

The History of
Rabban Şâwmâ and Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ

translated by

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The Prayer of the Syrian Translator.

(1)¹ By the Power of our Lord Jesus Christ I begin to write the History of the Father of Fathers, and Governor (Mâra) and Head of Pastors, Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, Catholicus and Patriarch of the East, and of Rabban Şâwmâ, the Visitor-General of the Eastern (*i.e.* Nestorian) Turks. O our Lord, help me, and in Thy mercy bring me to the end [of the work]. Amen.

Preface by the Syrian Translator.²

God, the Lord of the Universe, the Merciful and Gracious, in the superabundance of His grace hath brought all this (*i.e.* the visible universe) into being. And that the race of mankind might be perfected in the knowledge of the truth, and in good works (2), for the leading of the doers of good, and directing in the right way those who could step upwards, He sent His only-begotten Son down [to earth], and He put on human flesh and hid His glory, and from behind His human covering He made to shine forth the rays of His light. He hath annulled the laws which were brutal, defective, and coarse, and hath spread abroad [in their place] commandments that are spiritual, perfect, and refined. He hath done away the sacrifices of animals by offering as a sacrifice His Body and His Blood, and He hath made the whole world rich by the wisdom of His knowledge. He hath spread out the net of His life-giving Gospel, by means of His holy disciples in every country and quarter of the world, and He hath cast the good seed of His preaching in all the earth. And the four quarters of the universe were illumined by their disciples after them, and they were also lighted up by the Orthodox Faith, and by the glory of the Royal Trinity, and were made to be glorious by good (or beautiful) actions and works that were perfect.

For the Word can neither be rejected nor made to be of no effect, for the Framers of the Law hath established it and sealed it, saying, "Behold, I Myself am with you all the days, to the end of the world," (Matt. xxviii. 20). Now to the beginning (*var.*, promise), cleaveth the reward. Little by little, work (*i.e.* realization) followeth the word until at length it maketh those who were without the Law sons of God. For the Indians (Henduwwâyê), and the Chinese (Şînâyê), and other Oriental nations from various countries, became restrained and submitted to the bridle of the fear of God, and their emotions

¹ The figures in heavy type within brackets on this and following pages refer to the numbers of the pages in Bedjân's edition (the second) of the Syrian text, and are added to facilitate reference to this text.

² Professor J.A. Montgomery omits the Syrian translator's Prayer and Preface.

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and their understandings were anointed by the Spirit. For a good disposition availeth nothing if the mind and the actions do not agree with the virtues, and the gift [of the Spirit] is not withheld when good actions and healthy intentions are coupled with a blameworthy disposition. In what doth it profit the Jews, who are of the seed of Abraham, seeing that they have become aliens to the household of God? And in what way do the Gentiles suffer [through not being of the seed of Abraham] seeing that they have received [the Spirit] and have become members of the household of God? To-day the Turks (Tûrkâyê) have bowed their necks under the yoke of the lordship of God, and they believe and hold firmly the word of the Lord with their whole heart. Every man who will not forsake father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, and take up his Cross and come after Me (3) is not worthy to be my disciple (Luke xiv. 26, 27).

Now the hearing of this perfect commandment straightway made the men to marvel, the two warriors about whom the narrative is ready to speak, and they cast away their longings, rejected parents and children, and in short, renounced all the dominion (*i.e.* influence) of their bringing up. And, like swift eagles, they renewed the youth of their minds in works of toil and laborious lives until they attained their true Hope, and from those labours which they had planted, they received for their perfect sustenance the delicious fruits for which they longed.

Now therefore we will speak about the race of each of them separately, and about [their] country, and the different way in which each was brought up, and how they dwelt together, and the mode of life of each. And in the midst of their history we will write down some account of the things which happened in their time, to themselves, and by means of them, and on account of them. and we will describe thing by thing as it took place.

Chapter I: The History of Rabban Sâwmâ.

There was a certain man who was a believer, and he was a nobleman and a fearer of God. He was rich in the things of this world, and he was well endowed with the qualities of nature; he belonged to a famous family and a well-known tribe. His name was Shîbân, the Sâ'ôrâ (*i.e.* the Inspector or Visitor—Periodeutes). He dwelt in the city which is called Khân Bâlîgh, or Khân Bâlîk (*i.e.* Pekin), that is to say (4) the royal city in the country of the East. He married according to the law a woman whose name was Kÿyâmtâ. And when they had lived together for a long time, and they had no heir, they prayed to God continually and besought Him with frequent supplications not to deprive them of a son who would continue [their] race. And He who giveth comfort in His gracious mercy received their petition, and He showed

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them compassion. For it is His wont to receive the entreaty of those who are broken of heart, and to hearken unto the groaning of those who make supplications and petitions [to Him]. “Everyone who asketh receiveth; and he who seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it is opened to him” (Matt. vii. 8), He said, confidently concerning the certain hope. And behold, this is performed for both orders (*i.e.* sexes), namely, men and women, when petitions are presented with a right intention. For behold, Ḥannâ, the wife of Halkânâ was not prohibited, seeing that she made entreaty with a right object (I Sam. i. 10 ff.), and the wife of Menôkh (Manoah) was not rejected, and she received the angel readily in her chamber (Judges xiii. 2 f.).

Now God made the spirit of conception to breathe upon the woman Këyâmtâ, and she brought forth a (5) son, and they called his name “Şâwmâ” [*i.e.* the son who was obtained by fasting; his full name was “Bar Şâwmâ,” *i.e.* the “son of the fast.”]. And they rejoiced [with] a great joy, neighbours of his family and his relations rejoiced at his birth.

And when they had brought him (after a praiseworthy system of education) to the period when he was capable of receiving instruction, they handed him over to a worthy teacher, and before him (*i.e.* under his direction) they trained him diligently in ecclesiastical learning; and they betrothed him to a maiden and rejoiced in him. He was held to be worthy to receive the grade of priest, and he was numbered among the ranks (?) of the clergy, and he became Keeper in the church of above-mentioned city. He led a life of strict chastity and humility, and he devoted himself with great diligence to the acquisition of spiritual excellences, and he struggled to make himself fit for the things of the world which is to come. And when he was twenty years of age the divine fire was kindled in his heart, and it burned up the brambles (or thorny growth) of sin, and cleansed his chaste soul from impurity and contamination of every kind. For he preferred more than any other thing whatsoever the love of his Lord, and, grasping the plough, he was unwilling to look behind him (Luke ix. 62). He cast away forthwith the shadow of the world and renounced straightway the desirable things thereof. (6) He esteemed dainty meats as things which had no existence, and he rejected wholly the drinks which make a man drunk.

Now when his parents perceived this, great pain overtook them, and acute sorrow cleaved to them, because their only son was separating himself from them. They rose up and with broken hearts made supplication to him, and brought before him promises of things of this world, saying, “Why, O our precious son, is separation from us beloved by thee? How is it that our affliction is desired by thee? Why is our mourning sweet in thy sight? Consider now. To whom will our wealth revert? Think, who is our heir? Ponder well: who will be the master of the [produce of] our toil? How can it

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possibly be pleasing to thee for our seed and name to be blotted out? Why doth the thought of thy heart suggest that strangers should be our heirs?” And having persuaded him with tears in this manner, and having stirred up grief in him by their lamentation and talk similar [to that given above], he hearkened to them outwardly, and dwelt with them as far as his body was concerned, but very unwillingly. And during the three years in which he ministered to his parents according to the body, he never (7) ceased from his toil, and he contended continually in his laborious career.

And when [his parents] saw that their exhortations were of no avail, and that, in comparison with the love of Christ, their words were accounted by him as nothing, they left him to perform his desire. Then he divided all his possessions, that is to say, his apparel and his clothing generally (or furniture), among the poor, and took the garb of the monk; and he received the tonsure from the holy and pious father, Mâr Gîwargîs (George) the Metropolitan. And he began to toil in the vineyard of his Lord with the hope of the kingdom which is to come, and the confidence in the possession of heavenly happiness, and that he would receive the whole *dînâr* as his wages (Matt. xx. 1–16). He set apart a cell for himself and he shut himself up therein seven years; and after that [period] he decided to remove himself from the children of men, and to practise himself in the ascetic life in the mountain, in a place which was wholly isolated, so that he might rest there [undisturbed] in his life as a recluse. Then he set out and went a journey of one day from their [*i.e.* his parents’] city, and he elected to dwell there. And he found (8) a certain place where there was a cave, and there was by the side of it in that mountain a spring of water. And he dwelt there peacefully and thanked his Lord, which held him to be so worthy that at length the report of him went forth in that region, and men used to gather together about him to hear his words, and honour was set apart for him (*i.e.* ascribed to him) by every man.

Chapter II: The History of Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, the Catholicus and Patriarch of the East.

In the foreknowledge of God everything is known. And the thoughts of the children of men, whether they belong to the right hand (*i.e.* be good), or whether they belong to the left hand (*i.e.* be bad), all of them, even before they are formed in the breast, are revealed unto Him. He therefore, in accordance with their character, elects and makes righteous [if they be good], and because of them [if they be bad] He chastiseth and punisheth. Now unto Moses it was said, “Behold, I have given thee [as] God to Pharaoh” (Exod. vii. 1). And his election maketh known concerning the

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good disposition [of Moses] (9) and the hardness of the heart of Pharaoh. For even before Pharaoh existed, it was known [to God] that he would be hard [of heart], and he was rejected. For unto Jeremiah God said, “Before I had formed thee in the belly I knew thee, and before thou didst go forth from the womb I sanctified thee and gave thee to be a prophet to the nations” (Jer. i. 5). And Paul said, “God hath not cast aside His people who from the very beginning were known to Him” (Rom. xi. 1, 2), because, assuredly, of [their] good will and pure thoughts. Now, certain characteristics of election make themselves visible in the person of him that is elected, and certain radiances shine forth from him which makes known that he is worthy of grace. The man who hath an enlightened mind perceiveth these, but the man who hath not an understanding mind knoweth them not. Since the person about whom we are going to speak was elected because of his superior discipline (or, exalted life), it is necessary for us to describe the manner of his election, and show how of a certainty it contributed to the perfect will.

There was, in the city of Kâwshang, of the country of the East, a certain righteous and believing man (10), pure and spotless, who served God continually in His church, and observed His laws strictly and carefully. [The city of Kâwshang, *i.e.* Kung-Tschang lay between Pekin and Tangût, and was about fifteen days’ journey from the former city. Chabot would identify it with Hô-tchung-fu in the province of Shân-si.] His name was Baynîêl; he was an archdeacon and he had four sons. The youngest of them [who was born in the year of our Lord 1245] was called Marḳôs (Mark), and he was trained in ecclesiastical learning more than all his brethren... [The text is defective here, or some words have been omitted.] and they admonished (or exhorted) him concerning these and much like matters, and it seemed to them that they might be talking rather to a statue than to a rational man. But even after suffering affliction in many ways he did not turn back from his course, and his mind did not desist from its quest. On the contrary he made straight his aim, and after fifteen days of great labour he arrived at the place where Rabban Šâwmâ was. And he gave the salutation of peace to Rabban Šâwmâ, who rejoiced in him and received him gladly.

And after Mark had rested and was refreshed Rabban Šâwmâ asked him, saying, “My son, whence comest thou? And how did it happen to thee that thou hast come to this mountain? (11) In what city do thy kinsfolk dwell? Who is thy father, and whose son art thou?”

And Mark answered him, saying, “I am the son of Baynîêl the archdeacon of the city of Kâwshang, and I am called ‘Mark.’”

And Rabban Šâwmâ said unto him, “What is thy reason for coming to me with such labour and fatigue?” And Mark said unto him, “I wish to become a monk (or anchorite). Because I heard the report of thee I dropped

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everything and have sought thee; deprive me not of my desire.” And Rabban Šâwmâ said unto him “O our brother, this path is difficult. Even the old [and experienced] monks endure the hardness thereof with the greatest difficulty; shall I permit youths and children to journey on it?” And having besought him for many reasons to return to his parents, and Mark having refused to do so, Rabban Šâwmâ admitted him [to his cell] and taught him; and he clothed him in a woollen garment, and made him to labour in the ascetic life. After three years Mark received the tonsure, that is to say the garb of the monk, from the pious Metropolitan Mâr Nestôrîs (Nestorius) on the first day of the week, or the Sunday when [the prayer beginning] “Rûkhâ Pâraqlîtâ” is said. And he continued to perform many ascetic labours and kept the fasts which lasted all day until the evening. And [the monks] in that mountain used to toil in (12) the cultivation of purity and holiness, and they were comforted by God unto Whom they had committed their souls.

Chapter III: Rabban Šâwmâ and Rabban Marḳôs wish to go to Jerusalem.

One day they meditated, saying, “It would be exceedingly helpful to us if we were to leave this region and set out for the West, for we could then [visit] the tombs of the holy martyrs and Catholic Fathers and be blessed [by them]. And if Christ, the Lord of the Universe, prolonged our lives, and sustained us by His grace, we could go to Jerusalem, so that we might receive complete pardon for our offences, and absolution for our sins of foolishness.” Now although Rabban Šâwmâ opposed Rabban Mark, and [tried to] frighten him with the toil of the journey, and the fatigue of travelling, and the terror of the ways, and the tribulations that would beset him in a (13) foreign country, Rabban Mark burned to set out on the road. His mind seemed to reveal to him that there were treasures laid up for him in the West, and he pressed Rabban Šâwmâ with his words, and importuned him to depart. And the two of them having agreed together that neither of them should be separated from his companion, even if one of them might have to submit to what was evil for his sake, they rose up and distributed their furniture, and the objects which they used in everyday life, among the poor, and they went to that city (*i.e.* Pekin) so that they might take companions for the journey [*i.e.* join a caravan] and provide themselves with food for the way.

Now when the Christians who were living there became acquainted with them, and knew their intention, they gathered together about them so that they might make them abandon their plan. And they said [unto them], “Peradventure ye do not know how very far off that region is to which ye would go? Or, perhaps ye have not the least idea in your minds, or have

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forgotten, how difficult it will be for you to travel over the roads, and that ye will never reach there? Nay, sit ye down here, and strive to perform the works whereunto ye have been called. For it is said, ‘The kingdom of heaven is within you’” (Luke xvii. 21). And Rabban Šâwmâ and Rabban Mark replied, “It is a long time since we (14) put on the garb of the monastic life, and we have renounced the world; we consider ourselves to be dead men in respect of it. Toil doth not terrify us, neither doth fear disturb us. There is, however, one thing which we ask of you: for the love of Christ pray for us. And ye shall cast away the word which would produce doubt (or hesitation), and shall make supplication to God that our desire may be fulfilled.” [And the Christians of that city] said, “Depart in peace.” And they kissed each other, and parted with bitter tears and distressful words, saying, “Depart in peace. And may our Lord, Whom ye seek, be with you, and may He allot to you that which is pleasing to Him, and will be of help to you! Amen.”

And Rabban Šâwmâ and Rabban Mark came to the city of Kâwshang. And when the people of the city and the parents of Rabban Mark heard that these two monks had come there, they went out to meet them with joy, and they welcomed them with gladness and delight, and they escorted them into the church with great honour. And they enquired of them how they had come to make the journey thither. Now they thought that the two monks were going to tarry with them, and that Rabban Mark had done so in order that he might be near the people of his family (15). And when they knew of a certainty that they were going to Jerusalem, and that they had made their plan to travel to the West, they suffered greatly and were sorely afflicted.

And the report of the arrival of the two monks reached the lords of that city, Kônbohghâ (*i.e.* Sun worshipper) and Îfôghâ (or Îbôghâ) (*i.e.* Moon-worshipper), the sons-in-law of the King of Kings, Kûblâi Khân, and as soon as they heard the report they sent messengers and had the two monks brought to the Camp. And they received them with gladness, and the fire of love for them burned in their breasts. And when the Lords knew that they were “going to flee from us,” they began to say unto them, “Why are ye leaving this country of ours and going to the West? For we have taken very great trouble to draw hither monks and fathers from the West. How can we allow you to go away?” Rabban Šâwmâ said unto them, “We (16) have cast away the world. And as long as we live in the society of men there will be no peace to us. Therefore it is right that we should flee because of the love of Christ, Who gave Himself unto death for our redemption. Whatsoever is in the world we have cast behind us. Although your love moveth us not to depart, and your gracious goodness would hold us fast, and your alms are bestowed upon us lavishly; and although it is grateful to us to sojourn with you, we remember the Lord’s word which saith, ‘What shall it profit a man

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if he possess the whole world and lose his soul? And what shall a man give as a substitute for his soul?' (Matt. xvi. :26). We earnestly desire the separation, but wherever we shall be we shall always remember, according to our feebleness, both by night and by day, your kingdom in [our] prayers."

And when the Lords of the city saw that their words had no effect upon them, and that they would not yield to their persuasion, they selected for them gifts, namely, beasts on which to ride, and gold, and silver, and wearing apparel [and rugs].

Then the two monks said, "We have no need of any [of these things]. For what can we do with these possessions? (17) And how can we possibly carry such a weight [as] this?" And the kings mentioned above replied, "Ye have no knowledge of the length of this journey, and the expenses which it demands. We, however, do know, and we advise you not to set out empty [handed]; if ye do ye will be unable to arrive at the place which ye have decided to be your destination. Accept then these gifts from us as a loan (or trust), and if some occasion of necessity should befall you, spend what ye need from them; if, on the other hand, the necessity does not arise, and ye arrive safe and sound, distribute them among the monasteries and habitations of the monks which are there, and the Fathers (*i.e.* Bishops), so that we may enjoy association with our Western Fathers. For it is said, 'Let your superfluity be [a supply] for those who are in want'" (2 Cor. viii. 13). Then the two monks, seeing that the kings were giving with a sincere heart, accepted what they gave to them. And they bade farewell to them sorrowfully, and they shed tears wherewith joy was mingled.

And they came from thence to the city of Tangôth [*i.e.* Tangkût, or Tangat, or Thangchû, a country in Central Asia; its capital was Hiatcheu, or Ning-hia-fu]. When the people of that city heard (18) that Rabban Sâwmâ and Rabban Mark had come there in order to go to Jerusalem, they went forth eagerly to meet them, that is to say, old men and women, young men and youths, and boys and young children, for the people of Tangôth were ardent believers, and their minds were pure. And they loaded the two monks with gifts of every kind, and they received their blessings, and a crowd escorted them on their way, and shed tears, saying, "The Lord Who hath elected you to the honour of His service shall Himself be with you. Amen."

And from there they went to the country of Lôton [?Khôtân, or Hothian, or Yuthian, a city between Tangôth and Kâshgâr], a toilsome and fatiguing journey of two months; the region was a bare and barren desert, and it was without inhabitants, because its waters were bitter, and no crops are sown there. And on the whole journey there were only eight days when, with the greatest difficulty, was sweet water found which the travellers could

carry with them.³ And in the days when they arrived at Lôtôn it happened that a war was raging between the King of Kings (19) Ẕûblâi Khân and King Ôḳô [’O-’ho, Commander-in-chief of the army of Mien?]. And Ôḳô had fled from him and had entered [this] country, and destroyed thousands of men therein. The caravan roads and ways had been cut, and grain (?) was scarce and could not be found; and many died of hunger and perished through want.

And after six months the two monks went forth from that place and came to the country of Kashkâr [or Kashgâr, a city on the frontiers of China and Turkestan]. And they saw that the city was empty of its inhabitants, because it had been already plundered by the enemy. And because the aim of the monks was right, and they pleased God with all their hearts, He delivered them from every affliction, and no suffering attacked them, and He saved them from obstructions by highway robbers and thieves.

And they came to the place where King Ẕaidô [a nephew of Ẕûblâi Khân] was encamped by the Ẕělêos (*i.e.* Ẕalâs). And they went into his presence, and prayed that his life would be preserved, and they blessed his kingdom, and they asked him for a written order so that no man in his country might do them harm. And with the greatest difficulty (20) and in a state of exhaustion whereto fear was added, they arrived at Khôrâsân, [a province of north-eastern Persia, which lay between Persian ‘Îrâḳ and Afghanistan]. Having lost the greater part of what they had on the road, they went to the monastery of Saint Mâr Şehyôn, which was in the neighbourhood of the city of Ẕûs [the capital of Khôrâsân], and they were blessed by the bishop who lived therein and by the monks. And they thought (*i.e.* felt) that they had been born into the world anew, and they gave thanks unto God in Whom they had trusted; they had placed their hope in Him, and had been delivered, for He is the sustainer and helper of every one who maketh entreaty unto Him.

And having enjoyed the conversation of those brethren they set out to go to Adhôrbiĵân [a frontier province of Persia, on the north-west], so that they might travel from there to Baghdâd, to Mâr Denĥâ, the Catholicus [he succeeded Makîkâ A.G.R. 1577 = A.D. 1266, according to Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, sect. ii, p. 439]. Now it happened that Mâr Catholicus had come to Mârâghâh [a town of Adhôrbiĵân, the capital of Hûlâgû Khân], and they met him there. And at the sight of him their joy grew great, and their gladness was increased, and their minds were made to be at peace, and their anxious thoughts were set at rest. And they fell down on the ground before him, and they wept as they did homage to him (21) and they behaved as if

³ Or perhaps the meaning is, “was sweet water found wherewith to load (*i.e.* to fill) the water-skins.”

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they saw our Lord Jesus Christ in the person of Mâr Denhâ, the Catholicus. May his memory be for blessing! And they said unto him, “The mercies of God [shown to us] are many, and His grace is poured out abundantly upon us since we have seen the glorious and spiritual face of our General Father.” And when he asked them, “Whence [come] ye?” they replied, “From the countries of the East, from Khân Bâlîk, the city of the King of Kings [Kûblâi] Khân. We have come to be blessed by you, and by the Fathers (*i.e.* Bishops), and the monks, and the holy men of this quarter of the world. And if a road [openeth] to us, and God hath mercy upon us, we shall go to Jerusalem.”

And when the Catholicus saw their tears, and that they were moved with gladness at their meeting with him, his mercy showed itself unto them, and he comforted them and said unto them, “Assuredly, O my sons, the Angel of Providence shall protect you on this difficult journey, and he shall be a guide unto you until the completion of your quest. Let not your toil make you sad, for it is said in the Prophet (22) ‘Those who sow in tears, shall reap in joy’ (Ps. cxxvi. 5). That for which ye hope ye shall attain, and in return for the sufferings and tribulations which ye will have to bear, ye shall receive a perfect recompense and wages twofold in this world, and never-failing good things and never-ending delights in the world which is to come.” And they did homage to him, and gave thanks to him.

And having enjoyed intercourse with him for a few days, they brought forward [the following] request: “If we have found mercy (*i.e.* favour) in the eyes of Mâr our Father, let him permit us to go to Baghdâd, in order that we may receive a blessing from the holy sepulchres (or relics?) Of Mâr Mârê [the disciple of Saint Addai, Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, sect. ii, p. 15], the Apostle, the teacher of the East, and those of the Fathers that are there. And from there we would go to the monasteries that are in the countries of Bêth Garmai and in Nisibis that we may be blessed there also, and demand assistance.”

And when the Catholicus saw the beauty of their object, and the innocence of their minds, and the honesty of their thoughts, he said unto them, “Go ye, my sons, and may Christ, the Lord of the Universe, grant unto you your petition (23) from His rich and overflowing treasury, and may He grant you a full measure of His grace, and may His compassion accompany you whithersoever ye go.” And he wrote for them a *pêthikhâ* (*i.e.* a letter of introduction) to these countries, so that they might be honourably treated whithersoever they went; and he sent with them a man to show them the way, and to act as guide along the roads.

And they arrived in Baghdâd, and thence they went to the Great Church of Kôkê [at Ctesiphon, wherein every Catholicus was consecrated]. And they

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went to the monastery of Mâr Mârî, the Apostle, and received a blessing from the sepulchres (or relics?) of that country. And from there they turned back and came to the country of Bath Garmai, and they received blessings from the shrine (or tomb) Of Mâr Ezekiel [the prophet, near Dâkôk], which was full of helps and healings. And from there they went to Arbîl, and thence to Mâwsil (*i.e.* Môsul on the Tigris). And they went to Shîgar (Sinjâr), and Nisibis, and Merdâ (Mardîn); and were blessed by the shrine [containing] the bones of Mâr Awgîn, the second Christ. And thence they went to Gâzartâ of Bêth Zabhdai, and they were blessed by all the shrines and monasteries, and the religious houses, and the monks, and the Fathers (*i.e.* Bishops) in their dioceses. And they paid the vows which they had laid upon themselves, and they spread (24) tables of food [wherefrom all might eat], and they gave alms and oblations wherever they went. And they turned back and came to the holy monastery of Mâr Michael of Tar'îl. And they bought a cell, and both of them were received by the monks who were there. And the thought which made them toil through the journey had rest, although they had not arrived at the end of [their] expectation.

Now when Mâr Denhâ or Denkhâ, the Catholicus, heard of their manner of life, he sent and asked them to go to him; and they went forthwith and gave him the customary salutation. And he said unto them, "We have heard that ye have been received into a monastery. This, however, doth not please us. For whilst the two of you sojourn in the monastery ye will be able to make perfect your own peace (or rest), and that is all that ye will do, but if ye abide with us ye will bring benefit and peace (or rest) to the whole community. Therefore stay ye with us, and support the Door of the Kingdom [compare Sublime Porte] in whatever manner cometh to your hands." And they said unto him, "Whatsoever thou commandest (25), O our Father, we will do." And the Catholicus said unto them, "Ye shall go to King Abghâ [or Abâghâ Khân, or Abâkâ Khân, the son and successor of Hûlâgû Khân, and great grandson of Chingiz Khân, who ascended the throne of Persia as the second Mongol Khân in 1265], and obtain for us Puḡdânê (*i.e.* written orders, or letters patent confirming his appointment as Catholicus)." And the two monks said unto him, "Thus shall it be, but let Mâr our Father send with us a man who shall take the *Puḡdânâ* [from the king] and give it to him (*i.e.* the Catholicus), and we will go on from there to Jerusalem." And the Catholicus granted them this [request], and gave them blessings on their journey.

And when the two monks went to the Blessed Camp, the Amîrs brought them in before the King, and he asked them about the object of their coming, and what their native country was; and they made a reply to him which revealed unto him their object. And Abghâ Khân commanded the nobles of

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his kingdom to fulfil their petition, and to give them the written orders (*Puḳdânê*) which they had asked for. And the two monks sent the written order which Mâr Catholicus had demanded to him by the hands of his messenger, and they and their companions set out for Jerusalem.

And when they arrived at the city of Animṭô [*i.e.* Anî, the ancient capital of Christian Armenia, situated on an affluent of the river Araxes], and saw (26) the monasteries and the churches therein, they marvelled at the great extent of the buildings and at their magnificence. And thence they went towards Bêth Gûrgâyê (*i.e.* the country of Georgia), so that they might travel by a clear (or safe?) road, but when they arrived there they heard from the inhabitants of the country that the road was cut because of the murders and robberies which had taken place along it.

Chapter IV: Rabban Mark is ordained Metropolitan, and is called Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, and Rabban Şâwmâ becomes Visitor-General.

And the two monks turned back and came to Mâr Catholicus, who rejoiced [at the sight of] them, and said unto them, “This is not the time for a journey to Jerusalem. The roads are in a disturbed state, and the ways are cut. Now behold, ye have received blessings from all the Houses of God, and the shrines (or relics?) which are in them (27), and it is my opinion that when a man visits them with a pure heart, the service thus paid to them is in no way less than that of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. I am now going to counsel you with a council which is appropriate, and it is meet that ye should hearken unto it. I have decided to appoint Mark Metropolitan, and to bestow upon him the apostolic gift. As for thee Rabban Şâwmâ, I am going to make thee Visitor-General, and I am going to send the two of you, each back to his own country.” And those monks said unto him, “The word of Mâr our Father is from the command of Christ, and he who does not carry it out committeth a transgression of the command; nevertheless we will reveal our thought, and show forth what is hidden in our heart.

“We have not come from that country (*i.e.* China) in order to turn back and go again thither, and we do not intend to endure a repetition of the hardship which we have already suffered. For the man who is tripped up twice by the [same] stone (28) is a fool. And moreover, we declare that we are unworthy of this gift, and for defective creatures [like ourselves], a responsibility of this kind is too difficult. What we are seeking after is this: to dwell in a monastery and to serve Christ until we die.” Then the Catholicus said unto them, “This gift is suitable for you, and the responsibility befits your modesty.” And when the two monks saw that their excuse was unavailing, they said, “The will of our Father be done.” And the

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Catholicus said, “Hitherto no man hath called Rabban Mark ‘Mâr Mark,’ but I wish to call him by this name. And, moreover, I have thought out a plan [for doing so]. We will write down [on slips of paper a number of] names, and lay them upon the altar. And whichever name shall go forth [from among them] with some clearly recognizable indication, by that we will call Mark.”⁴ And he did this, and the name of Yahbh-Allâhâ came forth, and the Catholicus said, “This is from the blessed Lord, blessed be He!” And they were each worthy [of honour]. And Rabban Mark received the rank of Metropolitan of the See of Kaṭî [*i.e.* Kathay, or Northern China], and Ông [*i.e.* Wâng, or Huâng], from Mâr Denḥa, the Catholicus, when he was thirty-five years of age [in the year 1280] (29). And Rabban Šâwmâ also received a blessing from him, and was named “Visitor-General.” And they both took letters of introduction; each man’s letter being drawn up according to the requirements of his service.

And after a few days a report came to the effect that the road by which they had travelled there was wholly cut off, and that it was impossible for any man to use it, for the hearts of the kings of the two frontiers were changed [*i.e.* were hostile to each other and they were fighting], namely, the king on the one side of the [river] Gîḥôn (*i.e.* the Oxus), and the king of the other side. And therefore the luminaries (*i.e.* Rabban Šâwmâ and Mark the Metropolitan) returned to the monastery of Mâr Michael of Tar’îl, and they sat down in their cell for two years, more or less.

And one night when Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ was sleeping he saw a dream, and it seemed to him that he went into a great church, and that there were in the church images of the saints, and that in the midst of them there was the Cross (30). And he stretched out his right arm in order to receive a blessing from it, and as he stretched forward his arm, the Cross receded from him, and it ascended until it came to the top (roof?) of the temple, where he grasped it and kissed it, and then he went out of the church. And he saw lofty trees that were laden with different kinds of hard fruits, and various soft fruits, and he began to pluck and to eat them, and he gave [some of them] to the crowd of people who were gathered together, and fed them therewith. And when he woke up he showed the dream to Rabban Šâwmâ, saying, “I

⁴ The terseness of this sentence renders it almost ununderstandable. The Patriarch having decided to make Mark a Metropolitan Bishop, wished to give him a Syriac name, and to hear him called “Mâr(i)” *i.e.* “My Lord,” but he could not make up his mind as to the name Mark should in future be known by. Therefore, he resorted to “pious divinations.” He wrote certain names on slips, and laid them face downwards on the Altar and, presumably, prayed. Whether some one, either the Patriarch or a Priest, then drew out a slip as in a lottery, or whether the slip bearing the chosen name separated itself from the other slips under some supernatural influence, cannot be said.

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have seen a dream and it troubleth me.” And Rabban Šâwmâ said unto him, “Relate thy dream to me.” And when he had related it to him Rabban Šâwmâ interpreted it, saying, “That thy arm extended itself after thou hadst stretched it out to be blessed by the Cross and by the images of the saints, showeth that thou wilt attain to the great stature [*i.e.* the highest rank] of the Fathers (or Bishops). And that thou didst eat of the fruit of the trees, and didst give of them to the people to eat, showeth that thou wilt thyself enjoy the heavenly gift which resteth upon thee, and that thou wilt also make many people enjoy that same gift.”

And again, on another night, Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ saw another (31) vision. It seemed to him as if he were sitting upon a high throne, and that many people were gathered together round about him, and he was teaching [them]. And as he was speaking his tongue became longer and longer until the greater part of it went forth from his mouth; and, then it became divided into three portions, and there appeared on the tip of each portion something which was like unto fire. And the people who were there marvelled and glorified God. And when he awoke he again related his dream to Rabban Šâwmâ, who said unto him, “This is no dream, for it is a revelation, and it resembleth a revelation; and it differeth in no way from [the revelation of] the Spirit, which in the form of tongues of fire rested upon the Apostles (Acts ii. 3). And assuredly the Holy Spirit resteth upon thee, and the patriarchal throne shall be given into thy hands, so that thou mayest complete His service, and minister to its operation” (32).

Chapter V: Mar Yahbh-Allâhâ is elected Patriarch.

Now whilst these things were taking place, Mâr Denḥa, the Catholicus, was still alive, but he had been suffering from sickness for a long time in Baghdâd. And many of the monks and Fathers (*i.e.* Bishops) had been seeing visions which resembled those [described above]. And after a few days there arose in Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ the thought that he would go to the Catholicus in Baghdâd so that he might receive from him a blessing, and the *bîrônâ* (*i.e.* pontifical cloak, Βυρρίον) and pastoral staff that they might go with him to his country. And when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Baghdâd, a certain man who was an acquaintance of his met him, and said unto him, “The Catholicus is dead, but peradventure if thou wilt urge on thy caravan thou wilt arrive before he is buried.” Then, with great anguish and a sorrowful heart, Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ set out and pressed on quickly until he came to the door of the church; and when he had gone inside he saw some groups of people weeping (33) and some groups praying. And he went up to the bier, and cast aside his turban, and rent his garments, and wept so bitterly

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and with such anguish that at length he fell down upon the ground like a dead man. After a time the people lifted him up, and put his turban on him, and spake words of consolation to him. And when the prayers for the dead were ended [the Catholicus] was buried [on February 24, 1281]—may his memory be for blessing! And the Fathers returned to the Cell [which was actually a palace] of the Catholicus.

And on the following day the Fathers gathered together to elect a person suitable to sit on the [patriarchal] Throne. There were present the following: first and foremost there was Mâran-‘Ammeh, Metropolitan of Elam. Another was [the Metropolitan of] Tangôth [in China]; another was [the Metropolitan of] ʾTîrâhân near Samarrâ in Irak; and another was [the Metropolitan of] ʾTûrê [*i.e.* ʾTûr ‘Abhdîn]. And with these were the nobles, and governors, and scribes, and lawyers, and physicians of Baghdâd. And one said, “this man shall be Patriarch,” and another said, “that man shall be Patriarch,” until at length they all agreed that Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ should be the head and governor of the Throne of Seleucia and Ctesiphon (34). The reason for his election was this: The kings who held the steering poles of the government of the whole world were Mûglâyê (Mongols), and there was no man except Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ who was acquainted with their manners and customs, and their policy of government, and their language. And when [the nobles of Baghdâd] said these things to him he made excuses and demurred to their statements, saying, “I am deficient in education and in ecclesiastical doctrine, and the member of my tongue halteth. How can I possibly become your Patriarch? And moreover, I am wholly ignorant of your language, Syriac, which it is absolutely necessary for the Patriarch to know.” And having pressed upon him their request, he agreed to their opinion and accepted [the office]. And all the aged men, and priests, and nobles, and scribes, and also the physicians, gave their support to him.

And Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ rose up and came to the holy monastery of Mâr Michael of Tar‘îl, where Rabban Šāwmâ was. Now the monks had already heard of the death of the holy Father, Mâr Denḥa, and when Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ arrived, they received him with gladness, and comforted him; and they [told] him that they approved of his being elected Catholicus. It was a divine movement, and an act (35) which proceeded from God, and which all creation was compelled to carry out. And when he talked to Rabban Šāwmâ, the Rabban said unto him, “This is a divine matter, from which thou canst not possibly ask for release; therefore let us go forthwith to King Abghâ (or Abâgâ), and if he consents thereto we shall receive the conclusion.”

And they rose up and set out for Adhôrbiĵân, together with the aged and venerable men, and Fathers (*i.e.* Bishops), and monks who accompanied them, for at that time the kings used to pass the summer in that place. And

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they arrived at the place where the king was at Black Mountain, which is known in Persian as Sîâ Kûh, and the Amîrs introduced them, and put forward their request. And the monks said unto the king, “May the king live for ever! The Catholicus is dead, and all the Christians wish and have agreed together that this Metropolitan who hath come from the countries of the East to go to Jerusalem should stand in his place. What doth the king command?” And Abhghâ replied, “This purity (or sincerity) of thoughts and conscience (36) is worthy of admiration. And God is with those who seek Him and do His will. This man and his companion have come from the East to go to Jerusalem; this hath happened to them through the wish of God. We also will minister to the Divine Will and the entreaty of the Christians; he shall stand for them as their head and shall sit upon the Throne.”

And he took Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ by the hand, and said unto him, “Be strong and rule, and may God be with thee and support thee.” And he covered his head with a cloak, for a cloak was lying on his shoulders, and he gave him his own chair of state (*šandâlî*), which was a small throne. And he gave him also a parasol (*shâther*), which is called in Mongolian *sûkôr*, and this is raised up above the heads of kings and queens, and their children, and it is sufficient to keep away from them the strength of the sun and rain; but on most occasions parasols are spread over them to do them honour. And the king gave him also a Paizâ of gold, which is the sign (or symbol) of these kings, and the customary Puğdânê, that is to say, written commands, which authorized him to have dominion over every one (37), and the great seal which had formerly belonged to the Catholicus, his predecessor. And he allotted to him the large sum of money which was necessary to pay the expenses of the laying on of hands.

Then Rabban Šâwmâ and Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ rose up and came to Baghdâd. And they went to the Great Church of Kôkê, and Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ received the χειροτονία, that is to say, the laying on of hands, to hold the steering poles of the government of the Oriental Church. And he sat on the throne of Seleucia and Ctesiphon through the offices of the holy Father, Mâran ‘Ammeh, Metropolitan of Elam, the disposer and keeper of the Apostolic Throne, and through the Fathers who were present there, and who were:

Mâr Îshô‘ Zekhâ, Metropolitan of Šûbhâ (Nisibis) and of Armenia.

Mâr Moses, Metropolitan of Arbîl.

Mâr Gabriel, Metropolitan of Môşul and Ninevah.

Mâr Elijah, Metropolitan of Dâķûk and Bêth Garmai.

Mâr Abraham, Metropolitan of Tripolis and Jerusalem.

Mâr Jacob, Metropolitan of Sâmarķand.

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Mâr John (38) Metropolitan of Adhôrbiân.

And the other Bishops, twenty-four in number, among whom were:

[Mâr Joseph, Bishop of Sâlâmâs.
Mâr Abraham, Bishop of Ûshnûḳ.
Mâr John, Bishop of Shûshtar.]

[These three names are added from Bedjân's note on p. 38 of his text.]

This laying on of hands took place in the month of the second Teshrî, on the first Sunday of the "Consecration of the Church," in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-three of the Greeks [*i.e.* in November, 1281], in the seven and thirtieth year of his age.

Now it happened that in the winter of that year King Abhghâ came down to Baghdâd, and Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, the Catholicus, went to him on the Sabbath which came before the Lord's Fast (*i.e.* Lent). And he explained to him the affairs of the Christians [*i.e.* their actual condition], and found mercy (*i.e.* sympathy) in his sight. And the king bestowed upon him large gifts, and gave him a written authority (*puḳdânâ*) to levy a tax each year on behalf of the churches, and monasteries, and monks, and priests, and deacons, thirty thousand *dînârs* (nearly £15,000) or one hundred and eighty thousand white *zûzâ*. [The silver *zûzâ* = about 20d. of our money?]. And the Catholicus sent out [men] to exact a gift from the various countries equivalent to this amount. (39) Now when King Abhghâ departed this temporary life the gift was withheld.

Chapter VI: The false accusations which Mar Yahbh-allâhâ suffered in the days of Aḥmâd the King.

About the events which immediately followed we will not prolong our discourse. [In short] after Abhghâ there rose up as king his brother, Aḥmâd [who is also known as Nekûdâr, or Takûdâr, who was baptized and was called Nîkâlêôs, or Nicholas], the son of Hûlâgû. He lacked education and knowledge, and he persecuted the Christians greatly because of his association with the Hâgârâyê [*i.e.* the descendants of Hagar, the Muḥammadans], towards whose religion he leaned, and because of two of the envious old men (*i.e.* bishops), who found the opportunity to fulfil their desire. They went into the king's presence through the help of certain erring men, one of whom was called (40) Shams Ad-Dîn, the lord of the Dîwân [the son of Behai ad-Dîn Muḥammad], that is to say, chief of the scribes of

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the *dûmâsiôn* (δημόσιον = the State or Treasury), and the other was the Shâkh ‘Abd ar-Raḥman. And they calumniated Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, the Catholicus, and Rabban Şâwmâ, and made accusations against them [to the king], saying, “The hearts of these men are with Arghôn, the son of Abhghâ, and they have written treasonable things against thee, O King, to the King of Kings Ḳûblâi Khân. And the Amîr Shamôt is a participator in the treason.” The latter had been a monk and an ascetic, and was then the Eparch of the city of Mōṣul and its district.

Now these two men used Aḥmâd as a tool in fulfilling their desire through the two old men who have already been mentioned, that is to say Īshô‘-Sabhran, Metropolitan of Tangôth, and Simon, Bishop of Arnî [or Arnâ, in the diocese of ‘Akrâ]. These two bishops had plotted together and agreed that the one of them should become the Catholicus, and the other Metropolitan and Visitor-General. And this plan having, through the counsel of the Adversary, entered (41) their minds they contrived this scheme of theirs as we have described.

Now the king who lacked understanding, inasmuch as he had cast God aside, did not ponder in his mind, saying, “These men can have no benefit in this matter, why should they bring themselves to make false accusations?” but he believed the words of the crafty ones. And by his command Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, the Catholicus, and Rabban Şâwmâ and the Amîr Shamôt were brought up into the Great House. After the written authorisations (Puḡdânê) which he had given to them, he took away the house of Mâr Catholicus, and the Paizâ [some words omitted?]. And when Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ and Rabban Şâwmâ had gone into the Hall of Judgment, they did not know what was required of them, and they remained there stupefied, saying, “What have we done?” And the messenger who had brought them into the Hall of Judgment said unto them, “Your holy men, and the scribes, and the men of your Communion have made accusations against you before the king.”

And the great Amîrs, that is to say the judges, said unto the Catholicus, “What evil thing hast thou seen in the king that thou shouldst lie concerning him, and shouldst send calumnies about him to the King of Kings, Ḳûblâi Khân, saying, ‘This man hath abandoned the way of his (42) fathers and hath become a Muḥammadan.’” And the Catholicus replied, “I do not understand.” And the judges said unto him, “Thy scribes have declared these things against thee.” And the judges brought the scribes, and when each one of them had been questioned by himself, every one of them stated that which he knew. And Mâr Catholicus said, “O Amîrs, why do ye weary yourselves? Fetch back that messenger, with whom are the letters, and examine them. If this accusation which hath been made against me is [proved] true, I will die

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ungrudgingly and in my own blood. But if it be [proved] to be false, it rests with you to judge and to take vengeance [on my behalf].”

And the Amîrs accepted this proposal, and they made it known to the king, and the king sent after the messenger, and took back from him all the letters in the neighbourhood of Khorâsân. And when the letters had been opened and read, there was found in them nothing which in any way resembled the accusations. But the judges said nothing about this to [the accusers of the Catholicus], and therefore we know that they had taken the letters as a pretext.

And the Catholicus remained in prison for forty days, more (43) or less, in great anxiety, and bitter suffering and anguish all day long, until God in His mercy visited him, and he was saved from death. Now King Aḥmâd was exceedingly wroth with him, and as the thirsty man longeth for cool waters, even so did the king thirst to shed his blood. And he would have done so had it not been for the Angel of Providence who governs this holy throne, and who wrought upon the mother of the king [Kutui Khatûn], and upon the Amîrs, and prevented him from carrying into effect the thought which he had devised. And further, through the word of those whom we have mentioned, the Catholicus found mercy in the sight of the king, and he gave him [back] the Letter of Authority (*Puḡdânâ*) and the Paizâ, and he made his heart happy and sent him back.

Then Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ said farewell to the king and went to the City of Urmî. And he saw a vision (or dream) in the church of Mârt Maryam, and he knew that he would never see the king again. And after some days he arrived in the City of Mârâghâh, he and the bishops who had made accusations against him. And King Aḥmâd and his troops went to Khorâsân in order to seize King Arghôn, the son of King Abhghâ. And he had made a pact with the two persons who have been mentioned above, and with the chiefs of the Arabs (44), that when he had seized that prince (Arghôn) he should slay the rest of the royal children, and that he should become Khalîfah in Baghdâd, and put an end to the life of the Catholicus also. But his thought returned empty, and his plan had no result, for the Lord setteth aside the thoughts of the children of men, and establisheth His design. He dismisseth kings and maketh kings to pass away, but His kingdom standeth for ever. And the armies of Aḥmâd were scattered—now, the greater number of the troops took the side of Arghôn—and Aḥmâd was captured and killed [in the year 1284].

One night, before he had heard of what had happened to Aḥmâd the king, Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ had a dream. And it seemed to him that a young man of handsome appearance came to him carrying a dish, which was covered over with a napkin, in his hands, and he said unto the Catholicus,

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“Stand up, and eat what is laid on the dish.” And when he drew back the cloth he found a boiled head [of a man] in the dish, and he ate the whole head leaving nothing except the bones of the jaw. And the young man said unto him, “Dost thou know (45) what thou hast eaten?” And the Catholicus said unto him, “No.” And the young man said unto him, “This was the head of King Aḥmâd”; and the Catholicus awoke straightway and was frightened. And a few days later the report of the murder of the king, which hath already been mentioned, arrived, and the news that King Arghôn was reigning. And the joy of the Catholicus was great, not because of the death of Aḥmâd, but because Arghôn had become king.

And there and then the Catholicus, and the old men and the monks went to offer their congratulations to King Arghôn, and to pay the homage which the Christians were in duty bound to pay to their kings according to the apostolic commandments, “Let every soul be in subjection to the supreme powers who are in authority, for there is no authority existing which is not from God” (Rom. xiii. 1). And having seen King Arghôn and congratulated him, the Catholicus prayed for the permanence of his kingdom. And Arghôn paid him very great honour, and magnified his grade when he heard what had happened to him through the king, his predecessor. And when he knew how the two holy bishops, whom we have mentioned above, had served the Catholicus he commanded them to be destroyed. Then Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ (46), the Catholicus, said unto him, “O King, live for ever! We Christians have laws, and everyone who doth not fulfil them is called a transgressor of the law. Our law doth not demand the slaying of a man, but only the condemnation of [his] guilt; and behold, there are many kinds of punishment which those who discipline offenders can apply to him. By our law the sentence of death cannot be passed on these reverend men, but only the sentence of complete dismissal from that grade with the ministration which they have been entrusted.” And this [advice] was pleasing in the eyes of the king, and he sent away the Catholicus in great honour, and he returned to his cell in great gladness. And when the venerable Fathers had gathered together to the Catholicus to salute him and to comfort him, a discussion (or enquiry) took place concerning the action of the old men who have already been mentioned. And after much debating, and after those old men had confessed their offence, they came to a decision and excommunicated both the bishops, and they were expelled from every ecclesiastical office [which they held].

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Chapter VII: (47) On the departure of Rabban Šâwmâ to the country of the Romans in the name of King Arghôn and of the Catholicus Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ.

Now Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, the Catholicus, increased in power, and his honour before the King and Queens grew greater daily. He pulled down the church of Mâr Shalîta which was in Mârâghâh, and he rebuilt it at very great expense. And instead of using [the old] beams [and making a single roof] he made [the new church] with two naves (*haikēlē*); and by the side of it he built a cell in which to live. For his affection for the house of King Arghôn was very warm, because Arghôn loved the Christians with his whole heart. And Arghôn intended to go into the countries of Palestine and Syria and to subjugate them and take possession of them, but he said to himself, “If the Western Kings, who are Christians, will not help me I shall not be able to fulfil my desire.” Thereupon he asked the Catholicus to give him a wise man (48), “one who is suitable and is capable of undertaking an embassy, that we may send him to those kings.” And when the Catholicus saw that there was no man who knew the language except Rabban Šâwmâ, and knowing that he was fully capable of this, he commanded him to go [on the embassy].

The Journey of Rabban Šâwmâ to the country of the Romans in the name of King Arghôn and of the Catholicus Mar Yahbh-Allâhâ.

Then Rabban Šâwmâ said, “I desire this embassy greatly, and I long to go.” Then straightway King Arghôn wrote for him “Authorities” (Puḡdânê) to the king of the Greeks, and the king of the Perôgâyê (Franks?), that is to say Romans, and Yarlîkê [*i.e.* the “Ordinances” of the Mongolian kings], and letters, and gave him gifts for each of the kings [addressed by him]. And to Rabban Šâwmâ he gave two thousand *mathkâlê* (£1,000?) of gold, and thirty good riding animals, and a Paizâ. And Rabban Šâwmâ came to the cell of the Catholicus to obtain a letter from Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, and to say farewell to him. The Catholicus gave him permission to depart (49), but when the time for his departure arrived, it did not please the Catholicus to permit him to go. For he said [unto Rabban Šâwmâ], “How can this possibly take place? Thou hast been the governor of my cell, and thou knowest that through thy departure my affairs will fall into a state of utter confusion.” And having said such words as these they said farewell to each other, weeping as they did so. And the Catholicus sent with him letters, and gifts which were suitable for presentation to Mâr Pâpâ (the Pope), and gifts [*i.e.* offerings] according to his ability.

Rabban Šâwmâ and Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ

Rabban Šâwmâ in Byzantium.

And Rabban Šâwmâ set out on his journey, and there went with him a number of excellent men from among the priests and deacons of the Cell of the Catholicus. And he arrived at Bêth Rhômâyê [*i.e.* the territory of the Romans] on the borders of the Sea of Mekâ [the Black Sea?], and he saw the church that was there, and [then] went down [*i.e.* embarked] in a ship and his companions were with him. Now there were more than three hundred souls in the ship, and each day he consoled them with [his] discourse on the Faith. Now the greater number of those who dwelt in the ship were Romans (*i.e.* Byzantine Greeks), and because of the savour of his speech they paid him honour in no small degree.

And after [some] days he arrived at the great City of Constantinople (50), and before they went into it he sent two young men to the Royal Gate (Sublime Porte) to make known there that an ambassador of King Arghôn had come. Then the king commanded certain people to go forth to meet them, and to bring them in with pomp and honour. And when Rabban Šâwmâ went into the city, the king allotted to him a house, that is to say, a mansion in which to dwell. And after Rabban Šâwmâ had rested himself, he went to visit the king βασιλευς [Andronicus II] and after he had saluted him, the king asked him, “How art thou after the workings of the sea and the fatigue of the road?” And Rabban Šâwmâ replied, “With the sight of the Christian king fatigue hath vanished and exhaustion hath departed, for I was exceedingly anxious to see your kingdom, the which may our Lord establish!”

And after they had enjoyed food and drink Rabban Šâwmâ asked the king to be allowed to see the churches and the shrines [or tombs] of the Fathers [*i.e.* Patriarchs], and the relics of the saints that were therein. And the king handed Rabban Šâwmâ over to the nobles of his kingdom and (51) they showed him everything that was there.

First of all he went unto the great church of ἡ Σοφία, [*i.e.* the Church of Divine Wisdom], which has three hundred and sixty doors [*i.e.* pillars] all made of marble. As for the dome of the altar it is impossible for a man to describe it [adequately] to one who hath not seen it, and to say how high and how spacious it is. There is in this church a picture of the holy Mary which Luke, the Evangelist, painted. He saw there also the hand of Mâr John the Baptist, and portions [of the bodies of] Lazarus, and Mary Magdalene, and that stone which was laid on the grave of our Lord, when Joseph the Βοθλευτής brought Him down from the Cross. Now Mary wept on that stone, and the place whereon her tears fell is wet even at the present time;

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and however often this moisture is wiped away the place becometh wet again. And he saw also the stone bowl in which our Lord changed the water into wine (52) at Kâtnê (Cana) of Galilee; and the funerary coffer of one of the holy women which is exposed to public view every year, and every sick person who is laid under it is made whole; and the coffer of Mâr John of the Mouth of Gold (Chrysostom). And he saw also the stone on which Simon Peter was sitting when the cock crew; and the tomb of King Constantine, the Conqueror, which was made of red stone (porphyry?); and also the tomb of Justinian, which was [built of] green stone; and also the Bêth Kâwmâ (resting-place) of the Three Hundred and Eighteen [orthodox] Bishops who were all laid in one great church; and their bodies have not suffered corruption because they had confirmed the [True] Faith. And he saw also many shrines of the holy Fathers, and many amulets of a magical character (*tâlišmâtâ*) and image[s] in bodily form made of bronze and stone (Eikons?).

And when Rabban Šâwmâ went [back] to King Βασιλευς he said, “May the king live for ever! I give thanks unto our Lord that I have been held worthy to see these things. And now, if the king will permit me, I will go and fulfil the command (53) of King Arghôn, for the command to me was to enter the territory of the *Prôgâyê* [*i.e.* Franks].” Then the king entreated him with great kindness, and gave him gifts of gold and silver.

Rabban Šâwmâ in Italy and in great Rome.

And he departed from Constantinople and went down to the sea. And he saw on the sea-shore a monastery of the Romans, and there were laid up in its treasure-house two funerary coffers of silver; in the one was the head of Mâr John Chrysostom, and in the other that of Mâr Pâpâ who baptized Constantine. And he went down to the sea [*i.e.* embarked on a ship] and came to the middle thereof, where he saw a mountain from which smoke ascended all the day long, and in the night time fire showed itself on it. And no man is able to approach the neighbourhood of it because of the stench of sulphur [proceeding therefrom]. Some people say that there is a great serpent there. This sea is called the “Sea of Italy.” Now it is a terrible sea., and very many thousands of (54) people have perished therein. And after two months of toil, and weariness, and exhaustion, Rabban Šâwmâ arrived at the sea-shore, and he landed at the city the name of which was Nâpôlî (Naples); now the name of its king was Îrîd Shardâlô [= Il Re Charl Du or, the King Charles II?]. And he went to the king and showed him the reason why they had come; and the king welcomed him and paid him honour. Now it happened that there was war between him and another king whose name was Îrîd Arkôn [= the King of Aragon, James II?]. And the troops of the one had

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come in many ships, and the troops of the other were ready, and they began to fight each other, and the King of Aragon (?) conquered King Charles II, and slew twelve thousand of his men, and sunk their ships in the sea. [According to Chabot this naval engagement took place in the Bay of Sorrento on St. John's Day, June 24, 1287, and the great eruption of Mount Etna on June 18]. Meanwhile Rabban Šâwmâ and his companions sat upon the roof of the mansion in which they lived, and they admired the way in which the Franks waged war, for they attacked none of the people except those who were actually combatants (55).

And from that place they travelled inland on horses, and they passed through towns and villages and marvelled because they found no land which was destitute of buildings. On the road they heard that Mâr Pâpâ [Honorius IV who died in 1287] was dead.

After some days they arrived in Great Rome (56). And Rabban Šâwmâ went into the church of Peter and Paul, for the Cell [Vatican?] of the throne of Mâr Pâpâ was situated therein. Now after the death of Mâr Pâpâ, twelve men who were called "Kaltûnârê" [not chartularii, but Cardinals] administered the [papal] throne. And whilst they were taking counsel together in order to appoint a new Pope, Rabban Šâwmâ sent a message to them saying, "We who are ambassadors of King Arghôn and of the Catholicus of the East [have arrived]"; and the Cardinals ordered them to come in. And the Franks who accompanied Rabban Šâwmâ [and his companions] informed them that when they were going into the Cell [Vatican?] of Mâr Pâpâ [they would find] there an altar at which they must bow [or kneel down?], and then they must go in and salute the Cardinals. And thus they did, and [their act] was pleasing to those Cardinals. And when Rabban Šâwmâ went into their presence no man stood up before him, for by reason of the honourable nature of the Throne, the twelve Cardinals were not in the habit of doing this. And they made Rabban Šâwmâ sit down with them, and one of them asked him, "How art thou after all the fatigue of the road?" And he made answer to him, "Through your prayers I am well and rested." And the Cardinal said unto him, "For what purpose hast thou come hither?" And Rabban Šâwmâ said unto him, "The Mongols and the Catholicus of the East have sent me to Mâr Pâpâ concerning the matter of Jerusalem; and they have sent letters with me." And the Cardinals said unto him, "For the present rest thyself, and we will discuss the matter together later"; and they assigned to him a mansion and caused him to be taken down thereto.

Three days later the Cardinals sent and summoned Rabban Šâwmâ to their presence. And when he went to them they began to ask him questions, saying, "What is thy quarter of the world, and why hast thou come?" And he

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replied in the selfsame words he had already spoken to them (57). And they said unto him, “Where doth the Catholicus live? And which of the Apostles taught the Gospel in thy quarter of the world?” And he answered them, saying, “Mâr Thomas, and Mâr Addai, and Mâr Mârî taught the Gospel in our quarter of the world, and we hold at the present time the canons [or statutes] which they delivered unto us.” The Cardinals said unto him, “Where is the Throne of the Catholicus?” He said to them, “In Baghdâd.” They answered, “What position hast thou there?” And he replied, “I am a deacon in the Cell of the Catholicus, and the director of the disciples, and the Visitor-General.” The Cardinals said, “It is a marvellous thing that thou who art a Christian, and a deacon of the Throne of the Patriarch of the East hast come upon an embassy from the king of the Mongols.” And Rabban Šâwmâ said unto them, “Know ye, O our Fathers, that many of our Fathers have gone into the countries of the Mongols, and Turks, and Chinese and have taught them the Gospel, and at the present time there are many Mongols who are Christians. For many of the sons of the Mongol kings and queens (58) have been baptized and confess Christ. And they have established churches in their military camps, and they pay honour to the Christians, and there are among them many who are believers. Now the king [of the Mongols], who is joined in the bond of friendship with the Catholicus, hath the desire to take Palestine, and the countries of Syria, and he demandeth from you help in order to take Jerusalem. He hath chosen me and hath sent me to you because, being a Christian, my word will be believed by you.” And the Cardinals said unto him, “What is thy confession of faith? To what ‘way’ art thou attached? Is it that which Mâr Pâpâ holdeth to-day or some other one?” Rabban Šâwmâ replied, “No man hath come to us Orientals from the Pope. The holy Apostles whose names I have mentioned taught us the Gospel, and to what they delivered unto us we have clung to the present day.” The Cardinals said unto him, “How dost thou believe? Recite thy belief, article by article.” Rabban Šâwmâ replied to them, saying:—

The belief of Rabban Šâwmâ, which the cardinals demanded from him.

“I believe in One God, hidden, everlasting, without beginning and without (59) end, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit: Three Persons, coequal and indivisible; among Whom there is none who is first, or last, or young, or old: in Nature they are One, in Persons they are three: the Father is the Begetter, the Son is the Begotten, and the Spirit proceedeth.

“In the last time one of the Persons of the Royal Trinity, namely the Son, put on the perfect man, Jesus Christ, from Mary the holy virgin; and was united to Him Personally (*paršôpâith*), and in Him saved (or redeemed)

the world. In His Divinity He is eternally of the Father; in His humanity He was born [a Being] in time of Mary; the union is inseparable and indivisible for ever; the union is without mingling, and without mixture, and without compaction. The Son of this union is perfect God (60) and perfect man, two Natures (*kěyânân*), and two Persons (*kěnômîn*)—one *paršôpâ* (Πρόσωπον).”

The Cardinals said unto him, “Doth the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father or from the Son, or is it separate?” Rabban Šâwmâ replied, “Are the Father, and the Son, and the Spirit associated in the things which appertain to the Nature (*kěyânâ*) or separate?” The Cardinals answered, “They are associated in the things which concern the Nature (*kěyânâ*) but are separate in respect of individual qualities.” Rabban Šâwmâ said, “What are their individual qualities?” The Cardinals replied, “Of the Father, the act of begetting: of the Son the being begotten: of the Spirit the going forth (proceeding).” Rabban Šâwmâ said, “Which of Them is the cause of that Other?” And the Cardinals replied, “The Father is the cause of the Son, and the Son is the cause of the Spirit.” Rabban Šâwmâ said, “If they are coequal in Nature (*kěyânâ*), and in operation, and in power, and in authority (or dominion), and the Three Persons (*kěnômê*) are One, how is it possible for one of Them to be the cause of the Other? For of necessity (61) the Spirit also must be the cause of some other thing; but the discussion is extraneous to the Confession of faith of wise men. We cannot find a demonstration resembling this statement of yours.

“For behold, the soul is the cause both of the reasoning power and the act of living, but the reasoning power is not the cause of the act of living. The sphere of the sun is the cause of light and heat, and heat is not the cause of light. Thus we think that which is correct, namely, that the Father is the cause of the Son and the Spirit, and that both the Son and the Spirit are causations of His. Adam begot Seth, and made Eve to proceed [from him], and they are three; because in respect of humanity there is absolutely no difference between begetting and making to go forth (or proceed).”

Then the Cardinals said unto him, “We confess that the Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Son, but not as we said, for we were only putting thy modesty [or, religious belief?] to the test.” And Rabban Šâwmâ said, “It is not right that to something which is one, two, or three, or four causes should be [assigned]; on the contrary I do not think that this resembleth our Confession of Faith.” Now though the Cardinals restrained (62) his speech by means of very many demonstrations, they held him in high esteem because of his power of argument.

Then Rabban Šâwmâ said unto them, “I have come from remote countries neither to discuss, nor to instruct [men] in matter of the Faith, but I came that I might receive a blessing from Mâr Pâpâ , and from the shrines of

the saints and to make known the words of King [Arghôn] and the Catholicus. If it be pleasing in your eyes, let us set aside discussion, and do ye give attention and direct someone to show us the churches here and the shrines of the saints; [if ye will do this] ye will confer a very great favour on your servant and disciple.”

Then the Cardinals summoned the Amîr of the city and certain monks and commanded them to show him the churches and the holy places that were there; and they went forth straightway and saw the places which we will now mention. First of all they went into the church of Peter and Paul. beneath the throne is a naos, and in this is laid (63) the body of Saint Peter, and above the throne is an altar. The altar which is in the middle of that great temple has four doorways, and in each of these two folding doors worked with designs in iron. Mâr Pâpâ celebrates the Mass at this altar, and no person besides himself may stand on the bench of that altar. Afterwards they saw the Throne of Mâr Peter whereon they make Mâr Pâpâ to sit when they appoint him. And they also saw the strip of fine [or thin] linen on which our Lord impressed His image and sent to King Abhgar of Ūrhâi (Edessa). Now the extent of that temple and its splendour cannot be described; it stands on one hundred and eight pillars. In it is another altar at which the King of their Kings receives the laying on of hands [*i.e.* is consecrated and crowned], and is proclaimed “Amprôr (Emperor) King of Kings,” by the Pope. And they say that after the prayers Mâr Pâpâ takes up the Crown with his feet, and clothes the Emperor with it (64), that is to say, places it upon his own head [to show], as they say, that priesthood reigneth over sovereignty [or kingship].

And when they had seen all the churches and monasteries that were in Great Rome, they went outside the city to the church of Mâr Paul the Apostle, where under the altar is his tomb. And there, too, is the chain wherewith Paul was bound when he was dragged to that place. And in that altar there are also a reliquary of gold wherein is the head of Mâr Stephen the Martyr, and the hand of Mâr Khananyâ (Ananias) who baptized Paul. And the staff of Paul the Apostle is also there. And from that place they went to the spot where Paul the Apostle, was crowned [with martyrdom]. They say that when his head was cut off it leaped up thrice into the air, and at each time cried out “Christ! Christ!” And that from each of the three places on which his head fell there came forth waters which were useful for healing purposes, and for giving help to all those who were afflicted. And in that place also there is a great shrine (65) wherein are the bones of martyrs and famous Fathers, and they were blessed by them.

And they went also to the Church of my Lady Maryam, and of Mâr John the Baptist, and they saw therein the seamless tunic of our Lord. And

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there is also in that church the tablet [or slab] on which our Lord consecrated the Offering and gave it to His disciples. And each year Mâr Pâpâ consecrates on that tablet the Paschal Mysteries. There are in that church four pillars of copper [or brass], each of which is six cubits in thickness; these, they say, the kings brought from Jerusalem. They saw also there the vessel in which Constantine, the victorious king, was baptized it is made of black stone [basalt?] polished. Now that church is very large and broad, and there are in the nave (*haiklâ*) one hundred and forty white marble pillars. They saw also the place where Simon Kîpâ [*i.e.* Simon the Rock] disputed with Sîmôn [Magus], and where the latter fell down and his bones were broken.

From that place they went into the church of Mârt Maryam, and [the priests] brought out for them reliquaries made of beryl (crystal?), wherein was (66) the apparel of Mârt Maryam, and a piece of wood on which our Lord had lain when a child. They saw also the head of Matthew, the Apostle, in a reliquary of silver. And they saw the foot of Philip, the Apostle, and the arm of James, the son of Zabhdai (Zebedee), in the Church of the Apostles, which was there. And after these [sights] they saw buildings which it is impossible to describe in words, and as the histories of those buildings would make any description of them very long I abandon [the attempt].

After this Rabban Šâwmâ and his companions returned to the Cardinals, and thanked them for having held him to be worthy to see these shrines and to receive blessings from them. And Rabban Šâwmâ asked from them permission to go to the king who dwelleth in Rome; and they permitted him to go, and said, "We cannot give thee an answer until the [new] Pope is elected."

And they went from that place to the country of Tuszkân (Tuscany), and were honourably entreated, and thence they (67) went to Gînôh (Genoa). Now the latter country has no king, but the people thereof set up to rule over it some great man with whom they are pleased.

And when the people of Genoa heard that an ambassador of King Arghôn had arrived, their Chief went forth with a great crowd of people, and they brought him into the city.

And there was there a great church with the name of Saint Sînâlôrnîâ (San Lorenzo), in which was the holy body of Mâr John the Baptist, in a coffer of pure silver. And Rabban Šâwmâ and his companions saw also a six-sided paten, made of emerald, and the people there told them that it was off this paten from which our Lord ate the Passover with His disciples, and that it was brought there when Jerusalem was captured. And from that place they went to the country of Ônbâr, [according to Bedjân, Lombardy] and they saw that the people there did not fast during the first Sabbath of Lent.

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And when they asked them, “Wherefore do ye do thus, and separate yourselves from all [other] Christians” (68), they replied, “This is our custom. When we were first taught the Gospel our fathers in the Faith were weakly and were unable to fast. Those who taught them the Gospel commanded them to fast forty days only.”

Rabban Sâwmâ in Fransâ or Frangestân.

Afterwards they went to the country of Pârîz (Paris), to king Fransîs [*i.e.* Philippe IV le Bel]. And the king sent out a large company of men to meet them, and they brought them into the city with great honour and ceremony. Now the territories of the French king were in extent more than a month’s journey. And the king of France assigned to Rabban Sâwmâ a place wherein to dwell, and three days later sent one of his Amîrs to him and summoned him to his presence. And when he had come the king stood up before him and paid him honour, and said unto him, “Why hast thou come? And who sent thee?” And Rabban Sâwmâ said unto him, “King Arghôn and the Catholicus of the East have sent me concerning the matter of Jerusalem.” And he showed him all the matters (69) which he knew, and he gave him the letters which he had with him, and the gifts, that is to say, presents which he had brought. And the king of France answered him, saying, “If it be indeed so that the Mongols, though they are not Christians, are going to fight against the Arabs for the capture of Jerusalem, it is meet especially for us that we should fight [with them], and if our Lord willeth, go forth in full strength.”

And Rabban Sâwmâ said unto him, “Now that we have seen the glory of thy kingdom, and have looked upon the splendour of your strength with the eye of flesh, we ask you to command the men of the city to show us the churches, and the shrines, and the relics of the saints, and everything else which is found with you, and is not to be seen in any other country, so that when we return we may make known in the [various] countries what we have seen with you.” Then the king commanded his Amîrs, saying, “Go forth and show them all the wonderful things which we have here, and afterwards I myself will show [them] what I have.” And the Amîrs went out with them.

(70) And Rabban Sâwmâ and his companions remained for a month of days in this great city of Paris, and they saw everything that was in it. There were in it thirty thousand scholars [*i.e.* pupils] who were engaged in the study of ecclesiastical books of instruction, that is to say of commentaries and exegesis of all the Holy Scriptures, and also of profane learning; and they studied wisdom, that is to say philosophy, and [the art of] speaking

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(rhetoric?), and [the art of] healing, geometry, arithmetic, and the science of the planets and the stars; and they engaged constantly in writing [theses], and all these pupils received money for subsistence from the king. And they also saw one Great Church wherein were the funerary coffers of dead kings, and statues of them in gold and in silver were upon their tombs. And five hundred monks were engaged in performing commemoration services in the burial-place [*i.e.* mausoleum] of the kings, and they all ate and drank at the expense of the king. And they fasted and prayed continually in the burial-place of those kings. And the crowns of those kings, and their armour (71), and their apparel were laid upon their tombs. In short Rabban Šâwmâ and his companions saw everything which was splendid and renowned.

And after this the king sent and summoned them, and they went to him in the church, and they saw him standing by the side of the altar, and they saluted him. And he asked Rabban Šâwmâ, saying, “Have you seen what we have? And doth there not remain anything else for you to see?” Then Rabban Šâwmâ thanked him [and said “There is not”]. Forthwith he went up with the king into an upper chamber of gold, which the king opened, and he brought forth from it a coffer of beryl wherein was laid the Crown of Thorns which the Jews placed upon the head of our Lord when they crucified Him. Now the Crown was visible in the coffer, which, thanks to the transparency of the beryl, remained unopened. And there was also in the coffer a piece of the wood of the Cross. And the king said to Rabban Šâwmâ and his companions, “When our fathers took Constantinople, and sacked Jerusalem, they brought these blessed objects from it.” And we blessed the king and besought him to give us the order to return. (72) And he said unto us, “I will send with you one of the great Amîrs whom I have here with me to give an answer to King Arghôn”; and the king gave Rabban Šâwmâ gifts and apparel of great price.

Rabban Šâwmâ goes to the King of England [*i.e.* Edward I].

And they went forth from that place, that is to say, from Paris, to go to the king of England, to Kasônâ (Gascony?). And having arrived in twenty days at their city [Bordeaux?], the inhabitants of the city went forth to meet them, and they asked them, “Who are ye?” And Rabban Šâwmâ and his companions replied, “We are ambassadors, and we have come from beyond the eastern seas, and we are envoys of the King, and of the Patriarch, and the Kings of the Mongols.” And the people made haste and went to the king and informed him [of their arrival], and the king welcomed them gladly, and the people introduced them into his presence. And those who were with Rabban Šâwmâ straightway gave to the king the Puḡdânâ [*i.e.* letter of authorisation]

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of King Arghôn, and the gifts which he had sent to him, and the Letter of Mâr Catholicus (73). And [King Edward] rejoiced greatly, and he was especially glad when Rabban Šâwmâ talked about the matter of Jerusalem. And he said, “We the kings of these cities bear upon our bodies the sign of the Cross, and we have no subject of thought except this matter. And my mind is relieved on the subject about which I have been thinking, when I hear that King Arghôn thinketh as I think.” And the king commanded Rabban Šâwmâ to celebrate the Eucharist, and he performed the Glorious Mysteries; and the king and his officers of state stood up, and the king partook of the Sacrament, and made a great feast that day.

Then Rabban Šâwmâ said unto the king, “We beseech thee, O king, to give [thy servants] the order to show us whatever churches and shrines there are in this country, so that when we go back to the Children of the East we may give them descriptions of them.” And the king replied, “Thus shall ye say to King Arghôn and unto all the Orientals: We have seen a thing than which there is nothing more wonderful, that is to say, that in the countries of the Franks there are not two Confessions of Faith, but only one Confession of Faith, namely, that which confesseth Jesus Christ; and all the Christians confess it.” And King Edward gave us many gifts and money for the expenses of the road (74).

Rabban Šâwmâ returns to Rome.

And from that place we came to the city of Genoa, in order to pass the winter there. And when we arrived there we saw a garden which resembled Paradise; its winter is not [too] cold, and its summer is not [too] hot. Green foliage is found therein all the year round, and trees, the leaves of which do not fall, and which are not stripped of their fruit. There is in the city a kind of vine which yields grapes seven times a year, but the people do not press out wine from them.

At the end of the winter there came from the country of Almâdân (Allemagne?) a man of high degree, who was the Περιοδευτής, *i.e.* “Visitor” of Mâr Pâpâ, and who was on his way to Rome.⁵ And when he heard that Rabban Šâwmâ was there, he went to visit him and salute him. And when he entered [his house] they gave each other “Peace!” and they kissed each other in the love of Christ. And the Visitor said unto Rabban Šâwmâ (75), “I have come to see thee. For I have heard concerning thee, that thou art a good and a wise man, and also that thou hast the desire to go to Rome.” And Rabban

⁵ Chabot identifies him with John of Jerusalem, who, in 1286, went to Germany to arrange for the coronation of Rudolph of Habsburg.

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Šâwmâ said unto him, “What shall I say unto thee, O beloved and noble man? I have come on an embassy from King Arghôn, and the Catholicus of the East to Mâr Pâpâ on the subject of Jerusalem. Behold I have been a year of days [since I came], and a Pope hath not sat. When I go back what shall I say and what answer can I make to the Mongols? Those, whose hearts are harder than flint, wish to take the Holy City, and those to whom it belongeth never allow the matter to occupy their minds, and moreover, they do not consider this thing to be of any importance whatsoever! What we shall go and say we know not.” Then the Visitor said unto him, “Thy words are true. I myself will go and show in their integrity the Cardinals all the words which thou hast spoken, and will urge them to appoint a Pope.”

And that Visitor departed from him and went to Rome, and he explained the matter to the king, that is to say Mâr Pâpâ (76), and that same day the Pope sent a messenger to Rabban Šâwmâ and his companions [bidding] them to go to him. And as soon as ever the messenger had arrived, they set out for Rome with the greatest readiness and they arrived there in fifteen days. And they asked, “Who is this Pope whom they have appointed?” And [the people] said, “It is the bishop who held converse with you when ye came here the first time, and his name is Nîkâlîôs [*i.e.* Nicholas IV, who was elected Pope in February, 1288].” And Rabban Šâwmâ and his companions rejoiced greatly.

And when they arrived Mâr Pâpâ sent out a Metropolitan bishop and a large company of men to meet them. And straightway Rabban Šâwmâ went into the presence of Mâr Pâpâ, who was seated on his throne. And he drew nigh to the Pope, bowing down to the ground as he did so, and he kissed his feet and his hands, and he withdrew walking backwards, with his hands clasped [on his breast]. And he said to Mâr Pâpâ, “May thy throne stand for ever, O our Father! And may it be blessed above all kings and nations! And may it make peace to reign in thy days (77) throughout the Church to the uttermost ends of the earth! Now that I have seen thy face mine eyes are illumined, and I shall not go away brokenhearted to the countries [of the East]. I give thanks to the goodness of God who hath held me to be worthy to see thy face.” Then Rabban Šâwmâ presented unto him the gift of King Arghôn and his Letters, and the gift Of Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ the Catholicus, that is to say a blessing [*i.e.* gift] and his Letter. And Mâr Pâpâ rejoiced and was glad, and he paid more honour to Rabban Šâwmâ than was customary, and he said unto him, “It will be good if thou wilt keep the festival with us, for thou wilt see our use.” Now that day [marked] the half of our Lord’s Fast [*i.e.* Mid-Lent]. And Rabban Šâwmâ made answer. “Your command is high and exalted.” And Mâr Pâpâ assigned to him a mansion in which to dwell, and he appointed servants to give him everything that he might require.

Rabban Šâwmâ and Mâr Pâpâ

Some days later Rabban Šâwmâ said to Mâr Pâpâ, “I wish to celebrate the Eucharist so that ye may see our use”; and the Pope commanded him to do as he had asked. And on that day a very large number of people were gathered together in order to see how the ambassador of the Mongols celebrated the Eucharist (78). And when they had seen they rejoiced and said, “The language is different, but the use is the same.” Now the day on which he celebrated was the Sunday [on which the prayer beginning] “ainâw âsyâ” [*i.e.* “Who is the physician”] is recited. And having performed the Mysteries, he went to Mâr Pâpâ and saluted him. And the Pope said unto Rabban Šâwmâ, “May God receive thy offering, and bless thee, and pardon thy transgressions and sins.” Then Rabban Šâwmâ said, “Besides the pardon of my transgressions and sins which I have received from thee, O our Father, I beseech thy Fatherhood, O our holy Father, to let me receive the Offering from thy hands, so that the remission [of my sins] may be complete.” And the Pope said, “So let it be!”

And on the following First Day of the Week, which was the Festival of Hosannas [*i.e.* Palm Sunday], from the break of day onwards, countless thousands and tens of thousands of people gathered together before the papal throne, and brought branches of olives, which the Pope blessed and gave to the Cardinals, and then to the Metropolitans and then to the Bishops, and then to the Amîrs, and then to the nobles, and then he cast them among all the people. And he rose up from the throne (79), and they brought him into the church with great ceremony. And he went into the apse of the altar and changed his apparel, and he put on a red vestment with threads of gold [running through it], and ornamented with precious stones, and jacinths, and pearls, down to the soles of his feet, that is to say, sandals. And he went to the altar, and then went forth to the pulpit (Bḥμσ), and addressed the people and admonished them. And he consecrated the Mysteries and gave the Eucharistic Mystery to Rabban Šâwmâ first of all—he having confessed his sins—and the Pope pardoned his transgressions and his sins and those of his fathers. And Rabban Šâwmâ rejoiced greatly in receiving the Eucharistic Mystery from the hand of Mâr Pâpâ. And he received it with tears and sobs, giving thanks to God and meditating upon the mercies which had been poured out upon him.

Afterwards, on the day of the Holy Passover (Thursday) Mâr Pâpâ went to the church of Mâr John the Baptist, when a large number of people had gathered together. He went up into a great furnished and decorated chamber which was there—and before this upper chamber there was a large open space—and the Cardinals, and the Metropolitans, and the Bishops went with him; and they began (80) to recite a prayer. And when the prayer was ended, Mâr Pâpâ addressed and admonished the congregation, according to custom;

Rabban Sâwmâ and Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ

and by reason of the great multitude of people that was there not one word could be heard except “Amen.” And when “Amen” was uttered, the ground shook through the outcries of the people. Then Mâr Pâpâ came down from that place and [stood] before the altar, and he consecrated the oil of Mûrôn (μύρον), that is to say, the oil of anointing. And afterwards he consecrated the Mysteries which bestow pardon, and gave the Eucharistic Mystery to the people. And he went forth from that place and entered the great temple (nave?), and gave to each of the reverend Fathers two gold tarpê [*i.e.* “leaves” (sheets?)] and thirty silver parpârê [*i.e.* silver coins], and then went out. And Mâr Pâpâ gathered together the people of his Cell [*i.e.* his palace household], and he washed their feet, and he wiped [them] with a napkin which he had wrapped round his loins, to the end. And when he had finished all the service of the Passover, at mid-day he made a great table [*i.e.* feast], and the servants placed before every man his portion of food. Now those who reclined [*i.e.* sat at meat] were two thousand, more or less. And when they removed the bread from the table only three hours of the day were left (81).

And on the following day, which was the Passion of our Redeemer, Mâr Pâpâ put on a black cloak, and all the reverend Fathers did likewise. And they went forth barefooted and walked to the church of my Lord, the Adorable Cross; and Mâr Pâpâ did homage to it, and kissed it, and gave it to each one of the reverend Fathers. And when the crowds of people saw it they uncovered their heads, and they knelt down on their knees and did homage before it [*i.e.* adored it]. Then Mâr Pâpâ addressed and admonished the people, and at the same time he made the sign of the Cross over the four quarters of the world. And when the service of prayer was concluded, he brought some of the Paschal Offering, and set wine with it, and Mâr Pâpâ partook by himself of that Offering (now it is not customary for Christians to offer up the Offering on the day of the Passion of our Redeemer), and went back to his Cell [*i.e.* palace].

And on the day of the Sabbath of Light Mâr Pâpâ went to the church, and they read the Books of the Prophets, and the prophecies concerning the Messiah. And he placed in position the Waznâ, *i.e.* baptismal font, and arranged branches of myrtle round about it, and Mâr Pâpâ consecrated the baptism-water and baptized three children, and signed them with the sign of the Cross. Then he went to the apse and changed his apparel of the Passion (82), and he put on his ceremonial vestments, to state the price of which is beyond the power of words, and he celebrated the Holy Mysteries.

And on the day of the Sunday of the Resurrection Mâr Pâpâ went to the holy church of my Lady Mary. And he and the Cardinals, and the Metropolitans, and the Bishops, and the members of the congregation

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saluted each other, and they kissed each other on the mouth, and he celebrated the Mysteries, and they received the Eucharistic Mystery, and then he returned to his Cell [*i.e.* palace]. And he made a great feast, and [there was] infinite gladness. And on the following Sunday Mâr Pâpâ performed the laying-on of hands, and he consecrated three bishops. And Rabban Šâwmâ and his companions saw the use followed, and they celebrated the blessed festivals with them.

And when these things had taken place Rabban Šâwmâ asked Mâr Pâpâ for [his] command to return. And Mâr Pâpâ said unto him, “We wish thee to remain with us, and to abide with us, and we will guard thee like the pupil of our eye.” But Rabban Šâwmâ replied, “O our Father, I came on an embassy for your service (?). If my coming had been the result of my personal wish, I would willingly (83) bring to an end the days of this my useless life in your service at the outer door of your palace. [But I must return], and I believe that when I go back and show the kings who are there the benefits which thou hast conferred upon my poor person, that the Christians will gain great content thereby. Now I beseech your Holiness to bestow upon me some of the relics [of the saints] which ye have with you.”

And Mâr Pâpâ said, “If we had been in the habit of giving away these relics to the people [who come] in myriads, even though the relics were as large as the mountains, they would have come to an end long ago. But since thou hast come from a far country, we will give thee a few.” And he gave to Rabban Šâwmâ a small piece of the apparel of our Lord Christ, and a piece of the cape (φασκίολον), that is to say, kerchief of my Lady Mary, and some small fragments of the bodies of the saints that were there. And he sent to Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ a crown for his head which was of fine gold, and was inlaid with precious stones; and sacred vestments made of red cloth through which ran threads of gold; and socks and sandals on which real pearls were sewn; (84) and the ring from his finger; and a “Pethîkhâ,” or Bull which authorized him to exercise Patriarchal dominion over all the Children of the East. And he gave to Rabban Šâwmâ a “Pethîkhâ” which authorized him to act as Visitor-General over all Christians. And Mâr Pâpâ blessed him, and he caused to be assigned to him for expenses on the road one thousand, five hundred *mathkâlê* of red gold. And to King Arghôn he sent certain gifts. And he embraced Rabban Šâwmâ and kissed him and dismissed him. And Rabban Šâwmâ thanked our Lord who had held him to be worthy of such blessings as these.

Rabban Šâwmâ and Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ

The Return of Rabban Šâwmâ from Rome and from Mâr Pâpâ, the Catholicus and Patriarch of the Romans and of all the Westerns.

And Rabban Šâwmâ returned. He crossed the seas which he crossed when he came, and he arrived (85) in peace at the place where King Arghôn was, sound in body, and with soul safely kept. And he gave to him the Letter of Blessings, and the gifts which he had brought from Mâr Pâpâ and from all the kings of the Franks. And he showed him how they had welcomed him with love, and how they had hearkened gladly to the Puḡdânê (or Royal Dispatches) which he had carried [to them], and he related the wonderful things which he had seen, and the power of [their] kingdom[s]. And King Arghôn rejoiced, and was glad, and thanked him, and said unto him, “We have made thee to suffer great fatigue, for thou art an old man. In future we shall not permit thee to leave us; nay, we will set up a church at the Gate of our Kingdom (*i.e.* palace), and thou shalt minister therein and recite prayers.” And Rabban Šâwmâ said, “If my lord the king would command Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, the Catholicus, to come and receive the gifts which have been sent to him by Mâr Pâpâ, and the sacred vestments which he destined for him, he could set up the church which the king is going to set up at the Door of his Kingdom, and consecrate it.” And these things took place in this way. Now because it was not our intention to relate and set out in order all the unimportant things which Rabban Šâwmâ did (86) and saw, we have abridged very much of what he himself wrote in his narrative in Persian. And even the things which are mentioned here have been abridged, or amplified, according to necessity.

Chapter VIII: The good acts of King Arghôn, and his death.

In the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-eight [read one thousand six hundred] of the Greeks [=A.D. 1288], King Arghôn gave the command to transport Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ to the Camp, even as Rabban Šâwmâ had asked. And for the honour of the Catholicus, and also to support (or sustain) the hearts of all the Christians who confessed Christ, and to increase the love for Him among them, he set up a church so close to the Door of the Throne that the ropes of the curtains of (87) the church intermingled with those of his house. [N.B.—The church was a tent]. And he made a great feast [which lasted] three days, and King Arghôn himself brought food to the Catholicus, and handed the cup of drink to him and to all the members of his company. And the king took care that reverend men, and holy Fathers (*i.e.* bishops), and priests, and deacons, and monks, should keep vigil in the church and recite the offices, and that the beater of the board

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[which summoned men to prayer] should never be idle in that church. And thus the glory (or praise) of the Christians, both Orientals and Occidentals, increased until at length with one mouth they cried out, "Blessed be the Lord Who hath made us rich! The Lord hath visited His people, and hath made for it redemption!" And when the Camp moved, the priests moved the church and all that belonged to it. And Rabban Sâwmâ became the director of that church, and its chief, and steward, and he distributed food and the things necessary for the priests, and deacons, and visitors, and caretakers of the church. And King Arghôn commanded, by reason of his great affection for Rabban Sâwmâ, that the recital of the Eucharistic Office for his benefit, and of prayers said on his behalf, should never cease (88).

And in the following year, which is the year of the Greeks, one thousand five hundred and ninety nine [read one thousand six hundred and one=A.D. 1289], in the month of 'Ilûl (September), King Arghôn went to the Cell (*i.e.* palace) in the city of Mârâghâh to see Mâr Catholicus. He had had his son [Kharbande], born in 1281, baptized in the month of Âbh (August), and he commanded him to receive the Mysteries which give pardon. And thus the Preaching of Life increased, and the Gospel (or glad tidings) of the kingdom of heaven spread throughout the world, until at length people were gathered together from all parts to the Patriarchal mansion to obtain help therefrom. And it was not only the Christians of the Faith who thronged there to be assisted by Mâr Catholicus in the fulfilment of their requests. [Text defective: translation doubtful].

Now when the state of affairs which we have mentioned had remained thus for a short time, God the Lord of the Universe, the Lord of death and of going forth, removed King Arghôn to the seat of joys and to the Abrahamic bosom. And at his departure grief fettered the whole Church which is under the heavens, because the things which were done before his time (89) and were done badly were rigidly straightened in his time. And who was there who did not suffer by the change of sovereignty? For how could it be otherwise? Behold it is a matter of difficulty for every man, and hard to describe, especially when a man knoweth the nobles of the king and all the members of the royal household, to say nothing of the king of the time himself.

Chapter IX: King Kaikhâtô and Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ.

Now the Church passed some days with matters in this state, when suddenly, a younger brother of the dead king, who was called Îrnâghîn Tônghîn, burst forth, and was crowned king [under the name of] Kaikhâtô; he took the sceptre of the kingdom and sat upon the throne of his brother. He

[began to] rule (90) in the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and two [= A.D. 1291] in the month of Âbh (August) of that year. All creation was at peace, rebellion fled and hid itself, the light of righteousness rose and made itself visible, for Kaikhâtô, the blessed king, did not turn aside from the way of his fathers. He established in his position every one of those who followed [divers] cults, he paid honour to the leaders of all religions, whether Christians, or Arabs, or Jews, or Pagans. He considered the face of no man [*i.e.* he was strictly impartial], and he neither turned aside nor swerved from justice, gold being accounted as dross in his sight. His alms were boundless, and there was no end to his gifts in charity. For every one who asked from him received, even as it is written (Luke xi. 10), and he who sought, found; and experience showed that this was literally true.

Now he came to reign in the month of the year which has been mentioned above. On the day of the festival of the commemoration of Saint Mâryâm (the Virgin My Lady Mary)—may her prayer be upon (*i.e.* protect) the world!—which [is celebrated] in the middle of the month of Âbh, he went into the church which Tâwôs (Dôkuz) Khâtûn [the first wife of Hûlâgû] had set up (91) in the blessed Camp. Now they were at that time in the mountain called Âlâtâk (Âlâ Dâgh). When our Father the Catholicus celebrated the Mysteries, the king was glad and rejoiced greatly; and he gave gifts to the Catholicus, twenty thousand *dînârs* (£10,000) and nine gorgeous *dîbâgê*, *i.e.* vestments made of silk with gold threads interwoven. On that day the sons of the kings and the daughters of the queens, and the Amîrs, and the nobles, and the troops were gathered together there. And the glory of the Holy Catholic Church became as great, nay greater, than it was before. And the hearts of the Christians gained courage and waxed strong, when they knew the mind of the victorious king and heard his words, for his good qualities and his gracious acts could be felt with hands. And from day to day their glory increased, and the splendour of their Church grew apace, and this took place through the great care and foresight, and the wise rule of Mâr Catholicus, [in which] he used his understanding for the glorification of the children of the kingdom (*i.e.* the Royal Family) (92).

Now because Rabban Şâwmâ had already become an old man, the hard life of the Mongols, and the prolonged sojourning in desert places, became intolerable to him. And he caused the victorious King Kaikhâtô to promulgate an order for him to build a church in the City Of Mârâghâh, and to place therein the vessels and the vestments for service of the church, which the dead King Arghôn had set up in the Camp. And his request was granted by the king. And as soon as he received this permission he at once set out for the city of Mârâghâh, taking with him the vessels and vestments for the service of Mâr Catholicus. And he laid the foundations and built a

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fine church in the names of Mâr Mârî and Mâr George, the glorious martyr. And there were placed in it relics of forty martyrs, Of Mâr Stephen [the protomartyr], and Mâr James, who was cut into pieces [by the order of Warharan V, king of Persia A.D. 421], and Mâr Demetrius, the martyr. He furnished it with costly vessels and vestments for the service of every kind, and he founded a series of endowments from which the things which would be required for it could be always provided and maintained. And this [he did] with the help of the illustrious Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ (93), the Catholicus. And in the summer of the following year the victorious King Kaikhâtô came twice to the Cell which was in Mârâghâh, and he sojourned with Mâr Catholicus for three days, and rejoiced with an exceedingly great joy. And he gave great gifts and presents to Mar Catholicus, viz., a Paizâ of gold, that is to say, the tablet which is called “Sunķôr,” and seven thousand *dînârs* (£3,500).

Chapter X: The Death of Rabban Šâwmâ and of the Kings Kaikhâtô and Baidû.

And Rabban Šâwmâ toiled by night and by day in the church which he had built, and he arranged everything in it in a perfect manner. And the expenses incurred in building the church, and in providing the endowment, that is to say, Waķf, which was assigned to it, amounted to (94) one hundred and five thousand *zûzê* (about £8,250?) more or less. And he performed the service and recited the Offices regularly, and he was exceedingly zealous in performing the Eucharistic Service, which he had established in that church, continually. And he had great repose in the Cell which he had built by the side of the church, of which until now he himself is the ornament, and prayers and celebrations of the Eucharist are constant therein. May our Lord give him as the reward of his labour the happiness of the heavenly kingdom, and a portion with the saints in the exalted regions of highest heaven. And having finished the church which we have described above, Rabban Šâwmâ came down in the service of Mâr Catholicus to Baghdâd, in the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and five, in the month of the first Teshrî (October) of that year [A.D. 1293].

And King Baidar (read Baidû), the son of the brother of King Abhghâ, made a great feast in a place called Sîrzûr (Shahârzûr, in Kurdistân) in (95) honour of the Catholicus, and he gathered together all the officials of his Court to the banquet. And Rabban Šâwmâ rose up with his temperament disordered and he fell down, being seized with fever. On the following day he bade farewell to King Baidar (Baidû), and he arrived in the city of Arbîl to settle urgent affairs, and [enjoy] the kindness (?) of the church folk. And

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the sickness of Rabban Šâwmâ increased, and he was seized with severe pains, but he prolonged his life until the Catholicus arrived in the city of Baghdâd. And his disease waxed heavy, healing took to flight, his life was despaired of, and he departed from this world of nothingness and tribulations to the world of holiness and to the City of the Saints, Jerusalem which is in the heavens, on the night of the first Sunday after Epiphany when the prayer beginning “Le‘edtâkh luḡdam” (*i.e.* “to Thy Church”) is said, on the tenth day of the month Kânôn’ Khrâi (January) of that same year (A.D. 1294). And his holy body was buried in the Dârâth Rhômâyê, on the north side of the altar, outside the inner court, on the south side (96) of the house of prayer. May his portion be with the Patriarchal Fathers among whom he was laid! And may our Lord give him rest and set him on His right hand on the great Day of Retribution wherein, with the reward of justice and the Scales of Truth, He will reward every man according to his labour!

Now Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, the Catholicus, suffered very great affliction at the death of Rabban Šâwmâ, and his weeping reached the heavens; he mourned with the people in their grief so that none might say that he constrained himself to mourn apart from them. And the nobles and chiefs, that is to say governors, and all the Fathers of the city of Baghdâd came to offer him consolation, and he received consolation only with the greatest difficulty on the third day, when he returned to his Throne. And it was meet that he should suffer, and the law of nature commanded it, for the deceased was a man of courage, for he was the strong arm and support of the Gate of the Patriarchal Cell (*i.e.* palace), not only of the Catholicus himself but of every Christian who came to him.

And the Catholicus passed that winter in Baghdâd (97). On the day of the great festival he set out and met the victorious King Kaikhâtô at Âlâ Tâḡ, where the royal Camp was. And the king honoured him with many gifts, that is to say he gave him a cloak of great price, and two splendid riding mules, and he assigned to him a “Sûkûr,” that is to say, a parasol, and he gave him sixty thousand *zûzê* [£2,500 or 5,000 *dînârs*]. He refused nothing which Mâr Catholicus asked for whenever he opened his mouth. Then Mâr Catholicus returned from the Camp of the victorious king, and he laid the foundations of the holy monastery of Saint Mâr John the Baptist, on the north side of the city Of Mârâghâh, at a distance of about [two] thirds of a parasang, more or less [about two miles] from the city, in the year mentioned above (A.D. 1294), at the end of the month of Khazîrân (June). He built up the wall nearly to the top, and the nave up as far as the spring of the roof.

Then suddenly storms broke, and the waves of confusion rose high in the kingdom; the Amîrs acted treacherously towards (98) the kings, and the tempests of suffering waxed strong on the world, and turmoil fell on

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creation. And men were slain without sufficient cause, and very many villages were looted by the soldiery with violence. And in the winter of the year one thousand six hundred and six, according to [the Era of] Yâwân [A.D. 1295], the roads from Adhôrbiân to Baghdâd and to Diâbakr were cut, and the fighters did not cease from the quarrels which they had set afoot, and at length they destroyed King Kaikhâtô by a violent death, and delivered the kingdom over to King Baidû. This unhappy [prince] only accepted the kingdom through fear for his life. He remained on the throne from the 24th day of the month of Nîsân (April) until the 25th day of the month of Îlûl (September) of the same year, more or less. He governed and reigned in a state of perturbation, and prolonged his days in perpetual fear. Now without making over long [our] narrative, and making [our] History, which has a definite object, become somewhat different, it is impossible to describe here completely the plots, and the trickeries, and the crafty devices, and the treacherous works which the enemies [of the kingdom] set on foot during the five months of the struggle which went on between Baidû and the victorious King Kâzân, the son of the deceased King Arghôn (99). To speak briefly, the murderers of the blessed King Kaikhâtô, plotted the murder of his successor Baidû. Then division fell (*i.e.* took place), and the world was in turmoil. The peoples of the Arabs roused themselves to take vengeance on the Church and its children for the destruction which the father of these kings had inflicted upon them. Then suddenly, on the Sunday [of the prayer] “lâ-mêšê pûmâ,” (*i.e.* “the mouth is unable”) of that year (A.D. 1295), on the 25th day of the month of Îlûl (September), a rumour was heard of the flight of King Baidû and of his destruction, and with it came the proofs, that in very truth the abandonment of [the Church by] God had taken place (100).

Chapter XI: The Persecution of Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ and the Christians in Mârâghâh.

And a certain man, one of the Amîrs, who was called Nâwrûz, and who feared not God, bestirred himself, and sent letters by the hands of envoys, and he made to fly to the four quarters of the dominions of this kingdom, an order to this effect:—“The churches shall be uprooted, and the altars overturned, and the celebrations of the Eucharist shall cease, and the hymns of praise, and the sounds of calls to prayer shall be abolished; and the heads (or chiefs) of the Christians, and the heads of the congregations [*i.e.* synagogues] of the Jews, and the great men among them shall be killed.”

And that same night [the Arabs] seized Mâr Catholicus in his Cell (*i.e.* palace) in Mârâghâh, and outside the building no man knew anything about the seizure of him until the day broke. And from the morning of that day,

which was the second day of the week (Monday) they went into his Cell and plundered everything that was in it, both that which was old and that which was new, and they did not leave even a nail in the walls.

And on the night of the third day of the week (Tuesday) following, which was the 27th day of 'Îlûl (September), the **(101)** Catholicus was buffeted the whole night long by those who had seized him. And in respect of the venerable men who were with him, the Arabs tied some of them up naked with ropes; others cast aside their apparel and took to flight, and others cast themselves down from high places [and perished]. And they suspended the Catholicus by a rope head downwards, and they took a cloth used for cleaning, that is to say, a duster, and they put ashes in it, and tied it over his mouth, and one prodded him in the breast with a skewer (*bûkshînâ*), saying, "Abandon this Faith of thine that thou perish not; become a Hagarâyâ (Muḥammadan) and thou shalt be saved." And the Catholicus, weeping, answered them never a word. And they smote him with a stick on his thighs and seat (*i.e.* posterior). And they also took him up on to the roof of the Cell, saying, "Give us gold and we will let thee go; point out to us thy treasures, show us the things which thou hast hidden away, and reveal to us thy hiding-things and we will let thee go."

And Mâr Catholicus because he was clothed with a body feeble and sensitive to pain, was afraid of death. And he began to cry out on the roof, "Where are the disciples? How is it that those whom I have brought up have betaken themselves to flight? Of what use are possessions (or riches) to us? **(102)**. Come ye and buy me back from those who would sell me wrongfully, redeem your master." Now the people, men, and women, and youths, and children, in the darkness of midnight were crying out with bitter tears, but no man was able to approach the Catholicus because of [his] fear. Nevertheless they received help from [their] weeping, and took refuge in [their] prayer, saying, "Yea, ye mountains fall upon us! O ye hills cover us" (Luke xxiii. 30). And thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the prophet of the Syrians [Aphrêm Syrus], who said, "Because we have despised the way, and have regarded it with great contempt, [God] hath made us a reproach to those who are outside; that we may drink from them mockery. The filthy ones have ruined our churches, because we have not prayed in them in a right manner; they have defiled the altar which is before Him [because] we have not ministered thereto with pure service." [Bedjân's note in Syriac reads, "Mâr Aphrêm. Reading I. Section II. Fourth day of Rogation Week in the first half of the Reading."]

Finally, not to make our narrative too long, some of the disciples of the Patriarch's palace went and incurred a debt of fifteen thousand *zûzê* (either £2,500 or £7,500) and gave the money, little by little [to the Arabs], with the

hope of **(103)** redeeming the Catholicus. And when those who had seized the Catholicus had received the sum of five thousand *dînârs*, and the chalices, and the eucharistic patens, and everything that was in the palace, and that debt [*i.e.* the money which the disciple had undertaken to pay], they went forth from the palace at mid-day of the third day of the week.

And then a great tumult took place, and the peoples of the Arabs came with a great rush to destroy the great church of Mâr Shalîṭâ, the holy martyr, and they destroyed it. And they took everything that was in it, the veils (or hangings), and the vessels and other objects used in the service. And the uproar made by their outcries, and the storm of their shoutings shook almost the earth itself and the inhabitants thereof. Peradventure the reader of this history, since he was not caught in the middle of that storm, may think that the writer is telling a fabulous story; but to speak the real truth, he who stateth what is here written calleth God to witness, that it is impossible for even one of the events which took place to be adequately described and written!

Then King Khêtâm (or Hâthôm), Takpûr (Tâkâwôr) of the Arîmnâyê (Armenians), came down **(104)** into that church which Rabban Şâwmâ had built, and by means of the greatness of his gifts (*i.e.* bribes), and by his soldiers, saved it from destruction. And the Catholicus having made his escape from the hands of those who had seized him, fled to it and hid himself therein that night. In the morning of the following day, which was the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), a certain Amîr, who was one of the envoys of the Nâwrûz mentioned above, came and brought certain letters [ordering] the murder of the Catholicus. And he seized many of the men, among whom were some belonging to the Takpûr, *i.e.* king, [and said unto them], “Show me the Catholicus, for I have certain business with him.” When Mâr Catholicus heard this his heart quaked and he fled from the church, and left Takpûr; and King Takpûr appeased the Amîr with certain gifts which he gave to him, and he departed from Mârâghâh.

After a few days, King Takpûr himself **(105)** went to Tâbhrîz, and Mâr Catholicus changed all his apparel, and went forth by himself in the guise of one of the servants, and he accompanied Takpûr as far as the city of Tâbhrîz, where King Ẓâzân had arrived. And the Catholicus kept himself hidden for seven days, until Takpûr had been able to go unto the presence of King Ẓâzân, and make his story known to him, and then Takpûr asked him to go and see the king. Now, since the men who were in the regular service in the palace of the Catholicus were scattered, there remained with the Catholicus only a certain number of poor young men who had cleaved to him, and these went into the presence of King Ẓâzân with him. And the king did not know him. And when he had saluted him he asked him two questions: “Whence

comest thou?” and “What is thy name?” and that was all. And the Catholicus answered him in a word, *i.e.* briefly, and blessed him, and then went forth, trembling having entered his bones. But this was not due to [his fear of] death, but to his seeing to what a pass the children of baptism (*i.e.* the Christians) had come! And because of the angel who consoled him, and his wakeful mind (106) admonished him, saying, “No temptation hath come to you except that which is of the children of men” (1 Cor. x. 13), he still kept up his courage with weeping and groaning, saying, “Who gave my head water, and my eyes fountains of tears, that I should weep by day and by night over the breaking of the daughter of my people?” (Jer. lx. 1). Thus did these things happen.

Now it was cold in those days, and the Camp was removed to the winter station of Mûghân; and Nâwrûz, the accursed one, was at Tâbhrîz. And the Catholicus, without money for expenses, and without a beast to ride, and without any baggage-animal, returned to Mârâghâh. He remained a few days in [his] Cell, and then other men came seeking for him, but he escaped from their hands by flight, but, though with considerable risk, he went back there day after day. Now it is well known that all glory which is of this world bringeth upon itself in the end the humiliation which is from God, and that glory attaches in the end only to the abject humiliation which [is endured] for God’s sake. That winter the Catholicus sent to the Camp [of the king] one of [his] disciples so that (107) he might effect a change in the orders, and make known [to the king] how matters were. And he returned as one fleeing [for his life], for there was no one who would espouse the cause of the Christians, or who would show compassion on those who were broken [hearted]. This disciple only escaped with the greatest difficulty from the hands of a man who was an unbeliever, and who had abandoned his Faith and had become a Hagarâyâ (*i.e.* Muḥammadan).

After the Feast of the Nativity of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and seven (A.D. 1295), on the Sunday [when the prayer beginning] “Mâre kûl kadh badhemûthâ” (*i.e.* “the Lord of all in the Image”) [is said], messengers of Nâwrûz, the accursed one, again came down against the Catholicus. They bore in their hands orders which said, “Give us, O Catholicus, the ten thousand *dînârs* which thou didst receive in the time of King Kaikhâtô. Behold the ‘Ṭamghâ,’ that is to say the document which is sealed with the seal of the Amîr, and contains the order for giving them back.” Now the [treasury of the] palace of the Catholicus was empty, for it had been plundered long ago. When the servants of the palace heard this they straightway dispersed and sought refuge in flight, and the Catholicus remained in the hands of the Mongols who had become Muḥammadans and those who had brought them (108). And fear fell upon the sons of the

Rabban Sâwmâ and Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ

Church (How [sad] wouldst thou say. How [sad]!), and even the reverend old men who were in the palace fled, and Mâr Catholicus remained alone in the hands of those accursed and impudent men. That night he promised to give them a village, but they would accept nothing but gold. And when straightway, they threatened to beat him, he began to borrow [money] and to give it [to them], and throughout that day, which was the first day of the week (Sunday), until towards the evening they took [from him] two thousand *dînârs*.

Then certain of [his] disciples took counsel with Mâr Catholicus in order to help him to flight, and to deliver him from the hands of those [impudent men]. He was afraid [at first] of this, but when they pressed him he hearkened (*i.e.* consented). And at cock crow they brought him out through a small opening in the chamber in which he was imprisoned. Now the size of the opening was so small that a person would think that not even a child could come out through it, and they lowered him down, and he went to other places and kept himself hidden.

And when the day dawned the Muslim Mongols were sorely vexed and they did not know what they were to do. And they were also afraid lest someone should take vengeance on them (109), saying, “Ye have destroyed the Catholicus.” Thereupon they straightway went forth from the city, and made their way to Baghdâd.

And whilst these men were in the act of departing, another messenger arrived, an evil man who was more wicked than Nâwrûz, the accursed. And there was with him a Christian who had become a Muḥammadan, and he brought with him another Order to the effect that thirty-six thousand *dînârs* (£18,000) should be given to him [by the Catholicus]. And because Mâr Catholicus was in hiding, those impudent messengers seized certain of the disciples in the palace, and by means of many blows and tortures they reduced the bodies of the disciples to a state of helplessness. And they hung them up head downwards [in the open air], during the days of frost and snow, when the cold was more intense than any which had ever before been experienced. And after all [the people] in the city had been gathered together to obtain their release, the disciples were only delivered from the hands of those wicked men with the greatest difficulty by paying them sixteen thousand *dînârs* (£8,000). And the Catholicus and all those who cleaved to him, whether venerable old men, or monks, or members of the laity, were persecuted by every man, and were obliged to hide themselves (110) in the houses of the laity. And when the persecutors knew that they were in a certain house [those who were hidden therein] straightway departed to other houses. [And this state of affairs lasted] until the great Feast of the Resurrection [A.D. 1296].

Chapter XII: King Kâzân pays honour to Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ.

Now when the sun had descended into the sign of the Ram, and creation was warmed a little, the Catholicus sent one of the monks of the Cell to the victorious King Kâzân, to the place called Mûghân, the winter station of all the Mongol Kings, to bless him and to inform [him] concerning the events that had happened to him. And when that monk arrived at the Camp, and he had taken care to see all the Amîrs, they introduced him into the presence of the victorious king, and he declared unto him in their entirety all the words which Mâr Catholicus had spoken to him saying, “Blessed is thy throne (111), O king, and it shall stand firm for ever, and thy seed shall be surely seated thereon for ever.” And the king asked, “Why did not the Catholicus come to us?” and the monk replied, “Because of the confused state [of his mind]. He was hung up, and cruelly beaten, and his head touched the earth. Through the severe pain which hath been roused in him he was unable to come to do homage to the king, and it is for this reason that he hath sent me to pronounce his blessing upon thee, O my lord, the king. But when the victorious king shall arrive in peace at Tâbhrîz, whether the Catholicus be sick or whether he be well, he will come to salute thee and do homage to thee.”

And God caused these words to find mercy in the eyes of the king, and he gave to the Catholicus a Puḡdânâ, according to custom, in which it was laid down that poll-tax⁶ should not be exacted from the Christians (112); that none of them shall abandon his Faith; that the Catholicus shall live in the state to which he hath been accustomed; that he shall be treated with the respect due to his rank; that he shall rule over his Throne; and shall hold the staff of strength over his dominion [*i.e.* that he shall wield his sceptre with vigour and determination]. And he promulgated an Edict throughout all countries, and addressed it to all the Amîrs by their names, and to the soldiers, ordering them to give back everything which they had taken from

⁶ Bedjân has a long note on the poll-tax (p. iii) which I translate here:—“In the year of our Lord 692, ‘Abd al-Mâlik laid a capitation tax on the Syrians. And he issued a strict edict that every man should go to his country, and to his village, and to his father’s house; and that every man should be registered by name, and [should state] whose son he was, and [declare] his vineyard, and olive [trees], and his possessions, and his children, and everything that he had. From this began [the custom] of levying the tax on the skulls of men. From this began all the evils which have burst upon the people until this present. The kings took tribute from the earth, not from men. And from this the children of Hagar began to subjugate the children of Ârâm with the subjugation of the Egyptians. But woe be to us! for we have sinned. Slaves have dominion over us. Behold this is the first capitation tax which the Arabs levied.” Written by Mâr Dionysius, the Patriarch of the Jacobites, in the year of our Lord 775.

the Catholicus or from the holy old men by force, and to give back to him what those men of Baghdâd and their envoys, whom we have mentioned above, had taken. Moreover, he allotted and despatched to the Catholicus five thousand *dînârs* (£2,500) for his expenses, saying, “These will serve him as a supply until he cometh to us.”

Because Christ doth not forsake His Church, He bindeth up the brokenhearted, He redeemeth those who are humble in spirit, He is the refuge of the poor, and is their Helper (113) in times of tribulation. God chastiseth in mercy, and in order to possess [the sinner] He maketh him suffer. His rebuke is for the man who hath understanding, and teacheth him that he is not a stranger [to God] . And He doth not leave him that is tempted to be tempted more than his strength [will bear]. And again he envelopeth him with His mercies, and, sustaineth him; and He gathered him into the fold of life after He hath tried him. God—may His honour be adored!—turned the heart of the king towards His people, “for the heart of a king is set in His hands like a fountain of water; He turneth it about in whatever direction He pleaseth” (Prov. xxi. 1).

And from that day the rays of salvation began to shine on the whole Church. In the districts of Arbîl the churches were laid waste long ago. In Tâbhrîz and Hamâdân they were entirely destroyed, and their foundations had been uprooted from the earth. In Mâwşîl (Môşul and its provinces, and in Baghdâd, the churches had been ransomed at very large prices and tens of thousands of darics. But the Church which the Catholicus Makîkhâ (1257–63) built in Baghdâd (114) by the command of Hûlâbhû (Hûlâgû), the victorious king, and Tûkôs Khâtûn, the believing queen, and the Cell of the Catholicus were taken, and the palace which had belonged to the Arab kings. When Hûlâbhû (Hûlâgû), the father of these kings (*i.e.* the Mongols) had taken and looted Baghdâd he gave that palace to Mâr Makîkhâ, the Catholicus, in order that he might establish in it services of prayer on behalf of himself and his seed for ever. Now this was not sufficient, for those who took this church and the Cell of the Catholicus to set up [mosques upon it], but they compelled the Christians to eject from it even the bones of the two Patriarchal Fathers [Mâr Makîkhâ and Mâr Denhâ], and those of the holy old men, and monks, and believers. who had been buried therein. And these things were carried out by the command of that son of perdition, that accursed and damned man Nâwrûz, the hater of justice, the enemy of the truth, and the lover of falsehood.

And when that monk whom Mâr Catholicus [had sent to the king] returned, and brought with him the Puḡdânâ [*i.e.* the royal Edict which restored to him his authority], and showed him the affection of the Amîrs, and the greatness (115) of the victorious king’s goodwill towards him, the

door of the Cell was opened, and the Catholicus took his seat upon his Throne, and gathered together his scattered adherents, and brought nigh to him the members of his household who had betaken themselves afar off. And the Puḡdânê (Edicts) were read in the Dîwân (judicial assembly) and every man brought back that which he had taken. From that sum of money the Catholicus took what was necessary for travelling to King Ḳâzân. And he went forth from Mârâghâh in the month of Tammuz (July) of that year, which fell in the month of Ramâdhân and was the year of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and seven (A.D. 1296), to the place which is called Ūghân (or Ôghân).

Two days after his arrival he went into the presence of the king with appropriate state and ceremony. And the king burned incense according to custom, and made the Catholicus to sit on his right hand, and [the attendants] brought wine, and the king took the cup and presented it to the Catholicus, and also to all the holy men who were with him. And from that [time] he began [to treat him] with affection. And in proportion as the king, little [by little], was increasing the honour which he paid to the Catholicus, the hatred which was in the hearts of the enemies [of the Catholicus] increased (116), and they forged evil plots, and they sent information about everything which took place to that son of perdition, that accursed man Nâwrûz.

Chapter XIII: Further pillage and murder in Mârâghâh.

And in the year of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and eight (A.D. 1296–97), the victorious king came down to pass the winter in the city of Baghdâd, and Mâr Catholicus remained in Mârâghâh. And it fell out that a certain man, who was called by the name of Shenâkh êl-Tâmûr (or Shaing êl-Taimûr, or Shâkh êl-Taimûr) came into Mârâghâh, and he cast about a report that he had with him an Edict ordering that every one who did not abandon Christianity and deny his Faith should be killed. And he added many threats and magnified the severity of the Edict, and inserted various [penalties] which had never before been heard of in the world. Now when the people of the Arabs heard this they became like savages, and they stirred themselves up to fight, and their hearts became bold (117) and cruel, and in the fierceness of their strength the whole of their people rushed to the Cell, and plundered everything which they found [there]. This took place during the Fast of Lent, on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday) following the Sunday [on which the prayer beginning] “Tâu naudhê waneshabbakh” (*i.e.* “come ye, let us praise and glorify”) [is said].

And when the story went forth that this impudent fellow had done this without any royal command, and had acted solely because of the evil of his

disposition, and the intensity of his wickedness, the Amîrs and the governors who were in Mârâghâh gathered together, and took counsel, and decided to perform judgement on the following Sunday and to restore to the Cell the various valuable objects which those impudent men had carried off from it. Now these objects were of very great price, among them being the gold seal which the King of Kings Mangû Khân [the eldest son of Tûlûi Khân and grandson of Genghis Khân] (see Plate XIV)—May our Lord give rest to his soul, and make his portion to be with the saints!—had given to the Patriarchal Cell, and that crown which Mâr Pâpâ (the Pope) had given to the Cell, and another seal, made of silver, which the deceased King Arghôn had given to the Catholicus (118).

And when [on the following Sunday] the people of the Arabs were assembled before the Amîrs and judges, and the rods for the punishment of the evil doers had been brought [and they began] to beat [them], straightway with one voice they all uttered loud cries [of protest]. And they took stones in their hands, and shut their ears, and chased the Amîrs and the governors, every man to his house. And every Christian who fell into their hands they smote and belaboured pitilessly. In the impetuosity of their attack they came to the Cell, and they pulled down all the buildings as far as the beams of the roof. And they smashed in with stones the heads of the monks who were in the Cell, and of the young men who had gone up to the roof to hide themselves. When one of the disciples saw these things taking place, he hurled [the stones] back on the Arabs and wounded some of them. Thereupon the Arabs became more infuriated, and one of them went up behind that disciple, and smote him with [his] sword and cut off his head, and threw it down to the ground. Then the monks who were there cast themselves down [from the roof], and there were some of them whose bones were broken. And one of those impudent men who were thirsting for the blood of the Christians (119), seeing that the monks had cast themselves down in order to save their lives, stretched out his hand for [his] knife, and smote that monk and killed him. Certain believing men grasped the other monks and dragged them into [their] houses. And the treasury of the holy church of Mâr George, which Rabban Sâwmâ had built, was broken open, and everything that was in the Cell, the vessels of copper and iron, the carpets, and the chests of stores, which had escaped a previous looting, were all taken and carried off at the same time. But by the looting of those things the church itself was saved and delivered from pulling down and destruction. Those impudent men had fully intended to destroy the church, but God in His mercy on that church prevented them from doing this by means of the objects which they looted.

And to speak briefly this last looting was so much worse than the first looting which took place at the beginning [of the persecution], that neither the tongue is capable of describing it, nor the pen of the skilled scribe able to write [any account of it]. If God had not shown mercy (120), and the believing woman Queen Bûrgeşîn Argî (?) had not hidden the Catholicus and the holy men in her house, and, with the help of God which supported [her], protected them, all that was left for the Church to do was to bow her head, and veil her face, for those turbulent men were determined to make a massacre.

After five days (121) they departed to a place which is called Shâkâtô, and thence they removed themselves to the mountain which is called Siyâ Kûh, until the king returned from Baghdâd to Hamâdân. And in the neighbourhood of this city the Catholicus went to him, and when the king saw him he was sorry for him, and for his broken condition. And he issued a Puḡdânâ (Edict) and sent a messenger and gave orders that all the people of the city of Mârâghâh should be seized, and bound with fetters, and beaten with stripes until they gave up what they had robbed from the Cell, and also that they should rebuild the churches and restore them to their former condition. And after great toil, and the beatings and tortures which they were made to suffer, the people produced a very small part of what they had stolen, and the rest remained [with them].

Chapter XIV: Rebellions and fightings in the fortress of Arbîl.

Now this calamity which overtook the Cell did not suffice, for the believing folk of the Fortress of Arbîl fell into a disaster which was even greater than that. For when the natives of the city, [who were] Arabs, were wishing to overthrow the Church [there], through the agency of the Kartêwâyê (or Ḳurdâyê *i.e.* Kurds), it happened that certain of the soldiers of the king, who were Christians and were called Ḳâyâjîyê (or Ḳâyâjyeh, or Kâijâyê), that is to say, “those who go up into the mountains and their hills,” shot arrows at them and killed a certain well-known man (or nobleman). And fighting and hatred followed, and revolt increased, and evil grew, and fury and bitter hatred flourished in both parties, namely, in both the Christians and the Arabs (122). And they laid ambushes each party for the other, and they fought pitched battles, and the bridge of the Fortress was cut. Now this did not happen in the ordinary course of events, but because that son of perdition. Nâwrûz, the accursed, had gone to Khôrâsân, and wished to rebel against the kingdom and to seize it for himself. And he stationed allies in every place, and men who belonged to his party in every district, until God revealed his plans and laid bare his crafty designs. And whilst the Arabs

were pressing in on (*i.e.* beleaguering) that Fortress, the brother of that impudent man, and his wives and children were captured, and the victorious King Ƙâzân—may his life be preserved!—put them to death on the Sunday [of the prayer] “Ainâu âsyâ,” (*i.e.* “what physician”), during the Redeeming Fast (*i.e.* Lent) of the year of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and eight (A.D. 1297). And, straightway, rebellion arose afresh. The highways and roads were cut (*i.e.* blocked) by the keepers of the guard who were stationed upon them, for that son of perdition, Nâwrûz, had escaped, and the troops of the king went forth to search for him; and were longing to catch him.

And whilst they were in pursuit of him, the Christians in the Fortress of Arbîl were being pushed (*i.e.* attacked) by those who were outside; they cast up embankments and set up battering rams (123), and fixed machines for casting stones (*maghênâs*), and they made fierce war against the Fortress. And the Metropolitan of Arbîl, whose name was Mâr Abraham, and who was an old and feeble man, was captured, together with many priests who ministered in the church, and the clerics and believing men; and some of them were killed, and some of them were sold [as slaves] for very high prices. And the Fortress remained in the possession of the soldiers, some of them being Mongols in the service of that Amîr who had brought this result about, and others, men belonging to various tribes of the Kartêwâyê (*i.e.* Kurds). To state the matter briefly, men came from every country to plunder the Christians; and for this reason many murders took place, and carryings off of men and women into captivity which cannot be described. And even among the Arabs many died by the mouth (*i.e.* edge) of the sword. And matters continued to be thus from the second day of the week (Monday) of the Prayer of the Ninevites until the Feast of My Lord the Adorable Cross, of the year which has been mentioned (A.D. 1297). Thus were these things.

Now the soldiers of the victorious King Ƙâzân, and a great Amîr, (124) who was with him, at length confined that son of perdition [Nâwrûz, the accursed], in one of the fortresses of Khorâsân, and the men of the fortress acted treacherously in respect of him, and put him in fetters and delivered him, bound, to those soldiers. And then and there they cut off his head and sent it to the victorious king. And the messenger who brought the head arrived and came to the victorious king on the twenty-fifth day of Âbh (August) of this year, when he was in a place which is called Sharbêkhânâh (or Sharâpkhânâh), and is in the neighbourhood of Âlâ Ʀâk. And the king had rest from the waves of his (*i.e.* Nâwrûz’s) wickedness, and from the storm of his cunning desires and crafty deceits. May his portion be with Sâtânâ, his counsellor and fellow-servant!

Now the accusations (or complaints) against the Fortress of Arbîl and the believers who were therein increased steadily, and the tumult because of

them waxed strong in the Great Camp. It was said:—“These men have killed a large number of Arabs. They have revolted against the Government. Every Ishmaelite (*i.e.* Hagarâyâ or Muḥammadan) they meet they kill without pity.” Enmity increased, threats were multiplied (125), until at length they succeeded in making the reports enter the ears of the victorious king, and they were repeated before his throne. Now, as we have said before [in writing of] these [Mongol] kings, God gave the Christians favour in the eyes of the king, and he knew that they were cruelly oppressed. But although he had turned aside from the way of his fathers, and had inclined to a dogma [which maketh] bitter the soul, he had not changed his good disposition in respect of them.

As his answer to those men who had made him hear the accusations against the Fortress, when Mâr Catholicus set out with a following for the [Royal] Camp at Âlâ Ṭâk, through the force of the circumstances which lay upon him, for there remained not to him one place in which to lay his head, the victorious king sent to him two of the nobles who [stood] before him. One of these was called Khwâjâ Rashîd ad-Dîn, and with him was Ṭarmadâdh, an Amîr. And they said unto him, “The king commandeth; let Mâr Catholicus hear his command!” And Mâr Catholicus replied, “Most certainly, who is there that would not receive the command of the king may he live for ever!” And the nobles said, “The king (126) commandeth, saying: ‘If the king were to make the Christians evacuate that Fortress, and give them land, and water, and houses, and protect them from everyone who attempted to injure them, and bring them here, and release them from every burden of tax and duty, how would [this] plan work out, and how doth it appear in thy opinion? For the enmity between these two religions of the Arabs and the Syrians hath increased. If the matter be left in the state in which it now is, very grievous injuries will overtake the kingdom through it; if these men are left as they are, many other revolts will spring into existence. What now doth the Catholicus say to the matter, and the manner in which it is to be carried out?’”

And the Catholicus made answer to them. When he heard this his eyes became filled with tears, and his mouth showed forth his suffering, and with a bitter choking of his voice he said, “I have heard the command of my lord, the king, and there is no one who can evade it or change the character thereof. If only I could remember what hath happened to me, and show it forth, the heavens and the earth would be forced to weep. If it pleaseth you (127), since ye demand of me an answer to declare to the victorious king, I will speak. I had a Cell in Baghdâd, and a church and endowments which were settled upon me; they have been taken [from me]. The church and the Cell that were in Mârâghâh have been torn up by their roots and cast down,

and everything which was in them hath been plundered, as ye are well aware. I have escaped being murdered, and my state is manifest. As for the church and the Cell which were in Tâbhrîz, there remaineth only a flat plot of ground with no building upon it, and everything that was in them hath been plundered. The places whereon the Cell and the church stood in the city of Hamâdhân it is wholly impossible to point out. There remain now the Cell and the church in the Fortress of Arbîl and one hundred souls, and do ye wish to scatter them also and to plunder them? What is the good of life to me? Let my lord the king command either that I return to the East, whence I came, or that I go to the country of the Perôgâyê (Franks) and bring my life to an end there.”

(128) When the envoys heard this they were sorrowful, and their eyes also were filled with tears. And they rose up straightway and went in haste to the victorious king, and placed before him these answers, word for word. And forthwith the king—may he live for ever!—gave the command, “The Christians shall not be ejected from the Fortress, and if they are in want of food let it be given to them at the expense of the Dîwân until the soldiers can come down on the approach of winter.”

And a certain Amîr, who was a hateful man, prevented [this order being carried out], for he wrote and acted in another manner. The matter, however, which was most necessary, was the rescue of the oppressed men and prisoners who were shut up in the Fortress. And after much labour and constant going to and fro, an Edict appeared, and envoys were permitted to go to Arbîl and release the men in the Fortress. And the Catholicus sent with them to the Fortress a certain holy man (a bishop?) that perhaps through his intervention [the envoys] would be able to open the gates of the Fortress [more easily], and that the people would devote themselves to concluding an arrangement for peace.

And the Catholicus said farewell to (129) the envoys and the holy men (bishops?) who were with them, and they arrived at Arbîl on the 14th day of the month of 'Ilûl (September) of the year already mentioned [A.D. 1297]. They tied together the [parts of the] bridge of the Fortress, and they went in and released the men in the Fortress, and after much labour, and tribulation of spirit, and suffering of the heart, they made them to be friends with the Arabs. And the expense incurred by the Catholicus and the Christians who were there was not small, for it was about ten thousand [*dînârs*] (£5,000), in addition to what was given from the Cell to the Amîr who effected this with them, and this amounted to about fifteen hundred *dînârs* more. The chief of the Arabs confirmed (*i.e.* signed or sealed) the agreement on the part of the Arabs to keep the peace, and the Metropolitan of the Christians confirmed (*i.e.* signed or sealed) their agreement with the Arabs to keep the peace; and

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one of the Amîrs carried away both documents and exhibited them before the victorious king.

And another Edict was promulgated ordering that the Fortress should belong to the Christians, who were empowered to demand the restoration of everything which had gone from them. Thus wickedness ceased, and peace (or goodwill) increased (130) by the help of God and the outpouring of His mercies upon His creatures.

But in spite of all this the Arabs did not cease from evil, and they found means of attacking and doing harm to the Christians as they have always done. And a certain man among them who was a lord of the Dîwân whose name was Nâşir ad-Dîn, obtained an Edict from the king ordering the Christians to pay the poll-tax, and to tie girdles round themselves when they were walking about in the market-places. Now this calamity was the most difficult of all calamities [to endure]. And many of the Christians were slain in the “City of Peace” (*i.e.* Baghdâd). And without any delay the *gezîthâ*, that is to say, the poll-tax, was dragged from them, and their loins were bound round with girdles; now, to speak the truth the *gezîthâ* was not a tax but absolute plundering. And when the Christians were walking in the markets, and among the houses, the Arabs would scoff at them, and revile them and make a mock of them saying, “See what ye look like in these girdles, O wretched people!” And there was nothing which they could do to afflict them that they did not do to them (131), until at length God had mercy upon them, and lightened all the burdens that rested upon them, and removed far from them the trials which had overtaken them and which had surrounded them on all sides.

Chapter XV: Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ flourisheth and finishes building the monastery of Mârâghâh.

And that winter the Catholicus went with the victorious king to Mûghân, which was the winter quarters of them [*i.e.* the Mongols]; from there he came with them to Tabhrîz, and passed the summer in the royal Camp. [This he did thinking] that perhaps he might be able discreetly to supply the things necessary both for the Church and himself, and also that he might turn back the violence and strength of the opposition (?) of [his] enemies, and cool their anger. Whilst things were thus, the victorious king commanded and a seal was made like unto that great seal which had been stolen [from the Catholicus], and engraved with the same inscription, that was upon it, and a *sûkûr*, that is to say (132) *ashâtêr* (*i.e.* parasol) was given to him. Thus the sparks of love were beginning to flash forth from him.

And the Catholicus passed the winter of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and ten [A.D. 1299] in the Fortress of Arbîl, for from the year which we have mentioned, that is, one thousand six hundred and five, he had not seen the people thereof. He rejoiced at the sight of them, and passed the winter happily among them. The joy of the father in his children increased, and also that of the children in their father, for they were emerging from labours, that is to say, trials, and were freeing themselves from a great disaster and from stark suffering.

And when the winter had passed, the Catholicus set out in the month of Nîsân (April) for the Royal Camp, and he went to Mûghân where the kings passed the summer. And [the king] rejoiced in him greatly and paid him honour, and commanded that whatever happened, he should enter Mârâghâh again. And in accordance with the [king's] command he went to the city [and arrived there] on the Sunday [of the prayer] "hâw dabhîthûtheh" (*i.e.* "He who in His Being"). And he passed that summer in [his] Cell, with great content, in Mârâghâh (133).

And in the month of the [first] Teshrî, (October) of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and eleven [A.D. 1299], he went down again with the victorious King Kâzân to the countries of Arbîl and Mâwşil (Môşul). Now the object of the victorious king was to conquer the countries of Palestine and Syria. And the Catholicus wintered in the Fortress of Arbîl, and during the whole of that winter, he devoted himself to getting ready the money for [the building of] the monastery of which he was laying the foundations. And when the victorious king returned from Palestine [and Syria], having conquered and broken their armies, and plundered them, and scattered, and slain and carried off the inhabitants into captivity—for he had actually carried out what he had determined to do⁷—the Catholicus went up again with him to Âdhôrbijân. And he began to build the monastery, and he devoted his whole care and energy to the work until he completed it.

And in the month of 'Îlûl (September) of this year [A.D. 1300], Kâzân, the victorious king, came to Mâr Catholicus at Mârâghâh, and he remained with him for three days. And the joy of the Christians waxed great, and the king (134) showed great love towards them, for he knew well that they were simple and guileless, and innocent of wickedness. And he departed with a joyful heart from the Catholicus, who had ministered unto him exceedingly well.

And the king turned and went down again to the countries of Arbîl and Mâşil, in the winter of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and thirteen [read 1612—A.D. 1300–01]. And the Catholicus also went down

⁷ He defeated the Egyptians with great slaughter at Homs and besieged Damascus.

with him, and accompanied him to a place which was nigh unto the region of Shighâr (Sinjâr). Then he went back and passed the winter in the citadel of Arbîl, until the victorious king returned, when he again went up with him. And during the going up the Kartêwâyê (Kurds) made an ambush for Mâr Catholicus, and as he was passing on the road, they sent arrows at him, and an arrow hit one of his fingers and wounded him slightly. The victorious king was enraged at this and he swore the full Mongol oath, saying, "I will take vengeance of those Kurds" (135).

And when the Catholicus arrived at Mârâghâh he went up to the monastery of Mâr John the Baptist, which he had founded, and he took with him the monks whom he had gathered together. His intention was to finish that building, and he said, "If God hath mercy upon me, and I am able to finish it and to consecrate it, this would be a great act of grace on His part towards me." And God—may His honour be adored!—helped him, and, his object, according as he wished, was accomplished. And that building was finished with everything that was beautiful, and the ornamentations thereof were such that words cannot describe their great excellence.

The buildings were handsome, the doors were things to be admired, and its superstructure was raised above on worked slabs (or pillars?), and its foundations of dressed stones were truly laid. Thus it was, he made its doors of dressed slabs, ornamented with designs, and its stairways were also of dressed stone. What words can describe its majesty [adequately]? And the site on which the edifice was built possesseth great consolation [*i.e.* charm], and is full of splendour. The veils [*i.e.* curtains] that are before the door of the altar, and in front of the tombs and the sacristy, are most wonderful and marvellous. They are made of a woven fabric (136), with designs in hollow work, and have threads of fine gold running through them. Its wall is so high [that its height] preventeth the attainment of the scaling of it. As for the water supply of the monastery, water flowed through all the cells of the monks, and carried outside it by means of channels (or drains) every impurity. Recently a cell for the Patriarch has been built in the monastery, and the Throne is therein to-day, for the Patriarch doth not go out therefrom. And the greater number of the layings on of hands [*i.e.* ordinations] take place therein, and the decrees, that is to say, ecclesiastical canons are confirmed therein.

There too are fixed [*i.e.* deposited] the relics of the saints, whose names we will mention presently, and healings descend upon all those who take refuge in them. And although, strictly speaking, the monastery was built [in the name of] Mâr John, the Baptist, there have, nevertheless, been gathered together therein the relics of [many other] saints, with a care and diligence which surpasseth speech. And these have been laid up there for the help of

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believers, and as a refuge for the afflicted, and the relief of those oppressed with pain, and the consolation of those who are troubled. The holy shrines containing relics (137) are arranged in order and are placed near each other.

The length of the temples (*i.e.* the two naves and aisles) of the monastery, together with the altar is, according to those who have measured them say, sixty cubits (about 100 feet), and the width of the middle nave is twelve cubits (about 20 feet). The altar, and the chamber of the holy of holies, and the treasury are very spacious. The whole of the outside of the dome of the altar is inlaid with green glazed (kâshânî) tiles, and on the top of it is placed a cross. The names of the saints' relics and portions of whose bodies are preserved in it are: Of the blessed Mother, my Lady Mary, a small piece of her head-cloth, which the deceased Rabban Sâwmâ had brought from the countries of the Perôgâyê (Franks); Mâr John the Baptist; the holy Apostles Peter and Paul—may their prayers be with the community!; Mâr Thomas the Apostle; and Mâr George; Mâr Addai and Mâr Mârî, the Apostles, and preachers of the Gospel in the regions of the East; Mâr Stephen [the Protomartyr]; Mâr Cyriacus, the martyr [who was martyred at Tarsus, A.D. 301], and the Forty Martyrs [who were slain by Sapor II, A.D. 356]; Mâr Simon bar-Sabbâ'ê [martyred by Sapor II at Ledan]; (138) Mâr John of Dailôm; Mâr Sergius and Mâr Bacchus [martyred by Maximian]; Mâr Shalîta (see p. 305); Mâr Sâbhâ the martyr; Mâr Ḥanân-'Îshô; Mâr Samuel; Mâr James, who was cut in pieces; Mâr Şelîbhâ, Mâr Îshô'-Sabhran; Mâr Elisha, the tried martyr; the holy daughter of Ma'yô (Manyô); and Shamônî and her sons [who were slain by Antiochus Epiphanes]. May their prayers help the world, and may it preserve the inhabited portion of it from every harm!

[And the Catholicus] consecrated the church and set the stone of its altar in its place on the day of the holy festival of Mâr (*i.e.* my Lord) the Adorable Cross on the 13th day of 'Ilûl (September) in the year of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and twelve (A.D. 1301). And on the day of its consecration there were gathered together all blessed believers of Âdhôrbîjân, and they flocked thither bearing votive offerings and tithes, each one according to his ability, and every man according to his position and rank. And they rejoiced with exceedingly great joy. And Mâr Catholicus made a great feast, and he gathered together to it men of every shade of religious belief and opinion. And he took (139) the cup and presented it to all of them, and made them to enjoy the feast. And he blessed them even as did Solomon the king when he had completed that great house of God (2 Chron. vi.) and blessed the people of the Lord.

And the amount of money which the Catholicus spent on the monastery before he finished it was four hundred and twenty thousand *zûzê* [*i.e.*

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between £40,000 and £50,000]. And he gave apparel to the holy men (bishops?) and monks, and architects, that is to say, the carpenters and the handicraftsmen, and every one who had toiled on the building, to each according to his rank, and according to the service he had rendered. Behold, services of prayer, and celebrations of the Eucharist take place therein continually; it is a spectacle (or public show) for all the Orientals, and a refuge which dispenseth help. The Catholicus gave to this holy monastery a village called Dhâbhî, which lay in the eastern parts of Mârâghâh, and which he had bought for eleven thousand *dînârs*. He made the village “Wakf,” that is to say, he settled it as a permanent endowment for the monastery. And he settled other properties upon it, such as gardens, vineyards, plantations, fields, and other things, so that (140), the income from them, that is to say, from [the sale of] the crops which they produced, would sustain the life of the monks, and provide food for them, and for lamps and candles, and defray the cost of the repairs and the upkeep of that holy place. And he called that holy monastery, “Malkâ dhê ‘Ûmrê,” *i.e.* the “King of Monasteries.” May he receive [from] our Lord his reward, and may He grant him the wages of his weary toil, namely, the happiness which is in the kingdom of heaven, and a sojourning with the saints, the lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ; and may our Lord place on his right hand every one who hath laboured with Mâr Catholicus and been associated with him in this great work! Amen.

Chapter XVI: The love of King Ẓâzân for Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, and his death.

And after the completion of this monastery, and the consecration of it, Mâr Catholicus went to Tabhrîz, to the victorious King (141) Ẓâzân. And the king welcomed him gladly, and looked on him joyfully, and paid him honour more than was customary, and magnified him in an unusual manner. And he asked questions about his building [and the progress of] his work, and when Mâr Catholicus said that it was entirely finished, the victorious king rejoiced and was glad; and Mâr Catholicus blessed him before those who were reclining there. And the king himself set out for Mûghân to pass the winter there, but he commanded Mâr Catholicus to dwell in his monastery throughout the winter, saying, “It is a new building, and it will be agreeable and convenient for its master [to be there], because of the great labour which he hath expended on it.”

And at the return of the year [in 1302?], when the king came back from Mûghân, the Catholicus again went to see him, and to pronounce blessings upon him; now this meeting was exceptionally joyful [to each], and the sight [of each other] was most grateful to them. The king set apart for him a seat of honour on his right hand, and gave him many gifts, that is to say a Paizâ

and costly royal apparel, and he manifested towards the Catholicus the sincere love which cometh from a very pure heart. And Mâr Catholicus thanked him (142), and then returned to Arbîl in the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and fourteen [A.D. 1302], that he might go from there to Baghdâd. Now, it was a long time, in fact a period of nine years, since he had been to that Great Throne, and the chief reason for his journey thither was the determination of the victorious king to go there.

He set out from Arbîl on the day of the Friday after the Festival of the Nativity of that year [A.D. 1303], and he entered Baghdâd on the night of the holy Epiphany. And he made a festival in Dârath Rhômâyê, and all the congregation rejoiced in him, and his own gladness was exceedingly great. And after twenty days he departed from Baghdâd, and went to the city of Ḥillah (which lieth by the side of Bâbil (Babylon), which Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldean king, built), that he might see King Ḳâzân. When the Catholicus arrived there he went to the king on the day of the “White Festival” [*i.e.* the Festival of the New Year when men and women alike wore white apparel], which (143) the Mongols were celebrating. And the victorious king welcomed him more gladly than words can say, and he asked him questions and why he had taken the trouble to visit him; and Mâr Catholicus replied to him in appropriate words.

Now the king had determined to go to Palestine [and Syria] a second time, and to subdue and conquer those countries a second time. And when after some days Mâr Catholicus [went to] see the king, so that he might [obtain permission] to return to Baghdâd, the king gave him five splendid vestments of great price, which were [usually] worn by kings, and he concluded all the matters of business which the Catholicus had to do with him according to his request. Then the king went to those countries [of Palestine and Syria], and the Catholicus went to Baghdâd, and lodged in Dârath Rhômâyê. And he dwelt there for the whole of that winter, and hoped that at the end of the Lenten Fast he might go up again to Âdhôrbîjân, and take up his abode in the monastery which he had built.

And on the 10th day of the month of Nîsân (April) of that year [A.D. 1303] he departed from Baghdâd, the City of the Throne, and on the 13th day of the month of 'Iyâr (May) (144) he arrived at the city of Mârâghâh, and he rested in peace in the monastery which he had founded. Later, on the 10th day of the month of Ḥazîrân (June), the victorious king himself came to this monastery, and Mâr Catholicus met him and welcomed him with pomp and ceremony. And, as was befitting, he made a great feast for him, and the kings, and the Amîrs, and the nobles of his kingdom. And the king paid him very great honour, and he made his rank to be higher than that of everyone else; and he made him great and excellent promises, and taking off the cloak

of his body, he arrayed him therein, and all the believers rejoiced with an exceeding great joy.

And the king passed the night in the monastery. And that night, whilst he was sleeping, he saw in his dream three angels standing above him; the apparel of one of them was red, and the two others were clad in shining green garments. And they spake words of consolation to him, and gave him reason to hope that the disease in his toes would be healed. And on the following morning, the king brought out a splendid cross made of fine gold, wherein (145) rare stones of very great price were set, and in it was a fragment of the adorable wood of the Cross of our Vivifier, which had been sent to the king as a mark of honour by Mâr Pâpâ of the Romans, and he gave it as a gift to Mix Catholicus. And the king related his dream before all those who were seated there, and confessed (or declared), saying, “Through the blessings of this holy house I have got healing.” And he remained there all that day praising and magnifying Mâr Catholicus. Then he set out for that place wherein he used to pass the summer, that is to say Ûghân. And on the 20th day of Hazîrân (June) of this year the king—may he live with victory!—sent to Mâr Catholicus, by his own courier, a famous horse, on which he himself rode, and a rich and splendid robe, with salutations to Mâr Catholicus, and promises of future favours of all kinds. Later in this year, in the month of Âbh, the victorious king sent to Mâr Catholicus vases of crystal, and vases of glazed porcelain (*kâshâni*, in Persian *djîni*) with (146) designs on them in gold. [The king] had brought handicraftsmen from the city of Darmasûk (Damascus) and from Kâshân [on the Tehrân road]. By the dispatch of these vessels [the king] showed great love for [Mâr Catholicus].

And whilst the king remained in the city of Tabhrîz, Mâr Catholicus went down to pass the winter, according to his wont, in the Fortress of Arbîl. In the month of the latter Teshrî (November), in the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and fifteen [A.D. 1303], all the Fathers and the Christian nobles who were there gathered together to him, and after the great festival of the Resurrection of our Lord [A.D. 1304], the great Amîr, to whom was entrusted the direction of the affairs of the Government of Diârbakr, came to visit Mâr Catholicus, who went up with him quietly (or slowly) in great state to the monastery which he had built. And he arrived there on the night of the Feast of Pentecost. Five days later there came to him, the bitter, horrible and truly evil report of the death of the victorious King Kâzân. He died on the Sunday (147) of Pentecost, at the turn of the day (*i.e.* towards the evening) on the borders of the City of Sâhand [in Adhôrbiĵân]. And all the inhabitants of the countries of his great dominions mourned for him. His coffin was brought to the city of Tâbhrîz, on the

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Sunday [of the prayer] “Kul medem sâ’ar,” *i.e.* “He doeth everything,” and was placed in the great vault which the deceased king himself had built.

Chapter XVII: King Ûljâitô and Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ.

And because the great Amîrs, who held the steering oars of the Government of the kingdom [of the deceased king], ruled firmly, no rebellion broke out, and no confusion took place in any place whatsoever. They sent straightway for the brother of the deceased king on his father’s side, who was called Ûljâitô (148), who was in the countries of Khôrâsân, and they brought him and made him king on the 12th day of the month Tammûz (July) of this year [A.D. 1304]. [Ûljâitô was the third son of Arghôn and was born in 1281. At birth he was called Ûljâi-Bûka, and later Kharbande, *i.e.* the “Muleteer,” which was changed to “Khudabende,” *i.e.* “Servant of God.” His mother was the daughter of Prince Sarûji, the brother of Queen Dokûz Khâtûn]. And because he had been baptized, when he was a child, in the time of his father, King Arghôn, he used to run in and out often to see Mâr Catholicus with his mother Ûrgâu (Argâu) Khatûn, who was a Christian queen. And he enjoyed free and friendly intercourse with him, and loved him with a boundless affection. And the Catholicus rejoiced greatly at his accession [to the throne], and he thought and said, “This [king] will honour the congregation more than his father and his brother, when he hath seen and learned the honour in which they held it, and their love towards it.” And he did not perceive that voluntary motions vanquish and overcome those which are habitual and natural, especially when they take root and flourish. Now the king had become a Hagarâyâ (*i.e.* Muḥammadan) in those regions, and he had acquired another kind of instruction (or education?) which had made him to forget all the things that appertained to the first (149). And through the numerous discussions which he had heard there was found in him a kind of hatred of the Christians.

And when Mâr Catholicus went to him—now he met him on two occasions—the king paid him due honour, though not heartily; but he received him with a little courtesy, which was due to his venerable position. He gave a mighty hand and a strong arm to the Muḥammadans in everything—in gifts, and Puḡdânê (Edicts), and honours, and [permission] to build mosques—and because of this they treated the churchmen with contempt. And forthwith their wickedness grew strong, and they came at length to sow (*i.e.* whisper) in the ears of King Ûljâitô that they should take the monastery which Mâr Catholicus had built, and make the church of the town of Tâbhrîz into a mosque, and that its waḡf, that is to say the endowments thereof, should become the property of the mosque. And this proposal was all but

carried into effect, and the evil would certainly have been committed, if God's help and God's grace had not stirred up the excellent Amîr Îrînjîn—may [his] life be preserved!—the uncle of the king, who restrained their audacity and curtailed their impudence. [Îrînjîn was the son of Prince Sarûjî, and the nephew of Dokûz Khâtûn; he gave his daughter, Kûtlûk-shâh, to Ûljâtô in marriage.] Also they wanted to take possession of the monastery which Mâr Catholicus had built.

And the winter of the year of the Greeks. one thousand six hundred and sixteen (150) [A.D. 1304–05] Mâr Catholicus passed in the town of Eshnôk [in Adhôrbiân]. And when there he escaped with the greatest difficulty from the hands of the rebels, and came to the monastery which he had built. And he set out from there for the Royal Camp at Ûghân, and went with the king to Tâbhrîz, and he struggled to make prosperous the affairs of the Church, and received [from the king] a Puḡdânâ (Edict), and returned to the monastery. From there he set out to pass the winter in the Fortress of Arbîl, and as soon as he arrived there, at the beginning of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and seventeen [October, A.D. 1305], he laid the foundation of a great Cell in the Fortress, and he built it of limestone and mortar, and he finished it and furnished it with every kind of beautiful thing. And at the beginning of the month of 'ÿyâr of that same year [A.D. 1306], he went up to the monastery which he had built and passed the summer there. When he heard that the king had begun to levy the poll-tax on the Christians, he went again to Ûghân, and he met the king, but gained no advantage therefrom.

And the king began to build a city in the neighbourhood (151) of the borders of Kâzwân (Kâzwîn), and he finished it and called it "Sûlṭâniyâh." And he collected there handicraftsmen from all the countries of his kingdom, and he adorned it with splendid buildings, and in a manner which it is impossible to describe.

And since Mâr Catholicus was without an income from any source whatsoever, and his expenses were very great, he went again to the Cell which he had built in the Fortress of Arbîl, and he passed there the winter of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and eighteen [A.D. 1306–07], and the summer also, and the winter of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and nineteen [A.D. 1308]. At the beginning of the month of 'ÿyâr he went up to Adhôrbiân and visited the king in the city of Ûghân. And the king paid him the honour which was usually paid to him.

And the king rode forth to the chase, and he came to the holy monastery which Mâr Catholicus had built. And the monks went out to meet him, and they brought him in with pomp and ceremony. And when he went in to the cell of the director of the monastery, that director (152) found mercy in his

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eyes, and he asked him questions about the Mysteries of the Christians. And the director replied to the king in noble words and most eloquently, and the king was well pleased with the same. Then he went into the Cell of the Catholicus, and sat upon the patriarchal Throne, and he made the monks to come there, and he rejoiced with them, and gave them five pieces of beautiful and valuable cloth. Thereupon the director of the monastery mentioned the poll-tax, and the king promised that he would not again levy it. And he laid no burden of any kind on the monastery [i.e. his visit cost the monks nothing].

And when the king had departed on the following day, the Catholicus having heard [of his visit] came to the monastery, and he grieved greatly that he had not been present in the monastery. And he followed the king, and overtook him by the waters of the river which is called Gaḳtô in Mongolian and Wakyârôd in Persian, and the holy men (bishops?) and the director of the monastery were with him. And the king paid Mâr Catholicus very great honour, and permitted to be written for him, and for the Christians, the great Puḳdânâ of the Puḳdânê [an Edict conferring very great privileges on the holders], ordering (153) that throughout the whole dominion of his kingdom no man should demand the poll-tax from the holy men, and the monks, and the elders, and the deacons. And when he returned to the monastery, he sent after him (the Catholicus) to Tâbhrîz, and he gave him one of his riding mules and a rich robe of honour. From the time when the king entered the monastery the fetter which bound his heart was loosed, and God threw mercy into his heart. And he commanded the Catholicus to pass the winter in his monastery, and he himself went into winter quarters at Ūghân; now the Mongols call the place “Mûghân.”

And the Catholicus passed both the winter and the summer of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and twenty [A.D. 1308–09] in the monastery. And the king showed great mercy in the favourable Edicts which he issued, and he allotted to the Catholicus the whole of the poll-tax of Arbîl, and commanded that the poll-tax should never again be levied on the Christians. And immediately the Catholicus went to the Fortress of Arbîl in the month of the latter Teshrî (November) of the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 1309] (154), he fell sick on the road of a deadly disease, but our Lord healed him, and he went to the Fortress of Arbîl in great state, and all the people of the city came out before him and brought him in with great honour.

Chapter XVIII: The massacre of the Christians at Arbîl.

Now because the divine decrees must of necessity be fulfilled, and these decrees would never be carried out but for the causes (or works) of the marvellous government of God, He made in olden time in the mountains certain men who are called “*Ḳâyâdjâyê*,” that is to say, “those who ascend the height of the mountains,” and who quarrel with each other. And certain of these men went to the king and made accusations (155) against their Amîr Zayn ad-Dîn Balô, into whose hands was committed the duty of feeding and paying [an army] of three thousand men. And the king was wroth with him and shut him up in prison for one year. And because of him the victorious king sent to the Fortress of Arbîl a certain Arab, who was called Nâşir, and who was evil by nature and of a bitter disposition. It was he who was the cause of the carrying into effect of that plan of the Arabs, which he began to put into execution already in the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and eight [A.D. 1297]. And all the sons of Hagar (*i.e.* the Muḥammadans), great and small, high and low, Amîrs, and soldiers, scribes and lawyers, governors and councillors, made a plan secretly to take the Fortress of Arbîl from the Christians, and to destroy its inhabitants.

It is meet, however, to state the truth, namely, that the hearts of the inhabitants of the Fortress, and of those who were with them, had become hard. They had forsaken the way of Christianity; they had treated wholly with contempt the divine laws, and scoffed at recluses, and the priests, and robbed each other, and they had broken through the fences of the laws of our Lord; (156) neither to admonition nor instruction did there remain a place with them. Hatred had waxed great among them, envy had seized their hearts, they brought accusations against each other, and they oppressed, and smote, and persecuted, and defrauded, and plundered. And they formed themselves into companies and invaded the houses of their chiefs, and to speak briefly, they gave themselves place [*i.e.* took the opportunity] to perform wickedness of every kind. And no one let the matter enter his mind, and no one feared the fierce anger and the punishment [which was to come].

Although actions such as these are divine, it is Providence that, seizing upon the causes, maketh them complete. As, for example, the cause of the death which God decreed for Adam was the transgression of a command; it was because He had hardened the heart of Pharaoh that He could bring punishment, and others like unto them are mentioned as figures. But the object of Providence [was obvious], from that [which was said] to Pharaoh, “I established thee for this purpose, that I might show forth my power on thee, and that my Name might be proclaimed in all the earth”; (157) and in another passage [it is said], “The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh that he

might not know Him, so that He might show forth His great works and mighty deeds upon the earth” (Exod. xx. i; iv. 17).

These things happened in the hearts of the dwellers in the mountain who are called Ẕâyâdjâyê. The dwellers in the Fortress of Arbîl hardened [their hearts], and were [therefore] forsaken by divine help, so that the mighty deeds of Providence might be made known, and the hidden things of its glorious nature might be learned. Now although God—may His honour be adored!—knew before He brought man into being, to what object his nature would incline, in establishing him He admonished him, according to what His foreknowledge knew and provided.

Now this man Naşir, whom we have mentioned above, as soon as he had gone into the Fortress, took up his abode in a tower close to the gate, and never went forth from it. He caused to be brought up there, secretly, weapons and munitions of war, and soldiers, and he sent a message to the Camp saying, “These men are Yâghâyê, that is to say, enemies of the king, because their Amîr is shut up in prison” (158). And the more he did this the more the inhabitants of the Fortress were making manifest [their] wickedness. But as for him there was no way in which anyone could do him an injury, for, with the exception of a very few, he had all the people on his side, and the gold of all the Mashlemânûthâ, (*i.e.* Ishmaelites, or Islâm). As for them, there was no opportunity (?) for one of them to help his fellow, even with a *shamûnâ* (farthing). Nâşir possessed the Ahitophelian counsels (see I Chron. xxvii. 33) of all the scribes and of all the chiefs, whilst they (*i.e.* the people of Arbîl) had no man [to give them counsel], because they were drunk with wine and had passed beyond [the limits of] their minds (*i.e.* had gone mad), either because of the absolute abandonment of them by God, or because of the evil works which they had performed. And they did not fear the just and righteous judgements of the Lord. And what happened through this? The envoys of the king were coming and going, [and they said], “Rise up, and get ye down from the Fortress, O Christians.” But they had made up their minds absolutely to refuse to obey, and to rebel. And in proportion as they acted in this manner, the people (159) of the Arabs rejoiced and were glad, for they knew well that their object would be fulfilled and make itself plain.

And when the condition of things grew worse, there went forth a royal Edict addressed to the Amîr, a man who was called Sûfî, who was at that time in the regions about Diyâr Bakr, and [to] another man who was called Ẕajjî Dalqandî, who was a brother of the above-mentioned Nâşir, who had taken up his abode in the Fortress. [And the Edict ordered] that, “If the Ẕâyâdjâyê are not going down from the Fortress, and if [they will not go],

let it be assaulted and reduced by force, and let the troops of the king be gathered together to fight a pitched battle.”

Now the Catholicus, because of his love for the kingdom (or Government), did not believe that this would be done in the Fortress whilst he was dwelling in it, and he did not think that the Christians would be treated in this way as long as he was with them. And all [the Christians] neglected to do what they ought to have done, and they were too careless to make a journey to the Royal Camp, and show [the king] what had happened to them. And they continued in the sleep of negligence until there overtook them (160) certain events which they never thought could possibly take place.

On the 9th, the fourth day of the week (Wednesday) in the month of Âdhâr (March) of that year [A.D. 1310] during the Lenten Fast, the son of the Amîr whom we have mentioned, and three Amîrs of thousands (Chiliarchs) went up to the Catholicus to bring him down, and it was ordered that if he would not come down with them he was to be put in prison. On the following day he came down, being forced to do so, and from that moment fear and weeping fell on the Fortress; and evil signs made themselves manifest. And they brought the Catholicus to the monastery of Mâr Michael of Tar’îl. And the Amîr Sûtî came to him, and the soldiers who were with him were from the Amîrs of thousands, and others, and he showed him great affection. In times past he had often visited the cell, and was a first favourite with Mâr Catholicus, and had been held in high honour by him in the time of the deceased King Kâzân. And he said to the Catholicus, “The Edict [of the king] orders that the Mountaineers (Kâyâdjâyê) shall come down from the Fortress and that the others shall remain [there]. These (161) will not go forth except at thy bidding, therefore thou shalt send one of thine own men to [make] them go down.”

On the morning of the following day, which was the Eve (*i.e.* Friday), the Patriarch brought oxen, and lambs, and wine to the house of the Amîr mentioned above, [and he made a feast], and placed the wine-cup in his hands, according to the custom of the Mongols, and he mounted him on a good horse in order to confuse his senses. [In other words the Catholicus bribed the Amîr.] And the Arabs who were there, Hâjji Dalqandî, and the old man (Shêkh) Muhammad, who ruled in Arbîl, and his brother who was called Aḥmâd, were complaining bitterly against the Christians, and also against the Catholicus, and saying, “Besides thyself there is no one who can bring those men down from the Fortress.” But the Amîr, thinking only of the bribe which had been given to him by the Catholicus, paid no heed to them.

Then they agreed to send messengers [to the Mountaineers] to advise them to come down. The Catholicus sent one of the holy men who were with

him, and who was called Mâr ‘Abhd Īshô’, (162), Bishop of Hânîthâ, and the Amîr sent one of the Amîrs of thousands, who was called Şâṭi Bâg, to talk to them and bid them come down. And when they went and talked to them in very gentle words, which were coupled with promises of benefits, the Mountaineers would neither receive them nor hearken to them; so the envoys turned back and arrived from them on the Sabbath (Saturday), the 14th day of the month of Âdhâr. And immediately the Amîr Sûtî heard this. he came to the Catholicus, and held converse with him, saying, “These are Yâjâyê, that is to say, enemies [of the Government]; thou must send a messenger to them, O Catholicus, a second time.” And Mâr Catholicus himself wrote an exhortation to those men to go down, and he sent it by the hands of the bishops, Mâr Īshô’-Sabhran, the Metropolitan, and the aforementioned Mâr ‘Abhd-Īshô’, and the monks Rabban Dâwîd, the anchorite, and Rabban Denhâ, the director of the monastery of Mâr Michael of Tar‘îl. And they departed on the night of the Sunday of the prayer “Enhû dhě-tê‘ôl” (*i.e.* “If Thou wilt enter”), and when the day dawned they went into the Fortress and held converse with the dwellers therein, and they submitted and undertook to go down.

And when Nâşir heard this, (163) he straightway hoisted the signal which had been agreed upon between himself and the inhabitants of the city, namely, that when he hoisted the signal on the roof of the tower in which he dwelt, they were to rush up to him and set the battle in array. Now when these wretched men who had been counselled to go down into the church saw the swords which flashed, and the sharp arrows that were falling down [upon them], they made haste to leave [the church] and went with the greatest difficulty to the door of the Fortress, and they too made war from the fourth hour of the day until the evening, and the whole night long. Three of the Arabs were killed, and twelve Christians, and if they (*i.e.* the Christians) had not hurled fire under the tower all night long, they would all have been slain to a man.

And when the Amîr Sûtî and the soldiers that were with him heard [of this] they made haste and went and surrounded the Fortress, and they carried the Catholicus, who wept, along with them by force. That same day they went below the Fortress, saying to him as they went, “Do not allow them to take part in the fight.” On the night of the (164) second (?) day of the week (Monday) certain men went down from the Fortress, and God delivered them; but they and the Catholicus, and the clergy who were with him, [were cast into] prison. And from daybreak on the second day of the week (Monday), the Amîr Sûtî, and those who were with him, urged Mâr Catholicus to send an envoy to them [telling them] to let Nâşir go down with everything that he had; and he sent the bishop Īshô’-Sabhran, and Rabban

Rabban Sâwmâ and Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ

Dâwîd, the anchorite. And when the Arabs saw them, they killed Rabban Dâwîd the anchorite without mercy, and they smote Īshô‘-Sabhran with swords and staves, but God rescued him from their hands, and he fled and came [back].

And the evil condition of things became worse, because punishment had arrived, and the Arabs and the Mongol troops began to throw up mounds and to construct machines of various kinds and to wage war systematically. From the moment when Nâsir hoisted that evil signal, the Christians who were in the city were slain in the streets (or bazârs), and in the market-places of the city. Many of them fled and went into the houses of the Muslims, but even these were dragged out from them through informers; and on the second day of the week (**165**) (Monday), they died cruel deaths, no mercy [being shown to them]. The people who belonged to them who were in the prison of the Kâdhî, were brought out and beaten cruelly until they received death. The young women were stripped of their apparel, and were made to walk about naked through the streets of the city. And also the women who were with child were ripped open, and [the soldiers] slew the unborn children, and cast their bodies before the gate of the Fortress.

And men were in the habit of going to the Amîr Sûtî, and saying, “O Amîr, send a messenger, and see how [the Christians] are killing the Muslims, and casting [their bodies] at the gate of the Fortress.” And he, in his simplicity, believed them, and he gave the order, and the four churches, which were on the plain were pillaged (or destroyed). Two of these, that which was in the name of Īshô‘-Sabhran, the glorious martyr, and that which was built in the name of Man‘iô, belonged to us. The church of the Jacobites, which was built in the name of my Lady Mary, and the church of the Armenians, were razed to the ground, and also all the houses and buildings of the Christians, and the Cell (**166**) of the Metropolitan Throne.

And the Amîr sent through all the country, and collected men to fight, and he brought down the Kartêwâyê (Kurds) from the mountains. And the Christians from all the villages, because they were unable to go to the city, gave no small amount of money for weapons of iron and food for the soldiers. And the war waxed strong against the Fortress, which was attacked on all four of its sides by night and by day. And many were killed, both those who were below (*i.e.* the attackers) and those who were above (*i.e.* the defenders), and many of the Kurds and Arabs; but few of the Mongols were slain, because they did not come near the Fortress, but were content to shoot arrows from a distance. And the roads were cut to the Christians in that country and everywhere else, and wherever the people saw them they killed them without pity, and said, “Ye are from the Fortress,” or “These men are fugitives.” And the stupefaction of death seized every man.

As for the Catholicus, no helper remained to him against those who had seized upon him as far as deeds were concerned, and very few even in the matter of words. In the night season they watched him from near, and in the daytime (167) from afar; and he did not know what was going to happen to him. His thoughts were in a tumult, both through fear for himself and fear for the Fortress. And only with the greatest difficulty did he find an opportunity to write a letter to the Metropolitan of Arbîl, who was a fugitive in the village of Bêth Şayyâdhê. This man who because he was wroth with the people of the Fortress, for they had not hearkened unto him, had betaken himself to Bêth Şayyâdhê, together with everything else that he had, and settled himself down in that place. [The Catholicus wrote to him], saying, "What will thy escape profit thee if thou dost not go to the [Royal] Camp?" And two days later the Amîr Sûtî sent guards with the Catholicus, and they brought him to Bêth Şayyâdhê.

[Thereupon] the Metropolitan set out on the night on which the letter reached him, and in four days he arrived in Baghdâd, together with the young men who were with him. And he went to the [Royal] Camp, and made known there what had happened to the Catholicus and the Christians. Now the Amîrs who were in the Camp had already heard of (168) everything that had happened in full detail, because the Amîr Sûtî had sent messengers there to report what was being done by him. And the Catholicus also wrote a letter [and sent it] by a messenger to one of the servants of the Cell [saying] what had happened to him; and that servant went and made it known to the Amîrs and the councillors, and explained the case to them, and also informed them about the massacre which had taken place. And the hearts of the Amîrs who had no knowledge whatsoever of this event were utterly stupefied, for those who had committed this deed had held their peace. Following on this also quickly came the Metropolitan, and he repeated the story before all the Amîrs. And a royal Edict was written and sent by a messenger to the Amîr Sûtî, saying, "Thou hast explained to us the matter in this wise, but the Catholicus in other wise; which of you are we to believe and hold as true?" Thus the [course of the] evil was restrained somewhat.

When the Amîr Sûtî heard of this thing, he was exceedingly grieved (169) and became furiously angry. And he sent for the Catholicus and had him brought to him, [and he said to him], "Hast thou written thus and thus?" And all the people of the Arabs were shouting abuse at the Catholicus, and each man was crying out what he wanted [to do] with him. And the Catholicus said, "I have written nothing, but a certain Metropolitan belonging to the district went and spake on behalf of his house and his flock." And they (the Amîrs) said, "Now make these rebels to come down, according to the royal Edict, and if thou wilt not do that, write thy

declaration that they are Yâghây (*i.e.* enemies).” Then the Catholicus sent to them the Metropolitan of Mâwşil (Môşul), and some of the young men of the Cell, and exhorted them [to come down], but they were afraid to do so.

Now there were among them certain men who were really rebels, and they, fearing to be massacred, were strengthening the others in their rebellion so that they might not go down. Thereupon the Amîr Sûtî and those of his party gained an advantage over the Catholicus, and they pressed him saying, “Thou must give us thy writing (*i.e.* certificate) that those men are Yâghâyê (*i.e.* enemies), that we may send a messenger to inform the king.” And they seized upon and carried off everything (170) that he had with him. Some of those men who had come down with him they killed, and some they sold as slaves. And by force they obtained a certificate from the Catholicus, and the holy men who were with him, which was worded as they wished.

On that day the Amîr sent Ḥajji Dalḳandî [to the king]. Now he was a kinsman of the king, and on his arrival he exhibited the matter [*i.e.* the certificate of the Catholicus]. And one of the Amîrs, who was called Asân Ḳûtlôk, rebuked him severely, and reproved his impudence, because he knew the truth, and perceived that the certificate had been obtained by force; and he wished to smite Ḥajji Dalḳandî, who removed himself. And the aforementioned Amîr, and all the councillors, went to the king and explained the matter. And the king issued an Edict ordering that the men in the Fortress and the Arabs should make peace, and that on neither side should reprisals be made, and that no man should fight again. This Edict was promulgated only after many exertions, and troubles and anxieties on the part of the Metropolitan and his companions, and it was committed to the care of certain of the sons of the kingdom (princes?) that they might carry it to Arbîl (171). And Ḥajji Dalḳandî went back in disgrace, and his face was covered with shame. With the Edict there came two of the disciples of the Cell, and they arrived at Arbîl on the day of the Eve of the Confessors (*i.e.* the Friday after Easter). And straightway they tied (*i.e.* rejoined) the bridge which had been burnt, and they made peace, and many came down from the Fortress to the plain.

Now, as has been already said, the Muḥammadans gave to Nâşir, and to his brother, as much gold as they wished to expend in bribes, and thus they were able to satisfy the cupidity of the messengers who had brought the Edict; and they suggested to them to go up into the Fortress. And when they had gone up no man spread a cushion for them to sit upon, and they were not offered food, not even a crust of bread, and no man gave them any money, not even a *shâmûnâ* (*i.e.* farthing). Then those messengers repented concerning the peace, forsooth! which they had made, and they reverted to their evil and bitter disposition. And they wished to inflict some injury on

the young men of the Cell who were with them, but one of them fled from them secretly by the door of the Fortress to the village of Bêth (172) Şayyâdhê, and they pursued him but he was not to be found. Then they seized his companion and put him under restraint. And the messengers [of the king] pursued [the other] and came to the village of Bêth Şayyâdhê, and they brought back the Catholicus, and repeated the words, “These men will not come down except at thy word; come, hearken to the Edict.”

And when he (the Catholicus) arrived at Arbîl, all the people gathered together to Sûtî, and began to use violent language towards the Catholicus; but he, because of the great reliance which he placed in the Government, made answer to them in bold words. Then the Catholicus sent a message by the Amîr Sûtî, and ordered the men in the Fortress a second time to come down. And they were to swear by the Gospel that they would do no harm to Nâşir, and he also was to swear [to do no harm] to them, and thus there would be peace [between them]. And many came down and swore that they would do him no harm, and that they would be subservient to him according as he wished. And it being ascertained that of a surety he had gone up with three hundred men, the gate [of the Fortress] was shut, because their hearts were full of guile. When Sûtî saw that it was thus, he seized those who had come down and slew them.

And the companion of the young man of the Cell who had fled (173) was questioned closely about his fellow-disciple, and beaten severely; only with the greatest difficulty did the Catholicus save his life. Then they seized the horses and mules of the Cell, and everything which the young men and the holy men had who came with the Catholicus, and they carried off even their clothes. And after this they said with deceit to the Catholicus, “We will take thee up to the street (or market) below the Fortress, and bring the chief men of the city to thee there, so that no man may quarrel again or be stirred up to make war until we can inform the victorious king.” The Catholicus in his simplicity agreed, and went up into the Fortress, but he did not know of the trap which the Muslims had made (*i.e.* laid) to kill him.

On that same day there came to the Amîr Sûtî a messenger from his houses (*i.e.* home), who said, “The soldiers of the Palestinians have invaded [thy] domains, and if thou dost delay in coming peradventure even thy house (*i.e.* wife and family) will be carried off into captivity.” And forthwith [he and] all the soldiers who were with him set out, although he was very ill and suffering from a serious sickness. And at the foot of the Fortress there remained only the Kurds and the natives of the city. On the following day war broke out (174) again, and on both sides massacres took place. The roads were cut, and there was none who went out or went in, and no one who carried out or took in news. Famine waxed strong in the Fortress. And every

one who went out either to flee or to fetch in food for his house, was killed without mercy. The Catholicus, and the three clerics who were with him, and the young men who remained with him, were imprisoned in the Fortress, without a covering, without a cushion to lie on, without sustenance and without food. And the punishment became more severe, ruin increased, terror waxed strong, and there remained neither a helper, nor a place of refuge, nor any one who was able to utter a word which would help [them].

As for those messengers, they returned to the Camp with Ḥajji Dalḳandî, and they explained to the king that [the people in the Fortress] were enemies, that the Catholicus stirred them up to revolt, that he had given a bribe and gone up into the Fortress, and had opened the places of treasure, and distributed gold, and had produced for them stores of wheat, and weapons of war and ropes and machines for fighting, and had strengthened their intention to carry on the war (175).

Thereupon evil ruled supreme in the hearts of the king and his nobles, and again Edicts were promulgated, thirteen in number, and addressed to all the Amîrs, by name, to each of the Amîrs of the Kurds by name, to each of the four Amîrs of the King of the Mongols by name, and one to the whole country of Arbîl. [In these it was ordered] that if any man sendeth up food to the Fortress, or giveth it to the men there, his village shall be looted and [his people] slain, and any estate belonging to him in the district shall be taken from him, and shall become the property of the king absolutely; and it was ordered that [the Amîrs] were to prosecute the war with the armour of strength, and to bring it to a triumphant end for the sake of the Ishmaelite Faith.

And [the king] sent a separate Edict addressed to the Catholicus by name, in which it was set forth the following: “We and our fathers have paid thee honour so that thou shouldst pray for us, and give us thy blessing: but now that thou hast acted otherwise, know thou that that which is coming upon thee is due to thyself and not to us.” And they handed the Edicts over to one of the men who were at the Door of the Kingdom (*i.e.* the palace or Camp), who was called Tôghâîn and to Ḥajji (176) Dalḳandî, both being in very truth, enemies of all Christendom, that they might go to Arbîl and work their will.

Now the Metropolitan of Arbîl remained in the Camp for three days after those messengers had been sent, with the two young men of the Cell, to make peace. And he pondered, saying, “If the natives of the Fortress and the Arabs make peace, there is nothing to be gained by staying in the Camp, but if they go on fighting, it is impossible for me to speak without the advice of the Catholicus.” And straightway he rose up and came in haste to the village of Bêth Şayyâdhê, but on his arrival he found that the Catholicus had been

carried off that very day, together with the holy men who were with him, even as has been shown above, and had been imprisoned in the Fortress. And all the Christians were in a state of acute suffering, and they grieved sorely, their grief being from the heart, and not on the eyebrows and eyelids as is the case with certain people. And it dissolved the flesh, and rent asunder (177) the bones, because they did not know what was going to happen to them at the hands of the Arabs, and whether they would be delivered from this persecution or not. And they were like those who have suffered shipwreck, and are being buffeted by waves and tempests, for they were afraid of sinking through the destruction of the persecution.

Now the aforementioned Metropolitan was not able to endure [this uncertainty]. He thought that he would go back to the Camp, but was in doubt about it, because for one thing the roads were cut, and he had no companions of any kind with him, and there would remain no opportunity of taking counsel with the Catholicus. On the other hand, if he dwelt in the Cell, whilst the Catholicus and the holy men were suffering affliction and tribulation, and the Christians being put to the torture, he would be condemned by the canon of truth and the law of Christ, which saith, "Whether it be shepherd or whether it be friend, it is meet for him to lay down his life, and to give himself to death, and to think scorn of his life, and to bear tortures of all kinds for the love of Christ." (Cf. I John iii.16.) And he became emboldened, and took with him the young men of the Cell (178), who had fled and were in hiding, and they went forth from the village of Bêth Şayyâdhê in the evening of the sixth day of the month 'Îyâr (May) of that year [A.D. 1310]. And they marched all night and all day long, over mountains. and across plains, and hills, and barren rocks, being in fear and terror of ambushes by the enemy, without any place in which to shelter, and with not enough food to satisfy [them]. And by the help of God they arrived in the city of Hamâdhân in ten days, for they had heard that the king was there.

And when they had gone into the city [they found that] the victorious king had departed that day, and had gone to the royal city of the Mongols. On the following day the Metropolitan and the young men departed, and went to Sûltânîyah, and they heard [there] that those Edicts had been given to the two men who have been mentioned above, namely Tôghâîn and Hâjji Dalkandî, and that they were preparing to set out and go to Arbîl. On hearing [this] their hands dropped helplessly, their knees tottered, and their eyes dripped with tears over the breaking (179) up of the Church, and what had happened to her children. And they took counsel with certain men who were friends of the Catholicus, and certain churchmen, as to what they should do. And answer was made to them, saying, "If ye hesitate to spend your own

moneys, and those of the Cell, the Catholicus will perish and ye yourselves also, and the churches will be pillaged, and also the Waḳf (*i.e.* endowments) of the Christians will disappear because of the Catholicus.”

Then straightway the Metropolitan took with him a certain sum of money, and he went to one of the Amîrs, who was a near kinsman of the king. And they took him into the presence of the Amîr, who treated him with honour, and listened to his speech about the Catholicus, and also about the Christians. And the Amîr took from him a copy, written by the hand of the Metropolitan, of everything that he had said, and showed it to the [other] Amîrs and to the king—victorious in God!—as will be shown afterwards. And the Amîr delivered him over to three men who were close friends of his, so that they might take him to each one of the Amîrs and Wazîrs, who [stand] before the king, that he might say with his mouth (**180**) what he had written. And those men brought him to an Amîr who was called. Asân (Ḥasan(?)) Ḳûtlôḳ, and to Khawâjâ Sa‘id ad-Dîn, the chief of the scribes, and to the Wazîr Khwâjâ Raschîd ad-Dîn.

And the Metropolitan spake, boldly the following address: “Mâr Catholicus saluteth you, saying. Ye know, O Amîrs, that it is this day five and thirty years since I came from the East; and that I have been made to sit on this Throne of the East by the Will of God; and that I have served and blessed seven kings in all long suffering, and in the fear of God, and especially the father of the present victorious king, the deceased Arghôn, and his mother the believing Queen Urghô (*sic*) Khâtûn. I have deceived no man. I have coveted none of the property of the Government, and if certain gifts have been bestowed upon me by them (*i.e.* the kings), I have spent them again on their behalf (**181**). Although I was a young man once, I am now an old man; and I have no wife, no children, no relatives, and no kinsfolk. Am I likely to rebel against the king for the sake of the love of the world? Or shall I think of snatching away from him anything that is his? Why then should the words which mine enemies [speak] against me be believed? Moreover, I have never experienced any evil thing from the present victorious king in God, and God forbid [that I should]! But even supposing that it could happen and that he wrought evil upon me—which God forbid!—I am commanded by the Holy Gospel, the Book which I confess, to return good for evil, for it saith, ‘Pray for your enemies, and bless him that curseth you, and do what is good to him that hateth you’ (Matt. v. 44). And it is impossible for me to abandon that which I have been commanded by God, through Christ, for transgression of the command maketh a man, whoever he may be, a stranger to Him that laid down the command. I beseech you. If the king is convinced in his heart that I have committed evil, let him bring me (**182**) to the Door of the Kingdom and inform me accurately what I have done; and then,

supposing I deserve death, he will be guiltless of my blood. But let him not leave me in the hands of my enemies.” This was the speech of the Catholicus.

[And the Metropolitan spake saying:] “All Christians who are in the Fortress say, ‘We are not rebels against the victorious king. But we are terribly afraid of our enemies the Kurds and the Arabs, who kill us unsparingly; and we have no one who will have pity upon us, and will make known to the king the state of affliction in which we live. We are the servants of the king and subject unto him, and at all times we pay the tribute and taxes at which we are assessed. Now if the king commandeth us to bring down these *Ḳâyâdjâyê*, on whom the king’s heart rests, have we strength enough? But if he commandeth us ourselves to come down from the Fortress, let him send to us one who will deliver us from the hands of these tyrants, and let him [then] command us to go whithersoever he wisheth. We do not dwell here because of the pleasantness of the place but because of our great fear (183) of the Palestinians and the Kurds. Behold, our sons and our daughters have been carried off into captivity, and the greater number of [our] men have been slain. And, O Amîrs, all of you are well acquainted with these [facts], and I, the Metropolitan, your servant, pledge myself by what I have said in the document which I have written and given [to you].”

Then the Amîrs accepted the statement, and showed it to the victorious and merciful king. And the king commanded that the Amîr of the Amîrs *Djôpân* should know the matter, and should bring the Metropolitan to him that he might hold converse with him. And when they had brought him he spake all the things which have been recounted [above] and added, “It is through thee that all these things have been done to us.” Now some bond existed between him and the Amîr of the *Ḳâyâdjâyê*, who was called *Balû*. And he received the statement unhesitatingly, and stopped the journey of *Ḥajji Dalḳandî* to *Arbîl*, and made promises of good things (184) to come. And he selected certain men to go as envoys besides those who had been first [chosen].

Notwithstanding these things, and not to make [our] narrative too long, *Ḥajji Dalḳandî* neither slumbered nor slept, and he gave no sleep to his eyes, and all the people of the Arabs were with him. And they gave huge bribes to the Amîrs, and the nobles, and the small men, and the soldiers, and that proverb which says, “The bribe blindeth the eyes of the wise in judgement” (Eccles. xx. 1) was fulfilled, and they went back on the agreement and conditions arranged. The Metropolitan was seized secretly and was handed over to *Ṭôghâîn*, so that he might go and bring down the Catholicus and the Christians from the Fortress, and if he did not he was to be slain without pity. And they brought him by night outside the city to a mountain which

was close by, and no man whatsoever had any knowledge of him. The suffering of all the Christians, of every sect, who were gathered together there in the city, waxed sore, and all the young men of the Cell fled and were scattered. And there remained none **(185)** to help them or to care for them except the adorable mercy of God, who worketh according to His grace, and provideth according to his mercy.

Now the Metropolitan had a younger brother, and he fled and went to the Amîr Djôpân—may his life be preserved!—and he showed him what had been done, saying, “The servant of the Amîr of the Amîrs, the Metropolitan, who came to him yesterday on account of the Fortress of Arbîl, hath by guile and force been carried off to Arbîl.” And the Amîr was exceedingly angry, and he sent a messenger and brought back the Metropolitan from out of the hands of the accursed ones. And he brought him into the presence of the victorious king, and repeated to him the statements which the Metropolitan had made concerning the Catholicus and the Christians. And the king commanded that the Catholicus should be brought to the Camp, and that the Christians should come down from the Fortress, and that no harm should be done to them. And the king had Țôdjâîn (*sic*) brought and gave him orders about these matters, and also commanded him to go to Arbîl.

And the great Amîr of the Amîrs, the head of the Dîwân, Djôpân, took the Metropolitan **(186)** to his house. And he wrote for him many letters to all the Amîrs of the Mongols who had gone to reduce the Fortress, and to the Amîr Gaidjâk, a son-in-law⁸ of the deceased king Hûlâgû, the father of all the Mongol kings, asking them to bring down the Catholicus with suitable honour, according to the royal Edict, and also to let the Christians come down unharmed. And he delivered it to the enemy, saying, “If any man stretcheth out his hand against the Christians, thou shalt not bring them down.” And he sent away the Metropolitan with due honour, and handed him over to the royal messenger, saying, “If the Arabs and Kurds will not obey this, tarry with the Catholicus and the Christians, and send me a message, and let me know.”

And the Metropolitan and the messenger came first of all to the Amîr Gaidjâk and showed him the decree of Djôpân, the Amîr of Amîrs, and Gaidjâk and his wife rejoiced in the deliverance of the Catholicus and the Christians. And the Amîr Gaidjâk sent one hundred of his Mongol horsemen, **(187)** besides those who had already gone to the Fortress, to assist in this operation, and he also wrote to eight hundred Kurdish foot-soldiers, over whom he ruled, to bring down the Catholicus. Now three days before

⁸ Gaidjâk married Tutukai, the fourth daughter of Hûlâgû; her mother was a slave of Dokûz Khatûn.

the arrival of the Metropolitan and the messenger who was with him, ʾṬôdjâin (*sic*) arrived, and he sent a messenger to the Catholicus, and showed him the command that he was to come down. And the Catholicus without any hesitation came down, and the holy men and the priests who were with him on the day of the Eve (*i.e.* Friday) on the sixth and twentieth day of the month of Ḥazîrân (June) [A.D. 1310]. And [thus] he heard (*i.e.* obeyed) the Edict.

And ʾṬôdjân persuaded him to go up again to the Fortress and bring down the Christians. In the simplicity of his heart the Catholicus went up, and commanded them to come down, and those wretched folk hearkened [*i.e.* were obedient] in [their] simplicity to the command of the King and the Father (*i.e.* Catholicus). And they went down at daybreak on the Sabbath, with their sons, and daughters, and wives, one hundred and fifty men more or less, besides women and children, without any weapon, and without a sword, and without a knife. And when the wicked people of the Arabs saw that they had come down, they were filled with fierce passion, **(188)** and worked themselves up into a rage, and they drew their swords, and slew them, from the greatest of them to the least, without pity and without fear. And the women and children they carried into captivity. And the Arabs took as their excuse, “They shot arrows at us from the Fortress.” But all this was only that they might make the Catholicus afraid to go down, and that the accusation which had been made against him before the king might be held by the king to be true, and that peradventure he might be wroth, and command that the Catholicus and all the Christians should be massacred.

Then the Catholicus, with his hope in Christ, with weeping and sighs, and bitterness of soul, came to go down. He held the sword in contempt, thinking within himself, “If I die of hunger in the Fortress the name of rebel will go forth concerning me, and that would be an evil thing; it is far better for me to obey to the death. I will go down. If my Lord saveth me, it will be a glorious victory for me; and if He doth not, I am ready to accept the crown of martyrdom for the sake of the name of Christ.” And the Christians fell down at his feet weeping and saying, “We will not let thee go down” **(189)** and thus also [spake] the holy men (*i.e.* bishops) who were with him. And the Catholicus made answer, saying, “There is nothing else for me to do except to go down, but I do not urge anyone whatsoever to go down with me; but the man who wisheth to be a participator in my suffering I will not prevent from doing so.” And he said farewell to them.

And the three bishops who were with him clave to him, and the young men of the Cell, and certain monks and priests. And they went down in (or by) the wall, treading, as they went, upon those who had been killed and butchered, and who without offence had been hacked in pieces. And the

Catholicus himself saw his sons with their bodies ripped open, and their entrails dragging loose upon the ground, and there was none to bury them or to wrap them up for the grave. He had trusted in the word of ʿŤôdjâîn (*sic*) and thought that he was a friend, whereas in truth he was a false friend.

And then, with [the words of] the prophet in his heart, he said, “I cried to my friends, and they have deceived me. My priests and my elders have come to an end in my midst. They sought food for themselves that they might save their souls (or lives), and they are not to be found. See, O Lord, that I am sorely afflicted, and my bowels are troubled. My heart hath turned back (190) within me, because I have complained bitterly. Outside the sword hath destroyed, and death him that was in the house. Hearken for I am groaning, and there is none to console me. All mine enemies have heard of my calamity, and they have rejoiced because it is Thou who hast prepared it for me. Bring the day that Thou hast called, and they shall become even as I am. And all the wickedness of the Hagârâyê (*i.e.* Muḥammadans) shall come before Thee. Trouble Thou them with the trouble with which Thou hast, because of my sins, troubled me, and which Thou hast shown, through me, to my children, and those who are precious to me. And because my groanings are many and my heart is sick.” [Lam. i. 19-22; but the Syriac text is defective].

What next? ʿŤôdjâîn (*sic*) came before the Catholicus, laughing like a man who had done nothing, and he brought him to his tent, and paid him honour, and presented the cup to him kneeling on his knees. And the Catholicus said unto him, “Is this the form which thy promises take? And is this the way in which the royal Edict which thou didst read to me yesterday is carried out? In that it was commanded that every man who went down was not to be harmed, and that not even the blood of his nose was to be made to flow.”

ʿŤôdjâîn replied, “They shot arrows from the Fortress, and wounded two men (191) and they are dead.” And the Catholicus said, “Those who shot the arrows ought to have been killed, and not those who obeyed the royal Edict and came down”; and ʿŤôdjâîn held his peace and answered never a word.

Now although the accursed peoples of the Arabs had taken counsel in order to destroy the Catholicus, ʿŤôdjâîn and Nâsir, the brother of [Ḥajji] Dalḳandî pretended that they knew nothing about it, so that [their ignorance] might be for them an excuse. But the Lord hath pleasure in His chosen ones, and He sendeth to them deliverance whence they know not, and without their perceiving how [it cometh]. Now the Metropolitan pondered in his mind, and said to the Amîr Gaidjâk, “O Amîr, thou knowest well what manner of man this ʿŤôdjâîn is. He hath arranged for us to go to Arbîl, but I am afraid that he will work [some] wickedness before we arrive [there]. It

will be a good thing if the Amîr will send [on in advance] one of his own men, and one of the companions of the messenger who is with me.” And this the Amîr did without any delay (or hesitation), and he sent on one of his own men, and one of the men who were with the messenger. And [they] arrived on the day of the Sabbath mentioned above, at the turn of the day (*i.e.* in the evening), after the wretched people had been massacred (192). And they came and saluted the Catholicus and ʾŤôdjâîn, and they showed him the copy of the Edict of the king which the Amîr of the Amîrs, Djôpân, had written on the subject of the Catholicus. And when ʾŤôdjâîn and Nâşir heard it the light of the face of ʾŤôdjâîn became clouded, and the face of Nâşir became green (or yellow), and they began whispering to each other. There remained to them no means [of exculpation], for the men who had come had seen the Catholicus. And when the darkness fell Nâşir and ʾŤôdjâîn with him (the messenger?) a mile. And he went to the village of Amkâbhâ [near Arbîl].

And the Metropolitan, and the messenger who was with him, arrived on the morning of Sunday, the seven and twentieth day of the month of ʾĤazîrân (June) and they saw what had happened; and they were sorely grieved, and their suffering was great, but they were somewhat relieved that the Catholicus and the clergy who were with him were saved. And straightway they went to the Catholicus, and showed him the instructions of the great Amîr, and the character of the royal Edict concerning him; and the Catholicus rejoiced and blessed them and the Amîr.

And in the morning of the following day the messenger went to ʾŤôdjâîn and asked permission to go up to the Fortress, but ʾŤôdjâîn would not permit him [saying], “These (193) men, who are Yâghâyê [*i.e.* enemies, or rebels] would kill thee.” The messenger said, “Whether they kill me or leave me [alive], I am going up to them.” And when he went up ʾŤôdjâîn would not let any food or drink whatsoever go up with him [saying], “Thou hast come to save the Christians, who are haters of our Confession (*i.e.* Faith), and are also enemies of our people. And since the Christians do not obey the royal Edicts, we will not obey the command of thy Amîr.” The messenger, however, paid no heed to him, and he went up to the Fortress, and showed [the Christians] the decree of the Amîr; and they agreed to go down, and all were obedient. And the messenger came down in the evening, and he brought down three men with him; one of these they (*i.e.* the Arabs) snatched from his hands and slew, and the other two they carried off as prisoners. The messenger brought with him the keys of the Fortress, which he delivered to ʾŤôdjâîn and then he came to the Catholicus sadly, and they took counsel together as to what he should do.

[And the messenger said], “Those who are at the foot of the Fortress are many and powerful. In the Fortress there is not food enough for a single day,

and they stopped me from (194) taking anything up. And if I bring them down, the Arabs will seize them and massacre them. I have no one here to help me, and what to do I know not. But I can gather together the men who have come with me, and the one hundred horsemen of the Amîr Gaidjâk. They can bring down the women and children first of all, and carry them into the villages. And as for the men who can fight, they, and I, and the men who are with me can pass away and make our escape in the night. And if any man putteth out his hand against us, we can put out [our hands also].” And the Catholicus said, “Thou knowest [best what to do]; according as God giveth thee [knowledge] that do.”

On the third day of the week (Tuesday) the messenger went up to the Christians, and he gathered them together about him and held converse with them; and the greater number of them hearkened to his counsel, but, as the proverb saith, “Out of the bone cometh the worm.”⁹ Now certain of the people of the Fortress had long acted deceitfully, and had made themselves confederates of Nâsir ad-Dîn. And every day they sent messengers to him, and made him acquainted with everything that took place in the Fortress. And when these men saw that the greater number had decided to (195) go down, they went and informed Nâsir. And straightway he wrote [saying], “The dwellers in the Fortress, with the exception of the Mountaineers [Ṭûrâyê] shall give nothing to any man, and they shall not come down from the Fortress, but they shall make their hearts happy. The Mountaineers shall give the messengers money for the way, and, if they wish, they may come down.” At this decision the people in the Fortress broke up into two parties, and some of them went down to him (*i.e.* Nâsir), both they and their houses (*i.e.* families); and they were unharmed, and were allowed to depart, and they came to the village of ‘Amkâbhâ. And after one day they (*i.e.* the Arabs) came and took them away from that place, and they were massacred.

From that time onward there remained in the Fortress no chief, no governor, no counsellor, and no man who knew [affairs]. The messenger remained by himself in the Cell of the Catholicus, but finally he went down, and left them without a helper in bitter weeping and anguished groanings. Alas for that hour full of injury! Alas for that season of affliction which brought forth tribulations! Supposing they dwelt [there]—no strength remained in any man even to draw water, and who was there to do the

⁹ I can find no equivalent in the Bible for this proverb. But the Assyriologists have shown recently that the Babylonians believed that toothache was caused by a worm at the root of the tooth; it is possible that the proverb quoted above is connected with this belief. See the *Legend of the Worm*, in Thompson, R. C., *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vol. II, p. 160f.

fighting? Famine (or hunger) vanquished them completely! The wheat was (196) already finished, and was sold at eight *zûzê* the *litra* (*i.e.* pound). As for salt, who could find any? They had already finished the asses, the dogs, and the ferrets, and no old leather objects were left. They filled themselves with the husks of the seed of the cotton plant (*'markûbha*). Widows stretched out their hands [helplessly] and wept, and there was none to bind up what was broken. And there was absolutely no one to bury the dead. Who was there who had strength enough to dig a grave? Who was there who could show pity and affection? Who was there to give alms? Orphans died on the dung heaps. Others fell down [dead] in their houses and dried up, and others hurled themselves down from the wall, and those who were below received them on their swords, and hacked them in pieces.

Alas for the men of honour whom the Lord hath spurned! Alas for the men of honour whom the Lord hath rejected! Alas for the nation for whom there remaineth none to show pity, and none to extend help to it! See, O ye who hear, how violent is the punishment of our Lord of those who do not turn back (*i.e.* repent)! How cruel is Thy rod, O our God! How injurious is Thy stroke, O Thou who careth for us! (197). How cruel are Thy beatings, O Thou who bindest us up! Thou hast turned Thy face backwards, and the crown of their heads hath fallen, and their rejoicings have been turned back into sorrow (Lam. v. 15, 16). They have wept by day and by night, their tears have furrowed their cheeks, and among all their friends there is not one to offer consolation (*Ibid.* i. 2). They all heave sighs and demand bread (*Ibid.* i. 11). Their eyes have become darkened through tears, their bowels are in a turmoil, and their honour has been turned back on the ground, through the breaking of their Fortress. Children and babes say to their mothers, "Where is the bread? Where is the oil?" And they collapse before them, like the slain (*Ibid.* ii. 11, 12), whilst asking for bread; and there is none to break it and give it to them.

Behold, those who once fed sumptuously now lie in the streets; and behold, those who were reared in purple apparel, now lie down on the dung heaps (*Ibid.* iv. 4, 5). Their visages are blacker than ashes, and they cannot be recognized. Their skins have shrunk on their bones, and have dried up, and become like wood. Far happier are those who have been slain with the sword than those who have been slain by hunger. The women eat their own fruit, and loving hands cook their children (198) who become their food (*Ibid.* iv. 8-10). Children and old men lie together on the ground, and virgins and young men have suffered disgrace. The men have been butchered, and the Lord hath not had pity on them (*Ibid.* ii. 21); and arrows have penetrated their kidneys. And they have become a laughing stock among all the nations (*Ibid.* iii. 13, 14), for the Lord hath fulfilled His wrath, and hath poured out

the wrath of His anger (*Ibid.* 10, 11), because those who have observed for them (the bishops) have observed vainly (*Ibid.* iv. 16). They cry out with the Prophet [Jeremiah] saying, “Our sins have roused themselves up against us, our strength hath become sick (or weak), for the Lord hath handed us over into the hand of one against whom we can do nothing (*Ibid.* i. 14); righteous, is the Lord against Whom we have rebelled.”

Hear, O all ye nations, and look on our affliction. Our virgins and young men have gone into captivity (*Ibid.* i. 18), and our strong young men and men of war have been slain. What are we to say? That our priests have led us astray, and have not laid bare before us our sins? (*Ibid.* ii. 14). God forbid! They exhorted, and we did not hearken; they rebuked us, and we did not incline our ears. We despised them, and showed no favour to their persons. We have shown no affection to our old men, we have oppressed the widows, and we have persecuted the poor and needy. Our iniquity is greater (199) than that of Jerusalem, and the wickedness which is in our days surpasseth that [of the days] of Noah. Because of this the Lord hath performed that which He meditated, and He hath fulfilled His word according to what He commanded in the days of old. He hath swept us away pitilessly, and hath girded us about with enemies, and hath raised up the horn of our oppressors (*Ibid.* ii. 17). All our enemies have opened their mouths against us, they have hissed and gnashed their teeth at us. They have sold our children into a far country, they have defiled our virgins before us, and they have mocked our women before our very eyes (*Ibid.* v. ii), saying, “We will swallow you up. This is the day which we expected, and we have found it, and seen it” (*Ibid.* ii. 16).

And the people of the Arabs went up to the Fortress with ʾŤôdjâin and Nâşir on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), the first day of Tammuz (July), in the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 1310], and they conquered it. And they slew everyone they found in it, and spared none, and everyone they saw they carried off into captivity; and they looted the treasures, and pillaged what was laid up there. And those who remained there of the ʾŤûrâyê ʾĶâyâdjâyê, (*i.e.* the Mountaineers) they (200) hurled from the top of the Wall, and those who were down below received them on their swords until they had made an end of all of them. They sold [some of] the women and virgins, and they gave [the others] to everyone who came to them, and made gifts of them. In short, they brought into daylight all the evil that was hidden in their hearts. And we also, with that same Prophet say, “Exult ye, O men of Arbîl, for the cup hath come unto you, and ye shall be confounded and broken with troubles (*Ibid.* iv. 21), and there is none to save you.” But the Lord will be mindful of what hath happened to His people, and how His inheritance hath been plundered (*Ibid.*

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v. 1). The Lord is good to him that awaiteth Him, and to the soul that seeketh Him (*Ibid.* iii. 25). He will return to you your reward. according to the work of your hands. And He will give to you sorrow of heart, and His stroke shall follow after you. In His anger He will destroy you, and He will blot you out from under the heavens (*Ibid.* iii. 65, 66), because ye have swept away His churches, and have hacked in pieces the sheep of His pasture. Those who pass on the road shall smite together their hands at you **(201)**, and shall hiss, and wag their heads, and say, “This is Arbîl [the city] which God hath cursed!” (*Ibid.* ii. 15).

Chapter XIX: The death of Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ.

Then the Catholicus, and the Mongols, and the clergy who were with him, who had come from the Amîr Gaidjâk to bring him, went to the village of Bêth Şayyâdhê, but with great fear, and terror, and great anguish and affliction. And they stayed in the village for a few days until they had collected some money, which they gave to the messenger of the Amîr Djôpân, and to the one hundred men who had come from the Amîr Gaidjâk, and to the Kurds, who were with them. Then they departed and went to the Camp, on the 8th day of the month Tammûz (July) of this year (A.D. 1310).

And the Catholicus visited the princess, the wife of the Amîr Gaidjâk, and she paid him great honour and also sent men **(202)** with him to the Camp. When he arrived he went straightway to visit the great Amîr Djôpân, who saw him, and paid him the honour which was his due and thence he went to the city; and all the Amîrs were well acquainted with his history. And he went to the victorious king and blessed him according to custom, and placed the cup in his hands, and the king likewise gave him the cup, but neither of them spake a word with the other. And sorely afflicted, the Catholicus went forth from the presence, for he had intended if the king had questioned him to make known to him all that had happened to himself and to his flock. At this treatment his heart was broken grievously, and he sat down there for a month of days, hoping that, peradventure, some new thing might happen, or that some one would ask him about what had happened. And when certain necessary business connected with the Cell and the Christians had been accomplished, he went back and came to the monastery which he had built by the side of Mârâghâh. And he made up his mind that he would never again go to the Camp, saying, “I am wearied (or disgusted) with the service of the Mongols.”

(203) And in the year of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and twenty-two (A.D. 1310–11) he passed the winter in the monastery. In the summer he went to the city of Tâbhrîz because he heard that the Amîr

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Irnâdjîn—may our Lord preserve his life!—had arrived there; and the Catholicus having come thither met him straightway. And Irnâdjîn paid him great honour, and he and his wife [Kekhshek], the daughter of King Aḥmâd, the son of the deceased King Hûlâgû, gave him gifts and presents. And the princess [Kekhshek] was greatly honoured in the kingdom, because the victorious King [Ûljâitô] had taken her daughter [Kûtlûkshâh Khâtûn] to wife, and she was then the greatest of his wives. The amount of money which the Amîr Irnâdjîn and his wife gave to the Catholicus was ten thousand [*dînârs*], which are [equal to] sixty thousand *zûzê* (£5,000), and two riding horses. And the Amîr also gave a village to the church of Mâr Shalîṭâ, the holy martyr, for his dead father was laid therein, and his mother and his wives were buried therein (204).

The Catholicus passed the winter of the year of the Greeks one thousand six hundred and twenty three (A.D. 1311–12) in the monastery and the summer also. And when his case was represented to the king by the Council he bestowed upon him five thousand *dînârs* (£2,500) which came to him for his maintenance every year. And the king also gave him villages [in the neighbourhood] of the city of Baghdâd.

Now up to this year the number of the Fathers, Metropolitans and Bishops which he has ordained for flocks by layings on of hands, is seventy-five. Thus are they. He lived in the monastery which he had built until the year of the Greeks, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine [A.D. 1317]. He died on the night of the [Saturday preceding] the Sunday [of the prayer] “Mâ shêbhîḥ mashkênâkh” (“How glorious is Thy habitation”), the 15th day of the month the latter Teshrî (November), and was laid in the monastery which he had built. May his memory be for blessing! And may the prayers of Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, the Catholicus, and Rabban Šâwmâ be upon us, and upon the world (205), to the uttermost limit thereof, and upon the Holy Church and her children.

And to God be glory, and honour, and praise, and worship, for ever and ever. Amen and Amen.

Here endeth this “History of Mâr Yahbh-Allâhâ, the Catholicus and Patriarch of the East, and of Rabban Šâwmâ, the Visitor-General.” And to God be constant glory, and to the sinner who wrote these lines, may there be forgiveness of debts, and remission of sins in the terrible Hall of Judgement! Amen.