN, from which the waters of the NILE flow out and descend. And he looked and saw that the great force of those waters would not be held in restraint by [the work] which he meditated doing, and therefore he was ashamed and made an apology to ḤĀKIM. And when it was not accepted in the manner which was fitting he was greatly afraid. And he could not find any way of escaping from the wickedness of ḤĀKIM except by pretending that he was possessed of a devil and madness. And he exhibited himself in this character so thoroughly that they bound him in chains. And they sealed everything which he possessed and he remained in this mad state until ḤĀKIM died. Then he returned to his right mind. And he dwelt in retirement in one of the houses which is in the



gate of the Great Mosque of KÂHIRÂH (CAIRO), and he began and compiled about seventy books on geometry. And each year he copied three books: MAGÎSTÎ, and the MEDIAL SIGNS OF THE SPHERES, and EUCLIDES, and he sold them for one hundred and fifty Egyptian *dînârs*. And thus he lived until he died in the year four hundred and twenty of the ARABS (A.D. 1029).

And in the year of the ARABS four hundred and fourteen (A.D. 1023) KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH MAHMÛD marched again to the country of INDIA, and he captured many cities. And having travelled into the country [during] a journey of four months, he came to a Citadel, the name of which was 'KAWÂKÎR', and in it one of the Indian kings lived. And whilst he was waging fierce war against him, an Indian envoy came out to him, and he was seated on a litter which was carried by four men, and he came to MAHMÛD. And he said unto him, 'My master asketh thee, What art thou among men?' And MAHMÛD replied, 'I am a Muslim, who calleth those who deny God to the Faith, and I persecute those who worship images. And ye INDIANS must either believe in our God, and accept our Law and eat the flesh of oxen, or pay us as a tax each year one thousand elephants, and one thousand manehs of gold.' And the envoy said, 'The flesh of oxen is [one of] the impossible things for us to eat. And as for the Confession (i.e. Faith) of which thou speakest, send to us a man, [212] one who is learned, that he may show us what your Faith is; and if it be better than ours we will accept it'.

And having sent with the envoy one of the learned men of the ARABS, who went into the Citadel and spake with them by means of an interpreter, they replied, 'We shall not change our Faith, and the gold which ye demand we do not possess, but we have silver in abundance'. And they agreed to give them three hundred elephants, and a vast quantity of silver, and costly apparel, and perfumes. And MAHMÛD replied, 'I agree, but though the king will undertake to wear our apparel, and to gird a sword and a belt about his loins, he must cut off the top of his finger in confirmation of the oath according to the custom of the INDIANS'. For the ambassador of the ARABS said, 'When I went into the presence of the king of INDIA I found a splendid young man of youthful beauty, very pleasant-looking in his duski-ness, and sitting upon a couch of silver, and he was wearing a *sharbâlâ* (i.e. a pair of short trousers) of hollow work, and he had a turban on his head. And when I saw him I clapped my hands together violently, and I bowed over them according to their custom. And I spoke to him about the apparel which he had to put on. And he made many excuses and said to me, "I beseech thee to release me from the necessity of putting it on, and do thou say to thy Lord that I have put it on". And when I replied that it was impossible for me to deceive my Lord, with great reluctance he put it on. And he girded on the belt and hung the sword by his side. And when he had dressed himself I was ashamed to say to him, "Cut thy finger", and so I



only said, "Swear an oath of fealty to us". And he replied, "Our oaths are [taken] by images and by fire, and they would not be acceptable to your folk. By what shall we swear to you?" Then I said, "Thou knowest how to swear an oath to us". And straightway he commanded a slave to bring a razor, and he brought it, and he took it in his right hand and cut off with it the top of his left thumb (?) without his colour changing in the slightest degree. And he sprinkled some powdered drug over the thumb (?) and tied it up. And they washed the portion which had been cut off with water and placed some camphor with it in a bag, and they gave it to me with certain apparel (or, vessels), and silver, and two horses.'

And in the year thirteen hundred and thirty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1025), BÂSÎL, the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, died, having ruled peacefully and right royally for fifty-five years. And he subjugated the BULGARIANS and placed them under the dominion of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and [213] CONSTANTINE his brother reigned alone after him for three years. This king was a pleasant (or, gracious) man, and was great of soul. And when he died he committed the kingdom to the son of his brother whose name was 'ROMANUS'. In other manuscripts [it is stated that] ROMANUS was his son-in-law, his daughter's husband.

And in the year four hundred and seventeen of the ARABS (A.D. 1026) there was intense cold in BAGHDÂD during the winter, and the banks of the EUPHRATES and TIGRIS were covered with ice, and the palm-trees were destroyed. And in BAGHDÂD men used to cross over the small canals on the frozen water, and the farmers were unable to sow seed. And in that year there went forth an Edict in EGYPT that no man was to kill an ox which worked a plough. And in the middle of the month of the FIRST RABÎ' a violent hail-storm came on BAGHDÂD, and the hailstones were as large as the eggs of chickens.

And in the year thirteen hundred and forty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1030), which is the year four hundred and twenty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 1030), an army of the RHÔMÂYÊ went forth from ANTIOCH and encamped against ALEPPO. And the small group of ARABS which was in ALEPPO engaged the RHÔMÂYÊ and defeated them, and they killed many of them; and the ARABS took from the RHÔMÂYÊ many horses and weapons of war. For the kings who were before ROMANUS, since they were relieved from the persecution of the believers (i.e. Muslims), were prosperous everywhere. But this king began to persecute [the Christians], and he cast forth into exile the holy Patriarch MÂR 'ABDÛN and the bishop, and he reversed the ancient use and wont; and the Lord likewise began to break the deceitful RHÔMÂYÊ before their enemies.

And in that year, when ROMANUS the king heard that the RHÔMÂYÊ were broken at ALEPPO, he collected a mighty army, more than one hundred thousand men, and came to ANTIOCH; and from there he set out to come to



ALEPPO. And since two nobles of the 'ASQLÂBÊ (SCLAVS) and the army that was with them were [marching] a little in advance of the army of the RHÔMÂYÊ, they encountered about one hundred MA'DÂYÊ horsemen and a thousand foot soldiers, and the SCLAVS were broken, and turned their faces [in flight]. And they made a report to the RHÔMÂYÊ, saying, 'Behold, innumerable soldiers, EGYPTIANS and MA'DÂYÊ, are coming'. And fear fell upon the RHÔMÂYÊ, and with the greatest difficulty ROMANUS the king and his troops, one by one, each on his horse, fled to ANTIOCH without fighting and without [striking] a blow. And the ARABS overtook them, and they captured from the RHÔMÂYÊ seventy camels with their loads of [214] *zûzê* and *dînârs*, and vessels of gold and silver, and bales of rich stuffs, and such a large number of mules that a Tarkâ mule was sold in ALEPPO for two *dînârs*. It is said that ROMANUS himself was not able to save one tent or a cup from which he could drink water.

And about that time ROMANUS, the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, died suddenly, and MICHAEL reigned after him. And a certain troublesome man, a kinsman of his, whose name was 'KALÂPAT', rose up. And that KALÂPAT, the rebel, having succeeded [him] for five months, was seized, and his two eyes were bored out of his head.

And in the year four hundred and twenty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1030), KÂDER, the Khalîfah in BAGHDÂD, died at the age of eighty-seven years. He was an excellent man, and modest (or, chaste), and he was not a riotous liver like his predecessors. And there rose up after him 'ABÛ JA'FÂR, his son, and he was called 'KÂÎM'.

After KÂDER, KÂÎM, his son, [ruled] forty-four years and eight months. All the nobles, PERSIANS, TURKS, and ARABS, welcomed this man gladly, and they gave the hand of oaths (i.e. took oaths of allegiance). Verily when, according to custom, the TURKS asked for the gift which [was usually given at the beginning of] a new kingdom (or, reign), there was nothing in the Treasury of the Khalîfah. For the PERSIAN Amîrs were ruling over all the countries, even over BAGHDÂD itself, and they only gave to the Khalîfah a grant of money sufficient for his maintenance (i.e. he only had a grant from them). The Khalîfah KÂÎM sold guest house and gardens, and certain of the furniture of his house, and gave [the proceeds] to them and they were quiet.

At this time two Arab Amîrs were ruling in EDESSA, viz. BAR 'ÛTAIR and BAR SHÎBÂL, each in a fort (or, tower). BAR 'ÛTAIR sent to MICHAEL, king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and sold his fort to him for twenty thousand darics and four villages in the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And the RHÔMÂYÊ came by night, and they assumed the mastery and went into the fort, and they made strong the defences thereof, for the building was like a Citadel. And some of them went down to the city and destroyed the Mosque of the ARABS. And when NÂSIR AD-DÂWLÂH heard [this], he sent an army against EDESSA and captured it, and they broke down its wall and entered the town. And they also cap-



tured the great church to which the Christians had fled, and they took spoil from them and their women. And they encamped against the fort of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, and they were wholly unable to draw nigh to it. [215] And when the snow came they made the winter a pretext and they abandoned the town and departed.

Now the RHÔMÂÏÊ entered EDESSA in the autumn of this year, which is the year thirteen hundred and forty-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1032), and the year four hundred and twenty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1030). Then NÂŞIR AD-DÂWLÂH sent an envoy to MICHAEL, and reprimanded him, saying, 'What did ye benefit by going forth twice against ALEPPO that now thou dost covet EDESSA? Therefore in love I counsel thee to get thy people out of it. If thou dost not thou wilt see what thou wilt meet with from the army of the ARABS.' Then MICHAEL replied, 'I have not taken EDESSA with the sword, but assuredly I have bought it from its lord lawfully. And if I knew that it would remain thine I would give it back, but I know that the MA'DÂÏÊ, the sons of NÛMAIR, did not abandon it.' And so although MICHAEL despised the ARABS, he sent ten thousand horsemen to EDESSA, and he built up its ruined places. And the RHÔMÂÏÊ began to sally out from EDESSA, and they plundered the country of 'AKSÂS, and HÂRRÂN, and SERÛGH. And they were not restrained from plundering until BAR WÂTÂB, the NUMAIRITE, the governor of HÂRRÂN, gave them tribute. And HÂSSÂN, the governor of SYRIA, was subject to the RHÔMÂÏÊ, and he hung crosses on the heads of his spears.

And in the year four hundred and twenty-three [of the ARABS = A.D. 1031] a woman in BAGHDÂD gave birth [to a being] which was like an ill-formed serpent. He had the head of a man, and a mouth and a neck, and he was without hands and without feet. And, moreover, when he fell upon the ground he spake and said, 'Four years from now a famine shall make an end of the children of men, unless men, and women, and children, and the beasts go forth and weep before the Lord, so that He may make His rain to descend'. And when the Khalîfah KÂÎM heard this, he commanded that all the people should go outside [the city] and make supplication. And because many did not believe this report, very few went out.

And in [that] year the water froze in BAGHDÂD, and red sand descended as rain, and the trees were destroyed and produced no fruit at all that season. And there was so great a famine in the wilderness that the nomads who lived there ate their camels and their horses, and even their children. And a man would exchange his child for that of his fellow so that he might not suffer (or, feel it) when he pounded him up. [216] And they were in tribulation not only because of the famine (or, want of food), but also through thirst which was due to the scarcity of water, and they came and camped by the rivers (or, canals) which were in the neighbourhood of the towns and villages. And there was a pestilence in INDIA and in all PERSIA; forty



thousand biers with dead men on them were taken out from ISFÂHÂN in one week. And in BAGHDÂD also there was not a single house left in which there was not wailing. And in MÔŞUL four thousand young men died of the disease of inflammation of the eye-lids.

And in the year four hundred and twenty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1033), which is the year thirteen hundred and forty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1034), a violent black wind blew in the month of KÂNÔN (DECEMBER) in NISIBIS, and it uprooted olive-trees, and mulberry-trees, and plum-trees, and it swept away buildings constructed of stone and plaster made from lime. And after it came a violent rain-storm, and there fell many hailstones which had the forms of hands, and wrists, and fingers. And there was an earthquake in EGYPT and in PALESTINE, and men went forth from [their] houses and remained under the heavens (i.e. open sky) for eight days. And one-half of the city of BÂLÂSH fell down. And the earth swallowed up many villages in SYRIA with their inhabitants. And portions of the walls of the Temple in JERUSALEM fell down, and a minaret of the ARABS in ASCALON, and the top of a minaret in GÂZÂ, and a half of the city of 'AKÔ. And the sea retreated three parasangs, and men went into it to collect fish and shell-fish; but the waters returned and drowned some of them.

And in the month of SHEBHÂT (FEBRUARY) the form of a pillar of light appeared in the Sign of the Zodiac the Ear of Wheat (i.e. the Virgin) from the evening until the morning for many days, from the conjunction to the plenilune. And after [some] days a star fell like a flash of lightning, and the whole land of SEN'ÂR was filled with its light. And many of the simple-minded said, 'The heavens have split open'. And there was a pestilence in BAGHDÂD, and about seventy thousand men died of the disease of suffocation. And a year later violent winds blew over the SEA OF PERSIA, and more than fifty ships were sunk, and two thousand five hundred men were drowned. And the sea and the rivers overflowed. And the water channels of heaven were rent asunder, and the waters [mounted up and] submerged the villages. It is said that when [some] men had saved themselves from drowning by the sea by means of planks of wood and the beams of ships, and had gone forth on dry land, the water flood met them and drove them back again [217] into the sea, and they were drowned.

And in the year four hundred and twenty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1035) BAR WÂTÂB, the NUMAIRIAN, the governor of HÂRRÂN, collected a vast number of KURDS and MA'DÂYÊ (NOMADS) and went against SÎBÂBARÂK, which belonged to the RHÔMÂYÊ, and captured it. And he killed therein three thousand five hundred men, and carried off many women and children. And he came and encamped against EDESSA, and prevented food from [entering] it; and the men of EDESSA being sorely afflicted with hunger surrendered the city. And the RHÔMÂYÊ fled to the Citadel and made strong defences for themselves in it. And the ARABS attacked the Citadel,



and two hundred and fifty of their men were killed. And being unable to capture the Citadel they looted the city and departed. It is said that the number of youths and maidens which they carried off amounted to three thousand.

### Concerning the beginning of the Kingdom of the Saljuks in Persia

In this year, which is the year thirteen hundred and forty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1036), a people went forth from the HÛNÂÏÊ (HUNS) who were called 'GHÛZZÂÏÊ', with Amîrs of the SALJUQS from HYRCANIA, which is the land of the KHAZÂRS (KAZÂRÂÏÊ, or KARZÂÏÊ) in the north. Concerning them, he who is [one] of the saints, MÂR MICHAEL, the holy Patriarch, wrote at great length, and he saith, 'These are the children of MÂGHÔGH, the son of JAPHET, the son of NOAH. And EZEKIEL prophesied about them, saying: Thus saith the Lord of lords, Behold I am against thee, [O] governor and prince of MÛSHÂK (MÂSHÂK?) and of TÛBÎL. And I will gather thee together, and I will cast a hook in thy cheek, and I will bring thee out from thy land, and all the PERSIANS, and KÛSHITES, and PÔTITES with thee, GÂMÂR and all his army, and BÊTH TÔGERMÂ, and the skirts of the north. From the early days thou hast been commanded, and at the end of years thou shalt come' (Ezek. xxxi. 3). Now I, the feeble one, have seen that the writer thereof saith in a certain Persian book, which is called 'MULK-NÂMAH': I have heard from a great Amîr, and an old man, very far advanced in days, ÎNÂÎG (ÎNÂNÂG?) BÂG, who saith: When the KHAQÂN of the KHAZÂRS burst forth, he had with him in his service a certain warrior whose name was TÛQÂQ, who, because of his strength, was called TEMÛRYÂLIG, that is to say 'IRON BOW'. There was a son born to this man and he was called by the name of SALJÛQ. And after a short time [218] the Amîr TÛQÂQ died, and KHAQÂN took SALJÛQ, and he was reared in the palace and he loved him greatly. And one day when he went into the presence of KHAQÂN according to his custom, the queen was scandalized and made a sign to the king, saying, 'If this [young man], though still a child, possesseth such freedom of speech (or, behaviour) towards us now; when he groweth up how will he behave [towards us]?' Then the Amîr SALJÛQ, having been secretly informed of this, went out and took with him fellow tribesmen secretly, and they marched away with horses, and camels, and sheep, and oxen in large numbers. And he went forth from the land of TÛRÂN, that is to say of the TÛRKÂÏÊ (TURKS) to the land of ÎRÂN, that is to say of the PERSIANS, under the pretence that they were shepherds. And when they saw that PERSIA was flourishing with Islâm, they took counsel together and said, 'If we do not enter the Faith of the people of the country in which we desire [to live] and make a pact with them (or conform to their customs), no man will cleave to us, and we shall be a small and solitary people'. And they all agreed and they



sent to the city of ZANDÂK, which is in the country of KHÂWÂRAZM, and was in the neighbourhood of the desert in which they were pasturing [their flocks], and they asked the governor there for a scribe (or, learned man) who would teach them how to worship God. And the governor with great gladness sent to them a scribe, an old man, together with gifts and presents, and he taught them. And they remained there [for] years, and they prospered exceedingly and increased greatly in number.

And there were born to the Amîr SALJÛK four sons, MICHAEL, and YABÂGÛ (BÎGHÛ), and MÛSÂ, and 'ARSLÂN. And MICHAEL had two sons, MÂHAMMÂD, who is TÛGHREL BÂG, and DÂWÛD, who is JAGHRÎ BÂG. And JAGHRÎ BÂG gathered together a numerous army of TURKOMANS, and he came and looted places (i.e. towns) of ARMENIA and KHÔRÂSÂN. And he went back to TÛGHREL BÂG, his brother, and said unto him, 'Here there are two great governors, viz. KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH HÂRÔN, and SÛLTÂN MAS'ÛD, the son of MAHMUD, the son of SABÛKTAKÎN, and we are unable to go up with (i.e. dispose of) them finally. But let us cross over into KHÔRÂSÂN and ARMENIA, which I have spied out, and I did not see in them any one who could stand up against us.' And his brother approved of his words, and they rose up and crossed GÎHÔN, the river of PERSIA. And they came against the city of DÂMGHÂN and they destroyed it utterly. And from there they came to the city of SEMNÂN, and they also conquered [219] the army of the ARABS and PERSIANS. And they invaded the city of RÂÎ (RHAGES) and destroyed it utterly. And from there they came to KAZWÎN and could not conquer it, but they laid tribute upon it and departed. Now the story of the dog which the blessed old man said directed (or, led) them when they went forth from their country we have not found anywhere. It is possible that he wrote it down from hearsay, or from some book which we have not read, for we have not met with it in any book.

And in the year four hundred and twenty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1035), TÂHIR, the Khalîfah of EGYPT, died of the disease of dropsy (or, retention of urine). From his youth up gangrene (?) attacked him, i.e. for a period of twenty years. And his son MÛSTANŞER rose up after him. And in this year there was a reconciliation between MÛSTANŞER, the Khalîfah of EGYPT, and MICHAEL, king of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And the Khalîfah MÛSTANŞER released fifty thousand Christians who were imprisoned in EGYPT, and he permitted the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ to build again the Temple of the Resurrection which was in JERUSALEM. And that king sent certain nobles of the RHÔMÂYÊ with a vast quantity of silver and gold, and he restored the Temple to its former condition.

And in this year the very distinguished old man 'ABÛ 'ÂLÎ HÛSAIN, BAR SÎNÂ (AVICENNA), died. Now this man having received the one talent of ARISTOTLE added thereto not only five, but more than fifty talents. His father came from the city of BALKH. Then he departed to the city of



BŪKHÂRÂ and dwelt therein. And when BAR SÎNÂ (IBN SÎNÂ) was five years old, he handed him over to the scribes, and when he was ten years old he had learned the Book of the Faith of the ARABS, and the grammar and the eloquence of speech of the ARABS. And he began to frequent a certain man in a *khân* (or, market) who sold vegetables, and he learned from him the Indian system of arithmetic. And a certain man, a philosopher, whose name was NÂBÂLÎ, having come to BŪKHÂRÂ, he began to make AVICENNA read in the Book of ÎSÔGÔGÎ. And when he came to the definition of GENSA (i.e. *genus, sex*), which treateth of 'how there are many that are different in species because of what the substance is', he said to his teacher, 'Is the genus assigned to each and every species because of what [substance] it is?' [220] And the teacher replied 'Yes'. The young man then made answer. 'Suppose now some one asketh me, What is a man? Is it correct for me to say to him an animal?' And the teacher replied, 'Yes'. The young man disputed [this] and said, 'I do not agree to regard the matter thus. Moreover, I am not without intelligence concerning all this. For if a man asketh me concerning what is a rational being, for me to reply to him an animal, [is only] half an answer.' From that moment he left the teacher, and he read by himself all the sciences and understood them.

And when he was sixteen years old he was fully trained in medicine, for many aged physicians used to come to him and read with him. And he also began to visit the sick, and he became expert in clinical work. And when he was eighteen years old he wrote this great and famous work of the CANON. And then he wrote the great BOOK OF HEALING in the four doctrines of philosophy; and he completed the sections on natural and divine matters within twenty days. Now the Books of his which are extant and are read are ninety-two, and most of them he composed in the house of the captives (or, prison). A marvellous book of his which is called 'Hints and Monitions', I, the feeble one, have translated from Arabic into Syriac. He was captured at the breaking which came upon the governor whom he used to treat by another governor, who was his enemy, and he was shut up in one of the fortresses. And when he was going in he said, 'As to my entrance herein there is no manner of doubt whatsoever, but to my exit there cleaveth in truth every possible anxiety'. Now he remained there forty days, when his own governor came and took the fort by fighting, and he brought him out. Besides imprisonment on this occasion he was shut up [many] other times. And together with all the excellence which this princely old man possessed, the lustful power of marriage vanquished him. And the end of this enfeebled his strength, and his consorting was ineffectual, and there came to him at the end of his days a disease of the colon. One day he applied to himself a clyster eight times. And having told them (i.e. his servants) to put two *dankê* (i.e. one-third of a *disham*) of parsley seed into the clyster, one of his servants put in five, [221] and an ulcer appeared in his bowels.



And he also suffered from the falling sickness, which cleaveth to disease of the colon. And he commanded them to mix up for him the antidote of MITHRIDATES (*methroditus*), and one of his servants put in an overdose of opium. And having taken this several times, his natural warmth languished, and from this time he became careless about his own healing. And he said, 'That governor which governed my body hath failed and is exhausted, and is no longer able to govern'; and he remained in this state for a few days, and he died and was buried in the city of HAMÂDÂN, aged fifty-eight years.

And in the year four hundred and twenty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1037), the GHÛZZÂYÊ came again to ARMENIA, and they made a great slaughter of the KURDS and the ARABS who were there, and they took much spoil. And from there they came to ÛRMÎÂH (ÛRMÎ), a city of 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN, and they laid waste the country, and killed many of the KURDS in that mountain who came down and engaged in fighting with them. And when the Amîr BAR WÂTÂB, who ruled over SYRIA and ARMENIA, saw that he was unable to fight two enemies, the RHÔMÂYÊ and the TURKS, he made peace with the RHÔMÂYÊ. And EDESSA remained to the RHÔMÂYÊ, and they ruled and flourished therein. And during the year the GHÛZZÂYÊ captured the city of MÂRÂGHÂ, and they burnt the mosque which was therein, and they killed and took prisoners many of its inhabitants. Then the tribes (or, clans) of the KURDS of the mountains gathered together, and they prevailed over the GHÛZZÂYÊ and expelled them from 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN. And they went back again to KHÔRÂSÂN, and captured the city of TÛS, and they killed therein about one hundred thousand souls, and outside [the city], on the roads and in the villages, they killed about twenty thousand, and took about one hundred and fifty thousand prisoners. And SÛBÂSHÎ, the governor of KHÔRÂSÂN, attacked them with thirty thousand horsemen. And they broke him and put him to flight. And they came to the city of NÎSÂBHOR, and though they wished to loot the city, TÛGHREL BÂG prevented them from doing so, because the fast of the ARABS was at hand.

And KÂÎM the Khalîfah also sent an envoy to them and reprimanded them, and [asked them] how it was, seeing that they were ARABS, that they were doing such things to the sons of their Faith. And because, after the fast, they were still ready to lay waste NÎSÂBHOR, TÛGHREL BÂG said [222] to JAGHRÎ BÂG, his brother, 'It is not right, because a writ of authority which is far greater, namely from the Khalîfah, hath come'. And when JAGHRÎ BÂG insisted, TÛGHREL BÂG took a knife and said, 'I shall kill myself if thou doest this'. And then he was quiet after he had taken from the citizens five hundred thousand *zûzê*.

And TÛGHREL BÂG wrote an answer to the Khalîfah thus: From his slave and subject TÛGHREL BÂG, the son of MICHAEL. And KËZEL, their kinsman, that is to say the husband of their sister, also wrote: From his slave and minister KËZEL, the son of YAḤYÂH. But JAGHRÎ BÂG wrote nothing. And



ṬUGHREL BÂG went to NÎSÂBHOR, and he sat on the throne of the SULTÂN MAS'ÛD, and JAGHRÎ BÂG sat down in the city of SARKHÂS, and KEZEL in the city of RÂÎ.

And in the year of the ARABS four hundred and thirty (A.D. 1038), snow fell in BAGHDÂD, and it stood about a span (i.e. was a span deep), and it remained for days in the bazârs. And after this, in the month of KÂNÔN (DECEMBER), there came intense cold, and the waters froze for six days.

And in this year SULTÂN MAS'ÛD collected multitudes of troops from INNER PERSIA and from OUTER INDIA, and he attacked the GHÛZZÂYE, and conquered them by the side of MARÛ-RÛD. And about three thousand five hundred of their men were killed, and the remainder of them, together with their leaders ṬUGHREL BÂG and JAGHRÎ BÂG, fled into the arid desert. And SULTÂN MAS'ÛD sat down in the country of KHÔRÂSÂN for about two years, and then he left the troops in the country, and he himself returned to GAZNÂH, a city of KHÂWÂRAZM. And when the GHÛZZÂYE heard [this] they came again to KHÔRÂSÂN in the year four hundred and thirty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1040), and those who were there were unable to stand up before them, and they reigned in 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN. And during the year the RHÔMÂYE went forth to SYRIA, and the Amîr 'ÂNÛSHTAKÎN engaged them in battle by the side of HAMÂTH and conquered them. And he made prisoner the son of the king's uncle, and killed one great eunuch.

And in this year when SULTÂN MAS'ÛD left [he went] to the country of INDIA, in the winter season, according to [his] custom, because of the intensity of the cold of the country of KHÂWÂRAZM. And his wives, and the children who had been born in his house, were with him, also his blind brother MÂHAMMÂD, both of whose eyes SULTÂN MAS'ÛD had himself dug out. When they encamped on [223] the river which is called HÂLAM, 'ÂNÛSHTAKÎN, the eunuch, leaped upon MAS'ÛD with one thousand other slaves, and they bound him and brought him before his blind brother, whom they wished to reign over them. And his brother MÂHAMMÂD said unto him, 'I will not do unto thee as thou hast done unto me, but seek for thyself some place whither thou shalt be sent, together with those of thy retinue whom thou shalt select'. And MAS'ÛD asked that he might be sent to the Citadel which is called KASÂ, and he was conveyed there most carefully and with honour. Then the nobles took counsel together, and by a mistake (or, by a pretence) they took from MÂHAMMÂD his ring, and sent it with certain men to the governor of that Citadel, and [those who were inside it] opened [the gates] to them, and they went in and killed SULTÂN MAS'ÛD.

Then MÂWDÛD, the son of MAS'ÛD, who was in KHÂWÂRAZM, hearing what had happened to his father, collected five thousand [men], and he attacked the twenty thousand [men] who were with his uncle, and he conquered them and killed his uncle. And he bored holes in the ankle bones of the



murderers of his father, and tied them together with cords, and [his slaves] dragged them along the ground until they were reduced to dust. And he went back to GAZNÂḤ and his father's kingdom was established for him, with the exception of KHÔRÂSÂN and 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN, in which the TURKS were rulers.

And in the year thirteen hundred and fifty-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1042), which is the year four hundred and thirty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1041), MICHAEL, the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, died without sons; and his daughters ZÂÎ (ZÔÂÎ) and THEODORA ruled the kingdom for three months. Then the nobles of the RHÔMÂYÊ took counsel together, and they chose from among their sons (?) three persons who were suitable for rulers. And they wrote their names on pieces of paper, and these they put in coverings of wax. And they brought a little boy and he stretched out his hand and pulled out one of the papers, and the name of MONOMACHUS came forth. And they gave him THEODORA, the daughter of King MICHAEL, to wife, and they made him king and called his name 'CONSTANTINE'. And THEODORA gave to ZÂÎ (ZÔÂÎ) her sister nine centenarii of gold instead of [her share in] the kingdom. Now this King CONSTANTINE was magnanimous, and lavish in [his] gifts, but he suffered from the disease of the gout.

And in the year four hundred and thirty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1042) there was a severe earthquake in the city of TABRÎZ [224], and its Citadel, and wall and many palaces and baths were overwhelmed; and about fifty thousand souls died under the ruins. Its lord, however, escaped, because he was outside [the city] in the plantations, and he put on sackcloth and sat upon ashes because of the great disaster which had taken place. And he left [the place] and went and shut himself up in one of his fortresses through fear of the GHÛZZÂYÊ, who had also made themselves master of KHÂWÂRAZM.

And IBRÂHÎM, the son of JOSEPH, rose up as governor of KHÔRÂSÂN; he was the brother of ṬÛGHREL BÂG through his mother. This man wrote a letter and sent [it], with an envoy, to BAGHDÂD, and in it he spake thus: 'The great SHÂH-IN-SHÂH, that is to say "king of kings", ṬÛGHREL BÂG, the SALJÛQ, is king over KHÔRÂSÂN and KHÂWÂRAZM. And he is prepared to send an army to BAGHDÂD, because he hath heard what the nomads (MA'DÂYÊ) are doing on the road of the ḤAJJ, and how they are seizing and plundering those who are going to worship in the house of God. Therefore see ye how ye can meet his troops with honours and gifts, and how [we] can make peace to reign over the whole world.' And at the top of his letter were [drawn] figures of a bow and an arrow.

And in this year hailstones fell [weighing] between one and two *lîfrês*, according to the measure of BAGHDÂD, and they destroyed more than thirty villages in the province of BAGHDÂD.

And in the year thirteen hundred and fifty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1043) there went forth a certain rebel from the RHÔMÂYÊ whose name was



MÎNÂKÔS (MANYÂKÔS?), and about twenty thousand people cleaved to him. Then king CONSTANTINE sent against him CHRISTOPHER, the eunuch, with forty thousand [men], and he conquered the rebel and killed him, and set his head on a reed. And he mounted on asses two hundred men of the army of the rebel, tied [to the beasts], with their faces turned towards the tails of the asses. And he hung between the eyes (i.e. on the forehead) of each one of them four testicles taken from the slain, and a portion of the lungs, and a liver, and heralds made a proclamation before them in the bazârs of the royal city, saying, 'These are the just reward of every one who rebelleth against the king'. And though he made them a laughing-stock, the king had mercy on them, and he did not kill them, but sent them away and said, 'Get ye gone wheresoever ye please'. And the king gave gifts to the soldiers of his army, to some seventy *dînârs* and to some thirty-five *dînârs*, according to their merit.

And in the year four hundred and thirty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1043) [225] ṬŪGHREL BÂG sent an envoy to the Khalîfah KÂÎM, and he said, 'I am a minister (or, servant) of the Head of the Kingdom of the ARABS, and in all the countries over which I reign I have made to triumph the proclamation of the Khalîfah, and I have made men to rest from the oppression of the governors MAḤMŪD and MAS'ŪD, who were my predecessors. And it is evident that I am not inferior in any way to them. Now they were slaves of the Khalîfah who enjoyed dominion (i.e. they ruled), but I am the son of free men, and am of the royal stock of the HUNS. And besides these things, although I am honoured even as they were honoured, I think that service to me, and the manner in which I am distinguished, should be greater than theirs.'

It is said that ṬŪGHREL BÂG used to sit on a high throne, and behind him were shields and spears, and before him a very magnificent bow, and in his hand were two arrows, with which he used to play. He wore the white apparel [made] of cotton. On the second and fifth days [of the week] he used to fast. And he never at any time omitted [to say] his five prayers. And concerning his astuteness the chief of the judges of BAGHDÂD relates the following story: When I was sent on an embassy to him I wrote a private letter to BAGHDÂD in which I described his rule, and his mercilessness, and how he prayed his prayers as a matter of form (or, routine) and not through fear of God, and various other matters. And I gave the letter to one of the members of my house, and it fell from him, and it was found and taken to ṬŪGHREL BÂG. And though he understood everything which was in the letter, he never turned his face away from me, nor did he in any way lessen the honour which he paid me. As for me, I could not understand what had become of the letter, until a certain scribe, a friend of mine, when [we were] on the road [back], informed me; and he, who was also a notary, said to me that he had lost the letter on the road.



And his troops used to come, company by company, to do homage before him, each company consisting of two thousand men, and they dismounted a certain distance from him, and kissed the ground and stood upright. Then one of those who were before him made a sign that their salutations had been accepted. And again they kissed the ground, and then mounted their animals and departed, and another company came up. No man goeth near him, and no man hath speech with him. In every place where his troops meet together they plunder, and destroy and kill. And no one district (or, quarter) is able to support them for more than one week because of their vast number. And from [226] sheer necessity they are compelled to depart to another quarter in order to find food for themselves and their beasts.

And the army of ṬUGHREL BÂG went and laid waste the country of NISIBIS, and MAIPERKÂṬ, and SHÎGHÂR (SINJÂR), and ḤABÛRÂ, and 'ÂMID, and ZÎRÂK its governor was killed. And they also came to MÂWŞIL, and they demanded from MÛ'TAMID AD-DÂWLÂH, the governor of MÂWŞIL, fifty thousand *dînârs* to leave [the city] and go away. And when he ignored their [demand] they made themselves masters of the city. And MÛ'TAMID AD-DÂWLÂH fled by a gate which was underground by the river TIGRIS. And the GHÛZZÂÏÊ went in and they carried off from the palace a vast amount of stuff [worth] two hundred thousand *dînârs*, and they divided seventeen wives, who were ARABS and KURDS, among them, and a great number of handmaidens. And they looted the city, all except the quarter of the SHAHÂRSÛI BAZÂR, the owner of which gave them fifteen thousand *dînârs* in the place of their houses. And the fathers of the wives of the governor also bought them back.

And the GHÛZZÂÏÊ left governors in MÂWŞIL, and they went and pitched their camp by the city of BÂLÂDH, but they were not able to capture it. And after a few days a certain man of the GHÛZZÂÏÊ was fighting with a young man who was a native of MÂWŞIL, and he smote him with a spear (i.e. speared him). Then the mother of the young man, who was a noisy and loquacious woman, smeared the blood [of her son] over her face, and she shrieked out in the bazârs, 'The GHÛZZÂÏÊ have killed my son and my daughter'. And she stirred up a tumult with her voice, and she inflamed the ARABS with her words, and they rose up against the GHÛZZÂÏÊ and killed them. And when the GHÛZZÂÏÊ who were in BÂLÂDH heard [this], they came back again to MÂWŞIL and killed two thousand people, old and young. And they remained there for twelve days plundering and killing. And to every one whom they seized they said, 'Purchase (i.e. ransom) thyself'. And thus they took all the silver, both that in circulation and that hidden, which there was in MÂWŞIL, and at the last they made peace. And they made the peasants go out to their villages and commanded them to till their lands. And after a little MÛ'TAMID became strong, and he collected the MA'DÂÏÊ (NOMADS)



and conquered the GHÛZZÂYÊ, and made a great slaughter of them; and those who remained fled to 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN.

And in the year which was the year thirteen hundred and fifty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1044), at the end of the month of the FIRST TESHWIN, ABÛ AL-FARÂJ, an upright Nestorian monk, died; he was an able and capable man and a philosopher. This man interpreted [227] (or, translated) the Old and the New Testaments into the Arabic language and also the Books of ARISTOTLE. And he charged the chief officials of their Church with being ignorant in matters of ecclesiastical doctrines and other subjects. Personally I think that he was weak in his knowledge of Syriac lexicography, for I have found blunders in various places in his interpretations. Of these the following is an example from [the Book of] JOB, *dhě hârteh wa-laitâw*, where *h* has the vowel *â* and the *t* has the hardening point over it, the form being derived from *hawrâ*, that is *hzâyâ*, 'vision'. But he understood the word to be *hartheh*, and he gave *h* the short vowel *ä* and softened the *t* into *th* as if the form was taken from *hartheh*, 'the end'.

And in this year a great army of SCLAVS, that is to say RUSSIANS, came against the royal city by sea and by land. And God helped the RHÔMÂYÊ, and they set fire to their ships and burned them on the sea, and the greater number of them were burned and sunk. And similarly they made prisoners of many of those who had come by land, and they cut off their right hands; and the RHÔMÂYÊ obtained a great victory. And at the time when there were many aliens, ARMENIANS, and ARABS, and JEWS, in the royal city, a great tumult broke out against CONSTANTINE the king. And the peoples gathered together at the gate of the palace and cried out, 'This CONSTANTINE hath killed two of our kings', and they were seeking for an excuse (or, reason) for looting the palace and the mansions of the nobles. Then king CONSTANTINE gathered together the nobles, and he brought out THEODORA and ZÂÎ (ZÔÂÎ) arrayed in gorgeous royal apparel. And when the agitators saw them they became quiet. And the king having inquired into the cause of the tumult, he was told that the aliens had made the tumult so that they might loot the city. Then the king commanded that there should not remain in it any one who had entered it during the last thirty years, and that the man who stayed should have his eyes gouged out. Then there went out about one hundred thousand souls.

And in the year four hundred and thirty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1044) an envoy was sent by KÂÎM, the Khalifah, to TÛGHREL BÂG, and his message was built on four stipulations.

I. The Amîr of the Faithful (or, Believers) saith unto thee: O Amîr TÛGHREL BÂG MÂHAMMÂD, the countries which thou hast taken are sufficient for thee, and thou shalt not hanker after the countries of the rest of the governors of the ARABS; and thou shalt not harm them.

II. Thou shalt hold thyself in strict subjection, inasmuch as thou art



our vassal. And thou shalt swear unto us legal oaths concerning the divorce of thy wives, and the freeing of thy slaves, and undertake to give dues [228] of all thy possessions, if thou resistest our command.

III. And thou shalt act righteously, and not deceitfully, and thou shalt not set men of error (i.e. unbelievers) over the members of the flock [of the Faithful].

IV. Thou shalt send each year the tribute of the countries which thou hast taken, according to the custom of thy predecessors. If thou wilt do these things thou shalt be decorated with robes [of honour], and shalt be addressed with the honorific titles which [men] may legally apply to thy kingship. And thou shalt not be a tyrant.

And when ṬŪGHREL BÂG had heard the message of the envoy he said in answer to the FIRST POINT, 'My troops are very many, and these countries are not sufficient for them'. The envoy replied, 'That is because thou hast laid them waste. And if thou didst take the whole earth and lay it waste it would not suffice thee and thy people.'

And in answer to the SECOND POINT he said, 'As to these various kinds of oaths, perhaps the scribes may understand them, [but I do not]. And as for myself, how is it possible for me to keep careful watch that I do not make a mistake, even in some very small matter, in my actions?' And the envoy said, 'If thou wilt show with all thy heart that thou art in subjection, and wilt do what is right, thou wilt never make a mistake'.

And in answer to the THIRD POINT ṬŪGHREL BÂG said, 'How can I? I take care to be upright. And if some of the hungry men who are with me act wickedly, what am I to do?'

And in answer to the FOURTH POINT he said, 'As to the tribute about which thou hast spoken; show me how much it is, and if I am able I will not keep it back'.

What is certain is this—that ṬŪGHREL BÂG did not accept even one of the [four] stipulations.

And in the year thirteen hundred and fifty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1045) the city of 'ARZENGÂN was submerged by the waters, and only the monastery of the sons of CYRIACUS, by race SYRIANS, was saved, although it was entirely surrounded by a lake of water. Now there were merciful men and doers of good deeds to every man.

And in the year four hundred and thirty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1046) the GHŪZZÂYÊ captured the city of ḤŪLWÂN and burnt it, and they tortured the men until they brought out all their hidden treasures and gave them to them. And they committed fornication with their wives before their eyes, and they also deflowered their virgins.

And in this year the Nestorian Metropolitan of SAMARKAND sent a letter to the Catholicus, which was also read in the palace of the Khalîfah, saying, 'A people who are like unto the locusts in their swarms have made a gap



in the mountain between TEBIT and KHÛTÂN [229], the which ancient writers say that ALEXANDER the Great closed up, and they have sallied out and gone as far as KÂSHGHAR. There are seven kings, and with each king are seven hundred thousand horsemen. And the name of their great king is "NAŞÂRATH", which is interpreted, "Ruling by the command of God". They are black like the INDIANS, and they neither wash their faces nor dress their hair, but they plait it like a cloth and it serveth as a shield for them. They shoot with the bow accurately. And they eat poor and miserable food. And they are merciful and just. And their horses eat meat.'

And when they had read the letter one of the Arab nobles said, 'One thing at least is an impossibility, that a horse should eat flesh, forsooth!' And another replied, 'Do not be astonished at this, for I myself have seen with my own eyes an Arab horse which ate flesh and cooked fish'. I, however, say that it is probable that they dry the flesh and chop it up like straw, and feed the horses with it. For there is much game in that country and very little grass.

And in the year four hundred and thirty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1047) a certain man who was a native of RAS 'AIN and whose name was 'AŞFÂR, declared concerning himself that of him it was said in the KUR'ÂN that he should triumph over the Faith of the ARABS. And he went twice into the territory of the RHÔMÂYE on thievish expeditions, and he carried off much spoil and went forth. Then the king of the RHÔMÂYE wrote to BAR MARWÂN, the governor, saying, 'Between us and thee there is peace. If this thief be one of thy subjects it is right that thou shouldst restrain him; if he is not, inform us and we will act for ourselves.' Then BAR MARWÂN called the Amîrs of the nomad ARABS, and he said, 'This 'AŞFÂR will provoke to wrath the RHÔMÂYE against us, and if they come out there will be no rest either for us or for you. Therefore it is right for you to make a plan and to seize him.' Then the nomad ARABS went to him and praised his solicitude for the triumph of Islâm. And he rejoicing in them rode with them. And they began to exercise the horses and to exhibit feats of athletics until they were at a distance from the villages, and then they laid their hands upon him and took him and brought him to BAR MARWÂN. And he put him in fetters and shut him up in prison, and peace with the RHÔMÂYE was confirmed.

And in this year sickness increased, and the pestilence (or, plague) became so severe in all the Fourth Clime [230] that one blossom of the water-lily was sold in BAGHDÂD for one *zûzâ*, and a small dove for two white *zûzê*. As for wheat and barley no man saw them at all in BAGHDÂD. But in MÂWŞIL, in addition to the sickness and the pestilence, there was also a famine, which was caused by the locusts, and a *kôrâ* of wheat was sold for sixty *dînârs*.

And in the year four hundred and forty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1048), which is the year thirteen hundred and sixty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1050),



Sûltân ṬUGHREL BÂG sent an envoy to BAR MARWÂN, governor of ARMENIA, ordering him to submit himself and to become subject unto him. And BAR MARWÂN received the envoy with alacrity, and he gave him thirty bales of rich stuffs, and five hundred *dînârs*, and hangings and curtains for tents, and ten mules loaded with goods, and an Arab horse, and a certain prisoner who was a RHÔMÂYÊ noble, for whose price the RHÔMÂYÊ would have given thirty thousand *dînârs*, and he would not sell him. And he said, 'Besides this noble I have nothing which is suitable (i.e. useful) for Sûltân ṬUGHREL BÂG. And ṬUGHREL BÂG having received these things made peace happily with BAR MARWÂN.

Then CONSTANTINE, the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, sent to BAR MARWÂN, saying, 'I entreat thee to exert thyself for the deliverance of that [prisoner] the Patrician. I know that Sûltân ṬUGHREL BÂG is magnanimous, and he will not detain him if thou wilt beg him from him by my mouth (i.e. in my name).' And when BAR MARWÂN made known the words of the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ to ṬUGHREL BÂG, he showed magnanimity, and sent the Patrician with his own envoy to the king, without demanding any payment or anything in exchange. Then the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ restored the great Mosque of the ARABS which was in the royal city, and hung lamps therein. And he appointed Arab praying-men thereto, and appointed regular wages for them. And he sent to ṬUGHREL BÂG one thousand bales of silken cloth, and five hundred pieces of various other kinds of stuff, and five hundred horses, and three hundred Egyptian asses, and a thousand goats, with black eyes and horns, which were very nearly as large as asses.

And in this year the natives of the city of ISFÂHÂN being sorely afflicted by the imprisonment with which ṬUGHREL BÂG had imprisoned them—now he had sat down by them for nine months—sent to the Khalîfah asking him to entreat ṬUGHREL BÂG on their behalf. And the Khalîfah (because for a long time past ṬUGHREL BÂG had been asking him to honour him (i.e. ṬUGHREL) with names (i.e. titles) which befitted [231] his kingship) would not consent. Then he agreed and he wrote [a letter] to him and called him 'Lawful king', and 'Asylum of the Muslims', and 'RÛKN AD-DÎN SÛLTÂN ṬUGHREL BÂG', and he entreated him on behalf of the natives of ISFÂHÂN. And he sent [the letter] with an envoy.

Now ṬUGHREL BÂG was expecting this [appeal], and he accepted the Khalîfah's entreaty, and sent in return for these things twenty thousand *dînârs* to the Treasury of KÂÎM the Khalîfah, and two thousand *dînârs* to the administrators of the kingdom. And from this time Sûltân ṬUGHREL BÂG began to inscribe the figure of a bow at the top of his seal, and inside it were these titles. And that sign was called 'ṬUGHRÂ', and he who wrote [it] being commanded, [was called] 'ṬUGHRÂÎ'.

And in the year four hundred and forty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1051) an envoy from CONSTANTINE, king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, came to KÂÎM the Khalîfah,



who was in BAGHDÂD, and with him was a letter [written in] the RHÔMÂYÂ language, and between the lines was an Arabic translation written in letters of gold upon purple paper (vellum?), which [read] thus: 'CONSTANTINE, the believing king, the exalted one, who hath gotten power by Christ God; AUGUSTUS, Only One, in the kingdom of the RHÔMÂYÊ, Monomachus, to [his] beloved and honourable friend ABÛ JA'FÂR KÂÎM, the Head of the Muslims and the Amîr of the Believers', and other words of love (or, affection).

And in the year four hundred and forty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1054), all the countries of the PERSIANS being in subjection to RÛKN AD-DÎN TÛGHREL BÂG, he set his face towards the countries of the RHÔMÂYÊ. And he attacked the Fort of MINÂSGERD, and sat down by it for a long time, but he was unable to take it; and he seized the country district [round about]. And he came and seized also the country of 'ARZÂN AR-RÛM, which up to that time had been under the RHÔMÂYÊ. And he turned back to pass the winter in 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN so that he might return to the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ.

And in the year thirteen hundred and sixty-five [of the GREEKS = A.D. 1054], CONSTANTINE, king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, the husband of queen THEODORA, died in the month of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY). And the queen governed for one year. And she sent an envoy to BAGHDÂD, to the Khalîfah, and she strengthened the peace by means of the tribute which she had received for herself. And in [that] year Sûltân RÛKN AD-DÎN TÛGHREL BÂG sent an envoy to the Khalîfah and said, 'I wish to come so that I may be glorified (or, honoured) by the service of the Prophet [MÂḤAMMAD] [232] and be blessed. And I would also go and worship and pray in MAKKAH. And I wish to make peaceful (i.e. safe) the roads of those who pray (i.e. pilgrims), and I will remove the crowds of the MA'DÂYÊ (nomads) who rob them on the highways. From there I will go to the war of the rebels, the SYRIANS, and the erring EGYPTIANS, if God will.' Then the Khalîfah, although unwilling, through sheer necessity wrote and praised his solicitude and his zeal in respect of the Faith, and he urged him not to delay in coming to BAGHDÂD.

Now the DAILOMITES and the TURKS who were in BAGHDÂD, and their chiefs, objected strongly to this arrangement, and they said, 'That the GHÛZZÂYÊ should come to BAGHDÂD is impossible, but if they do come we shall make ourselves ready for the sword'. And as their excuse benefited them in no wise, the troops of the GHÛZZÂYÊ burst forth after a few days, and they came to the frontier of BAGHDÂD. And the Prince of the princes, and the chief of the judges, and many of the native magnates who were in BAGHDÂD went forth to meet the Sûltân, and they drew nigh to the place where he had camped. And they spoke to him words of admonition on the part of the Khalîfah, so that he might not give an occasion to his troops to work destruction in the land of BAGHDÂD; 'because it is the throne of the



Arab peoples, and the Law of the Faith existeth in it'. And the Sûltân received their words with love, and consented to accept their counsel.

And when he arrived and encamped at the gate which is called 'MĒSHAM-MASHÂNÎTHÂ' (i.e. 'the Servant Gate'), the DAILOMITES, and the TURKS, and some of the peoples of BAGHDÂD quarrelled uproariously, and they drew their swords on the GHŪZZÂYÊ who were going into the city to buy food for themselves, and straw and hay for their horses. And the Amîrs of the GHŪZZÂYÊ mounted their horses and went into BAGHDÂD, and they killed many of the DAILOMITES, and the TURKS, and the pagans, and they seized their chiefs and carried them to the Sûltân. And he commanded and they were shut up in tents near him, being bound with fetters. And the Sûltân sent to the Khalîfah and complained about the quarrel which the people of BAGHDÂD had provoked, and he informed [him] that certain of the DAILOMITES in his service have been found killed, and others have not been found at all, and if I did not honour thee I would have destroyed all BAGHDÂD with the edge of the sword. And the Khalîfah being comforted with such [words] as these, fear departed from his heart, and he sent gifts with his eunuchs and nobles to the Sûltân. And as soon as ever they arrived in the neighbourhood of the Camp, the Sûltân commanded, and they were all put in bonds, and everything which they had with them was looted.

And in the morning of the [following] day the GHŪZZÂYÊ went into BAGHDÂD, [233] and many of the MA'DÂYÊ (NOMADS) whom they found there they drowned in the TIGRIS. And many men fled from their houses and took refuge in the buildings round about the palace of the Khalîfah, and the GHŪZZÂYÊ camped in their houses. And the Khalîfah sent a letter to the Sûltân saying, 'This was not my expectation at all, for I imagined that my glory would be increased by thy coming, and that the Faith would be triumphant through thy nearness to me. Although I have suffered the very reverse of these things my trust is on God.' And the Sûltân replied, 'I am subject to thy command. And as to these things which have taken place, thou knowest full well that they have happened because of the evil TURKS who were in thy service. I myself am not blameworthy.' Then the Sûltân commanded, and [his slaves] sent the elephants which were with him against the ten TURKS who had made the fight, and they trampled on them and killed them. And the Sûltân was master of BAGHDÂD, and he appointed governors and tax-gatherers from among his own people. And of the TURKS who had been in BAGHDÂD at an earlier period, some were bakers, and some were sellers of vegetables, and others were stokers of the fires for the baths. And the GHŪZZÂYÊ became masters of the country, and they laid it waste. Agriculture came to an end, and an ox for ploughing was sold for twenty *zûzé*, and an ass for ten *zûzé*. And they struck money, *zûzé* and *dînârs*, in the name of the Sûltân. And the Sûltân increased the grant which had been formerly given to the Khalîfah at the time when the



Dailomite and Turkish slaves held authority—fifty thousand *dînârs* and five hundred *kôr(s)* of wheat. And the Sûltân swore an oath, and said, 'If it were not for the very many troops who are with me, and who are a help to Arabdom, I would restore to the Khalîfah everything which those TURKS took away from him'. And the heart of the Khalîfah was glad, and he wished to contract affinity with the ARABS, and 'ARSLÂN KHÂTÔN, a Saljûk princess, the daughter of JAGHRÎ BÂG, the brother of Sûltân TÛGHREL BÂG, was given to him. And the Sûltân built a great house by the side of the palace of the Khalîfah. And the Khalîfah sent [to him] a golden throne, inlaid with precious stones, and he set it in [the building]. And the Sûltân sat upon it, and the nobles used to go to do homage to him.

And in the year four hundred and forty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1056) sickness and a great famine came upon BAGHDÂD. One pomegranate was sold for a *dînâr*, and herbs (or, drugs for medicines) were not to be found, and there came great swarms [234] of flies which polluted the air, and more than one-third of the population perished. And thus also was it in SYRIA, and in EGYPT, and especially in PERSIA. In the city of BÛKHÂRÂ eighteen thousand biers of the dead went out [of the city] in one day. And those who died, in a short time, that is during a period of three months, were a thousand thousand and six hundred and fifty thousand people. And in SAMARKAND, within two months, two hundred and thirty-six thousand people died. It was said that from the beginning of the world there never was such a plague as this.

And in the year four hundred and forty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1057) a force of the MA'DÂYÊ (NOMADS) encountered an army of the GHÛZZÂYÊ by the side of MÂWŞIL, and the GHÛZZÂYÊ gave way and twelve hundred of their men were killed, and KATLAMÎSH their chief, together with those who escaped with him, fled to Mount SHÎGHÂR (SINJÂR). And the sons of SHIGHÂR shut the gates of the city in their faces and jeered at them.

Then when the Sûltân heard what had happened, he raged in his spirit and he wished to go to MÂWŞIL. But the Khalîfah did not wish [this], and he sent to him and said unto him, 'It is not right for thee to go now; restrain thyself until thy troops are gathered together and come from PERSIA'. Then the Sûltân became still more angry, and he said, 'Now I know that your intention towards us is not sincere. In the beginning thou didst give me advice, saying, "Thou shalt not go, but send troops", and I accepted it from you. And behold my troops have perished, and now again thou givest me that very self-same counsel.' Up to this time the Sûltân had been in BAGHDÂD for thirteen months, and he had gone out but hitherto had not seen the Khalîfah. And he commanded and they took his tents outside [the city], and his troops which were prepared gathered together and destroyed the buildings on the eastern side of BAGHDÂD, and they took their bridges for fortifications.



And the Sûltân went and encamped against TAGRÎTH, and he asked help from its inhabitants. But they said, 'We belong to the MA'DÂYÊ (i.e. nomad ARABS), and without the command of BASÂSÎRÎ their chief we are unable to give any help at all'. And the Sûltân became inflamed with fury, and he hurled the sword among them, and carried off many of their women and children. And they submitting to him, he made peace with them. And he went to BÊTH WÂZÎK and the inhabitants thereof gave him help. And from there he went to MÂWŞIL, and he found that BASÂSÎRÎ [235] had departed from it, and also that all the rich men of MÂWŞIL had fled. And he camped in the palace for a few days. And from there he went to BÂLÂDH, and HAZÂRASB, the captain of the host, commanded the Sûltân that the town should not be plundered. And the Sûltân replied, 'Behold, thou seest that our treasuries are empty, and that they who are with us are hungry, and are pressing us, and there is no means of [getting supplies] except by pillage. But go thou this night and bring out all the inhabitants of the city, both great and small, and let them take whatsoever they are able [to carry away] from their houses.' And having done this the GHÛZZÂYÊ went into the city and looted it. And HAZÂRASB sent the people of the city to MÂWŞIL, and there were ten thousand men besides women and children, and he sent with them some one who would protect them on the way.

Then the nobles of the MA'DÂYÊ, with the exception of BASÂSÎRÎ, who had fled to SYRIA and had taken refuge in EGYPT, when they saw that they were incapable [of conquering] the GHÛZZÂYÊ, sent [envoys] and asked for peace. And the Sûltân received them, and showed them affection (or, love), and arrayed them in robes of honour. And he wished to go to ARMENIA, to the country of BAR MARWÂN. But the nobles of the MA'DÂYÊ entreated him, saying, 'he also hath committed folly, even as we committed folly, but we ask thee to forgive him even as thou didst forgive us'. And the Sûltân replied, 'Ye confessed your folly and were forgiven; if he also will confess his folly he also shall be forgiven'.

And the Sûltân went to the ISLAND OF ẖARDÛ, and the people thereof submitted to him, and they gave him much gold, and they were not plundered. And twenty horsemen of the GHÛZZÂYÊ rode up to the Monastery of the NESTORIANS which is called AKHMÛL, wherein there were at that time four hundred monks, and they slew one hundred and twenty of them, and the remainder ransomed their lives for six measures of gold and silver. Then BAR MARWÂN sent envoys to the Sûltân, and he abased himself greatly, and he gave one hundred thousand *dînârs* and the Sûltân made peace with him.

And the Sûltân went back and encamped against SHÎGHÂR, and captured it. And he slew four thousand men, and at length their blood flowed down into their water-courses. And he burnt the great Mosque which was in the city, and destroyed all its palaces. And because the air stank by reason of



the bodies of the slain, the Sûltân removed himself from the town and encamped by the side of TELL 'AFR. And the nobles having made supplication to him [236] to remove the sword from SHÎGHÂR, he accepted [it] from them on the condition that no man should ever remain in it. And all those who were hidden went forth, and they dispersed themselves in various countries, and the town was evacuated wholly by its inhabitants. Then guards who prevented the GHÛZZÂYÊ from injuring those who went forth were appointed. All this took place because of the insults which the men of SHÎGHÂR cast on the GHÛZZÂYÊ when they fled at the beginning from before the MA'DÂYÊ.

And from there the Sûltân came to MÂWŞIL, and he gave it to SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH IBRÂHÎM, his brother on his mother's side. And he was an upright (or, just) man. For a certain man who was a tax-gatherer, a native of MÂWŞIL, came to him and said that he would give him every day one hundred gold *dînârs* from the contributions of those who bought and sold in the bazâr. And IBRÂHÎM gathered together the men of MÂWŞIL and he said unto them, 'Do ye agree with this tax-gatherer?' And they replied, 'If thou wilt free us from the PERSIANS who pry into our affairs, and the GHÛZZÂYÊ officers who make [excessive] demands upon us, we do agree with this tax-gatherer, who is of our opinion'. And SAIF AD-DÂWLÂH showed greatness of soul, and said, 'We will free you from this also, and we will not demand from you more than the fair taxes on the produce and fruits of the earth in their season'. And he commanded the heralds, and they proclaimed the freedom from taxation of those who bought and sold [in the bazârs]. And all the population lifted up their voices and prayed for the lengthening of his life.

And from MÂWŞIL the Sûltân went down to BAGHDÂD. And when he approached the city, the Khalifah sent the Wazîr, the chief of the chiefs, to meet him. And he offered to the Sûltân a Chosroes-cup of gold, inlaid with precious stones, jacinths, emeralds, and sapphires, and he said, 'The Amîr of the Believers hath rejoiced in thy triumph, and he is comforted by thy near presence', and other [words]. The Sûltân acknowledged [the compliment] and said, 'I am one who is satisfied with this Palace, and I am a recipient of the great acts of goodness which have been showered upon me from it. Therefore nothing is lacking for me except that I would meet and be honoured (or, beautified) by the sight of him which is as that of the Prophet (?). And I cannot bear to be deprived of it any longer.' And the Wazîr replied, 'Nothing now hindereth this, for ye have become of one house, and ye have mingled and mixed with each other, that is to say in betrothal'. And the Wazîr rose up and went into the presence of the Khalifah and he made these things known unto him. And the Sûltân went into the new palace which he had built. [237]

And after some days the Sûltân was summoned to go in. And he rode a horse, and all the princes went before him on foot. And when he drew



near to the gate of the palace of the Khalîfah, he remained for a time on his horse, and then the gate was opened, and he went into the courtyard, and the nobles of the Khalîfah went forth to meet him. And [the slaves] lifted the curtain, and he went into the inner courtyard. And they lifted another curtain, and he went in and saw the Khalîfah seated upon a throne which was high above the ground, about seven cubits. And on his head was a black sudarium, and he was dressed in a cloak which was also black. This was the apparel which the sons of 'ABBÂS put on and wore in BAGHDÂD, but when the Khalîfate was transferred to EGYPT the Khalîfahs put on and wore white apparel. And in his hand was a sceptre of gold, and on the two sides of him were two eunuchs. And when the Sûltân saw him, he bowed down to the ground, and did homage several times. And the Khalîfah commanded, and [the slaves] raised him up upon another throne, which was less high than the Khalîfah's, about the height of the stature of a man. And the Khalîfah said unto the dragoman: 'Say thou unto the Sûltân: The Amîr of the Believers praiseth thy solicitude, and applaudeth thy labours, and is comforted by thy near presence, and rejoiceth in thee. And behold, he handeth over to thee all the provinces and countries which God hath handed over to him. Therefore, fear God, and perform righteousness (or, justice) in thy dominion, and do thou give thanks unto the Lord for all His gracious deeds towards thee.' And the Sûltân stood up, and bowed himself to the ground, and said, 'I am the slave and the subject of thy command; I put my trust in God that He will help me to fulfil thy will'.

And the Khalîfah commanded, and [the slaves] arrayed the Sûltân in seven black garments with one neck-band (?), and they placed a black sudarium [shot with] gold upon his head, and on the sudarium a crown inlaid with two precious stones of jacinth, and above each stone were fifteen exceedingly choice pearls, and two bandlets of gold on its ends (?). The Sûltân would not put the collar of gold round his neck, but it was laid on his shoulders, and a eunuch carried it before him. And when the Sûltân wished to bow down again to the earth, it was impossible for him to do so, because of the heavy crown which was on his head. And the Khalîfah also gave him three purple banners [inscribed with] letters of gold. And these were suspended before him. And the Khalîfah also gave him [238] a royal seal. And he commanded the heralds and they proclaimed him 'King of the East and the West'. And when the Sûltân was inclined (?) to depart, he asked the Khalîfah to stretch out his hand to him. And when the Khalîfah stretched it out to him, the Sûltân kissed it twice and made it to pass over his forehead. And he went forth and [the slaves] mounted him upon one of the horses of the Khalîfah, and with great pomp and ceremony he went to his palace.

And in the year thirteen hundred and sixty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1058), in the winter time, three thousand TURKS came and invaded MELITENE,



because its wall had been breached since the time when CYRIACUS took it from the ARABS. And after they had heaped upon it piles of the slain, they tortured the rest of the inhabitants in order that they might reveal their hidden treasures. And many died under the tortures, as for example PATRÔS, the deacon, the scribe and teacher of the young. This man was seized whilst he was writing the copy of a manuscript. And as he was writing 'The head of JOHN resembled the bunch of grapes which HERODIAS plucked', the TURKS seized him. And they melted wax and poured it over his head, and they set a bowl with hot coals in it on his breast. And when he was near to finishing [his life] he saw the fire attacking his feet, and he said, 'It is a blessed thing for you to be cleansed'. And his soul departed.

And the TURKS were twenty days in MELITENE, laying waste [the towns] and looting. And when they had burned it with fire and departed, a severe winter overtook them by the side of MOUNT SANSÂNÂYÊ, and the ARMENIANS came down and killed them all. And those who saved themselves from being crushed with stones returned to it. And among them was JOSEPH the monk, who wrote three discourses on the event, and MÂR JOHN the son of SHÔSHAN composed four discourses on the destruction of MELITENE, two in the metre of MÂR APHRÊM, and two in the metre of MÂR BÂLAI. And in this raid the Monastery of BAR GAGAI was destroyed, and it was never inhabited again.

And in the year four hundred and fifty of the ARABS (A.D. 1058), BASÂSÎRÎ, the captain of the host of the MA'DÂYÊ, and another general who was called KÛRAISH, collected a numerous army of ARABS, and PERSIANS, and TURKS from among those who were in subjection to the Khalîfah of EGYPT, and BASÂSÎRÎ came and encamped against TELL 'AFAR. And ÎNÂNÂGH, the captain of the host of the GHÛZZÂYÊ, fled and went to the fortress of MÂWŞIL. And the MA'DÂYÊ came after him and encamped against MÂWŞIL; and there was a great famine, and at length the GHÛZZÂYÊ ate their horses and their mules. And they destroyed the large houses, [239] and burnt the villages and the bridges. And when they were sorely afflicted they fled to BAGHDÂD, and urged the Sûltân to go in person and engage the MA'DÂYÊ. And he having gone out from BAGHDÂD, the report thereof reached BASÂSÎRÎ, and he laid waste MÂWŞIL in an evil manner and departed into the desert.

When the Sûltân arrived in MÂWŞIL he found that it was wholly destroyed. And it was reported to him also concerning IBRÂHÎM IANÎ'ÊL, his brother on his mother's side, 'He is meditating rebellion. And letters are coming to him from the Khalîfah of EGYPT.' Therefore the Sûltân, being afraid that IBRÂHÎM would make himself master of PERSIA, and cause the armies of the TURCOMAN GHÛZZÂYÊ to rebel with him, marched off hurriedly into PERSIA, and he went and sat down in HAMADÂN. And he sent an army against his brother in the mountains of SHAHÂRZÛR, and it seized him and killed him.



Then when BASÂSÎRÎ and KÛRAISH, the captains of the army, heard that the Sûltân had gone away, they came to BAGHDÂD and took possession of it easily. And they seized the Khalîfah KÂÎM, and mounted him on a camel, and sent him to HADÎTHÂH, and they looted the palace. And they proclaimed MÛSTANŞER, the Khalîfah of EGYPT, in BAGHDÂD, and they struck money, *dînârs* and *zûzê*, in his name. And they appointed judges, and lawyers, and readers, and arrayed them in white apparel, according to the custom of the EGYPTIANS, instead of in black apparel. As to the Wazîr, the prince of princes, inasmuch as it was he who had brought the GHÛZZÂYÊ to BAGHDÂD, they placed him in the hide of a bull which had been recently flayed off the animal, and they sewed it up about him. And they left his face visible, and they placed on the top of his head the horns of a bull. And they suspended him on a stake, having put hooks in his cheeks, and he remained thus during the whole day in agony (?). And he died after he had received the spittle and insults of the mob of BAGHDÂD, and also their curses, because it was through him that all these evils had happened.

And the mother of the Khalîfah KÂÎM sent to BASÂSÎRÎ from the place where she was hidden, and said, 'I am dying of hunger, and I entreat thee to have mercy upon me'. Then he sent and had her brought, and he seated her in one of the rooms of the palace, and he appointed two of her hand-maidens to minister unto her. And he allotted to them each day twelve *lîtrês* of bread, and four *lîtrês* of meat, according to BAGHDÂD measure. Now this woman was an ARMENIAN by race. And 'ARSLÂN KHÂTÔN, [240] the wife of the Khalîfah, was with KÛRAISH, and when the Sûltân TÛGHREL [BÂG] sent an envoy and asked for her, they dispatched her to him with great honour.

And in this year the Amîr DÂWÛD JAGRÎ BÂG, the brother of the Sûltân TÛGHREL [BÂG], died, and he left a grown-up son, ALB 'ARSLÂN, and two other sons. And the Sûltân sent an envoy to KÛRAISH and thanked him for 'ARSLÂN KHÂTÔN, and for having entreated her honourably, and sent her [to him]. And he said unto him, 'I beg thee also to send back the Khalîfah to his throne, and thou shalt be administrator to him. I shall never again come to BAGHDÂD, but shall devote myself to administering the kingdom of PERSIA. And if thou art unable to do this because of BASÂSÎRÎ, who doth not agree with thy wish, it will be right for thee to entrench thine honourable self and thy followers strongly in some Citadel, or in the desert, so that when our troops come they may not through ignorance do harm to any of those who belong to thee. For a great debt to thee lieth upon us, and if we were to give unto thee everything which we have, it would amount to far less than that which thou hast given to us, for thou hast restored to us our child carefully.' Then KÛRAISH sent to BASÂSÎRÎ, who was in WÂSÎT, saying, 'To what end and for whom are we fighting all this fight? For an EGYPTIAN who, behold, hath not even visited us with a common letter in



return for our having made the proclamation of him to triumph as far as BAGHDÂD. But it is right that we should repent with the Sûltân, and restore the Khalîfah to his place again.' And BASÂSÎRÎ not being persuaded by him, KÛRAISH took his property and marched to the desert.

And the Sûltân and his troops drew nigh to the frontier of BAGHDÂD. And the Amîr of HADÎTHÂ, with whom the Khalîfah was a prisoner, took him to the Sûltân, and the Sûltân sent him again to his palace with great honour. And he apologized to him, saying, 'I was prevented from [coming to] thee through the death of my brother JAGRÎ BÂG, and the [necessary] arrangements for his sons, and through my other brother IBRÂHÎM, who behaved treacherously to me, and he was conquered'. And when he fled the GHÛZZÂYE overtook him and they cut off his head and brought it to the Sûltân. And he commanded and the head was fixed on a reed, and suspended above the gate of the palace. And the Sûltân, resting from the war on the [241] MA'DÂYE, turned back and went to KHÔRÂSÂN.

And in the year four hundred and fifty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1063), KHÂTÔN, the wife of Sûltân TÛGHREL BÂG, died; she was greatly beloved by him, and all the business of the kingdom was administered by her. And he sent to the Khalîfah that he might be betrothed by him to his daughter; and when the Khalîfah would not consent to a daughter of theirs marrying a stranger to them, both as regards family and race, the Sûltân was offended. And after many bickerings, open enmity began to make itself manifest. Then the Khalîfah was afraid, and though unwilling, he gave his daughter to him on the condition that she should not depart from the palace, but that whenever the Sûltân came to BAGHDÂD she should live with him in there. And after prolonged discussion it was decided that she should depart to the new mansion which the Sûltân had built. And the Sûltân came to BAGHDÂD, and he offered one hundred thousand gold *dînârs*, and one hundred and fifty thousand *zûzé*, and four thousand bales (or, rolls) of priceless stuffs for [her] dowry (*dôrâ*). And he took the daughter of KÂDER (KÂÎM?) to wife.

It is related that when she went into her mansion, the Sûltân and the nobles of the TURKS stood up and danced according to their custom, and bent down on their knees and stood up again and sang songs in the Turkish manner. And a throne of gold was prepared for her, and the Sûltân went in and bowed himself down to the ground, and did homage to her, and he did not sit down but left [the chamber] and went out. This he did for seven days, without her uncovering her face for him to see. And at this feast there was great gladness to the Sûltân, and sorrow to the Khalîfah, especially because when the Sûltân went forth from BAGHDÂD to go to KHÔRÂSÂN, he would necessarily take the Khalîfah's daughter, his wife, with him. And the Sûltân did not observe the condition that she was not to go forth from BAGHDÂD.



And in this year, which is the year thirteen hundred and seventy-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1063), an army of the RHÔMÂÏÊ went forth and encamped against the city of 'ÂMID for many days. And the armies of the TURKS and ARABS being gathered together against them, and very many having been killed on both sides, they left the city and departed. And on the seventh day of the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER) of this year the Sûltân TÛGHREL [242] BÂG died in RÂÎ (RHAGES), a city of PERSIA. Now he lived seventy years. He was king for thirty years, and for eight of these years he was master of BAGHDÂD. And the Sûltân commanded that SÛLAIMÂN, the son of JAGHRÎ BÂG, should sit on his throne. But 'ALB 'ARSLÂN, the brother of SÛLAIMÂN, because he was strong made an end of him and he himself reigned. And he was proclaimed in BAGHDÂD and in all the countries as ŞAYÂ AD-DÎN SÛLTÂN.

And in the year four hundred and fifty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1063), certain hunters, who were KURDS, in BAGHDÂD reported as follows: 'When we were hunting in the desert we saw black tents, and [heard] the sound of beatings of the breasts, and weeping, and great lamentation. And when we drew near we heard a voice saying, "To-day B'ÊLZËBHÛBH, the prince of the devils, is dead and every place which doth not make itself a house of weeping for three days we will dig up by the roots".' And when the women of BAGHDÂD heard this foolish talk, they went out to the graves, and they sat down for three days and wailed, and wept, and rent their garments, and plucked out their hair, and blackened their faces with soot from the cooking pots. And they said, 'By this we shall propitiate the devils. And they will not kill their friends'. And the report of this [proceeding] flew through all the land of SEN'ÂR, and in every country was done that which was done in BAGHDÂD, namely in MÂWŞIL and in ARMENIA.

And in this year 'ALB 'ARSLÂN, the Sûltân, went against the city of 'ÂNÎ, which was the first city of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, on the quarter of ARMENIA, and he captured it and made a great slaughter therein. Now as concerning the strength of the city of 'ÂNÎ, the great river of 'ÂRÂS surroundeth three-quarters of it, and on the other quarter a deep ditch was dug, through which much water from the 'ÂRÂS, with a strong current, passed. And the citizens entered it and went out from it by a bridge. There were seven hundred thousand houses in it and one thousand churches. And when the TURKS were in despair about capturing it, suddenly, at the nod of high heaven, one of its towers fell down, and they laid a bridge across and went into the city. And from this time the Sûltân was called 'ABÛ AL-FATH.

And in the month of the FIRST TESHRIÎN (OCTOBER) of this year a fierce heat prevailed in BAGHDÂD until the month of the FIRST KÂNÔN (DECEMBER). And there accompanied it so much sickness and pestilence that a *manyâ* of *tamâr-Hendî* (i.e. tamarinds) was sold for four gold *dînârs*. [243] And in the month of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY) intense cold came, and the river TIGRIS was frozen over, and much snow fell in BAGHDÂD.



And in the year four hundred and fifty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1065), which is the year thirteen hundred and seventy-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1066), Sûltân 'ALB 'ARSLÂN went to KHÂWÂRAZM and appointed his son SALÂR SHÂH over it, and he himself returned to NÎSÂBHÔR. And in this year about three hundred men who were Armenian thieves gathered together with the sons of KAZRÎG, the ARMENIANS, and they lay in ambush in the mountains of MELITENE, and plundered the country of GHÛBÔS and KĻÂWDÎÂ, and especially the monasteries. For they attacked the Monastery of SARGÎSÎÂ, and threw the bones of the martyrs about on the ground, and carried off the coffins. And from the village of SANGÎS, which is near the Monastery of MÂDÎK, they took grain worth eleven hundred *dînârs*, besides oxen and asses, and from the monastery they took five hundred *dînârs*. Then the governors of MELITENE decided to give them the unmeasured (uncultivated) lands of GHÛBÔS and KĻÂWDÎÂ. And they also sent to the king, and brought back a patent ordering that they were to have four villages and they were not to thief any more. But they, by reason of their wickedness, did not cease [to rob]. And they made up their minds to attack the Monastery of MÂR BAR ŞÂWMÂ, that is to say, to steal it and to entrench themselves in it. And at that moment suddenly a word of the TURKS came, saying that 'they were going to invade again the country of MELITENE'. And the men of KĻÂWDÎÂ fled to the monastery, and with them were ten Armenian thieves, and the remainder lay in ambush in the mountain, 'that in the night their companions might open [the monastery] to them, and they might camp there, and go in and take possession of it'. And when ÎWÂNNÎS (JOANNES), the monk and steward, perceived this, he took with [him] certain strong and bold men from TELL TÂWRÂ, the blessed village, who were living in the monastery, and they captured the ten [ARMENIANS], and in the night-time they hurled them from the rock on which the monastery [was built], without the archimandrite knowing anything about it. And when the day broke they were seen lying dead at the foot of the rock. And their companions heard [of it] and fled. And after a few days, when the monks and servants were coming from MELITENE to the monastery, the thieves fell upon them and killed three monks and two servants. And after these things the monks built in three years [244] two high towers, and thirty-two years later the new tower was built between the two other towers.

And in the year fourteen (*sic*) hundred and seventy-five [of the GREEKS = A.D. 1064] the blessed MÂR MICHAEL built the southern tower. And in the year . . . he built a horn to the upper fortress of the monastery.

And in the year four hundred and fifty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1066), KEMÛSHTAKÎN (GÛMÛSHTAKIN), the captain of the host of the TURKS, attacked EDESSA. And the Duke of EDESSA went out and met him, and he was conquered and was also made prisoner. And he ransomed himself with twenty



thousand *dinârs*, and went into EDESSA again. And KEMÛSH-TAKÎN became master over HÂRRÂN, and SERÛGH, and KÂLÔNÎKÔS. And then he turned back to come to Sûltân 'ALB 'ARSLÂN. And he came to KHÂLÂṬ, and being angry with one of the Amîrs who were with him, he killed him. And this Amîr had a brother whose name was 'AFSHÎN, and he rushed upon KEMÛSH-TAKÎN, who was drunk, and killed him. And he gathered together to himself an army of TURKS, and he turned and came to the country of ANTIOCH, taking captives and plundering. And in this year the daughter of the sister of PAḠRÂṬ, the king of the IBERIANS of 'ABKÂZ, was brought as a wife to Sûltân 'ALB 'ARSLÂN, and he made a nuptial feast for her in the city of HAMÂDÂN. And after a little he gave her a bill of repudiation (or, divorce), and betrothed her to one of the nobles.

And in the year four hundred and sixty of the ARABS (A.D. 1067), when the Patrician, an ARMENIAN, whose name was 'ARÎṢṬÂKÎS, went out from a certain fortress to another stronger fortress, having with him through [his] fear of the TURKS two hundred men, a certain Turkish Amîr whose name was SHIRWÂN SHÂH fell upon him. And the ARMENIANS because of their fear said, 'We are going to the Sûltân to become Muslims through him'. And thus they carried them in honour to the Sûltân. And though they were unwilling, they all became Muslims and were circumcised. And the Sûltân gave the Patrician each year twenty thousand *dinârs* as his salary. And afterwards they fled to INNER ARMENIA, and then returned to their Christian Faith. And CONSTANTINE the Duke, the king of the RHÔ-MÂÏÊ, being dead, ROMANUS, who is DIOGENES, reigned.

And in the year thirteen hundred and eighty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1069) he went forth into SYRIA with two hundred thousand horsemen, and he met an army of the MA'DÂÏÊ '*kûnîko*', that is to say Dog-men (*Kalbâyê*), and he conquered them and took [245] two fortresses, 'ÎM and 'ARTAH, from the ARABS. And the RHÔMÂÏÊ spread abroad as far as MABBÛGH, and many of the inhabitants thereof fled to ALEPPO. Now the hire of a camel from MABBÛGH to ALEPPO went up to eighty gold *dinârs*. And the RHÔMÂÏÊ made themselves masters of MABBÛGH, and they made a great slaughter therein. And they destroyed its wall. And out of its stones they built the old Citadel which is there now. And because the RHÔMÂÏÊ were very many, and because they could get no supplies from the place (i.e. locally), there was a very severe famine among the TURKS who were raiding the marches. A *lîṭrâ* of bread [cost] a *dînâr*, and six handfuls of barley [cost] a *dînâr*. And certain of the Dog-like MA'DÂÏÊ related the following: 'We slew one of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, and when we cut open his belly we found therein whole (undigested) grains of barley'. And when the report came to the king, saying, 'AFSHÎN, with [other] TURKS, hath invaded the territory of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, and he hath captured the city of 'AMÛRÎN, he set guards in the new Citadel which he hath built in MABBÛGH and returned to the territory of the RHÔMÂÏÊ'.



And in the year four hundred and sixty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1069) there was so great a famine in EGYPT that men ate each other. For in all EGYPT there remained no horses except the three which belonged to the Khalifah; as for all the other animals, horses, and mules, and asses, their owners had eaten them. And a dog was sold for five *dînârs* and ten *zûzê*. A *mathkâl* of onions was sold for one silver *zûzâ*. It is said that one day when the Wazîr had alighted from his mule, and gone in to the Khalifah, three men came and snatched the mule from the hands of his syce, and cut its throat and ate it. And when this act had been made known to the Khalifah, he commanded and those three men were impaled. And during the night other men came and took the three men off the posts, and they cut off slices from the fleshy parts of their bodies and departed. And when the day broke the bones of the three men which were stripped bare were found heaped together under the impaling posts. And the famine waxed strong, not only among the common folk, but in the palace also. And at length all the royal apparel and ornaments were sold for very small prices. For ten pearls, which weighed ten *mathkâls*, were sold for four hundred *dînârs*. In one of the cities of EGYPT, the name of which was TANNÎS (ŞÂN, the Biblical ZOAN), [246] a short time before [the famine] there were counted three hundred thousand men who [paid] the poll tax, and during the time of the famine fewer than one hundred souls were found in it.

And in the year four hundred and sixty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1070), which is the year thirteen hundred and eighty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1071), the Sûltân went against 'ARKESTÎÂ, that is the city of 'ARGÎSH, and captured it, and he made a great slaughter therein, and took a vast amount of spoil and sent [it] to KHÔRÂSÂN. And he did the same thing in the city of MÎNÂZGERD. And he went to MAIPERKÂT, which was on the side of the ARABS, and he took from the lord thereof more than one hundred thousand *dînârs*, and then passed on to 'ÂMID. And he drew nigh to its wall, and he passed his hand over it and then over his face, as if to be blessed by its strength. And he went to SABÂBARÔK, which was on the side of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and he took from them one thousand *dînârs* and left them. And from there he went and encamped against EDESSA, and he fought against it for many days, and was not able to capture it, but they cut down its trees and laid waste its gardens. And the EDESSENES undertook to give him fifty thousand *dînârs*, and [expected] him to depart from them. And when the Sûltân agreed, the EDESSENES said unto him, 'We cannot give thee anything until ye have burned the engines and the machines for siege attack, and all the [other] instruments of war. For we are afraid lest peradventure thou wilt deceive us, and take our gold and not stop fighting.' And the Sûltân believed them, and burnt the implements of war, and the EDESSENES treated him with contempt, and would give him nothing. And the Sûltân left them, and with a bitter (i.e. bilious) liver he crossed the EUPHRATES.



And an envoy of DIOGENES, the king of the RHÔMÂYE, came and said unto the Sûltân, 'If because of MABBÛGH thou didst remove thyself from thy country, and didst come [here], behold we will give thee MABBÛGH back again, and thou shalt restore to us 'ARGÎSH and MÎNÂZGERD, and we will also give to you each year the customary tribute'. And when the Sûltân, accepting [this proposal] restored [to them the country] as far as the city of KHÂLÂT, 'AFSHÎN sent and informed him, saying, 'Behold, I invaded the territory of the RHÔMÂYE, and have come forth with great loot, and there is not among the RHÔMÂYE any one who can meet us in battle'. And the Sûltân was encouraged, and he went back again into the territory of the RHÔMÂYE with such swift feet and such great joy that many of the camels which were loaded with his possessions perished on the road through the hurry of the journey.

Then 'AFSHÎN [247] continued to penetrate into the territory of the RHÔMÂYE until he encamped on the shore of the sea which flows by the wall of CONSTANTINOPLE; and he raided and looted and departed to MACEDONIA. And when he arrived at the country of SÎMNADÛ, the winter overtook him and much snow [fell]. And he sent to a certain Greek woman whose name was MÂRYÂM (MARY), and who was mistress over the Citadel of SÎMNADÛ, and asked from her permission for the troops of the TURKS to go into her city and villages to buy food for themselves. And she reluctantly gave the permission, but only after he threatened her that he would cut down the trees, and uproot the vines, and destroy the gardens in her country.

Then king DIOGENES collected a numerous force, and went forth from the quarter of ARMENIA with great splendour, and he came against MÎNÂZGERD. And he drove the Sûltân's men out from it, but he did not kill them, and he took possession of the city. When the Sûltân heard of [this] he turned his gaze to the territory of the RHÔMÂYE. And because the TURKS were few in number the Sûltân 'ALB 'ARSLÂN was afraid, and he sent an envoy to DIOGENES, a certain noble whose name was SÂWTAKÎN, that they might make peace and say to each other, 'we will go back each to his own country'. Now DIOGENES boasted himself, and said, 'Now that I have brought out my treasures, and collected all these troops, and the victory was mine, shall I go back? For you there is nothing with me except the sword.' Then God, praise be to His goodness! who bringeth low the arrogant, gave strength to the Sûltân. And he made ready his troops, and he addressed to them words of encouragement. And he cast the bow and the arrows from his hands, and he put on his armour, and took his shield and spear in his hand, and tied up the tail of his horse, and mounted [it]. And all the TURKS did likewise. And they charged the RHÔMÂYE on the sixth day of the week (Friday) at noon, at a place between KHÂLÂT and MÎNÂZGERD. And they cried out a mighty battle-cry, and rushed in among them. And



terror fell on the RHÔMÂYÊ, and after many of them had been killed they began to flee, and others were taken prisoners.

And at the time of evening a eunuch, whose name was KAHÂRYÂ, came from the Turkish nobles and said to the Sûltân, 'One of my slaves hath said that he hath made prisoner the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and that he is with him'. And when the horsemen were being counted the Amîr who was counting was contemptuous of that slave, and did not write down pay for him. And laughing at him [248] the Amîr said, 'Yes, this slave hath made the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ prisoner for us!' And by the nod of God, the word which was laughed at turned out to be an actual fact. Now although the Sûltân did not believe it, he did not persist in saying so, but he sent one of the young men whose name was 'SHÂDÎ', and who had often been with the envoys to the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ, to go and look at him (i.e. the prisoner). And when SHÂDÎ went and saw DIOGENES, he bowed himself down to the ground, and did homage to the king; and then he ran back to the Sûltân and reported that the prisoner was the king. And the Sultân gave orders quickly, and they pitched a great royal tent for DIOGENES and took him there. And they put iron fetters on his hands and round his neck, and set one hundred TURKS to keep guard over him.

And in the morning the Sûltân commanded and they brought DIOGENES before him, and with his own hands he smote him four buffets, and said unto him, 'How came it that thou didst not listen when I entreated thee for peace?' Then DIOGENES, because he was a wise and understanding man, spake words carefully chosen and arranged, and said, 'In all these things which are possible for a man, and which kings are bound to do, I have fallen short in nothing. But God hath fulfilled His Will. And now, do what thou wishest, and abandon recriminations.' Then the Sûltân said unto him, 'Inform me now forthwith what was thy intention (or, object) to do with me if I had fallen into thy hands?' And DIOGENES replied, 'Every evil thing [possible], for enemy doth not encounter an enemy except to do evil to him'. And the Sûltân said, 'Thou hast spoken the truth. If thou hadst answered in any way different from this I should not have believed thee. Now tell me further, What dost thou think I shall do with thee?' And the king replied, 'One of three things. Firstly, that thou mayest kill me. And secondly, that thou mayest make a show of me and haul me round about through thy dominions, so that every man may know and see thy victory. And thirdly, it is unnecessary for me to say it, for it is an imagination (or, expectation) due to delirium, and remote from anything which thou art likely to do.' And the Sûltân said, 'And why dost thou restrain thyself from saying it?' And DIOGENES replied, 'That thou shouldst send me back again to my royal city. And I would be to thee as one of thy Patricians, and when thou didst call me I would come, and when thou didst say unto me, "Do this", I would do it.' And the Sûltân replied, 'I



had no intention of doing anything except this third thing, for thou wast [249] in despair.'

And the Sûltân demanded from him ten thousand thousand *dînârs* so that he might ransom himself. And DIOGENES said, 'If I had the whole kingdom of the RHÔMÂYÊ to give, it would have been a little thing in comparison to that wherewith I myself shall profit. But from the time when I became king I have scattered freely the treasures of the kingdom of the RHÔMÂYÊ on the armies which I have commanded.' And DIOGENES was released, on the condition that he paid a thousand thousand *dînârs* for his ransom, and gave an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty thousand *dînârs*. And the Sûltân commanded, and they removed the iron fetters from him, and they seated him on his throne which had been carried off from him. And DIOGENES and the Sûltân ate and drank together. And the Sûltân demanded from him ANTIOCH, EDESSA, MABBÛGH, and MÎNÂZGERD which the RHÔMÂYÊ had taken from the ARABS. And DIOGENES replied, 'When I return to my kingdom do thou send an army and fight for them, and I will send to them [a message] that they must surrender. If I were to send now they would not hearken to me.' And DIOGENES said unto the Sûltân, 'If now thou art going to send me away, send me quickly, before the RHÔMÂYÊ can appoint [another] king, and do so immediately, even though I cannot fulfil one of these [stipulations].' And this actually took place.

And the Sûltân commanded, and he appointed to ride with him one hundred slaves and two Amîrs, and they were to go with him to CONSTANTINOPLE. And the Sûltân himself accompanied him for a distance of one parasang. And when he wished to go back DIOGENES wanted to alight, but the Sûltân adjured him not to alight. And thus riding side by side they kissed each other and separated.

Now I have found this history in two manuscripts, [one] Arabic and [one] Persian. But the blessed MÂR MICHAEL wrote, 'The son of the sister of the Sûltân captured the king, and another TURK came and killed the Sûltân's nephew, and took the king, so that the merit of the capture might be his.' And when the Sûltân asked DIOGENES, 'What didst thou intend to do with me if I fell into thy hands?' DIOGENES replied, 'I should have wished to burn you in the fire'. Now it is evident that such a vulgar thing as this would never be said by one king to another. Moreover, it would have been impossible for the TURK to have killed the Sûltân's nephew, and to pluck the king from his hands. For he would have been afraid [250] that he would be discovered, even by the king himself.

Now when the YÂWNÂYÊ (GREEKS) heard that DIOGENES had been captured, they appointed as their king MICHAEL, the son of CONSTANTINE. And this king took his mother, now she was the wife of DIOGENES, and forced her to live in a nunnery. And İWANÎ, his uncle, became his Kısarios (Caesarius, i.e. Deputy or second in command). Now when DIOGENES



entered the territory of the RHÔMÂÏÊ and heard what had taken place, he went up to the fortress of DÛËÎÂ, and found therein two hundred thousand *dînârs*, and he sent them to the Sûltân with those two Amîrs who had escorted him, and informed him about the matter. And he attired himself in the garb of monkhood, and sat down in DÛËÎÂ. And he sent to MICHAEL and said, 'Up to the present I have fought a triumphant fight on behalf of the Faith of the Christians, and it is sufficient for me. As for thee, blessed be thy kingdom. And thou hast done well in that thou art king (or, dost reign), for it was right for thee. But as regards the Faith (or, Belief), I advise thee not to dissolve the peace which I have made with the Sûltân, and if thou dost not [accept my advice] there will be no rest, neither for thee nor for the Christians.' And MICHAEL thanked him and said, 'I shall not depart from thy advice'.

Now after some days certain men worked upon him, and he sent [a letter] to DIOGENES and said to him, 'If thou art in truth a monk, why hast thou a dwelling-place which is in a fortress? It is right for thee to go down to one of the monasteries, so that we may send guards (i.e. a garrison) into the fortress.' Then was DIOGENES wroth, and he said, 'Of all the kingdom of the RHÔMÂÏÊ there is not even one fortress which he would leave me!' And he rose up and stripped off the woollen garments [of a monk] and borrowed some apparel from the merchants of DÛËÎÂ, and collected an army. And when BAR SANËIRÎB, the Patrician of LESSER ARMENIA, came to him, he seized him and gouged out his eyes, and took from him eighty gold centenarii. And he increased in power greatly and he came to MELITENE. And he sent to the Sûltân 'ALB 'ARSLÂN and asked him for help. And the Sûltân promised him that he would go in person and help him wherever there was cause for it.

And after these things DIOGENES departed from MELITENE to CILICIA. And ÎWANÎ (JOANNES) attacked him, and captured him in the city of 'ADÂNÂ. And having taken him he sent and informed MICHAEL the king. Then MICHAEL commanded, saying, 'Thou shalt not harm him, but with care bring him here to us, so that we may make him settle in a [251] monastery. When DIOGENES came near to CONSTANTINOPLE, ÎWANÎ (JOANNES) treated his eyes with *kohl* and blinded him, and DIOGENES hit his head against a wall until he died. And the king and the nobles were offended with ÎWANÎ (JOANNES) because he had done this without the command of the king.

And in this year the FRANKS took SICILY from the ARABS, for the governor [of the island] sold it; thus he acted treacherously towards the Khalîfah of EGYPT, to whom it belonged.

And in the year four hundred and sixty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1072) 'ALB 'ARSLÂN died, and his son MÂLIK SHÂH succeeded him. Now his death took place in this wise: whilst SHAMS AL-MÛLK, the son of ẖABÂJÂG, was khân of BÛKHÂRÂ, and SAMARCAND, and the rest of the countries beyond the river GÎHÔN, WÎLYÂS, the son of 'ALB 'ARSLÂN, reigned over KHÂWÂRAZM. These two quarrelled with each other. And the son of ẖABÂJÂG attacked his wife,



who was the daughter of the Sûltân, and he killed her with the sandals of his feet, saying, 'Thou art not my wife, but a spy upon me. And thou stirrest up thy brother to come and lay waste my countries.' Now when the Sûltân heard that his daughter had been killed, he was furiously angry and collected his troops and crossed the river. And when he encamped against a certain Citadel, the governor of whom was a native of KHÂWÂRAZM, he made war upon him. And he deceived the native of KHÂWÂRAZM with promises, and brought him down, and he commanded them to tie his hands and his feet to four stakes, and to shoot at him with arrows. Then the native of KHÂWÂRAZM in his rage reviled the Sûltân and said, 'O thou poltroon (or, coward), is it in this way that thou killest those who are like myself?' Then the Sûltân, with his blood boiling, said, 'Let him go free, so that I may shoot him when he is unfettered, and I will kill him'. And when they set him free the Sûltân shot an arrow at him, but it did not reach him. And the native of KHÂWÂRAZM leaped upon the Sûltân, and smote him in his back with a knife which he found there. Then one of the eunuchs threw himself on the Sûltân, and the native of KHÂWÂRAZM left the Sûltân, and began to stab the eunuch with the knife. Then one of the ARMENIANS who were pitching the tents came and smote the native of KHÂWÂRAZM on his head and killed him. Now the Sûltân lived a few days and then died of the wound, and he was carried to MARW (MERV) and was buried [252] by the side of his father JAGHRÎ BÂG, after he had made a will [in which he decreed] that his son MÂLIK SHÂH should reign in his stead, and that the Amîr KÂRÛTH BÂG, his brother, should take KHÂTÛN, his wife, to wife; and that SHÎRÂZ should be his country (or, place), besides those fortresses which should be rightly under the command of the Sûltân.

Then when KÂRÛTH (KÂÛRATH) BÂG, who had been expecting the death of his brother for a long time, heard that he was dead, he rose up hurriedly from KERMÂN, and went down into the sea in the time of winter, and came to SHÎRÂZ. And he went forth to KHÔRÂSÂN and he collected an army in order to meet in battle MÂLIK SHÂH his brother's son. Then MÂLIK SHÂH made ready to fight against his uncle, and God gave him the victory and he conquered, and he bound his uncle in fetters and killed him, and his sons he blinded. Two of them, the youngest, died, and three of them lived [and were] blind, viz. SÛLTÂN SHÂH, and TÛRKÂN SHÂH, and WÂRDÂN SHÂH. And if [any one of these] remained in his country honour similar to that which was paid to the Sûltân his brother was to be paid to him.

And in the year four hundred and sixty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1073), which is the year thirteen hundred and eighty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1073), violent rains came from the month of the LATTER TESHİRİN (NOVEMBER) to the twenty-fourth day of the month of SHĒBHÂT (FEBRUARY). And the rivers overflowed, and the waters poured forth from the houses of Baghdâd, bursting through the earth and flowing out, and many great



buildings were overthrown, and the people fled to the Western Quarter. And the waters entered the quarter of the Khalîfah by the Gate of the NÛBAH, that is to say, of the Nubian eunuchs who were the guardians of that Gate. And the eunuchs, and the handmaidens, and all those who lived in the houses of that quarter fled. Now at that time there were fifteen hundred houses in that quarter, and the inhabitants swam out, and went by the northern side and took refuge in the houses of the common folk. And when the waters rose up under the bed of the Khalîfah he fled to the door, but could not find his way out. And a eunuch carried him out and placed him in a boat; and thus they did with his wives; and also with such goods as they were able to save from being submerged. And the Khalîfah put on the tunic of their Prophet, and took the rod in his hand as if he could stay the inrush of the waters, and it did no good whatsoever. And many remained in the shallow boats for days without food, and the Khalîfah himself was for two days unable to find anything to eat. [253] And in like manner the Wazîr remained in a boat for two days lying on a plank without food. And in the desert also the waters prevailed and many of the MA'DÂYÊ (NOMADS) were drowned. It is related that when the waters (i.e. the flood) came one wretched man mounted his wife on one horse, and his daughter on another, and he rode a third. And the waters came on and overtook the two women, and they fell from [their horses] and were drowned. The man himself ran to a tree and climbed up it, and abandoned the horse; and he remained there for several days before the waters subsided. And the lions and the buffaloes were seen together on the top of the hills, with the waters surrounding them, and being utterly stupefied they did not harm each other.

And in the year four hundred and sixty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1074) the Khalîfah KÂÎM died of the disease *angina* at dawn on the fifth day of the week (Thursday), on the thirteenth day of the month SHA'BÂN, at the age of seventy-five years. He was green (or, yellowish-green) in colour, because [he ate] too many figs (?) with his food.

After him rose his son who was called MÛKTADÎ. On this night (i.e. the night of his death), the fear of death was upon him, according to the opinion of the astrologers. For ARÎS the lord, his rising was in SCORPIO; in the night he went down to GEMINI, his house of death, by the diameter of KRONOS, which was in SAGITARIUS, and both made a *tetragônîsâ* (right angle) with the Zodiacal Sign PISCES, which is the Sign of the Zodiac of the completion of the year.

After KÂÎM, MÛKTADÎ his son ruled nineteen years and five months. And in the year of the ARABS four hundred and sixty-eight (A.D. 1075), the ARABS took the new Citadel of MABBÛGH from the RHÔMÂYÊ; and the greater number of the eight years during which the RHÔMÂYÊ were in it they were imprisoned by the ARABS.

And after one year a great war broke out in SYRIA between the troops of



the TURCOMANS and the EGYPTIANS, and famine and pestilence clung close to the operation, especially in DAMASCUS, for with the exception of an exceedingly small number, all its inhabitants perished. Only three thousand souls remained in it, whereas formerly the population had been three hundred thousand. There were only two bakers, whereas formerly there had been two hundred and forty. And a quarter (or, mansion) which had been bought for three thousand *dînârs* could have been bought for one *dînâr*, and there was no one to buy. And there was very little food, and the mice (or, rats) increased over men because of the lack of weasels which had already been eaten up. [254] There was a woman in the city who possessed two mansions, the one was bought for three hundred *dînârs*, and the other for four hundred *dînârs*. And because of the damage done by the mice, she sold one of them for seven *zûzê*, and with them she bought a cat.

And in the year four hundred and seventy of the ARABS (A.D. 1077), which is the year thirteen hundred and eighty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1078), MICHAEL was governing the kingdom of the RHÔMÂÏÊ in a feeble manner. This was caused by a disease of the kidneys (retention of urine?) which had attacked him; he sat in the palace and devoted himself to the physicking of his body, and he was wholly incapable of holding any intercourse whatever with any man. Then did a certain man called NICEPHORUS BOTANICUS rebel against him. This man was at one time a husbandman, and he rose step by step and ruled first over the ISLAND OF CYPRUS, and then over ANTIOCH. Then he was deprived of his authority (or, dominion), and behold he became poverty stricken. He was akin to a certain Amîr of the race of the SALJÛKS whose name was 'KATLAMÎSH', the son of YABÂGHÛ 'ARSLÂN, the son of SALJÛK, who had fled from Sûltân 'ALB 'ARSLÂN, and had taken refuge in the dominions of the RHÔMÂÏÊ. And they besieged CONSTANTINOPLE for four months. And there was so great a famine that two bread cakes were sold for one *dînâr*, and a cock for a *dînâr*, and fifteen eggs for a *dînâr*. And the pestilence followed on the heels of the famine.

One of the men who removed the dead and took them into the sanctuary which was in the great church, and brought the bodies from the naos when it was full, and cast them into the sea, by way of the gate which was by the sea, this man I say related that for every dead person they carried they received one obolus, and that in four months they received one hundred and sixty thousand oboli. The present chronographer (i.e. BAR HEBRAEUS) saith that it is incredible that such a vast sum as this [can have been given], but according to what I have heard so have I written.

And when the Patriarch and the nobles saw that MICHAEL was not able to vanquish the besiegers, they opened the gates, and surrendered the city to NICEPHORUS. And when he entered in MICHAEL went forth openly carrying the crown in his hand, and he said unto NICEPHORUS, 'Take [this], and withhold the sword from the people; and if thou hadst asked me I would



have given it [to thee] without war. And he gave orders that he was to be shaved, and having become a monk, and refrained from the eating of flesh, he was healed of his sickness; and he ended his life as a monk in a monastery.

Then NICEPHORUS castrated the two sons of MICHAEL [255] and took his wife to wife. And he was despised by every man, and goodness departed from him and fear fell upon him. And he sat down in his palace, and never went out to war. Then Sûltân MÂLIK SHÂH sent BÛRSÛK, his servant, with an army to bring back KATLAMÎSH. And when he drew nigh to the temple of CONSTANTINOPLE, he sent to NICEPHORUS and asked him to deliver up to him KATLAMÎSH. And NICEPHORUS said, 'It is not in conformity with our Faith to deliver up the man who hath taken refuge with us, even though we all perish. But behold, this is before thee: if thou canst take him, take him.'

Then KATLAMÎSH and BÛRSÛK met each other [in battle]. And as very many of the TURKS on both sides were killed, BÛRSÛK sent to KATLAMÎSH and said unto him, 'Why should the TURKS perish betwixt me and thee? But let us two meet each other in battle, and he who conquereth the other shall be master of all of them. And when KATLAMÎSH agreed to his [proposition], BÛRSÛK acted craftily, and he dressed one of his slaves in his apparel and armour, and mounted him upon his own horse, and he sent him forth against KATLAMÎSH, and he himself stood up, with twenty horsemen, like one who was gazing at a theatrical spectacle. And when the slave and KATLAMÎSH were fighting together, KATLAMÎSH smote the slave a blow, and hurled him from his horse, and he dismounted to cut off his head. Then BÛRSÛK and those who were with him leaped upon him and killed him. And KATLAMÎSH being killed in this treacherous manner, BÛRSÛK was able to flatter (i.e. persuade) only a very few men to carry [the news?] to the Sûltân. And the remainder, who were very many, cleaved to SÛLAIMÂN, the son of KATLAMÎSH, and they departed from the territory of the RHÔMÂÏÊ, and went and captured the cities on the sea coast, viz. ANTARADOS and TARSÔS, in the year four hundred and seventy-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1082), and subsequently SÛLAIMÂN made himself master of ANTIOCH.

And in the year four hundred and seventy-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1083) SHARÂF AD-DÂWLÂH, the son of KURAISH, took HÂRRÂN, and he impaled KRÂŞÎ who ruled over it. And in the year which is the year thirteen hundred and ninety-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1083), on the twenty-third day of the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER), PÎLARDÔS, the ARMENIAN, took EDESSA from the TURKS, and of him we will speak a little later. [256]

Now NICEPHORUS having reigned in a contemptible manner for two years, and the affairs of the kingdom having gone to ruin, a certain captain of the host whose name was ALEXIS COMENINUS made a secret agreement with the nobles, and they went to a convenient place outside CONSTAN-



TINOPLE, and proclaimed him king. And they returned quickly to the city, and no man stood up against them. And ALEXIS went in to the palace, and NICEPHORUS went out, and he was rewarded according to what he had done, and he had his fill of disgrace and contempt.

And in the year four hundred and seventy-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1084), BAR MARWÂN was ruling from MÂWŞIL to the banks of the EUPHRATES; he placed his confidence in the armies of the MA'DÂYÊ, and was not as submissive to the Sûltân as it was proper for him to be. Then the Sûltân MÂLIK SHÂH sent to the Amîr 'ARTÛK [commanding him] to collect the armies of the TURCOMANS, and to be ready for war. When BAR MARWÂN heard this, he sent to SHARÂF AD-DÂWLÂH, the son of KURAISH, the great Amîr of the MA'DÂYÊ, [asking him] to come to his help. And they gathered together and came to the neighbourhood of 'ÂMID; and 'ARTÛK also came. And when SHARÂF AD-DÂWLÂH saw the great number of the TURCOMANS he sent to 'ARTÛK and said, 'I am the servant of the Sûltân, and this BAR MARWÂN is also, and why this quarrel? But I ask you to go back, and I will go back, and there shall be peace.' Now although 'ARTÛK agreed to that, the TURCOMANS were angry, and they murmured, saying, 'Do ye wish to turn back empty and without spoil?' And at midnight they mounted their horses, and when the day broke they attacked the MA'DÂYÊ and killed many [of them], and the rest fled. And as no other hope remained to SHARÂF AD-DÂWLÂH, he fled to 'ÂMID, to BAR MARWÂN. And the TURCOMANS went to the tents of the MA'DÂYÊ and plundered them, and made the women and children prisoners, and [captured their] goods. And they tied ropes round the necks of the Amîrs of the MA'DÂYÊ whom they overtook, and brought them before the wall of 'ÂMID, and they sold the [best of them] for ten *dînârs* each, and the inferior Amîrs for less than five *dînârs*. And a fine ARAB horse was sold for five *dînârs*, and a camel for one *dînâr*, and an ass for five *zûzê*, and a sheep for half a *zûzâ*. And they broke more than ten thousand spears, and burnt them under the cooking pots. And when dissension broke out among the TURCOMANS, [257] they left 'ÂMID and departed. And SHARÂF AD-DÂWLÂH went forth and departed to CALONICUS.

At this time when the kingdom of the YÂWNÂÏÊ (GREEKS) had become enfeebled, and the TURKS were seizing countries everywhere, a number of ARMENIANS, who were brave and bold men, banded themselves together, and formed themselves into a gang of about fifty men; and they also went into [the territory of the RHÔMÂÏÊ] and robbed and plundered. And when they were in the country of MAR'ÂSH, a certain young man, who was also an ARMENIAN, and whose name was PÎLARDÔS, met them. And when they saw that he was strong and cunning, and bold in looting and killing, they took him with them, and he became their leader and chief. And they began and stole (i.e. seized) certain strongholds in the country of CILICIA, and they became a numerous band.



And when the king of the RHÔMÂYÊ heard [this] he sent gifts to him. And PÎLARDÔS himself went to CONSTANTINOPLE, and the GREEKS rejoiced in him, and they gave him gold, and weapons of war, and appointed him SEBASTUS. And he went forth and reigned over CILICIA and ANTIOCH, and he became mighty and also captured MAR'ÂSH, and KHÎSHÛM, and RA'BÂN, and EDESSA, and the country of the river GÎHÔN and MELITENE. And there were also in his own army and with him men who were PERSIANS and TURKS, and ARMENIANS. And because he was very unjust he laid his hand on the princes of ANTIOCH, and took their riches and divided them among the troops who were with him. And because of this the men of ANTIOCH hated him, and he also hated them. And he appointed as governor over them a PERSIAN whose name was 'ISMA'ÎL', and he left the city and departed. Then when SÛLAIMÂN, the son of KATLAMÎSH, who was killed in the royal city, as we have already said, heard that PÎLARDÔS had turned aside, he made ready ships for himself, for he had already taken ANTARADUS and TARSÔS, and he attacked ANTIOCH on the side of the mountain, and made himself master of it; and the Persian governor gave him help.

And he opened the great church of KAWSYÂNÂ (i.e. MÂR CASSIANUS, the Martyr), and he took from it the furniture and curtains, and the vessels of gold and silver and the rest of the objects which had been deposited therein by the citizens, a vast quantity, and he made the church into a Mosque. And he proclaimed peace in the city, and suspended the sword, and he prohibited the TURKS from entering the house of any of the Christians, and also from taking their daughters, even by betrothal. And they were not to send out [258] any of the loot which they had taken from ANTIOCH, but were to sell it again in the city, even though they received a very low price for it. And he made happy the hearts of the inhabitants of ANTIOCH; and the governor surrendered the fortress to him, and he reigned [there]. And the inhabitants of ANTIOCH were very much more pleased with him than with PÎLARDÔS, who was nominally a Christian.

And SÛLAIMÂN, the son of KATLAMÎSH, again invaded the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ, and he captured NICAEA, and NICOMEDIA, and ICONIUM, and he set over them KÊLÎJ 'ARSLÂN his son, and he returned and came to ANTIOCH. Over SEBASTIA, and CAESARAEA, and PONTUS there ruled a certain Amîr whose name was ISMÂ'ÎL, the son of D'ÂNISHMAND, and that country is called after his name to this day, 'the country of D'ÂNISHMAND'.

These things took place in the year four hundred and seventy-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1084), which is the year thirteen hundred and ninety-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1085), in the month of the LATTER TESHÎN (NOVEMBER). And in this year SHARÂF AD-DÂWLÂH took SAMOSATA from the ARMENIANS, and the uncle of the son of KATLAMÎSH took the country of MELITENE. And in the year four hundred and seventy-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1085), SHARÂF AD-DÂWLÂH collected the troops of the MA'DÂYÊ and attacked



ANTIOCH, and SÛLAIMÂN, the son of ẸATLAMÎSH, sallied out and engaged him in battle; and the MA'DÂYÊ were broken and SHARÂF AD-DÂWLÂH himself was killed in the battle. Then 'ARTÛḲ, who, as we have said, conquered the MA'DÂYÊ by 'ÂMID, perceiving that the intention of the Sûltân MÂLIK SHÂH was changed in respect of him, marched off with his company to go to SYRIA. And when he arrived at MÂWṢIL, the Sûltân sent to him two of the nobles together with royal apparel, and a horse, and a Patent of authority, with five thousand *dînârs*, so that he might rejoice his heart and return to him. But he would not be persuaded, and said, 'Thou art an enemy of mine in the service of the Sûltân, and I know that thou wilt not allow his mind to be sincere with me. And behold, I am going to attack SÛLAIMÂN, the son of ẸATLAMÎSH, and I will not permit him to go forth and destroy in the countries of the Sûltân.' And they were pleased thus, and they left him and went back.

And in this year there was a great pestilence in PERSIA, and in SEN'ÂR, and in SYRIA, and many villages were entirely depopulated. For a man when standing up would [suddenly] totter and fall down dead. And for the most part the fatal sickness did not prolong itself beyond six days. [259] One of the Turkish horsemen related the following: 'I passed by a door in MÛḤAWÂL, a village by the side of BAGHDÂD, and behold there was a little girl by the door who was weeping and saying, "Who will deliver me from death and take me? For behold, it (i.e. death) hath entered our house and killed my father, and my mother, and my brothers, and my sisters." And when I went in I counted nine dead people in that house. And I was afraid, and I left [the house] and fled, but compassion for the girl awoke in me, and when I went back to take her away, I found that she had fallen on her mother's breast and was dead.'

And on the twenty-seventh day of the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER) of this year, which was the year thirteen hundred and ninety-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1085), a black wind blew in BAGHDÂD, and darkened the air, and a dense [cloud of] dust was raised up between the earth and the sky, and it moved through the air like a great mountain. And a great many men and cattle, and even the wild beasts in the desert, died. And ruffians went into the baths and carried off their furnishings, and they also looted the bazârs. And many ships were sunk.

And in the year four hundred and seventy-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1086) war broke out between the Amîr 'ARTÛḲ BÂG and SÛLAIMÂN, the son of ẸATLAMÎSH, the lord of ANTIOCH. And SÛLAIMÂN himself was killed in the war. It is said that when he saw that his party was broken he killed himself with a knife. And it was found to be even so, for he was discovered lying on the ground and there was a knife fixed in his belly. Now when the Sûltân heard that SÛLAIMÂN was killed, he transferred himself from KHÔRÂSÂN to SYRIA. And the Amîr 'ARTÛḲ went to JERUSALEM, and he



placed his men and the members of his household in the Tower of DAVID, the king, and he made his forces strong therein. And when the Sûltân arrived at EDESSA, which was on the side of PÎLARDÔS, the inhabitants surrendered it to him easily. And PÎLARDÔS, because he perceived the hatred which the men of EDESSA bore towards him, set out to go to KHÔRÂSÂN, to the Sûltân. And as the Sûltân came by another road, he did not meet him in PERSIA, but he turned back and came and overtook him in BÊTH NAHRÎN, after he had taken EDESSA; and he promised to pay him tribute, and to proclaim the Khalîfah and the Sûltân. And he became a Muslim by the hands of the Sûltân, and he was circumcised, and became sick; and he travelled with the camp of the Sûltân during [his] expeditions. And because the men of EDESSA hated him, [260] he did not give him EDESSA again, but MAR'ÂSH. And there that wretched man went and sat down for a certain time, and he perished. And they say that he believed once again in Christ, and that he died a Christian.

And from EDESSA the Sûltân went to KAL'ÂH JA'BÂR, where there was a band of highway robbers. And when they went out to fight with the TURKS, three of the TURKS scaled the wall on the other side, where no man thought there was a place which could be scaled, and they cried out the name of the Sûltân. And when the robbers heard the voice they were astonished, and their hands dropped down helplessly, and the TURKS seized them and killed their chief JA'BÂR. Now the wife of this man was a woman of great strength, and she threw herself down from the wall, and the wind rushed in under her cloak and let her come down gently on the ground, and she was unhurt. And when they carried her to the Sûltân, and he asked her why she had done this, she replied, 'I wished to die, and no man other than my husband shall ever have dominion over me'. And he asked her whence she came. And she said, 'I am a woman of DAMASCUS'. And the Sûltân commanded, and they set her on a beast and carried her to her kinsfolk. And from there the Sûltân went to ALEPPO and ANTIOCH, and he took possession of them. And he turned and came to BAGHDÂD because of the scarcity [of food] and the famine which prevailed in SYRIA. And he gave his daughter to the Khalîfah to wife. And from there he went to KHÔRÂSÂN. And the Amîr BÛZÂN was appointed chief of EDESSA and MELITENE, and 'ÂKSENKÛR ('ÂGH-SENKÛR (?) [was appointed] over ALEPPO.

And in the year four hundred and eighty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1092) the Sûltân came from KHÔRÂSÂN to BAGHDÂD. And there was strife between him and the Khalîfah because he asked the Khalîfah to proclaim that the son who was born of the Sûltân's daughter should be Khalîfah after him. And when the Khalîfah excused himself, the Sûltân sent him a message saying, 'Then get thee forth from BAGHDÂD'. And the Khalîfah replied, 'I will fulfil thy command, but wait ten days for me until I have prepared myself for departure'. And on the ninth day the Sûltân had fever, a con-



suming burning fever, and he died. And it is said that KHURDÎK, his slave, made him drink poison. Now TÛRKÂN KHÂTÛN, his wife, because she was a woman of intelligence, administered the affairs of the kingdom, and her son MAHMÛD, the son of [261] MÂLIK SHÂH, was proclaimed Sûltân in BAGHDÂD, when he was five years old. Concerning his intelligence it is related that when the Khalîfah sent [his men] and they arrayed the boy in royal apparel, and seated him on the throne, he stretched out neither a hand nor a foot, and he did not move his eyes, and he neither bent himself nor salaamed, and not one of his members did he move. And his manner of sitting was so much like that of a stone (or, rock) that every man marvelled at him.

And TÛRKÂN KHÂTÛN took her son the Sûltân MAHMÛD and went to IŞFÂHÂN. Now certain other TURKS gathered together and they brought out another son of Sûltân MÂLIK SHÂH, who was born of the daughter of his uncle—now his name was TÛRKÿÂRÛK—and they made him king over them. And he had with him ten thousand [men], and with MAHMÛD his brother there were twenty thousand. And when they met each other, the nobles of MAHMÛD acted treacherously, and they passed over to the side of TÛRKÿÂRÛK, and were with (i.e. they sided with) him. Also TÂJ AD-DÂWLÂH TATÂSH, the brother of Sûltân MÂLIK SHÂH, reigned over MÂWŞIL, and NISIBIS, and MAIPERKÂT, and over SYRIA and DAMASCUS. And he came to 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN, and the Sûltân TÛRKÿÂRÛK, his brother's son, went to meet him, and they interviewed each other in the country of TÂBRÎZ, in a village, the name of which was 'SA'ÎDÂBÂD', and TATÂSH returned to DAMASCUS, and the Amirs 'AĶSENĶÛR and BÛZÂN went into the service of TÛRKÿÂRÛK. And TÛRKÿÂRÛK himself went to BAGHDÂD, and he was received by the Khalîfah, who arrayed him in royal apparel, and wrote a Patent of authority for him, and proclaimed him Sûltân.

And in the year four hundred and eighty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1094), when the Khalîfah MÛKTADÎ was reclining at his table and was eating a roasted cock, hallucinations came to him. And he said unto the hand-maiden who was standing before him, 'What are these [men] who have come upon us without command?' And she turned herself round and saw no man. And she replied to him, and then she saw that he had fallen backwards and that he was dead before he could wash his hands. In this wise he died suddenly, and his son MÛSTATHËR rose up after him.

After MÛKTADÎ, MÛSTATHËR, his son, [ruled] twenty-five years and five months. And in this year TÛRKÂN KHÂTÛN, the mother of Sûltân MAHMÛD, died. This woman was courageous and wise, [262] and she was descended from 'APDÂSYÂB, the first king of the HUNS. Her father was TAPRAGH, king of the KHAZÂRÂYÊ (or, KHARZÂYÊ). And only 'IŞFÂHÂN remained with her son.

And after a little Sûltân TÛRKÿÂRÛK went to 'IŞFÂHÂN with only a few of his troops. And the nobles of his brother Sûltân MAHMÛD shut the gates in his face; later they decided that they would let him come in and lay



hands upon him. And when they opened [the gates] and he went in, and had lived there for one day, a violent fever attacked his brother MAḤMŪD, and in his day he died, being seven years old. And the nobles made their peace with TŪRKYÂRŪḲ, and they made him king over 'IṢFÂHÂN.

And in the year four hundred and eighty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1095), which is the year fourteen hundred and six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1095), KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, the son of SŪLAIMÂN, the Sûltân of ICONIUM, came and encamped against MELITENE, and made war upon it. Then a certain chief minister who was with the Sûltân approached as an ambassador [from him] and wished to talk with the holy man of the city; that is to say with SA'ÎD BAR-ṢÂBŪNÎ, who was called MÂR JOHN of his Liturgies (?), a holy and marvellously learned man. And when the holy man drew nigh by the command of GABRIEL, an accursed GREEK (YAWNÂYÂ) and the governor of the city, that minister said unto him in the Syriac language, 'The Sûltân saith unto you: Ye must surrender the city, and he will do good things for you (i.e. treat you handsomely). If ye will not, he will take it with the sword, and God will require from you your own blood and the blood of all the people.' The holy man replied, 'Talk not foolishly. No man is able to capture this city—by God's might! For there is bread enough in it for ten years, the waters flow through and out of it, and the soldiers, who are mighty men of war, in it are many, as thou seest.' And whilst the holy man was saying these things, that accursed GABRIEL was standing behind him listening.

And when the minister departed, the holy man said unto GABRIEL, 'Behold, thou didst hear, my lord, the things which I said. It is better for us to make this Sûltân to pass us by with peaceful words and gifts, so that he may go away from us, because thou seest in what tribulation we are placed, the rich [263] and the poor [alike].' Then this accursed governor felt a bitter feeling in his heart against the holy man, and after one day he commanded one of the soldiers that he must be killed. And the holy man ran to him to make supplication, and he found him riding between the two walls. And when the accursed one saw the holy man, he became furiously angry, and reviled him, and smote him with the spear which was in his hand and killed him. And after two days the believers were able to take possession of him, and they prepared him for burial and buried him in the great church. And when the Sûltân heard of the arrival of the FRANKS, he left [the place] and departed.

And in the year four hundred and eighty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1095), which is the year fourteen hundred and seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1096), the astrologers concluded that a flood similar to that which took place in the days of NOAH was about to come. And the Khalîfah MŪSTATHER called BAR 'ÎSÂN the astronomer, and asked him whether this was so. And the astronomer said unto him, 'In the days of NOAH the Seven Wandering



Stars (i.e. the Planets) were gathered together in the Sign of the Zodiac PISCES, and that great flood took place. And this year CHRONOS alone is not in PISCES, and if he was side by side with them, it is very possible that a flood like that [of NOAH] might take place. Yea, I myself declare that in a certain country there will be gathered together many peoples from many countries, and they will all be lost in the waters.' And after some days the report arrived that a mighty storm had come upon those who were going to worship in MAKKAH, and that all of them were drowned. And in this year, when GABRIEL the GREEK was ruling in MELITENE, he killed by means of a deadly poison a man whose name was 'ABÛ SÂLIM, an orthodox prince and kinsman of the children of 'ABÛ 'ÎMRÂN. And a year later that accursed man killed the believing and God-fearing merchants BAR ŞÂWMÂ BAR-DAIRAITÂ, and his two sons, and BASIL of HÂWÂ and the martyr-deacon of TIANṬÎNÎ. And he took from their houses, and from [the house] of 'ABÛ MANŞÛR BAR-MALKÂ, gold, and silver, and furniture, and from the church of the holy man, crosses, and censers, and a box of MÛRÔN oil, and all the curtains and furniture, and he destroyed their houses. And he built the fortress and the wall.

### The History of the Crusades

And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1097), two Frankish kings, and seven Counts, sallied forth, and they came against ANTIOCH and took it from [264] the TURKS. The reason for their expedition was as follows: When the TURCOMANS were ruling over SYRIA, and PALESTINE, and all the [other] countries, they made the Christians who were coming to pray in JERUSALEM to suffer very many serious evils, and especially those who were coming from ROME (RHÔMÎ) and other countries of ITALY. Then the FRANKS became filled with rage, and they collected troops, and went forth first of all to SPAIN, and they took possession of the cities there and they shed much blood in them. And they cut off the ears, and noses, and lips of many of the ARABS, and they blinded their eyes. Then they came against CONSTANTINOPLE, and because ALEXIS, the king of the GREEKS (YÂWNÂÏÊ), would not grant them a passage, they made war on the city for seven years. Then they went forth and came and encamped against ANTIOCH, and they made war on it for nine months, but they were unable to capture it. And they made a secret arrangement with the PERSIAN whose name was 'RÛZBAH', who guarded the tower which was by the side of the ravine which is called 'KASHKARÛF', and they promised [to give] him gold, and iron poles were laid across this ravine, and upon them a tower was built. And the FRANKS came by night and went in by that place, and others by means of ropes scaled the wall. And when there were many of them in number they blew blasts on the horns during the last watch of the night.



And the Turkish governor, whose name was GÂISGÂN, being woke up, thought that the FRANKS were in possession of the Citadel, and fear and trembling fell upon him. And he opened the gate of the city and fled along the ALEPPO road with thirty men. And when the day dawned he began to gnaw his fingers, saying, 'How was it that I left the city, and my men, and my family, and my possessions, and came away?' And he turned and looked towards ANTIOCH, weeping. And by reason of the greatness of his sorrow he fell from his horse. And those who were with him having lifted him up upon his horse several times, and he continuing to fall, they left him and departed.

And there came along a certain man who was an ARMENIAN, who was a wood-cutter in the mountain, and he cut off the head of GÂISGÂN and carried it to the FRANKS. And the FRANKS, having gained possession of the city, plundered the ARABS and the TURKS who were in it, and they killed many of them. And BAIMÔND (BOEMUNDUS), [265] one of the Counts who were with them, ruled over it (i.e. the city). And the FRANKS remained in it for thirteen days, without finding anything to eat, and many ate their horses. And when Sûltân TÛRKÛRÛK heard [of this] he sent one hundred thousand horsemen to ANTIOCH, and they came and encamped on the BAGHRÂS. And one of the kings of the FRANKS saw a dream. And they opened a certain place in the church of MÂR CASSIANUS, and they found there some splinters of the Cross of our Lord, and they made out of them a cross, and the head of a spear, and they took them and went forth against the TURKS. And God gave victory to the FRANKS and they filled (i.e. covered) the ground with the slain.

And they came and encamped against the city of MÛ'ÂRÂH, and took possession of it. And they killed more than one hundred thousand souls, and having remained in it for forty days, they carried off a vast quantity of spoil. And from there they went to the MOUNT OF LEBANON, and they killed therein a great multitude of those who are called 'NÛŞÎRÂÏ'. And they came and encamped against 'ARÛÂ, which is by the side of TRIPOLI, and they fought against it four months, but were unable to capture it. And they left it and departed to SHAIZÂR, and BAR MÛNKED, the ARAB who was in it, submitted to them, and he gave them tribute, and they departed from him. And they went to EMESA, and JANÂH AD-DÂWLÂH, who was there also, went out to them and became subject unto them.

And they left him and went to JERUSALEM, and they fought against it for more than forty days. And there was there a certain chief, a man from the quarter of the EGYPTIANS, whose name was 'EFTEKHÂR AD-DÂWLÂH. And the FRANKS set up two wooden siege towers, one on the south side at a place which is called 'ŞEHYÔN' (SION), and the other in the middle of the eastern gateway, that of MÂR STEPHEN. And when the ARABS had set fire to the tower at SION, before the burning was finished, a cry went up, and the



FRANKS rushed in from the east side, and they put the population to the sword for a Sabbath of days. And in the Temple of SOLOMON they killed more than seventy thousand ARABS, and they took from the ŞAKHRÂH (i.e. the stone which JACOB set up at BETHEL) forty silver lamps, each lamp weighing three thousand six hundred *zûzê*. And [they took] other small lamps, one hundred and fifty, and of these twenty were [made] of Egyptian gold. And they also took [266] a silver furnace for lamps, the weight of which was forty *litrê* (the Syrian *litrâ*), which is equal to six BAGHDÂD *litrê*, together with other vessels, and many other things.

And the first king of the FRANKS [who began to] reign in the city was GONDÔFRÊ (GODOFREDUS), in the year fourteen hundred and nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1098), and he reigned two years. And after him BAGHDÛÎN (BALDUINUS, or BALDWIN), seventeen years. And when the EGYPTIANS in EGYPT heard what had happened, 'AFÐÂL, the son of the captain of the soldiery, went forth with a numerous army, and the FRANKS came and engaged them near ASCELON, and the ARABS were defeated. And the FRANKS killed a great number of them, and the remainder fled and went to ASCELON. And the men of ASCELON having given them twelve thousand *dînârs*, they left them and returned to JERUSALEM.

And in the year four hundred and ninety-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1098) the Turkish nobles rebelled against the Sûltân TÛRKYÂRÛK because the Wazîr MAJD AD-DÂWLÂH treated them cruelly, and they killed the Wazîr. And they left TÛRKYÂRÛK and went to his brother MÂHAMMÂD, and made him king over them. And he was also accepted by the Khalîfah, and a Patent of authority was written for him and he was proclaimed GHÂYATH AD-DÛNYÂ WA AD-DIN ABÛ SHUJA' MÂHAMMÂD SÛLTÂN. And TÛRKYÂRÛK fled to BAGHDÂD and Sûltân MÂHAMMÂD pursued him; and they met in battle on several occasions and broke and were broken.

At this time, namely in the year four hundred and ninety-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1099), YAḤYÂH, the BAGHDÂD physician, the son of JAZLÂH, died. He was the author of the famous book of MENHÂJ, which is in the hands of the physicians of our time; it treateth of medicines and foods both simple and compound. This man was a Christian, and he learned rhetoric from an Arab rhetorician whose name was 'ABÛ 'ÂLÎ BAR-WALÎD. And persuading himself sophistically that it is impossible, as the NESTORIANS assert, to understand bodily and personal unity in connexion with the Divine Nature, he fell into error and became a Muslim. It is said that he was a rich man, [267] and that it was only his friends whom he visited without demanding a fee when they were sick.

Then GABRIEL the GREEK, who was ruling over MELITENE, being oppressed by the Amîr BAR-DÂNISHMAND, who came from SEBASTIA in the summer, and laid waste the country, and ate up the crops, and went away in the winter, sent [messages] to the FRANKS and promised them three times



that he would give them MELITENE. And trustingly king BOHEMUND set out to go to MELITENE. Then the ARMENIANS, who from the days of PÎLARDÔS had held certain places, and one Khôj (i.e. lord) BASIL, that is to say thief, who held KHÎSHÛM and RA'BÂN, and the sons of RÛFÎN who held places in ARMENIA, being afraid lest the FRANKS would become their masters, and expel them from their places, sent secretly to 'ISMÂ'ÎL, the son of DÂNISHMAND, [asking him] to make an ambush for the FRANKS. And he also, the accursed one of GABRIEL, when the Frankish king arrived at the village of GAPNÂ, which is above MELITENE, began to lead him astray and made to pass day by day until the son of DÂNISHMAND could arrive. And he laid ambushes before the king, and he bound him in fetters and sent him to SEBASTIA. And he himself came and encamped against MELITENE, and made war upon it. And GABRIEL, the wicked one, added to his wickednesses, and robbed (or, pillaged) unmercifully those who were in the city. Then two of the soldiers became inflamed with wrath, and they surrendered the city to the TURKS, on the fourth day of the week, the eighteenth day of the month ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER), in the year fourteen hundred and thirteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1102). In certain Arabic manuscripts we have found, fourteen hundred and twelve. And when the TURKS went in to MELITENE, the wretched (i.e. unfortunate) place, they plundered all its wealth, because BAR-DÂNISHMAND had [already] given to his troops all its wealth, with the exception of the inhabitants. He did not leave one soul to perish, for he took the people upon himself, and he sent them back to their houses; and he brought wheat and oxen, and other necessities, from his own country and gave them to them. And very many blessings came to MELITENE in his days, and he appointed in it a 'Kaṭâbân' (i.e. Governor), a man whose name was BASIL, and who was just and God fearing.

Concerning GABRIEL, justice woke itself up, and the TURKS and also the Christians made him to suffer terribly, especially when they made him to remember the murders of the holy man and the governors who were wrongly accused. And [268] when they had made him to suffer (?) insults, they carried him to the front of the fortress of ḲAṬÎ'Â, wherein his wife had been placed. And though the TURKS ordered him to tell his wife to surrender the Citadel, he still with his devilishness deceived the TURKS. And he said to his wife 'Surrender the Citadel. And this shall be to thee a sign. Some days ago I sent to thee a young man whose name is "MÎDÂS", that is to say, "Thou shall not give it," in the Aramean tongue.' And when the TURKS knew this they killed him and cast him to the dogs.

And BAR-DÂNISHMAND brought BOHEMUND, the Frankish king, to MELITENE, and he sold it for one hundred thousand *dînârs*. And BOHEMUND gave ANTIOCH to his sister's son and he went back to his own country.

And in the year fourteen hundred and fourteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1103) SANJEL (SAINT GILLES) was in the city of ṬARSÔS. And the ARABS heard that



the soldiers with him were few in number, and the armies of the TURKS that were in TRIPOLI, and DAMASCUS, and EMESA gathered together against him. And the Frankish king, because he only had three hundred horsemen with him, sent out one hundred against the DAMASCENES, and one hundred against the TRIPOLITANS, and fifty against the troops from EMESA, and he kept fifty with him. And when they met in battle the men of EMESA and the DAMASCENES quickly fled towards the mountains, and they were more than five thousand men. But the troops of the TRIPOLITANS, who were about three thousand in number, maintained the struggle. And when SAINT GILLES saw that the TURKS were getting the upper hand, he attacked them in person, together with the fifty FRANKS who were with him, and he broke them. And he also pursued those who had fled and killed about seven thousand ARABS. And he sallied out from CILICIA and came and encamped against TRIPOLI, and he made fierce war upon it; he captured ANTARADUS, and killed all the ARABS who were in it, and he made war on other fortresses. And another Count also came by sea and besieged 'AKKÔ, and he afflicted it greatly. And they took possession of EDESSA, and they began taking and plundering the countries of SYRIA which were in the hands of the ARABS and TURKS.

And in the year four hundred and ninety-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1104), when various diseases, phthisis, and fistulas, and other painful ailments, increased their attacks upon Sûltân RÛKN AD-DÎN TÛRKYÂRÛK, [269] and he perceived that he was going to die, he made his nobles swear fealty on behalf of his little son MÂLIK SHÂH, and he sent him to BAGHDÂD. And he was proclaimed JALÂL AD-DÂWLÂH MÂLIK SHÂH SÛLTÂN when he was four years old. And TÛRKYÂRÛK died and was buried in 'IŞFÂHÂN. And when MÂLIK SHÂH, the son of TÛRKYÂRÛK, was in BAGHDÂD, his uncle Sûltân MÂHAMMÂD also came there. And the people of BAGHDÂD feared greatly lest they should be dragged into the strife which would take place between the two of them. And because the Amîr 'AYÂZ, unto whom was committed the management of the kingdom [of MÂLIK SHÂH], was a man of understanding, and all the troops of TÛRKYÂRÛK were under his command, and were subservient to him, he took from Sûltân MÂHAMMÂD an oath and said, 'This child is thy brother's son, and it is especially right for thee to show care for him. And thou must not deprive him of the kingdom and the inheritance of his father, any more than [thou wouldst deprive me of] what is mine.' And the Sûltân said, 'This [child] is my son'; and he promised him good treatment. And the Amîr 'AYÂZ ('ANÂZ) went out to the Sûltân and was received with honour.

And the day after 'AYÂZ the Amîr made a great feast, and he invited the Sûltân to be present thereat, and the Sûltân accepted and went. And by ill luck there happened to be among the assembly of the Amîr 'AYÂZ a certain scribe who was wearing a coat of mail under [his ordinary apparel], and he was standing with those who were serving, and he could only move with



difficulty. And when the Sûltân cast his glance upon him, he said unto one of the little slaves who were standing before him, 'Go and search that man and see what he has on him, [and why] his going and coming is impeded in this manner'. And when the young man had gone, and according to the narrator, had searched him, he came and said to the Sûltân, 'He is wearing a coat of mail under his apparel'. And the Sûltân said, 'When scribes wear coats of mail, what will the Turkish horsemen wear?' And he thought that there was treachery in the heart of 'AYÂZ, and he commanded the soldier-scouts who were before him and they cut off his head. Then when the TURKS of 'AYÂZ heard this, they took what they were able to take of their own property and that of others, and they fled to SYRIA.

And in the year four hundred and ninety-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1105), which is the year fourteen hundred and seventeen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1106), in the [270] month of 'ÂDHÂR (MARCH) a rising of the rivers took place, and the river EUPHRATES (*sic*) was swollen, and it destroyed very many houses (or, quarters) of BAGHDÂD. A certain rich man in BAGHDÂD, when the waters reached his threshold, was afraid that the whole house would be destroyed. And he made ready two boats, and loaded them with his goods, and his wives, and his children, and his handmaidens. And he commanded the sailors to carry them to higher ground. And when they had travelled a little way one ship sank; now there were in it nine noble handmaidens, and a young woman, one of seven, whose mother had made her flee with them. And they were all drowned, and the many treasures that were with them were lost. And when those who were in the other boat saw the catastrophe, they went back to their house. And on the morrow the waters abated, and men praised the incomprehensible judgements of God, and they knew that the deliverance which is of man is an empty thing.

And in this year TANÛSHMÂN died in SEBASTIA, having reigned two years over MELITENE. And on the twenty-eighth day of the month of ḤAZÎRÂN (JUNE), KELEJ 'ARSLÂN came and encamped against MELITENE. And he set up battering rams against the round tower on the north-east of the city. And after very severe fighting he took it on the second day of the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER), in the year fourteen hundred and seventeen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1106), not by the sword but by oaths. And when he had gone in and was reigning there, he harmed no man.

And in the year five hundred of the ARABS (A.D. 1106), when GÂBARMÎSH (JÂGARMÎSH) the Turkish Amîr was ruling over MÂWŞIL, and was plotting rebellion against Sûltân MÂḤAMMÂD, the Sûltân made ready another Turkish Amîr whose name was JÂWÂLÎ, and gave him MÂWŞIL, and sent him [there] with his troops. And when JÂWÂLÎ came to the country of 'ARBÎL, JÂGARMÎSH collected his army and went and met him in battle there, and he was defeated and made a prisoner. Then the men of MÂWŞIL swore oaths of fealty to the son of JÂGARMÎSH, whose name was ZÂNGÎ, and they



made ready for war with JÂWÂLÎ. And they sent to KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, the son of SÛLAIMÂN, the son of KATLAMÎSH, the Sûltân of ICONIUM, and they asked him to come to their help. Then JÂWÂLÎ came and encamped against MÂWŞIL, JÂGARMÎSH being a prisoner with him. And he dug a pit (or, cave), and therein he placed him, because he was afraid that the men of MÂWŞIL would kidnap him; and there JÂGARMÎSH died. [271]

Now there was present with JÂGARMÎSH at the breaking (i.e. defeat) a certain native of MÂWŞIL, whose name was 'ABÛ TÂLIB, the son of KÛSAIRÂTH, who had fled to 'ARBÎL, and JÂWÂLÎ asked BAR MÛŞAK, the lord of 'ARBÎL, to send him to him. And when he was sent to him, JÂWÂLÎ released the son of the lord of 'ARBÎL, who was a prisoner in his hands. Now when the son of KÛSAIRÂTH came to JÂWÂLÎ, he promised that he would surrender MÂWŞIL to him, and that he would collect for him a large quantity of gold from places of which he knew. And he kept him with him in honour. Then the Judge of MÂWŞIL, whose name was BAR WAD'ÂN, because enmity existed between him and the son of KÛSAIRÂTH, sent to JÂWÂLÎ, and promised to surrender MÂWŞIL if he would kill the son of KÛSAIRÂTH. And when he answered his request, he sent to him the head of his enemy.

Now the action of BAR WAD'ÂN vexed the TURKS who were in MÂWŞIL, and they leaped upon him and killed him. And in this way within a few days one evil was avenged by another.

And in those days KELEJ 'ARSLÂN came from the territory of the RHÔMÂYÊ to the ISLAND OF KÂRDÛ. And JÂWÂLÎ left and fled, and went and took the city of BÂLÂDH. And he departed to SYRIA. And KELEJ 'ARSLÂN came against MÂWŞIL and very soon took possession of it. And he did no harm to ZANGÎ, the son of JÂGARMÎSH, nor to those who were with him, nor to any of the citizens. On the contrary, he commanded saying, 'Whosoever calumniateth a man to me shall die the death'. And he sent back the Judge 'UBAID ALLÂH, the son of KÂSIM, of SHÂHRAZÛR, to his former office. And he annulled the proclamation of the Sûltân MÂHAMMÂD in MÂWŞIL, and they proclaimed him after the Khalîfah. And he set in the fortress of MÂWŞIL a man whose name was 'BAZMÎSH'. And he left his son MÂLIK SHÂH, being a boy eleven years old, in MÂWŞIL, and called him 'king', and the mother of the youth was also with him in the palace.

And he made straight his way towards the HÂBÛR, and with him were five thousand horsemen. Then the Amîr JÂWÂLÎ came to terms with RAP-WÂN, the lord of ALEPPO, and he collected four thousand horsemen, and they were bold and courageous men, and they came and met KELEJ 'ARSLÂN on the HÂBÛR. And when the battle was set in array, KELEJ 'ARSLÂN performed an act of splendid bravery. For he went in among the host [272] of JÂWÂLÎ by himself, and he smote the hand of the standard-bearer and cut it off, and he smote JÂWÂLÎ also with the sword, and he preserved the coat of mail which he was wearing uninjured. And when the partisans of



JÂWÂLÎ and RADWÂN saw that KELEJ 'ARSLÂN by himself had displayed such might, their hearts were stirred up against his partisans, and they made them to break and flee. Then when KELEJ 'ARSLÂN saw that his troops had fled, and had left him by himself, he feared for his life. For although these men would not kill him, yet when he was bound and carried to the Sûltân, he would certainly not allow him to live, because he had made an end of the proclamation of him in MÂWŞIL. Therefore as he was riding along he cast himself into the river HÂBÛR, and he shot arrows at those who were pursuing him when he was in the water. And because of the weight of the iron armour which was on himself and his horse, and also because those who were behind him were shooting arrows at him, the horse stuck fast in a deep hole in the river, and both he and the horse were drowned. And after some days he was cast up on the river bank by the waters, and he was taken and buried in the village which is called 'DAMSHAM' (?).

And when RADWÂN went against CALONICUS, JÂWÂLÎ came to MÂWŞIL. And the men in the bazâr opened the gates immediately, and he went into the city. And he seized a certain eunuch among the slaves of JÂGARMÎSH, and he took from him forty thousand gold *dînârs*. And he sent a message to BAZMÎSH to surrender the Citadel and to send back everything which he had taken from MÂWŞIL, and to return to his own country in peace, with whatsoever had come with him. Now BAZMÎSH was unable to resist, because all hope had been cut away from him by the death of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, his lord. But he went down quietly, and he took the wife of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, and all their people, and they went to MELITENE, with the exception of MÂLIK SHÂH, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, because JÂWÂLÎ had sent him to the Sûltân.

And he went to JÂZARTÂ (i.e. the 'ISLAND'), and besieged it. And when HÂBÂSHÎ, the son of JÂGARMÎSH, gave him six thousand *dînârs* and an Arab horse, he left him and went back to MÂWŞIL. And he dismissed BAR SHA-HÂRZÛRÎ from his judgeship, and he appointed to the office 'ABÎ BAKR, of ARBELA. Because such a splendid victory as this had come to JÂWÂLÎ, he became puffed up in spirit, [273] and diminished his service to the Sûltân, and he did not send to him what he had been wont to send of the spoil which he had captured. For this reason the Sûltân GHÂYATH AL-DÎN MÂHAMMÂD was offended with him. And he sent against him the Amîr MÂWDÛD, together with other Amîrs, and a large army in the year five hundred and two of the ARABS (A.D. 1108). And when JÂWÂLÎ heard that they were coming to attack him he fortified MÂWŞIL. And he left in it his wife, who was a sister of BÛRSÛK, one of the Amîrs who had come to attack MÂWŞIL. And he set in order the fighting men on the wall, and he himself left and went forth ostensibly to bring other men to his help, so that he might not be shut up in the city. And he brought out with him also BÔ'DWÎN, a Frankish Count, who was a prisoner with him in MÂWŞIL.



And he stipulated that he should receive for him seventy thousand *dīnārs*, and that he should set free the Arab prisoners who were with him; and that whenever the occasion called he should come to his assistance with an army of the FRANKS. And he sent him to ǴAL'ÂH JA'BÂR that he might be there until he had fulfilled his promises.

When BÔ'DWÎN had come out, he sent and brought JÔSLÎN (JOSCELYN?), his sister's son, and established him as a hostage in his place, and he himself departed to make ready the gold. Then the wife of JÂWÂLÎ, who had been left in MÂWŞIL, began to ill-treat the natives of MÂWŞIL, and to afflict them with heavy taxes. And because of this certain men of the city, that is to say, the workmen who make *gīpsīn* (i.e. lime for building purposes, which is made by the lime-burners), made themselves masters of one of the towers, and they cried out '[Long] live the great Sûltân GHÂYATH AL-DÎN', and so likewise for the Amîr MÂWDÛD, and those who were with him. And they made themselves masters of MÂWŞIL. And the wife of JÂWÂLÎ went forth to her brother BÛRSÛǴ. Then JÂWÂLÎ went to 'ÎLGHÂZÎ, the lord of NISIBIS and MARDÎN, whilst he was in 'ARÂBÂN, a village of the ḤABÛR. And he struggled greatly to come to an agreement with him, but 'ÎLGHÂZÎ was unwilling to do so, on the contrary, he departed and went up to the fortress of MARDÎN.

And JÂWÂLÎ attacked RAḤBÛTH, and he made war upon it for seventy days. And he sent and brought JOSCELYN from ǴAL'ÂH JA'BÂR, and arrayed him in royal apparel, and gave him the horse on which he was riding, and sent him to BÔ'DWÎN, his uncle, that he might hasten the making ready of the gold, and the setting free of the prisoners. And when JOSCELYN went to ANTIOCH, TAGRÎTH (TANCRED?), the king of ANTIOCH, gave him [274] thirty thousand *dīnārs*, and sent [them] to JÂWÂLÎ with one hundred Arab prisoners, men and women, from the country of ALEPPO. Then JÂWÂLÎ, leaving RAḤBÛTH, went and encamped against CALONICUS, and he made war upon it for many days.

Then the Sûltân GHÂYATH AL-DÎN sent an Amîr to him, a man whose name was ḤÛSAIN BAR-'ÂTÂBÂG, [ordering him] to submit, and to return to MÂWŞIL to the office which he had held formerly. But he would not obey, and he went and encamped against BÂLÂSH; and he captured it and plundered it, and wrought great destruction therein. Then RAḌWÂN, the lord of SYRIA, being defeated by JÂWÂLÎ, who had laid waste his countries, sent and asked for help from TANCRED, the king of ANTIOCH. And he came to him with fifteen hundred Frankish horsemen, and six hundred Turkish horsemen of the troops of RAḌWÂN. And JÂWÂLÎ also sent to BÔ'DWÎN and JOSCELYN to come to his assistance. And when they came, the battle was set in array by the side of TELL BÂSHIR. And the FRANKS and TURKS of RAḌWÂN prevailed over the FRANKS and TURKS of JÂWÂLÎ, and broke them. And many of the TURKS were killed during the fight; now the FRANKS did not



kill FRANKS, but only threw them off their horses. And BÔ'DWÎN and JOSCELYN fled and went to TELL BÂSHIR, and with them were certain TURKS who were partisans of JÂWÂLÎ. And when they had treated their wounds with medicines, they sent them to JÂWÂLÎ. But JÂWÂLÎ, being defeated, found that he could do nothing except to take refuge again in the mercy of the Sûltân.

And having disguised himself, and concealed his name, he, together with a few men, came quickly from SYRIA to KHÔRÂSÂN—three hundred and sixty parasangs in seventeen days! And when he arrived at the Camp of the Sûltân he said unto those who patrolled the roads, 'I, even I, am JÂWÂLÎ, and I beg you to conduct me to the tent of the Amîr HÛSAIN'; it was he who had been sent by the Sûltân when he was encamped at RAHBÛTH. And HÛSAIN took him and conducted him to the Sûltân, carrying his cloak (?). And the Sûltân had compassion on him and gave him the word of peace, and he entered his service.

Then BAZMÎSH, having taken the wife of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN from MÂWŞIL and gone to MELITENE, proclaimed king TÛGHREL 'ARSLÂN, the little son of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN. And there was there [275] another Amîr whose name was 'ARSLÂN, and the mother of the young man made an agreement with him and he killed BAZMÎSH, and he took her to wife. And as he made the people of MELITENE to endure many evil things in respect of the collecting of gold, the mother of the young man made an agreement with the young man her son, and they seized 'ARSLÂN, and shut him up, and it was thought that he had been killed. And after a year they brought him out and sent him to the Sûltân GHÂYATH AD-DÎN in KHÔRÂSÂN. And the Sûltân sent MÂLIK SHÂH, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, to MELITENE, and he was proclaimed king. And he dismissed TÛGHREL 'ARSLÂN, his younger brother, and he shut up in prison his two other brothers, MAS'ÛD and 'ARÂB. And MÂLIK SHÂH, having remained for many years in MELITENE, and being troubled by BAR DÂNISHMAND, went to ALEXIS, the king of the GREEKS, so that he might help him. And he was received joyfully, and much gold was given to him. And when he went forth BAR DÂNISHMAND laid an ambush for him, and captured him, and he blinded his eyes. Then the Amîrs who were in MELITENE brought out MAS'ÛD from prison, and proclaimed him Sûltân. And MA'SÛD left 'ARÂB and TÛGHREL 'ARSLÂN, his brothers, in MELITENE, and he went to ICONIUM and made it the seat of his kingdom.

And in the year fourteen hundred and twenty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1110) the FRANKS took TRIPOLI from the ARABS, having made war on it for seven years. And after a year TANCRED, the king of ANTIOCH, went forth with a large army of FRANKS, and they captured many fortresses, and took them from the ARABS, and they killed every one they found in them. And they came to MABBÛGH and they found no one in it. And in BÂLÂSH they also found no one, and they set it on fire and burnt it. And they returned



to TRIPOLI that they might feed their horses on hay in the spring time and return [later]. And the ARABS, who had been reduced to a state of great fear of the FRANKS, were unable to do anything except to pacify the FRANKS with gold. Therefore REDWÂN, the lord of ALEPPO, sent to the Frankish king TANCRED thirty-two thousand *dînârs*, and twenty Arab horses, and forty bales of costly stuffs. And the lord of TYRE sent to him seven thousand [276] *dînârs*, and the lord of ASCALON four thousand *dînârs*, and BAR MÛNKED, the lord of SHÎRÂZ, four thousand *dînârs*, and 'ÂLÎ the KÛRD, the lord of HAMÂTH, two thousand *dînârs*. And they made peace, but only until they had reaped the harvest, [when] they were to deliver the crops.

And in this year the JENWÂYÊ (i.e. GENOESE) FRANKS attacked many of the ships of the ARABS which were coming from the cities of TANNÎS and DAMIETTA, and they made prisoners of seventy Arab merchants, and they sold them at very high prices. And they took from them four hundred boxes of Egyptian sugar, and fifty loads of bales of Damietta cloth, and other things.

And at that time a certain man who was an ARAB, and a master of Muslim Law, a native of ALEPPO, came to BAGHDÂD, weeping, and shrieking out lamentations concerning the error which had prevailed through the FRANKS. And the peoples (or, crowds) gathered together and went into their great Mosque on the Friday, where they smashed the pulpit, that is the rostrum, and stopped the prayer. And they complained bitterly of the Khalîfah and the Sûltân, because they were not inflamed with zeal for the Faith. Then when the Sûltân heard these things, he made ready 'ABÛ AL-FATH MAS'ÛD, the son of the Amîr MÂWDÛD, and a great army, and he sent them to MÂWŞIL so that they might be there ready for war with the FRANKS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and twenty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1111), the 'ÂTÂBÂG of the Sûltân of MELITENE took the country of the river GÎHÛN from the FRANKS. And in the year five hundred and five of the ARABS (A.D. 1111) the Amîr MÂWDÛD, the lord of MÂWŞIL, went to SYRIA with a large army. And on his road he captured certain Citadels in the country of SHÂBAKTÂN, and he killed the FRANKS who were in them. And he came and camped against EDESSA for a certain time, but was unable to capture it; and he left it and went to TELL BÂSHIR, which was in the hands of the FRANKS, and he was unable to capture that also. And having left it and gone to ALEPPO, REDWÂN, the lord of ALEPPO, shut the gates in his face. And he left ALEPPO and went to DAMASCUS, and TÛGHTAKÎN, the Amîr, went out and showed him kindness; but subsequently he was afraid of him, lest he should act treacherously, and take possession of DAMASCUS. And TÛGHTAKÎN sent to the FRANKS and made peace with them, and acted boldly towards MÂWDÛD (or, treated him with contempt).

In this year GHÂZÂZ 'ÂLÎ, the great teacher [277] of the ARABS, died, and he was buried in TARSUS of CILICIA. This man abused the ARABS greatly in his teachings because they were careful only concerning ablutions and the



adornment of the body, and were careless about the purity of the heart from whence sins spring. And he urged them strongly concerning abstinence and poverty, and in his great compilation he brought forward many proofs (or, examples) from the lives and conversations of the [Christian] fathers who lived in the desert; it is for this reason that we make mention of him.

And in the year fourteen hundred and twenty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1113) the wife of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, the Sûltân of MELITENE, sallied forth, and went to BALÂK, the lord of the fortress of BÛLÂ. For, she said [to him], 'I have on many occasions heard the Sûltân praising thee and saying, "Among all the Turkish Amîrs there is none so wise or so mighty a man as BALÂK", and therefore I wish that I and my sons may be protected by thy name.' And thus she was protected.

And BALÂK increased in power greatly, and he became the husband of the wife of the Sûltân. And when the Khâtôn herself returned she drove out the 'ÂTÂBÂG, and she and her son sat down in the Citadel of MELITENE. And another TURK also, who was ruling over the fortress of ZÂÎD, and was afflicted by BALÂK, sold the fortress to the Sûltân of MELITENE. And after a little [time] the son of Sûltân MÂHAMMÂD (MAHMÛD?) of KHÔRÂSÂN came, and he took the fortress of ZÂÎD from the Sûltân of MELITENE. At this time the natives of MELITENE showed great compassion, and they bought many prisoners from the country of the fortress of ZÂÎD, and from the country of 'ARĶÂ from the TURKS, and set them free.

And in the year five hundred and seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1113), which is the year fourteen hundred and twenty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1114), TANCRED, the lord of ANTIOCH, died, and ROGER reigned after him. And MÂWDÛD, and the seven thousand horsemen who were with him, met in battle BÔ'DWÎN and JOSCELYN with two thousand foot-soldiers, and the few Frankish horsemen who were with them, by the side of the SEA OF TIBERIAS; and the FRANKS were broken, and thirteen hundred of their foot-soldiers were killed. And then help came to the FRANKS from TRIPOLI with BAR SANJEL, and ROGER, king of ANTIOCH, came and his army. And the FRANKS marched up on a certain mountain which overlooked the ARABS, and both sides remained there for twenty-six [278] days, without encountering each other [in battle]. And from there the FRANKS came down to the river JORDAN. Then the ARABS, who were suffering from the pangs of hunger, for they were far away from their towns, left and went and encamped in the neighbourhood of DAMASCUS. And on the Friday the Amîr MÂWDÛD went into the great Mosque to pray. And when he had finished the prayer, he and the Amîr TÛGHTAKÎN took hold of each other's hands, and gazed earnestly at the marvellous buildings. Then a certain man leaped upon MÂWDÛD and stabbed him with a knife four times. And having been lifted up and carried to the house of TÛGHTAKÎN he ended his life. And the slaves



of MÂWDÛD hacked the man who murdered him limb from limb on the spot. And some people have thought that REDWÂN, the lord of ALEPPO, sent the ISHMAELITE. And others think that it was TÛGHTAKÎN himself who incited the murderer, who was one of the evil-doers who were shut up in prison, and that he promised him gifts to do this, because he was afraid for his city by reason of MÂWDÛD.

And MÂWDÛD being dead there rose up a captain of the soldiery, the Amîr 'ÂKSENKÛR BÛRSÛK, and he and fifteen thousand men encamped against EDESSA for two months.

And in the year five hundred and eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1114) the FRANKS were always sallying forth from EDESSA and killing the ARABS. On one occasion they went out and captured eleven ARABS and brought them into the city. And they impaled them on the wall in sight of the TURKS, after they had cut off their hands and their feet. And 'ÂKSENKÛR, being grieved that matters were thus, brought fifty Frankish prisoners and killed them. And the TURKS, being sorely afflicted by hunger, left EDESSA and went to SAMOSATA, over which the wife of KHÔGH BÂSÎL, the ARMENIAN, ruled, together with MAR'ÂSH, KHÎSHÛM, and RA'BÂN. The husband of this woman being dead, she ruled over these countries with great wisdom. And she gathered together a large army of horsemen and footmen, and each month she gave twelve gold *dînârs* to [each] horseman, and three *dînârs* to [each] foot-soldier. Now the Sûltân of the ARMENIANS was this kind of man. When the GREEKS (YÂWNÂYÊ) prevailed somewhat, and recovered from the ARABS certain of their countries, [279] although they were wholly unable to resist the TURKS, they invaded their inner countries. And those ARMENIANS who were governed by the GREEKS remained and entrenched themselves strongly in the mountains and in inaccessible places.

Now in CILICIA there were the two brothers, the sons of CONSTANTINE, the son of RUFINUS. And in GARGAR and BÊTH BÛLÂ there were MICHAEL and 'ÎOHANNÎS. And in KHÎSHÛM, and RA'BÂN, and in BÊTH HESNÊ, and in KAL'ÂH RHÔMÂYÂ, KHÔGH BÂSÎL, that is 'THIEF WÂSÎL.' And also in the district of SAMOSATA, CONSTANTINE and TABTÛG. And in YASTÂFÔR the sons of SANBÎL. These were SYRIANS who had gone forth to KHÔGH BÂSÎL and DHEGHÂ BÂSÎL, that is YOUNG BÂSÎL, who was the steward of the wife of KHÔGH BÂSÎL. And KHÛRTÎG (KHÛRDÎK?), who was the administrator of this woman. This man was wicked and a hater of the SYRIANS. For he took DAIRÂ SÛMÂKTÂ, near KHÎSHÛM, and gave it to KHRÎKÔRIÔS (GREGORIUS?), the Catholicus of the ARMENIANS, and he also made the five monasteries of BÊTH KËNAYÂ, which is in the mountain of ZABÂR, into villages. And the Citadel of 'ARNÎSH was [originally] a monastery, and KHÛRTÎG drove away the monks and placed therein soldiers and a guard. And he tortured the monks, demanding from them two thousand *dînârs*. And TANCRED, the king of ANTIOCH, made war upon KHÎSHÛM for two years, and only with the



greatest difficulty was he able to capture it. For KHÛRTÎG was very crafty, and the FRANKS were wholly unable to overpower it until they devised a scheme and gave to him a Frankish woman, in the same way that the PHILISTINES [gave a woman] to SAMSON, and that Frankish woman, whose name was KÂLÂMÂRÎ, killed him by poison.

Then when the wife of KHÔGH BÂSÎL saw the Turkish troops who had invaded her country and were laying it waste, she sent to 'ÂKSENKÛR, the Amîr of HÂBÛRÂ, and promised him love and help. And he sent to her an envoy, a man whose name was SENKÛR DHË-RÂZ, that is 'long'. And she sat on the royal throne, and set round about her her young handmaidens arrayed in gorgeous apparel. And when SENKÛR entered her presence, she set a throne for him before her, and discoursed craftily with him in humble phrases in ARABIC. And when the TURKS who were with SENKÛR were pitching their tents outside the city, she said unto him, 'Command thy men to go into the city. [280] Do not let them pass the night outside [it], for my spies have informed me that the FRANKS are waiting ready to capture them.' And SENKÛR in [his] pride paid no attention to her, and would not accept her advice, and seven hundred Frankish horsemen came and captured the TURKS, and only a few of them escaped. And after this she sent SENKÛR DHË-RÂZ carefully with gifts and presents to 'ÂKSENKÛR, the Amîr. And he removed from her country and went to SERÛGH, and fought against it for five days, and the troops that were with him ate up its vegetables and crops. And from there he went to SHÂBAKTÂN, and he made a great feast. And there came to him MÂLIK MAS'ÛD, the son of the Sûltân, who had remained in HÂRRÂN, and he did not cross the EUPHRATES with MÂWDÛD. And then he made prisoner 'AYÂZ, the son of 'ÎLGHÂZÎ, the son of 'ARTÛK, the lord of MARDÎN, and he also took the land of MARDÎN.

And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and twenty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1115), on the twenty-ninth day of the month of the LATTE TESHÎN (NOVEMBER), which is the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month of the ARABS, a terribly violent earthquake took place, and the whole city of MAR'ÂSH sunk underground and became the tomb of the inhabitants thereof. And very many houses fell down in SAMOSATA. CONSTANTINE, the lord of GARGAR, was present in the town, and he, together with many others, was suffocated in the ruins. And there fell down thirteen towers of the wall of EDESSA; and portions of the wall of HÂRRÂN; and a hundred houses and one-half of the Citadel of BÂLÂSH; and two churches of KHÎSHÛM, viz. the church of MÂR JOHN, and the church of the Forty Martyrs. And through the care and solicitude of DIONYSIUS, its bishop, they (i.e. the churches) were rebuilt.

And in the year five hundred and nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1115), which is the year fourteen hundred and twenty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1116), ROGER, the lord of ANTIOCH, burst forth with five hundred horsemen against



'ÂKSENĶÛR, the Amîr, between ALEPPO and MÛ'ARÂH. And he and ZANGÎ, his brother, fled, and they went up on a certain mountain (or, hill). And the FRANKS occupied themselves with the killing of TURKISH soldiers, and with the robbing of the merchants and shopkeepers in the bazârs who were with them. And 'ÂKSENĶÛR and his brother fled with a very few followers, and the FRANKS pursued them for about a parasang, but did not overtake them. And they returned and made prisoners three thousand TURKS, and they smashed the boxes, and the poles of the tents of the TURKS, and they burnt them, [281] and they burnt all the young children and the feeble old men who were useless for work; and the remainder of the people they carried off with them to ANTIOCH, bound in fetters. And they sent to RED-WÂN, the lord of ALEPPO, because he was their friend, eight fast-running (i.e. trotting) camels, and three horses, and two mules, and two men learned in the Law, and two young TURKS, and the head of 'ABÛ AL-WAFÂ, one of the Amîrs of the TURKS. And there was great joy in ANTIOCH.

And in the year five hundred and eleven of the ARABS (A.D. 1117) the Sûltân GÂYATH AD-DÎN MÂHAMMÂD, the son of MÂLIK SHÂH, died in 'EŞFÂHÂN; and there rose up after him his son Sûltân MAHMÛD. And in this same year also the Khalifah MÛSTAFHER died in BAGHDÂD. And there rose up after him his younger son MÛSTARSHID. And in this year also, which is the year fourteen hundred and twenty-nine [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1118], died ALEXIS, the king of the GREEKS, in the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST). He was a wise and strong man, and by his wisdom he saved CONSTANTINOPLE from the FRANKS. And his son 'ÎWANÎ (JOANNES) reigned after him. And his brother, and sister, and mother acted treacherously in respect of him. And having cast out his brother and sister into exile, and tonsured his mother and established her in a nunnery, the kingdom was established for him. And in this year the lord of EGYPT died, and the lord of GAZNÂH also. And after a short time ROGER, the lord of ANTIOCH, was killed. Thirteen kings died within two years. Before they died a violent earthquake took place, and the death of the kings followed soon after it.

After MÛSTAFHER, MÛSTARSHID his son [ruled] seventeen years and eight months. When he [began to] reign, he found many jars of wine which were his father's, and he smashed them all and scattered [the fragments]. And he expelled the singing men and singing women from the palace. And in a dream he saw his father, who said unto him, 'Take me out from being near thee, so that I may not take thee to myself'. And trembling he took him out and buried him in another place. And he began to show signs of modesty (or, chastity). And he seized the palace of 'ABÛ TÂHIR, the son of 'AĦMÂD the treasurer, and he found therein a church and all the furnishing for an altar. And when he was spoken to on the subject, he replied, 'I have a Christian wife, and she hath done this without my knowledge'.



And in the year five hundred and twelve of the ARABS (A.D. 1118), the Amîr [282] 'ILGÂZÎ, the son of 'ARTÛK, took HÂRRÂN, and he made prisoners of the famous sages who were therein and its judge. And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and thirty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1119), although the lord of ALEPPO gave much gold to ROGER, the lord of ANTIOCH, he was able to make peace with him for four months only, viz. until they had reaped the harvest and heaped up the barns. Then ROGER came and encamped against ALEPPO, and the people of ALEPPO took refuge with the Amîr 'ILGÂZÎ, the son of 'ARTÛK, the lord of MARDÎN. And he collected seven thousand TURKS, and came and met the FRANKS in battle, and he broke them, and ROGER the king was himself killed in the fight. And those FRANKS who escaped during the war fled to ANTIOCH. And the TURKS took possession of the country of ANTIOCH and killed many monks in BLACK MOUNTAIN. And at length BÔ'DWÎN (II), the king of JERUSALEM, heard of it, and he pursued the TURKS. And the Frankish foot-soldiers having destroyed an ambush of the TURKS, king BÔ'DWÎN went back against them, and made an end of them all. And he turned again and pursued 'ILGÂZÎ, and he snatched the loot from the hands of the TURKS, and went to ANTIOCH.

The blessed MÂR MICHAEL saith, 'GHÂZÎ, the son of DÂNISHMAND, broke the FRANKS and slew ROGER'; perhaps the mistake is due to the similarity of the name. And in this year the Sûltân of MELITENE subjugated the country of GHÎHÂN and 'ABLESTÎN, and he made himself master of the fortress of KATÎ'Â. And in the month of SHEBHÂT (FEBRUARY) of this year the FRANKS took the country of MELITENE, and the TURKS took the country of GARGAR. And the Sûltân of MELITENE took the country of KAMÂH, and the lord thereof went and took refuge with the GREEKS in TRÂPÎZÔN (TREBIZOND), and GABRÂS came with him. And the Sûltân and BALÂK met the GREEKS in battle and conquered them. And GABRÂS was captured, and he bought (i.e. ransomed) himself again for thirty thousand *dînârs*, and he went to his own country. And 'IWÂNÎ (JOANNES), king of CONSTANTINOPLE, took three fortresses from the TURKS. And 'ILGÂZÎ burnt the crops in the country of EDESSA, and he also took the country of ANTIOCH. And TÛGH-TAKÎN, the lord of DAMASCUS, died. And his son sitting in his stead, a certain TURK, whose name was 'ALTUN'TÂSH, leaped upon him and killed him, and he made himself king over DAMASCUS.

And in the year five hundred and fifteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1121), MÂLIK [283] MAS'ÛD in MÂWŞIL rebelled against his brother Sûltân MAHMÛD, and the Amîr ZANGÎ did not agree with him. And MAS'ÛD having collected an army met his brother in battle, and the Sûltân broke him, and seized him, and bound him with iron fetters. And he gave MÂWŞIL to an Amîr whose name was BÛRSÛKÎ, together with JAZÎRAH, and SHÎGHÂR (SINJAR), and NISIBIS, and he sent him there.

And at this time the Greek king of CONSTANTINOPLE sent to 'ILGÂZÎ, the



son of 'ARTÛḲ, and said, 'Behold, there is a great host of people coming out of the sea to SYRIA, therefore prepare to fight them. And behold, I can help thee with thirty thousand [men] if thou hast need [of them].' Then 'İLGÂZÎ made haste and went and seized the harbours, and they killed many FRANKS, and the rest returned to FRANK-LAND. And this took place through the treacherous GREEKS. And at this time the ARMENIANS of GARGAR were secretly laying waste the country of the Citadels of ZÂÎD, and of BÛLÂ, and of MELITENE. And BALÂK, the Turkish Amîr, sent to MICHAEL, the ARMENIAN, the lord of GARGAR, [a message], saying that he would give him every year one thousand loads of wheat, and three villages in his country, if he would restrain his thieves. And MICHAEL swore oaths to BALÂK several times, but he did not stand on (i.e. observe) his oaths; on the contrary, the wheat was sent to him and his thieves burnt the villages in HANZÎṬ. Then BALÂK devised a plan, and in the month of SHEBHÂṬ (FEBRUARY), when the mountains were covered with heaps of snow, he crossed over the ice of the EUPHRATES to GÛBÔS. And he made one thousand unharnessed horses to take a straight path over the high mountain which is called 'ḲERYÔNÂ', and the snow was trodden flat. And the armies of the TURKS crossed the mountain, and one day they arrived before the monastery of MÂR BAR ŞÂWMÂ. And during the night they crossed the mountain which is called 'ESETHÂ'. And in the morning he burst out on the wretched country and took it on the second day of the week, at the beginning of the month of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY), in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1121), and he seized the people, and the cattle, and everything and went forth. And the Amîr behaved most mercifully towards the soldiers (or, peasants) who were Christians, and he did not make them slaves, but he settled them in the country of HANZÎṬ and gave them everything which belonged to them. And he made them to swear that they would not go back to GARGAR, and if they did so a second time, when he came in he would not spare them.

And in the year [284] fourteen hundred and thirty-three [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 1122), the Sûltân MAḤMÛD sent a great army to the country of the IBERIANS, and when the TURKS went in the king of the IBERIANS shut the fortifications and destroyed many of them. And JOSCELYN the FRANK took the country of GÛBÔS. And in the year five hundred and sixteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1122), 'İLGÂZÎ, the son of 'ARTÛḲ, died. And JOSCELYN, his wife having died, took a second wife, the daughter of ROGER, the lord of ANTIOCH, and he wished to take her to EDESSA. BALÂK, however, laid an ambush for her, and he took her and carried her to BÛLÂ. MICHAEL, the ARMENIAN, being defeated by the TURKS, gave GARGÂR to king BÔ'DWÎN, and took a town in his country.

And in the year five hundred and seventeen [of the ARABS] (A.D. 1123), BAR-SHAHÂRZÛRÎ, the Judge of MÂWŞIL, came to BAGHDÂD, and he presented



to the Khalîfah five thousand *dînârs*, and he took possession of all the country on the west of the TIGRIS, from MÂWŞIL to BÂŞRÂ. And in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1123), whilst the FRANKS were encamped on the river SANGÂ, there burst upon them troops from an ambush laid by BALÂK the TURKISH Amîr. And they smote the camp of the FRANKS and captured king BÔ'DWÎN on the fourth day of the Week of White Apparel. Then Counts JOSCELYN and GALERAN made ready during the whole summer to meet the TURKS in battle, and when they did so in the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER), the FRANKS were broken, and JOSCELYN and GALERAN were made prisoners at dawn of the day of the Festival of the Cross. And BALÂK shut the three of them up together in a cave in the fortress of ZÂÎD.

Then the Armenian workmen who were in the city, knowing that there were very few soldiers in the fortress, gathered together at the gate [of the city], and when grumbling about their pay, they leaped up suddenly and seized the swords that were there, and killed the Turkish guards. And they ran towards the cave, and they brought out king BÔ'DWÎN, and JOSCELYN, and GALERAN. And they killed the ARABS, and they reigned over the fortress of ZÂÎD, that is KHARTÂBERT (or, KHARAT-BÂRAT). And JOSCELYN made a plan, and he went out during the night with an Armenian, to go and fetch the army of the FRANKS, so that if it were possible they might guard the fortress, and if not they would take it for the king.

And JOSCELYN having gone forth, [285] BALÂK came and set up engines of war against the fortress and captured it. And he killed seventy FRANKS and ARMENIANS, and he took BÔ'DWÎN, the king, and GALERAN, his sister's son, and he went and encamped at MABBÛGH. And whilst he was fighting against it, he was shot by an arrow from the wall and he died. And his troops fled to ALEPPO, and they set up as chief over them his uncle's son whose name was TEMÛRTÂSH. And he ransomed the king and his sister's son for one hundred thousand *dînârs*, and BÔ'DWÎN the king returned to JERUSALEM. And SÛLAIMÂN—of the family of BALÂK—took the fortress of ZÂÎD, and the Sûltân of MELITENE took MASÂRÂ and GARGAR. And a great star appeared, the length thereof was from south to north, and the width thereof was like the neck of a horse; and it was visible for two months.

And in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1124), on the thirteenth day of the month of HAZÎRÂN (JUNE), on Friday, the Amîr GÂZÎ, the son of DÂNISHMAND, the lord of SEBASTIA, burst forth against MELITENE; and he took the whole country and afflicted the city for one month. Then in the great village of SÂMÂN he left his son MÂHAMMÂD, with a large army, and he commanded them to attack as far as the gates every day, and not to allow any man to go in or to come out. Now 'ARÂB, because he was always sallying out spoiling the country of DÂNISHMAND after the manner of a brigand, was not present in the city. Then the city was



stricken sorely with cruel famine, for a *kepîzâ*, that is to say an ass's load, of wheat was sold for thirty-six gold *dînârs*. Finally, all food of every sort and kind came to an end, and men began to steep worn-out leathers in water, and the bindings of books and shoes (or, sandals) and stew them and eat them. As for cats and dogs and even a dead donkey, where were they to be found? Now the city, which was to be compassionated, was smitten with three bitter blows. From the outside by the sword, which destroyed every one who fled, and from the inside, by the famine which put an end to every one, and by the mother of the Sûltân, a second JEZEBEL, the woman who was saved from MÂWŞIL. She tortured the sons of free men for gold, so that she might plunder [them] and flee. She was prepared to kill the whole population and then to go forth. And stars appeared which fell from heaven.

Then the Lord had mercy [286] on the remnant of the Christians, and at dawn on the fourth day of the week, on the tenth day of the month of the FIRST KÂNÔN (DECEMBER), in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1125), that accursed woman and her son went forth, and GÂZÎ, the Amîr, came in. And when he saw those who had been left by the famine, [who looked] as if they had come forth from the tombs, he comforted them. And he gave the peasants wheat to sow, and he brought herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and the city began to be prosperous [again]. And the blessed MÂR MICHAEL saith concerning this year, that the Khalifah MÛSTATHËR died, and his son MÛSTARSHID rose up (i.e. succeeded), and it is possible that he made a mistake because of the inequality in the course of the lunar years of the ARABS, and the solar years of the GREEKS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-seven [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1126], the lord of ẖAMÂTH was killed by the FRANKS at KEFAR ẖÂB. And the FRANKS took GABÂLÂ, and besieged TYRE until ships of the VENETIAN FRANKS arrived. And the king of JERUSALEM also came to their help, and after a fierce war they took it. And MÂLIK 'ARÂB collected an army and attacked his brother MAS'ÛD, the Sûltân of ICONIUM, because he had made an agreement with DÂNISHMAND. Then MAS'ÛD fled to CONSTANTINOPLE, and he was received joyfully by 'ÎWANÎ, the king of the GREEKS. And he gave him an army, and much gold, and he went forth and came to GHÂZÎ, and the two of them attacked MÂLIK 'ARÂB. Then 'ARÂB fled to TÔRÔS (THEODORUS?), the ARMENIAN, the governor of CILICIA.

In this year, which is the year five hundred and twenty of the ARABS (A.D. 1126), ten ISHMAELITES leaped upon 'ÂKSENẖÛR BÛRSÛẖ, the Amîr of MÂWŞIL, in the great old mosque in MÂWŞIL, and with his own hands he killed three of them and then was himself killed. And there ruled in his stead 'AZ AD-DÎN MAS'ÛD his son, over MÂWŞIL, and the island of ẖARDÛ, and BÊTH NAHRÎN, and ẖAMÂTH, and other places. And living for one year he died, and his younger brother rose up, and the Amîr JÂWÂLÎ, who was a



Turkish Amîr, and was one of the slaves of his father BÛRSÛKÎ, became his administrator.

And JÂWÂLÎ sent the Kâdî of MÂWŞIL, who was 'ABÛ AL-ḤASÂN 'ÂLÎ, the son of SHAHÂRZÛRÎ, and ŞALÂḤ YÂĠÛBSÂNÎ, as ambassadors to BAGHDÂD, to the Sûltân, in order to confirm the dominion of the younger son of BÛRSÛKÎ. And when they went they said unto the Sûltân, 'MÂWŞIL hath need of a warlike man [287] who is able to stand up against the FRANKS, for behold they make the whole Arab people to tremble'. And they hinted at 'ÂTÂBÂĠ ZANGÎ, the son of KÂSİM AD-DÂWLÂḤ 'ÂKSENĶÛR, who was the governor of WÂSÎṬ and BAGHDÂD. The Sûltân agreed, and he gave a Patent of Authority to ZANGÎ and sent him to MÂWŞIL, and he went. First of all he took possession of BAWÂZÎĠH (BÊTH WÂZÎĶ), and from there he went to MÂWŞIL. And JÂWÂLÎ sallied out to meet him; he gave him RAḤBÛTH and sent him there. And ZANGÎ went to MÂWŞIL, and he gave the governorship of the fortress to ŞALÂḤ YÂĠÛBSÂNÎ, and the judgeship of MÂWŞIL and of all the country over which he was master to the son of SHAHÂRZÛRÎ, to him and his seed for ever. And ZANGÎ took JAZÎRAH, and ARBÎL, and SHÎGHÂR, and RAḤBÛTH, and ALEPPO, and ḤAMÂTH, and EMESA.

And in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1127), GÂZÎ and 'ARÂB met again in battle, and 'ARÂB was conquered. And GÂZÎ pursued him and looted his tents. And he went and encamped against KÛMÂNÂ and ANCYRA, and he fought against them violently and took them, and he brought out his son MÂḤAMMÂD, who had been shut up therein by MÂLIK 'ARÂB. And 'ARÂB again collected an army, and met GÂZÎ in battle, and he was conquered. And as he was fleeing to the GREEKS he perished (or, was lost), and no news of him went forth.

And in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-eight (A.D. 1127), BÔHÂIMÔND, the son of BÔHÂIMÔND, went forth from RHÔMÎ, and he came and reigned over ANTIOCH. And dissension (or, strife) fell among the FRANKS, and JOSCELYN took the whole country of ANTIOCH. Then their Patriarch was wroth, and he shut the doors of the churches, and he stopped the ringers of bells and prayers until JOSCELYN gave back the whole of the spoil.

And in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1128), when the fear of JOSCELYN fell upon the ARABS of ALEPPO, they undertook to give him each year twelve thousand *dînârs*, and he was not to oppress them. Then the TURKS of ALEPPO bribed the Frankish cooks of JOSCELYN with gold, and they made him and the six horsemen who were with him to drink deadly poison; the six horsemen died, but by God's providence and the treatment of the physicians, JOSCELYN was saved, and he killed those who had given him the poison and their sons. And in [that] year ṬÛGHREL 'ARSLÂN, from whom MELITENE had been taken, [288] invaded the country of MELITENE, and he took some of the outer frontiers and departed, and was not seen again.



And in the year fourteen hundred and forty [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1129] JOSCELYN went to the country of 'ÂMID, and he plundered the TURCOMANS and the KÛRDS who were in the mountain of 'ÂSHÔMÂ, and he looted the villages up to the gate of the city.

And in the year five hundred and twenty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1128), when ZANGÎ, the Amîr of MÂWŞIL, heard that the Sûltân wished to give MÂWŞIL to DÛBAIS, he came to BABYLON to the Sûltân, and behaved towards him with humility; and he offered one hundred thousand *dînârs* to the Sûltân and entreated him not to supersede him. And similarly he offered many gifts to the Khalîfah so that he might not permit DÛBAIS to have dominion over any place (i.e. town) whatsoever.

Now we are not equal to recording the many wars which took place between the Khalîfah and this DÛBAIS, the king of the MA'DÂYÊ (NOMADS), and how DÛBAIS clung to the Sûltân and vexed the Khalîfah, and how he came to BAGHDÂD; and how he began to ride, and to go in and to come out fearlessly, and to show that he did not tremble before the Khalîfah; and how after a little, when the Sûltân was sick, DÛBAIS kidnapped the youngest son of the Sûltân and fled; and how he took KÛFÂH, and BÂŞRÂ, and HILLÂH; and how he collected much gold; and how he had with him ten thousand horsemen; and how he took them and went into the desert; and the rest of his cunning devices, because this brief summary will not permit of it. It is related that during one of the fights which took place between DÛBAIS and the Khalîfah, when DÛBAIS was defeated, he alone escaped while all his companions fell by the sword. And as he was crossing the EUPHRATES by the swimming of his horse, a certain old nomad woman saw him, and she said unto him boldly, 'Dûbair (that is to say, unlucky one), hast thou come?' But he was not angry, and he replied to her pleasantly, saying, 'Dûbair (that is to say, unlucky one) is he who cometh not'.

And in this year the FRANKS met the ISHMAELITES in battle, and they broke about ten thousand of them, and they made themselves masters also over very many fortresses which they had in PHOENICIA. And all the ARABS who were in SYRIA trembled before the FRANKS. And they went and encamped against DAMASCUS and besieged it closely. And having decreed that the DAMASCENES were to pay as yearly tribute twenty thousand *dînârs*, they left them [289] and departed. And at this time the FRANKS were masters of the country from MARDÎN and SHÂBAKTÂN to 'ARÎSH, which is on the border of EGYPT. And in all SYRIA there remained to the ARABS nothing except ALEPPO, and ẖAMÂTH, and EMESA, and DAMASCUS, which paid tribute. For from the country of ALEPPO they took one-half of the crops, and they went so far as to take it from the mill which is by the gate of ALEPPO and is called 'Gate of the Gardens'. And they sent envoys to all the Christian slaves who were in DAMASCUS, and counted [them], and they took him that did not wish to dwell with the ARABS from his masters without [paying]



the price [of him]. And their chiefs came as far as 'ÂMID, and NISIBIS, and RÂS 'AIN, and the people of CALONICUS and HÂRRÂN were reduced through them to complete helplessness, and only with the greatest difficulty were the ARABS able to travel by the desert road from the east to DAMASCUS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and forty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1130), TÔRÔS, the governor of CILICIA, died, and LEON his brother rose up after him. And BÔHÂIMOND the FRANK, the lord of ANTIOCH, quarrelled with him. And on the eighth day of the month 'ÂDHAR (MARCH) of this year, which is the year five hundred and twenty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1129), there was a violent earthquake in BAGHDÂD, and many houses were reduced to ruins. And in MÂWŞIL a great cloud rose up, and there were torrents of rain; then coals of fire came down out of the air to the earth, and it burnt up many houses with their furniture. And this was a frightening and terrifying sign. And in this year the satrap of the GREEKS, whose name was CASIANUS, went out to the Amîr, GÂZÎ, the son of DÂNISHMAND, and transferred to him many fortresses in the country of PONTUS, and he ruled over all CAPPADOCIA. And he collected many troops and went in to CILICIA to plunder it. And it happened that in the same day BÔHÂIMOND, the lord of ANTIOCH, went in there from another side, and neither knew of the presence of the other. And straightway the TURKS and the FRANKS met each other in battle. And LEON the ARMENIAN evaded a fight with them both. Now the TURKS conquered the FRANKS, and they killed BÔHÂIMOND, because they did not know that he was the king. Then LEON shut the fortifications against the TURKS and destroyed many of them.

And in the year five hundred and twenty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1130), the lord of DAMASCUS took prisoner DÛBAIS, the MA'DÂYÂ (i.e. nomad ARAB), and gave him to ZANGÎ, [290] the lord of MÂWŞIL, and he took his son who was a prisoner with ZANGÎ.

And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and forty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1131), the king of JERUSALEM and JOSCELYN came from JERUSALEM to ANTIOCH to reign over it. But the people of ANTIOCH shut their gates in their faces, until they swore that ANTIOCH should be kept for the daughter of BÔHÂIMOND, until she grew up and could be married to a man who should be lord of ANTIOCH. And the Amîr GÂZÎ, the son of DÂNISHMAND, invaded CILICIA, and captured fortresses. Then LEON the ARMENIAN humbled himself before him, and swore that he would never again send raiders to his country, and that he would give him tribute each year. And when he had gone forth LEON lied and gave him nothing. And ISACIUS (?), the brother of the king of the GREEKS, went to LEON in CILICIA, and gave him his daughter to wife, and MAŞÎŞTÂ (MOPSUESTIA) and 'ADÂNÂ [as] a dowry. And afterwards strife took place between them, and ISACIUS (?) and his son fled to MAS'ÛD, the Sûltân of ICONIUM.

And JOSCELYN died, and JOSCELYN II reigned over EDESSA. And in this



year when Sûltân MAḤMÛD went forth from BAGHDÂD to go to KHÔRÂSÂN, MAS'ÛD his brother came to him, and humbled himself before him, and he carried before him a *ghâshyâh*, that is the covering of a saddle. And they embraced each other, and Sûltân MAḤMÛD transferred to him countries and troops (or, armies). And he himself went to HAMÂDÂN, and there he died, being eight-and-twenty years old. Then there quarrelled together DÂWÛD, the son of Sûltân MAḤMÛD, and the two brothers of MAḤMÛD, MAS'ÛD and SALJÛK SHÂH, the sons of MAḤMÛD, and TÛGHREL their brother, who was with MÂLIK SENJÂR, their uncle. And they sent to the Khalîfah, and each one of them asked for the Sultanate on his own behalf. Now the Khalîfah approved of SENJÂR at the beginning, and sent to the others saying, 'He who wisheth for MÂLIK SENJÂR, the son of MÂLIK SHÂH, and to whom he giveth a writing of agreement, let him come to me and he shall be received'. And to SENJÂR he sent saying, 'Besides thyself we seek no other; therefore do not permit one of these two to rule'. When MAS'ÛD heard the answer of the Khalîfah he came to ZANGÎ in MÂWŞIL, and he asked him [291] for gold and help to make war on the Khalîfah. And he also asked for DÛBAIS, the Amîr of the MA'DÂYÊ, that he might carry him to the Khalîfah and heap benefits upon him. Then ZANGÎ replied, 'Gold I can give unto thee, fifty thousand *dînârs*, and as many slaves and handmaidens and horses as thou pleasest, but DÛBAIS I cannot give thee, because an order of the Sûltân SENJÂR hath reached me, saying, 'Thou shalt deliver him up to no man, and I cannot transgress his command'.

Then MAS'ÛD being offended, crossed [the TIGRIS] and encamped in the western suburbs of MÂWŞIL. And ZANGÎ shut the gates of the city, and he expelled all the poor folk who were unable to live under restraint, and he entrenched himself strongly in the fortress of MÂWŞIL. MAS'ÛD did not make war on MÂWŞIL, but went down to BAGHDÂD. And MÂLIK MAS'ÛD sent to the Khalîfah, saying, 'If thou wilt proclaim me, behold I am your friend and subject; and if thou wilt not, I have nothing except the sword for you'. And the armies of BAGHDÂD went out and met the armies of MAS'ÛD in battle, and they broke and were broken. And whilst they were struggling, the reports of SENJÂR arrived, saying: 'he hath arrived in BAGHDÂD with armies'; and the people of BAGHDÂD were afraid. And the Khalîfah saw that he was more able to subjugate MAS'ÛD than SENJÂR, and he gave the word of peace to MAS'ÛD, and brought him in and made him lodge in the royal house; and every one made ready for war against SENJÂR.

And in the year five hundred and twenty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1131) SENJÂR came and took HAMÂDÂN, and he proclaimed therein TÛGHREL, the son of MAḤMUD, who was with him. Then MAS'ÛD KÂRÂJÂ, the captain of the host of the Khalîfah, went to HAMÂDÂN, and he pursued the troops of SENJÂR. And they sent to the Khalîfah, saying that he himself in person should go to the war against SENJÂR. And when he was ready and had gone



out, there arrived the report that ZANGÎ and DÛBAIS, the MA'DÂYÂ, have made a covenant with each other, and behold they are coming down to BAGHDÂD. For this reason the Khalîfah turned back and went into his quarter, and he prepared for the war with DÛBAIS and ZANGÎ. And he went out and met them in battle with two thousand men, and he conquered them. And ZANGÎ fled to TAGRÎTH, and DÛBAIS to the banks of the EUPHRATES. And ZANGÎ sent as an envoy to the Khalîfah, the Judge, the son of SHAHÂR-ZÛRÎ, and asked forgiveness. And he asked for authority to come to [292] BAGHDÂD, and to be therein the governor from the quarter of SENJÂR. Then the Khalîfah replied, 'We have no sovereignty in respect to SENJÂR, and we do not receive (i.e. acknowledge) its governor. If ZANGÎ wisheth for peace from us, let him deliver DÛBAIS to us, and he shall dwell in MÂWŞIL in peace. If he will not, behold we are going against him.'

And in the year five hundred and twenty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1132) Sûltân MAS'ÛD invaded BAGHDÂD. And he was proclaimed, after the Khalîfah and his son, SENJÂR, then MAS'ÛD, and then DÂWÛD his brother; the three of these Sûltâns were proclaimed at one time. And the Khalîfah MÛSTARSHID went against MÂWŞIL, and he invested it for eighty days, but was unable to capture it. And the report came to him that Sûltân MAS'ÛD had rebelled against him, and he left MÂWŞIL and returned to BAGHDÂD.

And JOSCELYN II took the fortress in SHÂBAKTÂN, and he uprooted it utterly. And 'ÎWÂNÎ (JOANNES), the king of the GREEKS, went forth and took the fortress of KASTÂMÛNÂ from the TURKS peaceably, and he took also two other fortresses by fighting and destroyed them. And BÔ'DWÎN, the Frankish king of JERUSALEM, took by fighting the fortress of KÛŞAIR, which is by the side of ANTIOCH, and he went to 'ÎÂM, and there the TURKS were gathered together against the FRANKS as [numerous as the] locusts. And at first the FRANKS fled before the TURKS until they drew them out to the plain. Then they came down and asked each other's pardon; and [the FRANKS] turned back upon the TURKS, and made a great slaughter of them until the evening. These things took place in the year fourteen hundred and forty-five of YÂWÂN (A.D. 1134).

In this year the locusts came in great swarms in the country of EDESSA. And the Christians took asylum with the chosen man MÂR BAR ŞÂWMÂ, and they sent and brought the coffin wherein was the right hand of the saint. And with its arrival a miracle took place, and the locusts removed themselves without having done any harm whatsoever in any part of the country. Then the GREEKS, who were burning with jealousy, stirred up PÂPYÂS, the Metropolitan of the FRANKS, to open the coffin so that the right hand might be visible. And when the monks were unwilling to do this, the GREEKS burst out laughing [293] and said, 'They have nothing in the coffin'. And the monks being thus forced to do so, opened the coffin in the church of the FRANKS. Ther suddenly there was a terrifying peal of thunder, and



dark clouds obscured the sky, and heavy hailstones smote the ground, and the bazârs were filled therewith. And all the people began crying out 'Kûryâlaisôn', i.e. 'Have mercy upon us, O chosen one of God'. Then the GREEKS fled and hid themselves. And when the hail ceased, all the people gathered together, and made prayer for three days.

And when the ARABS of HÂRRÂN saw the miracle, they asked [the monks] that the right hand might go to them; but the FRANKS would not allow this, and they sent it back to the monastery with honour. And the natives of MELITENE came and carried the right hand to their city with services of prayer and hymns. And at the same time the mouth of the locust was fettered, and he did no harm at all to the crops.

And on the twenty-third day of the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER) the lightning burnt seven oxen and one young man, and in SÎMNADÛ it burnt one TURK. And a severe earthquake took place in ARMENIA and the city of DÔGÔDÂP fell. And there was a hard winter in MELITENE and red snow fell.

And in the year fourteen hundred and forty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1135) there went forth from ITALY a FRANK whose name was BEDEWÎ (RAYMOND of POICTIERS?), and he took to wife the daughter of BÔHÂIMÔND, the lord of ANTIOCH, who was killed, and he reigned over ANTIOCH. And in the year BÔ'DWÎN II the king of JERUSALEM died, and he took to wife the daughter of a man whose name was FÛG (FÛLK = FOULQUES?), and he reigned over JERUSALEM.

And in the year which is the year five hundred and twenty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1134), ZANGÎ, the lord of MÂWŞIL, sent his son to BAGHDÂD, and with him the keys of MÂWŞIL, and also some of his wives as hostages. And he swore oaths of fealty and promised submission, and he was received with honour. And the Khalifah also made friends with Sûltân SENJÂR, and sent him a crown and a collar and a horse which was shod with shoes of gold. And SENJÂR rose up and kissed the hoofs of the horse, and said, 'I am a slave and a subject'. At this time the Catholicus of the NESTORIANS who was called 'BAR GABBÂRÂ', on going out one night into the garden, trod upon a snake, and [the reptile] bit him and he died. And some people say that he was not bitten at all, but that he died of fright. And in the year the Khalifah sent to GHÂZÎ, the Amîr, the son of DÂNISHMAND, [294] the lord of MELITENE, a collar of gold for his neck, a sign of subjection, and a staff of gold, and four black flags, and drums which were to be beaten before him. And GHÂZÎ was proclaimed Mâlik. And when the envoys arrived they found him sick, and after some days he died. Then they fulfilled [the ceremonies] for his son MÂHAMMÂD, and went away.

Then this Mâlik MÂHAMMÂD restored CAESARAEA of CAPPADOCIA, which had been destroyed for a long time, and there he dwelt. And he came to MELITENE because he was afraid lest [the people] would give help to his brother, and he took with him hostages, the sons of free men, and he



departed. He met YÂGHÂN his brother and killed him. Another brother, DÂWLATH, he carried off to the country of MELITENE.

And in the seventh month of this year the Khalîfah stopped the proclamation of Sûltân MAS'ÛD. And he collected troops, seven thousand men, to make war upon him, because he heard that he had only fifteen hundred men with him. At that time there were five thousand with the Khalîfah, and with MAS'ÛD there were fifteen thousand. And they met each other in battle, and the side of the Khalîfah was broken, and the Khalîfah himself, MÛSTARSHID, was taken prisoner; and the treasure that was with him was looted. And there were with him seventy mule loads of gold and silver, and five thousand camel loads, and four hundred mule loads of bales of cloth, and apparel, and supplies for the road. It is said that there were with him more than forty thousand turbans and head coverings, and sewed tunics with sleeves. Then MAS'ÛD commanded the heralds to proclaim [to the soldiers], 'The goods and all the wealth are yours, and the blood is mine. Whosoever killeth a man, I will kill him on behalf of him that he has killed.' Therefore, with the exception of five souls, no man was killed. And he also caused to be proclaimed, 'Every man who was among the adherents of the Khalîfah and who remaineth here, assuredly I will kill'. Then the men of BAGHDÂD crushed each other, and without sandals and naked, they fled to the right hand and to the left.

And the Sûltân MAS'ÛD sent his governor to BAGHDÂD, and told the Khalîfah that he must write [and send] with him a letter containing a Confession of the Faith for BAGHDÂD, and that he was [held] in honour by MAS'ÛD, and that behold he would come to them quickly. Now when the governor went and took the letter, the men of BAGHDÂD knew that [295] the Khalîfah had written such things as these unwillingly and through fear. And a great tumult broke out, and about one hundred and fifty of the mob were killed; and [the people] only became quiet with difficulty.

And in those days frequent earthquakes began to take place in BAGHDÂD, five or six times each day. Then Sûltân SENJÂR sent an envoy to Sûltân MAS'ÛD, and with him were two letters. One was a secret letter in which he reviled MAS'ÛD and made a mock of him, and [asking him] 'Why didst thou not kill the Khalîfah during the confusion of the war?' And the other letter was an open one in which he said unto him, 'At the time when thou art reading these lines, [my] son GHÂYATH AD-DÛNYÂ WA-AD-DÎN MAS'ÛD, thou shalt go in to the Amîr of the Faithful, and thou shalt kiss the ground before him, and shalt ask for forgiveness of thy folly. Because I cannot endure the signs (or, portents) of the heavens and the earth, which God is making because of this, [viz.] storm winds, and thunders, and lightnings and quakings of the earth. And behold to all the Arab peoples there is the suffering of the Evil One. Prayers have ceased, the gates of the Mosques are closed in all PERSIA and SEN'ÂR. Therefore without pretext and excuse



send him with honour to his throne, and deliver DÛBAIS that he may work out his will on him, for he himself is the cause of all these evils.'

When MAS'ÛD understood these [words], he gave orders and they pitched the great tents, and he made the Khalifah to sit in them, and he carried the saddle cloth before him about half a parasang, and he made him to encamp in the great royal tent, and he asked for the forgiveness of his folly. And he brought DÛBAIS before him bound with fetters, and there were with him a sword and burial equipment, and he said, 'He hath done everything. And behold I deliver him over into thy hands; command thou that there shall be done unto him according as he hath done.' The Khalifah knowing that he said these things with his lips only, and not from his heart, extended forgiveness to DÛBAIS also. Then MAS'ÛD began to urge the Khalifah to go to BAGHDÂD, but the Khalifah excused himself, saying, 'I will not go unless thou wilt go with me in person'. And MAS'ÛD said, 'I will send with thee Amîrs who shall be in thy service, and thou shalt go with honour and shall dwell in thy palace'. But the Khalifah was unwilling [to go], for he was afraid that they would lay an ambush for him on the road, and would kill him treacherously, because they could not kill [296] openly the head of their Faith.

Then MAS'ÛD made his way direct to 'ADHÔRBIJÂN to make war upon DÂWÛD, his brother's son, and he took the Khalifah with him. And again SENJÂR sent envoys to MAS'ÛD whilst he himself was encamped at the gate of the city of MÂRÂGHÂ, and he urged him to send the Khalifah to BAGHDÂD without delay. And there also came many troops from SENJÂR, and with them were seventeen ISHMAELITES. And on the fifth day [of the week], at noon on the sixteenth day of the eleventh month of the year five hundred and twenty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1134), whilst he was sitting reading their Book inside the tent, fifteen men rushed in upon him with knives in their hands, and they killed him, and with him were three other men from among his nobles. Then MAS'ÛD rode away and closed the tents, and they killed those who had killed him. Some say that SENJÂR did not know [about] the ISHMAELITES, but the truth is that it was he himself who sent them. But MAS'ÛD did not know.

After MÛSTARSHID his son RÂSHÎD [ruled] one year. The Khalifah MÛSTARSHID having been killed, Sûltân SENJÂR sent to the governor of BAGHDÂD, and ordered that the nobles and judges should be gathered together, and that they should swear fealty to RÂSHÎD, the son of the Khalifah MÛSTARSHID, and seat him in the place of his father. And thus they did. And at [this] time DÛBAIS, the son of ŞADÂKÂH, acted treacherously in respect of Sûltân MAS'ÛD, and he wrote a letter to ZANGÎ and said, 'Behold, I am scheming to go forth from the presence of this man, and I will come to thee, and will gather together armies of the MADÂYÊ, [in number] like the sand on the sea shore,' (and the two of them made a covenant) 'and we



will do to MAS'ÛD what will be had in remembrance by the generations to come.'

Now this letter fell into the hands of some one who brought it to MAS'ÛD. Then one day when the nobles were gathered together about MAS'ÛD, and he had given them sweet water to drink, according to custom, they rose up to go out. And the Sûltân made a sign to DÛBAIS, saying, 'Remain, for I have a secret matter [to discuss] with thee'. And when the others had gone out, and DÛBAIS remained, MAS'ÛD rose up and went into the inner part of the chamber. And he gave a letter to an Armenian slave who carried a sword, and he said unto him, 'Go forth and take [this letter] to DÛBAIS, and when he beginneth to read it, do thou smite him from behind [297] and cut off his head'. Now when the slave went out he found DÛBAIS prodding the earth with his finger and saying, 'Death is better than life without rest'. And the slave handed out to him the letter, and when he had taken it and opened it and was beginning to read [it], the slave smote him from behind on his neck and cut off his head. This was the end of DÛBAIS, the cunning, warlike man. He was killed thirty-five days after the murder of MÛSTARSHID the Khalîfah, his enemy.

And in the year five hundred and thirty of the ARABS (A.D. 1135), which is the year fourteen hundred and forty-seven of the GREEKS [A.D. 1136], MICHAEL the ARMENIAN, who in the days of BALÂK had sold the fortress of GARGAR to the FRANKS and had evacuated it, came back and stole it from them. And he fought with them and robbed their villages. One day the TURKS caught MICHAEL the ARMENIAN in the district of the village of ZÎZÔNÂ, which is on the banks of the EUPHRATES. And as they had surrounded him on all sides he was unable to escape and he cast himself from a rock into the river. And as he was wearing a coat of iron mail he sank to the bottom of the waters; but he rose again, and through the ferry (?) which was there he escaped, and did not die. It is said that he did not even throw away the shield which was in his hand. Then he gave GARGAR to JOSCELYN II and he took from him the place which is called SÔPRÔS. And JOSCELYN sold GARGAR to BASIL, the brother of the Catholicus of the ARMENIANS.

And MICHAEL collected an army and went and took the country of KHÎSHÛM. And the FRANKS laid an ambush for him and killed him. And DEGHÂ BASIL went to LEON in CILICIA and became his son-in-law. And he collected ARMENIANS and came to make war on the FRANKS who were in KEPHAR-ZÂMÂN, and many of the ARMENIANS were killed. In this year, in the month of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY), there was such a hard frost that the birds of the mountains, partridges and such-like, and also the wild beasts of the desert, oryxes and such-like, fled [from their nests and dens] and came into the towns, and especially into the city of 'ÂMID. And the governor commanded that no man should harm them, and the people gave



them food until the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL), and then he drove them out. It is said that before the frost came, from [the time of] autumn, the birds and the beasts began to go into caves, and this showeth [298] that God hath implanted in irrational creatures a knowledge as to what kind of weather is about to come before the changes take place.

And in this year Sûltân MAS'ÛD sent to the Khalîfah RÂSHID and demanded from him the three hundred thousand *dînârs* which his father MÛSTARSHID had promised him when he was with him, and also the three hundred thousand *dînârs* which, he said, 'he had collected for me as assistance from the people of BAGHDÂD', and send me also the sum which, according to custom, is due to me [as beginning] a new Khalifate'. Then the Khalîfah collected his nobles and took counsel with them, saying, 'What reply shall we make?' And they advised [him] saying, 'We will gather together troops and meet the TURKS (?) in battle'; and he accepted their advice. And he opened up his treasuries, and brought out much gold, and enlisted very many soldiers. And he sent to the envoy of MAS'ÛD and said unto him, 'The gold which my father promised was intended [to pay] for his saving (or, deliverance) from you. And ye killed him, and I am ready to take vengeance for him on you. There is nothing for you with me except the sword.' When the envoy heard these things he left and fled. And the Khalîfah devoted zealous care to the building of the wall and towers.

And in those days ZANGÎ, the lord of MÂWŞIL, came to the assistance of the Khalîfah, and DÂWÛD, the son of the brother of Sûltân MAS'ÛD, also came. And the Sûltân wished to stop the proclaiming of MAS'ÛD and to proclaim DÂWÛD. But ZANGÎ did not wish [it] and he said, 'Ye shall not traffic much with MAS'ÛD'. And they replied to this young man, 'Go and fight thine uncle. If thou conquerest and art confirmed we will proclaim thee.' But the Khalîfah did not accept this, and he suppressed the name MAS'ÛD, and proclaimed DÂWÛD Sûltân.

Then MAS'ÛD sent to the Khalîfah and said unto him, 'We have no longer any need of thee. Behold, we will set up a suitable Khalîfah of the family of 'ÂLÎ. Do thou then look out for another place for thyself, and get thee gone and depart whithersoever thou wishest.' Then was the Khalîfah agitated, and he sent to BAHRÛZ, the Amîr of TAGRÎTH, and asked him to let him go to him, and make himself safe in the fortress of TAGRÎTH. And BAHRÛZ replied, 'I myself am a servant of MAS'ÛD, and if he should demand thee of me I should be unable to stop him'. Then the Khalîfah was compelled to prepare for the war of MAS'ÛD, and he brought his tents outside BAGHDÂD, and with him were ZANGÎ and the rest of the nobles. Then arrived the report, [299] 'MAS'ÛD hath arrived with a great army'. Then ZANGÎ spake with the nobles and said, 'Ye know what happened to MÛSTARSHID because of the dissension of his nobles, and that neither he nor they obtained any benefit. Therefore if your object (or, intention) is honest (or,



upright), and ye are ready to make war on Sûltân MAS'ÛD willingly, tell me so that I may know; and if not why meet him in battle and be plundered and broken? Get you gone, every man to his country, keeping for yourselves the property which is yours.' And although the mouths of all of them were silent, and they made no reply, but each one of them was looking, ZANGÎ knew that they were traitors, and he told the Khalifah [so]. And they all stood up again and went into the city, and they pitched their tents within the wall. Then ZANGÎ departed immediately and went to MÂWŞIL. And the Khalifah also seeing him depart was unable to restrain himself, and he fled with ZANGÎ to MÂWŞIL.

Then Sûltân MAS'ÛD went into BAGHDÂD, and he treated the people thereof with kindness, and he did not wish to loot a single house. And he gathered together all the nobles, and he produced and showed them the document of the Khalifah RÂSHID [in which was written], 'On the day in which I collect troops, and go forth to fight even one of the Amîrs of Sûltân MAS'ÛD, I shall be dismissed from the Khalifate'. And as the witnesses who had signed the document were present, and their testimonies were confirmed, they dismissed RÂSHID legally from the Khalifate. And they brought other charges against him, namely, 'That he had had union with his father's concubines, that he drank wine, that he neglected prayers, that he played with balls, that he was unjust and an oppressor, and that he shed innocent blood'.

After RÂSHID, MÛKTAFÎ his uncle, the son of MÛSTAṬHIR, [ruled] for twenty-four years and two months. RÂSHID being dismissed, the Sûltân called SHARÂF AD-DÎN ZAINÎ the Wazîr, and committed to him the choice of the man who was to succeed. But he chose his uncle, who had been dismissed, because he was his son-in-law and the husband of his daughter. And Sûltân MAS'ÛD went into the palace with the nobles and brought MÛKTAFÎ, and they gave assent to his election after he had testified concerning him that he would give to the Sûltân one hundred [300] and twenty thousand *dînârs*. For at that time there was not one *dînâr* in the Khalifah's treasury, whilst the Khalifah MÛKTAFÎ had ten thousand *dînârs* before he began to rule, and from them he supplied his need in connexion with taking his seat on the throne. And the proclaiming of RÂSHID and of the Sûltân DÂWÛD ceased, and the proclaiming of MÛKTAFÎ and of Sûltân MAS'ÛD succeeded. It is said that when the Sûltân went out from the palace of the Khalifah, he called the Wazîr to him and blamed him for his choice. And he said, 'Thou hast done wrong in making to succeed a full grown, middle aged man with intelligence. If thou hadst set up a young man and trained him, he would have looked upon thee with a kindly eye, and the command and the administration of the kingdom would have remained in thy hands for a long time, that is until he attained to the estate of completed manhood. Believe [me], believe [me], thou wilt not benefit by this choice of thine, and thou wilt see [that I am right].'



And when the year five hundred and thirty-one of the ARABS [A.D. 1136] began, the son of DÂNISHMAND, the lord of MELITENE, sent an envoy to the Sûltân in BAGHDÂD in order to persuade him to let him return again to his office. And when they brought the envoy to kiss the door-sill according to custom, he objected, and refused [to do so], and said, 'I am not going to kiss the door-sill, from which the lord thereof hath been expelled'. Then ZANGÎ collected an army and came to TAGRÎTH, and smote the cavalry (?) of Sûltân MAS'ÛD and returned to MÂWŞIL. And the Khalîfah MÛKTAFÎ sent to ZANGÎ and promised to give him ten famous places (towns?), and [told him] that he must not help RÂSHID. And ZANGÎ replied, 'I have sworn an oath that I will not deliver him into thy hands, not even if ye give me these places. I will proclaim you, and agree with you; and although I will not help this man, I will not drive him forth from me.' And the ten places were given to him, ḤARBÎ, and ḤADÎRÂH, and ŞARÎFAYN, and ḤILLÂH, and others. And ZANGÎ proclaimed MÛKTAFÎ and Sûltân MAS'ÛD. And he made RÂSHID to dwell in a quarter of MÂWŞIL which is called 'the Golden'.

At this time there was in BAGHDÂD an old woman, the wife of a certain man, and she was living as a servant in the house of a wealthy merchant, near the Gate 'AZGHÂ (BÂB AL-'AZÂJ). When the merchant went on the road, [301] his wife and his daughter remained in the house. And the old woman took her son and some other young men who were thieves, and they came by night and went into the house of the merchant, and stole everything [in it]. And when they had gone out the old woman said to the wife of the merchant, 'Blessed be God who hath made blind their eyes, and they did not open the casket (i.e. safe)'. And when the thieves heard this, they turned back and opened the box and took from it four thousand *dînârs*, and precious stones, and pearls and departed.

And MAS'ÛD and DÂWÛD met each other in battle. And MAS'ÛD was broken, and many of his partisans were killed. In this year, which was the year fourteen hundred and forty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1137), 'ÎWANNÎ (JOANNES), the king of the GREEKS, went forth in wrath against LEO the ARMENIAN, and he captured ṬARSÔS, and 'ADÂNÂ, and MOPSUESTIA. And he took LEO, and his wife, and his sons, and sent them to CONSTANTINOPLE. And he departed and went down to ANTIOCH, and being unable to capture it, JOSCELYN came, and they agreed that 'ÎWANNÎ should take ALEPPÔ and other cities of SYRIA and give [them] to the FRANKS and that they should give him ANTIOCH. And they were of one mind. And they came and encamped against ALEPPO, and took the fortress of BÛZÂÎ'ÂH, and posted warriors against SHAIZÂR. Then MAS'ÛD, Sûltân of ICONIUM, attacked CILICIA, and he captured the city of 'ADÂNÂ, and he took all the people and the bishop, and brought them prisoners to MELITENE. When 'ÎWANNÎ the king heard these things he burnt the engines of war, and went back to CILICIA, and made peace with MAS'ÛD, the lord of ICONIUM, and went to CONSTANTINOPLE.



And MÂLIK MÂHAMMÂD, the lord of MELITENE, drove out his brother DÂWLÂH (DÂWLATH), and he took from him ABLESTIN and the land of GHIHÂN. And DÂWLÂH crossed the HANÂZÎT, and went from there to 'ÂMID, and from there to JOSCELYN, and went about from place to place. At this time, the Amîr 'ISÂ, the lord of SÎBÂBARÂK, which is SÂBÛKT, a descendant of BÔGHÔS, the ARMENIAN who went to BAGHDÂD and became a Muslim, collected an army, and went to plunder the country of GARGAR. And when he saw that the country had already been laid waste, he set his face against the monasteries and convents. And he attacked the Monastery of MÂR [302] 'ABHĤAI, which is DAIRÂ DHĤ SEBHLÂTHÂ. And being unable to enter on the side which was on the bank of the EUPHRATES, he went up on the top of a rock and he let men down from there. And the monks were afraid and went out to him. And he took possession of everything, and carried off all the equipment and furniture [of the church] which he found, the chalices and phials of silver, and the crosses, and everything which had been there from the time of MÂR JOHN the Patriarch, the son of 'ABHDÔN; and he took also the piscina. And he transferred RABBAN DAVID, the anchorite, and his companions to the convent of SHÎRÂ, and no one remained except 'ABÛ JÂLIB at the table of the king.

And in the year five hundred and thirty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1137), RÂSHID the Khalifah abandoned MÂWŞIL, and went to KHÔRÂSÂN, to Sûltan DÂWÛD, and he received him with honour; and the two of them went and took HAMÂDÂN from Sûltan MAS'ÛD. From there RÂSHID attacked 'EŞFÂHÂN, and he became sick with a severe sickness; and whilst he was [lying] ill four men of KHÔRÂSÂN attacked him and killed him by the gate of 'EŞFÂHÂN. It is said that even if he had not been killed he would very soon have died of his illness, because deadly poison had been administered to him three times. And he was buried by the gate of 'EŞFÂHÂN, where he was killed, even as his father was buried by the gate of MÂRÂGHÂ, where he was killed.

And in the year fourteen hundred and forty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1138), when EDESSA was besieged by the TURKS, three hundred Frankish horsemen assembled, and about four thousand fighting foot-soldiers, and others, and they sallied out from SAMOSATA, and they went to take food into EDESSA. And an ambush of TEMÛRTÂSH, the lord of MARDÎN, attacked them, and the greater number of the Christians were killed, and the remainder were carried off as slaves. Present with them was 'ABÛ SA'D, a minister, physician and philosopher, and MICHAEL, the son of SHMÔNÂ, and his son. And TEMÛRTÂSH also took the fortress of KESÔS from the FRANKS. And MAS'ÛD of ICONIUM attacked the country of KHÎSHÛM, and he captured and burnt the villages.

And in the year five hundred and thirty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1138), in the second month, there was a severe earthquake in GANZÂH, a city in Persian territory. And there perished therein two hundred and thirty



thousand souls, and the whole city was completely engulfed, and black waters burst up from the ground; and those who escaped [303] went out and took up their abode in the cemeteries and bewailed their [dead] relations.

And in the year fourteen hundred and fifty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1139), MÂLIK MÂHAMMÂD, the lord of MELITENE, went to the country of CILICIA, and captured the two fortresses BAHGAI and GABNÛPÎRATH. And he invaded also the country of ẸASÎNÔS, which is on the coast of the SEA OF PONTUS, and he plundered and made captives of all the people and sold them into slavery.

And in the year fourteen hundred and fifty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1140) the earth was rent in the country of CALONICUS, and it swallowed up forty horsemen with their horses, and only one who had turned aside to make water was saved. And the sound of the groans of men and their horses came up for a long time.

And in the year five hundred and thirty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1139) the word which Sûltân MAS'ÛD spake to the Wazîr SHARÂF AD-DÎN was actually fulfilled; now he said that he had been foolish in the choice of a Khalîfah. For that Khalîfah began to meddle in political matters without the advice of the Wazîr, and the Wazîr was cut off in his house. And when he brought him he discussed matters with him disingenuously. And the hand of the Wazîr was suppressed in very many affairs, and after a little the Khalîfah dismissed him finally from his office of Wazîr.

And in the year five hundred and thirty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1140), which is the year fourteen hundred and fifty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1141), in the month of the FIRST TESHİRÎN (OCTOBER), the TURKS of MELITENE attacked the monasteries of BÊTH ZABÂR, that is of BÊTH ẸANYÂ, and they looted them and went away. And in the month of 'ÎYÂR (MAY) the FRANKS came to take vengeance, and they came to ZÔBATRÂ and to 'ARẸÂ, and they carried off the possessions of the Christians, and they killed many TURKS and took their children and women prisoners. And the TURKS went forth with great haste from the country of HANÂZÎT to invade the country of the FRANKS. And they met a holy man of ẸALÎSÛRÂ as he was crossing the mountain of 'ABHDÂHAR, and they seized him and those who were with him and tied them up to kill them. And suddenly there fell upon them the terrifying sound of the FRANKS, and they left the monks and fled. And the FRANKS came and unbound their fetters.

And 'ÎWANNÎ (JOANNES), the king of the GREEKS, went forth and came to NEO-CAESAREA. And the camps of the GREEKS and TURKS who had already encamped faced each other for six months, and they separated without fighting a battle. At that time every Christian who mentioned the name of the king [304] of the GREEKS or of the FRANKS, even unwittingly, the TURKS slew. And because of this many of the people of MELITENE perished.

And in the year five hundred and thirty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1141)



KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH sent to the king of the HUNS the men who had not gone back to Islâm, who were called 'Turk kâfir' by the ARABS (i.e. Turkish infidel), and he invited and summoned him to war with Sûltân SENJÂR, because Sûltân SENJÂR had killed the brother of KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH. And whilst those HUNS were satisfied with three hundred thousand men, SENJÂR collected one hundred thousand, and crossed the river GÎHÔN. And he met the HUNS in battle, and his partisans were utterly broken. It is said that SENJÂR escaped with six souls [only]; and he came to the city of BALKH. And his wife and his daughter's daughter, and four thousand other women, were carried off captives. And of that hundred thousand not one escaped the sword or capture as a prisoner.

And in the year fourteen hundred and fifty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1143) MÂLIK MAHMÛD died in CAESAREA, and he commanded that DHUAN-NÔN, his son, should reign in his stead. Now his wife brought his brother YA'KÛB 'ARSLÂN, and she became his wife; and he reigned in SEBASTIA. And DHUAN-NÔN fled to SÎMNADÛ, and ruled over CAESAREA. And DÂWLÂH, another brother, came, and YÛNÛS, the lord of the fortress of MASÂRÂ, made a covenant with him, and they attacked MELITENE, but they could not take it, and they left and went and encamped against 'ARKÂ. Then the KHÂTÔN, who was with YA'KÛB 'ARSLÂN, sent for two thousand [men] to come to MELITENE and protect it, and to expel the TURKS who were therein and send them to SEBASTIA. Then the TURKS who were therein rebelled, and they smashed the gate of the city which was called BÛRÎDYÂH with axes, because the governor would not allow them to go out; and they sallied out and put to flight those two thousand [men]. And on [that] day they sent and brought DÂWLÂH, and made him ruler of MELITENE.

Then Sûltân MAS'ÛD of ICONIUM came against SEBASTIA, and he captured it and destroyed it. And he also came against MELITENE, and encamped against it on the seventeenth day of the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL), and he set up engines of war, and afflicted it with fighting. And DÂWLÂH also, who was inside, made the chiefs of the Christians to suffer terribly through the heavy taxes which he took from them and gave to the combatants. And suddenly, after three months, [305] at dawn, on the day of the Feast of the Cross, in the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER), the Sûltân burnt his engines of war and departed, and the people of MELITENE had relief.

And in the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL) of this year, 'ÎWÂNNÎ, the king of the GREEKS, when hunting in CILICIA, was gored by a wild boar and died. And because his eldest son was not present, he commanded that MANUEL, his younger son, should reign. And he [began to] reign in NÎSÂN (APRIL) of the year fourteen hundred and fifty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1144). And when he went in to CONSTANTINOPLE his brother received him and did homage to him, and he was confirmed in the kingdom. And the king of the FRANKS of JERUSALEM, also when hunting, fell from [his] horse and died. And his



younger son BÔ'DWIN [III] reigned, and because he was very young his mother administered the kingdom.

And in the year fourteen hundred and fifty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1144), DÂWÛD, the governor of the fortress of ZÂÎD, died, and his younger son KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN rose up after him. And because 'ARSLÂN TÔGHMÎSH, the eldest son of DÂWÛD, was with ZANGÎ, the lord of MÂWŞIL, ZANGÎ came that he might expel KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN and appoint 'ARSLÂN TÔGHMÎSH. Then KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN went to Sûltân MAS'ÛD of ICONIUM, and took asylum with him. Then he gave him twenty thousand horsemen, and he took them and went against ZANGÎ. When ZANGÎ heard [this] he returned to his country. And MAS'ÛD of ICONIUM also came and encamped against MELITENE for three months, and he left it and departed.

### Concerning the taking of Edessa from the Franks

In the year fourteen hundred and fifty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1145), when JOSCELYN the lord of EDESSA went to ANTIOCH, the men of HÂRRÂN informed ZANGÎ, the lord of MÂWŞIL, that EDESSA was empty of troops. And ZANGÎ collected armies, and on the third day [of the week], on the twenty-eighth day of the month of the LATTER TESHİRİN (NOVEMBER), came and encamped against EDESSA. And they pitched their camps by the Gate of SHÂ'Ê, close to the Church of the Confessors. And they set up seven engines of war against it, and troops who shot in arrows [as thick] as drops of rain. And all the natives of the town, great and small, and the monks of the mountains were standing on the wall and fighting. And all the women were on the wall also, and they were pushing out stones, and water, and food for the combatants. And whilst those who were outside had dug underground, and had reached the wall, [306] those who were inside had dug underground and went forth against those who were outside. And they killed those whom they found in the excavations, and went back and built up a wall before the part which was breached. Then those outside dug under two other towers.

And when the towers were nigh to fall, ZANGÎ sent 'ÂTÂBÂĞ to the EDESSEANS and said, 'Take ye two of our men with you, and give us two men of yours so that they may see that the towers are nigh to fall; surrender the city before ye are captured and perish by the sword'. Now PAPYÂS, the chief of the FRANKS who were in EDESSA, because he was confident that JOSCELYN and the king of JERUSALEM would arrive to help them, was not convinced, but he scoffed at and made a mock of ZANGÎ. Then those who were outside [the wall] set fire to the posts of wood which supported the towers, and they fell. And when the TURKS began to pour in through the breach, the people of the city, and PAPYÂS, and the holy men took their stand inside the breach, and prevented the TURKS from coming in. And the



breach was filled with heaps of the slain of those who were inside and those who were outside.

And all the people being huddled together at the breach, the TURKS saw that the wall was emptied of combatants, and they placed ladders in position and went up. And when those who were inside saw that the TURKS were masters of the wall, their hands dropped, and they began to flee to the Citadel of the city. And from that moment—what mouth would not be hampered in narrating, or what finger would not tremble in writing, the account of the awful and horrible happenings which took place at the third hour of the day of the Sabbath, on the third day of the month of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY)—the TURKS pushed in with drawn swords, which drank the blood of old men and young men, of strong men and women, of priests and deacons, of monks and anchorites, of nuns and virgins, of children of tender years, and of bridegrooms and brides. O what a bitter history! The city of ABHGAR, the friend of CHRIST, had become a thing to be trampled under foot because of our iniquity! Woe on the tribulation! Sons denied their fathers, and fathers their sons! The mother forgot to show mercy to her children! And every man ran to the top of the mountain. And when the aged priests who were carrying the coffins of the martyrs saw the wrath of which the prophet said, 'I will bear the wrath of the Lord because I have sinned' (Micah, vii. 13), they neither fled nor did they cease to pray until the sword [307] silenced them. And afterwards they were found with the blood mingled in their vestments. And a great many mothers collected their children about them as a hen collects her chicks, expecting to die altogether by the sword, or that they would be carried off into slavery in a body.

And the guards of the Citadel would not open the doors to those who fled there until they saw the face of PAPYÂS, and as he did not flee to come with the first [fugitives], thousands were suffocated in the crush. And when he arrived he was unable to enter because of the piles of dead bodies that were before the door of the Citadel. And there he was shot by an arrow from the TURKS and he died. And when ZANGÎ saw the horrible sight, he stopped the sword. Then the holy man BASILIUS was found naked and shoeless, and he was dragged along by the TURKS with a rope. And when ZANGÎ saw him he recognized the graciousness which was in his face and he asked who he was. And when he knew that he was the Metropolitan, he commanded and [his servants] clothed him, and he had him brought into his tent. And he began to chide the holy man because he had not surrendered the city and spared the wretched people from being killed. And the holy man replied: 'Divine Providence wished this to take place—that such a victory as this should be thine, and a great and splendid name among thy fellow kings. And there is openness of face with us poor folk (i.e. we are innocent) towards the Lord, for we have neither acted treacherously nor broken our oaths.' And his words pleased the 'ÂTÂBÂG, and he said unto



him, 'Thou speakest truth, O Metropolitan, for those who keep their oaths are honoured by God and by men, and especially those who endure to the death.' As for those who were in the Citadel, after two days they received the promise that their lives should be spared, and they surrendered it. Now wherever the TURKS found a FRANK they killed him; but they left alive our people and the ARMENIANS that were left. Now it is not for such as I am to relate the history of this calamity, but the prophet JEREMIAH and those who are like unto him. Let men read the wise dirges which they have composed, and the lamentations with [their] mournful songs and thoughtful comments concerning the people which are to be pitied. For on the day in which EDESSA was taken, fire broke out in the Monastery of ẖARÂRÎT, which is in the country of KARSHENÂ, and it burnt up all the cells and one old monk, and the others escaped as from a furnace of fire. And on that same day a village in the country of MAR'ÂSH was also burnt. And fire broke out in the Monastery of [308] MÂR BAR ŞÂWMA. When three cells had been burnt out they were able, though with considerable difficulty, to extinguish the fire. Now the pious MÂR DIONYSIUS BAR-ŞELÎBHÎ composed two discourses on the capture of EDESSA, and MÂR BASIL, a native of EDESSA, composed three discourses, all of them in the metre of MÂR JACOB.

And ZANGÎ having taken EDESSA went and encamped against BÎRÂH, a rebel fortress, which overshadowed the EUPHRATES. And whilst he was harassing it with war, there came to him the report that dissension had broken out in MÂWŞIL, and that his deputy there, NÂŞIR AD-DÎN, had been killed. Then he left BÎRÂH and returned to MÂWŞIL. And the FRANKS who were in BÎRÂH, being afraid lest ZANGÎ would come back and attack them again, sent [a letter] to HÛSÂM AD-DÎN TEMÛRTÂSH, the son of 'ÎLGHÂZÎ, the son of 'ARTÛḲ, the lord of MARDÎN, and delivered the city over to him. But 'ÎLGHÂZÎ, fearing lest ZANGÎ would come and attack his country, and capture the fortresses thereof, and rule by means of them over all his country, destroyed many of the fortresses himself, namely, that of HÛR'BHAR and that of TELL-BESME, and that of THÛMÂ, and that of TELL-SHÎḤ, and that which was near the Monastery of MÂR ḤANANYÂ which is called 'Of the woman'. And at that time TEMÛRTÂSH took the fortress of HATHKHÂ from a certain KÛRD, after he had encamped against it for one year and four months, by means of the oaths (i.e. assurances), and gold and villages which he gave to the KÛRD its lord. And 'ARSLÂN ṬÔGHMÎSH, the son of DÂWÛD, the lord of the fortress of ZÂÎD, went forth from ZANGÎ and encamped against TELLÂ of 'ARSANYÂS, and he wanted them to surrender it, but they did not wish [to do so] because their sons were hostages in the fortress of ZÂÎD. And having made war upon it he captured it quickly. And about fifteen thousand souls were found in it, captives from all parts of the country. And he commanded, and they all, together with their bishop TIMOTHY, became slaves, and were sold.



And in the year five hundred and forty of the ARABS (A.D. 1145), ZANGÎ sent an army against the fortress of PANÂK, which is by the side of the island of KARDÛ, and is called [after] the 'Sons of 'ÔMAR'. This was a rebel fortress which overshadowed the TIGRIS, and it had been in the hands of the BASHNÂWÂYÊ KÛRDS for a period of three hundred years. And in the year five hundred and forty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 1146), ZANGÎ, having made peace with the natives [309] of MÂWŞIL after the murder of his deputy NÂŞIR AD-DÎN, went to ALEPPO, because it belonged to him, and he collected an army and went and encamped against the fortress of KAL'ÂH JA'BÂR. And one day when he was sitting in his tent with the metal workers who had made for him a bowl of gold which they had brought to him [for inspection], he bowed his head and was examining it. And one of the slaves who were his armour-bearers smote him with a sword from behind him, and cut off his head. And others say that one night when he was sunk in a drunken sleep three of his slaves killed him. And they fled to the base of the wall [of the city] and said to the sentries [on top], 'Pull us up that we may give you some good news'. And the sentries let down an earth basket and pulled them up one by one with a rope. And when they reached the top they said to the men of the fortress, 'We have just killed ZANGÎ, and at present no man knoweth anything about it, therefore do ye inform them'. And the sentries blew the horns, and cried out to those who were below, saying, 'Rise up and bury ye your lord who hath been killed, before he stinketh'. And when they went to ZANGÎ they found him dead.

Then MAĤMÛD his son, who was called NÛR AD-DÎN, because he was with him, attacked the fortress with greater violence, and when he and those who were inside it were wearied by the struggle, he said unto them, 'Hand over to me my father's murderers and there shall be peace to you'. And they handed over the three slaves to him. And after cruel torturings they killed them and burnt their bodies.

Now there remained to ZANGÎ four sons and one daughter: SAIF AD-DÎN GHÂZÎ, NÛR AD-DÎN MAĤMÛD, KUTB AD-DÎN MÂWDÛD, NUŞRATH AD-DÎN, Amîr of the Amîrs, and their sister. Now ZANGÎ built the royal palaces which are in MÂWŞIL, because before his time there was only one royal habitation there, namely that which is opposite the Stadium, that is to say the Maidân. He raised the walls thereof, and he deepened the ditch thereof. And he opened the gate which is called 'EMÂDÎ after his name. And he also planted gardens round about it. It is said that formerly vegetables (or, fruits) and grapes were so very scarce in MÂWŞIL that when the waiter in the tavern was cutting bunches of grapes to sell, he would cut the bunch off with a razor, taking care that not a single grape should fall upon the ground. [310] And it was he who multiplied therein all kinds of fruits.

And he had in the palace of the Sûltân men who gave him hints secretly about everything which was done there by day and by night. And when



an ambassador came to him he would never permit him to hold converse with any of the members of his administration and his city. And one day he gave a precious object to one of the slaves and said unto him, 'Guard this for me'. And the slave took it and wrapped it up in a kerchief and placed it in his bosom, and it was with him for a full year. And after a year the 'ÂTÂBÂG said unto him, 'Where is that precious object?' And straightway the slave brought it forth out of his bosom, and handed it to him. And the service of this slave pleased him, and he said, 'In like manner it is meet to fulfil the guardianship of the fortress'; and he gave him the governorship of the fortress of KAWÂSHÎ, and sent him thither. And he possessed also other [remarkable] characteristics, [e.g.] modesty coupled with great ability, and severity in dealing with offenders, but because of the length [of a summary of them] we must leave them. He ruled over SYRIA nineteen years.

And when the 'ÂTÂBÂG ZANGÎ was killed at KAL'ÂH JA'BÂR there was with him a great and wise man whose name was 'ASÂD AD-DÎN SHÎRKÛH. This man approached NÛR AD-DÎN, the son of ZANGÎ, and said unto him, 'Behold I see the Wazîr of thy father leading astray all the troops together with thy brother SAIF AD-DÎN, whom he wisheth to carry to MÂWŞIL, that he may reign there. Because of this what I now propose is better for thee, viz. that I should carry thee to ALEPPO, so that thou canst reign there, and through that place canst reign over all SYRIA. When this happeneth [thou wilt reign over] the East also, that is MÂWŞIL, and its clime will be subject unto thee.' And this operation was carried out. And the heralds made a proclamation to [this effect] among the armies of SYRIA, and they all gathered together to NÛR AD-DÎN, and they took ALEPPO, and NÛR AD-DÎN ruled over it, and over its Citadel. And SAIF AD-DÎN, his brother, took MÂWŞIL and ruled therein. And Sûltân MAS'ÛD, because he loved SAIF AD-DÎN—now during his father's days he had served the Sûltân greatly—sent to him royal apparel and confirmed him in the Sultânate of MÂWŞIL. Now NÛR AD-DÎN was afraid of his brother SAIF AD-DÎN, [311] and he showed by gifts and other kinds of homage that he was afraid to meet him. And after [swearing] oaths, when SAIF AD-DÎN went to SYRIA, NÛR AD-DÎN came to him. And when they met each other NÛR AD-DÎN bowed down and kissed the ground before his brother, and SAIF AD-DÎN also bowed down, and they embraced each other and wept. And SAIF AD-DÎN said unto NÛR AD-DÎN, 'Why didst thou not come to me? Is it possible that thou wast afraid of me? Believe me, my brother, there hath never entered into my mind the thought which thou hast imagined. What good would life and countries be to me if I worked evil on my brother?' And thus being reconciled to each other, each returned to his own place.

And at the time when ZANGÎ was killed, BAYMÔND (RAYMOND?), the lord of ANTIOCH, went forth to the country of ALEPPO and HAMÂTH, and he made



a great slaughter of the ARABS. And having made many captives, SHĪRKŪH overtook him, and sent them back. And MŪJĪR AD-DĪN, the lord of DAMASCUS, went against B'ELBĀK, and harassed it with war, and took it from NAJM AD-DĪN ĪYŪB, the father of ṢALĀḤ AD-DĪN. And he gave certain villages to NAJM AD-DĪN, and carried him with him to DAMASCUS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and fifty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1147), in the month of the FIRST TESHWIN (OCTOBER), JOSCELYN and BŌ'DWĪN the lord of KHĪSHŪM came to EDESSA. And during the night the Frankish foot-soldiers ascended by ladders the two towers through the plan which they had made with certain ARMENIANS who were guarding the walls, and the TURKS fled to the Citadel. And in the morning the Water Gate was opened and JOSCELYN went in. And when the FRANKS had remained in EDESSA six days, NŪR AD-DĪN, with ten thousand TURKS, burst out upon them. Then JOSCELYN harassed the wretched people of EDESSA, and he seized men, and women, and youths, and maidens, and expelled them with violence at the second hour of the night. And when the day broke the TURKS overtook them, at the same time raining upon them arrows like hail-stones, and wounding them seriously. Alas for the cloud of wrath, and the day which was without mercy! Alas for the night of death, and the dawn of GEHENNA! Alas for the day of destruction which burst upon the wretched citizens and natives of the city which had been envied!

For the horsemen of the FRANKS, since they could not stand against the TURKS, left and fled. [312] And the foot-soldiers of the FRANKS who were unable to flee fixed their gaze on the great ruined fortress which is called the 'Star', and went up there. And there remained the hapless people (or, mob) who were to be pitied, and the sword of the TURKS mastered them as fire mastereth straw. And when the TURKS were exhausted through slaughtering, they stripped those who remained of their shoes and apparel, and they tied cords to them, men and women alike, and they forced them to run naked with horses. The number of the killed on the first onrush and on the second onrush amounted to thirty thousand, and sixteen thousand people were carried off as captives. And those who escaped with the foot-soldiers of the FRANKS into the ruined fortress were one thousand men. Not a single woman or child was saved, and those who did not perish were sold into slavery in foreign countries. And EDESSA remained a waste place, and saturated with blood, and filled with the limbs of her sons and her daughters; and the sirens used to go into it during the nights to feed upon the flesh of the slain. And it became a habitation for jackals. Even the dead body of BŌ'DWĪN, the lord of KHĪSHŪM, was not found, and the accursed JOSCELYN escaped to SAMOSATA. Our holy man BASIL was saved by flight, but he of the ARMENIANS was seized, together with many others.

Now when the FRANKS heard of the disaster which had taken place in EDESSA, they were greatly moved, and many armies rushed out from ITALY,



the king of ALLEMAGNE (GERMANY, CONRAD?) with ninety thousand horsemen, and the king of 'AFRANZÎS (FRANCE), whom the ARABS call FÔNIS (LOUIS?), with fifty thousand [horsemen], and an endless number of foot-soldiers.

And in the year of the GREEKS fourteen hundred and fifty-nine (A.D. 1148) they waged war against CONSTANTINOPLE, because they knew the treachery of the GREEKS. Then king MANUEL, after much gold which he gave to them, swore that he would guide them without treachery. And straightway he deceived them, sending before them guides who took them into difficult mountains where there was no water. And when they had remained in this state for five days and had wandered about, their guides having fled, myriads of them died of thirst, both they and their horses. And the TURKS heard [of this], and they rushed out on the FRANKS who were scattered about [313] among the mountains, and when they found them in groups they destroyed them. And the countries of the TURKS were filled with the spoil of the FRANKS, and talents of silver were sold as if they were lead in MELITENE. And those of the FRANKS who escaped returned to the sea-coast of PONTUS. The GREEKS mixed lime with the flour of wheat and gave it to the FRANKS to eat [in their bread]. And whilst they were eating company after company of them fell down and died.

The king of GERMANY, with three Counts, alone escaped, and came to JERUSALEM, and he prayed and was blessed by the Holy Tomb. And after he had rested a few days he came against DAMASCUS with ten thousand horsemen and sixty thousand foot-soldiers. Now the TURKS and the ARABS were in number about one hundred and thirty thousand foot-soldiers, besides horsemen. And the FRANKS, seeing that the ARABS and TURKS though very numerous were not formidable, plucked up courage and approached until they pitched their camps by the rivers and among gardens. Now MÛ'ÎN, the lord of DAMASCUS, seeing that his hope had already been cut off, sent secretly to the king of JERUSALEM a letter of flattering words and gold, viz. two hundred thousand *dînârs*, all of them [being] copper (or, brass) plated with Egyptian gold, and he sent likewise to the lord of TIBERIAS (?) fifty thousand [*dînârs*] made of this adulterated gold, which was tested and discovered [to be base] having gone into circulation. And this gold crumbled away. Although I have read through five different Arabic manuscripts, I have not found this story in them; it is only the blessed MÂR MICHAEL who hath recorded it in writing.

Now when the great king of GERMANY perceived the treachery, he left DAMASCUS and went back to his own country in great sadness. And this was the evil end which came upon that great people. And when the king of SICILY understood about the treachery of the GREEKS he was furiously angry. And he came against the city of THEBES and took it and destroyed it; and he made the GREEKS who were therein to perish by the sword. And



he also treated thus ADRIANOPLE, and PHILIPPOPOLIS, and he came also to CONSTANTINOPLE, and laid waste the whole of its surrounding lands.

And LEO, the ARMENIAN, the governor of CILICIA, died at this time in CONSTANTINOPLE, and his son [TÔRÔS] fled on foot like a beggar and came to CILICIA. And he went to [314] our holy man MÂR ATHANASIUS and asked for help from him in prayer so that God might restore to him the heritage of his fathers. And whilst he was praying over him he gave him as a blessing (i.e. a gift) the price of a horse. And having acquired a mount there joined him twelve men, ARMENIANS, and they went first of all and attacked the fortress which is called 'AMÛDHÂ'. And when the men of the fortress saw their lord outside, they surrendered the fortress to him quickly, and he went in and killed the GREEKS who were in it. And the fear of him fell upon the GREEKS who were in the rest of the fortresses, and he captured many positions without difficulty. And the ARMENIANS and the GREEKS joined themselves to him, and they met the TURKS in battle, and destroyed about three thousand of them. And he was triumphant, and renown accrued to him. And the TURKS also took good heed to him and never contended with him. Then he also reigned over the cities, 'ANÂZARBÂ and the rest.

And in this year NÛR AD-DÎN, the son of ZANGÎ, took APAMEA and other fortresses from the FRANKS. And the lord of ANTIOCH laid an ambush for him, and killed many of his army; but NÛR AD-DÎN himself, together with a few men, escaped and went to ALEPPO.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1149), which is the year five hundred and forty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1148), NÛR AD-DÎN went against HÂRÎM, and he took the suburbs thereof and laid waste the buildings which were outside its fortress. And when PRAYNS, the lord of ANTIOCH, sallied forth to drive him away from HÂRÎM, the FRANKS were conquered by the TURKS, and PRAYNS himself, than whom, among all the kings of the FRANKS, there was none more feared by the TURKS, was killed. And dissension broke out among the men of ANTIOCH, and many of them wished to surrender the city to NÛR AD-DÎN. Then others of them sent hurriedly to the king of JERUSALEM, and he arrived quickly, and gave courage to the remnant of the horsemen who remained [there]. And he appointed their Patriarch to be their governor until BÔHÂYMÔND, the son of PRAYNS, who had been killed, grew up. And the lord of KHÎSHÛM was killed at this time, and JOSCELYN reigned over KHÎSHÛM and over BÊTH HESNÊ.

And in this year the son of MAS'ÛD, the Sûltân of ICONIUM, whose name was KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, encamped against MAR'ÂSH, and he took it from the FRANKS. And having allowed the Frankish horsemen, and the bishop, and the elders to depart [315] to ANTIOCH, because forsooth of the oaths which he had sworn to them, he dispatched the TURKS to attack them [whilst they were] on the road, and they killed them. During this capture the furniture



and equipment of our church which was in MAR'ÂSH perished by the hands of the elders who were rebelling against the bishop, namely, the box of Mûrôn [oil], and the chalices and phials, and the silver censers, and the curtains and the draperies.

And the lord of the fortress of ZÂÎD, that is KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, took BÂBHÛLÂ from the FRANKS and sent raiders to the country of GARGAR. And when they saw that the whole people with their riches were hiding in the mountains of MÂR BAR-ŞÂWMÂ, they laid an ambush in three places, and at dawn they burst forth and took the beasts (i.e. sheep and goats) and cattle. And three of the vassals of the monastery were killed, and two of the TURKS. And the TURKS sent a message to the monastery, saying, 'Give us the men of GARGAR so that we may give back to you everything which we have taken. For we reverence this saint, and to him we pay vows, and we have not come to do evil to his monastery. As for the people whom we have taken, it is not to carry them off into slavery, but to remove them and transport them to their villages so that they may do work on the farms for us.'

And dissension broke out in the monastery, and some of the monks said, 'Let us surrender [them]', and others said, 'No, [we will not],' and at length the men of the monastery were nearly ready for a sword to descend between them. Then an aged monk took two persons from each of the two parties, and they went out to the TURKS, and the old man said unto them, 'If what ye say is true, and ye really wish to have these men to do work on the farms and not as slaves, let some of you come with us, and we will go to the Amîr who is your protector, and whatsoever he in his justice commandeth we will do'. Then their treachery was laid bare. And the [two parties of] monks agreed together and with one voice they all cried out, 'We will not surrender [them]'. Then the TURKS burned the wine presses and the props of the vineyards, and they left [the place] and departed. And the monks went to the fortress of ZÂÎD and appeared before the Amîr, and God placed mercy in his heart, and he had everything which had been taken given back.

And in [that] year JOSCELYN went forth from TELL-BÂSHÎR to go to ANTIOCH with two hundred horsemen, who were hoping to meet with a ship, and as they were journeying along by night a few TURCOMANS met them, and they trembled at the mere sound of the word (i.e. name) and fled. And the TURKS pursued and overtook them, [316] and captured JOSCELYN, and they brought him to NÛR AD-DÎN, the lord of ALEPPO, and he bought him from them for one thousand *dînârs*, and he bound him in fetters and imprisoned him. And he lived in prison for nine years, and although they were constantly urging him with promises and threats to become a Muslim, he never yielded.

But he persisted in his Faith, and he confessed saying that it was because of his sins and because he had taken the Monastery of MÂR BAR ŞÂWMÂ, as by



God's help we will show in [our] 'ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY', that the Lord had punished him. And when his end drew nigh, he asked for the Bishop, and they brought him to him, and he offered confession; and the Bishop administered to him the Holy Mysteries, and there in a cave he ended his life. And when JOSCELYN was made a prisoner, the TURKS plucked up courage, and took many places from the FRANKS, GARGAR, and GHAKHTÎ, and also HSEN MANŞÛR and TIGHÎNKÂR, which is by the side of the monastery. Now when JOSCELYN fell, the FRANKS who were in TELL-BÂSHÎR set up his son, a youth, in his place; and he also was called JOSCELYN.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1150), when the men of KHÎSHÛM saw the growing power of the TURKS, they sent the holy man MÂR 'IWANNÎS (JOANNES) to MAS'ÛD, Sûltân of ICONIUM, and received a pledge concerning the FRANKS who were with them, that they should depart in peace to 'AINTÂB; and this actually took place. And the Sûltân of ICONIUM himself reigned over KHÎSHÛM, and BÊTH HESNE, and RA'BÂN and PARZÂMÂN, and MAR'ÂSH. And when he encamped against TELL-BÂSHIR, NÛR AD-DÎN, the son of ZANGÎ, came to him, and the Sûltân gave him his daughter to wife. And he left her at TELL-BÂSHIR, and departed, because he was unable to take her. Then came the king of JERUSALEM, and he expelled the wife of JOSCELYN, and his children, and all the FRANKS, and carried them to JERUSALEM; and he established in TELL-BÂSHIR certain men of the king of the GREEKS. And these GREEKS also ruled over 'AINTÂB and 'AZÂZ. And afterwards, when NÛR AD-DÎN harassed them with war and famine, they handed over to him these places peacefully.

And TEMÛRTÂSH, the lord of MARDÎN, ruled over BÎRÂH, and SAMOSATA, and KHÛRÎS, and KEPHAR SUT. Now there was in that Rhômaytish castle a certain man, an ARMENIAN, whose name was MICHAEL. [317] This man sent a message to the wife of JOSCELYN and to his son, [ordering] them to command GREGORIUS, the Catholicus of the ARMENIANS who was in DAIRÂ DHË YAMETHÂ, to come and dwell with him and be his helper. And when he came he acted treacherously towards MICHAEL, and he took all his possessions and drove him out, and he himself remained in that Rhômaytish castle.

And in the year which was the year five hundred and forty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1149), SAIF AD-DÎN, the son of ZANGÎ, the lord of MÂWŞIL, took the city of DÂRÂ from TEMÛRTÂSH, the lord of MARDÎN, and he also went and encamped against MARDÎN. Then TEMÛRTÂSH, being defeated by him, gave him his daughter to wife, and made peace with him. And when SAIF AD-DÎN went back to MÂWŞIL he fell sick and died.

And after him KÛTAB AD-DÎN MÂWDÛD, his brother, rose up in his place, and he took to wife the daughter of TEMÛRTÂSH. Then certain nobles sent to NÛR AD-DÎN in ALEPPO and asked him to come to them. And forthwith, without any delay, NÛR AD-DÎN with seventy horsemen came to SHÎGHAR,



and [the men] thereof surrendered it to him. And he sent to KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, the lord of the fortress, and promised him the fortress of HAYTÂM that he might come to his assistance. And KÛTAB AD-DÎN, his brother, collected an army and went out to TELL 'AFÂR to meet NÛR AD-DÎN in battle. Then the nobles spake to him and he gave EMESA, because it belonged to SAIF AD-DÎN, to NÛR AD-DÎN. And NÛR AD-DÎN gave back SHÎGHAR to KÛTAB AD-DÎN, and he left and went back to ALEPPO.

And in this year there was a flood in the fortress of ZÂÎD, on the twenty-third day of the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST), and it carried away a child and his mother, and two mules, and two buffaloes, and a donkey, and they were all drowned.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1151), the wife of the lord of 'IZANGÊ strangled him with a bowstring, and she brought her brother from DÎBÂRÎGÎ, and he took her to wife and became king. And a certain Turkish Amîr went up to the monastery of SÎRÎKHÂ of the GREEKS of PONTUS, and he took away the gold cross wherein was a piece of the wood of the Crucifixion, and he visited the troops who were in that country. And afterwards he brought back again to the monastery the great amount of spoil which he took from the monks. Then were put to shame, and covered with disgrace, the GREEKS who uttered blasphemies against Saint MÂR BAR-ŞÂWMÂ and said, 'If there was any power in him, why did he permit JOSCELYN [318] to carry off his right hand?'

And in this year NÛR AD-DÎN went to the country of DAMASCUS. And he sent word to the DAMASCENES, saying, 'I have not come to fight with you, but to remove disgrace from you. For behold, ye are yoked under the tribute of the FRANKS, and the sons and daughters of your country are prisoners with the FRANKS, and ye have no helper.' Then the DAMASCENES sent word to him, saying, 'We are at peace with the FRANKS, and we do not need your help. And if thou dost not leave [us] and return to thine own country, behold, we will send for the FRANKS to come, and we together with them will meet thee with the sword.' And when NÛR AD-DÎN heard such a message as this he was filled with transports of rage, and he wished to go and encamp against the city; but God sent violent and destructive rains, and he was unable to march. And the nobles of DAMASCUS went out and pacified him, and they proclaimed him after the Khalîfah and the Sûltân; and he left them and returned to ALEPPO.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1152), the FRANKS again sallied forth in anger against the treacherous GREEKS and they came and burnt the whole of the country-side of CONSTANTINOPLE. And they also went forth to PALESTINE, and burnt many villages in the country of ASCALON, and they shed much blood of the TURKS and ARABS whom they found. And they also went forth to EGYPT and laid waste and burnt many villages in the west of EGYPT, and then they returned to their



own country. And in that year DÂWLÂH, the lord of MELITENE, died, and DHU'L-KÂRNAIN his son reigned after him. And when MAS'ÛD, the Sûltân of ICONIUM, heard [of this] he attacked YA'KÛB 'ARSLÂN, the brother of DÂWLÂH. And having subjugated him he encamped against MELITENE, and he destroyed all the beautiful suburbs thereof.

Then the mother of the young man went forth—now she was his brother's daughter—and she entreated him on behalf of her son. And the Sûltân said, 'If he will come forth to me and tender his submission, he will be received by me, and the city shall remain his'. Then the young man went forth carrying a sword and a shroud, and the Sûltân received him, and confirmed his authority; and then the young man went forth and departed. Then the mother of the young man ruled the city, and she made [the people] thereof to suffer very many evils—not only the Christians but the ARABS, especially in the matter of imposts and levies and taxes. And she gathered together about her women of sorceries (i.e. witches), and women who [319] raised up the dead, and they prophesied to her that she would reign, and could marry any one she pleased. And because of this she planned to kill the young man her son, but when her plot was discovered, the nobles cast her out and drove her away, and the sorceresses who were her friends. To that woman the word of prophesy applieth: 'Rise thou up now with thine enchantments and thy sorceries, perhaps thou wilt be able to profit therefrom. I am weary with the multitude of thy thoughts' (Isaiah, xlvii. 12).

And in that year violent rains fell, and they washed away great rocks and hills, and a portion of the mountain also was detached and it slid down into the valley of BÊTH 'ABDAHÂR, the Citadel of the village of TARSHANÂ. And the flow of the EUPHRATES was impeded for three hours, and the waters mounted up to the village of PRÔSÎDÎN, which was situated at the top of the mountain. And then the obstacles on the skirts of MOUNT CLAUDIA were burst asunder, and the waters poured down and wrought great destruction in SYRIA. And in this year the plague waxed strong among the natives of MEYÂT, and about twelve thousand persons died, and very many monasteries were emptied of their inhabitants. And when NÛR AD-DÎN again attacked DAMASCUS the FRANKS gathered together to help the DAMASCENES. And when NÛR AD-DÎN heard [this] he returned to ALEPPO.

And in this year, which was the year five hundred and forty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1151), ŞALÂH AD-DÎN went forth from NAJM AD-DÎN 'ÎYÔB his father, who was the governor in B'ELBÂK, and he came to ALEPPO, to his uncle 'ASÂD AD-DÎN SHÎRKÛH. And he brought him to NÛR AD-DÎN, and he received him and gave him sustenance.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-four of the GREEKS, which is the year five hundred and forty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1152), the king of JERUSALEM quarrelled with his mother, and the queen fortified herself in the Tower of DAVID. Then the nobles acted as intermediaries for them, and



she abdicated the queenship of JERUSALEM, and left the remaining cities and the troops to the king her son. And the king attacked the city of ASCALON, which was in the hands of the Egyptian ARABS, and he set up against it a wooden tower, and engines of war, and he made a breach in the wall. And four hundred Brothers (Frères?) leaped up and went in through the breach, and the ARABS killed them all, for twenty thousand armour-clad men were standing inside the breach. [320] And the king himself was suffering greatly, and he was about to abandon the place and depart, when a certain warrior captured it. And the FRANKS kept guard over the breach the whole night and did not permit the ARABS to build it up.

And at the time of dawn the king took a cross, and cast it into the city and cried out, 'Any man who will not go in with the cross is no Christian'. And they all leaped up and went into the city. And about fifteen thousand ARABS were killed in ASCALON, and the remainder in thousands fled to EGYPT. Now what is correct is (i.e. the truth is) that in the year five hundred and forty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1153), which is the year fourteen hundred and sixty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1154), the FRANKS took ASCALON, but MÂR MICHAEL states that it was [taken] the year before. And by this triumph which the king of JERUSALEM won the sovereignty of ANTIOCH became his by right, and he took to wife the wife of its lord who was dead. And TÔRÔS, the ARMENIAN, the governor of CILICIA, went forth to the country of CAPPADOCIA, and he made captives of the TURKS and went to his country.

And Sûltân MAS'ÛD of ICONIUM gave his daughter to YA'KÛB 'ARSLÂN, and they agreed to invade CILICIA, but because all the garrison towns were strongly held by the ARMENIANS, the TURKS returned from the fortifications with shame. Then TÔRÔS increased in power, and he took the places which were left in the hands of the GREEKS from them. And MANUEL, the king of the GREEKS, became hot with anger, and he sent ANDRONICUS, the captain of the host, who belonged to the royal family of CILICIA. And the ARMENIANS and the GREEKS gathered together, and they met the GREEKS in battle at the Gate of ʦARSÔS, and the GREEKS were defeated; and about three thousand of them were killed, and the rest fled by sea.

And in [that] year there was discovered a goat which had brought forth a kid which had three eyes and two mouths. And a terrible pestilence broke out in CILICIA and in ICONIUM. And in the month of TESHİRÎN (OCTOBER) of that year, when men and women were crossing the EUPHRATES from the country of the fortress of ZÂİD to go to the festival of MÂR 'AGHRÎPÂS, which was taking place in the country of GÛBÔS, an abandonment [by God] took place among them, and they all sunk in the water and were drowned. And as very many people were offended, the doctors of the Church made three kinds of apology, viz., FIRSTLY, 'It is not right to scrutinize the incomprehensible judgements [321] of the Creator'. SECONDLY, 'At this time men and



women do not throng to the commemoration of the martyrs in order to be blessed thereby, but to make themselves contemptible with [carnal] pleasures.' THIRDLY, 'It is not right to consider that those people have perished. For God judged that death was better for them than life. The heathen would perish but not the Believers.'

In this year MAS'ÛD, the great Sûltân of KHÔRÂSÂN, died in the city of HAMÂDÂN, and his brother's son MÂLIK SHÂH, the son of MÂHAMMÂD, reigned after him, and KHÂSBÂG the Amîr became his governor. And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1154), MAS'ÛD, Sûltân of ICONIUM, invaded CILICIA with a numerous army of TURKS. And having encamped against TELL HAMDÛN and harassed it with war, the Lord smote them with a plague of gnats and flies which was like unto that of the EGYPTIANS in the days of MOSES the Great. And in these days the air which they breathed became foul and stinking, and they and their horses became sick. And when they saw that the plague had begun among them they abandoned all their treasure and fled. And TÔRÔS and the ARMENIANS came down upon them from the mountains, and killed them until they were exhausted. And he also went forth to GÂBDÂNYÂ, which is DÂWÂLÛ, and plundered the TURKS and went back.

And in this year the FRANKS took ASCALON (according to correct reckoning), and it remained theirs for thirty-five years—until ŞALÂH AD-DÎN took it. And in [that] year also, which is the year five hundred and forty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1153), HÛŞÂM AD-DÎN TEMÛRTÂSH, the lord of MARDÎN, died, and his son NAJAM AD-DÎN reigned after him. At the beginning [of his reign] he dealt very severely with the Christians, but at the time of his death he commanded his sons to deal kindly with the Christians, and not to treat them harshly. It is said that Saint MÂR 'ABAI appeared to him in a revelation. And another son of his, JAMÂL AD-DÎN, ruled over HÂNÎ, and another [son], ŞAMŞÂM AD-DÎN, over DÂRÂ.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1155), MAS'ÛD, the Sûltân of ICONIUM, died, and after him his son KELEJ 'ARSLÂN reigned. And whilst he only with difficulty could protect his country from the men of the house of DÂNISHMAND, and especially from YA'KÛB 'ARSLÂN, NÛR AD-DÎN attacked PARZÂMÂN and 'AINTÂB, and he took them without fighting. And in this year, which is the year five hundred and forty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1154), NÛR AD-DÎN took DAMASCUS [322] from its lord MÛJÎR AD-DÎN without fighting, having first of all cast dissension between its lord and his nobles. For he wrote to him secretly, saying, 'In respect of so-and-so and so-and-so, beware of their treachery (now they are sending messages to me continually that they will surrender DAMASCUS to me). I am unable to decide whether or not I shall leave the FRANKS and make war on the ARABS.' And whilst he led astray that wretched man with such messages as the above, he killed the captains of his host one by one. And when NÛR AD-DÎN



saw that there remained in DAMASCUS no one who could meet him in battle, he attacked it and took it easily. And he gave unto MÛJÎR, its lord, certain villages in the country of EMESA, and sent him there. And he dealt kindly with the DAMASCENES, and they rejoiced in him as one who was able to stand up against the FRANKS.

And in this year TÂFÎR, the son of HÂFÎT, the Khalîfah of EGYPT, died, and his son 'ÎSÂ, a child three years old, was made king after him; now he was called FÂIZ. And a man whose name was 'ABBÂS became his Wazîr. And because the great Amîr FÂRIS AD-DÎN did not approve [of him], he was wroth and dismissed 'ABBÂS [on the grounds that] he acted without his advice. Then 'ABBÂS was afraid, and he took everything which he possessed and went forth with three thousand ARMENIANS who were in his service, and he began to flee and to take asylum with NÛR AD-DÎN. And when the EGYPTIANS pursued him the ARMENIANS turned upon them and killed the greater number of them. And 'ABBÂS and those who were with him marched into the desert, where for some days they were in a miserable condition through hunger and thirst, because their guide had deceived them, even as in the time of JULIAN the Apostate. And having brought them out opposite ASCALON, the FRANKS went forth against them. And when the ARMENIANS saw the crosses which were affixed to the tops of the spears of the FRANKS, they threw down their weapons and mingled themselves with the FRANKS. And on that day about five thousand ARABS were killed. And MÛJÎR ('ABBÂS?) himself was captured and sold by the FRANKS to the EGYPTIANS, and they impaled him.

And in that year the Khalîfah, who was MÛKTAFÎ, went and encamped against TAGRÎT, and he made fierce war upon it and destroyed the district entirely; and he began to fight against the Citadel thereof. Then MÂHAMMÂD SHÂH, the son of Sûltân 'MAS'ÛD, sent to the Amîrs of MÂWŞIL, and said unto them, 'My fathers, [323] in order that ye may be a help to me, I make you governors over these countries. And now in the whole land of SEN'ÂR there remaineth to us no territory except this fortress of TAGRÎT. And this man, that is to say the Khalîfah, wisheth to remove this from our hands; therefore I entreat you to come without delay and to save me from him.' Thereupon the men of MÂWŞIL straightway gathered themselves together, and they went forth and set their gaze directly on TAGRÎT. Then when the Khalîfah heard that they were willing and were coming to him, fear fell upon him, and he abandoned all his treasure and implements of war, and departed to BAGHDÂD. And after some days the Amîr, a TURK, collected about twelve thousand men, and he sent and brought out 'ARSLÂN SHÂH, the son of TÛGHREL the SALJÛK, from the prison of TAGRÎT, for the name (or, fame, renown) which appertained to the royal race of the SALJÛKS was with them, and he went forth. And the Khalîfah, with his forces, also went forth to meet them in battle. And when they had been encamped



facing each other on the side of the road of KHÔRÂSÂN for eighteen days, they attacked each other. And the party of the Khalîfah was broken and wished to flee. Then two of his nobles entreated him to make some small resistance, and they brought him by force to his horse in front. And the men of BAGHDÂD plucked up courage and turned upon the TURKS, and broke them, and put them to flight, and captured all their treasure. And it is said that they looted from the TURKS fourteen thousand sheep, besides oxen and camels.

And in this year the waters of the TIGRIS ran very red, like blood, and at various places in the country of WÂSÎT blood bubbled up from the earth; and no man knew why it did so.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1156), PRAYNS, the lord of ANTIOCH, fought with TÔRÔS, the governor of CILICIA, because the FRANKS demanded those fortresses which the ARMENIANS had taken from the GREEKS, as they ought to belong to the Brethren (Frères?), whose labour was for the benefit of all Christians, because the GREEKS had taken them from the FRANKS. And the ARMENIANS were resisting the demand. And the two parties met each other in battle near the Gate of SUNKRÂTÔN (SEKÛNTÂRÔN?), and the ARMENIANS were defeated, and TÔRÔS fled. And then he made peace and gave the towns to the Frères (?).

And in the year when the lord of MAR'ÂSH [324] went to make war on a certain village of the ARMENIANS, STEPHEN, the brother of TÔRÔS, collected ARMENIANS, and they came by night and hid themselves in the houses of the ARMENIANS. And in the morning, when the gate of the fortress was opened, they leaped out and went in, and they seized the gate and the outer wall, and they began to dig out those who were inside. And suddenly terror fell upon them because of the report, 'The Amîr and many TURKS are coming'. And being afraid lest they should be shut in between the two walls, and that they would have to fight those who were inside, and those that were outside, they looted the city, and set fire to the houses and to whatsoever they were unable to carry away, and they took all the people and fled.

And among those who were taken captive was also the holy man MÂR DIONYSIUS BAR-ŞALÎBHÎ. He was captured by the accursed ARMENIANS, but he escaped on foot to the Monastery of KÂLASYÛR (KÂLASYÛD?). And he composed three DISCOURSES on the destruction of MAR'ÂSH, because it was at that time his pasture. Now when the TURKS came they entreated mercifully the Christians who remained [there]. And they did not withhold the houses and vineyards and farms from any ARMENIAN who had run away and returned. But the priest, inasmuch as he had had speech (i.e. an understanding) with the ARMENIANS, they flayed whilst he was alive, and after three days they cut out his tongue, and cut off his hands and his feet, and then they burned him in the fire. And when the ARMENIANS heard [this] they treated certain TURKS in precisely the same way.



And in this same year, also in MELITENE, another priest, who was likewise an ARMENIAN, was flayed alive because he had debauched a maiden of the neighbourhood who had been recently betrothed. He had taken her into the church, and wished to commit fornication with her, and when the miserable maiden began to cry out he placed the palm of his hand over her mouth until he had accomplished his shameful act. And when he rose up from her he found her drawing her last breath, and then he strangled (or, choked) her completely. And he cut off her ears and some of her fingers because they were swollen, and the rings of her fingers and her ear-rings would not come away from her, and he hid them in the lamps. And he wrapped her body up in a garment and placed it inside the altar. And after an hour, when her kinsfolk and parents began to seek for her, the children who were playing in the street said to them, [325] 'We saw her go into the church'. And when they asked the priest he said unto them, 'Yes, she came into the church, and when she saw that I was in the church she was shy of me and went out hurriedly without stopping for one moment'. And those believing folk believed him as they would naturally believe the priest.

And as they were going round about in the city and making search in the houses of their relatives, they saw the filthy man, who was no priest, with boots on his feet, and he was going out through the gate of the city; and they seized him and carried him to the governor. And when they had beaten him a little he confessed, and showed them the maiden's body and her ears and her fingers. And the whole city assembled there, ARABS and Christians, men and women, and with much weeping and loud lamentations they took the maiden out and buried her. And they flayed the filthy man and dismembered him, whilst he was alive, and [then] they burnt him.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1157), PRAYNS, the lord of ANTIOCH, went to CYPRUS, which was with the GREEKS, and he took the whole island, men, and sheep, and oxen, and horses, and all [its] riches. And when they brought them down to the sea-shore the CYPRIOTES undertook to ransom themselves and their beasts with much gold, and the FRANKS released them, but they took away all the treasure. And the bishops, and the archimandrites, and the governors of the people they carried off with them as hostages to ANTIOCH, until the gold was paid.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1158) STEPHEN acted treacherously against TÔRÔS his brother, and he wished to kill him. When TÔRÔS perceived this he seized him and shut him up for ten months. And afterwards, at the entreaty of the FRANKS, he brought him out and he entered the service of the FRANKS. And in this year, which is the year five hundred and fifty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1157), severe earthquakes took place in SYRIA and they destroyed many towns. As for HAMÂTH, its fortress and its town and all its large houses fell down upon



old men, and women, and children, and tens of thousands of its inhabitants perished therein. And the fortress of SHAIZAR fell, every part of it, and only one woman and one eunuch escaped. And the people of EMESA went forth in great haste and were delivered, but their monasteries and its fortress perished. And in like manner the people of ALEPPO fled from the city, and sat down outside it for days and were delivered, and their houses were thrown down, but only five hundred souls perished in it. And so with KAPHAR TÂB, and APAMEA, not one man escaped [326] from them, and many other places as far as RAHBÛTH. And also the cities of the FRANKS, HESEN AL-AKRÂD and 'ARĶÂ, fell completely. In LAODICEA the great church only remained, and all those who were in it were delivered. And the ground inside it was rent asunder, and a chasm which was full of clay appeared, and in the middle of the clay a molten image was standing upright. And similarly the greater part of ANTIOCH and TRIPOLI was destroyed.

And in the year JOSCELYN died a prisoner in ALEPPO, after a complete repentance, according to what saith IGNATIUS, the bishop of ALEPPO, who administered to him the Mysteries. And in this year Sûltân MÂHAMMÂD, the son of Sûltân MAHMÛD, came with a numerous army to BAGHDÂD, and he encamped against it for four months, and harassed it greatly with war. Then the Khalifah having induced the nobles of the Sûltân, by means of bribes, to agree, stopped him from fighting. And then came to them the report that MÂLIK SHÂH, his brother, had captured HAMÂDÂN and plundered it, and had taken also the wives of the nobles. Then the Sûltân ceased to fight and he removed from BAGHDÂD. And the armies of the people of BAGHDÂD pursued him, and every one of the TURKS whom they captured they killed without mercy, because those TURKS had wrought great damage in the western side of BAGHDÂD, where they were camped. And they used to commit fornication with married women in the Mosques in the sight of their husbands, and the murders which they committed, and the burnings of houses (or, quarters of the city) which they carried out were many.

And in this year Sûltân SENJÂR, the son of MÂLIK SHÂH, the son of 'ALB 'ARSLÂN, the son of DÂWÛD, died, after he had been saved from the hand of the GHÛZZ who had made him prisoner. And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy of the GREEKS (A.D. 1159-58), MANUEL, the king of the GREEKS, went to CILICIA, and TÔRÔS, the ARMENIAN, fled. And he, the king, ruled over TARSÔS, and 'ANÂZARBÂ and the other cities, and he remained there the whole winter. And the king of JERUSALEM and of ANTIOCH, together with the Patriarch of the FRANKS, came to him and they made an agreement with him. And they made peace between him and TÔRÔS, and they brought him to him, and he made him captain of the host of all the cities of the GREEKS which are on the seashore. And all the Christians banded themselves together, GREEKS, and FRANKS, and ARMENIANS, to go and attack ALEPPO, [327] and DAMASCUS, and all SYRIA. Then came a report of



treachery from CONSTANTINOPLE to the effect that they (i.e. the people) wished to appoint another king. Then MANUEL, the king, returned hurriedly to CONSTANTINOPLE, and the plan which they had planned did not come into effect. And in [that] year, in the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL), a flood took place in BAGHDÂD, and the waters destroyed a part of the walls of the palace of the Khalifah. And the people fled to the western part [of the city] carrying the sick, and the aged, and the young children on their shoulders, because wrath hurried them. And the hire of a boat for one journey amounted to four gold *dînârs*.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1160), the son of JOSCELYN, the prisoner, used to go out from HÂRÎM continually and plunder the country of ALEPPO like a thief. And NÛR AD-DÎN laid an ambush for him, and caught him, and he was deposited in the cave wherein his father had been placed.

And in the year five hundred and fifty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1160), on the second day of the third month, in the month of 'ÂDHÂR (MARCH), the Khalifah MÛKTAFÎ died of the disease of *angina*, and his son MÛSTANJID reigned after him. After MÛKTAFÎ his son MÛSTANJID [ruled] twelve years. When his father was dead this man rose up to go into the place where the dead body was laid. And his father's wife, that is to say, the mother of his young brother, who was a Turkish woman, prepared her handmaidens, and they took knives and were ready to kill MÛSTANJID when he went in, so that the kingdom might come to the younger son. And one of the women went out and informed MÛSTANJID. And he collected soldiers (or, scouts), and he captured his brother and bound him in fetters and imprisoned him. And he also attacked those women, and he shut up each one of them in a certain place apart, and he killed whichever he pleased. And the Khalifate was confirmed on him and he was proclaimed.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1161), SÎR (SIRE) ÂMÔRÎ (AMAURY), the brother of the king of JERUSALEM, went to the country of EGYPT; and the FRANKS seized great riches (or, treasure) and went away. And after a short time FÂÎZ, the Khalifah of EGYPT, died. And in connexion with this the EGYPTIANS undertook to give tribute to the FRANKS every year one hundred and sixty thousand gold *dînârs*. And GEORGE, the king of the IBERIANS, sallied forth and captured [328] the great city of 'ÂNÎ from the TURKS, and he took great spoil, and very many Arab prisoners, and returned to his own country.

And the Amîr JAMÂL AD-DÎN, who was in MÂWŞIL, now he was a most merciful man and his alms were abundant, sent the MAPHRÎAN IGNATIUS as an envoy to GEORGE to buy (i.e. ransom) the Arab prisoners. And he went and was received honourably, and a large number of prisoners were given to him for nothing. And he was sent [by him] with gifts to the lord of MÂWŞIL, and he also sent with him an Iberian envoy at his own expense.



And when they came and arrived in MÂWŞİL the governor went forth to meet them. And the MAPHRĪAN and the envoys went in to MÂWŞİL with crosses hanging on the heads of their spears. And there was consolation both for the Christians and the ARABS, because of the freeing of the prisoners. And in [that] year there was a certain FRANK who was a robber in BAGHRÂS, and because the FRANKS wanted to seize him, he fled and went to NŪR AD-DĪN; and he took TURKS and came to plunder the country of ANTIOCH. And the FRANKS laid an ambush for him and captured him and burned him in the fire.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1162), in the month of the FIRST TESHİRĪN (OCTOBER), DHU'L-KARNĒN, the governor of MELITENE, died, and his son, who was a child, rose up after him. And Sŭltân KELEJ 'ARSLÂN of ICONIUM, seeing that YA'KŪB 'ARSLÂN and the rest of the Amîrs wished to dismiss him and appoint his brother, went to CONSTANTINOPLE, and he was honoured greatly by the GREEKS. And he remained there eighty days, and twice each day food was sent to him in vessels of silver and gold without [his being obliged] to send back the vessels, all of which were left with him; and two meals were sent to him in other vessels which were new. And on the last day, when the king and the Sŭltân reclined at the same table, all the vessels and the table decorations were given to the Sŭltân, together with the other gifts which were given to him and to the one thousand TURKS who were with him. And when the Sŭltân went out YA'KŪB 'ARSLÂN was afraid, and he humbled himself before him and there was peace. And at [this time] when STEPHEN, the brother of TÔRÔS, the governor of CILICIA, was bidden to a feast with ANDRONICUS the GREEK, the governor of TARSÔS, [329] he was found to have been killed and [his body was] lying by the gate of the city. Then TÔRÔS became furiously angry with the GREEKS, and he killed more than ten thousand of them. And the king of JERUSALEM came and made peace between the ARMENIANS and the GREEKS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1163), KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, the lord of the fortress of ZÂID, encamped against 'ÂMID, and he made cruel war on it. And afterwards dissension broke out among his troops, and he left and departed. And YA'KŪB 'ARSLÂN also went to his own country, and he took the fortress of SHŪMŪSHKÎ, and he carried away into captivity about one hundred thousand souls, and he left the village deserts. Then the pious IGNATIUS of TELLÂ OF ARSENIUS was carried off captive as far as KÂMÂḤ, and being released he came to MELITENE. And the saint of the fortress of ZÂID was seized, and after two days they let him go free. At [that] time the wife of PRAYNS, who had been captured and shut up in ALEPPO, quarrelled with her son and did not want him to reign. And being vexed by the opposition of the nobles she sent to the king of the GREEKS, who was her son-in-law, to come, and she handed



over ANTIOCH to him. And when the Patriarch and the nobles perceived this they sent and brought TÔRÔS from CILICIA. And he went into ANTIOCH, and drove the queen out of the city, and confirmed her son in the kingdom.

And in [this] year, which is the year five hundred and fifty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1162), NÛR AD-DÎN collected a numerous army of TURKS, and went and encamped against the Citadel of the KÛRDS ('AKRÂD), pretending that he intended to go in and take the country of TRIPOLÎS. And one day, at the time of noon, when the Turkish people were lying in ease and comfort in their tents, the crosses of the FRANKS burst upon them, and terror fell upon the TURKS. It is said that when NÛR AD-DÎN saw the banners of the FRANKS he jumped up and went out from his tent, in his agitation, without his tunic (or, coat of mail). And he leaped on his horse, which was tethered [close by] according to custom. Then a KÛRD came and cut the tetherings of the horse, and NÛR AD-DÎN fled and saved himself. And the FRANKS pursued the KÛRD and killed him. And they destroyed many of the TURKS and put them in fetters, and they captured spoil and went into TRIPOLI.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1164), YA'KÛB 'ARSLÂN died suddenly on the river KÂNGAR (SÂNGAR), which is on the banks of the [330] river 'ÂLÎS. And there rose up in his place ISMÂ'ÎL, the son of his brother's son, and he took to wife the wife of YA'KÛB 'ARSLÂN, who was the daughter of the Sûltân. And NÛR AD-DÎN encamped against HÂRÎM. Then were gathered together five governors, PRAYNS of ANTIOCH, and the Count of TRIPOLI, and TÔRÔS of CILICIA, and the GREEK Duke of TARSÔS, and the MAÎŞIR (MAISTRE) of the FRÎRÊ (Frères); and with them there were about thirteen thousand horsemen and footmen. And they came and engaged in battle with NÛR AD-DÎN, and the FRANKS were badly broken. And the Count, and the Duke, and PRAYNS were captured and carried into ALEPPO, and all the Frères were killed, and TÔRÔS escaped to ANTIOCH. And the Patriarch of the FRANKS made a great lamentation, and he broke the bellringers (or, bells) and stopped the prayers. And NÛR AD-DÎN took HÂRÎM and DAIRÂ SEM'ÂN of the GREEKS, and he made the monks slaves together with the inhabitants of the whole country.

In this year, which is the year five hundred and fifty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1163), NÛR AD-DÎN sent 'ASÂD AD-DÎN SHÎRKÛH, the brother of NAJAM AD-DÎN 'AYÛB, the father of ŞALÂH AD-DÎN, to EGYPT. For these two brothers, SHÎRKÛH and 'AYÛB, the sons of SHÂDÎ, were from the district of DÂWÎN, a city of ARMENIA, and were KÛRDS by race. And they were in the service of MÛJÂHID AD-DÎN BAHRÛZ, the eunuch, the Amîr of TAGRÎT, who was a lover of the Christians. And SHÎRKÛH having killed a certain Christian of TAGRÎT, who was greatly beloved by the Amîr, the two brothers fled to ZANGÎ in MÂWŞIL, and he received them and they prospered [whilst] they were with



him. And when ZANGÎ took B'ELBÂK he appointed NAJAM AD-DÎN 'AYÛB governor in its Citadel; and when ZANGÎ was killed, NAJAM surrendered the fortress to the lord of DAMASCUS. And 'ASÂD AD-DÎN SHÎRKÛH, his brother, was in the service of NÛR AD-DÎN, and he gave him EMESA and RAḤBÛTH. And 'AYÛB also helped, and he surrendered DAMASCUS to NÛR AD-DÎN, and they lived with him in great honour. And when the occasion demanded that he should send troops to EGYPT, for the EGYPTIANS were helpless, and SHÂWIR, the Wazîr of EGYPT, came and begged for assistance, he saw that SHÎRKÛH was the better [man], and he sent him [331] with SHÂWIR.

And having departed together and arrived in EGYPT, SHÂWIR knew from the actions of SHÎRKÛH that he was anxious to remove sovereignty (or, the kingdom) from the EGYPTIANS. Therefore he sent and made peace with the FRANKS. He paid no attention to SHÎRKÛH, and he did not give him any of the gold and the famous towns which he promised him. Then SHÎRKÛH sent his armies and took the city of BÛLBAIS. And SHÂWIR sent and brought the king of JERUSALEM with a numerous army of FRANKS. And SHÎRKÛH went and made his position very strong in BÛLBAIS. And the EGYPTIANS allied themselves with the FRANKS, and they attacked SHÎRKÛH in BÛLBAIS, and they shut him up therein for three months. And when the report concerning the FRANKS came, that they had been broken and taken prisoners, near ḤÂRIM, the king of JERUSALEM sent to SHÎRKÛH and persuaded him to go forth in peace and to depart to his own country and leave EGYPT to its lords. And SHÎRKÛH agreed to this readily, and he went forth and departed to DAMASCUS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1165), KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, Sûltân of ICONIUM, reigned over GÂDÛG and 'ABLESTÎN, and TÛRANDÂ, and he began to persecute the sons of DÂNISHMAND. And NÛR AD-DÎN reigned over BÂNYÂS and he fortified it strongly. And TÔRÔS the ARMENIAN pillaged MAR'ÂSH and captured four hundred TURKS. And he sent to NÛR AD-DÎN, saying, 'If thou wilt not sell the Christian chiefs who are with thee, I will burn them all in the fire'. Then NÛR AD-DÎN was compelled [to sell], and he sold every one who was with him, and also the young man PRAYNS, for one hundred thousand *dînârs*. And BÔHÂIMÔND PRAYNS, having escaped, went to the king of the GREEKS, whose son-in-law he was, in CONSTANTINOPLE, and much riches (or, money) was given to him, and he came to ANTIOCH, and brought with him the Greek Patriarch whose name was ATHANASIUS. And the Patriarch of the FRANKS was offended at this, and he went out and sat in the fortress of KÛṢAIR, and he sent out excommunications to the FRANKS of ANTIOCH.

And in this year, in the month of SHEBHÂT (FEBRUARY), AMIN AD-DÂWLÂH the son of TALMÎDH, a Christian physician, died in BAGHDÂD at the age of ninety years. This man was learned in many sciences, but in his time he stood alone in the art of healing. And he was equally skilled in the art of



rhetoric, and in the grammar of the ARABS, and in their poetry, [332] he was not inferior to any one of their eminent men. During the whole period of his life he lived in affluent circumstances, and in the honour [which was paid to him] by kings. It is related that when he was dying his son said unto him, 'What is it that aileth thee?' And he replied, 'The greatness of these ninety years'. And again his son asked him, 'What dost thou desire?' And he replied, 'That I desire'.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-six [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1165] we heard [the following] wonderful story from the sons of the city of 'ÂLÎNÂS. When there was a plague in this year in GRÛPÎÂ, there was present in that place a certain TURK, and he said unto the people, 'See ye: who was the first person to die of this plague?' And when they knew [who it was] they opened his grave, and they found that after four months his body had not suffered corruption. And his eyes were unclosed, and his mouth was open about one span and four fingers, and the cloth in which his head and breast were swathed was undamaged, and the parts of his beard round about his jaws and chin were shaved as with a razor, and his right arm which came straight down from the shoulder was by his side. Then that TURK brought together (i.e. closed) his mouth, and he drove into it a large peg, and from that day no other man died.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-seven [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1166], MANUEL, the king of the GREEKS, during the war with the BULGARIANS, was wounded, and fell from his horse. And when a certain BULGARIAN stood up over him to kill him, MANUEL informed him that he was the king, and with many strong oaths he promised great gifts to him that had taken him prisoner if he would carry him to CONSTANTINOPLE. And the BULGARIAN believed him and brought him to the city; and the king fulfilled his promise, and added thereto. And it is related that some time MANUEL acted deceitfully towards the queen because she did not bear him a child, and that he killed her with poison. And he took another wife, which it is illegal for a king to do.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1167), which is the year five hundred and sixty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1166), NÛR AD-DÎN sent the Amîr 'ASÂD AD-DÎN SHÎRKÛH, and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, his brother's son, a second time to EGYPT. And because SHÎRKÛH was greatly inclined and anxious [to go], he arrived in EGYPT with a few footmen. And he crossed the river NILE to the western bank, and he advanced as far as the country of the ŞA'ÎD (i.e. UPPER EGYPT). Then SHÂWIR, the Wazîr [333] of EGYPT, sent for the FRANKS. Thereupon many armies of the FRANKS and of the EGYPTIANS made ready, and they also crossed over to the western bank in pursuit of SHÎRKÛH. Then the nobles who were with him advised him, saying, 'No other means is left to us except to cross over to the eastern bank, and to go again to SYRIA, because we are wholly without the strength



to cope with all these [forces]. And if we meet them in battle we shall undoubtedly know that defeat is nearer to us than victory. And moreover, what place for refuge (or, retreat) shall we have? For behold the peasants, and the soldiers, and all the natives of this country are our enemies.'

Then one of the slaves of NÛR AD-DÎN, whose name was BÛNGÛSH, a brave and warlike young man, said unto them, 'Believe [me], O all ye nobles, that if ye do not meet the enemy in battle now ye will have to go to NÛR AD-DÎN [either as] the victors or as the vanquished—and there will have to be on your part a full explanation to him. And he will cut off your rations, and he will withdraw from you what ye have been in the habit of eating for a long time. For he who trembles at the prospect of fighting is not a soldier of the king's, but is a field labourer, or he should dwell with the women in the houses.' And when SHÎRKÛH heard these [words] he said, 'I myself am also of the same opinion'. And then they all wished to engage in battle, and the EGYPTIANS and the FRANKS came to an agreement quickly, and then, though unwilling, they met in battle.

Then SHÎRKÛH placed ŞALÂH AD-DÎN, his brother's son, and all his valuables, in the middle of the battle array, so as to make their number appear larger. And he commanded them, saying, 'The FRANKS and the EGYPTIANS think that I myself am in the middle, and they will direct the whole of their strength (or, forces) against you. Now, do not contend against them too vigorously, but little by little turn your backs towards them. And do not be afraid that they will pursue you, because I myself shall be behind them.' And when the battle line was being set in order, SHÎRKÛH selected for himself certain trained hunting men, on whom he could rely because of their strength and endurance in the stadium. And when the FRANKS and EGYPTIANS met them in battle, those who were in the middle turned their backs, and the FRANKS and the EGYPTIANS pursued them, and then SHÎRKÛH pursued the pursuers, and the fugitives turned back and the EGYPTIANS and the FRANKS were caught in the midst, and a smashing defeat overtook them; [334] and he who escaped slaughter fled. It is said that those who were with SHÎRKÛH were only two thousand in number, and that the FRANKS and the EGYPTIANS were ten thousand [in number]. Then SHÎRKÛH marched against ALEXANDRIA, and he took it without fighting.

Then the EGYPTIANS and the FRANKS gathered together in the city of KÂHRÂH (CAIRO), and they sent to SHÎRKÛH and asked for peace. And he agreed on condition that fifty thousand *dînârs* should be given to SHÎRKÛH to go to his own country, and that ALEXANDRIA should be restored to the EGYPTIANS, and that one hundred thousand *dînârs* should be given yearly to the FRANKS, and that they should return to their own country. But they were to have an officer and horsemen [stationed] as guards at the gates of ALEXANDRIA, lest they should be prevented from passing through the



town by the partisans of NÛR AD-DÎN. Thus SHÎRKÛH left and went to DAMASCUS.

And in this year KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, the lord of the fortress of ZÂÎD, went against ÂMID, and through the treachery of the watchmen he became master of two towers. But those who were inside gained the upper hand, and they killed those who had gone up into the towers. And KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN was ashamed, and he returned to his own country in sorrow and disgrace. A little later, on the seventeenth day of the month of TAMMÛZ (JULY), he died, and his son rose up (i.e. succeeded him).

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-nine [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1168], TÔRÔS, the governor of CILICIA, died in the month of KÂNÔN (DECEMBER). He was a monk at the time of his death, and he commanded that his youngest son, a boy, should rise up in his place, and that THÔMÂS, the son of his aunt, should be his administrator. And he deprived his brother MALÎH wholly of [his] inheritance. Then was MALÎH angry, and he went forth to NÛR AD-DÎN, and received from him an army of TURKS, and attacked CILICIA. And he took sixteen thousand youths, and maidens, and men and women, and monks, and bishops, and carried them to ALEPPO. And he sold them to the merchants and gave the price paid for them to the TURKS who were with him. Then the ARMENIANS sent and summoned him to them, and they gave him one-half of the country; and he swore to them that the other half should remain to the young [governor]. And then he broke the oath and took possession of the whole country, both the fortresses and towns. And he put out the eyes of many of the bishops and governors, and cut off their hands and feet, and others he flayed alive and cast their bodies to the wild animals.

And in this year, which is the year five hundred and sixty-three (A.D. 1167) of the [335] ARABS, ZAYN AL-DÎN, the Turkish Amîr who was the director of affairs of KÛTB AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞIL, being old and deaf and blind, handed over the countries which were under his rule to KÛTB AD-DÎN, that is to say, SHÎGHÂR, and HÂRRÂN, and the fortress of 'AKR, and the fortresses of HAKÂRÎÂH, and TAGRÎT, and SHAHÂRZÛR. And he left to himself nothing except 'ARBÎL, because this was his from the time of the 'ÂTÂBÂG ZANGÎ. And he departed thereto and in it he died. And his son MÛTÂFÂR AD-DÎN succeeded him, and MÛJÂHID AD-DÎN became his director of affairs. It is said concerning this ZAYN AL-DÎN that he was a Turkish Amîr, and to his justice, and almsgiving and generosity there was no end. And though he was the most astute of men, he exhibited simplicity. Now, one of the horsemen came to him, and he had in his hand a horse's tail, and he pretended that his horse was dead. And ZAYN AL-DÎN gave the order and [another] horse was given to the horseman, who took the tail and went away and gave it to another horseman. And he also came to ZAYN AL-DÎN and pretended that [his] horse was dead. And ZAYN AL-DÎN commanded



and gave him also [another] horse. And in this way the tail passed from hand to hand, and twelve horsemen brought that tail to him; and he gave the twelfth man a horse. And unto the last man he said, 'Why are ye not as much ashamed of me as I am of you? Behold, twelve times this self-same tail hath been before me, and I recognized it. But I wished that ye should not be ashamed and that ye should keep your self-respect, and that my gift should come to you without subjecting you to any burden, whilst I added to my beneficence, even as one who discharged a liability.' And a certain poet came to him and began to read before him some metrical compositions. And ZAYN AD-DÎN replied, 'I do not know what thou art saying, but I do know that thou art begging for something'. And he commanded that there should be given to him five hundred gold *dînârs*, and a horse and raiment with five hundred others.

And in the year fourteen hundred and eighty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1169), KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, the Sûltân of ICONIUM, took CAESAREA of CAPPADOCIA and SÎMNADÛ from the sons of DÂNISHMAND. And in the year, which is the year five hundred and sixty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1168), NÛR AD-DÎN took KAL'ÂH DHË JA'BÂR from SHEHÂB AD-DÎN, the Ma'dian Amîr, from the sons of 'UËAIL, and gave him SERÛGH, and MÂLAHTÂ, and BÂB BÛZA'ÂH, and twenty thousand *dînârs*. And when he was once [336] in SERÛGH certain of his friends asked him, 'Where now art thou happier; here or there?' And he replied, 'Here there is much money; but we have left honour in KAL'ÂH'. And in [that] year Sûltân KELEJ 'ARSLÂN took the city of 'ANËÛRÂ (ANCYRA) and KANËÂR from the GREEKS.

And at that time the FRANKS who were stationed in EGYPT and in ALEXANDRIA to collect the gold of the tribute and to keep guard over the gates, sent to 'ÂMÔRÎ, king of JERUSALEM, saying, 'This country is empty of troops, and ye could easily take possession of it'. And though all the nobles wished to set out, the king in his wisdom restrained them, saying, 'Behold, the whole of the gold of EGYPT is gathered together with us. If we attack EGYPT, the ARABS in their hatred of us, and inclining more to NÛR AD-DÎN [than to us], will send and fetch him. And we shall have on our hand war with those who are within and those who are without, and we are incapable of undertaking this.' Now the nobles were not convinced by the advice of the king, but they said, 'We will go and take possession of EGYPT, before it is possible for NÛR AD-DÎN to muster his troops to come'. And thus their king was defeated, and they collected their troops and departed hurriedly. And they took the city of BÛLBAIS, and plundered it, and they carried away its inhabitants as captives. And they came and encamped against KÂHRÂH (CAIRO) and MEŞRÎN. Now the EGYPTIANS being afraid lest what had happened to the people of BÛLBAIS should happen to them also, encouraged each other, and they manned the walls, and they fought the FRANKS bravely and steadily. And 'ÂŞAD, the Khalifah of EGYPT, cut off the plaits of hair



of his wives and daughters, and sent them to NÛR AD-DÎN and said, 'Behold these! My wives are sighing, and weeping, and groaning, and are entreating thee to come to their help and to deliver them from the hands of the FRANKS.' And NÛR AD-DÎN spent about two months in collecting troops, and whilst he tarried, the war against EGYPT grew fiercer. SHÂWIR, the Wazîr of EGYPT, sent to 'ÂMÔRÎ, and to the nobles of the FRANKS, and said, 'Ye know my debt to you, and if I knew that the ARABS would agree that I should hand over EGYPT to you, I would hand it over to you immediately. But [337] I know that if they heard concerning me anything of this kind, they would without the least hesitation destroy me. But this [plan] I see is better, that is to say, that ye should take as much gold as ye wish and depart to your own country, and that ye should be your own deputies and collectors of tribute with us as formerly. And do not let NÛR AD-DÎN come and take possession of EGYPT, for in that case ye would neither receive country nor tribute.'

And when the FRANKS heard these things they made peace on the condition that one thousand thousands of *dînârs* should be given to them. And SHÂWIR gave them one hundred thousand *dînârs* straightway, and he said, 'If ye will leave the country and depart I will collect the rest [of the *dînârs*] and send [them to you]'. And thereupon the FRANKS left and departed to their own country.

Now when NÛR AD-DÎN heard that the FRANKS had departed from EGYPT, he did not stop the dispatch of troops, for it was not his object to do good to the EGYPTIANS, but to rule over them. Therefore he commanded SHÎRKÛH to place himself at the head of the army and to set out, and [to take] with him ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, his nephew. And SHÎRKÛH having gone to CAIRO went into the presence of the Khalîfah 'ÂŞAD, and was honoured by him. Because the whole administration was in the hands of SHÂWIR, the Wazîr, the Khalîfah put SHÎRKÛH off with vain words, and he gave no refreshment either to him or to those who were with him. On the contrary, he was plotting to make a feast for 'ÂSÂD AD-DÎN, and to capture him and his brother's son by guile, but the son of SHÂWIR prevented him. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was plotting to kill SHÂWIR, and his uncle SHÎRKÛH prevented him. And one day when SHÂWIR went according to custom to SHÎRKÛH he could not find him, because he had gone to receive a blessing at the tomb of one of the Rabbis of their Faith. And on that occasion ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was riding with him, and as they were talking together, he suddenly threw himself off his horse and gripped [SHÂWIR], but because he could not do so without the command of his uncle, he was unable to kill him. And having made known to his uncle [that it was SHÂWIR] he said, 'We cannot do anything without the command of the Khalîfah'. And when they made this known to the Khalîfah 'ÂŞAD, he urged them to kill him, because there did not remain with the Khalîfah any authority whatsoever over SHÂWIR. And thus SHÂWIR was killed, and



his house was plundered, and SHĪRKŪH himself became [338] Wazîr in his place. And he was also called 'King', and 'Captain of the Host', for the Wazîrs of EGYPT were called by these names. And when SHĪRKŪH had lived two months only in his office of Wazîr, he died of the disease of strangury, and his brother's son, ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, the son of NAJAM AD-DÎN 'AYŪB, rose in his place. And by the generosity of his gifts he made all his troops his friends, and he ruled over EGYPT.

And to 'ASÂD AD-DÎN SHĪRKŪH there remained one son whose name was NÂŞIR AD-DÎN, and EMESA belonged to him and his sons. And his brother NAJAM AD-DÎN 'AYŪB had six sons. The first was SHAMS AD-DÂWLÂH TŪRÂN SHÂH, who ruled over ALEXANDRIA. The second was SHÂH EN SHÂH, the father of 'EZ AD-DÎN FARŪKH SHÂH, and of TAḤÎ AD-DÎN 'OMAR, and to him and his sons ḤAMÂTH belonged. The third was SAIF AL-ESLÂM TŪGHTAKÎN, who ruled over the South. The fourth was ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN YŪSIF, who reigned over EGYPT, and PALESTINE, and SYRIA, and BÊTH NAHRÎN. The fifth was MÂLIK 'ÂDIL ABŪ BAKR, who succeeded ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN. The sixth was TÂJ AL-MLŪK TŪRÎ, who died when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was encamped against ALEPPO.

And in the year fourteen hundred and eighty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1170-1169), MÂḤAMÂD, the governor of MELITENE, being hated by the nobles and citizens, because he clung to a woman who was a whore and a sorceress, took the whore and the sorceress and went forth from MELITENE, and he travelled about from one place to another. And the nobles and the citizens set up in his stead his younger brother ABU AL-ḲÂSIM. And when the king of JERUSALEM heard of the evil things which MALÎḤ, the ARMENIAN, the governor of CILICIA, made the Christians to suffer, he was filled with indignation, and attacked him, and shut him up in a certain fortress. And MALÎḤ being made to suffer brought forth repentance, and swore an oath that he would live in subjection to the king, and that he would not join the party of the TURKS. And then he left him and departed.

And in [that] year, which is the year five hundred and sixty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1169), died ḲŪṬB AD-DÎN MÂWDŪD, the son of ZANGÎ, the lord of MÂWṢIL. And he commanded that his son 'EMÂD AD-DÎN ZANGÎ, the son of MÂWDŪD, son of ZANGÎ, should succeed him. And ḲŪṬB AD-DÎN had a deputy and administrator of his kingdom who was called FAKHR AD-DÎN 'ABD AL-MASÎḤ, [339] who was from the country of ANTIOCH, and he fell into captivity (or, bondage). Now because this 'ABD AL-MASÎḤ hated 'EMÂD AD-DÎN he shared the opinion of the wife of ḲŪṬB AD-DÎN, and they changed the command. And they set up SAIF AD-DÎN GHÂZÎ, his younger son, in the place of his father, and the nobles swore fealty to him. And 'EMÂD AD-DÎN departed and went to SYRIA to his uncle NŪR AD-DÎN, weeping and complaining that 'ABD AL-MASÎḤ had robbed him of his inheritance and his kingdom. And on the second day of the week (Monday), on the twenty-ninth day of the



month of ḤAZÎRÂN (JUNE), which is the twelfth day of the tenth month of the ARABS, there was a severe earthquake, and the earth rocked like a ship on the sea. [This was] an event (or, happening) the like of which had not been heard of for many generations. For the blessed Patriarch MÂR MICHAEL said, 'When we were standing in the temple (i.e. church) of the Monastery of MÂR ḤANANYÂ during the morning service, on the day of the festival of ST. PETER and ST. PAUL, a sound like heavy thunder was heard from the earth. And we were lying prone on our faces before the holy table, to which we clung, and we were tossed about from one side to the other. And after a long time when, contrary to expectation, we returned as from the graves, and then our eyes like those of a man who is woke up from sleep, began to shed tears, and our tongues [to utter] praise.' And during that earthquake the walls of ALEPPO, and BA'ELBÂK, and ḤAMÂTH, and EMESA, and SHAIZÂR, and BAGHRÂS and of their fortresses and great buildings fell down upon their inhabitants. The whole of the great church of the GREEKS which was in ANTIOCH fell down, and the altar of the church of KÛSYÂNÂ of the FRANKS. As for us, that is to say the remnant of our people, He rendered us great help, having consideration of our feebleness, for there was among us neither king nor governor. Whilst all else in ALEPPO fell down, one church was protected. And in ANTIOCH three churches were protected for us, viz. the Church of the Bearer of God, and the Church of GEORGE, and the Church of MÂR BAR ṢAWMÂ. And in GÂBBÂLÂ also our little church was protected, and so also in LAODICEA, for the glory of God, and the heartening of the feeble orthodox remnant. And that earthquake lasted twenty-five days.

And in the year fourteen hundred and eighty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1171), the governor 'ABÛ AL-KÂSIM brought for himself a wife who was the daughter of KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN of the fortress of ZÂÎD. And in the course of the rejoicing, and making merry at the wedding feast, [340] they went out to enjoy themselves with feats of horsemanship; and then, owing to the violence of the riding he fell from his horse and died, and their joy was turned to mourning. Then the people of MELITENE set up 'AFRÎDÛN, his younger brother, in his place, and they gave him his brother's wife, although she was unwilling. Then KÛLEJ 'ARSLÂN, the Sûltân of ICONIUM, collected an army and attacked MELITENE, and he was unable to take it, but he carried off into captivity the people of the country, and he turned back to CAESAREA. Then NÛR AD-DÎN, and the lord of MARDÎN and of the fortress of ZÂÎD, and the ARMENIANS of CILICIA, and BAR DÂNISHMAND, the lord of SEBASTIA, made an agreement, and they all gathered themselves together in SEBASTIA so that they might begin a war with KÛLEJ 'ARSLÂN. And they advanced as far as the Gate of CAESAREA. Now KÛLEJ 'ARSLÂN did not go forth to fight, but he asked for peace, and he gave back the people whom he had carried off from MELITENE. And when they demanded from him the four sons of his brothers who were shut up in prison with him, he did a most accursed thing. He



slew one of them, and roasted [him] and set him on a dish, and sent him to his father. And he swore that if they went on to demand the others, he would treat the three of them in exactly the same manner. And thus they left him and went their way.

And in the year which is the year five hundred and sixty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1170), KELEJ 'ARSLÂN ruled over all the countries of the sons of DÂNISHMAND. And in that year, when NÛR AD-DÎN heard that his brother KÛTB AD-DÎN was dead, and that SAIF AD-DÎN his son reigned, and that 'ABD AL-MASÎH was governing the kingdom of MÂWŞIL according to his own good pleasure, and making heavy the yoke on the people, he became indignant in his spirit and said, 'Is it right that I or 'ABD AL-MASÎH should govern my brother's sons?' And he marched from ALEPPO and encamped against CALONICUS and took it, and he had dominion over the whole of ḤABÛRÂ and reigned over NISIBIS also. And MÂḤAMÂD, the son of KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, the lord of a fortress, came to him, and he came and made war on SHÎGÂR and took it, and he set therein 'EMÂD AD-DÎN, his brother's son. And from there he came to the city of BÂLÂDH, and he crossed the TIGRIS and went and encamped on the east side of MÂWŞIL, that is to say in the quarter of NINEVEH. And on the day on which he arrived a miracle was performed, for one of the great towers of MÂWŞIL fell down of its own accord, and it is probable [341] that that tower was shaken during the violent earthquake which had taken place the year before. And, as if by chance, it collapsed that day.

Now when 'ABD AL-MASÎH saw that the whole of the Arab people was inclining towards NÛR AD-DÎN, he was afraid that they would take him by the sword. And he sent and demanded a pledge of safety for his life, that he might deliver MÂWŞIL to him, but that he would not take it from SAIF AD-DÎN. Then NÛR AD-DÎN replied, 'I have not come to snatch the city or the kingdom from my sons, but that I may save the populace from thy injustice (or, oppression), O 'ABD AL-MASÎH. Therefore, beyond my allowing thee to live, and expelling thee from MÂWŞIL, and carrying thee with me to SYRIA, thou must expect nothing from me.' And so there was peace. And NÛR AD-DÎN went to MÂWŞIL, and he encamped in the Citadel thereof. And he left SAIF AD-DÎN GHÂZÎ as he was, the lord of MÂWŞIL. And he appointed as DÎZÂDÂR, that is to say, 'Governor,' a certain eunuch whose name was SA'D AD-DÎN KÛMÎSHTAKÎN. And the riches which his brother had left he divided equally between his sons. And he remitted many taxes to the people, and he built the great Mosque which is called 'NÛRÎ.' And he gave to SAIF AD-DÎN besides MÂWŞIL also the island of KÂRDÛ. And having tarried in MÂWŞIL for seventeen days, he returned to SYRIA, and with him was FAKHR AD-DÎN 'ABD AL-MASÎH. And he changed his name and called him 'ABD ALLÂH' (i.e. 'Servant of God') instead of 'Servant of Christ', and gave him other generous allowances whereon to live. Now although this 'ABD AL-MASÎH pretended by his external acts that he was a Muslim, his inner



man practised Christianity. And he performed great acts of kindness for the Christians, and he was an open enemy of the ARABS and their teachers. And the blessed Patriarch MÂR MICHAEL compareth him to MORDECAI.

And in this year the Khalîfah MÛSTANJID fell sick through a disease of the colon, and when his sickness waxed sore, certain of the nobles, 'AÛSTÂDDÂR and others, gave up all hope of his life, and they opened the doors of the prison, and brought out their brothers who were imprisoned therein. Then the Wazîr sent and informed the Khalîfah [of this], and the Khalîfah was wroth, and he commanded the physician, who was a Christian, that is to say BAR-ŞAFYÂH, who was attending him, to write to the Wazîr [ordering him] to arrest these nobles and to cut off their heads. And having written (now the lawyers [342] did not go into the presence of the Khalîfah because of the severity of the disease) the Khalîfah set his sign (or, mark, or, seal) on the document. And he called to a young eunuch and said to him, 'Take this document, and go out as if thou wast going to amuse thyself, and do not run, and approach the Wazîr and give him this'. And when the eunuch had taken the document and gone forth as he had been commanded, the physician remained for a short time [with the Khalîfah], and then he went out, ostensibly to relieve himself, and hurried to 'AÛSTÂDDÂR and informed him about the matter. And 'AÛSTÂDDÂR sent quickly other eunuchs, and they went and found the young eunuch carrying the letter, and he had not yet joined in the games. And they rushed upon him and carried him to 'AÛSTÂDDÂR, and he searched him and found the document, and having taken it he killed the young eunuch and cast him into a pit. Then 'AÛSTÂDDÂR and his companions rose up hurriedly, and went into the inner apartments (i.e. the ḥarîm) of the palace. And when the women cried out in their faces, saying, '[Ye] dogs! How have ye dared to intrude upon us as if we were common women in the bazar', they paid no heed to them and passed on and went into the apartment wherein the Khalîfah was lying down. And they said unto him, 'The physician hath commanded us to take thee to the bath', and although the Khalîfah was wroth, and said, 'I do not want a bath', they did not listen to him, but they stripped him naked by force, and carried him in and cast him into an inner chamber. And though he was in sore distress through the fever, and he had not strength enough to stand up, and he was moaning and groaning, they kept on hammering on the door so that the sounds of his outcries might be concealed from the women and slaves who were there, for it was impossible for them to drive the women out, so that they might not accuse them of having killed him. And after a time one of the nobles went in and stamped upon his belly with his foot. And when he was nigh to yielding up his spirit, the nobles brought him out whilst breath still remained in him so that the inferior slaves and the women might see that he had not been killed by strangling. And when they went out he begged for some water, and they would not give any to



him, saying, 'Thou wilt be harmed by water', then the physician said unto them, 'Give him [water], for as soon as the water touches his lips he will die'. And having given him the water he was unable to swallow it, for his throat was already dried up and tightly closed. And straightway he died.

And we have found [written] in another manuscript that this Khalîfah loved one of the women, whose name was [343] BÂNAPHSHÂH (i.e. Violet), very much, and that the wife of the Khalîfah was jealous of her. And she stirred up the son of the Khalîfah, and she made him to sleep with the handmaiden. And when the Khalîfah asked for her according to custom, his wife said unto him, 'That woman is not suitable for thee, because thy son hath slept with her'. When the Khalîfah heard about what had happened, he was troubled, and his mind was confused, and he fell ill because of his son. And in a fit of anger he commanded that his son should be killed, but the nobles did the thing exactly opposite, that is to say, they killed him and set up his son in his place.

After MÛSTANJID, his son MÛSTADÎ ruled nine years, and those nobles having put to death MÛSTANJID in this manner, chose one of his sons who had no prospect of becoming Khalîfah because of his gentleness and humility. And they made him swear that he would not kill any of them, and that he would restore to them everything which his father had taken from them. And having sworn to them, they brought in his brother, and by force and with threats of death made him to swear the same things. And thus they did with all the sons of the Khalîfah's family, and they also swore oaths of fidelity to him. And they proclaimed him 'MÛSTADÎ'.

And in the year fourteen hundred and eighty-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1172) heavy snow fell on the whole country. It was so heavy that even in INDIA, where they had never seen snow, snow fell, according to what is said, to a depth of fourteen spans. The rivers and the wells were frozen hard, and the wild animals and birds perished through hunger and thirst. And men likewise were imprisoned in their houses as in tombs, and they were unable to travel even from one village to another, and many dwellers in tents and [many] travellers on the roads were suffocated by the snow. But in SEBASTIA, where the famine was especially severe, because of the length of the roads [to be travelled over], the nobles begged ISMÂ'ÎL, the son of DÂNISHMAND, the governor of CAPPADOCIA, to give corn to them and to their dependants, so that they might live thereon until the summer and not die, for he had a large number of granaries which were loaded full of wheat. And when he refused and would not give [it to them], they gathered together and killed both him and his wife, who was the sister of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN the Sûltân, and five hundred people of his household and his slaves, and his women; and they took possession of his barns and store-houses. And they sent to DAMASCUS and brought DÛALNÔN, his uncle, who [344] had fled thither from the Sûltân, and he came and reigned over SEBASTIA.



And in this year, which is the year five hundred and sixty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1171), NÛR AD-DÎN sent a message to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN ordering him to cease proclaiming 'ÂḌID, the Khalîfah of EGYPT, and to proclaim the Khalîfah of BAGHDÂD. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, fearing lest the EGYPTIANS would be stirred up to revolt against him, delayed [in carrying out] the matter. Then NÛR AD-DÎN brought pressure to bear upon him, and being unable to disobey his command, he took counsel with the nobles concerning the means for giving effect to it. And whilst some of them were saying that it must be, and others that it must not be, a certain PERSIAN who was there, and was called 'Amîr' and 'Doctor', said unto them, 'I will make the proclamation first, and do you avoid doing so intentionally'. And when the day of Friday arrived, that man drew nigh and went up into the pulpit, and instead of saying, 'ÂḌID BAR 'ALÎ', said 'MUSTAḌÎ BAR 'ABBÂS', and no man was able to grumble. And similarly on another Friday the other men who made the proclamation, they being commanded, also made the [same] proclamation in all the Mosques. And thus the mention of the Khalîfate of the EGYPTIANS received its conclusion. Now because the Khalîfah 'ÂḌID was ill in those days his people did not inform him of what had taken place, so that it might not grieve him and cause him to die. And he died without knowing the fact.

Then ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN shut up his sons and the members of his household in prison, and he removed the males among them from the females so that their posterity might be cut off. And even so it came to pass, and he set free his slaves and his handmaidens, and there was joy to the heretical folk of the FATALISTS among the ARABS, and the sovereignty of the heresy of those who assert with certainty [the existence of] free will and self-rule was stripped bare, and who say, 'Their descent was not from 'ÂLÎ and FAṬMÂḤ, but from a man who was a JEW or a MAGIAN'. And the poets also have composed a multitude of verses, saying, 'The kingdom of PHARAOH hath come to an end, and that of JOSEPH hath begun'. For fourteen of them rose up in the West, three of them in AFRICA, MAHDÎ, KÂÎM, MANŞÛR, and eleven in EGYPT, MÛ'IZ, 'AZÎZ, ḤÂKIM, ṬÂHIR, MÛSTANŞER, MUSTA'LÎ, AMÎR, ḤÂFIṬ, ṬÂFIR, FÂÎZ, 'ÂŞID.

Then ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN reigned alone over EGYPT, and there remained to him [345] among the EGYPTIANS no enmity whatsoever like unto that hatred (or, jealousy) with which he was regarded by NÛR AD-DÎN. Therefore NÛR AD-DÎN wrote to him, saying, 'Behold I am encamped at KARÂK, do thou, without delay, collect thy troops and come there'. ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was afraid and he did not go, thereupon NÛR AD-DÎN was wroth, and he wished to go in person to EGYPT and to drag him out therefrom. Then ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN collected his nobles and took counsel with them about the administration of the Government. And as they all held their peace, and did not know what to urge, rebellion or submission, a young man, the son of ŞALÂḤ



AD-DÎN's brother, rose up and said, 'If NÛR AD-DÎN cometh we will fight him; we will not allow him to come into EGYPT'. And in this manner spake all the young men his companions.

Then the father of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was wroth, and his uncle also, and his father reviled those young men. And he said unto ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, 'Is there among all these nobles any one who is so anxious for thy prosperity (or, welfare) as myself, or thine uncle?' And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN said, 'No', and his father said, 'Be very certain that if I myself or this thine uncle were to see NÛR AD-DÎN, there would be nothing else for us to do except to go down [on our knee] and kiss the ground before him. And whilst we hold this view, who is there among these [nobles] who when he saw NÛR AD-DÎN would draw his sword against him? And since all these countries of EGYPT and elsewhere belong to NÛR AD-DÎN, if he wisheth to dismiss thee from [thy] governorship, what need hath he to attack thee with troops? Nay, he has only to send a single person with a couple of strings, who will cast a rope about thy neck and drag thee to DAMASCUS, and he can make governor of his country any man he pleaseth.'

And the old man NAJAM AD-DÎN 'AYÛB rose up from his place, and rebuked all the nobles and said, 'Rise ye up, we are all the slaves of NÛR AD-DÎN, and whatsoever he wisheth to do unto us he can do'. And when they had gone forth and departed, that old man said unto ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, 'Thou art a child without understanding, and faulty in thine actions. Dost thou not know that when NÛR AD-DÎN heareth that thou hast rebelled against him, he will leave everything he is doing, and will pursue thee until he hath uprooted thee? And what soldier is there who will forsake him and cleave to thee? And these words which I have spoken will reach him immediately. Do thou also send an envoy, and speak words of humility, [saying] that thou art a slave and [346] one who is in subjection to him, that the affairs of EGYPT are not yet in a settled state, and that fear of the FRANKS preventeth thee from going [to him]. Then will his wrath be appeased, and he will cease to trouble thee.' And as the old man said, even so did it come to pass.

And about that time a great number of people from among the NUBIANS sallied out and they came as far [north] as the country of ŞA'ÎD (UPPER EGYPT), and plundered many villages. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN heard [of this] and sent an army there. And the ARABS met the NUBIANS in battle, and on both sides very many were killed; now the party of the BLACKS was exceedingly strong. Then ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN sent his brother SHAMS AD-DÂWLÂḤ TÛRÂNSHÂḤ with a numerous army, and when he went [there] the NUBIANS fled. And the ARABS pursued them and looted and killed, and they took possession of the fortress which is called 'ABRÎM' (i.e. Primis), and they stationed an Arab garrison therein. And when the army of the ARABS retreated, the NUBIANS returned and [re]captured their fortress, and the king of the



NUBIANS sent an envoy to SHAMS AD-DÂWLÂH when he was in ẖÛS and begged for peace. Then SHAMS AD-DÂWLÂH replied, 'There will be peace if [thou] payest tribute'. And he sent with the Nubian envoy an envoy of his own who was called MAS'ÛD, a man of ALEPPO. And he departed and came to the royal city of the NUBIANS which is called DÛNÛKLÂ (DONGOLA), and he saw a miserable country, and with the exception of millet the inhabitants thereof had no other grain. And they had a few palms, and they ate bread [made] of their millet with their dates, they having nothing else. And there was in it one large building only, which was the palace of the king, and the remainder of the natives of the towns dwelt in huts (or, booths) and caves. Now that envoy said, 'One day I saw that the king of the NUBIANS went forth naked, and he rode upon a horse which was similarly barebacked. And the king went about in a vestment of *atlas* cloth which was without seams, his head, which was without hair, being uncovered. And when I drew nigh and saluted him he laughed with a chuckle, and he commanded and they burnt a mark like a cross on my hand, and he gave me fifty *litre* of grain and dismissed me.

And in the year five hundred and sixty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1173) this SHAMS AD-DÂWLÂH, the brother of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, went to the country of the South, and he took possession of it and reigned therein.

And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and eighty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1174), in the month of 'ÎYÂR (MAY), [347] NÛR AD-DÎN died of the disease of strangury in DAMASCUS. One of the skilled physicians who were in DAMASCUS, the famous RAḤÂBÂYÂ (whose two sons I the feeble one met when they were eminent aged physicians), related the following: 'After the disease waxed in strength in him, I and the other physicians were summoned. And when we went in we found him lying in a little house which was very uncomfortable, and we said that a vein must be opened, but he would not allow it. And because he was afraid of every one we were unable to repeat our words, and forthwith he died. His complexion was dark, he was tall, he was beardless and had only a few hairs under his chin. He was simple in his manners and dress. He was a violent hater of the ARABS who were descended from 'ÂLÎ. He took more than fifty towns and fortresses from the FRANKS. And he built a great guest-house (or, Khân) and a college in DAMASCUS, and a great Mosque in MÂWŞIL.' On the death of NÛR AD-DÎN his son MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ ISMÂ'ÎL succeeded him. And all the nobles swore oaths of fealty to him, and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN in EGYPT also proclaimed him, and stamped his name on the *zûzê* and *dînâr* moneys.

And when SAIF AD-DÎN GHÂZÎ, the lord of MÂWŞIL, heard that his uncle NÛR AD-DÎN was dead, there was great gladness in him, and the heralds proclaimed publicly in MÂWŞIL that every man should drink freely, and get drunk, and enjoy himself [at his expense]. And he collected armies and came to BÊTH NAHRÎN, and took possession of EDESSA, and ḤÂRRÂN, and other



places. And the Amîr SHAMS AD-DÎN, the captain of the host of ALEPPO, sent to the nobles in DAMASCUS, and said, 'Bring ye me MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ to ALEPPO; if [ye do] not, it hath gone out of his hands (or, power)'. But the nobles said, 'We will not give authority to SHAMS AD-DÎN to rule the kingdom', and they would not allow ŞÂLIḤ to depart from them. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN sent and rebuked the nobles of DAMASCUS, and asked them how it was that they had been unmindful that countries had been taken and why they had not informed him and called him to come to help. And he also spake unto them, saying, 'If NÛR AD-DÎN had known that there was among you one who was more vigilant than myself, he would have handed over to him the kingdom of EGYPT. And now behold I am coming, for it is right for me to govern my lord and the son of my lord and not you.'

Then the nobles sent ŞÂLIḤ to ALEPPO, and [348] the eunuch SA'AD AD-DÎN became his minister. This eunuch was he who was left by NÛR AD-DÎN to be the governor of the fortress of MÂWŞIL, and he fled from SAIF AD-DÎN and came to the son of his lord. Then the men of DAMASCUS, being afraid of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, sent and begged for peace from 'ÂMÔRÎ, the king of JERUSALEM, and undertook to pay tribute. And after a few days the king fell sick and died in 'AKKÔ, in the month of TAMMÛZ (JULY), forty days after the death of NÛR AD-DÎN. And very great mourning took place among the Christians at the death of this righteous king, the terror of whom had fallen on all the Arab peoples of EGYPT and SYRIA. And BÔ'DWÎN (IV) his son rose up in his place.

And when KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, the Sûltân of ICONIUM, heard that NÛR AD-DÎN, the supporter of DÛALNÔN, the son of DÂNISHMAND, was dead, he went to their countries and became master of SEBASTIA, NEO-CAESAREA, and KÔMÂNÂ. And DÛALNÔN fled to CONSTANTINOPLE and sought asylum with the king of the GREEKS. And thus their headship came to an end after they had ruled for one hundred and twenty-two years. And the ARMENIANS of BÊTH SÂSÂN, being weary of the Amîr of MAIPERKÂṬ, sent to SHAH 'ARMÂN, the lord of KHÂLÂṬ, and handed over to him all their fortresses. And the king of the ÎBIRÂYÊ also came back and took the city of ÂNÎ from the PERSIANS.

And in the year five hundred and seventy of the ARABS (A.D. 1174), ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN collected his armies and came from EGYPT to DAMASCUS, pretending that he had come to the help of the son of his lord, and he went in and encamped in the palace of his father. And in secret he flattered RÎḤÂN the eunuch, the governor of the fortress, and he opened the door to him. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN introduced SAIF AL-ESLÂM, his brother, and his men into the fortress of DAMASCUS, and he took possession of it without making an end of the proclamation of MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ ESMÂ'ÎL. And he went forth from DAMASCUS and attacked EMESA and took it. And from there he came to ḤAMÂTH and took possession of it. And he came and encamped against the mountain which is called JÂWSHÂN which is by the side of ALEPPO.



Then the Amîrs who were in it appointed heralds and collected all the people of ALEPPO, both great and small, in the MAIDÂN of the 'Irâk Gate, and they advised ŞÂLIḤ to go forth to [349] the people, and to speak [to them] with groanings. And having gone forth he stood up on the top of the MAIDÂN and said, 'O sons of ALEPPO, I am the son of your bringing up, for I took refuge among you, and I have neither father nor mother except you'; and saying these words he groaned and almost burst into tears. And all the people wept, and they lifted up their voices in a cry and said, 'We all of us are thy slaves, and before thee we will die'. And the FRANKS also sent envoys to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN and they complained, saying, 'This is not a thing which should be done, for thou art awarding evil instead of good to the house of thy lord. If thou dost not hearken unto us and turn aside from ALEPPO, behold we all will come against thee'.

And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN saw that the matter was not to be effected according to his will, and that it was impossible to cajole the sons of ALEPPO, he turned back and went to B'ELBÂḤ and took it. And he came from there to EMESA, and he also took the fortress thereof. Then the sons of ALEPPO sent [messengers] to SAIF AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞIL, and said to him, 'If thou permittest ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN to take ALEPPO, do not imagine that MÂWŞIL will remain thine'.

Then SAIF AD-DÎN sent, together with his brother 'IZ AD-DÎN MAS'ÛD, a numerous army, and they came to ALEPPO. And they and the men of ALEPPO gathered together and went and encamped against ḤAMÂTH, and they sent an envoy to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN at EMESA. And they demanded from him that he should restore all the fortresses which he had taken without his lord's [authority], and that only DAMASCUS should remain his, and that he should only be there as one of the Amîrs in subjection to MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ. Then ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN replied, 'I have not come for war with the son of my lord, but to protect him, and I will protect his territories and his treasures. And I will never go forth because of what ye say'. And when they saw that he was inclined for peace they imagined that he was faint-hearted, and they treated him arrogantly and said, 'Thou shalt not even tarry in SYRIA, but shall go into EGYPT. For thee, as far as we are concerned, there is nothing but the sword'. And they went away and encamped against RÂS 'AIN. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN also came to meet them, and they met each other in the place which is called ẖARNÊ DHA-ḤAMÂTH. And the men of MÂWŞIL and the men of ALEPPO were defeated, and they turned their backs to flee. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN prohibited his armies from pursuing the fugitives over-diligently, and from killing any man. Then [350] MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ sent to him and begged for peace, and said that ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN should rule over DAMASCUS, and ḤAMÂTH, and EMESA, and that the rest of SYRIA, viz. OUTER SYRIA, he must leave to ŞÂLIḤ. And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN did not agree to this, he added also MÛ'ARAH and KEPHARTÂB; and he agreed and swore that in all



the countries which were under his hand, the proclamation of Sûltân MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ should be observed, and that whensoever the occasion demanded he would come to help him. And when the Khalîfah heard of the victory of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, he sent to him royal apparel, and a sword, and flags, and a Patent of Sovereignty.

And at [that] time KÛTAB AD-DÎN KAIMÂZ, one of the Amîrs of BAGHDÂD, lifted up his head against the Khalîfah MÛSTADÎ, and he collected his men and set in array the battle close by the palace of the Khalîfah. Then the Khalîfah trembled, and he went up to the roof, and commanded the herald and he cried with a loud voice, 'O men of BAGHDÂD, behold the time when ye should help your lord, and the Head of your Faith, and should make manifest your zeal for your Belief'. And the voice fell in the city, and they all gathered together [armed] with swords, and staves, and bricks, and slings, and they made KAIMÂZ and those who were with him to betake themselves to flight. And having departed to the desert they became thirsty. And they found water in a certain tank wherein snakes had drowned themselves, and having drunk therefrom they all and their horses became ill. And they directed their gaze towards MÂWŞIL, and many of them perished on the road, and even those who arrived in MÂWŞIL did not live.

And in that year, which was the year fourteen hundred and eighty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1175), the Armenian nobles who were in CILICIA rebelled against MALÎḤ, the governor of CILICIA, and they wished to kill him. And when he perceived [this] he fled to one of the fortresses. Now the guards of the Citadel, because they knew the evil things which the Christians had suffered, and were still suffering through him, seized him and hacked him limb from limb and cast him to the dogs. Then the nobles brought his brother's son, RÛPÎN (REUBEN?), the son of 'ESTAFÂNÂ, who [came] from ṬARSÔS, and made him king over them. And he killed those who had killed his uncle MÂLIḤ because 'they had cast him to the dogs and did not bury him when they had killed him'.

And in the year five hundred and seventy-one of the ARABS (A.D. 1175), SAIF AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞIL, sent [a message] to ŞÂLIḤ BAR NÛR AD-DÎN to ALEPPO, [351] and he rebuked him and blamed him because he had not made peace with ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN. And the lord of MÂWŞIL collected about twenty thousand horsemen, and came to ALEPPO. And he brought out the nobles of the FRANKS who had been imprisoned there for a very long time, and he sold the Count of TRIPOLI for eighty thousand *dînârs*, and JOSCELYN, the son of JOSCELYN, for fifty [thousand] *dînârs*, and PRAYNS (?) of ANTIOCH for one hundred and twenty [thousand] *dînârs*; and he made them swear that they would always be allies. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN also sent to EGYPT and collected his armies, and they all mustered between ALEPPO and ḤAMÂTH, in the place which is called 'GÛBHAI TÛRKMÂNÂYE', and they met each other in battle. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN conquered the soldiers of



ALEPPO and MÂWŞIL and put them to flight, and he took possession of their tents and plundered their treasures, and he found in them large numbers of birds, turtle-doves, and doves, and parrots, and grasshoppers, in cages, and one hundred wanton young singing women. And he called one of the *kāmódhê* (cage men ?) and sent him to SAIF AD-DÎN [as] an envoy, together with the cages, and he said to him, 'Go thou and proclaim peace on my behalf to SAIF AD-DÎN, and say unto him: Return to thy state of honour and to the enjoyment of thyself with thy birds, for they are beautiful and they must not fall into danger'. And he gave apparel to the nobles of MÂWŞIL also whom he had captured, among whom was FAKHR AD-DÎN 'ABD AL-MASÎH, and he gave them horses and gifts, and sent them away in peace. Then, leaving ALEPPO meanwhile, he crossed over and encamped against the fortress of BÛZA'ÂH and took it. And from there he came to MABBÛGH, and he took possession of it, and he found in the fortress thereof a sum of three hundred thousand *dînârs*. And he attacked 'AZÂZ and captured it within forty days.

And in [that] year, which is the year fourteen hundred and eighty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1176), MÂNÛÎL, king of the GREEKS, went forth and built two cities on the frontier of the TURKS, and stationed troops in them. And they oppressed greatly those who were of the house of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, and this was because the king besought the Sûltân to restore their territories to those of the house of DÂNISHMAND, and he would not do so. Therefore the king sent thirty thousand GREEK horsemen with DÛALNÔN the TURK, the son of DÂNISHMAND, and they encamped against NICOMEDIA. [352] Then the TURKS who were inside wrote a letter in the Greek language by the mouth of the Christians who were in NEO-CAESAREA, and they said to the GREEKS, 'Ye shall not believe DÛALNÔN, whom ye have brought, because his letters are not cut off (or, separated) by the TURKS who are inside, and he wisheth by craft (or, deceit) to deliver you over to the people of his race'. And because of this, tumult broke out among the GREEKS, and they removed themselves from NEO-CAESAREA. And the TURKS pursued them and slew the son of the sister of the king.

And when the king heard that the son of his sister had been killed, he collected a large army and went forth to the Turkish frontier. And he left the chariots which were loaded with their heavy gear and food, and the GREEKS marched in, looting and burning those villages of the TURKS which had already been depleted of means of subsistence and population. Then the TURKS, particularly the foot-soldiers among them, went through the mountains and into the deep passes of BÊTH THÔMÂ, and they arrived at the great camp of the heavy baggage of the GREEKS and plundered it, and they burnt the wagons (or, chariots). And through this the hope of the GREEKS was cut off and the TURKS gained the mastery over them. And they rolled down rocks upon the GREEKS from the tops of the mountains, and made



confusion among the men and the horses. Then in the night the king sent an envoy to the Sûltân and begged for peace, and because he himself was placed in a terrible position, straightway he agreed. And he selected three Turkish Amîrs and they went in the service of the king until they entered into his boundaries. And because there were in the camp of the GREEKS which had been plundered churches, and crosses, and a great quantity of stuffs (or, hangings and curtains), and a cross in which was a piece of wood of the Crucifixion had also been carried off, the king sent much gold to the Sûltân and took the cross.

And in this year died NAJM AD-DÎN, the lord of MARDÎN, who had reigned for two-and-twenty years, and the Christians, and the churches, and the monasteries were on very friendly terms with him. And his son KÛṬAB AD-DÎN reigned after him. And he quarrelled with his uncles, the lord of HÂNÎ, and the lord of DÂRÂ, but afterwards he was reconciled with them, and they came to him, and were subject unto him. And a report went out concerning him that he was dead, and the MA'DÂYÊ began to make raids in his territory; but he being strong and in good health slew thousands of the ARABS, and took from them [353] twelve thousand camels, and the rest of them fled.

And in the year five hundred and seventy-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1176) ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN encamped again against ALEPPO. And when ŞÂLIḤ saw their force was unable to cope with him, he employed humility and begged for peace. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN made peace generally with ALEPPO, and MÂWŞIL, and LITTLE ARMENIA. And the peace being confirmed, ŞÂLIḤ made a little sister of his go out to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and she begged from him 'AZÂZ, and he gave [it] to her. And he departed and went to DAMASCUS, and took to wife the wife of NÛR AD-DÎN who was called 'EŞMATH AD-DÎN. And he made his brother SHAMS AD-DÎN TÛRANSHÂH governor in DAMASCUS, and he returned to EGYPT. And he built the two cities MEŞRÎN (FOSTÂṬ?) and KÂHRÂH (CAIRO), one wall surrounding them, and on the mountain which is between them he built the Citadel.

And in the year five hundred and seventy-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1177), which is the year fourteen hundred and eighty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1178), ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went forth from MEŞRÎN with a great army, and he encamped against ASCALON, and he looted the town and made prisoners, and shed much blood of the Christians. Now the FRANKS were in a state of great fear, because the young king of JERUSALEM began to be attacked by the disease of elephantiasis. But even though such was the case, the sick king collected the remnant of his troops, and he descended from his saddle and fell down on his face before the Holy Cross weeping. And the hearts of all were stupefied, and they swore that they would never turn their backs in flight, but would continue to fight the fight to the death. Therefore they left [matters as they were] until the TURKS had worked their



way into the country, for they were occupied in plundering, and neglected to make ready for war, and they were supine and careless, because they felt certain about the weakness of the FRANKS. Therefore the FRANKS mounted their animals, and came and overtook (i.e. fell upon) the TURKS when they were crossing a river. And the Lord made a mighty storm of wind to blow, and it hurled the sand away from the side where the FRANKS were on to the TURKS. And being blinded thereby the sword of the FRANKS had dominion over them, and they turned their backs in flight, and they wandered about confusedly in the trackless region in those waterless deserts. And the FRANKS spent five days in overthrowing them, and they found companies and companies of them, and they made prisoners and killed; and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN together with a few of his men escaped to CAIRO.

The Chronicler saith, 'When I saw [354] the bearers of the good news, who were mounted on horses, and the heralds in the bazârs of MEŞRÎN crying out, "The Sûltân hath conquered, and the FRANKS are defeated", I ran so that I might learn from the announcers what manner of victory [it was]. And when I drew near I heard that they were saying, "Rejoice and be ye glad that the Sûltân is safe". And straightway I knew that the tidings were the reverse of what they were proclaiming.'

And in this year when the Sûltân KELEJ 'ARSLÂN made peace with MÂNÛÎL, the king of the GREEKS, he came to MELITENE and encamped against it for four months with a great camp. He never set war in motion (i.e. began hostilities), but he gave orders to the troops, and they built themselves houses of bricks wherein they might pass the winter. And they also built for him great houses with the stones that were on the graves. Now the Amîr who was in it was of the race of the house of DÂNISHMAND, and he was afraid of his nobles lest, being as they were pressed by hunger, they should deliver him over (i.e. betray him). And he sent a message quickly to the Sûltân and received a pledge for the security of his life, and went forth and passed over to the fortress of ZÂÎD. And KELEJ 'ARSLÂN was master of MELITENE from the fourth day of the week, the twenty-fifth day of the FIRST TESHRIÎN (OCTOBER), of the year fourteen hundred and eighty-nine of the GREEKS.

And in the year of the GREEKS fourteen hundred and ninety (A.D. 1179), all the FRANKS came to terms with BÔ'DWÎN the king, and they began to build a city on the banks of the JORDAN, at a place which is called the 'FORD OF JACOB', that through it they might harass DAMASCUS. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went forth from EGYPT and attacked B'ELBÂK, because the governor thereof had rebelled against him. And when he had harassed him with war, the governor took a pledge for his life and delivered B'ELBÂK to him. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN waxed strong. And he went to the country of PALESTINE. And the FRANKS attacked him and put him to flight, and they plundered the country of the ARABS and returned. And when they were encamped,



and were refreshing themselves, and rejoicing as if they had conquered, an ambush of the ARABS burst upon them, and they made prisoners of about one hundred Frankish fighting men, and they captured also the Master of the Frères. And ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN attacked that place which the FRANKS had built recently, and subjugated it. Now there were five hundred Frères therein. And when they saw that they were overpowered by the ARABS, some of them cast themselves into the fire and were burned to death, and some of them [355] fell into the river JORDAN and were drowned, and others hurled themselves down from the wall upon the rocks [beneath] and were dashed in pieces and died; and those who found themselves alive were killed by the ARABS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1180), MÂNÛÎL, king of the GREEKS, fell sick, and when he felt that he was going to die he became a monk, and he set aside the crown for his son ALIX, whom he proclaimed king. And he made his wife, who was the mother of the young man ALIX, a nun, and he entrusted to her the treasures of the kingdom. And they appointed twelve nobles to govern the troops. Now the royal nun after a little [time] fell into fornication with one of the twelve nobles. And though the remaining nobles wished to dismiss her and her son, and to set up the daughter of MÂNÛÎL, who was born of [his] first wife, and to proclaim her husband king, they were unable [to do so]. For a plot was discovered, and those nobles were afraid and fled to the great church. And there was [civil] war in the city for seven days, and much blood was shed in CONSTANTINOPLE. And those who were on the side of the king and his mother set up engines of war against HAGIA SOPHIA.

Then THEODOSIUS their Patriarch, and the king and his mother having sworn that they would not harm those who were in the church if they would go out, went to them, and by means of his pledge [of safety] brought them out. And the king and his mother trod under their feet their oaths, and they put out the eyes of those eleven nobles and killed all their adherents. Then the Patriarch being greatly troubled cut off (i.e. excommunicated) the whole city, and he left it and went to a monastery outside it; and he stopped the [ringing of the] bells and prayers for nine months. And their dead were buried without any processions, and with the burial of a donkey.

And in the year Sûltân KELEJ 'ARSLÂN sent an army against RA'BÂN, and an army of the DAMASCENES came against them and the CAPPADOCIANS fled, for they were very experienced in wars with the FRANKS.

And in this year, which is the year five hundred and seventy-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1179), the Khalîfah MÛSTAPÎ died, and after him his son NÂṢÎR rose up. After MÛSTAPÎ his son NÂṢÎR ruled forty-seven years. When this Khalîfah rose up (i.e. succeeded) he seized the Wazîr BAR 'AṬÂRÂ and shut him up in prison, and he cast iron fetters on him and took everything which he possessed. And on the night of the fourth day of the week, on



the twelfth day of the eleventh [356] month, he was brought out dead. And when the sons of BAGHDÂD knew this, they threw him off the shoulders of the man who was carrying him, and they stripped him naked, and tied a rope round his member and dragged him through the bazârs. And the little boys put sticks in his hand and said, 'Put thy mark on our books, O lord'. And thus they mocked him until the TURKS came and buried him. And in this year there was a terrible famine, and a pestilence wasted the whole earth.

And in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1181), which is the year five hundred and seventy-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1180), ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went to war with Sûltân KELEJ 'ARSLÂN because of NÛR AD-DÎN, the son of KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, the son of DÂWÛD, the son of 'ARTÛK, the lord of the fortress of KÎPÂ. For this man was the son-in-law of Sûltân KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, and he committed great folly with the daughter of the Sûltân, and had brought adultery upon her. And when the Sûltân sent and threatened him, he was afraid and took refuge with ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN sent an envoy to the Sûltân and begged him to forgive the offence of his son-in-law. And when the Sûltân would not accept [the suggestion], ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN made friends with the FRANKS of the sea-coast, and he collected his troops and went to the country of ALEPPO, and encamped in a meadow which was called 'KÂRÂ ḤEDÂR', for the river floweth between the territory of the fortress and the fortress of MANŞÛR. And from there he went and encamped on the river LÛGÂSÛ (LÛGÂSIK?). And NÛR AD-DÎN, the son of KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, came to him and was received with honour. Then God set peace in the heart of Sûltân KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, and he sent an ambassador to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN. And he was reconciled with his son-in-law after he had made him to swear that he would not again live in wantonness, and would hold the daughter of the Sûltân in honour, and that he would be in subjection to him like a son.

And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN moved from that place and went and encamped on the river ÛKÂMÂ. And his armies went to plunder the country of CILICIA, because RÛPÎN (REUBEN?), the governor of CILICIA, had killed many of the Turcoman shepherds who were in his country, and he made captives of their wives and children and [seized] their possessions (i.e. cattle).

Then RÛPÎN sent words of humility and submission to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and he gave him much gold, and he set free five hundred Turkish prisoners. [357] And then there was peace, and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN departed. And KELEJ 'ARSLÂN returned to MELITENE and rebuilt the two walls thereof. And at this time PRAYNS of ANTIOCH left the Greek wife which he had taken from CONSTANTINOPLE in the days of MÂNÛÎL the king and committed fornication. And the Patriarch of ANTIOCH excommunicated the priest who had blessed him with the whore, and also the whole city, and he stopped the bell-ringers and the prayers. Then PRAYNS was furiously angry, and he



looted all the churches and monasteries of the FRANKS. Then the Patriarch of JERUSALEM came with men of authority (Counts) and pacified PRAYNS. He permitted him to keep that unlawful wife, and he gave back everything which he had taken from the churches and monasteries.

And in the year died SAIF AD-DÎN ʾĪZĪ, the son of ʾĪGHAB AD-DÎN MÂWDÛD, the son of ZANGÎ, the lord of MÂWŞIL. He was a man who loved luxurious living, and he was always drinking wine, and in his days the men of MÂWŞIL enjoyed prosperous peace and great happiness. And there rose up in his place as governor of MÂWŞIL ʾIZZ AD-DÎN MASʾÛD his brother, and he was called ABÛ AL-FATH, and he had been trained systematically in all matters of administration. And ŞALÂH AD-DÎN went to DAMASCUS, and from there he went to EGYPT, and he finished the building of the Citadel of CAIRO; and his brother SHAMS AD-DAWLÂH died in ALEXANDRIA.

And in the year five hundred and seventy-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1181), king ŞÂLIḤ ISMAʾÎL, the son of NÛR AD-DÎN, the son of ZANGÎ, the lord of MÂWŞIL, fell sick with the sickness of death. And when he perceived that he was going to die, he sent to the son of his uncle ʾIZZ AL-DÎN MASʾÛD, the lord of MÂWŞIL, and he urged him to come quickly so that ALEPPO might be handed over to him, and not to ŞALÂH AD-DÎN. And he also collected the nobles, and made them to swear fealty to the son of his uncle, and he died. It is said that one of the slaves made him drink poison in a cluster of grapes. And others say, 'No, he died of disease of the colon'. And the sons of ALEPPO mourned for him greatly, for he was glorious in the beauty of his body, and he was excellent in spiritual and mental faculties. And when he died dissension fell (i.e. broke out) between [358] the people of ALEPPO, that is to say between those who lived in the city and the YÂRÛKÂÏÊ, who were outside ALEPPO. And the YÂRÛKÂÏÊ sent to ʾEMÂD AD-DÎN ZANGÎ, the lord of SHIGHÂR (SINJÂR), and brought him to them that they might deliver ALEPPO [into his hands]. But the dwellers in ALEPPO sent and threatened him that if he did not leave and depart, they would fetter him cruelly.

And when he left and departed, ʾIZZ AL-DÎN MASʾÛD came to ALEPPO and went up into the fortress and took possession of it. And he took the mother of MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ to wife and sent her to MÂWŞIL. And he opened those treasure houses which of old had belonged to NÛR AD-DÎN and ZANGÎ his father, and were filled with boundless treasures, and he sent them (i.e. their contents) all to MÂWŞIL. And he made peace with BÔHÂIMOND PRAYNS, the lord of ANTIOCH, for a period of two years. And he left NÛR AD-DÎN, his son, who was a little boy, in the fortress of ALEPPO and appointed him governor. And he departed and encamped in the meadow of ʾĪRÂ HEŞÂR, and he sent an envoy to his brother ʾEMÂD AD-DÎN ZANGÎ, the lord of SINJÂR, because he had gone forth with all his treasure, and his sons, and his household. And he came to CIRCESIUM in order to go and take asylum with



ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, that he might help him and restore to him the kingdom of his father. Then 'EMÂD AD-DÎN made answer to his brother's ambassador, saying, 'I will not go back unless he giveth me ALEPPO, or MÂWŞIL, or the whole of BÊTH NAHRÎN'. And 'IZZ AD-DÎN agreed to give him ALEPPO, the city only, but his son was to remain in the fortress. And 'EMÂD AD-DÎN replied, 'I do not agree that I will be governor for thy son in ALEPPO'. And 'IZZ AD-DÎN replied, saying, 'I will give thee in addition 'ARBÂN, and MAQDAL, and other places from the ḤABÛR'.

And whilst he was disputing and refusing [the offer of] 'EMÂD AD-DÎN, the nobles advised him, saying, 'Give him ALEPPO and the fortress thereof, and quarrel not with thy brother about something which thou canst not protect, nor is he [able to do so] against ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN. And what hast thou left therein over the loss of which thou wouldst be sorry? Behold, the whole of the wealth [of the place] thereof thou hast carried off to MÂWŞIL.' And the two brothers swore oaths to each other, and 'EMÂD AD-DÎN took ALEPPO and the country thereof, and he left SINJÂR to 'IZZ AD-DÎN together with MÂWŞIL.

And in this year a great ship was dispatched by the FRANKS to DAMIETTA, because between them and the ARABS [359] there was peace. And the ARABS acted treacherously, and they made prisoners of the two thousand five hundred men of the Frankish merchants and sailors who were in it, and the pretext they put forward was that the period of peace (armistice) had expired. Then the FRANKS went forth to a city which was on the shore of the SEA OF REEDS, which was called 'AYÂLÂḤ', and they constructed a large fleet of ships and vessels and sailed on the SEA OF REEDS where one said the FRANKS had never before sailed on the RED SEA. And they captured many ships of the ARABS which were filled with rich merchandise (or, valuable cargoes), and they killed a great many people of the inhabitants of the city which was called 'IDÂB. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN sent ships from ALEXANDRIA with bales of packages for camels, and launched them on the SEA OF REEDS. And the ARABS overtook the FRANKS and a great many men were killed on both sides.

And in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1183), ANDRONICUS, a Greek nobleman, whom king MÂNÛÎL had driven out from CONSTANTINOPLE, cajoled the young ALIX and his mother, and he went again into CONSTANTINOPLE, and for a short time he manifested submission. Then he cast the mother of the young man, and her daughter, and her son-in-law, into the sea, and he destroyed the young ALIX secretly. And he killed more than one thousand nobles and burned them in the fire, and he plucked out the eyes of many. And that filthy old man took the young wife of ALIX to wife. And he expelled the FRANKS from CONSTANTINOPLE. And when they had gone forth they burned fourteen thousand monasteries and villages in the territories of the GREEKS. And the king of



SICILY also came, and he overthrew and laid waste many of the cities of the GREEKS.

And in the year five hundred and seventy-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1182), ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN sallied forth from EGYPT and came to DAMASCUS, and from there [he went] to ALEPPO, and he wished to make war on it. Then one of the nobles advised him to cross the EUPHRATES first of all, and to make himself master over the cities of BÊTH NAHRÎN and 'ÂTHÔR, after which he would be able to take it (DAMASCUS) forthwith. And accepting his advice, he crossed the EUPHRATES and came to EDESSA, and he took it and also ḤÂRRÂN. And he went also to CALONICUS and took it. And from there he went to 'ARÂBÂN, and the guards thereof brought down its keys to him, and he took it, and with it MÂKSÎN. And he treated the sons of the ḤABÛRÂ with kindness, and he went [360] to NISIBIS. And the lords thereof made ready to fight, but ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN did not wish to make war on the town. He placed an army round about it and commanded them to prevent the inhabitants thereof from coming out or going in; and being in sore straits, the men of NISIBIS surrendered the town quickly.

And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN came to MÂWŞIL and captured it, an army attacking [it] on every side. Then 'IZZ AD-DÎN, its lord, sent to the Khalîfah and begged him to intercede on his behalf with ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN; and the Khalîfah sent an ambassador to him and entreated him. Then he demanded that the men of MÂWŞIL should give him either the gold which he had expended in his coming, or give him ALEPPO. And the men of MÂWŞIL replied, 'We have no gold. And as for ALEPPO, it hath another lord, viz. 'EMÂD AD-DÎN. And how can we give thee a country which is not ours?'

And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN saw that he was not able to subjugate MÂWŞIL, he left it and went to SINJÂR. And he made war upon it, and took it from SHARÂF AD-DÎN, the son of KÛṬAB AD-DÎN MÂWDÛD. And from there ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went against the city of DÂRÂ. And its lord ŞAMŞÂM AD-DÎN BIHRÂM, of the sons of 'ARTÛḲ, went forth to do service to him, and he exhibited humility and subjection. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN left him his city and went to ḤÂRRÂN. And he disbanded his troops so that each man might go to his own country and rest in his own house, for it was the season of winter, and the days of a fast and a festival of the ARABS were upon them; and he remained with a small body-guard in ḤÂRRÂN.

Then the men of MÂWŞIL, fearing that he would return to them in the spring and take MÂWŞIL as he had taken SINJÂR, sent to SHÂHARMÂN, the lord of KHÂLÂṬ, and asked him for help. And SHÂHARMÂN responded to their petition gladly, and he sent to his sister's son, KÛṬAB AD-DÎN ÎLGHÂZÎ, the son of 'ALBÎ, the son of TEMÛRTÂSH, the lord of MARDÎN, the uncle of 'IZZ AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞIL. And all the men of MARDÎN and the men of MÂWŞIL, and the adherents of SHÂHARMÂN gathered together at BÂRA'YÂH, and seventeen hundred YÂRÛḲÂYÊ horsemen came to them from ALEPPO,



and they prepared themselves to engage in battle with ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN. When ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN heard that his enemies were gathered together he was troubled, and trembling seized upon him, and he sent and made his troops hurry to gather together about him. And within eight days they were all with him, from ḤAMÂTH, and from EMESA, and from BÊTH [361] NAHRÎN, and also the son of KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, the lord of the fortress of KÎPÂ. And when SHÂHARMÂN saw the alertness and promptness of the troops of ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and the inertness of his own soldiers, he said to the lords of MÂWṢIL and MARDÎN, 'It is the season of winter, and it is [a time un]suitable for war. Let us return each man to his own country, and towards the spring we will gather ourselves together again.' So they melted away, and their assembly was dissolved, having effected nothing. And ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN sent and informed the Khalifah what the men of MÂWṢIL had done, and that they were always quarrelling with him and not he with them; and he also received the command from the Khalîfah to make war on 'ÂMID.

And in the year five hundred and seventy-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1183), in the first month, that is to say in the month of 'IYÂR (MAY), of the year fourteen hundred and ninety-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1183), ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN took 'ÂMID, after he had harassed it sorely with war. Now at that time the governor of 'ÂMID was BAR-NÎSÂN RÎSHÂNÂ. And he fought valiantly against those who were outside [the walls], but the men in the city turned their faces from him because on one occasion when some of the men of ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN went in between the two walls of 'ÂMID, the men of 'ÂMID rushed out and shut them all in there and killed them. Then the Sûltân ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN wrote severe threats [to the governor], coupled with violent oaths on arrows, that he would not turn aside from the city until he took it, and that then he would burn them all in the fire, unless they helped. And those who were inside were afraid because things were thus, and they dropped their hands helplessly. And BAR-NÎSÂN trembled, and he took a pledge of security for his own life and for his household and possessions. Then the Sûltân gave him permission to take out everything he wanted from his palace in three days, and thus he surrendered up the city. And BAR-NÎSÂN began in the three days to take out from his palaces gold, and silver, and precious stones, and furniture. And it is said that he was unable to take out one-tenth of his possessions in three days, because he had collected a great mass of property in 'ÂMID.

And when ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN had taken 'ÂMID he gave it to NÛR AD-DÎN, the son of KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, together with everything which was therein. Then certain men said unto ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN, 'Thou hast promised him the city, and not everything which is in it. This great mass of possessions [is worth] far more than thousands of thousands of *dînârs*.' And ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN replied, [362] 'It is not seemly for us to give an empty city to our friend'. It is said that one hundred thousand wax candles were found in one of its



towers, and in the Library a thousand thousand and forty thousand volumes. ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN took these books only from 'ÂMID, and he gave them to the KÂḌÎ AL-FÂḌÎL, that is to say the 'excellent judge' his scribe. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN confirmed [the appointment] of KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN with oaths.

And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN crossed the EUPHRATES and went against 'AINTÂB, and NÂŞÎḤ AD-DÎN, the son of KÛMÂRTAKÎN, its lord, submitted to him. And he went and encamped against ALEPPO and invested it. Then 'EMÂD AD-DÎN, its lord, because he found it empty, was sorely pressed by his troops to give them their pay (or, rations). And he had nothing whatsoever in the city, and nothing came into the city from outside because ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN had shut up the whole country. And when he said to one of the nobles, 'I have nothing to give thee', the noble replied to him, 'Sell the chains of thy wife and give [the price] to the fighting men if thou wishest to be king'. And his case went from bad to worse until his dinner came to him every day from the inhabitants of the city, and he and his household ate it. And it was because of this that his nobles and his soldiers put war aside (or, were apathetic). Now the inhabitants of the city fought with great zeal. And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN saw that it was impossible to take the city by fighting, he made a secret arrangement with the nobles who were inside it, and he coaxed them with gifts. And they counselled 'EMAD AD-DÎN that it was better for him to deliver up ALEPPO, and to take other towns in its stead, and not to permit others to deliver it up, whilst he himself remained empty (i.e. a beggar). And they also said to him, 'Art thou relying on the common folk to fight for thee, and to eat from their own houses? Behold their food supply hath come to an end, and thou hast nothing at all to give them. See now what thou canst do!' And being persuaded by their counsel he sent to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and demanded from him SINJÂR, and NISIBIS, and ḤABÛRÂ, and CALONICUS instead of ALEPPO. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN agreed, and he wrote a letter himself and sent it to him, and he also swore to him that he would give him all these things. And when the people [363] of the city heard that 'EMÂD AD-DÎN wished to deliver up the city, it was very grievous in their sight. And they gathered themselves together before the Citadel and reviled him with filthy abuse. And they dangled before him a wash-basin and a smock, and cried out, 'O thou effeminate one, the washing of clothes is fitting for thee and not royalty'. And he was looking at them from a building, and he heard their abuse of him with his ears. And in the night of the eighteenth [day], in the second month of this year of the ARABS, 'EMÂD AD-DÎN came down from the Citadel of ALEPPO, and went out and sat in a tent which had been pitched for him. And [thus] those who were with ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN took possession of the Citadel and the city, and 'EMAD AD-DÎN [took] possession of those towns [which have been already mentioned], and he went and sat down in SINJÂR. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN had great gladness over the taking of ALEPPO, more than over all the [other]



cities which he had taken. It is said that when he went up the steps in front of the gate of the Citadel he recited that [passage of] DANIEL which is written in their *Ḳur'ân*, saying, 'The Most High God is the governor in the kingdom of the earth, and He giveth it to whomsoever He pleaseth, and He setteth up over it the lowliest of men' (Daniel iv. 32). And he turned back to those nobles who were with him, and he said unto them, 'Now know I that a kingdom hath been founded for me. Believe ye [me], I never coveted the happiness of NÛR AD-DÎN, but only ALEPPO, and I longed for nothing but that.' And when he became master of ALEPPO he abolished many taxes, and he reduced imposts and levies, and he distributed lavish gifts which were equivalent to eight hundred and fifty thousand *dînârs*.

And during the war against ALEPPO TÂJ AL-MLÛK BÛRÎ (TÛRÎ?), the young brother of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, was wounded, and he was ill for a few days and died. It is said that when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN visited him in his sickness he said unto him, 'Rejoice, for behold we have taken ALEPPO, and henceforth it shall be thine'. And the young man replied, 'Lordship belongeth to life, and behold, I am counted with the dead. Believe [me] thou hast acquired it at a heavy price; for like myself thou hast suffered loss in finding it.' Now behold he was strenuous in war, and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN and all those who were present with him wept bitterly.

And at that time the governor of ḤÂRÎM wished to sell it to the FRANKS, and the guards knew what [he wanted to do]. And one day when he went forth to enjoy himself, and he came to enter in, they shut the gates in his face, [364] and they sent to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN so that they might deliver it over to him. Then the Sûltân sent his brother's son and his uncle's son to receive it. But the guards were not content until ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went in person and took possession of it. And he gave gifts to those Muslims, and sent them out from the fortress. And he inflicted no evil upon that governor, because the nobles helped him and said, 'The guards lied about him'.

Now ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, having set his son MÂLIK AD-ṬÂHIR in the Citadel of ALEPPO, went to DAMASCUS. And from there he collected an army, and went and encamped against the fortress of KARÂK, and he made fierce war upon it. Then the FRANKS gathered together and wished to capture it, and when he perceived this he left KARÂK and returned to DAMASCUS. And his brother MÂLIK 'ÂDIL came to him from EGYPT and brought him much gold, and he made him governor of ALEPPO and its dominions as far as RA'BÂN and the banks of the EUPHRATES, as far as ḤAMÂTH. And 'ÂDIL went in to the Citadel of ALEPPO, and ṬÂHIR the son of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went out, having been therein six months, and he went to his father.

And in the year five hundred and eighty of the ARABS (A.D. 1184), ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN made ready to fight against KARÂK. And he sent and brought NÛR AD-DÎN from the fortress of KÎPÂ, and 'ÂDIL his brother from ALEPPO, and



TÂKÎ AD-DÎN from EGYPT; and they were all gathered together against KARÂK. And the FRANKS also gathered together, and the TURKS trembled. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN commanded [his troops] to burn the machines of war which they had set up against KARÂK, and they went away and departed to the country of ŞÂMRÎN (SAMARIA) and looted it. Then PRAYNS 'ARNÂṬ (ARNALDUS; RENAUD DE CHATILLON), the lord of KARÂK, went on the mountains and he entered KARÂK and he made it exceedingly strong. And PRAYNS also, the lord of ANTIOCH, went out to ḤÂRÎM with two hundred horsemen, and he spoiled the country and killed many of the ARAB horsemen who were on duty on the bridge which is called 'Iron'. And the FRANKS captured it and also the ambush of the ARABS which was in the mountain, four hundred footmen and twenty horsemen, and they killed them all.

And in this year died KÛṬÂB AD-DÎN ÎLGHÂZÎ, the son of NAJAM AD-DÎN 'ALBÎ, the son of TEMÛRTÂSH, the son of ÎLGHÂZÎ, the son of [365] 'ARTÛḲ, the lord of MARDÎN, and there rose up in his place ḤÛSÂM AD-DÎN YÂWLÂḲ 'ARSLÂN, who was a little boy. Because ṬÂHIR AD-DÎN SHÂHARMÂN was the uncle of the boy, he appointed as his administrator one of his father's slaves whose name was NEṬÂM AD-DÎN. And this NEṬÂM AD-DÎN took the mother of the boy to wife and he governed the kingdom well. Then the boy ḤÛSÂM AD-DÎN died. And he had a brother who was younger than himself whose name was KÛṬÂB AD-DÎN, his father's names, and NEṬÂM AD-DÎN appointed him in his brother's stead. The boy only had the name [of ruler], for the whole of the government was in the hands of NEṬÂM AD-DÎN and his slave LÛLÛ.

And when the boy grew up and saw that he was governor in name only and not in fact, he went in one day to NEṬÂM AD-DÎN when he was sick, ostensibly to pay him a visit. And when he went out LÛLÛ went out with him as far as the door, as it were to pay him honour, and when they reached a narrow passage KÛṬÂB AD-DÎN smote LÛLÛ with a knife (or, dagger) and killed him. And he went back to NEṬÂM AD-DÎN as he lay on his bed and killed him also. And he took the heads of both of them and cast them from the fortress to the nobles. And when they saw them they were all afraid of him, and they became subject unto him. This murder was carried out in the year six hundred and one of the ARABS (A.D. 1204) after NEṬÂM AD-DÎN had ruled for twenty years.

And in the year five hundred and eighty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 1185) ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went to ALEPPO. And from there he crossed the EUPHRATES and took EDESSA from MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN, the son of ZAYN AD-DÎN its lord. And he went to RÂS 'AINÂ and from there to DÂRÂ. And 'EMÂD AD-DÎN, the son of KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, came to him in the place of his brother NÛR AD-DÎN who was sick and was not able to come. And from there he came to the town of BÂLÂDH, and he went and encamped against MÂWŞIL. And the lord of 'ARBÎL, ZAYN AD-DÎN, the son of 'ÂLÎ KÛJK, came to him, and his brother MÛṬAFÂR



AD-DÎN, the lord of HÂRRÂN, was with ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN harassed MÂWŞIL and besieged it strictly. And the mother of 'IZZ AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞIL, now she was the daughter of 'ARTŪḲ, together with the daughter of NŪR AD-DÎN, the son of ZANGÎ, went out and entreated him to leave MÂWŞIL to 'IZZ AD-DÎN, and to remember [366] early days, and the benefits which those of the house of ZANGÎ had shown him; and they wept before him, and laid hold of the skirts of his apparel. But he would not accept their proposal, and he put to shame their hope. And when they left [him] and went in [again] in despair, the people of MÂWŞIL, both great and small, became indignant and they showed definite signs of their affection for the house of the ÂTÂBÂG ZANGÎ. And with all their hearts and souls they manned the walls, and they fought strenuously and poured out upon ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN words of abuse which hinted that he was one who had disgraced the goodness of his masters. Therefore he left the army to capture it, and he himself went against KHÂLÂṬ. For he heard that SHÂHARMÂN its lord had died, and that his slave BŪKHTÂMAR had risen up in his place, and that he was good to the KHÂLAṬÂYE, and that they loved him greatly.

Now this BŪKHTÂMAR, because he had heard that PAHLWÂN, the son of ÎLDÂGŪZ (ÎLDÂGŪR?), the governor of PERSIA, had set out to attack him, sent a message to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN to go to his help, and [he promised that] he would deliver KHÂLÂṬ to him. But when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went to the country of KHÂLÂṬ he found that BŪKHTÂMAR was entrenched strongly in his city, and that he did not go forth to meet him. And SHAMS AD-DÎN PAHLWÂN also had come from PERSIA, and had pitched his camp on the other side of KHÂLÂṬ. And he was prepared to make war on KHÂLÂṬ, [and he would have done so] if it had not been said to him, 'If thou afflictest BŪKHTÂMAR he will deliver KHÂLÂṬ to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and thou wilt find no peace in his neighbourhood'. Because of this PAHLWÂN sent to BŪKHTÂMAR, and spake kindly to his heart, and also gave him a wife from the daughters of his kinsfolk, and he left and departed.

And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN saw that the men of KHÂLÂṬ and the PERSIANS were reconciled, he turned back and came to MAIPERKÂṬ, because its lord, ẸŪṬAB AD-DÎN, the lord of MARDÎN, was dead, and he had made king his son, who was a little boy, even as we have said. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN made war on it. Now there was in [that city] a captain of the host [called] 'ASÂD AD-DÎN BRÎḲÂS, and the Khâtûn, the wife of ẸŪṬAB AD-DÎN, the lord of MARDÎN, and her daughters were also there, and she greatly encouraged the men of war who were therein. And the war being prolonged, [367] ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN coaxed the woman with promises, and said that he would take one of her daughters for his son. And being vanquished she begged that the fortress of HATHKÂ might remain to her; and she delivered MAIPERKÂṬ over to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN and went to HATHKÂ. And ẸŪṬAB AD-DÎN SÔKMÂN, the son of NŪR AD-DÎN, the son of ẸÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, the lord of



'ÂMID, came to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and he was received with honour, and returned to his city.

And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went forth from MAIPERKÂṬ and departed and pitched his camp on the bank of the river KÂRÂMÂN, and from there he went to KEPHAR ZAMMÂR, which is on the river TIGRIS. And the men of MÂWŞİL who were suffering from the investment [of their city] sent those same women to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN a second time to supplicate for peace. And among them was 'EMÂD AD-DÎN, the lord of SINJÂR, and 'ÎZZ AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞİL, gave the country of SHAHÂRZÛR, and all the country of the East, from the two rivers ZÂBHÊ [and] BÊTH WÂZÎK, &c., to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN. And he undertook that ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN should be proclaimed in MÂWŞİL, and that the coins *zûzê* and *dînârs* should be struck in his name. And in this manner peace came.

And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went to HÂRRÂN, and he fell sick there of a grievous sickness, but he recovered. And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was in HÂRRÂN he was sick, and he had with him the son of his uncle NÂŞIR AD-DÎN BAR 'ASÂD AD-DÎN SHÎRKÛH. This man, thinking that ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was not going to live, left him and went to his city EMESA. And he gathered together to him the young men and made them swear on his behalf that when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN died, he should receive the kingdom. And God willed, and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN recovered, and NÂŞIR AD-DÎN himself died. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went to EMESA, and took everything which NÂŞIR AD-DÎN had, and he named his son MÂLIK MÛJÂHID, who was a little boy, and set him up in the place of his father. It is said that after one year the young man appeared before ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN who asked him, 'Up to what passage canst thou recite the Kûr'ân?' And the young man replied, 'As far as the verse "The eaters of the possessions of orphans eat fire in their bellies".' And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN marvelled at his intelligence and said, 'If he hath said this with knowledge, it is meet to fear this [young man]'.

And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and ninety-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1185), [368] ANDRONICUS, the Tyrant of CONSTANTINOPLE, made ready to kill ÎSÎKYÔS ('ÎSHÂK (?) THE ANGEL), one of the nobles and the only one remaining of the family of MÂNÛÎL the king, and ÎSÎKYÔS entrenched himself strongly in his house. And when ANDRONICUS sent the captain of the host to summon ÎSÎKYÔS to his presence, ÎSÎKYÔS waxed bold and drew his sword and killed the captain of the host. And he mounted his horse and went forth to go to the great church with his sword, which was dripping with blood, in his hand. And he cried out and uttered lamentations, and the nobles of the people, and also many nobles who were offended with the Tyrant, gathered together round about him. And they went into the church and forced the Patriarch and he made ÎSÎKYÔS king. When the Tyrant heard this he rushed out from the palace to escape by sea. And they overtook him and made him go back to CONSTANTINOPLE. Then



they hacked the flesh of his body with knives whilst he was still alive, and they wounded him to the death. And after [he had suffered] great tortures they burnt him in the fire in the midst of the mob.

And in [that] year, when the disease of elephantiasis increased in BÔ'DWÎN, the king of JERUSALEM, he handed over the kingdom to the little boy the son of his sister, who was also called BÔ'DWÎN (v), and he died.

And in the year five hundred and eighty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1186), ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN recovered, and went from ḤARRÂN to ALEPPO, and from there to EMESA. And he found NÂŞIR AD-DÎN, the son of his brother SHAMS AD-DÂWLÂḤ, dying; and he took the Citadel of EMESA from his son. And he found therein a vast amount of loot. And from there he went to DAMASCUS. And he returned and took ALEPPO from 'ÂDIL his brother, and gave it to MÂLIK ṬÂHIR, his son. And he gave DAMASCUS to MÂLIK AFDÂL, another son of his. And he gave EGYPT to MÂLIK 'AZÎZ, another son of his, and sent him to EGYPT, and with him was 'ÂDIL his brother. When TÂḤÎ AD-DÎN, his brother's son, heard that EGYPT had gone forth from his hand, he was offended and he made ready to go to AFRICA. But ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN sent and prevented him, and had him brought to him. And he consoled him by pretending that it was because of his valour that he wished him to be with him. And he gave him ḤAMÂTH, and MU'ARÂḤ, and SALÂMÎÂḤ, and MAB-BÛGH, and ḲAL'ÂḤ NAJM. And he gave him in addition MAIPERḲÂṬ. [369] And he sent and had brought to him his son MÂLIK MANŞÛR, together with his troops from EGYPT. Now his slave, whose name was BÛZABÂḤ, was unwilling to come, but he went to the West and ruled over AFRICA.

And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and ninety-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1186), there was a conjunction of six wandering stars in the Sign of the Zodiac of the Balance, besides ARÎS (MARS), which took place in Gemini on the fourteenth day of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER), and the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month of the ARABS. And all the astronomers predicted that a universal flood and a mighty whirlwind would take place in the world, and that all mankind would perish, even like that which took place in the days of NOAH, through the approach of the Sign of the Zodiac of the Fishes, and that the waters would swallow up the whole earth. Now ḲELEJ ARSLÂN, the Sûltân of ICONIUM, more than any other man believed this silly talk. And he spent large sums of money wastefully, and made excavations in the ground, and built strong houses in the depths thereof.

But God, glory be to His goodness! showed their prognostication to be empty and vain. And when that day which had been indicated arrived, and many people had entrenched themselves in the excavations and caves, soft and clear weather appeared, with a quietness which was quieter than that of all the [other] days, and only an eclipse of the sun took place, according to custom. And the astronomers were treated with contumely by kings and by common folk because of the falsity of their prognostication. And



one of the famous astronomers who were among them said, 'They lied in their prognostications'. And when the Sûltân called him and asked him [about this], he said the same thing, and he gave [him] a written statement that nothing which they had said would take place, and that no evil thing would happen to the children of men. And when his word showed itself to be true, the Sûltân demanded of him whence he knew this. And he replied, 'I did not speak from scientific knowledge, but I knew that if a flood took place neither I myself nor those who blame me would remain [alive]; and that if it did not take place I should acquire a crown of merit, even as I have acquired [one]'. And the Sûltân laughed and gave him a present and dismissed him.

And at [this] time PRAYNS, the lord of ANTIOCH, made peace with ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and he seized treacherously RÛPÎN, the governor of CILICIA, and loaded him with iron fetters and shut him up in prison. And he collected an army and invaded CILICIA, and LEON resisted him strenuously and PRAYNS returned in shame. And afterwards [370] the ARMENIANS gave him thirty thousand *dînârs* and MOPSUESTIA and 'ÂDÂNÂ, and he released RÛPÎN. Then RÛPÎN, having been ransomed, took back these places. And PRAYNS began to destroy the whole country of CILICIA with plundering raids.

And at [this] time PAHLÛÂN, the governor of PERSIA, was killed, and in the course of events many murders were committed. And, moreover, the KURDS and the TURKOMANS fought with each other by the side of NISIBIS because a certain TURKOMAN went and took a woman from the other TURKOMANS. And when the wedding guests passed one of the fortresses of the KURDS, which was in the country of ZAWZÂN, the KURDS stood up by the side of their path, and demanded from them participation in the wedding feast. And when the TURKOMANS resisted, the KURDS overpowered them and seized the bride and went up to their fortress. And from this a great war began, and the roads were cut, and merchant caravans were pillaged, and on both sides about ten thousand men were killed. And also about thirty thousand KURDS gathered together and met the TURKOMANS in battle by the side of ḤABÛRÂ; and the KURDS were defeated, and those of them who were killed fell from the banks of the river of ḤABÛRÂ to NISIBIS. And on two occasions they met together in battle in the country of MÂWŞIL, and the KURDS were defeated. And the TURKOMANS defeated the KURDS several times in SYRIA, and they pursued them as far as CILICIA and killed men and women and even children.

And when the TURKOMANS had made an end of the KURDS all over SYRIA and BÊTH NAHRÎN, they invaded ARMENIA and took twenty-six thousand ARMENIANS as slaves and sold them. And they burnt the great monastery of GARBÎD (JÎRBÎD) and killed the monks. And one hundred and seventy men who were SYRIANS of our [communion], and who were from TALL BESMÎ, which is in the country of MARDÎN, were killed. And two hundred of



our young men who bore armour, and were from the village of 'AMRÔN, which is in the country of KLÂWDÎÂ, in the Sultānate of MELITENE, were killed. And in all CAPPADOCIA and in the country of MELITENE, fierce wars and many slaughterings took place. And the ARABS and the ISHMAELITES met each other in battle and many were killed.

And in [this] year dissension took place among the FRANKS because when the lord of TIBERIAS was dying [371] he handed over his young son to the Count of TRIPOLI to bring up. And after a time the boy himself died, and the command remained with his mother. Now this woman cast her eye upon a certain man whose name was KAI (GUI DE LUSIGNAN), who had not sprung from a race of kings, and she became his wife, and she made him to put on her crown.<sup>1</sup> Therefore the lord of TRIPOLI was offended, and he went and became an adherent of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and he began to dig pits for the queen and for the other sons of his Faith.

And in the year five hundred and eighty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1187), when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN saw that PRAYNS 'ARNÂṬ had passed over (i.e. broken) his oaths, and had plundered the caravans of the Arab merchants, and had collected an army, he prepared for war. And he took a great army and attacked KARÂK, and he cut down the trees thereof and destroyed the villages that were round about it. And he left it and attacked SHÂWBÂK and did the same things there. And MÂLIK 'AFḌAL, his son, also went to TIBERIAS and pillaged the country thereof. And the FRANKS went forth and met the ARABS in battle, and the ARABS would have been utterly broken with a serious defeat, and have had to take to flight, had it not been that the men of ALEPPO stood firm. And the FRANKS went back to their city, and 'AFḌAL and those who were with him went to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN.

Then the kings of the FRANKS and their nobles gathered together and took counsel each with the other concerning meeting the ARABS in battle. Then the Count, the lord of TRIPOLI, said, 'Know ye, O my brethren, that there is no small danger in meeting this man ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN in battle. For ye know well what he was formerly, viz. one of the common folk. And behold he is the master of all EGYPT and PALESTINE as far as the East. The thing which would help—so it appeareth to me—is that we should make peace with him, and that each of us should rest in his own place.' Then GUY the new king, who had taken to wife the queen of TIBERIAS, magnified himself and said, 'As far as I am concerned there is no other means than a battle'. Then the Count said, 'Thou wilt see [what will be] the end of thy desire'.

And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN also assembled his nobles, and took counsel with them, [372] and they said, 'It is not right for us to meet in battle the FRANKS

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan's note reads: Sebellâ or İzbailla (Isabella), the sister of Bo'dwîn, who was the fourth king of Jerusalem, and the mother of Bo'dwîn V. When she became a widow she was given to wife to Guy, by her brother. And when the two Bo'dwîns were dead the whole kingdom came to her, and her husband also became king of Jerusalem, and not of Tiberias only.



now, they being assembled in their full strength, but let us make feeble the strength of their countries a little. And when they are scattered and in a confused state, it will be easy for us to destroy them one at a time.' But ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN did not accept [this view of theirs], and he said, 'When shall I be able to gather together such an assembly as this again? Nay, make ye yourselves strong, and contend like mighty men, and fight. And whatsoever the Lord willeth He will perform.'

And straightway he mounted his horse and made his troops set out on the march, and they went and encamped on the JORDAN, round about the SEA OF TIBERIAS. And the FRANKS gathered together in a place the name of which is 'ŞIFÔRÎÂH', and the two armies remained opposite each other for several days without beginning hostilities. Then ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN sent a portion of his troops by a secret way by night against the city of TIBERIAS. And when the day broke they leaped up and went into the city, and they hurled the sword and fire therein. And the queen<sup>1</sup> was very strongly entrenched in the fortress. Now when GUY her husband heard this, he stripped off his apparel and encouraged himself and the FRANKS, and they all rode off with fierce vehemence towards the ARABS.

And when the evening was come, the two forces were encamped near each other, and during the whole of that night none of them slept. And because the ARABS held the region by the JORDAN, the thirst of the FRANKS waxed strong during that night, for there was no place where they could obtain a drink. Then were they the more stirred up for the battle. And when the day broke, and the ARABS saw the courage of the FRANKS, who were casting themselves about like wasps, and were not turning back their faces, they feared greatly and became helpless, and their knees shook. And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN saw their slackness, he ran into the midst [of them], and he cried out with a loud voice, and made them to hear words which were mixed with honey and gall, that is to say words of encouragement and words of threats. Then one of the slaves of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, an athletic young man whose name was MANGÛRÂS, plucked up courage and went forth from among the ranks of the ARABS. And when he was between the two armies, another athlete, from the FRANKS, rushed out to meet him, and he pierced him with his lance and hurled him from his horse, and he bent down and seized him by his garments and dragged him to the ranks [373] of the FRANKS and cut off his head. And when the FRANKS saw this they were greatly strengthened, because they thought that it was one of the sons of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN who had fallen. Then the Count, because his heart was full of treachery, was afraid lest the victory of the FRANKS should be accomplished, and it would shame him who had advised them not to fight, and he made a pretence to the FRANKS that he himself, together with those who were

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan's note reads: This was not Isabella, the queen of Jerusalem, but the wife of Raymond, Count of Tiberias.



with him, would ride out and challenge the ARABS to battle. And when he rode out to the ARABS they opened a way for him between their ranks, because there was a word (i.e. understanding) between them, and they knew that his heart was not right (i.e. in agreement) with the sons of his Faith (i.e. co-religionists). And having passed through the ranks of the ARABS he left and departed towards his city TRIPOLI. And his departure (i.e. defection) was the chief cause of the defeat of the FRANKS, for no man trusted his neighbour again. Nevertheless because there was no other course [to follow] except fighting, the FRANKS mingled with the ARABS, and swords were drawn, but they were in no way able to find profit, because after the departure of the Count the FRANKS were like unto men who had lost all hope. And the ARABS prevailed over the FRANKS, and they took prisoner GUY, the lord of TIBERIAS (JERUSALEM?), and PRAYNS 'ARNÂṬ, the lord of KARÂK, and a large number of the miserable Brethren and Hospitallers, &c. And only a very few were able to make their escape.

And when the war ceased ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN sat in his tent, and his nobles gathered together to him and he commanded and they brought before him GUY, the husband of the queen, the Lady of TIBERIAS, and PRAYNS 'ARNÂṬ. And ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN paid honour to GUY, and made him to sit by his side, and he also made 'ARNÂṬ to be seated. Then GUY, because he was burnt up with thirst, demanded water as soon as he sat down, and ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN commanded and they gave him water which had been cooled by snow to drink. And when he had drunk one half of it he gave the other half to 'ARNÂṬ, and he drank. Then ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN said, 'It is not right for you to give him drink without my command'. And GUY said unto the Sûltân, 'Thirst is death; do not then put him to death with two deaths. [374] Defeat is murder; therefore do not murder him twice.' And his words pleased the Sûltân, and he was prepared to spare the life of 'ARNÂṬ, if the nobles had not urged him to kill him. And they said unto him, 'This man is not fit to live. For behold, he hath sworn the oath [of fealty] several times, and hath lied.' Therefore, having sent the two of them to the tent which was pitched for them, an hour later he sent and had 'ARNÂṬ brought to him by himself; and he drew his sword and he killed him with his own hands. Now 'ARNÂṬ was an old man who was experienced in wars, and there was no limit to his strength and courage, and he was held in great fear by the ARABS.<sup>1</sup>

Then ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN departed and encamped by the Citadel of TIBERIAS, and he coaxed the queen with oaths and made her to come down, and he sent her to TRIPOLI together with all her train and all her possessions, and he also gave her gifts. Now the wretched Brethren and Hospitallers, eighty in number, who had been taken prisoners, he also killed. The greater number of these he bought from the horsemen, each Brother for

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan remarks that 'Arnât was killed by Saladin because he would not become a Muslim.



five hundred *dînârs*. 'For', he said, 'these more than all the other FRANKS destroy the Arab Religion, and slaughter for the triumph of Faith is sweet unto them. Therefore we will put an end to all of them.'

And from there ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN came against 'AKKÔ, and all the nobles fled by sea to TYRE, and the poor people went forth and received a pledge for their lives. And after 'AKKÔ they took also ḤAIFA and NÂBLÔS, which is SHÂMRÎN (SAMARIA), and TABNÎN, and ŞAIDÂN (SIDON), and CAESAREA, and JOPPA, and BAIRÛT (BÊRÛT), and NAŞRATH. And it is impossible for words to describe the extent of the scoffing and mockery and insult which the Christians who lived in the dominion of the ARABS bore at that time. And the lord of JÛBAIL, for he also was a prisoner, handed over his city and saved himself.

And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN attacked ASCALON and found that it was filled with fighting men; and he began a fierce war against it and was unable to capture it. Then he said to the lord of TIBERIAS (the king of JERUSALEM?), who was a prisoner with him, that if he would hand over ASCALON he would release him. Then the king called the governor of ASCALON to him, and he commanded him to surrender the city. And when [375] he made objections, the king told the ARABS who were guarding him to cast iron fetters upon him and upon those who were with him. And when they had done so the king sent to those who were in the city and told them to surrender the city and save their lives; and they obeyed him and surrendered the city to the ARABS. And when the TYRIANS were about to surrender [TYRE], there came to them a certain Count whose name was 'MARKÎS' (i.e. CONRAD, Marquis of MONFERRAT in ITALY), and protected it ably.

And from there ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went to JERUSALEM and encamped against it. And he set up mighty engines of war against the wall on the north side of it, for that quarter of it was spacious and suitable for the operations of the fighting men, and he waged fierce war against it for three days. And again the FRANKS prevailed, for there were sixty thousand fighting men, horsemen and foot-soldiers, inside it; and they sallied forth against the ARABS and killed many of them. And on [that] day 'IZZ AD-DÎN 'ÎSA, the lord of ẸAL'ÂḤ JA'BÂR, was killed, and other famous men. Then the ARABS fought with the shooting of arrows. And they devoted their attack for a short time to those who were on the wall, until the men of ALEPPO could get close to the wall, when they quickly dug out stones from it by their skill. And they made breaches and supported them with timbers, so that when the fire touched them they would burst into flame and the wall would fall.

And when the FRANKS were in despair [of obtaining] a helper they sent two of their men of knowledge to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and begged from him a pledge as to their lives. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN excused himself and said, 'I will not open the city except with the sword. And I will do unto you even as ye did to the ARABS who were in it when ye took it, whom ye killed and made



[your] captives.' Then one of those two FRANKS said unto ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, 'We have another word which I would speak unto thee, O Sûltân, if thou wilt promise me that thou wilt not be angry'. And the Sûltân said, 'I have no anger, say what thou wishest [to say]'. And the FRANK said, 'If it had not been that we knew thy discretion (or, discerning character), and that thou wast incapable of abolishing the law of the kings of old who, when their enemies were vanquished, and had thrown down their weapons, and sued for peace, fought no more with them, we should not have come forth to thee. And now that we have come, [376] and have abandoned hope of thy goodness, behold we will go in and inform all the warriors who are full of indignation and are with us. And first of all we shall kill the Arab prisoners whom we have, and then we shall burn their Great Mosque, and then the churches and the other buildings, and then goods and possessions. And then we shall slay our wives, and our sons, and our daughters, with our own hands, and we shall not allow you to satisfy your lust with them. And after this no one of us will surrender himself to slaughter unless he has killed in exchange for himself one or two [ARABS].'

And when the FRANK had said these things the Sûltân marvelled at his words, and he made him to go out and sit down in one of the tents, and he collected the nobles and took counsel with them. And as one man they all replied, 'Everything which this man hath said the FRANKS will do, and even more; and to make them go out in peace would be a good thing'. And the Sûltân called the two FRANKS and said unto them, 'I accept your petition, but it is impossible that all the people who are in [the city] should go forth free for nothing. And the Amîrs who are with me want gold, for they have toiled hard and have spent much money on the war.' And the matter was settled thus: Every man should give ten *dînârs*, and every woman five, and every son or daughter two *dînârs*, and they should go out with everything which they were able to carry. And the FRANKS agreed to these terms. And they weighed out thirty thousand *dînârs* on behalf of the poor who had nothing to give, and the rich weighed out [*dînârs*] on their own behalf, and on behalf of the other poor folk, and they all went out in peace. And only the needy young people, about five thousand souls who had nothing at all to give for themselves, were kept in bondage. And the Arab guards were given each a *dînâr* or more and they brought them out. And MÛḌAFÂR AD-DÎN, the son of ZAYN AD-DÎN, brought out for nothing a thousand souls, SYRIANS and ARMENIANS, and he said, 'These are EDESSENES, children of my pasture'. And BAR-SHEHÂB AD-DÎN, the lord of BÎRÂḤ, brought out many others, and said that they were the children of his country.

And there was in JERUSALEM a certain Greek queen who was clad in the garb of a nun and dwelt in a nunnery in JERUSALEM. She sent a message to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN that he should do her a favour and let no man harm her. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN commanded, and she went out [377] with her servants,



male and female, and the eunuchs which she had, and her possessions, and he sent horsemen who escorted her to the boundary of the FRANKS. And he sent away with kindly treatment other queens who were FRANKS and who lived in JERUSALEM, together with their possessions. And the Patriarch also took out with him all the furniture of the Church of the Resurrection and of the other churches, and lamps of gold and silver, &c. And so also with the citizens, whatsoever they could not carry away they sold to others. And in short the FRANKS handed JERUSALEM over to the ARABS wholly destitute of food and provisions. A certain writer whose name was 'EMÂD said to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, 'Why should they take out all this valuable treasure when thou didst only give them a pledge to spare their lives?' And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN said, '[That is] the truth, but the FRANKS did not know [it]. And if we detained their possessions they would spread abroad a report about us that we swore an oath and lied, and they would bring a bad name upon us.'

ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN became master of JERUSALEM on Friday, the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of the ARABS, in the year five hundred and eighty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1187), that is to say on the twelfth day of the FIRST TESHİRÎN (OCTOBER), in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1187), twenty-eight days after the conjunction of the six wandering stars. And from this time the Christians were never again masters of JERUSALEM. But ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN himself left four Frankish monks in the Church of the Resurrection, in order to minister to the Holy Sepulchre, and after a little while the Patriarch of the GREEKS received the offer of administrator of the church.

And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN had finished with the affairs of JERUSALEM he went and encamped by TYRE, which is situated in the midst of the sea. And he built up strong towers against it, and in the war against TYRE he made manifest his whole strength, and he incited (or, stirred up) all his troops, and said, 'With the exception of TYRE there remaineth on the sea coast no place whereon the FRANKS can rest their heads. When we take this [city] their hope of escape will be cut off, and we shall be free from them.' And with such words as these they brought to an end their difficulties (?). But because of this Marquis who had come from ROME and had fortified it (i.e. TYRE) with ramparts and brave men, the FRANKS were continually sallying forth at every opportunity, and killing the ARABS, and retreating, and especially [378] in ships from the sea.

Then ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN sent to ALEXANDRIA and fetched large ships, and brought them into the harbours of TYRE. Then one night the seamen [of TYRE] went out in small swift cutters and smashed the greater number of the large ships of the ARABS. And they captured two famous captains of the sailors from the west, and of the other sailors some cast themselves into the sea and were drowned, and others began to flee in their ships in the direc-



tion of BÊRÛT. And the FRANKS pursued them (i.e. the latter) and captured most of them, and the others were thrown into the sea. And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN saw this calamity and the strenuousness of those who came forth also on land and fought, he and those who were with him were disgusted, and they burnt the towers which they had built, and the engines of war, and whatsoever was left of the ships, and he departed from TYRE and went to 'AKKÔ. And he gave the command to his troops that every man should go to his own country and rest in his house.

At [this] time there was a dispute between the Khalîfah NÂŞIR and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN because ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN had cut off the tribute which the Khalîfah received from SYRIA, and also because he was not certain that he would receive anything from EGYPT, and also because when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was drunk he used to say, 'I am ready to annul the proclamation of him that is in BAGHDÂD, and I will renew the proclamation of the FÂṬIMIDS who were in olden times in EGYPT'. And it annoyed NÂŞIR the Khalîfah more because ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN had sent to him as an envoy a certain man in his service who was of an inferior family among the people of BAGHDÂD, to carry the news of the capture of JERUSALEM to him.

And in [that] year a certain Turkoman shepherd whose name was RÛS-TÂM collected five thousand horsemen of the TURKOMANS, and a very large number of foot-soldiers, and went into CILICIA to loot and plunder the country. Then when LEON, the governor of CILICIA, knew of them, he closed against them the passes in the region of MAR'ÂSH and destroyed them all with the edge of the sword. And again five thousand foot-soldiers of the TURKOMANS assembled in the country of ALEPPO, [379] and they went into the country of ANTIOCH to plunder it. And Prince BÔHÂIMÔND went out against them and destroyed them all in like manner.

And in the year five hundred and eighty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1188), ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went in person against the Citadel of the 'AKRÂD (KURDS), and he made war upon it for one day. And seeing that it was very strong, he left it and went against 'ANṬÂRTÔS (ANTARADUS), and before they could pitch all the tents completely, the men of ALEPPO made themselves masters of the wall thereof. And the FRANKS rebelled in two towers, but finally they surrendered. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN destroyed the wall of 'ANṬÂRTÔS, and its Citadel, and the famous church of MARY THE MOTHER OF GOD, and all its buildings. And he went and encamped against MARKÎYÂH and he found that it was empty of people (or, had been evacuated). And he went against JABÂLÂ, and the ARABS who were therein surrendered it to him. And he went and encamped against LAODICEA, and he fought against it with great strenuousness. And the men of ALEPPO made a tunnel under the ground of the city, the length thereof was sixty cubits and the breadth four cubits. And when the FRANKS saw the excavation they were afraid and they demanded a pledge for themselves. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN permitted them to go out, they and their sons,



and their wives, and everything which they possessed, with the exception of beasts, and fodder, and implements of war. And ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN took LAODICEA, and he gave it to his son TÂḤI AD-DÎN, the lord of ḤAMÂTH.

In those days many fighting men of the FRANKS came in ships from SICILY to the help of the Christians. And the commander of their host asked to be allowed to go forth and speak with ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and the Sûltân gave him permission. And the commander went forth and said unto him, 'Behold, thou art king over all these settlements of the FRANKS which are on the sea coast, and thou hast only left to them a very small part of it. And it is not right that thou shouldst uproot them entirely, lest a great people pour out and attack thee from the sea, and thou wilt have great trouble (or, toil) with them. Therefore the proximity of these feeble folk who are with thee is far better for thee because they serve as a bulwark between thee and those who are inland.'

Then ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN replied, 'We are commanded by our Law to make triumphant our Faith with all our might. And the Lord doeth what He pleaseth.' And that FRANK left and went to his own country. And from there ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN went and encamped against ŞEHYÔN, and he found it [built] on some [380] rocky ground between two deep valleys. And he made war upon it, and the lords thereof surrendered it in peace. And he gave it to NÂṢIR AD-DÎN MANGURÂS, the son of KÛMÂRTAKÎN, the slave of MÛJÂHID AD-DÎN, the son of BÛZÂN; and he took also SHÛGHRBAKÂS. And from there he went to DERBÎSÂG, and made war on it and took it. And he also went against BAGHRÂS, and [as] there were not in it sufficient soldiers to fight, the captain of the wretched men who were therein surrendered it. And though all these towns were manned with ARABS, the men of ANTIOCH feared greatly, especially because the roads were blocked up in their faces, and grain was withheld. Therefore PRAYNS humbled himself to ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and he sent and begged for peace, and he made peace with him for a period of eight months, and he departed and went to ALEPPO. And from there he went to DAMASCUS, and rested for a few days. And he set out and went and encamped against ŞAFÂD, and he made fierce war upon it, and they surrendered it to him. And he also took the Citadel of KÂWKEBHÂ after much trouble.

And in this year died MÛWÂFAḤ 'AS'ÂD, the DAMASCUS physician, who was known as BAR MÎṬRÂN. Now this man, for the sake of the honour of this transient world, abandoned the Faith and became a Muslim. And he had great wealth, and ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN betrothed him to one of his handmaidens. And after a short time he died and his name perished. And even after the death of ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN his wife appeared with a child who was beloved by him, and they used to go round to the houses of the recluses and beg for alms.

And in the year five hundred and eighty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1189),



BÔHÂIMÔND, PRAYNS of ANTIOCH, went forth and pillaged the country of HÂRIM. And he came as far as LASHÎH and killed both ARABS and Christians together. And 'ARNÂṬ, the lord of ŞAIDÂN, who when it (i.e. the city) was taken from him, went and dwelt on the rock of 'ARNÔN, having received a pledge from ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, went out to him and asked him for a covenant (or, armistice) for three months, so that he might make his men depart from TYRE, and then he would take a town which should be sufficient for him in the country of DAMASCUS, and surrender the rock. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN permitted him to do so. Then ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN perceived that 'ARNÂṬ was cajoling him in his crafty manner, and that he had not ceased from excavating the trench (or, tunnel) and the building of the wall. Therefore one day when he went out to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, [381] according to custom, the Sûltân bound him and sent him to DAMASCUS, and he did not release him until he had surrendered the rock of 'ARNÔN.

And in the year which was the year fifteen hundred of the GREEKS (A.D. 1189), there was strife between Sûltân KELEJ 'ARSLÂN and his eldest son, who dwelt in SEBASTIA, and about four thousand of the TURKOMANS who were with the son of the Sûltân were killed. Then the Amîr BIHRÂM SHÂH, the son-in-law of the Sûltân, made peace between them. And the Sûltân removed from his presence 'EKHTÎYÂR AD-DÎN ḤASÂN, his Amîr ḤAJB, because he had become a maker of calumnies between him and his sons. And when 'EKHTÎYÂR AD-DÎN had collected his sons, and his house servants, and his kinsfolk, about two hundred horsemen, and had gone into the plain of KANYÛKH, the son of the Sûltân sent TURKOMANS, and they killed him and his sons, and those who were with him. And they hacked him limb from limb, and hung him on the points of spears, and carried him round about in SEBASTIA on the day of the Festival of the Cross.

And during the year MÛIZZ AD-DÎN KAİŞAR SHÂH, the son of Sûltân KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, reigned over MELITENE. And during the year very many and various peoples of the FRANKS, who were beyond counting, went forth to the city of TYRE, and they came from there and encamped at 'AKKÔ. And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN heard [of it] he was perturbed, and terror of them fell upon him. And he sent and summoned all his troops and had them brought, and he himself also went and encamped in the neighbourhood of the FRANKS. And when he saw that the FRANKS were gaining strength (or, going and becoming strong), and that recruits came to them every day, and supplies of food from the sea, he marvelled. And he collected his nobles and took counsel with them, and they decided that it was better for them to make haste and begin hostilities, and to meet the FRANKS in battle before they increased in number and became stronger. And they made preparations the whole of that night of Friday, the first day of the seventh month, and when the day broke they met in battle. And the battle went on the whole day until the sun set, and both sides continued to fight gallantly, and they



passed the whole of that night on their horses. And on the Sabbath the fire of war blazed likewise throughout the whole day. And whilst the FRANKS were occupied with slaughter, the northern side of 'AKKÔ, where they had no tents, became emptied of the FRANKS. And an opportunity offered itself to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and he went in [382] to 'AKKÔ. And he took into the city with him many fighting foot-soldiers, together with a large supply of food and other necessities. And he drove out the feeble ones (i.e. non-combatants), and he also went forth. And he commanded those who were in the city to fight not only on the walls, but to make sorties every day, and to smite the FRANKS lest they should suffer defeat by being attacked on both sides, viz. by those who were within and those who were without. Now the FRANKS were so many and so strong that they were never broken, and the capture of the city was only protracted by the fighting against those who were outside it. And if it had not been thus they would quickly have taken it.

And on the second day [of the week] the horsemen of the FRANKS mounted and rode towards the tents of the ARABS, without bringing down foot-soldiers with them, and they made a great slaughter and returned. And when the ARABS pursued them they fortified (or, entrenched) themselves on a hill which is called ['the Hill] of the Crucified Ones'. And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN saw that the FRANKS were greatly helped by the hill, he moved his camp and pitched it on another hill which was opposite the Hill of the Crucified Ones which overlooked 'AKKÔ. And the foot-soldiers of the ARABS went forth from it every day, and waged war against the foot-soldiers of the FRANKS.

It is related that one day the FRANKS said unto the ARABS who were inside, 'We are sated with war with grown-up men, and it is a weariness to us, and to-day we wish to enjoy ourselves with the war of young boys'. And they brought about one hundred Frankish youths, and the ARABS brought out from inside a similar number of Arab youths. And they began to fight by casting stones, and then they fought with staves and cudgels, and the FRANKS and the ARABS mingled together, and the FRANKISH youths put to flight the ARAB youths and drove them into the city.

And on the fourth day [of the week], on the twentieth [day] of the seventh month, a cruel battle took place. The FRANKS poured out of their tents like locusts. And the king also went forth, and before him was the GOSPEL which was covered with red brocade, and the priests were carrying it on their heads. And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN saw [this] he trembled, and he shrieked at his troops and terrified them, [383] and they formed up in battle array. Then the left wing of the FRANKS pursued the right wing of the ARABS, in which was TÂḤÎ AD-DÎN 'OMAR, the son of the brother of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and it withstood the attack of the FRANKS splendidly. And when the king of the FRANKS saw that the ARABS were not yielding at all, he waxed



courageous in his spirit, and he made the Sign of the Cross over his face, and rode into the densest part of the company of the soldiers of the ARABS, among whom were 'AFDÂL and TÂFIR, the sons of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and KÛṬAB AD-DÎN, the son of NÛR AD-DÎN, the son of KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, the lord of the fortress of KÎPÂ, and BAR LÂSHÎN, the lord of NÂBLÔS, and many others.

And when they were mingled together, the FRANKS mowed down the ARABS as it were with reaping hooks, and the ARABS began to flee. And the FRANKS pursued them with swords and with horns on which they blew mighty blasts, and a great breaking of the ARABS took place. And the FRANKS came to the camp of the ARABS, and they looted the tents, and killed all those who were in the streets. And the fugitives of the ARABS came as far as DAMASCUS and TIBERIAS. And the FRANKS having pursued the ARABS for about a parasang, went back, and they saw that the left wing of the ARABS had never moved from its position; and because they were weary, and those (i.e. the ARABS) had been at rest, they did not fight with them but went and took off their equipment in their tents. Then ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN by means of shoutings, and cries and words of encouragement made the fugitives to come back, and they came and lay down in their tents like dead men. And the slain who had fallen were counted—four thousand one hundred. For ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN had commanded the ARABS who were in 'AKKÔ, and they went forth and cast [the dead] into the sea. And a certain man who had a cord in his hand stood up, and whenever they cast a man into the sea he made a knot in the string. And of the FRANKS there fell about two thousand.

Then the nobles advised ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN that they ought to remove from that place and to go a little distance from the FRANKS, and the cause for this which they put forth was this: 'Peradventure the air in this region will become foul because of the putrefying of the slain'. And when the ARABS removed themselves and encamped at a place some distance away, the FRANKS dug a deep trench from the hill to the sea, and the road of the ARABS from 'AKKÔ was blocked up, and there remained none who was able to go in or to [384] go out.

And there also reached ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN the report that the king of GERMANY (i.e. FREDERICK I, BARBAROSSA) had set out and was coming on the road to CONSTANTINOPLE with two hundred thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers. And his heart groaned and he sent an ambassador, viz. BAHÂ AD-DÎN, the son of SHADÂD, to the Khalîfah, and to all the kings of the East [saying that] they must take to the road at once, and that if they did not the kingdom of the ARABS would perish entirely. And when the year five hundred and eighty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1190) came in, and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was reposing in the idea that he was far away from the camp of the FRANKS, and that there remained to the FRANKS no other thought except the war against 'AKKÔ,



then suddenly there burst an army of FRANKS upon the camp of the ARABS. ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was in the desert, but his brother 'ÂDIL was present, and he cried to the troops, and they mounted their horses, and the FRANKS and the ARABS were mingled with each other; and many of the ARABS fell, and if the night had not overtaken them a complete smashing of them would have taken place. And the FRANKS left and went to their camp.

Now the winter was nigh at hand, and there was an evil morass between the two camps, and no man could ride a horse [across it] or approach his adversary. And all news of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was cut off from those in 'AKKÔ, and [all] news of them from him. And by means of the sea one of them made his escape by swimming, and he came to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN and made the report that the FRANKS were fighting strenuously against the city, that they had built towers which looked into the city, and that those who were in [the city] were in a great state of tribulation.

And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN mounted his horse and rode against the FRANKS so that they might be reduced to fighting with him, and that those who were therein might enjoy a little respite. And he found that the FRANKS had dug deep trenches round about themselves and that no man was able to get to them. Then ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN gnawed his fingers, and he went back and encamped against TELLÂ DHË-'EGLÊ, a long way away from the FRANKS. And all the kings of the ARABS began to gather together to him, viz. 'EMÂD AD-DÎN ZANGÎ, the lord of SINJÂR, and MÛ'IZZ AD-DÎN SENJÂR SHÂH, the son of SAIF AD-DÎN JÂZÎ, the son of MÂWDÛD, the lord of the ISLAND (JAZARTÂ), and 'ÂLÎ AD-DÎN KHERAM SHÂH (KHURAM SHÂH), the son of MAS'ÛD, the lord of MÂWŞIL, and MÛTÂFÂR AD-DÎN, the son of [385] ZAYN AD-DÎN KAWSHAK (KÛJEK), the lord of 'ARBÎL. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN took into 'AKKÔ handicraftsmen who threw fire, and they burnt three of the great towers of the FRANKS. And God helped the FRANKS, for the wind was blowing towards the city, and the greater number of the people were burned by the fierce burning of the towers, because the ditch which the FRANKS had dug [in the ground] behind them prevented them from flight before the fiery flames. Now these towers travelled upon wheels, and when they (i.e. the FRANKS) wished they thrust them with spears, and clung close to the wall; and there were fighting men in them. And when they wished they drew them with ropes towards them, an operation which made the spectators marvel and moved them.

Now when the king of the 'ALIMÂNÂYÊ (GERMANS) went forth to CONSTANTINOPLE, the GREEKS prevented him [from advancing], and when he had fought them and conquered [them], they submitted to the king, and gave him a passage; and he crossed over [the sea] and came to the country of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN. And KÛṬAB AL-DÎN MÂLIK SHÂH, the son of the Sûltân, collected an army of TURKOMANS, and they met the GERMANS in battle, and the TURKOMANS were defeated and fled. And the GERMANS came and entered the city of ICONIUM, and they killed many therein.



And at [that] time PÂPÂ MICHAEL, the Greek elder and lawyer, who was from MELITENE, and who had gone to levy the tax, was killed there. Now KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, Sûltân, was shut up in the fortress of ICONIUM, and he afterwards gave gifts to the king of the GERMANS, and made peace, and gave him passage, and he crossed over to the country of CILICIA. And LIÔN, the son of 'ESTAFÂNÂ, the son of LIÔN, the governor of CILICIA, came to TARSÔS, and he showed a fair submission. And the aged king of GERMANY ('ALÎMÂN), having stood up at the river to swim, now it was very cold that day, he fell ill and died there,<sup>1</sup> and his son carried his body to ANTIOCH.

And from there the GERMANS went towards TRIPOLI. And because they were exhausted with the toil of the journey, a few men stayed at sea and came forth at 'AKKÔ, because the greater number of them died in CILICIA through sickness. [386]

And then the king of 'ANGLÎTÂR (ENGLAND) (i.e. RICHARD I, CŒUR DE LION) went out and took CYPRUS from the GREEKS, and he came and encamped against 'AKKÔ, and the FRANKS were greatly strengthened by his coming. Now within it there were twenty Amîrs of the ARABS, and they sent and said to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, 'We are already exhausted and brought low by continual war, and moreover, sickness tortureth us'. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN commanded and they went forth from the region of the sea, and he brought others in in their place. And because these were not experienced in fighting on the walls, the FRANKS generally gained the upper hand, and they set up seven engines of war against one tower. And the king of ENGLAND sent an envoy to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and he said, 'It will do no harm if I and thou sit down in one place. And we can do something which will benefit both sides.' Then ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN replied, 'It is meet that we should first form an administration of peace, and after that the dwelling together. For after familiar conversation and feasting war is unseemly.'

And in those days the king of England was sick with a sore sickness, and the FRANKS were prevented from fighting by his sickness. And when he was recovered he again sent an ambassador to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and he said, 'Blame thou me not because I cut off my speech from thee, for sickness prevented me. And now I am recovered, and I have sent to thee that, if thou wilt permit, I may send to thee presents. For it is not right for kings to cut off gifts, and embassies, and words of affection from each other, even though war is being carried on between them. For thus do the laws of our fathers, the kings of olden time, teach us.' And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN replied, 'It is well. If ye will accept from us the equivalent of thy gifts, we will accept gifts from you.' And [RICHARD'S] ambassador said, 'We have hawks, and eagles, and other trained birds, and they are weak, and we beg you to give us cocks (chickens?) and pigeons that we may feed them so that they

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan's note reads: The doctors of the West say that he was drowned whilst crossing the river on the 10th day of Hazîrân in the year 1190 of our Lord.



become strong, and we will bring [them] to you'. And MÂLIK 'ÂDIL, the brother of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, smiling [387] said, 'Because the king of ENGLAND is risen up from an illness he is in need of pigeons (?), and the hawks are only a pretext'. Then ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN arrayed the ambassador in royal apparel, and he sent him off with a large number of chickens, and pigeons and doves. And afterwards there came also three ambassadors from the FRANKS to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and they begged for fruit and snow (i.e. ice), and they took them and departed. And it is said that the king of ENGLAND had no other object in the dispatch of ambassadors time after time with these empty stories, except to obtain exact knowledge about the strength of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN and of the kings who were with him.

And when the war on those who were in the city waxed fierce, they sent to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN and said, 'If thou dost not make assistance to reach us we shall surrender'. And because ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN besides making the FRANKS to occupy themselves in the war with himself was unable to do anything else, the FRANKS were divided into two companies, and one company fought with those who were outside the city and the other with those who were inside. And when those who were inside saw that they were already captured, they demanded a pledge for their lives. And the FRANKS said, 'We will give no pledge, until after ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN hath given to us all the Frankish prisoners who are with him, and restoreth to us all the cities which he hath taken from us'. And when they sent [this answer] to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN he said, 'I will give three thousand prisoners only in return for the ARABS who are in 'AKKÔ, and if they leave me 'AKKÔ, I will give them city for city. And if not, let them take it by the sword, if they are able to do so, just as I have taken it, and so on with the other cities.'

And when the FRANKS heard this they restrained themselves no longer, but they scaled the walls by means of ladders, and went down into the city. And after they had shed much blood, they gathered together those who remained in one quarter [of the city]. And the ARABS said unto the FRANKS, 'Do not slay us until we can send to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN that we may redeem ourselves with gold and with as many Frankish prisoners as ye demand'. And the FRANKS agreed, saying, 'If fourteen days from now, that is to say at the new moon, ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN will give us two hundred thousand gold *dînârs*, and one hundred prisoners of those [388] whom we write down by their name as Counts, and Knights, &c., and one thousand five hundred prisoners whose names we do not know, we will set you free'.

And when the ARABS of 'AKKÔ had sent to WATHD LÂḤ AD-DÎN and informed him about the matter, he gathered together his nobles and took counsel with them. And with one mouth (i.e. voice) they said, 'These ARABS are our brethren, and how can we be careless about them?' And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN undertook to give [what was demanded]. And straightway he sent to the various districts and collected the Frankish prisoners. And



concerning the gold he said, 'Every ten days we will give one-third'. And when ten days had passed he sent to the FRANKS and said unto them, 'Bring out now all the ARABS who are with you, and we will give you one-third of the gold, and hostages for the other two-thirds, or else ye shall give us hostages for the third part of the gold which ye receive'. And the FRANKS said, 'Our word alone must be sufficient for you, and our pledge which we give in place of hostages'. And the heart of ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN became hard, and he would not accept their terms.

Then the FRANKS were wroth, and they tied all the ARABS with cords, and they took them outside the city upon the hill-side, and they piled up in heaps round about them many pieces of wood, and heaps of old cordage, and staves of wine cases which are called *fthalî* (i.e. *futalî* = *futailles*), like a wall. And they drew their swords and went and destroyed them all whilst an Arab watchman was standing by and looking on. And the number of the ARABS which were killed on the walls of 'AKKÔ, and inside it, and outside on the hill amounted to one thousand eight hundred souls. These things took place in the seventh month of the ARABS, in the year five hundred and eighty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1191), that is to say in the year fifteen hundred and two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1191), in the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST). And we have described a little fully the record of this capture because it is very famous among the ARABS, and they have written whole volumes about the tribulation which the ARABS suffered at this time from the FRANKS. And when the FRANKS took 'AKKÔ they left in it a force sufficient to guard it, and architects who built up its walls [again], and then they removed themselves to 'ARSÛPH. And ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN marched away with them, and they were fighting each other all day long as they travelled on the road. [389]

And one day when the ARABS attacked certain baggage of the FRANKS, the king of ENGLAND was wroth, and he pursued the ARABS with a strong force. And the ARABS scattered themselves and the greater number of them fled, and there remained with ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN only seventeen men of the chosen ARABS, and the trumpeters, and the standard bearers. And if it had not been that the FRANKS were afraid lest this flight was an ambush, and kept themselves at a distance (or, held themselves in check), they could have captured ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN and the pillar of the ARABS would have fallen. And in those days ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN sent architects and certain horsemen to go and empty the fortress of BAGHRÂS of provisions and to destroy it. And when they had gone and had destroyed a little of it, they heard that LIÔN, the governor of CILICIA, was ready to capture them, and they left and fled. And the men of ANTIOCH heard of their flight, and they came to BAGHRÂS, and they found in the [Citadel] twelve thousand measures (*makûkê*) of wheat. And they carried them to ANTIOCH, and they were a great comfort to them, for at that time the famine in that place was very severe. And after some



days LIÔN came, and he gained the mastery over the FRANKS and took BAGHRÂS from them.

And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN sent and laid waste ASCALON, and he emptied it of inhabitants, because the FRANKS had already built JOPPA and were dwelling there. Now it lieth between JERUSALEM and ASCALON. 'Therefore', said the ARABS, 'we are unable to protect it.' And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went to JERUSALEM, and he explored it and strengthened it with men, &c. And in those days there came to him MÛ'IZZ AD-DÎN, the lord of MELITENE, making complaints against his father Sûltân KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, and against his brethren, to the effect that they wished to take from him MELITENE. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN received him with honour, and gave him a daughter of MÂLIK 'ÂDIL, his brother, to wife; and he sent him to MELITENE, and encouraged him not to be afraid any more of his brother or his father.

And the king of ENGLAND sent an ambassador to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN and he said unto him, 'Behold, the sons of our side and of your side have been diminished by the war; how long is it to be thus? For, behold, our swords and your swords are drunk with blood. Give back then the countries which thou hast taken from us, especially JERUSALEM, which is the house of our worship, and for the sake of which we have come forth, and let us leave and go [390] to our own countries, and let it have repose from us.' And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN replied, 'These countries did not belong to you in former times, but to the GREEKS. And the ARABS gained possession of them from the GREEKS at the beginning of their going forth. And when the ARABS became somewhat weak ye took them from them, and now we have taken back our countries from you. And as concerning JERUSALEM, which you say is the "house of our worship", it is also the house of our worship, and we magnify it and honour it far more than you do, according to what God hath commanded us in His Kûr'ân.'

And the king of ENGLAND again sent to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN and said, 'I wish thy brother MÂLIK 'ÂDIL to become a kinsman of mine through my sister, for, behold, she hath come with me to worship in JERUSALEM. Now, therefore, if thou wilt give up the cities on the sea-coast to thy brother, so that he may have command only over the Citadels and the cities, and all the villages may be the property of the poor and the Hospitallers, this kinship will come into being. And I on my part will give to my sister all the towns on the sea-coast which are in the hands of the FRANKS, and the habitation of my sister shall be in JERUSALEM.' Now ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN to this also would not agree, but his brother 'ÂDIL burned with desire (or, lust), and he sent nobles and elders to his brother ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN [to urge him] to agree. And as he was very obstinate those wise advisers said unto him, 'We know that this can never be, neither is the woman herself, the daughter of a great king, wishful to belong to an ARAB. And her brother also knoweth this well. And it is possible that he in his craftiness hath sent and said these things as a



kind of joke on the part of one who is accustomed to make [people] happy. Therefore do not make thy brother to suffer.' And thus ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN was cajoled, and he sent an ambassador of agreement (or, consent) to the king [of ENGLAND]. And having detained the ambassador with him for three days, on the third day he sent unto ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN, saying, 'Behold, during these [last] three days, both by night and by day, I have been coaxing my sister, and she will not be coaxed, and she saith, "If 'ÂDIL will become a sincere Christian [the marriage] shall take place, and if he will not, it shall not"'. And thus the ambassador of ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN returned, being ashamed.

And in these days TÂḲÎ AD-DÎN 'ÔMAR, the son of the brother of ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN, died on the KHALÂṬ road, when he was on the way to fight against it, and they took him back and buried him in MAIPERḲÂṬ. This man was a violent hater of the Christians, [391] and without mercy he shed the blood of the oppressed Armenian peasants in the country of JABÂL JÛR. Now he had with him his son MÂLIK MANṢÛR, who had made himself strong in MAIPERḲÂṬ. And he sent to ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and told him that if he did not leave in his hands the countries of his father TÂḲÎ AD-DÎN he would ally himself to BÛKHTÂMAR, the lord of KHÂLÂṬ. And because of this ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN ceased to trouble him for the moment, and after a little while he gave the countries of his father to 'ÂDIL, and to MÂLIK MANṢÛR he gave EDESSA, and ḤÂRRÂN and SAMOSATA.

And whilst the two bodies of the FRANKS and the ARABS were marching on towards ASCALON, one day when they had camped, the ARABS made an ambush for those FRANKS who used to go forth from the camp to gather firewood. And when the FRANKS saw the ambushed force which had become visible, every man mounted his horse and rode straight into the ambush of the ARABS. And they killed three nobles of the officers of ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and only two horsemen of the rank and file of the FRANKS were captured. And the [king of] ENGLAND sent a messenger to 'ÂDIL, and abused him because of the ambush. And he said unto him also, 'I wish to see thee and to talk with thee'. And the FRANKS pitched a large tent outside their camp, and 'ÂDIL went to the king of ENGLAND, and he sat there [with him] the whole day, and towards evening they separated. And the king of ENGLAND said unto 'ÂDIL, 'I wish to sit also with the Sûltân thy brother in this way in this tent, and I want to see him and to talk to him'. And when 'ÂDIL told [this to] ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN, he was unwilling [to go] for two [reasons]; firstly, because he was afraid, and secondly, because he could not bring himself to go to him. Therefore he replied, 'It is not seemly for kings to meet each other except after the establishment (or, confirmation) of peace; and behold, up to the present peace hath not been established. And even if we contemplate the confirmation thereof, I do not understand his language, and he doth not understand mine, and there must be necessarily an interpreter



between us. Therefore, let the ambassador serve as an interpreter, and there is no need for [us] to meet.'

And when the winter had come the king of ENGLAND went to 'AKKÔ. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went to JERUSALEM, and sent twenty-four thousand gold *dînârs* [to the king], and with them he freed the Arab prisoners from the hands of the FRANKS.

And when the year five hundred and eighty-eight of the ARABS [A.D. 1192] began, [392] the FRANKS went to ASCALON, and they began to repair the building thereof. Then MARKÎS, the governor of TYRE—(now inasmuch as dissension had fallen (i.e. risen) between him and the king of ENGLAND because [the king had said] that it was not right for him to rule over TYRE independently, and he wished to take TYRE from him)—promised ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN that he would side with the ARABS, and that he would embrace the fight with the sons of his race. And whilst his ambassador was [engaged] on this business with ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, two ISHMAELITES in the garb of monks leaped upon MARKÎS as he was riding along, and one of them stabbed him with a knife, and his companion fled to a church which was in that neighbourhood. Now they brought MARKÎS, who had been stabbed, to that church likewise. And when the Ishmaelitish monk, the companion of him that had stabbed [him], saw that he could still speak, he also leaped upon him in the church and repeated the blow, and MARKÎS died forthwith. And when the FRANKS captured those [two] ISHMAELITES, and put them to the torture, they said that the king of ENGLAND had sent them. And because of the hatred which [existed] among them, the FRANKS believed the words of those murderers. But later on it was revealed that it was SÎNÂN, the chief of the ISHMAELITES, who had sent them.

Then the king of ENGLAND gave TYRE to Count HANRÎ (HENRI, Comte de CHAMPAGNE), and he took the wife of MARKÎS to wife, and went into her when she was with child, an illegal act.

And the FRANKS waxed strong and went and encamped at DÂRÛM, and they took it by fighting from the ARABS, and they killed every one who was therein. And at [that] time the FRANKS seized a large caravan of the ARABS which was coming from EGYPT and bringing gold to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN heard that the FRANKS were making ready to come with a great army against JERUSALEM, and he sent and collected his armies and made ready for war, and he strengthened the walls of JERUSALEM. And when the FRANKS were ready to advance on JERUSALEM the king of ENGLAND would not permit them [to do so]. 'For', he said, [393] 'that region of JERUSALEM is a region of thirst. And behold, the ARABS have destroyed all the waters that are round about it, and the river is more than a parasang distant. Do not imagine that JERUSALEM is like 'AKKÔ. Believe ye [me] had it not been for the sea we should not have been able to sit down by 'AKKÔ for a couple of days.' And they all listened to his counsel, and they marched on against GÂZÂ.



Now although ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was glad that they had removed their gaze from JERUSALEM, he was afraid for EGYPT. And then the king of ENGLAND sent an ambassador to ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN and said to him, 'Do not imagine that I have gone away to a distance through fear or weakness. For the ram of the sheep doth not draw backwards except for the purpose of smiting the head. Therefore if thou wilt make peace concerning what we have asked, it will be good for thee. Behold, I have informed thee.' And after many embassies there was peace. The countries that were in the possession of the FRANKS were to continue to be so, that is to say, JOPPA and its suburbs, and CAESAREA, and 'ARSÛPH, and ḤAIFÂ, and 'AKKÔ, and ANTIOCH, and TRIPOLI, and the remainder of the towns were to [belong to] the ARABS, and ASCALON was to remain a ruin. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN gave to the FRANKS as much gold as they needed for the building of ASCALON. And the road was opened and many of the FRANKS came and worshipped in JERUSALEM, and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN honoured them all and gave [them] gifts and animals to ride. And it is said that the king of ENGLAND sent and said unto ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, 'Thou shalt not permit to enter JERUSALEM any one of the FRANKS who hath not my mark (or, sign)'. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN gathered together his wise men, and he asked them, 'What is the object of the king in this matter?' And when they had pondered [about it] they replied to him, saying, 'The great reason for the coming out of the FRANKS is nothing but [their wish to] worship at JERUSALEM. And when they have effected this and have returned to their country, they will never wish to go forth again. And for this reason the king restraineth them [now], so that when on another occasion the king wishes to go forth they will go out with him readily and willingly.' And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN understood this he sent and said unto the king, 'These men are aliens, and after peace [is established] I shall not be able to punish them; if thou thyself wouldst restrain them, thou hast the power'.

Now when the FRANKS had taken 'AKKÔ they made prisoners two of the nobles of the ARABS, [394] the one was BAR MASHTÛB, and the other was KÂRÂKÛSH the eunuch. This [latter] was a RHÔMÂYÂ (GREEK) by race, and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN had sent him to AFRICA; and he captured many cities there, and came back to EGYPT. And he built the wall which is there, and it is called by his name to the present day. And he was also captain of the host of the ARABS who were in 'AKKÔ. And when the FRANKS fixed his ransom at eight thousand *dînârs* he said, 'For how much can BAR MASHTÛB ransom himself?' And the FRANKS said, 'For thirty thousand *dînârs*'. And KÂRÂKÛSH said, 'I will give a like sum. For BAR MASHTÛB shall not give thirty and I eight.' And the FRANKS laughed and took from him thirty thousand *dînârs* also. There are other stories of him which were like unto this. And one of the poets composed a whole book on KÂRÂKÛSH, and after his death he published it.

And after the peace ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went to BÊRÛT, and BÔHÂIMÔND,



prince of ANTIOCH, came to him, and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN paid him very great honour, and he arrayed him and the fourteen nobles who were with him in royal apparel. And he gave him one-half of the revenue of the country of ANTIOCH, which the ARABS took. And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN marvelled at the Prince, and how without fear and with confidence he had come to him. And he honoured him greatly for this. And he dismissed him with peace. And from there ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN went to DAMASCUS. And the king of ENGLAND set up Count HANRÎ, his sister's son, in 'AKKÔ. And he embarked on the sea to go to his country. And it is said that he died before he arrived.

And in [that] year, which is the year fifteen hundred and three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1192), at the end of the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST), Sûltân KELEJ 'ARSLÂN died in the city of ICONIUM. This man was terrifying, and frightening, and wise, and had taken a very large number of the countries of the GREEKS. But, when he grew old, he divided his lands among his sons, and he remained among them as a man poor and miserable. And whichever of his sons he went to he was uncomfortable with him, and then he would fly to another son. And when he went to GHÂYÂTH AD-DÎN KAI KESRÛ, the lord of the city of BERÔGHLÛ, he received him [395] with honour, and he treated him well and made him to rest himself. And he collected his troops, and his aged father was with him, and he went and encamped against ICONIUM, and he took it from KÛṬAB AD-DÎN, his brother. And he also went and encamped at 'AQSÂRÂ, and there Sûltân KELEJ 'ARSLÂN fell sick, and when they brought to him KAI KESRÛ, his son, at ICONIUM, he died and was buried there. And GHÂYÂTH AD-DÎN KAI KESRÛ reigned over ICONIUM until RÛKN AD-DÎN his brother took it from him, as we will show by the power of God. Then KELEJ 'ARSLÂN reigned thirty-eight years. He was the son of MAS'ÛD, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, the son of SÛLAİMÂN, the son of KATLAMÎSH, the son of YÂBGHÛ, the son of SALJÛK, the son of TÛKÂK. And he left twelve sons [who became] kings.

And at [this] time an acute fever attacked ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, and he died in DAMASCUS, on the fourth day [of the week], on the twenty-seventh day of the second month of the year five hundred and eighty-nine of the ARABS,<sup>1</sup> and he left seventeen sons and a little daughter. And when he was dead there was nothing found in his treasury except one *dînâr* and thirty-six *zûzê*, for he was very free-handed, and in this manner he flourished. It is said that when he became master of DAMASCUS he had every *dînâr* and *zûzâ* which were found in the treasury brought out, a very large amount of money, and he heaped it up before him. And he said unto a certain man whose

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan's note reads: 'ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was fifty-seven years old when he died on the fourth day of the month 'ÂDHÂR in the year of our Lord 1193. It is said that when he came to die he commanded a certain Amîr to hang his winding sheet on the top of a reed and to carry it round through the bazârs of the city and to say, "King ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN hath departed from this world, and of all his possessions he hath not taken with him anything except this piece of his winding sheet".'



name was BAR MÛKADÂM, 'Divide this among the nobles, and the horsemen, and their slaves, a handful to each man'. And when he began to take it in very small quantities, ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN scolded him, and said, 'Fill your fist'. And BAR MÛKADÂM began to laugh, and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN asked him what was the cause of his laughter. And BAR MÛKADÂM said, 'I know (i.e. I remember) the day when NÛR AD-DÎN was sitting where thou art seated, and they brought before him a basket of grapes, and the grapes were large. And he said to me, "Divide these by the handful among the nobles". And when I began to fill my fist, he said unto me, "Gently. If thou distributest them in this manner, grapes cannot come to them all."' And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN laughed and said, 'Avarice belongeth to merchants and not to kings. Do not therefore [396] distribute them with thy one hand, but with both.' And one of those who were present said that there were one hundred and fifty-eight *dînârs* in the handful that was given to him.

And it is also said that when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN was encamped before 'AKKÔ, one day when he was riding along with the Kâdî of the camp by his side, a certain JEW cried out and said, 'I appeal to the Law of the ARABS for help'. And the slaves asked him, 'Who is thine adversary, and who hath wronged thee?' And the JEW replied, 'The Sûltân is my adversary, and his slaves have wronged me'. And when ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN heard this he was not angry, but he got off his horse immediately, and the Kâdî also dismounted. And they brought the JEW, and ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN set him by his side. And the JEW said, 'I am a JEW and a merchant of DAMASCUS, I was coming by sea from ALEXANDRIA, and I had with me twenty loads of sugar. And when I came to the port of 'AKKÔ thy servants plundered me, and they said unto me, "Thou art an infidel, and thy goods belong rightly to the Sûltân".' And ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN commanded, and those who had taken the sugar came, and when they admitted that they had deposited it in the Treasury, he commanded the officials and they gave to the JEW the price of the sugar.

And on another day when he was seated with the nobles round about him, the little slave children began to play with each other. And when one of them threw a sandal at the other, the sandal fell by the side of the knee of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN. And he turned his face away in another direction, and began to talk with the man who was sitting next to him, and he pretended that he had not seen what had been done.

And on another day he was thirsty and asked for water. And the slaves said one to another, 'Bring water'. And they paid no heed and did not bring [the water]. And again he asked, doing so even five times. And when they brought it he took [it] and drank without being angry in the smallest degree.

And on another day when he rose up from his sickness, and went to the bath, he asked for some cold water. And when they brought it he sprinkled a little of the water over his body, and as he was shivering—now he was grievously sick—he did not want to drink. And he waited for a time and his



thirst increased, and he was in pain and asked for water. And when the man who was waiting upon him drew nigh, because of his fear (i.e. nervousness) his hands lost their grip on the vessel, and it fell [from them], and all the cold water was spilled over the Sûltân's body. [397] And he shivered violently, but beyond saying to the slave, 'If thy object is to kill me, let me know', ŞALÂH AD-DÎN made no further remark.

And after ŞALÂH AD-DÎN was dead, BÛKHTÂMAR, the governor of KHÂLÂT, heard [of it] and rejoiced greatly. And he began to collect his troops and to set out for MAIPERKÂT. Then a certain man whose name was HAZÂRDÎNÂRÎ, who also was a slave of SHÂHARMÂN, rose up and killed him, and he reigned in his stead. And because he was the son-in-law of BÛKHTÂMAR, he did not kill the little son which he had, now his name was 'MÂHAMMÂD', but he brought him up as if he had been his own child. And in the year also there died SÎNÂN, the chief of the ISHMAELITES in MAŞRYÂTH, and there rose up in his place a certain man, a PERSIAN, whose name was 'NÂŞIR'. Now SÎNÂN was held in fear by all the kings of the ARABS and FRANKS. And he forged knives (or, daggers), and on each one of them was [engraved] the name of one of the kings. And when he gave a knife to one of his own men, even though it were in the heart of the sea, he would go and fulfil his will. He was well instructed in the wisdom of the foreigners and transmigration of souls, and he taught the doctrine of PLATO to the men of his own party. And therefore they held death in contempt, and [believed] that they did not go forth from the world even though they were killed. And he hid himself many times, and the report went forth that he was dead, but he very soon reappeared. This was so often the case that when he was dead his slaves did not believe it.

And in [this] year, which is the year fifteen hundred and four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1193), LIÔN, the governor of CILICIA, formed a plot and seized PRAYNS BÔHÂIMÔND, the lord of ANTIOCH. Now BAGHRÂS being with LIÔN, even as we have said above, the ARABS having left it and fled, he took it. He taught the Armenian governor of BAGHRÂS to conspire in secret with the Prince, and that he wished to rebel against LIÔN his lord, and surrender the Citadel to PRAYNS, and go in and dwell in ANTIOCH. And when the governor sent [these proposals] to PRAYNS and promised to surrender to him BAGHRÂS, PRAYNS believed him. And he went forth like one who is chased, and his son and his wife were with him. And when they came and encamped by the well which is before BAGHRÂS, the governor sent down to them [398] food and wine. And he said unto them, 'By daytime it is impossible for you to go up to the Citadel, but when it becometh dark ye shall come and ye shall find the gates open, and ye shall go in secretly. And do not bring any horsemen with you that the watchmen may not perceive it, and the secret be discovered, but let horsemen remain hidden in your neighbourhood.'



And PRAYNS believed this, marched from the well and pretended that he was going to ANTIOCH. And when it was evening, he and his wife, and his son, and the little boys who waited upon them, went back, and they drew nigh unto the gate and found it open, and they went in with gladness. And the governor said unto them, 'Lie ye down to sleep and rest until day-break, that we may make an arrangement and also bring in some of the horsemen, a few at a time, and we will seize the watchmen.' And when they had lain down, the governor sent to LIÔN, who was in hiding there, having come with a large number of ARMENIANS, and he came into BAGHRÂS and seized PRAYNS and loaded him with fetters, and he placed iron bonds on his wife and son. And he tortured him very severely in return for the tortures which PRAYNS himself had made RÛPÎN, the brother of LIÔN, to suffer. And PRAYNS remained a prisoner with LIÔN until HANRÎ, the brother of the sister of the king of ENGLAND, came and with entreaties and covenants freed him. And LIÔN became very powerful after the death of KĒLEJ 'ARSLÂN, and he took seventy-two Citadels, some from the TÛRKÂYÊ and some from the GREEKS. And in all his wars he appeared as the conqueror.

Now when 'ÎZZ AL-DÎN MAS'ÛD, the lord of MÂWŞIL, heard that ŞALÂĤ AD-DÎN was dead, he longed ardently to restore to himself the kingdom of SYRIA. And he sent to 'EMÂD AD-DÎN, his brother, the lord of SINJÂR and NISIBIS, and to SENJÂR SHÂH, his brother's son, the lord of the city of JÂZARTÂ, and to MÛTAFÂR AD-DÎN, the son of ZAYN AD-DÎN, the lord of 'ARBÎL, and he urged them to be ready to go together and transfer the cities from members of the house of ŞALÂĤ AD-DÎN. Then 'AFÐÂL, the eldest son of ŞALÂĤ AD-DÎN, who reigned in DAMASCUS in the place of his brothers, also sent to his uncle 'ÂDIL, who was then in DAMASCUS, and he brought him by force to him, so that he might stand at the head of the troops, and meet in war the members of the house of the 'ÂTÂBÂG. And he sent to [399] MÂLIK 'AZÎZ, his brother who reigned in EGYPT, and to MÂLIK TÂHIR, another brother who reigned in ALEPPO, and to NÂŞIR AD-DÎN, the brother of TÂKÎ AD-DÎN, the son of his uncle who reigned in ĤAMÂTH, and to MÂLIK MÛJAHID, the son of NÂŞIR AD-DÎN, the son of his father's uncle who reigned in EMESA, and he collected troops from all of them, and sent [them] with his uncle 'ÂDIL. And 'ÂDIL came and encamped in the meadow of RÎĤÂN, which is in the country of EDESSA. And when 'ÎZZ AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞIL, heard this, he also collected his partisans and came to NISIBIS. And there he fell sick of dysentery, and he came back to MÂWŞIL and after a little he died. Now he was a man of good disposition, and very compassionate and modest. No man ever saw him speaking immoderately, and his eyes were always directed before him. And to no man who made a request to him did he reply 'No'.

And after him rose up his son NÛR AD-DÎN 'ARSLÂN SHÂH, and he became the administrator of MÛJÂHID AD-DÎN KAIMÂZ. And in the year five hundred



and ninety of the ARABS (A.D. 1193) 'ALÂ AD-DÎN TÂKÎSH KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH went forth to the country of KHÔRÂSÂN, and Sûltân TÛGHREL met him in battle by the side of the city of RAI (RHAGES), and TÛGHREL was killed, and his head was sent to BAGHDÂD and hung up on the top of a reed, and was fixed in the gate of the palace of the Khalîfah.

And KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH reigned over HAMÂDÂN and over the rest of the countries. And he appointed as a deputy KÛTHLÛGH 'ÎNÂNÂG ('ÎNÂÎGH?), the son of PAHLWÂN, who had formerly been governor of HAMÂDÂN. And he sent and brought KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH, because Sûltân TÛGHREL had escaped from his prison, and had prevailed over him, and taken countries from him. With this TÛGHREL the kingdom of the SALJÛKS came to an end in KHÔRÂSÂN, and there remained this which we have in BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. Now TÛGHREL was the son of 'ARSLÂN, the son of TÛGHREL, the son of MAHMÛD, the son of MÂHAMÂD, the son of MÂLIKSHÂH, the son of 'ALB 'ARSLÂN, the son of DÂWÛD, that is JAGHRÎ BÂG, the son of MÎKÂ'ÎL, the son of SALJÛK, the son of DÛKÂK.

And in the year MÂLIK 'AZÎZ, the lord of EGYPT, came against DAMASCUS to take it [400] from his elder brother 'AFÐÂL, and MÂLIK 'ÂDIL, their uncle, went and made peace between them and [arranged] that JERUSALEM should belong to 'AZÎZ, and GABÂLÂ and LAODICEA to MÂLIK TÂHIR, the lord of ALEPPO, and to 'ÂDIL certain villages in EGYPT. And they were at peace, and each went to his own country.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-one of the ARABS (A.D. 1194) the Khalîfah NÂSÎR sent an army with SAIF AD-DÎN TÛGHREL, one of his nobles, to 'ÎŞFÂHÂN, and the citizens surrendered it to him because they hated the Khâwârazmian tyrants who had ruled over them. And in this year also MÂLIK 'AZÎZ, the lord of EGYPT, made ready to come and take it (i.e. DAMASCUS) from MÂLIK 'AFÐAL, his brother. And when 'AFÐAL, his brother, heard [of it] he went in person to KÂL'AH JA'BÂR, to 'ÂDIL his uncle, and to TÂHIR his brother, and he summoned them to his aid, and they came with him to DAMASCUS. And MÂLIK 'AZÎZ also came and encamped in the neighbourhood of DAMASCUS. Then the old slaves of ŞALÂH AD-DÎN acted treacherously against MÂLIK 'AZÎZ, and they sent to 'ÂDIL and 'AFÐAL and said unto them, 'Go forth to us, and we will deliver this man into your hands'. And when 'AZÎZ knew of the treachery he straightway and quickly returned to EGYPT. Then 'ÂDIL and 'AFÐAL pursued him and they went into EGYPT, and encamped against BÛLBAIS, and since they were able to take EGYPT 'ÂDIL restrained 'AFÐAL and made peace, and 'AFÐAL went back to DAMASCUS and JERUSALEM became his. And 'ÂDIL invaded EGYPT, and he became the administrator of MÂLIK 'AZÎZ.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1195), MÂLIK 'ÂDIL, with MÂLIK 'AZÎZ, sallied out from EGYPT, and came and encamped against DAMASCUS, so that they might take it from MÂLIK 'AFÐAL. Then AFDAL prepared for battle on the walls, and he divided the gates and



the towers among his nobles. Then a certain man whose name was 'IZZ AD-DÎN, a native of EMESA, who guarded the gate which was called the 'Eastern', deceived 'AFDAL and brought 'ÂDIL into DAMASCUS; and he went and encamped in the quarter of 'ASÂD AD-DÎN SHÎRKÛH, his uncle, and MÂLIK 'AZÎZ also went in. And they took the city from MÂLIK 'AFDAL, and gave him the Citadel of ŞARKHÂD, and he departed and went thereto, and MÂLIK 'AZÎZ [401] went to EGYPT, and 'ÂDIL remained in DAMASCUS, as it were on the part of MÂLIK 'AZÎZ; but he possessed the command generally and entirely, which MÂLIK 'AZÎZ possessed in name only. MÂLIK TÂHIR, the lord of ALEPPO, sent many times to MÂLIK 'AFDAL, and said unto him, 'Trust not 'ÂDIL, for no good will come to us from him, for I know him better than thou dost. For although he is the uncle of all of us, I am his daughter's husband. And if I knew that he had any solicitude for us it would be far more proper for me to have friendly intercourse with him than you.' And AFDAL replied, 'Thy opinion is not a true one. This man is in the place of our father, and how could he afflict us?'

And in the year five hundred and ninety-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1196) 'ÂDIL quarrelled again with the FRANKS, under the pretence that the peace had been dissolved by the death of [the king] of ENGLAND, and that of ŞALÂH AD-DÎN. And he went and encamped against JOPPA and took it by fighting. Then the FRANKS of the sea-coast sent to those who were in the interior and said, 'If ye do not come and join us speedily the ARABS will become masters of all the sea-coast'. Then the FRANKS who were in the interior sent a large number of troops, and appointed as their chief a certain man of the sons of the Church who was called 'Chancellor' (SHANSELÎR), and they went forth and encamped against TABNÎN and made strenuous war upon it. And when they were on the point of taking it a report reached them that HANRÎ, Count of 'AKKÔ, had fallen down from a height and was dead. And although no king remained to them they refrained from fighting (or, stopped the war). And they sent and brought the lord of CYPRUS and gave him HANRÎ's wife. And when 'ÂDIL heard [of this] he sent to him and made peace with him on the condition that BÊRÛT should belong to the FRANKS and TABNIN to the ARABS. And the FRANKS left TABNÎN and departed.

And in the year MÂLIK SHÂH, the son of KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH TAKÎSH, died in the country of NÎSÂBHÔR, and there rose up after him KÛTAB AD-DÎN MÂHAMÂD, although according to the Will of their father the sovereignty belonged to his brother HENDÔKHÂN and not to him. And at [that] time also died SAIF AD-DÎN AL-ESLÂM TÛGHTAKÎN, the son of 'AYÛB, the brother of ŞALÂH AD-DÎN, who ruled over the land of TAIMNÂ, and his son ESMÂ'ÎL (ISHMAEL) rose up in his place. And because of his incapacity [402] for ruling, his nobles rose up against him and killed him.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1198),



'EMÂD AD-DÎN, the son of ZANGÎ, the son of MÂWDÛD, the son of ZANGÎ, the son of AKSENKÛR, the lord of SINJAR, and NISIBIS, and HÂBÛRÂ, and CALONICUS, died, and his son KÛTAB AD-DÎN MÂHAMÂD reigned, and MÛJÂHID AD-DÎN, the son of YAKSH, a slave of his father, became his administrator. And in the year NÛR AD-DÎN 'ARSLÂN SHÂH, the lord of MÂWŞIL, went and encamped against NISIBIS, and he took it from KÛTAB AD-DÎN MÂHAMÂD, the son of his uncle, because KÛTAB AD-DÎN had reached out his hand over certain villages of the country of the region of the two rivers, and in the frontier of MÂWŞIL. And having sent an ambassador to [make] him restore them, and he having refused to do so, NÛR AD-DÎN collected an army and went against NISIBIS. And KÛTAB AD-DÎN came also, and he was broken and came to HÂRRÂN. And he sent to 'ÂDIL and asked for help from him. And NÛR AD-DÎN having entered NISIBIS—now he lived there for some days—sickness fell upon his troops, and six of the famous nobles of MÂWŞIL died, among them being MÛJÂHID AD-DÎN KÂIMÂZ, his administrator. Because of this NÛR AD-DÎN left NISIBIS and came to MÂWŞIL, and KÛTAB AD-DÎN, its lord, surrendered it again.

And in the year KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH went to the city of BÛKHÂRÂ, and he took it from the people of KAṬÂ, that is to say, the CHINESE. And because the ARABS of BÛKHÂRÂ were on very friendly terms with the CHINESE, who even, though they were not of their Faith, were nevertheless wise and just, they fought most strenuously on the walls. And at length they took a dog and dressed him to resemble KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH, and they threw him to the KHÂWÂRAZMIANS and said, 'This is your king'. And when KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH took the city with the sword, he did not remember against them their folly (or, offence), but he gave them gold and made them to take oaths of fealty to him.

And in the year MÂLIK 'ÂDIL came and encamped against MARDÎN, and he fought against it strenuously. Now the lord thereof was a little boy, HÛSÂM AD-DÎN, and his administrator was NETÂM AD-DÎN, the son of YAKSH. And those inside acted treacherously and surrendered the city to 'ÂDIL, and the troops entered and looted it, and they committed most horrible [403] atrocities, and they remained therein fighting against the Citadel thereof.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1198), MÂLIK 'AZÎZ, the son of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, the lord of EGYPT, died. Now he was in the desert, and when he saw a wolf pursuing him he fell from his horse. And a fever attacked him, and he returned to CAIRO and died there. And he left a young son whose name was MÂLIK MANŞÛR. Then dissension fell upon the nobles, for some of them wished to set up the boy in the place of his father, and some of them 'ÂDIL, and some of them 'AFDÂL. And the party who wished for 'AFDÂL were powerful, and they sent and brought MÂLIK MANŞÛR from ŞARKHÂD and he reigned. Then those who wanted



'AFḌĀL fled, and they went and took JERUSALEM. And 'AFḌĀL took an army of EGYPTIANS and set out to come to DAMASCUS, and the DAMASCENES sent and informed MĀLIK 'ĀDIL whilst he was fighting against MARDĪN. Now he left his son MĀLIK KĀMIL MĀHAMĀD over the Citadel of MARDĪN, and he went hurriedly to DAMASCUS. And 'AFḌĀL came also and encamped against it, and his troops were divided against him. And he left and went again to EGYPT. And his coming was in vain.

Now KĀMIL, the son of 'ĀDIL, having brought into great tribulation those who were in the Citadel of MARDĪN through a scarcity of food and the sickness which had fallen upon them, NEṬĀM AD-DĪN, the administrator of the boy ḤŪSĀM AD-DĪN, was nearly [surrendering the fortress]. And NŪR AD-DĪN, the lord of MĀWṢIL, and the sons of his uncles, the lord of SINJĀR, and the lord of JĀZARTĀ, as soon as they heard of [this] were greatly perturbed. And they said unto each other, 'If the members of the House of 'ĀDIL become masters of MARDĪN, they will deprive us of all our territories'. Therefore they came to an agreement promptly, and they all went to DŪNAISER. And KĀMIL came down to the plain, and there the descendants of the 'ĀTĀBĀG met him in battle and broke him. And KĀMIL and those who were with him fled to MARDĪN. And when they had gone up [into the town], they found that those who were in the Citadel had gone down and plundered their tents. And in the night KĀMIL took his troops and went to ḤĀRRĀN, and from ḤĀRRĀN he went to DAMASCUS, to his father. It is said that if those of the House of KĀMIL had not gone down from the mountain to the plain, never [404] would those of the House of the 'ĀTĀBĀG been able to compel them to move from MARDĪN; and they took the Citadel also. But God, glory [be] to His goodness, doeth what He wisheth.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1199) MĀLIK 'ĀDIL collected his troops and went to the land of EGYPT. 'AFḌĀL heard [of it], and he also collected his troops, and set out and met his uncle in battle; and he was broken, and fled by night and went into CAIRO. And 'ĀDIL came and encamped against CAIRO, and wanted to begin a war against it. Then the nobles advised MĀLIK 'AFḌĀL to send and sue for peace, because he had not the strength of 'ĀDIL. And 'AFḌĀL sent to 'ĀDIL concerning peace, and he asked that DAMASCUS might be given to him instead of EGYPT, but MĀLIK 'ĀDIL was unwilling. And again he asked for EDESSA and ḤĀRRĀN, and this also was not conceded. And he asked for MAIPERKĀṬ, and ḤĀNĪ, and JABĀL JŪR, and 'ĀDIL agreed. And they swore oaths to each other, and 'AFḌĀL set out and went to ṢARKHĀD, and he sent his men, [saying] that MAIPERKĀṬ must be surrendered. Now the son of 'ĀDIL, that is to say, NAJM AD-DĪN 'AYŪB, objected, and he would not surrender it. And 'AFḌĀL sent to 'ĀDIL concerning this state of affairs, and he made an excuse, saying, 'His son had rebelled against his command and would not hearken to him'. And when 'AFḌĀL knew what had been done between him and his son, he him-



self joined him, and did not again send a messenger to him concerning the matter.

And in the year died KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH TÂKÎSH, the son of 'ALB ARSLÂN, the lord of KHÂWÂRAZM, and of a portion of KHÔRÂSÂN, and RAI and the rest of the mountainous countries, and there rose up in his place the son of KÛTB AD-DÎN MÂHAMÂD, who was also called by his father's name 'ALÂ AD-DÎN. And in the year died KÂDÎ FÂDÎL, an Egyptian lawyer, pre-eminent in his time in EGYPT.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1200) 'ÂDIL made to cease the proclamation of the young man MÂLIK MANŞÛR, the son of MÂLIK 'AZÎZ. And it was wrong in the eyes of the nobles, and they wrote to MÂLIK 'AFDÂL in ŞARKHÂD, and to his brother MÂLIK TÂHIR in ALEPPO. And they said unto them, 'Come ye and encamp against DAMASCUS. And when MÂLIK 'ÂDIL goeth forth to you to war, we will take him prisoner and deliver him into your hands.' Now 'ÂDIL heard something of this arrangement, and he sent to his son MÂLIK MÛ'TÂM SHARÂF AD-DÎN [405] 'ISÂ, who was in DAMASCUS, to make haste and to go and shut up 'AFDÂL in ŞARKHÂD, his Citadel. And 'AFDÂL heard [of this], and he set out hurriedly from ŞARKHÂD, and came to ALEPPO to TÂHIR his brother. And the two of them went to MABBÛGH, which belonged to 'ÂDIL, and took it, and in like manner they took KAL'ÂH NAJM. And they turned and came and encamped against HAMÂTH, and NÂŞIR AD-DÎN, the son of TÂKÎ AD-DÎN, gave them thirty thousand Tyrian *dînârs*, and they left him and went by the B'ELBÂK road against DAMASCUS. And 'AFDÂL and TÂHIR made it a condition with each other that when they took DAMASCUS it should remain with MÂLIK 'AFDÂL until they went and took EGYPT, and then 'AFDÂL should restore DAMASCUS to TÂHIR, and that EGYPT should be his. And with this object they made war on DAMASCUS, and when they were very near taking it, MÂLIK TÂHIR became jealous of his brother MÂLIK 'AFDÂL, and he said unto him, 'DAMASCUS shall be mine, and I will send my troops to thee so that thou mayest go and take EGYPT for thyself'. And 'AFDÂL said unto him, 'Dost thou know that my mother and my household are at the door of others in EMESA? (For he had brought them down from ŞARKHÂD, and he had given it to ZAYN AD-DÎN KÂRÂJÂ, a slave of his father, that he might be a help to him.) Therefore I ask thee to leave me DAMASCUS, so that these women may take refuge therein, for it is right that thou also should concern thyself on their behalf, until we take EGYPT.' MÂLIK TÂHIR, however, objected and did not accept [this proposal].

And when the nobles saw the schism which existed between them, they left and departed, some of them to 'ÂDIL and some went into DAMASCUS. Then the two brothers agreed together and sent to MÂLIK 'ÂDIL, their uncle, and they sued for peace. And 'ÂDIL gave to MÂLIK TÂHIR, in addition to ALEPPO, MABBÛGH, and APÂMÎA, and KAPHAR TÂB, and some portion of the



country of MÛ'ARÂH; and he gave to MÂLIK 'AFÐÂL SAMOSATA, and SERÛGH, and RÂS 'AINÂ, and JÛMLÎN. And MÂLIK 'ÂDIL went to DAMASCUS and those [others] went each to his own country.

And at the time when TÂHIR and 'AFÐÂL were encamped against DAMASCUS, NÛR AD-DÎN collected his troops, and took with him his uncle's son KÛTB [406] AD-DÎN MÂHAMÂD, the lord of SINJÂR, and the lord of EGYPT, and they went to take away BÊTH NAHRÎN from the house of 'ÂDIL. And when they came to RÂS 'AINÂ a sickness fell upon them, because it was the summer season. And the son of 'ÂDIL, whose name was MÂLIK FÂIZ, was in HARRÂN, and he sent to NÛR AD-DÎN and begged from him peace. Then NÛR AD-DÎN because he had heard of the friendship which existed between 'AFÐÂL and TÂHIR, and between 'ÂDIL their uncle, and also because of the sickness, agreed to the peace; and they swore oaths to him and he to them. And he left and went back to MÂWŞIL, and each of those who were with him returned to his own country.

And in the year, when MÛ'IZ AD-DÎN KAIŞAR SHÂH was reigning in MELITENE, his brother RUKN AD-DÎN Sûltân, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, attacked him, and he made war on the country and took it from him in the month of HAZÎRÂN (JUNE) of the year fifteen hundred and eleven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1200). And MÛ'IZ AD-DÎN KAIŞAR SHÂH fled from before his brother to MÂLIK 'ÂDIL, his father-in-law; and 'ÂDIL sent and made him to dwell in EDESSA and supplied him with provisions. And from there RUKN AD-DÎN went to 'ARZÂN AR-RÛM. And there was in it a son of MÂLIK MÂHAMÂD, the son of ŞALTÂK; now they belonged to a very old family (or, house), and had ruled over 'ARZÂN AR-RÛM for a very long time. And when its lord went forth to RUKN AD-DÎN in a kindly and humble manner, he seized him and shut him up in prison and took his city. And he also took ICONIUM from GHÂYATH AD-DÎN KAI KESRÛ, his brother. And GHÂYATH AD-DÎN fled to SYRIA, and came to MÂLIK TÂHIR, the lord of ALEPPO, and he made known to him the matter, so that perhaps he might take him by the hand. And when he did not see help [coming] from him, he departed from him and hid himself. And he went from place to place until he arrived in CONSTANTINOPLE. And the king of the GREEKS honoured him greatly, and gave him to wife the daughter of one of the great patricians. And he lived there until the FRANKS took CONSTANTINOPLE, as we are about to show forth. And when the FRANKS became masters of CONSTANTINOPLE, GHÂYATH AD-DÎN fled to his father-in-law, who was lord of one of the fortresses. And his father-in-law received him, and said unto him, [407] 'This fortress will suffice for me and for thee until God giveth us consolation'. And he remained there with him until his brother died.

And in this year there was great scarcity in EGYPT, for the NILE did not overflow according to custom. And men ate the bodies of dead animals and also of men. And then pestilence followed upon famine closely. And there



was also an earthquake and it destroyed many buildings and high walls in DAMASCUS, and EMESA, and ḤAMÂTH, and TRIPOLI, and TYRE, and 'AKKÔ, and SHÂMRÎN (SAMARIA), and it reached BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, but it was not violent in the East.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1201), KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH MÂḤAMÂD, the son of TÂKÎSH, went to the country of KHÔRÂSÂN, and he took MARU (MERV) and NÎSÂBHÔR from GHÂYATH AD-DÎN, and from his brother SHEHÂB AD-DÎN. For they had once belonged to him, and when he had gone to KHÂWÂRAZM, and was occupied with the death (i.e. funeral) of his father, GHÂYATH AD-DÎN had taken them. And when he sent he said unto him, 'I did not expect such behaviour as this from thee, on the contrary, I expected there would be help for me against the CHINESE. And because thou wouldst not help me, it is not right that thou shouldst do me an injury.' And when he did not reply to him with affection, he came to the cities and took them with the sword. Then GHÂYATH AD-DÎN was conquered by him, because he was suffering severely from the gout, and his brother SHEHÂB AD-DÎN was engaged in war with the INDIANS.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1202), MÂLIK 'ÂDIL ABU BAKR, the son of 'AYÛB, the lord of EGYPT and DAMASCUS, sent troops with his son MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF MÛSÂ against MARDÎN, and he besieged it for many days, and took possession of the villages and country thereof. Then the lord of ALEPPO, MÂLIK ṬÂHIR JÂZÎ, the son of SALÂḤ AD-DÎN, intervened between them, and he made peace on the condition that the lord of MARDÎN should give to 'ÂDIL one hundred and fifty thousand white *dînârs*, each *dînâr* [of the value of] six *zûzê*, and proclaim 'ÂDIL king, and inscribe his name on the seals (i.e. stamps) of the *zûzê* and *dînârs*. And MÂLIK ṬÂHIR took twenty thousand *dînârs* from the total sum, and also the town of KÛRÂDÎ from the country of SHÂBAKTÂN. And 'ASHRÂF left and departed. And at the time the TURKOMANS wrought great destruction in the countries [408] by means of raiding bands of robbers, and without the strength (i.e. support) of horsemen and armed men people were not able to travel on the roads.

And in this year 'ÂDIL took back from 'AFḌÂL, the son of his brother, SERÛGH, and the city of RÂS 'AINÂ, and JUMLÎN. And also ṬÂHIR, his brother, the lord of ALEPPO, took from 'AFḌÂL the fortress of NAJM; and there remained to him SAMOSATA only. And when he saw that his uncle and his brother had wronged him, he sent an ambassador to RUKN AD-DÎN, Sûltân, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, the lord of the city of MELITENE, and of ICONIUM, and he became subject unto him and proclaimed him, and struck *zûzê* in his name, and he became as one of the Amîrs of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. For 'AFḌÂL sent his mother to king 'ÂDIL, and she pleaded with him to give back the towns which he had taken from her son, but he would not accept her pleading (or, persuasion). And thus God rewarded ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN, the king, after



his death, in the same way as he rewarded those of the House of the ÂTÂBÂG, when the lord of MÂWŞİL sent his mother and his uncle's daughter to him, and he would not receive their pleading.

And in this year king 'ÂDIL drove out MÂLIK MANŞÛR, the son of king 'AZÎZ, from EGYPT, and he made him to live in the city of EDESSA, with his brothers and sisters, for he was afraid that the EGYPTIANS would make him king.

### Concerning the beginning of the Kingdom of the Mûghlâyê, who are the Tâtârâyê (Tartars)

Now the first country of the TÂTÂRS, before they spread abroad in these exterior countries, was a certain valley (*sic*), that is to say a great plain in the north-eastern [quarter] of the world, the length and width of which was a journey of eight months. On the east side their territory extended to the country of the KÂTHÂYÊ ŞÎNÂYÊ, that is KAṬÂ; and on the west to the country of the ÎGHÛRÂYÊ TURKS; and on the north to the country which is called SALAPGÂY (SEBER, SIBERIA); and on the south to HENDÔ (INDIA). Before SHÎNGÎZ (CHINGIZ) KHÂN, their first king, rose up they were without a head, and they used to give tribute to the KÂTHÂYÊ, that is to say ŞÎNÂYÊ (CHINESE). They dressed themselves in the skins of dogs and wolves, [409] and they lived upon mice (or, rats), and other unclean beasts, and animals that had died, and they drank the milk of mares. And the sign of a great Amîr among them was that when riding he had feet-cases (i.e. stirrups) made of iron, whilst for every one else they were made of wood.

In the year which is the year fifteen hundred and fourteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1203), and the year five hundred and ninety-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1202), when 'ÛNK KHÂN, that is JOHN, king of the Christians, was reigning over a certain tribe of the HÛNÂYÊ Barbarians (i.e. HUNS) who were called KRIT, CHINGIZ KHÂN was going about continually in his service. And when 'ÛNK KHÂN saw his superior intelligence, and that he progressed from day to day, he became jealous of him, and he wished to seize him by deceit and put him to death. Then two of the young men of 'ÛNK KHÂN, becoming acquainted with the treachery, informed CHINGIZ, and straightway CHINGIZ made it known to his own men, and they removed themselves by night from their tents and hid themselves in ambush. And at daybreak when 'ÛNK KHÂN attacked the tents of the TÂTÂRS he found no one in them. And then the followers of CHINGIZ leaped out upon him, and they met each other in battle by the side of a wall which was called BÂLSHÛYÂH. And the party of CHINGIZ triumphed, and the party of 'ÛNK KHÂN was broken. And the two parties met together in battle on many occasions, and at length the party of 'ÛNK KHÂN perished entirely, and he himself was killed, and his wives, and his sons, and his daughters were made captives. And CHINGIZ



KHÂN magnified those two young men, and he passed a law of freedom for them, so that in every capture of prisoners in which they were present, no portion should be taken for the king (or, kings) from them and their sons for ever. And they were to enter the presence of the kings without a summons to do so. And however much they might offend (or, act foolishly) no one was to be set over them. And he promoted the other men who had been with him in that war, and made them nobles. And because there were with him men of the Mongol race, who were called 'ÂWÎRÂTHÂYÊ', and they exhibited more skill than the others in athletic exercises, and fought more strenuously, CHINGIZ KHÂN paid them honour. And he passed a law concerning them that brides for the sons of kings were to be selected from among their daughters, [410] so that children of the seed of CHINGIZ might be propagated. And also that wives from among the daughters of the sons of kings should be given to their sons. And this law remaineth among them to this day.

And it is right to know that this king JOHN of the KRÎTH was not rejected for nothing, but only after he had turned aside his heart from the fear of Christ His Lord, who had magnified him, and had taken a wife from a tribe of one of the Chinese peoples which was called 'ĶÂRÂKETÂ'. He forsook the Fear (i.e. Religion) of his fathers and worshipped strange gods, and therefore God took away the kingdom and gave it to one who was better than he; and his heart became right before God. And at that time a certain man of the TÂTÂRS rose up, who in the depth of winter, in all the frost and cold which exist in that country, went about naked, and he walked through the mountains and hills for many days. And he used to come and say, 'I have gone forth from God, and He said unto me, I have given the whole earth to TEMÛRSHÎN (TEMÛRGÎN) and his sons. And I have called him by the name of "CHINGIZ KHÂN",' now his original name was TEMÛRKHÎN, and the TÂTÂRS call this man 'TUBÛTH TANGRÎ'.

### Concerning the sons of Chingiz Khân

CHINGIZ KHÂN had many sons and daughters, but those who were great and famous were those who were born of the Great Queen. And that Great Queen of CHINGIZ, whose name was 'YÂSÛNSHÎN BÂGÎ', had four sons. The first was TÛSHÎ, the second was SHAGHÂTÂÎ (JAGHÂTÂÎ), the third was 'AWKATÂÎ, and the fourth was TÛLÎ. [CHINGIZ] made TÛSHÎ chief of the hunt, because he loved hunting more than anything else, and he honoured their hunters. And he made JAGHÂTÂÎ the head of the Law, DYÂSÂ they called him—he ordered; he delivered the administration of the kingdom to 'AWKATÂÎ; and TÛLÎ the youngest he appointed governor of the troops and warriors. And for each one he marked out a place for his own special abode. And his brother whose name was [411] 'AUTAKÎN TÛMÂN, together with the rest of



the children of his uncles and his kinsfolk, he sent to the land of the KHÂTÂYÊ (CATHAYANS).

### Concerning the Laws which Chingiz Khân made

Since the MONGOLS had neither literature nor writing, CHINGIZ KHÂN commanded the scribes of the ÎGHÛRÂYÊ (UIGURS), and they taught the children of the TÂTÂRS their books, and they wrote the Mongol language with Uigur letters, just as the EGYPTIANS [write their language] with Greek letters, and the PERSIANS [write their language] with Arabic letters. And he commanded also and they wrote down the following laws which he made.

I. When [the MONGOLS] have need to write any letter to rebels, and they must send an envoy, let them not threaten them with the great size of their army and their numbers, but let them say only, If ye will submit yourselves obediently ye shall find good treatment and rest, but if ye resist—as for us what do we know? [But] the everlasting God knoweth what will happen to you. And in such behaviour as this the MONGOLS' confidence in the Lord showeth itself. And by that they have conquered and will conquer.

II. Let [the MONGOLS] magnify and pay honour to the modest, and the pure, and the righteous, and to the scribes, and wise men, to whatsoever people they may belong, and let them hate the wicked and the men of iniquity. And having seen very much modesty (or, chastity) and other habits of this kind among the Christian people, certainly the MONGOLS loved them greatly at the beginning of their kingdom, a time ago somewhat short. [But] their love hath turned to such intense hatred that they cannot even see them with their eyes approvingly, because they have all alike become Muslims, myriads of people and peoples.

III. [The MONGOLS] shall not give to their kings and nobles many laudatory names (or, titles) like the other nations, especially the followers of ISLÂM. And to [the name of] him that sitteth upon the throne of the kingdom they shall only add one name, viz. 'Khân' or 'Kân'. And his brothers and his kinsfolk shall call him by the first name given to him at his birth.

IV. When [the MONGOLS] are unoccupied after a war with enemies, they shall devote themselves to the chase. And they shall teach their sons how to hunt wild animals, so that they may be trained in fightings with them, and may acquire strength, and the power to endure fatigue, and be able to meet their enemies as they meet the wild and savage beasts in combat, and may not spare [themselves].

V. The fighting men are to be [chosen] from men who are twenty years old and upwards. There shall be a captain to every ten, and a captain to every hundred, and a captain to every thousand, and a captain to every ten thousand.



VI. The whole nation of the MONGOLS [412] shall help their kings every year with [gifts from] their flocks and herds, and their treasures, and their horses, and their sheep and their milk, and even woollen apparel.

VII. No man of any thousand, or hundred, or ten in which he hath been counted shall depart to another place; if he doth he shall be killed and also the head who received him.

VIII. From every two ten thousands, horses shall be stationed at the road-side as mounts for ambassadors.

IX. From the man who is dead and hath no heir, nothing shall be taken for the king, but his possessions shall be given to the man who ministered unto him.

They have many other laws, but in order not to make overlong [our discourse], we have only mentioned a few of the whole collection.

### How the Mongols cleaved to the worship of images

Formerly the MONGOLS had no literature and no Faith (or, Religion) of their own, but they knew one God, the Creator of the Universe, and some of them confessed that heaven was God, and they called it so. [And this they did] until they ruled over the people of the UIGUR TURKS, and they found that there were among them certain men who were sorcerers and who were called 'ĶÂMÂYÊ' (i.e. Enchanters). We have heard many who testified concerning them, saying, 'We heard the voice of the devils who held converse with them through the openings of the tents'. And the secret conversation with devils was not made complete until after they had been defiled by other men, because the greater number of them were women-men (sodomites?). And these men were wholly abominable, for when they wished to perform some act of their sorcery, every one who met them they seized by force that [they] might defile them. Therefore when the MONGOLS saw them, they also turned aside after them in their simplicity.

Afterwards when CHINGIZ KHÂN heard that the ŞÎNÂYÊ, that is to say, the KHÂTHÂYÊ (i.e. CHINESE), had images (or, idols) and priests who were lords of wisdom, he sent ambassadors to them, and asked them for priests, and promised to hold them in honour. And when the priests came, CHINGIZ KHÂN ordered them to make a debate on Religion (or, Faith) and an inquiry into it with the ĶÂMÂYÊ (Enchanters). And when the priests spake and read extracts from their Book, which they call 'Nâwm' in their language, the Enchanters failed and were vanquished, and they were unable to reply because they were destitute of knowledge. And from this time the rank of the priests increased among the MONGOLS, and they were commanded [413] to fashion images, and to cast copies of them as [the priests] did in their own country, and to offer to the full sacrifices and libations according to their custom.



And although they honoured the priests greatly, the MONGOLS at the same time did not reject the Enchanters. And both parties remained among them, each to carry on its own special work, without despising or holding the other in contempt. It is the reverse with the peoples who have the Scriptures and the Books of the Prophets, for every one who is present soundly revileth his fellow, and judgeth him [to be] an unbeliever (or, one who is not of the true Faith). Now in the Book of the priests which is called 'Nâwm', together with the pagan proverbs which resemble those which ST. GREGORY THEOLOGUS brings to our memory, there are also good laws, as for example, an admonition against oppression and the infliction of injuries, and we must not return evil for evil, but good, and a man must not kill any small creature such as a louse or a gnat. And like PLATO they confess the transmigration of souls from body to body, [saying] that the spirits of just men, and righteous men, and well-doers when they die migrate to the bodies of kings and nobles, and the souls of evil and wicked men into the bodies of evil-doers who are tortured, and beaten and killed, and also into the bodies of irrational creatures, and reptiles and birds of prey. And when flesh is brought unto those men to eat, they ask the bringer of it, 'Didst thou slay this beast on account of us, or didst thou buy it in the "bazâr"? ' And if he saith, 'On your account', they will not taste it.

Concerning the Cause which made the Mongols lay waste the countries of the Persians, and the other regions which are to the west of them

Since the MONGOLS have no urban habitations, and have need of clothing and beds which are transported to them from the towns, CHINGIZ KHÂN commanded and gave the word of peace concerning the merchants who come to them from every region, that the guards who patrol the highways and are called 'KÂRÂKSHÂYE' (KARÂKJÎYÂ) should do them no harm. Then three men of the city of BÛKHÂRÂ prepared garments, and bales of splendid cloths, and other things which they knew would be required by the MONGOLS, and they loaded them on beasts and went to the Great Camp. And CHINGIZ KHÂN commanded, [and his servants] looked at what they had with them, [414] and they asked them their prices. Then one of the merchants whose name was AHMÂD, for something which one could buy for ten *dînârs*, demanded three talents of silver, each talent of the value of seven hundred *zûzê*. When CHINGIZ KHÂN heard [this] he became angry and said, 'Perhaps this man thinketh that we have never seen an article of this kind'. And he made a sign to the stewards and they brought out some cloths in which much gold was woven, and they showed them to those merchants. And the king commanded that that merchant should be put under restraint, and that a list of everything which was with him should be written. Then [the



stewards] brought his two other companions, and they looked at their merchandise and asked their prices. They, however, did not put forward any price at all, but said, 'We have brought these wares in the name of the Khân. If he is kind he will give us what he knoweth [to be their value].' And their words pleased the Khân, and he commanded [his stewards] to give them a talent of gold, that is to say seven hundred *mathkâlê*, for every piece of stuff in which gold was woven, and for every two rolls of *amarkûbâ* cloth (or, brocade) one talent of silver. And he had compassion also on the other man their companion, and he gave to him as to the others. And the Khân commanded his queens, and his sons and daughters to give gold to their slaves and to send them with these three merchants to bring back things for themselves; and they did so. And about four hundred merchants assembled, and an ambassador was sent with them to Sûltân MÂHAMÂD of PERSIA, who said unto him, 'We command that from now and henceforth there shall be peace between the countries in all the earth, and merchants shall go and come without fear, and rich and poor shall live in peace and praise God'.

And when the ambassador, together with the merchants, had marched away and they arrived at 'ÔTHRÂR, a city of the PERSIANS, the governor of that city sent and made the matter known to the Sûltân. And the Sûltân coveting what they had with them, commanded that governor, whose name was 'ÎNÂSHLÛK ('ÎNÂL SHUK), to destroy them all secretly. And when he was carrying out this order, one of them by the Divine Nod escaped, and he went and informed CHINGIZ KHÂN, who when he heard this report was filled with red-hot rage. And he went off by himself, and climbed to the top of a mountain, and he bared his head, and laid his face on the dust (or, the earth), and he remained there for three days neither eating nor drinking. [415] And he looked up to heaven, and said, 'O Lord and Creator of the Universe, Thou Thyself knowest what my object was, and that it was intended for good. And this mine enemy hath begun and he wisheth for evil. Therefore I entreat Thee to reward him according to his works.' And from this moment he began to send bodies of soldiers in the territory of the PERSIANS, and to destroy the towns with the edge of the sword, even as we are about to show.

### Concerning the taking of Constantinople by the Franks from the Greeks

And in the year six hundred of the ARABS (A.D. 1203), which is the year fifteen hundred and fifteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1204), in the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL), the FRANKS took CONSTANTINOPLE from the GREEKS, and they brought their kingdom to an end from that year. For the king of the GREEKS took the sister of the king of FRANCE to wife, and she bore him a son.



The king of the GREEKS had a brother, and this man rebelled against the king, and they blinded his eyes, and put him to death in prison. Then the son of the murdered man fled to his uncle the king of FRANCE, and he was filled with indignation, and he collected troops and came and encamped against CONSTANTINOPLE. And because the citizens were not pleased with the action of the tyrant against his brother, they set fire to the city. And the fighting men who should have been on the walls were occupied [elsewhere], and the FRANKS scaled the walls and entered the city, and the tyrant fled. And the FRANKS set that little boy on the throne of the kingdom, being only a figure and a name, for the whole command was theirs. And they began to oppress the citizens with heavy taxes, and they looted the treasuries of the churches, and carried off the crosses, and the curtains (i.e. coverings) of the Books of the Gospels, and the gold and silver which was on the eikons.

Now when the citizens saw that they were being plundered mercilessly by the FRANKS, they rushed in on the young man, the son of the GREEK king, and killed him. And they also expelled the FRANKS from the city, and shut the gates in their faces. And the FRANKS remained outside, and continued to fight. And the war was prolonged and those inside the city became weak, and they sent and asked help from RÛKN AD-DÎN, the lord of ICONIUM, and he was unable to help them. Then the Frankish merchants who were dwelling in CONSTANTINOPLE, now there were [416] about thirty thousand of them, but on account of the great size of the city they were not conspicuous therein, set fire to the city twice, and burned down about one-quarter of it. And they also opened the gates and went outside, and they drew their swords and killed a very great many of the GREEKS. And the FRANKS also attacked many of those who had taken refuge in the great church of HAGIA SOPHIA. And the Patriarch, and the chief priests, and the elders went out to meet them carrying crosses and Books of the Gospels, and they cast themselves down before them, and cried out and entreated them on behalf of the remnant of the people who were there. And the FRANKS treated them with contempt, and they killed priests and people alike, and looted the church.

Now the FRANKS had three chiefs. The first was the Duke of the BÛNDÎĶÂYÊ,<sup>1</sup> in whose ships and vessels all the troops of the FRANKS had come; now he was a blind old man. And another was the chief of the FRANSÎSÂYÊ (FRENCH), whose name was MARKÎS (MARQUIS), and there was another whose name was GÔNDÔFRÎ. And they cast lots as to whom the kingdom of CONSTANTINOPLE should belong. And the lot went forth (i.e. fell on) GÔNDÔFRÎ (BOUDOUIN of FLANDERS?), and he reigned over it. And the BÛNDÎĶÂYÊ ruled over the islands of CRETE and RHODES, and the other islands. And they gave

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan considers this form of the name incorrect, and that it is to be read Bô'dwîn (Boudouin of Flanders).



to MARKÎS the country westwards from the way of the sea which passeth over to PONTUS, that is LAODICEA and NICEA with PHILADELPHIA, &c. But the GREEKS resisted, and they would not make terms with the FRANKS, and a certain Patriarch, a GREEK whose name was LASHKÂRÎ (LASKÂRÎS?), reigned over them.

And at the time when NÛR AD-DÎN ARSLÂN SHÂH, the lord of MÂWŞIL, and the son of his uncle KÛṬB AD-DÎN MÂḤAMÂD, the son of ZANGÎ, the lord of SINJÂR, were on loving terms with each other, MÂLIK 'ÂDIL cast dissension among them. Through this NÛR AD-DÎN encamped against NISIBIS, which belonged to the son of his uncle, and he made war on it, and he well nigh took it.

Then the report reached him from MÂWŞIL that MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN KUKBÂRÎ (KÛKBÛRÎ), the son of ZAYN AD-DÎN 'ÂLÎ KUJEK, the lord of 'ARBÎL, had attacked NINEVEH, and spoiled it and burnt its crops. Therefore NÛR AD-DÎN left [417] NISIBIS and came to BÂLÂDH. And when he heard that MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN had left and gone to 'ARBÎL, he himself went to TALL 'AFÂR and took it by fighting (i.e. by assault). Then MÂLIK ASHRÂF, the son of 'ÂDIL, who was then in ḤÂRRÂN, came to RÂS 'AINÂ. And he made an agreement with MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN, the lord of 'ARBÎL, and with the lord of ÂMID and of the fortress of KÎPÂ, and with the lord of GÂZARTÂ, and with the lord of DÂRÂ, that they must not permit NÛR AD-DÎN to take any portion of the territory of the lord of SINJÂR. And they all came to NISIBIS, and from there they came to BÊTH 'ARBHÂYÊ. And NÛR AD-DÎN went to KAPHAR ZAMÂR, and from there to BÛSHAZZÂH. And when they encamped that they might rest themselves, for they were exhausted, the troops of ASHRÂF and those who were with him rode on, and they met NÛR AD-DÎN in battle. And the party of NÛR AD-DÎN was broken and utterly defeated. And NÛR AD-DÎN fled and, together with four souls, escaped to MÂWŞIL. And the followers of ASHRÂF rushed into the territory of MÂWŞIL, and they spoiled it and set it on fire; in the city of BÂLÂDH especially they wrought great destruction.

It is said that a woman was boiling some food, and when she heard the spoiling [going on] she took out two bracelets from her dress, and buried [them] in the fire and fled. Then one of the horsemen went into the house and wanted something to eat. And he found nothing in the house except an egg, and he took it and came to the fire to cook it, and when he stirred up the fire he found the bracelets therein. And this was a wonderful incident. And the soldiers continued to lay waste the country for many days, and meanwhile ambassadors were going and coming. And NÛR AD-DÎN gave back TALL 'AFÂR to the son of his uncles and there was peace, and afterwards the soldiers were disbanded.

And in the year during which the FRANKS took CONSTANTINOPLE they became very powerful, and they went forth to the country of PHOENICIA, and spoiled the country as far as the JORDAN, and made great slaughter



among the ARABS. And they came to HAMÂTH, and the lord thereof, NÂŞIR AD-DÎN, the son of TÂKÎ AD-DÎN, the son of SHÂHINSHÂH, the son of AYÛB, went out and met them in battle, and he was utterly broken and fled to HAMÂTH. And the Arab citizens went forth to fight with the FRANKS, and they were all killed. Then MÂLIK 'ÂDIL sent to them and gave them NÂŞRATH, and the crops of all the districts which were on the land between were divided between the FRANKS and the ARABS, and [418] there was peace. And after a little other FRANKS went forth to the country of EGYPT, and they carried off great spoil and departed.

And in the year Sûltân RÛKN AD-DÎN, the lord of MELITENE and ICONIUM, took the city of ANCYRA from his brother, after he had warred against it for years, for it was very strong. And he brought out from it his brother and the two sons which he had, and he gave to them a fortress in the Outer Marches. And whilst they were going there he sent an army against them as if they had been highway robbers and killed them. Five days after his brother and his sons were killed, a disease of the colon attacked him and he died quickly. And there rose up after him a young son which he had whose name was KELEJ 'ARSLÂN. Concerning this Sûltân RÛKN AD-DÎN it is said that he was very astute, and methodical (or, orderly) in his actions. He inclined to the opinions (or, teaching) of the foreign philosophers, and though he observed the form, he did not publish it openly.

And in the year a violent earthquake also took place, and it destroyed the wall of TYRE and other places in EGYPT, and in PALESTINE, and in BÊTH NAHRÎN and MÂWŞIL, and also in the islands of CYPRUS and SICILY.

And in the year six hundred and one of the ARABS (A.D. 1204) dissension fell among the nobles of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. And one of the Amîrs of 'ÎUG, a great country of the TURKOMANS which was on the border of the GREEKS, sent and had brought to him GHÂYATH AD-DÎN KAI KESRÛ, who was a fugitive to the GREEKS. And many troops were gathered together to him and they went and encamped against ICONIUM. And the troops that were in ICONIUM sallied forth and met them in battle, and they broke the 'ÎUGÂYÊ and put them to flight. Then GHÂYATH AD-DÎN not knowing what to do, or where to go, took refuge in a very small town which was near ICONIUM, and the name of which was 'ABGARM'. Then when the sons of 'AKSÂRÂ heard [of this] they were sorry, and they drove away their governor and called on the name of GHÂYATH AD-DÎN KAI KESRÛ. And the men of ICONIUM were jealous of the men of 'AKSÂRÂ, and they also seized their nobles and cried out, 'May Sûltân GHAYATH AD-DÎN KAI KESRÛ live!' And they sent and brought him to ICONIUM. And he took the boy KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, the son of his brother, and shut him up in prison, and those who were with him. And in a short time all the countries were in subjection to him. [419] And there came to him from EDESSA KAIŞAR SHÂH, his brother, who had fled from his brother RÛKN AD-DÎN when he took MELITENE away from him. And he did not receive



GHÂYATH AD-DÎN in his presence, but he gave him much gold and sent him again to EDESSA. And when the Sûltân GHÂYATH AD-DÎN went to CAESAREA, MÂLIK 'AFDÂL, the son of ŞALÂH AD-DÎN, the lord of SAMOSATA, and also NEṬÂM AD-DÎN, the lord of the fortress of ZÂÎD, came to him, and they were in subjection to him, and he increased greatly.

And in the year NÂŞIR AD-DÎN MAḤMÛD, son of MÂḤAMÂD, the son of KÂRÂ 'ARSLÂN, the lord of ÂMID, went to MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF, the son of 'ÂDIL, and he asked him to go with him, and take for him the fortress of ZÂÎD, according to his promise. And when 'ASHRÂF had collected the armies of SYRIA, and of MÂWŞIL, and SINJÂR, and GAZÂRTÂ, he attacked the fortress of ZÂÎD. And they captured the town and began to make war on the Citadel. Then the lord of the Citadel of ZÂÎD sent to Sûltân GHÂYATH AD-DÎN and asked for help. Then the Sûltân sent to him six thousand horsemen with MÂLIK 'AFDÂL, the lord of SAMOSATA. And when they arrived at MELITENE, 'ASHRÂF and the lord of 'ÂMID heard [of it], and they turned aside from KHÂRTABIRT, and went and encamped on the Lake of SAMÂNÎN, in which are two fortresses, one belonging to the lord of 'ÂMID, and the other to the lord of the Citadel of ZÂÎD. And they made war on that of the lord of the fortress, and they stationed guards in it. And when the army of the Sûltân came to KHÂRTABIRT, the lord of 'ÂMID marched towards 'ÂMID, and the army of the Sûltân returned to BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ.

And in this year, which is the year fifteen hundred and sixteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1205), the 'ÎBIRÂYÊ went forth to the country of 'ADHORBÎJÂN, and they made a great slaughter and took very much spoil; and from there they came to the country of KHÂLÂṬ, and there they wrought great destruction. And from there they came to the country of 'ARGÎSH, and they looted and burned, and they went and encamped against the fortress of BÊTH KHÂLÂṬ and 'ARZÂN AR-RÛM. Then the lord of KHÂLÂṬ went to BAR KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, the lord of 'ARZÂN AL-RÛM, and took an army therefrom. And they came and joined battle with the 'ÎBIRÂYÊ, and ZÂCHARÎ the Little, the captain of the host of ÎBIRIS, was killed, and the 'ÎBIRÂYÊ retreated and went to their own country.

And in the year a certain woman in BAGHDÂD gave birth to a child who had [420] two heads, and four feet and four hands, and he died the same day. And also in BAGHDÂD two blind ARABS went to another blind man in the night in one of the mosques and killed him, because they thought that *zûzé* (i.e. money) would be found with him. And when the day broke they were afraid, and they went out to flee to MÂWŞIL. And a certain soldier (speculator) who was travelling on another business met them, and he said by way of a joke, 'These blind men killed that blind man, for only a blind man would kill a blind man'. Then one of the two blind men who heard the words of the soldier sat down on the ground and said, 'By God, it was not I, but this man who killed him'. And the other blind man said, 'Nay,



it was thou thyself, thou didst kill him'. And the two of them were arrested and were carried to the governor, and they confessed that one of them held him and the other suffocated him with a bed-cushion. And both of them were killed.

And in the year six hundred and two of the ARABS (A.D. 1205) a race of the KURDS who were in the mountains of MÂDAÎ (MEDIA), and who are called TÎRÂHÂYÊ, came down from the mountains, and wrought great destruction in those countries. And troops of the PERSIANS were gathered together, and they met them in battle and many of them were killed. Now these mountaineers had not entered the Faith of the Muslims, but they had adopted the primitive paganism [of their country] and Magianism. When a Muslim fell into their hands they put him to death with cruel tortures. When a daughter was born to one of them he stood by the door of his house and cried out, 'Who will betroth himself to this?' And if a man agreed [the father] let [her] live, and if no one would, he killed [her]. For this reason there are very few women among them, and for this reason one woman becomes the wife of all the sons of a house. And when one of them is engaged with her, he leaves his sandal at the door, so that when another man seeth it he will not go to her until his neighbour cometh out, and then he goeth in. And as for the child, the oldest among them is called its father.

And in the year six hundred and three of the ARABS (A.D. 1206) the 'ÎBIRÂYÊ came again to the country of KHÂLÂṬ, and they plundered, and burned, and killed, and departed. And GHÂYATH AD-DÎN KAI KESRÛ took 'ANṬÂLYÂ (SÂṬÂLYÂ?), a city on the sea-coast, on the third day of the eighth month. He had sent an army against it before this year. And the GREEKS who were therein sent to CYPRUS, which is near to ANṬÂLYÂ, and brought FRANKS [421] as it were to help them. Then the Sûltân removed his troops to a distance from the city, and hid them in ambush in the mountains, and they seized every one who came out. And having remained in a state of tribulation for some time, they sent to the Sûltân and surrendered the city to him. And the TURKS and the GREEKS joined together in a war with the FRANKS, and the Sûltân took its fortress, and made prisoners of the FRANKS who were in it, and also captured KHÛNÂS.

And in this year MÂḤAMÂD, the son of BÛKHTÂMAR, the governor of KHÂLÂṬ, became powerful, and he killed his son-in-law HAZÂRDÎNÂRÎ, who had killed his father. And because he was young he began to live in a riotous manner, and the people of KHÂLÂṬ hated him. Also a certain Amîr, one of the slaves of SHÂHARMÂN, whose name was BALÂBÂN, rebelled against him in MINÂZGERD. Then certain of the men of KHÂLÂṬ sent to NÂṢIR AD-DÎN 'ARTÛḶ, the son of 'ÎLJÂZÎ, the son of 'ALBÎ, the son of ṬEMÛRTÂSH, the son of 'ÎLJÂZÎ, the son of 'ARTÛḶ, the lord of MARDÎN, and said unto him, 'This son of the uncle of thy father hath no head to live. Come therefore, that we may surrender KHÂLÂṬ to thee. 'And when the lord of MARDÎN went,



and there were with him troops of the TURKS and the MA'DÂYÊ, they made an agreement, for those famished people saw those who were with him, and they feared that they would plunder them, and they made ready for war.

Then BALÂBÂN sent to the lord of MARDÎN and said unto him, 'The men of KHÂLÂṬ are horrified at the MA'DÂYÊ who are with thee. Therefore remove thyself from KHÂLÂṬ, and I will conduct your business.' And when he did [not] turn aside and withdraw, BALÂBÂN sent threatening messages to the lord of MARDÎN, saying that if he did not withdraw to his own country [he would attack him]. And because those who were with him were few, he was afraid, and he left and departed; and he found that his country had been pillaged by MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF. Now 'ASHRÂF sat down in DÛNAISER, and he collected much wealth therefrom, and he left and went to ḤÂRRÂN. Then BALÂBÂN collected an army and came against KHÂLÂṬ, and he was unable to take it by assault. But when he multiplied promises of benefits for the people of KHÂLÂṬ, and swore to them oaths of a very strong character, saying that he would do no harm to the least among them, they surrendered to him. And when he went in he shut up the son of BÛKHTÂMAR in one of the fortresses, and then he became exceedingly powerful (or, strong). And as MÂLIK 'AWḤAD NAJM AD-DÎN 'AYÛB, the son of 'ÂDIL, had already taken the fortress of [422] MÛSH and its city, he went to encamp against KHÂLÂṬ; and BALÂBÂN went out and shut the fortified passes against him, and destroyed many of those who were with him; and NAJM AD-DÎN, the son of 'ÂDIL, together with a few men and the wounded, escaped to MAIPERKÂṬ.

And in the year the 'ÎBIRÂYÊ took KARS, a city of the dominion of KHÂLÂṬ (MAṬ?), after many years, during which they had harassed it with wars and besiegement; and they cut off from it the [supplies] of food.

And in the year six hundred and four of the ARABS (A.D. 1207) MÂLIK 'AWḤAD sent to his father MÂLIK 'ÂDIL and asked for help from him to take KHÂLÂṬ. And MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF was sent to him with a numerous army, and they came into the neighbourhood of KHÂLÂṬ. And BALÂBÂN went out and engaged them in battle; he was not able to continue the fight, and he fled before them and went into KHÂLÂṬ. And he sent an ambassador to MÛJÎTH AD-DÎN, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, the lord of 'ARZÂN AR-RÛM, and called him to his help. And he came in person, and BALÂBÂN went forth to him, and the two of them met in battle MÂLIK 'AWḤAD and his brother, and they broke them and put them to flight.

And they went and encamped against MÛSH, and they were very nearly taking it when the son of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN deceived BALÂBÂN and killed him, on the pretence that he himself would rule over KHÂLÂṬ. And when he went against KHÂLÂṬ the inhabitants of the city shut their gates in his face. And he went from it to MINÂZGERD (MALÂZGERD), and those who were inside it also did the same thing. And in despair he left and went to his own country. And the people of KHÂLÂṬ sent to MÂLIK 'AWḤAD and brought



him, and to him they surrendered the city. And because it did not please the governors of the ARABS who were in the neighbourhood that the son of 'ÂDIL should rule, for they were afraid of his father, they sent [bands of men] continually to plunder the country of KHÂLÂT, and especially 'ÎBIRÂYÂ. And also some of the Amîrs of KHÂLÂT rebelled against 'AWHAD, and they took the fortress of WÂN (now there was no stronger fortress in that country), and they made themselves masters of 'ARGISH also. And after many tribulations 'AWHAD was able to take WÂN from them, having sent and brought 'ASHRAF, his brother. And it was evil in the sight of the men of KHÂLÂT that they had surrendered the place to a member of the house of 'ÂDIL. Therefore, when 'AWHAD set out and went to MÎNÂZGERD to govern it as was fitting, [423] the heads of bands of the men of KHÂLÂT, who in the language of the country are called 'MANGDABHKÎR, leaped upon the partisans of 'AWHAD, and expelled them from the city, and started a war against the fortress. And when 'AWHAD heard [this], he came and encamped against KHÂLÂT with troops of BÊTH NAHRÎN. And a dispute arose among the citizens, and 'AWHAD suppressed it, and he killed a great many of the people, and many of them he took captive and sent to MAIPERKÂT. And the opposition of the young chiefs of the tribes (or, bands) who were in the habit of setting up and deposing governors at their own will was crushed.

And in the year died Sûltân GHÂYATH AD-DÎN KAI KESRÛ, and his son 'IZZ AD-DÎN KAI KÂÛS reigned. And he seized his brother 'ALÂ AD-DÎN KAI KÛBÂD, and he sent him and shut him up in the fortress of MASÂRÂ, which is below the Monastery of MÂR 'AHRÔN, of the blessed mountain which is by the side of MELITENE.

And in the year the FRANKS sallied forth from TRIPOLI and encamped against EMESA, and they laid waste the country thereof, and the lord 'ASÂD AD-DÎN SHÎRKUH, the son of MÂHAMÂD, the son of SHÎRKÛH the Great, had not the power to smite them. And the CYPRIANS also captured many ships from the ARABS, whom they took prisoners. And when 'ÂDIL heard [this] he set out from EGYPT with troops, and the FRANKS were hampered.

And in the year died 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, the son of KÂRÂ SENKÛR, the lord of MÂRÂGHÂ, and his young son rose up after him; and after a short time he too died. And NÛSRATH AD-DÎN 'ABÛ BAKR, the son of PAHLWÂN, the lord of TÂBRÎZ, came, and he became master of MÂRÂGHÂ and all the domain thereof, with the exception of the fortress of RÂWANDIZ, in which the eunuch who was the administrator of the boy who had died had rebelled.

And in the year six hundred and five of the ARABS (A.D. 1208) a great number of people of the 'ÎBIRÂYÊ set out and came to the country of KHÂLÂT. And they invaded the city of 'ARGÎSH, and they captured it and looted it; and they killed the aged folk and the young children thereof, and they made the women, and the sons, and the daughters prisoners. And they destroyed the place absolutely, and left it a devastated ruin and shorn bare. And



NAJM AD-DÎN 'ÂWḤAD was in KHÂLÂṬ, and he was unable to sally out and engage them in battle because of their great number, and he could not trust the men of KHÂLÂṬ because of the slaughterings which he had carried out among them, and [he feared that] when he went out they would rebel and surrender the city to the 'IBIRÂYÊ.

And in the year a violent earthquake took place [424] in NÎSÂBHÛR, and all the inhabitants rushed out into the plain and remained there for several days until it subsided, and then they went in again. And there was an earthquake also in KHÔRÂSÂN, but not as violent as that of NÎSÂBHÛR.

And in the year six hundred and six of the ARABS (A.D. 1209) there was amity between MÂLIK 'ÂDIL and NÛR AD-DÎN 'ARSLÂN SHÂH, the lord of MÂWṢIL. And NÛR AD-DÎN gave his daughter to one of the sons of 'ÂDIL, and they agreed together to transfer SINJÂR from KÛTB AD-DÎN, its lord, to 'ÂDIL, and to take the ISLAND OF KÂRDÛ from the son of SENJÂR SHÂH, its lord, and to make it belong to NÛR AD-DÎN. And 'ÂDIL made ready and came and took ḤABÛRÂ and NISIBIS, which belonged to the lord of SINJÂR. And when NÛR AD-DÎN heard [this] he was sorry, and he became like a man whose wine hath disagreed with him. And he thought carefully, and he knew that if he took SINJÂR and GÂZARTÂ not only that he would not give him GÂZARTÂ, but that he would snatch MÂWṢIL from him also. And that when they had taken counsel with his chief men (or, councillors) he would be blamed by all of them because he had not disclosed to them the secret before he conspired with 'ÂDIL. And they would say unto him, 'Now there is no other course for thee but to stand with him in what thou hast promised him. And if thou dost not [do this] he will make a cause concerning thee, and he will come against thee, as against a man who hath passed over (i.e. disregarded) [his] oaths.' And whilst he was being tossed about in this sea [of doubt], and was pretending that he was getting ready an army to send to the help of 'ÂDIL, there came to him an ambassador by night from MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN KÛKBÛRÎ, the lord of ARBELA, and he promised to collect his troops and to come to him, and [then] they would join forces, and not allow the hand (i.e. power) of 'ÂDIL to enter these countries. And NÛR AD-DÎN rejoiced with a great joy, and he sent oaths about this course of action.

And the ambassador departed in the night and informed MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN, and he collected troops and without delay came and pitched his camp outside MÂWṢIL. And he sent an ambassador to the Khalîfah [telling him] to send and chide 'ÂDIL for his covetousness. And he sent an ambassador to MÂLIK ṬÂHIR, the son of ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN, the lord of ALEPPO, and to Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN KAI KÂÔS, and they all promised help. Moreover, those who were with 'ÂDIL were not fighting strenuously against SINJÂR. And 'ASÂD AD-DÎN, the lord of EMESA, especially was sending provisions [425] and sheep openly into the city. And whilst the lord of SINJÂR was making ready to surrender the city, he received a compensation, and he waxed



strong and powerful. And the ambassador of the Khalîfah came to 'ÂDIL and reprimanded him; and there was peace between them, and [it was understood] that there should remain to him the places which he had taken, that is to say ḤABÛRÂ and NISIBIS. And he left and departed to SYRIA.

At the time when MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN, the lord of 'ARBÎL, was in MÂWṢIL he gave his two daughters to the two sons of NÛR AD-DÎN, 'IZZ AD-DÎN MAS'ÛD and 'EMÂD AD-DÎN ZANGÎ. Now by this MÛṬAFÂR helped greatly those who were of the house of 'ÂDIL. But because the lord of SINJÂR had sent his son to him and entreated him to supplicate 'ÂDIL on his behalf, so that he might leave him SINJÂR, and MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN having had sent confidently to 'ÂDIL, because he thought that if he asked for the half of his dominion he would not send back his petition empty, and 'ÂDIL having paid no heed to his supplication, MÛṬAFÂR was offended with him, and he joined with NÛR AD-DÎN in the great hatred which existed between them.

And in this year died FAKR AD-DÎN RÂZÎ, aged three-and-sixty lunar years. He was a very learned man and a great debater (or, commentator) of the ARABS. And by him and by the great number of books which he composed the ARABS throughout the world have been enlightened, and they are to this day. For I would compare this man to ORIGEN, through whose books the doctors of the Church have become rich and illustrious, and they have turned round and called him a 'heretic'. Thus it is also with the ARABS, who call this man an 'infidel', and an adherent to Aristotelian doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

And in the year of the ARABS six hundred and seven (A.D. 1210), MÂḤAMÂD, the son of ḤASÂN, the head of the ISHMAELITES, died. This man also, like his father, travelled on the path of the philosophers, and he overturned and cast down many of the foundations of the Faith of the ARABS. In his days he killed many of the governors who would not pay him tribute by means of his followers whom he used to send to leap upon holders of power. And killing them they were killed. And thus through the fulfilling of the wicked will of their iniquitous lord and tyrant they surrendered their own souls to [426] death. And having completed forty-and-six years in his tyranny he came to an end, and there rose up after him JALÂL AD-DÎN ḤUSAIN. Now in the beginning of his rule he began by pretending to agree with the Faith of the Muslims, and he fasted and prayed. And he sent and informed the Khalîfah of BAGHDÂD, and Sûltân MÂḤAMÂD KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH and other Arab governors, that he had turned his face from the evil ways of his father, and was travelling on the way of ISLÂM. And believing him, they rejoiced in him and honoured him with many gifts and rich presents.

And in the year, too, died NÛR AD-DÎN 'ARSLÂN SHÂH, the son of MAS'ÛD,

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan's note reads: 'Holy Church gathereth into her treasuries the chosen wheat which is in the books of Origen and other writers, and she collecteth the tares that are therein to burn them, and thus no man is harmed by them.'



the son of MÂWDÛD, the son of ZANGI, the son of 'AḲSENḲÛR, the lord of MÂWṢIL. He was a just man, and a mighty man, who was feared by the sons of his kingdom (i.e. courtiers) and also by the other kings who were his contemporaries. And when the time of his death drew nigh, he made his nobles swear on behalf of MÂLIK ḲÂHIR 'IZZ AD-DÎN MAS'ÛD, his elder son. And to his younger son, that is 'EMÂD AD-DÎN ZANGÎ, he gave two fortresses, that of 'ÂKR of ḤAMÎDÎYÂH, and that of SHÔSH, and their territories. And he appointed as administrator for his two sons his slave BADR AD-DÎN LÛLÛ, a subtle and astute man whose race was worthy of sovereignty. For when his sickness increased the physicians told him that he must go down and bathe in the spring of the holy Monastery of MÂR ZÎNÂ, which was on the banks of the TIGRIS. And when BADR AD-DÎN took him down and he bathed, he was not benefited, because his sickness was of death [i.e. fatal]. And as BADR AD-DÎN was taking him up in a little ship to MÂWṢIL, he died before they arrived. And there were only two slaves with them, and BADR AD-DÎN and those two men carried him and brought him by night into the palace, without any other person knowing it. And when the day broke BADR AD-DÎN carried on the necessary business throughout that day, and towards the ninth hour he revealed his (the king's) death. And in the night he cleared out his grave in that cemetery which he had constructed for himself opposite to his palace. And his eldest son MÂLIK ḲÂHIR rose up after him, and BADR AD-DÎN swayed the sceptre of the political administration of the kingdom.

And in the years six hundred and eight and six hundred and nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1211, 1212), we find nothing [to relate].

In the year six hundred and ten of the ARABS (A.D. 1213) died MÛHADÂB, a physician of BAGHDÂD, who was known as BAR-HÛBÂL in MÂWṢIL. This man was the most eminent physician of his time, [427] and he was a pupil of 'ABÛ 'ALBARÂKAT, a Jewish physician in BAGHDÂD. This man departed from BAGHDÂD to MÂWṢIL, and from there to 'ADHÔRBÎJÂN, and thence to KHÂLÂṬ. And he lived in the service of SHÂH 'ARMÂN, and whilst attending him he acquired great wealth. And during one of the illnesses of the king, when BAR HÛBÂL took some of his urine to examine according to custom, one of the slaves said unto him, 'Why dost thou not taste it, O physician?' And the physician returned him no answer at the moment, but after he had gone out he called the slave and said unto him privately, 'Did some other man instruct thee to tell me that I ought to taste the urine, that is to say the king himself, or one of his household, or didst thou speak the word at thine own instigation?' And the slave replied, 'No, but I have heard people say that there was a taste in urine which gave information, just as the colour, and the smell, and the composition of the urine [supply] indications'. And the physician said, 'It is even so, but not in every sickness. Know, however, that thou hast done me harm by this speech of thine, for when the king



heareth of this he will think that I am not doing in my treatment of him everything which it is right that I should do, and am bound to complete.' From that time the physician was offended in his mind, and he could rest there no longer. And he gave a large sum of silver to that slave, and begged him never again to say anything like it. Some time after this he excused himself from his service (i.e. he resigned), and he received a *Pukdânâ* (i.e. Patent) [from the king] and went forth from KHÂLÂT; and he came and dwelt in MÂWŞIL, and remained there until he died. In his last days he became blind, and many used to come to him and learn medicine directly (or, thoroughly). He lived ninety and five years, and he wrote a wonderful book on medicine [in] four volumes, and called it 'MÛKHTÂR', and behold very many read it and are instructed thereby at the present day.

And in this year, which is the year six hundred and ten of the ARABS (A.D. 1213), CHINGIZ KHÂN wished to go in person to BÊTH PÂRSÂYÊ (PERSIA). And when he arrived at the country of the Turkish 'IGHÛRÂYÊ, all the Amîrs who were there, and their troops, went into his service—[those] from BÎSH BÂLÎGH, from the governor whose name was 'IDÎKÛB, and his army of peasants; and from [428] 'ALMALÎGH, [from the Amir] SEKÂNÂK (SÛFTÂK?) TAKÎN and his horsemen; and many others. Then CHINGIZ KHÂN sent TÛSHÎ, his eldest son, with five myriads (50,000) of soldiers to the region of KHÔGAND, and his two other sons, JAGHÂTÂI and 'ÛKHÂTÂI, he sent to invest the city of 'ÔTHRÂR. He himself went against the city of BÛKHÂRÂ, and he commanded those whom he had left by 'ÔTHRÂR to fight strenuously. And though they began the war strenuously, that city continued to resist them for five months. For Sûltân MÂHAMÂD had left therein fifty thousand horsemen, whose captain was JÂIR KHÂN, and ten thousand other horsemen, whose captain was KÂRA SHÂH (KÂRÂJÂ) KHÂŞ HÂJIB, were likewise there. And when KÂRÂJÂ saw that they had not the strength of the TÂTÂRS, one night he took several of his partisans and went forth by the ŞÔFÎ GATE to the MONGOLS. And they kept guard over him until the morning and they carried him to the two sons of the Khân. And when they had learned accurately from him every kind of information about the city and its combatants, they said unto him, 'In the same way as thou hast deceived thy lord thou shalt be deceived by us, and we have no need of thee'. And they commanded, and he and all those who were with him were killed.

And during [that] day the TÂTÂRS became masters of the city, and they expelled all the inhabitants, men, and women, and they plundered the treasures. Then JÂIR KHÂN, together with twenty thousand of his own men, [who were] on the roofs of the high houses of the city and on the towers on the walls, rebelled. And they went out on foot, fifty after fifty, to the TÂTÂRS, and they killed and were killed, until only two persons remained with JÂIR KHÂN on the roof of the palace. And a great many TÂTÂRS gathered together against them, and they toiled hard until they had killed the two [men]. And



JÂÎR KHÂN remained alone. And when he had used up all his arrows, the children and the handmaidens dragged out the bricks and the blocks of stones from the walls, and he fought against the TÂTÂRS with these. And because the command of the Khân was that they were not to kill him during the fight, but to capture him alive, they took very great trouble and used much care until they took him. And [429] after CHINGIZ KHÂN had seen him, he commanded and they killed him in the place which is called GÔG SARÂÎ, that is to say 'The Green House'.

And in the year six hundred and eleven of the ARABS (A.D. 1214) Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN KAI KÂÛS reigned over SÎNÔB (SINOPE?), which is on the coast of the SEA OF PONTUS, and he killed KÎR ALIX its lord.

And in the year six hundred and twelve (A.D. 1215) he also took 'ANTÂLYÂ from the RHÔMÂYÊ (GREEKS) a second time.

And in the year six hundred and thirteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1216) died MÂLIK TÂHIR JÂZÎ, the son of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN YÛSEF, the son of 'AYÛB, the lord of ALEPPO. And he commanded that his young son MÂLIK 'AZÎZ MÂḤAMÂD should stand in his place; at that time he was a child aged two years and a few months. Now he had another son who was older, but because the mother of the younger son was the daughter of MÂLIK 'ÂDIL, he appointed the younger son king so that his elder [brother] might not harm him.

And TÂHIR appointed SHEHÂB AD-DÎN TÛGHREL, a just and merciful eunuch, to be administrator and 'Atâbâg to his young son; and under his excellent government the men of ALEPPO lived in profound happiness and prosperous peace. And all the things which TÂHIR had filched away during his life he restored to their owners after his death.

And in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1217), which is the year six hundred and fourteen of the ARABS, the Pope of ROME sent to all the kings of the FRANKS and laid upon them the word by the decree of God that they should collect their troops, and sally out and free JERUSALEM, the Holy City, from the hands of the ARABS. And the multitude of the nations gathered together and went forth to 'AKKÔ. And when 'ÂDIL heard [this] he set out hurriedly from EGYPT to JERUSALEM. And the FRANKS went forth from 'AKKÔ, and they camped by the waters in the place which is called the 'Cave of Robbers'. For 'ÂDIL wished to precede them and to encamp there. And when he could not do this he encamped by BAISHÂN, and the FRANKS drew near that they might engage him in battle there. He, however, seeing that he had not the strength of the FRANKS, went and encamped in the neighbourhood of DAMASCUS, until the gathering together should be complete. And the FRANKS came and carried away everything they found, from BAISHÂN to BÂNÎÂS, and they killed and made prisoners, and returned to the plain of 'AKKÔ [430] with their hands filled with loot.

It is said that when 'ÂDIL was leaving BAISHÂN he himself saw a man



carrying a heavy load and walking slowly, and he sat down to rest for a moment. And 'ÂDIL by himself approached him, and said unto him, 'Why dost thou kill thyself, O aged man? Do not hurry.' And the old man replied, 'Go to the Sûltân and tell [him] that we are not to hurry. For if he himself had not hurried, I should never have hurried, and moreover, I should never have gone out from my house.' And 'ÂDIL was ashamed, and he left him and departed.

At this time PRAYNS BAIMOND (BÔHÂIMOND) died, and he left a son whose name was RÛFÎN, which the daughter of RÛFÎN, the king of the ARMENIANS, had borne to him. And although the kingdom belonged rightly to him, his uncle made bold and snatched it for himself. Then LÎÔN, the king of the ARMENIANS, the brother of RÛFÎN the ARMENIAN, because he, RÛFÎN the FRANK, was the son of his brother's daughter, was enraged and he came to ANTIOCH; and he made the people of ANTIOCH swear oaths of fealty to him. Then this stupid man seeing that he was reigning became puffed up with pride and he wished to seize LÎÔN, who had made him king, so that he might reign over CILICIA also. Then when the Brethren (Frères) knew of the plot they informed LÎÔN concerning him, and he escaped without injury.

And in the year six hundred and fifteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1218) the FRANKS embarked on the sea, and went to attack DAMYÂT (DAMIETTA), and they went up (i.e. disembarked) on the dry land which is called BÎZAH (GENZAH?). And the river NILE lay between the FRANKS and DAMIETTA. And the ARABS built a great tower in the middle of the NILE, so that the fighting men who were in it might prevent the FRANKS from [reaching] DAMIETTA. And when the FRANKS had waged war against the tower for about four months they took it, and they killed the men who were inside it, and they cut the chains which were on (i.e. across) the NILE. Now it was MÂLIK KÂMIL, the son of 'ÂDIL, who had encamped on the other side of DAMIETTA, and when he saw that the FRANKS had cut the chains which were on (i.e. across) the NILE, he tied a great bridge [across the river] in the place of the chains. And the FRANKS cut through the bridge also. Then KÂMIL drilled many holes in great boats and sank them at that spot, and larger ships were unable to sail over the boats which were sunk. Then the FRANKS dug a great deep cutting on the other side, and they made a breach in the bank of the river and they brought a flood of water from the NILE through it, [431] and they made their ships to sail over the sunken boats, and they drew near to the wall of DAMIETTA, and began to carry on the war from the river.

Then the men of DAMIETTA, because KÂMIL and his troops were nigh at hand, and everything which they required entered [the city] from the land, were not asking about the FRANKS. Then God willed, and the report of the death of 'ÂDIL in DAMASCUS came to KÂMIL his son, and that the Amîr BAR MASHTÛB, and the other Amîrs of the HAKÂRÂYE KURDS, wished to appoint as king of EGYPT MÂLIK FÂÎZ, the brother of KÂMIL. Because of this KÂMIL



took his troops and marched them to EGYPT (MESRÎN), and he abandoned DAMIETTA. And the FRANKS prevailed, and they sallied out on the dry land, and they carried off the remnant of the treasure which remained in the camp of the ARABS. And they encamped against DAMIETTA, and began to attack it both by sea and by land. And the men of DAMIETTA, because they were expecting that help would come to them from the ARABS, carried on the war strenuously. And the FRANKS continued to attack the city for about nine months. And when the ARABS who were inside the city were in despair, because KÂMIL was unable to go forth from EGYPT, being afraid of treachery, they gave the hand to the FRANKS, and they surrendered the city to them peacefully. And when the FRANKS took DAMIETTA they made a proclamation, saying, 'Whosoever among the ARABS wisheth to go out with his provisions, let him go forth, and he [who wisheth] to remain, let him remain'. And many did not go forth.

Then when KÂMIL saw the courage of the FRANKS he was greatly afraid of them, and he sent and destroyed the wall of JERUSALEM so that there might not be a place in which the FRANKS could alight when they captured it. And at this time RÛFÎN the FRANK, the lord of ANTIOCH, being sorely afflicted by the blind PRAYNS his uncle, the lord of TRIPOLI (because LÎÔN the king had paid no heed to him by reason of the fact that he was preparing to reward him with evil instead of good), left ANTIOCH and came to HARRÎ JÔÂN (HENRY JOHN OF BRIENNE?), the king of the FRANKS at DAMIETTA, and he lived with him until LÎÔN the king died. [432]

And in this year fear fell upon the ARABS, not only through the FRANKS who were coming forth from the west, but especially through the TÂTÂRS who had burst forth from the east, and had come as far as HAMÂDÂN, and 'ADHÔRBÎJÂN, and 'ARRÂN (ARZÂN?), and had committed horrible atrocities in all PERSIA. And in the year, on the twenty-seventh day of the third month of the ARABS, died MÂLIK KÂHIR 'IZZ AD-DÎN MAS'ÛD, the son of NÛR AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞIL, after he had reigned seven years and nine months. Now this man lived in a state of continual fear of death, and he was always most eager to enjoy himself, as if he was plucking the things which he enjoyed out of the hands of death. And his son NÛR AD-DÎN 'ARSLÂN SHÂH, his eldest son, reigned in his stead; he was a boy ten years old (or a youth aged twenty years), who was called by the name of his ancestor. And MÂLIK KÂHIR, when he was dying, appointed BADR AD-DÎN LÛLÛ to be the administrator (or, governor) of his son, even as he had been administrator to himself. And BADR AD-DÎN himself acted nobly and sent to the Khalifah NÂŞIR and brought the Patent of sovereignty to the young man. And in like manner he sent to the kings of the other [countries] and ensured (or, confirmed) peace. And he took the kingdom of MÂWŞIL without any commotion, and although those who sought after the soul of the young man, and were longing greedily to rule, [viz.] 'EMÂD AD-DÎN, his uncle, the lord of



'AQR, and the uncles of his father, BADR AD-DÎN prevented them all [from doing so] by his management. And he multiplied kindness to the nobles and the chief men of the city and the country [about it], and they all loved him.

Now 'EMÂD AD-DÎN, the lord of 'AQR, the uncle of the young man, sent to MÛTAFÂR AD-DÎN KÛKBÛRÎ, the son of ZAYN AD-DÎN, the lord of 'ARBÎL, and said unto him, 'BADR AD-DÎN wisheth to deceive our house, and to take the kingdom for himself'. Then MÛTAFÂR AD-DÎN helped the lord of 'AQR, and he went and took the fortress of 'EMÂDÎÂH. And BADR AD-DÎN collected troops and went against 'EMÂDÎÂH to make war on it and to capture 'EMÂD AD-DÎN. And because it was the season of winter, and there was heavy snow upon those mountains, BADR AD-DÎN left [the place] and went back to MÂWŞIL. And EMÂD AD-DÎN waxed strong, and he sent [messages] to the rest of the fortresses of the HAKÂRÂYÊ and the ZÂWZÂNÂYÊ, and he ruled over them.

And in the year Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN KAI KÂÛS, the lord of BÊTH [433] RHÔMÂYÊ, eagerly desired to reign over ALEPPO, for he saw that it was lacking a lord, and that a sucking child was proclaimed in it. And his nobles advised him that this could easily take place, 'if thou wilt take with thee this MÂLIK 'AFÐÂL, the son of ŞALÂH AD-DÎN, the lord of SAMOSATA, and wilt pretend that thou art jealous on account of him who is wronged by his brothers, and wilt restore to him the kingdom of his father because he is the eldest son of ŞALÂH AD-DÎN'. And Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN sent and brought MÂLIK 'AFÐÂL from SAMOSATA, and he gave him gold, and apparel, and many horses, and armour, and he made him ready to go with him to SYRIA on the condition that ALEPPO and everything which appertained to MÂLIK 'AFÐÂL should belong to him, and that every country which they took from the dominion of MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF in BÊTH NAHRÎN should belong to Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN.

And they collected troops and went first of all against 'AINTÂB and took it; and MÂLIK 'AFÐÂL surrendered it. And they went from there to TALL BÂSHIR and took it likewise, and Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN surrendered it and did not give it to MÂLIK 'AFÐÂL. And 'AFÐÂL was offended, and those who had surrendered also repented. And from this time 'AFÐÂL hid treachery in his heart, and he began to hold back 'IZZ AD-DÎN from his going against ALEPPO. And he said, 'First of all let us go and take MABBÛGH and other places, and then it will be possible for us to take ALEPPO, which remaineth like a dove, the wings (or, feathers) of which have been plucked'. And when they went against MABBÛGH, SHAHÂB AD-DÎN sent a eunuch to MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF, and entreated him to come to the help of the little boy who was his sister's son. And 'ASHRÂF was roused to anger, and he came and met in battle the soldiers of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ by MABBÛGH, and the RHÔMÂYÊ (GREEKS) were broken at the beginning of the engagement. And Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN did



not continue the fight, but he left and returned to his own country. And 'ASHRÂF went against 'AINTÂB and took it, and TALL BÂSHIR likewise. And he gave them again to the lord of ALEPPO. When those who had surrendered TALL BÂSHIR to 'ASHRÂF went to their own country, Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN took them and without mercy burnt them in a house.

And in the year when the FRANKS were encamped, even as we have said, at DAMIETTA, MÂLIK 'ÂDIL died on the seventh day of the sixth month [434] of the year six hundred and fifteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1218), aged seventy-five years, in the place which is called 'ALKÎN (or, 'ALKÎN). And he was carried to DAMASCUS and there buried in a tomb which he had built for himself. He was a very astute man, and one who nursed his anger, and took vengeance [on an offender] after a long period of time. He left the following sons: MÂLIK KÂMIL NÂSIR AD-DÎN ABÛ AL-MA'ÂLÎ, the lord of EGYPT; and MÂLIK MÛ'AṬÂM MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN 'ÎSÂ, the lord of DAMASCUS and JERUSALEM; and MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF SHARÂF AD-DÎN MÛSÂ, the lord of EDESSA, and ḤÂRRÂN and KHÂLÂṬ; and MÂLIK MÛṬAFÂR SHEHÂB AD-DÎN JÂZÎ, the lord of MAIPERKÂṬ; and MÂLIK ḤÂFIṬ, the lord of KÂL'ÂH JA'BÂR; and MÂLIK 'AZÎZ 'OTHMÂN, the lord of BÂNYÂS; and MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ 'ESMÂ'ÎL, the lord of BÔŞÂR; and MÂLIK FÂÎZ YA'KÛB; and MÂLIK 'AMJÂD 'ABBÂS; and MÂLIK 'AFḌÂL KÛṬB AD-DÎN; and MÂLIK KÂHIR TÂJ AD-DÎN 'ESHÂK (ISAAC).

And in the year when BADR AD-DÎN saw that MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN, the lord of 'ARBÎL, had covenanted with 'EMÂD AD-DÎN ZANGÎ, the lord of 'AḶR, to lay waste the country of MÂWŞIL, and to become masters of the fortresses, and that any humility would not profit him with them, and that even if he would oppose them he was by himself unable to cope with them, he besought help from MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF, the lord of BÊTH NAHRÎN and of KHÂLÂṬ, and he promised to hold himself in subjection to him like one of his own nobles. And 'ASHRÂF rejoiced at this, and sent an army to NISIBIS, and they were to go to BADR AD-DÎN whensoever he summoned them.

And in the year six hundred and sixteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1219) 'EMÂD AD-DÎN ZANGÎ went down from the fortress of 'EMÂDÎYÂH to the fortress of 'AḶR, so that he might rule over the cities of the plain, for he was already master of these mountainous districts. And when BADR AD-DÎN heard [this] he sent an army to protect the country. Then the nobles and the captains of the hosts took counsel together and decided to subdue 'EMÂD AD-DÎN ZANGÎ by the side of 'AḶR without informing BADR AD-DÎN. And they marched the whole night, and when the day of the Sabbath, at the end of the first month of the ARABS, dawned on them, they met in battle below the fortress of 'AḶR. And ZANGÎ was broken [435] utterly, and he fled to MÂWŞIL to MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN, and the men of MÂWŞIL returned to their camp.

Then ambassadors came from the Khalifah NÂSIR, and from MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF, and they made them to be reconciled and pacified them. And in the days wherein the peace was confirmed, the young man NÛR AD-DÎN, the



son of MÂLIK ṬÂHIR, the lord of MÂWṢIL, died. Now he was continually falling sick, and for ten days at a time he was not seen riding. Then BADR AD-DÎN took his brother, a child three years old, whose name was NÂṢIR AD-DÎN MAḤMÛD, and seated him in the place of his brother. And he made the nobles to swear fealty to him, and they set him on a horse and showed him to the populace, and the hearts of the people were pleased, for they saw that they had a king of the house of 'ÂTÂBÂG, and they loved that house greatly.

And NÛR AD-DÎN being dead, and the young child his brother standing in his place, MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN and ZANGÎ again quarrelled with the men of MÂWṢIL, and they began to raid the country. Then BADR AD-DÎN, because he had sent most of the troops of MÂWṢIL to ALEPPO, to MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF who was wishing to invade and spoil the country of the FRANKS, sent to 'AÎBÂG, the captain of the host of 'ASHRÂF who had been sent to NISIBIS, and he brought him to him. And when BADR AD-DÎN saw that those who had come with 'AÎBÂG, the slave of 'ASHRÂF, were few in number, he was depressed and also offended (or, annoyed), because the troops whom he had sent to 'ASHRÂF were far more numerous than those who had been sent to him by 'ASHRÂF. But 'AÎBÂG began to magnify himself, and he forced BADR AD-DÎN to cross the TIGRIS, and to go and loot the country of 'ARBÎL. Then when MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN heard [this], he collected his troops and crossed the ZÂBHÂ river. And BADR AD-DÎN and 'AÎBÂG went and pitched their camp on both sides opposite to each other. And when midnight had come 'AÎBÂG rose up [and wanted] to go and crush the army of 'ARBÎL, but BADR AD-DÎN urged him not to go, but to wait until the day broke. He would not, however, agree, but he mounted his horse and made his party to mount their horses, and BADR AD-DÎN also was compelled to join him. And they went and engaged MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN. And 'IZZ AD-DÎN 'AÎBÂG, the slave of 'ASHRÂF, fled to the left wing of the lord of 'ARBÎL, and the right wing of the lord of 'ARBÎL broke the left wing of [436] BADR AD-DÎN.

And BADR AD-DÎN remained with a few men in the middle, and he was unable to resist the heart (i.e. the main body) of the army of the lord of 'ARBÎL. And BADR AD-DÎN fled before MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN, and with rapid marches he came and crossed the TIGRIS to MÂWṢIL. And he did not stop, but went and pitched his camp in the city of BÂLÂDH, so that he might collect troops again. And MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN rode after him, and he came and encamped behind the hill of the fortress of NINEVEH, and he remained there for three days. And when he heard that BADR AD-DÎN was preparing to crush him in the night, he departed and went to 'ARBÎL. And in his passage through NINEVEH he harmed no man except only in one case where some of the men of SHAHÂRZÛR who were with him carried off a newly wedded bride from the village of BÊTH SAḤRÂYÊ (i.e. house of the beggars). And her owners were infuriated, and they rescued the maiden, and they also killed some of the KURDS.



And MÛṬAFÂR heard [of this] and was furiously angry, because it was said to him, 'Those peasants have disgraced thee, and are crying out, "[Long] live the staff of gold, BADR AD-DÎN".' And he sent a force against the village, and they also attacked those villagers who were protected in the church, and they killed about three hundred souls and departed. And when they passed through BARṬELÎ they cut off the hand of a certain young man with the sword. And after these things ambassadors were sent from one to another, and there was peace.

And in the year those who were in the fortress of KAWÂSHÎ, on seeing that the rest of the fortresses had surrendered to 'EMÂD AD-DÎN ZANGÎ, also sent to him and surrendered KAWÂSHÎ to him; and they drove out from there those who were of the house of BADR AD-DÎN. And when BADR AD-DÎN saw that MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN did not abide by his oaths, and did not cease from inciting ZANGÎ to quarrel with him, he sent to MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF and begged him to come personally to his assistance, and to make the lord of 'ARBÎL cease from [harrying] him. Now 'ASHRÂF AD-DÎN, because his adversaries at that time were many (for Sûltân KAI KÂÛS of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, and the lord of 'ÂMÎD and of the fortress of KÎPÂ, and the lord of MARDÎN, and the Amîr BAR MASHTÛB, and the Amîr 'IZZ AD-DÎN ḤAMÎDÂYÂ had rebelled against him), was unable to come to the assistance of BADR AD-DÎN until after a time.

And in the eleventh month of the year six hundred and sixteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1219) [437], which is the year fifteen hundred and thirty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1220), in the month of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY), died Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN KAI KÂÛS, the son of KAI KESRÛ, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, the lord of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. For he had collected troops in order that he might go again and wage war against 'ASHRÂF in BÊTH NAHRÎN, and when he arrived in MELITENE the disease of phthisis tightened its hold upon him, and because of it he turned back from it and died. And the nobles sent and brought out 'ALÂ AD-DÎN KAI KÛBÂD, who was imprisoned in the fortress of MASÂRÂ, which is in MOUNT BRÎKHÂ, and they made him king over them. Some say that Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN himself before he died sent and brought him out of prison and made the nobles swear fealty to him, because he had no son who was of any use to the kingdom. Now Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN KAI KÛBÂD, at the beginning of his kingdom, saw that his enemies were many, that is to say the GREEKS and the ARMENIANS who were round about him; and also his uncle the lord of 'ARZÂN AR-RÛM, made friendship with MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF, and begged that his sister might be given him to wife. And after three years she was given to him.

And in this year, which is the year six hundred and sixty-eight of the ARMENIANS, LÎÔN the king of CILICIA died. He was a mighty warrior in battle, and a strenuous follower in the chase. He had only a daughter whose name was ZABÎL (ISABEL?). And SÎRÂ DÂN PÂLÎ (SIRE DOM BAILE?), the lord of the fortresses on the sea-coast, received the allowance of the daughter of



the king and of the kingdom for about two years—until the ISHMAELITES killed him.

And in the year six hundred and seventeen of the ARABS (A.D. 1220), in the first month, CHINGIZ KHÂN went in person and encamped against the city of BŪKHÂRÂ, which was the tabernacle of the Faith of the Muslims in all the countries beyond the river GÎHÔN. Now he encamped against the gate of the fortress, and many legions of MONGOLS, who exceeded the locusts and the ants in number, also came, and bodies of troops after bodies of troops encamped round about the wretched city. Now there were in it about twenty thousand horsemen, and the famous captains SÂWÎNJ KHÂN and KESHLÎ KHÂN. And when [438] these men saw the vast numbers of the soldiery of the TÂTÂRS, they despaired of [winning] the war, and at sunset they went forth from the city to flee away. And when they arrived at the banks of the GÎHÔN, the Mongol patrols of the roads fell upon them, and destroyed them all with the edge of the sword. And when the citizens saw that they had no one to resist the MONGOLS on their behalf, they opened the gates of the city, and they went to do homage to CHINGIZ KHÂN. And he had mercy upon them and did not kill them. But he went into the city to see it, and when he came to the gate of the Great Mosque he asked, 'Is this the palace of the governor?' And the scribes said unto him, 'Nay, it is the house of God'. And CHINGIZ KHÂN alighted from his horse and went in and sat down before the MIHRÂB. And TŪLÎ, his young son, went up the steps of the *Menbâr* (pulpit). And CHINGIZ KHÂN commanded, saying, 'My horses are hungry, and the plain is destitute of grass: [feed them]'. And the nobles of the city went and opened the granaries and the bins of wheat and barley, and they carried [grain] on their shoulders and brought it and set it down as provender for the horses, and they sat down, watching them. And the citizens also brought vessels of wine, and gave drink to the TÂTÂRS, and singing men and singing women, and also other women who danced, and they danced indeed with their [whole] hearts.

And CHINGIZ KHÂN cried out to the nobles of the city, and he spake unto them thus: 'We do not need you to show us your riches which are on the earth (i.e. above ground), but we wish you to bring forth those which are buried in the heart of the earth and to give them to us. [Do this] and ye shall live.' And they said, 'Thy command shall be fulfilled'. And they went and dug, and brought forth wealth which surpassed computation and carried it [to him]. And because very many warriors were hidden in the city, they set fire to it, and the fire burnt it all up, together with the treasure which was hidden in it. And those who were outside scattered themselves abroad in various countries. For certain men asked a man of BŪKHÂRÂ on his coming to KHÔRÂSÂN, 'How did it fare with them?' and he said, 'Why do ye weary me [with such a question]? The TÂTÂRS came, and they dug up [the treasures], and burnt [them], and plundered, and departed. He that hath ears let him hear!'



And in this year BAR MASHTÛB, who, as we have said, rebelled against 'ASHRÂF, attacked NISIBIS, so that from there he might pass over to 'ARBÎL to MÛTAFÂR AD-DÎN. [439] And the governor of NISIBIS went out and engaged him in battle, and he broke him and scattered those who were with him. And BAR MASHTÛB himself fled with a few men, and he crossed over into the country of SINJÂR. And FARÛKH Shâh, the son of ZANGÎ, the son of MÂW-DÛD, the son of ZANGÎ, heard [of this], and he sent an army and captured him, and he kept him with him as a prisoner. And because FARÛKH Shâh, the lord of SINJÂR, was with 'ASHRÂF (i.e. was a partisan), BAR MASHTÛB led him astray, and made him an enemy of 'ASHRÂF. And he promised him, with oaths, that he would fight with him until he could remove MÂWŞIL from the hands of BADR AD-DÎN, and that it should be his. Then the lord of SINJÂR released BAR MASHTÛB, and he gave him an army of horsemen, and he came and plundered the country of BÊTH 'ARBÂÏÊ. And BADR AD-DÎN heard [this] and sent troops, and BAR MASHTÛB was defeated by them. And he fled and departed and went up into the fortress of TALL 'AFAR, because it belonged to the lord of SINJÂR. And when BADR AD-DÎN heard [of this], he sallied out in person and went and fought against the fortress of TALL 'AFAR until he captured it. And he took BAR MASHTÛB prisoner, and sent him to MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF, and he was shut up in prison in HÂRRÂN until he died. Then MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF gave HÂNÎ and JABÂL JÛR to the lord of 'ÂMID, and he promised that he would also take the city of DÂRÂ and give it to him. And thus in separating himself from the lord of MARDÎN he waxed strong and came to DÛNAISER, and he ruled over the whole district of MARDÎN. And he shut up the lord of MARDÎN in the fortress, and deprived him of food.

Then the lord of 'ÂMID came to 'ASHRÂF, and he intervened between them and made peace, the lord of MARDÎN giving RÂS 'AIN and thirty thousand *dînârs* to 'ASHRÂF, and MÛWÂZAR, of the country of SHÂBAKTÂN, to the lord of 'ÂMID. And 'ASHRÂF marched against NISIBIS. And the lord of SINJÂR was afraid of him, and sent an ambassador to him whilst he was on the road, and he surrendered SINJÂR to 'ASHRÂF, and received from him in exchange CALONICUS. And he went forth and departed together with his brethren, and his household, and all his possessions. And when 'ASHRÂF had taken SINJÂR, he began to send his troops on before him to MÂWŞIL, so that he might come and pass over to 'ARBÎL. And every day a great company of horsemen used to come, and after them all he himself came to MÂWŞIL on the third day [of the week] in the fifth month of this year.

And the ambassadors of the Khalîfah of the lord of 'ARBÎL came to him, and they promised [440] to give back to BADR AD-DÎN all the fortresses which ZANGÎ had taken, and [asked] that there might be peace. And 'ASHRÂF did not accept [the proposal], but marched from MÂWŞIL, and crossed the TIGRIS, and went and encamped in SALÂMÎYÂH, a village in the neighbourhood of the river ZÂBHÂ. And it happened that MÛTAFÂR AD-DÎN



had encamped on that side of the ZÂBHÂ. Now because NÂŞIR AD-DÎN, the lord of 'ÂMID, was also with 'ASHRÂF, and because he had a secret affection for MÛTAFÂR AD-DÎN, he advised MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF to make peace and to return with honour. And he also said unto him, 'If thou dost conquer thou wilt offend the Khalifah, and thou wilt be reviled by the whole of the Arab people; and if thou art defeated, thou, and those who are with thee, will acquire an evil name for ever'. And 'ASHRÂF was cajoled, and he agreed to peace, and he took 'EMÂD AD-DÎN ZANGÎ, the lord of 'AQR, with him as an hostage, until he surrendered the fortresses which he had taken; and he went back to SINJÂR. And certain men went to receive the fortresses from him and to transfer them to the adherents of BADR AD-DÎN. With the exception of one fortress, which was on the frontier of the HAKÂRÂYÊ, they were unable to take them, because the remainder of them showed themselves rebellious and they would not hand them over. And MÛTAFÂR AD-DÎN cast himself on SHEHÂB AD-DÎN JÂZÎ, the brother of 'ASHRÂF, and he entreated 'ASHRÂF on his behalf, and he left him without his handing over the fortresses. Now BADR AD-DÎN was offended at this, but he was unable to resist the will of 'ASHRÂF.

And at [this] time BADR AD-DÎN learned secretly that 'ASHRÂF was expecting to take TALL 'AFAR from him, for originally it had belonged to SINJÂR. Therefore he sent and transferred TALL 'AFAR to him, and SINJÂR and TALL 'AFAR belonged to 'ASHRÂF. Then ZANGÎ, being master of all the fortresses of the HAKÂRÂYÊ and of the ZÂWZÂNÂYÊ, began to treat those who were in them in an evil manner, and he harassed them with demands for compulsory gifts and imposts. And therefore those who had observed the covenant repented, and wished to hand over [the fortresses] to BADR AD-DÎN, but they were afraid of the opposition (or, resistance) which they showed. When BADR AD-DÎN heard [this], he sent and bound them firmly with oaths and covenants that he would do them no harm, [441] on the contrary, that he would treat them well, and that he would reckon their offence as a benefit, that is to say it had freed him from the beneficence of 'ASHRÂF. And the lords of the fortress of 'EMÂDÎYÂH agreed before [it was decided] that they should surrender it. And because he was unable to take anything without the command and permission of 'ASHRÂF, he sent to 'ASHRÂF, and asked for a command (i.e. patent of authority). And 'ASHRÂF refused and would not give him permission until BADR AD-DÎN had given him the fortress which is called 'HADHATTÂ' (i.e. the 'New'), which is by NISIBIS, and the region between the Two Rivers. And then BADR AD-DÎN took 'EMÂDÎYÂH, and he rewarded those who had surrendered it with gracious concessions which were far greater than those which he had promised to them.

And the sons of the other fortresses heard [of this] and they all surrendered. And it is a very wonderful thing that although hordes of troops were gathered together from SYRIA, and from BÊTH NAHRÎN, and from



ARMENIA and other places, they were unable to take these fortresses; yet BADR AD-DÎN through his astuteness, and without pressure, became the master of them. The conclusion of this matter is that it is better to trust in the Lord than to trust in the governor.

And in that year died MÂLIK MANSÛR NÂŞIR AD-DÎN MÂHAMÂD, the son of MÛTAFÂR TÂĶÎ AD-DÎN 'OMAR, the son of SHÂHINSHÂH, the son of 'AYÛB, the lord of HAMÂTH, at the age of fifty years. And he commanded that his eldest son, who was in EGYPT with his uncle MÂLIK KÂMIL, whose name was MÂLIK MÛTAFÂR TÂĶÎ AD-DÎN, should rise up in his place. The nobles, however, sent and brought another son from DAMASCUS, whose name was MÂLIK NÂŞIR KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, and they transferred to him HAMÂTH.

And in the year six hundred and eighteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1221), MÂLIK MÛ'ATÂM, the lord of DAMASCUS, and MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF, and the lord of MARDÎN, and the army of ALEPPO, and MÂLIK NÂŞIR, the lord of HAMÂTH, and MÂLIK MÛJÂHID, the lord of EMESA, went to the help of MÂLIK KÂMIL. And they all departed and encamped against DAMIETTA, and they harassed the city and cut the roads against the FRANKS. And the FRANKS were afraid, and they agreed to surrender DAMIETTA together with all the Arab prisoners who were in 'AKKÔ; and the ARABS allowed them to go forth and depart to their own country in peace. And KÂMIL took some of the FRANKS with him as hostages until they surrendered DAMIETTA and the prisoners. And the peace of the ARABS was confirmed for eight years with [442] the LEGATE, the deputy of the Pope of ROME, because he stood at the head of the Army of the FRANKS, and with JÔÂN (JOHN?), the lord of 'AKKÔ. And the ARABS took DAMIETTA again, and the labour of the FRANKS was in vain. For before help could come to MÂLIK KÂMIL, he sent many times to the FRANKS, and made entreaties to them concerning peace. And he offered to give them JERUSALEM, and ASCALON, and TIBERIAS, and ŞAIDÂN and GABÂLÂ and LAODICEA, if only they would evacuate DAMIETTA and depart, so that MEŞRÎN and all EGYPT might be free from them. The FRANKS, however, refused, and they demanded also the fortress of KARÂK, and three hundred thousand *dînârs* in payment for the destruction of the walls of JERUSALEM which KÂMIL had laid waste. And because of this KÂMIL was afflicted, and he sent and summoned to his help his brethren and co-religionists, and they took DAMIETTA from the FRANKS for nothing. And the wretched men lost one-half of the crops of the country of EMESA which they used to take from the ARABS, and the Hospitallers the tribute which they had on BÂRÎN. DAMIETTA remained with the FRANKS on this occasion for one year ten months and twenty-four days.

At this time the ISHMAELITES hurled themselves upon SÎRÂ DÂN, the governor of the kingdom of the ARMENIANS, in the narrow road which goeth down towards our church of MÂR BAR ŞÂWMÂ, which is in the city of SÎS, and they killed him. And there rose up in his place PÂLÎ BÂRÔN CONSTAN-



TINE, the son of BÂRÔN BÂSÎL, the uncle of king LÎÔN. When RÛFÎN heard that LÎÔN the king was already dead, and that also the governor SÎRÂ DÂN was killed, he rose up and took his mother, the daughter of the great king RÛFÎN, and embarked on the sea. And he went forth to the harbour of the fortress of CYRIACUS, so that he might go and rule in CILICIA. Then the lord of this fortress, who was BÂRÔN BIHRÂM, the lord of SHAKÂD, not only would not grant to him a place of passage, but also threatened him with many threats that if he did not give him his mother to wife he would most certainly seize him and destroy him. Then RÛFÎN, being sorely troubled, endeavoured to persuade [443] his mother about [this] matter. And when she had heard it she was greatly agitated, and she shrieked out revilings and abuse of BIHRÂM. Then the free men and the free women persuaded her that if it was for the benefit of her son she ought even to give herself over to the fire. And thus under pressure she agreed, crying out at the same time, 'This is to me compulsory fornication and not lawful betrothal'. And BIHRÂM having taken her to wife increased her honour, and devoted himself to her service and the service of her son; and he encamped against the city of ʦARSÔS and took it.

And from there he went to 'ADÂNÂ, and it he also took. And he also went against MOPSUESTIA, and whilst encamped against it, PÂLÎ BÂRÔN CONSTANTINE collected an army, and went against them and smote them. And when they fled before him he pursued them and forced them into the city of ʦARSÔS and shut them up therein. And there he seized and destroyed all of them, viz. BIHRÂM, and RÛFÎN, and his mother, the daughter of RÛFÎN the Great. And from this time on PÂLÎ waited for the nobles of the ARMENIANS to speak to him about taking the daughter of king LÎÔN for one of his sons so that they might make him king, for he had five sons. And when this was not spoken of to him he was offended in his mind, and he made with them [another] arrangement. And they sent and brought PHILIP, the son of PRAYNS 'AWÎRÂ, and gave him ZABÎL (ISABEL?), the daughter of king LÎÔN, and they made him king over CILICIA. And he governed them for about two years, but his governing was corrupt, for he had made it his object to destroy all the nobles of the ARMENIANS, and to appoint FRANKS in their places. And he began to treat the ARMENIANS with contempt, and instead of calling them '*fâlĥê*' (i.e. soldiers) he called them '*fallâĥê*' (i.e. ploughmen or peasant labourers), and he did not permit them to eat with him at his table. And though they came to his door ten times, he would only with difficulty order them to enter his presence once. And thus his hatred of the ARMENIANS increased.

And when they could bear his tyranny no longer, they gathered together to PÂLÎ BÂRÔN CONSTANTINE, and besought him to help them to make a plan of escape from him, for they repented greatly that they had made him king. Then PÂLÎ, having made himself sure of them by oaths, made ready certain



scouts and hunting men, and he rushed in on PHILIP in the night when he was lying on his bed, and he dragged him from the breast of the queen. [444] And she began to cry and to scratch her face with her nails, and she struggled and cried out, 'Sir, Sir,' for she was sorely smitten with love for him. But those principals made no reply to her, neither did they hearken to her voice. And they bound the man in fetters, and took him from TALL HAMDÔN, where they had seized him, and brought him to the city of SIS. And he was there kept a prisoner for two years. Now the prince his father, although he was a strong man, did not wish to annoy the ARMENIANS lest they in anger should destroy his son. But he only sent ambassadors and entreated them to release him; and he did not demand from them the kingdom. And when he was worn out with sending ambassadors he came in person to TALL HAMDÔN, and sent a message to them to give him his son. Then they hearkened unto him and they took him and went to the fortress which is called 'AMUDHÂ. And they sent to the prince [telling him] to send and take his son. And when he wished to take him it was said to him, 'Even though thou takest thy son he will not live'; for they had made him to drink poison; and it was impossible for him to live longer than ten days, which actually took place. For when the Prince left and departed, uttering curses and threats, after a few days PHILIP died, and no man knew where they had buried him.

When the queen heard that he was dead, she was in despair, and she departed and went to the fortress of SILÂWQYÂ on the sea-coast. And she took refuge with the Brothers (Frères), the lords of the fortress, and they protected her honourably. And her mother also came to her from CYPRUS; now she was a Frankish lady, the daughter of the king of CYPRUS. And when they gave her daughter to PHILIP, they wished to give her also to wife to SIR GOFRÎ (GEOFFRY), the lord of KÎPÂ of SERWAND, who was the son of BÂRÔN SÛNBÂṬ, the brother (son?) of BÂRÔN CONSTANTINE PÂLÎ. And when she was unwilling they expelled her from her country and she went to CYPRUS. And at this time she returned to her daughter, and the two women lived in SILÂWQYÂ until PÂLÎ brought them down by force.

### Concerning the taking of Sâmarkand by the Tâtârs

And in this year, which is the year six hundred and eighteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1221), after the TÂTÂRS had taken the city of BÛKHÂRÂ, they came and encamped against the great city of SÂMARKAND, [445] in which many large villages flourished, and it was surrounded with splendid paradises (or, gardens). And Sûltân MÂHAMÂD had left in it to protect it one hundred and ten thousand mighty warriors and fighting men. Now when CHINGIZ KHÂN heard that the city was so strong in respect of fighting men, he went in person to attack it. And the MONGOLS surrounded it, and they counted



the towers thereof, and a destroying fire was lighted on the wall between those who were inside and those who were out. And on the following day the troops which were inside went forth on foot to the TÂTÂRS, and fought very fierce fights [with them]. And they killed many TÂTÂRS, and others they captured alive and took into the city, where they tortured them horribly and put them to death in a cruel fashion.

When the citizens saw this they were greatly afraid, and they said one to another, 'If we do not take great care vengeance assuredly will be taken for these [TÂTÂRS]'. And they took counsel together and then sent men secretly to CHINGIZ KHÂN, and they promised to open the gates in the night and surrender the city. And CHINGIZ KHÂN rejoiced at this, and gave them a pledge of security for their lives.

And when the evening had come, the Judge of the city, and one other official who was called 'SHAIKH 'ESLÂM', [and] a great crowd of people [assembled], they opened the gates of the city and the MONGOLS went in. And the fighting men of the city fled and hid in the fortress, or Citadel. And the TÂTÂRS began to take the people captives and to loot. And they took the men and women of the city outside the city, hundred by hundred, and they made them to sit down in groups—all except the fifty thousand who had escaped with the Judge and the SHAIKH 'ESLÂM, and they did not go out. And when it was night the TÂTÂRS went out and killed all those whom they had taken outside the city, and they left [alive] only sons and daughters who were under twenty years of age. Then one of the chiefs who was in the fortress performed an act of great bravery. He took about one thousand men, and cut through the troops of the TÂTÂRS, and passed through them, and they fled without being able to harm any of them. And [this] chief went to KHÔRÂSÂN, to Sûltân MÂHAMÂD.

### Concerning the taking of Khâwârazm by the Tâtârs

Then CHINGIZ KHÂN, being no longer occupied with the taking of SÂMAR-KAND, sent his two sons JÂGÂTÂI and 'AUKHÂTÂI against KHÂWÂRAZM. For KHÂWÂRAZM is the name of the Clime, and the name of the [446] great city of that Clime is GÛRGÂNIYÂH. And when certain of the TÂTÂRS, [that is to say] those who were accustomed to march in front of the troops, came to the gate of the city, the citizens thought that these men, few in number, were by themselves, and a great crowd of men, both horsemen and foot-soldiers, went out from the city to engage those TÂTÂRS in battle. And when they arrived at the vineyard of a man who was called KÂWRAM, which was distant one stade, the army of the MONGOLS burst forth upon them and killed them all. Now those citizens who were destroyed and fell on the ground were about one hundred thousand in number. And the TÂTÂRS came along triumphantly and they made themselves masters of



the city easily and they destroyed both it and the remainder of its population.

Now Sûltân MÂHAMÂD had already left and passed over to the country of KHÔRÂSÂN, and he was taking counsel with his nobles continually, [saying], 'What course [is open] to us? And how can we save ourselves from the hands of this mighty enemy?' And they said, '[All] hope [of help from] the countries which are beyond the river GÎHÔN is cut off. Only here in KHÔRÂSÂN, [in] the places in the neighbourhood of the Citadel, is it right to make ready (i.e. drill) troops to be ready to fight with them, supposing they come.' And the Sûltân said, 'No heart remaineth with us to fight these people. And supposing they come over to us there is nothing for us [to do] except to flee before them into INDIA.' But the son of JELÂL AD-DÎN KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH did not agree with [the suggestion] to flee, but [wanted them] all to fight until they died in the battle. Now his father rebuked him for this opinion, and like one who was prepared to die immediately, he began to eat, and to drink, and to delight himself in the pleasures of the world, after the manner of one who wished to have his fill of them. And whilst he was thus occupied he heard that the TÂTÂRS had crossed the waters of the GÎHÔN. And he left and fled to HAMÂDÂN, and he sent his wives and his little children to a fortress called BÂLÂN.

And when the TÂTÂRS arrived at HAMÂDÂN, the Sûltân himself fled into the mountains opposite MÂZINDARÂN. And when the TÂTÂRS pursued him thither, he fled and went into one of the islands of the Sea of HYRCANIA. And there he remained until the report came to him that the TÂTÂRS had made themselves masters of the fortress in which his family were, and that they had taken prisoners his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, [447] and that they had killed the males, and sent the females to KÂRÂKÔRÂM. Then he was smitten with great grief, and he fell sick with a severe illness, and he departed from the world on the island and there they buried him; and some time later he was carried to the fortress which is called 'ARDAHÎN' ('ARDAHÂN). When JELÂL AD-DÎN, the son of Sûltân MÂHAMÂD, heard of the death of his father, he travelled in one night forty stades in the direction of the countries of the PERSIANS, viz. those which are on the frontier of INDIA. And there gathered together to him ninety thousand chosen horsemen. Now when CHINGIZ KHÂN heard that JELÂL AD-DÎN KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH was far more mighty than his father, he sent a numerous army of the MONGOLS against him. And JELÂL AD-DÎN heard [of this] and he came to meet them. And when they attacked the TÂTÂRS, he spake to the men of his bodyguard, and they all dismounted, and each man took (i.e. led) his horse in his hand, and they despised death. And many of the MONGOLS on the ground (i.e. the foot-soldiers) shot arrows until the evening. And that night each of the two parties of combatants passed the whole night in the place where it was. And on the second day, when the TÂTÂRS saw the



bravery of KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH, they turned their faces to flee. And KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH pursued them, and they killed about five hundred of the heroes of the TÂTÂRS.

When CHINGIZ KHÂN heard these things he came like a flash of lightning with an army, the soldiers in which were so many that they were beyond count. And immediately JELÂL AD-DÎN saw them he knew that he was no match for them in strength, and therefore he set his face to cross the river GÎHÔN towards the east, and he sent [word] to make ready ships. But CHINGIZ KHÂN heard of these things, and he sent on a numerous army before him, and it occupied the road [of JELÂL AD-DÎN]. And then there remained to JELÂL AD-DÎN no other hope except to fight to the last breath. And the battle between the two sides was set in array. And the right [wing] of KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH [was broken], and the left wing of the MONGOLS also was broken. And JELÂL AD-DÎN KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH himself remained in the midst with only seven hundred horsemen, and he leaped from one side to the other like a wolf, and hurled to the ground slain TÂTÂRS. And the MONGOLS increased more and more, and thronged in upon him from all sides. Then a certain Amîr, a KHÂWÂRAZMIAN, who was the son of JELÂL AD-DÎN's uncle, laid hold on the bridle of his horse and thrust him [448] backwards. And when JELÂL AD-DÎN saw that no other hope remained to him, he alighted from his horse, and he kissed the members of his household and his children, and he and they wept with sobs and groans. Then he left them, and he mounted his horse, and he said unto the horsemen of his bodyguard, 'Whosoever loveth me let him cling to me in life and in death'. And he struck his horse and rode through the host of the TÂTÂRS, and still sitting on his horse he hurled himself into the waters.

When CHINGIZ KHÂN saw these acts he ran to the bank of the river and looked and marvelled. And certain men of the MONGOLS wished to hurl themselves into the waters and to pursue him, and the King of Kings would not permit them [to do so]. But laying his hand on his mouth he said unto his sons, 'It is meet that a son should be begotten by a father such as this'. And to his nobles he said, 'It is meet that a man such as this should be called a man. For many marvellous exploits are indicated by him, and a man of understanding who was careless could never spring from him.' Now JELÂL AD-DÎN having, with a sword, and a spear, and a shield, escaped from the waters, and from the flash of the sword, together with only the six horsemen who had been able to cross the river, remained there on the banks of the GÎHÔN for about two days, until there gathered together to him about fifty other horsemen, and then they set out for INDIA. And about one hundred of his own horsemen overtook him there. And they sent a man on before them to explore. And he went and spied out the land. And he came and informed them saying, 'There are two thousand soldiers of the Army of the INDIANS in a certain place'; and KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH went and captured them,



and they killed them all, and took their horses. And they increased in number and became about five hundred horsemen. And about five thousand INDIANS were gathered together, and they came and met them in battle, and again the INDIANS were broken. And when the rest of the KHÂWÂRAZMIANS who had fled, and were hidden in various places, heard [of this], they wished and came to him; now they were about three thousand in number. And when the kings of the INDIANS saw that they had no force [equal to the] KHÂWÂRAZMIANS, they made friends with KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH, and sent to him many gifts. And when they were not able to live in that country because of the heat, and they began to suffer from disease and sickness, [449] and they heard also that the TÂTÂRS had left KHÂWÂRAZM, and had crossed the GÎHÔN to the east, JELÂL AD-DÎN took those who were with him, and they went out from INDIA and came to SHÎRÂZ. And the 'ÂTÂBÂG SA'D, the lord of SHÎRÂZ, sent him much money, and slaves, and handmaidens. And from there they came to 'EŞFÂHÂN. And in the year six hundred and twenty of the ARABS (A.D. 1223) Sûltân 'ALA AD-DÎN took the strong fortress on the coast of the sea 'ADRIÂNÔS, and he called it after his name "ALÂÎYÂH'.

### Concerning the murder of Amîn ad-Dâwlah Tâômâ in Baghdâd

And in this year, on the twenty-eighth day of the fifth month of the ARABS, on the night of the fifth [day of the week], the renowned physician who was famous for his superlatively good qualities, AMÎN AD-DÂWLAH ABÛ AL-KARÂM ŞÂ'ÎD, the son of TÂÔMÂ, a native of BAGHDÂD, one of our JACOBITES, was murdered. He was highly skilled in the art of healing, and was truthful in his acts, and a man of understanding, liberal-minded and a good intermediary in supplying the wants of the needy, and in answering their questions (or, demands), and fulfilling their affairs. This man was wholly loved and honoured by the Khalîfah NÂŞIR, and he had arrived at such a state of exalted rank that the whole administration of his kingdom and of his sons, and his daughters and his wives, was committed to his care. And because in his latter days the eyes of the Khalîfah NÂŞIR had failed, and he was no longer able to see to write secret (i.e. confidential) matters to the Wazîr, a certain woman whose name was 'SIT NASÎM', was found in BAGHDÂD. And she wrote a hand which could not be distinguished from that of the Khalîfah, and NÂŞIR brought her into his presence and revealed to her his secrets, and everything which he wished to write he told her to write. And when the letters came to the Wazîr he used to think that the writing was that of the Khalîfah's fingers, because the Khalîfah concealed his blindness even from the Wazîr.

And the matter having remained thus for some time, a certain eunuch whose name was TÂJ AD-DÎN RASHÎK struck up a friendship with the woman, and they used to write whatsoever they wished in the Khalîfah's name to



the Wazîr, and he carried out [the commands]. And one day the Wazîr himself, MÛÂYAD AD-DÎN, the son of ẖASÎMÎ, wrote to the Khalîfah about a certain matter, and there came forth to him a confused and ill-arranged (i.e. disconnected) answer. And the Wazîr felt a doubt about it, and he took it to the renowned 'AMÎN AD-DÂWLAH [450] and inquired of him privily about this matter. And he made known to the Wazîr the blindness of the Khalîfah, and that there was a certain woman who wrote these things and who could imitate the writing of the Khalîfah, and that the eunuch RASHÎḲ was in partnership with her, and that they wrote whatever they wished to write without the knowledge of the Khalîfah. And from that moment the Wazîr himself began to be careless in fulfilling the commands wherewith he was commanded. And the woman herself and the eunuch perceived that 'AMÎN AD-DÂWLAH had exposed them, because of those who were able to see the Wazîr and to hold converse with him, 'AMÎN alone knew the secret. Therefore they worked upon two brothers who were known to be of the sons of ẖAMR AD-DÎN, and they lay in wait for the physician one night when he was leaving the palace of the Khalîfah and going to his house, and they leaped upon him, and stabbed him with two daggers (or, knives). And when 'AMÎN saw them he cried out, 'Seize ye them, for they are so-and-so and so-and-so'; and those wicked men heard [him] and they went back a second time and killed him completely. And they also stabbed the man who was with him carrying the lamp, and him also they stabbed again with a knife. And immediately the city was thrown into a state of excitement, and the palace of the Khalîfah, and the dead man was lifted up and carried to his house, and he was buried there.

And after nine months they carried him to the church of MÂR TÂÔMÂ and buried him with his fathers. And his two accursed murderers were captured on the same night on which that renowned physician was murdered, and they were crucified on the very spot on which they had murdered him. The deceased man left three sons who were honoured, viz. SHAMS AD-DÂWLAH, FAKHR AD-DÂWLAH, and TÂJ AD-DÂWLAH. These also attained great honours, and especially SHAMS AD-DÂWLAH.

And in this year, which is the year six hundred and eighteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1221), JELÂL AD-DÎN ḤASÂN, the chief of the ISHMAELITES, died, and 'ALÂ AD-DÎN MÂḤAMÂD, his son, rose up after him, being nine years of age. Now this boy had been brought up with other little boys of the same age as himself in the occupation of rearing lambs and going round with camels, and he deputed the whole direction of his domain to women. And when he had reigned five years, a certain physician who was with them, without any illness which demanded the letting of blood, slit [451] a vein and drew out from him a very considerable quantity of blood. And because of this black bile obtained the mastery over him, and he began to imagine horrible imaginings, and to think that he was God. And because the minds of those



who were under his hand were obscured by great error, and they were delivered over to the knowledge of vanity, they believed whatsoever he told them. And no man was able to admonish him, but every man he cursed or abused, [his curses] caused to die an evil death. And because of this the wise men also who were under the yoke of his service, because of their fear of him, magnified him as God. And 'ALÂ AD-DÎN constitutionally hated ornamented apparel, and he dressed himself in raiment made of wool and blue '*amarkûbâ* (brocade?), and he dwelt continually with the sheep. It is said that one day when he was sitting on a pinnacle of a certain high mountain, with ambassadors from the various countries round about him, that at a mere hint (i.e. motion) of his eyebrows, fifty of the men who were standing before him cast themselves down from the pinnacle of that high mountain and died. And thus the fear of him fell upon all the kings of the earth, and they were bowed down under the yoke of the tribute which they were giving to him and were sending with the good products of their lands.

And in the year six hundred and twenty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 1124), MÂLIK 'AFÐÂL, the son of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, the son of 'AYÛB, the lord of SAMO-SATA, died in SAMOSATA. This man was highly trained in literature (or, books), and in rhetoric and poetry, but his actions were feeble, and he lacked sagacity (or, astuteness), which is a necessary accomplishment for kings. And because of this he was deprived of the kingdom of his father, and instead of that great dominion he received, though against his will, a small tract of country.

And in the year six hundred and twenty-two [of the ARABS, A.D. 1125], the Khalîfah NÂŞIR ABÛ AL-'ABBÂS 'AḤMÂD died, aged seventy years, on the night of the dawn of the festival of the Passover of the ARABS. He was very alert (or, watchful) and diligent, and he was always changing his place and sallying out, and going round about in the bazârs of BAGHDÂD, and he made it his care to know from the thread to the needle, i.e. matters which were very great and those which were very small. He exhibited himself from time to time in the garb of the TURKS, and sometimes in the garb of the PERSIANS, and at others in the garb of the merchants, and because of this [452] very many perished. For when he perceived any one who recognized him, without mercy he would send and kill him. Still, however, he did not keep himself concealed, for he used to walk about with famous men who shared his secret. For this reason men fled before him when he passed by. Moreover, even in the night season, a man was afraid to talk to his wife indiscreetly, for they were afraid lest he might be in the house, or in some porch on the roof, because he would appear there having climbed up into the porch on the roof, and on to the walls of the habitations of men. He was immeasurably anxious to know the details and particulars of the things which were done, not only in his own dominions, but also in the dominions of the kings of the other countries.



It is related that the Khâtûn, the daughter of KELEJ 'ARSLÂN, Sûltân, who was called KHÂLÂTÂITÂ, came to BAGHDÂD when she was going to worship at MAKKAH. And he was told of her beauty, and he sent to her the old women of his palace to betroth her to him. But the Khâtûn made the excuse that she had a husband, and said that it was impossible for this to take place. And she left and went to MAKKAH, and because of her fear of him she decided to return to her own country by the Syrian road. And the Khalîfah NÂŞIR himself thought that she was preparing to do this, and he sent in her train a company of horsemen as if they also were going to worship [at MAKKAH]. And when the Khâtûn wished to go by another road, they prevented her doing so, and by force they brought her back again to BAGHDÂD. And as soon as ever she arrived, a report of the death of her husband reached [her]. But how did he die? God knoweth! And NÂŞIR sent and had her brought into the palace, and he took her to wife.

And this NÂŞIR loved her wholly, for when she longed to have for herself a palace in the style of that which she had in KHÂLÂT, and a garden, he learned (i.e. obtained) from her the particulars thereof. And in the night he sent and had the Wazîr brought, and he gave him a drawing of the palace and the garden. And the Wazîr went out forthwith, and made ready two hundred architects and two thousand workmen, and they prepared slabs of stone and mortar sufficient [for the work], and they worked at the building the whole day, each man on one section. And they took the folding doors which had been constructed from other gates of the palace, and set them up in the new gates which they left the same size as the folding doors. [453] And they also lifted out of the ground trees which were rooted therein and planted them in the new garden which they dug. And when the evening came they had finished the whole work. And carpets and woven stuffs were spread about, and all the necessary things were ready there, and the lady of KHÂLÂT passed over into it. And after some years she died, and NÂŞIR was enveloped in a great mourning for her. And he commanded and they destroyed the palace and the garden, and they left the place a ruin. And on that spot he built for her a famous sepulchre wherein praying men dwell at the present day, and alms and charitable gifts are distributed.

After NÂŞIR, TÂHÎR his son [ruled] nine months. They used to proclaim this man the heir during his father's lifetime, and his father NÂŞIR being afraid of him, he annulled his proclamation and shut him up in prison, and he made his younger son, whose name was AMÎR 'ALÎ, to be proclaimed. And AMÎR 'ALÎ died in the days of his father, and left young sons. And his father mourned for him with so great and indescribable grief that he sent to all the kings and told them that not one of them was to send an ambassador or a letter of consolation. And he dwelt alone by himself in a dark house for many days. And all the people of BAGHDÂD also mourned, and in every family a company of women sat down and wailed. And they went round



about in the bazârs of BAGHDÂD wearing sackcloth and with blackened faces, and they uttered loud cries of grief and wailed for many days. And forthwith there went forth the command that every woman who wished to weep must weep in her own house, and they were not to go outside again.

And NÂSIR the Khalifah being dead, the nobles brought out his son TÂHIR from prison, for they loved him because of his goodness. And they swore oaths of fealty to him, and seated him upon his father's throne. And when they were enthroning him, he said, 'How fitting is it for a man to open an inn (*khân*) after the ninth hour ! For I have passed fifty years.' Then having taken his seat he showed justice and generosity, and he restored to their owners sums of money which had been plucked from them, for his father had been avaricious. And fear was lifted from the children of men, and the calumniators were suppressed. And he built another bridge over the TIGRIS at BAGHDÂD, and it had two bridges, whereas before for a period of two hundred years the city had only had one bridge. [454]

And in this year MÂLIK MÛ'ATÂM, the lord of DAMASCUS, sallied out and plundered the country of HAMÂTH. And MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF, his brother, heard [of this] and sent and admonished him for this act. Then he being offended with him, sent to him SHEHÂB AD-DÎN JÂZÎ, another brother, who at that time was the lord of KHÂLÂT and MAIPERKÂT, and he made him to rebel against 'ASHRÂF. And 'ASHRÂF sallied out and went against KHÂLÂT, and he took it from his brother by fighting. And having captured his brother he did not kill him, but he left to him MAIPERKÂT and sent him there.

At this time BÂRÔN CONSTANTINE PÂLÎ sent to MÂR IGNATIUS, our Patriarch, and to MÂR CONSTANTINUS, the Catholicus of the ARMENIANS, concerning the daughter of king LÎÔN, that she should come down from SILÂWQYÂ and make peace, so that they might make an arrangement which would benefit the Christian community. For behold because of the schism, Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, the lord of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, was master of many of the fortresses of CILICIA. And those two blessed men went, and although they entreated earnestly and admonished her, she would not incline to their petition. Moreover, she reviled them and called them friends (or, associates) of murderers and shedders of innocent blood. And in no way were they able to make any apology to her, but they left her and came away as unsuccessful men. Then PÂLÎ himself went there in person, and he begged the Frères to give her to him by force. And they replied, 'Our houses and our strongholds are the villages of refuge of the Christians, and we cannot deliver up a woman, a queen, who hath taken up asylum with us'.

Then PÂLÎ formed a plan, and with gold he bought from them the fortress with everything which was therein, and he turned them out, and he himself became the lord and governor [of the fortress]. And he took the queen by her arm and led her out and brought her down by force to TARSÔS. And he collected Patriarchs, and bishops, and priests, and they crowned her with



his son HAITÛM (OTTON?), and HAITÛM was proclaimed king of CILICIA on the first day of the week of Pentecost, on the fourteenth day of the month of HAZÎRÂN (JUNE), in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1226). And queen ZABÎL (ISABEL?) remained for ten years without permitting the king [455] to have intercourse with her, but afterwards she was reconciled to him, and she bore him sons and daughters. And in the year six hundred and twenty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1226) the Khalifah TÂHIR died, on the fourteenth day of the seventh month.

After TÂHIR his son MÛSTANŞER [ruled] seventeen years. This man began [to rule] in an open fashion, he rode and he went in and came out, and hid himself from no man. And there was exhibited by him a justice which was greater than that of his father, and he began to distribute alms generously, and he restored many buildings. And he built that House of Instruction (i.e. College) which is called by his name, and the like of which exists nowhere in the world. And he appointed therein four doctors (i.e. professors) of their Four Faiths, and three hundred chief instructors, and every instructor in the Law was provided with adequate rations (or, maintenance money) from day to day. And he built a bath for their private use, wherein no stranger might enter, and he appointed for them also a private physician who would administer medicine unto them when they were sick.

### Concerning the death of Chingiz Khân

In the year six hundred and twenty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1226), when CHINGIZ KHÂN returned to the east from the countries of KHÔRÂSÂN, he set his mind on going to conquer the country of the TANKÛRTÂYÊ who were on the frontier of INDIA. And whilst he was on his journey thither a severe sickness attacked him, and it was due to the excessive (moisture) of the atmosphere. And having despaired of obtaining help from the physicians, he sent and called his sons to him: JAGHÂTÂI, and 'ÂÛKHÂTÂI, and TÛLÎ, and KHALKÂN, and JÛRKHÂTÂI, and 'ÂÛRDJÂR, and he said unto them, 'I am near to depart, and from every point of view it is right that [I] should see a man (or, some one) who is able to keep my kingdom unshaken. This is what I wish: as I have told you many times, 'ÂÛKHÂTÂI shall sit upon the royal throne in my place, because I have confidence in his understanding and his power of organization. Now, as for you, my sons, what is your opinion?' Then they all kneeling down upon their knees said, 'Our father, and lord, and king, we are all thy slaves, and we will hearken to and obey every command wherewith thou commandest us, and directest [us]'. And after this his illness grew more severe, and he departed from the world on the fourth day of the ninth month of the Arab fast of that year (twenty-fourth of 'ÂB, A.D. 1227).

Then the sons who were present [456] sent ambassadors to each other,



and they summoned all the children and the kinsmen from the plains of the rocks (or, mountains?) of the ẸAPSHÂĶÂYÊ, viz. TÛSHÎ, the eldest son, and also HARDÛ (HARRÛ), and BÂTHÛ, and SÎBÂĶÂN, and TANGÛT, and BÂRÂKA, and BARKÂSHÂÛR, and BÔĶÂ TÎMÛR, and 'AĶNÂS, and JAGHÂTÂI. And from the south they summoned 'AÛKHÂTÂI, unto whom the kingdom had been committed. And from the east they summoned their uncle 'AÛT-KÎN, and BÛLKHÂTÂI NÂWÎN, and 'ALJÂTÂI NÂWÎN, and TÛLÎ, and the rest of the younger brothers who were in the camp of CHINGIZ KHÂN. And they remained [as they were] for about two years, within a very little, until the assembly was complete, and they seated 'AÛKHÂTÂI upon the royal throne as has been shown forth.

And in this year died MÂLIK MÛ'AṬÂM, the son of 'ÂDIL, the lord of DAMASCUS and JERUSALEM. This man was truculent, and terrifying, and he had the feeling that he ought to reign over all countries. And he appointed the MA'DÂYÊ, who pillaged the countries of the others, especially the country of EMESA and HAMÂTH. And MÂLIK NAṢIR ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN DÂWÛD rose up after him, and his two uncles MÂLIK 'AZÎZ and MÂLIK ṢÂLÎḤ carried the saddle-cloth before him.

And in the year six hundred and twenty-five [of the ARABS] (A.D. 1227) MÂLIK KÂMIL sallied out from EGYPT to come and take DAMASCUS from his brother's son. And when he came to SHÂMRÎN, the 'Anprôr (i.e. Emperor) the great king of the 'ARMNÂYÊ (i.e. 'ALÎMÂNÂYÊ) [the Emperor was FREDERICK II of GERMANY] went forth to JOPPA, and KÂMIL was prevented (or, restrained) in the matter of DAMASCUS. And his brother 'ASHRÂF came to him, and MÂLIK MÛJÂHID, the lord of EMESA, and they went and encamped against TELLÂ DHË-'EGHLÊ; and they sent ambassadors to the Emperor and they learned the reason of his coming forth. And the Emperor replied that he had gone forth through zeal for the house of the Lord, JERUSALEM. And the ARABS surrendered JERUSALEM to the FRANKS, but only the city, without the surrounding country, and there was peace.

In this year died ḤASNÔN, the physician, a native of EDESSA. This man went to [457] BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, and treated SAIF AD-DÎN AMÎR 'ÂKHÛR, and 'EKHTYÂR AD-DÎN ḤASÂN. And from there he went forth to DYÂR BAKR. And he treated the sons of SHÂHARMÂN and HAZÂRDÎNÂRÎ who rose up after these, and then the sons of 'ÂDIL who reigned there, and finally he returned to EDESSA. And when he heard that TÛGHREL the eunuch (who was his friend from the time when he attended 'EKHTYÂR AD-DÎN) had become the father and counsellor of the kingdom of ALEPPO, he rose up and came to him. But the eunuch, who was a man lacking in discernment, did not receive him with the degree of honour which was meet for him. And when he was rebuked for this behaviour he said, 'It was on account of his Christianity that I was negligent about him'.

And ḤASNÔN the physician remained in ALEPPO, and it was grievous to



him and he was greatly distressed. And when he wished to return to EDESSA a violent fever attacked him, and together with the fever there came colic and bleeding of the bowels (dysentery), and he died in ALEPPO, and he was buried in the church of MÂRT BARBÂRÂ, which is therein. He was a handsome and corpulent old man, and he was fully learned in the art of healing, and in the details of philosophy. And it is said concerning him that he was always reading (or, studying) the Book of LÛKARÎ (LÛBARÎ). His conversation was very pleasant, and he kept [in mind] many stories of ancient kings and sages, and of those whom he used to see in his own days. And in his time GABRIEL, an eminent physician, was also well known in EDESSA. He wrote many books on the art of healing and philosophy in SYRIAC.

And in the year six hundred and twenty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1227), when MÂLIK KÂMIL and 'ASHRÂF, his brother, were encamped together on TELLÂ DHË-'EGHLÊ, they agreed that they would take DAMASCUS and its surrounding country from MÂLIK NÂŞIR DÂWÛD, the son of MÛ'AṬÂM, their brother, and that the city of DAMASCUS as far as the hill of PAIḲ should belong to 'ASHRÂF, and from PAIḲ as far as GÂZÂ to KÂMIL; and 'ASHRÂF was to give to MÂLIK NÂŞIR certain places (or, towns) in the east instead of DAMASCUS. And MÂLIK NÂŞIR agreed with them. And when he went to DAMASCUS to take away his treasure and his household, and go forth again, he repented and did not wish to surrender [the city]. And 'ASHRAF took his troops, and some of the troops of KÂMIL also, and he went and encamped against DAMASCUS [458] and besieged it. And when he was unable to capture it, he sent and called KÂMIL, his brother. And KÂMIL came, and he began to make strenuous war on DAMASCUS, and he took it at the beginning of the eighth month and handed it over to 'ASHRÂF. And 'ASHRÂF gave to KÂMIL his brother, instead of DAMASCUS, EDESSA, and ḤÂRRÂN, and CALONICUS, and SERÛGH, and RÂS 'AIN, and MUÂZAR and JAMLÎN. And he left to NÂŞIR, the son of MÛ'AṬÂM, the lord of DAMASCUS, the fortress of KARÂḲ, and BALKÂ, and the country of JERUSALEM and SHÂMRÎN (SAMARIA).

And KÂMIL sent troops with MÂLIK MÛṬAFÂR TÂḲÎ AD-DÎN against ḤAMÂTH, so that he might take it from his brother MÂLIK NÂŞIR ḲELEJ 'ARSLÂN. Now this man came down secretly from the fortress and went to KÂMIL, and he promised [to give him] gold so that he might not expel him from ḤAMÂTH. And KÂMIL would not accept [it]. And NÂŞIR said unto KÂMIL, 'If thou must perforce take ḤAMÂTH from me, swear to me that thou wilt take it for thyself and wilt not give it to my brother TÂḲÎ AD-DÎN'. And KÂMIL swore, and he sent his men to take over the city. Then the inhabitants of the city and of the fortress objected, and said, 'None but our own king shall reign over us'; and they began to fight strenuously. Then KÂMIL sent to them, saying, 'Behold ye have your king TÂḲÎ AD-DÎN with you; deliver ye him up'. And the citizens rejoiced with a great joy, and they delivered up TÂḲÎ AD-DÎN, and he went in and ascended to the fortress. And after some days



he went to HÂRRÂN to KÂMIL, who had gone there to inspect the countries which had been given to him; and he honoured him greatly and showed him affection; and he gave him his daughter to wife. And he arrayed him and those who were with him [in robes of honour], and he sent him down again to HAMÂTH. For certain calumniators had told him that TÂKÎ AD-DÎN will never go down again from the fortress of HAMÂTH, and thou wilt not see him [going down], and since he walked simply he honoured him greatly. And in the year Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN became master of the cities of 'ARZENJÂN and KÂMÂK.

### Concerning the seating of the Khân upon the throne of the kingdom of the Mongols after Chingiz Khân his father

In the year six hundred and twenty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1228), when the assembling of the princes and nobles of the MONGOLS was completed, they ate and drank for three days. And afterwards they said unto 'AÛKHÂ-TÂI, 'The command of CHINGIZ KHÂN [459] hath gone forth thus: Thou shalt reign in his place'. And he like a wise man replied, 'Although our father commanded thus, we have, nevertheless, a brother who is older than I am. And there are uncles also who are more suitable for this position than I am. Moreover, our brother TÛLÎ is himself the son of the Great Camp, and he was constantly occupied in the service of our father. He is more learned than I am in the laws and in the administrative affairs of the kingdom. If it pleaseth you let him sit on the throne.'

Then they all cried out together, 'It is wholly impossible for the command of our blessed father to be done away; and as he commanded, even so shall it be'. And they uncovered their heads, and they threw their belts over their shoulders. And JAGHÂTÂI took his right hand, and 'AÛTKÎN his left, and they went in and set 'AÛKHÂTÂI on the Throne of the Four Cushions, which indicate sovereignty over the Four Quarters of the world, and they called his name 'KHÂN'. And TÛLÎ, the younger brother, because 'AÛKHÂTÂI had said that he was fitted for sovereignty before all the others, presented the cup for the Khân to drink from, and he knelt down on his knees, and did homage to him, and he made manifest [his] submission [to him] most absolutely. And the rest of the brethren, all of them who were in there (i.e. in the tent), did likewise. And the nobles who were outside the tent smote the earth nine times with their knees, and they did homage to the Khân. Then [those who were in the tent] went forth, and they bowed themselves down to the ground three times to the sun according to their custom.

Then the Khân being settled on the throne opened the treasures and riches of his father, and he distributed gifts to his brothers and uncles, and to the rest of the nobles, to each man according to his rank and position.



And the nobles also selected from among their daughters forty virgins who were like the moon for beauty, and having decked them out in raiment of great price and with chains and ornaments set with precious stones, they presented them to the Khân. And they all rejoiced with an exceedingly great joy. Then the Khân passed an edict that all the laws and ordinances which CHINGIZ KHÂN had laid down should be kept, and that every one who transgressed them should die the death.

And because JELÂL AD-DÎN KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH was at that time leaping all over the countries of KHÔRÂSÂN like a stag, [the Khân] sent SHÂRMÂGHÔN (JÛRMÂGHÔN?) NÂWÎN with thirty (or, three) thousand [460] men to that quarter of the world; and SÛNÂTÂI 'AGHÔNESTÂ also with a numerous army to the quarter of the CAPPADOCIANS and BULGARIANS; and a large number of other soldiers against INDIA; and he went in person, together with the brethren and kinsfolk, to CHINA.

And in the year six hundred and twenty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1229) MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF took B'ELBÂK from MÂLIK 'AMJÂD, its lord, and he went into DAMASCUS and dwelt in the palace of his father after he had sent out with him everything which he had found in the treasuries of B'ELBÂK. And in the year, in the beginning of it, KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH JELÂL AD-DÎN MANJÂ-BARNÎ, the son of KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH MÂHAMÂD, went down against KHÂLÂT and invested it, and he made strenuous war upon it. And there were in it two brothers of MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF, viz. TÂKÎ AD-DÎN 'ABBÂS, and MÛJÎR AD-DÎN YA'KÛB. Now this JELÂL AD-DÎN KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH wished at the beginning, five years earlier, to reign over the land of SEN'ÂR, and he came to DAQÛKÂH, and BÂWÂZÎGH (BÊTH WÂZÎK KÛNÎ SHABHÔR?), and he laid waste, and burned, and destroyed [the people] with the edge of the sword. And from there he went to MARGÊ of SHAHÂRZÛR, and MÛTAFÂR AD-DÎN, the lord of 'ARBÎL, sent many gifts to him, and he made peace with him. And in this year he came against KHÂLÂT, and set up against it twenty engines of war on the side of it by the lake. And the war became so fierce, and the famine among the people of KHÂLÂT was so severe, that they ate the flesh (or, bodies) of dogs and asses. And a *litrâ* of meat, according to the Syrian weight (i.e. six *litrê* SYRIAN = one *litrâ* BABYLONIAN) was sold for an Egyptian *dînâr*.

Then Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN KAI KÛBÂD collected a great gathering of twenty thousand men, and he came to MELITENE, and he sent ten thousand to the city of 'ARZENJÂN, and he kept ten thousand with him. And he sent a message to his uncle 'ASHRÂF, and told him that he must go in person and meet KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH by KHÂLÂT, and that if the Lord willed, he should water his horses with the waters of the GÎHÔN of PERSIA. And he also sent an ambassador to KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH, and he said unto him, 'Thou art Sûltân, and the son of a Sûltân, and it is not right for thee to do anything illegally. Moreover, God stirred up the armies of the TÂTÂRS from the East against thy father because of his infidelity. And this house of BÊTH 'AYÛB



[461] is a great and blessed house, and with two thousand horsemen ride all the brothers, and the sons of the brothers, and the sons of the uncles, and their sons. Do not think that I am their enemy. Believe, not that I am their enemy, but their friend, and that I am one who fighteth on their behalf. For there is affinity between us. And also my own uncle was their kinsman. And it is meet for thee to make friendship with them, so that both we and they may become the enemies of thine enemies.' But KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH was stubborn and he replied, 'It is impossible to leave KHÂLÂṬ', and to this he added war.

Then certain men of BÊTH WÂN acted treacherously and surrendered the city, and the men of KHÂWÂRAZM became masters of it. And the brothers of 'ASHRÂF fled, but HÛSÂM AD-DÎN KAIMÂRÎ, the son-in-law of 'ASHRÂF through the sister of the mother, and 'IZZ AD-DÎN 'AIBÂG, the governor of KHÂLÂṬ, saved themselves in the fortress of KHÂLÂṬ. And after some days they received a pledge for their lives, and they surrendered the fortress. Now when KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH took KHÂLÂṬ, he did not imprison the brothers of 'ASHRÂF, but they entered his service, and they rode with him, and they took part every day in the sports in the stadium in his presence. When 'ASHRÂF heard [this] he was perturbed, and he rose up hastily and came to 'ABLASTÎN, and his troops gathered together about him.

And Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN also sallied forth with his troops, and they all assembled in ÂKSHAHÂR. And when KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH heard [this] he went with his troops to meet them. And they were [in number] forty thousand. And they found about four thousand horsemen from BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, who were separated from their companions, and they killed them all. And they approached and the soldiers met each other in battle on the day of Friday, and the victory was to MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF. And they remained the whole night before the Sabbath destroying and being destroyed. And when day broke on the Sabbath, the battle was [again] set in array, and a great breaking fell on the KHÂWÂRAZMIANS, and a very large number of [their] people were killed; and no man was able to ascertain their number; and certain satraps and famous men of war were taken prisoners. And very many of them fled to ṬRÂPÎZÛN (TREBIZOND) and to the country of the IBERIANS, and about fifteen [462] hundred horsemen fell from a high rock during the night and died. These things took place in the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST), in the year fifteen hundred and forty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1230). And because the lord of 'ARZÂN AR-RÛM, who was the son of the uncle of Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, and was his son-in-law, acted deceitfully towards the Sûltân and made friends with KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH and went to the war before them, he also was taken prisoner. And the Sûltân went with 'ASHRÂF against 'ARZÂN AR-RÛM, and they made strenuous war upon it. And after those who were inside had sworn to the Sûltân that they would not kill their lord, who had been made a prisoner, they handed over the city to him. And there was in



it the sister of the lord of 'ARZÂN AR-RÛM, whom for a very long time the Sûltân had longed to take to wife, but her brother would not permit it. And when the Sûltân had taken her, he rejoiced over her more than over the victory which had come to him. But after a short time, when she asked the Sûltân to release her brother from the prisoners, he was angry with her and destroyed her, and he also sent and drowned her brother in the sea.

And after the breaking of the KHÂWÂRAZMIANS, 'ASHRÂF went to KHÂLÂT that he might build up the breaches [in the walls] and make it fit for habitation; and the Sûltân sent with him a thousand horsemen and abundant gifts. And the Sûltân himself also returned to his own country. Then JELÂL AD-DÎN KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH took his household and went and dwelt in KHÔÎ, a city of 'ADHÔRBÎJÂN. And he sent TÂQÎ AD-DÎN, the brother of 'ASHRÂF, bound in chains [as] a gift to the Khalîfah in BAGHDÂD, and the Khalîfah released him and sent him with honour to 'ASHRÂF. And 'ASHRÂF sent an ambassador to KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH, and said unto him, 'Thou didst come and lay waste our countries, and didst kill and loot; we having in no wise committed an offence against thee. And if thou didst wish to take vengeance on us because of HÂJB 'ÂLÎ who devastated a part of thy country, behold he was killed in the war and was rewarded according to his works. We ask thee to relinquish the country which thou hast taken tyrannically, and to make peace with us.' But KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH treated him with contempt and would not make peace. And 'ASHRÂF left and went to BÊTH NAHRÎN. And KÂMIL was in EGYPT. And MÛJÎR AD-DÎN YA'QÛB, the brother of 'ASHRÂF, was a prisoner with KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH.

And in this year the Brothers, the miserable Frères, [463] and the Hospitallers sent and demanded from the lord of HÂMÂTH the thousands of *dînârs* for which he was liable as tribute. And when he laughed at them and would not give [them], they collected five hundred Brothers [who were] horsemen, and two thousand seven hundred footmen, and they came to take the country of HÂMÂTH; and TÂQÎ AD-DÎN met them in battle and broke them.

And in the year fifteen hundred and forty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1231), the TÂTÂRS pursued the KHÂWÂRAZMIANS, and KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH fled towards SYRIA. And they overtook him in the country of 'ÂMID, and destroyed the force which was with him; he escaped by himself from the TÂTÂRS, and went up into one of the mountains of the ŞÛFNÂYÊ. And there, although they did not recognize him, the KURDS killed him. Some say that it was the custodian of his apparel who was killed, and that he himself escaped and dressed himself in the apparel of him who had been killed. Now the apparel was [made] of wool. And he wandered round about through the countries secretly (i.e. disguised).

Then a legion of the TÂTÂRS invaded the country of the fortress of ZÂÎD, and it came on as far as the EUPHRATES, which is in MELITENE, and it crossed



the plain of HÂNÂZÎṬ. And because the whole population through their terror had fled to the places and towns which were disaffected and the fortresses, there was not much destruction. And those TÂTÂRS went back and ruled over 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN and SHAHÂRZÛR, and they subjugated the IBERIANS also. And MÛṬAFÂR AD-DÎN heard and was afraid, and he sent and begged for help from the Khalifah. And JAMÂL AD-DÎN ḲASHTEMÛR was sent to him with a numerous army. And the remnant of the KHÂWÂRAZMIANS which remained—about ten thousand—went back and took refuge with Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, the lord of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, and they gave them places for them to live in (or, their maintenance), and they continued to be subject unto him until he died.

At this time the Khân, the son of CHINGIZ KHÂN, having received the kingdom of the MONGOLS, took a numerous army and went to the countries of the OUTER ŞÎNÂYÊ (CHINESE), that is to say KATÂYÊ, who are called 'KAṬÂ'. And first of all they encamped against a city the name of which is KHÛJBÂNÛ-TAKSÎN (KHÛJBÂNÛYAKSÎN?), which is [situated] on the great river which is called ḲÂRÂ MÛRÂN, wherein there were twenty (or, ten) thousand warriors. [464] And having made war on it for forty days, those who were inside it were vanquished. And certain of the nobles of the city went out and received a pledge for their lives from the Khân. And all those fighting men embarked in boats and fled by river. And the Khân became master of the city, and he did no harm to any man therein.

And from there he began a march of penetration into those countries. Then the king of the KHÂTHÂYÊ, who was called 'ALTÔN KHÂN', that is to say, 'Gold King', collected his army of one hundred thousand valiant men of war and sent them to meet the TÂTÂRS. And when they came they surrounded the TÂTÂRS like a ring, for they were very mighty warriors. Then when the Khân saw their strength he employed another plan of action, and he commanded the sorcerers and men who knew enchantments who were with him to bring forth the rain-stone. And when they had brought it out and had performed their mysteries for three whole days and three whole nights, mighty torrents of rain began to come down on the KHÂTHÂYÊ, and heavy falls of snow and frosts and bitterly cold blasts in the days of TAMMÛZ (JULY). Then the TÂTÂRS, like the wolves which worry the flocks, worried the KHÂTHÂYÊ, and they broke them with an evil breaking. Then 'ALTÔN KHÂN fled to his royal city, and he collected his wives, and his children, and his brethren, and all his kinsfolk into his palace. And he commanded all his servants and they heaped up many piles of blocks of wood and set them on fire, and he and all his people were burned to death. And the Mongol troops came and looted the city, the name of which was 'NAMKÎNAG', and many other cities, and they killed many people in them, and they took fine young men and lovely maidens as prisoners without number.

And thus the Khân returned from there with great joy, and he came to



the mountains of KÂRÂ KURÂM, and he built a city and he called it 'ÛRDÛ-BÂLÎK', that is 'the City of the Camp', and which is known at this day as the city of KÂRÂ KURÂM. And he brought craftsmen and dwellers from the country of the KHÂTÂYÊ and the countries of the ARABS, and he settled them therein. And whilst the Khân was engaged in rejoicing over the victory which had come to him, his young brother TÛLÎ, whom he loved dearly, died, [465] and he grieved for him greatly. And he commanded that his queen, whose name was SARKÛTÂNÎ BÂGÎ, the daughter of the brother of king JOHN, should administer his dominion. Now this queen had four grown-up sons: 1, MÛNGÂ, who ultimately became Khân; 2, KÛBLÂÎ; 3, HÛLAKÛ; and 4, ARIGH BÔKÂ. And this queen trained her sons so well that all the princes marvelled at her power of administration. And she was a Christian, sincere and true like [queen] HELENA. And it was in respect of her that a certain poet said, 'If I were to see among the race of women another woman like this, I should say that the race of women was far superior to that of men'.

And at this time TÛSHÎ, the eldest son of CHINGIZ KHÂN, died. And he left seven grown-up sons who were: TAMSHÂL, HÂRDÛ, BÂTÛ, SÎBÂRÂN, TANGÛTH, BARÂKÂH, and BARKÂJÂR. And from among these the Khân selected BÂTÛ, and to him he handed over the northern countries of the SLAVS, and the GERMANS, and the RUSSIANS, and the BULGARIANS. And his seat was on the great river which is called 'ÎTÎL (i.e. the VOLGA). And BÂTÛ, whilst going on the northern road from the country of the IBERIANS to the countries of the BULGARIANS and SCYTHIANS, destroyed their populations by the edge of the sword, and blotted out their kingdoms. And because the command of the Khân had gone forth in this wise: '[The troops] shall cut off the right ear of every BULGARIAN and RUSSIAN who is killed', when they counted the ears, two hundred and seventy thousand ears were found with the TÂTÂRS.

And the Khân continued to wax strong. And he prepared to attack CONSTANTINOPLE from the quarter of the BULGARIANS. And the kings of the FRANKS heard [of this], and they gathered together and they met BÂTÛ in battle, and they broke him and made him flee. And no man of the TÂTÂRS afterwards went to the country of the FRANKS, but they dwelt in the plain of CAPPADOCIA. Now the son of this BÂTÛ was called 'SARTÂK'. This man loved the Christian religion and was baptized. And he learned to read and to write, and was appointed a deacon. He died on the road as he was going to the service of MANGÛ KHÂN, as will be shown.

And in the year [466] fifteen hundred and forty-three [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1232], the TÂTÂRS sallied forth again and laid waste certain towns and returned to PERSIA. And when the Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN saw that he was no match for their strength, he decided what tribute he was to pay, and made friends with them. And being free from anxiety in respect of the TÂTÂRS,



'ALÂ AD-DÎN SULTÂN went and took KHÂLÂT from 'ASHRÂF, and he also took many fortresses from DARMÂNÎÂ, together with the city of SÛRMÂRÎ. And KÂMIL, the lord of EGYPT, took 'ÂMID from its lord and gave him village[s] to provide for his subsistence.

And in the year six hundred and thirty of the ARABS (A.D. 1232) the physician MÛHADÂB, a native of DAMASCUS, who was called 'DAKHWÂR', died. This man in the beginning of his career dwelt in the bazâr, and he healed the sick for money. Then he was in the service of one of the sons of 'ÂDIL, and he did much harm to his fellow physicians, and stopped them from practising. For he was a deceitful (or, treacherous) man with his tongue, and a reviler [of men], and in his habits he was prodigal and dissolute. And at the end of his days he was attacked by an evil disease in his tongue—the member wherewith he injured his fellow physicians, and the power of speech was taken from him and he became dumb. And that disease increased in virulence, and overcame him, and at length it killed him by death. And because he had no heir, he made a will in which he directed that his house should become a training college for those who were learning and teaching the art of healing; and he also placed all his books therein. And in his evil-mindedness he decreed that no men other than MUSLIMS, neither JEWS nor Christians, should enter that college to read (or, study) therein. And this regulation is observed at the present day in DAMASCUS. And Jewish and Christian students of medicine read and study outside the precincts of that training college.

And in this year, that is to say in the ninth month of the year six hundred and thirty of the ARABS (A.D. 1232), died MÛTAFÂR AD-DÎN KÛKBÛRÎ, the son of ZAYN AD-DÎN 'ÂLÎ KÛSHAK (KUJEK), the lord of 'ARBÎL, and he was taken to the city of MAKKAH and there he was buried. And the Khalîfah sent troops to 'ARBÎL with TÂHIR AD-DÎN 'ABÛ 'ÂLÎ 'ÂRID 'ALGÂSH, and the captain of the host BAHÂ AD-DÎN BÛNGÛSH. And when the men of 'ARBÎL refused to yield, SHARÂF AD-DÎN SHERÂBÎ was sent and he made war on it, [467] and he burnt the GATE OF 'AMKÂWÂ ('AMKÂBÂD), and the BÂBHLÂÏÊ entered 'ARBÎL and they looted it, and after a short time they became masters of its Citadel also. And there were in it the governor SHAMS AD-DÎN BÂTKÎN, and 'ÂRID 'ALGÂSH, and a nobleman (*sharîf*) whose name was 'ABÛ AL-MA'ÂLÎ MÂHAMÂD, the son of NÂSIR ŞÂLÂÏÂ, and MÛSHRÎF, the son of ŞADÂKÂH.

### Concerning the beginning of the kingdom of Badr ad-Dîn Lûlû, the lord of Mâwşil

And in the year fifteen hundred and forty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1232–1233), a patent of sovereignty was written by the Khalîfah for BADR AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞIL, and he was proclaimed Sultân. For the young man NÂSIR AD-DÎN MAHMÛD, the son of KÂHIR (KRAH), the son of NÛR AD-DÎN, was



already dead. Now the sons of 'ÂDIL murmured greatly against the Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN because he had taken KHÂLÂṬ from them. And they collected a mighty crowd [of soldiers] from EGYPT to BÎRÔÂ. And there were associated with the EGYPTIANS also the lord of the fortress of ZÂÎD, and the lord of MARDÎN, and the lord of MÂWṢIL, and MÂLIK 'AFḌÂL, the son of ṢALÂḤ AD-DÎN, the lord of SAMOSATA, and a very large number of the MA'DÂYÊ, and also the TAGHLÂBÂYÊ.

And in the year fifteen hundred and forty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1234), the Sûltân also collected a great gathering of FRANKS, and GREEKS, and ARMENIANS, and IBERIANS, and KHÂWÂRAZMIANS, and more than one hundred thousand [men], all of them men of the chase, and he took them and went to the country of PALESTINE, whither the EGYPTIANS and those who were with them were ready to go. And the sons of 'ÂDIL having sent out spies, and seen that they were unable [to cope with] the force (or, army) of the Sûltân, went and took the fortress of MANṢÛR, and destroyed all his country, and then their gathering was disbanded and they returned to their own country. And the Sûltân came to MELITENE with the great army which was with him, and then he crossed the EUPHRATES and went and encamped against the fortress of ZÂÎD, and he made himself master of the city quickly and looted it. Now the lord thereof, together with six thousand horsemen who had come from the EGYPTIANS to his help, fled and went into the Citadel of the city. And the Sûltân set up engines of war against them, and being reduced to misery by the war, and by hunger and thirst, they took a pledge for their lives. Then the Sûltân sent those EGYPTIANS, whose captain was SHAMS [468] AD-DÎN ṢÛÂB, the chief eunuch of KÂMIL, in honour to EGYPT. And the lord of the fortress of ZÂÎD, together with all his treasures and wives, he sent to the sea coast. And when he had been living there for about three years he destroyed him secretly, and he built the Citadel and the city strongly and caused it to be inhabited. And again he sent an army to SAMOSATA, and he laid waste its country, but he was unable to take the city. Because the winter was coming on the Sûltân left and went to 'ÎṬALYÂ ('ÂṬALYÂ or ṢÂṬALYÂ?), a city on the sea-coast, in order to pass the winter there according to his custom. And when the summer came the Sûltân collected his troops from among various peoples, about one hundred horsemen, and a large number of footmen, and he made them ready to go and attack the city of 'ÂMID.

Then the report reached him that KÂMIL was perturbed by the treachery which had overtaken him through his son who reigned in the south. Therefore the Sûltân stopped the expedition against 'ÂMID, because [that city] was very strong, and it could only be captured with difficulty after a prolonged [attack]. And he sent his troops against the city of EDESSA in the month of ḤAZÎRÂN (JUNE) of the year fifteen hundred and forty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1235), and they attacked it with fierce warfare. And the men of



EDESSA who were inside the city fought upon the walls strenuously. And in those days certain troops from BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ went against SÎBÂBARÂK and took it. And they also went against CALONICUS, which is RAḲḲÂ, and they took that also; and they broke down the walls and looted it in anger. Then the men of ḤÂRRÂN became afraid, and they took the keys of ḤÂRRÂN and brought [them] to the Sûltân in MELITENE; and he accepted them and sent [the men] back in honour. But the men of EDESSA were very audacious, and they hurled insults and mockings at the Sûltân, and because of this the Sûltân was exceedingly angry, and he went personally to attack it. Therefore the troops of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ fought with their utmost strength and skill, and they captured the city by means of the holes [which they made in the walls], and the ladders which they set up against the ramparts. And a countless host of men thronged into it, and they plundered and looted the houses of the nobles. And they stripped the men and women naked, and they carried away the furniture and adornments of the 'temples' and the sacred vessels of the famous churches which were in the city. And they undressed the free men and the free women, and drove them outside the city on to the dung heaps that were between the tents of skins, and they became scorched and blistered by the fierce heat of the days of [469] TAMMÛZ (JULY). And the captains of hosts, and the fighting men who were found in the city, about two thousand, were sent away naked into the inner countries of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. And in the city of EDESSA were found vast amounts of gold and silver, and saddles, and bridles and harness, and war equipments which KÂMIL had left there when he returned from 'ABLASTAYN. And the Sûltân fortified EDESSA anew, and he left therein fighting men, and architects and carpenters, and likewise in ḤÂRRÂN, and he returned to BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ.

When KÂMIL heard of the calamity which had taken place in EDESSA, he sallied forth from EGYPT with a great army and came against EDESSA four months after the army of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ had departed therefrom. And with great violence he destroyed the great tower of the fortress of EDESSA, and he mounted the nobles, and the fighting men, and the artisans whom he found therein on camels and carried them away and sent them to EGYPT.

And in this year there was a great scarcity of grain in BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ and BÊTH NAHRÎN, and the vines and the trees shrivelled up through the severity of the winter which took place. For from the month of the LATTER TESHRIÎN (NOVEMBER) to the full moon of the month of SHEBÂṬ (FEBRUARY), the great EUPHRATES was frozen over, and no rain fell on the young crops.

And in the year fifteen hundred and forty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1236), the Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN sent many troops against 'ÂMID, and they waged war against it for four months, and they were unable to take it, but they looted and laid waste its suburbs, and went back. And in the year six hundred and thirty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1235), MÂLIK NÂṢIR DÂWÛD,



the son of MÛ'ATÂM, the son of 'ÂDIL, the lord of KARÂK, went to BAGHDÂD to the Khalîfah to lay complaints against his uncles KÂMIL and 'ASHRÂF, who had robbed him of DAMASCUS. And in the year also RÛKN AD-DÎN MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ 'ESMÂ'ÎL, the son of BADR AL-DÎN, the lord of MÂWṢIL, went to BAGHDÂD to render service to the Khalîfah.

And at this time the TÂTÂRS arrived at 'ARBÎL, and from there they came to NINEVEH, and they encamped on the canal of the village of 'KARMELÎSH', and the inhabitants fled and went into the church therein. And the TÂTÂRS took the church, and two nobles sat by the two doors of the church. And one of them spared and set free those who went out by his door, and the other with the edge of the sword destroyed the men and women and children who went out by his door.

And from there the TÂTÂRS passed over to the country of SINJÂR, and they attacked suddenly the great camp [470] of the merchants who were going to SYRIA, and they killed them all.

And in the year fifteen hundred and forty-eight [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1237], Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN collected various people, the MA'DÂYÊ, and the KHÂWÂRAZMIANS, and the HUNS, and the GREEKS, and the FRANKS, and the ARMENIANS, and the IBERIANS, and he made them ready to march against 'ÂMID. Now the festival of the ARABS was nigh at hand, and the Sûltân made a great feast for all his nobles. And whilst they were eating, and drinking, and enjoying all the various songs [and dances], the Sûltân, who was seated on his lofty throne, and was in high spirits and enjoying the sight of them thoroughly, felt a pain in his bowels, and he went forth to the latrine and began to evacuate blood in large quantities. And having continued to suffer violent pain for a day and a night, he departed this life on the second day [of the week], at the beginning of the month of ḤAZÎRÂN (JUNE) of the year fifteen hundred and forty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1237), which is the year six hundred and thirty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1236), at the beginning of SHAWÂL, the ninth month.

And in this year also died MÂLIK 'AZÎZ, the lord of ALEPPO, and his son MÂLIK NÂṢIR ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, whom the ARABS killed in our own days, reigned after him. And in the year there died also MÂLIK MÛṢÎN, the son of the great ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN, in ALEPPO. And in the tenth month of this year the TÂTÂRS came again to 'ARBÎL, and they encamped on the LOWER ZÂBHÂ river. And the people of 'ARBÎL fled naked to the Citadel, and the TÂTÂRS took possession of the houses of the city, and carried away much loot; and then they burned many houses. And they attacked the Citadel for about forty days, and much gold was given to them, and they took [it] and departed.

Now this Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN KAI KÛBÂD was one by himself among the kings of his generation. He was alert in appearance, and perfect in mind, and pure in body. For he was exalted above all the foul passions



wherewith the kings of the ARABS are accustomed to pollute themselves. He was fierce towards offenders, and in judgements just. He brought into subjection to his dominion many cities and fortified towns (or, citadels), and he made his power to spread abroad. And in the hour in which he died, at noon of the afore-mentioned day, the nobles being assembled took his eldest son, whose name was GHÂYATH AD-DÎN KAI KESRÛ, [471] and brought him into the city of CAESAREA, and swore oaths of fealty to him. And they seated him on the throne of KAI KÛBÂD, his father, and proclaimed him Sûltân, and there was great joy among the populace. And he commanded, and the prisoners who were in bonds were set free throughout his dominions, and those who were in EGYPT were made free men by the death of him because of whom they had been made captives. And it is said that the number of those who were liberated from affliction amounted to twelve thousand.

And the new Sûltân himself wished to seize the chiefs of the KHÂWÂRAZMIANS, because he was afraid of them, lest they might rebel. And he seized one great chief whose name was KÂÎR (GÂÎR) KHÂN, and the remainder of them when they heard [of this] fled, and went forth from BÊTH RHÔMÂÏÊ. And every place where they passed they made horrible desolation. And they came to MELITENE and took prisoner SAIF AD-DÂWLAH, its Sûbâshî. And they crossed the EUPHRATES on foot to the Citadel of MASÂRÂ (MÛKRÂ?). And when they arrived at the frontier of the fortress of ZÂÎD, by the side of the Citadel of KHÂRBÎZÂG, the armies of those countries met them in battle, and they were broken before the KHÂWÂRAZMIANS, and the Sûbâshî of the fortress of ZÂÎD, whose name was BAIRÂMÎZ, was killed. And they also despoiled the country of SAMOSATA ('ARSHMÎSHÂT). And from there they went down to the country of SÎBÂBARÂK and of HÂMÎMTÂ, and they dwelt there for about three years, during which they plundered the countries [round about]. Then they went and became subject to a young man whose name was MÂLIK NÂŞIR, the lord of ALEPPO, and he gave them EDESSA and HÂRRÂN and the other cities of BÊTH NAHRÎN, and the land had rest from them.

Then the new Sûltân GHÂYATH AD-DÎN sent and had brought to him the daughter of the queen of the IBERIANS for a wife; and he loved her dearly. And he gave himself up to childishness of mind, and he began to occupy himself with wine-bibbings and drinking bouts, and he amused himself with birds and animals. And he left the government of his kingdom in the hands of his slaves, and each of them began to act as he pleased. Now the queen, the IBERIAN woman, came from her country in the garb of the Christians, and with her were a Catholicus and holy men, and priests of the Church. And with her also was her brother, who was called 'DAVID THE LITTLE', and was the king of INNER IBERIA. And after a short time she renounced the Christian Faith and became a Muslim. And her brother DAVID and the Catholicus were seized and shut up in one of the Citadels, and they



remained [472] there until the TÂTÂRS arrived, and took the fortress in which they were imprisoned, when they were set free.

And at the beginning of the year six hundred and thirty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1237), MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF 'ÎSÂ, the son of 'ÂDIL, the son of 'AYÛB, died in DAMASCUS when he was about sixty years of age. There was no limit to the generosity of this man, and he was a great lover of dainty meats and luxurious repasts. And in this year, which is the year fifteen hundred and forty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1238), the TÂTÂRS turned and came again to the country of 'ARBÎL, and they looted and laid waste. And they came as far as the frontier of BAGHDÂD, to the place which is called 'ANGÂBÂD (ZANGÂBÂD), and they looted it. Others of them arrived at SÛRMANRÂI, and they killed the population thereof. And the armies of BAGHDÂD sallied forth, and at their head stood MÛJÂHID AD-DÎN DÂWÎTHDÂR, and the chief of the nobles was SHARÂF AD-DÎN 'EKBÂL SHERÂBÎ. And they met the TÂTÂRS in battle and put them to flight. And being afraid lest they should return, the [soldiers] set up engines of war on the wall of BAGHDÂD.

And in the year also MÂLIK PÂÎZ YA'KÛB fled from his brother MÂLIK KÂMIL to BAGHDÂD, and he wished to be in the service of the Khalîfah. And after a short time MÂLIK KÂMIL, the son of 'ÂDIL, the lord of EGYPT, died, and he was buried in DAMASCUS. He was an alert man and one to be feared, and he lived seventy years. And his son MÂLIK 'ÂDIL, who was called by the name of his ancestor, rose up after him in EGYPT. And MÂLIK ŞÂLIH, the brother of KÂMIL, ruled over SYRIA, and he became powerful among the KHÂWÂRAZMIANS, and he added to them also HÂBÛRÂ. And MÂLIK NÂŞIR, his brother's son, who was at one time the lord of KARÂK, wished to rule, but the time[s] did not help him (i.e. were unfavourable). For this man was well instructed and was well versed in philosophic doctrines. It is related concerning him that when he used to go to read with SHAMS AD-DÎN, the philosopher in DAMASCUS, he used to dismount a long way from [his house], and leaving there the slaves who were in his service, he would carry his book under his cloak and go in to the philosopher, and read and go out, and that he would not permit him to stand up to him.

And in the year the ISHMAELITES leaped upon BADR AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞIL, and he was not wounded. [473] And in the eleventh month of this year the TÂTÂRS returned to the frontier of BAGHDÂD, and they came as far as the place which is called KHÂNÎKÎN. And the armies of BAGHDÂD sallied forth and met them in battle. And the BÂBHLÂYÊ (i.e. BABYLONIANS = men of BAGHDÂD) were broken, and of them only three nobles escaped, and the rest were destroyed by the edge of the sword. And the TÂTÂRS took great loot and departed.

And in the year fifteen hundred and fifty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1239), which is the year six hundred and thirty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1238), the river TIGRIS overflowed, and destroyed many houses in BAGHDÂD, and two



ships foundered and about fifty souls were drowned. And in the following year nothing remarkable happened in the countries round about us.

And in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1240), in the month of ḤAZÎRÂN (JUNE), the TÂTÂRS came, and they pillaged the country from the land of the IBERIANS to the frontier of 'ARZÂN AR-RÛM. And the armies of the RHÔMÂYÊ were called up, and they went to ARMENIA so that they might prevent the TÂTÂRS from invading BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. And when the TÂTÂRS heard that there was a gathering [of troops], they retreated and returned to the country of the SCYTHIANS. And those of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ remained there until the winter, and then they returned to their own country. And in the year TÂJ BÛLGHÂRÎ, the compounder of THÎRYÂḲÎ (i.e. the medicine which cured all ailments), was sent as an ambassador from BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ to BAGHDÂD, and he died there aged ninety years.

And in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1241), which is the year six hundred and thirty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1240), at the season of the TESHRÎNS (OCTOBER and NOVEMBER), an evil heresy concerning the Faith of the ARABS broke out. For a certain TURKOMAN, an old man and an ascetic, whose name was 'PAPA' (BÂBÂ?), became notorious in the country of AMASIA. He called himself 'RASÛL', that is to say, 'One who is sent' (i.e. Apostle), for he said that he was the Apostle of God in truth, and that MÂHAMÂD was a liar, and not the Apostle [of God]. And a great many people of the TURKOMANS cleaved to him, and they believed in him because of the apparitions which he showed them. And he sent one of his disciples, whose name was 'Old man Isaac', to the country of ḤSEN-MANŞÛR, which was the limit of the countries of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, so that he might teach from there, and come; and when this man came he captivated many with the love of his master. And he made ready for him implements (or, weapons) of war. And all the TURKOMAN troops sold their asses, and their oxen and their sheep, and bought horses, and mounted them, [474] and began to loot the countries of ḤSEN MANŞÛR, and GARGAR, and GAKHTÎ. And they killed every one who did not confess with his tongue that PAPA (BÂBÂ?) was 'a divine Apostle and Prophet'.

Then the chief of MELITENE collected his army of five hundred horsemen, and he took to help him some of those who were subjects of the Monastery of MÂR BAR ŞÂWMÂ, chosen men, fifty footmen, who could shoot with the bow. And they went and met the TURKOMANS in battle, and those of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ were defeated, and only a very few of the subjects of the Monastery escaped. Then the TURKOMANS became exceedingly powerful, and many crowds of people cleaved to them. And they went to the country of 'ABLAS-TAYN and defeated the army there also; and they took (i.e. felt) an impulse to go to 'AMÂSIA that they might meet him whom they proclaimed. Then the nobles of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ made an ambush for that old man PAPA (BÂBÂ?), and they caught him and strangled him. And when ISAAC his



disciple and those of his party went and could not find him, they spread the report that 'he had gone up to bring the angels to their assistance'. And they waged savage war against 'AMÂSIA. And about sixty thousand horsemen were gathered together from BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, and they were unable to attack the little camp of those six thousand ARABS.

Then one thousand Frankish horsemen who were in the service of the Sûltân became inflamed with anger, and they gnashed their teeth, and made the Sign of the Cross on their faces, and they rushed on those erring men and scattered them. Then the ARABS also clung to them, and they surrounded the TURKOMANS like a circle, and they destroyed them all with the edge of the sword, and of them they left no creature, neither man nor woman, nor child, nor animal, with the breath of life therein. And thus that heresy was extinguished.

And in this year the armies of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ were gathered together, and at their head stood SÎNÂN, the Sûbâshî of the fortress of ZÂÎD, who was appointed in the place of BAIRÂMÎZ, who had been killed, and they went and encamped against 'ÂMID. And the lord thereof, who was the son of KÂMIL, was in EGYPT. And those who were from BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ made a pact with the guards, and they promised them silver (i.e. money) and the guards surrendered the city. And the men of ALEPPO also went with those of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ as auxiliaries. [475] And when they had taken 'ÂMID, they also wished to go against MAIPERKÂT and to take it. But MÂLIK GHÂZÎ, its lord, the brother of KÂMIL, sent and brought KHÂWÂRAZMIANS from BÊTH NAHRÎN to his help. And he waxed strong and he was not overcome by his enemies, especially because the men of ALEPPO had ceased to fight with him; for he was the brother of their Lady (i.e. queen), that is to say, the mother of MÂLIK TÂHIR, the father of MÂLIK NÂSIR, the lord of ALEPPO. Then, SÎNÂN having taken 'ÂMID, a command of the Sûltân came to him to go to 'ARZÂN AR-RÛM, and to rule there and to stand up against the onset of the TÂTÂRS. And as soon as he had gone JÛRMÂGHÔN NÂWÎN came with a strong army of the TÂTÂRS. And in a very few days they captured that fortified place, and they destroyed the whole population thereof with the edge of the sword, both men and women, with the exception of the young men and maidens who were suitable for slavery; and they also killed SÎNÂN and his young son, and they left the place a ruin and departed.

And at the turn of the year, which is the year fifteen hundred and fifty-three [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1242)], the TÂTÂRS again sallied forth, and came as far as the country of the fortress of ZÂÎD, and they looted everything which they found and returned to PERSIA. And in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1243) the Sûltân GHÂYATH AD-DÎN collected very many troops, and he took for gold (i.e. he hired) horsemen from ALEPPO, and from the GREEKS, and from the FRANKS, and from the MA'DÂYÊ. Then the lord of EMESA, and MÂLIK GHÂZÎ, the lord of MAIPERKÂT, promised



that they also would come, but they deceived the Sûltân and did not come. And BARON CONSTANTINE, the father of the king of the ARMENIANS, HAITÛM, came to the Sûltân at CAESAREA, and he was received with great honour, and he collected many gifts, and he promised to go and call together many ARMENIANS, and to come to the help of the Sûltân. And the Sûltân marched on towards SEBASTIA. And also the TÂTÂRS came and invaded the country of 'ARZENGÂN. And the Sûltân made haste and went to meet them. And his armies met the TÂTÂRS in battle at a place which is called 'KÂWSÂTÂGH', that is to say, TÛRÂ MESANTÂ. And like inexperienced troops, from the very beginning of the attack they turned [their] backs [in flight], and they were wholly unable to continue the battle before the TÂTÂRS; on the contrary, in one hour they fled and left the Sûltân by himself. Then the Sûltân, [476] who was smitten with astonishment, took his wife and his sons and went and made himself safe in the city of ANCYRA.

Now when the TÂTÂRS saw that the [Sûltân's troops] had fled without striking a blow, and had left their tents standing, they thought that there was treachery afoot, and that like men who were making an ambush, they had turned away. And when they had waited a day, and had sent out spies, and were certain that their flight was not a stratagem, they roared like panthers and rushed into the tents and looted everything which they found. And they spread themselves about in the countries of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. And they came to SEBASTIA, and the people who were therein made terms with them, and they brought out much gold and bought their own souls from slaughter, and their sons and daughters from slavery. And the TÂTÂRS went into the city, and sacked the royal treasuries, and whatsoever pleased them they took, and the weapons of war they burned, and they wrecked four (or, forty) cubits of the [top of] the wall all round the city.

And another chief went to CAESAREA, and the inhabitants thereof did not wish to surrender it. Then they all gathered together against it, and they breached its wall with engines of war, and they went in, and sacked the royal treasuries, and burned the wonderful houses and buildings. And they tortured the nobles and the free men, and they stabbed them with swords until they had stripped them of all their money. And after that they killed therein many tens of thousands of people, and carried off the young men and the young women into captivity.

And when the mother of the Sûltân GHÂYATH AD-DÎN heard of the destruction, she took her daughter, the Sûltân's sister and her slaves, and her handmaidens, and her treasures, and went into the country of CILICIA. And she took refuge with BARON CONSTANTINE, the father of king HAITÛM, who also had deceived the Sûltân in respect of coming to his assistance, and who had delayed until he saw what the end of the matter would be. Now when they heard that the mother of the Sûltân was there, they sent a messenger



and demanded her from PÂLÎ, the father of the king. And some say that PÂLÎ himself to please the TÂTÂRS had sent a message to them saying, 'Such and such a person is with me; send ye that I may give her to you'. And as soon as ever the ambassadors had gone they delivered her over into the hands of the TÂTÂRS. And this most hateful and blameworthy act appeared in the sight of all kings as a thing which should never have been done. And the queen was carried away into captivity, and behold, she is there to this day, [477] and is not released.

And at that time the TURKOMANS of the country of 'ABLASTAYN invaded our glorious monastery which is called DAIRÂ DHË KÂRÎRÊ, and they killed therein fifteen monks, the greater number of them being doctors, together with deacons and other subordinate clergy. And when those accursed men set their faces to flee, the TÂTÂRS overtook them and destroyed them all with the edge of the sword. And thus justice was avenged on them after three days, and with the same death wherewith they had put others to death, they themselves were put to death.

Now when the report of the breaking of the Sûltân burst into MELITENE, the Sûbâshî RASHÎD AD-DÎN, together with the rest of the officers of the palace, went by night into the royal treasury, and divided the gold and the silver which they found there among themselves, and they threw open the doors and fled towards ALEPPO. And the famous men among the nobles of the city, and especially Christians who had the power to flee, went forth from the city. And when they arrived at the mountain which is called BÊTH GÂWZÊ, one day's journey from the city, a body of TÂTÂRS overtook them and destroyed most of them; and they carried off the sons and daughters into captivity. And a few of them saved themselves by flight, and they came into the city naked and sandalless. Now when the various sections of the peoples who were inhabitants of the city, the robbers (?), and the weavers, and others, saw that the governors and chiefs had left the city and fled, the ARABS and the Christians gathered together to the Metropolitan of MELITENE, MÂR DIONYSIUS, that is to say 'ANGÛR, who afterwards became Patriarch. And they entreated him to undertake the protection of the city, for he was a watchful and diligent man, and the Christians and the ARABS swore oaths of fealty to each other. And all night long they marched round on the walls and kept watch, and in the day-time they sat at the gate of the city, for there was only one of them which they could open, that is either the main gate or the gate of the palace. And the city remained in a state of perturbation for about two months, until the TÂTÂRS had departed from BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. And God helped, and they did not come to MELITENE, except those only who chanced to be on the path of the fugitives in BÊTH GÂWZÊ.

Then the TÂTÂRS on their return encamped against 'ARZENGÂN, and they demanded gold from the lords thereof, and they would not be persuaded



[478] to give [any]. Then the TÂTÂRS were filled with anger, and they set up engines of war against it, and they threw down its wall very quickly; and they went in and looted it, and killed its population and utterly destroyed the city. Then Sûltân GHÂYATH AD-DÎN sent ambassadors to the TÂTÂRS, and sued for peace, and he undertook to pay tribute [in] gold, horses, cattle, sheep, and slaves.

And in this year, which is the year six hundred and forty of the ARABS (A.D. 1242), the Khalîfah MÛSTANŞER died.

After MÛSTANŞER, MÛSTA'ŞEM, his son, [ruled] sixteen years. This man possessed a childish understanding, and was incapable of distinguishing good from bad; and he occupied all his time in playing with doves, and in amusing himself with games with birds. And when it was said unto him, 'The TÂTÂRS are preparing to capture BAGHDÂD, even as they have captured other famous cities in PERSIA and destroyed [them]', he replied, 'This is our throne, and if we do not give them permission they cannot come in'. And thus God made an end of the kingdom of the 'ABBÂSIDES in the days of this foolish man.

And in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1244) one of the chiefs of the TÂTÂRS whose name was YASÂWÛR (NASÂWÛR) NÂWÎN descended on the country of MAIPERKÂT, and MARDÎN, and EDESSA. And he crossed the EUPHRATES and came to the place, the name of which is HAILÂN, which is by the gate of ALEPPO. But he did not draw nigh unto the city because the horses of the army which was with him were smitten in their legs (hooves?) by the dryness of the ground and the heat; now they descended in the days of summer. And having taken those countries NASÂWÛR sent to the lord of ALEPPO and demanded gold from him. And [this lord] having given to him everything which he demanded, NASÂWÛR went back from there. He came and he encamped against MELITENE, and he destroyed the crops, and the vineyards and the bees. And they killed every one who was found outside the city. And they sent and threatened the governor of the city, who was RASHÎD AD-DÎN, for he had returned from ALEPPO. And the governor collected a very large amount of money, *zûzê*, and *dînârs*, and chains (i.e. jewellery), and vessels of gold and silver, which was equal [in value] to forty thousand *dînârs* of gold. And he stole also the vessels of the sanctuary, and he brought out chalices, and phials, and censers, and lamp-stands, and the coffins (funerary caskets) of the saints, from [479] the treasury of the great church, and gave them to the TÂTÂRS. And they took [them] and departed to PERSIA. And after their departure there was a great famine in MELITENE and its suburbs, and sickness (plague), and the land was filled with wretched people who were perishing like animals in the bazârs. And many people [tried to] sell their sons and their daughters for slaves, but there was no one to buy them.

At this time 'ÎSÂ, the physician of EDESSA, who was the disciple of HÂSNÔN



the physician, was famous in MELITENE. This man went from MELITENE to CILICIA, and lived in the service of the king. And he built the foundations of a wonderful church in the name of Saint MÂR BAR-ŞÂWMÂ.

And in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1245), the TÂTÂRS went to BAGHDÂD, and they were not able to capture it because a great crowd of the people rose up and opposed them with a violent assault, and turned them back empty. And in this year the Sûltân GHÂYATH AD-DÎN became inflamed with anger, and he sent a multitude of troops to lay waste CILICIA, because they had handed his mother and sister over to the TÂTÂRS. And the men of BÊTH RHÔMÂYE went and encamped against the city of TARSÔS, and they made fierce war upon it. And there was present there PÂLÎ, the father of king HAITÛM, with the KONTÛSTABL (= Constable) his eldest son, and they also from within successfully resisted those who were outside because of the large number of FRANKS which they had with them. And torrential downpours of rain drenched those who were outside, and they began to be in evil case. And they were unable either to depart to another place in the country, or to bring food for themselves and their horses, because of the abominable mud (or, clay) which was there, and which was almost deep enough to swallow up a horse and his rider. And whilst they were in this miserable state the report of the death of the Sûltân reached them. And they had a period of relief, and they left and went out of the country before this report was heard by the ARMENIANS. Now the Sûltân GHÂYATH AD-DÎN died in the season of autumn, at the beginning of the year fifteen hundred and fifty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1246). He had three young sons, 'ÎZZ AD-DÎN, and RÛKN AD-DÎN, and 'ALÂ AD-DÎN. And the nobles swore oaths of fealty to 'ÎZZ AD-DÎN, the eldest son, and proclaimed him [480] Sûltân KAI KÂÛS. And then the ambassadors of the MONGOLS came requiring the Sûltân 'ÎZZ AD-DÎN to come and pay homage to the Khân. And he excused himself, saying that if he turned aside the GREEKS and ARMENIANS who were his enemies would snatch his country from him. Therefore he sent his brother RÛKN AD-DÎN as a mediator, and he promised that at some other time he himself would go.

#### Concerning the enthronement of Ghôyûk Khân in the place of the Khân his brother

At this time when the Khân was sick, he sent a messenger to fetch his son GHÔYÛK, so that he might come and have the kingdom handed over to him if the lot fell upon him. And having risen up to come, and having arrived in the neighbourhood, the Khân departed from the world before his son could reach him. Now the Khân's queen, who was the mother of GHÔYÛK, and whose name was TÛRKÎNÂ, was exceedingly wise and discreet. And therefore JAGHÂTAI, and the other sons of kings, commanded that she



should govern the kingdom until they could all be gathered together and form an administration. And having sent ambassadors to each other, they all assembled in the early days of the spring. From the east KÛTÂN (KÛBÂN?) and 'AÛTKÎN, the brother of CHINGIZ KHÂN, and 'ALSHÂTAI ('ALJÂTAI); and from the west KÂRÂMÛRÎ, and BAIDÂR and TÛRKÂN, the sons of JAGHÂTAI; and from the north, since BÂTÛ could not come in person, he sent four of his brothers; and from the ÎGHÛRÂYÊ the Amîr MAS'ÛD BÂG; and from KHÔRÂSÂN the Amîr 'ARGHÔN; and from BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ Sûltân RÛKN AD-DÎN; and from CILICIA HAITÛM the king; and from the IBERIANS DÂWÎD the Great and DÂWÎD the Less; and from SYRIA the brothers of the lord of ALEPPO; and from BAGHDÂD FAKR AD-DÎN, the Judge of the Judges; and ambassadors from the FRANKS; and also ambassadors from 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, the lord of 'ALÂMUTH, that is to say the chief of the ISHMAELITES who carry daggers (or, knives).

And there being three sons of the Khân who were eligible for the kingdom, GHÔYÛK, and KÛTÂN, and SÎRÂMÔN, who was a young child, TÛRKÎNÂ, the queen their mother, chose GHÔYÛK, and all the sons of the kings and the nobles agreed with her. And when GHÔYÛK himself according to [his] custom [481] put forth excuses and said, 'So-and-so is [more] fitting, and so-and-so is [more] fitting', they took him by force and seated him on the throne of the kingdom. And they bowed their knees nine times and did homage to him, and they took the cup and made him drink therefrom.

And being firmly seated on the throne he began to rule well, for he was an enlightened man and he was very sagacious. He handed over the countries of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ and of the IBERIANS, and 'ÂTHÔR (ASSYRIA), and SYRIA, and CILICIA to one of the chiefs whose name was 'ÂLSHÎKÂTAI (or, ÎLJÎKÂTÂI). He sent the great Amîr YALWÂJ to the country of KAṬÂ. He gave PERSIA to MAS'ÛD BÂG. And he delivered over to the Amîr 'ARGHÔN KHÔRÂSÂN, and HAMÂDÂN, and ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN, and SHERWÂN, and LÔR, and KERMÂN as far as INDIA. And he commanded that RÛKN AD-DÎN should be Sûltân of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. And he sent king HAITÛM back with honour, and the IBERIANS and the FRANKS likewise. He sent to the Khalîfah threatenings as concerning rebels, and he drove away the ambassadors of the ISHMAELITES with mockings and insults. And because KADÂK the Christian was employed in his service from the beginning, he became a councillor and governor. And GHÔYÛK KHÂN himself was a true Christian, and in his days the horn of many followers of CHRIST was exalted, and his camp was filled with holy men, and priests, and monks. At this time a certain Arab woman whose name was FÂṬMAH KHÂTÛN was a close friend and beloved by TÛRKÎNÂ KHÂTÛN, the mother of GHÔYÛK KHÂN, and unto her the secrets of the queen was revealed. And by ill luck calumnies were uttered concerning her to GHÔYÛK KHÂN, and the calumniators said, 'She will work sorcery (or, magic) on thee and thy brothers'. And he sent and demanded her from his mother,



and when she would not give her up, he took her by force from her and killed her. And through this, strife broke out between him and his mother, and after a little while his mother died also.

As for the Arab woman FÂṬMA, they left her naked and without food and drink for many days, and then they flogged her until she confessed that she was a sorceress. Then they sewed up the openings in her body, the upper and the lower, and they placed her in cloth and cast her into the water and she was drowned. And they also killed all her kinsfolk who had gathered together about her. For within a very little she became the ruler of all [482] the great kingdom through [her influence with] queen TÛRKÎNÂ.

And very soon after that [event] GHÔYÛK KHÂN, having risen up to go to the western countries, and arrived at a certain place which was only a journey of seven days distant from the city of BÎSH BÂLÎGH, the end overtook him. Then certain of the nobles of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ also wished that the intermediate son of GHÂYATH AL-DÎN, that is to say RÛKN AD-DÎN, should reign. And when the Wazîr SHAMS AD-DÎN, a native of 'EŞFÂHÂN, perceived [this], he seized them all and killed them. And he magnified himself in his own eyes, and he took the mother of the Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN to wife, and he begot by her a son. And this high-handed (or, arrogant) act was evil in the eyes of every man. And having made ready much gold, and royal apparel, and horses, together with the intermediate son RÛKN AD-DÎN, he sent him as a hostage to the TÂTÂRS, as we have said, for the sake of consolidating the peace. When the young man came to GHÔYÛK KHÂN, one of the nobles who was with RÛKN AD-DÎN, that is to say BAHÂ AD-DÎN TARJÂN, calumniated the Wazîr to the Khân, saying, 'He killed the nobles, and he took the wife of the Sûltân who was dead, and he commanded and set up a new Sûltân without your command'.

Then the Khân commanded that 'IZZ AD-DÎN should come down from the throne, and that RÛKN AD-DÎN, who hath seen our face, should reign, and that BAHÂ AD-DÎN TARJÂN should be his Wazîr, and that SHAMS AD-DÎN should finish (i.e. lose his office). And when they turned their gaze to come, the Wazîr heard and trembled. And he sent to RASHÎD AD-DÎN, the Sûbashî of MELITENE, who was then the Amîr 'ÂRÎḌ, with much gold and precious stones, [asking him] to go to the Khân and bring to him the confirmation of the command. And when this man arrived at 'ARZENGÂN he heard that RÛKN AD-DÎN SÛLTÂN and BAHÂ AD-DÎN TARJÂN were near to arrive (i.e. they would soon appear). And being afraid, he took up the treasure which he had with him to the fortress of ẸAMÂḤ, and he together with a few men fled to ALEPPO. And after a little time BAHÂ AD-DÎN arrived, and with him there were two thousand MONGOLS. And RÛKN AD-DÎN was proclaimed Sûltân in 'ARZENGÂN, and in SEBASTIA, and in CAESAREA, and in MELITENE, and in the Citadels of ZÂÎD and 'ÂMID. And new rulers and governors were appointed in every place, and they abolished those of 'IZZ



AD-DÎN. And TARJÂN sent an ambassador [483] to ALEPPO, and he seized RASHÎD AD-DÎN, who had fled thither, and brought him and shut him up in the fortress which is called 'HÂBÎG'. No man of those who were shut up in that fortress escaped death except this man, who was subsequently pardoned and was saved. For on the wall of this fortress, upon a very high rock, is a door, and outside this is a small tablet (or, step) on which—unless he sitteth down—a man can only with the greatest difficulty find standing room. And when the judgement of death went forth against one of the honourable nobles, and they did not wish to lay hands upon him and kill him, they would take him out and make him stand upon that step, and shut the door in his face. And when he had stood there for a day or two, he would be overcome by sleep and would fall down and die. All these goings and comings to the TÂTÂRS took place within three years.

And in the year fifteen hundred and sixty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1249), when BAHÂ AD-DÎN arrived and the TÂTÂRS with him, SHAMS AD-DÎN, the native of 'ESFÂHÂN, feared and trembled, and he wished to take Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN and to go in and rebel in one of the fortresses on the sea. And there was in KÂNYÂ (KÛNYÂ?) a certain noble, an old slave of Sûltân 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, whose name was JALÂL AD-DÎN KÂRÂTAI, and he was an ascetic who abstained from the eating of flesh, and from the drinking of wine, and from women, and he was a good and merciful man. When this man perceived that the Wazîr was ready to take 'IZZ AD-DÎN and flee, he sent and seized him in his house, and he cast iron fetters on him, and made haste to inform BAHÂ AD-DÎN. And he sent TÂTÂRS, and they came and tortured SHAMS AD-DÎN, the native of 'ESFÂHÂN, until he revealed and showed them endless treasures, and then they killed him. Now this man was an educated and intelligent man, and when he perceived that they were going to put him to death, he sent forth lamentations for himself in the Persian language, tearful phrases which were full of sorrow, and were expressed in eloquent and polished words, and were exceedingly sweet. And when this man was killed, JALÂL AD-DÎN became the director (or, administrator) of Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN. And the countries were divided between the two brothers. And ICONIUM, and 'AQSÂRÂ, and ANCYRA, [484] and 'ANTALYA (ŞÂTALYÂ?), that is to say, the western cities, belonged to 'IZZ AD-DÎN, and the eastern cities to RÛKN AD-DÎN.

But the nobles of RÛKN AD-DÎN did not cease from quarrelling, and they wished that RÛKN AD-DÎN only should be named Sûltân, and that 'IZZ AD-DÎN should be repudiated. On this KÂRÂTAI made a plan, and he sent to them, saying, 'Your wish shall be [accomplished] and RÛKN AD-DÎN is the great Sûltân according to the command of the Khân who is with you. But rise ye up and take him and come to 'AQSÂRÂ. And let 'IZZ AD-DÎN also come, and what his brother giveth him, in affection let him accept.' And those nobles being persuaded, took RÛKN AD-DÎN and came to 'AQSÂRÂ. And 'IZZ AD-DÎN also went forth from ICONIUM to go to 'AQSÂRÂ. And the troops of the



MA'DÂYÊ hid themselves (i.e. made an ambush), and they came from the other side and smote and broke the bodyguard of RÛKN AD-DÎN, and they also seized BAHÂ AD-DÎN, his 'Âtâbâg. And 'IZZ AD-DÎN took his brother RÛKN AD-DÎN, and did him no harm, but carried him into ICONIUM. And the three brothers sat together on the throne of his kingdom, and money was stamped with the three names.

And after these things, that is in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1250), RÎDAFRANS (i.e. the king of FRANCE), one of the kings of the inner (i.e. remote) countries of the FRANKS, went forth with a mighty collection of people, horsemen, and footmen, and soldiers, and mighty men of war, and they sailed on the sea in great ships and in vessels which were filled with an endless amount of gold and silver, and weapons of war, and provisions. And the earth quaked at the sound of them, and it was reported that they were prepared to go forth to EGYPT. Now MÂLIK AŞ-ŞÂLÎḤ, the son of KÂMIL, the lord of EGYPT, who, because his younger brother 'ÂDIL died, had succeeded him [as lord] over EMESA, a city in PALESTINE, was fighting in order to take it from MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF, its lord, who was descended from 'ASÂD AD-DÎN SHÎRKÛH, the uncle of ŞALÂḤ AD-DÎN the Great, and subsequently TELL BÂSHÎR was his. Then SÂLÎḤ, hearing the report of the FRANKS, left [485] EMESA, and with swift marches came to EGYPT. And he went and encamped at a place which is called MANŞÛRAH, where there are dense plantations of trees. And he threw down the word (i.e. commanded) in the Arabic language, and there gathered together to him large crowds of ARABS from ALEXANDRIA, and from KÛS and from 'ASWÂN. And when the people of the city of DAMIETTA saw that the gaze of the FRANKS was directed to them, terror fell upon them. And without the tribulation or war they emptied the city of everything which was in it, and they took their families and all their possessions and went to EGYPT.

And the nobles of DAMIETTA went to the Sûltân, and MÂLIK ŞÂLÎḤ asked them 'if the FRANKS had harassed them with war'. And they replied, 'No, but we are afraid lest that which happened once in 'AKKÔ may happen to us; the FRANKS killed them (i.e. the men of 'AKKÔ), and no man pleased them'. And ŞÂLÎḤ was exceedingly angry with them, and he hung up sixty-four famous nobles on thirty-two crosses (or, stakes), two to every cross, just as they were, with their apparel on their bodies and their shoes (or, sandals) on their feet. And when he had crucified these men, he himself died a few days later through a virulent ulcer which had broken out in his thigh; and it was cut out from him just as it was and fell down. And the Egyptian nobles sent and brought MÂLIK MÛ'AṬÂM, the son of ŞÂLÎḤ, who was then in the citadel of KÎPÂ, and they made him king in the place of his father. And his administrator was FAKR AD-DÎN 'ÛTHMÂN, the son of the SHAIKH ASH-SHYÛKH, the great Wazîr.

Then the FRANKS drew nigh to the wall of DAMIETTA, and they did not



hear the voice of the guard[s], neither did they see any man in the towers, and they marvelled. And they also sent men who went inside the harbour, and they never met a single person. And then they knew of a certainty that [the people] had fled, and they drew nigh and went into the city with great content and gladness. And that day was the sixth day of the week, and they did not find any man micturating by the wall; and the ships were supplying them with food of all kinds from the sea.

But their contemptuous mind did not permit them to have patience until they learned the lie of the country, and the fords of the rivers, and the roads, but they made haste and crossed a canal from the NILE, and they marched a long way from water towards EGYPT by a road where there was no water. And certain [486] troops of the ARABS passed on after them, and became a fence (or, barrier) between them and the water, and others were in front of them. And they remained between the two [bodies of ARABS], being tortured with hunger and thirst, and their horses with them. And the ARABS plucked up courage and smote them with an exceedingly great smiting, and killed the greater number of them. And they made the nobles prisoners, and the king whom they carried to MÛ'ATÂM, and he shut him up near him in the place where he was encamped. Then the young slaves who were of the same age as himself counselled MÛ'ATÂM and said unto him, 'If thou dost kill this Frankish king, during the whole time of thy life thou wilt never be free from war with the FRANKS; for their kings are many and they are strong in their power. But make this king swear an oath that for one hundred and twenty years from now neither he nor his brothers, or their sons or their grandsons will draw swords against the ARABS. And set him free, and let him depart to his fellow religionists, giving thanks for thy goodness. Thus thou wilt have rest and live in peace. And it will be unnecessary for thee to scatter among the troops the treasures which thy fathers have laid up.'

And MÛ'ATÂM inclined to their advice, and he had the king of FRANCE brought to him by night, and he made him to take the oath according to what he wished. And he gave him many gifts and dismissed him.

It is said that during the days in which the king of FRANCE was a prisoner, the report reached him that the queen his wife in DAMIETTA had borne him a son. And MÛ'ATÂM heard [of it], and he sent to her gifts, namely ten thousand red *dînârs* and a golden cradle, together with royal raiment. Now as soon as the old slaves of MÛ'ATÂM's father perceived that he had dismissed the king of FRANCE, they were filled with rage, and they sent ships out to sea to seize him. And when they could not overtake him, they drew their swords and attacked MÛ'ATÂM. He fled from before them and went up into a wooden tower which he had [available]. And they set fire to the tower. And when he saw himself in the middle of the fire he cast himself into the sea and was drowned, and his body was never found.



Then the king of FRANCE brought out all his family from DAMIETTA, and came to 'AKKÔ, and he dwelt there for some time. And he built CAESAREA of PHILIP, and other cities, and he left and went to his own country.

And when MÛ'AṬĀM, the lord of EGYPT, was killed, [487] a certain man whose name was 'IZZ AD-DĪN, a TURKOMÂN, one of his father's slaves, ruled over EGYPT, and he took to wife his lord's wife, a Turkish woman who was called SHAJĀRATH AD-DÛRAR. And when he had been [king] for some time, one day when he had gone to the bath to swim, she sent some of her small slaves and drowned him, because she perceived that he wished to destroy her. And after the TURKOMÂN there rose up in EGYPT his Turkish slave whose name was 'KÛTÛZ', and he was called 'MĀLIK MÛṬAFĀR'. And he killed SHAJĀRATH AD-DÛRAR, and cast her body to the dogs, pretending that he was avenging his lord, but he killed her because in truth he was afraid lest she should kill him. Otherwise he would never have killed her, for she was renowned for her beauty as a woman, and for her vigorous actions, which were those of a man. And at this time when MĀLIK AN-NĀṢIR, the lord of ALEPPO, saw that the slaves were reigning in EGYPT, and that they were killing each other as a pastime, he collected his troops and rose up and went to DAMASCUS, and he reigned over it quietly and in peace without any war.

### Concerning the occupation of the throne of the Mongols by Mûngâ Khân

Now when BĀTÛ, the son of TÛSHĪ, the son of CHINGIZ KHÂN, moved from his camp which was in the country of the SAKSĪN and BULGARIANS to go to see GHÔYÛK KHÂN, and he came to the place which is called AL-'AQMĀḲ, in the neighbourhood of the city of KĀYĀLĪGH, the report of the death of GHÔYÛK KHÂN reached him. Therefore he remained where he was. And he sent ambassadors to all the sons of the kings, and collected them near him. Those who were unable to come sent letters and said, 'BĀTÛ is the greatest [prince] of us all. And we will approve of whatsoever he doeth and accept it.' And at the beginning the sons of GHÔYÛK KHÂN, together with the queen their mother, whose name was 'AÔJÛL GHĀNMĪSH KHĀTÛN, came to BĀTÛ, and they only remained two days. And they left and departed, leaving behind TĪMÛR NĀWĪN, to whom they said, 'When the sons of the kings, great and small, are gathered together, to whatsoever they agree, do thou also agree on our behalf'. And when the whole collection [of princes] was complete, they all committed the selection [of the Khân] to BĀTÛ, saying, 'If he himself wisheth to be [Khân], let him be [Khân]; and if he doth not, then we all will be subject unto whomsoever he choeth'. [488] Then BĀTÛ said, 'With the exception of MÛNGĀ I cannot see any man of us who is capable of ruling rightly a great kingdom like this'; and they all said, 'He is worthy and suit-



able'. And when MÛNGÂ, like a wise man, exhibited signs of excusing himself, they took him by force and seated him on the throne. And BÂTÛ, together with all the other princes, knelt down on their knees and did homage to him. And BÂTÛ took the cup according to custom and made him drink.

And the kingdom being assured to him in the year six hundred and forty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1251), on the ninth day of the fourth month, the all-wise and believing queen, SARKÛTÂNÎ BÂGÎ, the mother of MÛNGÂ KHÂN, began to make friends of all the chiefs and nobles by means of liberal gifts and presents, and to bring into subjection the rebels through promises of good treatment. And whilst they were awaiting the coming of the sons of GHÔYÛK KHÂN and of his mother 'AÔJÛL JÂNMIŞH, a certain man who was one of those who train lions for the amusement of princes came and said, 'When I was out hunting for a certain lion to kill, I went a journey of three days in search of him. And I came to the houses (i.e. tents) of the sons of GHÔYÛK KHÂN, who were coming here. And I saw a chariot which had broken down, and a young man was sitting by the side of and repairing it, and he called me to help him. And when I came near the chariot I saw that it was armoured and that it was filled with weapons of war. And I asked the young man, saying, "What are these?" And he said unto me in a surprised fashion, "Seeing that thou art of our party, how is it that thou knowest not what these things are? All the chariots which are with us are like this." And having left him I have come to inform you; now ye will know [what must be done].'

Then MÛNGÂ KHÂN sent a chief whose name was MANGÂSÂR, with two thousand horsemen, to meet the sons of GHÔYÛK KHÂN. And he said unto them, 'Before ye [deal] with little men it is right that ye should come to MÛNGÂ KHÂN and see him; and then let your armies come'. And being unable to reply with hard words they did so. And when they came, after they had eaten, and drunk, and rested for three days, MÛNGÂ KHÂN revealed the matter unto them; and they were ashamed, and were unable to make any apology whatsoever. Then he commanded, and they killed all those nobles who were participators in the treachery, [489] having departed from 'AÎLJIKÂTAI NÂWÎN whom GHÔYÛK KHÂN had made ruler of the west. And all the others who were with him they cast down on the ground. And he sent and had KADÂK NÂWÎN brought upon a chariot (or, wagon), and after he had confessed his sin he was killed in an agonizing manner. And so also was it the case with the wife of GHÔYÛK KHÂN, for having passed judgement upon her they killed her. Her sons, however, he did not kill because of the honour of the royal succession, but he commanded that they should dwell each in his specially appointed place together with a few men to minister unto them. And thus was the kingdom established (or, founded) for MÛNGÂ. He committed to his brother KÛBLAI the countries of the



CHINESE, that is to say, the KHÂTÂÏË; and he sent another brother, that is HÛLÂBÛ, to the countries of the west; and the younger brother whose name was 'ARÎGH BÔKÂ he kept near him.

And he laid down the Law for the countries of the KHÂTÂÏË:

Every rich man was to pay a tribute each year of fifteen *dînârs* in gold, and the poor man one *dînâr*. And for the territory of the PERSIANS: Every rich man [was to pay each year] ten *dînârs*, and the poor man one *dînâr*.

And concerning the beasts and cattle he commanded:

From every hundred head of cattle one head was to be taken, and from the man who had less than one hundred head nothing was to be taken.

And he granted to all prisoners and captives freedom from afflictions.

And he commanded that heathen (?) priests, and the Christian priests, and deacons, and monks, and the learned men and scribes of the Muslims should be free from taxation; and among all the peoples the JEWS only were to be deprived of this benefit, and a certain poet of that period said:

In this freedom for thee, O Jew, there is no portion.

With the exception of disgrace, O wretched man, there is for thee no companion.

And in this year, which is the year fifteen hundred and sixty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1251), dissension fell among the Turkish slaves in EGYPT. And some of them sent to MÂLIK AN-NÂŞIR whilst he was reigning in DAMASCUS, and pressed him to go to EGYPT, [promising that] they would deliver it over to him. And he collected a numerous army, and he went to GÂZÂ that he might go into EGYPT and reign over it. And when the TURKS who had no liking for him heard [this], they collected their troops. And they brought out also a multitude of FRANKS who were imprisoned with them, and they set them on horses. And they came and engaged MÂLIK AN-NÂŞIR by the side of [490] GÂZÂ, and they broke him badly, and only with the greatest difficulty did he and some men, very few in number, escape and come as fugitives to DAMASCUS.

And in this year, in the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY), died ZABÎL (ISABEL?), the believing queen, the daughter of LÎÔN the Great. She was the consort of king HAITÛM, the son of CONSTANTINE, and the mother of king LÎÔN (II) the Less of CILICIA. Now the goodness of this woman, and her charitable-ness, and her humility no man can describe [adequately]. For she used to go about barefooted in the nunneries and the churches, and however long she stood up in prayer she never ceased to weep. May God give her rest with the other holy women!

And at the return of the year, that is to say the year fifteen hundred and sixty-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1252), HAITÛM, king of CILICIA, went to do service to MÛNGÂ KHÂN the Great. He partook of the Lifegiving Mysteries on the fifth day [of the week], and he marched away on the Friday of the Crucifixion. And because he was afraid that the nobles of BÊTH RHÔMÂÏË



would smite him in treachery, he made a report to go out that he was sending an ambassador on in advance to the Khân, and that when he received the command [i.e. permit to travel] he would set out. And he also wrote letters to the lord of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ with this same object. And he himself went forth with this ambassador, and he was disguised in the dress of servants and he was leading a horse; now he was dressed in filthy rags, and he rode upon a most wretched beast. And he passed through all the cities of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, and no man knew him, but in 'ARZENGÂN a man in the bazâr recognized him, and said, 'This is king HAITÛM'. And when the ambassador heard [this] he turned round to the king as he was leading the horse, and he smote him on his cheek and reviled him, and said, 'Yea, O fool, here thou wouldst be a king, and they would liken thee to a king!' And thus [the man's] suspicion was removed. And the king continued to wear the garb of peasants (or, husbandmen) until he came to the frontier of the IBERIANS, and then he revealed himself. At this period he lived outside his country for nearly three years and a half, and then he returned.

And in this year, which is the year six hundred and fifty of the ARABS (A.D. 1152), after the 'KÛRÎLTAI', that is to say, the 'Great Assembly', HÛLÂBÛ, the brother of MÛNGÂ KHÂN, struck his camp to come to these western countries, which are without in the territory of 'AÎLJIKÂTAI, who GHÔYÛK KHÂN [491] sent. Then MÛNGÂ KHÂN commanded that from all the armies of the east and of the west, out of every ten persons two persons should go [to fight]. And among the sons of the kings he sent with him a young brother of his own whose name was SABÂTAI (SÛNTAI? STÂI?) 'AÔGHÛL, and from the side of BÂTÛ BÛLGHÂI, the son of SÎBÂKÂN, and KÛTÂR, 'AÔGHÛL, and KÛLÎ together with many troops. And from the country (or, quarter) of JÂGHÂTAI TAKÛDÂR his grandson; and from the side of SHÎSHKÂN (JÎJKÂN?) BÂGÎ, the sister of the Khân, and BÔKÂ TÎMÛR with an 'AWIRÂTHÂN army. And from the countries of KHÂTÂ they brought one thousand houses (companies?) of men who were skilled in the working of engines of war and in throwing naphtha. And KÎD BÔKÂ, who was the chief of the bakery, was sent on in advance of the troops. And HÛLÂBÛ left SHÛMAGÂR (JÛMAGÂR?), his son by the Great Queen, together with his mother, in his place in the service of MÛNGÂ KHÂN. And this same son, after some time, having risen up to come out to his father, died on the road. And he took with him from among his other sons his eldest son whose name was 'ABKÂ ('ABÂKÂ?), and his other son whose name was 'ASHMÛT (BASHMÛT?). And of the wives of TÛLÎ KHÂN their father, DÂKÛZ (TÔKÛZ?) KHÂTÛN, the truly believing and Christian queen. She had been given to HÛLÂBÛ to wife, according to the custom of the MONGOLS, and she came with him. And she raised on high the horn of the Christians in all the earth.

Now they remained on the road until the year six hundred and fifty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1255), and then they came to PERSIA. And in this



year, in the month of TAMMÛZ (JULY), suddenly an army of the TÂTÂRS burst forth, and came against MELITENE; at their head stood YASÂWÛR, who had come there eight years previously. And he spoiled villages and hamlets, and he burned houses and store-houses (or, granaries), and he killed every one who was found on his road; and he pitched his camp on the northern side [of the city].

And certain of the TÂTÂRS, as they were passing through the country of GHÛBÛS, [492] went up to the Monastery of MAKRÛNÂ and demanded gold, and meat, and drink, from the monks. And they, poor miserable wretches, in their simplicity would not consent to give them anything, and they thought that they would probably go on their way. And they did go away, but they took many other TÂTÂRS and then came back. And again they asked the monks to give them something. And when they would not be persuaded, the MONGOLS made war on them. And they set fire to the tower of the monastery wherein were many loads of *'amar kûbhâ*, and wax, and a large quantity of oil, which became food for the flame. And they burned all the monks, both young and old, about three hundred souls, and men and women, who were natives of the country.

In that year the writer of these things was the Bishop of GHÛBÛS, who was present in the Monastery of MÂR BAR ŞÂWMÂ at the Synod of the election of MÂR DIONYSIUS the Patriarch, who is 'ANGÛR. And no man was present with him there except two disciples, viz. FARÂJ, a native of DOMNINÂYÂ, and KÂWMÂ, a lay brother (?) of LÛÂZNÂYÂ. FARÂJ cast himself down from the tower to the TÂTÂRS, and they did him no harm, but after a little he died; and KÂWMÂ was burned in the fire. And 'AHRÔN the physician, an old man, the father of the bishop in the village of MARGÂ, was present in the granary with BAR ŞÂWMÂ, his little son. And when the TÂTÂRS burst forth he did not wish to flee to the monastery with the rest of the people of that village, but he climbed the mountain on the other side, and he went and hid in a strong and rocky place on the banks of the EUPHRATES. And he remained there in hiding with his little son for a period of about forty days—until the TÂTÂRS departed, and only one mule was drowned by them in the river. Now there were other fugitives in the place which is called BAR'ÂMÂ, and they used to go forth in the night, and prepare food for themselves and their beasts.

And in the year six hundred and forty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1249), BADR AD-DÎN LÛLÛ, the lord of MÂWŞIL, reigned over GÂZARTÂ, a city of KÂRDÛ, for the following reason: when MÂLIK MÛ'TÂM, the lord of GÂZARTÂ, who was descended from the sons of 'ÂTÂBÂG ZANGÎ, saw that BADR AD-DÎN had waxed strong, and was possessed of an army which could injure or help, he wished to make a friendship with him, and he took the daughter of BADR AD-DÎN to wife for his son [493] MÂLIK MAS'ÛD. And, in accordance with the operation of SATAN, MUS'ÂD hated the daughter of BADR AD-DÎN



with all his heart. And MÛ'ATÂM, his father, admonished him strictly that he should not make apparent his hatred of her, but he was unable [to hide it]. And when the daughter began to set herself against BADR AD-DÎN, her father, he sent and took her. And after a little MÛ'ATÂM died, and MÂLIK MAS'ÛD, his son, rose up in his place. And BADR AD-DÎN began to harass him with demands to so great an extent that he sent and said unto him, 'I want such and such a stone which is in the necklace of such and such a hand-maiden by name, and such and such a thing of so-and-so'. And giving him everything, at length he sent to him, saying, 'Didst thou truly sell GÂZARTÂ when we were encamped against NISIBIS?' And MAS'ÛD sent to him, saying, 'I have taken everything from thee; even if I would give thee my kingdom, I cannot do so'.

Therefore BADR AD-DÎN collected his troops, and he went and encamped against GÂZARTÂ, on the third day [of the week], on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month of the aforesaid year, in the days of NÎSÂN (APRIL), and he afflicted it with war. And MAS'ÛD sent and demanded a pledge [of safety] for his life. And BADR AD-DÎN promised to give him the fortress which is called PARÂḤ, [saying] that he must take his family and his wives and depart thither. And MAS'ÛD consented and he removed the guards and men of war from it.

And BADR AD-DÎN sent one of his eunuchs, and he cast iron fetters on him, and brought him out by night from GÂZARTÂ, and seated him in a boat, pretending that he was sending him to MÂWṢIL. And he commanded the sailors and the slaves whom he had placed with him to drown him in the TIGRIS, and then to leave [the boat] and to flee to SYRIA. And they were to send forth a report that MAS'ÛD had cast himself into the river and was drowned, and 'we are afraid that our lord BADR AD-DÎN will destroy us because we were negligent in respect of him, and because he did this to himself'. And having taken him they went down to sail on the TIGRIS and did as they had been commanded, and they fled to SYRIA, and spread abroad the above report, and after a year they went back again to MÂWṢIL. Then BADR AD-DÎN went to GÂZARTÂ and took possession of it on Friday the eleventh day of the seventh month of the above-mentioned year. This city is not one of those builded by the GREEKS, but the MA'DÂYÊ people (i.e. nomad ARABS) who are called the 'Sons of 'ÔMAR' built it, [494] and is therefore called by their name.

At this time, when certain merchants were crossing the great river of PERSIA which is called 'GÎḤÔN', there was with them a poor man who was wearing such apparel as Faḳîrs wear. This man said to the boatman, 'I, even I, am Sûltân JALÂL AD-DÎN KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH, concerning whom they say that the KURDS killed me in the mountains of 'ÂMID. Now, it was not I, but the keeper of my apparel who was killed, and behold, for a number of years I have been going round about in the world secretly (i.e. in disguise)



and enjoying myself.' Then the sailors being afraid took him and carried him to the nobles of the MONGOLS who were near. And they tortured him very severely, and he did not deny [what he had said], but up to the moment when he died he continued to say 'I am he' (i.e. I am JALÂL AD-DÎN).

And in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1254) ambassadors began to come at frequent intervals with the request to Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN of ICONIUM that he would go in person and do service to the great Khân (i.e. acknowledge his overlordship), for if he did not the [Mongol] troops would invade his country and lay it waste. And being pressed to go by those inside and those outside, he came by force as far as SEBASTIA, when he gave himself up to a life of riotous luxury and to the gratification of lusts of various kinds. For wherever he heard [about] a wife, or a daughter, or a son of any of the nobles or of the people generally, he took them by force and debauched them. Therefore the nobles hated him, and they wished that his intermediate brother, that is to say RÛKN AD-DÎN, could reign over them. And when 'IZZ AD-DÎN heard [this], he was afraid, and he returned again to ICONIUM, and he made ready his young brother, that is to say 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, and sent him to pay homage to the Khân. And he wrote [and sent] with him a letter, saying, 'Behold, I have sent my young brother, that is 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, who is a Sûltân like myself, and it hath not been possible for me to come because JALÂL AD-DÎN KÂRÂTAI, my 'Âtâbâg, is dead, and an enemy from the west hath stirred himself up against me. Assuredly I will come at another time.'

And the young brother having gone, and the nobles who were with him, he died on the road through the treachery of those nobles. And 'IZZ AD-DÎN and RÛKN AD-DÎN remained in ICONIUM. And when 'IZZ AD-DÎN heard of the death of his young brother, he wished to take and destroy the intermediate brother, so that he alone might be left. And when the nobles perceived this they made RÛKN AD-DÎN to take to flight. It is said [495] that they dressed him in a dirty tunic [such as is worn by] the servants of cooks, and that having loaded on his head a tray of boiled meat, they took him out by night from the palace and set him upon a horse. And they brought him to CAESAREA in one night, and seated him upon the throne, and a multitude of his troops gathered together about him. And RÛKN AD-DÎN took them and came to do battle with his brother 'IZZ AD-DÎN. And 'IZZ AD-DÎN sallied forth and engaged him in battle, and again he broke him, and he took him prisoner and shut him up in the fortress which is called DÂWÂLÛ.

And in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-six of the GREEKS, which is the year six hundred and fifty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1255), 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, the head of the ISHMAELITES, was killed in the fortress which is called 'SHÎR KÛH', that is, 'Mountain of the Lion', and RÛKN AD-DÎN, his son, rose up after him. And HÛLÂBÛ sent and said to him, 'If thine aim is straight towards us, and thou desirest friendship and peace, destroy all thy fortresses, and do



thou come to us in person; and if not prepare thyself for war'. Then quickly RŪKN AD-DĪN sent and destroyed five fortresses in which there were no stores (or, provisions) and which would not have been able to resist the TĀTĀRS. And he sent a reply to HŪLĀBŪ saying, 'Behold I have fulfilled thy command in part, and little by little I will pull down the rest of the fortresses'. Now HŪLĀBŪ knew well that in his craftiness RŪKN AD-DĪN wished some days to pass (i.e. he wanted to gain time). Therefore he sent KĪD BŪḲĀ against the fortress which is called 'SHĀHDAIR' (SHĀHDĪZ?), and he took it in two days, and three other fortresses which were round about it.

Then RŪKN AD-DĪN took a son of one of the poor men, and he dressed him in royal apparel, and sent him to the king as a hostage. Now although HŪLĀBŪ knew that he was a liar-son (i.e. pseudo-son) of RŪKN AD-DĪN, he did not show that he knew it, but he sent him back with honour, and he said, 'It was thee for whom I asked, and not thy son'. And afterwards RŪKN AD-DĪN again sent, [this time] his real brother, whose name was SHĪRĀN SHĀH, together with three hundred horsemen. And HŪLĀBŪ having taken the horsemen and sent them to ẖAZWĪN, sent back RŪKN AD-DĪN's brother to him, and said that he himself, RŪKN AD-DĪN, must come. And on the night of the Birth of the Redeemer, when RŪKN AD-DĪN rose up to come to the service, his slaves drew their daggers, and said, 'If thou goest we will kill thee'. Then he sent and made the matter known to the King of Kings. And HŪLĀBŪ commanded him, saying, 'Protect thyself against them, [496] and concoct a plan so that thou canst come to us, and thou shalt live, for they all are about to be destroyed with the edge of the sword'. And RŪKN AD-DĪN accepted the command.

And one night he came down, together with his sons and his household, and was received (or, welcomed) splendidly by the King of Kings, and he was sent to the city of ẖAZWĪN with honour. As for the three hundred horsemen, the MONGOLS killed them secretly, and they also made themselves masters of the fortress from which RŪKN AD-DĪN had come down—now its name was 'MAIMŪNDŪR'—and they destroyed it. Thus also did it happen to the strong fortress which is called 'ALĀMUTH', and the fortress which is called 'GERDKŪH', which is situated in the heart of the heavens. And the TĀTĀRS took fifty other fortresses which were round about it, and they laid them waste and pulled them down; and all those who were in them they killed. And by means of these blessed captures God had mercy on all the kings of the ARABS and Christians who lived in terror and trembling through the fear of the ISHMAELITES who were carriers of daggers and were shedders of innocent blood.

Then when RŪKN AD-DĪN saw that the mercies of HŪLĀBŪ in respect of him were manifestly sincere, he said unto him with frank boldness, 'The days in which I now live thou hast by thy goodness added to my life;



therefore I beg of thee to permit me to pass them pleasantly'. And HÛLÂBÛ commanded the treasurers that a large amount of gold and silver should be given to him. And having received it he began to eat, and to drink, and to enjoy himself. And he loved one of the daughters of the MONGOLS, and HÛLÂBÛ commanded and she was given to him to wife. And one day when he was drinking wine he spoke to a player on the lute, and he sang the following verse in the Persian language:

I have come to thee, sick man, as to the physician.

I have come to thee, O King of Kings, that I may obtain life by meeting thee.

I have come to thee that I may pluck the health-giving fruit of thy crop. If it were not so, with what kind of merchandise could I have come to thy land?

And when HÛLÂBÛ heard these [lines] his words were very pleasing to him, and he was given over to affection in his eyes (i.e. HÛLÂBÛ felt affection for RÛKN AD-DÎN).

And subsequently RÛKN AD-DÎN asked for a *Pukdânâ* (i.e. command; or, permit; or, warrant) to go and see the face [497] of MÛNGÂ KHÂN; and HÛLÂBÛ appointed a messenger [to go] with him, and sent him [thither]. And when he was on the road he quarrelled with the messenger, and took such a hatred of him that when they arrived at the camp of MÛNGÂ KHÂN, the messenger calumniated him and he was killed. And the command went forth that all the seed of the ISHMAELITES, both males and females, should perish wheresoever they were.

And in the year BÂSHÛ (BÂJÛ?) NÂWÎN, the captain of the soldiery of the TÂTÂRS, went forth towards 'ARZÂN AL-RÛM. And he sent a messenger to Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN in the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST) and asked him for a place wherein to pass the winter, because in MÛJÂN, the country in which he usually passed the winter each year, HÛLÂBÛ, the King of Kings, the brother of MÛNGÂ KHÂN, wished to winter. And with BÂJÛ came HAITÛM from the service of the Great Khân, and he entered his own country on Friday, the first day of the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER), and there was rejoicing for the Christians. Now the Sûltân did not wish to give BÂJÛ a place [to winter in], and he treated him with contempt, because he heard that another chief who was greater than he, or rather his lord, had driven him out of his country. Therefore he made ready for war with him. And when BÂJÛ came the Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN met him in battle by the side of the store-house (or khân?) of the Sûltân, between ICONIUM and 'AQSÂRÂ, and he was broken and fled to his inner countries which are on the frontier of NINEVEH. The captain of the host of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ was YÂWTÂSH BAGLÂR BÂG, who was killed in this war. And BÂJÛ NÂWÎN brought RÛKN AD-DÎN out of prison, and made him king over BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1256).



And 'IZZ AD-DÎN sent an ambassador from the place where he was to HÛLÂBÛ, and he laid a complaint against BÂJÛ, saying that he 'was alienating him from the kingdom and from the inheritance of his fathers'. And HÛLÂBÛ sent a '*Yarlîkh*', that is to say a *Pukdânâ* (i.e. royal decree), [saying] that the countries were to be divided between the two brothers. Therefore when the year fifteen hundred and sixty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1257) began, 'IZZ AD-DÎN was restored, and he came to KÛNYÂ (KONIA). And RÛKN AD-DÎN [went] with BÂJÛ into winter quarters in the inner countries of BITHYNIA which were on the sea-coast. And because 'IZZ AD-DÎN was afraid of BÂJÛ [498] he began to make ready an army. And he sent one of his slaves whose name was TÛGHR HÂPÂ (TÛGHR BALÂBÂ?) towards MELITENE that he might make up an army [composed] of KURDS, MA'DÂYÊ, and TURKOMANS. And when that slave had come, he went to the fortress of ZÂÎD. And he sent and had brought [to him] two nobles of the KURDS; to the one, SHARÂF AD-DÎN 'AḤMAD, the son of BELÂS, he gave MELITENE, and to the other, SHARÂF AD-DÎN MÂḤAMÂD, the son of SHAIKH 'ÂDÎ, he gave the fortress of ZÂÎD.

Now when the son of BELÂS had come he was not received by the people of MELITENE, because they had sworn fealty to RÛKN AD-DÎN, and he began to make war on the citizens. And they lived in tribulation because of him during the whole winter, and there was famine, for [the price of] one *kepîzâ* of wheat went up to one hundred and twenty coins of the Sûltân. And when the people of MELITENE could bear with him no longer, they rose up against the son of BELÂS, and they killed about three hundred men of his followers. And he himself fled and passed over into the country of KĻÂUDYÂ, and he burnt the Monastery of MÂDÎḲ, and the Monastery of MÂR 'ÂSYÂ on the first day of the week of Hosannas (Palm Sunday), on the first day of the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL); and he wrought great destruction in the country and likewise in the country of GHÛBÔS. And from there he marched straight to 'ÂMID, and there he was overtaken by the lord of MAIPERḲÂṬ and killed.

And the other slave, the son of SHAIKH 'ÂDÎ, who was in the fortress of ZÂÎD, having made the inhabitants of the fortress to endure many trials, took his wives (brothers?) and marched towards KAMÂḤ in order to come to the help of 'IZZ AD-DÎN SÛLTÂN, and there the troops of 'ANGÛRAK NÂWÎN overtook him and killed him. Now when 'IZZ AD-DÎN SÛLTÂN heard of the evil end which had befallen the KURDS who had come to help him, he sent the captain of his host to MELITENE. He was called 'ÂLÎ BAHÂDÛR, and was short in his stature, and of meagre proportions, but a strenuous fighter and one highly skilled in the questions (or, tactics) of war. When this man came the people of MELITENE welcomed him. From him came help for the citizens and the country, and the roads were open [again], and men were bringing wheat from everywhere. For at that time [499] the mountains, and hills, and valleys round about MELITENE were filled with the TURKOMANS and with the AGÂGRÂYÊ (or, 'A'JÂZÂYÊ) who were pillaging everywhere. From



one village alone in the country of ḤASEN MANṢŪR they took seven thousand bulls, and cows, and asses, and she-asses, and forty-five thousand sheep and goats. And they took also the Monasteries of MÂDÎḲ, and MÂR 'ÂSYÂ, and MÂR DÎMÂṬ, and they carried off from them a great mass of goods. And 'ÂLÎ BAHÂDŪR himself pursued [them] and expelled them from the country, and he caught their chief whose name was SHŪTÎ (JŪTÎ?) BÂG, and shut him up in the fortress of MASÂRÂ.

And whilst the people of MELITENE were experiencing this opportune peace, BÂJŪ and his armies sallied out from the inner country of BITHYNIA, and during the days of the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL) they spread themselves about over the countries of GALATIA and CAPPADOCIA. And they began to make war on the fortresses so that they might hand them over to RŪKN AD-DÎN. And they came to the region of 'ABLASTAIN, and they shed the blood of all the people who were in it, about seven thousand [souls], and they carried off the young men and maidens into captivity. And they arrived in MELITENE on the Sabbath of the full moon of the month of ÎLŪL (SEPTEMBER), and BAHÂDŪR fled to GHÂKHTAI. Then BÂJŪ made the people of MELITENE swear oaths of fealty on behalf of RŪKN AD-DÎN, and he took from it a very large number of *dînârs*. And he left in the city one of the slaves of RŪKN AD-DÎN whose name was FAKHR AD-DÎN 'AYÂS, and he himself removed to the fortress of ZÂÎD, because a command had come to him from the King of Kings, HŪLÂBŪ, that he should come down in all haste to BAGHDÂD.

And at the beginning of the year fifteen hundred and sixty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1258), in the season of the autumn, BÂJŪ NÂWÎN came to MÂWṢIL; and he did not harm that country much. For MÂLIK ṢÂLIḤ, the son of BADR AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWṢIL, had in those days just come from doing service of HŪLÂBŪ. And TŪRKÂN, the daughter of JALÂL AD-DÎN KHÂWÂRAZM SHÂH, had been given to him to wife, and she was with him in the dress of the MONGOLS. Rightly did all the country folk flee to the city and hide themselves until BÂJŪ had passed. Then, as soon as ever BÂJŪ had crossed the EUPHRATES, 'ÂLÎ BAHÂDŪR turned and came to MELITENE. And the citizens, because they had sworn oaths of fealty to RŪKN AD-DÎN, and also because of their fear of [500] BÂJŪ, shut the gates of the city in his face. And he collected an army of the 'AGÂGRÂYÊ, and began to make war on it, and the city was in great tribulation through war and famine. A *ḳapîzâ* (i.e. an ass's load) of salt in it [was sold] for four hundred white coins of the Sûltân, and [a *ḳapîzâ*] of wheat for seventy. And when the peoples of the city could not endure hunger and imprisonment [any longer], they leaped up one night and opened the gates of the city, and they brought in BAHÂDŪR and the 'AGÂGRÂYÊ who were with him. And in the night he made the criers go up into the minarets of the mosques, and he cried peace to the ARABS and the Christians. And he encouraged them to fear not, for his charge was against the nobles and not the citizens.



And on the following morning he seized the slave of RUKN AD-DÎN and shut him up, and he set SHEHÂB 'ÂRÎD upon the colt of an ass, and made him to ride through the city, and he held him up to ridicule and then killed him. And he tied a head of cotton on the neck of another man who was called MÛ'ÎN ÎGDÎSH (or, ÎGRÎSH) BÂSHÎ, and another head in the form of a dog, and he made him march round about through the city and then killed him. And in the same way he killed the Greek priest whose name was KÂLÂWYÂN, and his two brothers BÂSÎL and MANÎL (MÂNÛ'ÎL?), and his son KÎRYÂWRÎ, who were great lawyers. And together with these he also destroyed the three sons of SHEHÂB ÎSÂW, who were Kurdish Amîrs. Then the killing ceased, and the city enjoyed a little peace. But the famine increased greatly after the gates of the city were opened, because the country had become an absolute desert, and nothing came in from any other place because of the TURKOMÂN highway robbers. Many people sold their sons and their daughters to the 'AGÂGRÂYÊ, and others soaked their old shoes in water, and boiled them and ate them. And a woman was found who had roasted her son, and when they charged her she swore that she had not roasted him alive, but only after he was dead. And some women were discovered with the body of a dead woman before them, and they were cutting off slices of her flesh and roasting them and eating them.

Now when BAHÂDÛR knew that it was impossible for him to resist the [501] advance of the TÂTÂRS, he forsook the city and fled to the Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN, and with him were HÛSÂIN JÔBÂN, and BAR ŞÂWMÂ, the son of 'ANDRÎÔS, who was subsequently killed by them on the road. And during this famine certain young men of the country of GHÛBÔS, who were Christians, rebelled in the GÂZARTÂ of the village of 'EBRÂ, and they sallied out and robbed and killed their brethren who were Christians, and they went in there and ate food.

At this time THEODORE, the son of KÂLÂWYÂN, the king of NINEVEH, fell sick in a city the name of which was NÎPÎ. And when he felt that he was going to die, he called to him ARSENIUS the Patriarch, and committed to him the care and upbringing of KÂLÂWYÂN his son. For as yet he was small in stature (or, of tender age), and he was at that time under the direction of a certain general whose name was MICHAEL, and who was called 'PALAIOLOGOS'. And because of this king THEODORE was afraid lest he would meditate rebellion and seize the kingdom with the hand of violence. Which thing actually took place. Therefore he commanded one of the generals whose name was GÂDÎNÔS to go to THESSALONICA, where MICHAEL was living, and cast fetters of iron upon him and bring him to him. Now when GÂDÎNÔS went he said unto MICHAEL, 'I know that thou art going to be king, but submit thyself to fetters with cunning, and come with me to the king. And when he seeth thy submission he will release thee and magnify thee.' And thus MICHAEL did, and he went to the king bound in fetters. And when the



king saw that he was not complaining, he was gracious to him and released him, and made him a partner with the Patriarch in the management of the young man. And after a few days he departed this life. And MÛZÂLÔN, his deputy, who was also the son-in-law of KÎRÂ BALWÎNÂ, the sister of the king, took him and carried him to the Monastery of MAGNESIA, and he deposited him there in the grave of his fathers. And he tarried a few days in the monastery whilst he arranged affairs with his mother-in-law, who was the sister of the deceased king, so that he might become king, and destroy the nobles who would not consent to accept him.

And when [502] this plot was revealed to MICHAEL and the other nobles, they commanded the FRANKS who were their fellow soldiers to go up to the monastery, and to hack MÛZÂLÔN in pieces with their swords, wheresoever he might be. And when they went up they found him in the church praying, and there they hacked him limb from limb. And the nobles also went up and they cried out with a loud voice, 'May the king of the GREEKS, MICHAEL PALAIOLOGOS, live [long]! May the Autocrator of RHÔMÂNÎÂ, MICHAEL PALAIOLOGOS, live [long]!' And they all went from there to NICAEA, and they seized the young man KÂLÂWYÂN, and they sent him and had him shut up in one of the fortresses. And they also sent ARSENIUS the Patriarch, who had rebuked them for his murder, into exile, in a monastery in one of the islands of the sea of PONTUS.

And after MICHAEL had reigned for a short time he determined within himself to go and attack CONSTANTINOPLE, because he heard that there was a small army therein with BÔ'DWÎN the Frankish king its lord. And during his journey he sent and had NICEPHORUS, the Metropolitan of EPHESUS, brought, and he made him Patriarch in the city of KÂLYÔPÔLÎ (GALLIPOLI) in the place of ARSENIUS, who had been exiled. And he departed from there and went and encamped against CONSTANTINOPLE, and he was unable to capture it, because the citizens and the soldiers stood up strenuously on the walls and fought fiercely. And when MICHAEL saw that he could not succeed, he left and went back.

And after a short time the Frankish merchants who were in the city of 'AKKÔ and were called 'BÛNDÎKÂYÊ' (VENETIANS), began to quarrel with those who were called 'JÂNÂBÎZ' (GENOESE), and the PÎZÂNÂYÊ (PISANS) attached themselves to the VENETIANS. And when the VENETIANS who were in all the other countries heard [of this], they ran without delay to the help of their companions, and CONSTANTINOPLE was empty of them. And MICHAEL himself perpetrated another fraud, and he told one of his adherents who was the captain of a fortress to show signs of rebellion, and to send a message to BÔ'DWÎN [saying] that he must send an army, and that he would transfer that fortress to him. And the captain of the fortress did even so, and he flattered BÔ'DWÎN and led him into error. And when [503] BÔ'DWÎN sent the little army which he had with him, MICHAEL made ready



swiftly and went and encamped against it. And MICHAEL himself also flattered certain of the citizens, and one night they opened to him an old gate which had never been opened since the time of CONSTANTINE the Conqueror. And the GREEKS went in and put [the city] to the sword, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that BÔ'DWÎN himself and his household was able to save themselves by embarking in a small shallow boat, and they fled to the FRANKS. And thus once again CONSTANTINOPLE remained in the possession of the GREEKS after belonging to the FRANKS for a period of fifty-three years. As for NICEPHORUS the unlawful Patriarch, he did not live very long, but died quickly. And king MICHAEL appointed in his place ROMANUS, the Patriarch of the city of ADRIANOPOLIS. Now this man, as soon as ever he rose up, became involved in some scandalous affair and was cast forth. Then king MICHAEL sent and brought ARSENIUS the Patriarch from exile, and he promised him that he would bring out KÂLÂWYÂN, the son of the king, from prison, and would transfer to him the kingdom of his father, and that he himself would only hold CONSTANTINOPLE, which he had taken with the sword. And the Patriarch prayed over him, and was reconciled [to him], and sat again on the [Patriarchal] throne.

Then MICHAEL, having placated the Patriarch, added wickedness to wickedness, and instead of bringing KÂLÂWYÂN out of prison and making him king, sent and had his eyeballs taken out and blinded his eyes. When the Patriarch understood this he again relinquished his office, and returned to his imprisonment. And the king brought an archimandrite whose name was JOSEPH (?) and made him Patriarch, and behold he standeth at the head [of the Church] this day. And it was in the days of winter that these wickednesses were perpetrated in MELITENE.

### Concerning the taking of Babel (Baghdâd)

HÛLÂBÛ, King of Kings, went down to BAGHDÂD; and BÂJÛ also arrived from BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. And the armies of the men of BAGHDÂD sallied forth to meet the TÂTÂRS in battle. And those who stood at their head (i.e. were their captains) were: the Great Amîr, a KURD, who was called 'BAR KÛRÂR', and DÂWÎTHDÂR the Little, a slave of the Khalîfah. And the two [504] sides (or, hosts) remained facing each other, without engaging in battle, for twenty-three days. Then straightway on the fourth day [of the week], on the eighth day of the first month of the ARABS, in the year six hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 1258), which is the year fifteen hundred and sixty-nine of the GREEKS, BÂJÛ NÂWÎN and his troops drew nigh to a place which is called 'the Grave of AHMAD', on the western side of BAGHDÂD, and the BAGHDÂD troops approached and the armies met each other in battle, and the company of BÂJÛ NÂWÎN was broken, and the BAGHDÂD troops were triumphantly victorious. And the Amîr SULAIMÂN SHÂH and his army were on the walls of BAGHDÂD.



And when the evening had come, BAR KÛRÂR, an old man, said unto DÂWÎTHDÂR, a young man, 'This time God hath given us the victory. It is right that we should go into our houses and rest, and then we will sally forth again and attack forthwith.' The young man, however, was puffed up, and did not want to go in, and both of them passed the night outside. And because those BAGHDÂD troops were encamped on low-lying ground, the TÂTÂRS went and made a breach in the banks of the great canal of water [fed] from the TIGRIS, and floods of water poured down on them at midnight. And they began to flee from the waters, and their bows, and their arrows, and the sheaths of their swords were soaked with water. And when the day broke the TÂTÂRS of the battalions of HÛLÂBÛ returned, and the battle continued until the ninth hour of the fifth day [of the week]; and the BAGHDÂD troops were defeated and stricken helpless, and BAR KÛRÂR was killed, and DÂWÎTHDÂR fled and went into the city.

Then BÂJÛ and his troops came and encamped on the western side of BAGHDÂD, and HÛLÂBÛ encamped on the east side, on the second day [of the week], on the thirteenth day of the first month, and he made war on the city with great fierceness—opposite the crown of the palace of the Khalîfah. And the Khalîfah MÛSTA'ŞIM, the wretched man, in despair called his Wazîr 'ALĶAMÎ, and NAJM AD-DÎN 'ABD AL-JÂNÎ, the son of DARNÛS, and MÂR MAKÎKÂ, the Catholicus, and he commanded them to take gold in abundance, and royal possessions, and Arabian horses, and to fetch the ambassadors of the TÂTÂRS out of prison, and to array them in [fine] apparel, and to give them lavish gifts, and to go forth with them to the King of Kings. And they were to demand a pledge of safety for the lives of the Khalîfah, [505] and his sons and his daughters, and to make an apology saying that the things which had happened had taken place through evil counsellors. Then, if he would be gracious, and would grant them their lives, they would become his slaves, and subjects who would pay tribute.

And when these men had gone forth to the King of Kings and fulfilled their embassy, HÛLÂBÛ detained them and would not let them return to the Khalîfah. And he continued the war with still greater ferocity, and the TÂTÂRS made a great breach in the 'Ajâmî tower; and they entered the city on Friday, the twenty-fifth day of the first month, but the citizens prevailed over them, and drove them outside again. And the TÂTÂRS renewed their attack in full strength, and on the following day, that is to say the Sabbath, they became masters of all the walls. And the people of BAGHDÂD fled and hid themselves in the houses and in the underground chambers (*sardâbs*). And on the Sabbath day the two sons of the Khalîfah went out to the King of Kings, and an hour later the Khalîfah himself went forth [to him]. And the King of Kings commanded, and they cast iron fetters on him, and stood over him in a tent for seven days—until the King of Kings had gone in person to the palace of the Khalîfah and had inspected the



treasures, and the rich things, old and new, which were hidden away and laid up in stores; and he uncovered them all and had them brought out. And the MONGOLS drew their swords, and slew all the people of BAGHDÂD—tens of thousands of men—the IBERIANS especially effected a great slaughter. And the Catholicus collected all the Christians into the church of the Third Bazâr, and there he protected them, and none of the Christians was injured. And the wealthy ARABS brought out vast amounts of their riches to the Catholicus, that peradventure if they were able to save themselves they might retain their property, but all of them were killed.

And afterwards when the wrath of the King of Kings had subsided somewhat, he had the wretched Khalifah brought before him, and he passed judgement on him and condemned him to death. And he commanded and they put him on a piece of sackcloth and then sewed it up round about him, and with kicks of their feet they killed him. [They did this] because certain of the ARABS had frightened the King of Kings saying, 'If the blood of this man be shed on the earth, no rain will ever again fall thereon, and also coals of fire will burst forth from it'. And in this wise the kingdom of the ABBASIDES came to an end. And also the other kingdoms of the ARABS [506] began to totter. And the kingdom of the MONGOLS stood and triumphed in the countries which are outside (i.e. foreign) as well as those which are within (i.e. native).

And the TÂTÂRS on their return from BAGHDÂD came and encamped against the fortress of 'ARBÎL. And when ŞÂHIB BAR SALÂYÂ wished to surrender to him, the large number of KURDS who dwelt therein threatened him with violence, and he fled from them to the TÂTÂRS. Then came BADR AD-DÎN LÛLÛ and bought the fortress and everything which was in it from the TÂTÂRS for seventy thousand *dînârs*. And the TÂTÂRS marched off, and BADR AD-DÎN received the fortress of 'ARBÎL and placed guards therein. And after a short time a certain Kurdish Amîr whose name was SHARÂF AD-DÎN JALÂLÎ brought a *Pukdânâ* (i.e. a Decree = Patent), and took the fortress from BADR AD-DÎN, and drove out his guards who were therein. And when that same JALÂLÎ, together with his TÂTÂR troops, were going against the rebellious KURDS who were in JÛLMARG, BADR AD-DÎN sent certain KURDS and they killed him whilst he was sleeping in his tent. And a certain Christian whose name was MÛKHÂTAŞ, the brother of ŞAFÎ SÛLAIMÂN, the great physician, became master of 'ARBÎL. And after his death TÂJ AD-DÎN 'ÎSÂ, his son, rose up in his place, and he was a good, believing man. And in his time there was a very severe famine and a pestilence in all the land of SEN'ÂR, and 'ATHÔR (ASSYRIA), and BÊTH NAHRÎN, and SYRIA, and BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ; for in DAMASCUS a young dove for a sick man was sold for twelve *nâşrâyê*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> i.e. *zûzê nâşrâyê*. These were coins struck by Saladin = Gr. drachmae (?).







## XI

And here beginneth the Eleventh Dynasty which passeth from  
the Arab kings to the kings of the Huns

Hûlâbû, King of Kings and brother of Mûngâ Khân the Great

**W**HEN the Khalifah MÛST'AŞIM was killed, the King of Kings appointed a certain man whose name was 'ÂLÎ BAHÂDÛR to rule over BAGHDÂD. And in this time of the war the Christians of TAGRÎTH sent to the Catholicus and asked for a ruler to protect them, and a man who would take care of them was sent to them. And when the TÂTÂRS had gone, now they had killed [507] the nobles of the ARABS and had plundered their rich possessions, all the Christians who were in the Green (?) Church, which was dedicated in the name of MÂR 'AḤÛDEMEH, and which the ARABS had seized, had asylum, and they remained unharmed from the beginning of the [Lenten] Fast to the Sunday of Hosannas (Palm Sunday), which was the seventeenth day of the month of 'ADAR (MARCH) of the year fifteen hundred and sixty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1258). Then a certain wicked man, an ARAB, whose name was BAR DÛRÎ, calumniated the Christians to their governor, saying, 'These Christians have hidden away much treasure of the ARABS, the owners thereof having been killed, and they have given nothing to thee'. And when the governor questioned the Christians concerning this matter, they were unable to deny it, but they admitted it and brought everything before him, and he sent and made the matter known to the King of Kings. And the sentence of death went forth against the wretched TEGRITIANS, according to the Law of the MONGOLS. And a certain great chief was sent, together with an army of TÂTÂRS, and they began to take the Christians, twenty at a time, and they led them up to the citadel, pretending that they were going to demolish it, and [there] they killed them. And this they continued to do until they had made an end of all of them. None escaped except some old man or some old woman, and [their] sons and [their] daughters were carried off into captivity. And the ARABS took the great church again. And two aged men from the village of KARMAḤ [near TAKRÎT] only, and the very few men who lived there, remained to pray in the rest of the churches. As for BAR DÛRÎ, the calumniator, a certain Christian whose name was BIHRÂM, and who had been governor of TAGRÎTH, killed him.

And when BADR AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞIL, heard that BAGHDÂD had been taken, he sent his son MÂLIK ŞÂLÎḤ and one thousand horsemen, ostensibly to help the King of Kings, but he did not receive him gladly. And the King of Kings said unto him, 'Ye wanted to see to whom the victory would be so that ye might cleave to him. If the Khalifah had conquered



ye would have come to him and not to me'. And when ŞÂLÎḤ returned to BADR AD-DÎN his father and informed him, BADR AD-DÎN trembled. And he rose up and took a very large and incalculable amount of money, and went in person to the King of Kings, and he propitiated him and returned in peace. But after his abject terror [had passed], he used such boldness and freedom of speech [508] towards the King of Kings that he went up on the throne by his side, and took him by the ear, and with his own hands fastened therein an ear-ring [made] of pearls of great price.

And at the time when BAGHDÂD was taken, the lord of MAIPERĶÂṬ, that is 'ASHRÂF, the son of MÂLIK GHÂZÎ, the son of 'ÂDIL the Great, was meditating (or, was resolved on) rebellion in his heart. Now he had crucified a Syrian elder from the country of BEDLÎS, who had come to him from the Great Khân with a Yarlıkḥ (i.e. a royal Mongol permit) and had driven away the governors of the MONGOLS from his Court. And he rose up and went to DAMASCUS to MÂLIK NÂŞIR and asked him for help, so that he might engage the TÂTÂRS in battle, and might prevent them from making a descent on SYRIA, and, if possible, to kick them far away from BAGHDÂD. But MÂLIK NÂŞIR dismissed him with empty promises, and he returned to his city MAIPERĶÂṬ. And immediately he arrived, the armies of the TÂTÂRS encompassed him round about, and the bulls of BAISHÂN, 'ASHMÛT, the son of the King of Kings, being their captain. And they built a wall round the city, and they set up strong towers in which to fight, and they began to make fierce war upon it from the outside, and those who were inside made war against them even more fiercely. And thus it (i.e. the city) remained unconquered for a space of two years. Then, after BAGHDÂD was taken, the troops invested MAIPERĶÂṬ. And ambassadors from the King of Kings began to come frequently to MÂLIK NÂŞIR, demanding that he should go to his service (i.e. acknowledge his overlordship). And because his nobles did not approve of his going, he made an arrangement, and sent his son MÂLIK 'AZÎZ with treasures, and offerings, and large gifts in the autumn of the year fifteen hundred and seventy of the GREEKS (A.D. 1259), and he remained there the whole winter. And in the spring he came back to ALEPPO, after the Festival of the Resurrection, and said to his father, 'The King of Kings commanded me and said, "We have not asked for thee, but for thy father. Therefore if it is to be peace, let him come [to me], and if not, we will come to him."' ' And MÂLIK NÂŞIR continued to be unable to move through two obstacles: it came to him that he could not sit still because of [his] fear of the TÂTÂRS, and he could not move lest his nobles and slaves should rise up against him and kill him. And he became terror-stricken and stupefied. [509]

And at [that] time also the King of Kings sent for Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN, and RÛKN AD-DÎN, the lords of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, to come and acknowledge his overlordship, and both of them went and were well received. And the



King of Kings commanded that RŪKN AD-DĪN should hold [the country] from CAESAREA to the frontier of GREAT ARMENIA, and that 'IZZ AD-DĪN should reign over [the country] from 'AKSÂRÂ to the sea-coast, the frontier of the kingdom of the GREEKS.<sup>1</sup> And the two brothers went down amicably with the King of Kings as far as BÊTH NAHRÎN, and they went up from there to BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. And RŪKN AD-DĪN dwelt in SEBASTIÂ and 'IZZ AD-DĪN went and dwelt in ICONIUM. And at this time Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DĪN went up to the Monastery of BAR ŞÂWMÂ, and promised benefactions to MÂR DIONYSIUS.

And in this year BADR AD-DĪN, the lord of MÂWŞIL, died on the twentieth day of the month of TAMMŪZ (JULY), and his eldest son, MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ 'ESMÂ'ÎL, reigned in his stead; his intermediate son whose name was 'ALÂ AD-DĪN reigned in SINJÂR, and his youngest son whose name was SAIF AD-DĪN reigned in GÂZARTÂ of ẸARDU.

And in the year six hundred and fifty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1259), which is the year fifteen hundred and seventy-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1260), in the autumn season, the King of Kings came down with troops, four hundred thousand horsemen, to the countries of BÊTH NAHRÎN. He encamped first of all against ḤÂRRÂN, and the citizens surrendered it peacefully and remained unharmed, and the citizens of EDESSA did the same. The citizens of SERŪGH, who did not send [ambassadors], demanded a pledge of security for their lives, and were all killed. And the King of Kings commanded, and bridges were tied together over the EUPHRATES at MELITENE, and at ẸAL'ÂḤ RHÔMÂITÂ, and at BÎRÂḤ, and at CIRCESIUM (OSRHOENE), and the troops crossed over into SYRIA, together with the King of Kings himself, with whom was ẸÔKŪZ KHÂTŪN, the believing queen and lover of CHRIST. And a great slaughter took place in the city of MABBŪGH (MANBIJ), and troops, fighting men, were posted against the fortress of BÎRÂḤ, and against the fortress of ẸAL'ÂḤ NAJM, and against that of ẸAL'ÂḤ JA'BÂR, and CALONICUS, and BÂLÂSH, and [510] all the people who were in them were killed. And at first troops few in number came to the neighbourhood of ALEPPO, and MÂLIK MŪ'ATÂM, an old man, the son of ŞALÂḤ AD-DĪN the Great, sallied out and engaged them; and he was broken and fled and went into ALEPPO. And the TÂTÂRS passed on and went and laid waste the city of MŪ'ARÂḤ. And they went against ḤAMÂTH and [the citizens] surrendered it in peace, and thus also did [the citizens] of EMESA.

And MÂLIK NÂŞIR took his wives, and his sons, and his slaves, and went forth from DAMASCUS, and he fled to the desert of KARÂK and SHÂWBÂK. And the TÂTÂRS went against DAMASCUS, and the lords thereof surrendered it in peace, and no evil thing happened to them. But the King of Kings in person encamped against ALEPPO. And he commanded and walls were built outside the whole of the great circuit of the wall of ALEPPO. And the

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan notes the variant: From CAESAREA to GREAT ARMENIA to 'IZZ AD-DĪN the King of Kings gave, and from 'AKSÂRÂ to the sea-coast to RŪKN AD-DĪN.



TÂTÂRS began to make fierce war on the city, and in a few days they were masters over the walls from the side of the 'IRÂḲ GATE. And they entered ALEPPO on the first day of the week which introduceth the Fast of NINEVEH, in the month of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY) of the year [above] mentioned. And there took place in ALEPPO a slaughter like unto that of BAGHDÂD, only more [terrible]. And because they had destroyed the upper portions of the walls of our church in which were the citizens of B'ELBÂK, I, the feeble one, who was the Metropolitan thereof, through fear for these men, sallied forth to go to offer fealty to the King of Kings, and I was shut up in ḲAL'ÂH NAJM. Our believers who were among the population of ALEPPO remained without a head, and the greater number of them assembled in the church of the GREEKS. And the TÂTÂRS attacked them and killed them and made captives of their families. And finally TÔRÔS, the Armenian elder, the son of the brother of MÂR CONSTANTINE, and the monk KÛRÂK, went in and liberated all those whom they found alive, and they collected them in our church. And having taken the city the TÂTÂRS rose up and made war on the fortress (or, Citadel), and that they took also in peace.

And from there the King of Kings went against ḤÂRIM, and he asked [the citizens] to surrender, and [said that] he would swear to them that he would not harm them. And the fools replied, 'Though thou art king thy Religion (or, Confession) is not known. By what are we to make thee swear? But if FAKHR AD-DÎN, the governor of the fortress of ALEPPO, will swear to us that he will not harm us, [511] we will come down.' And the King of Kings commanded FAKHR AD-DÎN, who went and swore to them. And they opened the gates of the fortress and came down. And the King of Kings commanded, and they were all killed, men and women, and sons, and daughters, also sucking children; and none escaped except an Armenian blacksmith. And they also killed that FAKHR AD-DÎN who had sworn to them, because WÂLÎ AD-DÎN, the son of ŞÂFÎ AD-DÎN, a nobleman of ALEPPO, made an accusation against him, saying, 'It was he who killed my father and my brothers, and who said to them, "Surrender the city so that ye may not die by the sword".'

And when all these things had been brought to an end, the King of Kings left in PALESTINE a certain chief whose name was KIT BÔGHÂ with ten thousand—that is to say a *tûmân*, which is ten thousand—horsemen, and he went back by the road he had come. And when he came to TELL BÂSHÎR the report reached him that the TÂTÂRS had taken MAIPERḲÂṬ. And they took also MÂLIK 'ASHRÂF, its lord, and brought him to him (i.e. the King of Kings), and there he killed him. And he made ruler over MAIPERḲÂṬ a man who was the chief of the stables of the father of 'ASHRÂF, and his name was 'ABD ALLÂH. And there was a famine in the district, whereof the like had never been heard, and it was so severe that of its whole population there only remained [alive] about one hundred souls, and only with the greatest



difficulty were they able to capture it. 'ARDÛ, one of the natives of MAIPERKÂT who had been saved from it like a burnt stick from a fiery furnace, related to me the following: 'One day I longed greatly to eat wheat boiled with the flesh of the ox, together with my household. And for five hundred Christian *zûzê* I could only with the greatest difficulty boil a pot[ful] which was sufficient for us.'

And when the King of Kings had crossed the EUPHRATES, he sent a message to the lord of MARDÎN to come down to him, and the lord did not wish [to do so]. And he also sent [a message] to MÂLIK MUṬAFÂR, his son, because he and the son of BADR AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞIL, were in his service concerning ALEPPO. And he said to him, 'Go and admonish thy father that he go down, and do not allow him to rebel and perish'. And when the young man came to his father, not only would he not hearken to him, but he bound him in fetters and shut him up in prison. And the King of Kings sent troops and they encamped against MARDÎN, and they began to make war [512] on it. And if God—glory be to His Name!—had not cast pestilence therein, even after years they would never have been able to capture it. And the greater number of the people who were therein having perished, according to the nod of God, and the Sûltân himself being dead, MÂLIK MUṬAFÂR, his son, came down and surrendered the fortress. And the King of Kings magnified him exceedingly, and paid him the highest honours, and he felt affection for him and made him a governor.

Now KÎT BÔGHÂ searched diligently and found the place where MÂLIK NÂŞIR was hidden in the desert, and he sent a force against him and it captured him, and took him and brought him to him, and with very great care KÎT BÔGHÂ sent him to the King of Kings. And when he (MÂLIK NÂŞIR) went to him he received him gladly, and honoured him, and promised to send him back again to his kingdom.

And in those days RABBAN SIMEON the Elder and physician, the son of RABBAN ÎSHÔ' the Elder, deceased, who was a native of ẸAL'ÂH RHÔMÂITÂ, was taken into the service of the King of Kings, HÛLÂBÛ. And he flourished and prospered greatly, and he was beloved by all the sons of the kings and by the queens. And he possessed dwellings like those of kings, and gardens, and plantations, and towers in the meadows, and his income yearly was five thousand *dînârs*, from BÂBIL (BAGHDÂD), and 'ÂTHÔR (ASSYRIA), and CAPPADOCIA, and from MÂRÂGHÂ. The remnant of our people obtained through him help, and great lifting up of the head, and honour. And the Church acquired stability and protection in every place.

Then when ẸÔTÂZ the TURK, who reigned in EGYPT, heard that the King of Kings had gone away, and that MÂLIK NÂŞIR had been taken and sent to him, and that KÎT BÔGHÂ alone with ten thousand men remained in PALESTINE, he collected the armies of EGYPT and sallied forth and met the TÂTÂRS in battle in the plain of BAISHÂN, before MOUNT TÂBÔR. And the TÂTÂRS



were broken and KÎT BÔGHÂ himself was killed in the battle, and his sons were carried away prisoners on the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month of the ARABS, in the year six hundred and fifty-eight of their reckoning (A.D. 1259).

And when this report reached the King of Kings he was angry, and he determined that he would tear up the kingdom of the ARABS by the roots. And he commanded and MÂLIK NÂŞIR and his brother MÂLIK TÂHIR, and every one who was with them, were killed on the fourth day [of the week], [513] on the twentieth day of the tenth month of the ARABS, in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1260), at the ninth hour, in one of the ravines of NÂWSHAHÂR, when the moon was in the tetragonon of HERMES. And none of them escaped except MÛHAI [AD-DÎN], the geometer and astronomer. For this man told me: 'One day when MÂLIK NÂŞIR was sitting in his tent, he called me to him and asked me about his nativity. Then there came a certain great Mongol chief at the time of noon, and there were about fifty MONGOLS with him, and MÂLIK NÂŞIR went out to meet him. And the MONGOL said unto him, "A drinking festival is being held this day by the King of Kings, and he telleth thee that thou must take thy brother, and thy sons, and the nobles who are with thee, and that thou must come there". And MÂLIK NÂŞIR rose up and took with him the members of his household, and his nobles, about twenty souls, and they mounted their horses and departed. And after a little while twenty horsemen came to us in the tents, and they said, "The horsemen and the lawyers must come, and there must remain behind none but the servants who pitch the tents, and the cooks, and the shepherds". And when we had mounted our horses, they carried us through deep defiles, and took us down to the place where the nobles of the MONGOLS had encamped, and the others who were standing before them. And when we had drawn near, and they began to have speech with us, suddenly the MONGOLS sprang up behind us, and each of them seized one of us. And I made a sign to the nobles that I was an astronomer, and that I had knowledge of the motions of the heavens. And they called me and seated me behind them. As for the rest, they carried them away a little distance and slew them, and they also killed MÂLIK NÂŞIR, and his brother, and the nobles. They did not kill his sons, and behold they are with them to this very day as prisoners. Then the MONGOLS went and brought along also the few men who had remained in the tents, and them also did they kill.'

#### Concerning the seating of Kûblâi Khân on the throne of the kingdom of the Mongols

At this time a certain great king among the kings of the ŞÎNÂÏÊ (CHINESE), or KHÂTÂ, who are also called 'MANZÂÏÊ', rebelled against the MONGOLS. And because he possessed a great army and had, [514] according to what is



said, four hundred towns, MÛNGÂ KHÂN was obliged to collect a far more numerous force, and to go in person and engage in battle with that Chinese king. And taking with him his brother KUBLÂI, who was younger than he, he went to the inner countries of the CHINESE. And he left in his place his brother 'ARÎGH BÔKÂ, who was the youngest of them all. And having gone and engaged that king in battle, by ill-luck an arrow came to him, and there he ended [his life]. And his brother KUBLÂI took all the armies of the MONGOLS, and went forth from that inner country of the CHINESE and sat down in their outer country, in the great town which is called KHÂN BÂLIK (PÂIKÎN or PEKIN), and his brothers agreed that he should be Khân. But his young brother 'ARÎGH BÔKÂ said, 'It is meet that the kingdom should be mine, because MÛNGÂ KHÂN handed it over to me when he went to the war, and during his lifetime he made me to sit in his place'. And a great quarrel broke out between the two brothers, and for a period of seventeen years [they fought] many battles; at length the younger brother was defeated and captured, and his name ceased [to be heard]. And the kingdom remained the peculiar possession of KUBLÂI KHÂN, the just and wise king, and lover (or, friend) of the Christians; and he honoured the men of books, and the learned men, and the physicians of all nations.

KÔTÂZ, having killed KÎT BÔGHÂ, ruled over DAMASCUS, and over ALEPPO, and over all SYRIA, and he appointed a governor over every town and men versed in the Law (lawyers). And he moved his camp that he might invade EGYPT, and prepare armies, and go forth again to meet in battle the whole force of the TÂTÂRS. And whilst he was on the road, and had arrived in the neighbourhood of GÂZÂ, BAIBARZ, that is BÛNDÛKDÂR (BÛND KÂDÂR) the Younger, the slave of BÛNDÛKDÂR the Elder, rose up against him and killed him. And he went into EGYPT and made himself governor thereof, and he was called MÂLIK TÂHÎR RÛKN AD-DÎN. And at [that] time the lord of SINJÂR, that is 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, the son of BADR AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞÎL, fled to him and he gave him ALEPPO. And the Christians of the sea-coast suffered great tribulation from BÛNDÛKDÂR, and continue to do so to this day, for he was master of [515] all their fortresses, and only 'AKKÔ and TRIPOLI and TYRE were left to them.

With the return of the year, which is the year fifteen hundred and seventy-two [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1261], the TÂTÂRS came to SYRIA with KÛKALÂGÂ (KÛKÂLEK) NÂWÎN at their head, and he came as far as EMESA and took the country and killed [the people]. And because all the inhabitants of SYRIA had fled to ALEPPO, NÂWÎN commanded that all of them should depart outside, and that the natives of every [other] country and city should sit on one side and return to their native places. And when they had done thus he killed them all. And he left [alive] only the citizens of ALEPPO. Then to those who were left they said, 'If ye had been our friends ye would not have fled before us'.



And KÛKALÂGÂ NÂWÎN, having done these things, turned back from SYRIA and crossed the EUPHRATES. And the EGYPTIANS came back again and ruled over the whole of SYRIA. And in the summer of this year, 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, the son of BADR AD-DÎN, the lord of SINJÂR, who had fled to the EGYPTIANS, sent a letter to MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ, his brother, the lord of MÂWŞIL, informing him concerning the strength of the EGYPTIANS, and [saying] that 'it would be better for him to leave MÂWŞIL immediately and go to BÛNDÛQDÂR, so that when he broke the TÂTÂRS he might make him king not only over 'ATHÔR, but over all the East'. And one day when one of the nobles of BADR AD-DÎN, whose name was BAR YÛNES, was sitting by MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ, he stretched out his hand under the carpet and drew forth from beneath it the letter which had come from his brother; and he rose up and went out and departed to his village, the name of which is BÊTH 'ASHÎKÂ in NINEVEH. And after a time ŞÂLIḤ searched for that letter and could not find it, and he knew that BAR YÛNES had taken it. And he made haste and sent two slaves in search of him. And when they arrived at the house of BAR YÛNES he knew that evil was intended, and that if he fell into the hands of ŞÂLIḤ he would perish. Therefore he gave gifts to those slaves, and he had some wine brought to them and said, 'Eat ye, and drink, and enjoy ye yourselves this evening, and in the morning we will go together to MÂWŞIL'. Thereupon they drank and became drunk, and BAR YÛNES rose up in the night, and he took his men, and mounted his horse and came to BARṬELÎ (BARṬELLÎ). And he said unto the governor 'ABD ALLÂH, the son of [516] KHÔSHÛ, 'Inform thy people, and flee all of you, for ŞÂLIḤ is preparing to kill the Christians, and he is going to flee to EGYPT'. And every man who was able to do so rose up and fled to 'ARBÎL in the days of Pentecost.

And on the [following] morning when the slaves rose up and they could not find BAR YÛNES, they thought that he had started for MÂWŞIL before them, and they went in to MÂWŞIL, and made the matter known to ŞÂLIḤ. Then ŞÂLIḤ feared greatly lest BAR YÛNES should reach the TÂTÂRS and bring a force to seize him; and he rose up and took his son 'ALÂ AL-MÛLK, and his slaves, and fled to SYRIA in the month of 'ÎYÂR (MAY) of this year. And on the road some of his slaves were divided in their opinions (i.e. had doubts) concerning him, and they left him and returned to MÂWŞIL. And the natives of MÂWŞIL, together with YÂSÂN, the governor of the MONGOLS, and TÛRKÂN KHÂTÛN, the Khâwârazmite woman who did not wish to go with him, shut the gates in the faces of those who came; and [these] continued to make war on the city for a few days. Then the people of SHAHÂRSIN, that is to say, the Fourth Bazâr of the bazârs which are in MÂWŞIL, attached themselves to a certain man whose name was BAR ZEBALÂḤ, and they opened the gates of the city to him. And 'ALÂM SANGAR, and those who were with him, went in. And YÂSÂN fled, together with his companions, and TÛRKÂN fortified herself in the fortress.



And when these men [who had come back] went into MÂWŞIL, they started a great persecution of the Christians, and they looted their houses and killed every one who did not become a Muslim. And many elders, and deacons, and gentlefolk, and common folk denied their Faith, [all] except a few of the house of SUWAYAD, that is WADHKHÔKÎ, and NAFÎS the goldsmith. And as for the country outside NINEVEH, immediately MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ fled, the KURDS came down, and they made a great slaughter among the Christians, and they took the nunnery of the Sisters which is in BÊTH KÛDÎDÂ, and they killed therein many of the people who from all over the country were hidden therein. And those accursed men also went up to the Monastery of MÂR MATTAI, and thousands of horsemen and men on foot assembled there, and they made war on the monks for a period of four months. And they set scaling ladders in position, and they wanted to ascend the wall, but the monks prevailed [517] and burnt their scaling ladders. Then the KURDS hewed a mass of stone from the mountain which is above the monastery and rolled it [down] upon it. And that great mass of stone split in two, and one part made a breach in the wall, and it remained fast in the breach like a gem in a ring which cannot be moved. And the other part made a hole in the wall and passed through it, and the KURDS rushed to enter in thereby. And the monks, and the natives of the country who were refugees there, resisted fiercely, and they fought with stones and arrows and did not let them come in; and they built up immediately the breach with stones and lime. And during these fights one of the eyes of ABÛ NAŞR the archimandrite was knocked out, and a few men were struck by arrows, but they became well again. And the monks being weary of the fighting, they demanded peace of the KURDS, and they undertook to give them all the hangings, and curtains, and equipment of the church, and also to collect gold, and silver, and chains (jewellery). Now because they heard a report of the coming of the TÂTÂRS, the KURDS inclined swiftly towards peace; and they took a very large amount of property from the monastery, the total value of which amounted to one thousand gold *dînârs*, and departed.

And at that time certain people from the village of BÊTH SÂHRÂYÊ, and others of the natives of NINEVEH, who had been shut up in the Monastery of ḤABHSHÛSHYÂTHÂ, removed themselves from that place, and they went and crossed the river ZÂBHÂ to go to 'ARBÎL. And KÛTLÛ BÂĞ, the Amîr, met them, and giving them as a reason that they were coming from the side of the enemy, he killed them all, men and women alike. And 'ALÂM SANGAR, just as soon as he had gone into MÂWŞIL, heard that the TÂTÂRS had come from the quarter of GÂZARTÂ, and he sallied out and met them in battle and was killed.

And there came a spy of the TÂTÂRS who informed them, saying, 'Behold, MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ is coming again to MÂWŞIL'. And because of this the TÂTÂRS halted and did not come against MÂWŞIL until ŞÂLIḤ had actually come and gone into the city.



When SAIF AD-DÎN, the lord of GÂZARTÂ, heard that ŞÂLIḤ, his brother, had fled to SYRIA, he himself made ready to flee. And NÂWRÎN, the governor [518] of MÂWŞIL, heard [this], and he came to seize him. And the people who were natives of GÂZARTÂ gathered together against him, and they wished to kill him, and he escaped and fled only with the greatest difficulty. And SAIF AD-DÎN collected the Christians, and shut them up in prison and demanded from them two thousand gold *dînârs*. Now it was the day of the Ascension, and the Christians remained shut up and despaired of their lives. And SAIF AD-DÎN distributed much gold among the troops, and about seventy thousand KURDS gathered together about him, and they took him and carried him to SYRIA. And as GÂZARTÂ remained without a lord, two scouts sprang up, the name of the one was 'ÎZÂZ BÂS, and that of the other was MÂḤAMÂD, the captain of the guard, and they made themselves their rulers. And they brought out the Christians from the places wherein they were confined after they had taken from them seven hundred *dînârs*, and they only killed the two of them who were going and coming to the TÂTÂRS.

And at this time 'IZZ AD-DÎN 'AÎBÂG, the lord of 'EMÂDÎÂH, a slave of BADR AD-DÎN, collected about three thousand horsemen, and came to reign over GÂZARTÂ. And NÛRÎN of 'AMÎR met them in battle with three hundred horsemen by the side of the river DEBSHÂ, which floweth down from the mountains of ẸARDÛ, and he broke him and put him to flight. And 'ABD ALLÂH, who reigned over MAIPERKÂṬ, once came to take it, but he was unable to do so. And at the end of the summer of this year Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN of ICONIUM prepared to go to do homage to the King of Kings because he was urged to do so by the ambassadors. And having struck his tents outside ICONIUM in order to set out, a spy came and said unto him, "'ALYÂ-JÂḤ NÂWÎN hath arrived at 'AḤSÂRÂ, and with him is RÛKN AD-DÎN thy brother, and PARWÂNÂ, and they are prepared so that when they meet thee in battle they may take thee prisoner, and carry thee in chains to the King of Kings'. And 'IZZ AD-DÎN trembled and abandoned his tents which were struck, and he took his sons and his household and fled to CONSTANTINOPLE, to MICHAEL, the king of the GREEKS. 'ALYÂ-JÂḤ NÂWÎN took RÛKN AD-DÎN Sûltân [519] into ICONIUM, and seated him upon the throne of the kingdom, and PARWÂNÂ became his administrator.

And in this year the lord of EGYPT made ready a certain young man who was black, whom he had discovered to be of the family of the Khalîfah, and he sent him with a small army to come and take BAGHDÂD and to sit on the throne of his fathers. And he sent also to MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ, the lord of MÂWŞIL, to come to MÂWŞIL and to sit upon his throne. For the report had gone forth, saying, 'The TATÂRS have come to an end, and have been wiped off the earth by the sceptre of heaven; and the birds have blinded them'—a story which not even babies would believe. And as for the black Khalîfah,



when he came into the neighbourhood of BAGHDÂD, 'ÂLÎ BAHÂDÛR went out with his army and broke him and killed him.

And as soon as ever MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ had gone into MÂWŞIL towards the dawn of the third day of the week, on the seventh day of the month of the FIRST KÂNÔN (DECEMBER), the MONGOLS arrived quickly, with SAMDÂGHÛ, a Christian MONGOL, a splendid young man, at their head. And they surrounded the city at daybreak of the third day [of the week], when the Moon was in [the sign of] the Lion. And they built a wall outside it, and they began to make war upon it strenuously. And the war against it dragged on until the summer, and there was a very severe famine in the city. And men were exhausted by the war, and they were wearied with the fightings (or, struggles). And, moreover, SAMDÂGHÛ began to send to them words of a consolatory character, and he promised benefactions to MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ. And MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ went out to SAMDÂGHÛ with drums, and sistra (?), and harpers playing their instruments of music, and acrobats who performed before him, and as soon as ever he arrived SAMDÂGHÛ had him surrounded by Mongol troops; and they went into the city and looted it, and killed the population thereof. And SAMDÂGHÛ gave wine to the son of ŞÂLIḤ, that is to say 'ALÂ AL-MÛLK, and they made him drunk. And they tied the string of a bow over his vents (?) so tightly that the whole of his inside was thrust upwards, and they cut him into two parts at the band of his loins, and they hung them over the two sides of the entrance of the gate of the city. And they also cut off the head of MÛḤI, the son of ZEBALÂK. And they took MÂLIK ŞÂLIḤ to the Camp and there he was killed. And BAR YÛNES of 'AMÎR reigned over MÂWŞIL.

And when the affair [520] of MÂWŞIL was ended, SAMDÂGHÛ went against GÂZARTÂ, and he built a wall before it, and he began to make war on it, and he fought there the whole winter, until the summer. Then ḤENÂN ÎSHÔ, the Nestorian bishop of GÂZARTÂ, who was present outside [the city], admitted to the King of Kings that he had knowledge of the art of alchemy, and that he could prepare for him as much gold as he wanted, received from the King of Kings a *Pukdânâ* (i.e. Royal order) of the word of life (i.e. pledge for the lives) for the people of GÂZARTÂ, and he came and entered the town. And the son of 'EZÂZ BÂS rose up to kill him, but the chiefs would not allow [it]. And he promised them that he would go and bring to them a warrant of greater power from the King of Kings. And he went and received a *Yarliḥ* (i.e. Royal Decree) ordering that JEMÂL AD-DÎN GULBAG, a slave of SAIF AD-DÎN, the lord of GÂZARTÂ, should be king; and that 'EZÂZ BÂS, and MÂḤAMÂD, the captain of the host with him, should be Pâkôdhê (i.e. Commanders), and that MÂR SAINT ḤENÂN-ÎSHÔ should be counsellor and administrator, and like a father. And he went into GÂZARTÂ, and he pleased the hearts of those who were therein, and they opened the gates. And SAMDÂGHÛ went in, and he commanded, and in one hour the



TÂTÂRS dug and threw down the walls of the city, and they left and went and sat down in the valley of SHEMÂMÂ, in the country of 'ARBÎL.

And when the year fifteen hundred and seventy-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1263) began, SAIF AD-DÎN, the lord of GÂZARTÂ, sent from EGYPT one of his slaves to JEMÂL AD-DÎN GÛLBÂG, the slave, who reigned in GÂZARTÂ, [ordering him] to send him the gold which he had hidden in a certain place. And when JEMÂL AD-DÎN brought out the gold and gave it to that slave, he took it and went to 'IZZ AD-DÎN 'AÎBÂG at 'EMÂDÎÂH to tell him the word of his lord. And he took him and brought him to SAMDÂGHÛ. And he sent and called JEMÂL AD-DÎN GÛLBÂG, and he admonished him, saying, 'We made thee king, and behold, spies come to thee from EGYPT, and thou hidest the matter from us'. And when he denied [the accusation], he produced the man who had come from EGYPT, and he proved GÛLBÂG guilty and killed him. And after a little he went to GÂZARTÂ, and he killed the Pâkôdhê, and MÂR SAINT HENÂN ÎSHÔ reigned.

And in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1264) a certain scout of BADR AD-DÎN, the lord of MÂWŞIL, whose name was ZÂKÎ, a native of 'ARBÎL, laid a charge of treason against BAR YÛNES, who was reigning over MÂWŞIL, to the King of Kings, saying, 'He hath stolen gold from the treasure of BADR AD-DÎN and hidden it, [521] and he wishes to take it and flee to EGYPT. I know his secret, and he hath given me poison to drink, and he wished to kill me, [and would have done so] if this Christian physician whose name is MUWÂFÂK, a native of NISIBIS, had not cured me. Otherwise I should already be dead.' And the King of Kings was angry and he commanded them to beat BAR YÛNES. And when they laid him out a written paper fell from his bosom, and they opened it and read it, and behold, there were written on it sentences from the K̅ur'ân, viz.: 'Their tongue shall be fettered in their mouths; and there shall be fetters on their legs (or, feet); and halters about their necks, and we shall rejoice and be glad'. And when the King of Kings asked what these words meant, the enemies of BAR YÛNES replied, 'They [refer] to the sorceries which are worked by him for you'. And the King of Kings commanded and BAR YÛNES was killed, and ZÂKÎ the ARBELITE reigned in his place. And he was called by the additional name of 'ÂKIL K̅ARŞÂ' (i.e. Calumniator), because he ate the flesh (or, belly) of BAR YÛNES, and killed him.

And in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1265), in the days which introduced the Fast [of NINEVEH], HÛLÂBÛ, King of Kings, departed from this world. The wisdom of this man, and his greatness of soul, and his wonderful actions are incomparable. And in the days of summer TÔKÛZ KHÂTÛN, the believing queen, departed, and great sorrow came to all the Christians throughout the world because of the departure of these two great lights, who made the Christian religion triumphant.



## After Hûlâbû, 'Abâkâ was King of Kings

In the days when HÛLÂBÛ the ÎL-KHÂN departed from this temporary life, the sons of the kings and the MONGOLS agreed together that his eldest son should sit upon the throne of his father, because they saw that God had adorned him with understanding, and wisdom, and a good disposition, and mercifulness. And when the kingdom was established for him, he showed himself triumphant in his wars, and the conqueror of all his enemies, and he was beloved by all the peoples who were under his dominion. And in this year, which is the year [fifteen hundred] and seventy-six [of the GREEKS], EPHTHIMIUS (EUTHYMIUS), [522] Patriarch of ANTIOCH of the GREEKS, came, and he brought the daughter of MICHAEL PALAEOLOGOS to 'ABÂKÂ, King of Kings. For his father had long before sent an ambassador asking for her; and in the year in which she was given, before they arrived in CAESAREA, then they were informed of the departure of the King of Kings, HÛLÂBÛ, and they could not return.

And in this year 'IZZ AD-DÎN Sûltân fled from the country of CONSTANTINOPLE. And he sent and informed those of the house of BARÂKATH, for they were neighbours of that country, and they sent and seized him and departed, and behold he is there to this day.

And in this year, in the days of summer, a *Pukdânâ* came to 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, the Master of the DÎWÂN, ordering that he should have a general *Pukdânâ* over BAGHDÂD. And after a little time a stupefying report came to him that his brother SHAMS AD-DÎN, the Master of the DÎWÂN, was held prisoner in the Camp. Straightway KÂRÂ BÔGHÂ, the governor of BAGHDÂD, laid his hand on 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, and shut him up in his palace on the twentieth day of the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST), and he sent and informed his brother. And the *Pukdânâ* came that 'ALÂ AD-DÎN should go with honour and be escorted, and also ISAAC, the Armenian youth, the scribe of KÂRÂ BÔGHÂ, and with him a man of the MA'DÂYÊ, [who said], 'I have come to make 'ALÂ AD-DÎN to flee'. And when they arrived at the Camp that man of the MA'DÂYÊ was beaten, and he confessed, saying, 'ISAAC taught me to lie'. And they killed ISAAC and the man of the MA'DÂYÊ. And from this time the affairs of the Christians became confounded.

And in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-seven [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 1266), BÛNDÛKÂR, the lord of EGYPT, sent to king HAITÛM of CILICIA, and he said unto him, 'Let us submit to him and pay a capitation tax, and we will open the road of SYRIA, and transport food from his country'. And the king, through fear of the TÂTÂRS, was unable to reply to him with words of peaceful agreement, and because of this he made ready to come to CILICIA without delay. And the king hastened to BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, to the chief of the TÂTÂRS, whose name was 'NAPHSÎ', so that he might come to his help. And he replied, 'Without the *Pukdânâ* of the King of Kings I am



unable to come'. And during the time when, having sent the ambassador, and he was awaiting the reply, the troops of the EGYPTIANS burst into CILICIA, the king being outside (or, absent). Then the CONSTABLE, his brother, and two [523] sons of the king, and his nobles made haste and went to meet the EGYPTIANS, and they met them in battle by the side of the ROCK OF SERWAND. And the ARMENIANS were broken, and LÎÔN, the lord of the district, the eldest son of the king, was made prisoner, on the third day [of the week], on the twenty-fourth day of the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST) of this year. And BÂRÔN TÔRÔS, the younger son of the king, was killed, and the rest of his nobles fled.

And the EGYPTIANS went in and spread themselves over the whole country of CILICIA, and they wrought great destruction therein, [committing] murder and [leading the people into] captivity. And they set fire to sîs, and they pulled down the great church, nay, more than this, all the churches. Only two of our churches escaped, viz. the church of the Mother of God, and that of MÂR BAR ŞÂWMÂ, because there was no wood in the structures. And they spoiled MOPSUESTIA, and 'AYAS, and 'ADÂNÂ, and they took into captivity sons and daughters without end. Now they did not come to TARSÔS. They set fire to the Monastery of PAKSEMÂT, but they did not harm that of GWÎKHÂTH, because there was found in it a monk who could speak ARABIC, and he humbled himself before them, and they did no harm either to himself or to his monastery. And they remained in the country, looting and burning twenty days, and then they went forth.

Now after they had gone forth king HAITÛM came, and with him was an army [composed] of TÂTÂRS and men of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, and these instead of rendering help did wanton damage, and the things which remained from the EGYPTIANS they looted. Then after these things king HAITÛM began to be anxious about the deliverance of his son. And having promised to give gold and fortresses to the EGYPTIANS as the ransom of his son, the EGYPTIANS replied, 'I ask nothing from thee except one friend, who is now in the hands of the TÂTÂRS, and whose name is SENKÛR 'ASHKÂR, that is a red-haired man; save this man and send [him] to me, and take thy son'.

And at this time RÛKN AD-DÎN, the lord of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, wished to destroy PARWÂNÂ, the man whom he had seated firmly on the throne of the kingdom, and his actions with the benefits of his government were spread abroad. Therefore when PARWÂNÂ knew this he informed the nobles of the MONGOLS when RÛKN AD-DÎN was with them. He persuaded a certain man, and he went into the tent in which he was lying down, and he threw a cord round his neck [524] and strangled him, and they carried him [out] and buried him. And they set up in his place his son GHÂYATH AD-DÎN when he was a child about four years old. In this year NÂŞIR (RÂDÎ?) AD-DÎN PAPA (BÂBÂ) brought a *Pukdânâ* from the Camp, and he killed ZÂKÎ the ARBELITE, and reigned in MÂWŞÎL.



And in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1267), king HAITÛM came to MÂWŞIL, and from there he went to do fealty to the King of Kings, 'ABÂĶÂ. And he wept before him because of his son who was a prisoner in EGYPT, and he begged for SENĶÛR, the red-haired man, that he might give [him] as a substitute and take his son. And 'ABÂĶÂ had compassion on him, and he said unto him, 'At present he is not near, but do thou go to thy country, and I will have him brought and will send him to thee'. And HAITÛM left the king and went back.

At this time PARWÂNÂ, the administrator of the kingdom of BÊTH RHÔMÂÏÊ, desired to contract affinity with king HAITÛM through his daughter. And he discussed the matter with PARSÎGH, an Armenian monk, an ambassador of the king to the TÂTÂRS, and he, the fool, counselled him, saying, 'When the king is ready to cross over into thy country, come to him, and pay him honour, and ask him, and he will not prevent thee'. Therefore when the king came back from the Camp, and arrived at the inn of ẸÂRÂṬAI, and tarried the night there, PARWÂNÂ came to him, and with him were all the nobles of BÊTH RHÔMÂÏÊ, and he offered to the king very valuable gifts, and asked for his daughter. And because the king was afraid lest he might ambush him on the road and do him harm, he did not offend him [by refusing], but gave him his word and his right hand, and went to his own country. And when PARWÂNÂ began to ask for her, the king replied, 'It would not be seemly for us to make her a wedding feast with her brother in prison'. And when PARWÂNÂ had waited until her brother came, and there remained no longer any reason for keeping her [from him], it happened that the daughter died, and PARSÎGH the monk perished through anger.

And in this year, which is the year fifteen hundred and seventy-eight [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1267)], 'ALÂM AR-RÎÂSÂH, the Egyptian lawyer in MÂWŞIL, was seized and put to death in prison, on the second day [of the week], on the twenty-ninth day of the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER).

And in the year which is the year fifteen hundred and seventy-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1268), SENĶÛR 'ASHĶÂR was brought from the country of SAMARKÂND, and was sent to king HAITÛM, and he sent him to EGYPT. And in this year, [525] in the days of the Fast of Forty Days, MÂR DENĦÂ, the Catholicus of the NESTORIANS, took a certain native of TAGRÎTH who many years before had become a Muslim, and wished to baptize him in the TIGRIS. And the people of BAGHDÂD heard [of it]. And they made a great tumult against 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, the Master of the DÎWÂN. And he sent nobles to the Catholicus several times and demanded that person. And when the Catholicus did not wish to give him up, the people became wild with rage, and they set fire to the wooden framework of the gates of the Cell (i.e. the house of the Catholicus), and they climbed up the walls to kill the Catholicus. And the Master of the DÎWÂN heard [of it], and he sent and took him to



his palace from the side of the waters secretly, and saved him. And the Catholicus sent and complained to the Camp, and messengers came and took him and he went [there]. And when he had made his complaint no man hearkened to his voice, and he left and came to 'ARBÎL; and he began to build a church in the Citadel thereof, and he lived therein.

### Concerning the taking of Antioch

In the month of KHAZÎRÂN (JUNE) of this year, BÛNDÛKÐÂR, the lord of EGYPT, sent armies against ANTIOCH the Great of SYRIA, and they took it with the sword because there was not in it a force sufficient for its defence; and moreover those who were therein had not understanding enough to surrender it in peace. Therefore the EGYPTIANS went into it, and they slew all the males therein, and they destroyed the famous churches, and they took captive women, and sons, and daughters, and they left it a heap of ruins and a desert place until this day.

And in the summer of this year MÂR SAINT, that is HENÂN ÎSHÔ, Bishop of GÂZARTÂ, was seized, and there went forth a *Pukdânâ* that he was to be killed. And they killed him, not with the sword, but whilst he was lying down and meditating; they lifted up a huge stone and from behind his back smote him on the head, and put him to death. And they cut off his head, and hung it up above the gate of the city of GÂZARTÂ. And this evil end came to him because he thrust himself into worldly affairs, and wished to become king; and he was accused of various kinds of disgraceful acts.

And at the time the EGYPTIAN sent the lord of the revenue, LÎÔN, the son of king HAITÛM, to his father in honour, and he went to CILICIA in the month of TAMMÛZ (JULY) of this year, and he became a comfort to his father and to all the Christians. And king HAITÛM went to pay homage to the King of Kings, in BAGHDÂD, and he gave thanks for the deliverance of his son, and he received a [526] *Pukdânâ* ordering his son to administer the kingdom; and he himself was to dwell in peace because he was an old man and was feeble. And the King of Kings commanded that when he came unto us we were to transfer to him the kingdom.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1269), on the seventeenth day of the month NÎSÂN (APRIL), at the first hour of the night of the fourth day [of the week], a severe earthquake took place in CILICIA, and it destroyed the rock fortress of SERWAND, and that of 'AMÂÔS, and that of the rock HARÛ'TÂ, and the great Monastery of the ARMENIANS, that is [the Monastery] of BALÛT the king. And about eight thousand souls perished in this catastrophe. And in the month of TAMMÛZ (JULY) the lord of the revenue, LÎÔN, the son of the king, went to do homage to the King of Kings; and he was received handsomely, and it was decided that he was to rule the kingdom of his father.



And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-one [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1270)] the lord of EGYPT went forth to PALESTINE, and he encamped in person against the fortress of 'AKRÂD, and he took it with the sword. Now he killed no man therein, but he allowed every man to dwell therein who wished to do so, and he who wished to depart he sent to TRIPOLI.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-two [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1271)], in the autumn season, the believing king HAITÛM died of a virulent abscess which broke out in his chest. And in the year the chief priests and the nobles assembled in the city of TARSÛS, and they placed the crown on [the head of] his son LÎÔN. And they proclaimed him king on the day of the Feast of the Epiphany.

And in the days of the [Lenten] Fast the ISHMAELITES rushed out upon 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, the Master of the Dîwan, when he was riding in BAGHDÂD, and they stabbed him with knives, but did not injure him [fatally]. And they were seized, and their members were cut off. And the ARABS spread the report that they were Christians, and that they had been sent by the Catholicus. And the holy men, and the monks, and the chief men who were in BAGHDÂD were seized and shut up in prison; and KÛTLÛ BÂG, the Amîr of 'ARBÎL, seized and shut up the Catholicus and his holy men in prison. And they were in great tribulation during the whole of the Fast, until God helped [them], and a *Pukdânâ* came from the Camp, and they were released. And from that time the Catholicus went and dwelt in the city of 'ESHNÛ, in 'ADHÔRBÎJÂN.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-three [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1272)], the nobles of the GREEKS of CILICIA acted treacherously against the new king LÎÔN, and when the [people] perceived their treachery, they seized BÂRÔN, their chief. And his companions heard [of it], and they fled to one of the fortresses, and they sent to BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ [527] for them to come to their help and receive the fortress. Then the king made haste and encamped against the fortress, and the ARMENIANS who were therein seized the Greek nobles and handed them over to the king, and he destroyed them all. And he also destroyed BIHRÂM in the fortress of the city of 'ANÂZARBÂ. For when those men fled to that fortress, the king sent the Greek Patriarch of ANTIOCH to them, and he swore that if they came down in peace he would do them no harm. But the Patriarch when he had gone to them said unto them that they were not to come down, and if [they did] he (i.e. the king) would destroy them. And he came back and said unto the king, 'They would not hearken unto me and come down'. And the king perceived what had taken place through him. And having destroyed those men, he seized the Patriarch in order to send him to the king of CONSTANTINOPLE, so that the king might judge between them. The Patriarch having been handed over by the king to the soldiers that they might carry him to CONSTANTINOPLE, those who were to take him carried him to the city of



'AYÂS; and they pitched a tent for him by the side of the sea. And having gone into the city to buy food for themselves, they also occupied themselves with the drinking of wine until the evening. And the Patriarch sent a message to some Greek sailors who lived in that neighbourhood, and he summoned them to him, and wept before them, and he showed them how [the soldiers] were placing him by the sea of the ARMENIANS, not to carry him to CONSTANTINOPLE, but to effect his destruction. And being sorry for him, they carried him off in their little boat and took him to BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, to the TURKS.

At this time LÎÔN, the king of the ARMENIANS, gave his daughter by a handmaiden to the son of PARWÂNÂ, instead of his sister whom his father would not give to him, and a convenient friendship sprang up between them.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-four [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1273)], on the eighteenth day of the month of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY), on the night of the fourth day [of the week], there was a severe earthquake in the city of 'ADHÔRBÎJÂN, more especially in the city of TABRÎZ. And it overthrew the palaces and the mosques, and the capitals of the pillars fell down. Our church, however, did the Lord protect, and it never shook, and the performance of the service never stopped, and GREEKS, and ARMENIANS, and NESTORIANS, and all our own peoples gathered together therein. But the rest [528] of the people of the ARABS by the ten thousand pitched tents (or, habitations) in the gardens outside [the city], and they dwelt in them for about two months and then went into [the city again]. Now in this earthquake about two hundred and fifty Arab souls died.

And in the summer of this year the robber bands of SYRIA came from 'AIN TÂB, and from BÎRÂH, to the country of KĻÂWDYÂ (CLAUDIA), from the side of the mountains. And passing like a flash of lightning through the country they came to the boundary of the lands, and they came back and made captives of the whole of the population, both women and a multitude of young men. And they went through it in that day without tarrying for the night, for they were afraid that the army of the MONGOLS would capture them.

In those days we made ready to go up to the Monastery of MÂR BAR ŠÂWMÂ, because we did not understand the calamity which had taken place until we arrived in the neighbourhood of the district, which we discovered to be like unto a vineyard which had been beaten flat by the hail. And as we were sitting in the Monastery of SERGIUS there came from the monastery about fifty armed monks, and they took us and we went up to the monastery.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-five [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1274)], the King of Kings came down to BAGHDÂD with a multitude of troops; now there was poverty and food was scarce therein, and the locust also had appeared. And during the days of the Fast of Forty Days this



year, a Nestorian monk from the Monastery of MICHAEL, which is by the side of MÂWŞIL, being discovered in fornication with an Arab woman, abandoned his Faith and became a Muslim. And the Christian suffered great pain and grief [through this]. Then the monks of his monastery, together with the uncle of the monk who had become a Muslim, and who was himself an anchorite, being unable to endure the disgrace and ignominy, sent and informed ʿARPÂSHÎ, the captain of the soldiery of the MONGOLS. And he rose up and came to MÂWŞIL, and he seized the man who had become a Muslim with indignation, as if he would kill him. And the Arab peoples of MÂWŞIL perceived this, and were filled with indignation, and they gathered together at the gate of the palace, a great mob, with staves and lamps. And they uttered imprecations on the head of the MONGOLS, and they threatened ʿARPÂSHÎ that if he would not set free the man who had become a Muslim, they would kill him and all those who were with him. And the MONGOL being afraid sent him away. And the ARABS took him, and set him upon a horse and marched him about throughout the city of MÂWŞIL, and [thus] the last sorrow was worse than the first.

And in those days when the Christians of the city of 'ARBÎL wished [529] to celebrate the Festival of Hosannas (Palm Sunday), and knowing that the ARABS were making ready to obstruct them, they sent and summoned to their help certain TÂTÂRS who were Christians and who were near them. And when they came they placed crosses on the heads of their spears, and the Metropolitan of the NESTORIANS, together with all his people, sallied forth with those TÂTÂRS riding in front of them. And when they approached the front of the fortress, the companies of ARABS grouped themselves together, and they were carrying stones and they stoned the TÂTÂRS and the Christians, and their companies were scattered and each of the Christians fled to one side; and after this they remained for some days without daring to go forth. And this also afflicted the Christians in every place.

And in this year died KHWÂJÂH NÂŞIR, the Persian philosopher. He was a man renowned and famous, and was pre-eminent in all the branches of science, and was especially learned in those dealing with mathematics. He constructed instruments for the observations of the stars, and the great brass spheres which were more wonderful than those which PTOLEMY set up in ALEXANDRIA, and he observed and defined the courses of the stars. And there were gathered together about him in MÂRÂGHÂ, a city of 'ADHÔR-BÎJÂN, a numerous company of wise men from various countries. And since the councils of all the mosques and the houses of instruction (i.e. colleges) of BAGHDÂD and ASSYRIA were under his direction he used to allot stipends to the teachers and to the pupils who were with him. About this time, having set out for BAGHDÂD to visit various places, he died in BAGHDÂD. And certain men have reported that he was blind. He wrote many books—



explanations (or, commentaries) on rhetoric and natural and divine learning. He arranged EUCLID and MAGİŞTÎ very accurately. And there is also [attributed] to him a lexicographical work in PERSIAN in which he taught the meaning of the words of PLATO and ARISTOTLE on practical philosophy. For he held fast to the opinions of the early philosophers, and he combated vigorously in his writings those who contradicted them.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-six [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1275)], in the month of the FIRST KÂNÔN (DECEMBER), certain evil-doing men in MÂWŞIL went and knocked at the door of a Jewish goldsmith in the night. And when he answered and said unto them, 'What seek ye?' they said unto him, 'We are young folk and we have come to thee that thou mayest give us money to buy food'. And he said unto them, [530] 'How much do ye want?' And they said, 'Twenty *zûzé*'. And being afraid the JEW brought to them what they had demanded. And he told them to take the money through an opening in the door. And they said, 'No, but open to us the door'. And when they had stood disputing about the matter for nearly an hour, their companions climbed up the walls to the roof, and they went down into the house and opened the door, and those others entered in. And they put the JEW to the torture until he had shown them all the treasure which he possessed. And when they thrust [their] hand[s] to kill him, his wife lifted up herself over him, and she began to entreat the thieves, saying, 'Have pity on (or, spare) the youth of this man, and kill ye me instead of him'. Then those accursed men in their hardness of heart replied to her, 'We will kill both him and thee'. And having killed her husband, they stabbed her with knives and left her half dead, and they took much treasure and departed. And when the day broke and the people came they found the JEW dead and his wife at her last gasp. And having related what had happened, she died at about the ninth hour.

At this time certain Arab *fakîrs*, about thirty souls, came from the region of SYRIA to CILICIA that they might receive a blessing from the tomb of the Khalîfah MÂMÛN, who was buried at TARSÔS. And the expectation fell (or, it was suspected) that BÛNDÛKDÂR, the lord of EGYPT, was among them, and that he was in disguise, and was going about to spy out other kingdoms. And the lord of CILICIA laid [his] hand upon them, and he took them and shut them up in a great fortress. And when the rumour flew to EGYPT, ambassadors began to come frequently in quest of those who had been shut up in prison. And thus the suspicion came to be wellnigh confirmed, and king LÎÔN was unwilling to release them. And an army of EGYPTIANS was collected and it invaded CILICIA in the days of the Great Fast.

In the year fifteen hundred and eighty-six [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1275)], about five hundred horsemen and an army of the ARMENIANS engaged them in battle and put them to flight. And again a powerful army of about eight thousand men was collected, and they burst out upon the miserable



country. And they arrived at 'AYÂS very early in the morning on the second day [of the week], on the Sabbath of Wonders, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of 'ÂDÂR (MARCH), [531] and they killed those whom they found therein. For many people in the little island which was near had fled there. But having escaped from the Egyptian Arabs, the Frankish highway robbers came upon them and looted all their possessions so thoroughly that they carried off even their cloaks; but they did not kill them. Then the EGYPTIANS came quickly from 'AYÂS to MOPSUESTIA on the third day [of the week], and they made a great slaughter therein and burnt it thoroughly. And they crossed the bridge and spread themselves about throughout the country. Some of them went to TARSÔS, and on the day of the Sabbath of the festival of the ARABS they called to prayer in the tower thereof, and they went as far as CYRICUS, killing and plundering, and burning. Now some of them made their way as far as SÎS, but they found no man therein, for they had all sought protection for themselves in the Citadel, and piece by piece they burnt it. Twenty-five monks were killed in the Monastery of PAKSÎMÂT, together with RABBAN SOLOMON, a glorious old man, and the syncellus of the deceased Patriarch MÂR IGNATIUS. And they set fire to the monastery, and also the Monastery of GHUÎKHÂTH, and the other monasteries of the ARMENIANS and GREEKS, and the little Monastery of our Patriarch which is in the suburbs of SÎS, as if they had never left it. Then the Patriarch fled to the fortress of BAHGÂ, and there he remained in asylum until the wrath had passed.

Now these EGYPTIANS remained in the country until the Sabbath of the White had passed, and they went forth taking very much booty. And the number of the slain amounted to sixty thousand, and the women and the children who were led away into slavery are beyond count. And there were in the country about ten thousand TURKOMÂNS, and they also wrought great destruction of the [property of the] Christians. And when the EGYPTIANS sallied out the king killed them all, and enslaved their families, and looted all their possessions.

And in the [same] year BAIMOND (BÔHÂIMOND), the Prince of TRIPOLI, died, and his son reigned in his place. And the nobles sent and brought [532] SÎR HARRÎ, the father of the lord of CYPRUS, an old man, and a man of understanding, and to him they committed the direction of the young man and the administration of the kingdom.

And at [this] time two brothers, the sons of SHAIKH 'ÂDÎ, whom the KURDS of the country of MÂWŞIL hold to be a prophet, quarrelled with each other. And because one of them took to himself a wife from the MONGOLS, the other was afraid, and he took all his family and household, about four hundred souls, and fled to SYRIA, together with all the sheep, and oxen, and horses which they possessed. For the Christians were greatly terrified, and they were afraid of him, lest he should loot their goods in his passage and



kill [them]. He, however, passed on and injured no man. But after he had gone, certain highway robbers came and took BÊTH ʾAKSHÛR, a village in the country of NINEVEH. And the villagers fought strenuously against them in war, and they killed about ten of the robbers; and five men of the village were killed, and seven maidens and three young men were carried off.

And when the year fifteen hundred and eighty-seven [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1276)] began, on the fifth day [of the week], on the third day of the month of the FIRST TESHİRİN (OCTOBER), a violent earthquake took place in the city of ʾARKEŠTÎĀ, which is ʾARGÎSH, and the strong walls and all the buildings thereof fell down, and a large number of its inhabitants perished. And the selfsame thing happened in the city of KHĀLĀṬ, and the earthquake in the country thereof took place at the time of the ninth hour; there was great destruction there, but it was not as widespread as that which took place in ʾARGÎSH. And in those days when the great caravan of Christian merchants was going from CILICIA to BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, three hundred horsemen of the TURKOMÂNS fell upon them, and they killed about eighty of the most famous Christian merchants in the neighbourhood of the city of HERAKLEIA, and they carried off the property which they had with them. Now, with one of the merchants who belonged to the family of ʾÎSĀ, the son of HADÎRÎ, there were one hundred and twenty thousand Tyrian *dînârs*. And nothing escaped from the caravan except four Arab camels.

And in the winter of that year about seven myriad (i.e. seventy thousand) of troops of the MONGOLS gathered together, and they went to capture the fortress of BÎRĀH, but they were unable to do so because of the heavy snow which fell and the bitter cold which arrived. [533] And many of them were deprived of [their] horses, and they returned on foot without success. Now ʾABATAI NĀWÎN the Great stood at their head, and even he, when he turned back and arrived in ASSYRIA, fell sick of an acute illness. And after the return of these troops the TURKOMÂNS waxed strong, and they mustered in great strength, and they were accompanied by about one thousand horsemen from the army of the EGYPTIANS. And they came from the side of MARʾASH to go again into the rocky (or, mountainous) country of CILICIA. And when king LÎŌN perceived [this], he collected his army of ARMENIANS and set at its head BĀRŌN SÎNBĀṬ, the Constable, his uncle, and others of the nobles. And they went and engaged the TURKOMÂNS in battle by the side of MARʾASH on the Eve of the Sabbath (i.e. Friday), on the third day of the Holy Fast of Forty Days. And on that day BĀRŌN SÎNBĀṬ himself, the uncle of the king, was killed, and others of the nobles, viz. the lord of KHĀRBÎZAG (?), and thirteen other famous men, and three hundred horsemen. And of the TURKOMÂNS also very many were killed, and they returned, having been unable to enter the country.

And before these things happened, that is on the first Sabbath of this Fast, on the fourth day [of the week], on the nineteenth (or, seventeenth)



day of the month of SHEBHÂṬ (FEBRUARY), in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-seven [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1276)], hurricane winds blew in MÂWṢIL and 'ARBÎL and in the regions round about. And the wind was loaded with such great quantities of red sand that the air became densely charged [with it], and no man could see his neighbour from the third to the ninth hour. And terror fell upon men, and they thought that they would be wiped out by an air-flood, or by an earthquake, like the city of 'ARGÎSH. And they went out and passed the night in the plain outside their houses, and the wind dropping they went back to their houses. And also on the first day of the Week of the Dead, which precedes the entrance of the Fast, the wind brought large quantities of sand, but not as much as on the former occasion.

And at [this] time the captain of the host of the fortress of ZÂÎD, whose name was BÎSHÂR, a wicked man and a shedder of blood, an old man, one hundred years old, made up his mind to flee to the EGYPTIANS. For he had in his heart a hatred of MÂR SARKÎS, the bishop of the ARMENIANS, in the city of 'ARZENGÂN, who was a great man and who was honoured by the king of the HUNS. He determined to kill him and then to go away. And, taking certain of [534] his free men with him, he went to the country of 'ARZENGÂN. He heard that the saint was in one of his monasteries preparing for the Feast of Hosannas (Palm Sunday), and he lay in wait for him on the road. And when the holy man rose up on the second day [of the week] of the Sabbath of the Passion to go into the city, his son who was great and famous, was also with him. And he said unto the holy man, his father, 'Do thou go into the city, and I want to go and occupy myself in such and such a village, where they want to consecrate the church which they have built'. And his father gave him permission to go, and he was not to stay too long. And when they had separated from each other, three Turkish horsemen came and met the holy man, and they dismounted and went to kiss his hand. And they said unto him, 'An ambassador hath come and he asketh for thee and thy son also to read the *Yarlık* (i.e. a Mongol Patent or administrative order) which he hath with him'. And the holy man said, 'My son hath gone to such and such a village, but behold, I will come'. And when they had journeyed on a little farther, there fell upon them about two hundred Turkish horsemen, and they killed the holy man and the thirty souls, elders, monks, and other slaves, who were with him. And they cut off his head, and they took it and went and seized that village, and they surrounded the church wherein was the son of the holy man very carefully. And when they entered the church they could not find him because there was a heap [of grain] there, and he had hidden himself inside it. And when they wanted to depart, one of those accursed infidels said, 'Let us set fire to this heap first, and then we will go forth'. And having set fire to it the young man came forth only half alive. And the TURKS said unto him, 'Where is thy father?' And he replied, 'He hath gone into the city'. Then they cast



down before him his [father's] head. And when he saw [it] he shrieked and fell down on the head of his father. And then and there, as he fell down, they hacked him limb from limb.

And after these things that wicked old man BÎSHÂR took his sons and all his company of soldiers and departed to the lord of EGYPT. And PARWÂNÂ, who was administrator of the kingdom of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, fearing lest the MONGOLS should have their suspicions that his heart also inclined towards the EGYPTIANS, rose up and took the daughter of Sûltân RÛKN AD-DÎN, and carried her to the service of the King of Kings. And he said, 'I heard that the EGYPTIANS were ready to come and seize her, and therefore [535] I made haste and have brought her [here]'. And the TÂTÂRS thanked him for this. And he also said, 'One of these Amîrs of ours, that is BAR KHÂTÎR, wisheth to take the young man GHÂYATH AD-DÎN, the lord of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, and to flee to EGYPT. Therefore give me an army that I may go and take him quickly.' And KÛNGHÛRTÂI, the younger brother of the King of Kings, having gone with him, they found BAR KHÂTÎR and the young Sûltân on the plain of PALESTINE, and that they wanted to flee to SYRIA. And having killed BAR KHÂTÎR, [KÛNGHÛRTÂI] handed the Sûltân over to PARWÂNÂ, and he seated him again on the throne of his kingdom. And thus PARWÂNÂ came to be a very great man with the TÂTÂRS, and he was greatly beloved by them because of sincerity of the love which he showed towards them.

At this time 'A'LÂM AD-DÎN YA'KÛB, a great merchant and a Christian, a native of BAR KAWTÂH, a village in the country of 'ARBÎL, coming from doing homage to KÛBLÂI KHÂN, died on the road in the country of KHÔRÂSÂN. Then 'ASHMÛT, the ambassador who was appointed [to go] with him, who was himself a great man and an honourable man of the race of the ÎGHÛRÂYÊ, and who led the ascetic (or, monastic) life, took his sons and brought them to do homage to the King of Kings, 'ABÂKÂ. And the King of Kings received them kindly, and he made MAS'ÛD, the eldest son, ruler over MÂWŞIL and 'ARBÎL; and 'ASHMÛT became the administrator of the Amîr.

And in this year, the year in which MAS'ÛD reigned, that is to say, the year fifteen hundred and eighty-seven [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1276)], the other son of Shaikh 'ÂDÎ fled from the country of MÂWŞIL to EGYPT, and he also carried off with him the Mongol woman whom he had taken from the TÂTÂRS.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-eight (A.D. 1277), BÛNDÛKDÂR, the lord of EGYPT, decided that he would go in person to BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. For the old man BÎSHÂR, together with the other nobles of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ who had fled to him, urged him to take this course. Now when LÎÔN, king of CILICIA, perceived this, he sent and informed the captains of the hosts of the TÂTÂRS that they must be on their guard, because the EGYPTIAN was ready to capture them. Then PARWÂNÂ, either because of the hatred which he bore to the king of the ARMENIANS, or because his heart was not straight



in respect of the TÂTÂRS, showed himself to be a liar in regard to the TÂTÂRS. And king LÎÔN, because he could not endure [this], rose up and came into the neighbourhood [536] of the TÂTÂRS in the fortress of DABÂBÂ. And he sent an ambassador every day and said to the TÂTÂRS, 'Look ye, and wake ye yourselves up from your sleep, for behold the EGYPTIAN hath drawn nigh with a numerous army'. And similarly PARWÂNÂ lied, and said unto the TÂTÂRS, 'In vain doth one lay upon you a good deed'; and he sent reports concerning food and drink. And because of this they (i.e. the TÂTÂRS) did not believe the word of king LÎÔN. And PARWÂNÂ himself made a feast for them each day and made [them] drunk, until the day of the Eve of the Sabbath (Friday), the sixteenth day of the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL), of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-eight [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1277)].

On that day the EGYPTIANS hurled themselves upon the MONGOLS, and they found them drunk and stupefied with wine, and only with the greatest difficulty could each one of them mount his horse. And because it is not [written] in the Law of the TÂTÂRS that they may flee before meeting the enemy in battle, the TÂTÂRS engaged the EGYPTIANS and were broken before them. And in the course of this breaking two of the great chiefs of the TÂTÂRS were killed, the one being TÔGHÛ and the other TÛDÂN, the athlete. And there were present with the TÂTÂRS three thousand IBERIANS, and as the result of the great resistance which they offered, two thousand of them were killed; and they cast down many EGYPTIANS, and one thousand of the IBERIANS escaped. And of the MONGOLS about five thousand fell in the war.

And when PARWÂNÂ saw that the TÂTÂRS were broken, he took the Sûltân and fled to the fortress of DÛKÎÂ. And BÛNDÛKDÂR, the lord of EGYPT, went and pitched his tents by the side of CAESAREA, in the place which is called KAI KÛBÂD, and he remained there fifteen days. And he went into CAESAREA once and sat on the throne of the Sûltân. He neither injured any one of the peoples nor looted, but the soldiers of his army took everything at [its] price (i.e. on payment), and they even bought the hay for their horses. 'For', he used to say, 'I have not come to lay waste the country, but to free its lord from the slavery of the TÂTÂRS.'

Then when 'ABÂKÂ, the King of Kings, heard the report [of this battle], he gathered together the troops which were ready, and he set his face towards BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. And when BÛNDÛKDÂR knew that his army was not able [to fight], he went forth from BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, and he took with him the old woman, the mother of PARWÂNÂ, [537] and his eldest son who was the son-in-law of the king of the ARMENIANS. And at his going forth he destroyed the Christians of the city of RÔMÂN with the edge of the sword because it had been said unto him, 'by these the TÂTÂRS are made strong when they pass over into SYRIA'. And as soon as the King of Kings had come to BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, he found no EGYPTIAN there, but only men of the TURKOMÂNS who had fled to SYRIA. And he pursued and overtook and killed



them, and made captives of their families and households. And the TÂTÂRS in their greediness also killed many of the Christians, and they made captives of them and looted, even though the King of Kings had commanded that they were not to harm the Christians, because they had hidden and fed many of the TÂTÂRS who escaped from the EGYPTIANS. And also he had taken a *Yarlîkh* (i.e. a Mongol Patent or administrative order or decree) through a certain elder and monk, and had commanded them to go round about in the camps and rescue the Christian prisoners who were from BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. And behold thus they did.

And when the King of Kings himself went about in the mountains of CAPPADOCIA and arrived at the place which is called 'AḶSHÂ ('AGHJÂ?) DAR-BAND, he came back again. And when PARWÂNÂ came to the King of Kings he did not reduce the honours paid to him, but exalted him more than ever. And he took him with him ostensibly that they might work out [together] a plan of action concerning BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, and [decide] how great the army [was to be], and what captain of the host they should leave there, who would be able to stand up against the EGYPTIAN if he repeated [his invasion]. And when they arrived in ARMENIA, in the mountain which is called 'ÂLÂṬÂGH', he made a feast for PARWÂNÂ. And he made him drink a large quantity of the milk of mares, for he did not drink wine, and when he went out to pass water, the King of Kings made a sign to the men who carried arms, and they hacked him limb from limb on the second day [of the week], on the second day of the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST), of the year which is the year six hundred and seventy-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1276). Thus PARWÂNÂ was put to death in the same way as the King of Kings put RÛKN AD-DÎN to death. So that the words might be fulfilled, 'The killer shall be killed, and his blood shall not be considered'. It is said that as soon as [the TÂTÂRS] drew their swords on PARWÂNÂ he neither trembled nor was terror-stricken, but he poured out evil curses on the TÂTÂRS, saying, 'Is this my reward from you? And is this the reward of every one [538] who loveth you?'

And before BÛNDÛḶDÂR arrived at DAMASCUS, a judgement of the Most High overtook him in the neighbourhood of ḤAMÂTH, and the end reached him and he died; and his deep schemings, which were full of villainy, came to an end. This man in his own mind was very very great, and within a very little he said what the PHARAOH of old used to say, 'The river NILE is mine, and I made it'.<sup>1</sup> It is said that in the war of the TÂTÂRS he was wounded by an arrow in his anus, and that the head of the arrow remained in him for many days. And having commanded the surgeon to extract it, as soon as he did so his spirit departed. And his son rose up after him in EGYPT, and he handed over the administration of the whole of SYRIA to the

<sup>1</sup> Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.—Ezekiel xxix. 3.



lord of ḤAMÂTH. Now we have been assured subsequently that his death did not take place thus. But his treasurer mixed a deadly poison with the milk of mares and gave it to him to drink. And when he felt sick, he commanded and made the treasurer to drink of the milk also, and straightway the two of them died together.

Now there happened during this war something which is worthy of note. For they say that when the TÂTÂRS were broken their slain fell on the ground. BÛNDÛḲDÂR commanded his younger brother BAR KHÂṬÎR, who had fled to him, to go round about among the slain of the TÂTÂRS, and see what famous men of them had been killed, in order that he might boast himself about them to the EGYPTIANS. And when that man went to the place where the dead were, he turned round their faces in order to recognize them. And among the slain TÂTÂRS there was a man who had been wounded, and had fallen down, but was not already dead; he still had some strength in him, and he lay waiting so that in the night he might rise up and flee. And when he saw BAR KHÂṬÎR examining the slain carefully, he thought that he was going about to kill those who were not completely dead. And as he had fallen down in the state in which he had been with his weapons attached to him, he took his bow and drew out an arrow from his quiver, and shot it with masterly accuracy at BAR KHÂṬÎR, and it hit him in his eye and the arrow-head lodged in his brain. And those who were with him thought that the arrow had flown from heaven. And they took him up and carried him before BÛNDÛḲDÂR, and he died in that hour.

And on the fifth day [of the week], on the seventh day [539] of the month of ḤAZÎRÂN (JUNE) of that year, the accursed KURDS made an ambush in MOUNT 'ALPÂP, and they took ten monks from the Monastery of MÂR MATTAI and tortured them. And one of them who was nicknamed MAṢÛTHÂ they killed, and the other nine they sold for four thousand *zûzé*.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1278)], king LÎÔN sent and took to his house his daughter, who was the daughter-in-law of PARWÂNÂ, because her husband had been taken to EGYPT, even as we have said. And in this year a very hard winter, with extreme cold, came in 'ÂDHÔRBIJÂN, and in all GREAT ARMENIA as far as the frontier of the SCYTHIANS; and the horses, and cattle, and sheep of all the dwellers in tents perished. And there was a scarcity of food, for one hundred *manayê* of wheat, that is to say a small load of an ass, was sold for forty Rûknâyê *dînârs* in MÛGHÂN.

And in this winter the Persian PÂPÂ (BÂBÂ), who had put an end to MAS'ÛD, the son of ḲÂWTÎ, in the kingdom of MÂWṢIL, calumniated (i.e. brought an accusation against) MAS'ÛD, saying that he was 'destroying the country of MÂWṢIL, and that he did not know how to rule'. Then the King of Kings commanded certain nobles, and they came with the PÂPÂ to MÂWṢIL. And the PÂPÂ set up false witnesses against 'ASHMÛṬ and MAS'ÛD, and



they bribed the judges, and perverted the judgement (i.e. obtained a verdict by fraud). And they (i.e. the TÂTÂRS) condemned those Christians, and made an end of them, and they appointed the PÂPÂ governor.

And in the summer of this year a multitude of the TURKOMÂNS, and dwellers in the desert, and KURDS who were gathered together in SYRIA, assembled, and they invaded CILICIA, and they came as far as HAMDÔN, and wrought great destruction in the country, and having taken a vast amount of spoil they went forth.

And in the year fifteen hundred and ninety [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1279)], when the great queen KÛTÂI Khatûn saw that in these [recent] years the Christians had ceased from going forth on the day of the Epiphany to bless the waters on the river, because of the quarrel which the ARABS made with them, and that the cold was intense, she came in person to the city of MÂRÂGHÂ, and commanded the Christians to go forth according to their custom with crosses suspended from the heads of their spears. And having gone forth the Divine Grace visited them, and the strength of the cold diminished, and the grass prospered, [540] and the winter possessed the characteristics [favourable] for herbage. And the MONGOLS had joy in keeping their horses in condition, and the Christians in the triumph of their Faith.

And in this winter rebels from the hordes of the TÂTÂRS, about five thousand [in number], who had fled and hidden themselves on the borders of INDIA, came to the country of SHÎRÂZ, and they wrought great destruction there, and made a great slaughter. They were, however, unable to enter the city, but they engaged in battle the army which sallied out and broke them, and only a few of them, and those with great difficulty, escaped. And the thieves who were in SHÎRÂZ laid their hand[s] on the owners of riches, and seized their possessions. And when the son of the King of Kings heard of the behaviour of those rebels, he pursued them and overtook them, and he destroyed the greater number of them with the edge of the sword.

And in the days of spring there was a certain wicked and audacious man in BAGHDÂD who was in the service of the governor, and he made many to suffer evil things, and he debauched men's wives. And he jeered at the Great Council of the kingdom, and laughed derisively at it, as if it was a comedy. And one day when the governor was engaged in the chase, the Council seized that tyrannical man, and they fixed a cross for him on a wagon, and they fastened his hands and his feet [to it]. And they carried him round through the bazârs of BAGHDÂD with two needles used for sewing sackcloth (i.e. pack-saddle needles) thrust through his tongue. And a young man stood behind him on the wagon and drove away the flies from the cheeks of the wretched man. And they smote him with their hands, saying, 'Thus are rewarded those who jeer at the nobles'. And when they had brought him out on the bank of the TIGRIS they cut off his head and



suspended it above the bridge, and his body they burnt in the fire; and many evil-doers were terrified at the destruction of this man. Now it was night when they marched him round through the streets, and a large number of actors went before him beating drums and dancing as they jeered at him.

And in this year, on Friday the nineteenth day of the month of 'IYÂR (MAY), the armies of the EGYPTIANS burst forth on ẸAL'ÂH RHÔMÂITÂ, viz. nine thousand horsemen and four thousand footmen. At the head of the EGYPTIANS stood an Amîr whose name was BÂSÂRÎ, and at the head of the soldiery of SYRIA was HÛSÂM AD-DÎN, a native of 'AIN TÂB. And they camped on the river [541] of PARZÂMÂN. And they sent two persons as ambassadors to the Catholicus, the one an ARAB and the other an ARMENIAN, and they said unto him, 'The Sûltân hath commanded that thou shalt surrender the fortress in peace, and that thou shalt take thy monks and go and dwell in JERUSALEM. And he will give thee villages sufficient to maintain thee. And if thou dost not wish to act thus, but dost wish to go to CILICIA, in this case likewise we will transport thee on our mules and horses with all honour. But if thou resistest, and will not surrender [it], God will require the blood of all these Christians from thee.'

Then the Catholicus replied, 'I will fight until I die. I cannot be faithful both to God and to the king.' Then during the whole night the EGYPTIANS crowded into the plantations (or, gardens), and they cut down the trees, and they reared up ladders, and in the morning of the Sabbath they began to fight a fierce battle against the city. And they put to flight the ARMENIANS who were fighting on the new wall which they had built below. And they placed ladders and entered into the wretched city and looted it, and they set fire to all the houses therein. And because the whole population had fled up to the Citadel they found no man in the city; but they remained there for five days looting, and spoiling, and burning. Then after the great destruction which they had wrought therein they departed. And they ate up its stores of grain, and they cut down its vines, and its trees, and they smashed the stones of the corn mills, and they dug out the baths in the bath-houses and carried them to BÎRÔÂ.

And during the days when the army of the EGYPTIANS was encamped against ẸAL'ÂH RHÔMÂITÂ, BAR ẸÂRÂMÂN sent the Turkomân EÛGÂYÂ from BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ to the lord of EGYPT, [telling him] to send to him an army to pave a road before him and conduct him over into SYRIA, because he was afraid of the armies of the TÂTÂRS, and of the king of the ARMENIANS. And the lord of EGYPT sent to king LÎÔN, [telling him] to give a passage to the Amîr BÎSÂRÎ so that he might go and bring BAR ẸÂRÂMÂN. The king agreed that they might pass over by the borders (or, limits) of his land; and thus they did. And they passed over in the mountains, and came forth near CAESAREA; and they took BAR ẸÂRÂMÂN and returned. And on their return the Amîr BÎSÂRÎ made it his object to rebel against his lord, and he made



the troops [542] who were with him to swear fealty on his behalf. And they went to the country of CILICIA and remained fifteen days therein spoiling and looting. They encamped for ten days at 'ANÂZARBÂ, and they made the natives of the country who had fled there to suffer great tribulation. And if they had stayed there a little longer they would have used up all the water, but God smote them. They burnt the Monastery of PAKSÎMÂT entirely, and thus did they with the Monastery of RABBAN KÂWMÂ, but they did not come to GÛIKHÂTH.

And as soon as they arrived in SYRIA this plot became apparent to the lord of EGYPT, who was the son of BÛNDÛKDÂR. And he sallied forth hastily from DAMASCUS and went to EGYPT. And when he began to collect troops those who were with BÎSÂRÎ decamped, because they feared the Sûltân. Then, remaining by himself (or, alone), he went to JERUSALEM, and he took refuge in the PORCH OF SOLOMON; and he shaved the hair off his head, and offered repentance for his folly. Then the eldest son of BÛNDÛKDÂR, seeing that dissension had fallen among his troops, went up to the fortress of KARÂK, and abdicated the kingdom. And the nobles gathered themselves together, and they swore oaths of fealty to his young brother, and they seated him upon the throne of EGYPT. And he did not prosper, for there rose up against him a certain Amîr whose name was 'ALPÎ and drove him away, and he himself reigned over EGYPT.

And in this summer the Sûltân 'IZZ AD-DÎN, the lord of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, fled from the country of BARKÂH, and he came to 'ABÂKÂ, who received him gladly. And when he wished to give him a part of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ the nobles would not permit [it], 'For', said they, 'if this taketh place the strife between him and the son of his uncle will increase'. And they undertook to give him a portion of the revenue of the whole country, but he was not to have command over [any one particular] place. And he agreed to this, although it was not according to his wish.

And in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-one [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1280)], 'ASHMÛT, the Îgûrian Amîr, and MAS'ÛD, the son of KÂWTÎ, approached 'ABÂKÂ, the King of Kings, and they showed [him] that the judges who had been sent with PÂPÂ (BÂBÂ) the PERSIAN had wronged them, and that the judgement against them had been brought about by bribery. [543] Then 'ABÂKÂ commanded that his brother and his son-in-law should be the judges and that they should see which of the two parties was the innocent one. And having passed about a month of days in investigating [the matter], PÂPÂ (BÂBÂ) was found guilty, and these former judges were exposed, and they confessed to the bribe which they had taken from PÂPÂ (BÂBÂ). And the command went forth, and the head of PÂPÂ (BÂBÂ) was cut off with the sword on the fifth day [of the week], on the eighth day of the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST) of the year aforesaid, and brought to MÂWŞIL. And those Christian governors again ruled over MÂWŞIL and 'ARBÎL, and they triumphed nobly.



And a great man, a PERSIAN by race, whose name was JELÂL AD-DÎN TÛRÂN, from the country of KHÔTÂN, was also killed because of the part which he took on behalf of PÂPÂ (BÂBÂ), and because he did not repress his impudent boldness.

And in those days a certain Kurdish Amîr from the country of MÂWŞIL, whose name was 'BARDÛ', fled to SYRIA with all his family and household. And the keepers of the highways from the army of the TÂTÂRS, although they pursued him, did not overtake him. And SENĶÛR 'ASHĶÂR, who was in DAMASCUS, would not consent to 'ALPÎ reigning in EGYPT, but he collected an army and engaged him in battle. And when 'ALPÎ prevailed over him he fled from before him. And he came to RAĤBÛTH, to the Amîr 'ÎSÂ, a dweller in the desert, and the two of them became allies. And they sent an ambassador to 'ABÂĶÂ, the King of Kings, [asking him] to send troops against 'ALPÎ. And he having hearkened to them, and troops having gone down to SYRIA, SENĶÛR was in fear for himself because of them; and he did not trust them, but fled and took refuge in the fortress of ŞEHYÔN (ZION). And the TÂTÂRS came as far as ALEPPO, and they destroyed with the edge of the sword every one who fell into their hands, and they set fire to all the buildings and went back. But a very large number of the population were hidden in caves, and they were delivered from the sword. Now their descent into SYRIA took place in the days of winter in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-two [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1281)], KÛNGHÂRTÂI, the young brother of 'ABÂĶÂ, King of Kings, standing as their captain.

And after the TÂTÂRS had turned back from ALEPPO, seven thousand Egyptian horsemen gathered together, and went to encamp against the fortress of MARKÂB, [544] which is on the sea-coast. When the wretched Brethren, the lords of the Citadel, realized their coming, about two hundred horsemen and five hundred footmen sallied forth, and hid in a ravine in the neighbourhood of the fortress. And they got down from their horses and had begun to pitch their tents, when an army of FRANKS burst upon them and destroyed most of them with the edge of the sword, and only a very few of them escaped.

And in the summer of this year the PERSIANS of the house of JALÂL AD-DÎN TÛRÂN, and of the house of PÂPÂ (BÂBÂ), stirred up a quarrel against MAS'ÛD, the son of KÂWŢÎ, saying that 'he went into the treasury of JALÂL AD-DÎN and carried off a great quantity of treasure, gold and precious stones'. And MAS'ÛD was arrested, and under the severe tortures which they made him to suffer he gave a written undertaking [to pay] five hundred thousand darics. And his nephew, whose name was SÛ'ÎDÂTH, was condemned in judgement, and was killed with the sword. And a certain ARAB of MÂWŞIL, the son of SAMNÎÂH, who was under the patronage of MAS'ÛD, died under torture. And another Amîr, a Hâkârian Kûrd, whose name was 'ABÛ BAKR, who in years past had been a rebel in the mountains of ASSYRIA, and with



whom MAS'ÛD had come to terms of peace, they carried to the Camp, and he also was killed and eight companions with him. And when the eldest son of Shaikh 'ADÎ, who had fled to SYRIA, came back and went to the Camp, and began to make excuses for his flight, he was condemned to death and was killed. And MAS'ÛD was brought to MÂWŞIL together with Mongol scouts, that he might give [them] the gold, and, having remained with them for some days, he fled from them by night.

And in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-three [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1282)], in the autumn season, the armies of the MONGOLS came down again into SYRIA, some fifty thousand of them, with MÛNGÂ TÎMÛR, the beloved brother of the King of Kings, standing as their captain. And LÎÔN also, the king of CILICIA, collected his troops, and he went with him to help him. And the armies of EGYPT and SYRIA were assembled, 'ALPÎ, who had been Sûltân, standing as their captain, and SENËÛR 'ASHËÂR also, for the two of them had become reconciled to each other.

And the TÂTÂRS and the EGYPTIANS met each other in battle between HAMÂTH and EMESA on the fifth day [of the week], on the thirtieth day of the month of the FIRST TESHÎN (OCTOBER) of the year, and the side of the TÂTÂRS [545] prevailed over the side of the EGYPTIANS. And just when the TÂTÂRS were nearly obtaining a complete victory, an ambush of the TAGHLÎBITES of the desert fell upon them from the left side. And the TÂTÂRS thought that the enemy had surrounded them in the front and in the rear, and those who were in the centre of the battle, with those of the left wing, turned their backs to flee. But those who were in the right wing, and who belonged to the race of the TÂTÂRS who are called 'ÂWIRÂTHÂÏÊ', together with five thousand IBERIANS, and the king of the ARMENIANS with his soldiers, not perceiving the ambush of the ARABS, broke the EGYPTIANS who were resisting them with great violence. And they chased them as far as the gate of EMESA, and they made a great slaughter of them until they heard of the flight of their companions, when straightway they also retreated. And as they were returning they encountered the force of the EGYPTIANS who had come back from pursuing the TÂTÂRS who had fled; and each side was terrified at the other, and they killed and were killed. And they formed into companies on each side, and each party went over to its own district. And thus it happened that the right wing of the TÂTÂRS came bearing much loot, Egyptian darics, and mules, and vessels, and apparel, whilst the left wing and those of the heart (i.e. central line of battle) had cast away even their clothes. And many came back on foot being sorely vexed by hunger and thirst. And thus the right wing and those of the centre of the army of the EGYPTIANS went back to DAMASCUS with much loot, which they had carried off from the TÂTÂRS. Of the left wing of the EGYPTIANS very few were saved, and they were badly wounded and plundered. And but for the non-coming of 'ABÂËÂ as far as the banks of



the EUPHRATES, and his return to BAGHDÂD, the EGYPTIANS would have been left [on the field] cut into pieces.

And in the winter of this year great anxiety fell upon the inhabitants of ASSYRIA, and of the whole of the country of SEN'ÂR through the return of these troops. For there was also intense cold, and much snow fell in this country of MÂWŞIL, far more than was usual. And after a dissolution (or, disbanding) of this kind had taken place of the two parties of MONGOLS and EGYPTIANS, thieves from the desert tribes, and TURKOMÂNS, and KÛRDS, allied themselves to each other, and they invaded the country of CILICIA, and came as far as 'AYÂS, [546] and they set fire to it and looted it. They did not find in it one of its inhabitants, for they had all fled to sea, and had gone into a new fortress which they had built out in the sea. And having made spoil of whatsoever fell into their hands, they went forth, and again others went in three times. Then others gathered together for the fourth time, and they invaded the country on the Sabbath of NINEVEH of the year [fifteen hundred] and ninety-three [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1282)]. And they came as far as TELLÂ DHË ẖAMDÔN, and they carried off very much loot. And when they were going forth the ARMENIANS shut the fortifications and gates on them, and they destroyed them all with the edge of the sword; and they took away their weapons, and they stripped off the skins of their heads. And they loaded up ever so many animals with loads of armour, and spears, and swords, and scalps with the hair upon them, and they sent them to the King of Kings.

And after a few days the governor of the fortress of BÎRÂH, whose name was ẖAIDÂR, collected a force of about two thousand horsemen, and he captured the fortress of ZÂÎD. And many Christians fled and took refuge in the Great Mosque of the ARABS and were saved; and others rebelled in the place which is called 'AL'ESTÔNÂ,<sup>1</sup> and the robbers were unable to go in against them, because that place is difficult [of access], like a precipice. Then those accursed men, having stolen (or, robbed) about four thousand women and children, crossed the EUPHRATES, opposite MELITENE, and looted the country thereof. And they found in the village of 'ARĶÂ a large population of Christians, and these also they carried off into captivity, and they went to SYRIA. And MANGÛ (*sic*) TÎMÛR, having returned from SYRIA, came to 'ABÂĶÂ at BAGHDÂD. He was sad and sorrowful because of the breaking (i.e. defeat) which had happened to him, and he undertook to go back again to SYRIA. And having gone back and arrived at GÂZARTÂ of ẖARDÛ, a certain informer, whose name was ŞÂFÎ ẖARĶÛBÎ, laid information (i.e. calumniated) the governors of GÂZARTÂ. And because of this MÛNGÂ TÎMÛR made them to suffer many evil things, and they held (i.e. nursed) their wrath against him. And one day when he went out of the bath they contrived a plan and

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a building, or set of buildings, resting on very high pillars; the place was near the Citadel of ZÂÎD.



made a secret arrangement with one of the cup-bearers, and he made him drink poison. And being disturbed in his body, he removed from GÂZARTÂ towards NISIBIS. And when the governors [547] of GÂZARTÂ knew that the web of the life of MÛNGÂ TÎMÛR was already cut off, they seized ŞÂFÎ KARKÛBÎ, and his son, and his slave, and they paraded them naked through the bazârs of GÂZARTÂ, and put them to death with an evil death.

And the King of Kings, 'ABÂKÂ, removed from BAGHDÂD and came to the city of HAMÂDÂN. And on the Sunday of the Resurrection of the year fifteen hundred and ninety-three [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1282)] he went to the church there, and he rejoiced at the festival with the Christians. And on the second day [of the week] a certain Persian nobleman whose name was BIHRÂM made a feast in his palace in his honour. And on the night of the third day of the week he became excited (i.e. delirious) and he saw phantoms in the air. And in the early morning of the fourth day [of the week] of the Sabbath of the White, on the first day of the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL) and the twentieth day of the eleventh month of the ARABS, he departed from this world. And on Sunday, the twenty-sixth day of the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL), on the sixteenth day of the month of MÛHARRÂM, his brother MANGÛ (*sic*) TÎMÛR also departed this life in the country of GÂZARTÂ. Thereupon, after the death of 'ABÂKÂ, the nobles sent an ambassador to him, and said to him, 'There is no command for thee to go to SYRIA', without informing him of the death of his brother. Thus these two brothers, kings of the world, died, neither of them having knowledge of the death of his brother.

And after a few days about six thousand horsemen came from SYRIA, and they crossed the EUPHRATES and went as far as GÂZARTÂ of KARDÛ. And MÔMÎN, the governor of the city, sallied out and engaged them in battle, and he was broken, and captured, and was carried a prisoner to EGYPT. And terror fell on the country of NINEVEH, and all the natives of the district fled to the Monastery of MÂR MATTAI. And they were in great tribulation, and a pestilence fell upon them, and about thirty of the monks died.

At this time a certain Persian scribe, whose name was MAJD AL-MÛLK, attacked 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, the Master of the Dîwân of BAGHDÂD, and he proved that he had filched from the revenues of the government treasury a large sum of money. And 'ALÂ AD-DÎN was seized and he was stripped of everything which he possessed, and even his young sons were sold to the merchants. And whilst he was in this tribulation 'ABÂKÂ died, and 'AḤMÂD reigned, and he killed MAJD AL-MÛLK the scribe, the informer against 'ALÂ [548] AD-DÎN. And after a little 'ALÂ AD-DÎN died also within the year.



## Tākûdâr 'Aḥmâd

After 'ABÂKÂ [came] his brother who was called 'AḤMÂD. When 'ABÂKÂ, the King of Kings, had departed from this world, all the sons of the kings, together with the nobles, gathered together, and they agreed that 'AḤMÂD, the son of HÛLÂBÛ, whom KÛTÂI Khâtûn, the Great Queen, had borne to him, should be the head of the MONGOLS who were in the west, because the way (or, path) belonged to him, and he was the eldest of his brothers. And he sat on the throne of the kingdom on the first day of the week, on the twenty-first day of the month of ḤAZÎRÂN (JUNE), in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1282). And he exhibited great mercifulness of disposition and liberality of hand. And he opened the treasury of his father and brother, and he brought out great treasures of gold and silver and distributed them among [his] brothers, and the Amîrs, and the Mongol troops. And he looked upon all peoples with a merciful (or, sympathetic) eye, and especially on the heads of the Christian Faiths, and he wrote for them Patents which freed all the churches, and the religious houses, and the priests (elders), and monks from taxation and imposts in every country and region.

And he sent ambassadors to the lord of EGYPT, to the old man, the 'Âtâbâg of the lord of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, and to KÛṬB AD-DÎN, the Judge of the city of SEBASTIA, and to SHAMS AD-DÎN, the son of TÎTÎ, the Wazîr of the lord of MARDÎN. And he said unto the EGYPTIANS, 'According to the command of God, and the Law which our father CHINGIZ KHÂN laid down for us, the kingdom of the MONGOLS hath come to me by lot. And because God hath summoned me to peace, I wish that every man shall possess (i.e. enjoy) a peaceful and quiet life in his own country, and that battles, and killings, and captivities shall cease from the face of the earth. Therefore, if ye have the same minds in this matter, give the hand to (i.e. assist) peace and submission. And if it be that ye would remain in your state of rebellion, God will require of you the blood of the wretched people which will be poured out.' And the lord of EGYPT agreed that there should be peace, and that the sword should be removed from the midst [of them], but on the condition that the city of MÂWṢIL should belong to the son of BADR AD-DÎN, and that he himself should give to the MONGOLS what the others were giving, and BAGHDÂD and SINJÂR accepted the offer.

And when these ambassadors came back and made known what had been said to them, the King of Kings sent the Shaikh 'ABD AR-RAḤMÂN to the EGYPTIANS that he might confirm [549] the peace, and behold there it was. And at that period the roads were opened, and merchants were going from BÂBIL, and ASSYRIA, and PERSIA to SYRIA, and Egyptian merchants were coming to these countries of the TÂTÂRS, and no man molested them. Then 'ABD AR-RAḤMÂN, being ready to go to SYRIA, received a large amount



of money from the royal treasure of the MONGOLS, and precious stones, and marvellous pearls, and gold, and silver, and apparel, and bales of stuffs (i.e. brocades) wherein much gold was woven. And he left 'ÂLÂṬÂḲ and came to TABRÎZ, and he sat down there for about a month of days. And he gathered together handicraftsmen of all kinds, jewellers, and sewers (i.e. weavers), and others, and he made everything to a royal pattern. And from there he came to MÂWṢIL. And he sent and had brought from BAGHDÂD ten thousand gold [pieces] also, and he took [them] and went to MARDÎN. And the ambassador of Sûltân 'ALPÎ, the lord of EGYPT, came to him there, and he said unto him, 'The Sûltân saluteth thee. And he saith, "I have been sitting in DAMASCUS all this very long period of time, and I have been awaiting thy coming, so that I might see thee and fulfil thy request and go to EGYPT, because this land cannot support all the multitude of troops who are with me. Therefore I beseech thee tarry not."'

And 'ABD AR-RAḤMÂN sent and said unto him, 'Behold, I am ready to come, but I beseech thee that when I come to thy country thy servants shall bring me into thy presence with honour, and that they shall not conduct me by night, as they did the other ambassadors who have preceded me in coming to thee'. And the Sûltân sent and said unto him, 'Thou art a great man with us (i.e. in our opinion) and thine honour is quite distinct from that of the [former] ambassadors. Therefore make glad thine heart, and with the satisfaction which thou wishest come.'

Then Shaikh 'ABD AR-RAḤMÂN became confident, and he sent and brought the army of the TÂTÂRS, who guarded the roads of 'ÂMID, and they rode with him. And MÂLIK MÛṬAFÂR, the lord of MARDÎN, also sent with him an ambassador from him, one SHAMS AD-DÎN who is called the 'son of TÎRÎ', a great and a famous man. And he also sent other troops to go into the service of the Shaikh as far as the EUPHRATES, and to come back. And the Shaikh left MARDÎN in the tenth month of the ARABS, which is SHAWÂL, in the year six hundred and eighty-two [of the ARABS, i.e. A.D. 1283]. And when he arrived at the city of ḤÂRRÂN a certain Amîr, one of the slaves of the lord of EGYPT, came to meet him. And that Amîr [550] was to wait for the Shaikh, and to alight from his horse [when he came], and to come on foot to salute him, and to kiss his hand according to custom. But that Amîr did not alight from his horse, and he shouted out the salutation in front of him. And he sent and said unto the Shaikh, 'There is now no need for these TÂTÂRS to come any further; order them to go back', and the Shaikh permitted the army of the TÂTÂRS to depart.

And when they had gone the Amîr took the Shaikh and those who were with him, and he went off the road which goeth to BÎRÂH, and he said, 'We have made ready a camping ground for you in another place'; and having left they arrived on the banks of the EUPHRATES. And the Amîr said, 'We have pitched tents for you on the other side'; and the Shaikh



replied, 'Where ye encamp, we will encamp'. Then the men of MARDÎN, who had come into the service of the Shaikh, wished to go back from the EUPHRATES, according to the command of their lord. But the Amîr of the lord of EGYPT would not dismiss them, and he said unto them, 'Our Sûltân hath commanded that ye are to come as far as ALEPPO'. And thus, although they did not wish [it], they also crossed the EUPHRATES, and they all encamped there.

And at the time of evening the Amîr brought abundant supplies of food for the Shaikh and for all those who were with him. And when they had eaten their meal and were resting, and had lain down for an hour or more, the Amîr and those who were with him mounted their horses, and he sent and said unto the Shaikh, 'Arise, mount thy horse and let us go'. And the Shaikh objected, and he said, 'I will not ride except in the day-time when the sun is shining'. And the Amîr replied, 'I was commanded to carry thee only by night, whether thou wast willing or unwilling'. And the Shaikh was angry and he said, 'Even if thou goest so far as to kill me, I will not travel by night'. And the Amîr said, 'I shall certainly not kill thee, but I shall carry thee in fetters'. And when the Shaikh saw that they wished to render his honour contemptible, he consented and rose up and mounted his horse. And they began to travel, and did so the whole night, and very early in the morning they went down away from the road, and away from inhabited country. And having arrived at ALEPPO in the night, they made him camp in one of the colleges.

And a command came from 'ALPI, the lord of EGYPT, that they were to give two hundred *zûzê* to each one of the men of MARDÎN who had come in the service of the Shaikh, and send them back to their own country. And they were to bring the Shaikh and his company, and the Mongol Amîr who was with him, and SHAMS AD-DÎN, the ambassador of the lord of MARDÎN, with very great care [551] to DAMASCUS, [travelling] during the night. Then the Sûltân, having given these commands, left and went to EGYPT, and he had no expectation of meeting the Shaikh. And when the Shaikh had been brought to DAMASCUS, they took him into the fortress. And they shut up him, and the Mongol Amîr who was with him, in one house, and the ambassador of the lord of MARDÎN in another, and each couple of their servants in a house. And they appointed the young man who was the son of the Mongol Amîr, and another young man who was the son of MAJD AL-MÛLK to the service of the king of the Amîrs, and they rode with him and carried his armour. And they laid down the law that no man should ask his neighbour questions concerning Shaikh 'ABD AR-RAĤMÂN, either as to where he was or how he was. And news of him hath been concealed until this day—the period of a complete year.

Now after the departure of Shaikh 'ABD AR-RAĤMÂN to SYRIA it was said to the King of Kings, 'AĤMÂD, concerning his brother KÛNGHÂRTÂI, 'He



holdeth converse with 'ARGHÔN, the son of 'ABÂKÂ, and he is preparing so that one night he may capture thee when thou art asleep in thy tent that he may kill thee'. Therefore 'AḤMÂD trembled and was terrified, and he hastily bound his brother KÛNGHÂRTÂI in fetters, and killed him. And 'ARGHÔN heard of the murder of his uncle, and he was exceedingly sorrowful about it, and his heart was changed in respect of 'AḤMÂD. And when 'AḤMÂD knew that the heart of 'ARGHÔN was not perfect towards him, he sent against him a captain of the host whose name was 'ALÎNÂKH ('ALYÂNÂKH?) together with a numerous army. And when 'ALÎNÂKH NÂWÎN advanced and arrived in KHÔRÂSÂN, 'ARGHÔN began to flee before him. And 'ALÎNÂKH believed in creature comforts, and he was negligent in respect of a complete devotion to war. And he began to eat, and to drink, and to get drunk. And one night 'ARGHÔN attacked the camp of 'ALÎNÂKH and made a great slaughter, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that 'ALÎNÂKH and a few followers were able to save themselves from the sword.

Then when 'AḤMÂD heard of the ill luck which had come upon 'ALÎNÂKH, he sent into all the countries and collected troops, MONGOLS, KÛRDS, LÔRÂYÊ (LÛRS), and PERSIANS, and IBERIANS, and he set out against 'ARGHÔN in KHÔRÂSÂN. And when 'ARGHÔN saw that he was unable to cope with the army of 'AḤMÂD, he went up into one of the fortresses which were there, together with three hundred of his chosen men, and he began to be disturbed in his mind because to be shut up [552] in a fortress was not advantageous for him, 'for', he said, 'every one who is shut up is [already] captured'. And he was afraid to go to 'AḤMÂD.

And whilst he was in this position, a certain Amîr, whose name was BÔKÂ, a man of the treasury, who was greatly beloved by 'ABÂKÂ, the father of 'ARGHÔN, said unto 'AḤMÂD, 'If thou wilt promise to do no harm to 'ARGHÔN I myself will go and bring him to thee'. And 'AḤMÂD promised and swore the oaths which the MONGOLS are wont to swear, saying, that if 'ARGHÔN would come to him of his own free will he would do no injury whatsoever to him.

Then that Amîr BÔKÂ went up quickly to 'ARGHÔN, and he made him come down and brought him to 'AḤMÂD. And 'AḤMÂD rejoiced greatly in him, and he made a feast [which lasted] three days. Then after the three days evil thoughts began to move in the mind of 'AḤMÂD, and he set guards over 'ARGHÔN, [viz.] 'ALÎNÂKH and his companions. And he said unto them, 'I am going to my mother KÛTÂI Khâtûn in 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN, do ye keep strict watch on 'ARGHÔN that he shall not escape, and bring ye him to me wheresoever I may be'. And in the night in which he wished to move he revealed his secret to some of the nobles, and he said unto them, 'If I do not kill 'ARGHÔN and the other princes, the kingdom will not be made sure for me'. These things he said, and at daybreak on the following morning he moved



away. And he commanded that little by little 'ARGHÔN should be brought to him.

Now when BÔKÂ understood this, he delayed in the setting out with 'AḤMÂD, and he remained [there] until the night. And he went about to all the princes and informed them of the secret (or, object) of 'AḤMÂD, and that he was prepared to destroy all [of them]. And wrathful indignation seized the princes, and they rose up and came by night to the place where 'ARGHÔN was kept under guard. And they brought him out, and clothed him in armour, and gave him weapons, and seated him on a horse. And they all went together to the place where 'ALÎNÂKH was sleeping, and they killed him in his tent, and they also killed the other nobles who were his companions. And the heralds cried out in the camp of the MONGOLS, 'The princes have killed 'ALÎNÂKH and the nobles his companions. Therefore let every man remain where he is, and let him not move or depart to [another] place'. And when the day came the MONGOLS sent and brought certain men who are called 'KÂRÂWÛNÂS', and who did not wish [553] for 'AḤMÂD. And they pursued him and overtook him at [the abode of] his mother, and they seized him and bound him with fetters, and they kept him under strict guard, and they looted the camp of his mother and his wives.

Then 'ARGHÔN and the rest of the princes arrived and they all agreed together that 'ARGHÔN should stand at the head of the MONGOLS, and that he should hold the kingdom in the place of 'ABÂKÂ his father, and that 'AḤMÂD should be sent away because he was incapable of ruling.

And whilst the armies of the TÂTÂRS were engaged in war with each other, 'ALPÎ, the lord of EGYPT, sent ḤAIDÂR, the captain of the host, and with him three thousand mounted men, to the country of SHÂBAKTÂN. And they were to seize BAR SHEKÂN (ÎSHKÂN), the captain of the host, an Armenian athlete, and to bring him alive in a cage to EGYPT, because he made the ARABS who were going to SYRIA to suffer foul treatment. And having crossed the EUPHRATES they came and encamped against TÎNÂ, a fortress of the ARMENIANS. On the first day in which they began to fight, ḤAIDÂR was wounded by an arrow and died, and his troops became stupefied with terror, and they abandoned the fortress and fled to SYRIA. And justice was avenged on ḤAIDÂR, who robbed the Christians and spoiled and laid waste the countries of MELITENE and ZÂÎD. These things took place in the days of summer in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1284).

### 'Arghôn, the son of 'Abâkâ

After TÂKÛDÂR, who was called 'AḤMÂD, 'ARGHÔN, the son of 'ABÂKÂ, [ruled]. The kingdom of 'AḤMÂD having come to an end in the manner in which we have described, on the fourth day of the week, on the first day of the fifth month of the ARABS, of the year six hundred and eighty-three



(A.D. 1284), that is to say on the twenty-sixth day of the month of TAMMŪZ (JULY), of the year fifteen hundred and ninety-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1284), 'ARGHŌN, King of Kings, sat on the throne of the kingdom. And though many of the nobles said, 'It is not right that 'AḤMÂD should live', 'ARGHŌN said, 'I will not take any part in the killing of him. But the mother of KŪNGHÂRTÂI and his sons know; if they wish let them kill him; and if they wish let them keep him alive.' And having been kept a certain number of days under watch, the sons of KŪNGHÂRTÂI killed him, and the cause of their father was avenged, on the fourth day of the week, in the sixth month of the ARABS, that is to say the sixteenth day of the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST) of [this] year. And the kingdom was established for 'ARGHŌN, and he appointed one of the princes in each of the countries [554] at the head of the armies of BÂBIL, and MÂZINDARÂN, and ASSYRIA, and KHÔRÂSÂN, and in BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ; and the fear of 'ARGHŌN fell upon every man, especially in SYRIA. It is said that when this report went to SYRIA, the hire of a camel [to go] from ALEPPO to ḤAMATH rose to four hundred *zûzé*, for all men were on their faces and were fleeing towards EGYPT. For 'ARGHŌN, the King of Kings, at the beginning of his kingdom made MAS'ŪD BAR KŪṬÎ king in MÂWṢIL and the districts thereof, and there was gladness for all the Christians. But they were grieved because on the day when 'ARGHŌN came to AḤMÂD, the sons of JALÂL AD-DÎN TŪRÂN killed the Îgûrian monk, the Amîr 'ASHMŪT, in avenging the cause of their father.

### Concerning the murder of Shams ad-Dîn, the Master of the Dîwân

Now there was a stone of contention between 'ARGHŌN and 'AḤMÂD because of SHAMS AD-DÎN, the Master of the Dîwân, for to 'ARGHŌN it had been said, 'The Master of the Dîwân killed thy father with poison'. Therefore 'ARGHŌN sent and demanded him from 'AḤMÂD, and 'AḤMÂD would not give him up. And thus 'ARGHŌN indulged a suspicion concerning 'AḤMÂD that he was gratified by the death of the King of Kings, 'ABÂKÂ, so that he could sit in his place, however it happened. Now 'AḤMÂD being disgraced, and 'ARGHŌN having triumphed, SHAMS AD-DÎN fled to the mountain of MÂDAI, and he took refuge with the race of KŪRDS who are called 'LÔRÂYÊ' (LŪRS). And when the head of the LŪRS, who was called YŪSEF SHÂH, saw that the kingdom of 'ARGHŌN was established, he came to do submission to him and was received gladly, because he promised to seize the Master of the Dîwân, and to bring him [to him]. And thereupon he went and seized him, and brought him to 'ARGHŌN, although he offered many presents (i.e. bribes). One hundred myriad (one million?) of gold darics were demanded from him as the price of his blood that it might not be shed. And SHAMS AD-DÎN said, 'If ye will bring back to me my possessions I shall be able to



give more than this, and if ye cannot I cannot'. And the nobles counselled him, saying, 'Borrow this amount and offer [it], and then we will hand back to thee thy possessions'. Therefore he began to borrow from his kinsfolk, and his household, and his servants, and his friends, and he collected forty myriads [of darics], and said, 'I am not able to produce anything more; [555] whatsoever ye wish to do that do'. And the command went forth that he was to be killed. Then the MONGOLS suspended him in the air by his hands and his feet, and three times they smote (i.e. threw him down) on the earth, and they trampled him to pieces with their shoes, and then they cut off his head on the third day [of the week], on the fifth day of the month of SHA'BÂN, in the year six hundred and eighty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1284), that is to say, the seventeenth day of the month of the FIRST TESHİRİN (OCTOBER), in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1285).

Such was the evil end which came to this terrified and anxious man. And the whole kingdom of the House of MÂGHÔGH hung on his finger, for he was very sagacious with an understanding nature; and he was well instructed in the greater number of the sciences and the various kinds of learning. Now his brother was 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, who was governor of BAGHDÂD, and who two years earlier had wellnigh died a natural death in MÛGÂN; and he was brought to the city of TABRÎZ and buried there. Now this man was exceedingly skilled in doctrines (or, learned subjects), and he had an adequate knowledge of the poetic art. And he composed a marvellous work in PERSIAN on the chronology of the kingdoms of the SALJÛKS, and KHÂWÂRAZMIANS, and ISHMAELITES, and MONGOLS; what we have introduced into our work on these matters we have derived from his book.

And in the year six hundred and eighty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1284), the Sûltân GHAYÂTH AD-DÎN, the son of RÛKN AD-DÎN, the lord of BÊTH RHÔ-MÂYÊ, died. He set out to come to the Camp and to meet the Sûltân MAS'ÛD, his nephew. And when he arrived in the city of 'ARZENGÂN, the nobles administered to him a deadly drug and put him to death because he was very prodigal and corrupt in his ruling. And during this winter the seven wandering stars (i.e. planets) were gathered together in the Zodiacal Sign of Capricorn, in the *anâbibâzôn* (i.e. the upper part of the Zodiac), and behold, the whole world trembled and quaked at this event,<sup>1</sup> for it was the year of the conjunction of the two supreme [stars] KRONOS and ZEUS in the Zodiacal Sign of AQUARIUS, for they make their conjunction in the summer.

And when the lord of EGYPT heard that the kingdom stood firmly, and that 'AḤMÂD had departed and his peace with him, he brought out Shaikh 'ABD AR-RAḤMÂN from confinement in the fortress, and made him to dwell

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan's note reads: What happeneth in the world doth not take place through the course of the luminaries, neither doth it happen through their conjunction, but by the will of the Lord, without Whom not one sparrow falleth to the ground.—Matthew x. 29.



in one [556] of the mosques of DAMASCUS, and he gave him an allowance (or, food) which was sufficient for him. Now this man 'ABD AR-RAḤMÂN was the son of one of the slaves of the murdered Khalîfah MÛSTA'SIM, and was by race a GREEK. And when BAGHDÂD was taken, he was saved from the slaughter, and he came to MÂWṢIL, and he dwelt in the bazâr and did carpentry work, for he loved it and had learned the trade. And he went to the fortress of 'EMÂDÎÂH and said unto 'IZZ AD-DÎN, the lord of the fortress, that he was able to make things (i.e. objects or furniture) which would be regarded with admiration, and that he had learned [to do so] in a revelation from beings of the spirit. And 'IZZ AD-DÎN took him to the King of Kings, 'ABÂḲÂ. And whilst holding converse with the king he said, 'Take me into the fortress of TÎLÂ where your treasury is, so that I can show you my craftsmanship'. And when they took him thither he began to measure out the ground on this side and on that, and finally he stood upon a certain spot and commanded them to dig there, while he himself stood some distance away. And when they had dug, they found a ring in which was set a marvellous and valuable seal (or, gem), and they took it and brought it to the king. And since his word proved to be true in this one instance, they believed everything he said, namely, that he was able to cast out devils, and to understand the secrets of the demons. And he enjoyed such great freedom of speech and intimacy with the princes that at length the whole government of the kingdom was committed to him, especially during the short time in which 'AḤMÂD reigned. It is said that when the TÂTÂRS looted the treasury of the Khalîfah they also took him prisoner, and they brought him to the fortress of TÎLÂ; and he went into the fortress carrying [his] possessions, and that that ring which he found he himself had buried in that place.

And in the month of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY) of this year, 'ARGHÔN, King of Kings, sent YARLÎKÊ out into all countries, saying, 'Inasmuch as 'AḤMÂD turned aside from the laws of our fathers, and trod the path of ISLÂM, which our fathers did not know, all the princes agreed and they cast him forth from the kingdom, and sent him to a Khân, our great father, that he might judge him; and they seated me on the throne of the kingdom, from the river GÎḤÔN to FRANKISTÂN. Therefore let your hearts be happy, and let every man occupy himself with his own works. And the rulers and governors who are in every place [557] shall oppress no man, and if they do, let them be afraid for themselves, so that they may not be cut to pieces.' We have heard that in those days the lord of EGYPT sent Shaikh 'ABD AR-RAḤMÂN, and those who were with him, from DAMASCUS to the fortress of ŞAFÂD, and that he shut them up therein, where [all] hope of their coming out was cut off.

And in this year, which is the year fifteen hundred and ninety-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1285), a hen in the village of BARṬELLÎ laid an egg which was



nearly as large as that of an ostrich. And on the Sabbath of the Passion of the Redeemer another hen laid a little egg in BARTELLÎ which had a neck that was as thin, and curved, and long, as a cucumber. And they brought it before us and we saw it. And on the first day of the week, on the twenty-ninth day of the month of TAMMÛZ (JULY), a Syrian horde of mounted robbers, KÛRDS, TURKS, and desert ARABS, about six hundred strong, burst upon the country of 'ARBÎL, and they looted and killed many men who were Christians from the village of 'AMKÂBÂD, and from SÛRHAGÂN and other villages. And BAHÂ AD-DÎN, the KÛRD, sallied out from 'ARBÎL to meet them in battle, and he was broken before them and fled and went into the city. And those accursed robbers carried off great spoil, women and maidens, and many cattle, and departed. And in those days other marauding bands came to the country of TÛR 'ABDÎN, and they made a great slaughter in the village of KESHLATH, and in BÊTH MAN'ÎM and the villages thereof, and in SBÎRÎNÂ, and they carried away very much spoil from the country of BÊTH RÎSHÊ and departed.

And in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-seven [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1286)],<sup>1</sup> on the seventeenth day of the month of HAZÎRÂN (JUNE), about four thousand mounted robbers and brigands, KÛRDS, TÛRKMÂNS, and ARABS, gathered together, and some men say that three hundred chosen horsemen from the Egyptian slaves were joined to them. And they directed their gaze on the country of MÂWŞIL. And having spoiled the villages which were on their road, they burst upon the city at dawn on the second day [of the week], on the twenty-second day of the third month of the ARABS, of the year six hundred and eighty-five (A.D. 1285). Then king MAS'ÛD and the other horsemen who were found in the city [558] mounted and rode out to engage them in battle. And when they saw how great was their number, and that they themselves had no force equal to theirs, they turned back and went into the city. And they crossed the TIGRIS and went and ascended to the Monastery of MÂR MATTAI, and they remained there for a few days. Then when the accursed marauders had entered the city, the ARABS who were natives thereof met them with abundant supplies of food and cool waters. And they rejoiced in them with a great joy, and they exulted, pretending that they were prepared to do harm to and spoil and kill the Christians only.

And those Christians who were in the neighbourhood of the church of the TAGRÎTÂNÂYÊ (TAGRITANIANS) took their wives, and their sons, and their daughters, together with all their cattle, and they went and took refuge in the mansion of the uncle of the Prophet, who was called 'NAËÎB

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan's note reads: In this year 1597 of the GREEKS, which is the year 1286 of our Lord, on the 30th day of TAMMÛZ, MÂR GREGORY BAR HEBRAEUS departed from this world in the city of MÂRÂGHÂ. Another writer, perhaps his brother BAR ŞÂWMÂ ŞÂFI, wrote what took place in the following years.



AL-'ALÂWÂHIN' (or, 'ABD ÂLWÂHÂN; or, NAËÎB AL-'ALÂWYÎN), that peradventure the marauders might pay respect to that building, and that there they might be saved from the slaughter and spoliation of the city.

Then the remainder of the Christians who had no place whereto to flee, and could not take refuge in the mansion of the NAËÎBÂ, remained terrified, and trembling, and weeping and wailing over themselves, and over their evil fate, though in reality it was through those who had gone there (i.e. to the mansion of the NAËÎBÂ) that the evil fate came. As soon as ever the marauders had gone in they began asking about the Christians. Then the ARABS who were natives of the city cried out with one mouth (or, voice), 'Behold, all the Christians are in the mansion of the NAËÎBÂ'. Then they all became strong, and all the marauders went there. And they placed ladders in position and went up them and captured the mansion, and they looted and robbed the whole of the people who were therein. And one of the Christians who were there was wounded by an arrow and died. And they put to the torture not only the Christians but the ARABS also, and they made a mock of their women, and sons, and daughters in the mosques before their eyes.

And when they had made an end there they went to the quarter of the JEWS, and they looted their houses and plundered all their community. And as for the Christians who had remained in their houses, and had not gone elsewhere, no man injured them, and they did not even see the marauders with their eyes. But certain Christian merchants, and many ARABS, who were coming to the city, and had alighted at the inns (*khâns*) which were outside the city, where none of the marauders came, because [559] of their fear, suffered the loss of a large quantity of their goods. And they brought their loads into the city and deposited them in the market-place of the bazârs, and inasmuch as all the food and provisions of the citizens was there, they thought that they would never be neglected by [those who kept] guard over such a place as this. Therefore they struggled and wrestled with each other that they might bring in their treasures. And the natives of the city also were carrying possessions out from their houses, and were bringing gold, and silver, and bales of cloth, and apparel of various kinds to that place. And so after [all these things] had been gathered together, the marauders came, and they smashed the gates of the market-place easily, and they went in and took everything which they found there.

Now many young men from among the natives of the city were standing by the gate of the market-place, and when the marauders, who were heavily laden with plunder, were going out, they snatched it from them and fled. And others took their horses which they had left at the gate of the market-place and fled. And thus during the whole of that day, from morning until evening, they went round about through the bazârs of the city and carried



off horses, and mules, and asses, and oxen, without number. And they took prisoners the slaves and handmaidens, nearly five hundred souls, and the greater number of them were ARABS and JEWS; there were a few Christians, but only those who were found from the mansion of the NAḲÎBÂ. But one man, a believer and a marvellous jeweller, was killed, for he wished to take away his little son out of their hands. Him they smote with the sword and after three days he died. About ten of the accursed marauders perished, because when they were going about through the city they went into streets which had no exits, and the people stoned them with stones and killed [them]. And if the ARABS who were natives of the city had known, that the marauders were their fellow believers they would have, without mercy, made a mock of them, and spoiled them, and they would have killed the greater number of them in the narrow streets of the city; and, moreover, at the beginning they were not able easily to enter therein. And having been deceived they bit their fingers without profit. Now the marauders brought the spoil from the city all day long and they remained there until it became dark. And the natives of the city thought that the robbers were ready to continue the spoliation of them on the following day. [560] But during the night they loaded up their horses, and they took goods which it is impossible to enumerate, and rode away in the night. And when the day broke not one of them was left behind; only the place where they had camped was visible.

And in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-nine [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1288)], on the twenty-eighth day of the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL), some strife broke out between the KÛRDS and the MONGOLS who were near them, and the MONGOLS kept their anger against them. And during their removal six of their men were left behind, and they went and hid themselves on the MÂWŞIL road. And when twelve distinguished young men of the sons of BÊTH KÛDÎDATH (KÛDÎDÂ?) came along, those accursed robbers rushed out upon them and killed them all mercilessly like sheep, in the day-time, with the sun [high] in the vault of heaven. And after a time (or, hour) others came from MÂWŞIL and they found those unfortunate young men drenched (or, befouled) with their own blood, and in one of them life still existed. And they lifted him up and brought him to the village, and he told the story of how they had been killed, and [gave] the names of the heathen murderers. And after three days he also died.

After the kingdom of 'ARGHÔN, the son of 'ABÂḲÂ, was established, BÔḲÂ, the treasurer who had been the cause of the saving of 'ARGHÔN from 'AḤMÂD, as has been shown above, prospered exceedingly, and he became so high and mighty in the kingdom that even the princes and princesses, and the sons-in-law and the daughters-in-law, and the captains of the armies of the MONGOLS, used to come and submit to him, and stand at his gate and beg stipends from him. And all the administrative offices of the kingdom were



committed to him, and the kings and the governors who ruled in all the countries which were under the dominion of the House of MAGHÔGH were not accepted (i.e. acknowledged) without his *Pukdânâ* and the red sign (manual) of BÔKÂ. And this BÔKÂ appointed his brother 'ÂRÔK to be the Head and Governor-General in all the countries of BÂBÎL, and 'ÂDHÔRBÎJÂN, and BÊTH NAHRÎN. And this man who was terrible and terrifying was over all the armies of the MONGOLS, and over the kings, and the governors, and the scribes who were in all these countries.

Now these two brothers ruled the Mongol kingdom with great pomp and with magnificence [561] indescribable for a period of six years. About the affairs of the King of Kings, 'ARGHÔN, they were negligent, and they occupied themselves with the collection of riches, and horses, and gold and silver, and treasure. Now 'ARGHÔN appointed other Amîrs for his service, the men who rode, and went in and came out, and ate and drank with him. And everything which was done in the Camp, and in the countries which were remote, as well as in those that were near, little by little they made the King of Kings to know. And that BÔKÂ exalted himself over the nobles, and boasted of his power, and that by his determined will he brought about (or, did) everything that he did.

And thus the Amîrs who were his opponents easily misrepresented and perverted to the King of Kings all the matters which BÔKÂ confirmed and arranged. At length three of the honourable persons who were in BAGHDÂD went to the Royal Camp, and they made accusations against 'ARÔK, and they showed that he was working destruction and doing harm by his corrupt deeds, and gathering together great riches by extortion. Then the King of Kings commanded that these three persons should be kept under observation with honour until 'ARÔK came to the Camp. [BÔKÂ] sent a message, [saying,] 'Arrest these persons and cut off the heads of the three of them without the questioning and investigation and knowledge of the Judges.' Now this [display of] pridefulness was visible to the kingdom, and this act became a great occasion for the opponents of the two brethren BÔKÂ and 'ARÔK. And from that moment everything which was said about them was accepted easily, and without any doubt. And the princes were exceedingly sorry for the slain (or, murdered) men, and they were very angry. Then BÔKÂ quieted the consciences (?) of the princes by means of bribes, and he left and departed.

And after a short time a certain JEW, whose name was SA'D AD-DÂWLÂH, and who was the father-in-law of the governor of BAGHDÂD—now this governor had died recently—approached the Camp, and in the presence of the Amîrs said, 'If ye will stop the going down of 'ARÔK to BAGHDÂD, he himself (i.e. I myself) will bring the double of the revenue which is brought each year to the Camp'. And straightway the command went forth that 'ARÔK was not to go down to BAGHDÂD again, and he was to have



no further command (or, jurisdiction) over it. [562] And [the Amîrs] handed affairs over to the JEW. And behold, at the present day there is a Jewish governor and general director on the throne of the House of 'ABBÂS. Observe how ISLÂM hath been brought low! And [the MUSLIMS] neither cease nor rest from their wickedness and their tyranny.

And from this moment complaints against 'ARÔḲ became frequent, and among them were those of a certain Persian scribe whose name was 'ABD AL-MÛMÎN, and who also went to the Camp and showed that 'ARÔḲ, and his Amîrs, and [his] officers and [his] scribes had destroyed the countries and all the cities which are under the dominion of 'ARÔḲ, and if we were to overcome him and seize him by his hands he would drop out of them one hundred myriads of gold *dînârs*'. Then the Amîrs were pleased with such tales as these, and they agreed to the wish of the informer (or, accuser), [saying,] 'Certainly wait ye for him a little'.

Now when BÔḲÂ saw that the complaints against him and his brother were received joyfully, he was offended and withdrew himself. And he made himself sick (i.e. feigned sickness), and he took to his bed in his house. And when the nobles went in ostensibly to visit him in his sickness, he groaned before them and uttered regrets concerning the good deeds which he had performed for 'ARGHÔN in the time of 'AḤMÂD, and said that 'ARGHÔN had not repaid him with adequate interest. And he began to concoct a deceitful and rebellious secret against 'ARGHÔN, and he revealed his secret to some of the nobles. And they received this with simplicity, for they knew that he was a crafty man, and that 'AḤMÂD had been brought low by his astuteness and that 'ARGHÔN has triumphed thereby. Then 'ARGHÔN, because he himself had experience of work of this kind, kept a strict guard over himself. For the Amîrs who were in the service of 'ARGHÔN continually understood the evil intention which BÔḲÂ had.

Then when BÔḲÂ recognized that his deceit was discovered, terror, and fear, and trembling fell upon him, and he was distracted and did not know what to do. And he rose up and mounted his horse, and fled to the Camp of the Great Khâtûn 'ALJÎ, ostensibly to take refuge with her. And when 'ARGHÔN and the rest of the Amîrs heard that BÔḲÂ had ridden away, they also mounted their horses and rode after him and overtook him; and they seized him and brought him [back]. And when they questioned him, he confessed the deceit. 'Verily,' he said, 'I had no wish at all to injure the King of Kings, but only those [563] Amîrs who malign me continually, and who abuse me and make me contemptible in the eyes of the King of Kings.' And his word was not accepted, but they killed him and hacked him limb from limb, on Friday the fourteenth day of the month of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY), in the year sixteen hundred [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1289)]. And they looted his house, and his possessions, and his furniture, and they killed his sons and those who were participators in his secret.



And on that day was killed also SHEM'ÛN, the priest, and physician and lawyer, who was a Christian and a native of 'ARBÎL (now he was named 'ABÛ AL-KARÂM'), and many of the MONGOLS who are unknown to us.

And because 'ARÔḲ was wintering in the country of MÂWṢIL he sent hurriedly from the Royal Camp an Amîr, a man of courage whose name was 'BAITMÎSH', a strong and strenuous man, who a few days before had come from MÛGHÂN to the neighbourhood of 'ÂMÎD. And he made all the troops of the MONGOLS to mount their horses, and he came and surrounded 'ARÔḲ, who had no knowledge of the affair of his brother, but was dwelling [quietly], eating and drinking, for those were the days of the MONGOL festival of the 'White'. And when he saw that the troops of the MONGOLS and the bulls of BAISHÂN had encircled him, he was stupefied and did not know what to do. But he mounted his horse, and he took his wife and his sons, and he sought asylum in the little fortress of KHÂSHÂF until the day broke. And straightway BAITMÎSH sent to him, saying, 'It is unseemly for thee to resist'. Then 'ARÔḲ sent and said, 'I have not come up here as a rebel and one who resists, but because I do not know what hath happened, or for what reason these crowds of soldiers have gathered together against me; therefore inform me so that I may understand'.

Then BAITMÎSH himself drew nigh to the gate of the fortress and said, 'Thy brother BÔḲÂ acted treacherously against the king, and the command went forth and he is killed. And we have come to arrest thee, and to carry thee to the service of the King of Kings. Whether we are to keep thee alive or whether we are to kill thee he will know.' Then straightway 'ARÔḲ opened the gate of the fortress and came down with his household, and he said, 'The command of the king is on [my] head and eyes'. Then they bound him with chains, and they set guards over him, and sent him to the Camp and there he was killed. 'ARÔḲ was taken on the second day [of the week] of the Fast of Nineveh, that is to say on the last day of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY) [564] of the year, and after seven days he was killed.

Now the word of that Persian lawyer (who had already calumniated (i.e. informed against) 'ARÔḲ, saying that the hundred myriad *darics* which he was about to bring out [had come] from the kings, and governors, and scribes, whom 'ARÔḲ had appointed in the various countries, and who had behaved corruptly and taken [them] unjustly, and had laid waste the countries) was accepted because of the [universal] hatred of 'ARÔḲ, and an evil judgement went forth against them (i.e. the kings, governors, and scribes). And the dealing with them was handed over to the Amîr BAITMÎSH, so that when 'ABD AL-MÛMÎN had made the reckoning of their [liabilities], everything which went out (i.e. was charged) against them, BAITMÎSH by means of beatings and tortures was to take back from them, and was to put to death him that was guilty of death without mercy.

And because MAS'ÛD BAR-ḲÂWTÎ, and his brethren, and his kinsfolk, knew



no one besides BÔḲÂ in the Royal Camp, and they considered the service of the other Amîrs as of no account, they were unwilling to make a meaningless salutation to those others. And because the command of BÔḲÂ over all the Amîrs was superior and sublime, they neglected them all. And they accepted BÔḲÂ only, although through this [behaviour] they were condemned and blamed by every man. And to them they gave this advice, saying, 'It is not right to neglect the service, and submission, and obedience to those Amîrs who are permanently in the Royal Service. And for us to accept one and to offend many is a foolish act; because it is possible that [a period of] trial may come upon that one Amîr in whom ye put your trust, and ye will not be helped by the other Amîrs.'

Then MAS'ÛD, because he was childish in mind, and unwise in his actions, said boastfully, 'I do not wish for life without BÔḲÂ, and if BÔḲÂ dieth I should esteem death better for me than life'. And this took place, and his word was actually fulfilled. For on the day when 'ARÔḲ was arrested they set guards over MAS'ÛD, and kept watch over him very carefully until 'ABD AL-MÔMÎN the Persian lawyer arrived. Then was stirred up the persecution and wrath against the hated Christians, and, though I ought not to say it, abandonment by God. And they (i.e. the MONGOLS) began to torture them without mercy, and they tortured excessively TÂJ AD-DÎN, the son of MÛKHÂṬAṢ, [565] who was governor of 'ARBÎL. They hung this man up by his feet (i.e. head downwards) to the height of a cubit above the ground. And they beat his feet until he collapsed. Then forthwith they let him down and beat him on his chest and back, until he fell down as one dead. Then they put fire in a brazier which they suspended over his breast. And in this wise they made him to suffer excruciating tortures until they had taken from him nearly fifty thousand *dînârs*. And when he could no longer endure tortures, they cast him [several] times into the river TIGRIS. Perhaps he was drowned and escaped [further] wrath, and tortures, and beatings.

And because MAS'ÛD, the son of BAR ḲÂWṬI, was sick they did not inflict blows upon him. They feared lest he should die and his money perish with him. And verily they employed empty promises in dealing with him, saying that if he would give them ten myriads of gold [*dînârs*], he should remain in his honourable office, and that no man should harm him. Now MAS'ÛD himself thought that since he had not been beaten by them they would confer some honour upon him, and he was exceedingly avaricious, and he used severe words in converse with them. Nevertheless, they, in their artfulness, partly by means of stripes and blows, and partly by threats and curses, took that amount of money from him. And they carried him off with them to 'ARBÎL, and there they killed him on the second day of Passion Week, on the fourth day of the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL) of that year. And they placed wooden fetters on his son, and shut him up.

And his brother SHAHÂB AD-DÎN fled, and they sought for him diligently,



but they found him not. And DÛBAIS, a man from the village of BÊTH SAHRÂYÊ, was killed because of him, for SHAHÂB AD-DÎN had hidden himself in the village for some days, and left [it] and departed. And when they questioned DÛBAIS about him, he took an oath and denied that he had seen him. And having seized upon a certain small youth and beaten him, he confessed and showed them the place where SHAHÂB AD-DÎN had been. And when they had made sure that he had been with them, they carried the wretched DÛBAIS to MÂWŞIL, and there they killed him, and the mob stoned his dead body.

And after his murder the men of MÂWŞIL made accusations against another young man, and they declared that 'he was a whoremonger', and that 'he committed adultery with Arab women'. Him also they killed, and they dragged his dead body through the streets of the city, and they heaped up wood upon it and burnt it in the fire. And they took his head [566] and carried it about to the doors of the churches, and they scoffed and jeered at the Christians. The persecution and wrath which the men of MÂWŞIL suffered during these two months, neither the tongue can describe, nor the reed (i.e. pen) write. Wake up then and sleep not, O Lord, and look on the blood of Thy servants which is being poured out without mercy, and be sorry for Thy Church which is being rent in pieces by the persecution.

And in the days in which BÔḲÂ was killed, BAITMÎSH was sent to the western countries. And all the troops of the MONGOLS mounted their horses and rode away to capture 'ARÔḲ. And the dwellers in SYRIA were perturbed, and terror, and fear, and trembling fell upon them. And they thought that the MONGOLS were about to attack them. And they also made themselves strong, and they collected many troops, and were prepared to engage [the MONGOLS] in battle. And while being assured that the MONGOLS were occupied with their own affairs, and that they had no care for other people's [concerns], they were not pleased that their gathering should be dissolved with no result. Then they went and encamped against TRIPOLI, a city on the coast of the Great Sea, and they made war upon it strenuously. And those who were inside [the city] sent and asked for help from their kinsfolk the FRANKS who were in the Island of CYPRUS, and a few troops were sent to them by the means of ships on the sea. And [these] having arrived, the citizens became strong, and they stood on the walls, and they waged war with superlative valour for nearly three months, more or less, with those who were outside. And when those outside gained the upper hand, and breached the wall with engines of war, and the Christians saw that they were overpowered by those outside, the greater number of them embarked in ships, and they left and went to CYPRUS. And as for the remainder who were in the city, the ARABS attacked them, and they drew their swords, and they became mixed together, and they killed and were killed. And because of the great slaughter of the ARABS which took place, the ARABS burned with



wrath, and they destroyed the wretched city entirely, and they left therein no tower and no church which they did not lay in ruins. And they took therefrom an endless amount of spoil, and they took innumerable sons and daughters prisoners, and they killed an endless number of priests, and deacons, and monks, and nuns. And they left the city a howling wilderness and departed. These things took place at the full moon of the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL), [567] of the year sixteen hundred of the GREEKS (A.D. 1289).

And in this year also about two thousand horsemen of the robber bands of SYRIA gathered together, and they came and crossed the frontier of SÎNJÂR and BÊTH 'ARBÂÏÊ, and they neither plundered nor looted until they arrived in the neighbourhood of PÎSHÂBHÛR, a village on the banks of the river TIGRIS, where they halted there for the night. And they rose up during the night and crossed the river, and they directed their gaze on WASTÂW, a large village of the NESTORIANS, and they burst upon it at the early dawn of the first day of the week, on the fourteenth day of the month of 'ÂB (AUGUST). Now the villagers thinking that they were merely a few marauders sallied out to engage them. And when they saw how many they were, they went back into the village, and some of them took refuge in the church and were saved, and some of them scattered themselves about in the gardens and vineyards. And those accursed men spread themselves over the seven hamlets which were round about it and then they wrought great destruction. And they killed nearly five hundred men, and they took prisoners nearly one thousand persons, women, and sons, and daughters, and they took treasures, and sheep and cattle without number. And they went back the same day by the way they had come, and they travelled quietly and without fear until they arrived at the river HÂBÛRÂ, over which was a fragile (or, narrow) bridge, and there they were impeded by the weight of the loot and the great number of the prisoners which they with difficulty were carrying away. And thus news [of them] reached the Amîr of the MONGOLS who was in MÂWŞIL, and the MONGOLS without delay made themselves ready and stood up and mounted their horses and pursued them. And they went on and found them, and the greater number of them had crossed the bridge, and were journeying on laden with loot. And those who had not yet crossed the bridge the MONGOLS killed. And they recovered of the spoil three hundred prisoners, women, and sons, and daughters, and they brought them and handed them over to their owners.

And moreover, in this summer the marauders of SYRIA, about two thousand mounted men, sallied out and went to the countries of MELITENE and of HESNÂ. And KHÂRBANDÂ, the captain of the host who was there, heard [of it], and he collected his troops and they made ready and went and engaged them in battle, and they were broken before them. And a large number of those who were with him were killed, and certain of his friends, and his kinsfolk, [568] and the sons of his brothers, an unknown number of persons,



were made prisoners. And only he and the forty persons who had fled escaped, and they came and went into the new mansion which he had built in the country of ḤESNÂ, in the place which is called in the Aramean language 'ḤESÔNÂ'. And whilst sitting, and grieving and pondering how they could save those of them who had been made prisoners in the war, they all agreed that the war which had taken place in this country had happened because of the Christians, and that it was therefore right to take the money from them and to buy (i.e. ransom) those who had been made prisoners because of them. Then they began to assess every city and country for a certain amount of gold according to the ability of the place [to pay]. But justice could not endure that their object should be actually fulfilled, for it cast down quickly that new mansion upon them, and made an end of them one and all, and except for the one man, the doorkeeper, on whose back a beam fell and hurled him outside the door of that mansion, not one of them was saved.

And at the beginning of the year sixteen hundred and one [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1290)], 'ALÂ 'ALMÎSH, the lord of MAIPERĶÂṬ, who was also a great persecutor of the Christians, sent secretly and killed the lord of MÛSH, who was a Christian and an ARMENIAN by race, and he made the monks of MÂR ĶÂWMÂ to suffer other evils. Then one of the monks who were there burned with anger within himself, and he went to the Camp and made accusations against 'ALÂ 'ALMÎSH. Now he possessed freedom of speech with the King of Kings, and the king hearkened unto him with pleasure. And one day when the King of Kings was riding, and he was going to cross a bridge over the river KHÂWRÂR, the monk seized the bridle of his horse and swore an oath, saying, 'I will not let thee cross until thou commandest that 'ALÂ 'ALMÎSH is to be killed', and straightway he commanded and 'ALÂ 'ALMÎSH was killed.

And in those days also an Egyptian lawyer, a courageous man, who was known as FARÂJ ALLÂH, and was a scribe in MÂWṢIL, made public the treachery of the Persian lawyer 'ABD AL-MÔMÎN (whom we have mentioned above), who had unjustly killed MAS'ÛD, the son of BAR ĶÂWTÎ, and had made the Christians to suffer great evils, and had collected a large sum of money for himself. And the King of Kings having commanded that his history was to be investigated, the PERSIAN was condemned and killed, and the righteousness of God was avenged speedily. And behold, from this time [onwards] the King of Kings recognized, [569] and it was proved to him fully, the falseness and impudence of the ARABS, and that everything they did they did with deceit (or, treachery), and the accepting of persons (i.e. hypocrisy). And straightway he commanded that SA'D AD-DÂWLÂH, the JEW, who was governor in BAGHDÂD, should be the chief of the scribes, that is to say, SÂHIB DÎWÂN, in all the dominion of his kingdom; and that governors should never, never appoint the ARAB to be a scribe, but only



the Christian and the JEW. And thus the hatred and ill-will of the ARABS [towards the Christians] grew stronger. Now since that JEW was governor, the administration of the revenue and taxation of the city was committed to him. And the King of Kings sent his brother [to be] governor of BAGHDÂD in his place. And he sent his other brother, together with TÂJ AD-DÎN, the son of MÛKHÂTAŞ, the Director-General, to MÂWŞIL, and to MARDÎN, and all DIÂR BAKR.

And when they arrived in these countries, a certain Amîr, a KÛRD, who had long been governor of 'ARBÎL, and who was known as 'MBÂZÂR BÂG', was afraid of them. And he thought that they were about to make him to suffer sorely, and immediately and swiftly he sought the road to the Camp, for he said that if he should be looked on with the eye of mercy before the King of Kings, every kind of fear would be removed from him. And thus he having gone, these Amîrs sent many informers against him in his footsteps (or, on his heels). The King of Kings thought that he would kill him, but he kept him in a state of hope for the moment. And before [he killed him] he sent a messenger secretly to seize his sons, and his household, and his kinsmen, and his fellow countrymen, so that he might make a thorough ending of them; then they were to kill with their own hands him that was with them.

Now there was a certain woman who had knowledge of this secret, and she came to the Kurdish Amîr by night and informed him about the whole matter. Then the KÛRD, without the least hesitation, straightway took one of his slaves, and the two of them mounted their horses and fled from the Camp. And they fled like the bird from the snare. And this man flew on his horse so swiftly that he outrode the messenger [of the King of Kings]. And he arrived at his house. And his family fled with all their food, and he took refuge in the mountains, and hills, and savage places which were inaccessible.

And after this the messenger [of the King of Kings] arrived, and he was stupefied and marvelled. Then the King of Kings blazed with wrath and he was inflamed greatly with rage, [570] not only because this man had saved himself from his hands, but he was especially irritated that he had obtained knowledge [of the secret]. Who then from inside the Camp informed that KÛRD and revealed to him the secret? And he sent troops to patrol the mountains and to hold the roads over them to the KÛRDS. And because it was the season of winter and heavy snows [lay] on the tops of the mountains where the KÛRDS were, the troops of the MONGOLS were unable either to cut through them or to master them. Therefore they returned to the plain where the KÛRDS were farmers and poor labourers and men who paid tribute; and the MONGOLS spoiled and killed them, and they looted and burnt their houses and their stores of grain. These poor people were especially ill-treated by the men of the mountains who were with the



MONGOLS and who are called KÂYÂSHYÊ (KÂYÂJYÊ?). For these were Christians and by nature hated the ARABS, and they did great injury to the KÛRDS and committed indescribable atrocities on them. They killed the men without mercy, and they made prisoners of innumerable women, and sons, and daughters. And of their food supplies as much as they were able they carried away, and the rest they burnt in the fire. Therefore by reason of these men of the mountains, the ARABS blazed with wrath against all the Christians, and they said, 'If it were not for these men of the mountains, the MONGOLS would never, never have treated the KÛRDS evilly, because a very large number of the MONGOLS have become HAGARÂYÊ (i.e. MUHAMMADANS) in our own days, and they would never wish to do evil to the MUSLIMS, unless, perhaps, they were forced [to do so] by their nobles.'

Now the MONGOLS, the summer having come, left the countries of MÂWŞIL and 'ARBÎL and departed, but the KÛRDS who had come down from the tops of the mountains, and were gathered together in tens of thousands, came to the plain. Then the natives of the country fled before them and took refuge in the cities and fortresses. All the people of the country of 'ARBÎL went up to the Citadel, and straightway the KÛRDS besieged the Citadel. But Divine Providence checked their furious onslaught, and they did not entirely prosper in their attack on the Citadel. And every time they crowded together to make war upon it, seven or eight, more or less, of them were killed.

And when they had been occupied with them for a period of seventeen (or, fifteen?) days, certain FRANKS, [571] about two hundred men, came down the TIGRIS by water to MÂWŞIL by the command of the King of Kings, as if they were going to BÂBIL (BAGHDÂD) to construct ships there and to go down to BÔŞRÂ (AL-BAŞRAH), and from there by the SEA OF PÂNTÔS (SEA OF SÛF?) to attack the EGYPTIANS. And others of the FRANKS, about seven hundred men, went by land; and they remained in BAGHDÂD the whole winter—until their plan (or, object) was fulfilled. Now there exist stories about the FRANKS IN BAGHDÂD which are worthy of remembrance, but in order that the sequence of our narrative may not be disturbed (or, become confused) we will return forthwith to our plan, and we will make mention of these stories later.

And when the KÛRDS heard that certain FRANKS had arrived in MÂWŞIL, they imagined that they had come on their account, and they abandoned the Citadel and scattered themselves about in the country. Then those who were in the Citadel, being free from the KÛRDS, wished to go and bring the inhabitants of the village of BÊTH ŞAYYÂDHÊ to the Citadel lest they should suffer any harm from the KÛRDS. Now, according to what is the fact, had they left them in the place where they were they would never have suffered harm. Therefore these men of the mountain, the KÂYÂJYÊ, about two hundred mounted men, came down from the Citadel, and went to BÊTH



ŞAYYÂDHÊ, although it was not about them that they were anxious, but about their own advantage more especially. For when they came there they lent the horses which were under them to the ploughmen, and they came before them on foot. And thus they were scattered from each other, like a people without a head, until they arrived close to the city. Then the KÛRDS who were lying in wait and watching for them burst forth upon them, and although only a very few of them were killed, yet the KÛRDS made prisoners of most of them, and they looted everything which they found with them.

Now when the marauders and freebooters who were in SYRIA heard that the KÛRDS had besieged the Citadel of 'ARBÎL, they believed that they would besiege SYRIA at the same time, and would loot, and kill, and take prisoners, and carry off [spoils]. Therefore they collected about two thousand men, and came to the help of the KÛRDS. And when they arrived they could not find them as they expected, for not even they were able to approach the Citadel because of the strength and military ability of those who were inside it. And the Syrian marauders wishing to put them to the test told off about two hundred men of their number, and they approached the [572] gate of the Citadel, and those who were inside came down and fought with them, and they captured from them a certain number of horses, and they went back up into the Citadel. And when the marauders saw that they themselves had neither gained in any way nor done any good by their coming, and that up to that time they had not even joined up with the KÛRDS, they turned and went back by the way which they had come, men empty and foiled. These things took place on the third day [of the week], on the twenty-seventh day of the month of HAZÎRÂN (JUNE).

And in the month of TAMMÛZ (JULY) of this year a certain monk, who was an ARMENIAN and a just man, one of those who used to go round about through the countries admonishing [the people] and proclaiming repentance, and reformation, and the confession of sins, arrived at the Citadel of ZÂÎD, and he remained there about a month of days. And his discourses pleased the Christians who were there very very much, and some young men were attracted by him, and they began to assemble about him in the night-time, and they ate, and drank, and conversed about the histories of the holy men and the crowning of the martyrs. And when the power of his utterances became reported to the ARABS, certain of them were smitten with envy, and they went on the night of Friday and took a dead dog and hung it up over the door of the Great Mosque. And when the day broke and the ARABS gathered together to pray, they saw that dead dog, and they burned with wrath. And they all with one mouth said, 'This deed is the work of the Armenian monk and of those who gather together about him'. And they drew their swords and daggers, and they went and seized the wretched monk, and a few of the natives of the city who were with him.



For when the people had knowledge of the trick [of the dog], they fled, and all of them hid themselves from before the wrath of [the ARABS]. Then those wicked men took the monk and departed to the Monastery of BÂ'ÛTH, and they went into the cells of the monks and carried away all their possessions. And they killed that poor monk there together with two or three natives of the city, and they returned to the city. And they also entered the houses of the believing Christians, and they looted everything which they found in their houses, and they inflicted beatings and tortures on many honourable men. And the city remained for about a month of days without buying and without selling (i.e. trade was paralysed).

And in those days, when FARÂJ ALLÂH, the Egyptian lawyer, who had some time before brought to light the treachery of the Persian scribe and killed him, saw that he had prospered because [573] his word had been accepted, he began to feel exceedingly proud of himself, and he went to the Camp and poured forth calumnies on TÂJ AD-DÎN, the son of MÛKHÂTAŞ, and said, 'He hath collected forty myriads of gold [pieces] for himself'. Then when the JEW who was the ŞÂHIB DÎWÂN heard his word[s], he became proud and he said within himself, 'If this be certain (or, true) about this man, how much more certain will it be concerning his brother who is the companion of TÂJ AD-DÎN! For he possesseth more power as governor in the countries, and his hand is more extended in taking and giving.'

Therefore he began to flatter FARÂJ ALLÂH, and he showed him that this course of action would be injurious not only to TÂJ AD-DÎN, but that his brother would be hurt far more. Then the wretched FARÂJ ALLÂH saw that he could neither suppress the command of that man, nor stand up against it, and that if he went back on his own word[s] the Amîrs of the Camp would condemn him and kill him. And certain men said unto him, 'Write a document thyself [and say] that thou didst say what thou didst say through drunkenness, and that "these two persons, that is to say, TÂJ AD-DÎN and his companion, have [not] acted oppressively, and that they have never taken from any man anything unjustly", and give it to the ŞÂHIB DÎWÂN, and he will arrange thy business forthwith, and will save thee, and, moreover, he will make thee a companion and an associate of these [men]'. Then FARÂJ ALLÂH accepted this [advice] implicitly, and he wrote the document in these [words] and he gave it to the ŞÂHIB DÎWÂN.

Then that treacherous JEW, as soon as the document fell into his hand, took it and went to the King of Kings [and said], 'What dost thou command in respect of the man who yesterday uttered that statement and to-day hath written that document?' And the King of Kings replied, 'In truth such a man as this is worthy of death'. And straightway they killed FARÂJ ALLÂH there. And [the JEW] also proved that he had two companions in MÂWŞIL who were worse than he was, and [the King of Kings] commanded that they also should be killed. And [he sent] hurriedly to MÂWŞIL MÛWÂYAD,



the son of MŪWĀYAD the scribe, and AMÎR AD-DÎN, the son of MŪHTASEB, a native of 'ARBÎL.

And after some days the Amîr MATTAI, an excellent man and a great pillar of the Christians who were in the country of MÂWŞIL, was sent from the Camp to the city of SÎ'IRAD to receive from them (i.e. the people) the customary gift of the MONGOLS. Now the citizens [574] were haters of the Christians, and they disliked the Christ-like man who ruled over them, and they drew their swords and daggers and attacked him in the mansion in which he lived, and there they killed him on the second day [of the week], on the thirty-first day of the month of TAMMŪZ (JULY) of that year. Then the sons of this man whose life had been taken wickedly went to the Camp quickly, and made manifest the impudence of the ARABS who were there. And the command went forth, 'The killers shall be killed, and the natives of the city shall be mulcted of ten myriads of gold [*dînârs*]'. And thus they came to the city and they killed seven or eight of the satraps who were there.

And in the beginning of the year sixteen hundred and two [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1291)] an accusation was brought against the Amîr, a KŪRD, who was known as SEJÂL AD-DÎN LA-ZAKÂÎ, from the country of GÂZARTÂ of KÂRDŪ. And his case was investigated before BAITMÎSH, the strong man, and he was killed in the country of MÂWŞIL, both he and one of his sons.

And in these days certain men of the ISHMAELITES disguised as merchants were sent to MÂWŞIL so that they might leap upon the Amîrs and commanders who were therein and kill them, and that a Christian and a JEW might no longer rule in the place. And if they could not [leap upon them] they were to kill them secretly and craftily. Now therefore, having arrived in MÂWŞIL, and alighted at one of the inns according to the custom of merchants, they quarrelled with each other and began to fight the one with the other. And a certain man who was near them and heard their quarrel was perplexed about the meaning of their talk, and he went quickly and informed the Amîrs about these [men], and they sent hurriedly and arrested them. And when they began to torture them, one of them, an old man, said, 'Ye have no need to torture us; we three men have come to kill you. And three other men have gone to BÂBIL to kill the JEW who is there. And three others have gone to the Camp to kill the ŞÂHIB DÎWÂN who is there'. Then the Amîrs straightway crucified (or, impaled) these men, and they sent to BÂBIL and arrested easily [the three men there] and killed [them]. And as for those [three men] who had gone to the Camp, their petition was replied to, and their aim was fulfilled without toil and trouble.

Now, observe the marvellous character of the manner in which Nature directeth affairs. For even if it erreth in a certain case, and exalteth a fool, and maketh him prosperous, and raiseth him on high, yet it is only for a short time. [575] Then that act is corrected very easily, and it seemeth as



if Nature itself repenteth of its error, and it goeth back and bringeth low its high estate.<sup>1</sup>

The behaviour of the ARABS hath [long] been made manifest in the world, and up to the present day no JEW hath ever been raised to a position of exalted honour among them; and except as a tanner, or a dyer, or a tailor [the ARAB] doth not appear among the JEWS. But truly the honourable ones and the fortunate among them [exalt] the art of healing and the art of the scribe; but in situations in which others will not demean themselves to work, they will work. And at this time when the MONGOLS were ruling over these western countries, they did not honour every one who was worthy of honour, and they did not make those who had descended from the loins of kings to rule over the cities and villages which were in subjection to them. With the MONGOLS there is neither slave nor free man; neither believer nor pagan; neither Christian nor JEW; but they regard all men as belonging to one and the same stock. And every one who approacheth them and offereth to them any of the mammon of the world, they accept it from him, and they entrust to him whatsoever office he seeketh, whether it be great or whether it be little, whether he knoweth how to administer it, or whether he doth not. All they demand is strenuous service and submission which is beyond the power [of man to render].

Therefore this JEW triumphed in every way, and attained the greatest glory and honour possible in the time of 'ARGHÔN, the King of Kings, and he alone brought all political matters to a successful issue, and much else besides. To the nobles of the Camp he paid no heed, and he reduced the taking and giving of their hands, and he treated with contempt the principal Amîrs and the directors of general affairs. The man who could confer a favour (or, benefit), or who could do harm, was never seen at the Gate of the Kingdom, unless perchance [he was] a JEW. And through this state of affairs many of the JEWS who were on the fringes of the world gathered together to him, and they all with one mouth said, 'Verily, by means of this man the Lord hath raised on high the horn of redemption (or, deliverance), and the hope of glory for the sons of the HEBREWS in their last days'.

Therefore, when they were boasting proudly of their exaltation, and occupied with their power, suddenly [576] 'ARGHÔN, the King of Kings, perceived (i.e. was attacked by) paralysis, and he was grievously afflicted with the disease for a month of days. And the wretched JEW was perplexed by his illness, and with great care he endeavoured in every way possible to heal him. Then the Amîrs and the nobles of the Camp who despised the JEW utterly, having lost all hope of [saving] the life of 'ARGHÔN, [behaved] as if the JEW himself, through the evil of his machinations, was the

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan's note reads: It is not Nature that governeth the world, but it is governed by the Lord of the Worlds, in Whose government no error is found because God is the Judge; this one He abuseth and that one He exalteth.—Psalm lxxv. 7.



cause of the sickness of 'ARGHÔN. And they began to roar at the wretched man like lions, until 'ARGHÔN ended his life on the fourth day of the week, at the end of the LATTER KÂNÔN (JANUARY) of the year (A.D. 1291). Then God stirred up His wrath against the JEWS who were in every place. This SA'D AL-DÂWLÂH, the ŞÂHIB DÎWÂN, they killed there. And with great care [the Amîrs and nobles] sent ambassadors into all the countries which were under the dominion of the MONGOLS, and they seized his brethren and his kinsfolk, and they bound them with chains, and they plundered their stores of food, and they took their sons, and their daughters, and their slaves, and their handmaidens, and their flocks and herds, and all their possessions. And he who was killed by them was killed, and those who were left [alive] returned to their original stations. The man who yesterday was an officer, and could bind and set free, and was arrayed in royal apparel, was to-day swathed in sackcloth, and had dirty discoloured hands as if he was a dyer and not a scribe, and a beggar going round from door to door and not an officer. The trials and wrath which were stirred up against the JEWS at this time neither tongue can utter nor the pen write down.

Then in BÂBIL (BAGHDÂD), when [the report of] the murder of this JEW was heard, the ARABS armed themselves and went to the quarter of the JEWS, because the JEWS were all living together in one quarter in BÂBIL. And when they wanted to go in and plunder them, the JEWS rose up against them in great strength, and they fought against the ARABS, and killed and were killed; and they did not leave alive [any JEWS] to rule over them. 'Now,' said they, 'when this JEW became great and exalted, he commanded that a palace should be built for him in TÂBRÎZ, and he buried many pots filled with gold and silver in the walls thereof.' Now this [fact] only became known at that moment, for it was only when [the MONGOLS] were torturing them (i.e. the JEWS), they showed them the places where the pots were, and so they dug [in the walls] and brought them out. Now the whole period during which [577] the JEW was Director and Governor was two years, more or less. And he was killed and his name (i.e. fame) perished, and because of him the JEWS throughout the world were hated and ill-treated.

### Kanjâtû, the brother of 'Arghôn

After 'ARGHÔN, the son of 'ABÂKÂ, KANJÂTÛ, his brother, who was called 'ERNAJÎN TÛRJAI', ruled. Now, in the beginning of his kingdom, 'ARGHÔN, his brother, appointed this man to take ten thousand of the soldiers of the MONGOLS and to go and keep guard over the countries of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ. And being there during the whole of the period through which 'ARGHÔN lived, the places (or, towns) thereabouts pleased him, and he was unwilling to go out from them. At length, when 'ARGHÔN, his brother, died, and all the princes assembled and declared that it was right for him to sit on the throne



of the kingdom, with difficulty and, as it were, by sheer force, did he become willing to sit in his brother's place. For he was living in the countries of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ in great content and absolute peacefulness, and he ate, and drank, and enjoyed life with the pleasant things of this world. And more especially when he saw that of the two kings who were his predecessors, whilst still in the vigour of early manhood, the thread of their lives had been cut off, without their having enjoyed to the full this temporary life. Then, [I say,] he drew back, and would not consent to sit upon the throne of the kingdom, and he made it his object, and his desire inclined thereto, to return to BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ again. And so he made a compact, and he kept the princes and the nobles hanging on the hope that next year, at the same period in the following year, he would come and rule. And he left them and removed to the countries of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ.

And when he arrived there he found the TURKOMÂN IÛGÂYÊ of BÊTH KARÂ-MÂN stretching out their hands against the MONGOLS, and plundering, and looting, and conquering [cities], and carrying away people into captivity. Then KAIJÂTÛ (KANJÂTÛ) collected his armies and he went and encamped against the famous Citadel of ʦANGÂZLÛ, and they took it with the sword, and they killed a large number of men therein. And he laid the sword upon the remainder of the IÛGÂYÊ who had fled into the villages, and he destroyed them utterly.

When 'ARGHÔN, his brother, was alive, [578] Frankish ambassadors used to come to him from the Pope of Rome and from other kings and impress upon him that the MONGOLS should become one shoulder (i.e. stand shoulder to shoulder) with the FRANKS, and go against the EGYPTIANS and PHARAOHITES who had waxed fat and kicked and were doing harm to the Christians and their towns. And 'ARGHÔN himself sent to the Pope an ambassador, RABBAN BAR ʂÂWMÂ, the Îgûrian monk, who had come with the Catholicus MÂR YAHBH 'ALLÂHÂ from the countries of the Great Khân, and the Pope sent with him compacts and assurances that they would sally forth together and destroy the Religion of the ARABS. But the exact opposite, however, of their calculations took place. When KAIJÂTÛ returned from the countries of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ to the mountains of GREAT ARMENIA, the princes and the nobles of the MONGOLS gathered together, and they took him and seated him on the throne of the kingdom on the twenty-third day of the month of ʘAZÎRÂN (JUNE), of the year sixteen hundred and three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1292).

Then when the EGYPTIANS heard that 'ARGHÔN had already ended his life, they gathered together great armies composed of natives and foreign soldiers, whose number was without end. And they went and encamped against the great and famous city of 'AKKÔ of the FRANKS, which is on the shore of the Great Sea. And they fought against it with great ferocity for two months. Now the FRANKS who were inside [it], because of their pride and boastfulness, did not condescend to shut the gates of the city in their



faces at any time, neither by night nor by day. And the Frankish horsemen used to sally out boldly from within, and as with scythes used to mow down the ARABS who were outside. And it is said that more than twenty thousand men of the ARABS were killed at 'AKKÔ. And the FRANKS held the city well and carefully until their Governor, the Great Count, was wounded by an arrow and died. Then those who were inside became sluggish, and those on the outside became exceedingly strong and prevailed. They set up about three hundred engines of war on the low wall which was on land, and they placed about one thousand miners under each tower to dig out the ground under it, and they threw down from the wall one or two towers . . . . Then the wretched Brethren and the rest of the nobles began to go into the strong buildings (or, monasteries) and they continued to fight.

And when they (i.e. the EGYPTIANS) [579] had taken the poor city, they began to coax those who were in the buildings to come out, saying that no man should harm them, and that they could go down into the sea (i.e. embark in ships), and go whithersoever they pleased with their wives, and their sons and their daughters, but that they must not take any of their possessions with them. And immediately they (i.e. the Brethren) opened the gates the ARABS went into them to keep watch over the goods [and money] which were in the buildings, so that they might not take any of them away. Now they (i.e. the ARABS) saw these sons and daughters with faces like moons for beauty, and they laid [their] hands upon them. But the FRANKS could not endure [this], and they drew their swords and daggers and they fell upon each other, and an endless number of men were killed on both sides. And [the ARABS] laid waste the fine prosperous city, and they did not leave to the FRANKS on the shore of the Great Sea a place whereon to lay their heads. These things took place in the month of NÎSÂN (APRIL), in the year which is the year sixteen hundred and three [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1292)].

And again the innumerable hosts of PHARAOH were gathered together, and they came and encamped against ƔAL'ÂH RHÔMÂITÂ, which is on the EUPHRATES. And this also they took in a period of twenty days, and they killed, and spoiled, and looted, and made prisoners of sons and daughters innumerable. And they took the Armenian Catholicus, and all the monks who were found with him, and they carried him with honour to JERUSALEM on the Sabbath, the twenty-eighth day of the month of ƔAZÎRÂN (JUNE) of that year, and behold there he still is. And others say that he is not, but that they crucified (or, impaled) him, and that they hung upon iron [stakes] those who were with him and carried [them] to EGYPT. And up to the present the history of him is uncertain. It is, however, quite true that he ended his days as a prisoner in DAMASCUS in misery. And the ARMENIANS regard this as a sure fact, [for] they selected a suitable man and appointed him Catholicus in the place of the other man, and they made a throne for him in SÎS of CILICIA.



Now KAIJÂTÛ being ruler, and the kingdom of the House of MÂGHÔGH being established for him, occupied himself with nothing except riotous living, and amusement and debauchery. He had no thought for anything else except the things which were necessary for kings, and which they were bound to have, and how he could get possession of the sons and daughters of the nobles and have carnal intercourse with them. And he would wanton with them without shame and without modesty. And very many chaste women among the wives of the nobles fled from him, and others [580] removed their sons and their daughters, and sent them away to remote districts. But they were unable to save themselves from his hands, or to escape from the shameful acts which he committed with them. And when he had led this blameworthy manner of life for nearly four years, more or less, and he had polluted himself with the mire of wanton desire of this kind, and he had amused himself with the lusts of the body which do not bring profit, he was hated with a very great hatred by all those who held the reins of his kingdom.

And in the year fifteen hundred and five [of the Greeks (A.D. 1294)], in the month of TAMMÛZ (JULY), there was present with him one of the sons of his uncles who was called 'BAIDÛ', and he had a son whose appearance was handsome. And whilst they were sitting at a wine-feast, and were eating, and drinking, and making merry, KAIJÂTÛ abused BAIDÛ openly, and BAIDÛ also abused him, and accused him of being the son of a whore. Then straightway KAIJÂTÛ was filled with a boiling rage, and he cried out to those who were round about him, and ordered them to drag BAIDÛ outside the Camp and stab him to death. Now this was a thing which had never entered the mind of BAIDÛ, and he never expected that KAIJÂTÛ would do a thing of this kind, even though he had greatly offended [him]. And seizing BAIDÛ they laid their hands upon him, and treated him with contempt in an immoderate fashion. And they dragged him out and carried him away and set him down in a small tent, and they thought that they were to kill him.

But KAIJÂTÛ, having slept for an hour, sent a message concerning BAIDÛ to the nobles and told them to go and reprimand BAIDÛ for the vulgar way in which he had behaved, and for the disgraceful act in which he had belched forth revilings (or, curses) on the King of Kings. Then he (i.e. BAIDÛ) cunningly, as if by way of a joke, jeered at these [nobles], and said that he 'neither understood nor knew what they were talking about'. And 'Where was KAIJÂTÛ?' And 'Bring wine to drink'. And 'What happened then?' And 'How did he come to that little tent?' And with speeches similar to these he confounded [his] hearers, and he made many to hold the view that what was not true was even as that which was.

And KAIJÂTÛ also was easily coaxed and deceived, and he was exceedingly sorry for the blows which he had made BAIDÛ to suffer. And he strove in every way possible to pacify [581] his mind, and he said, 'BAIDÛ hath been



ill-treated'. And after BAIDÛ had slept for a further period, KAIJÂTÛ again sent his nobles to ask him 'if he knew what he had said in his drunken bout'. And BAIDÛ denied [that he did] even more strongly, saying that even if he were beaten with stripes he could neither know nor even imagine [what he had said]. And with subtlety he made the nobles swear whether their stories were true or whether they were simply playing a game with him. And when they repeated before him the full story of what had taken place between him and KAIJÂTÛ he was seized with great wonder and said, 'There is nothing comparable to the debt which I owe KAIJÂTÛ, otherwise how is it that he did not forthwith hack me limb from limb?'

And when KAIJÂTÛ heard these things his mind was placated absolutely. And he himself went in to BAIDÛ, and he embraced him, and kissed him, and took him and went to the Camp. And he had royal apparel brought and arrayed him therein. And KAIJÂTÛ made himself out to be an offender, and a doer of evil deeds, and one guilty of death, and in his drunken fits he would groan and say as tears ran down his face, 'I did not know that I was sinning. Therefore, if I sinned it was without knowledge. I offended thee unwittingly. I entreat thee to feed thy dogs on my flesh without pity'. And KAIJÂTÛ added to his love for him. And he bestowed upon him very many incomparable gifts. And to speak briefly, in these two or three days he bestowed on BAIDÛ wellnigh forty myriads [of *dinârs*]*—*gold, and silver, and apparel of gold brocade, and a priceless cloak, and belts inlaid with jacinths and [other] precious stones, and riding horses (stallions), and mules, and pack-horses. KAIJÂTÛ, however, was rebuked by all the members of his household, who said unto him, 'It was not right that the honour of this man should be belittled, neither was it right for this man to be treated wholly with contempt, and handed over to inhuman beings who dragged him along by his hair, and beat him, and scourged him. Now that which hath happened hath happened. Gifts will not benefit, and amusing stories will not bring pleasantness. But it is right to keep a watch on him forthwith in every way possible, whatever the path may be.' And others said, 'It is right to remove him out of the way, for otherwise great tribulations will arise through him'. Others said, 'No, but it is right that he should be yoked under service, [582] and that he should be kept in bondage for the whole period of his life, so that his hand can never be stretched out to kill or to commit any injury'.

Now KAIJÂTÛ, because of the peculiar propensities which he possessed and which cannot be praised, was overcome by lascivious desire, and his mind wandered about on all sides, and his understanding was distracted. And he was drawn on so far as to say to BAIDÛ, 'I want thy son to live with me, and to be with me in my service, and to be to me a friend and a companion'. And BAIDÛ as one who was absolutely obedient, and was in cheerful subjection, accepted this [proposal] joyfully, and he commanded that



some one should be sent quickly that he might fetch his son. But KAIJÂTÛ said, 'No. Rise thou up and go quickly to the members of thy household, before the report of the strife which hath taken place between me and thee can reach them and these servants of thine, or they will be perturbed. And as soon as thou arrivest there send thy son to come to me.' And BAITÛ said, 'The command of thee shall be [obeyed]'.

And he went forth from the Camp like a bird from the snare, and he looked behind him, and travelled each day the distance of four ordinary days' journey, until he came to his house. And he did not tarry there, but he made his son ready and sent him to KAIJÂTÛ, but he himself set out for the mountains of HAMÂDÂN, as if he was going a-hunting. And from there he sent an ambassador to KÂZÂN, the son of 'ARGHÔN, weeping and complaining, and he showed him everything which had come upon him. Now KAIJÂTÛ knew nothing at all about this, but he was occupied with [abominable] affairs, and an immeasurable liberality of hand (i.e. extravagance). And by ill luck there was present before him the chief of the lawyers, that is the ŞÂHIB DÎWÂN, a PERSIAN, whose name was ŞADR AD-DÎN. And this man also was so extravagant that in a very short space of time he exhausted the treasures of the kingdom of KAIJÂTÛ. And he began to borrow and he spent, until at length there remained nothing, so that not even one sheep could be killed for the food of KAIJÂTÛ.

Now a certain JEW, whose name was RASHÎD AD-DÂWLÂH, had been appointed to prepare food which was suitable for KAIJÂTÛ, of every kind which might be demanded, and wheresoever it might be demanded. And thus this JEW stood up strongly in this matter, and he spent a large sum of his own money, and he bought myriads of sheep and oxen, and he appointed butchers and cooks, [583] and he was ready in a most wonderful fashion on the condition that in every month of days silver (or, money) should be collected for the ŞÂHIB DÎWÂN, because the treasury was empty, and it was destitute of money, and not even the smallest [coin] was to be found therein. And he wrote letters and sent [them] to the [various] countries, but the JEW was unable to collect anything. And thus the whole of his possessions came to an end, and as he was unable to stand in (i.e. continue) a work such as he was doing, he left and fled. And though exactions (i.e. taxings) were frequent, the ŞÂHIB AD-DÎWÂN was worried, and he was hard pressed to fulfil and to complete the frequent gifts of the King of Kings. Now since all the money which was collected in the whole of the dominion of the MONGOLS was insufficient for the liberality of the ŞÂHIB DÎWÂN, how was it possible for him to provide for the liberality of KAIJÂTÛ? Then he began to think out vain imaginings—that he would make new money; but as his hand could not lay hands on the gold and silver he rejected them. And he promulgated a royal command that men should no longer use gold and silver. And he made slips of paper from papyrus which could be written upon, and



he stamped them with a mark in red, and he wrote [on them] and showed which was for one *dînâr*, and which for two, or three, or four, or five [*dînârs*], and so on up to ten *dînârs*. And he called them '*Shâw*'. And the heralds proclaimed throughout the city, 'Whosoever buyeth and selleth, and taketh and giveth without [using] *Shâw* shall die the death. And whosoever hath in his hand silver, and doth not carry it to the offices of the Government to be stamped therein with [the word] *Shâw*, and giveth it up and taketh [in exchange] *Shâw* shall die the death.' And thus men remained in a state of great tribulation and indescribable difficulty for a space of two months.

And TÂBRÎZ, which was the royal city of the MONGOLS, remained like a desolate ruin. Men fled therefrom and dispersed themselves about the country, and only a very few people were seen in the streets (or, bazârs). After the prosperity which [TÂBRÎZ had enjoyed] words are not able to describe the famine, and scarcity, and hardship which arose therein. For men would not consent to use the contemptible slips of paper, and they clung to the use of money. And the people cried out against the ŞÂHIB DÎWÂN until at length they hurled insults and abuse at him when they were face to face with him. And they made him to hear jeers and scoffs, [584] and they would not submit to be convinced and to hear his word. And he remained stupefied and astonished; to go back on his word (or, to withdraw it) would bring ignominy upon him, and to carry out his will he was unable. And there was not a single maker of verses who did not gibe at this act, and not a single singing man who did not string together poems and ditties and admirable verses [about it]. And being urged by those inside [the city] and those outside [it], the ŞÂHIB DÎWÂN issued another royal command, saying, 'Every man according to his wish and according to his inclination. If he wisheth for the *Shâw* let him use it, and if he wisheth silver [let him use it]. There is no compulsion for any man.' And the King of Kings also said, 'We wish you to have a comfortable existence, and a quiet life, and an abundance of good things, and moreover, we do not wish that everything which a man hath to give should be taken from him. But let every man use, according to what [his] need is for goods (i.e. flocks and herds) and equipment (or, furniture). In the twinkling of an eye let the slips of paper by thousands and by tens of thousands be sunk in the sea and done away. And now let every man who is not pleased [with them] know that we do put pressure on any man.' And there was great joy in every country and city, and the roads were opened [again], for during these two months the merchants could not trade, and the roads were cut, and the *khâns* (i.e. inns) were closed, and buying and selling ceased.

And the year sixteen hundred and six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1295) having begun, BAIDÛ went back to winter in the country of DAĞÛKÂH, according to his wont, pondering on the cruelty of KAIJÂTÛ to him. And he entered into



a secret compact with the captains of thousands of the MONGOLS who were near him, and he surrounded himself with soldiers. And he came in person to the country of MÂWŞIL, and he seized the captain of the soldiers there and killed him. And he also sent and killed the man who held a similar post in BAGHDÂD.

And when the other great nobles of the MONGOLS saw that BAIDÛ had been bold enough to do a deed of this kind, they submitted to him without difficulty. They gathered together about him gladly, and sent ambassadors to KÂZÂN announcing their agreement, and they said, 'KAIJÂTÛ hath departed from the path of the MONGOLS, and hath despised our father CHINGÎZ KHÂN. And by his reprehensible and riotous life and his unmeasured liberality (i.e. extravagance) he hath wasted the treasures of the kingdom. His care is only for the lustful amusements of the world, and not for the government of the kingdom in which we live. Therefore the nobles, and the sons, and the daughters, and the wives, and the brides (or, daughters-in-law) have agreed together to cast him out of the way, [585] for his species is useless to the kingdom, and they intend to seat thee upon the throne of the kingdom of the House of MÂGHÔGH.'

Then KÂZÂN sent and said to BAIDÛ, 'Thou art a great man in ISRAEL, and each of us together with all of us (i.e. individually and collectively) agree with thee, and we will bring ourselves back under thy governance. Whatsoever thou knowest to be fitting, and right, and beneficial, that do. But the houses of our kingdom must abide uninjured and unshaken. And it is meet that the man who shall be chosen shall not devote himself to luxury, and to eating and drinking, and to extravagant feasts and dainty meats, and to giving lavish gifts which should not by right [be given]; nay, he must protect his kingdom carefully; and he must think continually how he can meet his enemies in battle, for a kingdom is better protected by wisdom than by tens of thousands of fighting men.'

Then the nobles, and the princes, and the captains of ten thousands of the MONGOLS, being assured that KÂZÂN and BAIDÛ were friends, and were with one consent and one desire treating each other lovingly, and were holding converse by means of ambassadors; and it being evident that their Law gave by right the throne of the kingdom to KÂZÂN after KAIJÂTÛ, and that BAIDÛ was striving for them to set KÂZÂN on the throne of the kingdom, they all submitted themselves willingly to BAIDÛ. And they turned their faces from KAIJÂTÛ, he being unconscious [of it], for he had no knowledge of what was being done in the world; but he led a soft and very indolent life of enjoyment of the luxuries of the world, until at length he stood revealed, both to those inside and those outside, as an impostor.

Then he woke up as from slumber, and he sent an ambassador to the north, ordering the troops [stationed] there to ride forth and to seize BAIDÛ. And when the ambassador arrived in the northern quarter, that is to say in



the country of DÎÂR BAKR, he discovered that all the troops there were joined to BAIDÛ, and that they were ready to go and engage KAIJÂTÛ in battle. And the ambassador left and fled back as from pollution, and he went and informed KAIJÂTÛ of the intention of those troops. And as soon as KAIJÂTÛ heard these things, he thought that BAIDÛ was about to flee, and that he would go to KÂZÂN. And he sent soldiers and closed the roads and passes of KHÔRÂSÂN, and he made TÂJIR, the great captain, to ride out with ten thousand men, and he sent him [586] to head off BAIDÛ from crossing the mountains of SHAHÂRZÛR.

A few days later he also made his father-in-law, a man whose name was 'ÂKBÔKÂ, to ride out with another ten thousand, so that he himself might take another ten thousand and go and engage BAIDÛ in battle. And whilst he was still in the neighbourhood of TÂBRÎZ, in a place which is called 'AUGHÂN', TÂJIR and 'ÂKBÔKÂ arrived with the twice ten thousand men who were with them at the skirts of the mountains of SHAHÂRZÛR, on the eastern side. And BAIDÛ himself was, together with his men, on the skirts of the mountain on the western side. And he sent an ambassador secretly to TÂJIR, saying, 'I myself am burning with the fire of zeal for the kingdom of the House of MÂGHÔGH, and I am striving to uproot KAIJÂTÛ from the power of his personal qualities, which cannot be praised, more especially because I hear that he hath not left to you wives, and sons, and daughters whom he hath not debauched. Therefore it is right that all of us should unite and remove him from the midst (i.e. scene), and should set KÂZÂN on the throne of the kingdom, and we all together must reduce KAIJÂTÛ to subjection.'

Then TÂJIR accepted this [proposal] gladly, and joined to him without difficulty. And straightway he sent [an ambassador] and said unto 'ÂKBÔKÂ, 'I am with BAIDÛ, and I agree with him, and I am ready to go with him; what is thy intention?' Now because 'ÂKBÔKÂ was the father-in-law of KAIJÂTÛ, this did not please him, and he was sad and troubled. And he made up his mind that during the night he would take the ten thousand men who were with him and go back to KAIJÂTÛ.

And when the day broke TÂJIR rode out as if he were going to BAIDÛ. 'ÂKBÔKÂ thought that he was about to attack him, and he left and fled, and a few of the ten thousand who were with him accompanied him. And with quick marches he came to KAIJÂTÛ, and reported to him what had happened.

Then terror fell upon KAIJÂTÛ and he did not know what he was doing. He sent and called the captain of the thousands who were with him, and whose name was 'BRÎM' ('IBRÂHÎM?), and he said unto him, 'Behold, I see that my troops are divided against me. Thou therefore, who art strong and strenuous, remain [with me], and be not doubtful.'

And he brought forth apparel and dressed himself therein, [587] and he mounted his horse intending [to go] to his camp, where his wives and families and household were; and he left the pavilions and the tents standing.



And before he had gone the distance of a bow-shot BRÎM struck and looted the tents of KAIJÂTÛ, and pursued him. And because before these things happened KAIJÂTÛ himself had sent demanding [the presence of] the captain of another ten thousand, who was in the country of the IBERIANS, and whose name was DÛKAL, this man arrived from the region which was in the neighbourhood of the camp of KAIJÂTÛ. And he found there tumults, and quarrellings, and dissensions, and bodies of soldiers fighting each other, and looters and plunderers without end. And KAIJÂTÛ arrived immediately, with four or five persons, and BRÎM (BRÂÎM?) pursued him—now it happened that DÛKAL was in front of him—and they captured him and killed him, on the fifth day of the month of 'ÂDHAR (MARCH), in the year sixteen hundred and six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1295), without the knowledge of BAIDÛ.

Now BAIDÛ was not inclined to destroy KAIJÂTÛ, but only to seize him and shut him up in one of the fortresses. Through the nobles having joined forces with him, and the soldiery agreeing with him, BAIDÛ had sent an ambassador to take KAIJÂTÛ and bring him to him. When the ambassador arrived he found that KAIJÂTÛ had already been put to death, and he left and came back empty. And thus all the nobles, and the sons, and the daughters, and the sons-in-law, and the brides urged each other to submission and obedience to BAIDÛ. And the greater number of the nobles being in one mind with him, he sent an ambassador to KÂZÂN [telling him] to come and not to delay. And because KÂZÂN himself was quartered a long way off, and it was still the time of winter, and the roads were destitute of grass and provender, KÂZÂN and the troops who were with him journeyed with difficulty to the region [where] BAIDÛ [was]. Then those who were gathered together about BAIDÛ, seeing that KÂZÂN was hampered and could not arrive quickly, began to flatter BAIDÛ, saying, 'The kingdom is suitable for thee. And KÂZÂN is a young man, and his years are few, and he is not equal to governing the kingdom of BÊTH MÂGHÔGH. And if thou withdrawest thyself, and dost hand over the whole administration to KÂZÂN, the race of the MONGOLS will end in destruction.'

Then was BAIDÛ led into error by the flatterers, and he became proud and magnified himself, and he would not [588] wait any longer for KÂZÂN. But he sent and had brought the great throne which was in TÂBRÎZ, that same throne on which 'ABÂKÂ, and 'ARGHÔN, and the kings who rose up after them, had sat, and he planted it in the neighbourhood of 'AÛGHÂN, and he went up and sat upon it, and he imagined that henceforth his kingdom was assured.

And after they had remained there a few days, being occupied in eating and drinking, they removed towards SÎÂHKÛH, and there the sons, and the daughters, and the brethren, and the cousins, and the captains of the hosts, and all the nobles of the MONGOLS, were gathered together in friendly intercourse. And then BAIDÛ began to deal with them with complete humble-



ness of mind, and he delivered over to each brother and to each nephew a certain district, on the condition that they should eat the whole of the produce of that district, and that if there was anything left over they should send it to him, and that if they lacked anything they were to send to him and take what was sufficient for their subsistence. And thus all the [princes] and the nobles parted from him with joy, and pleasure, and gladness, and thanking God for the peace and friendship which had sprung up among the soldiers and among all the nobles of the MONGOLS.

Now when KÂZÂN arrived near SÎÂHKÛH, he became aware that BAIDÛ had seized the kingdom for himself, and that he had sat upon the throne of the kingdom unlawfully. And he became hot with anger, and he lamented bitterly, and was very very much grieved that the toil, and the trouble, and the exhaustion of the long journey which had come upon him and upon the troops who were with him, appeared to be absolutely useless (or, empty) and fruitless. And in blaming BAIDÛ he would say, 'Why ever did he summon me? And having summoned me, why ever did he not wait until I came to him? And did he sit on the throne with my consent?' Now BAIDÛ was confident that he could pacify the mind of KÂZÂN by humbleness of mind and lavish gifts, even though he had to hand over to him the whole of KHÔRÂSÂN, and SHÎRÂZ, and BAHRÂN, and KERMÂN, and to give him all the camps of 'ARGHÔN his father, leaving not even one of them for himself, and to deliver up to him horses, and cattle, and herds of horses, and goods, and flocks and herds, so that KÂZÂN might take them and go back to KHÔRÂSÂN.

Then KÂZÂN arrived in the neighbourhood of KÛNGÛRÛLÂN (KÛNGÛR 'AÛLÂN), and there remained between him [589] and the place where BAIDÛ was [the distance] of one day's journey. He took counsel with the captain of the company of the soldiers who were with him (a man of war who had gained experience in many fights, and whose name was NÂWRÛZ, the son of 'ARGHÔN 'ÂKÂ) as to how they were to go by night and capture BAIDÛ suddenly and unawares. Thus they did, but the issue of the work was not in accordance with their thought. For whilst they were riding during the night, and were pressing forward on their journey with the utmost strenuousness, the cataracts of heaven were broken, and floods and torrents of rain descended, and there were lightnings, and thunders, and winds and hurricanes, the like of which had never been seen [before] in the world. They began to wander off the road, and they became separated and scattered, and they did not know where they were going, or how to go on, they took the wrong roads, every man riding straight ahead, and they wandered about in the desert confusedly until the day broke. Then they saw their position and knew that they were in the neighbourhood of those [soldiers] who were attached to the company of BAIDÛ. They were unable to engage in a fight with them because of the wet condition, and the exhaustion, and the



weariness of each and every soldier, besides the general disorganized state of the troop; and they remained dazed and stupefied.

Then terror, and fear, and trembling fell upon BAIDÛ and those who were with him, and they mounted their horses and went forth to engage KÂZÂN in battle. Then KÂZÂN, seeing that there was no occasion (or, room) for a fight, alighted from his horse; and when BAIDÛ saw him do this he also alighted from his horse. And they drew nigh to each other and embraced, each of them feeling ashamed before his companion because of the thing which he had done. BAIDÛ, because of the blameworthy haste with which he had hurried, and because he had not waited for KÂZÂN; and KÂZÂN, because he had come in a hidden and secret manner to capture BAIDÛ. And according to what is certain, but for the rains, and the lightnings, and the thunders which impeded KÂZÂN's troops, the whole company of BAIDÛ would have been left to complete annihilation, for in the night not even one man could have escaped [from KÂZÂN's attack], and they all would have been destroyed by the edge of the sword.

Now, therefore, having made friends, they began to discuss the matter with each other, and to assign blame to each other. KÂZÂN himself exhibited a fine submission, together with praiseworthy discretion and wisdom, which it is absolutely necessary for kings to employ. He proved that he was reconciled to BAIDÛ, and he agreed with everything which was said to him [by him]. And they swore oaths to each other that [590] neither of them would quarrel with or abuse the other, but that with one consent, and one will, the two of them would live in love, and peace, and quietness. And when BAIDÛ wished to bring KÂZÂN to his camp to eat, and drink, and be happy together, and to rejoice in the peace which had been made between them, KÂZÂN said, 'We have exhausted ourselves greatly during this night. Let us reverse our actions a little, and alight from our horses, and rest ourselves, and then in the morning we will meet together again in one place.'

Then, in his simplicity, BAIDÛ accepted KÂZÂN's proposal, and consented to his desire. And KÂZÂN, having parted from BAIDÛ and gone back, did not alight from his horse, but he began to ride from the evening of that day and he rode all night, looking behind him, and wondering how he could save himself from the hands of BAIDÛ. And when BAIDÛ reached his camp, he began to prepare meats and lavish gifts of every kind. And he did not rest, and he neither lay down nor slept, but he passed the whole night in thoughts as to how and by what means he could pacify the mind of KÂZÂN, so that there might be no cause at all of offence [left in it]. And as soon as ever the day broke he sent nobles to go and salute KÂZÂN, and to inquire of him concerning the exhaustion and fatigue which had attacked him. And having gone a distance of a parasang, or two, or three, or four, none of them found any man at all upon that road and nothing except perhaps foundered horses which had been left there; and some of them were lying



as if they were dead. And so the nobles left and came back and informed BAIDÛ. Then BAIDÛ felt certain in his mind that KÂZÂN was offended, and was not inclined for a reconciliation, and that he had not gone back, and that he would make himself strong and would return and again attack BAIDÛ. And great fear came upon him, and terror not a little. And he sent [and commanded that] all the nobles and their companies of troops should gather together in all haste, and stand up against the violent onset of KÂZÂN, when he came back to attack him.

And KÂZÂN and NÂWRÛZ the great general (i.e. general-in-chief) took counsel together, and they made a plan that they would send and pacify the mind of BAIDÛ, and prevent him from enrolling the soldiers and peoples of KÂZÂN. For if BAIDÛ was to be pressing in collecting armies, he could collect many tens of thousands, and KÂZÂN would be unable to stand [591] before him. And they must make him content because the men who were with him (i.e. KÂZÂN's own men) were already tired and exhausted, and their horses were emaciated and weak through shortage of food. For the plains of those regions are destitute of grass, and the districts [about the cities] are a waste, and neither hay for the horses nor food for men can be found. And through these excuses, and others which were like unto them, NÂWRÛZ undertook to go back in person to BAIDÛ, and by some means or other to coax him neither to put himself in motion nor to stir, but to be quiet and gracious in respect of KÂZÂN.

And when NÂWRÛZ came to BAIDÛ he received him with great honour, and he revealed all his secrets to him. At length NÂWRÛZ said unto BAIDÛ, 'If thou dost not put thy trust in KÂZÂN, and thy mind is not pacified in respect of him, I myself will go and will send thee his head on a platter', although at the same time he was scheming in every way possible how to save himself and to get back to KÂZÂN in peace (i.e. safety). Then BAIDÛ rejoiced and was glad, and he danced about and exulted, saying, 'If thou art able to do this I will hand over to thee the administration of all the offices of my kingdom'. And he presented to him lavish gifts, and he put myriads of gold [coins] in his hands, and he wrote a Patent (i.e. authority) that he was to take another ten thousand from the city of KÂZWÎN, and set him free to depart. And when he went to KÂZÂN, they began to wonder, and to be seized with amazement at the simplicity with which NÂWRÛZ had thrown himself into the hands of BAIDÛ, and how BAIDÛ himself, with even greater simplicity had allowed him to live.

And behold, from this moment they began to make ready for war, and they collected armies. And NÂWRÛZ in person undertook the direction of the bands of soldiers, and the gathering of them together from every quarter. And he sent KÂZÂN and a few men to the mountains of MÂZÎN-DARÂN to hunt there, and the bodies of troops which were collected in another quarter, and he remained by himself in one place with his house-



hold. Then BAIDÛ was perplexed, [wishing] to know, 'Where were KÂZÂN and NÂWRÛZ? With what are they occupying themselves? Have they the intention to have war or not?' And he sent messengers unto them very frequently, and he schemed to spy upon [them] and to discover their astuteness. And so when the ambassadors [592] of BAIDÛ came to NÂWRÛZ, and tried their utmost to meet KÂZÂN in person, and to hold discourse with him, mouth to mouth, NÂWRÛZ would say to them, 'What benefit can ye gain in meeting a simple young man who never knoweth anything or understandeth anything? And behold, he is tramping about in the mountains and hills, and the only thing that he careth about is the chase. But if it be absolutely necessary for you to see him, behold there are men with me, and go ye to him.' And so the ambassadors of BAIDÛ took those men of his, and they marched with them by the desert road, and straying from the [right] road, and losing their way, and wandering about they went from village to village, and from city to city.

And after many days which [they spent] in bringing them to KÂZÂN, at the beginning of his meeting with them he complained about BAIDÛ, saying, 'Where are the promises which he made to me? And where are the camps, and the women, and the concubines of my father which he promised to send to me that I might take [them] and go from this place? If it be that he thus goeth back on his oaths, let him inform me [of it], so that I may leave and go back to KHÔRÂSÂN.' And when the ambassadors returned to BAIDÛ they swore and denied, saying, 'There is absolutely no gathering [of troops], and KÂZÂN careth nothing about engaging [in battle], but he is waiting for thee to send what thou didst promise him that he may take [them] and go back to his own place'.

Then with simplicity BAIDÛ consented to send to KÂZÂN more than the things which he had promised to send to him, but the astute men who were with him did not agree with him. 'For', they said, 'there is treachery to the fore, and his intention towards thee is not straight. And he is not fighting to take the camps of his father, but to prevail over them and attack thee; for he would go with tens of thousands of natives and foreigners, and horses, and possessions which are carried away from thee.'

And after a little KÂZÂN sent again to BAIDÛ, saying, 'Make haste, send me armies, for enemies from the east, who are on the banks of [the river] GÎHÔN, are meditating the crossing over into the quarter of KHÔRÂSÂN, and very many rebels have made themselves visible in these quarters'. And the astute and experienced men also who were with BAIDÛ pondered upon these crafty words and proposals. And so when KÂZÂN saw that this proposal was not coming [593] into being, he sent to BAIDÛ and said, 'There is no need for armies; thou shalt send no man', thus putting away from him this wicked suspicion.

Then BAIDÛ relaxed somewhat, and he looked upon the shadow as if it



was the substance, and after the manner of a small child he deceived himself with these machinations, and wiles, and cunning tricks. [The idea of] strife, and battle, and war he drove away from him, and he began to find pleasure in eating, that is to say drinking, only. He was wholly unconquered by lust and lasciviousness, and his mind was never led captive by any strange woman except his wives. And he never wished to gratify his lust in the Sodomite fashion like his predecessor, [that is to say KAIJÂTÛ]. But he conducted himself with understanding, and a well-ordered mind, a praiseworthy humbleness of disposition. And he received and honoured the men of high position, and the learned, and the monks and ascetics who were there, whatever the community to which they belonged might be; and he made men rich with gifts, and he made men splendid with royal apparel. And because he had been acquainted for long years with the DESPOENA (?),<sup>1</sup> the daughter of the king of the GREEKS, who was the wife of 'ABÂKÂ, he was favourably disposed towards the Christians, and for a certain number of years he made a church and a beater of the board<sup>2</sup> to march with his camp, moreover he boldly gave himself the name of 'Christian'.

And because at this time the MONGOLS, both the nobles and the inferior folk in their entirety, had become HAGARENES (i.e. MUSLIMS), and had already been circumcised, and had been well instructed in ablutions, and prayers, and the special customs and observances of the MUSLIMS, since it was pleasing to them BAIDÛ himself became a MUSLIM, and all the nobles of his kingdom rejoiced exceedingly. But he was unable to withdraw himself from converse with the Christians, and besides them he never consented to trust any man whatsoever in all the affairs of the administration of [his] kingdom. And behold because of this he began to be hampered by two barriers. To the Christians he used to say, 'I am a Christian', and he hung a cross on his neck. To the MUSLIMS he showed that he was a MUSLIM, but he was never able to learn the ablutions and the fasts. And whenever the headmen of their Faith were present with him, and they stood up to prayer, BAIDÛ used to send his son to pray with them, and in this way [594] he pacified their minds and cooled their wrath. But it was not hidden from the ARABS that he inclined towards the side of the Christians and that he leaned [on them]. And for about five months with such contradictory policies as these he ruled his kingdom.

And when the believing, and just, and righteous king HITÂM (II ?) of CILICIA heard that BAIDÛ had triumphed, and that the kingdom of the MONGOLS was established for him, and that he was a friend of the Christians, and inclined to them more than to the other Faiths (or, Religions), he desired greatly to come to his service (i.e. to pay homage to him), and to meet him in person, and to put on a sure footing many matters between BAIDÛ and himself.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Mary, the daughter of Michael Palaeologus.

<sup>2</sup> The board was struck by a sacrist and served as a bell.



And having set out from his own country he remained on the road nearly two months. And his arrival in the neighbourhood of SÎÂHKÛH happened [at the same time as] the arrival of the great Amîr NÂWRÛZ, with the troops who were with him, to capture BAIDÛ.

Now, because BAIDÛ was entirely engrossed with his own affairs he sent and said to the Armenian king HÎTÂM (II) through an ambassador, 'Turn back to MÂRÂGHÂ, and rest there for a little until I am at peace and return to the Camp, and then I will send and fetch thee'. And HÎTÂM did so. And having arrived in MÂRÂGHÂ he sat down there for about ten days, more or less. But BAIDÛ fled from before NÂWRÛZ the great general, and so the King of Kings, KÂZÂN, came, and he went and encamped on TELLÂ 'ÂÛKÂMÂ, which was near DÎÂHKHÛRKÂN. And straightway king HÎTÂM made ready and went to his service (or, to do homage), and he presented to him great gifts. And the King of Kings said unto him, 'Thou hast come to visit BAIDÛ and not us'. And king HÎTÂM replied, 'I am bound to show subjection to all the seed of CHINGIZ KHÂN, and I come to pay homage to whosoever is established on the throne'. Then the King of Kings welcomed him warmly, and he arrayed him in royal apparel. And he commanded that a Patent should be written for him, [595] and that all his petitions should be fulfilled.

Now inasmuch as some time before this the command had gone forth that the churches should be destroyed, HÎTÂM begged from the King of Kings that the churches should not be destroyed, because they were the dwellings of God, and also houses of prayer. And so the King of Kings commanded that [the churches] should not be destroyed, and he wrote a Patent and gave it to an ambassador, [ordering] that the churches must by no means be destroyed, but that only the houses of images were to be overthrown, and that they should be henceforth mosques and colleges for the ARABS. And thus through this believing king many churches were freed from the destroyer. And this king went forth from the Camp with a happy heart, and gladness and rejoicing, on the first day of the week, on the ninth day of the month of the FIRST TESHÎN (OCTOBER) in this year, which is the year sixteen hundred and seven of the GREEKS (= A.D. 1295?).

Immediately, suddenly and unexpectedly, NÂWRÛZ and his troops burst upon BAIDÛ at a place which is called KÛNGÛR 'ÂÛLÂN. But BAIDÛ was unable to make a stand even for a single hour before the King of Kings, KÂZÂN, and to engage in battle with him and oppose him. And he quickly turned his back and fled before him on the Sabbath day, on the twenty-fifth (or, twenty-fourth) day of the month of ÎLÛL (SEPTEMBER), in the year sixteen hundred and six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1295). And NÂWRÛZ pursued him and overtook him, and he put him to death on the fifth day [of the week] of the ninth day of the month of the FIRST TESHÎN (OCTOBER), of the year sixteen hundred and seven (A.D. 1296). And he issued a command that the churches,



and the houses of images, and the synagogues of the JEWS should be destroyed, and that the priests [of the images] and the chief priests should be treated with ignominy, and that tribute and taxes should be imposed upon them. And no Christian was to be seen [in the streets] unless he had a girdle round his loins, and no JEW was to be seen [in the streets] unless he had a mark on his head.

And in those days the foreign peoples stretched out their hands to TÂBRÎZ, and they destroyed all the churches which were there, and there was great sorrow among the Christians in all the world. The persecutions, and disgrace, and mockings, and ignominy which the Christians suffered at this time, especially in BAGHDÂD, words cannot describe. Behold, according to what people say, 'No Christian dared to appear in the streets (or, market), but the women went out and came in and bought and sold, because they could not be distinguished from the Arab women, and could not be identified [596] as Christians, though those who were recognized as Christians were disgraced, and slapped, and beaten and mocked. And behold, all the Christians who were in these regions were tortured with punishment of this kind; I would not say abandoned by God. And whilst they were being driven hither and thither, and were being worn out by tempestuous storms, the enemies of righteousness were jeering at them, and saying to them, 'Where is your God? Let us see if you have a helper or one who can redeem and deliver [you].' Now this persecution had not dominion over our people alone, but also over the JEWS, and it was twice as fierce, many times over, on the priests who were worshippers of idols. And this after the honour to which they had been promoted by the Mongol kings, and which was so great that one-half of the money which was gathered together in the treasury of the kingdom had been given to them, and it had been expended (?) on the work of images of gold and silver. And a very large number of the pagan priests, because of the way in which they were persecuted, became MUSLIMS.

And subsequently there went forth a command from the King of Kings and Yarlikê (i.e. Edicts) were written to all the countries, and Mongol messengers were sent to every country and town to destroy the churches and to loot the monasteries. And wheresoever the messengers went and found Christians who rose up before them to render them service, and to give them gifts, they were less severe and were more lenient. For they were far more anxious to collect money than to destroy the churches, according to what happened in the city of ARBELA. For when the officers arrived there they remained twenty days, and they expected that some one of the Christians would approach [them] and undertake [to bring] a certain amount of gold, and would manifest towards them open-handedness in return for sparing the churches which were there so that they might not be damaged; but no man approached [them]. And the Metropolitan himself who was



there could not support the weight (i.e. burden) of his churches, and no other man took upon himself the care of the churches, but every man looked carefully after the management of his own individual house. Therefore there was given straightway an opportunity to the pagans, and they laid [their] hands on the three splendid churches which were there, and they destroyed them utterly, down to the very foundations. These things took place [597] on the fourth day of the week, on the twenty-eighth day of the month of the LATTER TESHIRÎN (NOVEMBER) in that year.

Now when [the NINEVITES] heard of the calamity which had taken place there, they were terrified and were exceedingly afraid. And when the nobles and the officers [of the MONGOLS] passed over into the region of MÂWŞIL, certain men who loved works [connected with] the holy churches, and who made themselves responsible for the troubles [which assailed them], approached them, and undertook [to give] much gold. And because they did not possess any of the mammon of the world, they laid [their] hands on the equipment and furnishing of the churches, and they did not leave untaken a cross, or an eikon, or a censer, or a Book of the Gospels which was mounted (or, inlaid) with gold. And when this was not sufficient, they made the believers who were in the towns and villages subscribe a certain amount of money. And they collected nearly fifteen thousand *dînârs*, and they weighed them (i.e. paid) against the destruction of the churches, and the tribute of the Christians. And by the help of God not one church was damaged.

And in these days a certain tribe of MONGOLS, who were called 'ÂWÎRÂTÂYÊ, were wintering round about the Monastery of MÂR MATTAI, and it happened that they had a complaint against the King of Kings. And messengers came from him to them, uttering curses and threats, because in the days when BAIDÛ reigned, those 'ÂWÎRÂTÂYÊ had laid their hands on certain TURKOMÂNS and taken from them sheep and cattle, and herds of horses, and stallions, and mules, and camels without number. And after the kingdom of BAIDÛ had come to an end and KÂZÂN was ruling, the command went forth that the TURKOMÂNS should take it all back again from the 'ÂWÎRÂTÂYÊ, and every one who resisted and would not obey was to die the death. And because the great number of these possessions had come to an end, and nothing at all of them remained with the 'ÂWÎRÂTÂYÊ, they suffered great tribulation, and they were treated with contempt by the ambassadors and by the TURKOMÂNS. [And] [598] they leaped upon the ambassador and upon the TURKOMÂNS and killed them. And they took their families and everything which they were able to carry, and they fled to SYRIA—a body of ten thousand soldiers and fighting men. These things took place on the third day [of the week], on the twenty-ninth (or, nineteenth) day of the month of the FIRST KÂNÔN (JANUARY), in the year sixteen hundred and seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1296).



Now in this year never a man of the cruel spoilers of SYRIA came forth to this eastern quarter, because the blood of those who were oppressed and the cry of the poor was heard before God. And justice was stirred up against them, that justice which watcheth times, and it wrought disasters on them by means of the famine and the pestilence which came upon their countries, especially in EGYPT. For they say that ALEXANDRIA was entirely emptied of [its] population. And since this story was not transmitted to us accurately, we do not enlarge our speech concerning the exciting rumours which [come] from the peoples, but that they occupy themselves with them in respect of famine and pestilence there is no doubt whatsoever. Moreover, as to how, and where, and when, and at what time we are not certain about to this day.

In<sup>1</sup> the year sixteen hundred and eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1297), during the twenty days in the month of HAZÎRÂN (JUNE), on the second day of the week, in the morning, 'ALÂ AD-DÎN, who was called the son of JÂJÂ, captured the city of 'ÂMÎD; he had with him a strong force of ARABS who were gathered together from the countries of SYRIA. And 'ÂMÎD went forth into bitter captivity; they took prisoners twelve thousand persons, and many believers were killed. And after they had made Saint MÂR GREGORY of that city suffer beatings they killed him. And they dared to loot the great church of the Mother of God, and they burnt it with fire. And its buildings were destroyed, and its beautiful and wonderful porticoes and pillars were overthrown; and through the intensity of the conflagration and the fierceness of the flames it was reduced to a mere heap of stones. The fire continued to smoulder in it for a month. And these things took place because the citizens of 'ÂMÎD had rebelled against the lord of MARDÎN, MÂLIK AŞ-ŞÂLIḤ. And it was he who sent to this man whom we have mentioned above to come to SYRIA. And he came and he brought with him about twelve thousand [599] horsemen. And there was in the city a certain Amîr whose name was 'ALÂM AD-DÎN, and he opened the gates of the city before them, and brought them in without any man being conscious of the fact. But he himself brought them in, and he sallied forth and went to the lord of MARDÎN, and they made themselves masters of the city together and destroyed it. They came to a man, and he and his wife and his children were sleeping together. And straightway they woke them up, and the man they killed, and the woman and the children they took prisoners.

<sup>1</sup> The following paragraph is only found in an Oxford Codex (Bodl. I).







# INDEX

- Aaron ('Ahrôn), the first high priest, 2
- Aaron ('Ahrôn), father of Bar Hebraeus, 1
- Aaron ('Ahrôn), a physician, 57
- 'Âb, the month of, 76, 130, 135, 245, 278, 336, 341, 395, 424, 445, 446, 458, 472, 483
- 'Abai, Saint Mâr, appears to Najam ad-Dîn, 281
- 'Abâkâ, Mongol Prince, 419, 447, 456, 462, 463-4, 465, 470, 474, 500, 505
- 'Abâkâ Khân, 445 f.; death of, 466
- 'Abares, 83
- 'Abâris, 84
- 'Abatai Nâwîn, 454
- 'Abbâs, a noble, 155
- 'Abbâs bar Mâmôn, 138
- 'Abbâs of Kûrôs, 125
- 'Abbâs, son of Mâmôn, 133
- 'Abbâs, son of Walid, 111
- 'Abbâs, sons of, 212
- 'Abbâs, a Wazîr, 282
- 'Abbâsides, end of kingdom of, 409, 431
- 'Abd Allâh, *see* Fakhr ad-Dîn, 297
- 'Abd Allâh, a rebel in Bâbil (Baghdâd), 103
- 'Abd Allâh, chief of stables, 436
- 'Abd Allâh, father of Muḥammad the Prophet, 90
- 'Abd Allâh Abû'l-'Abbâs Râdhî, 161
- 'Abd Allâh bar (son of) Ṭâhir, 128, 129, 134
- 'Abd Allâh bar (son of) Zûbayr (Zûbêr), 102
- 'Abd Allâh of Barteli, 440
- 'Abd Allâh of Mardîn, 125
- 'Abd Allâh of Maiperkât, 442
- 'Abd Allâh, son of 'Âlî, 113
- 'Abd Allâh, son of Hishâm, 125
- 'Abd Allâh, son of 'Ômar, King of Armenia, 111
- 'Abd Allâh, son of Muktafî, 163
- 'Abd Allâh, son of Zûbêr, 103
- 'Abd Allâh the physician, 157
- 'Abd al-'Âlâ, 128
- 'Abd al-'Azîz, an Armenian, 105
- 'Abd al-Mâlik, son of Marwân, 103, 104, 105, 106
- 'Abd al-Mâlik, rebuilder of Hadeth, 118
- 'Abd al-Mâlik, a general, 121
- 'Abd al-Masîḥ, 295, 297
- 'Abd al-Mômîn (Mûmîn), 479, 480, 481
- 'Abd al-Wâḥân, 476
- 'Abd ar-Raḥmân, 119
- 'Abd ar-Raḥmân, a Shaykh, 467, 468, 473, 474
- 'Abdûn, Mâr, Patriarch, 191
- Abel, son of Adam, 3
- 'Abgarm, 360
- 'Abhâ dibhâbhî, 103
- 'Abhâr, 7
- 'Abhârîs, 83
- 'Abhdâhar, 266
- 'Abhdôn, 265
- 'Abhêr (Eber), 8
- 'Abhghar ('Abgar), King of Edessa, who wrote to Christ, 48, 105, 369
- 'Abhḡai, Monastery of, 265
- 'Abhîhûdh (Abiud), 21
- 'Abhînâdabh, 17
- 'Abhîram, 21
- 'Abhîṣân, 16
- 'Abhîtôn, 26
- 'Abhrâhâm the Patriarch, 8
- 'Abhûdhâ, twin sister of Abel, 3
- 'Abhyâ, who had fourteen wives, 21
- 'Abî Bakr of 'Arbîl (Irbîl, Arbela), 241



- 'Abimelech, 11  
 'Abimelech, son of Gideon, 16  
 'Abkâ, a Mongol prince, 419  
 'Abkâz, 218  
 'Ablastain, 'Ablastayn, 401, 405, 408, 426  
 'Ablastin, 106, 249, 265, 289, 394  
 Ablutions of the Arabs, 91, 92, 151, 244  
 Abraham, 9, 13; burns idols, 10; at Mamrê, 59  
 Abraham, son of 'Ahrôn, 146  
 'Abrim (Ibrîm, Primis), 301  
 Abû-'Abbâs 'abd-Allâh, died, 113  
 'Abû al-'Abbâs, a descendant of the Prophet, 112  
 'Abû al-'Abbâs 'Aḥmad, grandson of Mûktader, 178  
 'Abû al-'Âlâ Fahid, a Jacobite, 180  
 'Abû al-'Âlâ Sûlaimân, 172  
 'Abû al-Fadhâ'il, 180  
 'Abû al-Farâj, a Nestorian, 203  
 'Abû al-Fath, 216, 311  
 'Abû al-Fath Mas'ûd, 244  
 'Abû al-Haitâm, 166  
 'Abû al-Ḥasân 'Âlî, Kâdî of Môşul, 253  
 'Abû al-Ḥasân Tabith, a physician, 157  
 'Abû al-Karâm (Shem'ûn), 480  
 'Abû al-Kâsim, 295; falls from his horse and dies, 296  
 'Abû al-Ma'âlî, 171  
 'Abû al-Ma'âlî Maḥmûd, 399  
 'Abû al-'Ûr, 98  
 'Abû al-Wafâ, 248  
 'Abû 'Âlî, son of Zarâ'â, 184  
 'Abu 'Âlî bar Walîd, 236  
 'Abû 'Âlî Ḥasân of Bôşrâ, 189, 190  
 'Abû 'Âlî Ḥûsain bar Sînâ, 196, 197  
 'Abû Bakr, 92, 93  
 'Abû Bakr, a king, 463  
 'Abû Eshâk, 133  
 'Abû Ḥarâb, 139  
 'Abû Hûdail, 111  
 'Abû 'Îmrân, 178, 234  
 'Abû Ja'fâr Kâim, 307  
 'Abû Ja'fâr Manşûr, 113, 114, 115  
 'Abû Ja'fâr, son of Kâder, 192  
 'Abû Jâleb, 152, 265  
 'Abû'l 'Abbâs, 159  
 'Abû'l Farâj (Bar Hebraeus), 1  
 'Abû Lâyla, 102  
 'Abû Manşûr bar Malkâ, 234  
 'Abû Muslîm, 113  
 'Abû Naşr, 178  
 'Abû Naşr, Archimandrite of Mâr Mattai, 441  
 'Abû Naşr, a general, 177  
 'Abû Naşr, son of Israel, 185  
 'Abû Naşr Bâshîr, son of Hârôn, 185  
 'Abû Sâhel Masîhî, a physician, 176  
 'Abû Sa'd, a physician, 265  
 'Abû Sâhel Yaḥyâh, director of the Observatory, 177  
 'Abû Sa'id, 138, 139  
 'Abû Sâlim, 128; poisoned, 234  
 'Abû Shaikh, of Edessa, 125  
 'Abû Shûja', 236  
 'Abû Taghlib, 171, 173, 174  
 'Abû Ṭâhir, 182, 183, 248  
 'Abû Ṭâlib, 90, 240  
 'Abyôgalâ, 55  
 Abyssinia, 75  
 Abyssinians, 143  
 Acacia trees, 156  
 Acacius, Saint, bishop of 'Âmid, 66, 67  
 Acacius, the boor, 77  
 Achaia, 63  
 Acrobatics, 111  
 Acrobats, 443  
 Actors (strolling players), 151  
 Acts, Book of the, quoted (vii. 22; xi. 28; xxi. 10, 38), 12, 38, 50  
 Adam the first man, 2, 23, 89; creation of, 3; periods from Adam to Seleucus, 40



- 'Adânâ, 106, 165, 170, 223, 264, 321, 380, 446  
 'Âdar, 'Âdâr, month of, 433, 453  
 'Ad-Dîn Brikâs, 318  
 'Adhâd ad-Dâwlâh, 176  
 'Adhâm, 5  
 'Âdhâr, 130, 239, 255, 286, 500  
 'Âdharburius, 66  
 'Âdharmlech, 23  
 'Âdhôrbijân, 2, 103, 110, 142, 163, 198, 199, 203, 207, 232, 260, 361, 367, 371, 396, 397, 411, 449, 450, 459, 470, 478  
 'Âdî, Shaykh, 425, 453, 456, 464  
 'Âdîd, 300  
 'Âdil, brother of Saladin, 320, 333, 335, 344, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350, 351, 414; wishes to marry sister of Richard I of England, 337; the sons of, 373, 399, 400  
 'Âdil abu-Bakr, Mâlik, 351  
 'Âdil Mâlik, 337, 338, 348, 359, 360, 363, 364, 365, 369; death of in Damascus, 370, 373  
 'Âdil, Mâlik, 404  
 'Adôm, 11  
 Adramelech, 179  
 'Adrâmôn, Warden of the Marches, 78, 83  
 Adrianople, 162, 275  
 Adrianopolis, 429  
 'Adriânôs, Sea of, 385  
 Adultery, 310  
 Adultresses drowned in Nile, 186  
 Aelianus, a physician, 54  
 Aeneas, 16  
 Aeolus, Mount, eruption of, 44  
 Aesculapius, 5  
 'Âetîs, the Patrician, 137  
 'Afdâl, Mâlik, son of Saladin, 320, 322, 332, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 350, 351, 361, 372, 387, 400  
 'Afdal, 236  
 'Afdâl Kûtb ad-Dîn, 373  
 'Afranzîs (the French), 274  
 Africa, 7, 57, 60, 75, 87, 97, 111, 131, 141, 320, 340; conquered by Arabs, 113  
 Africanus, 145  
 Africanus, the historian, 15, 16, 27, 35, 40, 49  
 Africanus, philosopher of Alexandria, 52  
 Africanus, Roman Dictator, 35  
 'Afridûn, 296  
 'Afrîkî, 35  
 Agabus, 50  
 'Agâgrâyê, 425, 426, 427  
 'Agâthôdahmôn, 5  
 Agathodaimon, 5  
 'Âghâbhôs, 50  
 'Aghjâ Darband, 458  
 'Aghrîpâs, 280  
 'Âgh Senkûr, 231  
 'Agôgôs, 11  
 Agrippa, Antiochus, 44  
 Agrippa (Herod), 49  
 Agrippa, 'God', and his theatre, 50  
 Ahab of Israel, 21  
 Ahasuerus, 34  
 'Âhâz, 23  
 Ahaziah, son of Ahab, 21, 22  
 'Ahîyâ, 21  
 'Aḥmâd bar-Mâḥammâd, 150  
 'Aḥmad, father of Esmâ'il, 151  
 'Aḥmâd, friend of Mû'taşîm, 136  
 'Aḥmâd of Bûkhârâ, 186, 356  
 'Aḥmad, son of Gâwrî, 131  
 'Aḥmâd, the Mongol, 466 f., 477, 479  
 'Aḥmâd the treasurer, 248  
 'Ahôr, 15  
 'Ahrôn, father of Bar Hebraeus, 1  
 'Ahrôn, a physician, 420  
 'Ahrôn, Monastery of, 364  
 'Aḥshîrash, 34  
 'Aḥûdemah, Mâr, 134; church of, 433  
 'Aiâkôbhôs, 5  
 'Aîbâg, a general, 374



- 'Ailjikâtâi Nâwîn, 417, 419  
 'Ailshikâtâi, 411  
 'Ain Tâb, 'Aintâb, 277, 281, 315, 373, 374, 400  
 Air Flood, 455  
 Aithiops, 9  
 'Aiṭîs, 120  
 'Ajâmî Tower in Baghdâd, 430  
 'A'jâzâyê, 425  
 'Âkanthôs, 25  
 'Akâppôrâ, 66  
 'Âkardîâ, 25  
 'Akâtôstôlôn burned down, 56  
 'Âkbôkâ, 499  
 'Âkhâr, 8  
 'Akhîlôs, 64  
 'Akhmûl, 210  
 'Akhrôn, 16  
 'Âkil Karsâ, 444  
 Akkad, 8  
 'Akkô, 39, 238, 303, 325, 328, 330, 331, 332, 333, 335, 339, 341, 342, 351, 379, 410, 416, 428, 439, 492; massacre of Arabs by Franks, 336  
 'Aknâs, 391  
 'Akô, 194  
 'Akr, 292, 372, 373, 378; of Hamî-diyâh, 367  
 'Akrad, 288, 328; fortress of, 449  
 'Aksârâ, 341, 360, 413, 424, 435, 442  
 'Aksâs, 193  
 'Âksenkûr, Amîr of Habûrâ, 231, 232, 247, 367  
 'Âksenkûr of Mount Bûrsûk, 246, 252  
 'Akshâ of Darbana, 458  
 'Âkshahâr ('Âgh Shahâr), 395  
 'Âkûlâ, 94, 109, 127, 150  
 Al-'Akmâk, 416  
 Al-Başrah, 93, 481  
 Al 'estônâ, 465  
 Al-Fâḍil, 315  
 Al-Pethgân, 174, 175  
 'Alâ, 21  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn (Kai Kûbâd), 364, 375, 394, 402, 403  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn (Mahmûd), the Ishmaelite who thought he was God, 386  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn, brother of 'Izz ad-Dîn, 422  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn, Master of the Dîwân, 445, 447, 449, 466  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn of 'Alamûth, 411  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn of Baghdâd, 473  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn of Beth Rhômâyê, 397  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn of Mârâghâ, 364  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn of Mâwşil, 439  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn of Sinjâr, 435  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn, Shaykh, 423  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn, son of Badr ad-Dîn, 440  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn, son of Ghâyath, 410  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn, son of Jâjâ, 509  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn, son of Kûṭb ad-Dîn, 349  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn, Sûltân, 385, 389, 393, 395, 399, 401, 402  
 'Alâ ad-Dîn Tâkîsh, 345  
 'Alâ 'Almîsh of Maiperkât, 484  
 'Alâ al-Mûlk, 440, 443  
 Alabaster, 74  
 'Alâiyah, 385  
 'Alâkah, a rebel of Tyre, 181  
 'Alâm ad-Dîn of 'Âmid, 509  
 'A'lâm ad-Dîn Ya'kûb, 456  
 'Alâm ar-Rîâsâh, an Egyptian, 447  
 'Alâm Sangar, 440, 441  
 'Alâmûth, 411, 423  
 'Âlân, 84  
 'Âlânâyê, 7, 163  
 Alaricus, 66  
 'Alârikôs, 66  
 'Alâtâgh, 458  
 'Âlâtâk, 468  
 'Alb 'Arslân, 214, 216, 217, 218, 220, 223, 224, 226, 285, 349  
 'Albarâkat, 367  
 'Albî, 313, 362



- Alchemy, 443  
 Aleppo, 15, 74, 94, 115, 116, 117, 127, 164, 165, 166, 168, 169, 172, 179, 191, 192, 193, 218, 231, 235, 240, 242, 244, 248, 249, 251, 253, 254, 264, 271, 272, 275, 277, 278, 279, 284, 285, 286, 287, 292, 295, 296, 297, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 320, 322, 325, 328, 329, 344, 345, 346, 349, 350, 351, 365, 369, 372, 373, 374, 391, 392, 402, 403, 406, 408, 409, 411, 412, 413, 416, 434, 435, 436, 439, 463, 469, 472  
 Aleppo, famines in, 170, 180  
 Alexander the Great, 36, 37, 39, 205; defeats Darius, 38  
 Alexander Caesar, a Christian, 55  
 Alexander John, 44  
 Alexander, King of the Rhômâyê, 156  
 Alexander, King of Syria, 43  
 Alexander, priest of Shâmrin, 39  
 Alexander Ptolemy, 44  
 Alexander, son of Leo, 151  
 Alexander the Aphrodisite, 54  
 Alexander, the Epitome of, 147  
 Alexander, Era of, 40  
 Alexandra Selina, 45  
 Alexandria, 44, 52, 69, 75, 76, 87, 95, 98, 131, 179, 291, 293, 295, 311, 312, 327, 414, 451, 509; taken by Tâtârs, 51  
 Alexandria, Library of, 41  
 Alexandrians, 131  
 Alexis Comeninus, 227, 228, 243, 248  
 'Âlî, the Great, 154, 262, 300, 302  
 'Âlî Bahâdûr, 425, 426-7, 433, 443  
 'Âlî bar-Abû Tâlib, 99  
 'Âlî bar Yahyâh, 145  
 'Âlî, a general, 124  
 'Âlî Kûjk, 317  
 'Âlî of Bûkhârâ, 186  
 'Âlî, a rebel and impostor, 147, 148  
 'Âlî, son of 'Abbâs, a physician, 176  
 'Âlî, the builder, 118  
 'Âlî, the Kûrd, 244  
 'Âlî ad-Dîn (Kheram Shâh), 331  
 'Alîbwâs, 21  
 'Alîmân, 334  
 'Alîmânâyê (Germans), 333, 391  
 'Alînakh Nâwîn, 470, 471  
 'Alînâs, 290  
 'Âlîs, 288  
 Alix, 309, 312  
 'Aljâtâi Nâwîn, 44, 391  
 'Aljî Khâtûn, 479  
 'Alkâmî, 430  
 'Alkîn, 373  
 Allemagne, 274  
 'Almaligh, 368  
 'Almîlôn, King of Sethites, 4  
 Alms of the Arabs, 92  
 Almsgiving a duty, 5  
 'Alôhîm ('Elôhîm), 3  
 'Alôn, 16  
 'Alôrôs, King of the Sethites, 4  
 'Alôşînâ, 53  
 'Alpârôs, 4  
 Alphabet of Eunomius, 12  
 Alphabet, the Mongol, 354  
 'Alpî, 462, 463, 468, 469, 471  
 'Alpîdî, Patrician of Sicily, 119, 121  
 'Alshâtai, 411  
*Althaea ficifolia*, 6  
 'Altôn Khân, 393; suicide of, 397  
 'Altûntash, 249  
 'Alyâjâk Nâwîn, 442  
 'Alyanâkh, 470  
 'Alyôgabâlâ, 55  
 Amalek, 13, 19  
 'Amâlik, 13  
 'Amanû'il, 132, 138, 140  
 'Amâôs, 408  
 'Amar Kûbhâ, 420  
 'Amar, a rebel, 127  
 'Amar, son of Harûn ar-Rashîd, 125



- Amâsia, 405, 406  
 Amaury, Sire, 286  
 Ambrose, Bishop, 65  
 Amedia, 140  
 Amenophis, 12  
 'Âmid, 57, 71, 86, 166, 168, 171, 174, 202, 216, 219, 228, 230, 254, 255, 261, 265, 287, 292, 314, 359, 361, 375, 377, 396, 399, 400, 401, 406, 412, 421, 425, 468, 480, 509  
 'Âmid, Library of, containing 140,000 volumes, 315  
 'Amîn, brother of Mâmôn, 126  
 'Amîn, son of Harûn ar-Rashîd, 123  
 'Amîn ad-Dâwlâh abû al-Karâm Şâ'id, murder of, 385, 386  
 'Amîn ad-Dâwlâh, physician, 289  
 'Amînâdabh, 17  
 'Amîr (?), 442  
 'Amîr ad-Dîn, 489  
 'Amîr 'Âlî, 388  
 'Amjâd 'Abbâs, 373  
 'Amjâd, Mâlik of B'elbâk, 394  
 'Amkâbâd, 399, 475  
 'Ammânôn, King of the Sethites, 4  
 Ammon, 20, 28  
 'Ammôn, 11  
 Ammonites, 16, 23  
 Amôn, Mount, 84  
 Amoninus, Bishop, 105  
 'Amônpathis, Pharaoh, 12  
 'Amôrâ, 7  
 'Âmôrî, Sîr (Sire), 286, 293, 294, 303  
 Amorites, 6, 20  
 'Amôs, 22  
 'Amôşyâ, 22  
 'Amôzînûs, 105  
 'Ampesis, King of the Sethites, 4  
 'Ampôlôn, 65  
 'Amrân, 12  
 'Amrî, 21  
 'Amrôn, 322  
 'Amûdhâ, 275, 381  
 'Amûlâ, 107  
 'Amûrîn, 97, 107, 111, 136, 138, 218  
 'An-Nâşir, Mâlik, 416, 418  
 'Anâbibâzôn, 473  
 Ananias, 25, 29  
 Anastasiopolis, 73  
 Anastasius, Emperor, 70, 72  
 Anastasius, 106  
 Anastus, son of Andrea, 104  
 'Anâth, 15  
 Anatolians, 111  
 Anaxagoras, 34  
 'Anâz, 238  
 'Anâzarbâ, 122, 142, 167, 275, 285, 449, 462  
 'Anbasâh, 143  
 Ancestors summoned by spells, 110  
 Ancyra, 89, 122, 136, 253, 293, 360, 407, 413  
 'Andâlôs, 131  
 Andrea, 100, 101, 104  
 Andrea 'Estaphrikî, 151  
 Andromachus, a physician, 39  
 Andronicus, 15, 16, 27, 34, 40, 49; a general, 280  
 Andronicus of Constantinople, 319  
 Andronicus of Tarsôs, 280, 287  
 'Angâbâd, 404  
 Angel in form of a shepherd, 66  
 Angina pectoris, 145, 225, 286  
 'Anglîtâr (Angleterre), 334  
 'Angûr, 408  
 'Angûrak Nâwîn, 425  
 'Ânî, a city, 216, 286, 303  
 Anianus, 3, 13, 15, 16, 19, 25, 39, 40  
 'Aniâs, 16  
 Animals (dogs, lions, panthers), killed, 147  
 'Anîtôs, 37  
 Ankle bones bored through, a torture, 199  
 'Ankûrâ, 122, 293  
 'Ânôsh, calls on the Name of God, 3  
 'Anprôr (Emperor), 39  
 'Anşâr, 91  
 'Anşalyâ, 362, 369, 413



- Antarados, Antaradus, 227, 229, 238  
 'Antârtôs, 328  
 'Antîakh, 171  
 Antidote, 39, 198  
 Antigonus, 44  
 Antioch, 42, 44, 50, 52, 54, 57, 59, 61, 70, 73, 74, 75, 78, 80, 84, 85, 86, 87, 93, 94, 95, 104, 125, 128, 139, 167, 170, 171, 172, 173, 179, 180, 181, 191, 193, 218, 222, 226, 227, 229, 231, 233, 234, 235, 237, 242, 243, 245, 248, 249, 253, 255, 257, 264, 268, 272, 275, 276, 280, 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 289, 298, 300, 310, 311, 317, 321, 328, 329, 330, 334, 340, 341, 343, 344, 370, 371, 445, 449; building of city of, 40; high priesthood of, 2; taken by Egypt, 448; monstrosity born in, 63  
 Antioch of Mygdonia (Nisibis), 60  
 Antiochians, 171  
 Antiochus, 39  
 Antiochus Agrippa, 44  
 Antiochus Epiphanes, 42  
 Antiochus Eupator, 42, 43  
 Antiochus acclaimed as 'God', 41  
 Antiochus Kûdikôs, 44  
 Antiochus Sîdîtôs, 44  
 Antiochus Soter, 40  
 Antiochus the 'Great', 41  
 'Antîochyâ, 20  
 Antipater, 45  
 Antipater Tetrarch, 48  
 'Antîpâtôs, 49  
 Antipatrus, 49  
 Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Caesar from Alyôgalâ, 55  
 Antony and Cleopatra, 46  
 Anus, arrow-head in, 458  
 'Ânûstakîn, 199  
 'Anyânôs, 3  
 'Aôdhôranbôs, 4  
 'Aôghûl ('Aôjûl) Ghânmişh (Jân-mîsh) Khâtûn, 416, 417  
 'Âônôs, the shepherd, King of the Sethites, 4  
 'Aôtyartîs, King of the Sethites, 4  
 Apamea, 'Apamiâ, 6, 57, 71, 73, 74, 78, 126, 179, 275, 285, 349  
 'Apâpôs, Shepherd King, the patron of Joseph, 11  
 'Apcâlîs, 34  
 'Apdâsyâb, first king of the Huns, 232  
 'Aphrêm, Mâr, 59, 60, 213  
 'Aphrîm, Mâr, 8  
 Aphrodisite, the, 54  
 Aphrodite, 183  
 'Âpîntôs, 9  
 'Apîphânyôs, 8  
 'Apîphentôs, 9  
 Apollo, 16; temple of at Ascalon, 45  
 Apollonius, a magician, 52  
*Apologies*, the, of Aristides and Quadratus, 53  
 Apologies of the Christians, the three, 280  
 'Apôlôn, 16  
 Apostles, the Twelve, 150; temple of the, 85  
 Apparel of Baghdâd, the black, 212  
 Apparel of Egypt, the white, 212  
 'Apshîn, a general, 136, 218, 220  
 Apsîmârôs, called Tiberius, 104, 105  
 Aquarius, sign of the Zodiac, 473  
 Aqueduct in Jerusalem, 24, 48  
 Aquileia, 55  
 'Arâb, Mâlik, 251, 252  
 'Arâb 'Arslân, 243  
 'Arâbân, 242, 313  
 Arabdom, 114, 133, 209  
 Arabia, 7, 12, 75-93  
 Arabic Language, use of in public documents decreed, 106  
 'Arâbîsôs, 83  
 Arabs, 24, 46, 54, 67, 73, 74, 79, 83, and see *passim*  
 Arabs, Books of, 2; change in manner of life, 156; Faith (Reli-



Arabs (*cont.*)

- gion) of described, 90-3; christianized, 63; Kings of the, 2, 89 ff.; mutilated and tortured by the Franks, 230
- Arabs, the Egyptian, 453; of Pâtârâ, 23
- 'Ârâch, 8
- 'Arâm, 11
- 'Ârân, 20
- 'Ârâs river, 216
- 'Arba', 106
- 'Arba'in Fast (Forty days Fast of Lent), 168
- 'Arbân, 312
- Arbela ('Arbîl, Irbîl), 241, 365, 507
- 'Arbîl, 10, 239, 240, 253, 293, 217, 333, 344, 359, 366, 372, 374, 399, 402, 404, 431, 440, 441, 448, 449, 451, 455, 456, 462, 475, 480, 481, 485, 486, 487, 489
- 'Arbîsôs, 117
- Arbugastes, 65
- Arcadius, 65; the Well of, 66
- Archelaus, 48, 55
- Archimandrites, 284
- 'Ardahîn ('Ardahân), 383
- 'Ardâshîr, 34, 55, 56, 62, 64, 90, 95
- 'Ardû of Maiperkât, 437
- Areopagus, 15
- Ares, 61
- 'Arganiâ, 69
- 'Arghôn, Mongol Prince, 411, 470, 471, 477, 478, 479, 496, 500, 501; is paralysed, 490, 491
- 'Arghôn 'Âkâ, 501
- 'Argîsh, 178, 219, 220, 361, 364, 455
- 'Argûbâtôs, 65
- Ariadne, daughter of Leo, 68
- Arian, 64
- 'Ârîd, 412
- Arîd Algash, 399
- 'Arigh Bôghâ, 439
- 'Arîgh Bôkâ, 398, 418
- 'Âris, a King, 11
- 'Arîs (Mars), 188, 225, 320
- 'Arîsh, 131, 254
- 'Arîstâkîs, 218
- Aristides, 53
- Aristobulus, 45
- Aristobulus, son of Herod the Slayer of the children, 49
- Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, 46
- Aristobulus, son of Jonathan, 44
- Aristophanes, 34
- Aristotle, 35, 36, 37, 54, 196, 452; his works translated into Arabic and Syriac, 203; his doctrine, 366
- Arithmetic (Indian), 197
- Ark, the, of Noah, 6
- Ark of the Covenant, 17; taken to the Tabernacle, 19; hidden by Jeremiah, 26
- 'Arkâ, 235, 245, 266, 267, 285, 465
- 'Arkelâîs, 55
- 'Arkestîâ ('Argîsh), 219, 254
- 'Armân of 'Arbâ', 113
- 'Armân Shâh, 303, 367
- 'Armanâyô, 85
- 'Armânîkô, 100, 112
- 'Armâtîs, 69, 70
- 'Armenâyê (Armenians), 41
- Armenia, 7, 47, 67, 71, 73, 237, 258, 288, 321, 379, 405, 458
- Armenia, Great, 45, 435, 459, 492
- Armenia, Little, 307
- Armenians, 6, 58, 72, 218, 224, 228, 229, 237, 246, 250, 251, 261, 270, 273, 275, 280, 281, 282, 283, 285, 287, 292, 296, 303, 321, 326, 344, 370, 375, 379, 380, 381, 389, 400, 402, 407, 410, 446, 448, 449, 450, 452, 454, 456, 457, 461, 464, 465, 471
- Armenians, Catholicus of, 246
- Armenians, 668th year of Era of, 375
- 'Armânâyê, 391
- 'Armônîs, 9
- 'Armôpôlîs, 12
- Army, the Tâtâr, 354



- Arnaldus, 317  
 'Arnaṭ, 330; killed by Saladin, 324  
 'Arnâṭ, Prayns, 317, 322, 324  
 'Arnēbhâ, 39  
 'Arnîsh, Mountain of, 246  
 'Arnôn, 330  
 'Ar'ô (Reu), 7, 8  
 'Ârôdh, the Canaanite, 9  
 'Arôdhâyê, 6  
 'Arôḳ, brother of Bôḳâ, 402, 478, 479, 480  
 'Arpachshâr, 6  
 'Arpâzâdh, 9  
 Arphaxad, 6  
 'Arrân, 371  
 Arrows, weapons of Arabs, 325  
 Arrows, use of in divination, 103  
 'Arsanyâs, 270  
 Arsenius, 287  
 Arsenius, Patriarch of Nineveh, 427, 428  
 'Arshâch, 37  
 'Arshâḳ, 41  
 'Arshâḳâyê, 41  
 'Arshâm, 37  
 'Arshmîshât, 403  
 'Arsîs, 36  
 'Arslân, son of Saljûḳ, 196  
 'Arslân Tòghmîsh, 268, 270  
 'Arslân Shâh, son of Tûghrel, 282  
 'Arslân, 'Amîr of Mâwṣîl, 243  
 'Arslân Khâtûn (Queen), 209, 214  
 'Arsûph, 336, 340  
 Art of signs (alphabet), 12  
 Artabanus, 34  
 'Arṭâbâs, 14; son-in-law of Leo, 110  
 'Artah, 218  
 'Arṭâmônîs, Epistle of, 12  
 Artaxerxes, 35; II (?), 35  
 Artaxerxes, Ochus, 35  
 Artaxerxes, the Governor, 35  
 Artaxerxes, Longimanus, 34  
 'Artûḳ, 227, 230, 247, 249, 270, 310, 313, 317; his daughter pleads with Saladin, 318  
 'Arvad, 98  
 Arvadites, 6  
 'Aryôch, 34  
 'Arzân, 67, 103, 162, 166, 371  
 'Arzân ar-Rûm, 71, 113, 139, 207, 350, 361, 375, 395, 396, 405, 406  
 'Arzengân, 204, 393, 394, 407, 412, 419, 455, 473  
 'Arzôn, 73  
 'Arzonites, 74  
 'Âsâ, 21  
 'Âṣâd, Khalîfah of Egypt, 293, 294  
 'Asâd ad-Dîn Shîrkûh, 272, 279, 288, 289, 290, 346, 364, 414  
 'Âsâph, writer on Nimrod's crown, 8  
 'Âsâph, the scribe, 9  
 Ascalon, 45, 112, 194, 236, 244, 278, 280, 282, 307, 325, 337, 338, 339, 340, 379; taken by Franks, 281  
 Ascension, the, 53, 54; day of, 442  
 Ascetic, a slave of Kârâtai, 413  
 'Asclepiâdîs, 12  
 Aseolus, Bishop, 64  
 'Aṣfâr of Râs 'Ain, 205  
 Ashdod, 23  
 'Âshêr, a governor, 7  
 'Ashkîrâsh, 112  
 'Ashmût, 419, 434, 456, 459, 462  
 'Âshômâ, 254  
 Ashrâf 'Îsâ, Mâlik, 359, 361, 363, 373, 377, 378, 389, 391, 392, 394, 396, 402, 414, 436  
 'Ashrâf, Mâlik, son of Mâlik Ghâzî, 434  
 'Ashrâf Sharâf ad-Dîn, Mûsâ, 351, 373  
 'Ashtoreth, 21  
 'Âṣî river, 179  
 Asia, 7, 9, 39, 74, 107; John of, 1  
 Asia, Greater, 39, 40  
 'Asḳlâbê, 'Asḳlâbhê, 7, 76, 104, 192  
 'Asḳlâbhâyê, 163  
 'Asḳlâbhônê, 83, 84



- 'Asklâbhûnyâ, 84  
 'Asklaipîdîs, 5  
 'Asklaiipyâdîs, 5, 6  
 Asklepiades, 36  
 'Asôtôs, 23  
 'Aş-Şâlih, son of Kâmil, 414  
 'Aş-Şâlih, Mâlik, of Mardîn, 509  
 Asses expelled, 61  
 Assyria, 7, 9, 83, 104, 112, 411, 451, 454, 463, 465, 467, 472  
 Assyrians, 6, 23, 24, 25; 185,000 killed, 24  
 Astrolabe, 154  
 Astrologers, 151, 152; foretell a flood which did not come, 233  
 Astrology, 7, 117, 154  
 Astronomers predict *habûb* and flood, 320  
 Astronomy, 54, 116; invention of, 5  
 Astyages, 26  
 'Asvîrôs, 35  
 'Aswân, 112, 134, 189, 414  
 'Âsyâ, Monastery of, 425, 426  
 Asylum of the Muslims, 206  
 'Âtâbâg, 253, 268, 269, 272, 292, 344, 348, 352, 369, 374, 385, 414; expelled, 245  
 'Âtâbâg of Bêth Rhômâyê, 467  
 'Âtâbâg of Sûltân of Melitene, 244  
 'Âtâbâg Zangî, 318  
 'Âtalyâ, 400  
 'Âtânôs, a physician, 57  
 Athaliah, sister of Ahab, 22  
 Athanasius bar-Gûmâyê, 104, 105  
 Athanasius, Greek Patriarch, 289  
 Athanasius, Mâr, 275  
 Athanasius, a physician, 57  
 'Athânôpyôs, 9  
 Athenians, 37  
 Athens, 15, 29, 52, 60, 120; the city of burnt, 34  
 Athletes, the Forty, 56  
 'Athni'êl, 15  
 'Athôr, 7, 83, 112, 115, 141, 213, 411, 431, 437, 440  
 'Âtis, 138  
 'Atrôphilôs, 144  
 'Aughân, 499, 500  
 Auguries, 116  
 Augusta, Queen, 83  
 Augusta (Constantinople), 60  
 Augustus Antoninus, Caesar, 45, 46, 47, 81  
 Augustus (Monomachus), 207  
 Augustus, month of, 47  
 'Aûkhâtâi, 382, 390, 391, 393  
 'Aûrdjâr, 390  
 Aurelian Caesar, 56  
 'Aûrônkôs, Pharaoh, 9  
 Aurora Borealis, 70  
 'Austâddâr, 298  
 'Autakîn Tûmân, 353  
 'Aûtkin, 391, 393, 411  
 Autocrator, 55  
 Autocrator (Julian), 61  
 Autocrator (Pompey), 45  
 Avicenna, 196, 197  
 'Âwgîn, 65  
 'Awḥad Najm ad-Dîn 'Ayûb Mâlik, 363, 364  
 'Awîra, 380  
 'Awîrâtâyê, 'Awîrâthâyê, 353, 419, 464, 508  
 'Awkatâi, 353  
 'Ayas, 446, 450, 453, 465  
 'Ayâz, lord of Mardîn, 238, 239, 247  
 'Ayûb, brother of Saladin, 346  
 'Az ad-Dîn Mas'ûd, 252  
 Azarias, 25  
 'Azaryâ, 22, 24  
 'Azâz, 277, 306, 307  
 'Azâz'il of Samosata, 57  
 'Azghâ, a gate of Baghdâd, 264  
 'Azîz, Khalîfah of Egypt, 177, 179  
 'Azîz Mâlik, 344, 345, 346, 391; died, 347  
 'Azîz Mâlik, son of Naşîr, 434  
 'Azîz Mâlik, son of Saladin, 320  
 'Azîz Mâlik of Aleppo, 402  
 'Azîz Muḥammad, 369



- 'Azîz, nephew of 'Abd al-Mâlik, 104  
 'Azîz 'Othmân, 373  
 'Azrâ, 34
- Baal, his temple destroyed, 22; bones of his prophets burnt, 25  
 Ba'albak, 59, 101, 112, 174  
 Baânîs, 94  
 Bâbâ, the Turkoman, 405  
 Ba'bâdân, 183  
 Bâbâk, 95  
 Bâb al-'Azaj, 264  
 Bâbek, a cattle keeper, 132, 135, 136  
 Babel, Bâbil (Baghdâd), 429  
 Bâbhêl, Bâbil (Babylon), 8, 9, 23  
 Bâbhlâyê (Babylonicus, Baghdadis), 399, 404  
 Bâbhûlâ, 276  
 Bâbhûlôn of Egypt (Fustât), 9  
 Bâbil, 7, 8, 99, 437, 467, 472, 478, 486, 489, 491  
 Baboons, 134  
 Babylon, 23, 24, 26, 33, 35, 39, 45, 109, 112, 115, 148, 177, 254  
 Babylonia of Egypt, 95  
 Babylonians, 29, 33, 164, 404  
 Bacchus, martyr, 55, 57  
 Bacchus, Mâr, his bones carried off, 74  
 Bactriana, 7  
 Badr ad-Dîn, 373, 374, 375, 377, 378, 379, 402, 435, 437  
 Badr ad-Dîn Lulu, 367, 371, 372; buys 'Arbîl, 431  
 Badr ad-Dîn of Mâwşil, 397 f., 420, 421, 433, 467  
 Badrînôs, 73  
 Badû, 52  
 Ba'elbâk, 296  
 Baghâ, 453  
 Baghdâd, 114, 115, 118, 122, 124, 127, 128, 129, 130, 133, 135, 139, 142, 145, 146, 147, 149, 152, 155, 156, 157, 161, 167, 174, 179, 200, 211, 238, 250, 253, 256, 262, 282, 285, 305, 328, 361, 388, 396, 402, 404, 409, 426, 433, 434, 436, 442, 448, 449, 450, 451, 465, 467, 474, 478, 484, 485, 486, 498, 507; founded, 114; attacked by the Tâtârs, 410; Bridge of, 126; east side destroyed, 209; destructive floods in, 134, 175, 224, 404; partly destroyed by Saladin, 336; scarcity and famines in, 162, 172; second Bridge of, 389; taken by Tûghrel Bâg, 208; taken by the Mongol Hûlâbû, 429  
 Baghdûîn, 236  
 Baghrâs, 235, 296, 329, 336, 343, 344  
 Bâgî, sister of the Khân, 419  
 Bagrûh, 79  
 Bahâ ad-Dâwlâh, a general, 178  
 Bahâ ad-Dîn, 332, 412, 414  
 Bahâ ad-Dîn Bûngûsh, 399  
 Bahâ ad-Dîn of 'Arbîl, 475  
 Bahâ ad-Dîn Tarjân, 44  
 Bahgai, 266  
 Bahrain (Bahrên), 85, 87, 130, 501; the sea of, 133  
 Bahrûz, 262  
 Baibarz, the Younger, 439  
 Baidâr, 411  
 Baidu, 494, 495, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 508  
 Baimônd, 235; died, 453; with title Prayns, 370  
 Bairâmîz, 403, 406  
 Bairût, Bairuth (Bêrût), 175, 325  
 Baishân, 369, 434, 437, 480  
 Baitmîsh, 480, 482, 487  
 Bâjû Nâwîn, 424, 425, 426, 429, 430  
 Bakrât bar-'Âshût, 142  
 Balâbân, 362, 363  
 Bâlâdh, 202, 210, 240, 297, 317, 374  
 Bâlai, Mâr, 213  
 Balâk of Bûlâ, 248, 249, 250, 251, 261  
 Bâlân, 383  
 Bâlânâsh, 127



- Balance (Libra of the Zodiac), 320  
 Balânî, 127  
 Bâlâsh, 70, 129, 194, 242, 243, 249, 435  
 Balduinus, 236  
 Baldwin, 236  
 Balkâ, 109, 392  
 Balkh, 124, 196, 267  
 Balkôs, 15  
 Balls, games with, 263  
 Balsam, oil of, 184  
 Balshûyâh, 352  
 Balût, Monastery of, 448  
 Balûtâ tree, 59  
 Ba'lûth, 20  
 Bâmârâyê, 125  
 Bânaphshâh, 299  
 Bânîas, 369  
 Banners, the Three Purple, 212  
 Banquet of Bôkht Îshô' described, 143 f.  
 Bânyâs, 289, 373  
 Baptism of Christ, 47  
 Baptistery in Edessa, 105  
 Bar 'Addâs, 182  
 Bar 'Atârâ, 309  
 Bar Dairaitâ, 234  
 Bar Dânishmand, 236, 243, 296  
 Bar Dûrî of Tekrît, 433  
 Bar 'Ebhrâyâ, 1  
 Bar Gabbârâ, 258  
 Bar Gagai, 213  
 Bar Gûmâyê, 104  
 Bar Hâdâdh, 22  
 Bar Haitâm, 189  
 Bar Hâmdân, 167  
 Bar Hûbâl, 367  
 Bar 'Îsân, astronomer, 233  
 Bar Kârâmân, 461  
 Bar Kawkebâh, 53  
 Bar Kawtâh, 456  
 Bar Kâwti, 481  
 Bar Khâtîr, 456, 459  
 Bar Kîpâ, 181  
 Bar Kûrâr, 429  
 Bar Lâshîn, 332  
 Bar Mârnâ, 55  
 Bar Marwân, 205, 206, 210, 228  
 Bar Mashtûb, 340, 370, 375, 377  
 Bar Mitrân, 329  
 Bar Mûkadâm, 342  
 Bar Mûnked, 235, 244  
 Bar Mûsak, 240  
 Bar Nîsân Rîshânâ, 314  
 Bar Rashîd, 148  
 Bar Rebâb, 168  
 Bar Salâyâ, Şâhib of 'Arbîl, 431  
 Bar Saliâ, 84  
 Bar Şamşâmah, 181  
 Bar Sanhîrîb, 223  
 Bar Sanjel, 245  
 Bar Sâwmâ, Mâr, 276, 278; Church of, 296, 410, 446; Monastery of, 217, 250, 270, 405, 420, 435-50; miracle wrought by his right hand, 257  
 Bar Şâwmâ of Sîs, 379  
 Bar Şâwmâ, Rabban, 492  
 Bar Şâwmâ Şâfi, 475  
 Bar Şâwmâ, son of 'Andriôs, 427  
 Bar Şayfâh, 298  
 Bar Shahârzûrî, a judge, 241, 250  
 Bar-Shehâb ad-Dîn, 326  
 Bar Shekân, 471  
 Bar Shîbâl of Edessa, 192  
 Bar Sînâ (Avicenna), 197  
 Bar Tâhir, 130, 131  
 Bar 'Ûţair of Edessa, 192  
 Bar Wad'ân, 240  
 Bar Wâtâb, 193, 194, 198  
 Bar Yûnes (Yûnis), 440, 443, 444  
 Bar Zaiath, 174  
 Bar Zebalâk, 440  
 Bar Zûbayr, 103  
 Bâraḡ, 15  
 Bârâka, 391  
 Barâkâh, 398  
 Barâkath, 445  
 Bârâm, princess, 93  
 Bar'âmâ, 420



- Barbârâ, Mârt, Church of, 392  
 Barbarians, 60, 64, 65, 67, 114; take  
     Rome, 75  
 Barbarossa, 332  
 Barda'ah, 163  
 Bardû, 52, 463  
 Bargâwân, 180, 182  
 Bârîn, 379  
 Barkâh, 462  
 Barkâjâti, 398  
 Barkâshâûr, 391  
 Barley, scarcity of, 167, 176, 205  
 Barsânôs, Pharaoh, 9  
 Barteli, 375, 440; wonderful eggs  
     laid in, 474, 475  
 Bâsârî, 461  
 Basârônôs, 9  
 Basâsîrî, 210, 213, 214, 215  
 Ba'shâ, 21; of Dailôm, 167  
 Bashinut, 419  
 Bâshîr, 110, 138  
 Bashnâwâyê Kurds, 271  
 Bashû Nâwîn, 424  
 Bâsîl, a lawyer, 427  
 Bâsîl, Bârôn, 380  
 Bâsîl, brother of Armenian Catholicus, 261  
 Bâsîl, King of the Rhômâyê, 146,  
     149  
 Bâsîl, King of the Rhômâyê, 175,  
     178, 179, 180, 191  
 Bâsîl Khôj, 237, 246  
 Bâsîl, Mâr, of Edessa, 270, 273  
 Bâsîl of Hâwâ, 234  
 Bâsîl of Melitene, 237  
 Bâsîl, St., 8  
 Bâsîl, son of Theophanis, 173  
 Bâsîl the Great, 6  
 Basilides, the Gnostic, 52  
 Bâsiliôs of Karshenâ, 138  
 Basiliscus, 69, 70  
 Basilius, Metropolitan of Edessa,  
     269  
 Bâsrâ, 139, 149, 183, 251, 254  
 Başrah, 149  
 Bastâm, 111  
 Bastinado, 182  
 Bath, the private, 390  
 Baths prohibited to women, 186  
 Bathsheba, 19  
 Bâthû, 391  
 Batnân, 74  
 Battering ram, 71  
 Bâtû, 398, 411, 416, 417  
 Bâ'ûth, Monastery of, 488  
 Bawâzîgh, 253, 394  
 Bawinnâ, 49  
 Baymônd, 272  
 Bazâr, women in prohibited, 186  
 Bazmîsh, 240, 241, 243  
 Beard of Julian, 61  
 Beard, singing of the, 170  
 Bearer of God, Church of the, 296  
 Beast with ten horns, 39  
 Bedewî, 258  
 Bedjan, general warning by, 3  
 Bedlîs, 434  
 Bees, 409  
 Beetles eaten, 185  
 Behnâm, Mâr, the martyr, 167  
 Beja, the, 143  
 Bêl, idol of, 33  
 Belâkerne, 152  
 Belâs, 425  
 B'elbâk, 59, 174, 273, 279, 289, 304,  
     308, 349, 394, 436  
 Belisarius, 74  
 Bell-ringers, 158; ringing of stopped,  
     109, 253, 309, 310  
 Bells, 143, 184, 258; on horns of ox,  
     128  
 Belshazzar, 30  
 Belts on shoulders, 393  
 Belshâsar, 30  
 Belus, 9, 10, 11  
 B'êlzêbhûbh, 216  
 Ben Hadad, 22  
 Benai of Gûmâyê, 119  
 Beroâ, Beroea, built, 40, 86  
 Berôghlû, 341



- Bêrût, 76, 175, 325, 328, 340, 346  
 Beshar (Bashâr), 146  
 Bêth 'Arbâyê ('Arbhâyê), 83, 377, 359, 483  
 Bêth 'Ardaharz, 279  
 Bêth 'Ashikâ, 440  
 Bêth 'Aslûkâ, 440  
 Bêth 'Ayûb, 394  
 Bêth Bûlâsh, 74, 78, 128  
 Bêth Bûlû, 246  
 Bêth Dîn, 15  
 Bêth Gâwyê, 408  
 Bêth Gûmâyê, 116  
 Bêth Hâwrân, 20  
 Bêth Hesnê, 246, 277  
 Bêth Kanyâ, 266  
 Bêth Karâmân, 492  
 Bêth Kēnayâ, 246  
 Bêth Khâlât, 361  
 Bêth Kûdîdâ (Kûdîdath), the nunnery of, 441, 477  
 Bêth Mâghôgh, 500  
 Bêth Man'im, 475  
 Bêth Nahrîn, 52, 55, 57, 59, 70, 74, 75, 104, 115, 141, 231, 252, 295, 302, 312, 313, 314, 321, 350, 360, 364, 372, 373, 375, 396, 401, 403, 406, 431, 435, 478; pestilence in, 109  
 Bêth Pârsâyê, 368  
 Bêth Rhômâyê, 351, 361, 372, 375, 389, 391, 395, 401, 403, 405, 406, 407, 411, 412, 418, 419, 420, 429, 431, 434, 445, 446, 449, 450, 454, 456, 457, 467, 476, 491, 492  
 Bêth Rîshê, 475  
 Bêth Sahrâyê, 374, 441, 482  
 Bêth Sâsân, 55, 303; end of Persian kingdom, 94  
 Bêth Sayyâdhê, 486, 487  
 Bêth Takshûr, 454  
 Bêth Thômâ, 306  
 Bêth Tôgermâ, 195  
 Bêth Wân, 395  
 Bêth Wâzik, 210, 253, 319, 394  
 Bêth Yaktân, 9  
 Bêth Zabâr, Monastery of, 266  
 Bêth Zabîrâyê, 125  
 Bethel, 20, 236  
 Bethlehem, 47, 48  
 Bethûmâ, 15  
 Bhâkûrtôs, 6  
 Bhâsîpolis, 106  
 Bhînân, 48  
 Bhûlbâlâ, 8  
 Bible translated into Arabic by a Nestorian, 203  
 Bîghû, 196  
 Bîhrâm, 433, 449  
 Bîhrâm, Bârôn, 380  
 Bîhrâm of Hamâdân, 466  
 Bîhrâm Shah, 330  
 Bile, black, 386  
 Bîlôs, 9, 10, 11  
 Bîrâh on the Euphrates, 270, 277, 326, 450, 454, 465, 468  
 Bîrâh, Bridge at, 435  
 Birds, mechanical, 156  
 Bîrôâ, 400, 461  
 Bîsârî, 462  
 Bîsh Bâlîgh, 368, 412  
 Bîshar of Zâîd, the centenarian, 456, 457  
 Bithynia, 15, 24, 425, 426  
 Bîzah, 370  
 Black Apparel of Baghdâd, 75, 86  
 Black Mountain, 101, 249  
 Black Stone brought back to Mecca, 165, 189  
 Black wind (i.e. *habûb*, desert sand-storm), 230  
 Blacks (Nubians), 301  
 Bleeding by the physician, 302  
 Blîhâ, 73  
 Blind man, murder of by the blind, 361, 362  
 Blinding of captives, 292  
 Blindness of Tobit, 24  
 Blood from the earth at Wâsîf, 283



- Board used as bell, 505  
 Board-beaters = bell-ringers, 505  
 Bôdîn, 137  
 Bô'dwîn I (Baldwin), 241, 242, 245  
 Bô'dwîn II, 249, 250, 251, 257, 258, 267  
 Bô'dwîn III (?), 268, 273  
 Bô'dwîn IV (?), 303, 308  
 Bô'dwîn V (?), 320, 322, 428, 429  
 Boemundus, 235  
 Bôghâ, 142  
 Bôghâ, governor of Baghdâd, 445  
 Bôghôs turned Muslim, 265  
 Bôhâimônd, 251, 253, 255, 275  
 Bôhâimônd Prayns, 289, 311, 330  
 Bôhâimônd, death of, 453  
 Bôjâyê, 143  
 Bôkâ, 470, 471, 477, 478, 479, 481, 482  
 Bôkâ Tîmûr, 391, 419  
 Bôkht Îshô' bar-Gabhrîl, his banquet described, 144  
 Bôkht Îshô', an Elamite physician, his pedigree, 143  
 Bôkht Îshô', the Elamite, 115  
 Bôkht Îshô', son of George the Elamite, 122  
 Bones of the dead burned, 70  
 Book of Aphorisms, 34  
 Book of Astrology, 52  
 Book of the Belly, 34  
 Book of the Bible written in gold ink, 40  
 Book of the Brazen Circles, 54  
 Book of the Canon, 54  
 Book of the Covenant, 34  
 Book of Enoch, 3  
 Book of Exodus, 13  
 Book of Faith, 150  
 Book of Fruit, 52  
 Book of Geography, 52  
 Book of Headaches, 34  
 Book of Healing, 197  
 Book of Humours, 34  
 Book of Isôgôgê, 54, 197  
 Book of Jannes and Jambres, 116  
 Book of Kings, 20  
 Book of Kôhlath, 19  
 Book of the Law, 12, 25  
 Book of the Law of the Samaritans, 3  
 Book of the Law of the Seventy, 3  
 Book of the Law of the Syrians, 3  
 Book of Laws, 36  
 Book of Lûkarî, 392  
 Book of the Maccabees, 35  
 Book of the Nature of man, 34  
 Book of Peeled Barley, 34  
 Book of Phaedo, 36  
 Book of Pôlîtikôn, 36  
 Book of Praxis (Acts of the Apostles), 50  
 Book of Prognosis, 34  
 Book of the Prophets and Ezra, 34  
 Book of Syntaxis, 52  
 Book of the Tâtâr priests, 356  
 Book of Timaus, 36  
 Book of Water and Air, 34  
 Bookbindings eaten during famine, 252  
 Books of Arab Law, 91  
 Books of the Gospels, 358  
 Books of the Prophets, 356  
 Books written by Methuselah, 5  
 Boom across the Nile at Damietta, 370  
 Bôrim, 129  
 Bôşâr, 373  
 Bôspôrôs, 62  
 Bôşrâ (Bâşrâ), 93, 99, 105, 109, 114, 130, 189, 486  
 Boudouin of Flanders, 358, 359  
 Bow and arrow on letter, 200  
 Bow in sky by night, 102  
 Bowels, constriction of, 83; disease of the, 69, 70  
 Bowings, the Nine Mongol, 311, 393  
 Bowings, the Three Mongol, 393  
 Bows and arrows, Chinese, 186  
 Bows warped by damp, 71



- Bowstring, 278  
 Bôzanfiâ, 25  
 Bôzôs, 25  
 Bracelets, the two, 359  
 Brakyôn, 56  
 Branding the cross, 302  
 Brass Circles, 177  
 Brass bulls and sea, 23  
 Brass, Corinthian, 3,000 loads in  
     Colossus of Rhodes, 98  
 Brass, sea of, 20  
 Brass Treaty Tablet, 243  
 Brethren, the (Frères), 324, 370,  
     463, 493  
 Bricks, 12  
 Bridge at Bîrâh, 435  
 Bridge at Circesium, 435  
 Bridge at Damietta, 370  
 Bridge at Kâl'ah Rhômâyê, 435  
 Bridge called 'Iron', 317  
 Bridge at Melitene, 435  
 Bridge of 'Alôsînâ, 53  
 Bridge of 'Ârâs, 216  
 Bridge of Baghdâd, 126; broken,  
     162; the second bridge, 389  
 Bridge of Habûrâ, 483  
 Bridge of Khâwrâr, 484  
 Bridge over the Tigris, 146  
 Bridges built by Antiochus, 41  
 Brienne, 371  
 Brîkâs ad-Dîn, 318  
 Brîkhâ, 375  
 Brîm, 499, 500  
 Brothers, the (Frères?), 280, 283,  
     396  
 Brutonia, 57  
 Buffer garrison, 84  
 Bûkhârâ, 186, 197, 209, 223, 347,  
     369, 376, 381; textiles of, 356  
 Bûkhârâyê, 114  
 Bûkhtâmar, 318, 338, 343, 363  
 Bûlâ, 245, 250  
 Bûlbais, Bûlbîs, 180, 259, 293,  
     345  
 Bûlgârâyê, 120, 124, 125, 132  
 Bulgarians, 84, 85, 105, 108, 151,  
     191, 290, 394, 398, 416  
 Bûlgârîs, 84  
 Bulgars, 7  
 Bûlkhâtâi Nâwîn, 391  
 Bull, hide of, 214; bulls in temple,  
     20  
 Bund Kdâr, 439  
 Bûndikâyê, 358, 428, 440  
 Bûndûkdâr, 445, 448, 452, 456, 457,  
     458, 459; Elder and Younger, 439  
 Bûngûsh, 291  
 Bûrganzîs, 67  
 Burial of the dead, 58  
 Bûrîdâ, 103  
 Bûrîdyâh, 267  
 Burning the living, 287  
 Bûrsîkî, Bûrsûkî, 249, 253  
 Bûrsûk, 227, 242  
 Bûthazzâh, 359  
 Bûza'âh, 293, 306  
 Bûzâi'âh, 264  
 Bûzân, 231, 232, 329  
 Byblos, 76, 175  
 Bythinia, 62  
 Byzantia, 58  
 Byzantines, 6, 7, 25  
  
 Câbâh, 10  
 Caesar, 45; Pilate sets up statue of  
     him in the Temple at Jerusalem, 48  
 Caesarea, 1, 60, 70, 79, 87, 93, 97,  
     168, 170, 229, 258, 267, 293, 296,  
     325, 340, 361, 377, 392, 403, 407,  
     412, 422, 435, 445, 457, 461  
 Caesarea of Philip, 416  
 Caesarea (Turris Stratonice), 47  
 Caesarian operation, 45  
 Caesarius, 222  
 Cage of brass, 25  
 Caiaphus (Josephus), 50  
 Cain, 3  
 Cain the Second (Kustans), 79  
 Cairo, 190, 291, 293, 294, 307, 308,  
     347, 348



- Calach, 8  
 Calf's head, 184  
 Calinicus, 154  
 Calonicus (Rakḳâ, i.e. Swamp), 74, 77, 83, 109, 111, 114, 118, 119, 122, 124, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 163, 228, 241, 242, 254, 266, 297, 313, 315, 347, 401, 435. [This is the old Greek city of Callinicus or Nicephorium.]  
 Calonicus (Leontopolis), 69  
 Calonicus of Baalbek, inventor of Greek fire, 101  
 Calves of gold, 20  
 Cambyases, called Nebuchadnezzar, 33  
 Camel bales, 312  
 Camels, 135; expelled, 61; of Khadijah, 91  
 Canaan, 10; sons of, 8  
 Canaanites, 8, 15  
 Canal in Jerusalem, 24  
 Canals made by Hârôn, 118; by Hishâm, 109  
 Candaules the Lame, 72  
 Candles, wax, 100,000, at feast, 314  
 Cannibalism practised, 44, 219  
 Canon of Avicenna, 197  
 Canons of the Fast and Passover, 59  
 Canopy, royal, 135  
 Capitolium, 51  
 Cappadocia, 7, 56, 61, 65, 70, 75, 79, 83, 87, 97, 103, 106, 119, 121, 132, 169, 170, 171, 179, 255, 258, 280, 292, 299, 309, 322, 394, 398, 426, 437, 458  
 Capricorn (Zodiac), 473  
 Captivity, the seventy years of, 33; the first, 23  
 Caravan, 91; looted by Franks, 339; raided by Turkomans, 454  
 Caria, 39, 74  
 Carians, 57  
 Carnal intercourse, abstention from, 53  
 Carpets, 157  
 Carthage, 16; destroyed, 35  
 Carus, Caesar, 57  
 Caspian Sea, 36, 84, 113  
 Cassianus, Mâr, 235; his church looted, 229  
 Cassianus, a satrap, 252  
 Castration, 125, 227; prohibited, 52  
 Cat, 226  
 Cathayans (Chinese), 354  
 Catholicus, imprisonment of, 403, 449  
 Catholicus, the Armenian, 493; the Nestorian, 258; Makikâ, 431  
 Cattle plague, 76  
 Causeway to Tyre, 29  
 Cave of Robbers, 369  
 Caves of Cyprus, 98  
 Cedar wood, houses of, 142  
 Celts, 41  
 Centenarii, 178, 200  
 Cessunia, the fifteen temples of church of, 118  
 Chalcedon, 66, 83, 86, 87, 101, 107, 111, 119; building of, 25  
 Chalcedon, Council of, 68, 69, 73, 74, 82, 109  
 Chalcedonians, 81, 83, 116, 128, 133, 171  
 Chaldâyûthâ (Astrology, Magic, Divination, &c.), 7  
 Chaldeans, 2, 6, 8, 11, 30, 33, 153; expelled from Rome, 52; their books come to Egypt, 9; their war with the Phoenicians, 12  
 Chaldeeism, 9  
 Chancellor, the Frankish commander-in-chief, 346  
 Chapel for fire worship, 79  
 Charcoal, 143  
 Chariots, iron, 15  
 Chastity, 53, 116  
 Chedarlaomer, 10  
 Chemosh, 20  
 Chickens, 334



- Children, burnt by Franks, 243;  
crushed to death by wagons, 124;  
eaten during famine, 185, 193
- Chîmyâ (Egyptian Chemistry or  
Alchemy), 149
- China, 130, 394
- Chinese, the, 347, 351, 355, 397,  
418, 430, 439
- Chinese, Mûngâ's Laws for, 418
- Chingiz Khân, 352, 353, 376, 393,  
397, 411, 467, 498, 506; favours  
merchants, 356; his Laws, 354 f.;  
appeals to God, 357; goes to  
China, 365; attacks Bûkhârâ,  
376; Samarkand, 381 f.; Khâ-  
wârazm, 353, 354; death of, 390 f.
- Chios, 7
- Chlorus, 58
- Chosroês, 74, 120; cup of, 20
- Chreronesus, 24
- Christ, Birth of, 47; His Two Wills,  
106; the Two Persons of, 68;  
the Word, 150; image of in  
Edessa, 105; appears to Kawâd,  
72; worshipped by Ghôyûk, 411
- Christ, the False, 121
- Christianity, 5, 298; in Persia, 66
- Christians, reading of philosophical  
works by prohibited, 61; persecu-  
tion of by Decius, 56, Nero, 50,  
Severianus, 55, by Persians, 52, 59,  
67; the Edict of Hâkim against, 184
- Christopher the eunuch, 201
- Chronography of Bar Hebraeus and  
Michael, 1
- Chronology, Syrian book of, 116
- Chronos, 234
- Church in B'elbâk, 59
- Church in Mongol Great Camp, 505
- Church of Anastasia, 64
- Church of Bar Şâwmâ, 446; in  
Antioch, 296; in Sis, 379
- Church of the Bearer of God  
(Deipara), 105; in Antioch, 296;  
in Kûbâ, 128
- Church of the Confessors in Edessa,  
268
- Church, the Great, in Constanti-  
nople, 175
- Church of Eirene, 58
- Church of Jacobites in Hârrân,  
127
- Church of Kawsyânâ, 229
- Church of Khîshâm, 118
- Church of Mâr 'Ahûdemeh, 433
- Church of Mâr Bar Şâwmâ, 410
- Church of Mâr Behnâm, 167
- Church of Mâr George in Antioch,  
296
- Church of Mâr Gregory Thaumatur-  
gus, 73
- Church of Mâr John of Khîshâm,  
247
- Church of Mâr Mâmâ, 60
- Church of Mâr Procopius, 70
- Church of Mâr Tâômâ, 386
- Church of Mâr Barbârâ, 392
- Church of the Forty Martyrs, 72,  
247
- Church of the Greeks in Damascus,  
106
- Church of the Mother of God, 446,  
509
- Church of the Resurrection, 327
- Church of the Third Bazâr, 431
- Church of the Twelve Apostles, 59
- Church of the Virgin Mary of  
Antaradus, 328
- Church over the Tree of Mamre,  
59
- Churches destroyed by Diocletian,  
57
- Churches, the Ninety-six, 74
- Ciborium, 125
- Cilicia, 7, 38, 39, 56, 62, 73, 76, 97,  
101, 104, 126, 133, 139, 142, 154,  
162, 165, 167, 169, 179, 223, 228,  
229, 238, 244, 246, 252, 255, 261,  
264, 266, 275, 281, 292, 305, 310,  
321, 328, 334, 370, 386, 389, 390.



- Cilicia (*cont.*)  
     407, 410, 411, 428, 445, 446, 448,  
     449, 452, 454, 460, 461, 493, 503  
 Circesium, 41, 103, 141, 311;  
     Bridge at, 435  
 Circumcision, 231  
 Circus in Alexandria, 51  
 Circuses burnt down, 55  
 Citadel of Cairo, 307, 311  
 Cities, the twelve built by Alexander,  
     39  
 Cities, the 180 built by Enoch, 5  
 City of the Camp (i.e. the Great  
     Camp of the Mongols), 398  
 Claudia, 113  
 Claudius Caesar, 50, 56  
 Claudius Ptolemy, 53; his works, 54  
 Claw of chicken, 184  
 Clemens, 26, 34  
 Cleopatra and Antony, 46  
 Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy V,  
     her dowry, 42  
 Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy  
     (VII) Philomator, 43  
 Cleopatra, mother of Ptolemy X (?),  
     Soter II (?), 44  
 Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy  
     Dionysus, 45  
 Cloud, the black (i.e. sandstorm, hur-  
     ricane, typhoon), in Mâwşil, 255  
 Cloud, red, moon-shaped, 139  
 Coats of mail, the 40,000, 168  
 Cocks, 143  
 Coffin of Julian the Apostate, 62  
 Coffins of the Martyrs at Edessa, 269  
 Coffins of the saints given to the  
     Tâtârs, 409  
 Coffins with seven bodies in them in  
     a mound near Bâşrâh, 149  
 Coins (money), striking of, 104  
 Cold, intense, 216; *see under* Frost,  
     Ice, Snow  
 Colic, 392  
 Colon, disease of, 180, 197, 198,  
     298, 311, 360  
 Colossus of Rhodes, 41, 73, 98  
 Comedy, 34; invention of, 12  
 Comet, appearance of, 67, 70, 74,  
     102  
 Concubines, 91  
 'Confusion' = Bâbil, 8  
 Conjunction of planets, 473  
 Conrad, King of Germany, 274  
 Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat,  
     325  
 Constable, son of Pâli, 410  
 Constable, the, 446, 454  
 Constans, 59, 60  
 Constantia (Helena), 61  
 Constantine the Great, 25, 429; a  
     leper baptized and healed, 58  
 Constantine II, 59  
 Constantine, son of Kustans, 99  
 Constantine, son of Leo, 110, 117,  
     120, 121  
 Constantine and 'Arţâbâs, 112  
 Constantine, King of the Rhômâyê,  
     156, 175  
 Constantine, brother of Bâsil, 191  
 Constantine (Monomachus), 200,  
     201, 203, 206, 207  
 Constantine, son of Theophanes,  
     173  
 Constantine of Samosata, 246  
 Constantine of Gargar, 247  
 Constantine, Bârôn, Pâli, 379, 380,  
     389, 391  
 Constantine, father of Haitûm, 407  
 Constantine, Mâr, 436  
 Constantinople, 25, 56, 59, 67, 68,  
     69, 71, 76, 77, 82, 87, 89, 94, 98,  
     99, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112,  
     129, 136, 144, 152, 161, 169, 175,  
     220, 222, 223, 226, 227, 229, 248,  
     249, 252, 264, 267, 274, 275, 278,  
     286, 287, 289, 290, 303, 310, 312,  
     332, 333, 350, 357 f., 398, 428,  
     429, 442, 445, 449  
 Constantinus, brother of Alex-  
     ander, 151



- Constantinus, Mâr, Catholicus, 389  
 Constantinus Tiberius and Heraklî,  
     their effigies on darics, 101  
 Constantius, 58, 59, 60; baptized, 61  
 Constantius, father of Valentinianus,  
     66  
 Constantius poisoned, 96  
 Constellations, 5  
 Consubstantiality, 59  
 Consuls in Rome, the Three, 45  
 Copper, 72  
 Copper-gilt (i.e. base) money, 274  
 Copts, Era of, 57  
 Copulation, 91  
 Coral (?), 191  
 Corfu, 41  
*Corinthians I* (cap. xv, v. 7), 49  
 Cork tree, 49  
 Cornelia, the Virgin, burnt alive,  
     52  
 Cornmills, stone grinders of, 461  
 Cos, Island of, 98  
 Couches of gold, 91  
 Council, the Sixth, 106  
 Count of Tiberias, 323  
 Count of Tripoli, 305, 322  
 Counts, the Seven, 234  
 Cradle of gold, 415  
 Crassus, 45  
 Cretans, 10  
 Crete, 10, 98, 358  
 Crocus, 111, 144  
 Crops, failure of the, 109  
 Cross of Christ, 106; appears in the  
     air at noonday, 58; discovery of  
     the, 59; fragments of the, 235  
 Cross, Festival of the, 251  
 Cross in gold, 135, 278; with frag-  
     ments of the True Cross in it,  
     278, 307; cross and crown of  
     Jovianus, 62; cross cast into  
     Ascalon, 280; cross upside down,  
     184  
 Cross, Sign of the, 78, 406; used  
     by Arabs, 140; in battle, 332  
 Crosses on heads of spears, 151, 193,  
     287, 451, 468; on stones, 282  
 Crosses, the Thirty-two, 414  
 Crown of flowers on ox, 128  
 Crown of Nimrod, 8  
 Crown seen in the sky, 56  
 Crucifixion, Friday of the, 129, 228,  
     418  
 Crusades, History of the, 234  
 Ctesiphon, 62, 95, 114  
 Cubicularius, 100  
 Cup of Chosroës, 211  
 Cup, the Mongol Coronation, 393,  
     411, 417  
 Cushions, 91  
 Cushites, 9, 12, 147  
 Cyprian, bishop and martyr, 53  
 Cyprians, 364  
 Cypriotes, 284  
 Cyprus, 7, 44, 52, 98, 103, 226,  
     234, 334, 346, 360, 362, 381, 453,  
     482  
 Cyrenaica, 52  
 Cyrenius, 47  
 Cyriacus, patriarch, 126, 213, 380;  
     Monastery of, 204  
 Cyricus, 453  
 Cyrus, 27, 33  
 Cyzicus, 24, 70  
 Dabâbâ, 457  
 Dabûs ad-Dâwlâh, 181  
 Daggers of Nâsir inscribed with the  
     names of those they are intended  
     to stab, 343  
 Dailôm, 169  
 Dailômâyê (Dailomites), 166, 174,  
     178, 207  
 Dairâ, 178  
 Dairâ dhë Kârîrê looted, 408  
 Dairâ dhë Sebhlâthâ, 265  
 Dairâ dhë Yamethâ, 277  
 Dairâ Sem'ân, 288  
 Dairâ Sûmâktâ, 246  
 Dairaitâ, a merchant, 234



- Dâkâs, 55  
 Dakhwâr, 399  
 Dakûkâb, 156, 181, 184, 394, 497  
 Dâkûz Khâtûn, 419  
 Dakyôs (Decius) Caesar, 56  
 Dâlûk, 166  
 Dâmârîs, 12  
 Damascenes, 94, 103, 238, 278, 282, 309, 348  
 Damascus, 23, 34, 87, 94, 102, 109, 111, 112, 142, 170, 174, 179, 181, 188, 189, 226, 231, 232, 238, 244, 245, 249, 254, 255, 273, 274, 278, 281, 282, 285, 289, 292, 299, 301, 302, 303, 304, 307, 308, 311, 313, 316, 320, 329, 330, 332, 341, 342, 344, 345, 346, 348, 349, 351, 367, 370, 373, 379, 389, 391, 392, 394, 399, 416, 418, 431, 434, 435, 439, 458, 462, 463, 464, 467, 468, 474, 493; Arab kingdom of Yathreb transferred to Damascus, 100  
 Dâmghân, 196  
 Damietta, 244, 312, 370, 373, 379, 414, 415, 416; attacked by Franks, 371  
 Damietta cloth, 244  
 Damsham, 241  
 Damyât, 370  
 Dan, 20  
 Dân of Armenia, 379  
 Dâna, 16  
 Dancing, 11  
 Daniel, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 39, 49, 316; quoted (iv. 17; iv. 32), 316; (chaps. vii and viii), 39; (xi. 17-20), 42; (xi. 31), 50; in den of lions, 31  
 Dânishmand, 229, 237, 249, 252, 255, 264, 281, 289, 293, 297, 303, 306, 308  
 Danube, river, 52  
 Dârâ, 73, 77, 78, 85, 86, 96, 140, 277, 281, 306, 307, 313, 317, 359, 377  
 Dârân, 12  
 Darics, 101, 103, 178; Egyptian, 464  
 Darius, 39, 72  
 Darius the Mede, 30, 31  
 Darius, son of Hystaspes, 26  
 Darius, son of 'Arshâch, 37  
 Darius Nothus, 35  
 Darmânîâ, 399  
 Darmasûk (Damascus), 87  
 Darnûs, 430  
 Dârûm, 339  
 Daryâwâsh, 72  
 Dastânîâ, 62  
 David, King of Israel, 19, 20, 45, 47; his tomb opened and money taken from it, 44; Tower of, 231, 279  
 David, Rabban, 265  
 David, son of Hûnain, 148  
 David the Little, 403  
 Dâwâlû, 281, 422  
 Dâwîd, the Great and the Less, 40  
 Dâwîn, 288  
 Dâwîthdâr, the Little, 429, 430  
 Dâwlâh, 265; brother of Michael, 267  
 Dâwlâh of Melitene, 279  
 Dâwlath, 259, 265  
 Dâwûd, 262  
 Dâwûd, grandson of Saljûk, 196  
 Dâwûd, nephew of Mas'ûd, 264  
 Dâwûd of Kîpâ, 310  
 Dâwûd of Zâid, 268  
 Dâwûd, Sûltân, 265  
 Dâwûd, son of Sûltân Michael, 256  
 Dead, the, held in contempt, 343; rise from graves, 112; cast into the sea, 226  
 Dead, their souls remain in this world, 343  
 Dead, the 16,000 in one day, 75  
 Dead, the, dragged from their graves by beasts and eaten, 122



- Dead, the, both men and beasts,  
eaten during famines, 162, 350,  
427
- Deborah, 15
- Debshâ river, 442
- Debt, liability for abolished, 53
- Decius Caesar, 56
- Deer (or, gazelle), 156
- Deghâ Bâsîl, 246, 261
- Deklath (Tigris), 33, 72, 95, 114
- Delirium before death, 466
- Demetrius II, 43
- Demetrius Soter, 43
- Democritus, 34
- Demoniac, 143
- Denhâ, Mâr, 447
- Derbîsâs, 329
- Despoena, 505
- Deucalion, 12
- Dhuan-Nôn, 267
- Dhû'l-Karnain, Dhû'l-Karnên, 287;  
son of Dâwlâh, 279
- Diâhkhûrkân, 506
- Diâr Bakr, Diâr Bakr, 485, 499
- Dîbârîgî, 278
- Dîlâm, Dîlûm, 113
- Dîmât, Monastery of, 426
- Dîmiôs, 101
- Dîmôs, 101
- Dînârs struck, 104; Tyrian, 454
- Dînâwar, 183
- Diocletian Caesar, 57; his genital  
organs rot, 58
- Diocletiana, 58
- Diogenes, 34
- Diogenes, King, 218, 220, 222
- Dîôklaityânôs, 58
- Dionysius bar-Şelibhî, Mâr, 270, 283
- Dionysius, Bishop of Khîshûm, 247
- Dionysius of Rûşâfâ, 120
- Dionysius, Metropolitan of Meli-  
tene, 403
- Dionysius of Tall Maḥrê, 1, 24, 104,  
119, 127
- Dionysius, i.e. 'Angûr, Patriarch, 420
- Dionysius, Mâr, 133, 435
- Dionysos, Ptolemy, 45
- Dioscurus, her bones translated to  
Alexandria, 69
- Disciples in Rome, fasting of, 50
- Ditch near Constantinople, 151
- Divination, 61, 116; by arrows,  
103; by slips of paper, 200
- Divine Nature, the, 236
- Divine Power, 54
- Diviner in Baghdâd, 164
- Divorce, 91; bill of, 218
- Dîwân of Baghdâd, 445, 447, 449,  
472
- Dîzâdâr, 297
- Dnieper, 84
- Dodostânâ, 62
- Dog, dead, hung over door of  
mosque, 487
- Dog, dressed as Khâwârazm Shâh,  
347; skin of as a dress, 352
- Dog, dead, sold for two gold dînârs,  
181; for five dînârs, 219
- Dog, story of, 196
- Dogs, eaten during famines, 185;  
hunting, 119
- Dog-men (Kalbâyê), 218
- Dôkalyôn (Deucalion), 12
- Domasticus, 180, 181
- Dômenus, 74
- Domitian, Caesar, 52
- Domnînâyâ, 424
- Don, the river, 84
- Dônâ, 84
- Dongola, 302
- Donkey buried during earthquake,  
139
- Door-sill, kissing of the, 264
- Dove, 205; doves, 143, 306, 335, 407
- Dropsy, 196
- Drowning of children, 12
- Drugs, scarcity of, 209
- Drum, 258; drums, 443, 461; to  
drive away locusts, 185
- Drunkenness, 5



- Dûalnôn, 299, 303, 306  
 Dûbais, 254, 255, 256, 257, 260, 261, 481  
 Dûbais, son of Şadâkâh, 260  
 Dûkâk, 345  
 Dûkal, 500  
 Dûkâs Domasticus, 180, 181  
 Duke of the Bûndikâyê, 358  
 Dûkîâ, 223, 457  
 Dûnaiser, 348, 363, 377  
 Dûnbîs, 58, 59, 84  
 Dûnûklâ, 302  
 Dwarf, a woman, 156  
 Dyâr Bakr, 391  
 Dyâsâ, head of the Tâtâr Law, 353  
 Dyed fabrics, 8  
 Dysentery, 344, 392, 402  
  
 Eagles, 334  
 Ear of Wheat (Virgo), 194  
 Ear-ring of pearls, 434  
 Ears, the right, of enemies to be cut off, 398  
 Earthquake, 85, 93, 138, 149, 166, 248, 360; severe, 296; lasting ten days, 76; lasting twenty-five days, 296  
 Earthquake in 'Âdhôrbijân, 450; in Antioch, 144; in 'Argîsh, 454; in Armenia, 258; in Baghdâd, 255; in Calonicus, 266; in China, 448; in Constantinople (forty days), 76; in Dînâwar, 183; in Egypt, 63, 194; in Ganzâh, 265; in Khôrâsân, 114; in Nîsâbhûr, 365; in Rhodes, 41; in Outer India, 151; in Syria, 284, 285, 351; in Tabrîz, 200  
 Earthquakes in Baghdâd, five or six times daily, 259  
 Easter in Jerusalem, 184  
 Eber, 7, 8  
 Ebony carriage, 144; throne, 157  
 'Ebrâ, 427  
 Ecclesiastes quoted (xii. 7), 19  
 Ecclesiastical History of Bar Hebraeus, 2  
 Eclipse of sun, 320; total, 125  
 Edessa, 5, 8, 48, 53, 55, 61, 74, 83, 86, 90, 93, 94, 96, 104, 105, 116, 118, 119, 125, 126, 127, 128, 162, 163, 170, 192, 193, 194, 217, 218, 219, 222, 227, 229, 231, 238, 244, 246, 247, 249, 255, 257, 265, 268, 273, 302, 313, 338, 344, 348, 350, 352, 360, 361, 373, 391, 392, 400, 401, 409, 435; taken by the Franks, 268 f.; building of, 40  
 Edessians, 268, 326  
 Edict against Christians, 184  
 Edom, 11, 22  
 Edomites, 11, 21, 22, 23  
 'Eftekhar ad-Dâwlâh, 235  
 Eggs, frozen, 155  
 'Eglôn, 15  
 Egypt, 8, 23, 29, 34, 75, 87, 93, 95, 99, 104, 105, 123, 124, 133, 134, 135, 141, 143, 149, 180, 181, 184, 189, 191, 196, 209, 210, 219, 223, 236, 248, 254, 278, 280, 282, 286, 289, 290, 293, 294, 295, 299, 300, 301, 303, 304, 305, 307, 308, 311, 313, 317, 320, 322, 328, 339, 340, 344, 345, 346, 349, 350, 351, 352, 360, 364, 369, 370, 371, 373, 379, 391, 400, 401, 403, 406, 414, 415, 416, 437, 439, 442, 444, 452, 456, 467, 471, 472, 473, 493, 509; the Exodus from, 12; famine in, 11; first King of, 7; Khâlîfate transferred to, 212; rebellion of, 35; revolt of slaves in, 418  
 Egyptians, 35, 133, 179, 180, 182, 186, 192, 207, 226, 235, 236, 281, 282, 286, 289, 290, 291, 293, 300, 348, 352, 406, 440, 446, 448, 452, 453, 454, 455, 457, 458, 464, 465, 461, 467, 475, 486, 492, 493; fasting of the, 68; drowned, 167; magic and sorcery of the, 116;



- Egyptians (*cont.*)  
 Ritual of, 110; Era of the, 57;  
 use Greek letters, 35
- Ehud, 15
- Eikons, 117, 358
- Eirene, Church of St., 58
- Eirene, Queen, wife of Leo, 117,  
 118, 120; her adultery with 'Al-  
 pîdî, 119; her granddaughter, 129
- 'Ekbhâ, 5
- 'Ekhtîyâr ad-Dîn Hasan, 330, 391
- 'Eklimâ, 3
- Elan, 115
- Elders, the, 17; Rule of the, 16
- Elephant stabbed by Eliazar Hâw-  
 rân, 43
- Elephantiasis, 302, 320
- Elephants, 60, 134, 156, 190; made  
 to trample men to death, 208
- Eli, 17
- Eliazar, a lying prophet, 21
- Eliezar Hâwrân, 42
- Eliezar, priest, 15, 40, 42
- Elijah, 21
- Elisha, 22
- Elûl, Îlûl, 93
- 'Elyâkîm, 26, 27, 29
- 'Elyânôs, a physician, 54
- 'Emâd ad-Dîn, 297, 312, 313, 315,  
 317, 344, 372
- 'Emâd ad-Dîn of 'Akr, 371, 372,  
 373
- 'Emâd ad-Dîn of Sinjâr, 319
- 'Emâd ad-Dîn, son of Zangî, pedi-  
 gree of, 347
- 'Emâd ad-Dîn Zangî, 295, 311, 333,  
 366, 367, 375, 378
- 'Emâdî, Gate of, 271
- 'Emâdîâh, 372, 373, 378, 442, 444,  
 474
- Embolon, 65
- Emesa, 34, 73, 83, 94, 98, 111, 119,  
 142, 154, 164, 171, 172, 174,  
 180, 235, 238, 253, 254, 278, 282,  
 285, 289, 295, 296, 304, 314, 319,  
 320, 344, 349, 351, 364, 365, 379,  
 406, 414, 435, 439, 464
- Emmaus, building of, 55
- Empedocles, 19
- Emperors, the Roman, 47 ff.
- Enchanters, Tâtârs, 356; the Vigur,  
 355
- Enchantments, 279
- Encyclical Letters, 68
- England, 334, 335, 337, 338, 339,  
 344, 346
- Enoch, son of Yard, 4, 5; Book of,  
 3; picture of, 5
- Enthronement of Mongol kings,  
 393 f.
- Ephesus, 56, 117, 428; founded, 19
- Ephrem, 8
- Ephthimius, 445
- Epicurus, 35
- Epilepsy, 460
- Epiphanes, Ptolemy, 41
- Epiphanius, 20
- Epiphanius, son of Antiochus, 42
- Epiphany, Feast of, 449
- Epirus, 39
- Epitaph of Plato, 36
- Epitome of Alexander, 147
- Equestrian display, 70
- Equipment, burial, 260
- Era of lunar months, 89
- Era of the Egyptians (Copts), 57
- Era of the Greeks, 40
- Era of the Redeemer, 89
- Erech, 8
- 'Erkônîâ, 39
- Ernajîn Tûrjai, 491, 492
- Esau, 9, 11
- 'Esethâ, mountain of, 250
- 'Esfâhân, Işfâhân, 112, 385, 412, 413
- 'Eshnû, 449
- Esmâ'îl, 151
- 'Esmath ad-Dîn, wife of Saladin  
 307
- 'Eşafânâ, 136, 305, 334
- 'Eşâghîrâ, 25



- 'Estaphrîkî, 151  
 Esther, 34, 35  
 'Estîghôs, 26  
 'Estros river, 66  
 'Ethbaal, King, 21  
 Ethiopia, 35  
 Eucharist, 121  
 Euclid, 452  
 Euclides, 190  
 Eudoxia, 65, 67  
 Eudoxia, daughter of Heraclius, 89  
 Euergetes I, Ptolemy, 41  
 Euergetes II, Ptolemy, 43  
 Eûgâyâ, 461  
 Eugenius, 65  
 Eunomius, inventor of alphabet, 12  
 Eunuch expelled, 61  
 Eunuchs, 24; white, 180; 1,000  
     black and white, 157  
 Euparkâ, 137  
 Eupator, Antiochus, 42  
 Euphrates, 8, 26, 62, 67, 74, 79,  
     94, 95, 96, 111, 118, 133, 135, 219,  
     228, 247, 250, 254, 257, 261, 265,  
     270, 279, 280, 313, 315, 316, 317,  
     396, 400, 403, 409, 420, 426, 437,  
     440, 465, 466, 468, 469, 471; ice  
     on it, 435; frozen over, 86, 102,  
     401; bridge over the, 435; in flood,  
     239  
 Eupoles, 34  
 'Eurîpî, 39  
 Eusebia, Queen, 60  
 Eusebius, 1, 7, 15, 16, 19, 27, 34,  
     40, 49  
 Eusebius (Titus Antoninus Caesar),  
     53  
 Euthimius, Patriarch of Antioch,  
     445  
 Euzoins, 61  
 Eve, 3  
 Evil Merodach, 29  
 Exiles, ban on removed, 55  
 Exodus, Book of, 13  
 'Ez ad-Dîn Farûkh Shâh, 295  
 'Ezâz Bâs, 443  
 Ezra, 34  
 Face-covering of Christ in Edessa,  
     162  
 Fadhil, 163  
 Fâdil, Kâdî, 349  
 Fahid, a Christian scribe, 182  
 Faith, the Muslim, 362  
 Faith, the Tâtâr, 355  
 Faiths, the Four, 390  
 Fâiz, Mâlik, 282, 350, 370  
 Fâiz Yâ'kûb, 373  
 Fakhr ad-Dâwlâh, 386  
 Fakhr ad-Dîn 'Abd al-Masîh, 295,  
     306; his name changed to 'Abd  
     Allâh, 297  
 Fakhr ad-Dîn 'Ayâs, 426  
 Fakhr ad-Dîn of Aleppo, 436  
 Faķîrs, the, 30, 452  
 Fakr ad-Dîn, Judge of Judges, 411  
 Fakr ad-Dîn Râzî, aged 63 lunar  
     years, 366  
 Fakr ad-Dîn 'Ûthmân, 414  
 Falling sickness, 198  
 Famine, 58, 108, 118, 122, 140, 213,  
     252, 310, 427; foretold, 193  
 Famine in Aleppo, 179; in Assyria,  
     115; in Baghdâd, 162, 164, 176,  
     183, 205; and pestilence, 209; in  
     Beth Nahrîn, 74; in Cilicia, 170;  
     in Constantinople, 226; in days  
     of Gaius, 50; in Egypt, 219, 351,  
     509; in Khôrâsân, 185; in Mai-  
     perķât, 436; in Melitene, 409,  
     425; in Mâwşil, 443; in Persia,  
     231; in Sen'âr, 431; very severe,  
     336; camels, horses, and children  
     eaten, 193  
 Faraj, 420  
 Faraj Allâh, 484, 488  
 Fâris ad-Dîn, 282  
 Farmân, 96  
 Fârô Island, 40  
 Farûkh Shâh, 377



- Fast of forty days, 447, 450, 454  
 Fast of Nineveh, 436, 444, 480  
 Fast, the Lord's, 68  
 Fast, the Great, 452  
 Fasting, 53, 76; daily, 91; of the Disciples, 50  
 Fatalists, 300  
 Father of Flies, 103  
 Father of the Night, 102  
 Fâtimites, 328  
 Fâtma tortured and drowned, 412  
 Fâtâmâh, 300  
 Fausta, daughter of Maximianus, 58  
 Fazârâh, 120  
 Fazârâyâ, 121  
 Fear, i.e. Religion, 353  
 Feast of Hosannas, 455  
 Feast of the Cross, 267  
 Feast of Unleavened Bread, 74  
 Felix, Eparch of Egypt, 49  
 Festival of Hosannas, 451  
 Festival of the Resurrection, 434  
 Festival of the Cross, 251, 330  
 Festival of the White, 480  
 Festus, 50  
 Fever, 392; attacks Seleucus, 341  
 Figs, greenness of skin due to, 225  
 Finger, tip of, cut off, 190  
 Fingers, to bite, sign of regret, 477  
 Fire, fall of, in Baghdâd, 139, 161; in Bâsrâ, 139; in Constantinople, 69; in Mâwşil, 255  
 Fire, holy, 35; in north heaven (Aurora Borealis), 70  
 Fire, pillars of, in sky, 183  
 Fire throwers, 333  
 Fire Worship, 79  
 Fîrôz, 70  
 First and Last, 1  
 First fruits, 5  
 Fîrûz, 71; King of Persia, 68  
 Fish, huge, in Persian Gulf (shark?), 133  
 Fishes (Pisces) in Zodiac, 320  
 Fistulas, 238  
 Flaccilla, statue cast out, 64  
 Flags, 305; the four black, 258  
 Flâkîdâ, 64  
 Flamminian Way, 56  
 Flanders, 358  
 Flaying alive, 181, 292; a priest flayed, 283, 284  
 Flaying the head (i.e. scalping), 42  
 Flesh cut from Sham'âlâ and roasted, 106  
 Flies, plague of, 60, 209, 281  
 Flood in days of Noah, 321; began on 27th day of 'Îyâr, 6  
 Flood in days of 'Âgôgôs, 11  
 Flood, the third, of Deucalion, 12  
 Flood in the days of Ksîsôthrôs, the tenth King of the Sethites, 4  
 Flood in Baghdâd, 286  
 Flood in Mesopotamia (A.D. 1033), 194  
 Flood in Zâid, 278  
 Flood in Zûbatrâ, 134  
 Florianus Caesar, 57  
 Flower of the ass, 111  
 Fog, 72  
 Fônio (Louis?), 274  
 Food for children and women gratis, 61  
 Ford of Jacob, 308  
 Forecasts, 116  
 Fornication, 309, 451  
 Fornicators expelled, 21  
 Forty Martyrs, church of the, 247  
 Fossâtôn, 94  
 Fôstât, 96, 105, 131, 134, 307  
 Fountain covered with gold and silver, 105  
 Four Beasts, vision of the, 30  
 Four Cushions of the Mongols, 393  
 Four Quarters of the World, 393  
 Fourth Bazâr of Mâwşil, 440  
 Fourth Clime, 205  
 Foxes, skins of, 146



- France, 274, 357, 358, 414, 415, 416  
 Frangâyê, 81  
 Frankistân, 474  
 Frank Land, 250  
 Franks, the, 16, 24, 81, 223, 233, 234, 235, 236, 242, 243, 244, 245, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 257, 261, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 284, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 293, 294, 296, 301, 302, 304, 305, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 316, 317, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 340, 350, 358, 359, 360, 362, 364, 370, 371, 372, 374, 379, 391, 398, 400, 402, 406, 410, 411, 414, 415, 418, 428, 429, 463, 482, 486  
 Franks, Ambassadors from, 492, 493  
 Franks, summoned to free Jerusalem, 369; take Constantinople, 357 f.  
 Franks, the Venetian, 252  
 Fransîsâyê (the French), 358  
 Frâth (or Prâth, Euphrates), 26  
 Frederick I, Barbarossa, 332  
 Frederick II, 391  
 Freewill among the Arabs, 92, 118, 300  
 Frères, Frêrê, 283, 288, 309, 370, 381, 389, 396  
 Friday, Adam created on, 3  
 Friday of the Crucifixion, 129  
 Frostbite, 119, 140, 142  
 Frosts, 181, 261; in July, 397  
 Fruit trees, 91  
 Fûg, 258  
 Fûlk (Foulques?), 258  
 Fullers of cloth, 183  
 Fûlsê, copper coins, 104  
 Gabâlâ, 252, 345, 379  
 Gâbarmîsh, 239  
 Gabbâlâ, 120, 175, 296  
 Gabhâlâ, 47  
 Gabnûpîrath, 266  
 Gabrâs, 249  
 Gabriel, Archangel, 141, 150  
 Gabriel, a Persian general, 181  
 Gabriel, governor of Melitene, 233, 234, 236, 237  
 Gabriel, a physician, 123  
 Gabriel, a physician of Edessa, 392  
 Gabriel, son of Bôkht Îshô', 144, 147  
 Gâdhâr, 21  
 Gadhîrôn, 6  
 Gâdînôs, 427  
 Gadîrâ, 7  
 Gâdûg, 289  
 Gafnâ, 237  
 Gâinâs, 65, 66  
 Gâîr Khân, 403  
 Gaisgân, 235  
 Gaius, Caesar, 49; images of him set up in the Temple and Synagogues in Jerusalem, 49  
 Gaius, Julius, 45  
 Gaius, a rebel, 65, 66  
 Gakhtî, 405  
 Galatia, 7, 75, 107, 426  
 Galen, 6, 52; in Rome, 53; death of, 54  
 Galerian, Count, 251  
 Galilee, 47, 76, 87  
 Galilee, Mount, 101  
 Gall of fish, 24  
 Galla Flaccilla, 64  
 Gallâyê, 7, 41, 56, 61  
 Gallia, 57, 58, 101  
 Gallienus, Caesar, 56  
 Gallipoli, 42  
 Gallus, Caesar, 56, 60  
 Galsînê, 48  
 Galûlâ, 94  
 Gamâlâ, 184  
 Gâmar, 195  
 Games, 11



- Ganâbâh, 183  
 Gangrâ, 110  
 Gangrene, 186  
 Ganzâh, 265  
 Garbîd, Monastery of, 32  
 Gârdânyâ, which is Dâwâlû, 281  
 Gardens of Mâwşil, 271  
 Gargar, 246, 249, 250, 251, 261, 265, 275, 276, 405  
 Gargûmâyê, 101  
 Garmânâyê, 55, 57  
 Garmânôs, 83, 84  
 Garments, the Seven Black, 212  
 Garzîm, Mount, 36  
 Gate of 'Am Kâwâ, 399  
 Gate of 'Emâdî of Mâwşil, 271  
 Gate of Sha'ê at Edessa, 268  
 Gate of Sunkrâton, 283  
 Gate of Tarsôs, 280  
 Gate of the Gardens at Aleppo, 254  
 Gate of the Turks, 84  
 Gates in Cilicia, 126  
 Gates of iron, double, 115  
 Gates of Râpekhâh, 114  
 Gath, 23  
 Gauls, 7, 41, 48, 75  
 Gâûrî, rebel in Egypt, 131  
 Gâwâlî of Mâwşil, 252, 253  
 Gâwsîth of Chalcedon, 93  
 Gâzâ, 139, 172, 194, 392, 418, 439  
 Gâzartâ of 'Ebrâ, 427  
 Gâzartâ, 104, 111, 124, 361, 365, 421, 422, 428, 441, 442, 443, 465, 466, 487  
 Gazelle, 156  
 Gâzî and 'Arâb, 253  
 Gâzî, Ghâzî, son of Dânishmand, 251, 255  
 Gazîrah, 111  
 Gaznâh, 199, 200, 248  
 Ged'ôn, 16  
 Gehenna, 92, 273  
 Gemini (Zodiac), 225, 324  
 Genesis, Book of, 13; quoted (xv. 17), 8; (xx. 1), 11; (xxxvi. 33), 9  
 Genoese, 244, 428  
 Genuflections, the Four to the Sun, 150  
 Genzah, 370  
 Genzals, 370  
 Geoffrey, Sir, 381  
 George, Bishop of the Arabs, 40  
 George, Church of St., 296  
 George, King of the Iberians, 286  
 George, King of Nubia, 134, 135  
 George, Mâr, of Khôkê, 134  
 George the Elder, 40  
 George the physician, 115, 122  
 Gerar, 11  
 Gerdkûh, 423  
 Gerizîm, Mount, 36  
 Germânîkî (Mar'âsh), building of, 40, 114, 165  
 Germans, 7, 333, 334, 398  
 Germany, 274, 332, 334  
 Ghâdhâr, 11  
 Ghâkhtai, Ghâkhtî, 227, 426  
 Ghâyath ad-Dîn (i.e. Rukn ad-Dîn), 410, 412  
 Ghâyath ad-Dîn Kai Kesrû, 341, 350, 360, 362, 364, 403  
 Ghâyath ad-Dîn of Beth Rhômâyê, 456, 473  
 Ghâyath ad-Dîn, son of Rukn ad-Dîn, 446  
 Ghâyath ad-Dîn, Sûltân, 406, 408  
 Ghâyath ad-Dûnyâ, 236, 241, 242, 243, 248  
 Ghâyath ad-Dûnyâ wa ad-Dîn, 259  
 Ghâzâr, 20  
 Ghâzâz 'Âlî, 244  
 Ghâzî, 249, 252  
 Ghâzî, Mâlik, 406  
 Ghâzî, son of Dâwûd, 258  
 Ghîhân, 244, 265  
 Ghôsîôs, 57  
 Ghôthâyê, 56  
 Ghôyûk Khân, 410, 411, 416, 417  
 Ghûbôs, 217, 420, 425, 427  
 Ghuîkhâth, Monastery of, 453



- Ghuzz, 285  
 Ghûzzâyê, 195, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 207, 208, 209, 210, 214, 215  
 Gideon, 16  
 Gihôn, 196, 223, 229, 244, 267, 376, 384, 385, 389, 394, 421, 474  
 Gilead, 16  
 Gilles, St., 237, 238  
 Girâ, 15  
 Giraffes, 134  
 Gîrah, 109  
 Giranites, 6  
 Gîwârgî, the Elder, 40  
 Gîwârgîs (George), 134  
 Gnats, plague of, 60, 281  
 Gnostics, 52  
 Goad as weapon, 15  
 Goat with three eyes and two mouths, 280  
 God, 35; a body and His chariot, 92; Personality of, 92  
 God-bearer (Virgin Mary), 105, 106, 127; Temple of, 85  
 Godofredus, 236  
 Gofri (Geoffrey), 381  
 Gola, 397  
 Gold, 72; amulets of, found on Jews, 43; calves of, 20; image of sixty cubits, 29; from coffin of Sergius carried off, 74; and frankincense, 61; mines, 143; 3,000 talents of, in grave of David, King of Israel, 44; throne of, 209  
 Golden Gate, 76, 108, 152  
 Goldsmith of Mâwşîl murdered, 452  
 Goliath, 19  
 Gomorrah, 9  
 Gôndôfrê, 236, 358  
 Gordianus, Caesar, 56  
 Gosius, 57  
 Gospel, Book of the, covered with red brocade and carried in the forefront at the battle of Jerusalem, 331  
 Gospel, of Christ, 52; of St. Matthew, 26  
 Gôthâyê, 63  
 Goths, 56, 63; baptized, 59  
 Gout, 200, 351  
 Grasshoppers (?), 306  
 Gratianus, 62, 63, 64  
 Grave of 'Aḥmad, 429  
 Graves dug up in search of treasure, 115  
 Great Assembly, the Mongol, 419  
 Great Camp, the Mongol, 108, 356, 393  
 Great Circus, 56  
 Great Council of Baghdâd, 460  
 Great Horn, 39  
 Great Proximus, 177  
 Great Sea, 167, 482, 492, 493  
 Great Sea (Persian Gulf), receded 340 cubits, 165  
 Great Theologian, 64  
 Great Tower (Babel), 8  
 Greek fire, 101  
 Greeks, 6, 7, 41, 48, 52, 54, 92, and see *passim*  
 Greeks, the ancient, 5; the Byzantine, 16  
 Greeks, Kingdom of, in Syria and Asia ended, 44  
 Greeks, Era of the, 40  
 Greeks (Ionians), 8, 89; the pagan, 2; the Christian, 1, 2; their forms of Chaldean names, 4  
 Green (?) Church, 433  
 Green House, the, 369  
 Gregorius, Patriarch of Africa, 87, 97  
 Gregorius, Armenian Catholicus, 246, 277  
 Gregory, Mâr, the Maphrian, 1  
 Gregory, a bishop, 57  
 Gregory, Mâr, of 'Âmid, killed, 509  
 Gregory of Nûsâ, 60  
 Gregory Thaumaturgus, 73  
 Gregory, Theologus, 32, 37, 60



- Grûpiâ, 290  
 Gûbhai Tûrkmânâyê, the, 305  
 Gûbôs, 250, 280  
 Guest house, 302  
 Gui de Rusignan, 322  
 Gûikhâth, 462  
 Gûlbâg, 444  
 Gûlyâdh, 19  
 Gûmâyê, 104, 120  
 Gûmûstakin, 217, 218  
 Gûndîshâbhôr, 56  
 Gûrgânîyâh, 382  
 Gwîkhâth, Mount of, 446  
 Gûrzân, 103, 113  
 Gûrzânîâ, 114  
 Guy de Lusignan, 323, 324  
 Gymnastics, 29  
  
 Habakkuk, 33  
 Hâbâshâyê, 143  
 Hâbâshî, son of Jâgarmîsh, 241  
 Hâbhûbhâ, 43, 44  
 Hâbîb, 97, 99  
 Hâbîg, 412  
 Hâbhshûshyâthâ, Monastery of, 441  
 Hâbûr, 240, 312  
 Hâbûrâ, 73, 141, 202, 247, 297, 313, 315, 321, 347, 365, 366, 404; bridge at, 483  
 Hâdeth, 118, 139  
 Hâdhattâ, 378  
 Hâđîrâh, 264  
 Hâđîrî, 454  
 Hâđîş, 125  
 Hâđîthâ, 83, 214, 215  
 Hadrian, Caesar, 52, 53  
 Hâfiţ, Mâlik, 282, 373  
 Hâgârâyê (Muslims), 126, 133, 486  
 Hagarenes, 505  
 Haggai, 34  
 Haghâgh, 103  
 Hâghâr, 10  
 Hagia Sophia, 309, 358  
 Haidâr, 465, 471  
 Haif ad-Dâwlâh, 166  
  
 Haifa, 325, 340  
 Hail, 153  
 Hailân, 407  
 Hailstones, 258; as large as chickens' eggs, 191; weighing 150 *zûzê*; weighing from one to two *lîtres*, 200; like heads, wrists, and fingers, 194  
 Hailstorm in Baghdâd, 191  
 Hair, human, plaited like cloth, 205; plaited hair on men, 84; women's plaits, 294  
 Hair shirt of Arcadius, 66  
 Hairkûlyôs, 57  
 Haitam, Haitûm, 189, 390, 407, 410, 411, 418, 419, 424, 445, 446, 449  
 Hajâj, 103  
 Hajb, 330  
 Hâjb 'Âlî, 391  
 Hajj, road of the, 200  
 Hakârâyê Kûrds, 370, 372, 378  
 Hakârîah, 292  
 Hâkim, Khâlîf of Egypt, 180, 182, 184, 185; general hatred of, 186, 187  
 Hâlâb, 15  
 Halaj, the 'God-embodied', 158  
 Hâlam, 199  
 Halûghâ, 104  
 Ham, 7; border of, 6  
 Hamâdân, 198, 213, 218, 256, 265, 281, 285, 345, 371, 383, 411, 466  
 Hâmân, 34  
 Hamâr Gâzartâ, 111  
 Hamâth, 199, 244, 252, 253, 254, 272, 284, 295, 296, 303, 304, 305, 314, 320, 329, 344, 349, 351, 360, 379, 389, 391, 392, 393, 435, 458, 459, 464, 472  
 Hamdân, Hamdôn, 168, 460  
 Hamid bar-Nâmûs, 167  
 Hamîdîyâh, 367  
 Hamimtâ, 403  
 Hamîrâyê, 75



- Hammursh, 162  
 Hananyâ (friend of 'Abhghar), 29, 48  
 Hananyâ, Mâr, Monastery of, 220, 296  
 Hanâzît, 265, 266, 397  
 Hand of Bar-Sâwmâ, 253, 278  
 Hands cut off, 170  
 Hanging, head downwards, 481  
 Hânî, 128, 281, 307, 348, 377  
 Hanîfiâh, 150  
 Hanôkh (Enoch), 4, 5  
 Hanrî, Count, of 'Akkô, 339, 341, 344, 346  
 Hanzît, 250  
 Hârân, burned to death, 10  
 Hârân, founder of Hârrân, 7  
 Harbî, 264  
 Hârdû, 391, 398  
 Hârîm, 275, 317, 330, 436  
 Harmis (Hermes), 5  
 Hârôn, 118  
 Hârôn, son of Mahdî, 117  
 Hârôn, son of Gamâtâ, 185  
 Hârôn, Khâwârazm Shâh, 196  
 Hârôn Rashîd, 118, 119, 120 f.  
 Hârôn killed by 'Âlî, 132  
 Hârônîâ, 166  
 Hârrân, 7, 10, 11, 55, 110, 112, 125, 127, 128, 138, 152, 159, 170, 174, 193, 218, 227, 247, 249, 254, 258, 268, 292, 302, 313, 319, 320, 338, 347, 348, 350, 359, 363, 373, 377, 392, 393, 401, 403, 435, 468  
 Harpers, 443  
 Harri João, 371  
 Harri, Sir, 453  
 Harru, 391  
 Hartâmâ, 126  
 Harûrâyê, 118  
 Harû'tâ, 448  
 Hasân, a general, 127, 132, 133  
 Hasân, father of Hûbaish, 148  
 Hasân the Ishmaelite, 366  
 Hasân Manşûr, 426  
 Hasân of Syria, 193  
 Hasnôn, physician of Edessa, 391, 409, 410  
 Hâsôr, 15, 20  
 Hasyâ, 145  
 Hathkâ, 318  
 Hathkhâ, 270  
 Hâwâ, 234  
 Hâwâyê, 6  
 Hawks, 334  
 Haytâm, 278  
 Hâzâ'il, 22  
 Hazârash, 210  
 Hazârdînârî, 343, 362, 371  
 Hazârmard, 174  
 Hâzîrân, 50, 90, 132, 138, 230, 251, 296, 350, 390, 400, 402, 405, 459, 467, 475, 487, 492, 493, 509  
 Head-cloth, 96, 259  
 Heads, human, salted, 138  
 Healing, the art of, 12  
 Heat in Baghdâd, 216  
 Heaven = God, 355  
 Hebrew Book = Bible, 7  
 Hebrew, the oldest language, 8  
 Hebrews, 6, 35, 490; children of, drowned, 12; kings of the, 2; leave Egypt, 12; make bricks, 12  
 Hebrôn, 11, 19, 66  
 He-goat, 39  
 Helena, mother of Constantine, 48, 398; finds the True Cross, 59  
 Helena, wife of Tiberius, 82  
 Helena (Constantia), 61  
 Heliiodorus, 42  
 Helios Hadrianus, 53  
 Hellas, 7, 36, 63  
 Hellespont, 39, 70  
 Hen and monster egg, 474  
 Henân Îshô', a bishop, killed, 448  
 Hendo, 6, 352  
 Hendokhân, 346  
 Hendôs, 39  
 Henry, Comte de Champagne, 339  
 Henry John of Brienne, 371



- Hephaistia, 55  
 Heracleia, 122, 124  
 Heracleians, 122  
 Heraclius, 89, 95; describes the  
     Muḥammadan Faith, 96; died, 96  
 Heraclius of Africa, 86  
 Herakleia, 69, 404  
 Heraklûnâ, 93, 96  
 Herath bar-Gâbâlâ, 76  
 Herbs, traffic in, 159  
 Hercules, son of Kustans, 99  
 Heresies, Arab, 92  
 Heresy among the Arabs, 405  
 Heresy, the Manichaean, 116  
 Heresy, the Maronite, 116  
 Heretics, the fourteen Arab, 300  
 Hermes, 5, 153; tetragonon of,  
     438  
 Hermôn, Mount, 3, 4  
 Hermopolis, 4  
 Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod  
     the slayer of children, 49  
 Herod, son of Antipater, 45  
 Herod, the slayer of children, 48,  
     49  
 Herod the Satrap, 47  
 Herod the Tetrarch, 48, 49  
 Herodias, 49, 213  
 Hesen al-Akrâd, 285  
 Hesiod, 20, 23  
 Hesnâ, 483, 484  
 Hesônâ, 484  
 Hezekiah, 24  
 Hibiscum, 6  
 Hides of oxen, 71  
 Hiel, founder of Jericho, 31  
 High priesthood, Eastern and West-  
     ern, 2  
 Hijrah, 89  
 Hilakya, 25  
 Hilkiâh, 25  
 Hill of Repentance, 172  
 Hill of the Crucified Ones, 331  
 Hillah, 254, 264  
*Hints and Monitions*, 197  
 Hipparchus, 29  
 Hippocrates, 5, 6, 34; his system  
     introduced into Persia, 52  
 Hippolytus, 43, 49  
 Hîrâm of Tyre, 20, 29  
 Hîrtâ, 109, 147  
 Hishâm, 110, 125  
 Hishâm, brother of Yazîd, 108  
 Hishâm, a chief, 111  
 Hitâm, 505, 506  
 Hitâyê, 6  
 Hîth, 83  
 Hittites, 6  
 Hivites, 6  
 Hnânâ'il, 46  
 Holophernes, 33  
 Holy Cross at Jerusalem, 307  
 Holy Ghost, the False, 131  
 Holy Mysteries, 277  
 Holy Sepulchre, 327  
 Homer, 23, 24  
 Homerus, 116  
 Honey, 91  
 Honorius, 64, 65, 66  
 Hôrmîzân, 85  
 Hôrmîzd, 57, 93  
 Hôrmîzd, son of Kesru, 81, 83;  
     blinded, 85  
 Horns, in battle, 332; of iron, 21  
 Horns of Samîros, 9  
 Horns, the Four, 39  
 Horns, blown to drive away the  
     locusts, 185  
 Horsemanship, 296  
 Horses, 355; hamstrung, 148;  
     trample a road in mountain  
     passes, 250; eaters of fish and  
     meat, 205  
 Horseshoes of gold, 258  
 Hosanna, 141  
 Hôsha', 22, 23  
 Hospitallers, 324, 337, 379, 396  
 Hôstîlîôs, 25  
 House of 'Abbâs, 479  
 House of Instruction, 390



- House of Mâghôgh, 478, 494, 498, 499  
 House of sun-worship, 337  
 House of the Martyrs in Kennesh-rîn, 76  
 Hsen Manşûr, 277, 405  
 Hûbâb, 103, 125  
 Hûbaish, 148  
 Hûkâb, 103  
 Hûlâbû, 418, 419, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 467; takes Baghdâd, 429 f., 433, 437  
 Hûlakû, 398  
 Hûldhî, prophetess, 25  
 Hûlwân, 204  
 Humanos, 11  
 Humidity of atmosphere, 390  
 Hûnain, physician, 57, 147, 148  
 Hûnâyê, 65, 195, 352  
 Hunger, bovine, 76  
 Hûnîâ, 39, 43  
 Huns, 39, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 73, 76, 112, 151, 186, 195, 201, 267, 352, 402, 455; History of, 2  
 Huns, Kings of the, 433 f.  
 Hunting, Tâtâr, 353  
 Hûr'bhaz, 270  
 Hurkânîâ, 39  
 Hurricane at Mâwşil, 455  
 Hûsain bar-'Âtâbâg, 242, 243  
 Hûsain bar-Mûkeled, 144  
 Hûsain Jôbân, 417  
 Hûsain, the Ishmaelite, 149  
 Hûsain, a general, 126  
 Hûsâm ad-Dîn Yâwlaḡ 'Arslân, 317  
 Hûsâm ad-Dîn Kaimârî, 395  
 Hûsâm ad-Dîn of 'Ain Tâb, 461  
 Hûsâm ad-Dîn of Mardîn, 347  
 Hûsâm Temûrtâsh, 270, 281  
 Hûsayn bar-'Âlî, 141  
 Hyrcania, 7, 38, 44, 195  
 Hyrcania, Sea of, 383  
 Hyrcanus, 45  
 Hystaspes, 27, 33  
 'Iâm, 257  
 Iberia, 45; Inner, 403  
 Iberians, 63, 218, 250, 286, 395, 397, 400, 402, 403, 405, 411, 419, 431, 457, 464, 470, 500; conversion to Christianity, 59  
 'Ibherâyê, 'Îberâyê, 6, 41, 63  
 'Îbirâyê, 303, 361, 362, 363, 364  
 'Îbiris, 361  
 Ibn Sînâ (Avicenna), 197  
 Ibrâhîm, Mongol noble, 215  
 Ibrâhîm, son of Walîd, 111  
 Ibrâhîm, a Jacobite, 180  
 Ibrâhîm Iani'êl, 213  
 Ibrâhîm of Bôşrâ, 114  
 Ibrâhîm of Khôrâsân, 200  
 Ibrâhîm of Mâwşil, 211  
 Ibrâhîm, son of Mahdî, 127  
 Ibrâhîm the Kôraishite, 127  
 Ibrâhîm, uncle of Mâmôn, 128, 131  
 Ice on Euphrates and Tigris, 191  
 Iconium, 229, 235, 240, 243, 252, 255, 264, 265, 267, 277, 279, 333, 334, 341, 350, 358, 360, 413, 414, 422, 424, 435, 442  
 'Idâb, 312  
 'Îdikûb, 368  
 Idol at Baghdâd, 114  
 Idols abolished, 59  
 Idols and Julian, 61  
 Idols burned by 'Âsa, 21  
 Idols made by Reu, 8  
 Idols of the Arabs, 126  
 Idols, originator of (Kainân), 7  
 'Îghuptâyê, 35  
 'Îghuptôs, 23  
 'Îghûrâyê (Uigurs) Turks, 352, 354, 368, 411, 456  
 Ignatius, 52  
 Ignatius, Bishop of Aleppo, 285  
 Ignatius, Maphrian, 286  
 Ignatius, Mâr, Jacobite Patriarch, 389, 453  
 Ignatius of Melitene, 173  
 Ignatius of Tellâ, 287



- Ġgrîsh, 427  
 'Ġladâ, 'Ġlâdhâ, 7, 63  
 'Ġlâm, 42  
 Ġldâgûr, Ġldâgûz, 318  
 'Ġlgâzî, 'Ġlghâzî, 242, 249, 250, 270  
 Ilion, 16  
 'Ġliôspântâs (Elephantine?), 43  
 Ilium, 16  
 'Ġljâzî, 362  
 Ġljikâtâi, 41  
 Ġl-Khân, 445  
 Illyricum, 67  
 'Ġlûl, 40, 51, 102, 139, 216, 227, 230, 237, 239, 251, 258, 267, 320, 424, 426, 447, 506  
 'Ġm, 218  
 Image (gold) of Nebuchadnezzar, 29  
 Image standing during earthquake, 285  
 Image with four faces, 25  
 Images (idols), 190; Chinese, 355; origin of cult of, 5; and pictures, books, stones, &c., in temples destroyed, 109  
 Immortality denied, 19  
 Impaled men, eaten, 219  
 Impalement, 94, 104, 188, 219, 246  
 'Ġnâig Bâg, 194, 345  
 'Ġnâl Shuk, 357  
 'Ġnânâg Bâg, 195, 213  
 'Ġnâshlûk, 357  
 Incantations, 35  
 Incense, 5  
 India, 6, 7, 9, 39, 40, 75, 130, 141, 186, 190, 193, 383, 385, 390, 394, 411, 460; Central, Outer, and Southern, 7  
 India, Outer, 151, 156, 199  
 India, fall of snow fourteen spans deep, 299  
 Indians, 6, 156, 190, 205, 351, 384, 385  
 Indus, 39  
 Infidels, Turkish, 267  
 Inflammation of eye-lids, 194  
 Inheritance, Arab, 92  
 Inscriptions on coffins, undecipherable, 149  
 Intercourse, carnal, banned by Seth, 3  
 Iôbâs, 21  
 'Ġôhannîs of Bêth Bûlâ, 246  
 Ionians, 7, 8  
 'Ġorîpôs, 39  
 Iôtopata, 50  
 Ġpastîâ, 55  
 'Ġrâdnî, 69  
 'Ġrâk Gate of Aleppo, 304, 436  
 Ġrân, 195  
 'Ġrê, 'the Watchers', i.e. sons of Seth, 3  
 Irene, St., 65  
 'Ġrômôs, 20  
 Iron Bow, 195  
 Iron Door of Alexander the Great, 39  
 'Ġsâ, 113, 114, 128, 265, 463  
 'Ġsâ Abû Kûraish, 122, 123  
 'Ġsâ, the Great Proximus, 177  
 'Ġsâ, Monastery of, 149  
 'Ġsâ, physician of Edessa, 409, 410  
 'Ġsâ, son of Haḍîrî, 454  
 'Ġsâ, a Nestorian, 180  
 'Ġsâ, son of Tâpî, 282  
 Isaac bar-'Ġḥûd, 132  
 Isaac, father of Hûnain, 57  
 Isaac, son of Hûnain, 148  
 Isaac, the Patriarch, 10, 11  
 Isaac, son of Muḥtader, 178  
 Isaac of Kârî Bôghî, 445  
 Isabel, 380, 390, 418  
 Isabella, sister of Bô'dwîn, 322  
 Isacius, 255  
 Isaiah, 22, 33; sawn in twain, 25; quoted (xlvii. 12), 279  
 Isauria, 45, 69  
 'Ġsfâhân, 142, 194, 206, 232, 233, 238, 248, 345  
 'Ġshâk (?), an angel, 319  
 Ġshkân, 471



- Ishmael, 10; father of Hûsain, 149  
 Ishmaelites, the Seventeen, 246,  
 254, 260, 322, 339, 343, 366, 376,  
 379, 386, 404, 411, 422, 423, 424,  
 449, 473, 489  
 Ishmaelites, the Ten who murdered  
 Bârsûk, 252  
 Îshô' bar-Yôzâdak, 33  
 Îshô' (Joshua), 15  
 Îshô', Rabban, 437  
 Îsikyôs, 319  
 Islâm, 121, 135, 195, 205, 354, 366,  
 474, 479; Huns return to, 267  
 Islâmism, 180  
 Island of Fârô, 40  
 Islands, the Mediterranean, 7  
 Ismâ'il, nephew of Ya'kûb 'Arslân,  
 288  
 Ismâ'il of Antioch, 229  
 Ismâ'il of Sebastia, 229  
 Ismâ'il of Taimnâ, 346  
 Ismâ'il, son of Dânishmand, 237, 299  
 Isocrates, 34  
 'Îsôkôs Pharaoh, 10  
 Israel, 20; carried to Babylon, 233;  
 division of, 21; plunders the  
 Temple, 22  
 Israel, a lawyer, 185  
 Israelites, 11  
 Issus, Battle of, 38  
 Ister, 66  
 'Îstrîs, 25  
 Îtaliâ, 65  
 Italians, 75  
 Italy, 24, 60, 73, 101, 234, 258, 273,  
 325; Huns in, 66  
 'Îtalyâ, 400  
 'Îthb'êl, 21  
 'Îtil (Volga?), 398  
 'Îûg, 360  
 'Îûgâyê, 360; of Beth Kârâmân, 492,  
 493  
 Iwâlôs, volcano of, 44  
 'Îwanî, King of Constantinople,  
 223, 249, 252, 257, 264, 266  
 'Îwanî, son of Alexis, 248  
 'Îwânnî, a general, 166  
 'Îwânnî the Ishmaelite, 174  
 'Îwânnî, gored by a bull, 267  
 'Îwânnîs, 120, 222  
 'Îwânnîs, Mâr, 277  
 'Îwânnîs, a monk, 217  
 'Îwânnîs of Rûşâfâyâ, 85  
 'Îwânnîs, a scribe, 66  
 'Îyâr, 97, 125, 132, 133, 266, 302,  
 314, 440, 461  
 'Îzangê, 278  
 'Îzâz Bâs, a slave, 442  
 Îzwailu, 322  
 'Izz ad-Dawlâh, 171, 174  
 'Izz ad-Dîn, 34, 313, 318, 413  
 'Izz ad-Dîn 'Aîbâg, 374, 442, 444  
 'Izz ad-Dîn 'Emâdiâh, 474  
 'Izz ad-Dîn Hamîdâyâ, 375  
 'Izz ad-Dîn 'Îsâ, 325  
 'Izz ad-Dîn Kai Kâûs, 169, 172,  
 364, 365, 372, 375, 410  
 'Izz ad-Dîn Mas'ûd, 304, 311, 344,  
 366  
 'Izz ad-Dîn, native of Edessa, 346  
 'Izz ad-Dîn of Bêth Rhômâyê, 434  
 'Izz ad-Dîn of Iconium, 422  
 'Izz ad-Dîn of Mâwşil, 319  
 'Izz ad-Dîn, Sûltân, 412, 424, 425,  
 445, 462  
 'Izz ad-Dîn of Egypt and Shajarath  
 ad-Dûrar, 416  
 Jabal Jûr, 338, 348, 377  
 Jabâlâh, 144, 328  
 Ja'bâr, 231; *and see* Kâl'ah Ja'bâr  
 Jabin, 15  
 Jacinths, red, 115  
 Jackals, 273  
 Jacob, Patriarch, 11, 235; kills  
 Esau with an arrow, 11  
 Jacob, Mâr (of Edessa), 40, 49, 270  
 Jacob, the pious (or, bishop), 8  
 Jacobites, 94, 123, 385; church of,  
 in Baghdâd, 183



- Ja'fâr, 154  
 Jâgarmîsh, 239, 240  
 Jâgâtâi, Jâghâtâi, 353, 368, 382, 390, 391, 393, 419  
 Jaghrî Bâg, Dâwûd, 196, 198, 199, 209, 214, 224, 345  
 Jâir Khân, 368, 369  
 Jaktân, 7  
 Jalâl ad-Dâwlâh Mâlik Shâh, 238  
 Jalâl ad-Dîn Hûsain, 366  
 Jalâl (Jelâl) ad-Dîn Hasân, 386  
 Jalâl ad-Dîn Kârâtâi, 413, 422  
 Jalâl (Jelâl) ad-Dîn Khâwârazm Shâh, 383, 394, 396, 421, 426  
 Jalâl (Jelâl) ad-Dîn Manjabarnî, 394  
 Jalâl (Jelâl) ad-Dîn Tûrân, 463, 472  
 Jamâl ad-Dîn, 281  
 Jamâl (Jemâl) ad-Dîn Gulbag, 443, 444  
 Jamâl ad-Dîn Kâshtemûr, 397  
 Jamâl ad-Dîn of Mâwşil, 286  
 Jambres, Book of, 116  
 James, son of Zebedee, slain by Agrippa, 49  
 Jamlîn, 392  
 Janâbîz, 428  
 Janâh ad-Dâwlâh, 235  
 Jannes, Book of, 116  
 Japhet, 7, 195; Border of, 6  
 Jâwâlî, 239, 240, 243 f.  
 Jâwshân, Mount, 303  
 Jâzartâ, 241, 333, 344, 348, 359  
 Jazîrah, 249, 253  
 Jazlâh, 236  
 Jebel (Jebail), 175  
 Jebusites, 6  
 Jehoiada, 22  
 Jehoiaqim, 26  
 Jehosaphat, 21  
 Jehu, 22; his Four sons, 23  
 Jenwâyê (Genoese), 244  
 Jephthah, 16  
 Jeremiah, 25, 26, 27, 33, 270  
 Jericho, 44  
 Jeroboam, 21, 25  
 Jerusalem, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 30, 33, 34, 36, 39, 42, 43, 44, 50, 54, 59, 87, 96, 139, 150, 172, 184, 194, 196, 230, 234, 235, 236, 237, 249, 251, 255, 257, 258, 267, 268, 277, 279, 280, 281, 285, 286, 287, 293, 295, 303, 307, 311, 320, 322, 325, 326, 337, 339, 340, 345, 348, 369, 371, 373, 379, 391, 392, 461, 462, 493; attacked by Saladin, 325 f.; burnt, 26; destroyed by Romans, 51; founded, 10; handed over to the Arabs, 327; revolt at, during Passover, 50; siege of, by Romans, 51; taken by Franks, 252; two walls of, destroyed, 45; walls rebuilt, 45  
 Jesse, 19  
 Jesus Christ, the Galilean, 62; portrait of, 48  
 Jethro, 12  
 Jew merchant and Saladin, 342  
 Jews, 26, 29, 34, 35, 36, 39, 43, 45, 46, 48, 70, 74, 91, 110, 128, 131, 141, 177, 184, 303, 399, 476, 477, 490, 491, 507  
 Jews and the poll tax, 47; carried to Egypt, 39; destroy Sâlâmînâ in Cyprus, 52; fight the Samaritans, 55; hated by everybody, 487 f.; honoured by Julian the Apostle, 61; in Baghdâd, 491; freed in Egypt by Ptolemy, 40; taxed heavily by Mongols, 418; persecutions of the, 41, 42, by Felix, 49; baptized, 109; rebel in Egypt and Syria, 50, 52; reject Herod, 45; transported to Persia, 87; their ears bored, 53; expelled from Jerusalem by 'Omar, 91  
 Jewel cases, 119  
 Jewellery, first appearance of, 8  
 Jezebel, 21, 22  
 Jezebel, mother of the Sûltân, 252  
 Jîjkân, 419



- Jîrbâd, Monastery of, 321  
 João (John), 371; of Brienne, 379  
 Joannes, 85, 223  
 Joannes, King of the Greeks, 264  
 Joannes, Mâr, 277  
 Joannes of Rûşâfâ, his wife killed by Kesru, 86  
 Job, the Patriarch, fought Satan seven times, 9, 133  
 Job, Book of, 203  
 John Alexander, 44, 45  
 John, father of Matuthâ, 42  
 John Gaddai, 42  
 John Hyrcanus, 44  
 John, King, 398  
 John, King of the Krîth, 353  
 John, Mâr, of his Liturgies, 233  
 John, Mâr, Patriarch, 247, 265  
 John, Mâr, the writer, 49  
 John, Metropolitan of Mâwşil, 144  
 John of Asia ('Âmid), 1, 74, 75  
 John of the Huns, 352  
 John of the 'Ûrţâyê, 72  
 John of Yathrêb (Yatreb), 8, 16  
 John, Patriarch of Calonicus, 77  
 John Philoponus, 76  
 John, St., the Apostle, 33, 52  
 John, son of Mâsâwîyah, 147  
 John, son of Simon, 43  
 John the Baptist, 47, 213; killed by Herod the Tetrarch, 49  
 John, the son of Zechariah, 150  
 John the tabellarius, 48  
 Jonah, 22  
 Jonathan, 19  
 Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabaeus, 43  
 Jonathan Hâpôs, 42  
 Jonathan, son of Herod Antipater, 45  
 Joppa, 325, 333, 340, 346, 391  
 Jôrâm, 21, 22  
 Jordan, 47, 87, 142, 245, 308, 309, 323, 359  
 Joscelyn, Count, 242, 245, 253, 254, 255, 266, 268, 273, 275, 276, 286  
 Joscelyn II, 251, 261, 264  
 Joscelyn III (?), 277; death of, 285, 305  
 Joseph and 'Âpîpôs (Apophis), 11  
 Joseph and Mary, 47  
 Joseph of Khôrâsân, 200  
 Joseph the Patriarch, son of Jacob, 300; sold and dies aged 140 years, 11  
 Joseph, Patriarch and Archimandrite, 429  
 Joseph the monk, 213  
 Josephus, 6, 35, 49, 51; son of Mattai, 50  
 Joshua, son of Nôn, 15; curses Jericho, 21  
 Josiah, 20, 25, 27  
 Jôslin, 242  
 Jovianus, 62  
 Jubail, 325  
 Judah, 20, 21, 23, 24, 43, 45  
 Judah, Galilean, 47  
 Judah Maḳbal, 42  
 Judas Maccabaeus, 43  
 Judea, 20, 50, 52  
 Judge of the Judges, 411  
 Judges, Book of, quoted (iv. 3), 15  
 Judges of Israel, 2, 15 f., 20  
 Judith, 33  
 Julian, Pârâbîţôs, the magician, 61, 283  
 Julianus, son of Constans, 60  
 Julius Africanus, 55  
 Julius (the month of), 45  
 Jûlmarg, 431  
 Jûmagâr, 419  
 Jumlin, 350, 351  
 Jûrkhâtâi, 390  
 Jûrmâghôn Nâwîn, 394, 406  
 Justina, wife of Valentinianus, 63  
 Justinianus, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77-9, 101, 103; he and his son killed, 106  
 Justinianus, son of Constantine, died, 103  
 Justinus, Emperor, 73, 80



- Justinus III (?), 76, 81  
 Justus, King of the Samaritans, 70  
 Jûtî Bâg, 436  
  
 Ka'bâ, 115  
 Kâbôz, 79  
 Kādâk Nâwîn, 411, 417  
 Kâder, Khalîfah, 178, 215; died, 192  
 Kâdhî 'Abû Hûsain, 167  
 Kâfî, 183  
 Kâfû, 41  
 Kahâryâ, 221  
 Kâhâth, 11, 12  
 Kâhir, 158, 159, 160; blinded, 161  
 Kâhir (Krah), 399  
 Kâhir 'Izz ad-Dîn Mas'ûd Mâlik, 367; died, 371  
 Kâhir Tâj ad-Dîn 'Eshâk, 373  
 Kâhirâh, Kâhrâh (Cairo), 190, 291, 293, 307  
 Kai (Gui), 322  
 Kai Kâûs (Kaus), 341, 375  
 Kai Kesru (Khesru), 375  
 Kai Kesru (Ghâyâth ad-Dîn), 341  
 Kai Kûbâd, 403; a place, 457  
 Kaijâtû, 497, 498, 499, 500, 505  
 Kâim ('Abû Ja'fâr), 192, 193, 198, 201, 206, 214, 225; his four stipulations, 203, 204  
 Kaimâz (Mîrjahid ad-Dîn), 305, 344, 347  
 Kainân, 4, 6  
 Kâir Khân, 403  
 Kaişar Shâh, 360  
 Kaisâyê, 127  
 Kal'âh Ja'bâr, 231, 242, 271, 272, 293, 325, 345, 373, 435  
 Kal'âh Najm, 320, 349, 435, 436  
 Kal'âh Rhômâitâ, 435, 461, 493  
 Kal'âh Rhômâyâ, 246  
 Kâlâmârî, a poisoner, 247  
 Kalâpaţ, a rebel, 192  
 Kâlasîyûr (Kalasyud?), Monastery of, 283  
 Kâlâwyân, Greek prince, 427; father of Theodore of Nineveh, 427, 428; blinded, 429  
 Kâlâwyân, son of Theodore of Nineveh, 427  
 Kâlâyê, 41  
 Kâlîkâlâ, 113  
 Kâlîştâ, 15  
 Kâlîsûrâ, 266  
 Kalnai, 10  
 Kâlônîkâlâ, 113  
 Kâlônîkôs, 217  
 Kalonikus, 41  
 Kâlônôn, 24  
 Kaltâyê, 41  
 Kaltô, 8  
 Kalyâ, 8  
 Kalyopôlî, 428  
 Kâmâh, 249, 287, 393, 412, 425  
 Kamâk, 113  
 Kambîrôs, King of Babylon, 8  
 Kâmil, Mâlik, of Egypt, 370, 371, 379, 391, 392, 399, 400, 401, 404 f., 414  
 Kâmil Nâşir ad-Dîn 'Abû al-Mâ'âlî, 373  
 Kâmil, son of 'Âdil, 348  
 Kamr ad-Dîn, 386  
 Kân, the title, 354  
 Kândâbîs, 43  
 Kandaq, 72  
 Kângar river, 288  
 Kanjâtû, 491 f.  
 Kankâr, 293  
 Kânôn, month of, 194, 199; First, 47, 97, 148, 216, 443, 452, 508; Second, 47, 119, 207, 216, 250, 261, 269, 375, 418, 436, 454, 474, 479, 480, 491  
 Kanpârâ, 12  
 Kanrek, 72  
 Kânyâ, 413  
 Kanyûkh, 330  
 Kaphar Tâb, 285, 349  
 Kaphar Zamâr, 359  
 Kaphartûthâ, 162, 166, 172



- Ẹapshâkâyê, 391  
 Ẹârâ 'Arslân, 268, 276, 278, 287,  
 292, 296, 297, 314, 315, 317, 318,  
 319  
 Ẹârâ Bôghâ, 445  
 Ẹârâ Hedâr, 310  
 Ẹârâ Heşâr, 311  
 Ẹârâ Kurâm, 398  
 Ẹârâ Mûrân, 397  
 Ẹârâ Senkur, 364  
 Ẹârâ Shâh Khâş Hâjib, 330  
 Ẹârâjâ, 368  
 Ẹarâk, 300, 316, 317, 322, 324, 379,  
 392, 402, 404, 435, 462  
 Ẹârâketâ, 353  
 Ẹârâkhân of Bûkhârâ, 186  
 Ẹârâkjîyâ, 356  
 Ẹârâkôrâm, 383  
 Ẹârâkshâyê, 356  
 Ẹârâkûsh, 340  
 Ẹârâmân, 319  
 Ẹârâmûrî, 411  
 Ẹarârit, 270  
 Ẹârâtâi, 413  
 Ẹârâwash, 185  
 Ẹârâwûnâs, 471  
 Ẹârâwûsh, 185  
 Ẹardawâyê, 74, 132  
 Ẹardengân, 89  
 Ẹardîgân, 89, 93  
 Ẹardl'mar, 10  
 Ẹardô, Ẹardû, 7, 111, 139, 179, 210,  
 240, 253, 271, 297, 435, 442, 465,  
 489  
 Ẹârîmôn, Pharaoh, 9  
 Ẹârîs, 10  
 Ẹarkâsê, 10  
 Ẹarkîdhâ, 66  
 Ẹarkîdôn, 16  
 Ẹarkîsôn, 41  
 Ẹarmah, 433  
 Ẹarmâtâyê, 147, 165  
 Ẹarmelish, 402  
 Ẹarnê dha-Hamâth, 304  
 Ẹars, 363  
 Ẹarshenâ, 138, 148, 166, 270  
 Ẹartâgenâ, 74  
 Ẹartamîn, 132  
 Ẹarûth Bâg, 224  
 Ẹarzâyê, 195  
 Ẹasâ, 199  
 Ẹasârônôs, 9  
 Ẹâshân, 142, 166  
 Ẹâshgar, 205  
 Ẹashkerûf, 234  
 Ẹâsim, 122, 240  
 Ẹâsim ad-Dawlâh 'Aksenkûr, 253  
 Ẹasîmî, 386  
 Ẹasînôs, 266  
 Ẹastâmûnâ, 257  
 Ẹatâ, 347, 352, 397, 411  
 Ẹatabân, 237  
 Ẹâtânâ, 24  
 Ẹatâyê, 397  
 Ẹathârô (i.e. the Purists), 56  
 Ẹâthâyê Sînâyê, 352  
 Ẹatî'â, 237, 249  
 Ẹatlamîsh, 209, 226, 227, 229, 230,  
 240, 341  
 Ẹaûrath, 224  
 Ẹawâd, 70, 71  
 Ẹawâkîr, 190  
 Ẹawâshî, 171, 172, 271, 375  
 Ẹâwkêbhâ, 329  
 Ẹâwmâ, Mâr, 420, 484  
 Ẹâwna, Rabban, Monastery of, 462  
 Ẹâwram, vineyard of, 382  
 Ẹâwsâtâgh, 407  
 Ẹâwtî, 462, 480  
 Ẹâwwaik river, 127  
 Ẹayâfâ, 50  
 Ẹâyâjyê, 486  
 Ẹâyâlîgh, 416  
 Ẹâyâshyê, 486  
 Ẹâzân, 496, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502,  
 503, 504, 506  
 Ẹazârâ, 177  
 Ẹazârâyê, 84, 89, 195  
 Ẹazâzâ, 177  
 Ẹazwîn, 142, 196, 423, 503



- Kefar Tâb, 252  
 Kelej 'Arslân, 229, 233, 239, 240;  
     drowned, 241  
 Kelej 'Arslân, son of Mas'ûd, 275,  
     281, 289, 292, 296, 303, 306, 308,  
     309, 310, 320, 330, 333, 337, 341,  
     344  
 Kelej 'Arslân roasts his son, 297  
 Kelej 'Arslân, son of Rukn ad-Dîn,  
     360  
 Kemûstakin, 217  
 Kenneshrîn, 76, 86, 115, 125, 129  
 Kentôrâ, 12  
 Kephâr Sut, 277  
 Kephârât, 304  
 Kephâr Zâmân, 261  
 Kephâr Zammâr, 319  
 Kêpîsôs, 53  
 Kerman, 224, 411, 501  
 Keryônâ, 250  
 Keshlath, 475  
 Keshlî Khân of Bûkhârâ, 376  
 Kesôs, 265  
 Kesru (Khesru), 74, 77, 78, 79,  
     81, 83  
 Kesru, son of Hôrmîzd, 85  
 Kêurînôs, 47  
 Keys of Mâwşil, 258  
 Kezel, 198, 199  
 Khâbûl (Kâbûl), 114  
 Khadijah, 90, 91  
 Khâkâm, death of daughter of, 113  
 Khâ-Kân, 83, 84, 89, 105, 112, 195;  
     daughter of, baptized, 110  
 Khâlât, 178, 212, 220, 303, 313, 318,  
     338, 341, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365,  
     367, 368, 373, 388, 389, 394, 395,  
     396, 399, 454  
 Khâlâtâtâ Khâtûn, 388  
 Khâlâtâyê, 318  
 Khaldâyê (Chaldeans), 4  
 Khâlîd, 94  
 Khâlîfate, the, 92; of Egypt, cessa-  
     tion of mention of, on Friday in  
     the mosques, 300  
 Khalkân, 390  
 Khân, the title, 354, 393  
 Khân Bâlik (Peking), 439  
 Khânîkîn, 404  
 Khânôthîs, 12  
 Kharat-Bârat, 251  
 Khârbandâ, 483  
 Khârbîzâg, 403, 454  
 Khârkhâ of Baghdâd, 161  
 Khartâbirt, 251, 361  
 Kharzâyê, 232  
 Khâşbâg, 281  
 Khâshaf, 480  
 Khâtâ, 419, 439  
 Khâtâyê, Khâthâyê, 354, 355, 397,  
     398, 418  
 Khâwârazm, 196, 199, 200, 217,  
     223, 224, 345, 349, 351, 385;  
     taken by the Tâtârs, 382 f.  
 Khâwârazmians, 347, 385, 396,  
     397, 400, 402, 403, 404, 406, 473  
 Khâwârazm Shâh, 190, 267, 345,  
     346, 349, 384, 396  
 Khâwsâr, 484  
 Khâzâr, 102  
 Khazârâyê, 105, 110, 114, 232  
 Khazârs, 195  
 Khazîrân, month of, 448  
 Khetâ, 186  
 Khîshûm, 154, 229, 237, 246, 247,  
     261, 265, 273, 275, 277; church  
     of, 118; its three walls, 125; its  
     five walls and an outer wall, 129,  
     130  
 Khôgand, 368  
 Khôgh Bâsîl, 246  
 Khôi, 396  
 Khôkê, 124  
 Khôrâsân, 111, 112, 114, 122, 124,  
     126, 128, 134, 139, 142, 171,  
     176, 185, 196, 198, 199, 215, 219,  
     220, 230, 231, 243, 245, 256, 265,  
     281, 283, 345, 349, 351, 365, 376,  
     382, 390, 394, 411, 456, 470, 492,  
     499, 501, 504



- Khorasanians, 171  
 Khorasanites, 172  
 Khôshû of Bartêlî, 440  
 Khôtân, 463  
 Khrîkôriôs, 246  
 Khûjâbnûyaksîn, Khûjbânûtakîn,  
     397  
 Khûnâs, 362  
 Khûrâm Shâh, 333  
 Khurdîk, 232, 246  
 Khûrîs, 277  
 Khûrtîg, 246; poisoned by Frankish  
     women, 247  
 Khûtân, 305  
 Khyârôn, physician, 12  
 Kîbâlôn, 62  
 Kîd Bôkâ, Kîd Bûkâ, 419, 423  
 Kidneys, disease of the, 26, 62  
 King Book, 176  
 Kingdom, the Arab, transferred  
     from Damascus to Babylon, 112  
 Kings, images of, destroyed, 109;  
     of the Arabs, 89 f.  
 Kings, Chaldean, 29 f.  
 Kings of the Hebrews, 19 f.  
 Kings of the Medes, 31 f.  
 Kings of the Persians, 33 f.  
 Kings, the Ten, of Book of Daniel,  
     39  
 Kînôs, gold idol, 9  
 Kîpâ, 310, 314, 316, 332, 359, 375,  
     391, 414  
 Kîr Alix (Aliks), 169  
 Kîrâ Balwînâ, 428  
 Kirîth, 184  
 Kîrôs, 81  
 Kîryâwrî, 427  
 Kît Bôghâ, 436, 437; killed, 438  
 Kitten, 154  
 Kîûrâ, 152  
 Klâudyâ, Klâwdiâ, 217, 322, 425,  
     450  
 Klîmâ, 3  
 Klîmyâ, Cain's twin, 3  
 Kôdâyê, 55  
 Kohath, 11  
 Kohl (stibium), 120, 149, 161, 223  
 Kôhlath, 19  
 Kômânâ, 303  
 Konia, 425  
 Kônîstâbl, 410  
 Koraish, 121  
 Kôshî, 25  
 Kôtaz, 436, 437, 439  
 Krah, 399  
 Krahî impaled, 227  
 Kremastôs, 29  
 Krit, Krîth, 352, 353  
 Krîtâyê, 10  
 Krîtî, 10  
 Kronos (Zodiac), 225; conjunction  
     with Zeus, 473  
 Kronos, the Macedonian, 8  
 Ksîsôrthôs, Ksîsôthrôs, 4  
 Kûbâ, 128  
 Kûbâlâ, 62  
 Kûbân, 411  
 Kûblâi Khân, 398, 417, 438 f., 456  
 Kûfâh, 94, 96, 102, 105, 153, 174,  
     254  
 Kûjek, 333  
 Kûkalâgâ Nâwîn, 439, 440  
 Kûkâlek, 439  
 Kûkbûrî, 359, 365, 372, 399  
 Kûlî, 419  
 Kûm, 142  
 Kûmânâ, 253  
 Kûmârtakîn, 315, 329  
 Kûnghûrtâi, Kûnghârtâi, 456, 463,  
     469, 472  
 Kûngûr 'Aûlân, 501  
 Kûnî Shabhôr, 394  
 Kûntîlîs, 45  
 Kunyâ, 413, 425  
 Kûrâ, 72, 95, 96  
 Kûrâdî, 351  
 Kûrâh, 436  
 Kûraish, a man, 213, 214, 227  
 Kûraishites, 131  
 Kûr'ân, 205, 337



- Kûrd, an Hâkarian, 463  
 Kûrdânâyê, 131, 132  
 Kûrdâyê, 138, 139  
 Kûrds, 74, 138, 139, 194, 198, 216, 254, 288, 321, 328, 362, 374, 396, 421, 425, 431, 441, 453, 459, 460, 465, 472, 475, 477, 485, 487; the Hâkarian, 270  
 Kûriltâi, Mongol Council, 419  
 Kûrithîm, 83  
 Kûrôs, 104  
 Kûrtôs, 53  
 Kûrah, 152  
 Kûs, 302, 414  
 Kûşair, 257  
 Kûsairâth, 240  
 Kûşaite, 289  
 Kûsh, 8, 75; fire in, 12  
 Kûshân, 15  
 Kûshites, 21, 24, 87, 195  
 Kûştans, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100  
 Kûsyânâ, 296  
 Kûţab(Kûţb)-ad-Dîn, 307  
 Kûţab ad-Dîn, brother of Ghayath ad-Dîn, 341  
 Kûţab ad-Dîn, brother of Hûsâm, 317  
 Kûţab ad-Dîn Îlghazî, 313  
 Kûţab ad-Dîn Kaimâz, 305  
 Kûţab ad-Dîn Mâhamâd, 346, 347  
 Kûţab ad-Dîn Mâlik Shâh, 333  
 Kûţab ad-Dîn Mâwdûd, 271, 277, 295, 311, 313  
 Kûţab ad-Dîn of Mardîn, 318  
 Kûţab ad-Dîn of Sebastia, 467  
 Kûţab ad-Dîn of Sinjâr, 365  
 Kûţab ad-Dîn Sôkmân, 318  
 Kûţab ad-Dîn, son of Nûr ad-Dîn, 332  
 Kûtâi Khâtûn, 460, 467, 470  
 Kûtân, 411  
 Kûtâr, 419  
 Kûţb ad-Dîn, 292  
 Kûthlûgh 'Înânâg, 345  
 Kûtlû Bâg, 441, 449  
 Kuţrânâ, 72  
 Kuţrângâ, 72  
 Kûtûz, 416  
 Kûzîkôs, burned alive, 44  
 Kwäras, 55  
 Kwênâ, 55  
 Kyrie Eleeson, 184  
 Labhûdhâ, Abel's twin sister, 3  
 Labours forbidden two days in the week, 151  
 Lacedemonia, 15  
 Lachish, 22  
 Ladder with twenty-five rungs, 145  
 Ladders, scaling, 71  
 Lâdikîâ overwhelmed, 76  
 Lagus, 39, 40  
 Lagzâyê, 163  
 Lait, 117  
 Lake of Samânîn, 361  
 Lakes, artificial, 133  
 Lamech, 6  
 Lâmis, 70  
 Lamp in Christ's tomb, 184  
 Lamps in mosques, 206; in the Temple, forty of silver and twenty of gold, 236  
 Languages, the seventy, 8  
 Laodicea, 144, 285, 296, 328, 329, 345, 359, 379  
 Lapathus, 98  
 Lashîh, 330  
 Lashkârî, 359  
 Laskâris, 359  
 Latakia, 144; built, 40  
 Lâtînâyê, 24  
 Latins, 6, 16, 24  
 Law received by Moses, 13  
 Law, the Tâtâr, 353  
 Laws founded by Enoch, 5  
 Laws of Chingiz Khân, 354, 355  
 Leathers, worn out, boiled and eaten during famine, 252



- Lebanon, 101, 103, 235; sons of  
     Canaan in, 8  
 Lebhnân, 8  
 Legate, Papal, in Rome, 379  
 Lent, Fast of, 68, 168, 433, 449  
 Leo (Zodiac), 443  
 Leo, a Greek general, 107  
 Leo the Armenian, 264  
 Leo the Patrician, 125  
 Leo, 68, 69, 73, 101, 109; death of,  
     110  
 Leo, 116; death of, 117 (A.D. 781)  
 Leo, 129, 149; death of, 151  
 Leon of Cilicia, 261; death of, 295  
 Leon, brother of Tôrôs, 255  
 Leon of Cilicia, 321, 328  
 Leône, 112  
 Leontino, 24  
 Leontinus, 69  
 Leontius, 104  
 Leontius, a judge, 72  
 Leontopolis (Calonicus), 69  
 Leper, the, Chlorus, 58  
 Leprosy, 22  
 Letter written in gold and silver, 161  
 Levi, son of Jacob, 11  
 Levites, 19  
 Liar-gods, 25  
 Libanius the sophist, 61  
 Libations, Tâtâr, 355  
 Library of 'Âmid with 140,000  
     volumes taken by Saladin, 315  
 Library of the Mongols, 2  
 Lîbwâs, 21  
 Libya, 75  
 Libyans, 21  
 Light in Christ's tomb, 184  
 Light on head of Rûhî, 121  
 Lightning, 153, 258; destroys Capi-  
     tolium and Library, 55; Aurelian  
     killed by, 57  
 Lime burners, 242  
 Lime mixed with flour in bread,  
     274  
 Liôn, Liôn, 334, 336, 337, 343, 344,  
     370, 371, 375, 454, 456, 457, 459,  
     464  
 Liôn, son of 'Eṣṭafânâ, 334  
 Liôn, son of Haitûm, 448, 449  
 Lion kills a prophet, 20  
 Lion trainer, 417  
 Lions, one hundred, 156; den of,  
     31; den of seven, 33  
 Lions and buffaloes make friends,  
     225  
 Lîpôrê, 101  
 Liver, 201; examined for magical  
     purposes, 110  
 Loans, Arab, 98  
 Locusts, 70, 102, 109, 165; ravages  
     of flying locusts described, 118  
 Locusts in Baghdâd, 450; driven  
     away by beating drums and  
     blowing horns, 185  
 Locusts in Edessa, 257  
 Locusts in Mâwṣil, 167, 172, 183,  
     185  
 Lôghôs, 39  
 Logothete, 120  
 Lôiôn, 132  
 Longinus, 47  
 Longitude, 84  
 Longobardy, 83  
 Lôr, 411  
 Lôrâyê, 470, 472  
 Lôṭ, 10  
 Louis, 274  
 Love of boys, 37  
 Lûâznâyâ, 420  
 Lucius, son of Marcus Aurelius, 58  
 Lûgâsîk, 310  
 Lûgâsû, 310  
 Lûkâ near Antioch, 172  
 Lûkarî, Book of, 392  
 Luke, St., quoted (iii. 36), 7  
 Lûḳyâ, 7  
 Lûlû, 179, 180, 317  
 Lûlwâh, 132, 148  
 Lûlwân, 148  
 Lûmpîs, 52



- Lungs, 201  
 Lupanar, 73  
 Lûrians, 6  
 Lûrs, 470, 472  
 Lûsânîâ, Tetrarch, 49  
 Lûsîâ, governor of Syria, 43  
 Lybia, 7, 52, 87  
 Lycania, 24  
 Lycia, 7, 101  
 Lydia, 7, 74  
 Lydians, 6  
 Lyre of Apollo, 16  
 Lysanius, Tetrarch, 48  
  
 Mabbôgh, Mabbûgh, 26, 73, 86, 129, 138, 218, 220, 222, 225, 243, 251, 306, 320, 349, 372, 435  
 Mâbhyânôs, 56  
 Mabios, 58  
 Maccabees, 41, 44  
 Macedonia, 36, 63, 162, 220  
 Macedonians, 6, 39, 41; in Shâm-rîn, 39  
 Macedonius, 64  
 Macrinus Caesar, 55  
 Mâdai, 361, 472; Mount, 94  
 Ma'dâyâ, 94  
 Ma'dâyê, 185, 192, 193, 194, 200, 202, 203, 207, 209, 210, 213, 228, 254, 260, 307, 363, 391, 400, 402, 406, 414, 421, 425, 445; flooded out, 225  
 Ma'dâyê Kûnîkô, 218  
 Mâdik, 217; Monastery of, 425, 426  
 Madness, 79; of Nebuchadnezzar, 29  
 Magdonius river, 60  
 Maghdo, 20  
 Mâghlârâ, 24  
 Mâghôgh, 33, 195, 473  
 Magi, the, 47  
 Magianism, 362  
 Magians, 77, 114; two reigned, 33  
 Magic, Art of, 7, 52; in Rome, 61  
 Magicians, 151  
 Magîstî, Book of, 29, 53, 190, 452  
 Magnê, a general, 82  
 Magnentius, 60  
 Magnesia, Mount of, 428  
 Mâhamâd (Muḥammad?), 89; denounced, 405  
 Mâhamad, a general, 104  
 Mâhamâd, chief of Ishmaelites, 366  
 Mâhamâd Khâwârazm Shâh, 366  
 Mâhamâd of Gâzartâ, 441  
 Mâhamâd of Kârdû, 103  
 Mâhamâd of Melitene, 295  
 Mâhamâd, a physician, 149  
 Mâhamâd Shâh, 282  
 Mâhamâd, son of Bûkhtâmar, 343, 362  
 Mâhamâd, son of Hârôn Ar-Rashîd, 122  
 Mâhamâd, son of Kârâ 'Arslân, 297  
 Mâhamâd, son of Nâsir ad-Dâwlâh, 166  
 Mâhamâd, son of Sâltâk, 350  
 Mâhamâd, Sûltân of Samarkand, 381, 382, 383  
 Mâhamâd, Sûltân of Persia, plunders caravan of merchants, 357  
 Mâhamâd 'Amîn, 124  
 Mâhamâd, brother of Mas'ûd, 199  
 Mâhamâd, brother of Tûrkyârûk, 236  
 Mâhamâd, grandson of Saljûk, 196  
 Mâhamâd, Mâlik, 258  
 Mâhamâd, son of Gâzî, 251  
 Mâhamâd, son of Mû'tader, 158  
 Mâhamâd, son of Mu'tasâd, 160  
 Mâhamâd, son of Maḥmûd, 285  
 Mahdî, 132  
 Mahdî, son of Abû Ja'fâr, 116  
 Mahdî, the false, 116  
 Mahgrâyê, 134  
 Mahlâlâ'il, 4  
 Maḥmûd, a governor, 201  
 Maḥmûd (Khâwârazm Shâh), 190  
 Maḥmûd Mâlik, 267  
 Maḥmûd, son of Mâlik Shâh, 232



- Maḥmūd, son of Sabūktakīn, 196  
 Maḥmūd, son of Zangī, 271  
 Maḥmūd, Sūltān, 236-40, 241, 242, 245, 248-50; died, 256  
 Maḥnīm, 23  
 Mahrūbān, 183  
 Maidān of Māwṣil, 271  
 Maiden raped by Nestorian priest, 284  
 Maidens, the three sent to George the physician, 116  
 Maimūndūs, 423  
 Maiperkāt, 66, 85, 145, 162, 165, 166, 167, 202, 219, 232, 303, 318, 319, 320, 338, 343, 348, 363, 364, 373, 389, 406, 409, 425, 434, 436, 442, 484  
 Maistir, 288  
 Maistre, 288  
 Majd ad-Dāwlāh, 236  
 Majd al-Mūlk, 466, 467  
 Maḳālī, 60  
 Makīkī, Mār, Catholicus, 430  
 Makkah, 91, 165, 167, 189, 207, 234, 388, 399  
 Maḳrūnā, 420  
 Māksīn, 313  
 Mālaḥtā, 293  
 Malāzgerd, 178, 363  
 Malīḥ, brother of Tōrōs, 292, 295  
 Malīḥ of Cilicia, 305  
 Mālik 'Ādil, 316  
 Mālik 'Ādil Abū Bakr, 295  
 Mālik al-Ṭāhir, 316  
 Mālik 'Arāb, 252  
 Mālik Māḥamād, 265, 266  
 Mālik Mas'ūd, 247, 249  
 Mālik Ṣālīḥ Ismā'īl, 302, 303, 305  
 Mālik Senjār, 256  
 Mālik Shāh, 223, 224, 227, 228, 230, 232, 238, 285, 313  
 Mālik Shāh, nephew of Mas'ūd, 284  
 Mālik Shāh Ṣālīḥ (?), 433, 434  
 Mālik Shāh, son of Ẹelej 'Arslān, 240, 243  
 Mālik Shāh, son of Tākīsh, 346  
 Malkūm, 20  
 Malō, 20  
 Mālōs, 15  
*Ma Mīmre*, the Book of One Hundred Discourses, 176  
 Māmā, Mār, 60, 69  
 Māmōn, 123, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 145, 177  
 Mamprōḳiā, 61  
 Mamrē, 59  
 Māmūn, 122  
 Māmūn, Khalīfah, 452  
 Manāṣīḥ, 185  
 Manasseh, brother of 'Omar, 36  
 Manasseh, Jewish lawyer, 177  
 Manbij, 26, 435  
 Maneh, 190  
 Manes, 56, 57  
 Mangāsār, 457  
 Mangdabhkīr, 364  
 Mangū Khān, 398  
 Mangū Tīmūr, 465, 466  
 Mangūrās, 323  
 Mangūtakīn, 179  
 Mānī, 56  
 Manichaeans, 116  
 Manīl, a lawyer, 427  
 Manīnāyē, 116  
 Mānōs, 11  
 Manṣūr, a fortress, 310  
 Manṣūr, 400  
 Manṣūr bar-'Abdūn, 182, 183  
 Manṣūr, Khalīfah, 115, 116  
 Mansūr, Mālik, 352  
 Manṣūr of Maiperkāt, 338  
 Manṣūr, Mālik, son of 'Azīz, 347  
 Manṣūr, Mālik, son of Saladin, 320  
 Manṣūr, Nāṣir ad-Dīndud, 379  
 Manṣūr, son of Nāṣir, 130  
 Manṣūrah, 410  
 Manuel the Armenian, 95, 96  
 Manuel, *see* Mānūīl



- Mânûîl, son of Îwannî, 267, 274, 280, 285, 286, 290, 306, 308, 309, 310, 312, 319  
 Manyâkôs, 201  
 Manzâyî (Chinese), 438  
 Mapas, 12  
 Maphrian, 1, 286, 287  
 Mâpôs, 11  
 Maprôs, Pharaoh, 12  
 Maqdal, 312  
 Mârâghâ, 198, 260, 265, 364, 437, 451, 460, 506; Library of, 2  
 Mar'âsh, 114, 139, 156, 165, 228, 231, 246, 247, 270, 275, 276, 277, 283, 289, 328, 454; built, 40  
 Marble, white, from Antioch, 74  
 Marcianopolis, 63  
 Marcianus, 67, 68  
 Marcion, 77, 79, 86  
 Marcus Aurelius Caesar, 54, 55, 69  
 Mardânshâ, 104  
 Marde, 125  
 Mardîn, 242, 247, 249, 254, 265, 270, 277, 296, 307, 313, 314, 317, 321, 347, 348, 351, 362, 363, 375, 377, 379, 409, 437, 467, 468, 469, 485, 509  
 Margâ, 420  
 Margê, 394  
 Mârîâ, daughter of Mauricius, 70, 85  
 Mârînôs, 152  
 Mark Antony, 45  
 Mark, son of the Basiliscus, 69  
 Markâb, 463  
 Markis, 325, 358, 359  
 Markis of Tyre, 339  
 Markîyâh, 328  
 Mârôndâ, 15  
 Marquis from Rome (Conrad?), 327  
 Marriage, 197; rejected by sons of Seth, 3  
 Marriages, Arab, 92  
 Mars, 183  
 Marshmallow, 6  
 Martînâ, niece of Heraclius, 93, 96  
 Martinus of Badû, 52  
 Martôîya, 24  
 Martyrs, the Forty, 62, 72  
 Marû-rûd, 199  
 Mârûthâ, bishop of Maiperkât, 66  
 Marw (Merv), 96, 224  
 Marwân of Khôrâsân, 111  
 Marwân, removed Court to Baghdâd, 112  
 Marwân, son of Hakâm, 102, 103  
 Marwân, son of Walîd, 111  
 Mary, daughter of Hyrcanus, 49  
 Mary, daughter of King Michael, 505  
 Mary of Simnadû, 220  
 Mary, sister of Aristobulus, 46  
 Mary, the Virgin, 47, 52, 106  
 Mâryâm (Miriam), 220  
 Masârâ, 251, 267, 364, 375, 403, 426  
 Mâsâwîyah, 147  
 Mashad, 122  
 Mâshâk, 195  
 Mashûb, 370  
 Maşîştâ, 255  
 Masjid in Jerusalem, 96  
 Maslîmâ, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110  
 Maşryâth, 343  
 Mas'ûd, 481  
 Mas'ûd, a governor, 201  
 Mas'ûd 'Arslân, 243  
 Mas'ûd Bâg, 411  
 Mas'ûd bar-Kâwti, 459, 462, 463, 472, 480, 484  
 Mas'ûd, brother of Maḥmûd, 255  
 Mas'ûd Kârâjâ, 256  
 Mas'ûd Mâlik, 420  
 Mas'ûd of Aleppo, 302  
 Mas'ûd of Iconium, 252, 255, 256, 281; died, 281  
 Mas'ûd of Mâwşil, 333, 475  
 Mas'ûd, son of 'Ashmût, 456  
 Mas'ûd Sûltân of Khôrâsân, 196, 198, 199, 259, 260, 261, 265, 268, 272, 280; died, 281



- Maşûthâ, monk of Mâr Mattai, 459  
 Maţ, 363  
 Mâthân, pagan priest, 22  
 Mathematicians, Arab, 92  
 Mathûshlah, 5  
 Matîthâ, 42  
 Mattai, an Amîr, 489  
 Mattai, Mâr, Monastery of, 441, 459, 475, 508  
 Matter, 35  
 Matthew, St., 26  
 Mauricius, 82, 83, 85, 86  
 Mauricius, a general, 81  
 Mawdûd, son of Mas'ûd, 199  
 Mawdûd, 241, 244, 245, 247  
 Mâwşil (Môşul), 111, 159, 164, 166, 171, 173, 174, 183, 185, 202, 205, 209, 210, 211, 213, 214, 228, 230, 232, 239, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 262, 263, 264, 265, 268, 270, 271, 272, 277, 282, 286, 297, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 311, 312, 313, 314, 317, 318, 319, 333, 344, 347, 348, 350, 352, 359, 360, 361, 365, 366, 367, 368, 371, 373, 374, 377, 399, 400, 402, 404, 420, 421, 426, 433, 437, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 446, 447, 451, 452, 453, 455, 456, 460, 462, 463, 464, 465, 467, 468, 472, 474, 475, 477, 480, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 488, 489, 498, 508  
 Maxentius, 57, 58  
 Maximinianus, 57, 58  
 Maximinus, 55; and the devil, 57  
 Maximus, 64; his dogma of Two Wills, 106  
 Mâzindarân, 383, 472, 503  
 Mbâzâr Bâg, 485  
 Meat, fasting from, on Sunday, 68  
 Mecca, 91 (*see* Makkah)  
 Medes, 2, 6, 9, 361  
 Media, 6, 7, 39, 113  
*Medial Signs of the Spheres*, 190  
 Medicine, Hippocratic system of, 54  
 Medicine which cured every ailment, 405  
 Mediolanum, 68  
 Melchisedek, 10, 11  
 Melitene, 1, 101, 112, 113, 120, 134, 135, 139, 145, 155, 173, 178, 191, 213, 217, 223, 229, 231, 233, 236, 237, 239, 241, 243, 244, 245, 249, 250, 251, 253, 258, 259, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 274, 279, 284, 287, 295, 296, 308, 310, 321, 330, 334, 337, 350, 351, 360, 361, 364, 375, 394, 400, 401, 403, 408, 409, 420, 425, 429, 435, 465, 471, 483  
 Members of murderers cut off, 449  
 Memphis, 11, 12, 180  
 Menairwenâ, 58  
 Menander, 12  
 Menasseh, 25  
 Menbij, 73, 231  
 Merchandise, Arab, 92  
 Merchants and the Tâtârs, 356  
 Merchants, oppressed, 67  
 Merda (?), 86  
 Merv, 96, 224, 351  
 Mëshammashânîthâ, 208  
 Mesopotamia, 7, 52, 55  
 Meşrîn, 293, 307, 371, 379  
 Methodius of Tyre, 3  
 Methrôdîţôs, 39  
 Methuselah, 6; translation of, 5  
 Metropolitan, Nestorian, becomes a Muslim, 156  
 Meyât, 279  
 Mîantîs, 84  
 Micah quoted (vii. 13), 21, 269  
 Mice, 102, 226, 352  
 Michael, a general, 129  
 Michael, King of the Rhômâyê, 144, 192, 193, 196, 226, 442; died, 131, 146, 200  
 Michael, Mâr, 217, 222, 252, 274, 280, 296, 298  
 Michael, the historian, 1, 173, 195, 249



- Michael, Church of, 152  
 Michael, Monastery of, 173, 481  
 Michael of Gargar, 246  
 Michael, Pâpâ, 334  
 Michael, Palaeologos, 427, 428, 445  
 Michael, son-in-law of Sîawriki, 125  
 Michael, son of Constantine, 222  
 Michael, son of Saljûk, 196  
 Michael, son of Shmônâ, 265  
 Michael, son of Theophilus, 140  
 Michael the Armenian, 250, 261, 277  
 Michael the Patriarch, 1  
 Midâs, 237  
 Midian, 13  
 Midianites, 15, 16  
 Mîghalârôs, 4  
 Migration of souls, 35, 36  
 Mihrâb, 376  
 Milîrôs, 37  
 Milk, 91; mares', 458  
 Millet, 302  
 Mînâkôs, a rebel, 201  
 Minaret at Ascalon and Gâzâ fall, 194  
 Mînâsgerd, Mînâzgerd, 178, 207, 220, 222, 362, 363, 364  
 Mines, gold, 143  
 Minister of Finance, 142  
 Misael, 25  
 Mîthîâ, 25  
 Mithridates, 39  
 Mithridates (Astrolabe), 198  
 Moab, 11, 20  
 Moabites, 16  
 Moderation, 6  
 Mômîn, 466  
 Monasteries (guest-houses), the Twelve, 74  
 Monastery of Abraham, 146  
 Monastery of 'Akhnûl, 210  
 Monastery of 'Arnîsh, 246  
 Monastery of Balûţ, 448  
 Monastery of Bar-Gagar, 213  
 Monastery of Bar Şâwmâ, 217, 250, 270, 276, 405, 420, 435, 450  
 Monastery of Bâ'ûth, 488  
 Monastery of Beshar, 146  
 Monastery of Bêth Kanyâ, 266  
 Monastery of Bêth Zabâr, 266  
 Monastery of Bôrsân, 129  
 Monastery of Cyriacus, 204  
 Monastery of Dîmât, 426  
 Monastery of Garbîd, 321  
 Monastery of Gurkhâth, 446, 450  
 Monastery of Habbshûsyâthâ, 441  
 Monastery of 'Îsâ, 149  
 Monastery of John of the 'Ûrţâyê, 72  
 Monastery of Kâlasyûr, 283  
 Monastery of Kârârît, 270  
 Monastery of Kertamîn, 132  
 Monastery of Kawnâ, 462  
 Monastery of Mâdik, 425  
 Monastery of Magnesia, 428  
 Monastery of Makrûnâ, 420  
 Monastery of Mâr 'Abhhai, 265  
 Monastery of Mâr 'Ahrôn, 364  
 Monastery of Mâr 'Âsyâ, 425  
 Monastery of Mâr Hananyâ, 270, 296  
 Monastery of Mâr Mattai, 441, 459, 466, 475  
 Monastery of Mâr Zîmî, 367  
 Monastery of Michael, 173, 451  
 Monastery of Paķsemât, 446, 453, 462  
 Monastery of Sargîsîâ, 217  
 Monastery of Sergius, 450  
 Monastery of Simon Stylites, 94; burned, 75  
 Monastery of Sîrîkhâ, 278  
 Monastery of Sis, the Little, 453  
 Money, false, 274; struck, 214; white, 123  
 Money changer, 152  
 Mongol language written in Uigur letters, 354  
 Mongols, 112, 354, 376, 393, 397, 412, 419, 420, 422, 423, 424, 426, 431, 438, 439, 442, 445, 446, 451, 453, 456, 457, 460, 464, 465, 467, 477, 478, 480, 481, 482, 483, 486,



- Mongols (*cont.*)  
     489, 490, 491, 492, 496, 497, 498,  
     500, 505, 508  
 Mongols, Law of the, 433; smash  
     iron gates, 115; their worship of  
     images, 355; why they laid waste  
     Persia, 356  
 Monomachus, 200, 207  
 Monotheism among Tâtârs, 355  
 Monstrosity, birth of, 193; child  
     with two heads, four hands, and  
     four feet, 361  
 Months, Era of lunar, 89  
 'Moon', son of Cleopatra, 46  
 Moon in the Sign of Leo, 455; in  
     tetragonon of Mercury, 438  
 Mopsuerene, 61  
 Mopsuestia, 105, 122, 169, 255, 264,  
     321, 380, 446, 453  
 Mordecai, 34, 298  
 Moses the Great, 12, 13, 116, 281  
 Moses the monk, 63  
 Mosque of Bûkhârâ, 376  
 Mosque, the Great, in Egypt thrown  
     down, 149  
 Môsul, 194  
 Mother of God, Church of, 446  
 Mound, funerary, at Baṣra split  
     open, 149  
 Mount Aeolus, eruption of, 44  
 Mount 'Alpêt, 459  
 Mount Amôn, 84  
 Mount Bagrûh, 79  
 Mount Brikhâ, 375  
 Mount Claudia, 279  
 Mount Galilee, 101  
 Mount Gerizim, 36  
 Mount Mâdai, 94  
 Mount of Olives, 50  
 Mount Tabor, 431  
 Mountain moved three miles, 114  
 Mountain of the Lion, 422  
 Mû'ârâh, 235, 248, 304, 320, 350, 435  
 Mû'aṭâm, Mâlik, son of Saladin,  
     389, 391, 414, 415, 435  
 Mû'aṭâm Mûṭafâr ad-Dîn, 373  
 Mû'âwîyâh, 63, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101,  
     102, 110  
 Mûâyad ad-Dîn, Wazîr, 386  
 Muâzar, 392  
 Mûḍafâr ad-Dîn, 326  
 Mû'êd, 104  
 Mûgân, Mûghân, 473, 480  
 Mûghlâyê (Mongols), their kingdom  
     described, 352 f.  
 Mûhadâb, a physician, 367, 399  
 Mûhadâr, physician of Damascus,  
     399  
 Mûhai ad-Dîn, astronomer, 438  
 Mûḥarran, the month of, 126, 466  
 Mûḥawâl, 230  
 Mûhî, 443  
 Mûḥsîn, son of Saladin, 402  
 Mûhtadî, 147  
 Mûhtaseb, 487  
 Mu'în Ġgdîsh, 427  
 Mû'în of Damascus, 274  
 Mu'izz ad-Dâwlâh, 163, 166, 171  
 Mû'izz ad-Dîn, 337  
 Mû'izz ad-Dîn Kâiṣar Shâh, 334, 350  
 Mû'izz ad-Dîn Senjâr Shâh, 333  
 Mûjahid ad-Dîn, 288, 292  
 Mûjahid ad-Dîn Dâwîthdâr, 404  
 Mûjahid ad-Dîn Kaimâz, 344  
 Mûjahid ad-Dîn, son of Yaksh, 347  
 Mûjahid Mâlik, 344  
 Mûjahid Mâlik of Emesa, 391  
 Mûjahid Mâlik, son of Nâṣir, 319  
 Mûjân, 424  
 Mûjîr ad-Dîn, 281, 282, 373  
 Mûjîr ad-Dîn Ya'kûb, 394, 396  
 Mûjith ad-Dîn, 363  
 Mûkaled, 185  
 Mûkhâṭaṣ, 431, 481, 484, 488  
 Mûkhtâr, 102  
 Mûkhtâr, 368  
 Mûkrâ, 403  
 Mûktader, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160,  
     162, 163, 178; his palace de-  
     scribed, 157



- Mûktadî, son of Kâim, 225, 252  
 Mûktafî, 154, 155, 162, 263, 264, 282, 286  
 Mulberry trees, 194  
 Mule, a battering ram, 71  
 Mule (Tarkâ), 192  
 Mule-head (Galen), 54  
 Mules expelled, 61  
*Mulk Namah*, 195  
 Mummy of Nicomedius, 115  
 Mûndâr, King of Arabs, 73, 82  
 Mûndâr bar-Herath, 79, 80  
 Mûndâr bar-Na'mân, 76  
 Mûnes, 155, 158, 159, 160  
 Mûngâ Khân, 398, 424, 433, 439; his enthronement, 416; his Code of Laws for the Chinese, 418  
 Mûngâ Temûr, 464  
 Mûnked, 235  
 Mûntaşer, 141, 145  
 Mûriâ, 39  
 Mûr'im, 42  
 Mûrôn oil, 234, 276  
 Mûsâ, son of Mahdî, 118  
 Mûsâ, son of Saljuk, 196  
 Mûsâ-Sayâ Khân, 167  
 Mûsamâr, 121  
 Mûsh, 363, 484  
 Mûshâk, 195  
 Mûshê, 139  
 Mûshrî, 399  
 Music, prohibited, 69; instruments of, smashed, 147  
 Musicians, 34  
 Musk animal, 144  
 Muslims, 126, 131, 134, 316, 399, 505, 507  
 Mûştadî, 299, 305, 309  
 Musta'in, 145  
 Mûstakfî, 163  
 Mûstanjîd, 286, 298  
 Mustanşer, Khalîfah, 196, 214, 390, 408  
 Mûstarshîd, 248, 252, 257, 259, 262  
 Mûsta'sim, 408, 433, 474, 490; kicked to death, 431  
 Mûstathêr, 232, 233, 248, 252, 263  
 Master of the Frères, 309  
 Mûtafâr, 158  
 Mûtafâr ad-Dîn, 292, 317, 333, 344, 366, 378, 397  
 Mûtafâr ad-Dîn Kûkbûrî, 359, 365, 372, 399  
 Mûtafâr ad-Dîn of 'Arbîl, 373, 394  
 Mûtafâr ad-Dîn of Hârrân, 318  
 Mûtafâr ad-Dîn Tâkî 'Omar, 379, 392  
 Mûtafâr Mâlik, 468  
 Mûtafâr Mâlik, a slave, 416  
 Mûtafâr of Mardîn, 437  
 Mû'tam of Gâzartâ, 420, 421  
 Mû'tam Sharâf ad-Dîn 'Îsâ, 349  
 Mû'tamid, died drunk, 151  
 Mû'tamid ad-Dâwlâh, 202  
 Mû'taşed, 151, 152, 154  
 Mû'taşim, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139; died, 140  
 Mûtâwa'âh, 107  
 Mûtâwakkil, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145  
 Mû'tâz, 142, 145, 146  
 Mûthakî, 162, 163  
 Mûtî (Fadhil), 163, 164  
 Mûtî', 134  
 Mutilation of captives, 292  
 Mûwâfağ 'Asâd, physician, 329, 344  
 Mûwâyad, 142, 145, 146  
 Mûwâyad, father and son, 488, 489  
 Mûwâfağ, 148  
 Mûwâzâr, 377  
 Mûzâlôn, 428  
 Mysia, 7, 63; Upper and Lower, 84  
 Mysteries, the, 135, 285  
 Mysteries of the Luminaries, 29  
 Na'amân, son of Alexander, 82  
 Nâbâlî, 197  
 Nâbhâtîs, 56  
 Nâbhîn, 15



- Nâbhôlôs, 21  
 Nâbhôrîdôs, 31  
 Nabhûpalsar, 26  
 Nabhûzardân, 26  
 Nabi Yûnis, 172  
 Nablôs, 21, 325, 332  
 Nabonidus, 31  
 Nabopolassar, 26  
 Nafir of Mâwşil, 441  
 Nagâ, a slave, 167  
 Nâhâm, 22  
 Nâhôs, 8, 9  
 Najam ad-Dîn, 281  
 Najam ad-Dîn 'Albi, 317  
 Najam ad-Dîn 'Ayûb, 288, 289, 295, 301  
 Najm, 351  
 Najm ad-Dîn, 306, 307  
 Najm ad-Dîn 'Abd al-Jânî, 430  
 Najm ad-Dîn 'Âwhad, 365  
 Najm ad-Dîn, son of 'Âdil, 348  
 Najm ad-Dîn of B'elbâk, 279  
 Najm ad-Dîn, father of Saladin, 273  
 Naked prisoners die in desert, 40  
 Nakhâûth, Pharaoh, 26  
 Naķib-al-'Alâwâhîn, 475  
 Naķibâ, 476  
 Naķtânâbôs, 35  
 Name of Christ, 78  
 Namkinâg, 397  
 Naphshî, 445  
 Naphtah, 16  
 Naphtha (pitch), 101, 156, 419  
 Napkin, Christ's, in Edessa, 162  
 Nark, 83  
 Narsai, 57  
 Naşârath, 205  
 Nâşârîâh, 150  
 Nâsâwûr Nâwîn, 409  
 Nashîf, 142  
 Nâşir, 128, 129, 130  
 Nâşir, a rebel, 124, 126  
 Nâşir, a Persian, 343  
 Nâşir, a general, 135  
 Nâşir, son of Harôn Ar-Rashîd, 125  
 Nâşir, the Kûrd, 138  
 Nâşir 'Abû al-'Abbâs 'Aḥmad, 387  
 Nâşir ad-Dâwlâh, 164, 166, 171, 173, 174, 179, 192, 193  
 Nâşir ad-Dîn, 270, 295, 315, 344, 360  
 Nâşir ad-Dîn 'Artûk, 362  
 Nâşir ad-Dîn Maḥmûd, 361, 374, 399  
 Nâşir ad-Dîn Mangurâs, 329  
 Nâşir ad-Dîn, nephew of Saladin, 319, 320  
 Nâşir ad-Dîn of 'Âmid, 378  
 Nâşir ad-Dîn Pâpâ, 446  
 Nâşir ad-Dîn, son of Tâkî ad-Dîn, 349  
 Nâşir bar-'Azhâr, 144  
 Nâşir Dâwûd Mâlik, 392, 401  
 Nâşir Kelej 'Arslân, 379, 392  
 Nâşir, Khalîfah, 309, 328, 345, 373, 385, 386  
 Nâşir Khwâjâh, 451  
 Nâşir Mâlik, 435, 437, 438  
 Nâşir Mâlik of Aleppo, 403  
 Nâşir Mâlik of Damascus, 434  
 Nâşir Şalâḥ ad-Dîn Mâlik, 402  
 Nâşir Şalâḥ ad-Dîn Dâwûd, 191  
 Nâşir Şâlâyâ, 399  
 Nâşîrâyê, teachings of the, 151  
 Nâşrânâh, 150  
 Naşrath, 325, 360  
 Nâşrâyê, 53  
 Nativity, the, 173, 187; Festival of, 115  
 Nature the Director of affairs, 489, 490  
 Nature, the Divine, 19  
 Nâwm, Tâtâr book of Religion, 355, 356  
 Nâwrîn, 442  
 Nâwrûz, 501, 503, 504, 506  
 Nâwshahâr, 438  
 Nazarenes, 53, 74



- Nazareth, 47, 153  
 Nazarite (Samson), 16  
 Nâzmân, 151  
 Nâzyanzô, 60  
 Nebâdis, 134  
 Nebuchadnezzar becomes an animal, 29; plunders the Temple, 26  
 Necho, 26  
 Necromancy, 279  
 Needles, pack-saddle, 460  
 Nehemiah the cup-bearer, 35  
 Nekht-her-hebit, 35  
 Nemroth, 8  
 Neon Anbôlôn, 69  
 Neopolis, 74  
 Nero and the siege of Jerusalem, 35  
 Nero Caesar, 50  
 Nerva Caesar, 52  
 Nestorians, 123, 128, 216, 236, 258, 447, 450, 451, 483; bones and grave of, 123, 124  
 Nestorius, father of 'Îsâ, 179  
 Neṭâm ad-Dîn, 317, 347, 348, 361  
 Neṭaphtâ, 6  
 New Caesarea, 109, 266, 303, 306; earthquake in, 73  
 New David, 96  
 New Gate, 69  
 New Moon, 5  
 Nicaea, Nicea, 107, 110, 196, 229, 359, 428; First Council of (43 bishops), 53; Second Council of (318 bishops), 59  
 Nicephorus, 172, 173, 429  
 Nicephorus Botanicus, 226, 227  
 Nicephorus Domasticus, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170  
 Nicephorus, the Logothete, 120, 121  
 Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Ephesus, 428  
 Niceta, 120  
 Nicolaus, Martyr, 57  
 Nicomachus, 36  
 Nicomedia, 59, 115, 229, 306  
 Nicomedius, his tomb rifled, 115  
 Nicopolis, Nikopolis, 55, 70  
 Night, children afraid of the, 102  
 Nîkôlâ, 142  
 Nile, 9, 12, 112, 186, 189, 290, 370, 415, 458; blocked by scuttled boats, 370; failure of the, 350; frozen over, 133  
 Nimrod, 8  
 Nimshi, 22  
 Nineveh, 10, 24, 25, 33, 102, 297, 359, 374, 402, 424, 440, 441, 454, 465, 466, 508  
 Nînôs, Ninus, 10, 33  
 Nîpî, 427  
 Nîsâbhôr, 141, 198, 199, 217, 346, 351, 365  
 Nîsân, month of, 3, 51, 122, 131, 138, 262, 267, 286, 357, 421, 425, 426, 448, 457, 466, 477, 481, 483, 493  
 Nisibis, 8, 59, 60, 62, 72, 73, 79, 80, 85, 103, 104, 118, 140, 162, 166, 173, 194, 202, 242, 249, 255, 277, 313, 315, 323, 344, 347, 359, 365, 366, 373, 377, 378, 421, 444, 466  
 Nôâchôs, 5  
 Noah, 4, 195, 233, 320; the sons of, 6, 7  
 Nôh, 4  
 Nôn, 15  
 Nose of Justinian, 104  
 Noses cut off, 170  
 Novatus, 56  
 Nûbah, Gate of Baghdâd, 225  
 Nubians, 87, 134, 301; in Baghdâd, 225  
 Nûmair, 193  
 Numerianus, 57  
 Nunnery of Bêth Kûdîda, 441  
 Nûr ad-Dîn, 258, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282, 287, 288, 290, 291, 293, 294, 295, 297, 300, 301, 302; his daughter pleads before Saladin, 318



- Nûr ad-Dîn 'Arslân Shâh, 310, 342, 347, 359, 365, 366, 367, 371  
 Nûr ad-Dîn, a child governor, 311  
 Nûr ad-Dîn of Aleppo, 276  
 Nûr ad-Dîn of Kîpâ, 316  
 Nûr ad-Dîn of Mâwşil, 348  
 Nûr ad-Dîn, son of Kârâ 'Arslân, 310  
 Nûr ad-Dîn, son of Tâhir, 373, 374  
 Nur ad-Dîn, son of Zangi, 271, 272, 273, 275  
 Nûrî, Mosque of, 297  
 Nûrin of 'Amîr, 442  
 Nûşîrâyê, history of, 150 f., 235  
 Nuşrath ad-Dîn, 271, 364  
 Nyssa, 60  
  
 Oak of Abraham, 59  
 Obadiah, 21  
 Observatory, built by Sharâf ad-Dâwlâh, 177  
 Ochus, 35, 36  
 Offering, the Eucharist, 110  
 Offerings, Arab, 92; Tâtâr, 355  
 Oil, 144, 420; frozen, 168  
 Old Man Isaac, 405  
 Olive groves, 102  
 Olive oil, 168  
 Olive trees, 194  
 Olympias, 36  
 'Ômâirôs, 116  
 'Ômar bar-Hûbairâ, 107  
 'Ômar bar-Khâtâtâb, 93 f., 120  
 'Ômar of Melitene, 134  
 'Ômar of Samosata, 124  
 'Ômar, son of 'Abdal-Azîz, 108, 109  
 'Ômar, son of Sa'id, 103  
 'Ômar, the great, stabbed to death, 96  
 One-eyed child in Antioch, with four hands, four feet, one beard, 63  
 Onias, 36, 39, 41, 43  
 Onions, 219  
 Ophir, 8  
 Opium, 198  
 'Ôrâitâ, the Syrian, 24  
 Origen, 366  
 Orontes, 179  
 Osrhoene, 103, 435  
 Ostriches, 134  
 'Ôthmân, 96, 125, 150  
 Othniel, 15  
 Otho, 51  
 'Ôthrâr, 357, 368  
 Outer Marches, 360  
 Ox, worship of, 128; flesh of, 190; hides of, 71  
 Oxen of brass, 23  
 Oxymel, 159  
 'Ôzâ'il, 21  
 'Ôzîâ, 22  
 Ôzîôs, 61  
  
 Pâbâk, 55  
 Padânâ Rabbathâ, 116  
 Paganism of Abraham, 8  
 Pagans, Kûrdish, 363  
 Pahlûân, Pahlwân, 318, 345, 364  
 Paik, 392  
 Paikin, 439  
 Pâiz Ya'kûb, 404  
 Pakrat, 218  
 Paķsemaţ, Monastery of, 446, 453, 463  
 Palace built in one day, 388  
 Pâlâgh, 7  
 Palestine, 7, 8, 25, 55, 70, 74, 75, 90, 91, 93, 96, 97, 100, 124, 142, 194, 234, 278, 295, 308, 322, 360, 400, 414, 436, 437, 449, 456  
 Pâlî, 379, 380, 387, 408, 410  
 Paliologos, 427  
 Palm Sunday, 425, 433, 451, 455  
 Palm trees, 156; 40,000 cut down, 168  
 Palmûrâ, Palmyra, 20  
 Palmyrenians, 56  
 Pamphylia, 7  
 Panâk, 271  
 Pangurians, 84  
 Pannonia, 55, 62



- Pânôpîs, First King of Egypt, 7  
 Pânôs, Pharaoh, seized Sârâh, wife of Abraham, 10  
 Panther, skin of, 134  
 Papa (Bâbâ), 405, 459, 460, 462, 463  
 Paper money (Shâw) with red stamps, 497  
 Paphlagonia, 39  
 Pâpôs, 15  
 Pâpyâs, the Metropolitan, 257, 268; shot and killed, 269  
 Paradise, 3, 92, 133; Methuselah taken there, 5; the suspended, 29  
 Parâh, 421  
 Paralysis, 490; of Mûti', 174  
 Pârandôs, the Theban Pharaoh, 10  
 Parasangs, 300 traversed in 16 days, 180  
 Pârâtôn, 12  
 Parrots, 306  
 Parsîgh, 447  
 Parsîs, 36  
 Parsley seed, 197  
 Parsos, 16, 81  
 Parthia, 112, 113  
 Parthians, 4, 8, 45, 54  
 Parwânâ, 442, 446, 447, 456, 457, 458, 459  
 Parzâmân, 277, 281, 461  
 Pâsik, nickname of Walîd, 111  
 Passion Week, 481  
 Passover, 50, 51, 76; Feast of, 57  
 Passover of the Arabs, 387  
 Pâtârâ, 23  
 Paten with broken lamb on it, 121  
 Patriarch of the Franks, 285, 289; of the Greeks, 289, 327, 449  
 Patriarch of Jerusalem, 327  
 Patriarchs, the, 2, 3 f.  
 Patrician, 93, 101, 120, 148, 170, 236  
 Patrik, 97  
 Patronus, Eparch of Syria, 49  
 Patrophilus, 52  
 Paṭrôpîlôs, 52  
 Paṭrôs, 86, 213  
 Paul, St., 12, 20, 49, 50, 189  
 Paul, St., and the Egyptian, 50  
 Peace, the 120 years' between the Franks and Arabs, 415  
 Pearls, 219  
 Pedôn, 53  
 Peḡah, 23  
 Peḡahyâ, 23  
 Pekin, 439  
 Peleg, 7  
 Peloponessus, 120  
 Pentecost, 48, 390, 440  
 Perfumes, 143, 144; as offerings, 5  
 Pergamos, 107  
 Pergamus, 54  
 Per'ôn (Pharaoh), first use of the title, 9  
 Persepolis, 39  
 Persia, 6, 7, 62, 84, 93, 109, 114, 121, 122, 130, 135, 149, 193, 196, 209, 214, 230, 259, 318, 321, 368, 371, 394, 398, 406, 407, 409, 411, 419, 421, 467; Christianity in, 66  
 Persia, Inner, 199  
 Persian Gulf, 165, 184  
 Persians, 6, 35, 42, 45, 47, 55, 59, 67, 71, 73, 74, 77, 79, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 114, 120, 126, 127, 128, 139, 181, 192, 195, 196, 207, 211, 213, 229, 303, 318, 357, 362, 383, 387, 418, 463, 470; books of the, 2; Kings of the, 2 f., 33 f.; destroy Syria, 56; use Arabic letters, 354  
 Pertinax, 55  
 Peshîṭṭâ, 24  
 Pestilence, 58, 109, 140, 149, 165, 172, 185, 216, 226, 310; in 'Adhôrbiġân, 184; in Antioch, 54; in Assyria, 115; in Baghdâd, 162, 194; in Cilicia, 280; in Egypt, 56, 350, 351, 509; in Fourth Clime, 205; in India and Persia, 193; in Mardîn, 437; in Mesopotamia, 431; in Persia, 230



- Pestilence, the Great, 75  
 Peter and Paul, SS., festival of, 296  
 Peter, martyred in Rome, 50  
 Petra, 23  
 Phaedo, 36, 53  
 Phalli cut off, 42  
 Pharaoh, 41, 187, 189, 300, 458, 493  
 Pharaoh the Lame, 26  
 Pharaohites, 492  
 Pharmacist, 147  
 Pharos, 40  
 Philadelphia, 359  
 Philadelphus, 40  
 Philagrius, physician, 57  
 Philarius, 52  
 Philip Arridhaeus, 39  
 Philip Caesar, 56  
 Philip, a general, 84, 85  
 Philip of Macedon, 36  
 Philip, son of 'Awîrâ, 380, 381  
 Philip the Tetrarch, 48, 49  
 Philipicus, 106  
 Philipopolis, 275  
 Philistines, 11, 15, 16, 247  
 Philo of Alexandria, 49; meets  
     Peter in Rome, 50  
 Philometor, 43  
 Philopator, 41  
 Philosophers, 34; Arab, 92; ex-  
     pelled from Rome, 52  
 Phinehas, 15  
 Phocas, 86  
 Phoenicia, 7, 59, 75, 98, 102, 150,  
     254, 359  
 Phoenicians war with the Chaldeans,  
     12  
 Phrygia, 7, 74, 111  
 Phthisis, 238, 375  
 Physician, 34, 56, 57  
 Physicians, 34; Syrian, 57; Arab,  
     92; private, 390  
 Physicist, 34  
*Physicus*, 25  
 Physkon (Ptolemy Euer. II), 44  
 Pigeons, 334  
 Pigs, entrails of, 72  
 Pilardôs, 227, 228, 229, 231, 237  
 Pilârî, 52  
 Pilâs built, 40  
 Pilate, 48, 49  
 Pilgrims drowned, 280  
 Pillar of light, 194  
 Pillars of fire, 183  
 Pillar-saint, 93  
 Pindar, 34  
 Pisans, 438  
 Pisces (Zodiac), 225, 234, 320  
 Piscina, 265  
 Pîshâbhûr, 483  
 Pisidia, 6, 7  
 Pîsôs river, 53  
 Pîzânâyê, 428  
 Plague in Grupîâ, 290; in Melitene,  
     407; in Meyât, 279; in Palestine,  
     90  
 Planets, the Seven, 234; in Capri-  
     corn, 473  
 Planisphere, 54  
 Plato, 36, 53, 343, 356, 452  
 Plays, military, in Rome, 56  
 Plinius Secundus, 52  
 Plough, 63, 141  
 Plum trees, 194  
 Pôâ, 16  
 Pôkâ, 86  
 Pôl, 23  
 Poll tax, 96; on Jews, 47  
 Polyandry, 362  
 Polygamy established, 63  
 Pomegranate, 209  
 Pompey, 45  
 Pôntôs, 24, 57, 229, 255, 274, 278,  
     359, 369  
 Pope of Rome, 379, 492; writer to  
     Kings of the Franks, 369  
 Porch of Hippocrates, 34  
 Porch of Solomon, 462  
 Porphyrios, 23  
 Posidion, 36  
 Pôrites, 195



- Practorium, 65  
 Prâth (Frâth), Euphrates, 79  
 Prayer, 5; forbidden, 105; the five times of, 201  
 Prayers, Arab, 92; stopped, 253, 259, 309, 310  
 Prayns, 283, 284, 287, 388, 289, 305, 310, 311, 321, 329, 343, 371  
 Predestination, 92  
 Priest, Armenian, flayed, 283, 284  
 Primis, 301  
 Prisens, a general, 84  
 Prîsôs, 16  
 Probus, Caesar, 57  
 Procopia, 125  
 Procopius, sawn asunder, 62; church of, 70  
 Prophecy, gift of, withdrawn, 23  
 Prophet, the (Muhammad), 211  
 Prophets, the 400 lying, 21  
 Prôsîdîn, 279  
 Protagoras, 34  
 Proverbs, pagan, 356  
 Proximus, 157  
 Psalm cxix. 25, quoted, 65  
 Psôriôs, Pharaoh, 12  
 Ptolemies, 39; rule of, 47  
 Ptolemy the astronomer, 451  
 Ptolemy I, 39  
 Ptolemy Philadelphus, 40  
 Ptolemy Euergetes I, 41  
 Ptolemy Philopator, 41  
 Ptolemy Epiphanes, 41  
 Ptolemy Philometor, 42  
 Ptolemy Euergetes II, 43  
 Ptolemy Soter, 44  
 Ptolemy Alexander, 44  
 Ptolemy Dionysus, 45  
 Ptolemy Claudius, 29  
 Ptolemy of Constantinople, 99  
 Puberty, hair of, 134  
 Pûkdânâ, 425; with red endorsement, 478  
 Pulcheria, 67  
 Pulpit (Mimbar) in Bûkhârâ, 376  
 Pulpit in Baghdâd smashed, 244  
 Pûrâmôn river, 117  
 Purple, 70, 110; apparel, 66, 69; pillar, 76; vellum, 207; when first used, 25  
 Pustules, 75  
 Pythagoras, 34, 36  
 Quadratus, 53  
 Queens, the Greek, 326  
 Queens, the Cushite, 9  
 Ra'bân, 229, 237, 246, 277, 309, 316  
 Rabî'âyê Arabs, 135  
 Rabsâk, 119  
 Râdhî, 161  
 Raḍwân, 240, 241, 242, 244, 248  
 Rafts, Arab, 98  
 Râgâ, 139  
 Raḥâbâgâ, a physician, 302  
 Raḥbûth, 10, 242, 253, 285, 289, 463  
 Râi, 142, 196, 199, 216, 345, 349  
 Rainmaking by arrows, 397  
 Rain stone, 397  
 Rains, torrential, 278, 279  
 Rajab, 170  
 Raḳḳâ, 401  
 Ram, 39  
 Râmâ, 19  
 Râmâḍân, 114  
 Ramleh, 114  
 Ra'môsô, 12  
 Ra'ôsâ, 12  
 Ra'ôth, 16  
 Râpeḳâh, 114, 121, 126, 128  
 Raphael, 24  
 Rapḳâ, 11  
 Râs 'Ain, Râs 'Aina, 10, 67, 84, 103, 205, 255, 304, 317, 350, 351, 377, 392-3  
 Râsân, 10, 23  
 Râshîd, 260, 262, 263, 265  
 Rashîd ad-Dâwlâh, 496  
 Rashîd ad-Dîn, 408, 409, 412, 413  
 Rashîḳ, 386



- Rats, 102, 226, 353  
 Ra'û'il, 12  
 Râwandiz, 364  
 Ray (Rai, Râi, Rhages), 149  
 Raymond, Count, 323  
 Raymond of Poitiers, 258  
 Reader in church, 70  
 Rebecca, 11  
 Red Sea, 312  
 Red Snow, 258  
 Redeemer, Era of our, 89  
 Redwân, 246  
 Rehoboam, 20, 21  
 Rehoboth, 10  
 Religion, Arab, 91, 325  
 Religion, Tâtâr, 355  
 Renaud de Chatillon, 317  
 Reservoir in Jerusalem, 24  
 Resurrection, 43, 51, 91, 92; Festival of, 434; Temple of the, 184  
 Reu, 7, 8  
 Reuben, 310  
 Rhages, 196, 216, 345  
 Rhodes, 23, 41, 73, 89, 98, 107, 358  
 Rhômânîâ, 60, 100, 428  
 Rhômâyâ, Rhômâyê, 2, 7, 16, 24, 25, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 63, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, and *see passim*  
 Rhômê, Rhômî, 24, 43, 64, 65, 66, 99, 253  
 Richard I, Cœur-de-Lion, 334; has union with the pregnant wife of Markis of Tyre, 339; his sister and Saladin's brother 'Âdil, 337; leaves Palestine, 341  
 Ridafrans (Roi de France?), 414  
 Rîgîn, 76  
 Rîhân, 303, 344  
 Ring of 'Abd ar-Rakhmân, 474  
 Ring of Amîn, 126  
 Rînôkûrâ, 6  
 Rîsh 'Ainâ, Rîsh 'Ayna, 10, 125  
 Rîsh Kîpâ, 125  
 Rivers frozen over, 299  
 Road of God, 107  
 Roads paved by Antiochus, 41  
 Rock of Serwand, 446  
 Rod of Judah = Christ, 45  
 Rod of the Prophet, 225  
 Roger of Antioch, 245, 247, 248, 249; killed, 248  
 Rômân, 457  
 Romans, 24, 51, 55; take Egypt, 57  
 Romanus, King, 161, 166, 169, 218  
 Romanus, Patriarch of Adrianopolis, 429  
 Romanus, his tongue cut out, 57  
 Rome, 45, 49, 50, 59, 234, 369; building of, 24; captured by Barbarians, 75; the 1,000th year of, 56; Aurelian's wall, 57  
 Romulus, 24  
 Roxana, 39  
 Royal Camp, 478, 481  
 Rûdbaryâ, 179, 180  
 Rûfîn, 237  
 Rûfîn, King of Armenia, 370, 371, 380  
 Rûhî, 121  
 Rukkhâh, 41  
 Rukn ad-Dîn, 206, 341, 358, 360  
 Rukn ad-Dîn, 402, 410, 411, 414, 422, 425, 426, 434, 446, 449  
 Rukn ad-Dîn, an Ishmaelite, 422, 423  
 Rukn ad-Dîn Tûghrel, 207  
 Rûmîzân, 87  
 Rûpîn, 305, 310, 321, 344  
 Rûşâfâ, 85, 111, 120  
 Rûshnağ, 39  
 Russians, 203, 398  
 Rûstâm, 328  
 Rûstâm, a general, 155  
 Rûstâm, the Turian, 177  
 Ruth, 16  
 Rûzbah, 234  
 Rûzbîhân, 89



- Sa'ad, 94  
 Sa'ad ad-Dîn, 303  
 Sâ'âr (Zoar), 9  
 Sâ'âr, a woman, 7  
 Sâbâ, 39  
 Sabaeans, 151  
 Sabârbarôk, 219  
 Sabatâi, 419  
 Sabbath before Lent, 68  
 Sabbath of Nineveh, 465  
 Sabbath of the Passion, 475  
 Sabbath of the Passover, 7 455  
 Sabbath of the White, 453, 466  
 Sabbath of Wonder, 453  
 Sabellius excommunicated, 53  
 Sâbhâ, 141  
 Sâbûkt, 265  
 Sabûktakîn, 174, 186, 196  
 Şabûngî, 153  
 Sackcloth, 389  
 Sacrifice ordered, 57  
 Sa'd ad-Dâwlâh, 478, 484, 491  
 Sa'd ad-Dîn Kûmîshtakîn, 297  
 Sa'd, the 'Âtâbag, 385  
 Şadâkâh, 399  
 Şadâkâh, father of Dûbais, 260  
 Saddle, camel, 135  
 Saddle-cloth carried as token of service, 260, 391  
 Saddles, 184; use of prohibited, 109; made of gold and silver, 156  
 Şadr ad-Dîn, 496  
 Şafâd, 329, 344  
 Şâfi ad-Dîn, 436  
 Şâfi Karkûrî, 465, 466  
 Şâfi Sûlaimân, 431  
 Sâgârîs, 118  
 Sâghdiânôs, 35  
 Sagitarius (Zodiac), 225  
 Sâgûr, 129  
 Şâhib Dîwân, 484, 488, 491, 496, 497  
 Şâhinâ Khâwârazm Shâh Maḥmûd, 186  
 Sa'id, 99, 290, 301  
 Sa'id bar-Şâbûnî, 233  
 Sa'id, father of Yâhyâh, 125  
 Sa'id, son of Hûdail, 111  
 Sa'id, son of 'Ôthmân, 96  
 Sa'idâbâd, 220  
 Şaidân, 325, 330, 379  
 Saif ad-Dâwlâh, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 403; died, 171  
 Saif ad-Dîn, 278, 297, 303, 304, 305, 306  
 Saif ad-Dîn 'Amîr 'Âkhûr, 391  
 Saif ad-Dîn Ghâzî (Jâzî), 271, 272, 275, 302, 303, 311, 331  
 Saif ad-Dîn of Gâzartâ, 435, 442, 444  
 Saif ad-Dîn of Mâwşil, 277  
 Saif ad-Dîn Tûghrel, 345  
 Saif al-'Eslâm, 303  
 Saif al-'Eslâm Tûghtakîn, 295;  
     Saif ad-Dîn al-'Eslâm Tûgh-takîn died, 346  
 Saints, images of, destroyed, 109  
 Saḳâlî, 24  
 Şakhrâh, 235  
 Saḳsîn, 416  
 Saḳûkâ, 89  
 Şalâh ad-Dîn (Saladin) the Great, 273, 279, 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 295, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340; dies, 341; stories of, 343 f., 414  
 Şalâh Yâgûbsânî, 253  
 Salâmîâh, Salâmîyâh, 320, 377  
 Sâlâmînâ, 52  
 Salapgây, 352  
 Salâr Shâh, 217  
 Şâlih, 304, 307  
 Şâlih, son of Badr ad-Dîn, 435  
 Şâlih bar-Nur-ad-Dîn, 305  
 Şâlih Esmâ'il, Ismâ'il, 311  
 Şâlih Ismâ'il, 311



- Şâlih Mâlik, 404, 414, 440, 442, 443  
 Salîk, 8, 10  
 Sâlim, eunuch, 116  
 Sâlinôs, 25, 234  
 Saljûk, 195, 226, 341  
 Saljûk Shâh, 256  
 Saljuks, 195, 226, 282, 345, 473;  
     kingdom of, 195 f.  
 Sallust, garden of, 52  
 Salômônî, 52  
 Salt marsh, 125  
 Şaltâk, 350  
 Sâmân, 251  
 Samânîn, Lake of, 361  
 Samarcand, Samarkand, 204, 209,  
     282, 381, 447  
 Samaria, 20, 22, 42, 145, 146, 316,  
     325, 351, 392  
 Samaritans, 39, 70, 74, 93; Book of  
     the Law, 3; fight Jews, 55  
 Samdâghû, 443, 444  
 Samîrôs, Third King of Babil, and  
     had three eyes and horns, 8;  
     death of, 9  
 Sâmîsûn, 119  
 Samniâh, 463, 469  
 Samôs, 19  
 Samosata, 57, 104, 114, 124, 125,  
     130, 135, 158, 166, 229, 246, 247,  
     265, 273, 277, 338, 350, 351, 361,  
     372, 387, 400, 403  
 Şamşâm ad-Dâwlâh, 176  
 Şamşâm ad-Dîn, 281  
 Şamşâm ad-Dîn Bihram, 313  
 Samson, 16, 247  
 Samuel, Prophet, 17, 20; death of, 19  
 Samyâzôs, 4  
 Şân, 269  
 Sanbîl, 246  
 Sand, red, fell in Baghdâd as rain,  
     193  
 Sand in the air, red, 455  
 Sandals, eaten, 252; used in killing,  
     224  
 Sandstorm, 308  
 Sangâ river, 251  
 Sângar, 288  
 Sangel = St. Gilles, 237  
 Sangîs, 217  
 Sanhirîbhâyê, 179  
 Sanhiribites, 179  
 Sânih, 171  
 Sansânâyê, 213  
 Sapor, 56, 58; Sapor and Julian, 62;  
     besieges Nisibis, 60; persecutes  
     the Christians, 59, 64  
 Sârâ seized by Pânôs, 10  
 Saracens, 44; Books of the, 2  
 Sargî, 93  
 Sargî, bar-Mansûr, 100, 105  
 Sargîs of Râs 'Ain, 148  
 Sargîsîa, Monastery of, 217  
 Sârî, rebel, 131  
 Sarîfayn, 264  
 Sârig, 111  
 Şarkhâd, 199, 346, 347, 348, 349  
 Sarkîs, Mâr, 455  
 Sarkûtânî Bâgî, Queen, 398, 417  
 Sarmaţâyê, 55, 63  
 Sarmatians, 7, 55, 63; baptized, 39  
 Sartâk, son of Bâtû, 398  
 Sâtabyâ, 362, 400, 413  
 Satan and Job, 9  
 Satrap, 47  
 Saturecius, 120  
 Şâtûrekîôs, 120  
 Saturninus, 59  
 Saul, King of Israel, 19  
 Sâwînj Khân, 376  
 Şâwmâ, 5  
 Sâwtakîn, 220  
 Sayâ ad-Dîn, 216  
 Sâyrainôs, 53  
 Sbîrinâ, 475  
 Scales, invention of, 8  
 Scalp flayed off, 42, 465  
 Sceptre, gold, 212; first use of, 25  
 Scete desert, 189  
 Schism (Arab), 111, 126  
 School children destroyed, 70



- Sclavs (Slavs), 7, 152, 163, 203  
 Scopas, 41  
 Scorpion (Zodiac), 183, 228  
 Scriptures, destruction ordered, 57  
 Sculptures, 111  
 Scythia, 63, 83, 84  
 Scythians, 25, 44, 84, 398, 405, 459;  
     baptized, 59  
 Sea of 'Adriânôs, 385  
 Sea of brass, 20, 23  
 Sea of Hyrcania, 363  
 Sea of Pântôs, 84, 87, 266, 369, 428,  
     480  
 Sea of Persia, 184, 194  
 Sea of Reeds, 31  
 Sea of Sûph, 12  
 Sea of Tiberias, 245, 323  
 Sea retreats three parasangs (tidal  
     wave?), 194  
 Seal, royal, 212  
 Sebastia, city of, 21, 47, 79, 169,  
     179, 229, 236, 237, 239, 251, 267,  
     296, 299, 303, 330, 407, 412, 422,  
     435, 467  
 Sebastus, 47, 229  
 Sebellâ, Queen, 322  
 Seber, 352  
 Secundus the Silent, 53  
 Sedhôm, 9  
 Şěhyôn, 19, 235, 329; forest of,  
     463  
 Seir, 22  
 Sejat ad-Dîn, 489  
 Seknâk Takîn, 368  
 Sekstîlîs, 47  
 Sekûntârôn, 283  
 Seleucia, 8, 10, 40, 62  
 Seleucus, 42  
 Seleucus Kalonîkus, 41  
 Seleucus Kṛônôs, 41  
 Seleucus Nikator, 39, 40  
 Self-rule, 300  
 Selina, 45  
 Semiramis, builder of mounds, 10  
 Semnân, 196  
 Sen'âr, 7-8, 147, 183, 194, 216, 230,  
     259, 282, 394, 431, 465  
 Senate, 102, 120; of Rome, 46, 47;  
     mourning of the, 75  
 Senjâr, Mâlik, 256, 258, 259, 267;  
     died, 285  
 Senjâr Shâh of Kardû, 344, 365  
 Senjâr, quarter of a town, 257  
 Senkûr 'Arslân, 463  
 Senkûr 'Ashkâr, 446, 447, 464  
 Senkûr dhě-Râz, 247  
 Sennaar, 147  
 Sennacherib, 179; at Jerusalem,  
     185,000 men killed, 24  
 Sennacherib the Less, 25  
 Şepôrâ, 12  
 Septuagint, 3, 13, 16, 17, 40  
 Serenus, 53  
 Sergius, martyr, 55, 57; gold from  
     his sarcophagus stolen, 74  
 Sergius, Monastery of, 450  
 Sergius, Temple of, 85  
 Sergius bar-Manşûr, 105  
 Sergius, an enemy, 100  
 Sergius Patricius, 93  
 Sergius of Râs 'Ayn, 56, 148  
 Sermion, 56, 57, 60  
 Sěrhôgh, 8  
 Serpent slain by David, 33  
 Serug, Serûgh, 8, 118, 125, 127,  
     129, 171, 193, 218, 247, 293, 350,  
     351, 392, 435  
 Servant Gate, 208  
 Serwand, 391, 446, 448  
 Seth, 3  
 Seth = Enoch, 5  
 Sêţîs, Pharaoh, 11  
 Seven cities built by Solomon, the,  
     20  
 Seven sleepers, the, 56  
 Seven Wandering Stars, 234  
 Seven Wonders of the World, 29  
 Seventy, the, 44  
 Seventy, the, Book of the Law  
     of, 3



- Seventy, their translation, 35  
 Severianus Caesar, 55  
 Severus, 94  
 Severus—Antichrist, 109  
 Shâbaktân, 244, 247, 254, 257, 351,  
     377, 471  
 Sha'ân, 184, 225, 473  
 Shâbhôr, 56, 100, 101  
 Shabî, 128, 129  
 Shadâd, 332  
 Shâdî, the Kûrd, 221, 288  
 Shâ'ê, Gate of, 268  
 Shaghâtâi, 353  
 Shahab ad-Dîn, 481, 482  
 Shâharmân, 313, 314, 318, 343, 367,  
     391  
 Shahârsîn Bazâr, 202  
 Shahârsîn, 440  
 Shahârzûr, 141, 213, 240, 292, 317,  
     374, 394, 397, 499  
 Shahârzûrî, 253, 257  
 Shâhdair, 423  
 Shâhdîz, 423  
 Shahîn, 87  
 Shâh-in-Shâh, 200, 295, 360  
 Shahrbarâz, 87, 89, 90, 93, 94  
 Shaikh 'Eslâm, 353  
 Shaizâr, 235, 264, 285, 296  
 Shajârath ad-Dûrar, 416  
 Shakâd, 380  
 Shakhûb, 21  
 Shâlâh, omitted by Eusebius, 6, 7  
 Shalmaneser, 23, 24  
 Shâlôm, 23, 42  
 Sham'âlâ, a Christian Arab of  
     Taghlib, 106  
 Shama'yâ, 20, 21  
 Shamghar, 15  
 Shâmîr, lord of Shâmîrîm, 21  
 Shamîrâm, 10  
 Shamîsha, 57  
 Shamônî and her seven sons,  
     42  
 Shâmâyê, 39, 93  
 Shâmîrî, 20, 22, 23, 24, 44, 47, 310,  
     325, 351, 391, 392; bought by  
     Zamrî, 21  
 Shams ad-Dâwlâh, 386  
 Shams ad-Dâwlâh Tûrân Shâh,  
     295, 301, 302; died, 311  
 Shams ad-Dîn Bâtkin, 399  
 Shams ad-Dîn, a general, 303  
 Shams ad-Dîn of the Dîwân, 445;  
     murder of, 472, 473  
 Shams ad-Dîn of Mardîn, 467, 468,  
     469  
 Shams ad-Dîn Pahlwân, 318  
 Shams ad-Dîn, philosopher of Da-  
     mascus, 404  
 Shams ad-Dîn Şûâb, 400  
 Shams ad-Dîn Tûranshâh, 307  
 Shams ad-Dîn, a Wazîr, 412  
 Shams al-Mûlk, 223  
 Shanselîr, 346  
 Sharâf ad-Dâwlâh, 176, 177, 227,  
     228, 229, 230  
 Sharâf ad-Dîn, 313  
 Sharâf ad-Dîn 'Aḥmad, 425  
 Sharâf ad-Dîn 'Ekbal Sherâbî, 399,  
     404  
 Sharâf ad-Dîn Jalâlî, 431  
 Sharâf ad-Dîn Mâhamâd, 425  
 Sharâf ad-Dîn, a Wazîr, 266  
 Sharâf ad-Dîn Zainî, 263  
 Sharezer, 179  
 Shârmâghôn Nâwîn, 394  
 Shâw, Mongol paper money, 394  
 Shawâl, 185, 402, 468  
 Shawbâk, 322, 435  
 Shâwir, 289, 290, 294  
 Shaykh ash-Shuyûkh, 414  
 Shebhâ, 7, 39, 141  
 Shebhâ, a governor, slain, 9  
 Shebhâ, sister of Roxana, 39  
 Shebhât, the month of, 135, 194,  
     224, 249, 250, 289, 401, 455  
 Shehâb ad-Dîn, 293, 351, 372  
 Shehâb ad-Dîn Jâzî, 378, 389  
 Shehâb ad-Dîn Tûghrel, 369  
 Shehâb 'Ârîd, 427



- Shehâb Îsâu, 427  
 Shem, 7; borders of, 6  
 Shemâmâ, 444  
 Shemshôn, 16  
 Shem'un, a physician, killed, 480  
 Shepherd, the ('Âônôs), 4  
 Shepherd-Kings in Egypt, 11  
 Sherwân, 411  
 Shi'ahs (Arabs), 174  
 Shield of gold sent to Rhômê, 43  
 Shields, brass, 20; gold, 20, 21  
 Shighâr, 202, 209, 210 f., 249, 253, 277, 292, 297, 311  
 Shinar, 7, 8  
 Shîngîz Khân, 352  
 Ship, the first builder of a, 9  
 Ships, 1,700, 98; 5,000, 107  
 Shîrâ, convent of, 265  
 Shîrân Shâh, 423  
 Shîrâz, 183, 224, 244, 385, 460, 501  
 Shîrîn, 90  
 Shirkûh, 273, 289, 290, 291, 294, 295  
 Shirkûh, the Great, 364  
 Shirkûh ('Asâd ad-Dîn), 346  
 Shirkûh, a fortress, 422  
 Shirwân Shâh, 218  
 Shishak, 21  
 Shishkân, 419  
 Shmônâ, father of Michael, 265  
 Shoemakers not to mend shoes of women, 185  
 Shoes, old, boiled and eaten, 252, 427  
 Shôsh, 367  
 Shôshan, 213  
 Shughrbakâs, 329  
 Shûgrâ, 129  
 Shûmagâr, 419  
 Shûmûshkî, Shûmûshkîn, 166, 169, 170, 173, 174, 175, 287  
 Shûtî Bâg, 426  
 Siâkûh, 506  
 Sîbâbarâk 194, 265, 401, 403  
 Sîbâkân, 391, 419  
 Sîbârân, 398  
 Siberia, 352  
 Sicily, 7, 25, 41, 44, 54, 99, 119, 223, 274, 313, 329, 360, 489  
 Sîdîtôs, 44  
 Sidon, 21, 175, 325  
 Sîfôûâh, 323  
 Sigillum, 96  
 Sigîstân, 94  
 Sign, a red, in northern sky, 138  
 Sîkîlîâ, 24, 25  
 Silâwķîâ, Silâwķyâ, 140, 381, 389; Patrician of, 148  
 Silence, 35  
 Silentarii, the, 70  
 Silk, first appearance of, 8; Roman, 143  
 Silver, 72; pillar of, 65; silver in Agrippa's tunic, 50  
 Simâlôs, 117  
 Simeon, father of 'Abd Allâh, 157  
 Simeon, a priest, 42  
 Simeon Hûlâbû's physician, 437  
 Simeon Stylites, Mâr, Monastery of, 94  
 Sîmîôn, 151, 152  
 Sîmnadû, 169, 220, 258, 267, 293  
 Simon bar-Nâwlâ, 104  
 Simon, high priest and general, 43; killed, 44  
 Simon, Mâr, Stylites, 75  
 Simon, monk and physician, 57  
 Simon, son of Cleopas, 52  
 Simon Tarsai, 42  
 Simonides, 34  
 Sîmônôs Pharaoh, 9  
 Sîmyon, the Bulgarian, 161, 162  
 Sînâ Kârîmâyê, 179  
 Sînân, 339, 343  
 Sînân of Zâid, 406  
 Sînân, physician, 159, 162  
 Sînâyê, 352, 355, 438, 439; the Outer Chinese, 397  
 Sînbât, Bârôn, 454



- Singers in Tabernacle, 19; ejected from palace, 248; women, 155  
 Sinjâr, 202, 209, 249, 311, 312, 313, 315, 333, 344, 347, 348, 350, 359, 361, 365, 377, 402, 435, 437, 483  
 Sînôb, 369  
 Sinope, 369  
 Sion, 19, 235  
 Sirâ Dân Pâli, 375  
 Siramon, 411  
 Sire Dom Baile, 375  
 Sirens eat the dead in Edessa, 273  
 Sirîkhâ, 278  
 Sirin, 180  
 Sîs, near Melitene, 168, 379, 381, 446  
 Sîs, Little, Monastery of, 453  
 Sisters of Bêth Kûshâdâ, 441  
 Sistra (?), 443  
 Sit al-Mulk, 187  
 Sit Nasîm, 385  
 Sîwânî (Syene), 112, 134  
 Skirt, woman's, worn by Tamîm, 139  
 Slaves, the 360 Moorish, 134  
 Slaves, liberation of, 59, 92  
 Slavs, 76, 79, 84, 104, 398  
 Slings, 305  
 Smock (woman's), 315  
 Snake kills Catholicus, 258  
 Snakes, drowned, 305  
 Snow, 132, 193, 288, 335, 397  
 Snow, heavy falls of, 143, 199, 220, 299, 454; heavy everywhere, 299  
 Snow in Baghdâd, 161; four fingers deep, 155; a span deep, 199; from 1 to 1½ cubits deep and lies a whole week, 183  
 Snow in Mâwşil, 465  
 Socrates, 35, 36  
 Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, 1, 62  
 Sodomites, 355  
 Sodomy, 37, 505  
 Şôfi Gate, 368  
 Sofyân, 172  
 Sôkmân, 318  
 Solomon, 19, 20, 23, 34; Porch of, 462; Temple of, 96, 236  
 Solomon, ancestor of Tâbith, 152  
 Solomon, Rabban, the syncellus, 453  
 Solon the Lawgiver, 36  
 Sômôs, 5  
 Son of Mary (Christ), 52  
 Song of Praise by Deborah, 15  
 Sons of 'Alôhîm, 3  
 Sons of God, 3; leave Hermon, A.M. 1000, 4  
 Sons of 'Ômar, 271, 421  
 Sophia, Queen, 76, 81  
 Sophists, 34  
 Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem, 96  
 Sôprôs, 261  
 Sorcerers, killed, 107  
 Sorceries, 279  
 Sorcery, 61, 116; Tâtâr, 355  
 Sôrôs, 12  
 Sôsônôs, Pharaoh, 10  
 Soter, 44  
 Souls, transmigration of, 35, 343, 356  
 Sows, 72  
 Spain, 64, 234  
 Spaniards, 7, 75  
 Spear appears in heaven for thirty days, 93  
 Speusippos, 36  
 Spheres, brass astronomical, 451  
 Spôsîpôs, 36  
 Sru, 125  
 Stadium of Mâwşil, 271  
 Staff of Aesculapius (the marsh mallow), 6  
 Stagira, 36  
 Stags, 156  
 Stâi, 419  
 Standard bearer, 336  
 Star, great, appears for two months, 251



- Star, a fortress of Edessa, 273  
 Star falls like lightning, 194  
 Stars, conjunction of six wandering, 320, 327  
 Stars, orbits of the, 5; fall from heaven, 252  
 Şasîkôrôs, 11  
 Statue at Anastasiopolis, 72  
 Staves (cudgels), 331  
 Şâwriķî, 125  
 Stephanus, King of the Byzantines, 161  
 Stephen, brother of Tôrôs, 283, 284, 287  
 Stephen, Mâr, 235  
 Stibium, 149  
 Şîkôrôs, 11  
 Stilico the Eparch, 66  
 Stirrups, 184; of iron and wood, 352  
 Stones, fighting with, 331; lack of, in Baghdâd, 126  
 Stoning the living and dead, 65  
 Strangulation, 165  
 Strangury, 295, 302  
 Strategos, 66, 69  
 Sûbâshî, 198, 403, 406, 412  
 Subsidy, Persian, to Huns, 71  
 Sudarium, black, 212  
 Şûfnâyê, 396  
 Sûftâk, 368  
 Sugar, 342; Egyptian, 400; boxes of, 244  
 Suicide of maiden at Chalcedon, 120  
 Sû'idâth, 463  
 Sûlaimân, a general, 124  
 Sûlaimân, a physician, 135  
 Sûlaimân, a kinsman of Balâk, 251  
 Sûlaimân, a Prince, 119  
 Sûlaimân, brother of Walid, 107, 108  
 Sûlaimân, son of Hishâm, 110, 111  
 Sûlaimân, son of Kâtlamîsh, 227, 229, 230  
 Sûlaimân, son of Jaghrî Bâg, 216  
 Sûlaimân of Baghdâd, 439  
 Sûltân Shâh, 224  
 'Sun', son of Cleopatra, 46  
 Sun, the, dark for fourteen months, 74; dark for nine months, 90; eclipse of the, 320  
 Sûnâtâi 'Aghôneshâ, 394  
 Sûnbât, Bârôn, 391  
 Sunday, the first day in Chronology, 3  
 Sunday of Hosannas, 433  
 Sunday of the Resurrection, 134, 466  
 Sunnîs (the Orthodox Arabs), 174  
 Sûntai, 419  
 Sûntaksîs, 29  
 Sûph, Sea of, 12  
 Sûrhagân, 475  
 Sûrmanrâi, 404  
 Sûrmârî, 399  
 Suwayad, 441  
 Sweetmeats, 143  
 Sword and shroud, 279  
 Syene, 112, 134  
 Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, 58  
 Synagogue, 49, 70  
 Syntaxis, 53  
 Syracuse, 24, 41, 99  
 Syria, 7, 22, 23, 39, 40, 56, 65, 82, 83, 95, 96, 99, 100, 104, 109, 111, 115, 122, 144, 147, 167, 173, 174, 177, 179, 182, 193, 194, 198, 199, 209, 210, 218, 225, 230, 231, 232, 234, 235, 239, 240, 242, 243, 244, 250, 254, 264, 271, 272, 279, 284, 285, 295, 297, 303, 304, 321, 328, 344, 350, 361, 366, 372, 378, 396, 402, 411, 421, 431, 434, 439, 440, 442, 445, 450, 452, 453, 456, 457, 458, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 467, 471, 472, 482, 483, 489, 508, 509  
 Syriac, the oldest language, 8  
 Syrian Book = Bible, 7  
 Syrians, 6, 24, 40, 49, 54, 86, 92, 101, 117, 204, 207, 246, 321, 326;



- Syrians (*cont.*)  
 their Book of Law, 3; Books of,  
 2; the Ancient, 4
- Ṭabâjâg, 223  
 Ṭabâristân, 113  
 Tabernacle of Witness hidden by  
 Jeremiah, 26  
 Tabhnî, 21  
 Ṭâbith, a physician, son of Sîmân,  
 159, 162, 174  
 Ṭâbith, a pagan of Ḥarrân, 174  
 Table of Life, 110, 121  
 Tabnîn, 325  
 Tabrîz, 200, 232, 364, 450, 468, 473,  
 491, 497, 499, 507  
 Tacitus, Caesar, 57  
 Tadmor, 20  
 Ṭâfir, Khalîfah, 282  
 Ṭâfir, son of Saladin, 332  
 Taghlâbâyê, 400  
 Taghlîb, 106  
 Taghlîbites, 464  
 Tagrît, Tagrîth, 156, 178, 210, 257,  
 262, 264, 282, 288, 293, 433,  
 447  
 Tagritanians, 475  
 Tagrith (Tancred?), 242  
 Ṭâhir, 124, 127, 128, 129, 350  
 Ṭâhir, a general, 126  
 Ṭâhir, a son of Saladin, 316, 320  
 Ṭâhir ad-Dîn abû 'Âlî 'Ârid 'Al-  
 gâsh Mâlik, 344, 345, 346, 350,  
 365, 399; killed, 438  
 Ṭâhir ad-Dîn Shâharmân, 317  
 Ṭâhir Jâzî (Ghâzî), 351, 369  
 Ṭâhir, Khalîfah, 384, 388, 390  
 Ṭâhir Mâlik of Aleppo, 406  
 Ṭâhir Rûkn ad-Dîn of Egypt, 438  
 Ṭâhir, son of Ḥâkim, 188  
 Ṭâî', 174, 176, 178  
 Taimnâ, 346  
 Ṭâj ad-Dâwlâh, 386  
 Ṭâj ad-Dâwlâh Tatâsh, 232  
 Ṭâj ad-Dîn, 485, 488  
 Ṭâj ad-Dîn 'Îsâ, 431  
 Ṭâj ad-Dîn of 'Arbîl, 481  
 Ṭâj ad-Dîn Rashîk, 385, 386  
 Ṭâj al-Mlûk Bûrî (?), 316  
 Ṭâj al-Mlûk Tûrî, 295  
 Ṭâj Bûghârî, the inventor of  
 Thîryâkî, 405  
 Ṭâjir, 499  
 Ṭâkî ad-Dîn, 317, 329, 344, 392,  
 393, 396  
 Ṭâkî ad-Dîn 'Abbâs, 394  
 Ṭâkî ad-Dîn 'Ômar, nephew of  
 Saladin, 295, 320, 331, 338  
 Ṭâkîsh, 345, 346, 349, 351  
 Ṭâkîtôs, 57  
 Takrît, 433  
 Ṭâkûdâr 'Aḥmad, 467, 471  
 Ṭalîsmâtâs, 52  
 Tall 'Afar, 359, 377, 378  
 Tall Bashîr, 322, 373  
 Tall Ḥamdôn, 381  
 Tall Maḥrê, 1, 24, 104, 118, 127  
 Talmîdh, 289  
 Tamarinds, 216  
 Tamîm who dressed like a woman,  
 139  
 Tammûz, month of, 65, 89, 118,  
 139, 177, 292, 303, 401, 420, 435,  
 448, 472, 475, 487, 489, 494  
 Tamshâl, 398  
 Tancred of Antioch, 242, 243, 245,  
 246, 247  
 Ṭangâzlû, 492  
 Tangût, 391, 398  
 Ṭânîs, 84  
 Tankûrtâyê, 390  
 Tannis, 188, 219, 244  
 Tanûkâyê, 117, 129  
 Tanûshmân, 239  
 Tâômâ, 116, 121, 185, 186  
 Tâômâ, Mâr, church of, 386  
 Taormina, 24  
 Taphsah, 23  
 Ṭapragh, 232  
 Ṭarâkôs, 10



- Tarhaḳ, 24  
 Tarjan, 413  
 Tarḳ, 9  
 Tarkâyê, 73, 85  
 Tarkê, 105  
 Tarkî, 7, 64, 66, 89, 117, 145, 162  
 Tarkîs, 63  
 Tarkôs, Pharaoh, 10  
 Tarnîn, 346  
 Târôn, a city, 142  
 Tarpâshî, 451  
 Tarseḳyânî, 125  
 Tarshenâ, 279  
 Tarsôs, 16, 136, 140, 154, 155, 156, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 175, 227, 237, 264, 285, 287, 305, 334, 380, 389, 410, 446, 449, 452; Duke of, 288; mosque used as a stable, 171  
 Tarsus, 16, 24, 57, 62, 133, 244; flooded, 76  
 Tartars, kingdom of the, 352 f.  
 Tartûg, 246  
 Tâsôs, 15  
 Tâtâr propagandist, 353  
 Tâtârâyê, 352  
 Tâtârs, 352, 368, 369, 371, 376, 381, 382, 383, 385, 394, 396, 397, 402, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 412, 413, 420, 423, 436, 437, 439, 440, 441, 442, 444, 445, 446, 447, 451, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 463, 464, 467, 468, 471, 474; their army, 354  
 Tatâsh, 232  
 Tâw, 63  
 Tax, capitation, 445  
 Tax gatherers, 106  
 Taxation, 128; remitted to priests, deacons, and scribes, 418, 467  
 Taxes, excessive and heavy, 109, 114, 115, 178  
 Tayyâyê, 79, 80, 89, 90  
 Tebit, 205  
 Tedhmûr, 20  
 Tegritians, 433  
 Tekrît, 141  
 Tell 'Afar, 211, 213, 278  
 Tell Bâshir, 242, 244, 276, 277, 414, 436  
 Tell Besmê, 270, 321  
 Tell Hamdûn, 281  
 Tell Shîh, 270  
 Tell Tâwrî, 217  
 Tellâ, 96, 125, 270  
 Tellâ 'Aûkâmâ, 506  
 Tellâ dhê-'Eglê, 333, 391, 392  
 Tellâ dhê Hamdon, 465  
 Temple, Solomon's, 20, 96, 236; burned by Nebuzaradan, 26; on 10th day of 'Âb, 51; plundered, 26; rebuilt, 33; finished, 34; 30,000 Jews trampled to death, 50; voice in at Pentecost, 48; image of Gaius Caesar set up in by Petronius, 49; plundered by Antiochus Epiphanes, 42  
 Temple of Jews at Elephantine (?), 42  
 Temple of Jews in Antioch looted, 59  
 Temple of Jews on Mount Gerizim, 36  
 Temple built over Christ's Tomb, 59  
 Temple of the Resurrection, 184, 194, 196  
 Temples, pagan, reopened, 61  
 Temûrgîn, Temûrkhîn, Temûrshîn, 353  
 Temûrtâsh, 251, 265, 270, 317, 362  
 Temûryâlig, 195  
 Tenth man, every, killed, 72  
 Tents, black, 216  
 Terah, 9  
 Terra-cotta cups, 143  
 Teshrîn, First, 40, 71, 90, 129, 203, 216, 266, 273, 286, 287, 308, 327, 454, 464, 473, 506  
 Teshrîn, Latter, 76, 224, 229, 247, 268, 401, 508



- Teshrîns, the Two, 405  
 Testicles, 201; of musk animal, 144  
 Testicles of Sargî removed, 100, 101  
 Tetragônîsâ, 225  
 Tetrarchs, the, 48  
 Thâbith, 126  
 Thales, 25  
 Thâômâ, 129  
 Thebaîd, 52  
 Thebaîs, 7  
 Thebes, 16, 52  
 Thebes (in Greece), 274  
 Thekla, 129, 131  
 Themistus the philosopher, 68  
 Theodora and Justinianus, 73, 74  
 Theodora, daughter of Maximianus, 58  
 Theodora, Queen of Constantine, 207  
 Theodora, Queen, 142  
 Theodora, mother of Michael, 140  
 Theodora, daughter of Michael, 200  
 Theodora died, 75  
 Theodore of Athens, 52  
 Theodore of Nineveh, 427  
 Theodoret, 43  
 Theodoric, brother of Heraclius, 93  
 Theodorus, the Armenian, of Cilicia, 252  
 Theodosiopolis, 71  
 Theodosius, a general, 107  
 Theodosius 'born on the purple', 83  
 Theodosius, brother of Kustans, 98  
 Theodosius, daughter of, 85  
 Theodosius of Edessa, 126  
 Theodosius, Patrician, 57  
 Theodosius, Patriarch of Constantinople, 303  
 Theodosius, the Great, 64  
 Theodosius, the Less, 66  
 Theodosius, statue of, fell during earthquake, 73  
 Theon the Alexandrian, 36, 54  
 Theophana, Queen, 173; a sister of, poisons Shûmûshkîn, 175  
 Theophila the astronomer, 116, 117  
 Theophila, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138; dies, 140  
 Theophilus, King, 132  
 Theophilus of Edessa, 40  
 Theophilus, son of Michael, 131  
 Theophrastus, 37  
 Theopitus, a paralytic, 110  
 Theriake, 54  
 Thermopylae, 42  
 Thessalonica, 64, 65, 98, 427  
 Thessaly, 12  
 Thîryâkî, 405  
 Thômâs, kinsman of Tôrôs, 292  
 Thothmes, 12  
 Thrace, 7, 39  
 Thread to the needle, 387  
 Three-eyed king, 8  
 Three Towers, 72  
 Thrice Great (Hermes), 5  
 Throne of gold, 209, 215  
 Throne of the Four Cushions, 394  
 Throne seven cubits high, 212  
 Throne, the Great Mongol, 500  
 Thûmâ, 270  
 Thumb, cutting of the, as oath, 191  
 Thunder, 153; voice from, 149  
 Tîanîî, 234  
 Tiberias, 274, 322, 324, 325, 332, 379  
 Tiberius Apsîmârôs, 104  
 Tiberius, a Turkish scribe, 79  
 Tiberius and Heraklî, 102  
 Tiberius Caesar, 47, 48, 80, 81, 83  
 Tiberius, son of Constantine, 110  
 Tiberius, son of Justinianus, 105  
 Tiberius, son of Kustans, 99  
 Tibrîs, river, 58  
 Tidal wave, 63  
 Tiflis, 142  
 Tighînkâr, 277  
 Tiglath Pileser, 23  
 Tigris, 8, 33, 62, 72, 114, 133, 135, 162, 171, 202, 208, 251, 256, 271, 297, 319, 367, 374, 377, 421, 430,



- Tigris (*cont.*)  
 447, 460, 475, 481, 483, 486;  
 filled with ice, 191; completely  
 frozen over, 216; flood of, 134;  
 flood of, destroys Baghdâd, 404;  
 rises twenty cubits, 175; water of,  
 runs red like blood, 283
- Tilâ, 474
- Timaus, 36
- Timothy, Bishop of Tellâ, 270
- Timothy, Saint, 69
- Timûr Nâwîn, 416
- Timûrtash, 277
- Tin, white, 156
- Tinâ, 471
- Tîrâhâyê, 362
- Tîrhâkâh, 24
- Tîṭaliâ, 65
- Tithes, 5
- Titî, father of Shams ad-Din, 467
- Titus Andronicus Caesar, 53; pro-  
 claimed 'God', 50, 51
- Tôbîṭ, 24
- Tôghû, 457
- Tôkûz, Khatûn, 419, 435, 444
- Tôl'â, 16
- Tomb of Christ, 59
- Tômôthôs, 12
- Tongue, cutting out of the, 42, 283;  
 tongue of Patriarch of Chalcedon  
 cut out, 10
- Tonsure, 70; of Theodosius, 108;  
 of King Michael, 227
- Topaz, 91
- Tôrôs, 252, 253, 283, 284, 285, 288,  
 289; died, 292
- Tôrôs, Bârôn, killed, 446
- Tôrôs of Armenia, 436
- Tôrôs of Cilicia, 280; died, 255
- Tôrôs, son of Leo, 275
- Torque of gold, 138
- Tortures, Mongol, 481
- Tower (dam or boom?) in the Nile  
 at Damietta, 374
- Tower [of Babel], 8
- Tower of David in Jerusalem, 231,  
 279
- Tower of 'Estratôn, 47
- Towers on wheels for siege pur-  
 poses, 333
- Trajan Caesar, 52
- Transmigration of souls, 343, 356
- Transubstantiation, 121
- Ṭrâpîzôn, 249
- Ṭrâpîzônṭâ, 23
- Ṭrâpîzûn, 395
- Trebizond, 249, 395
- Tree of wrought silver with gilded  
 leaves, 156
- Ṭrîmôthîsâ, 12
- Tribute, reunion of, 53
- Trinity, the, 101
- Ṭrîpôgrîn, 73
- Tripoli, Tripolis, 76, 167, 172, 235,  
 238, 245, 285, 288, 305, 322, 324,  
 334, 340, 351, 364, 371, 439, 449,  
 453, 482; taken by Franks, 243
- Tripolitanus, 238
- Trîsmaghîstôs, 5
- Troas, 76
- Trumpeters, 336
- Ṭuânâ, 106, 122, 153; Patrician of,  
 148
- Tûbîl, 195
- Tubûth Tangrî, 353
- Tûdân, 457
- Ṭûghr Balâbâ, 425
- Ṭûghr Hâpâ, 425
- Ṭûghrâ, Ṭûghrâi, 206
- Ṭûghrel 'Arslân, 243, 253, 256
- Ṭûghrel Bâg, 196, 198, 199, 200,  
 201, 202-9, 214, 215; died, 216
- Ṭûghrel, son of Maḥmûd, 256
- Ṭûghrel Sûltân, his pedigree, killed,  
 345
- Ṭûghrel, a eunuch, 391
- Tûghtakîn, 244, 245, 246, 249
- Tûkâk, 195, 341
- Tûlî, 353, 376, 390, 391, 393; died,  
 398



- Tûlî Khân, 419  
 Tûllôs, 25  
 Tumours in groin, 75  
 Tunic of Bishop of Hebrôn, 66  
 Tunic of the Prophet, 225  
 Tunnel, 60 × 4 cubits, 328  
 Tûr 'Abdîn, 86, 132, 475  
 Tûrâ Mesantâ, 407  
 Tûrân, 195  
 Tûrandâ, 106, 289  
 Turbans, 259  
 Turcoman Ghûzzâyê, 213  
 Turcomans, 226, 228, 234, 254, 296  
 Tûrkân, Khâtûn, 232, 411, 426, 440  
 Tûrkân Shâh, 224  
 Tûrkâyê, 94, 107, 109, 110, 137, 145, 174, 178, 195; unpaid, 146, 147  
 Tûrkâyê, the Inner, 184  
 Turkey, 64, 66, 67, 69, 73  
 Tûrkînâ, Queen, 410, 411  
 Turkomans, 196, 321, 328, 330, 333, 360, 405, 406, 408, 425, 427, 453, 456, 457, 460, 465, 508  
 Turks, 7, 73, 78, 192, 195, 198, 207, 208, 212, 213, 215, 216-18, 220, 221, 227, 228, 229, 231, 235, 237, 240, 242, 247, 249, 250, 253, 255, 257, 261, 265-70, 273-9, 280, 281, 283, 285-9, 292, 306-8, 310, 362, 363, 387, 418, 455, 475  
 Tûrkyârûk, 232, 233, 235, 236  
 Turrîs Stratonis, 47  
 Turtle-doves, 306  
 Tûs, 122, 198  
 Tûshî, 368, 391, 416  
 Tusks of elephants, 134  
 Tûzôn, a general, 143  
 Twelve Apostles, Church of the, 59  
 Two Rivers, the, 7  
 Typhoon, 194  
 Tyre, 20, 21, 181, 244, 252, 325, 327, 330, 339, 351, 360, 439  
 Tyre and Nebuchadnezzar, 29  
 Tyre destroyed, 33  
 'Ûbaid, son of Sârî, 131  
 'Ûbaid Allâh, 240  
 Uigurs, the, and their alphabet, 354  
 'Ûjair, 132, 138  
 'Ukail, 293  
 'Ûkâmâ, 310  
 'Ûkâmtâ, 153  
 'Ûkhâtâi, 368  
 'Ûkhâtâ, 97  
 Ulcer, 414; causes death, 111; in chest, 449  
 'Ûmar, a general, 145  
 Ûnâyê, 65  
 'Untî Khân (i.e. John), 352  
 Ur of the Chaldees, 10  
 Ûrdû-Bâlik (City of the Camp), 398  
 Ûrhâi (Edessa), 5, 8, 48; building of, 40  
 Uriah, 19  
 Urine, 367; of mule, 122; retention of, 80, 141  
 Ûrmî, 198  
 Ûrmîâh, 198  
 Ûrsînôs, 52  
 'Ûrtâyê, 72  
 'Ûthmân, 99, 100  
 Valens, 62  
 Valentinianus, 62, 66, 68  
 Valentinus, 53  
 Valerianus, Caesar, 56  
 Valley of Germânîkî, 114  
 Vaticination, 63  
 Vellum, purple, with writing in gold, 207  
 Venetians, 428  
 Vespasians, 50, 51  
 Vestilianus, 53  
 Vienna, 48  
 Vigil of three days in Rome, 56  
 Vine culture prohibited, 52  
 Vine props, 276  
 Vineyards, 102  
 Violet (a woman's name), 299  
 Vipers, flesh of, used in medicine, 39



- Virginité of Sit al-Mulk, 187  
 Virgins, the Four Hundred, 73;  
   raping of, 204; the 2,000 who  
   drowned themselves, 78; the  
   1,000 captive, 137; the 40, 394  
 Vitalianus, 51, 73  
 Volga, 398  
 Volusianus, Caesar, 56  
  
 Wadhkhôkî, 441  
 Wahâb, 172  
 Wailing women, 388  
 Wâirînâ, 69  
 Walgâsh, 54  
 Wâlî ad-Dîn, 436  
 Walîd, 106, 111  
 Walîd, the heretic, 118  
 Wall of Rome, 57; of Khîshûm, 130  
 Wân, 364  
 Wardân Shâh, 224  
 Warden of the Marches, 72, 77  
 Wardôs, Domesticus, 176  
 Warhârân Garmânshâh, 57, 64, 67  
 Wartâw, 483  
 Wash-basin, 315  
 Wâsîf, a rebel, 154  
 Wâsîl = Bâsîl, 246  
 Wâsîṭ, 111, 214, 253, 283  
 Water, cooled by snow, 320; crossed  
   on foot, 66; failure of, 109;  
   frozen in Baghdâd, 193, 199;  
   sweet, 261  
 Water Gate of Edessa, 273  
 Water lily, 205  
 Waters, black, appear during earth-  
   quake, 266  
 Waters, blessing of the, at Epiphany,  
   460  
 Wathḍ Lâḥ ad-Dîn, 335  
 Wâthek, 140, 147  
 Wax, 420; candles of, 144; melted,  
   213  
 Wazîr, 157, 180; sewn up in hide  
   of bull, 214  
 Weasels, 226  
  
 Weather, knowledge of, in birds and  
   beasts, 262  
 Wedding crown, 85  
 Week of the dead, 455  
 Week of White Apparel, 251  
 Weeks, the Seventy, 35  
 Weights and measures, the inven-  
   tion of, 8  
 Wells, frozen, 299  
 Wheat, famine prices of, 167, 172,  
   183, 205; from Alexandria, 179  
 White Apparel, 78  
 Whoremonger killed, insane treat-  
   ment of his body, 482  
 Wild ass of the Island, 111  
 Will of 'Alb 'Arslân, 224; of  
   Arcadius, 66; of Constantine, 59;  
   of Khâwârazm Shâh, 346  
 Wilyâs, 223  
 Wind, black (i.e. *habûb*), in Nubia,  
   194; in Tagrîth, 184  
 Wind destroys Babel, 8  
 Wind (i.e. whirlwind, hurricane),  
   153  
 Winding sheet, 341  
 Winds, scorching, south, 177  
 Wine, 91, 144; 400 jars emptied  
   into the Tigris, 162; wasted, 245  
 Wine, frozen, 155; like urine, 75  
 Wine pot and head of Wâlîd, 111  
 Winepresses, 276  
 Winters, seven, 86, 102, 459; in  
   Baghdâd, 191; in Edessa, 401  
 Wisdom, the Five Pillars of, 19  
 Witches, 279  
 Wives in common, 59  
 Wolf and 'Azîz, 347; skin of, as  
   dress, 347  
 Woman, the fasting, 114  
 Women as common property, 35  
 Women forbidden to appear in  
   streets, 185  
 Women-men (i.e. Sodomites), 355  
 Wood saw, 25  
 Wool, 396; head bands of, 141



- Word, the Everlasting, 92  
 Work on Sabbath prohibited, 69  
 World created on Sunday, Nisân,  
     3, 6; second division of, 7  
 World to come described, 91  
 Worship of God established by  
     Enoch, 5  
 Writing discovered by Enoch, 5
- Yabâghu 'Arslân, 226  
 Yabâghû, son of Saljûk, 196  
 Yâbhûsayê, 6  
 Yaghân, 259  
 Yabîh Allâhâ, Catholicus, 492  
 Yâhû, 23  
 Yâhûâhâz, 22, 25, 26  
 Yaḥyâh, 125  
 Yaḥyâh, father of Kezel, 198  
 Yaḥyâh, a physician, 236  
 Yâir, 16  
 Ya'kôb, derivation of name of, 5  
 Yaksh, 347  
 Yakshân, son of Abraham, 12  
 Ya'kûb 'Arslân, 267, 279, 280, 281,  
     287, 288  
 Yalwâj, 411  
 Yambres, 12  
 Yamnâyê, 119  
 Yamniâ, 23  
 Yamshî, 21, 22  
 Yânês, 12  
 Yapht, 6  
 Yard, 4  
 Yarlikê, 507  
 Yarlikh (*sic*), 425, 434, 443, 455,  
     458; Yarlikhê, 474  
 Yarmûkâ, 94  
 Yârûkâyê, 311, 313, 314  
 Yâsân, Mongol governor, 440  
 Yasâwûr Nâwîn, 409, 420  
 Yastâpôr, 246  
 Yâsûnshîn Bâgî, Queen of Tâtârs,  
     353  
 Yathrêb, 91, 94, 99, 100, 102, 103,  
     114, 120; John of, 8
- Yathrôn, 12  
 Yatrêb, 16  
 Yâwân, 257  
 Yâwlaḡ, 317  
 Yâwnân, 22  
 Yâwnâyê, 41, 42, 52, 222, 228, 234;  
     Church of, in Damascus, 106;  
     Kings of the, 81 f.  
 Yawtâsh Baglâr Bâg, 424  
 Yazdagara, 65, 67, 93, 94, 95, 96;  
     the executor of Arcadius, 66  
 Yazîd bar-Mûhâlâb, 109  
 Yazîd, captain of a host, 114  
 Yazîd, killer of the heretic Walîd, 118  
 Yazîd, son of 'Abd al-Mâlik, 109  
 Yazîd, son of Mûâwîyah, 102  
 Yazîd, son of Walîd, 111  
 Years, lunar and solar, 252  
 Years, the 1,000, of Rome, 56  
 Yôâsh, 22  
 Yôbhâbh, 9  
 Yôkanyâ, 25, 26, 29  
 Yônâdhâbh, 42  
 Yônath, 19  
 Yônâthân, 22  
 Yôrabh'am, 22  
 Yôshâfât, 21  
 Yôshbâ, 22  
 Yôthâm, 22, 23  
 Yôtôpatâ, 50  
 Yôyâchîn, 29  
 Yôyâdâ, Yôyâdhâ', 20, 22  
 Yôyâkhîn, 26  
 Yôyâkûn, 25, 29  
 Yûnûs of Mâsarâ, 267  
 Yûsef Shâh, 472  
 Yûstôs, 20  
 Yûsuf bar-Mâhamâd, 142
- Zabâr, 246  
 Zâbhâ, 112, 374, 377, 378, 441  
 Zâbhâ, the Lower, 402  
 Zabhdai, 49  
 Zâbhê, the Upper and Lower  
     rivers, 319



- Zabîl (Jezebel), 375, 380, 390, 418  
 Zâcharî, the Little, 361  
 Zachariah, King, 23  
 Zachariah, a physician, 149  
 Zachariah, the rhetorician, 1  
 Zâdimîdûkht, 93  
 Zâi, 203; daughter of Michael, 200  
 Zâid, Citadel and town, 245, 250, 251, 268, 270, 276, 280, 287, 296, 308, 361, 396, 400, 403, 412, 425, 426, 455, 465, 471, 487; flooded, 278  
 Zainî, 263  
 Zairâk, 142  
 Zâkî of 'Arbîl, 444, 446  
 Zamasp, 70  
 Zamrî, buys Shâmrîn (Samaria), commits suicide, 21  
 Zandâk, 196  
 Zangabad, 404  
 Zangî of Mâwşîl, son of Jagarmîsh, 239, 240, 248, 249, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 260, 262, 263, 264, 268, 269, 270, 271, 288, 289, 292, 311; his four sons, 271  
 Zangî, son of Kâsim, 253  
 Zarâ'â, 184  
 Zârâh, 21  
 Zash, 9  
 Zâwath, 174  
 Zawzân, 321  
 Zâwzânâyê, 372, 378  
 Zayn ad-Dîn, 292, 326, 344  
 Zayn ad-Dîn 'Âlî Kûjek, 359  
 Zayn ad-Dîn Kârâjâ, a slave, 349  
 Zayn ad-Dîn Kawshak, 333  
 Zayn ad-Dîn of 'Arbîl, 317, 372  
 Zayn ad-Dîn of Edessa, 317  
 Zaynôn, 68, 69, 70, 71  
 Zazrîg, 217  
 Zebedee, 49  
 Zechariah, 34, 79; a writer, 75; of Nubia, 134  
 Zedekiah, 25, 26, 27  
 Zedekiah, the lying prophet, 21  
 Zeno, 68, 69  
 Zephaniah, 25  
 Zeus and Kronos in conjunction, 473  
 Zeus, image of, set up in Temple of Jerusalem, 43  
 Zimiscen, 166  
 Zînâ, Mâr, Monastery of, 363  
 Zion, 19; forest of, 463  
 Zipporah, 12  
 Zîrâk, 162; of 'Âmid, 202  
 Zîzônâ, 261  
 Zmaros, 10  
 Zôaî, 200  
 Zoan, 219  
 Zoar, 9  
 Zôbatrâ, 120, 266  
 Zodiac, 183, 194, 225, 234; festivals of the Signs of the, 5  
 Zôrôs, 12  
 Zûbatrâ, 134, 135, 138; flood in, 134  
 Zûferâ, a rebel, 103  
 Zûrbâbhêl, 33  
 Zûtâyê pirates, 133  
 Zûzâ, plur. zûzê, 104, 112, 115







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