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*Church and State in the Kingdom  
of Cilician Armenia, 1198-1375*

Cilician Armenia had its origins in the eleventh century as a result of the Seljuk Turkish invasion of eastern Anatolia, the Armenian national homeland. Too few in numbers to mount a successful resistance and unwilling to live under foreign domination, perhaps a fourth of the total Armenian population sought security within the borders of the Byzantine Empire, settling in the underpopulated province of Cilicia. Here the Armenian princes established themselves in fortresses perched on mountain tops surveying the river valleys where some of the exiles farmed the land while others took to commerce in the towns bordering the Mediterranean.

The principalities were set up under the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperor, but the independent spirit of most of the barons soon led them to ignore their obligations of tribute and service to Constantinople and to manage their territories in Cilicia as once they enjoyed in their homeland. They had the support of the vast majority of the Armenian people, for a cultural and religious division which extended back six hundred years drove a wedge between themselves and the Greeks. The existence of an Armenian national church, which resisted the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople and which fostered the native language and denied the validity of the Council of Chalcedon, held by the Greeks as the cornerstone of orthodoxy, was at the heart of the matter. Constantinople's policy sought to limit the political and religious independence of Cilician Armenia for over a hundred years, but this could be achieved only when the Byzantine army was garrisoned in Cilicia.

The arrival of the Latin Crusaders on the scene late in the eleventh century proved to be a boon to the Armenians. These two groups held many things in common: a shared hatred for both Turks and Greeks, as well as similar societies which were structured upon feudal obligations. Their more perceptive leaders realized that the Armenians and Franks were natural allies. Intermarriage between Crusaders and Cilicians became common, so were treaties and joint military adventures; thus, quite naturally it was felt that if political and familial relations could be so harmonious, why not ecclesiastical? Armenian and Latin churchmen soon developed close ties, which led many to believe that nothing was to be lost and everything gained by full communion between the churches. In essence, such a union required the Armenian hierarchy to recognize the decisions of Chalcedon and papal authority, and to revise those customs felt to be objectionable by the Westerners; on the other hand, the Latins were not required to make any concessions. It was hardly an ar-

angement that would suit everyone, but a party within the Armenian hierarchy, led by Bishop Nerses of Lampron, was more than anxious to effect an accommodation with the West.

At the very end of the twelfth century a prince of the Rubenid family named Leo was, at last, able to command the loyalty of sufficient barons so as to seek to throw off Cilician Armenia's nominal allegiance to Constantinople. Leo's plan was to demonstrate his independence by seeking recognition from the powers of Western Europe, the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. He was also aware of Cilician Armenia's need for outside assistance, since his state was quite small and was surrounded on all sides by hostile Muslim principalities.

Leo's first approach to the West was made in 1189 when Frederick Barbarossa ruled the empire and Clement III sat on the papal throne. The organization of the Third Crusade fitted exactly into Leo's plans, for the emperor would need aid on his journey to Jerusalem and the pope would find an opportunity to extend Roman influence in the East, as well as assisting in the preservation of the Crusader's presence in the Orient. Therefore, when Frederick Barbarossa approached Cilicia in 1190 on the Third Crusade, he carried in his baggage a crown for Leo, but just on the threshold of his entry into the principality, the emperor drowned and plans for the coronation were suspended. Then, six years later, after further consolidating his position in Cilician Armenia, Leo made new overtures to the West, sending ambassadors both to the Emperor Henry VI and to Pope Celestine III in Rome. Leo promised to be a loyal vassal of Henry and told the pope he was anxious to unite the nation and its church even closer to Rome than had his predecessors.

Celestine and Henry were both in agreement; hence, the crown was sent. From the point of view of Rome a revitalized Armenia, already in evidence, might well become the base for a Christian restoration. Leo had demonstrated his ability to control Cilicia; now his position was enhanced since he would be the vassal of the German emperor and the Cilician Armenian church would recognize the papacy.

The king's decision to make these Western alliances was not welcomed by all his countrymen. Many Armenian barons resented the number of foreigners enlisted in the royal service while Armenian churchmen were uncomfortable with their total submission to the pope of Rome. Before Leo could be crowned, the cardinal-legate sent to perform the service had demanded twelve Armenian bishops take an oath that their faith conformed exactly to that of the church of Rome. While some bishops, like Nerses of Lampron, welcomed the opportunity to profess allegiance to the West, this enthusiasm was not shared by others who felt that the national ecclesiastical tradition was in jeopardy from too close an attachment to the West. They feared the reaction of their fellow Armenians in Caucasia, the old homeland, where tendencies to-

ward unity with Latins or Greeks was regarded as national apostasy.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever misgivings there may have been, Leo made preparations for his coronation in the city of Tarsus, birthplace of St. Paul, on the Feast of the Epiphany, 6 January 1198. Here, on that date, hundreds of dignitaries gathered in the Church of the Holy Wisdom, to inaugurate a new nation and its sovereign. Present were hundreds of knights and barons, Latin and Armenian, and representatives of the crusading orders, the hospitaliers of St. John, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights. The patriarch of the Syrian Jacobite Church, the metropolitan of the Orthodox Greeks, and the imperial chancellor, Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim were also in attendance. Using an Armenian translation of the Latin ritual for coronations, the chief bishop of the Armenian church, Catholicos Gregory VI Apirat anointed the king. Then the crown, the gift of Henry VI, was placed on Leo's head by the delegate of the pope, Cardinal Conrad of Wittelsbach, Archbishop of Mainz. It was a splendid occasion; all Cilicia rejoiced that after a century and a half, when no one bore a royal title, the Armenians once again had a king.<sup>2</sup>

Byzantine influence in Cilicia was obviously the loser in what transpired at Tarsus. The Emperor Alexius III Angelos was chagrined at Leo's acceptance of the Western crown and belatedly sent one himself from Constantinople. Moreover the Patriarch of Constantinople, George II, was obviously displeased at the growing Latin influence in a church which had sprung from Byzantine Caesarea. But another point of view, demonstrated by the Greek historian Nicetas Choniates, considered it only natural that since Latins and Armenians shared the same errors: they both adored sacred images and used unleavened bread at the Eucharist, they would cooperate in other ways.<sup>3</sup>

A year after his coronation both Leo and Catholicos Gregory wrote to Innocent III to tell of events in Armenia. In his message the king reported how all his nation rejoiced at having reached "unity with the holy Roman

1. Kirakos of Ganja, *History*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens* [hereafter *RhC: Da.*], 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1869-1906), I, 423, contends that Leo was not sincere in his attachment to Rome and encouraged his bishops to think of their oath purely as a political gesture. See Hovhan Hagopian, "Relations of the Armenians and Franks during the reign of Leon II," *Armenian Review*, 20 (1969), 36-37.

2. Kirakos of Ganja, I, 422-23; Hetoum, *Chronological Table, anno 646, ibid.*, I, 479; Samuel of Ani, *Chronography, ibid.*, I, 458; Sempad, *The Chronicle of the Kingdom of Little Armenia, anno 646, ibid.*, I, 634-46. Sempad places the coronation in 1199, but the other chroniclers are in agreement that the event happened in the previous year. The best study of Leo's coronation is by G. Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique, premier roi de Sissouan ou d'Arméno-Cilicie*, trans. G. Bayan (Venezia: imprimerie Mekhithariste, 1888), pp. 169-80. See also S. Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," in *The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*, vol. II of *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, 2nd ed. (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1969-), pp. 648-49.

3. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn: E. Weber, 1835), p. 257. Kirakos, I, 424, states that the crown from Constantinople arrived after the Latin coronation; Sempad, I, 633, has it arrive a year before.

church."<sup>4</sup> The letter of the catholicos told the pope, "All the archbishops, bishops and priests of the church of our land, and by the grace of God there are many of them, are confirmed in office by your command. We beg you to pray to the Lord for us who are in the very mouth of the Dragon, surrounded by enemies of the Cross who are naturally our enemies."<sup>5</sup> The pope was requested to send aid to Cilicia as quickly as possible. Thus began a correspondence between Rome and Sis, the Armenian capital, which extended over the next fifteen years.<sup>6</sup>

Innocent responded to the catholicos and the Cilician monarch, who had sent an ambassador to Rome, in letters congratulating the Armenians because of their commitment to the Catholic faith and expressing his gratitude at the reception Cardinal Conrad received in Cilicia. As a special favor the pope sent Leo the banner of St. Peter to be carried before the Armenian army when it fought the Muslims.<sup>7</sup>

Unfortunately, for the Christians of the Near east, unity among their political leaders proved an impossible goal. King Leo had a long-standing desire to incorporate the principality of Antioch into his kingdom or at least to dominate its policies by appointing its ruler. Several times attempts were made to accomplish this end, but were thwarted by the Latin citizens and barons who wanted no part of Leo's plans. Two claimants existed for the succession of Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch, in 1198. One was the second son of the prince, Bohemond, Count of Tripoli, the other was Leo's nephew, Raymond-Ruben, who because of a treaty pressed upon Antioch earlier, made him the legal heir. However, Bohemond of Tripoli joined his father in the principality in 1199 and ignored the claims of Raymond-Ruben. For three months Leo besieged Antioch to dislodge him, but in vain. The Armenian king then sent an ambassador to Rome to appeal to the pope. Innocent agreed to consider the case but told Leo that first he must hear the other side of the controver-

4. Leo to Innocent III, Tarsus, 23 May 1199, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Scriptores latini* [hereafter *PL*], ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1844-64), CCXIV, cols. 778-79.

5. Gregory to Innocent III, *ibid.*, CCXIV, cols. 775-76; C. Baronio and O. Rinaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno 1198* [hereafter *Annales.*], 15 vols. (Luca: typis L. Venturini, 1747-56), I, no. 65.

6. Forty copies of letters from King Leo II to Rome are preserved in the Vatican Library. See Alishan, *Léon*, p. 188. For Pope Innocent III's plans for the crusade, see H. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III und die Kreuzzüge*, *Forschungen zur Kirchen und Dogmengeschichte*, Bd. 21 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1969), pp. 96 ff.; and M. Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III*, *Italia sacra* 17 (Padova: Antenore, 1972), pp. 86-99.

7. Innocent III to Catholicos Gregory and to King Leo, Lateran, 21 and 22 Nov. 1199, in *PL*, CCXIV, cols. 776-80; *Annales, anno 1199*, nos. 67-68. Innocent praised Leo's devotion to the papacy, noting Rome was the model for all other churches and the popes enjoyed the "fulness of authority," *plenitudo potestatis*.

sy; in the meanwhile let him fight Muslims, not fellow Christians.<sup>8</sup> In 1201 Bohemond III died bringing the crisis to a head. The Latin patriarch, the Templars, and most of the foreign merchants threw their support to Bohemond IV; on the other hand Raymond-Ruben could count on King Leo, the Hospitallers of St. John and the patriarch of Jerusalem. Innocent now acted swiftly to head off the threatened conflict. He appointed two of his aides to go to the East with full authority, Cardinal Peter of St. Marcellus and Cardinal Sofred of St. Praxedis, to arbitrate the quarrel over the Antiochene succession and to settle an equally thorny question, the possession of the fortress of Gaston (Baghras) situated on the major road between Cilicia and Antioch, which was disputed between Leo and the Templars.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile in the continuing conflict between Antioch and Cilician Armenia still another source of difficulty appeared when Peter, Latin patriarch of Antioch, announced that the Armenian church fell under his jurisdiction. Catholicos Gregory and King Leo were quick to denounce such claims to Innocent III. The pope agreed, the Armenian church was autonomous, "besides the Roman pontiff no Latin may promulgate a sentence of excommunication or interdict on you, your kingdom, or the people of your kingdom, whether they be Latin or any other rite."<sup>10</sup> In a note of encouragement to the catholicos, he promised the discouraged prelate that a Crusade was forming and help would be forthcoming. The catholicos complained that Muslim raids had become so frequent that, "In the morning we say, 'When will the evening come?' and in the evening, 'When will the morning come?' because we are so weighed down with sadness and anxiety, and there is nothing to make us happy."<sup>11</sup>

The Roman delegation arrived in Antioch in November, 1203, and secured a truce between the parties. Then the cardinals journeyed to Sis, Leo's capital, to meet with the Armenian king and to attend the installation of the new catholicos. In March, 1203, Gregory VI (1195-1203) had died, the last of the

8. Raymond-Ruben had been baptized by Cardinal Conrad of Mainz when he came to Cilicia for Leo's coronation. Leo tried very hard to get Pope Innocent's support for his nephew. Leo to Innocent III, n.p., 15 Dec. 1199; Innocent III to Leo, Lateran, 23 Dec. 1199, in *PL*, CCXIV, cols. 810-12 and 813-14.

9. Innocent favored the Templars' claim to Gaston. Innocent to Leo, Lateran, 15-31 Dec. 1199, in *Regesta pontificum romanorum 1198-1304*, ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols. (Berlin: prostat in aedibus Rudolphi de Decker, 1874-75), I, 88. See also C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et le principauté franque d'Antioche*, Institut français de Damas. Bibliothèque orientale, t. 1 (Paris: P. Geuther, 1940), pp. 590-95; and D. Seward, *The Monks of War: The Military Religious Orders* (London: Eyre Methuen, Ltd., 1972), pp. 52-53.

10. Leo to Innocent III, Sis, 1 Oct. 1201, in *Regesta*, I, 1003-06; Innocent to Leo, Lateran, 1 June 1202, in *PL*, CCXIV, col. 1007.

11. Catholicos Gregory to Innocent III, n.p., n.d., and Innocent III to Catholicos Gregory, Lateran, 1 June 1202, in *PL*, CCXIV, cols. 1007-10 and 1010-12; *Annales, anno 1202*, nos. 41 and 45.

Pahlavouni family to hold the catholicate. Since 1065 an ecclesiastical dynasty existed within the church which saw the catholicate regularly passed from uncle to nephew. Because there were no eligible Pahlavouni candidates, Leo promoted his chancellor, Archbishop John of Sis, to the office. The archbishop had served the king well on several foreign missions and was devoted to Leo's pro-Western policy. His family, moreover, was related to the Hetoumids, after the Rubenids, the most important family of Cilician princes. On the day of his investiture Catholicos John (1203-21) placed his hands in those of Cardinal Peter, made a solemn profession of the Catholic faith, pledged loyalty to the Roman pontiff, and received the papal pallium.

The Latin cardinals also bestowed mitres and pastoral staffs upon fourteen other prelates of the Cilician church. These included the five archbishops of Sis, Tarsus, Lampron, Anazarba, and Mamistra as well as the important bishops of Adana, Ayas, Seleucia, and Partzaper.<sup>12</sup> John promised to send a legate or to go to Rome himself every five years. In return he asked that the pope would summon no council in the East without asking the Armenian catholicos or his delegate to attend. Then the news arrived concerning the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade; the two cardinal legates left for Constantinople, their mission of reconciliation left unfinished. Innocent ordered them to return. More difficulties were forthcoming because Cardinal Peter now became an open partisan of the Templars and sought Innocent III's support against King Leo. At last, contrary to the pledge that no Latin prelate other than the pope himself might intervene in ecclesiastical affairs in Armenia, Peter levied an excommunication on Leo and an interdict upon his lands.<sup>13</sup>

The quarrel over the succession at Antioch and the possession of Gaston continued through the following years to the detriment of the Armenians and Latins. Innocent III was considerably friendlier to Leo's Antiochene claims for his nephew Raymond-Ruben than to Bohemond IV, but on the other hand, he felt that Gaston should be restored to the Templars. In Antioch Bohemond was so disgusted at papal policy that he summoned the Greek patriarch Symeon II to return in 1206 and imprisoned the Latin patriarch Peter who subsequently died in captivity. Finally Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, was appointed by Innocent to settle the matter. Albert required that as a preliminary to negotiations Gaston must be handed over to the Templars. Leo refused; he went further, allied himself with the Nicene Emperor, Theodore I

12. Sempad, I, 640-41; see also G. Alishan, *Sissouan ou L'Arméno-Cilicie, description géographique et historique* (Venezie: S. Lazare, 1889), p. 67.

13. Innocent to Leo, Lateran, 16 Jan. 1204; Abbots of Lucedio, Mt. Tabor, etc., to Innocent, 6 March 1205; Innocent to Leo, Lateran, 6 March 1205, in *PL*, CCXV, cols. 504, 555-57; 557-59; *Annales, anno 1205*, nos. 30, 31 and 32. The Catholicos John complained: "We sought to drink sweet and wholesome milk from the breasts of our mother the Roman Church, but we have only been given gall and vinegar," *Annales*, no. 39.

Lascaris, and confiscated the estates of the Latin church in Cilicia. As a result, at a council in 1207 presided over by Albert of Jerusalem, the Armenian king was declared excommunicated until he vacated Gaston. A letter was forwarded to Sis but Leo rejected its provisions and the ecclesiastical penalty. Instead he launched a major assault against Antioch; for three days he occupied the lower town, then a counterattack of the Templars drove the Armenians out.<sup>14</sup>

Despite his usual support for the Armenian king, Innocent III finally confirmed his legate's decision on 17 May 1211 and declared that the king must choose between holding Gaston or communion with Rome. The excommunication lasted for approximately two years. Then the situation changed after the death of Albert and the appointment of a new patriarch of Jerusalem. Leo was forgiven and the ban was lifted 25 March 1213 in return for his promise to further a new crusade. To demonstrate his enthusiasm for the project, Leo had his daughter Stephanie marry John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem. Moreover, in 1216 his army seized Antioch and Raymond-Ruben was at last crowned. For the moment Leo and the Armenian cause was in the ascendancy throughout the Christian East.<sup>15</sup>

Because of his well known pro-Latin policy Catholicos John was rejected in Caucasian Armenia where rival catholicos were to be found in both Aghtamar and Ani. Then King Leo himself had a falling out with John over the arrest and deposition of his brother-in-law, so the catholicos returned to the fortress of Hromgla, traditional seat of his predecessors since 1151, where he tried to enlist the support of the Seljuq Sultan Kaikosru I of Iconium. At last, Leo saw fit to summon the bishops to Sis to depose John. Elected in his place was Archbishop David II of Mamistra and abbot of Arkagaghni (1207-10) who made his residence in Sis while John continued to live at Hromgla.<sup>16</sup>

Happily for the future of the Church, when David died in 1210 the abbot of Trazarg, Hetoum-Elias, hurried to reconcile Leo and John before the schism would be perpetuated. He was successful; once again the Cilicians recognized John as their sole religious leader and he returned to live in Sis. Generally good relations were kept with Rome except for the two years when the king was excommunicated. In 1213, however, John declined an invitation by Innocent III to come to Lyons to discuss a fifth crusade.

14. *Les gestes des Chiprois*, i.60, in *RhC: Da*, II, 663. See H. F. Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1910), pp. 185 ff.

15. *Annales, anno 1211*, no. 25; Innocent III to Patriarch of Jerusalem, Lateran, 16 May 1211, in *PL*, CCXVI, cols. 431-32. See also Alishan, *Léon*, pp. 236-61; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus; Being the First Part of His Political History of the World*, trans. E. A. W. Budge, 2 vols. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, H. Milford, 1932), I, 370; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: The Univ. Press, 1955-57), III, 138-39; and Cahen, pp. 615-19.

16. Kirakos, I, 427; and Samuel of Ani, I, 459.

Leo's reign in Armenia brought that country fame and wealth which it had never before known. The success he enjoyed was due in large measure to his friendship with the Catholic church and its representatives in the Orient, with the exception of the Templars and the princes of Antioch. Around Leo's court, a feudal society was created on Western models to such an extent that Latin and French were adopted as official languages along with Armenian. The titles of the nobility were modeled on the West, while for his legal code, Leo adopted the Assizes of Antioch.<sup>17</sup>

The Latinization of Cilician Armenia was furthered by other aspects of the royal policy. Commercial treaties were drawn up with the Genoese and Venetians in 1200 and 1201 giving them rights "to come and go, freely buy and sell, with security and without vexation . . . in all my land which I now possess, and which, with the help of God I may acquire, and in all the land of my barons. . . ." <sup>18</sup> The important ports of the kingdom were at Gorigos and Ayas (Lajazzo). Here Latin communities were formed to engage in the very lucrative trade with the East in spices, silks, and slaves. The Venetians had a *baillio* in Ayas, the Genoese and Pisans appointed consuls. Moreover the Genoese had their own churches at the port and at Sis, Tarsus, and Mamistra. The Venetians had two churches, one at Ayas and another at Mamistra.<sup>19</sup>

Leo engaged in numerous wars against the Seljuqs and the other Muslim powers surrounding Cilicia; he also fought and defeated Hetoum of Lampron, his only serious Armenian rival. In order to fortify his lands with strong garrisons, Leo made numerous grants to each of the crusading orders. But with the Templars there was almost always friction.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, his friendship with the Teutonic Knights remained firm. At Epiphany in 1212 the Grand Master Hermann Salza was his honored guest. The Knights held Amoudain, south of Anazarba, and Koumbetvor; the most important castle of the Hospitallers was the fortress of Seleucia.

Besides the crusading orders the Latin church had a number of clergy in Cilicia to serve the Westerners living there. The Antiochene patriarch appointed Latin archbishops for Mamistra, Anazarba, Tarsus, Lampron, Sis and Seleucia along with an even larger number of bishops. On the other hand the interaction between Latins and Armenians resulted in a significant migration of Cilicians to Italy in the course of the thirteenth century. In Rome two

17. C. Toumanoff, "Armenia and Georgia," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. J. B. Bury et al., 8 vols. in 9 pts. (Cambridge: The Univ. Press, 1924-67), IV, pt. 2, 633-34.

18. E. Dulaurier, *Etude sur l'organisation, religieuse et administrative du Royaume de la Petite-Arménie à l'époque des Croisades* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1862), p. 104. The text is from the treaty with Genoa.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-25.

20. Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 225-27; J. J. M. de Morgan, *The History of the Armenian People, from the Remotest Times to the Present Day*, trans. E. F. Barry (Boston: Hairenik Press, 1918), p. 227, counts sixty-two fortresses in Cilicia in Leo's time.

churches were held by Armenian emigrants: St. Mary's and St. Gregory's. Other colonies with their own clergy were in Florence, Rimini, Ancona, Siena and several other towns.<sup>21</sup>

Leo had no male heir to succeed him on the Armenian throne since there had been a falling-out between the king and his nephew Raymond-Ruben of sufficient gravity that Leo insisted he be eliminated as his heir. Leo's elder daughter was Stephanie, married to John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, while from his marriage with Sybil of Antioch Leo had a younger daughter named Isabelle. The king once tried, but failed, to arrange a marriage for this daughter with the son of King Andrew of Hungary.<sup>22</sup> On his deathbed Leo secured the promises of his barons they would respect his wishes that Isabelle would succeed to the throne. The king died on 2 May 1219, "a mighty warrior in battle and a strenuous hunter in the chase."<sup>23</sup> His body was buried at Sis, his heart in the Monastery of Trazarg, the residence of Catholicos John.

Leo's plan for a smooth transition to the throne was frustrated when John of Brienne claimed the right of succession for his son, born of the marriage with Stephanie. At the same time Raymond-Ruben, who found himself unsatisfied with Antioch alone, also sought to possess the throne of Armenia to which he felt entitled. Pope Honorius III supported him in Antioch but felt John of Brienne's son had a stronger claim on the throne of Armenia. He appointed a legate, Pelagius Galvano, bishop of Albano, to mediate the quarrel, and ordered John of Brienne to desist from any military action until a decision should be forthcoming.<sup>24</sup> The infant son of John died thus removing one contestant while Raymond-Ruben's attempts were foiled by the Armenian nobles and he was put into prison where he later expired. Isabelle was therefore unopposed and uncontested queen of Armenia. Her first regent was murdered but the second was the powerful Grand Baron of the Realm, Prince Constantine of Lampron. It was according to his wishes that in 1222 the eleven year old queen was betrothed to the eighteen year old Philip of Antioch, fourth son of Bohemond IV.

Philip promised the Armenian barons at the time of his coronation that he would respect all the national traditions, both secular and religious. Then he proceeded to do the opposite, showing contempt for the Armenian customs and surrounding himself with Latin counsellors who were as eager as their

21. Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 446, note. By 1400, there were twenty-nine churches in Italy.

22. *Regesta*, I, 6001.

23. Bar Hebraeus, I, 375; Kirakos, I, 427.

24. Honorius to Master and Brothers of the Hospital, Ferentini, 25 July 1217, and Honorius to John of Jerusalem, Viterbo, 2 Feb. 1220, Urbem Veterem, 11 Aug. 1220, in *Regesta Honorii III*, ed. P. Pressutti, in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 2 sér., *Registres des papes du 13. siècle* [hereafter *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises*], 2 vols. (Roma: ex typographia Vaticana, 1888-95), I, nos. 176, 2320 and 2610.

prince to promote the more familiar Western ways. His personality so grated upon the court at Sis that Grand Baron Constantine, who had been dismissed by Philip, decided to intervene. Philip was arrested, imprisoned in Sis and died of poisoning three years after his accession and marriage. His Latin counsellors, including the Latin archbishops of Tarsus and Mamistra, were sent into exile.<sup>25</sup>

Bohemond IV of Antioch threatened Cilicia during his son's imprisonment, but Philip's death made it useless to pursue the issue. Meanwhile, Isabelle fled to the castle of the Hospitallers at Seleucia. The Knights offered her their protection and refused to put her into the hands of Baron Constantine. According to Bar Hebraeus, the baron then sought the assistance of Ignatius the Jacobite Patriarch and the Armenian Catholicos Constantine to persuade Isabelle to leave the castle "so that an arrangement could be made which would benefit the Christian people."<sup>26</sup>

Isabelle refused, calling the prelates friends of her husband's murders. The Knights were in a dilemma. Not wishing to violate their promise of asylum to the young queen while recognizing that the demands of Baron Constantine could not be safely put off, they solved the problem by selling their fortress to the Armenians. This allowed Constantine to claim the frightened Isabelle. She was taken to Tarsus and there was forcibly married to Baron Constantine's son, Hetoum, on 14 June 1226.<sup>27</sup>

While the young King Hetoum (1226-69) continued his education the real power in the kingdom was in the hands of his father Baron Constantine. It had been through his intervention that Constantine I Partzarpert (1221-67) became the new Armenian catholicos upon the death of John VI in 1221.<sup>28</sup> The ecclesiastical policies of Baron Constantine and the catholicos were in harmony. Both wanted the ties to the Roman papacy and the empire to be kept intact. Sempad the Historian noted "that all showed great sympathy for the pope of Rome and Ala-eddin, sultan of the land of the Romans, and the emperor of the Germans."<sup>29</sup>

During these years Cilician Armenia came under attack from the Seljuqs once more. Baron Constantine sought to hold the frontiers but his efforts were frustrated by a lack of resources. As a result, in 1233 the kingdom of Cilician Armenia had to accept a state of vassalage under the Sultan Kaikubad I.<sup>30</sup> This required that tribute be sent to the Turks and the coins of Cilicia be

25. Kirakos, I, 428-29; Vartan the Great, *Universal History*, in *RhC: Da*, I, 442-43; Bar Hebraeus, I, 380-81; Sempad, I, 647; and Honorius III to suffragan bishops of Jerusalem, Lateran, 17 Dec. 1224, in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises*, I, 5222.

26. Bar Hebraeus, I, 389-90.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 390; Sempad, I, 647; and *The Rhymed Chronicle*, in *RhC: Da*, I, 517-19.

28. Hetoum, I, 485.

29. Sempad, I, 648.

30. Kirakos, I, 429-30.

minted with the name of the Sultan on the reverse. At the same time, Bohemond V of Antioch, remembering the Hetoumid treachery toward his brother Philip, sought to cause trouble between the Armenians and the papacy, now held by Gregory IX. The Antiochene patriarch assisted his prince by reviving the claim that all Cilicia rightfully belonged under his jurisdiction.

In an effort to ally the Antiochene attack on the Hetoumid position, delegates were dispatched to Rome by Baron Constantine in 1234. Their mission obtained positive results for Pope Gregory IX affirmed the policy of his predecessor, Innocent III, that the Armenian church need only answer to Rome. Gregory also promised to send warnings to Bohemond and Henry of Cyprus instructing them not to interfere in Cilicia and to accept the legitimacy of Hetoum's accession. However, the issue of Antiochene jurisdiction over Armenia was again raised in 1237. This time Pope Gregory IX waived; there could not be two heads in the same patriarchate. On 26 June 1238 he ruled that Antioch had jurisdictional rights in Armenia.<sup>31</sup> Subsequently protests by Hetoum and Isabelle, on the strength of a forged document claiming that in the fourth century Pope Sylvester had given Gregory the Illuminator full autonomy in Armenia, were sufficient to change the pope's mind. By March, 1239, the issue was settled in favor of Armenian independence, and a pallium and ring were dispatched to Catholicos Constantine I.<sup>32</sup>

The next major event in Cilician Armenia's history was the arrival of the Mongols in western Asia. The appearance of these people offered both a threat and an opportunity. King Hetoum could do nothing but rejoice when he saw his old enemies the Seljuqs go down to defeat at Kosadagh in June, 1243. He sent a messenger with congratulations to the Mongols, transferred his allegiance from the Turks, and agreed to pay tribute to the khans.<sup>33</sup> Later the defeated sultan's mother and sister who had fled to Armenia were handed over to the Mongols.<sup>34</sup> Four years later Hetoum, as a result of renewed Seljuq activity against Armenia, sent his brother, the Constable Sempad, to visit the Mongol capital at Karakorum and lay before the Great Khan Goyuk the Armenian position. Sempad was received with honors, he was given Mongol assurances of protection and returned in 1250 with a treaty of alliance.<sup>35</sup>

31. Gregory to Archbishops of Apamia and Mamistra; Gregory IX to all abbots, etc., of Armenians and Greeks, Lateran, 26 June 1238, in *Les registres de Gregoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray, in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* [hereafter Auvray.], 3 vols. (Roma: ex typographia Vaticana, 1890-1908), I, nos. 4466 and 4467. The pope did reserve the right of excommunication to himself, Gregory IX to Patriarch of Antioch, *ibid.*, no. 4468; and *Annales, anno 1238*, no. 34.

32. Gregory IX to Hetoum and Isabella, Lateran, 1 March, 8 March, and 10 March 1239, in Auvray, I, nos. 4732, 4739, and 4740; and Potthast, I, nos. 10710 and 10714.

33. Grigor of Akanc, *History of the Nation of Archers*, ed. R. B. Blake and R. N. Frye (Cambridge, Mass.: Published for Harvard Wenching Institute by Harvard Univ. Press, 1954), pp. 295-97 (iii.73-76); and Samuel of Ani, I, 461.

34. Bar Hebraeus, I, 407.

35. Grigor of Akanc, p. 313 (viii.9); Sempad, I, 651.

These years also saw Hetoum renewing contacts with the Western church. Pope Innocent IV had sent a Franciscan friar named Lawrence of Orte to Sis in 1246 to inquire about the state of the church. Innocent wanted to have the Armenians more closely tied to the Latin church, especially to its canon law, so that disputes between the bishops might be more easily settled. The pope also looked for confirmation of Armenian orthodoxy in their beliefs on the Trinity and in their use of Extreme Unction. A second legate was sent to the Orient in 1248. Finally at the urging of the Latins an Armenian council was summoned to meet at Sis in 1251. The council subscribed to the double procession of the Holy Spirit and promised to accelerate the conferring of Extreme Unction. The pope was addressed as "father of fathers." The synodal acts were rejected, however, by the Caucasian Armenians as a betrayal of the nation's religious heritage. This was in conformity with the traditions of the national church which believed in the conservation of its distinctive heritage.

An interesting parallel could be drawn here with the Maronites of Lebanon. Like the Armenians, they were an isolated group both religiously and politically until the arrival of the Crusaders. Then opportunities to break out of their constraints appeared and the same Cardinal Peter who received the allegiance of King Leo II accepted the profession of faith from the Patriarch Jeremias al-'Amshiti in Tripoli in 1204. Both Armenians and Maronites had been "outsiders." The presence of the Franks naturally appeared to be providential, a salvation from both Muslims and Orthodox Christians. So long as the Crusaders remained in the Orient, both groups moved from minority to majority status. But just as Caucasian Armenians resisted the changes made by the hierarchy in Cilicia, so too did the remote villagers on Mt. Lebanon.<sup>36</sup>

Since the kingdom appeared to be at peace in 1253, King Hetoum, determined to cement his relations with the Mongols, decided on a personal trip to Karakorum. He arrived after a long and arduous journey at the mongol capital and the court of Mongke Khan in September, 1254. Hetoum was the first Christian ruler ever to appear willingly before Mongke, thus the khan received him with great ceremony. He promised that the Mongols would always protect Cilicia against the Seljuqs and exempted all Armenian churches and monasteries in the Mongol Empire from taxation.

En route home, Hetoum called on Hulagu Khan in Persia and, in an even more important move, he visited Caucasian Armenia, thus becoming the first Cilician ruler to renew contacts with the population of the old homeland. At last he returned to Sis in June, 1256, carrying the gifts of the Mongols and

36. Innocent IV to Lawrence, Lyons, 5 June 1247, in *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. E. Berger, in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 4 vols. (Roma: ex typographia Vatican, 1884-1911), I, nos. 3047 and 3965; and *Annales, anno 1247*, nos. 31-38. See also K. Salibi, "The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluke Rule (1099-1516)," *Arabica*, 4 (1957), 287 ff.

more importantly their promise of help against the Muslims.<sup>37</sup>

The relations between Armenia and Antioch improved when Bohemond V died and was succeeded by his son Bohemond VI. The young Bohemond did not have the bitterness of his father toward the Armenians. He chose Sibyl, the daughter of Hetoum, for his bride at the suggestion of St. Louis while the Armenian king was away on his Mongol trip. Henceforward Antioch and Armenia replaced war with cooperation. Hetoum tried in vain to interest the other Latin princes in a Mongol alliance; unfortunately he had success only with his son-in-law.<sup>38</sup>

Hetoum always remained firm in his association with the Mongols. On the other hand, after the return from Karakorum he was not as committed to his allegiance with the papacy. Perhaps he realized that the khans were likely to provide more troops than the popes. This was evident when he and his Armenians joined the Mongols in expeditions against the Muslims after Hulagu had taken Baghdad in 1258. Hetoum and Bohemond led their armies with the Christian Mongol commander Kitbuqa in the attack on Damascus in 1260. They captured the city and for the first time in centuries Damascus was ruled by Christians. However, later that same year, weakened by a serious withdrawal of troops due to complications in east Asia, the Mongols confronted the sole remaining Muslim power in the Middle East, the Mamluks of Egypt. The battle took place at Ain Jalut near Nazareth. The Mamluks under their capable Sultan Baybars decisively defeated the Mongols and Hetoum. Henceforth Cilicia was open to the furor of the Egyptians who sought to avenge themselves on the Armenians, the allies of the Mongols.<sup>39</sup>

While Hetoum warred against the Islamic forces, there was increased tension between Rome and the catholicate at Hromgla. Catholicos Constantine had come under the influence of Vardan, a man whose origins were in Caucasian Armenia and who reflected the anti-unionist views of that part of the nation. The recapture of Constantinople by the Byzantine emperor Michael Palaeologus heartened the nationalist elements in the church to believe the Latin presence in the East was on the wane.

Sensing that affairs in the Orient were slipping, Pope Urban IV sent a legate, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, William of Agen, to St. John of Acre in 1261. He was commissioned to oversee conditions in the Christian East which involved meeting with the Armenians.<sup>40</sup> Catholicos Constantine excused him-

37. Bar Hebraeus, I, 418-19; *Rhymed Chronicle*, I, 519; Hayton, *Flor des Estories*, *RhC: Da*, II, 164-66; and Grigor of Akanc, pp. 325 (x.20-26) and 341-43 (xii.65-70).

38. *Estorie d'eracles*, in *RhC: Doc. Occidental*, II, 439 and 441-42; and J. Joinville, *Life of St. Louis*, in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. and trans. Margaret R. B. Shaw (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), pp. 282-88.

39. de Morgan, p. 235; and Runciman, III, 312-13.

40. Urban IV to William, Orvieto, 23 May 1261, no. 241, in J. Guiraud, *Les registres d'Urban IV*, in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* [hereafter Guiraud.], 4 vols. (Roma: ex typographia Vaticana, 1901-58).

self from travelling to Acre because of advanced years, and only reluctantly allowed his representative, Mekhitar of Skevra to act as his deputy. When Mekhitar arrived in Acre he was kept waiting at the legate's door for the whole day. He handed over a letter from the catholicos which was read and translated to a silent William. Then the legate announced that the pope had sent some gifts for the catholicos, but Mekhitar refused to take them, so an official of King Hetoum was made the recipient. When William asked Mekhitar to dinner, the Armenian declined, "full of sadness." Discussions between the two went on for the next several days. Mekhitar complained of William, "He spoke a great deal and listened very little." The topics were wide-ranging; Mekhitar explained that the pope acted as though only Peter and not the whole company of the Apostles had received the Holy Spirit to guide the church. He argued further that all of the apostles are "rocks" and all are called upon to feed the flock of Christ. Since Armenia also had its apostles, Bartholomew and Thaddeus, the successor of Peter in Rome must be careful not to exaggerate his powers in Armenia: the catholicos and pope are equal as successors of the apostles. Such ideas were bravely put forth as a true statement of the Armenian position.<sup>41</sup>

Meanwhile in Sis, Hetoum realized it was only a matter of time until Baybars would come in force against Cilicia. Western promises of help were not enough, so once again he turned to his Mongol allies. In 1254 he left for Tabriz and an audience with Hulagu. This time he was not so warmly received since the Mongols had concluded an alliance with the Byzantines, and favored them over the Armenians. In addition Euthemios, the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, had been exiled by Hetoum and Bohemond VI, and the bishop was a close friend of Hulagu. Shortly after Hetoum's arrival, Hulagu died, prolonging the negotiations.<sup>42</sup>

While Hetoum sought aid from his reluctant allies, Baybars finally was prepared for his all-out expedition against Cilicia. His army, joined by contingents of Muslim Arabs from Syria, headed north in 1266. Constable Sempad and Hetoum's two sons, Toros and Leo, brought the Armenian army to the Syrian Gates to make their defense, but it was in vain. The Mamluk forces crushed the Armenians. Toros was killed, Leo and Sempad were taken prisoner. Baybars' forces swept into Armenia capturing Adana, Sis, Ayas, Tarsus and Mamistra. The massacre and destruction were frightening. The wealth of Armenia was completely lost and forty thousand captives were taken off to

41. Mekhitar, *Relation of the Conference held with the Papal Legate in 1262*, in *RhC: Da*, I, 691-98.

42. Rashid al-Din Tabib, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, trans. E. M. Quatremère, Collection orientale, manuscrits inédits de la Bibliothèque royale (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1836), pp. 417-23; Vartan Vardapet, *History*, in *RhC: Da*, I, 205-06 and 211; Bar Hebraeus, I, 444-45. On the Mamluks, see E. M. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mam-louks de l'Égypte* (Paris: The Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1845).

Egypt. According to Gregory of Akanc, "They burned the town of Sis, which was the seat of the Armenian kings. They cast wood into the fire and great church which was the center of Sis and they burned it. They demolished the tombs of the kings. They killed many Christians and took many captives from the land and villages."<sup>43</sup>

Hetoum arrived back from Tabriz to find his country desolated; one son dead, the other in captivity. His first thought was to contact Baybars to ransom the captives. After months of discussion the Mamluk Sultan required a large tribute and the transfer of many of the Armenian fortresses in the Amanus Mountains to Egypt. Hetoum agreed and Prince Leo was returned to his father in August, 1268. The Armenian kingdom suffered such a blow from this invasion that it never recovered; henceforth the Cilician kingdom could play no independent role in the politics of the East Mediterranean.<sup>44</sup>

The Catholicos Constantine witnessed the destruction of Cilician Armenia in his last days. He died in 1267, praised by Gregory of Akanc for "his love for the orthodox faith and all ordinances of the church."<sup>45</sup> For a year the catholicate was vacant due to the distracted state of the king. At last a synod was held at Tarsus and James I Klaietsi (1268-87) was chosen. He took up residence at Hromgla.

In the same year James became Catholicos, Baybars' troops captured and destroyed Antioch. Once again the catastrophe was nearly complete; there were few survivors. Shortly thereafter the Templars abandoned Gaston.<sup>46</sup> Armenia was now surrounded by Muslims in a position so exposed that only the Mongol alliance kept it from immediate destruction. The burden of carrying on was too great for the old king so he took his son to the court of Abagha Khan to obtain approval for his resignation in favor of Leo. The Mongols agreed to the succession. Having returned to Cilicia Hetoum abdicated in the spring of 1269 and Catholicos James anointed Leo king in Tarsus. Then Hetoum retired to Bellapais, the monastery of the Premonstratensians on Cyprus, where he became a canon named Macarios. A few months later, in December, he was dead.<sup>47</sup>

King Leo III (1269-89) inherited a kingdom none too powerful, but he realized as long as the Mongol alliance was intact, Armenia had a chance for survival. Moreover, expectations were still alive that the papacy could rouse the West into a Crusade.<sup>48</sup> Leo was quick to respond to the Italian city states

43. Grigor of Akanc, pp. 357-59 (xiv.70-89); Hetoum, I, 461. See also M. Canard, "Le royaume d'Arménie-Cilicie et les Mamelouks jusqu'au traité de 1285," *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, NS, 4 (1967), 216-59.

44. Bar Hebraeus, I, 446; Samuel of Ani, I, 462.

45. Grigor of Akanc, p. 353 (xiv.14-20) and pp. 371-73 (xv.29-44).

46. Tournebize, *Histoire*, pp. 215-17.

47. Grigor of Akanc, p. 379 (xvii.1-14); and *Rhymed Chronicle*, I, 524-25.

48. *Annales, anno 1272*, III, no. 47.

of Venice and Genoa requesting additional trading privileges. Ayas was rebuilt and the Italian merchants prospered once more in Armenia.

The period of quiet was shattered when the Mamluks commenced their attacks on Cilicia again in 1275, while at the same time the Turcomans raided the northern frontier. Baybars was able to devastate the Cilician plain but failed to take Sis. At Tarsus the Church of the Holy Wisdom was burned down; fifteen thousand people were killed, ten thousand more enslaved. Famine followed in the wake of the war. In 1279 a Mamluk army reached Hromgla and besieged the catholicos. The Muslims promised James that he and his staff could go to Jerusalem or to Cilicia in safety if the fortress was handed over. James refused, "I will fight until I die." The Mamluks moved off, failing to take the catholicate but spreading destruction everywhere.<sup>49</sup>

Two years later a Mongol army arrived in Syria and Leo joined them with his forces, but suffered a serious defeat near Homs. Finally Leo sought to remove the Mamluk danger with direct consultation; he went to Egypt and there negotiated a treaty between Armenia and the Mamluks which placed his nation in a state of vassalage to Cairo. In return for its survival, Cilician Armenia agreed to an annual tribute of a million dirhams.<sup>50</sup>

The religious policy of Leo, like those of his predecessors, opposed the Greeks and favored the Latins. According to Gregory of Akanc, Leo had to constantly watch for sedition among the Greek nobility living in Cilicia and their efforts to win over the Armenians to their position: "The depraved and apostate nation of Greeks, false Christians, but real Chalcedonites, had ever intended to destroy our monasteries and to protect those who believed in their heresy while destroying those who did not profess it. It was not only they themselves who were doing this, but they had won over by deceit certain of the vardapets, Armenian priests, and vacillating princes to come over to the same faith, and together to oppress the Armenians."<sup>51</sup>

The Latin religious orders, which had already appeared during the reign of his father, took on new importance during Leo's kingship. The Dominicans had organized a province in the Holy Land when Jourdain had become Master General of the Order following the death of Dominic. King Hetoum requested them to found a convent in Cilicia and at the Order's General Council in 1266 this had been approved, but apparently the plans were never accomplished. Individual Dominicans were on the scene, but no foundation existed.<sup>52</sup> Franciscan friars were also in the East, following in the footsteps of their founder

49. Bar Hebraeus, I, 461.

50. *Rhymed Chronicle*, I, 530; de Morgan, p. 239.

51. Grigor of Akanc, p. 380 (xvii.26).

52. L. Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au moyen âge. Les croisades*, 4th ed. (Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1921), p. 214; and R. Loenertz, *La Société des frères pèlerins: étude sur l'Orient dominicain*, Institutum historicum ff. praedicatorum, Romae ad S. Sabinae. *Dissertationes historicae*. fasc. VII (Roma: ad S. Sabinae, 1937), pp. 185-87.



who sought out the Islamic world as the major object of his missionary work. In 1280 John of Monte Corvino, later to be the archbishop of Peking, set up the first Franciscan convent in Cilician Armenia.<sup>53</sup>

Leo III died in February, 1289, and was succeeded by his son Hetoum II (1289-1307). At a time when the fortunes of Armenia needed strong and vigorous leadership, Hetoum was mostly concerned about religious affairs. Samuel of Ani notes, "he remained celibate, wearing the costume of a monk for eighteen years."<sup>54</sup> Since he was extremely devoted to the Catholic church, one of his first acts was to send John of Monte Corvino to Rome with his profession of faith for Pope Nicholas IV and to request that more Franciscans be sent to Cilicia. Pope Nicholas encouraged him to stand firm in his loyalty to the Catholic church which he acknowledged as the "mother of all the faithful." The pope also wrote directly to several princes and other members of the royal household.<sup>55</sup>

Catholicos Constantine II (1286-89) who had replaced James I during the reign of Hetoum's father, was made unhappy by the papal correspondence which he felt interfered in matters which were within his jurisdiction. Therefore, Hetoum ousted him, put him in prison at Lampron, and nominated a candidate, Stephen IV of Hromgla (1290-93), who shared Hetoum's pro-Roman sympathies. Hetoum, like other kings of Cilician Armenia believed his survival lay in fidelity to the Catholic alliance and was even willing to jeopardize his personal popularity with his own subjects, if that proved necessary.<sup>56</sup>

Armenia then had cause to benefit from an upheaval within the Franciscan Order. A rigorist group within the Italian Franciscans known as Spirituals, argued that the order was falling away from its original ideals. Their criticism became so bothersome that the leader of the dissidents, Angelo de Clareno, was sentenced to life imprisonment. When the request from Hetoum arrived in Italy asking that more Franciscans be sent to Armenia, Friar Angelo was released and with five other Spiritual companions was sent packing for Sis. Hetoum was delighted to have such energetic Christians in his kingdom and made them his constant companions.<sup>57</sup>

Meanwhile Acre, the last western stronghold in the East, was placed under

53. L. Lemmens, *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen*, Missionswissenschaftliche abhandlungen und texte, 12 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1929), p. 32; and J. R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 235 ff.

54. Samuel of Ani, I, 463.

55. Nicholas IV to Hetoum, Rieti, 7 July 1289, and to Marie, sister of the queen, Rieti, 14 July 1289, in *Les registres de Nicolas IV. Recueil des bulles de ce pape*, ed. M. E. Langlois, 2 vols. (Paris: E. Thorin, 1886-93), nos. 2229 and 2230; L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, 25 vols. (Roma: typis Rochi Bernabò, 1731-1886), V, 222-23; Lemmens, p. 33.

56. Alishan, *Léon*, p. 369; *idem*, *Sissouan*, p. 298; Tournebize, *Histoire*, p. 218.  
57. Wadding, V, 263; and Moorman, p. 193.

siege by the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil in April, 1291. The defense of the Latins crumbled and the city was taken. The rest of the fortresses on the Levantine coast were no more; only Cilician Armenia and Cyprus were left. Hetoum's response was to dispatch two Franciscans and an Armenian baron to the West to plead for immediate assistance. Pope Nicholas IV promised to take action: he ordered twenty galleys to be constructed and sent pleas to London and Paris to come to the aid of the hard-pressed Christians of Armenia, but unfortunately the Western princes looked upon the salvation of Armenia as one of their least concerns.<sup>58</sup>

At the urging of the Franciscans, Hetoum continued to concern himself with church affairs. He summoned a synod for Sis early in 1292, where his friend, Bishop Gregory of Anazarba, presided. At the king's suggestion the council determined that Easter should be celebrated according to the calendar of the Latin church. The Armenian date for Easter, which differed from both the Greek and Latin churches, was held particularly sacred by many in the nation and Hetoum's action was deeply resented.<sup>59</sup> It is obvious how little the Latin customs were appreciated, since every council which met in Cilicia covered the same ground as the one that preceded it.

There were more serious problems than the dating of Easter at that time for in June the Egyptians under al-Ashraf marched northward again. Their destination was Hromgla, the Armenian catholicate. For thirty-three days the fortress held out, then it fell on 28 July 1292. Catholicos Stephen IV was taken prisoner and led off to Egypt along with twelve other bishops. The vast treasures and relics of the catholicate were seized as plunder, among them the arm of St. Gregory the Illuminator.<sup>60</sup> Within a year Stephen died in prison and the news of his death occasioned an election in Sis for a successor. Hetoum's candidate was the bishop of Anazarba who was elected to the catholicate as Gregory VII (1293-1307). The seat of the catholicate was transferred to Sis, commencing a succession of bishops which has continued with that title to this day.<sup>61</sup>

Having settled religious affairs to his satisfaction, Hetoum handed over the kingdom to his brother Toros. He then went off to become a brother at the Franciscan convent in Sis. Here the king was known simply as Brother John and devoted himself to the service of the convent. Unfortunately for Brother

58. Alishan, *Léon*, p. 369; and Wadding, V, 329.

59. On the question of the date of Easter, see A. Sanjian, "Crazatik 'Erroneous Easter'—a source of Greco-Armenian Religious Controversy," *Studia Caucasia*, 2 (1966), 26-47.

60. Samuel of Ani, I, 463; Hetoum, I, 489. Der Nersessian, II, 656; M. Van Esbroeck, "Chronique Arménienne," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 80 (1962), 430 ff. The arm of Gregory was recovered by Hetoum ten years later.

61. Samuel of Ani, I, 463; Sempad, I, 653. From 1292 till 1895 when the catholicate at Sis was eliminated by the Turks, sixty-three prelates held office there. Since 1930 the catholicos has lived at Antelias in Lebanon.

ern vestments were to be used. Also the fasting seasons of the Armenians were to be brought into line with those in use by the Roman church. The arguments offered by the synod's majority in support of Latinization was that the old and true traditions of the Armenian church had in fact been in complete conformity with the Latins. "One must obey the holy and apostolic church of Rome, because it is founded on the orthodox faith of the Apostle Peter, just as the body obeys the head, thus all the churches that make up the body of Christ must obey him whom Christ has made the head of the church."<sup>70</sup> A chronicler testified to the sentiments of the Caucasian Armenians, "During his reign the Grand Baron Hetoum held a council in which union with the church of Rome was agreed upon and the tradition of our Illuminator was destroyed."<sup>71</sup>

The decisions taken at the council were accepted in Sis and its environs, but ignored by the bishops who came from Muslim or Byzantine-controlled dioceses. In Jerusalem, the Armenian community not only rejected the Council of Sis but Bishop Sargis moved to set up a separate catholicate in the Holy City. Relations were broken with Sis after 1311 and the Mamluk Sultan Nasir-Muhammad recognized Sargis as the head of the Armenians within Egyptian borders. When the bishop of Kars put water into the Eucharistic wine, according to the canon adopted at Sis, he was killed. Such was the tragically divisive result of the Council of Sis.<sup>72</sup>

While Catholicos Constantine and Hetoum sought to bring their church closer to the West, the Mamluks and their allies continued to pressure the Armenians. In 1304 the Egyptians overran more fortresses on the Eastern boundary and were dissuaded from advancing further only on the promise of payment of the annual tribute in advance. A year later a joint Mongol-Armenian force was beaten, but then a recovery occurred which permitted the Council of Sis to be held in relative peace. But in that same year, November, 1307, for reasons which are still not explained, the Mongol commander Bilarghu invited King Leo, the regent Hetoum and forty barons to his camp near Anazarba. When the unsuspecting Armenians arrived they were all massacred. A colophon from an Armenian manuscript simply states, ". . . the Armenian Grand Baron Het'um and his nephew the handsome and bountiful youth Leon, son of Baron Toros, were slain by the wicked Pelarloy [Bilarghu] at the foot of Anazarb which caused great grief among the Armenian nation."<sup>73</sup>

70. Mansi, XXV, 135-48; Balgy, pp. 70-71.

71. Samuel of Ani, I, 465.

72. H. F. Tournèbize, "Arménie," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, ed. A. Baudrillart, A. Vogt, U. Rouzies, et al., (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1912-), I, 318.

73. Colophon of 1307, cited in A. K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301-1480, A Source for Middle Eastern History*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969), p. 54.

One of the royal family who escaped the massacre was the twenty-six year old uncle of Leo IV, Prince Oshin. The catholicos and the nation rallied behind him and at Tarsus he was anointed and crowned as King Oshin I (1308-20). His first activities consisted of a number of successful campaigns to clear the treacherous Mongols from Cilicia. After the massacre Oshin believed that Mongol dependability was forever gone. Contributing to this sentiment was the conversion of the khans of Tabriz to Islam after 1295, hence destroying the anti-Muslim coalition they formerly shared with the Armenians. Armenia was therefore left only with its Western allies, the strongest of whom was the papacy. Oshin was convinced, like many of the Byzantine emperors of this same era, that Western knights would come pouring into Armenia if only the popes directed them to do so. This policy was not a successful one for Roman power was overrated by the Armenians: the national monarchs of the West had more pressing concerns closer to home; their interest in the Crusade was minimal despite papal exhortations to the contrary. On the other hand, by holding to a Latin policy which many felt submerged the national interests the Cilician kings lost the good will of millions of Armenians who lived outside their borders and even within their own kingdom. Both in 1308, at Adana, and a year later at Sis, popular riots took place against the king's religious policies and Latinizing clerics. Oshin put them down with great severity killing some, imprisoning others and putting recalcitrant monks upon a ship bound for Cyprus.<sup>74</sup>

Nevertheless, Oshin never deviated from the course which he felt to be correct. He even traveled to Bitlis to meet with Armenian clerics there to convince them of the value of his policy. In 1311 he called a synod for the capital where deviations from the canons of Sis were strongly denounced. Oshin wrote to Pope Clement V telling of what had happened in Armenia and asking his assistance in settling a dispute between Armenia and Cyprus. He also asked the pope to commission the Franciscans to return to Cilicia. The pope responded affirmatively: six Franciscans were sent; Daniel of Terdona was appointed as Clement's personal legate with the title Archbishop of Tarsus.<sup>75</sup>

Five years later, at a time when both Mongols and Mamluks were again threatening to crush the tiny kingdom, either by military might or economic collapse due to the size of the tribute required, Oshin summoned a new council to meet at Adana in the church of St. Menas. Oshin was well aware the conciliar reforms required by Sis were not being observed. Besides the king,

74. Samuel of Ani, I, 466-67.

75. Clement to Daniel of Terdona; and to Minister general of Franciscans in Cyprus, Priory of Grausello, 22 June 1311 in *Regestum*, nos. 7198 and 7200; Lemmens, p. 32; Wadding, VI, 206. Other sources mention a Dominican archbishop at Tarsus, James of Chiusi. The Latin bishopric lasted until 1366. On Clement's policies, see J. Gay, *Le pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient, 1342-1352* (Paris: Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, 1904).

seventeen bishops were in attendance (ten from Cilicia), five vardapets and a number of monks. The ranking prelates were the Catholicos Constantine, Archbishop John of Tarsus, Constantine of Sis, and Stephen of Adana. A German Dominican friar, Burcard, was also present in the capacity of advisor. Concerning his role in promoting the union of the churches he later wrote: "I have been the promoter, the worker, and the executor."<sup>76</sup> Not only were all of the decisions made at Sis reconfirmed, but several other Latin customs were adopted concerning the administration of the sacraments. As for those opposed to Sis and its decisions the council stated: "We declare them separated by the authority of the Holy Spirit and the Catholic and Apostolic Roman church, and we reject them; moreover we cast them out of our flock and our sheepfold until they make restitution through penance."<sup>77</sup>

A delegation headed by an Armenian bishop, James of Gaban, went with two barons, Stephen and Gerard, to Avignon to report to John XXII on the condition of the Armenian church. The pope found James to be orthodox on all matters and having examined the practices of the church, John discovered only two issues at fault, allowing priests to confirm and to bless the oil used for anointing the sick. John realized, he notes, that this is the Armenian tradition, and that it was done out of "ignorance and simplicity" rather than contempt. He urged James to return with a creed which might be used by his church which contained explicit statements on penance, purgatory, paradise and hell. It included a specific mention of transubstantiation. John asked further that property be given to the Dominicans in Ayas so that a school of religion might be established there. The delegates returned with a gift from the pope of 30,000 sequins and a papal promise to do everything possible to urge King Philip the Fair to send aid to Oshin.<sup>78</sup>

One of the difficulties Oshin had in keeping the Armenian church closely tied to Rome stemmed from the fact that many of the leading Latinists among the Armenians had already departed or were in the process of leaving for Italy and the security of the West. In fact there were already sufficient Armenians in the West to form a religious house in Genoa in 1307 and soon afterward this congregation, called "The Brothers of St. Bartholomew," had communities in a dozen other Italian cities. By 1356 the papacy had given its approval to the group which followed the Rule of St. Augustine.<sup>79</sup>

76. Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 299; Balgy, pp. 73-74. Burcard was the author of *Directorium ad Philippum regem*, in *RhC: Da*, II, 368-527, a tract urging the French king to the crusade. See also A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (rpt., New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1970), pp. 97-98.

77. Balgy, p. 75.

78. *Annales, anno 1317*, V, nos. 35 and 36; and *anno 1318*, V, nos. 8-16. John was shocked that the Mamluks obtained their arms from Genoa.

79. The order survived until 1650. A copy of its rule is found in M. A. van der Oudenrijn, *Les constitutions des Frères Arméniens de Saint Basile en Italie*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 126 (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1940).

Two individual Armenians who became Latin Catholics were Hetoum of Lampron and Daniel of Tarsus. Hetoum was a prince, related to the royal family, whose early life was spent in the court of King Hetoum II. He went off to Cyprus and there joined the Premonstratensians leaving later for France where he met with Clement V and told him the history of the Eastern peoples. Hetoum then went to Poitiers where he became the prior of his order's house in that city. While there, in 1307, he wrote a treatise at the suggestion of the pope, the *Flos historiarum Terre Orientis*, a work which combined history and polemics in encouraging the West to go to the aid of the Christians of the East and Armenia.<sup>80</sup> Daniel of Tarsus was an Armenian Franciscan whose origins were probably in Cyprus. He came to Cilicia in 1310 in the company of Princess Isabelle, daughter of King Leo IV. He took up residence in Sis and taught at the cathedral where he enjoyed considerable influence.<sup>81</sup>

At this time, Pope John XXII commenced a vast missionary effort to convert the East. To further this task the Dominican Raymond Etienne came to Cilicia in 1318 and opened a school of religion at Ayas according to the request made earlier to Oshin. Prompted by the success of a group of Dominican missionaries in the Crimea, who called themselves the "Traveling Brothers" (*Fratres Peregrinantes*), John divided the Asian continent between Franciscans and Dominicans for missionary work in a decree of 1 April 1318. The center of the Dominican missions was established at Sultaniya in Persia. Franco of Perugia was named archbishop; subject to him were six suffragans scattered throughout the East. From this mission a new era of Catholic-Armenian contacts developed in Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan, especially after the founding of the Catholic Armenian order of the Brothers of Unity.<sup>82</sup>

At a time when the Christian East was in such peril, for the Turcomans and Mamluks were again raiding along the frontier, it is hard to realize that Armenia and Cyprus could go to war over dynastic issues, yet such was the case in 1319. A year later Oshin was dead; his son Leo V (1320-41), then eleven years of age, was his successor. Because of his youth, his uncle, also named Oshin, prince of Gorigos, was made regent. He was a man of tyrannical qualities, who hoped to aggrandize his own position by marrying his daughter to the young king. A dispensation was forwarded by John XXII for the cousins to marry so Oshin's goal was achieved.

In 1321 the situation was so perilous in Cilicia that the royal court had to flee to Ayas and place itself under the protection of Venice. A year later, the

80. The Old French and Latin versions are to be found in *RhC: Da*, II, 114-369; and Atiya, p. 62.

81. *RhC: Da*, II, 559 ff.

82. Loenertz, p. 187; M. van den Oudenrijn, "Uniteurs et Dominicains d'Arménie," *Oriens Christianus*, 40 (1956), 94-112; C. Frazee, "Catholic Missions to Nakhichevan and Azerbaijan," *Diakonia*, 9, No. 3 (1974), 251-60. The official name of the brothers was *Fratres Unitores*.

city was taken and a new agreement with the Mamluks was signed which promised them 50 percent of the customs of the port and half of the taxes gathered from the sale of salt.<sup>83</sup>

In this same year Catholicos Constantine III died, to be followed by Constantine IV of Lampron (1322-26). His four year tenure in office was marked by a personal attempt to negotiate a treaty with the Mamluk prince at Aleppo. In return for an increase in the tribute, Armenia was allowed to rebuild its forts. Pope John XXII saw the Egyptians, led by a new Pharaoh, seeking "to abolish the name and worship of Christians from that land." He assisted the Armenian effort by sending 37,000 florins to rebuild Ayas and to strengthen its defenses. He also secured 10,000 bezants from Philip V and convinced the Mongols to send a contingent of cavalry to support Armenia.<sup>84</sup>

Constantine was followed in the Catholicate by James II of Tarsus (1327-41). James had formerly been the superior of the monastery of Kaitisor near Erivan, but unlike many other Caucasians favored close relations with Rome. He supervised the church from Sis, still attempting to keep Catholic-Armenian relations intact despite the obvious difficulties inherent in that position.<sup>85</sup> In 1335 the Mamluks marched again on Cilicia; two years later they struck Sis, destroyed the royal castle and forced Leo to sign a humiliating treaty which virtually incorporated Armenia into the empire of Nasir Muhammad. Later King Leo wrote Pope Benedict XII asking for a dispensation from the oath he made to the Mamluks in arranging a truce on the obvious grounds that it had not been given freely. Benedict obliged him in May, 1338.<sup>86</sup> A new assault was made by the Egyptians in the following year, making "the land of Armenia a desert."<sup>87</sup>

The Cilician church came under attack from an unexpected quarter around 1340 when accusations were raised by the Armenian Catholics of Nakhichevan that those in Leo's kingdom were not sufficiently orthodox. The charges against the Armenians in Cilicia were drawn up by the Brothers of Unity, principally Nerses Balients, bishop of Urmia. Nerses found a total of 117 errors then in vogue among the Cilicians which he enumerated in an unsigned document which was sent to Avignon for the eyes of Pope Benedict XII.<sup>88</sup>

83. Samuel of Ani, I, 467.

84. *Annales, anno 1322*, V, nos. 30-37; *anno 1323*, V, nos. 4-9.

85. Sempad, I, 669; John XXII to Gerald of Paphos, Avignon, 3 March 1329, in *Lettres communes, Jean XXII (1316-1334)*, ed. G. Mollat, 19 vols. in 15 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1904-59), VI, no. 46246.

86. Benedict XII to Leo, Avignon, 1 May 1338, in *Benoît XII (1334-1342)-Lettres communes*, ed. J. M. Vidal, 3 vols. in 5 pts. (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1903-11), II, no. 6161. Benedict XII had previously offered a plenary indulgence to any Catholic taking up the Crusader's sword in behalf of Armenia. *Ibid.*, Avignon, 1 May 1331, I, no. 3971.

87. Samuel of Ani, I, 468. *Annales, anno 1335*, nos. 33-34; *Anno 1336*, no. 40; *anno 1337*, no. 24.

88. In *RhC: Da*, II, 559-650.

This communication arrived in France at the same time delegates from King Leo V were there seeking new military and financial assistance for the hard-pressed kingdom. Happily one of these was the Franciscan Daniel of Tarsus who immediately wrote an answer to the charges made by Nerses entitled the *Response of Brother Daniel to the Errors Imputed to the Armenians*. Daniel charged that the anonymous author was Nerses whom he accused of having once been deposed because of his own bad doctrine and unworthy life. Although Daniel was trusted by the pope, Benedict believed that there were errors in the church and asked that a synod be convened at Sis to correct them.<sup>89</sup>

Meanwhile in Cilician Armenia Leo had a falling out with Catholicos James II and dismissed him. He was replaced according to the king's wishes, with Mekhitar I (1341-55). Leo did not live through the year; he was killed in August, 1341, and the Armenian nobility chose the Cypriote Guy of Lusignan (1342-44) to succeed him. Guy was the son of the Armenian Isabelle and King Amalric of Cyprus, thus bringing a new dynasty to Sis. Guy took the name Constantine II to please his Armenian subjects, but with him came a large number of French barons and knights. He sent a delegation to Pope Clement VI seeking his support. Clement promised to represent him before the European monarchs, but requested Guy first search out the "heretics" in the Armenian church and expel them.<sup>90</sup> As so often happened in the past, the Western ways of their king and his court offended the sensibilities of the Armenians. Guy and his brother were killed by rebels in November, 1344. The news troubled the pope when he heard it for he felt Guy to be a "true Catholic."<sup>91</sup>

The crown of Armenia now passed to the native Armenian Constantine III (1344-62). Despite the fact he was the candidate of the national party, Constantine was eager to hold the church of the kingdom within the Roman orbit. The small extent of his realm and its weakness did not leave him any choice. With the assent of the Catholicos Mekhitar, the council requested by the Papacy was summoned to meet in Sis in 1345. The main order of business was for the church to respond to the 117 charges made against it. In attendance were six archbishops, twenty-three bishops and five vardapets mainly from Cilicia but with the church of the Seljuk sultanate also well represented.<sup>92</sup> The council listened to all 117 charges made against the orthodoxy of

89. *Annales, anno 1341*, nos. 45-70.

90. Clement to Guy, Avignon, 8 Sept. and 11 Sept. 1344, in *Clement VI (1342-1352), Lettres closes, patentes et curiales*, ed. E. Déprez and G. Mollat, 3 vols. in 4 (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1901-61), II, no. 1098.

91. Jean Dardel, *Chronicle of Armenia*, 35, in *RhC: Da*, II, 27. The pope queried an Armenian delegation then at Avignon why Guy had been killed. They replied they could give no reasons.

92. Mansi, supplement III, 446-536.

the Cilician church. Among the issues were questions of doctrine such as the relation between the Persons in the Trinity, the procession of the Holy Spirit, and original sin. In addition, many trifling matters were included, hardly deserving of a response, yet the council answered each accusation in detail with quotations from the Fathers and Scriptures. The work composed by Daniel of Tarsus was used as a model.<sup>93</sup>

A report of the council was forwarded to Avignon. Pope Clement VI was not completely satisfied since the Brothers of Unity pointed out flaws in the response. He decided to dispatch two delegates, Bishop-designate John of Coron and Archbishop Anthony Aribandi of Gaeta to personally investigate the religious situation in Cilicia. They were equipped with broad powers to carry out their mission. The delegates met with Catholics Mekhitar and his clergy and questioned them vigorously; although the Armenians claimed they willingly obeyed the Holy Father in all things, took an oath upon the Gospels "they were good, true, obedient and loyal Christians to the Holy Father and to the Holy Church of Rome," signed a profession of faith and affixed their seals, the legates were not convinced of their sincerity.<sup>94</sup> A new papal commission was sent to Sis in October, 1350, headed by Odo of Paphos with orders to instruct, solidify, and confirm the people in the faith. Odo submitted a detailed questionnaire to the harassed Mekhitar; he also brought copies of Gratian's *Decretals* which he hoped the Armenians would adopt. The catholicos answered his examiners and at last convinced them that, in no way, he held doctrines contrary to the church of Rome. Clement VI promised the Armenians 12,000 gold bezants and 1,000 knights if they remained loyal to the Catholic church in the correspondence which followed.<sup>95</sup>

Before his death, Mekhitar was asked once more to make a profession of faith. It was to be received by the Dominican superior of the Holy Land and the heresy-hunting Bishop Nerses of Balients, whose suspicion of Mekhitar presumably could never be satisfied. Mekhitar rightfully refused to see Bishop Nerses. Instead he and King Constantine sent the former catholicos, James II, to visit Innocent VI at Avignon to assure the pope and his court of the devotion of the Armenians in Cilicia to Catholicism. This mission was performed so well that when Mekhitar died in 1355, James II took up the catholicate a second time. For the next four years he governed the church in complete con-

93. *Ibid.*, XXV, 1185-1270; Mércérian, p. 113; Wadding, XII, 326-27; Tournebize, *Histoire*, pp. 670-74.

94. Dardal, II, 28-29 (37); Clement VI, to Bertrand, Cardinal of St. Mark's, Avignon, 3 Sept. 1346, in *Lettres*, II, pt. 1, no. 2777. The Archbishop of Armagh, Richard Fitzralph, composed a work entitled *Summa in questionibus Armenorum* as a result of these doctrinal problems. See W. R. Jones, "The Armenian Church and the Papacy in the Fourteenth Century: Richard Fitzralph's Critique of Armenian Christianity," *Armenian Review*, 25 (1972), 3-9.

95. *Annales, anno 1346*, VI, nos. 67-68; *anno 1347*, VI, nos. 28-29; and *anno 1350*, no. 37.

formity with the wishes of the Catholic church. He was followed in office by Mesrop of Ardaz (1359-72) who immediately sent a profession of faith to the West. However, the question of mixing water in the Eucharistic wine was still resisted by many of his clergy, so that at their demand, the practice was dropped by a synod held in 1361.<sup>96</sup>

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The political situation was little improved during these years. Constantine's kingdom was frequently at the mercy of Muslim attacks despite help from the papacy, Cyprus, and the Hospitallers, now stationed on Rhodes. The Black Death struck Cilicia in 1360 and its effects lingered on. Finally in 1362, Constantine III died without any heir. Peter I Lusignan of Cyprus claimed the throne but Pope Urban V nominated Leo, a nephew of Constantine II. For approximately a year Leo VI ruled as king (1363-64) but the Armenian nobility chose a Hetoumid cousin of the late monarch to be Constantine IV (1364-73). To hold his throne, the Armenian king promised to be a faithful vassal of Cyprus. Thus when Peter's fleet attacked the city of Alexandria in 1365 the Armenians in Mamluk territory were punished as his allies.<sup>97</sup>

Constantine IV was unable to rally his kingdom. There was, in truth, little prospect for success since the size of his domain was so small and its resources so few; only outside aid could have saved him. During the course of these years church leadership passed from Mesrop to Constantine V of Sis (1372-74) who ruled for two years; then Paul I of Sis (1374-77) was elected to the catholicate.<sup>98</sup>

In April, 1373, Constantine IV was killed and Mary, widow of Constantine III was declared regent. But on Cyprus Leo VI once again put forth his claim to Sis and was supported by Pope Urban V. In September, 1374, he deposed Mary. In the Church of the Holy Wisdom the Cypriote prince was crowned jointly by a Latin bishop of Cyprus and the Catholicos Paul (1374-75). Leo had not been in power a month before an army led by al-Malik al-Ashraf, the Muslim emir of Aleppo, appeared outside the walls of Sis. Leo asked his soldiers to swear they would fight as good Christians as long as possible to pre-

96. L. Arpee, *A History of Armenian Christianity from the Beginning to Our Own Time* (New York: The Armenian Missionary Association of America, Inc., 1946), pp. 158-60; and Vernier, pp. 254-56.

97. Sanjian, *Colophons*, pp. 95-96. Urban V praised the Armenian church in his day for "the clarity of its faith." See *Annales, anno 1365*, VII, no. 21.

98. Vernier, p. 257; Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 261.

serve the kingdom. The siege continued throughout the whole winter and into the spring. There was nothing to eat; the situation became impossible, so that on 6 April 1375 the Armenians surrendered to the Muslim army. The city was plundered, its churches destroyed, the king, his wife and child were taken prisoners. Leo was offered an opportunity to win back his throne by becoming a Muslim but he refused. The kingdom of Cilician Armenia had come to an end. An eye witness, the bishop of Zakare, reported his feelings, "Who can recount in writing the tragedy which my eyes witnessed for I saw the bright sun, the stars, and the moon fall down."<sup>99</sup>

King Leo's wife and daughter died in captivity in Jerusalem, where they were buried in the monastery of St. James. The king was put into the Citadel of Cairo until 1382 when he was ransomed and released on a promise never to return to the East. He visited the courts of the West and died in Paris, a prisoner of the French King Charles VI, in 1393. He was buried in the royal chapel of St. Denis where his tomb is still to be seen. In Sis, Catholicos Paul was allowed to keep his see, subject now to the Muslim governor of the city, Yakuhsah. Later his successor in the catholicate, Theodore II (1377-92) was killed by the Muslims along with many of the remaining nobles. By this time many of the Armenians had left Cilicia; only ruins remained to testify to the importance that Sis once enjoyed as the capital of the Armenian people.<sup>100</sup>

The end of the kingdom also meant that relations with the Roman church were severed despite individual efforts to keep the union alive. The center of Catholic Armenia now passed to Nakhichevan and Azerbaijan where the Brothers of Unity continued to win thousands of converts to the Catholic faith. The Armenians were represented at the Council of Florence by a delegation sent from the Genoese colony of Caffa. During the Ottoman period the cause of Catholicism once again prospered among the Armenians until the disaster which struck the whole nation during World War I decimated its numbers. It survives today among the Armenian emigration with its patriarchate in Lebanon.

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99. Quoted in Sanjian, *Colophons*, p. 99; cf. *Annales, anno 1375*, VII, no. 9.  
100. Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 261.

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*Aspar and the Burden of Barbarian Heritage*

Somewhere on the distant Danube frontier at mid-fifth century an eastern Roman embassy, made famous by the historian Priscus who was in the party, was returning from a visit to Attila the Hun. To break the monotony or for whatever reason, the chief envoy Maximinus treated himself to a gratuitous insult of two eminent generals, Areobindus and Aspar, who were not there, despising them as inconsequential barbarians.<sup>1</sup> These generals had failed to withstand the Huns' invasions and were therefore probably in bad odor politically. But it is significant that this Roman, possibly a *spectabilis comes*, a secondary rank of the aristocracy, felt secure enough in his prejudice to sneer about two "barbarians" who were in fact *illustres* of the highest senatorial status and both claiming long honorable careers in the imperial military service.<sup>2</sup>

Contempt in the Roman world for barbarians and their Arian heresy (often inseparable as objects of opprobrium) had not waned much since reactions in the first decade to the revolt of Gainas and to the regency of the Vandal Stilicho and probably imbued all strata of society throughout the empire.<sup>3</sup> The ambivalence born of prejudice could lead Sidonius, a senator, to extol Aspar's contemporary the *magister* Ricimer, for example, as *quem publica fata respiciunt*, yet admit to detesting barbarians generally.<sup>4</sup>

1. Priscus of Panium, *Fragmenta 8*, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* [hereafter *FHG*], ed. K. Müller, 5 vols. (Paris, 1848-72), IV, 95. On the generals, see O. Seeck, "Ariovindus," and "Ardabur," in *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, eds. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll *et al.* [hereafter *Pauly-Wissowa*], 31 vols., rev. ed. (Stuttgart, 1894-), II, 841, no. 1, and 606-10, nos. 1-3. Some additional recent works dealing with Aspar are G. Vernadsky, "Flavius Ardabur Aspar," *Südostforschungen*, 6 (1941), 38-73; W. Ensslin, "Marcianus," in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XIV, 1514-29, no. 34, and "Leo," *ibid.*, XII, 1947-61; A. Demandt, "magister militum," *ibid.*, supplement, XII, at 748-53; B. S. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West: From their First Appearance in the Sources of Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 1973), pp. 42-50, 76, 98, and 102. On the ethnic heritage in addition to Vernadsky and Bachrach, see also M. Vasmer, *Schriften zur slavischen Altertumskunde und Namenkunde*, Veröffentlichungen der Abteilung für Slavische Sprachen und Literaturen des Osteuropa-Instituts (Slavisches Seminar) and der Freien Universität Berlin, Bd. 38, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1971), I, 132.

2. On Maximinus, see W. Ensslin, "Maximinus und sein Begleiter, der Historiker Priskos," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 5 (1926-27), 1-9.

3. Most conveniently on Gainas and the reaction after Stilicho, see E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire. De l'état romain à l'état byzantin (284-476)*, 2 vols. in 3 (rpt. 1949-59; Amsterdam, 1968), I, 235-37, and 254-55.

4. Sidonius Apollinaris, *Panegyricus Anthemio*, 352-53, and *Epistulae*, 7. 14. 10, in *Sidonius, Poems and Letters*, trans. W. B. Anderson, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols. (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1936-65), I.