CHAPTER FORTY-FOUR

THE MONGOLS IN THE EYES OF THE ARMENIANS

Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries formed one of the richest periods in Armenian historiography, as more than ten historians and chronologists wrote their works during this period. Samuel Anets'i, Mkhit'ar Anets'i, Matheos Urhayets'i, Mkhit'ar Ayrivanets'i, Vardan Arevelts'i, Kirakos Gandzakets'i, Grigor Aknerts'i, Vahram Rabuni, Smbat Sparapet, Het'um Patmich' and Step'annos Orbelian are among those whose work has survived to the present time.

From 1220 to 1344, Greater Armenia was under Mongol control. Mongol scouting expeditions in pursuit of Muhammad Khwarazmshah (r. 1200–1220) and his son Jalal al-Din (1220–1231), witnessed the first face-to-face contact between the Armenians and Mongols. The latter viewed Greater Armenia as a strategic crossroad connecting Iran with Anatolia, and the Caucasus with the Qipchaq steppes. Thus, Greater Armenia was partitioned by the Seljuks, the Georgians and the Ayyubids. Only some of the southern territories were directly ruled by Armenians. Moreover, it was a suitable location to mount campaigns, not only into Georgia but also into Anatolia. This ambition was accomplished in 1243, bringing the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum under Mongol rule.

The Mongols issued the Armenians with a standard set of demands, made to all newly conquered peoples or lands. These demands required the local king or lord to present themselves at the Mongol court; the delivery of hostages, usually sons of the nobility; the provision of armed forces; the submission of household registers; payment of taxes; and the provision of stations (jams) for the Mongol governors.

This work analyses how individual Armenian lords manipulated the Mongols to resolve personal and local disputes over land whilst also allying themselves with the Mongols to prevent Muslim incursions into Cilician Armenia.

GREATER ARMENIAN LORDS AND THE MONGOLS

During and after the destructive Mongol conquest of Transcaucasia, some Georgio-Armenian princes, recognizing the authority of the Mongols, decided to support the
Mongol regime and thus secure their rights and lands. Kirakos Gandzakets'i (1200–1271) is very explicit about the extent of the destruction wrought by the Mongols in Greater Armenia and Georgia. He also shows great concern about the Armenian lords’ actions under Mongol pressure. One of the lords’ key decisions, whether voluntary or under Mongol compulsion, was to visit the court of the Mongol qa’ans. Regular visits to the court was one strategy to reinforce Mongol control over their vassal princes. In my opinion, however, many Armenian princes viewed this sojourn as an opportunity to press their own agenda at the apex of Mongol power. Some of these lords used their time in Mongolia to resolve personal or local conflicts and remove their Georgian or Armenian competitors from the political arena, an aim that perfectly suited Mongol policy.

Awag (d. 1250), the son of Iwane Zak’arian (d. 1234), was the first Caucasian noble to acquiesce to Mongol rule. The account of his submission was given by the Armenian historian Kirakos Gandzakets'i in his History of the Armenians. This account may be viewed as a template for the future submission of other Armenian princelings to the Mongols. It is likely that Awag’s treatment at the hands of the Mongols, specifically the Mongol leader Chormaqan (ca. 1218–1242), influenced the other lords’ decision to submit.

The act of submission secured Awag’s land. His friendship with Chormaqan inoculated his lands from further Mongol aggression. In return, Awag was obliged to take his troops against the city of Ani and participate in Baiju’s conquest of Anatolia. After the escape of the Georgian Queen Rusudan (1223–1245) to Swanetia, Awag became the most influential figure at the Georgian royal court. He was de facto ruler of Greater Armenia, and the Mongol administrators sent him to the qa’an in recognition of this fact. The exact date of Awag’s journey to Mongolia is not known, although he paid this visit before the death of Chormaqan, presumably in 1240/1241. According to Kirakos Gandzakets'i, Awag himself was disposed to make this journey to help the situation in his country. In fact, the qa’an, presumably Ögödei Qa’an (r. 1229–1241), received the prince, gave him a Mongol wife and sent him home. To my knowledge, there are no records in the Armenian historical annals or church council documents about the regulation of Mongol–Armenian marriages. In view of the fact that the children of such marriages were baptized, one can conclude that these mixed marriages were accepted by the Armenian church. After his return from the Mongol court, Awag was restored to his lordship over his dominion. Nevertheless, according to Kirakos Ganzakets’i, in 1245 Awag fled to Queen Rusudan due to violence from Mongol tax collectors.

The Mongols considered this action as rebellion, so Awag had to write a letter to the qa’an explaining that his action was not a revolt but that he was only escaping from disorder. A messenger called Tonqus-aqa came from Güyük Kha’an (r. 1246–1248) to Awag with guarantees of immunity. In return, Awag was obliged to convince the Georgian queen to submit voluntarily to the qa’an. Queen Rusudan, however, died in 1245 before this order could be fulfilled. She voluntarily consumed poison to escape the constant Mongol pressure, but left a will entrusting her kingdom to Awag Zak’arian.

Awag died in 1250. His submission had a domino effect on the other lords. The Armenian princes of the Orbelian, P’oshian, Dop’ian, Vach’utian and Jalalian houses co-operated with Mongol administrators in order to retain their principalities, which
had been under the suzerainty of the Zak'arids during the previous century. It was understood that those who accepted the new order would regain their lands from the Mongol commanders, as was the case between Elikum Orbelian and Aslan [Arslan] Noyan. The good will of the Armenian lords was welcomed by the Mongols, who gave them enchü (injü) status – the qa’an’s owned people – which in Orbelian’s History of the Siwnik’ Province is interpreted as teruni, or lord’s people. Although this status meant that the Mongols imposed some direct obligations on these lords, it did allow the latter, who had previously allied with the Georgian king, exemption from tax and other extraordinary exactions vis-à-vis the Mongols. Closer alliance with the Mongols also meant that the Orbelians abandoned their former obligations to the Georgian king. This was true as well for Hasan Jalal Dawla (d. 1261) of the Khachen province, the next Armenian noble to submit to the Mongols.

Amir Arghun (d. 1275), the administrator who oversaw Mongol taxation, disliked Hasan Jalal and treated him harshly. At times, Arghun even accused Hasan of corruption. In 1251, to escape Amir Arghun, Hasan Jalal journeyed to the Mongol prince Sartaq of the Jochid Ulus. Sartaq took Hasan Jalal to his father, Batu Khan (fl. 1205–1255), who returned to Hasan Jalal his patrimony of Ch’araberd, Akanay and Karkarn, which the Seljuks and the Georgians had previously taken from him. Using his close relationship with Sartaq, he succeeded in separating Khachen from Georgia and the Zak’arid princes and assumed the title of Lord of Khachen for himself.

In 1255, when Sartaq went to visit Möngke Qa’an (r. 1251–1259), Hasan Jalal joined him with his family, as is mentioned in the colophons of the Gospel (Echmiadzin, no. 232) in 1261. He was granted enchü status by Möngke in 1255. In return, he was obliged to perform military service every year. His position was secured by the marriage of his daughter to Bora Noyan, the son of Chormaqan. However, his daughter’s marriage could not guarantee his life. In 1261, having lost the protection of Sartaq, who died in 1257, Hasan Jalal was tortured and killed by Amir Arghun in Qazvin for failing to pay taxes.

Another prince to whom Möngke Qa’an granted enchü status was Smbat Orbelian of the Siwnik’ province, who visited Qaraqorum in 1251/1252. He went there to secure his land from Gontsa, the wife of the late Awag, who had infringed on his territory. In the narration of his journey written by Step’annos Orbelian, Smbat, in return for a valuable precious stone (a ruby) presented to the qa’an, retained the lands of Vorotan up to the boundaries of Borotna and Bghen, within which the Siwnik’ court of Tat’ew was located. Besides this, he received Eghegis with the district of Vayots’ Dzor, P’oghahanos, Urts, Vedi with the valley of Ererawn and many villages in Kotaik and Geghark’uni.

Just before the vital shift of Mongol power from Baiju noyan to Hülegü Khan in Greater Armenia, Smbat Orbelian secured his dominions against the Zak’arids and the Georgian king by travelling a second time to Möngke Qa’an in 1256. The independence of the Orbelian prince was reflected in the inscriptions of 1261, where he is referred to as ‘King Smbat’. Smbat Orbelian cultivated the favour of Hülegü to confront a serious opponent, Sadun Arts’runi/Mankaberdeli...
(d. 1284), the atabeg, or army commander, of Awag. Seeing that Smbat possessed strong ambition, Sadun Arts’runi decided to support Gontsa, the wife of the late Awag, who later married the Georgian King David (r. 1259–1270).\(^6\) While Smbat was in Qaraqorum, Sadun replaced him as the guardian of Khoshak,\(^7\) the daughter of Awag and Gontsa, according to an anonymous Georgian source of the thirteenth century, and he was consequently recognized by the Georgian court.\(^8\) Thus, Sadun became an influential figure in the political arena. Later, Hulegu recognized and honoured Sadun after he defeated the most valiant Mongol wrestler.\(^9\) The wrestling match at the Mongol court was perhaps equivalent to the Christian knights’ jousting tournaments. Being a successful wrestler in the ring meant being a good warrior in the field. Therefore, according to another Armenian historian, Grigor Aknerts’i (1250–1335), Sadun’s victory impressed the Mongols.

When Abaqa Khan (r. 1265–1282) succeeded to the Ilkhanid throne, Sadun befriended Shams al-Din Juvayni, the sabibdivan (executed in 1284), whom Khoshak, Sadun’s protégée, married in 1269.\(^{10}\) After Hulegu’s death, Smbat Orbelian lost his influential role in the political life of Armenia, and Sadun became the favourite of Abaqa. Moreover, he strengthened his position as atabeg of Georgia.\(^{31}\) The cities of Kars, Telavi and Bailaqan were separated from royal Georgian control and given to Sadun Arts’runi.\(^{32}\) To re-establish the Orbelian House’s authority, Smbat’s brother, Tarsaich, who was called a ‘valiant man’ by Step’annos Orbelian (1250/1260–1304), expressed his will to be loyal to Ilkans Abaqa and Arghun.\(^{33}\)

The contacts between Armenian lords and the Mongols inoculated Greater Armenia from heavy Mongol repression. Later, obtaining support from the Ilkhans, the Armenian lords secured control of their Houses and lands.

### THE CILICIAN ALLIANCE WITH THE MONGOLS

If the princes of Greater Armenia built personal relations with Mongol commanders and qa’ans, the king of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia followed a different paradigm. The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia held a unique historical position among the Christian states of the Levant, with its ties to the kingdom of Cyprus, the principality of Antioch and its very tense diplomatic relations with the papacy. The attempt by Rome to force the Armenian church to adopt Catholicism,\(^{34}\) together with the direct threat from the Seljuks, made King Het’um I (r. 1226–1270) await the outcome of the Mongol battle against the Seljuks in Köse Dagh in 1243 before undertaking any significant diplomatic activity. The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia chose to begin negotiations with the Mongols prior to their advance on Cilicia. In 1243, King Het’um sent his brother Smbat Sparapet (1208–1276), the Armenian commander in chief from 1226 to 1276, along with his father, Baron Kostandin, to Baiju to proffer their ‘obedience’.\(^{35}\) Baiju, who was advancing on western Asia Minor, demanded that Cilician Armenia deliver to him the mother, wife and daughter of the Seljuk sultan.\(^{36}\) For an account of this exchange, we have the Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet.\(^{37}\) Fearing that the Mongols would advance onto his land, Het’um decided to hand over the sultan’s relatives. The Syriac chronicle of Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286) reacts to this incident critically, as a ‘hateful act’ of diplomacy.\(^{18}\) This act was the reason some Armenian nobles rebelled against Het’um, joining the Seljuks and occupying a few Armenian fortresses.\(^{39}\) However, Het’um was determined to submit to
the Mongols and, by handing over the sultan’s family and turning the Sultanate of Rum into his irreconcilable enemy, he gained Mongol confidence. Het’um’s foreign policy towards the Mongols started in Caesarea and paved the way for securing the survival of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. He reached an agreement whereby Cilician Armenia acknowledged its dependence on the Mongol Empire and was obliged to supply forces and provisions when requested and send a delegation to the Mongol court. The Mongols, in turn, promised to preserve the sovereignty and independence of Cilician Armenia and to provide military protection against attacks by Cilicia’s Muslim neighbours. It was on these terms that Armenian sources claim Baiju sent Smbat Sparapet to the Mongol qa’an Güyük (r. 1246–1248). Smbat Sparapet and his father, Kostandin, left Cilicia in 1246 for the Mongol court at Qaraqorum, where Smbat, as the ambassador of the Armenian king, made his submission to Güyük. The act of submission, which was accompanied by the grant of a jarliq and gerege, indicates a royal reception. Moreover, the giving of a Mongol woman in marriage and thus the creation of a vassal as son-in-law, indicated that Güyük recognized Het’um’s claim to the throne of Cilicia.

A brief account of Smbat’s journey to Mongolia can also be found in a letter from Smbat to his brother-in-law, Henry I Lusignan of Cyprus, written in 1248 at Samarqand. From this letter, we conclude that Smbat visited Qaraqorum in 1248. The letter makes it clear that the Cilician delegation came to the Mongol court to make a vow of peace and to submit to the qa’an. They were well received, and after a four-year journey, which also confirms that their journey was not to Batu Khan of the Jochid Ulus, they returned to the Armenian capital at Sis in 1250. Unfortunately, the Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet, despite being one of the most important Armenian sources for the history of Cilician Armenia, the Crusades and the Mongols, contains little information about his visit to Mongolia.

The success of the Cilician Armenian negotiations with the Mongols is a matter of interest. Through their intelligence network, the Mongols came to know well the internal and external preoccupations of the region. They knew that Cilician Armenia was a small Christian state which was in conflict with surrounding hostile Muslim sultanates and that the Armenians needed an alliance with a larger power to guarantee their independence. On the other hand, the Sultanate of Rum was still ‘a stumbling block’ to Mongol expansion, and having a loyal vassal state to rely on would be an advantage for them. This situation assured the success of the first stage of Mongol–Armenian negotiations. However, there was one demand: King Het’um was ordered to visit the Mongol Court in person. Following this ‘invitation’, Het’um I visited the court of the Mongol qa’an in Qaraqorum, making the journey of 3,500 miles in 1253/1254.

Many contemporary Armenian authors document this historical episode. Grigor Aknerts’i states that King Het’um went to Mongolia because of his love for the Christians and his concern for his own land. Vardan Arevelts’i (ca. 1200–1271) verifies that He’tum made a successful trip to Mongolia. Kirakos Gandzakets’i records the journey of King Het’um to Qaraqorum and describes the historical geography of Central Asia in special detail. Zoology, mineralogy, aspects of Buddhism and folklore from Central Asia also occupied significant space in Kirakos’s account. He gives a list of 16 localities through which Het’um passed, some of which are recorded only in his history. Het’um Patmich’, the historian known as Hayton,
provides extensive references to King Het'um's journey. Modern scholars have examined the routes of the journeys taken by King Het'um and other travellers of that period, such as Plano Carpini and William Rubruck, and attempts have been made to reconstruct the routes of these travellers. According to Boyle, the itinerary of the Armenian king through Uyghur country seems to have been the most popular route to Mongolia. His trip along the right bank of the Syr Darya was, perhaps, the most interesting part for the medieval travellers.

Möngke Qa’an (r. 1251–1259) received King Het'um (r. 1226–1270). According to Smbat Sparapet, the Mongol qa’an “fulfilled all requests of the Armenian King”. Kirakos makes it clear that King Het’um remained in Möngke Qa’an’s ordu for 50 days and that he gave the Armenian king an edict that “no one harass him or his country”. Moreover, he indicates that Möngke gave him a document proclaiming the freedom of the church everywhere. Based on these sources, it is clear that the Cilician king made his submission to the Mongols.

The only source that highlights the travel of King Het’um is the early fourteenth-century work of Het’um Patmich’. To highlight the plausibility of this source, it is worth taking an overview of the issues raised in this work. According to Het’um Patmich’, Möngke Qa’an welcomed the Armenian king graciously because of his voluntary submission and his desire to establish peace and an alliance with the Mongol rulers. It is said that the Armenian king discussed with the qa’an several points of assisting Christian Armenians against the Muslims, including the conversion of the Mongols to Christianity.

Some scholars see the purpose of this work and this agreement itself, especially the two clauses relating to the baptism of Möngke and to the liberation of the Holy Land and its restoration to Christian possession, as sheer fantasy on the part of Het’um Patmich’, who desired to “set Christian-Mongol relations on a new footing”. However, as was said, Kirakos clearly referred to the visit and document itself. We admit that the existence of such a document is not certain; however, the agreement illustrates the existence of Mongol–Armenian relations, and it commands attention. Het’um Patmich’ wrote that the pledges given by Möngke were simply an expansion of those given by his predecessor Güyük. This implies that there was an agreement, possibly a memorandum, written or oral, between Güyük and Smbat Sparapet. Although almost nothing is known about this agreement, according to Het’um Patmich’, Möngke promised to liberate the Holy Land and delegated these duties to his brother Hülegü with assistance from Batu and other Mongol noyans (commanders) stationed in Russia and Rum. Moreover, the qa’an agreed to free Armenian churches and monasteries in Mongol territory from taxation. In return, one can assume that the Mongols required the same things from the Armenians as that they required from their other vassals and allies: obedience, tribute, provisions and soldiers.

King Het’um returned home in 1256, encouraged by Mongol promises. On his way out and back, he passed through Greater Armenia, where many local princes and ecclesiastics welcomed him. It was the first time that a ruler of Cilicia had come into direct contact with the mother country. On his return, in October 1256, Het’um immediately called on Mongol backing against the Sultanate of Rum, near the city of Arakly. He went there with an army of allegedly 100,000 people, including all his relatives with their azats (nobles) in revenge for the devastation of
the fortress and church of Murand by the Seljuks. Evidently, the Seljuks were no longer seen as a threat by the Cilician Armenians after the latter concluded their submission to the Mongols.\textsuperscript{68} Despite the refusal of the Latin Christian states to follow Het’um’s example and adapt to changing conditions by allying themselves with the Mongol Empire, the Mongol–Armenian relationship was beneficial as long as the Mongols stayed in power in the nearby region.

**CONCLUSION**

In considering the Mongols’ advance on their lands, the Armenian lords decided to deal with this new pressure by building personal relationships with the Mongol leaders. But the hopeless situation of the Armenian lords in the face of the barbarous invaders changed over time, and their personal contact with the Mongols turned into cooperation. The surrender of Greater Armenia proceeded gradually as each of the great princes came to terms with the nomadic newcomers. Due to these submissions, Mongol power guaranteed the Armenians not only security in their own lands but also an extension of their patrimony by removing their local opponents from the political arena. In the long run, this policy suited the Mongols. They preferred to have the Armenian lords attached to them rather than to the Georgian court, ensuring that the Georgio-Armenian lords remained disunited. The Cilician Armenians also preserved their lands through loyalty to the Mongol qa’an and military alliance with them against their Muslim neighbours. This alliance secured their political independence in the region. In return, the Mongols gained reliable vassals to assist them in their military activities.

**NOTES**

2 Gandzakets’i Kirakos 1961, 257.
4 Gandzakets’i Kirakos 1961, 238.
5 Gandzakets’i Kirakos 1961, 262.
7 Vasil Tatar, the son of Smbat Sparapet by his Mongol wife, was baptized and knighted in 1265 and was a general-in-chief of the Cilician Armenians; Smbat Sparapet in Der Nersessian 1973, 373–374.
8 Gandzakets’i Kirakos 1961, 266.
12 Step’annos Orbelian 1910, 402–403.
14 Shiraiwa 1988, 373.
17 Orbeli 1963, 158.
19 Gandzakets'i Kirakos 1961, 269.
20 Gandzakets'i Kirakos 1961, 391.
21 Vardan Arevelts'i 1991, 152.
22 Step'annos Orbelian 1910, 411.
23 Step'annos Orbelian 1910, 414.
24 Manandian 1952, 255.
25 Step'annos Orbelian 1910, 415.
26 Melikset-bek 1936, 58.
27 The names of Khoshak and Sadun, the atabeg, are found in the inscription of the church of the Mother of God in Noratus; Avagian 1978, 277.
28 Melikset-bek 1936, 58.
29 Grigor Aknerts'i 1974, 49.
30 Step'annos Orbelian 1910, 418. Khoshak and Shams al-Din Juvayni had a daughter Khuandze and a son Zak'are; Rashid al-Din 1946, 115–116; Melikset-bek 1936, 60; Babayan 1969, 175.
31 Melikset-bek 1936, 60.
32 Melikset-bek 1936, 60.
33 Step'annos Orbelian 1910, 423. The first wife of Tarsaich, Aruz Khatun, was not a Mongol (as Babayan and others suggest) but an Ismaelean from Siwnik'; Step'annos Orbelian 1910, 416, 426.
34 Bundy 1987, 227; Der Nersessian 1947, 15.
35 Gandzakets'i Kirakos 1961, 285; Smbat 1869, 649; Bar Hebraeus, 408; Baghishets'i 1956, 346.
36 Kay-Khusraw II, whose wife and daughter had sought refuge at the Armenian court at the time of the Mongol attack on Konya (Iconium); cf. Cahen 1968, 138.
37 When the talks began, the Mongols threatened Het'um's delegation with an ultimatum: either the refugees of the sultan should be handed over or the Mongols would devastate their country; Smbat 1869, 649. Bar Hebraeus records this act differently, stating that Baron Kostandin (Constantine), the father of King Het'um, himself revealed the secret whereabouts of the sultan's relatives to please the Mongols; Bar Hebraeus, 408.
38 Bar Hebraeus, 408.
39 Boase 1978, 25. The Armenian noble, Constantine of Lambron, sought to revolt against King Het'um and appealed to Kaykhusraw. After the affirmation of Mongol protection over Cilician Armenia, Constantine took refuge with his Turkish friends; Cahen 1968, 270–271.
41 Grigor Aknerts'i 1974, 31.
42 Smbat Sparapet in Galstyan 1962, 48; Baghishets'i 1956, 346.
43 There were cases when Mongol governors or residing princes granted gerege or jarliq to their vassals; however, the privileges they granted were more of economic concern, like taxation or compulsory labour. Thus Sartaq granted these privileges to Hasan Jalal and to Nersen, the kat'oghikos of the Caucasian Albanians as well as to churches and mosques; Gandzakets'i Kirakos 1961, 358. The imperial court ended these independent princely acts by sending Amir Arghun to the region to bring order to the peripheries of the Mongol Empire; HWC, 507. Hülegü was also dispatched to put an end to the provisional regime of the Mongol military rule and fiscal administration in the region; Rashid al-Din 1946, 23.
44 Although Hülegü gave a Mongol wife to the Isma‘ili Imam Rukn al-Din Khur-Shah, Hülegü sent the latter to the Mongol court in Mongolia for approval; HWC, 721–722.
45 Jackson 2005, 98. Galstyan suggests that the letter was written in 1247, Galstyan 1962, 64, 122–123, n. 155.
46 Het’um Patmich’ 1951, 44.
47 Smbat’s Chronicle is known as the Royal Chronicle or Cilician Chronicle; Der Nersessian 1973, 365.
48 Cahen 1968, 273.
50 Smbat Sparapet in Galstyan 1962, 49; The journey of Het’um began at Sis and was sanctioned first by Baiju Noyan in Kars, who dispatched him to the gate of Der bend to Batu and Sartaq of the Jochid Ulus, who sent him to Mongolia; Gandzakets’i Kirakos 1961, 366–367. This relay dispatch of visitors via Baiju and then Batu Khan was implemented for the lords of Greater Armenia (Awag, Hasan Jalal and others) as well.
51 Grigor Aknerts’i 1974, 37.
52 Vardan Arevelts’i 1991, 149.
55 The History of the T’at’ars (1307) by Het’um Patmich’ is also a remarkable ethnographic and geographical account; Bundy 1987, 223–235.
56 Bretschneider 1888, 164–172; Boyle 1964, 175–189.
57 Boyle 1964, 177.
58 According to Het’um Patmich’, the Armenian King Het’um was received in Almaliq (Ameghek) by Möngke, not in Qaraqorum; Het’um Patmich’ 1951, 45.
59 Smbat Sparapet in Galstyan 1962, 49.
60 Gandzakets’i Kirakos 1961, 367.
62 Het’um Patmich’ 1951, 45. This translation is by the author of this study from the Armenian version edited by Awgerean, cf. Galstyan 1962, 68.
63 Jackson 1980, 486.
64 RHC/DA 1869, II, 297; Gandzakets’i Kirakos 1961, 367.
65 On his way to Mongolia, King Het’um stopped in the village of Vardenis (Vayots’ Dzor) with his host Prince Prosh Khaghbakian; Babayan 1976, 618.
66 Der Nersessian 1962, 653.
67 Smbat Sparapet in Galstyan 1962, 49–50. An army of 100,000 is exaggerated. The largest joint Mongol–Armenian forces did not exceed 60,000. The joint Armeno–Georgian forces that participated in the Mongol campaigns in Syria did not exceed 30,000 men.
68 Mikaelean 1952, 326.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


HWC, See List of Abbreviations.


RHC/DA, See List of Abbreviations.

770
— The Mongols in the eyes of the Armenians —


*TMEN,* See List of Abbreviations.