

THE ARMENIAN VERSIONS I AND II OF MICHAEL THE SYRIAN*

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Michael the Great held a prominent place in Armenian historiography. His Chronicle is constantly transmitted in Armenian manuscripts from the 13th to the 19th centuries.¹ Fifty years after the achievement of the original history by the Syriac patriarch, his Armenian translators Vardan Areweltsi and Isho‘ do not hold back from words of esteem and admiration for the author and his work; they praise its value for those Armenian readers “*who love erudition*,” and put their appreciation into the words: “Michael’s Chronicle is like a rich and useful garden, full of interesting thoughts and expressions. It assembles important events of ancient and contemporary history in many nations and countries of the world. Unknown and new information can be found in it collected from Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Hebrew and Syriac sources. The Syrian people speak the oldest language of the world; they are highly respected for their arts and knowledge. Michael is a

* The article is the slightly revised foreword to the reprint of the Armenian chronicles of Michael (ed. Jerusalem 1870 and 1871) by G. Kiraz (ed.), *Texts and Translations of the Chronicle of Michael the Great, vol. 8 and 9*, Piscataway: Georgias Press 2011. The term “Epitome” used by Kiraz for the reprint of the old Armenian versions of Michaels chronicle is not correct.

¹ See A. SCHMIDT, “Manuscrits arméniens de la chronique du Michel le Syrien dans le fond patriarcal à Jérusalem,” in: C. MUTAFIAN – G. DÉ-DEYAN (ed.), *La Méditerranée des Arméniens (XI–XV^e siècle)*, Paris (in print).

representative of this old and scholarly tradition of the Syrians; his book is trustworthy, estimable and practical for those who love learning. Furthermore his history is a solid bulwark of the apostolic orthodox faith that the Armenians share with the Syrians; and the Syriac patriarch shows in his work a special love and understanding for the Armenians.”²

As for the manuscripts, they, too, reflect the positive reception by the Armenians of Michael’s Chronicle. Around 40 Armenian manuscripts are presently extant, very important ones being found in the libraries of Jerusalem, Erevan and Nor-Julfa (Isfahan).³ Most of these manuscripts are carefully written: the title and the beginning of the text is placed under a colorful *khoran* with ornaments, birds and zoomorphic initials;⁴ the title is executed in red, blue or even golden letters; beautiful ornaments embellish the margins of the pages. Some manuscripts even portray Michael as a patriarch in rich liturgical vestments or as a diligent scribe.⁵ In the Armenian manuscripts, Michael’s Chronicle can mostly be found together with other historical works of Armenian writers (e.g. Samuel of Ani, Stephanus Orbelean, Kirakos of Gandzak)⁶ or in combination with theological and canonical writings of distin-

² See the translators’ conclusions in their translation of *Version I*: Jerusalem 1870, pp. 610–11; *Version II*: Jerusalem 1871, pp. 41*–42*.

³ See SCHMIDT, *Manuscrits arméniens de la chronique du Michel le Syrien*.

⁴ See for example the beautiful Ms. Erev. 1518 (A.D. 1594–1600) written for the priest Serapion in Urfa, the later Katholikos Grigor XIII (A.D. 1603–06). He himself was a historian and thus quite interested in the Chronicle. He was in the possession of another manuscript with Michael’s history, Ms. Tübingen Ma XIII 70, which was written in A.D. 1432 in Agulis (F.N. FINCK – L. GJANDSCHEZIAN (ed.), *Systematischer Hauptkatalog der Königlichen Universitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen. M. Handschriften, a. Orientalische*, vol. 13: *Verzeichnis der Armenischen Handschriften der Königlichen Universitätsbibliothek*, Tübingen, 1907, col. 108–110), see online <http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/diglit/MaXIII70>.

⁵ See Ms. Erev. 1870 (A.D. 1602–18), fol. 1v; Ms. Erev. 6411 (A.D. 1658), fol. 2v.

⁶ It is striking that Michael’s Chronicle is not found together with the history of Vardan Areweltsi though Vardan played such an important role for the origin of the Armenian translation and subsequent versions.

guished Armenian authors like Nerses Shnorhali, Nerses of Lambron or Grigor of Narek. Rare are those manuscripts which contain only his history.⁷ Besides the transmission of the complete text there can be found numerous minor and major extracts of Michael's Chronicle in Armenian manuscripts.

The translation of Michael's Chronicle was done in 1246/48⁸ at the order of Catholicos Constantine Bardzrbertsi (1221-1267) at the patriarchal residence in Hromkla. The *Vorlage* was Michael's own manuscript from the library of the monastery Barsauma. The Armenian translators were renowned personalities in the patriarchate and at the Armenian court of king Hethum in Cilicia: on the one hand Vardan Areweltsi (d. 1271) was a prominent historian⁹ and theologian (*vardapet*) of the Armenian Church, since 1241 having been assigned to several ecclesiastical and royal

⁷ For example the manuscripts Jerus. 343 (A.D. 1480) and Jerus. 32 (A.D. 1273), which were edited by T. Sawalaneants in 1870 and 1871; or the unpublished manuscripts Nor-Julfa 27 (A.D. 1674) and Erev. 5904 (13th c.), Erev. 10862 (A.D. ante 1639), Erev. 1485 (17th c.), Vienna 81 (16th c.), Vienna 236 (a 19th c. copy from a ms. of A.D. 1656).

⁸ Two dates of the translation are given in the manuscripts: the year 695 (A.D. 1246) and 697 (A.D. 1248) of the Armenian era. Only a complete examination of all available manuscripts and a critical edition of the two distinct versions of the Armenian translation (in preparation by A. Schmidt) can clarify the question if the different dates indicate rather a process of translation (1246) and subsequent revision (1248), or a simple slip of the pen by the copyists of the manuscripts, because the Armenian letters ի for 5 and է for 7 are quite similar. The scientific literature generally dates the translation to A.D. 1248, see A.B. SCHMIDT, *Die zweifache armenische Rezension der syrischen Chronik Michaels des Großen*, in: *Le Muséon* 109 (1996), pp. 305–6.

⁹ R.W. THOMSON, "The Historical compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i," in: *Dumbarton Oak Papers* 43 (1989), p. 125–224; ID., "Vardans Historical Compilation and its Sources," in: *Le Muséon* 100 (1987), p. 343–352. See P. HALFTER – A. SCHMIDT, "Der römische Stuhl und die armenische Christenheit zur Zeit Papst Innozenz IV. Die Mission des Franziskaners Dominikus von Aragon nach Sis und Hromkla und das Lehrbekenntnis des Katholikos Konstantin I. Bardzrbertsi," in: *Le Muséon* 116 (2003), pp. 91–135.

missions in Cilicia, Armenia and the Mongol court; and on the other hand Isho‘/Yeshu‘ of Hasankeyf (d. 1247)—according to the Armenian spelling also known as Ishokh¹⁰—was a writer of philosophical texts and appointed priest of the Syriac Church of Our Lady in Hromkla.¹¹ He had close relations with the Syriac Patriarch Ignatius who lived at that time in the residence of the Armenian catholicos in Hromkla and allowing the use of Michael’s autograph in the patriarchal library.¹²

Both translators worked together in a bilingual cooperation of native speakers, which was not unusual in this period of the heyday of literary activity in Cilicia and the region of Antioch.¹³ The Syrian Isho‘ perhaps worked out a first translation, and Vardan improved the text into a good and comprehensible Armenian style. However Vardan’s part seems not only the revision in linguistic and literary regards. His role is also that of a co-author and historian. He continues Michael’s Chronicle from A.D. 1216 up to his time (the year of the translation) relating the events in Armenia, Georgia and the Near East, and particularly in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia under the rule of king Leo and his successor Hethum. He is much worried by the invasion of the Mongols (“Tartars”, or “Nation of Archers”), a political event of imminent actuality. He laments the devastation of Armenia and gives information about the origin,

¹⁰ The Armenian tradition transformed the name afterwards into Sahak (Isaac), see SCHMIDT, *Die zweifache armenische Rezension*, p. 304 n. 29.

¹¹ See H. TAKAHASHI, “Simeon of Qal’a Rumaita, Patriarch Philoxenus Nemrod and Bar ‘Ebroyo,” in: *Hugoye* 4,1 (2001), [6 n. 22], [40] suggesting the identification of Ishokh with Isho‘ of Hasankeyf and not with the physician ‘Isa of Edessa, who was active at the Cilician court in Sis (SCHMIDT, *Die zweifache armenische Rezension*, pp. 305–6).

¹² See the colophon in *Version I*: Jerusalem 1870, p. 612 = V. LANGLOIS, *Chronique de Michel le Grand*, Venice 1868, p. 375.

¹³ See A. SCHMIDT, “Die armenisch-syrischen Beziehungen im Spiegel der kilikischen Übersetzungsliteratur,” in: A. DROST-ABGARJAN – H. GOLTZ (eds.), *Armenologie in Deutschland. Beiträge zum ersten deutschen Armenologen-Tag*, (Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte. 35), Münster 2005, p. 119–126; J. WEITENBERG, “Armeno-Syrian Cultural relations in the Cilician Period (12.-14th c.),” in: H. TEULE *et al.* (ed.), *The Syriac Renaissance*, (Eastern Christian Studies. 9), Leuven 2010, p. 341–352.

settlements and customs of the Mongols. As a co-author he further supplements Michael's tables of patriarchs with a complete list of the Armenian patriarchs from the time of the apostle Thaddeus up to catholicos Constantine Bardzrbertsi. In an extra paragraph, he emphasizes the apostolic origin and orthodoxy of the Armenian church. Besides his own historical supplements Vardan embarks on a thorough revision of Michael's work. The structure and contents change significantly under his hand. The former arrangement of the historical material in three columns, separating profane and ecclesiastical history, and in 21 books and various chapters, is transformed by him into a continuous text.¹⁴ Vardan changes the order of the chapters, he adds new material to the Syriac narratives or sums them up; he abbreviates other parts or cuts them down, shifting the focal points of the original text towards a pro-Armenian interpretation.¹⁵ His attitude towards the different chronological data given by Michael is now focused on Armenian interests. The time of the Seleucids given by Michael is in general maintained, but the chronological data using of the Byzantine and Hijra eras is replaced by the Armenian era. The beginning of the Armenian calendar is clearly made known by Vardan when Michael's Chronicle comes to the year 871 of the Seleucids which Vardan marks as the year 1 of the Armenian calendar.¹⁶ To put matters briefly: instead of an exact and literary translation of the Chronicle, Vardan gives a paraphrastic rendering and introduces his specific views and concepts into the historic material. He changes Michael's Chronicle into a historical work of its own.

Hence the Syriac original and the Armenian Chronicle can hardly be read as parallel texts. It nevertheless might be useful to compare the two Armenian versions with the Syriac Aleppo Codex

¹⁴ In detail see SCHMIDT, *Die zweifache armenische Rezension*, pp. 307–19.

¹⁵ See for example A. SCHMIDT, "Syrische Tradition in armenischer Adaption. Die armenische Rezeption des Geschichtswerks von Michael Syrus und der antichalcedonische Judenbrief an Kaiser Markianos," in: R. LAVENANT (ed.), *VII. Symposium Syriacum*, (OCA. 256), Rome 1998, pp. 359–71.

¹⁶ See *Version I*: Jerusalem 1870, p. 199 = LANGLOIS, *Chronique de Michel le Grand*, p. 273; *Version II*: Jerusalem 1871, p. 256.

or Chabot's copy for supplementing Syriac lacunae¹⁷ and variants, because the Armenian translation is extant in much more and very old manuscript than the unique late Syriac manuscript (A.D. 1598). However, prudence and a critical sense is required.

The editorial situation of the Armenian translation is quite complicated. It has come down to us in two versions. On the one hand they differ in wording, names and chronological data,¹⁸ as well as in a series of omissions and additions; on the other hand both versions are written in the same style and are obviously from the same authors, Vardan Areweltsi in cooperation with Isho'. Even though he articulates it in different ways, Vardan mentions in both versions the same historical circumstances of the translation of Michael's Chronicle.¹⁹ In general, he maintains the same sequence of events, episodes and themes apart from a series of omissions, additions and changes of emphasis in the historical material.

The Armenian manuscript tradition witnesses both versions; they are both extant in very old manuscripts going back to the last decades of the 13th century, hence they go back very close to the lifetime of Vardan himself.²⁰ Yet only a critical edition and translation of the two versions can give us explicit clues for clarifying their differences and literary interdependency. At this state of research the designation *Version I* and *Version II* of the Armenian translation is used in a neutral sense, it does not express a priority

¹⁷ See for example the supply of a preface, lacking in the Syriac Chronicle by the Armenian preface of *Version II* (J.B. CHABOT, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche jacobite d'Antioche*, vol. I, Paris 1899, p. 1–2).

¹⁸ *Version II*, for example, keeps more data of the Seleucid era from the Syriac Chronicle than *Version I* which often replaces them by the general expression "in this time/in this year." *Version II* also often indicates the parallel years of the Armenian calendar besides the Seleucid era. Very frequently both Armenian versions differ for the same event in up to 13 years according to the computation of the Armenian era.

¹⁹ *Version I*, Jerusalem 1870, pp. 611–13; *Version II*, Jerusalem 1871, pp. 40*–42*.

²⁰ For the oldest manuscript tradition of the versions see SCHMIDT, *Manuscripts arméniens de la chronique du Michel le Syrien*.

in respect to the quality or chronological order of one or other version.

Version I was published in 1870 and *Version II* in 1871 in the Patriarchal monastery of Surb Yakob in Jerusalem. The edition of *Version I* is based on Ms. Jerus. 343 (A.D. 1480), and *Version II* on Ms. Jerus. 32 (A.D. 1273). They are important manuscripts: Ms. Jerus. 32 is in fact the oldest manuscript available for *Version II*. However the editions do not respond to our present standard of critical editions. *Version I* can be edited on a larger basis of much older manuscripts, and *Version II* must be compared with many other ancient testimonies. What is more, the Jerusalem editions of 1870 and 1871 are not always reliable, they do not render fully the text of the manuscripts. Tigran Sawalaneants, the editor of the Jerusalem versions, has introduced small additions on his own authority which are not found in the manuscripts. He has unified or corrected names and words, and he has arranged the text into paragraphs, numbers, titles and chapters, which are not testified by the manuscripts. He even added variants and sections from other Jerusalem manuscripts without designating explicitly their origin (“an old manuscript”, “six manuscripts” etc.). Sawalaneants’ intention apparently was to bring a structure and standardization into the vast text material of the Chronicle, that is given in the Armenian manuscripts – other than in the Syriac original – as a continuous text without clear arrangement in headings, summaries and chapters. Only the indication of the years at the beginning of a new period or event is marked out by red initials or majuscules in the Armenian manuscripts.

However some parts of the Chronicle are clearly singled out in the manuscripts. These parts are introduced by their own titles and often separated from the preceding text by an ornamental decoration; the *Incipit* is written in red or highlighted in bigger and embellished letters. These parts are:

1. “The reasons for the Council of Chalcedon” (only in *Version II* as a separate title)
2. “The Plerophories of John Rufus” (in *Version I* and *II*; see for example image 4 [Ms. Jerus. 32] at the end of the article). This is indeed a text which can also be found in Armenian

manuscripts²¹ in a tradition independent of Michael's Chronicle.

3. Vardan's statement of the "beginning of the Armenian era in the year 871 of the Syrians" (*Version I* and *II*)

4. Michael's treatise on the "Ranks of Priesthood" (*Version I* and *II*).²² This text is likewise transmitted separately in the manuscripts.²³

5. Michael's "Confession of Faith" (only in *Version I*).²⁴

6. The "History of the Mongols" by Grigor of Akants (only in *Version II*).

7. The "Tables of the Patriarchs" [Antiochia, Rome, Alexandria, Ephesus, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Edjmiadzin] (*Version I* and *II*).

It is noteworthy that the probable pseudonymous treatises on "Priesthood" and "Faith" are considered in the Armenian tradition as Michael's original works; they are always transmitted together with his Chronicle. The "History of the Mongols" is likewise transmitted together with the Chronicle (*Version II*). The text is considered as a continuation of Michael's history up to the contemporary political period (the invasion of the Mongols), and its author is clearly named: Grigor from the prominent Cilician monastery of Akants. Grigor was a close friend of Vardan

²¹ See A. SCHMIDT, "Warum schreibt Petrus der Iberer an die Armenier? Ein pseudonymer Brief und die Armenisierung der syrischen Plerophorien," in: M. KOHLBACHER – M. LESINSKI (ed.), *Horizonte der Christenheit*, Erlangen 1994, pp. 250–67.

²² Michael's authorship and the Syriac origin of the text is uncertain, see D. WELTECKE, "Die 'Beschreibung der Zeiten' von Mor Michael dem Grossen (1126–1199)." *Eine Studie zu ihrem historischen und historiographiegeschichtlichen Kontext*, (CSCO. 594; Subsidia. 110), Louvain 2003, p. 117.

²³ A quite old testimony is Ms. Erev. 1098 (A.D. 1320). The text agrees with *Version I*, but the name of Michael as author is not mentioned here.

²⁴ The authorship of Michael is dubious, see WELTECKE, *Die "Beschreibung der Zeiten" von Mor Michael dem Grossen*, p. 7, 92.

Areweltsi.²⁵ He was probably copying *Version II* from Vardan's original Armenian translation (*Vorlage*), that was kept in the Cilician monastery of Awag;²⁶ and Grigor was adding his Mongol history to the Chronicle, *Version II*.

There are no translations of the Jerusalem editions. Widely known is a translation (Venice 1868) of the great French armenologist Victor Langlois (1829–1869), professor at the *École des langues orientales* in Paris and author of quite a number of works on Armenian numismatic, literature and history, especially on the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. He used for his translation three manuscripts of the Mekhitarists' library in Venice and another of the National Library in Paris.²⁷ The manuscripts, however, are of recent date (17th–18th cc.) and they render only *Version I*. It is this use of different and late manuscripts which explains some dissimilarities between the translation of Langlois and the Armenian edition of Jerusalem 1870, the latter based, as we have seen, on a much older manuscript (A.D. 1480) from the library of Jerusalem.

TEXT SUMMARY OF VERSION I

Preliminary Note

As explained above, the chapters and headings in the Jerusalem edition of the versions are introduced by T. Sawalaneants, with the exception of the main title of the Chronicle. I have thus neither translated his titles nor respected his chapter numbering. My structuring of the contents is done with regard to the Syriac text in order to facilitate the comparison of parallels. Only the key topics of the chapters are given here pointing to the general episodes and themes covered by Michael's Chronicle.

²⁵ See SCHMIDT, *Manuscrits arméniens de la chronique du Michel le Syrien*.

²⁶ See the summary of *Version II*, p. 45*.

²⁷ LANGLOIS, *Chronique de Michel le Grand*, p. 15. For the identification of the manuscripts which are described by Langlois rather vaguely, see SCHMIDT, *Manuscrits arméniens de la chronique du Michel le Syrien*.

The number on the left refers to the page of the Armenian edition, Jerusalem 1870, the number in square brackets refers to the corresponding page in Langlois' French translation.

Title	Short histories of the times compiled from various historians by Mar Michael, patriarch of the Syrians, for those who love erudition, overviewed²⁸ from Adam until the last days “<i>of our time</i>”.
1 [17]	Preface.
5 [21]	From Adam to Jared; Jared's 40th year = 1000 year after Adam's departure from paradise.
9 [23]	Seth and Cain; pre-Flood kings.
11 [25]	Enoch to Noah; the Flood.
15 [26]	The Ark on Mount Ararat in Armenia.
15 [26]	Descendants of Shem, Japheth and Ham; the division of the earth.
20 [30]	The tower of Babel; the oldest language of the world.
22 [33]	Time of Serug and Nahor; Nimrod and Haik.
24 [34]	The Amazons.
25 [34]	The kings of Nimrod.
28 [36]	Abraham and the Chaldeans.
37 [41]	Time of Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph.
41 [43]	Time of Moses.
51 [50]	Time of Joshua and the Judges.

²⁸ According to the oldest manuscripts of *Version I*, the original title didn't have a verb, see also the title of *Version II*. Later manuscripts have the variant “counted” instead of “overviewed,” see SCHMIDT, *Manuscrits arméniens de la chronique du Michel le Syrien*.

- 59 [56] Time of Saul, David and Solomon.
- 63 [58] Meeting with, and questions and answers which the Queen of Sheba put to Solomon.
- 69 [61] Time of the divided Kingdom.
- 79 [65] End of the Kingdom of Israel; from Adam = 4330 years; other events in the world.
- 80 [67] Time of Hezekiah.
- 83 [69] Time of Manasseh, Amon and Josiah.
- 87 [71] Time of the Achaemenids, beginning with Nebuchadnezzar.
- 96 [76] Time of Philip the Macedonian and Alexander the Great.
- 98 [77] Time of the Ptolemies; the dynasty of Haik and the Armenian kingdom.
- 111 [85] Time of Herod.
- 113 [87] Birth of Jesus Christ and time of Augustus; from Adam to Christ's birth = 5198 years—or according to other calculations 5026, 5091, 5284, 5503 years.
- 123 [92] Lists of the 12 and 72 Apostles [68 names].
- 127 [95] Time of Tiberius; Philo of Alexandria.
- 129 [96] Reign of Abgar, king of Armenia and Syria; the image of Christ, and the tunic of Christ.
- 134 [99] Reign of Caligula and Claudius.
- 137 [101] Destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian; from Adam = 5495 years; reigns of Titus and Domitian.
- 139 [104] Reign of Trajan and his successors; beginning of the reign of the Sassanian kings.
- 146 [111] Reign of Diocletian and his colleagues.
- 149 [113] Reign of Constantine; the conversion of the Armenians by Grigor [Lusaworitch].
- 152 [115] The heresy of Arius.

- 156 [118] Meeting of Pope Sylvester with the Armenian patriarch Grigor and emperor Constantine.
- 156 [118] Council of Nicaea; from Adam = 5833 years.
- 159 [121] Reign of the sons of Constantine.
- 162 [124] The impious deeds of the emperor Julian.
- 171 [132] Reign of Jovian and his successors.
- 177 [138] Reign of Theodosius; the bishop Rufinus.
- 187 [144] Reign of Arcadius and Theodosius the Younger.
- 190 [148] The first and the second Councils of Ephesus.
- 198 [151] Reign of Marcian; Council of Chalcedon.
- 202 [153] Peter the Iberian's Letter to the Armenians.
- 204 [154] The Plerophoriae of John Rufus, disciple of Peter the Iberian.
- 222 [167] Reign of Leo, Zeno and Basiliscus.
- 226 [170] Zeno re-establishes orthodoxy.
- 228 [171] Reign of Anastasius; Jacob of Serug.
- 235 [175] Reign of Justin [Justinus] and the persecution of the Orthodox.
- 242 [179] Other events during his reign.
- 246 [182] The kingdoms of Indians, Kushites and Himyarites; persecution of the Orthodox in Himyar.
- 252 [187] Other events during his reign.
- 262 [193] The plague in Constantinople and other calamities.
- 267 [196] The appearance of many heresies.
- 269 [197] The Arab king Harith.
- 270 [198] The [fifth] Council of Constantinople; the heresy of the Julianists.
- 273 [199] Beginning of the Armenian Era in the year 871 of the Syrians and 40 years after "*our*" persecution because of Chalcedon.

- 274 [200] Troubles in Amida.
- 275 [201] Condemnation of Julian of Halicarnass; death of Justinian.
- 276 [201] Reign of Justin II.
- 277 [202] His help for the Armenian Christians under Persian pressure.
- 278 [202] Persecution of the Orthodox in Constantinople and elsewhere.
- 283 [204] The Catholicos of Armenia in Constantinople; the Armenian Christians are a solid bulwark of orthodoxy.
- 284 [205] Events between the Romans, Persians and Arabs.
- 287 [207] Chosrow's present of 5000 virgins to the Turkish king.
- 289 [207] Again, persecution of the Orthodox; Tiberius proclaimed emperor.
- 290 [208] The Persian war in Armenia; the destruction of Melitene and the fate of the Armenians.
- 295 [211] Meeting of Mundhir with Tiberius and other events.
- 299 [214] The pious deeds of Tiberius for the poor; beginning of the reign of Maurice.
- 300 [215] Events in Persia; peace between the Romans and Persians; the murder of Maurice.
- 302 [217] Reign of Phokas; Chosrow conquers Mesopotamia.
- 304 [218] Theological dispute of the Syrians and Armenians with the Chalcedonians before Chosrow.
- 308 [220] Athanasius, patriarch of Antioch.
- 310 [222] Beginning of the reign of Heraclius; Persian conquest of Jerusalem, Egypt and other Roman territories.

- 312 [223] Appearance of Muhammad in Arabia; other military events between the Romans and Persians; the situation in the Armenian Church under the heretical catholicos Ezr; the Syriac patriarch Athanasius.
- 319 [229] Death of Muhammad; reign of the Arab king ‘Umar, Damascus his new capital.
- 323 [232] Death of the Persian king Yazdgard, end of the Persian empire.
- 326 [234] Death of Heraclius and ‘Umar; ‘Uthman his successor conquers Cilicia and Cyprus.
- 328 [235] Letter of the Syriac patriarch Athanasius to the Armenian catholicos Christophorus about the wicked Barsauma of Nisibis.
- 334 [238] Devastation of Cyprus, Rhodes and other islands by the Arabs; appearance of the heretic Maximus.
- 336 [239] The Arabs before Constantinople; reign of Constans.
- 338 [241] Murder of ‘Uthman, divisions between the Arabs about his succession; murder of Constans; beginning of the reigns of emperor Constantius and the Arab king Mu‘awiya.
- 339 [242] Arab invasion in Cilicia and Africa; invention of Naphtha-fire by the Syrian Callinicus; death of Mu‘awiya and Constantius, beginning of the reign of Justinus.
- 341 [244] Military encounters between the Romans and the Arabs; on Jacob of Edessa; the deposition of Justinus; reign of ‘Abdulmalik.
- 344 [247] On patriarch Athanasius bar Gumaye and his purchase of the “acheiropoieton” image of Christ.
- 345 [248] Emperor Justinian, with the help of the Khazars, returns to Constantinople; Armenian settlement in Melitene; the end of the reign of ‘Abdulmalik.

- 347 [250] Death of Justinian; events during the reigns of emperor Leo and the Arab Maslama.
- 350 [253] Anti-Christian orders by the Arabs; patriarch Athanasius of Antioch and the Armenian catholicos John Odznetsi; the land of Sasun, Vaspurakan and Albania inhabited by orthodox Armenians and Syrians.
- 352 [254] The Syrian-Armenian synod of Mantzikert, condemnation of the heresy of Julian of Halicarnassus (Phantasiasts) in the year 1035 according to the Syrians, and the year 166—or 135—according to the Armenians.
- 353 [255] Beginning of the Turkish invasion in Azerbaijan; death of Leo and the Arab king Hisham; civil war among the Arabs.
- 356 [258] Cosmological prodigies and a serious earthquake in the Eastern Mediterranean countries; the murder of the Arab king Marwan; the emperor Constantine shares power with his son Leo.
- 360 [260] Leo settles Syrians and Armenian from Melitene in the Roman empire; the [seventh] Council of Constantinople, condemnation of the veneration of images and the heretic Maximus; Leo's sympathy with the Orthodox.
- 361 [261] Events during the reign of Abu Ja'far; reconstruction of Melitene, Erzerum, Ani.
- 363 [262] Events during the reigns of the emperor Leo and the Arab king Mahdi; the settlement of Armenians and Syrians in Thrace; Constantine becomes emperor.
- 365 [263] Events during the reign of Harun; the fall of the emperor Constantine and his mother.
- 368 [266] Beginning of the reign of emperor Nicephorus; Bishop Ananias buys precious relics of prophets and apostles; death of Harun and Nicephorus.

- 370 [267] Reign of emperor Michael [II]; civil war among the Arabs.
- 373 [269] Military and other events at the time of the emperor Theophilus and Ma'mun; the Kurdish people; the town Basra; George, king of the Nubians, visits the Arabs and patriarch Dionysius.
- 381 [274] Theophilus' military expedition to Melitene and Lesser Armenia; destruction of Ancyra and Amorium by the Arabs.
- 384 [276] Events during the short reigns of several Roman emperors and six Arab caliphs.
- 386 [278] The reign of the emperor Romanos [III]; the reconquest of Lesser Armenia, Cilicia and Antioch.
- 389 [279] The debate of patriarch John of Antioch with the Chalcedonians in Constantinople, his imprisonment by the emperor Nicephorus; the murder of Nicephorus by Theophanou; she marries John Tzimiskes, of Armenian origin; the persecution of the Orthodox in Antioch by the Greek patriarch.
- 391 [281] The reigns of Basil [II] and Constantine [VIII]; the reign of Romanus [III]; the Syriac patriarch John at a synod with the Chalcedonians in Constantinople, his sanctity, and his death in prison.
- 394 [283] Reign of the emperor Michael [VII]; after him Zoe and Theodora; the Arab caliph 'Abdullah.
- 394 [284] The origin of the Turkish people and their original settlement behind the "Breasts of the North"; their customs and religion; the Byzantine embassy at the Khakan's court; their settlements after the invasions.
- 400 [289] Reign of Constantine [IX] Monomachos; the Arab caliph Abul Abbas; Togri-bek, the first king of the Turkish people; the Turkish invasion in Armenia, Persia, Syria.

- 403 [291] Several Roman emperors; the rebuilding of the wall of Melitene; the Turkish conquest of Aleppo and other parts of the Roman empire, up to the Mediterranean and the Pontus; patriarch Athanasius and the Orthodox in Antioch are harassed by the patriarch of Constantinople.
- 404 [292] Alp Arslan invades Armenia; Romanos [IV] Diogenes faces the Turkish army in Kars; the beginning of the reign of Michael [VII].
- 405 [293] Philaretus the Armenian re-conquers Turkish strongholds; the political entente between the Turkish and Arab peoples.
- 408 [295] The time of Nicephorus [III] and Alexis; the Turks in Jerusalem; the arrival of the Franks in Antioch and Edessa.
- 411 [297] The beginning of the reign of Qilij-Arslan; the conquest of Jerusalem and massacre by the Franks; Godefroid and Baudouin rulers of Jerusalem; Turkish rule over Melitene.
- 413 [299] Quarrels in the Turkish realm after the death of Qilij-Arslan; the foundation of the order of the Hospitaller knights.
- 416 [301] On the Turk Balaq; the Armenian emigration to Sebaste and Cilicia; the Armenian dynasty of the Rubenids.
- 419 [302] The siege of Melitene and Aleppo by the Turks; the miracles performed by the relic of the right arm of St. Barsauma, and by the holy lance.
- 424 [305] Events during the reign of the emperor Manuel; the Frankish ruler Baudouin and the Turkish Qara Arslan; the conquest of Edessa by the Turks; short history of Edessa.
- 427 [307] Thoros, the Armenian ruler over Cilicia; the sack of the monastery of Barsauma at the hands of Joscelin.

- 430 [310] The Franks' conquest of Ashqelon; Thoros defeats the Greek army at Tarsus; the Arab power in Egypt; events in the Turkish realms; the beginning of the rule of Qilij-Arslan.
- 437 [314] The Armenians in Antioch and Marash; the Franks in Cyprus and Harim; the Atabeks of Khorasan and the Khakans of Cappadocia; events in the Frankish and Armenian realms.
- 441 [317] The Arab settlement in Spain and propagation of Islam; wars between Manuel, Nur ad-Din and Qilij-Arslan; the defeat of the Turks in Erzerum by the Georgian king; events in the realms of the Armenians, Franks and Turks.
- 447 [320] Military confrontations between Ya'kub-Arslan, Qara-Arslan and Qilij-Arslan, and between the Greeks and the Armenians in Cilicia; the Georgian king conquers Dvin; Nur ad-Din enters Aleppo and Tripolis; Amaury enters Egypt; the defeat of the Frankish troops at Harim.
- 453 [324] War between Thoros and Nur ad-Din at Marash; the second entry of Amaury in Egypt; the death of the Armenian Thoros; divisions between Sunnites and Shi'ites in Egypt; the origin and reign of Salah ad-Din (Saladin) in Egypt; on Dionysius bar Salibi.
- 459 [329] Reign of the emperor Manuel; the attempt to reunite the Armenian Church to the Byzantine; the debate on theological and liturgical matters between Theorianus and the Armenian catholicos Nerses.
- 463 [331] Amaury in Egypt; earthquake in Antioch.
- 466 [333] Death of the Atabek of Mosul; Nur ad-Din increases his power; Qilij-Arslan rules over Melitene; time of snow and hunger.

- 470 [335] Propaganda of the Armenian dissidents in Edessa; the Armenian catholicos Nerses and his successor Grigor Abirad; the exchange of letters of consent and faith between the Syriac patriarch and the Armenian catholicos.
- 473 [337] The deaths of Nur ad-Din and of Amaury; Qilij-Arslan increases his influence; the murder of Mleh in Cilicia; the Turks in Sasun.
- 476 [339] Salah ad-Din departs from Egypt and takes control of Damascus; the release of the Frankish prisoners in Aleppo; the war with Seif ad-Din.
- 478 [341] The death of Najim ad-Din of Mardin; war between Manuel and Qilij-Arslan; the Turkish oppression of Christians in Melitene.
- 483 [343] The war of Salah ad-Din with the Franks in Palestine and his defeat; his victories in Baalbek and Damascus.
- 487 [345] The death of the emperor Manuel; military events among the Turks; the death of Seif ad-Din.
- 490 [346] The struggle over succession between Andronicus and Isaac [II] in Constantinople; the murder of Andronicus; the deaths of the Turkish Atabeks of Amida, Mardin and Khelat; military expeditions of Saladin; Leon prince of Cilicia.
- 493 [349] The war between the Kurds and Turcomans; the customs and settlements of the Kurds.
- 495 [350] Saladin conquers Jerusalem, Akko and the whole of Palestine; the war between Qilij-Arslan and his son.
- 502 [354] The Franks arrive in Akko to liberate Jerusalem; the defeat of the Turks at Iconium by German troops; their emperor [Frederick Barbarossa] drowns at Silifke; the support of the Frankish troops by the Armenian prince Leo.
- 505 [356] The deaths of Qilij-Arslan and Saladin, the struggle of their successors.

- 509 [359] Leo, Armenian king of Cilicia [1187–1219]; the wealth and prosperity of his country.
- 510 [360] [1. Continuation] King Hethum [1226–1269] and his pious wife Zabel, the daughter of king Leo, are ruling “*today*” over Cilicia.
- 511 [—]²⁹ Political events in Armenia, Georgia and the Near East between 665 of the Armenian era [A.D. 1216] and 678 [A.D. 1229].
- 532 [361] Intercession to God for the Armenian king and the queen. “*We want to speak now about the institution of priesthood ...*”.
- 532 [—]³⁰ Mar Michael on the Ranks of Priesthood and from where it took its origin.
- 574 [—]³¹ The Confession of Faith of Michael, patriarch of the Syrians.
- 583 [363] Tables of the Patriarchs of Antioch, Rome, Alexandria, Ephesus, Constantinople, Jerusalem.
- 593 [365] [2. Continuation] The apostolic origin and orthodoxy of the Armenian Church.
- 599 [368] The succession of the Armenian patriarchs from the apostle Thaddeus up to the catholicos Nerses Shnorhali “*in our time*”.
- 608 [373] [3. Continuation] From catholicos Gregor [IV Tgha] up to Constantine Bardzrberts, who “*is now in the 25th year of his patriarchate at Hromkela*”; eulogy on catholicos Constantine.

²⁹ This part, pp. 511–31 (according to the manuscript tradition), does not belong to *Version I*. T. Sawalaneants has taken over the text from *Version II* (ed. Jerusalem 1871, pp. 503–25) and inserted it *Version I*.

³⁰ Not translated by Langlois.

³¹ Not translated by Langlois.

- 611 [374] The translation from Syriac into Armenian ordered by Constantine; the value of Michael's Chronicle for the Armenians.
- 611 [374] The date of the translation in the year 697 of the Armenians and in the year 1248 during the patriarchate of catholicos Constantine and the reign of king Hethum and his wife Zabel; the Syriac patriarch Ignatius has given the original of the Chronicle to the priest Isho' for translation.
- 613 [375] [4. Continuation] The invasion of the "nation of archers" [Mongols] into Armenia, their looting and devastation of the country; the origin, customs and settlements of the Mongols.
- 621 [378] Wishing a long life for king Hethum and catholicos Constantine.

TEXT SUMMARY OF VERSION II

Preliminary Note

The number on the left refers to the page of the Armenian edition, Jerusalem 1871. The structure of the titles is done in correspondence to *Version I*; the chapters and titles done by Sawalaneants in the Jerusalem edition is not respected.

Title	Mar Michael, the patriarch of the Syrians: Chronicle from Adam up to us.
1	Preface. ³²
4	From Adam to Jared; Jared's 40th year = 1000 year after Adam's move from Paradise.
6	Seth and Cain; pre-Flood kings.

³² See the French translation by D. Parisot in CHABOT, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, I, p. 1–2.

- 8 Enoch to Noah; the Flood.
- 10 The Ark on Mount Ararat in Armenia.
- 15 Tower of Babel; the language of Paradise.
- 16 Time of Serug and Nahor; Nimrod and Haik.
- 17 The Amazons.
- 19 Kings of Nimrod.
- 22 Abraham and the Chaldeans.
- 25 Time of Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph.
- 29 Time of Moses.
- 33 Time of Joshua and the Judges.
- 39 Time of Saul, David and Solomon.
- 43 Time of divided Kingdom.
- 54 End of Kingdom of Israel; from Adam = 4330 years;
other events in the world.
- 54 Time of Hezekiah.
- 58 Time of Manasseh, Amon and Josiah.
- 62 Time of the Achaemenids, beginning with
Nebuchadnezzar.
- 71 Time of Philip the Macedonian and Alexander the
Great.
- 73 Time of the Ptolemies; the dynasty of Haik and the
Armenian kingdom.
- 86 Time of Herod.
- 88 Birth of Jesus Christ and time of Augustus; from
Adam to Christ's birth = 5198 years — or according
to other calculations 5026, 5091, 5284, 5503 years.
- 100 Lists of the 12 and 72 Apostles [69 names].
- 104 Time of Tiberius; Philo of Alexandria.
- 105 Reign of Abgar, king of Armenia; the image of Christ.

- 108 Reign of Caligula and Claudius.
- 111 Destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian; from Adam = 5437 years; reigns of Titus and Domitian.
- 114 Reign of Trajan and his successors; beginning of the reign of the Sassanian kings.
- 123 Reign of Diocletian and his colleagues.
- 127 Reign of Constantine; the conversion of the Armenians by Grigor [Lusaworitch].
- 130 The heresy of Arius.
- 133 Council of Nicaea; from Adam = 5833 years.
- 136 Reign of the sons of Constantine.
- 139 The impious deeds of the emperor Julian.
- 146 Reign of Jovian and his successors.
- 152 Reign of Theodosius; the bishop Rufinus.
- 161 Reign of Arcadius and Theodosius the Younger.
- 164 The first and the second Councils of Ephesus.
- 166 The reasons for the Council of Chalcedon.
- 171 Reign of Marcian; Council of Chalcedon.
- 174 Peter the Iberian's letter to the Armenians.
- 176 The Plerophoriae of John Rufus, disciple of Peter the Iberian.
- 207 Reign of Leo, Zeno and Basiliscus.
- 211 Zeno re-establishes orthodoxy.
- 213 Reign of Anastasius.
- 218 Reign of Justin [Justianus] and the persecution of the Orthodox.
- 225 Other events during his reign.
- 228 The kingdoms of Indians, Kushites and Himyarites; persecution of the Orthodox in Himyar.

- 233 Other events during his reign
- 243 The pest in Constantinople and other calamities.
- 248 The appearance of many heresies.
- 250 The Arab king Harith.
- 251 The [fifth] Council of Constantinople; the heresy of the Julianists.
- 256 Beginning of the Armenian era in the year 871 of the Syrians.
- 256 Troubles in Amida after 40 years of persecution, and the sowing of the Chalcedonian heresy
- 257 Condemnation of Julian of Halicarnassus; death of Justinian.
- 258 Reign of Justin II.
- 260 His help for the Armenian Christians under Persian pressure.
- 261 Persecution of the Orthodox in Constantinople and elsewhere.
- 264 The Armenian catholicos of Dvin in Constantinople; the Armenian Christians are a solid bulwark of orthodoxy.
- 266 Events between the Romans, Persians and Arabs.
- 269 Chosrow's present of 5000 virgins to the Turkish king.
- 271 Again, persecution of the Orthodox; Tiberius proclaimed emperor.
- 272 Persian war in Armenia; destruction of Melitene and the fate of the Armenians.
- 276 Meeting of Mundhir with Tiberius and other events.
- 280 The pious deeds of Tiberius for the poor; beginning of the reign of Maurice.
- 281 Events in Persia; peace between the Romans and Persians; the murder of Maurice.

- 284 Reign of Phokas; Chosrow conquers Mesopotamia.
- 285 The theological dispute of the Syrians and Armenians with the Chalcedonians before Chosrow.
- 292 Beginning of the reign of Heraclius; the Persian conquest of Jerusalem, Egypt and other Roman territories.
- 293 The appearance of Muhammad in Arabia; other military events between the Romans and Persians; the situation in the Armenian Church under the heretical catholicos Ezr; the return to the orthodox belief under the Armenian patriarch John Odznetsi; the Syriac patriarch Athanasius.
- 303 Death of Muhammad; reign of the Arab king ‘Umar; Damascus his new capital.
- 307 Death of the Persian king Yazdgard; end of the Persian empire.
- 310 Death of Heraclius and ‘Umar; ‘Uthman his successor conquers Cilicia and Cyprus.
- 313 Letter of the Syriac patriarch Athanasius to the Armenian catholicos Christophorus about the wicked Barsauma of Nisibis.
- 318 Devastation of Cyprus, Rhodes and other islands by the Arabs; appearance of the heretic Maximus.
- 321 The Arabs before Constantinople; the reign of Constans.
- 323 The murder of ‘Uthman, divisions among the Arabs over his succession; the murder of Constans; beginning of the reigns of emperor Constantius and the Arab king Mu‘awiya.
- 324 Arab invasion in Cilicia and Africa; invention of Naphtha-fire by the Syrian Callinicus; death of Mu‘awiya and Constantius, beginning of the reign of Justin.

- 327 Military encounters between the Romans and the Arabs; on Jacob of Edessa; the deposition of Justin; the reign of ‘Abdulmalik.
- 329 On patriarch Athanasius bar Gumaye and his purchase of the “acheiropoieton” image of Christ.
- 331 The emperor Justinian, with the help of the Khazars, returns to Constantinople; the Armenian settlement in Melitene; the end of the reign of ‘Abdulmalik
- 333 Death of Justinian; events during the reigns of the emperor Leo and the Arab Maslama.
- 338 Anti-Christian orders by the Arabs; patriarch Athanasius of Antioch and the Armenian catholicos John Odznetsi; the land of Sasun, Vaspurakan and Albania inhabited by orthodox Armenians and Syrians.
- 339 The Syrian-Armenian synod of Mantzikert; condemnation of the heresy of Julian of Halicarnassus (Phantasiasts) in the year 1035 according to the Syrians, and the year 164 according to the Armenians.
- 340 Beginning of the Turkish invasion in Azerbaijan; death of Leo and the Arab king Hisham; civil war among the Arabs.
- 344 Cosmological prodigies and a serious earthquake in the Eastern Mediterranean countries; the murder of the Arab king Marwan; the emperor Constantine shares power with his son Leo.
- 348 Leo settles Syrians and Armenian from Melitene in the Roman empire; the [seventh] Council of Constantinople, condemnation of the veneration of images and of the heretic Maximus; Leo’s sympathy with the Orthodox.
- 350 Events during the reign of Abu Ja’far; the reconstruction of Melitene, Erzerum, Ani.

- 353 Events during the reigns of the emperor Leo and the Arab king Mahdi; settlement of Armenians and Syrians in Thrace; Constantine becomes emperor.
- 357 The beginning of the reign of the emperor Nicephorus; Bishop Ananias buys precious relics of prophets and apostles; the deaths of Harun and Nicephorus.
- 360 The reign of the emperor Michael [II]; civil war among the Arabs.
- 362 Military and other events at the time of the emperor Theophilus and Ma'mun; the Kurdish people; the town Basra; George, king of the Nubians, visits the Arabs and patriarch Dionysius.
- 371 Theophilus' military expedition to Melitene and Lesser Armenia; the destruction of Ancyra and Amorium by the Arabs.
- 374 Events during the short reigns of several Roman emperors and six Arab caliphs.
- 378 The reign of the emperor Romanus [II]; the reconquest of Lesser Armenia, Cilicia and Antioch.
- 380 The debate of the patriarch John of Antioch with the Chalcedonians in Constantinople; his imprisonment by the emperor Nicephorus; the murder of Nicephorus by Theophanou; she marries John Tzimiskes of Armenian origin; the persecution of the Orthodox in Antioch by the Greek patriarch.
- 384 The reigns of Basil [II] and Constantine [VIII]; the reign of Romanus [III]; the Syriac patriarch John at a synod with the Chalcedonians in Constantinople, his sanctity, and his death in prison.
- 386 Reign of the emperor Michael [VII]; after him, Zoe and Theodora; the Arab caliph 'Abdullah.

- 387 The origin of the Turkish people and their original settlement; their customs and religion; the Roman embassy at the Khakan's court; their settlements after the invasions.
- 393 Reign of Constantine [IX] Monomachos; the Arab caliph Abu'l 'Abbas; some Christians in Antioch deny the orthodox faith and take control of the church St. Luke; Togri-bek, the first king of the Turkish people; the Turkish invasion in Armenia, Persia, Syria
- 396 Several Roman emperors; the rebuilding of the wall of Melitene; the Turkish conquest of Aleppo and other parts of the Roman empire, up to the Mediterranean and the Pontus; patriarch Athanasius and the Orthodox in Antioch are harassed by the patriarch of Constantinople.
- 398 Alp Arslan invades Armenia; Romanos [IV] Diogenes faces the Turkish army in Kars; beginning of the reign of Michael [VII].
- 399 Philaretus the Armenian re-conquers Turkish strongholds; the political entente between the Turkish and Arab peoples.
- 401 The time of Nicephorus [III] and Alexis; the Turks in Jerusalem; the arrival of the Franks in Antioch and Edessa.
- 405 Beginning of the reign of Qilij-Arslan; conquest of Jerusalem and massacre by the Franks; Godefroid and Baudouin rulers of Jerusalem; Turkish rule over Melitene.
- 407 Quarrels in the Turkish realm after the death of Qilij-Arslan; foundation of the order of the Hospitaller knights.
- 410 On the Turk Balaq; the Armenian emigration to Sebaste and Cilicia; the Armenian dynasty of the Rubenids.

- 412 The siege of Melitene and Aleppo by the Turks; the miracles performed by the relic of the right arm of St. Barsauma and by the holy lance.
- 417 Events during the reign of the emperor Manuel; the Frankish ruler Baudouin and the Turkish Qara Arslan; the conquest of Edessa by the Turks; short history of Edessa.
- 422 Thoros, the Armenian ruler over Cilicia; the sack of the monastery of Barsauma at the hands of Joscelin.
- 424 The Franks' conquest of Asqelon; Thoros defeats the Greek army at Tarsus; the Arab power in Egypt; events in the Turkish realms; the beginning of the rule of Qilij-Arslan.
- 436 The Armenians in Antioch and Marash; the Franks in Cyprus and Harim; the Atabeks of Khorasan and the Khakans of Cappadocia; events in the Frankish and Armenian realms.
- 440 The Arab settlement in Spain and propagation of Islam; wars between Manuel, Nur ad-Din and Qilij-Arslan; the defeat of the Turks at Erzerum by the Georgian king; events in the realms of the Armenians, Franks and Turks.
- 444 Military confrontations between Ya'kub-Arslan, Qara-Arslan and Qilij-Arslan, and between the Greeks and the Armenians in Cilicia; the Georgian king conquers Dvin; Nur ad-Din enters Aleppo and Tripolis; Amaury enters Egypt; the defeat of the Frankish troops at Harim.
- 451 War between Thoros and Nur ad-Din at Marash; the second entry of Amaury in Egypt; the death of the Armenian Thoros; divisions between Sunnites and Shi'ites in Egypt; the origin and reign of Salah ad-Din (Saladin) in Egypt; on Dionysius bar Salibi.

- 459 Reign of the emperor Manuel; the attempt to re-unite the Armenian Church to the Byzantine; the debate on theological and liturgical matters between Theorianus and the Armenian catholicus Nerses.
- 462 Amaury in Egypt; earthquake in Antioch.
- 465 Death of the Atabek of Mosul; Nur ad-Din increases his power; Qilij-Arslan rules over Melitene; time of snow and hunger.
- 470 Propaganda of the Armenian dissidents in Edessa; the Armenian catholicos Nerses and his successor Grigor Abirad; the exchange of letters of consent and faith between the Syriac patriarch and the Armenian catholicos
- 474 Deaths of Nur ad-Din and of Amaury; Qilij-Arslan increases his influence; the murder of Mleh in Cilicia; the Turks in Sasun.
- 476 Salah ad-Din departs from Egypt and takes control over Damascus; release of the Frankish prisoners in Aleppo; war with Seif ad-Din.
- 479 The death of Najim ad-Din of Mardin; war between Manuel and Qilij-Arslan; the Turkish oppression of Christians in Melitene
- 483 The war of Salah ad-Din with the Franks in Palestine and his defeat; his victories in Baalbek and Damascus.
- 486 The death of the emperor Manuel; military events among the Turks; the death of Seif ad-Din.
- 488 The struggle over succession between Andronicus and Isaac [II] in Constantinople; the murder of Andronicus; the deaths of the Turkish Atabeks of Amida, Mardin and Khelat; the military expeditions of Saladin; Leon, prince of Cilicia
- 492 The war between the Kurds and Turcomans; the customs and settlements of the Kurds.
- 494 Saladin conquers Jerusalem, Akko and the whole of Palestine; the war between Qilij-Arslan and his son.

- 498 The Franks arrive in Akko to liberate Jerusalem; the defeat of the Turks at Iconium by German troops, their emperor [Frederick Barbarossa] drowns at Silifke.
- 500 The deaths of Qilij-Arslan and Saladin; the struggle of their successors.
- 503 Leo, the Armenian king of Cilicia; the wealth and prosperity of his country.
- 506 [1. Continuation] The “*son of Konstantin*” [Hethum, 1226–1269], still a child, is married to the pious empress Zabel and later becomes king.
- 507 “And now is the year 695 of the Armenian era [A.D. 1246] and we will report briefly what had happened in between”.
- 507 Political events in Armenia, Georgia and the Near East between 665 of the Armenian era [A.D.1216] and 678 [A.D.1229].
- 525 [Colophon of the scribe Grigor of Akants in the year 1273] “In the year 678 of the Armenians [A.D. 1229] was completed the world history of Mar Michael, the holy patriarch of the Syrians, beginning with the time of Adam ... these are from Adam up to the completion of the books of Mar Michael 6430 years. And now is the year 722 [A.D. 1273] of the Armenians; in this year was written this manuscript through the hand of the miserable Grigor. With the will of God we will write down the remaining 44 years [the period from A.D. 1229 to 1273]”.
- History of the Nation of Archers [Mongols] by Grigor [of Akants].³³

³³ The history of the Mongols composed by Grigor and considered as a continuation of Michael’s chronicle is extant in all manuscripts of *Version II*. Nevertheless the text was left out in the edition Jerusalem 1871, neither was it translated into French by Langlois. For the full text see Ms.

- 1* Again from Mar Michael the Syrian: On Priesthood.
- 21* Tables of the Patriarchs of Antioch, Rome, Alexandria, Ephesus, Constantinople, Jerusalem.
- 27* [2. Continuation] The apostolic origin and orthodoxy of the Armenian Church.
- 32* The succession of the Armenian patriarchs from the apostle Thaddeus up to catholicos Constantine Bardzrbetsi.
- 40* [3. Continuation] “*He [Constantine] is now in the 25th year of his patriarchate at Hromklá*”; eulogy on the catholicos.
- 41* The translation from Syriac into Armenian; the value of Michael’s history for the Armenians.
- 42* The date of the translation, ordered by Constantine, in the year of Christ 1248 and in the year 695 [sic] of the Armenians, in the 25th year of catholicos Constantine and in the 25th year of king Hethum.
- 43* [Colophon of Stephanus, abbot of the monastery of Akants]. His order to Grigor [of Akants] to write down the history of Mar Michael³⁴ beginning from Adam up to the year 678 [A.D. 1229] of the Armenians, as well as the history of the Archers [Mongols], who “*were in Armenia 44 years until our time*”
...

Jerus. 32, fol. 523–592 and the edition by N. BOGHARIAN, *History of the Tartars*, Jerusalem 1974 [in Armenian], pp. 17–67; translation by R. BLAKE – R. FRYE, “History of the Nation of the Archers,” in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1949), pp. 269–399.

³⁴ Another colophon of the scribe Grigor on fol. 594 of Ms. Jerusalem 32 (N. BOGHARIAN, *Main Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Jacob*, vol. 1 [in Armenian], Jerusalem 1966, col. 146), which was not taken over in the edition, Jerusalem 1871, repeats the fact that Stephanus ordered the copy of Michael’s Chronicle.

- 45* [Colophon of the scribe Grigor of Akants] ... the *Vorlage* of Michael's history comes from the monastery Awag Anapat [Cilicia].

APPENDIX: IMAGES



Ms. Erev. 6411, fol. 2v–3r (A.D. 1658, paper, written in Nor-Julfa [Isfahan] by the copyist Sargis): Michael the Syrian and the beginning of the Chronicle placed under a *khoran*
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Ms. Erev. 1870 (A.D. 1602-08, paper, written by Awetik in Aleppo), fol. 1v: portrait of Michael the Syrian
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Ms. Erev. 1870, fol. 3r: the beginning of the Chronicle placed under a *khoran* written with golden ink

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Ms. Jerus. 32 (A.D. 1273, parchment, written by the copyist Grigor for the monk Step'anos of Akants monastery in Cilicia), fol. 169r:

The beginning of the Plerophories of John Rufus

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