

sur sa monnaie. Nous n'avons pas en vue les couronnes portées par les rois Roupinian (Roupenian) et Lusignan, qui sont des couronnes modelées sous l'influence occidentale et sans valeur artistique nationale, à part certains détails décoratifs qui nous rappellent des traditions anciennes de la bijouterie arménienne (l'emploi de perles).

La tiare sur la monnaie d'Antiochus I de Commagène, très ressemblante à celle de Tigrane II d'Arménie, et un specimen unique de

son emploi en Commagène, peut être considérée comme le résultat d'une concurrence posthume après la mort de Tigrane II pour se venger de sa défaite antérieure par le grand monarque, ayant pour but naïf d'essayer de dominer sur l'Arménie entière. En portant une tiare analogue à celle de Tigrane II, Antiochus I essayait en vain de gagner la sympathie du peuple arménien, car il n'avait jamais joui de l'autorité d'un Tigrane II.

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CILICIAN ARMENIA AND CRUSADER ANTIOCH

For millenia the homeland of the Armenians was the highlands of eastern Asia Minor. High mountain ranges and deep fertile valleys encouraged a spirit of independence and caused a lack of cohesion, making it very difficult to establish a unified, powerful nation. As courageous warriors, they served in the armies of neighboring Empires for centuries, beginning with the Achemenid period.

The migration of Armenians to Cilicia began in the tenth century, and was the result of several factors. In the tenth and early eleventh centuries, the Byzantine Emperors expanded their rule over western historical Armenia, and encouraged Armenians to settle in various parts of the empire. In the mid-eleventh century, the Saljuq invasions of Armenia quickened the pace of Armenian migration to the west and southwest. While a variety of secondary sources and monographs have dealt with both Greater Armenia and Cilician Armenia in the 11–14th centuries, many of these works are available only in Russian and Armenian. In my opinion insufficient attention has been paid to one important aspect of Armenian and European political history, namely the history of Cilician Armenia and Crusader Antioch. The present study is devoted to this topic.

The history of the Crusades has been extensively studied and much of the information in the above article is taken from

(A) S. Runciman, *The History of the Crusades*, 3 Vols. Cambridge, England, 1951–1954.

(B) K. M. Setton, *Ed. A History of the Crusades*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Vol. I (1955), Vol. II (1962).

(C) *History of the Armenian People*, Vol. III (1976). (In Armenian). Institute of History, Armenian Academy of Sciences Erevan.

All references designated as A, B or C, refer to these publications.

For many centuries Armenians constituted an important element in the Byzantine Empire¹. No less than 25 Emperors, 10 Co-Emperors and 10 Empresses were of Armenian origin². At times the language spoken in the palace was Armenian rather than Greek and palace revolutions occurred organized by Armenian elements. Many of the outstanding generals in the army were Armenians. There was, however, one very important distinction between the Armenians in the service of the Byzantine Empire and the Armenians in their homeland. The former were called "*Horoms*" or "*Romans*" because they had adopted the Greek Orthodox faith. The Armenian national church was independent of Byzantium, and Rome was often in theological disputes with them.

While many Armenian leaders in the service of the Empire had to adopt the Orthodox faith, large segments of the Armenian population who were encouraged to settle in various parts of the Empire kept their adherence to the national church. When in the year 975, Emperor John Zimisces (who was of Armenian origin) recovered some of the lands in Northern Syria and the Orontes valley from the Arabs, he had large contingents of Armenian troops with him and most likely some of them settled in the region.

Emperor Constantine Monomachus (1042–1055) followed a vigorous policy of resettlement of Armenians in Cappadocia and Cilicia. Already in 1022, Senekerim, the King of the Armenian province of Vaspurakan, ceded his Kingdom to the Byzantine Emperor Basil II and received the city of Sebastia in

¹ S. Der-Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (1945).

² K. S. Basmadjian, *Numismatique Générale de l'Arménie Venise* (1936) (In Armenian).

Cappadocia with its surrounding territories. In 1045, King Gagik of Ani was forced to cede his land to Byzantium and settled with his people in eastern Cappadocia. Other minor rulers followed similar patterns of migration³.

Historians are in unanimous agreement that this forced migration of Armenian leaders from their homeland to the interior of the Empire left the borderlands of Byzantium open to invasion by Saljuq and other Turkic tribes from Central Asia. This was perhaps one of the major factors causing the collapse of the Byzantine holdings in Asia Minor and the eventual destruction of the Empire.

Settlement of Armenians in Cilicia was partly due to the encouragement of the Byzantine Emperors and partly to political circumstances. Thus, Ablgharib, who was related to Senekerim, was appointed governor of Tarsus and Mopsuesta in Cilicia. Ablgharib gave his daughter in marriage to Oshin, a Prince from northern Armenia, and gave him the castle of Lampron in the Taurus mountains. Oshin's descendents played a prominent role in the ensuing two centuries as the royal line of Hetoumids.

Another Byzantine general of Armenian origin, Philaretus, was given the title of *Sebastos* by the Emperor. With the collapse of Byzantine power in eastern Asia Minor he saw the opportunity of establishing a new Armenian homeland. He gained control of a large territory stretching from the Euphrates to Cilicia and Antioch. His center of power was Marash, but he appointed various Armenians as governors of important cities and fortresses. When the Armenian ruler Vasak of Antioch was assassinated by some Greek officers, Philaretus exacted vengeance for this act and gained control of Antioch for several years⁴.

The dream of Philaretus was short-lived. By the time of his death in 1085, the powerful Sultan Malik-Shah of Baghdad was breaking up his territories. Antioch was captured in 1084, and the whole territory fell under the rule of Malik-Shah. With the death of Malik-Shah in 1092, the Armenians re-asserted their

control of the former territories of Philaretus. Thus Gabriel established himself in Melitene, Tatoul in Marash, Thoros in Edessa, the latter receiving the title of *Curopolatus* from the Byzantine Emperor. All three professed the Greek Orthodox faith and were in contact with Byzantium.

East of Marash, another Armenian by the name of Kogh Vasil, held several fortresses. Unlike the others, he belonged to the Armenian national church and owed no allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor. He thus became the rallying point for Armenians in Eastern Cilicia.

In Western Cilicia, similar events were taking place. Aside from Ablgharib and Oshin, both of the Greek Orthodox faith, a Prince by the name of Roupen and related to the royal house of Senekerim, seized the fortress of Partsrpert and declared his independence from the Emperor. Like Kogh Vasil he belonged to the Armenian national church and had the full support of the Armenians.

When the first wave of Crusaders arrived, the Armenians were in control of the mountainous territory extending from the Taurus mountains in the west to the Euphrates, but their position was precarious. Whatever the motives of the Crusaders, the Armenians recognized them as natural allies both against the Turks and also against the Byzantines. It is therefore not surprising that Bagrat, the brother of Kogh Vasil, struck up a close friendship with Baldwin of Boulogne. Baldwin recognized the value of friendly relations with the Armenians and Bagrat saw the benefits to his family holdings in the Euphrates region.

While Baldwin realized the advantages of an Armenian state in Cilicia, another Crusader leader, Tancred, held different views. The main body of the Crusader army moved along the northern slope of the Taurus mountains and from Heraclea to Tyana and Caesarea. From there, the Crusader army under Godfrey of Bouillon crossed the Anti-Taurus mountains and came to Marash where they were welcomed by Tatoul. From Marash the main army moved toward Antioch.

Tancred, instead of following Godfrey, crossed the Cilician gates from Heraclea. An-

other leader, Baldwin of Boulogne and his cousin Baldwin of le Bourg with a larger army crossed the mountains at Tyana and followed Tancred. Tancred reached Adana and found it to be garrisoned by a Turkish occupation force. The Greek and Armenian inhabitants were anxious to drive the Turks out but Tancred's forces were too small to accomplish the task. Several days later, when Baldwin's larger army began to arrive, the Turks fled under cover of darkness and the city opened its gates to Tancred. Baldwin demanded that Tarsus should be transferred to him. Furious but unable to oppose the more powerful forces of Baldwin, Tancred moved eastward. In the meantime a force of three hundred Normans, seeking to join Tancred, arrived at Tarsus but were refused entry by Baldwin. While encamped outside of the walls, it was attacked by the former Turkish garrison of Tarsus and massacred to a man. This episode shocked Christendom and indicated clearly the true motives of the Crusaders who had come east to seek their fortune⁵.

When Baldwin's forces moved towards Mamistra, a party of Normans under Richard of the Principate, a cousin of Tancred, attacked Baldwin in revenge. It was the first time that Crusader was fighting Crusader. Fortunately both leaders came to their senses and moved on towards their goal of Antioch. They joined the main force at Marash.

Whatever the motives of Tancred, Baldwin's move prevented him from establishing himself in Cilicia. None of the Armenian towns was seized and it seemed that at long last the Crusading armies would help the Armenians hold their positions against the powerful Turks. The destruction of Turkish power in the Cilician plains made it possible for the Armenian chieftains in the mountains to expand their holdings towards the Mediterranean and lay the foundations for the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia.

The Armenian rulers in the eastern mountains were anxious for the arrival of the Crusader armies. The aging Thoros of Edessa, alarmed by the news that the powerful Kerbogha, the Turkish Emir of Mosul was mov-

ing towards Edessa on his way to the relief of Antioch, was most anxious to come to an agreement with Baldwin. Unable to hire him as a mercenary, he consented to sharing the power with Baldwin. The tragic replacement of Thoros and control of Edessa by Baldwin are beyond the scope of this study.

Having crossed the mountains and plains of Cilicia where they were welcomed and refurbished by the Armenian rulers and population, the Crusader armies moved southward towards Antioch. It was the major city on the road to the Holy Land and its capture was necessary to assure the success of the objective of the liberation of Jerusalem.

Malik Shah had captured Antioch from its Armenian overlord Philaretus in 1085 and placed it under the governorship of Yaghi-Siyan.

On October 20, 1097, the first detachments of the Crusading army entered Yaghi-Siyan's territory. Prior to the approach of the Christian armies, Yaghi-Siyan, knowing that he could not trust the Greek and Armenian population, had imprisoned many and allowed others to escape. The city was heavily garrisoned and supplies had been brought in to withstand a long siege. The main army under Bohemond arrived the next day and encamped in front of the mighty walls of the city. Soon Tancred and other leaders arrived from Cilicia and a full siege was begun. Yaghi-Siyan on his part was expecting the arrival of Moslem allies, especially that of the powerful atabeg of Mosul, Kerbogha. The events which led to the final capture of the city on June 3, 1098 have been described in detail in several publications⁶. Bohemond had planned to acquire Antioch for himself and had the consent of the majority of the Crusader Princes.

After the capture of Antioch, the Christian armies marched on to liberate the cities of the Holy Land and Jerusalem. Bohemond declared himself Prince of Antioch and assumed full control of the city.

In August of 1100, Bohemond received an appeal from the Armenians of Melitene who were being hard pressed by the Danishmends of Sivas. Anxious to extend his power north-

³ (C). Vol. III, 671-686.

⁴ (A). Vol. I, 73-75.

⁵ (B). Vol. I, 300. (A). 299.

⁶ (A). Vol. I, 308-318.

ward, Bohemond left with a small force. Before he reached Melitene, his army was ambushed and annihilated. Bohemond was taken prisoner and carried into captivity by the Danishmend emir.

Antioch was now without a capable leader and in March of 1101 a delegation from Antioch offered the regency of the city to Tancred, who was Bohemond's nephew. Tancred left his fiefdom in Galilee and marched on Antioch with his men. It was agreed that upon Bohemond's return he should return to his fiefdom.

Tancred's first act was to consolidate his position in Antioch and extend his power in Cilicia. In his march through the Cilician plains, Tancred had helped Bohemond conquer Mamistra, Adana and Tarsus, which soon were taken over by the Byzantines. By the end of 1101, Tancred had recovered these cities. After a long siege he captured Latakia from the Greeks. These actions no doubt caused some concern to the Byzantine Emperor and also Baldwin of Edessa. Through some political manoeuvres a ransom was arranged and Bohemond was released with the payment of 100,000 besants. The money was supplied mainly by the Byzantine Emperor, the Patriarch Bernard of Antioch and Kogh Vasil. Significantly, although Tancred did not interfere with these arrangements, he did not contribute to the ransom.

Bohemond was released in the spring of 1103. Upon his return he thanked Tancred for his capable administration and assumed full control of the city. The unhappy Tancred was powerless to do anything and had to be grateful for a small fief within the principality⁷.

In the spring of 1104, the powerful Emirs of Mosul and Mardin threatened Edessa. Baldwin of le Bourg called for assistance and Bohemond along with Tancred hastened to his aid. The resulting battle of Harran was a disaster for the Crusaders and Baldwin was captured, while Bohemond and Tancred managed to escape capture by seeking safety in Edessa.

The citizens of Edessa offered Tancred the regency until Baldwin was freed. Tancred stayed in Edessa while Bohemond moved to

Antioch with the remaining troops. The Moslems attacked Edessa but were repulsed largely due to the valor of the Armenian population.

The Byzantines were at this time on good terms both with Raymond of Tripoli and King Baldwin of Jerusalem. They therefore proceeded to recover what had been lost to Bohemond and Tancred in Cilicia. In the summer of 1104 a Byzantine army under Monastras marched into Cilicia and without much difficulty captured the lost cities of Mamistra, Tarsus and Adana.

Bohemond was placed in a difficult position and he decided to return to Europe and gather new forces to make his position more secure. He sailed for Europe late in 1104, after appointing Tancred as his regent in the east for the second time (1105–1112).

Tancred chose his kinsman Richard of the Principate as Governor of Edessa in 1105 and began to strengthen his position. He managed to capture several forts from the ruler of Aleppo. He attacked Mamistra in 1107 then moved south to recapture Latakia from the Byzantines. By the spring of 1108, Tancred had recovered practically all the territory that Bohemond had lost to the Byzantines.

However, it appears that Tancred's hold in lower Cilicia was weak. In the year 1111, Turkish tribes captured Anazarpa and looted it after massacring most of the Christians. In the following year Toros, the grandson of Roupen captured Anazarpa and made it the seat of his power. Toros was careful not to antagonize the Crusader rulers and remained aloof in the wars for the control of lower Cilicia. Tancred at the height of his power was probably planning expansion into the mountainous strongholds of the Armenians when he died in 1112, at the age of thirty-six. He had built a strong base for the Crusader holdings in Antioch and the surrounding territory.

Roger succeeded as ruler of Antioch. He was married to Cecilia, the sister of Baldwin of Edessa. Pons of Tripoli married Tancred's widow and all three Princes recognized King Baldwin of Jerusalem as their overlord. Thus the Crusader powers were united and in harmony for once. Baldwin II of Edessa managed

to gain control of some of the Armenian lands upon Kogh Vasil's death. The only free Armenian power left in mountainous Cilicia was that of the Roupenians.

It is interesting that the first three rulers of Antioch, Bohemond (1103–1105), Tancred (1105–1112) and Roger (1112–1119) struck copper coins bearing legends in Greek. It is also significant that both Toros I (1099–1121) and Toros II (1145–1169) and other Armenian Princes struck copper coins which bore Armenian legends⁸.

Toros died in 1129 and was succeeded by his brother Levon I. While Tarsus and Adana remained in Frankish hands, Toros still held Anazarpa and captured Sis as his capital. Bohemond II who was Prince of Antioch felt that it was time to recover the Cilician towns lost to the Armenians. He marched with an army on Levon I. Alarmed, Levon called upon the Danishmend Emir for assistance. Unaware of the presence of the Danishmends, Bohemond carelessly marched into Cilicia. The Danishmend army fell upon him and not only annihilated his army but cut off his head and sent it to the Caliph as a gift. The widow Alice, daughter of King Baldwin of Jerusalem assumed control of Antioch. Her mother was the Armenian Constance and thus she probably had adherents in Antioch. King Baldwin rushed to appoint a suitable ruler for that city but his daughter Alice took active steps to bar his entry into the city. Baldwin captured the city with the assistance of Joscelin and assumed the regency of the city. With his granddaughter assured of the future rule of the city, he returned to Jerusalem in 1130⁹.

With Bohemond dead, Levon I saw an opportunity to seize the Cilician towns of Mamistra, Tarsus and Adana in 1135¹⁰. Control of the Cilician plains was imperative for the establishment of an Armenian power in the Near East.

⁸ P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coins of the Baronial Period of Cilician Armenia* (1080–1198), American Numismatic Society Museum Notes XII (1966), 139–145, Pl. XLI. See also; *Selected Numismatic Studies*, Armenian Numismatic Society, Los Angeles, 1981, pp. 95–102; 172.

⁹ (B). Vol. I, 431.

¹⁰ (A). Vol. II, 200–201.

To mend matters, King Fulk arranged for Raymond of Poitiers (then thirty-seven years old) to come to Antioch and marry the nine-year-old Constance, Alice's daughter (1136). The county was in dire straits and needed a leader, with the Muslims raiding and pillaging the Antiochene territory.

Raymond's first step was to recapture the Cilician cities. While Raymond had King Fulk's approval, Joscelin of Edessa, the nephew of Levon, allied himself with Levon to oppose Raymond. On the other hand, Baldwin of Marash, Joscelin's vassal, allied himself with Raymond. Levon got the upper hand in the opposing forces, and accepted an invitation from Baldwin for a personal interview. Baldwin treacherously made Levon his prisoner and sent him off to Antioch. Taking advantage of the confused situation, the Danishmends invaded Cilicia and the holdings of Baldwin. Alarmed by the deeds of the Danishmends, Levon promised to return the Cilician cities in return for his freedom. Upon reaching Cilicia, however, he ignored his promise. Seeing the irrationality of warfare between Crusaders and Armenians, Joscelin managed to arrange a truce, thus terminating the conflict.

The Crusader Princes had much more dangerous enemies to contend with. The Moslem leader Zengi, advancing on Tripoli, had defeated the combined armies of the Count Pons of Tripoli, taking him prisoner, while King Fulk barely had escaped with a small force. The King, Raymond of Tripoli and Joscelyn, forgetting their quarrels, gathered their forces with the result that a truce was arranged with Zengi, releasing all the Christian prisoners.

The real reason which brought about peace between the Armenians and Crusaders on the one hand and Zengi and the Crusaders on the other was the news that the Byzantine Emperor John Comnenus was marching into Cilicia at the head of a great army. The Crusaders had ignored their promise to become vassals of the Emperor. John was a very capable soldier and leader and pursued the restructuring of the old Byzantine Empire with much energy. He settled his affairs in Europe, cowed the

⁷ (B). Vol. I, 388.

Turks in Anatolia and turned his attention to Cilicia and the Frankish east in 1137.

The Byzantine army captured the Cilician cities from the Armenians in quick order. Levon relying on the fortifications of Anazarpa took refuge there. However, the engines of the Byzantines battered down the walls and after a siege of thirty-seven days, the city was captured. Levon retreated into the safety of the mountains, and the Emperor moved on to Antioch (1137).

Raymond had just made peace with Zengi and hastened to Antioch to find the Byzantines laying siege to the city. Soon he saw the hopelessness of his situation. He offered to surrender provided John would grant him the principality as his imperial Vicar. The Emperor demanded absolute unconditional surrender. An agreement was reached, Raymond went to the Emperor's camp and swore allegiance. The Emperor's standard was hoisted over the citadel that same year.

The Byzantine Emperor returned and completed the conquest of Cilicia in the winter of 1137-38. The remaining fortresses which the Armenians held were captured and Levon was taken captive along with his wife and two sons Roupen and Toros. Armenian rule of Cilicia was ended temporarily.

Levon and his family were taken to Constantinople as prisoners. Roupen was put to death, but Levon and Totos gained the Emperor's favor and lived under surveillance. Levon died four years later.

John Comnenus spent the winter in Cilicia and in March he gathered his forces to march against the Moslems. The troops of the Prince of Antioch, the Count of Edessa and a force of Templars having sworn allegiance to him joined him in his campaign. However, the allegiance of the Franks was forced and their war efforts were minimal. Having obtained favorable terms with the enemy, John returned to Antioch and made a triumphal entry. He rode on horseback with the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Edessa walking on either side as his grooms. He soon left Antioch and returned to Cilicia, then to Constantinople.

Upon his return he managed to expel the Danishmends from parts of western Asia Min-

or. He realized that the Franks could not be depended on to be faithful allies.

In the spring of 1142, John again marched into Cilicia. Joscelin paid him homage, and the Emperor hurried to Antioch. Raymond demurred and the season being too far advanced, the Emperor returned to Cilicia for the winter. In march of 1143, the Emperor was wounded in a hunting accident and died soon after. The crown went to his youngest son Manuel. Manuel led the army back to Constantinople and Antioch was saved for the Franks.

In the meantime, Toros, the surviving son of Levon, was planning to return to his ancestral land and assume its leadership. In 1145, he managed to escape and enter Cilicia secretly. Overjoyed with the appearance of their Prince, the Armenians rallied around him. His brother Stephane and Mleh who had been living in the county of Joscelyn II of Edessa joined him and the two brothers began recapturing their former holdings. Soon the important castle of Vahka was captured followed by others, including Anazarpa, the seat of the Roupenian power (1148). The campaigns of the Emperor had weakened both the Moslems and the Franks so that the political and military situation was favorable to Toros. By 1151 he had captured Til Hamdoon and Mamistra. The Byzantines could not ignore the growing power of Toros. An army under Andronicus Comnenus, a cousin of Manuel, besieged Mamistra. Andronicus was aided by Armenian princelings of Western Cilicia who long had recognized the suzerainty of the Emperor. Toros attacked the Byzantines under cover of darkness and routed them. Andronicus fled to Antioch and then sailed to Constantinople¹¹. Among the prisoners were three Armenian leaders, Oshin of Lampron, Vasil of Partzrapert and Dikran of Bragana. Oshin was released after paying a ransom of 40,000 *tahe-gans* and left his young son Hetoum as a hostage. The latter was married to Toros' daughter. Toros was now master of Cilicia and the Byzantines were in no position to interfere with him¹².

¹¹ (A). Vol. II, 332.

¹² (C). Vol. III, 681.

In the meantime Raymond had died in 1149; his widow Constance had a son Bohemond III who was but five years old. King Baldwin's attempts to find a suitable husband for Constance failed and she continued as regent. Eventually she married Reynald of Chatillon.

In the meantime the Byzantines, unable to prevent Toros from gaining control of Cilicia, incited Reginald of Antioch to march against Cilicia by promising him a large sum of money. Reginald captured certain border castles but when the Emperor failed to pay the promised sum, he joined Toros and the two raided Cyprus in 1156. Toros remained on good terms with the Latins and took part in several incursions against the Moslems.

The loss of Cilicia, the rape of Cyprus, and the unfaithfulness of Antioch prompted the Emperor to march east again. He moved rapidly and secretly into Cilicia in the autumn of 1158. Caught by surprise, Toros fled to the mountains, taking with him his family and treasures. The Byzantines captured the cities in the plains but Toros managed to elude them and hide in the mountain fastnesses. Reynald of Antioch was forced to appear in the presence of the Emperor in penitent's garb. His powers were limited and he promised to abide by the conditions imposed by the Emperor, which included handing over the citadel to a Byzantine garrison when asked, installing a Greek patriarch in Antioch instead of the Latin, and providing a contingent for the Imperial army.

Baldwin of Jerusalem met the Emperor and succeeded in winning his confidence. For some reason Baldwin managed to secure a pardon for Toros who had to go through the same procedure as Reynald, and was allowed to keep his holdings in the mountains.

On April 12, 1159, Manuel made a formal triumphal entry into Antioch. Reynald on foot held his bridle while other Frankish lords walked beside his horse. Behind him rode Baldwin, uncrowned and unarmed¹³.

Before returning to Constantinople, Manuel made peace with Nur-ad-Din of Aleppo to the consternation of the Latins who expected him to march on Syria. Nur-ad-Din re-

¹³ (A). Vol. II, 353.

leased all of the Christian prisoners, including Bertrand of Toulouse.

In the following year, Manuel gathered his forces to oppose the Turks in Anatolia. His General Contostaphanus gathered levies from Toros and Reynald, promised to him by treaty, and a force of Petchenegs whom Manuel had settled in Cilicia. The Turkish Sultan Kilij Arslan was defeated and gave up the struggle. In the peace that followed, the Turks were forced to give back all the cities captured from the Byzantines, and provide a regiment to the Emperor's army whenever requested. The agreements were amicable and hostilities ended in 1161.

The Emperor's successes brought peace to the Latin east and land routes being secured, pilgrimage to the Holy Land increased. Small skirmishes continued between the Crusaders and their Moslem neighbors. In a raid by Reynald into the Euphrates valley, he was ambushed and held prisoner for sixteen years by the forces of Aleppo. In the prison, he found Joscelin of Courtenay, the titular head of Edessa who likewise had been captured in a raid into enemy territory.

The capture of Reynald raised certain problems. Princess Constance wished to assume rule of the city while others preferred that Bohemond (her son from a previous marriage) become the ruler of Antioch.

In the year 1159, the Empress Irene of Byzantium died and Manuel sought a bride among the Latin Princesses. Of the two eligible Princesses, Maria, daughter of Constance of Antioch and Melisende, daughter of Raymond II of Tripoli, the former became Empress, strengthening Constance's position. King Baldwin of Jerusalem accepted the Emperor's decision and greeted the Byzantine ambassadors in Antioch.

The Byzantine Emperor had succeeded in creating an atmosphere of amity between the Empire and the Armenians in Cilicia and the Latins in the east. Both accepted the suzerainty of the Emperor and were, in effect, his vassals. However, unlike his father, Toros was free and had his army, and was in full control of his mountain domain. In 1162, the Governor of Tarsus, Andronicus Euphorbenus, in-

vited Stephen (Toros' brother) to a feast. The next day, Stephen's body was found in the street and Andronicus was accused of the crime. Toros, with his other brother Mleh, took up arms and attacked the Byzantine garrisons of Mamistra, Anazarpa and Vahka, massacring its forces¹⁴. Manuel judged the situation correctly and accepted the mediation of King Amalric of Jerusalem by recalling Andronicus and establishing peace. The Armenians, in the face of Moslem power, continued their activity by helping the Barons install Bohemond III in Antioch and expelling Constance. Toros joined the Latins in their fight against Nuraddin in 1164, and the two were among the few leaders who escaped captured at Harim.

Toros felt strong enough to attempt the subjugation of the House of Lampron in Cilicia, but he failed to capture their strongly fortified position. Thanks to the efforts of Catholicos Gregory III, there was a reconciliation between the two powerful families. In spite of this failure, Toros had laid the foundation for a strong Cilician Armenia. Upon his death in 1168, however, his brother Mleh (whose actions had forced Toros to expel him from Cilicia) allied himself with Nur-ad-Din of Aleppo and with the Sultan's forces invaded Cilicia. His first attempt failed, but when he prepared to invade again the following year the Armenian nobles asked him to come and inherit his brother's realm peacefully. Toros' young son Roupen II, with the regent Thomas, went to Antioch then to Hromgla on the Euphrates river, the fortress in which the Catholicos resided. Roupen soon died in Hromgla, apparently assassinated by Mleh's agents.

Mleh was a violent man and constantly at war with his neighbors. He failed to capture Lampron but wrested several castles from the Templars. With the assistance of Nur-ad-Din's forces, he captured Adana, Mamistra and Tarsus from the Byzantines in the years 1172-73. With the capture of the Templar strongholds in the Amanus, Bohemond of Antioch felt that he was being threatened by Mleh. The Antiochene forces marched into Cilicia in the spring of 1173, without conclusi-

ve results. King Amalric decided to intervene but on hearing that Nur-ad-Din was marching against Krak, he retreated to Jerusalem.

The death of Nur-ad-Din in 1174 ended Mleh's fortune. The Armenian nobles, no longer fearing the intervention of Nur-ad-Din, rebelled and killed Mleh in Sis where he had established his residence. They chose as his successor Roupen III (1175-87) the eldest son of Stephen who had been living with his paternal uncle Pagouran, Lord of Babaron. In 1176, the Byzantines had suffered a serious defeat from the Saljuqs of Asia Minor. This defeat finally ended any interference on the Byzantine part in the affairs of Cilicia and the Crusader East.

Roupen did his best to re-establish his uncle's policy of collaborating with the Latins and warding off Turkish attacks on his borders. The Turkish leader Kilij Aslan complained to Saladin and asked for intervention. Saladin entered Cilicia in 1180 and forced Roupen to return the booty and prisoners taken from the Turks. When the Byzantine Emperor Isaac Comnenus again succeeded in seizing the cities of Cilicia, Toros allied himself with Kilij Aslan and recovered Adana and Mamistra. Tarsus was held by the Greeks in 1181, but was captured by Bohemond who sold it to Roupen in 1183¹⁵.

Roupen now had full control of Cilicia and the moment seemed opportune to subdue the House of Lampron, which as vassals of the Byzantine Emperor, was a thorn in the side of the Roupenians. Roupen besieged Lampron and its leader Hetoum appealed to Bohemond III of Antioch for assistance. Though officially allies, Antioch resented the increasing power of the Roupenians who now had consolidated their hold on the cities of Cilicia, once under control of Antioch. Bohemond invited Roupen to a banquet and treacherously seized him as his prisoner. Roupen promised to cede Servantikar, Till Hamoun as well as the cities of Mamistra and Adana to Bohemond in return for his freedom. The transfer of the towns was accompanied by payment of a ransom and delivery of his sister Rita as hostage. After the conclusion of the agreements and return of

¹⁴ (A). Vol. II, 364.

¹⁵ (A). Vol. II, 430.

the hostages, Roupen recaptured the ceded towns and was powerful enough to prevent Bohemond from taking any action against him.

In the year 1187, Roupen transferred his power to his brother Levon II and retired to a monastery. Levon proved to be a very wise and courageous leader. In the face of increasing Moslem attacks of Turkmens and threats from Saladin, he patched up his differences with Bohemond of Antioch. He was successful in attacking the Turkish tribes and expanded his power by 1188 and seized the fortresses of Bragana and Seleucia. He captured Heraclea from the Sultan and returned it after receiving a large sum. Cilicia now was at last firmly in the hands of the Roupenians. In a century of struggles against the Byzantines, the Turks and the Crusaders, they had succeeded in capturing Cilicia for their own.

Having secured all of Cilicia for himself, Levon's next task was the fulfillment of his ambition to be crowned King of the Cilician Armenians. The Latin principalities were under constant attack by Saladin and in 1189 Pope Clement III sent letters to Levon II for assistance to the Crusaders. Levon assisted the Crusaders in their siege of Acre and joined Richard the Lionhearted in the conquest of Cyprus¹⁶. To secure his southern borders, he rebuilt the southern fortress of Baghras which Saladin had captured from the Templars, but refused to return to them after he rebuilt it. This rekindled the rivalry between Bohemond and Levon. Soon after the death of Saladin, Levon invited Bohemond to Baghras, and seized him just as Bohemond had done to Levon's brother Roupen III. Bohemond III agreed to surrender Antioch in exchange for his freedom. Armenian troops under Hetoum entered Antioch. However, the city of Sasoun, especially the Greek element, ousted zenry, especially the Greek element, ousted the invaders. Levon's attempt to annex Antioch was unsuccessful; the commune in Antioch chose Raymond (Bohemond's eldest son) as their leader, and messengers were sent to the other son in Tripoli and to Henry of Champagne, ruler of Jerusalem. Henry came

to Sis in 1194 to negotiate the release of Bohemond, and establish peace between the Christian Princes. To seal the new alliance, Levon's niece Alice was married to the heir presumptive, Bohemond's eldest son and heir, Raymond, with the understanding that the offspring of this marriage would rule over Armenia and Antioch. It appears that with this arrangement Bohemond of Antioch accepted the suzerainty of Levon.

The marriage took place in 1195 and a son was born in 1198, shortly after the death of Raymond. The child was named Raymond-Roupen after his father and Armenian grandfather. The mother Alice and her son were sent to Armenia, and the boy grew up under royal tutelage with the understanding that he was to inherit Armenia and Antioch. Shortly after the coronation of Levon as King Levon I of Armenia, the Pope's legate, Konrad of Mainz, came to Antioch and in the presence of Bohemond and his Barons, swore to uphold the succession of Raymond-Roupen¹⁷.

Prince Levon II, finally achieved his life's ambition of being crowned king of Armenia as King Levon I. He explored all avenues of achieving his goal. To be recognized as King he had to receive his crown either from an Emperor or from the Pope. In fact, he received a crown from the Byzantine Emperor, from Henry VI, the Holy Roman Emperor and was crowned King by the Pope's legate, the Archbishop of Mainz. Konrad of Wittelsbach crowned him King of the Armenians in the cathedral of Tarsus on January 6, 1198. The crowning took place in the presence of the Syrian Jacobite Patriarch, the Greek Metropolitan of Tarsus and numerous religious and military leaders. The Catholicos Abirad anointed him and the Pope's representative Konrad of Mainz presented him with the royal insignia¹⁸.

Levon's desire to acquire Antioch met with serious opposition. He would have succeeded

¹⁷ P. Z. Bedoukian, *A Unique Billon of Levon I of Cilician Armenia and its Historical Significance*, Numismatic Chronicle, Seventh Series, Vol. II (1967), pp. 189-197, Pl. XIV. Selected Numismatic Studies, 103-112.

¹⁸ L. M. Alishan, *Sissouan*, Venice (1885), 463-476.

¹⁶ (A). Vol. III, 44.

in his plans had it not been for Bohemond IV of Tripoli who took vigorous steps to gain control of the city. Bohemond III of Antioch died in 1201 and the Antiochene war of succession began.

Bohemond of Tripoli had the Greek element, the Templars who had not forgiven Levon for not returning Baghras to them, and the Church on his side. However, many of the nobility mindful of their oath supported Levon and the rule of Raymond-Roupen. Levon's attempts to gain the support of the Templars by offering Baghras to them failed. The only recourse left appeared to be military action.

On November, 11, 1203 a small detachment of Armenian soldiers entered Antioch. They were supported by the Latin prelate, Peter of Angouleme, and some of the ruling Latin elements. Bohemond was in Tripoli but the Templars defended the citadel. In the meantime Bohemond called al-Zahir, the Melik of Aleppo. Al-Zahir was only too glad to interfere with the affairs of the Christians and hurried with an army to Antioch. Seeing the turn of events, and not being prepared to face al-Zahir, Levon retired to Armenia after having control of Antioch for a short period.

It appears that Levon was confident of his occupation of Antioch and had struck some coins with Armenian legends which were similar in size and appearance to the Antiochene billons. They were quite different from the silver coins of Levon, in circulation in Armenia, and were obviously meant for Antioch. It appears that the coins were struck in Sis in anticipation of the capture of Antioch. The obverse of the Levon billons shows the crowned head of the King, somewhat similar in type to the deniers of John of Brienne, the King of Jerusalem, which were struck 20 years later. The reverse shows a cross similar to the cross seen on the contemporary Antioch deniers. These Levon deniers are extremely rare, only two being known to the writer struck from different dies¹⁹.

Upon returning to Antioch, Bohemond quarreled with the Latin Patriarch and removed him from office, replacing him with the Greek Patriarch.

Levon made a second attempt in 1208, and entered Antioch with the aid of the Latin

elements, with his army. Again Bohemond called upon al-Zahir who was still smarting at the defeat at the hands of Levon at Hamk. Again Levon retired, not wishing to face the enemy in a divided city whose citadel was in the hands of the Templars and Bohemond's forces. As Levon retired, many nobles fearing vengeance at the hands of Bohemond, left with him.

This second occupation of Antioch perhaps lasted several months but historians disagree on its duration. Since he did not occupy the citadel where the mint was probably located, and had little time to design and strike coins. There are a number of billons similar to the ones bearing Armenian characters which Levon had struck previously, but they bear Latin inscriptions. It must be assumed that these were also struck in Sis for circulation in Antioch once the city was in his power. These deniers are quite rare, there being barely half a dozen specimens in existence¹⁹.

Obviously, these struggles involved annexation of Antioch to Armenia, and not merely reinstating Raymond-Roupen in power. In the latter case, as we shall see below, the deniers would most likely have borne Raymond-Roupen's name.

The struggle to control Antioch continued between Levon and Bohemond. The Latin element was strongly in favor of Levon; Levon had won over the Hospitallers, and careful plans were laid to hand over the city to Levon. On February 16, 1216, when Bohemond was in Tripoli, Levon's forces entered Antioch. The Templars who were in charge of the citadel capitulated and at long last Levon was in full control of the city.

Raymond-Roupen was now eighteen years old and was consecrated as Prince of Antioch by the Latin Patriarch in the Cathedral of Saint Peter. The Pope enjoined all the Latins to obey and protect the young Prince.

Strangely, Raymond-Roupen seems to have shown little gratitude to his uncle who had placed him in power. His conduct forced the ageing Levon to leave the city soon after its capture. There were other reasons which

¹⁹ See ref. 17, p. 106.

caused cooling of relations between the King and the young Prince.

Levon had chosen Raymond-Roupen since he had no successor. Both the Barons of Antioch and the Princes of Armenia had vowed to support Raymond-Roupen as ruler of Antioch and Armenia. However, in 1210 Levon had married Isabel, the daughter of Amalric, the King of Cyprus and had a daughter by her in 1215 or 1216. It appeared that the Armenian Princes advised Levon to declare Zabel as his successor and release them from their vow to support Raymond-Roupen.

In view of these facts, Levon allowed Raymond-Roupen full power to become Prince of Antioch and strike typically Antiochene deniers bearing his name instead of Levon's. He may have realized the futility of annexing Antioch to his kingdom. Raymond-Roupen ruled for nearly three years, and his coins are relatively common²⁰.

In spite of these reverses, Levon must be regarded as a great King who established a new Armenian dynasty. There is little doubt that his power was greater than any of the Latin states. He cultivated the Templars, Hospitalers, and Teutonic Knights by giving them numerous castles. His daughter by his first marriage became the wife of John of Brienne from Jerusalem, and his niece Phillippa married Theodor Lascaris.

Commerce was greatly developed and the ports of Cilicia became important for the entry of goods to the vast hinterland of Asia. The Armenian court in many respects took the appearance of a Western court and the Assizes of Antioch was translated into Armenian and the laws applied in Armenia.

Levon died in 1219, and the Barons, released from their oath to accept Raymond-Roupen as their ruler, supported the five-year-old daughter Zabel as the rightful heir. Raymond-Roupen made an effort to capture the throne of Armenia. He was supported by Vahram, Lord of Corycos, who had married Raymond-Roupen's mother, the Princess

²⁰ G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de L'Orient Latin* (1954 Ed.) Graz. 55, Pl. 3, No. 9. D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, London (1983) 39-40, Pl. 13, Nos. 328, 329.

Alice. Together they seized Tarsus and Adana but the regent Constantine of Lampron gathered the Armenian forces and recaptured the two cities in 1221. Raymond-Roupen was captured and died in prison in 1222.

Another claimant to the throne was John of Brienne, who had married Levon's daughter Rita from a previous marriage. However, Rita and her son soon died and the matter was dropped.

Seeking strong allies to strengthen Armenian's position, Constantine arranged the marriage of Philip, the young son of Bohemond IV of Antioch. Philip had promised to adopt the Armenian faith, communion, and customs and to respect the position of all ethnic groups in Armenia. The marriage took place when Philip was sixteen. Soon, however, Philip forgot his promises. He surrounded himself with Latin nobles and showed little respect and appreciation to the Armenian nobility. When it was discovered that he planned to send the crown and royal treasures to his father in Antioch, the Armenian nobles, under the leadership of Constantine, seized Philip and his young bride Zabel at Till Hamdoon, on their way to Antioch, toward the end of 1224. Philip was imprisoned and died the next year from poisoning²¹. Bohemond of Antioch had tried in vain to save his son but Constantine had the full support of the Armenian nobles, and Antioch even with appeals for help to Armenia's Moslem neighbors was powerless to help Philip.

The young heiress Zabel, opposed to a new marriage, had taken refuge in Seleucia, which her father had given to the Hospitallers. In effect, the fortress owed allegiance to Zabel and the Hospitallers though unwilling to surrender the heiress, recognized the hopelessness of their position. The matter was settled diplomatically by selling the fortress to Constantine with Zabel in it.

Having failed twice, Constantine decided (with the consent of the Armenian nobles) to marry Zabel to his son Hetoum. This was indeed a wise step since it joined the two most powerful families of Armenia and thus ended the long feud between them. The marriage

²¹ (B). Vol. II, 651.

took place in 1226 and had a stabilizing effect on the country.

With Hetoum's crowning, the Latin influence greatly diminished and a more unified country controlled exclusively by the Armenian elements took place. The crusader principalities were weakening and just as the Byzantines had ceased to interfere in the affairs of Armenia after their defeat, so was Antioch powerless to interfere and was already falling under the influence of Armenia, beginning with Levon I.

Hetoum's rule was a continuation of prosperity and consolidation of his power. There were two invasions from the Seljuks of Iconium during 1233 and 1245. During this time the Mongols arrived in Asia Minor; Hetoum seeing their terrible power, formed an alliance with them, thus removing the Seljuk menace. In 1253 Hetoum visited the Great Khan Mongke at Karakorum. He was received with great honors and secured certain privileges as well as a promise of help against the Mamlukes. His trip took three years. The Mongol-Armenian alliance proved fruitful to Hetoum and he recovered lost territories to the Seljuks and obtained additional territory in eastern Cilicia²².

Bohemond V of Antioch died in January of 1252. He left a fifteen-year-old son who succeeded under the regency of his mother. At this time Louis IX, King of France, was in Acre, and Bohemond VI with Louis' aid and the permission of the Pope, became ruler of Antioch and Tripoli. Even Bohemond V had recognized the necessity of a close relationship with Armenia, but past animosities prevented a rapprochement. His son Bohemond VI had no such feelings and with Louis' intervention a marriage was arranged between Hetoum's daughter Sibylla and Bohemond. In effect, Bohemond became a vassal of his father-in-law and Hetoum promised to share the responsibility of protecting Antioch from its enemies²³. Physically Antioch was part of Armenia since it had a common border with it, while the territory between Antioch and Tripoli was controlled by the Moslems. We thus

find Bohemond joining his forces with Hetoum against the Mamluks, even though other Crusader principalities remained neutral.

In 1258, the Mongols captured Baghdad and spread their rule over Mesopotamia. In the following year, Hulagu asked Hetoum for military assistance in his campaigns against Syria. It is said that Hetoum joined the Mongol armies with 12,000 horsemen and 40,000 foot soldiers, a considerable army indicating the power of Cilician Armenia. The armies first captured Aleppo, a task which the Crusaders had never succeeded in doing. Then Damascus was captured and plans for the liberation of the Holy Land seemed to be on hand when Hulagu received news that the Great Khan Mongke had died. He hurried to Karakorum to take part in the election of the new Khan and left Kitbogha in charge of the armies. While in Persia, he learned that Kubla Khan had been elected and he decided to return to Syria to continue the war.

The tide was turning against the Mongols in Syria. The main Mamluk power was in the hands of Baibars, who first secured the neutrality of the remaining Christian enclaves, then marched against Kitbogha. In a pitched battle in September of 1260 at Ain Jalut near Nazareth, Baibars won and Kitbogha was slain. It was the first decisive defeat of the Mongol army. The danger to Syria and Egypt was lifted and the Christians faced a ruthless and powerful enemy. By the end of 1260, Baibars had caused the death of the Mamluk client Kutuz and assumed leadership. Once in absolute power, he sought to destroy the Mongol power and that of their allies, the Christians. The grandson of Genghis Khan, Berke Khan (who was the head of the Golden Horde of Kipchaks in the Volga valley) had embraced Islam, and was now a bitter enemy of the Il-Khanids of Persia, who were allies of the Christians. Baibars lost no time in securing an alliance with the Moslem Mongols. He formed an alliance with the Seljukids of Rum in Asia Minor. He was then in a secure and powerful position to carry out his plans.

In the spring of 1265, Baibars set out to reduce the Crusader holdings. He captured Caesarea, Haifa, and Arsuf. Acre also would have

been attacked if Hugh of Antioch had not landed there with reinforcements from Cyprus. Baibars returned to Egypt satisfied with his victories.

In February of 1265, the Khan Hulagu had died and it took several months for his successor Abagha to arrange the succession. While he was busy repelling the attacks of the northern Moslem Mongols, Baibars set out to complete his plans of capturing the remaining Crusader principalities. The Templars were holding the fortified castle of Safed, and promised to surrender if their defendants were allowed to retire to Acre. When the castle was handed over on these terms, Baibars had all of the Templars decapitated. Baibars kept devastating the country and putting to the sword all Christians he could lay his hands on.

In 1266, Hetoum tried to negotiate with Baibars but seeing the latter's unacceptable terms, went to Tabriz to secure Mongol aid. The Mamluk armies invaded Cilicia and instead of trying to force passage through the fortified Syrian gates, moved north and passed through the Amanus gates. Hopelessly outnumbered, the Armenian army was defeated, and of the King's sons, Hetoum was slain and Levon taken prisoner. The enemy armies then sacked the main cities of Cilicia, killing its inhabitants and carrying others into captivity. Even the capital Sis could not resist the onslaught: its cathedral was set afire and the royal treasury was removed to Egypt. It was a blow from which the country never fully recovered.

Sated with booty and prisoners, Baibars' generals, possibly bribed by Bohemond, did not make an attempt to capture Antioch. Early in 1268, Baibars again set out from Egypt. The only Christian possessions left were Acre, the Temple castle of Athlit, and Jaffa. He marched on Tripoli but finding it well garrisoned, turned north on Antioch. Bohemond was in Tripoli and Antioch was under the command of the constable Simon Mansel. The command of the constable Simon Mansel. The garrison was too small to protect such a large city. After repeated attacks, the Mamluks captured the city and as usual put the inhabitants to the sword. The booty taken was enormous.

Thus, Antioch ceased to be an important city in 1266. It had been the first of the states founded by the Franks and lasted for 171 years.

It suited Baibars to rest his activities. There were rumors that the Mongols were again on the march and the King of France, Saint Louis, was preparing a great crusade. Baibars' campaign had given Armenia a respite and in that short period, the country prospered. With the destruction of the Crusader ports, the Armenian ports became commercially important as passageways to the vast Mongol hinterland.

Commercial privileges were granted to the Venetians in 1271, to the Genoese in 1288, to the Catalans in 1293, to the Montpeliers in 1314, and to others²⁵.

Along with increasing trade came prosperity. Marco Polo, visiting Ayas in 1271, wrote that it was a "city good and great and of great trade"²⁶.

During this period, many monasteries expanded their activities and many of the manuscripts which they wrote have survived.

The Mamluks captured Tripoli in 1289 and massacred its Christian population.

Thus ended the long and sometimes turbulent relationship between Armenia and the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli.

There can be little doubt that the coming of the Crusaders enabled Armenia to establish a kingdom which lasted for nearly three centuries, and that the presence of the Armenian kingdom on their northern flank protected the Crusader principalities from attacks by enemy powers. In spite of periodic warfare, the Christian East, consisting of Armenian and Crusader principalities, must be considered as one unit facing the Moslem world. Intermarriage between their ruling families was common²⁷. Moreover, it is obvious that Armenians played a major role during the Crusades and thus helped shape the history of the Near East and Western Europe.

²⁵ V. Langlois, Cartulaire, *Le Trésor des chartes d'Arménie ou cartulaire de la chancellerie royale des Roupeniens*, Venice, 1863.

²⁶ (B). Vol. II, 655.

²⁷ W. R. Rudt-Collenberg, *The Rupenides*, Hetoumies and Lusignans. Paris (1963).

²² (C). Vol. III, 700-701.

²³ (A). Vol. III, 278.

²⁴ (B). Vol. II, 654.

IMPORTANT DATES AND EVENTS IN ARMENIAN-ANTIOCHENE RELATIONS

1065-1100	Various Armenian rulers in Cilicia in service to the Byzantines.
1078-1085	Philaretus, an Armenian in service to Byzantium establishes control over eastern Cilicia, including Melitene, Marash, Edessa and Antioch.
1080-1095	Roupen I, an adherent of the Armenian Church, establishes himself in the Taurus mountains as an independent ruler.
1097	Crusader armies enter the plains of Cilicia, then occupied by the Turks.
1097 September	Tancred captured Tarsus and surrendered it to Baldwin of Boulogne.
1097 Oct. 21	Crusaders begin the siege of Antioch.
1098 March 10	Baldwin of Boulogne assumes the title of Count of Edessa.
1098 June 3	Crusaders capture Antioch and Bohemond of Taranto assumes the title of Prince of Antioch.
1098-1100	Byzantines assume control of cities in Cilicia.
1100 August	Bohemond captured by the Danishmend and imprisoned.
1101 March	Tancred becomes regent of Antioch.
1100-1104	Tancred captures cities of Cilicia from Byzantines.
1104-1107	Byzantine army under Monastras captures the Cilician cities of Mamistra, Adana and Tarsus.
1107-1112	Tancred, as regent of Antioch for the second time recaptures the Cilician cities from the Byzantines.
1112	Toros, the grandson of Roupen captures Anazarpa and makes it his capital.
1103-1112	Bohemond and Tancred strike copper coins in Greek characters. Toros strikes copper coins in Armenian characters.
1135-1137	Levon I captures the cities of Mamistra, Tarsus and Adana.
1137	Emperor John Comnenus enters Cilicia and captures the cities from the Armenians.
1137	Raymond of Antioch submits to the Emperor.
1138	Emperor returns to Cilicia, captures Levon and his wife, and two sons and carries them into captivity in Constantinople.
1142	John Comnenus returns to Cilicia and dies in the following year in a hunting accident.
1145	Toros II manages to escape from Constantinople, arrives in Cilicia and recaptures his ancestral mountain strongholds.
1151	Toros captures Mamistra and Till Hamdoun.
1152	Toros routs the Byzantine forces under Andronicus Comnenus. Toros captures the cities in the plain of Cilicia.
1155	Toros and Reginald of Antioch invade and pillage Cyprus.
1158	Emperor Manuel enters Cilicia with a large army, captures the plain cities and Toros retreats to mountain strongholds.
1159	Emperor makes a triumphal entry into Antioch, Reynald on foot holds the Emperor's bridle while Baldwin of Jerusalem rides behind him unarmed and uncrowned.
1162	Toros in avenging his brother's murder captures the cities of Cilicia and puts the garrisons to the sword.

1164	Toros in alliance with the Crusaders fights Nur-ad-Din, escapes capture at the disaster of Harim.
1172	Mleh, a brother of Toros and his successor seizes Adana, Mamistra and Tarsus from the Byzantines with the help of the contingents of Nur-ad-Din.
1175	Armenian nobles kill Mleh and place Toros' nephew Roupen II in power.
1176	Byzantine forces decisively defeated by the Seljuqs in Asia Minor ending Byzantine interference in the affairs of Armenia and the Latin East.
1182	Adana and Mamistra, held by Isaac Comnenus captured by Toros. Toros purchases Tarsus from Bohemond of Antioch. Cilicia entirely held by Armenians for the next two centuries.
1191	Armenian forces under Levon II assist Richard the Lionhearted in the siege of Acre.
1193, Oct.	Levon II, captures and imprisons Bohemond by a ruse.
1194	Levon's forces enter Antioch as condition for release of Bohemond. Antiochene citizenry expell Armenian forces.
1194	Henry of Champagne travels to Sis to arrange the release of Bohemond. Arrangements included marriage of Levon's niece Alice to Raymond, the eldest son of Bohemond, with the understanding that their offspring was to rule over Armenia and Antioch.
1194	The arrangement made Bohemond a vassal of Levon.
1198, Jan. 6	Prince Levon II crowned King of Armenia becoming King Levon I.
1198	A son is born to Raymond and Alice and named Raymond-Roupen.
1201	Bohemond of Antioch dies.
1203, Nov. 11	In support of Raymond-Roupen, a detachment of Armenian troops enters Antioch, but retreats when Raymond of Tripoli invites al-Zahir of Aleppo for assistance. Levon strikes coins in Armenian characters to support his claim.
1208	Levon occupies Antioch a second time for a longer period but fails to capture citadel. Strikes Antiochene type coins in Latin characters.
1216, Feb. 16	Antioch surrenders to Levon. Raymond-Roupen installed as Prince of Antioch. Typical Antiochene deniers struck bearing Raymond-Roupen's name in Latin characters.
1219 May 2	Death of Levon.
1221	Raymond-Roupen attempts to capture Cilicia for his own. Captured by Baile Constantine and dies in prison in 1222. Bohemond IV in control of Antioch.
1222	Philip, the son of Bohemond IV is married to Isabel the daughter of King Levon I and is made King of Armenia.
1224	Philip displeases the Armenian nobles and attempts to transfer royal treasures to Antioch, is caught, imprisoned and dies in prison.
1226	Isabel marries Hetoum, the son of Constantine of Lampron. The joining of the two families strengthens Armenia.
1252	Bohemond V of Antioch dies.
1253	Hetoum visits the great Mongol Khan Mongke in Karakorum and obtains alliance and favorable treatment of Armenians in Cilicia and Greater Armenia.
1253	King Louis IX of France arranges the marriage of Hetoum's daughter Sibylla to Bohemond VI of Antioch. Bohemond thus accepts Hetoum's suzerainty.

- 1258 Bohemond VI joins his father-in-law Hetoum in alliance with the Mongols in defeating the Mamluks in Syria.
- 1266 Mamluke armies under Baibars invade and devastate Armenia.
- 1268, May 18 Mamlukes capture and sack Antioch.
- 1289 Capture of Tripoli ends Crusader principalities in the East.



LEVON I (1198-1218)
Billons
Struck for Antioch

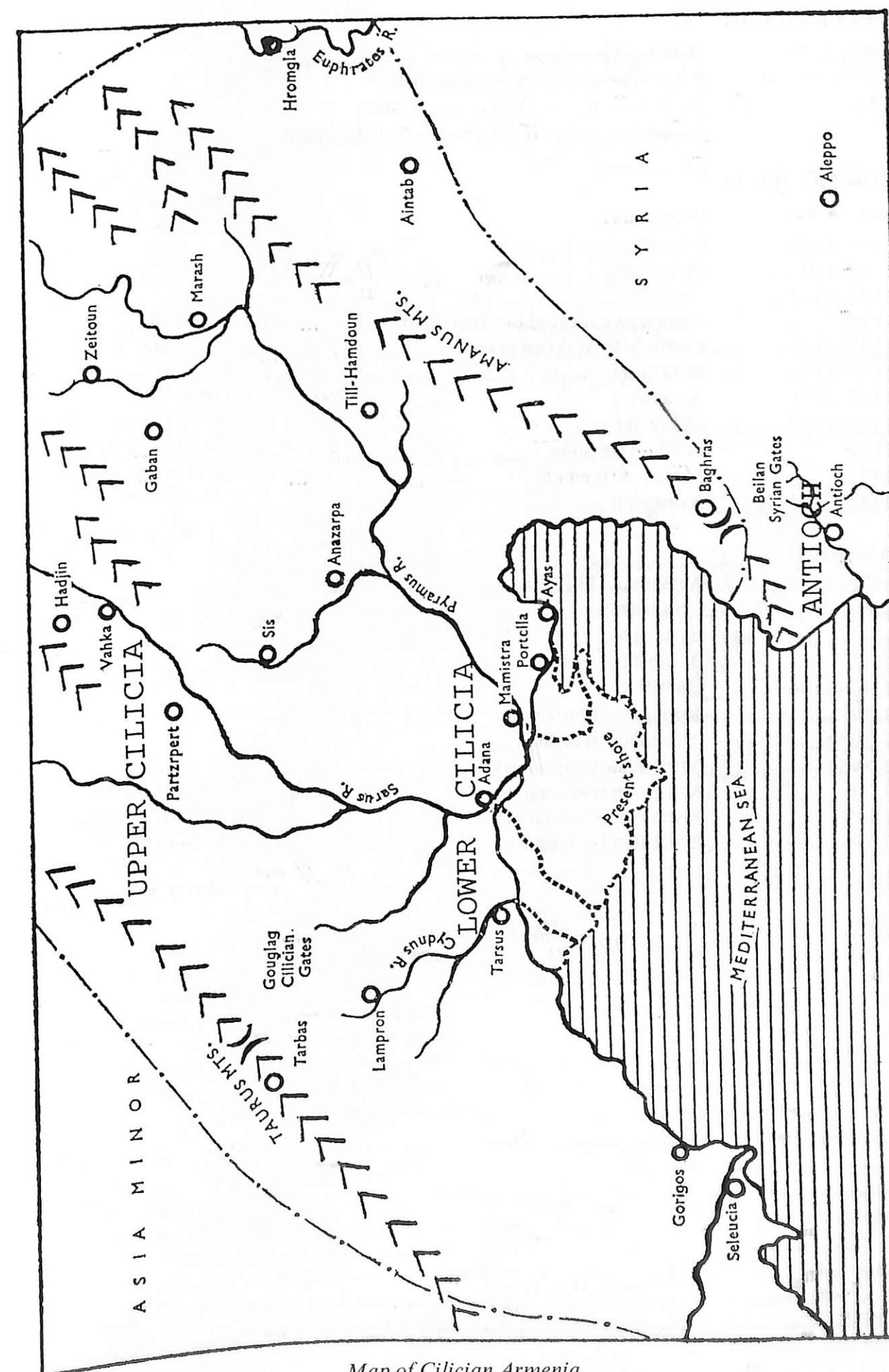


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LEO DEI GRATIA
REX ARMENIOR



RUPINUS ANTIOCHIA



Map of Cilician Armenia

UPPER CILICIA

1080–1375	Held by Armenians
1375–1920	Semi-independent Armenian towns
1920	France abandons mandate over Cilicia Armenians migrate to Lebanon and elsewhere

LOWER CILICIA

1098–1100	Byzantine
1100–1104	Crusader
1104–1107	Byzantine
1107–1112	Crusader
1112	Anazarpa captured by Armenians
1135–1137	Partly held by Armenians
1137–1145	Byzantine
1145–1151.	Armenian
1152–1162.	Byzantine
1162	Partly Armenian
1172	Mostly Armenian
1182–1375	Armenian

ANTIOCH

1078–1085	Armenian (Philaretus)
1098	Crusader
1137	Byzantine
1159	Byzantine
1162–1194	Crusader
1194	Armenian (temporary)
1203	Armenian (temporary)
1208	Armenian (temporary)
1216	Armenian (two years)
1253	Armenian (suzerainty)
1258	Armenian (suzerainty)

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ՍԱՅԱԹ - ՆՈՎԱՅԻ ԾԱԾԿԱԳՐԵՐԸ

Աշուղական բանարուեստն աչքի է ընկնում տաղաչափական ու կառուցուածքային բարդ ու բազմազան ձեւերով եւ հնարանքներով: Յատկապէս մրցավիճային նպատակով աշուղները յաճախ են դիմել գաղտնադրութիւններին, որոնք արտայայտուել են հիմնականում հանելուկ-մուհամմաներով, բառախաղ-թեջնիաներով եւ ծածկագրերով (կրիպտոգրամա): Սայաթ-Նովա, որ ամենամեծ աշուղն էր բանաստեղծների մէջ եւ ամենամեծ բանաստեղծը՝ աշուղների մէջ, հմտօրէն տիրապետել է այդ բանարուեստի բոլոր նրբութիւններին, ընդամին նաեւ գաղտնագրութեան եղանակներին, տալով դրա մի քանի կատարեալ նմուշներ: Այդպիսի է, օրինակ, «Յիս կանչում իմ լալանին» սկսուածքով հայերէն ռուբայի-բայաթի-թասլիք բարդ կառուցուածքով խաղը, որի բայաթի տներում տարբեր իմաստներով կրկնուում են բառախաղ-յանգ կազմող չորսական համահունչ (հոմոնիմ) բառեր ու բառաձեւեր: Բերենք այդ խաղի առաջին տունը.

Յիս կանչում իմ լալանին,
Բաղեջխանեն լալանին.
Վայ թէ հասրաթետ միռնիմ,
Բըլբուլ լիզուա լալանին.
Դոստիրըս հիռու կանգնին,
Յաղիրըն գան, լալանին:

Առաջին տողի լալանին, ինչպէս ժամանակին նկատել է հմուտ սայաթ-նովագէտ Գէորգ Ասատուր, նշանակում է լալ (սուտակ) Աննային: Երկրորդ լալանին-ի իմաստն է՝ լալ (սուտակ) են հանում (Բաղեջխանից սուտակ են հանում, ստանում): Երրորդ լալանին նշանակում է համրացնեն (լալ դարձնեն), իսկ չորրորդը՝ լաց լինեն (լան): Նոյն խաղի մէջ կարգում ենք նաեւ այսպիսի տողեր.

Նու ու Այիք գայ անին . . .
Սե ու Այիք մաս անին:

Առաջին տողն, ըստ Մ. Հասրաթեանի, կարելի է կարդալ նազ Աննային, կամ նազանիին, ինչպէս նաեւ Ն(ովային) ու Ա(ննային) կոր-

ծանում են (գայ են անում): Միւս տողի իմաստըն է՝ Ս(այաթին) ու Ա(ննային) մասնանում, բաժանում են:

Այսպիսի գաղտնագիր-բառախաղեր Սայաթ-Նովա գրել է թէ հայերէն եւ թէ վրացերէն ու աղբրեջաներէն, դրանցից մի քանիսի մէջ դարձեալ գաղտնագրելով իր սիրած կնոջ՝ Աննա Բատոնիչիլու (վրաց Թեյմուրազ արքայի դստեր, Հերակլի քոյր) անունը:

Իր վրացերէն սիրերգերից մէկը երգիչն աւարտել է հետեւեալ տողով.

Տախտի Թոռլի Խնդիս մեհիս անաշենիա:

Տողի իմաստն է՝ Սիրամարգեայ գահը (Թոռլի թախտը) Հնդկաստանի թագաւորի շինածն է: Սակայն անաշենիա բառը, ըստ Գէորգ Ասատուրի, կարելի է տրոհել անա շենիա ձեւով, ըստ որի այն կը նշանակի՝ Աննա քոյրն է:

Աննա (Անա) անունն է գաղտնագրուած նաեւ «Բեզ հետ նրա համար եմ խօսում» սկզբուածքով վրացերէն սիրերգի վերջում, ուր ասուած է.

Սախելի մաքվա «Սանի», «Թենի»,
«Վինիս» բոլոս «Անի» վնախս:

Այսինքն՝

Անունս է «Ս», «Թ»,
«Վ»-ի վերջում «Ա»-ին տեսայ:

Երգիչն այստեղ ծածկագրել է իր աշուղական անունը, նշելով Սայաթ-ի առաջին եւ վերջին եւ Նովա-ի վերջին երկու տառերը: Միաժամանակ նա ծածկագրաբար ասել է, որ այդ օրը տեսել է Անի-Աննային: Մեր երգչի նպատակն է եղել իրար կողքի դնել իր եւ սիրուհու անունները, ինչպէս երկու անգամ արել է վերոյիշեալ «Յիս կանչում իմ լալանին» հայերէն խաղում: Պ. Սեւակի համոզմամբ էլ, այս տողի «Անի»-ն եւս երգչի «սիրածի անունն է անպայման»: Որ «Անի-ն տեսայ» իսկապէս նշանակում է՝ Ան-