

Armenian Medieval Historians in Print

Three Centuries of Scholarship across Three Continents¹

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Hakob Meghapat's pioneering effort exactly five centuries ago this year has made it inconceivable ever since to analyze and evaluate the worldwide dissemination of Armenian culture bypassing the medium of printing—both books and periodicals. For a people with a long diasporic tradition and, until 1918, without a state of their own, printing technology made it easier for Armenian authors and their readers to establish and maintain their own worldwide network of printing, distribution, reading and exchanging ideas. This study focuses on one particular facet of the history of Armenian printing: the editing and publication of the works of Armenian medieval historians who lived in the 5th–18th centuries. It analyzes the patterns of publication of both their original texts,



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written overwhelmingly in Classical Armenian (*grabar*), and their more recent translations into both the Eastern and Western branches of the modern Armenian literary language (*ashkharhabar*).² It thus provides one important indicator to how the locus of Armenian Studies research activities shifted across a number of cities and institutions situated on three continents over the last 300 years. At the same time, it will be this author's humble tribute to all the prominent scholars whose efforts made medieval Armenian histories accessible to their peers and lay readers interested in the Armenian past.

This article covers the works of those 37 Armenian authors, who were treated in a separate chapter each in Levon

Hovhannes Babayan's trilogy on Armenian historiography, arguably the most comprehensive study in this domain to date.³ To make it easier both for the reader to follow the chronological structure of this article and for the author to make comparisons and generalizations, a number of ground rules were followed during the

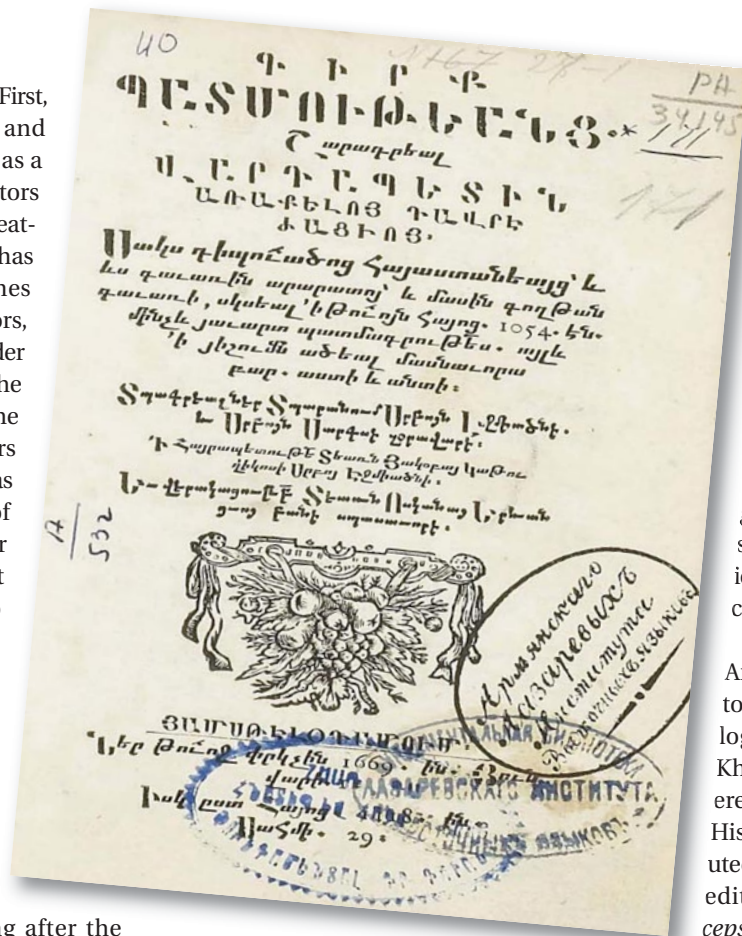
presentation of the compiled data. First, the works of Tovmas Artzruni and Matteos Urhayetsi are considered as a single unit each; their continuators are not accorded individualized treatment. Secondly, if the same work has been published at different times under the name of different authors, all of its editions are listed here under the author, who is now accorded the widest acceptance.⁴ Thirdly, only the works of history of these 37 authors are covered.⁵ Finally, if an author has produced more than one work of historical nature, only his major work is considered.⁶ Thus all but one of the 37 authors covered do appear in this article with only one work, that which is generally considered as their *magnum opus* in history.⁷

'GRABAR' EDITIONS

Medieval Armenian historiography flourished not long after the creation of the Armenian alphabet in the 5th century. In contrast, publishing works of history was not foremost in the minds of the first Armenian printers after 1512. It took exactly 157 years—until 1669—to see the first work of history printed in Armenian. By then, 70 titles in Armenian had already seen the light.

The first printed Armenian history was that of Arakel Davrizhetsi, published by Archbishop Voskan Yerevantsi in Amsterdam. Most of the earliest Armenian language printing had been carried out in Italy. However, from 1660, Armenian printers had become attracted to the Dutch capital, considered then to be the world's wealthiest city. Printing standards had dropped in Italy during the 17th century and, perhaps more importantly, the largely Protestant Dutch Republic was renowned for its relative religious tolerance. Roman Catholic censors could not hamper the work of Armenian printers there. Voskan, often considered as the second most important early Armenian printer after Meghapart, arrived in Amsterdam in 1664 and printed 15 Armenian-language books during his five-year stay. Foremost among his Amsterdam publications was, of course, the first full edition of the Armenian Bible in 1666–68.

Davrizhetsi's History printed by Voskan is significant because it was published during the author's lifetime.⁸ The circumstances that pushed Voskan to print Davrizhetsi's work remain unclear. The author had completed his manuscript in 1662 and had already ordered a number of hand-copies to be made, probably to guarantee the work's preservation in the future. Voskan's print version



Cover page of the 1669 Amsterdam edition of Arakel Davrizhetsi's History (digitized by the National Library of Armenia)

contains numerous grammatical errors. Moreover, he omitted certain sections, combined or rephrased others, and made stylistic changes to bring Davrizhetsi's style into conformity with *grabar*. All these would necessitate the preparation of a critical edition of Davrizhetsi three centuries later.

The choice of the next Armenian medieval historian to go into print appears more logical. For centuries, Movses Khorenatsi had been considered as the Father of Armenian History. The Geography attributed to him had already had two editions when the *editio princeps*⁹ of his History was printed in 1695, again in Amsterdam, but by Bishop Tovmas Nurijanian, a member of the Vanandetsi family of printers, who published over 20 Armenian-language books in the Dutch capital in 1685–1717. Khorenatsi's first edition was based only on a single manuscript, which was full of errors. Nevertheless, it helped bring the work to the attention of western scholars and was reprinted in Venice in 1752.

After a couple of short-lived attempts in 1567–69 and 1677–78, Armenian printing was established in Constantinople on a more regular footing at the end of the 17th century. For the next 100 years or so, the Ottoman capital consistently remained the city where the largest number of Armenian books was published. Among these Constantinople publications were the next four *editiones principes* of medieval Armenian historians: Grigor Marzvantesi printed Agatangeghos (1709–10) and Hovhannes Mamikonian (1719); Martiros Sargsian, Pavstos Buzand (1730); and Hovhannes Astvatzatrian, Yeghishe (1764). This was an era where the tasks of choosing the manuscript and editing it for publication were not yet separate from the technical process of printing. Therefore, the owners of the printing presses are also acknowledged as the publishers of the respective works, although they usually had a number of associates, from those who provided the manuscript and/or supervised the process of copy-editing and proofreading to those who covered the printing expenses.

When the Mkhitarist Father Mikayel Chamchian compiled in the 1780's his monumental, three-volume *History of the Armenians*, the most ambitious such project since Khorenatsi and the first

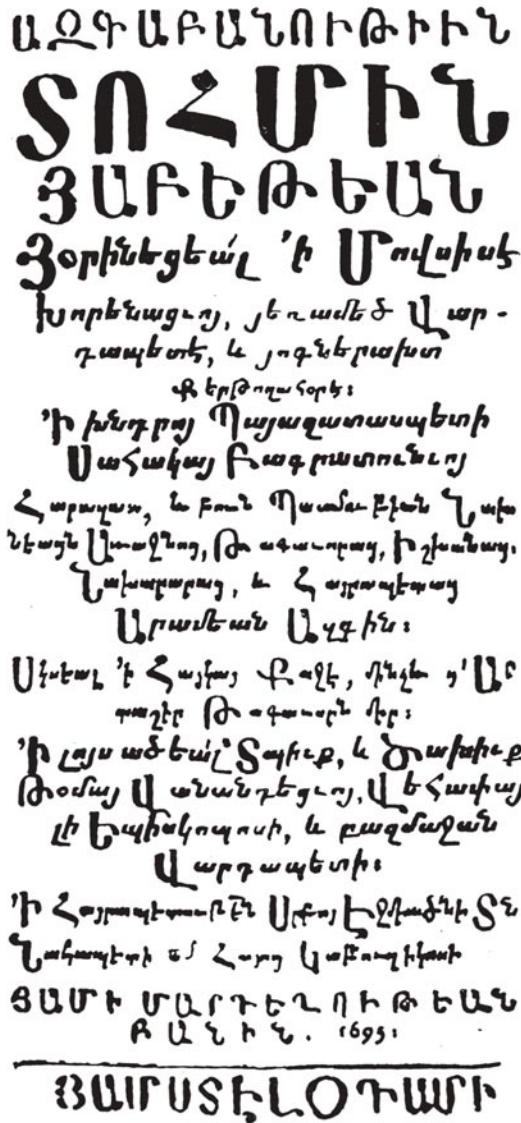
comprehensive Armenian history in modern times, only five medieval Armenian histories were in print. Chamchian mentions twelve other authors included in this survey, whose works he probably consulted in manuscript form. Indeed, he continued to receive new manuscripts as writing was in progress. He also indicates awareness of the existence of other medieval historians, whose works he did not have at his disposal. Among them, Ukhtanes, Sebeos, Ghevond, and Movses Kaghankatvatsi would be discovered and published in course of the next century.

Indeed, by 1915, all but three of the authors surveyed for this article were already in print, and many of them had had multiple—a few, even critical—editions. These new editions came out in over a dozen different cities across the Ottoman and the Russian empires, but also in Western Europe and even the British colony of India. These cities were either centers of Armenian monastic communities, both Apostolic and Roman Catholic (Venice, Vienna, Vagharshapat, and Jerusalem), or towns hosting vibrant Armenian communities (Constantinople, Smyrna, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Feodosiya, Shushi, Tiflis, and Calcutta). Paris, meanwhile, appears on this list solely because of the single-handed efforts

of Father Karapet Shahnazariants (1814–65), who set up a printing press in the French capital in the second half of the 1850’s and published the series *Shar hay patmagrats* (Armenian Historians’ Series), including the *editiones principes* of Ghevond, Stepanos Taronetsi Asoghik, Stepanos Orbelian, Kaghankatvatsi, and Tovma Metzopetsi. The 19th century is also the period when the publication of new editions of medieval histories gradually became associated with their editors, who were otherwise famous as academics or scholars, rather than with the entrepreneurs who owned and ran the printing presses, as had been the case previously.

The first ever Armenian-language book printed in Calcutta was the *editio princeps* of Abraham Kretatsi (1796). Thereafter, the printing press of Jentlum Avetian issued reprints of Hovhannes Mamikonian (1814) and Yeghishe (1816), both based on the 18th-century *editiones principes* published in Constantinople.

The Mkhitarist Congregation, founded in 1700, joined the efforts to print medieval histories relatively late. By the end of



Cover page of the first edition of Khorenatsi (Amsterdam, 1695)—source: *Hay girke 1512-1800 tvakannerin*, p. 116

the 18th century, it was still in the process of acquiring manuscripts to build up the rich library of over 4,000 Armenian manuscripts it now has on the isle of San Lazzaro. Indeed, the compilation of Chamchian’s History provided an important catalyst to that process. The History of Ghazar Parpetsi, which had been discovered in a monastery in Taron in 1782 and immediately sent to Venice, was eventually published in 1793. However, it was only after 1826 that the Mkhitarists began publishing medieval Armenian literature, including histories, in a consistent manner. The works of eleven historians included in this survey eventually came out in two parallel and long-lasting series: *Entir matenagirk* (Outstanding Medieval Authors) and *Matenagrutiunk nakhniats* (Ancient Writings). Among them, Khorenatsi and Yeghishe were printed in both series. However, there were only two *editiones principes*: Koriun and Aristakes Lastivertsi. Instead, the Mkhitarists of Venice played a pivotal role in disseminating on a wider scale works, which had been published earlier, but mostly as poor editions and with limited print runs. Altogether, between 1827 and 1914, they printed Yeghishe nine times; Khorenatsi, six; Pavstos and Koriun, three each; Agatangeghos, Parpetsi, Hovhannes Mamikonian, and Lastivertsi, twice

each; and, finally, Vardan Areveltsi and Kirakos Gandzaketsi, once each. These editions enjoyed the advantage of having been based on comparing larger number of manuscripts than the earlier editions of the same authors.

In 1773, some Mkhitarist monks broke away from the congregation in San Lazzaro and eventually settled in Vienna in 1810. However, the Vienna Mkhitarists—unlike their peers in Venice—published only one medieval Armenian history before 1914: Constantinople-based Vahram Torgomian edited and published Yeremia Chelepi Keomiurchian’s *History of Istanbul* in serialized form in the journal *Handes Amsorya* in 1909-13. Thereafter, the first volume of this work appeared under a separate cover in 1913.

Most Mkhitarist monks were from Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire, and primarily from Constantinople. Nevertheless, various printing presses in Constantinople also continued the legacy of printing medieval Armenian histories in the 19th century, including the *editiones principes* of Sebeos

(1851) and Artzruni (1852). In Smyrna reprints were issued of both Koriun and Yeghishe.

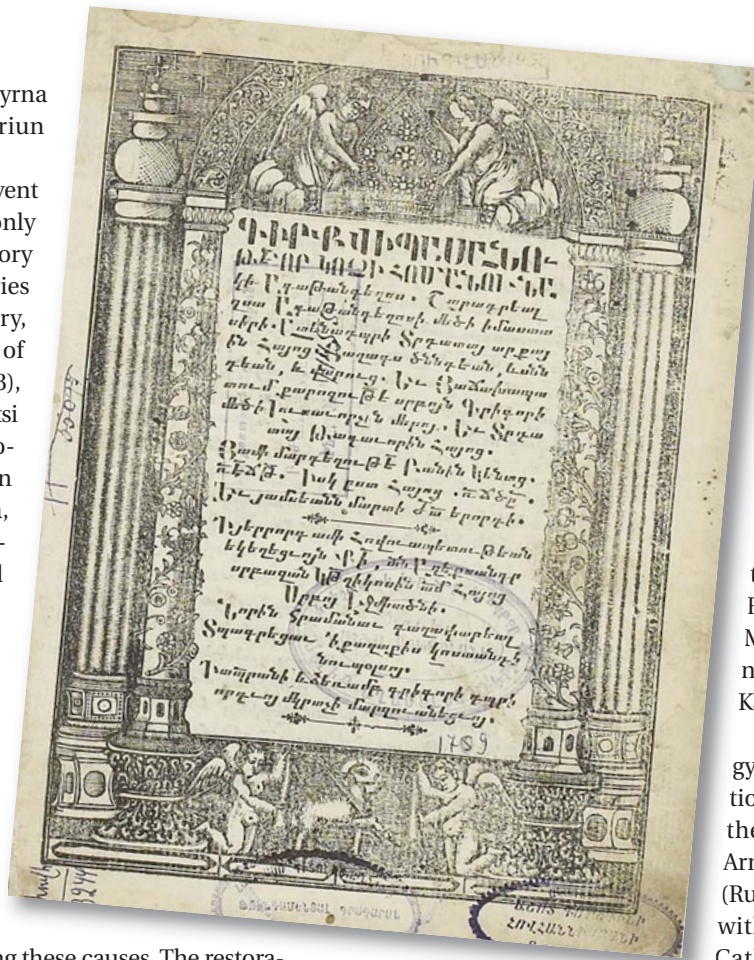
The Sts. James Armenian Convent in Jerusalem was the third and only other location on Ottoman territory where medieval Armenian histories were printed in the 19th century, including the *editiones principes* of Hovhannes Draskhanakerttsi (1843), Urhayetsi (1869), and Grigor Aknertsi (1870).¹⁰ Medieval Armenian histories were never printed in Western (Ottoman) Armenia and Cilicia, although limited Armenian-language printing activity occurred there after 1860.

Finally, the uncovering of the full range of reasons that put an end to the printing of medieval Armenian histories in Ottoman lands from the last quarter of the 19th century necessitates an in-depth study in the future. The steady suppression of various forms of Armenian nationalist expression under Sultan Abdülhamid II was probably among these causes. The restoration of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908 did not alter this trend; the only medieval Armenian history published in *grabar* in the Young Turk era was the *editio princeps* of Grigor Daranaghtsi in Jerusalem in 1915.

In the Russian Empire, Armenian printing developed later than under the Ottomans. Nevertheless, medieval Armenian histories were printed in the second half of the 19th and early 20th century not only in the Russian Empire's large cities with vibrant Armenian communities, like Moscow, St Petersburg, Feodosiya (Crimea), and Tiflis, but also in two other important Armenian cultural centers in Eastern Armenia, Vagharshapat (Ejmiatzin) and Shushi.

In Moscow, almost all the scholarly work in this domain is tied to the name of Mkrtych Emin, a professor of Armenian Studies at the Lazarev Institute. He published the *editiones principes* of Kaghankatvatsi (1860),¹¹ Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi (1860), and Areveltsi (1861), as well as new and better editions of Draskhanakerttsi and Orbelian. The *editiones principes* of Smbat Sparapet (1856) and Gandzaketsi (1858) also appeared in Moscow, but they are not endowed with the scholarly qualities of Emin's works.

The first medieval Armenian history printed in St. Petersburg and in the Russian Empire in general was Yeghishe's second edition (1787). The printing of medieval Armenian histories resumed in the Russian capital exactly eight decades later and, for the next 20 years, it was largely associated with the academic career of Kerovbe Patkanian, Professor of Armenian Studies at the St.



Cover page of the 1709 Constantinople edition of Agatangeghos (digitized by the National Library of Armenia)

Petersburg University. He published the *editiones principes* of Aknertsi (1870) and Mkhitar Anetsi (1879). Moreover, his new editions of Ayrivanetsi (1867), Sebeos (1879), Pavstos (1883), and Artzruni (1887) surpassed in quality earlier editions of these works. Also in the Russian capital, Stepan Malkhasiants published a new edition of Asoghik; and Karapet Yeziants, of Ghevond.

Armenian Apostolic clergymen and monastic institutions played a pivotal role in the publication of medieval Armenian histories in Eastern (Russian) Armenia, beginning with the *editio princeps* of Catholicos Yesayi Hasan-Jalalians in Shushi in 1839. The

Holy See of Ejmiatzin, in Vagharshapat, became prominent in this field beginning in 1870. Its printing press released the *editiones principes* of Zakaria Kanakertsi (1870), Ukhtanes (1871), Ghukas Sebastatsi (1871), Simeon Yerevantsi (1873), Samuel Anetsi (1893), and Khachatur Jughayetsi (1905).

In the last quarter of the 19th century, Tiflis, the administrative capital of Russian Transcaucasia, challenged and eventually surpassed Constantinople as the city where the largest number of Armenian-language books was being printed. Among the histories released in Tiflis were reprints of Yeghishe, Khorenatsi, Agatangeghos, and Pavstos, published mostly for popular consumption. More prominent among these popular reprints were the 16 volumes of the series *Ghukasian matenadaran* (Ghukasian Library), published in 1904–17 with money bequeathed by Avetis Ghuakasian, an Armenian oil entrepreneur from Baku. Nevertheless, the most important, at least from an academic viewpoint, was the launching in 1903 of the series *Patmagirk hayots* (Historians of Armenia). It aimed at the preparation of critical editions of the most important medieval histories, based on all earlier printed editions and all the extant manuscripts accessible to the specialists involved in this project. Galust Ter-Mkrtychian and Malkhasians published the critical edition of Parpetsi (1904); Ter-Mkrtychian and Stepan Kanayants, of Agathanegelos (1909); and Manuk Abeghian and Set Harutiunian, of Khorenatsi (1913). The outbreak of the First World War brought this project to a

halt. However, both Malkhasiants and Abeghian continued to study and publish medieval Armenian histories in subsequent decades.

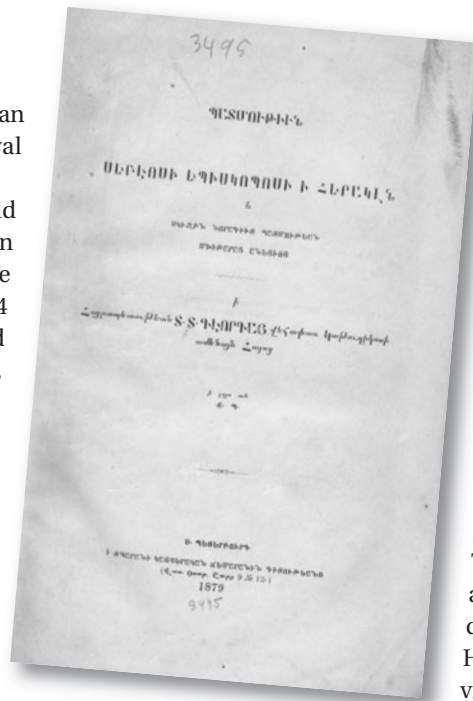
The period between 1914 and 1923 would bring dramatic changes to Armenians living in the Ottoman and Russian empires. Prior to the Sovietization of Armenia in 1920, however, 34 of the medieval Armenian historians surveyed in this article were already in print. Of these, many, especially 5th-century authors, had had numerous editions and reprints. Yeghishe was the most popular; by 1914, his *grabar* text had been printed on 27 occasions. Khorenatsi had had twelve printings; and Agatangeghos, seven. There was less interest in post-10th century historians, who only had between one and three printings each.

The genocide, followed by the Turkish Nationalist takeover of Cilicia and Smyrna, destroyed almost all of the Armenian communities across the former Ottoman world. Survivors would end up constituting the Armenian Diaspora. An important Armenian community persisted in Constantinople (now, Istanbul), but its cultural freedoms, especially overt expressions of Armenian nationalist sentiment, were severely curtailed.

At the same time, a new Communist order replaced Tsarist rule in Eastern Armenia, and an Armenian republic emerged within the new Soviet federal structure. The Soviet nationalities policy accorded this new entity and other constituent republics of the federation wide cultural privileges, and hundreds of Armenian-language titles were thereafter published in Soviet Armenia every year. However, their content was carefully censored to make sure that the guidelines of Communist ideology and Soviet foreign policy were followed. At the same time, other Armenian cultural hubs across former Russian Tsarist territory, especially Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Tiflis, gradually became extinguished. Yerevan thus became the undisputed center of Armenian Studies scholarship throughout the Soviet Union and even the world.

Moreover, it was also around this period when *grabar*, having been gradually pushed out of Armenian school curricula, ceased to be a language enjoying a wide readership. With it the tradition of commercial publishers printing affordable *grabar* reprints of Armenian medieval histories faded away. All new *grabar* printings of these histories would now target a small readership of scholars and college students in the humanities and social sciences. In Yerevan, the publishers were usually the Soviet Armenian Academy of Sciences and the Matenadaran, the repository of Armenian manuscripts. The only exceptions were those few editions by the State Publishing House (*Haypethrat*) and Yerevan University Press, where the *grabar* texts were reprinted alongside the *ashkharhabar* translations of these histories.

Aside from the History of Ananun Zrutsagir, which was compiled by Galust Ter-Mkrtchian and Bishop Mesrop Ter-Movsisian



Cover page of the 1879 St Petersburg edition of Sebeos

and published by the Scientific Institute of Ejmiatzin in June 1921, just a few months after the Communist takeover of Armenia, Soviet Armenian scholars did not devote themselves to publishing new editions of medieval histories until the appearance of the *editiones principes* of Zakaria Aguletsi and Abraham Yerevantsi in 1938. Thereafter, Malkhasiants published a new edition of Sebeos (1939); and Abeghian, a critical edition of Koriun (1941). That same year, Ashot Garegin Abrahamian, a relatively young scholar, issued what he described as the critical edition of Hovhannes Mamikonian, based on all previous editions and 23 manuscripts housed in the Matenadaran. However, this edition

was heavily criticized soon after its publication and did not win acceptance from respected scholars.

After a hiatus of nearly two decades, Yervand Ter-Minasion published a critical edition of Yeghishe (1957); Karapet Melik-Ohanjanian, of Gandzaketsi (1961); and Karen Yuzbashian, of Lastivertsi (1963). Separately, the Soviet Georgian Academy of Sciences published the critical text and parallel Georgian translation of chapters XXIV–LXVII of Draskhanakerttsi by E. V. Tsagareishvili. During the next decade, Margarita (Margo) Darbinian-Melikian reissued in 1971 the original text of Ananun Zrutsagir, alongside its Russian translation. Two years later Narpey Ghorghanian published a critical text of Kretatsi and its Russian translation. A critical edition of Sebeos by Gevorg Abgarian was printed in 1979. Finally, the last decade of Soviet rule witnessed the publication by Joseph Avetisian of the *editio princeps* of Keomiurchian's *Concise Four Hundred-Year History of the Ottoman Kings* (1982). The next year, Varag Arakelian published the critical text of Kaghankatvatsi, while Hayrapet Margarian issued the first edition of Mkhitar Anetsi under a separate cover. In 1990, Lena Khanlarian published a critical edition of Davrizhetsi, while the 1913 critical edition of Khorenatsi was reprinted in 1991, with Ashot Sargsian adding collations of manuscripts in the Matenadaran, Venice, and Vienna in an appendix.

In the period of independence in the last 20 years, other reputable publishing houses from the Soviet era, plus newly established private firms, have joined the market of releasing the original *grabar* texts of medieval histories. However, the scholarship leading to these new editions is still carried largely by philologists working in the Matenadaran and trained in the late Soviet era. In 1994, the volume of Koriun in the newly established *Hayots matenagirner* (Medieval Writers of the Armenians) series, published by the *Hayastan* publishing house (the former *Haypethrat*), included a new critical text compiled by Artashes Matevosian. In 1999, *Magaghat* Publishers posthumously released

Levon Khachikian's critical text of Metzopetsi. In 2005, the *Zangak-97* Publishing House issued a reprint of the 1979 critical text of Sebeos, together with a new *ashkharhabar* translation. The next year, Darbinian-Melikian published the critical text of Artzruni, again through *Magaghat* Publishers. Finally, *Nairi* Publishers (the former *Sovetakan Grogh*) published in 2011 the critical text of Samuel Anetsi, compiled by Anahit Hayrapetian. That same year, the new *askharhabar* translation of Aknertsi also reprinted the 1974 critical text by Archbishop Norayr Pogharian, upon which it was based.

Within this context of reprints, mention should also be made of the 2007 edition of Hasan-Jalalians, which was compiled by Arto Martirosian and published by *Dizak Plus* in Stepanakert, and included a reprint of the *grabar* text of the 1868 Jerusalem edition.

The contribution of Yerevan University Press to the publication of the *grabar* texts of medieval Armenian histories has been extremely limited in both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. This press has concentrated on the publication of the *ashkharhabar* translations of these works, initially through a series called *Usanoghi gradaran* (the Student's Library). For example, the *ashkharhabar* translations of Khorenatsi, Parpetsi, Agatangeghos, Artzruni, Pavstos, Yeghishe, Urhayetsi, and Draskhanakertts were printed in this series next to the reprints of earlier *grabar* editions. The new *ashkharhabar* translations of both Sebastatsi (1992) and Areveltsi (2001), published by Yerevan University Press as well, but outside this series, also include the *grabar* texts. Finally, the 1941 *grabar* critical text of Koriun is included in the Yerevan University Press's multi-lingual editions of 1981 and 2005.

In the post-genocide Armenian Diaspora, the publication of the original texts of medieval Armenian histories also decreased, again because of the inability of the younger generations to read *grabar*. Here, too, the realm of reading the *grabar* texts became restricted among a small community of scholars.

After 1915, the Armenian Apostolic and Catholic monastic institutions went on for some time playing an important role in the domain of publishing and disseminating medieval Armenian histories. Until 1955, the Mkhitarists of Venice periodically reissued reprints of their 19th-century editions of Agatangeghos, Parpetsi, Pavstos, Yeghishe, Koriun, and Khorenatsi. However, since then, the Mkhitarist editions of the *grabar* texts of medieval Armenian histories have all been critical editions targeting a narrow



Cover page of the 1946 *ashkharhabar* translation of Yeghishe

circle of scholars. A new edition of Smbat, edited by Father Serobe Agelian, appeared in 1956. In 1977, Father Sahak Chemchemian published a new edition of Abraham Yerevantsi, and, the next year, Father Samuel Aramian released a new edition of Sebastatsi.¹² Finally, Father Poghos Ananian prepared a new critical text of Koriun, which was published alongside its Italian translation in 1998.

The contributions of the Mkhitarists of Vienna to this domain remained modest even after 1915. Volumes II and III of Keomiurchian's *History of Istanbul*, prepared by Torgomian, were published in 1932 and 1938, respectively. Later, Father Nerses Akinian prepared a new critical text of Koriun (1950).

Three medieval histories surveyed in this article have been published in Jerusalem since the end of the First World War. Garnik Fntglian released a new version of Koriun in 1930, while Archbishop (later Patriarch) Mesrop Nshanian compiled the *editio princeps* of Keomiurchian's *Diary*. Finally, the critical edition of Aknertsi was published by Archbishop Norayr Pogharian in 1974.

Outside monastic institutions, medieval Armenian histories in the post-genocide diaspora have been printed the most in the United States. Outside North America, we can only point to two cases where the *grabar* texts of medieval Armenian histories were printed outside a monastic context. Of these, the more important is the *editio princeps* of Keomiurchian's *History of the Burning of Istanbul* by Gevorg Bampukchian (1991). The other is the *grabar* text of Koriun, which appeared in the 1954 Cairo reprint of Abeghian's 1941 critical edition.

Among the numerous *grabar* texts of medieval Armenian histories printed in the United States, two were original works of scholarship. In 1951, Stepan H. Banian published in Boston a new critical text of Koriun. The second was Levon Khacherian's critical edition of Sebastatsi. The editor had compiled the text when he still lived in Yerevan, but the book was published in Los Angeles in 1988, after he had emigrated from Soviet Armenia.

All other printings of medieval Armenian histories in the United States have been reprints of earlier editions, sometimes in facsimile format. In 1949, the English translation of Aknertsi by Robert Blake and Richard Frye appeared in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, and the *grabar* text was printed alongside the translation. The same work was re-published under a separate cover in 1954. Ten years later, Abeghian's critical text of Koriun was printed alongside its new English translation by

Petros Norhat (Bedros Norehad). Robert W. Thomson's 1976 English translation of *The Teaching of St. Gregory* (which constitutes an important segment of the History by Agatangeghos) included a reprint of the 1914 *grabar* text of *Ghukasian Matenadaran*. In 1980–93, Caravan Press, in Delmar, N.Y., printed the Classical Armenian Texts Reprint Series, as many *grabar* editions from the 19th and early 20th centuries had become difficult to find for scholars engaged in research in the United States. Agatangeghos, Draskhanakertsi, Khorenatsi, Pavstos, Parpetsi, Koriun, Artzruni, Areveltsi, and Yeghishe were reprinted in this series. Finally, a facsimile reprint of the 1868 Jerusalem text of Hasan-Jalaliants was included alongside George A. Bournoutian's 2009 English translation.

The last serious effort to reprint medieval Armenian histories—as part of the Classical Armenian Literature of the 5th–18th centuries—is the series *Matenagirk Hayots* (Medieval Writers of the Armenians), a collaborative effort among the Digital Library of Armenian Classical Literature, based at the American University of Armenia (Yerevan), the Catholicosate of Cilicia (Antelias), and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon). Fifteen volumes were published in 2003–12, but all the scholarship behind this series emanates from post-Soviet Armenia. The diasporan contribution is confined to providing the money and the printing facilities to publish these volumes. The works of Koriun, Pavstos, Yeghishe, Agatangeghos, Khorenatsi, Sebeos, Hovhannes Mamikonian, Ghevond, Ananun Zrutsagir, Artzruni, Draskhanakertsi, Kaghankatvatsi, Ukhtanes and Asoghik—i.e. authors, who lived until the 11th century—have already been printed. Most of these texts are reprints of earlier critical—or what are still considered as the best—editions of these histories. However, in five cases, new critical texts were published. Gevorg Ter-Vardanian prepared the new critical texts of Ghevond, Artzruni, and Draskhanakertsi; Aleksan Hakobian, of Hovhannes Mamikonian; and Gurgen Manukian, of Asoghik. Moreover, Petros Hovhannisian and Gevorg Matoyan, the editors of the text of the History by Ukhtanes in this series, have attempted to correct the errors which had crept through the 1871 *editio princeps* of this work. The works of later historians will probably appear in the forthcoming volumes.

In the post-genocide era, Yeghishe has lost the top spot as the most frequently published medieval historian in his original, *grabar* text to Koriun. The latter's *grabar* text has had nine editions printed since 1920. Among these, no less than six are new critical texts. We can surmise that not only does the importance of Koriun's topic—the life of Mesrop Mashtots, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet—make the work attractive for new critical editions, but its relatively concise nature does not demand perseverance extending over a number of years, as would be the case with longer works.

As of now, most of the *opera magna* of medieval Armenian historians living in the 5th–10th centuries have had their critical *grabar* texts prepared. Pavstos is the only notable exception. However, more effort is needed to prepare critical editions of a number of later historians, including Urhayetsi, Areveltsi,

Ayriyanetsi, and Orbelian, particularly if the author's original manuscript has not survived and all that we have are a number of copied manuscripts independent of one another.

'ASHKHARHABAR' EDITIONS

The imperative of having *ashkharhabar* translations of the important works written originally in *grabar* arose in the second half of the 19th century when Armenian school curricula shifted toward a wider use of the modern vernacular as the language of instruction, and the reading public in good command of *grabar* narrowed. From then on, critical editions and reprints of the *grabar* texts targeted mainly the community of scholars, while the *ashkharhabar* translations are still primarily for the wider lay public.

The first efforts to render the medieval Armenian histories into *ashkharhabar* go back to the 1860's, and most of these translations were into the Eastern branch of the modern Armenian language. The first historian translated in full and published as a separate book was Yeghishe. Martiros Simeonians's Eastern Armenian translation was printed in 1863. Thereafter, three other *ashkharhabar* translations of Yeghishe appeared until 1914, making him a leader not only in the total number of *grabar* but also of *ashkharhabar* editions for the pre-World War I period. Among these, Hakob Varzhapetian's translation (Constantinople, 1911) was the only Western Armenian rendering of a medieval Armenian history before 1914, as well as the first medieval Armenian historian to be printed in the Ottoman Empire since the beginning of the Hamidian Era. The only other medieval historians translated into Eastern Armenian prior to 1914 were Khorenatsi, Parpetsi, and Lastivertsi. Khorenatsi had two separate *ashkharhabar* editions, both by Father Khoren Stepane, while the translations of Lastivertsi and Parpetsi were both accomplished by Rev. Minas Ter-Petrosian and published in Alexandropol.

Hereafter we observe a lull of nearly three decades during which no new *ashkharhabar* translations were published, nor earlier pre-war editions reprinted. The situation changed drastically in the 1940's, and since then many medieval Armenian histories have been translated to the modern Armenian literary language—mostly to Eastern, but in a few cases also to Western Armenian.

In Soviet and post-Soviet Armenia, all translations have been made in Eastern Armenian. In 1940, *Haypethrat* launched a series entitled *Hay patmagirneri matenashar ashkharhabar targmanutiamb* (the Armenian Historians Series in *Ashkharhabar* Translation). The translations of four medieval histories appeared in this series. The first was Malkhasiants's translation of Khorenatsi. The second, published the following year, was Abeghian's critical *grabar* text of Koriun and the accompanying *ashkharhabar* translation. Ter-Miniasian's translation of Yeghishe came out in 1946, and, finally, Malkhasiants issued a translation of Pavstos in 1947. In 1958, Ter-Miniasian revised his translation

of Yeghishe based on the new critical *grabar* text, which he had published the previous year. These four *ashkharahabar* editions have since reappeared (with small editorial changes) on a number of occasions in Armenia and the diaspora.

Following its publication of the revised *ashkharahabar* translation of Yeghishe, *Haypethrat* also reprinted in the early 1960's the 1940's translations of Khorenatsi and Koriun. In 1964, this publishing house was renamed *Hayastan* and in 1968 launched the *Hay matenagirner* (Armenian Medieval Writers) series to make the famous works of medieval Armenian authors available in Eastern Armenia. When the *Sovetakan Grogh* (Soviet Author) publishing house was separated from *Hayastan* in 1976, the task of continuing the *Hay matenagirner* series passed on to the new entity. Thirteen of the 16 volumes, published in this series between 1968 and 1989, are the works of medieval Armenian histories covered in this article: the reprints of Khorenatsi, Pavstos and Yeghishe, plus new translations of Kaghankatvatsi (by Varag Arakelian), Lastivertsi (Vazgen Gevorgian), Urhayetsi (Hrach Bartikian), Agathangelos (Aram Ter-Ghevondian), Artzruni (Vrezh Vardanian), Ghevond (Aram Ter-Ghevondian), Gandzaketsi (Varag Arakelian), Orbelian (Ashot Arsen Abrahamian), Davrizhetsi (Varag Arakelian), and Hovhannes Mamikonian (Vardan Hakob Vardanian).

Ashkharahabar translations of medieval Armenian histories also appeared as part of the Yerevan University Press's *Usanoghi gradaran* series, launched in 1981. Khorenatsi, Pavstos, Yeghishe, and Urhayetsi were reprints, but the translations of Parpetsi (by Bagrat Ulubabian) and Draskhanakerttsi (Gevorg Tosunian) were new. The *Usanoghi gradaran* edition of Agatangeghos (1983) also included the *ashkharahabar* translation of the section known as *The Teaching of St. Gregory*, which had been omitted in the 1977 *Sovetakan Grogh* edition. Moreover, Vrezh Vardanian reportedly introduced important improvements in the 1985 *Usanoghi gradaran* edition of Artzruni to the *ashkharahabar* translation, which he had first published in 1978. Finally, it should be added that two separate editions of Khorenatsi were released in 1981 as part of *Usanoghi gradaran*. One was simply another reprint of the 1940 Malkhasiants translation; the other, however, printed in parallel both the 1913 *grabar* critical text and Malkhasiants's *ashkharahabar* translation. This last approach was later followed for the *Usanoghi gradaran* editions of Parpetsi, Agatangeghos, Artzruni, Pavstos, Yeghishe, Urhayetsi, and Draskhanakerttsi.

Efforts toward producing new *ashkharahabar* translations of medieval Armenian histories have continued in the independence period. Yerevan University Press and *Hayastan* continue to remain the most consistent publishers in this domain, although they have been joined by a few newly established private publishing firms.

Almost two decades after yielding the privilege of publishing the *ashkharahabar* translations of medieval Armenian authors to *Sovetakan Grogh*, the *Hayastan* publishers returned to this domain in the early 1990's with an ambitious new series, *Hayots matenagirner* (Medieval Writers of the Armenians). However, economic difficulties after the disintegration of the Soviet system limited the total number of volumes eventually published in this

series to just four. The *ashkharahabar* translations of Yeghishe and Khorenatsi were reprints, but Koriun's new translation by Artashes Matevosian (1994) was based on significant amendments the latter had proposed to Abeghian's 1941 critical text. Varag Arakelian's 2006 *ashkharahabar* translation of Ukhtanes was also entirely new.

In addition to publishing a new trilingual edition of Koriun (2005), Yerevan University Press printed in the independence period new *ashkharahabar* translations of Sebastatsi (by Arshak Madoyan), Asoghik (Vardan Hakob Vardanian), Arelveltsi (Gevorg Tosunian), and Metzopetsi (Arshak Madoyan).

The other new *ashkharahabar* translations released by various private publishing firms in Armenia and Mountainous Karabagh in the 21st century are Mkhitar Anetsi (by Vano Yeghiazarian, *Van Arian* Publishers, 2001), Simeon Yerevantsi's *Jambr* (by Vazgen Hambardzumian, *Mughni* Publishers, 2003), Sebeos (by Gurgen Khachatrian and Vano Yeghiazarian, *Zangak-97* Publishers, 2005), Hasan-Jalalians (by Eduard Mkrtchian, *Dizak Plus* Publishers, 2007), Ananun Zrutsagir (by Varag Arakelian, *Viamir* Publishers, 2011), and Aknertsi (by Gurgen Khachatrian and Vano Yeghiazarian, *Voskan Yerevantsi* Publishers, 2011). Finally, a new translation of Khorenatsi by Bagrat Ulubabian was published posthumously by "Gasprint" Publishers in 2003.

In the domain of *ashkharahabar* translations, too, the overwhelming majority of the work published in Armenia, even in the independence period, is the output of scholars trained in the Soviet era. Among them, Varag Arakelian tops the list, with the translation of five medieval histories to his credit. However, at the other end of the age spectrum is Vano Yeghiazaryan, who was still in college when the Soviet Union disintegrated. He has since been involved in the translation of three medieval histories.

New *ashkharahabar* translations have been much rarer in the diaspora and mostly in Western Armenia. In 1949, Karo Sasuni translated a large excerpt from Hovhannes Mamikonian and published it as a book in Beirut. Two years later, Stepan H. Banian included a parallel Western Armenian translation of his critical text of Koriun. Another Western Armenian translation of Koriun by Zulal Gazanchian was published in the periodical *Bazmavep* in 2005. The celebrations marking the 1500th anniversary of the Battle of Avarayr were the main motive behind the publication of a new edition of Yeghishe in New York in 1952. It included a Western Armenian translation by Hovhannes Tsovikian (Zovickian) and an English translation by Dickran H. Boyajian. Both were independent of the 1946 Eastern Armenian translation printed in Yerevan. This 1952 edition of Yeghishe was reprinted in two separate volumes—Western Armenian and English—in 1975. More important is Very Rev. Arshavir Gabuchian's Western Armenian translation of Sebeos, printed in Antelias in 1990. It marked the first occasion when the Western Armenian translation of a medieval Armenian historian predated its Eastern Armenian version. Finally, a new Eastern Armenian translation of Sebastatsi was published by Khacherian in Los Angeles in 1988, alongside his critical text. Khacherian's Eastern Armenian translation predated Arshak Madoyan's translation of the same work, which would appear in Yerevan in 1992,

but, as mentioned above, Khacherian had completed most of this work prior to his emigration from Soviet Armenia.

Finally, two other separate projects of *ashkharhabar* translation in the diaspora should also be mentioned. The first was the reprinting by the *Husaber* Press in Cairo in 1950–54 of earlier Eastern Armenian translations of Yeghishe, Khorenatsi, Koriun, and Pavstos, which had appeared in Yerevan in the 1940's. The only change was the adoption of Classical Armenian orthography, instead of the reformed Soviet orthography used in the original Yerevan editions. Four decades later, the works of Agatangeghos, Khorenatsi, Yeghishe, and Koriun were printed again in Western Armenian translation in Beirut in 1995–96 as part of the *Hayogi* (Armenian spirit) series. These translations are not made directly from the *grabar* texts, as is the case with all other *ashkharhabar* translations, but from earlier Eastern Armenian translations.

Yeghishe's History again leads the pack in the number of separate *ashkharhabar* translations it has had.¹³ It has been translated on six separate occasions—four times to Eastern and twice to Western Armenian. Altogether, different *ashkharhabar* translations of Yeghishe have been printed on 12 occasions—four of them prior to 1914 and the rest, since 1946. Ter-Minasian's 1946 Eastern Armenian translation (amended in 1958) has had six different printings. Koriun has had four separate translations—two of them into Eastern Armenian—and nine editions overall, all since 1941. Of these, Abeghian's Eastern Armenian version has been published six times. Khorenatsi has had three separate translations—all into Eastern Armenian—and its *ashkharhabar* versions have been printed twelve times overall, sharing the top spot in this category with Yeghishe. Malkhasiants's translation has had nine editions, the most for any *ashkharhabar* translation. Yet, there are still no *ashkharhabar* translations for 10 out of the 37 medieval Armenian historians surveyed in this article. All of these yet-to-be-translated authors lived in the 12th century or later. □

ENDNOTES

1. The author wishes to thank Artzvi Bakhchinian, George A. Bournoutian, the Rev. Father Serob Chamurlian, Zhirayr Danielian, Karen Matevosian, and the Rev. Father Vahan Ohanian for providing some of the data used in this study. The article follows *The Armenian Review* Transliteration Key, based on the phonetic values of Classical and Eastern Armenian, and omits the use of diacritics. For the sake of consistency, even the names of Western Armenian scholars are transliterated according to Eastern Armenian pronunciation. A more detailed version of this study will be submitted to the journal *Bazmavep* (Venice).
2. In order to keep it within a manageable size, the article does not cover the translations of these works into foreign languages, despite the undeniable fact that many of these translations, together with the accompanying introductory chapters and annotations penned by their scholar-translators, have made these works accessible to the international scholarly community, clarified many of the difficult terms and passages in these texts, and, more recently, provided a gateway to ethnic Armenians in the diaspora who can no longer read

in Armenian, to connect with these texts through the languages of their adopted countries.

3. See *Drvagner Hayastani vagh feodalizmi darashrjani patmagrutian (V–VIII darer)* (1977); *Drvagner Hayastani zargatsats feodalizmi darashrjani patmagrutian (IX–XIII darer)* (1981); and *Drvagner Hayastani XIV–XVIII dareri patmagrutian* (1984). All three volumes were published by the Soviet Armenian Academy of Sciences in Yerevan. The only medieval historian analyzed by Babayan in detail, but excluded from this article, is Hetum Korikostsi (13th century), as his *magnum opus*, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient*, was written in medieval French and *not* in Armenian. Consistent with the approach adopted toward the other historians covered in this article (see note 6), the author did not take into consideration Hetum's lesser known chronologies, written in Armenian.
4. For example, all editions of the *History of Taron* are listed under Hovhan Mamikonian (and *not* under Zenob Glak) and those of the *History of Aghvank*, under Movses Kaghankatvatsi (and *not* Daskhurantsi). The same principle is followed in relation to the Histories of Ananun Zrutsagir, Vardan Areveltsi, Grigor Aknertsi, and Ghukas Sebastatsi, which were initially attributed, respectively, to Shapuh Bagratuni, Vardan Bardzrberdtsi, Maghakia Abegha or Vardan Patmich, and Stepannos Vrdanisian Shahumian.
5. For example, all other works attributed to Movses Khorenatsi and Yeghishe, and those authored by Areveltsi and Simeon Yerevantsi, which do not fall into the medieval genre of history, are excluded.
6. Thus, Ghazar Parpetsi's *Letter to Vahan Mamikonian*, the *List of Catholicoi* by Hovhannes Draskhankertsi, the *Chronology* attributed to Stepanos Orbelian, Tovma Metzopetsi's *Colophon*, and the *Journal* by Simeon Yerevantsi are excluded if they were published under a separate cover.
7. The only exception is Yeremia Chelepi Keomiurchian, of whom four works of history have been published, each of them having a single edition to date. It would have been overambitious to go ahead and single-handedly accord to any of these works the status of Keomiurchian's *magnum opus*, without an already established consensus among the community of scholars.
8. Among the 37 medieval historians surveyed, only two others had their works printed during their own lifetime: Keomiurchian, a contemporary of Davrizhetsi, and Simeon Yerevantsi, who lived over a century later. However their historical works, covered here, were not among these publications; they were printed posthumously. Khachatur Jughayetsi's *History of the Persians* was published in installments in the first-ever Armenian-language periodical *Azdarar* (but not as a separate book) in 1795, the year, it is thought, the author died.
9. In classical scholarship, *editio princeps* (plural: *editiones principes*) means the first printed edition of a work that previously had existed only in manuscripts.
10. Indeed, two separate editions of Aknertsi were printed in 1870. Because the efforts toward these two editions were carried independently, this article considers both to be *editiones principes*.
11. In the case of Kaghankatvatsi, too, there were two *editiones principes* in 1860, the other by Shahnazariants.
12. Aramian's edition of Sebastatsi was earlier published in installments in *Bazmavep* from 1972.
13. The Western Armenian translations, made from Eastern Armenian, in the *Hayogi* series have not been considered as separate translations when compiling the data used in this paragraph.